

Voyages to the coast of Africa / by Mess. Saugnier and Brisson: containing an account of their shipwreck on board different vessels, and subsequent slavery and interesting details of the manners of the Arabs of the desert, and of the slave trade as carried on at Senegal and Galam ... Translated from the French.

Contributors

Saugnier.
Brisson, Pierre-Raymond de, 1745-1820?

Publication/Creation

London : G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1792.

Persistent URL

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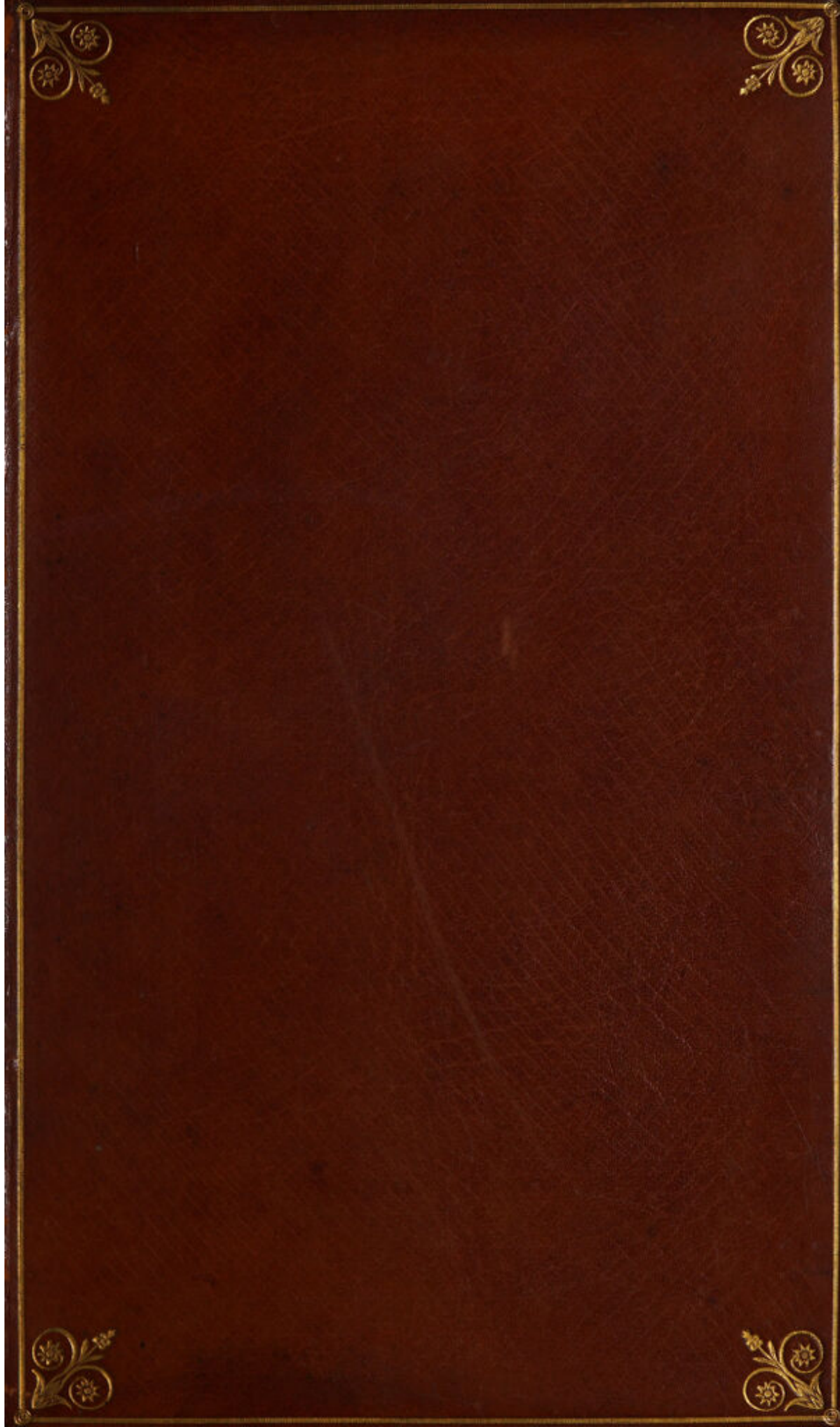
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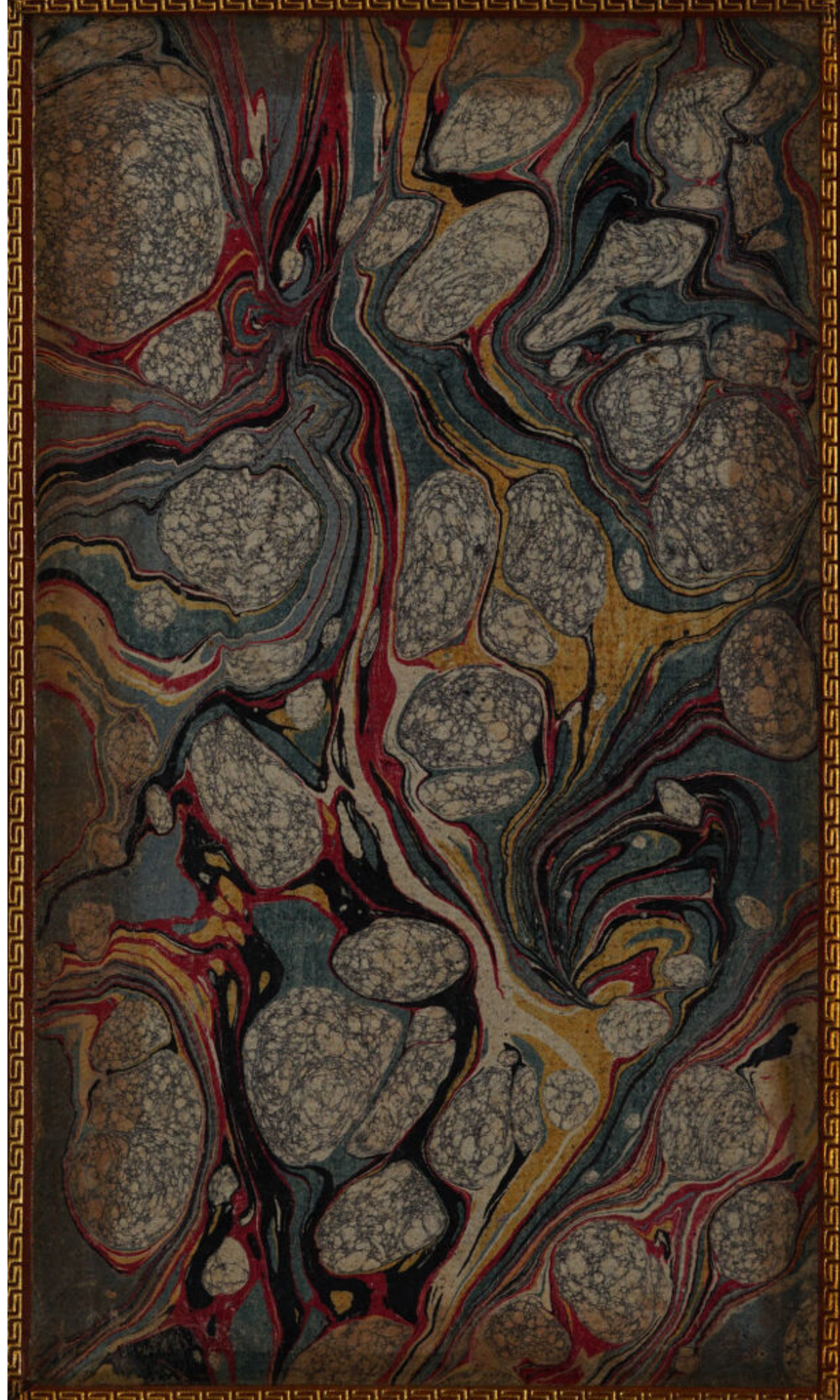
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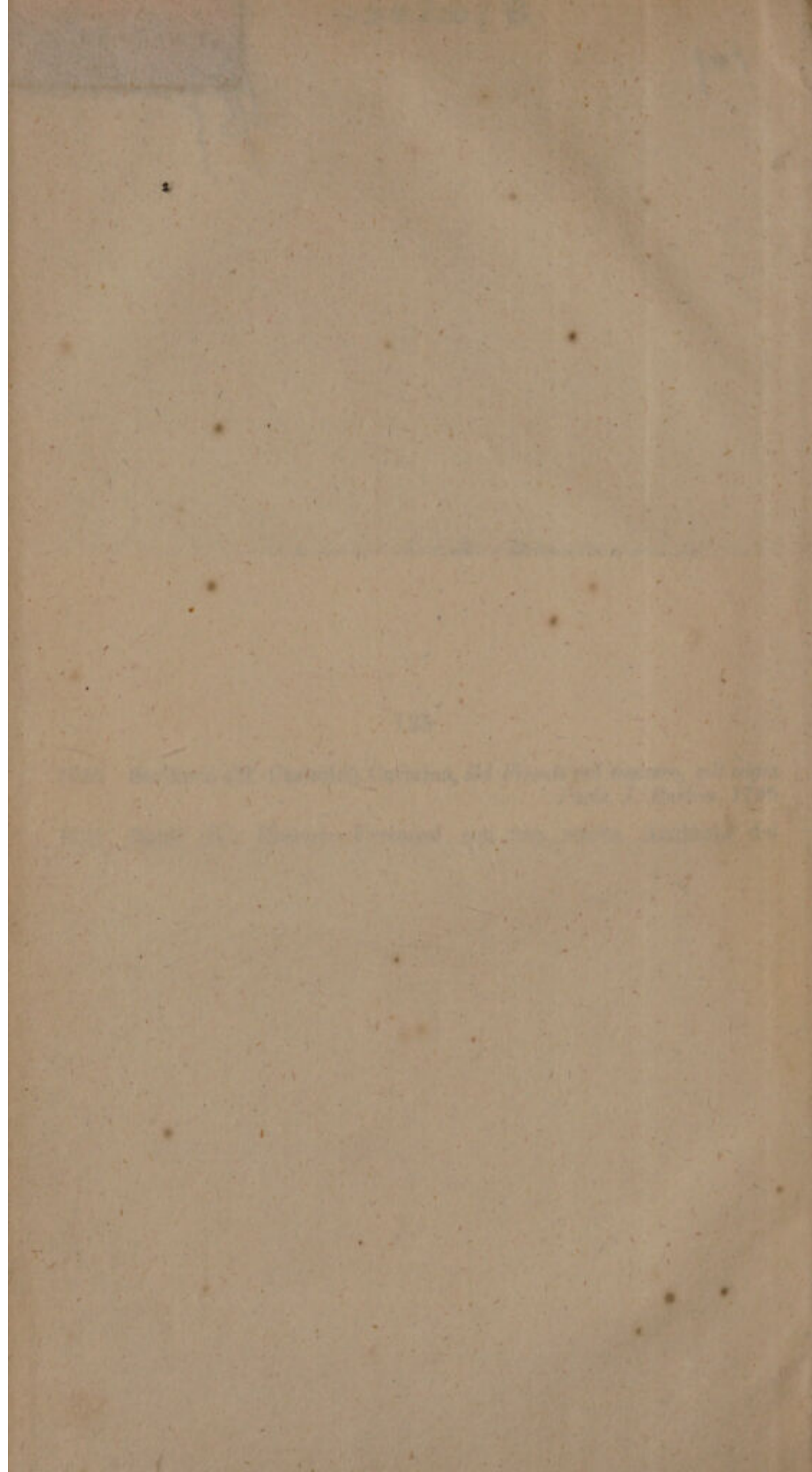
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1765 Saugnier and Brisson (MM.) Voyages to the Coast of Africa, map,
russea extra, leather joints, gilt marbled edges, by C. Kalthoerber
1792



VOYAGES

THE COAST OF AFRICA,

MERS SAOUMIER AND BRISON.

AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR SHIPWRECK
ON THE COAST OF AFRICA,
AND SUBSEQUENT SLAVING;
AND AN INTERESTING NARRATIVE
OF THE MANNERS OF THE ARAB OF THE DESERT.

THE SLAVE TRADE,
AS PRACTISED BY THE ARAB OF THE DESERT,
FROM AN ACCURATE REPORT BY A TRAVELLER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY J. G. LEITCH.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. G. LEITCH, 18, N. B. ST. 1840.

VOYAGE

THE COAST OF AFRICA

BY JAMES CLARK ROSS

IN A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

AND A MEMORIAL TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE YEAR 1818

BY JAMES CLARK ROSS

ESQ.

OF THE BARR

AND OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE YEAR 1818

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

1818

BY JAMES CLARK ROSS

ESQ.

OF THE BARR

AND OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

VOYAGES
TO
THE COAST OF AFRICA,
BY
MESS. SAUGNIER AND BRISSON:

Pierre Raymond de

CONTAINING
AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR SHIPWRECK
ON BOARD DIFFERENT VESSELS,
AND SUBSEQUENT SLAVERY,
AND INTERESTING DETAILS OF
THE MANNERS OF THE ARABS OF THE DESERT,
AND OF
THE SLAVE TRADE,
AS CARRIED ON AT SENEGAL AND GALAM.
WITH AN ACCURATE MAP OF AFRICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND. J. ROBINSON,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1792.

VOYAGES
TO
THE COAST OF AFRICA,
BY
MESS. SAUGNIER AND BRISON:

CONTAINING
AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR SHIPWRECK
ON BOARD DIFFERENT VESSELS,
AND SUBSEQUENT SLAVERY,
AND INTERESTING DETAILS OF
THE MANNERS OF THE ARABS OF THE DESERT,
AND OF
THE SLAVE TRADE,
AS CARRIED ON AT
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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR G. J. AND A. ROBINSON,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1822.

P R E F A C E.

THE most exact truth pervades the relation contained in the following sheets. The reader will here find none of those fictions, which are amusing no doubt, but by which the mind is rather injured than benefited. The author was not sufficiently versed in the arts and sciences, nor had he sufficient time to devote to curiosity or pleasure, to avail himself of all those circumstances in which it might have been in his power to enrich us with new discoveries. Geography alone has gained something, by the certain accounts this traveller gives us of the course of the Niger, and of the northern coast of

Africa, a country before almost utterly unknown.

Notwithstanding the unheard-of sufferings undergone by this worthy man, in his different travels, he is still eagerly desirous of returning to the interior parts of Africa, there to make discoveries which he thinks would be highly useful to commerce and natural history. Since his return he has employed every moment in the acquirement of a knowledge of geography, botany, astronomy, &c. in the hope of once more travelling through countries where he experienced so many misfortunes ; but whither, nevertheless, he ardently wishes to return : as his circumstances will not permit him to undertake it at his own expence ; he takes the liberty of addressing the following reflections to government.

A taste for discoveries in every way is the characteristic of an enlightened age. One of the kinds of knowledge of the most useful acquirement is incontestably that of the globe

we inhabit ; it is perhaps the only one that we can ever hope of carrying to perfection ; for it consists only of positive things, and notwithstanding the multitude of those things their number is limited.

There are parts of Europe less known to our men of science than several parts of Asia and America. As to Africa, which is at so small a distance from us, we hear it spoken of from our infancy, and yet we are hardly acquainted with its coasts.

The difficulty of penetrating into some of the inland parts has not repressed the efforts, nor damped the zeal of several travellers. Messrs. *Sparman*, *Gordon*, *Paterfon*, *Le Vailant*, *Masson*, *Bruce*, and a few others, have already afforded, and will yet afford to Europe, astonished at their courage, new information concerning people, till their time suspected of cruelty, though perhaps the gentlest in the universe. But their knowledge did not extend beyond the Caffres, the Hot-

tentots, and the Abyssinians, whose territories are but a very inconsiderable portion of the immense countries of Africa.

All the interior part, which is filled in our maps with the vague word desert, or by the names of pretended nations, that probably never existed, deserves, perhaps, as much as the rest, the honour of being visited by European travellers.

The French government might, at present, at very little expence, set on foot some of the most important researches that have ever yet been undertaken on land.

The following are the obstacles to be overcome, to insure the success of the enterprize.

1. The unhealthiness of the climate.
2. The pretended ferocious disposition of the inhabitants.
3. The ignorance of the Arabic tongue.
4. The dreadful fatigues of such a journey.
5. The difficulty of conveying the different instruments, absolutely necessary to make useful observations.

6. The

6. The uniting in one or two persons the variety of knowledge, without which the expedition would be almost useless.

7. The indispensable charges.

If the author of the travels here offered to the public, were chosen to put the plan he proposes in execution, the four first obstacles would be removed in regard to him ; for, 1. It is proved that he can bear the climate, having been a slave in the desert, and escaped its baneful effects. 2. He is accustomed to the manners and customs of the people, who so far from being ferocious, are the best people in the universe, when one knows how to conform to their way of life. Besides, having been the Emperor of Morocco's slave, his person is sacred in the eyes of the numerous nations, who, far as well as near, acknowledge that sovereign as their lord paramount. He is personally acquainted with the reigning Emperor, and the *Sirik*, or *Great Saint*, whose spiritual power extends indiscriminately to all the Mahometans of the desert, and to whom they

they pay unbounded respect and deference. Letters of recommendation from these two great personages, which he is sure of obtaining, would insure the safety of his person from Mogador to Egypt. 3. During his slavery, and stay in Africa, M. Saugnier learned Arabic enough to speak it fluently. 4. He has crossed on foot all that part of the desert, confined between the Niger and Cape Nun; and since that time has never been on horseback or in a carriage, as much from taste as through economy. He cannot therefore dread fatigue, of whatever kind it be.

It would not be extremely difficult to remove the fifth obstacle, in a country where there are as many camels as inhabitants. Thus the small number of instruments indispensably necessary to take altitudes, and draw plans, might be easily conveyed on the backs of these animals.

If a very scrupulous regard be not had to the sixth article, M. Saugnier flatters himself he should be able to justify the confidence that

that might be repofed in him. Originally intended for the church, he received a tolerably good education; and having fince his return affiduously ftudied whatever might be ufeful to him in fuch a journey, he would be capable of making good obfervations in almoft all the effential matters that regard a traveller.

No apprehenfion need be entertained as to the laft article; for the expence is next to nothing in a country where one goes almoft naked, and where there are no other means of travelling but with the caravans, among people who have not even an idea of luxury, and who confine the neceffaries of life within very narrow bounds. Thirty thoufand livres at moft, would fuffice for an expedition of about four years, which M. Saugnier would undertake with a friend, who, having been his companion in flavery, is as much accuftomed to fatigue as himfelf. The only recompence he would afk, would be a penfion of a thoufand crowns, fhould he be fortunate enough

enough to return from so dangerous an enterprise.

The plan proposed is, to go to Morocco, there to procure the necessary recommendations, and then to proceed to Senegal, and from thence to Tombut, up the stream of the Niger; from that city M. Saugnier could undertake one or other of two journies which have never been attempted by any European, and which would afford information absolutely novel, concerning nations whose very existence is unknown to us. The first would be to repair from Tombut to Abyffinia, either by travelling through Bilidulgerid, or by visiting and ascertaining the source of the Niger, as Mr. Bruce did that of the Nile; the second would be to go from Tombut to Mosambique, after having passed through the very heart of Africa. Perhaps it would be possible to establish a regular trade from that coast to Senegal, and to make immense gain in those vast countries where gold is the most abundant production of the earth.

VOYAGES

MAP
of
PART OF AFRICA.

Designed for the Voyages of M. Saugnier

By M DE LABORDE.

Formerly First Valet de Chambre to
the King of France & Governor of the Louvre.

Nb. The Routes of M. Saugnier and M. Brisson
are indicated by Dotted Lines





VOYAGES
TO
THE COAST OF AFRICA.

FIRST VOYAGE.

TO SENEGAL.

THE desire of recollecting my past misfortunes, and the various situations into which the circumstances of my life have led me, joined to the sollicitations of several of my friends, who, having interested themselves in my distress, were desirous of being more particularly acquainted with the customs of the people I lived among, have made me take the resolution of drawing up memoirs of the events of my life. It will not be difficult to judge of the impossibility I labour under of fully answering the expectations of those who shall read this work, if they will but deign to consider that several years at

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least

least of stay and study are necessary to know all the customs of a people. A slave in one country, and a traveller concerned in trade in another, I remained there but a short time, in the utter want of every thing necessary to make just observations. I only speak then of what I have seen and done, without affirming that the same customs prevail all over the country. If I have not the satisfaction of answering the expectations of those who shall read these memoirs, I shall have at least the certitude of advancing nothing but what is true, in spite of the testimony of several celebrated writers, who have inculcated false notions in their accounts of Senegal and the neighbouring places; no doubt because they had not an opportunity of travelling through the country themselves.

By the time I had completed my studies, I had attained the age of twenty-one. Having no turn for the ecclesiastical profession, I was exceedingly puzzled to know what line of life I should pursue. This was at the time my parents were endeavouring to settle one of my brothers, who bought a grocer's stock in trade at a very easy rate. I staid with him on condition of paying my board, worked
hard,

hard, and after a year's apprenticeship, found myself capable of earning wages in other shops at Paris. I passed seven years with different grocers.

Without fortune to settle in the world, the circumstances of my parents having suffered from their easiness in regard to my brother, who had not succeeded in trade, and reduced to the necessity either of embracing the ecclesiastical profession, or of remaining a long time shopman, I came to the resolution of trying my fortune in the colonies, as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself. It offered soon, and I soon found two brothers of my own country, who had projected settling at Senegal.

The manner in which they announced their design to me, the fair idea they had formed of the most detestable country in the universe, which they only knew from the false representations of Messrs. Adanson and Dumanet, the little hope I entertained of settling in the world in a manner suitable to the condition of my family, the love of novelty, the flattering hope of making a rapid and brilliant fortune, my want of experience, my dislike to

my business, every thing in short concurred to make me join them in their schemes.

I was in want of money for the voyage. Had I made known my intention to my parents it would have been the surest means of obtaining nothing ; I was therefore obliged to dissemble, and entered into treaty for a grocer's stock in trade. My family thought the matter certain, and advanced the first sums necessary for my pretended enterprise. This was the only money I could obtain. More had indeed been promised me, but one of my brothers, a priest of the community of St. Medard, and my secret enemy, because I did not shew him that respect, which, in his quality of priest, he said, he had a right to exact, discovered a part of my designs. He gave information to my parents, and, while thinking to hurt me, really did me a service, for I was refused what had at first been promised me to complete my establishment.

Notwithstanding a disappointment so prejudicial to my hopes, my two countrymen earnestly excited me to pursue my project. They were destitute of fortune, and were without money for the first expenses of the voyage ;

voyage ; they knew that I understood the commerce of drugs and grocery, as well as distillation, and hoped that my knowledge would fill up the void left in our designs by the smallness of my stock of money. The name of these young men was Floquet ; they were sons of a tanner, of Wailly in Picardy, and died both of them in Senegal.

The Marquis de Beccaria, of a Swiss family, second captain of the African battalion, was waiting at Nantz, to embark on board the Catherine, a ship belonging to M. Aubry de la Fosse, the head of a commercial house in Senegal. This officer made a verbal agreement for our passage with M. Aubry, at the rate of three hundred livres each ; and as soon as the ship was ready to sail we set off for Nantz. We were hardly arrived, when the elder of my travelling companions repaired to the house of M. Aubry, who easily perceived that it was our intention to settle at Senegal ; he was consequently afraid of a competition in the colony, prejudicial to the interests of his house, a reason which induced him to ask a thousand livres for the passage of each of us, without permitting us to take any thing on board but our trunks.

Conditions so hard, and so little expected, made us adopt another mode of proceeding. We staid about a fortnight at Nantz without well knowing on what to determine; but having at length learned that ships were frequently fitted out at Bourdeaux for Senegal, we repaired thither in hopes of being more favourably treated. We travelled on foot, serving as an escort to the carriages loaded with our merchandise and baggage. At Rochelle we shipped them on board a Bourdeaux hoy, and continued our journey by land. We were so totally unacquainted with the dangers of the sea, that we did not even take the precaution of having our effects insured, and passed three weeks at Bourdeaux in the greatest uneasiness. At length the whole arrived, to our great satisfaction, for we had not a change of cloaths, and had nearly reached the bottom of our purse.

The next day we went to the exchange to introduce ourselves to the merchants, and there we learned the arrival of the Count de Repentigny, brigadier of the King's armies, formerly colonel of the regiment of Guadeloupe, and since appointed governor of the French possessions in Africa. We went to
see

see him. That worthy officer approved our intentions, promised us his support, and facilitated the passage of my two friends on board the King's vessel the *Bayonnoise*, fitted out to convey him to his government, and commanded by the Marquis de la Jaille. To ask a place for a third passenger would have been an imposition on the complaisance of the latter gentleman. I therefore waited on M. Lanaspèze, who was fitting out at the same moment to carry provisions and warlike stores to Senegal. He had already three passengers on the King's account, and could not receive me on board for want of room. I was on the point of returning to Paris, and of abandoning my enterprize, when the Chevalier de Fresnel, a gentleman of Picardy, received orders to remain in France. His vacant place on board the *Deux Amies* procured me the lamentable advantage of embarking with a part of my venture.

I went on board the 19th of December, 1783. The ship was of about three hundred tons burthen, was Dutch built, and commanded by Captain Carfin.

We were detained ten days in the river by contrary winds; the eleventh we sailed in

company with the Bayonnoise, but lost sight of her in the dusk of the evening. On our approach to Cape Finisterre we met with terrible gales of wind, which obliged us to lay too for five successive days. There was a talk on board of putting into some neighbouring port, but the wind having abated we again made sail.

The night of the 7th of January, 1784, the captain, worn out with fatigue, and seeing that we steered our course, and that the weather was to be depended upon, left the care of his watch to his lieutenant, a young man who owed his appointment to his interest, and of the extent of whose abilities he was ignorant.

The giddy youth, who had as yet only served two years on board the King's ship, dazzled with the idea of commanding a watch, let the helmsman steer as he pleased. The captain, awakened by a shock the ship received, ran upon deck, saw where the mischief arose, and remedied it with admirable presence of mind. The weather was still fine, every thing was repaired as well as circumstances would admit, and we continued our course without any appearance of danger.

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The captain was every day at great pains to instruct his lieutenant ; and notwithstanding he knew his inexperience, yet either wishing to improve him at all hazards, or thinking we had no longer any danger to run, or actuated by some other motive, it was never possible to divine, he still left him in the care of his watch.

On the night of the 14th, the mate, who was the owner's son, taking the lieutenant's watch, perceived the land, we were then at most at three leagues distance, and running for it with the wind abaft. One hour later, and not a soul would have been saved. The lofty mountains which presented themselves to our view, were taken by all the crew for Mogadore, where there are none at all : fatal experience however made us but too certain that they were those of *Wel de Non*.

This new fault of the lieutenant, who took no notice of his seeing the land, did not open the captain's eyes as to the danger to which he exposed us all, by intrusting him with the care of the watch. The crew began to murmur, and several sailors, no strangers to those seas, said plainly that we were running to our ruin, as indeed it happened on the 17th of January,

January, at four o'clock in the morning, just after the lieutenant's watch had been relieved, without any one's having seen the land.

Every experienced captain knows that the currents always set towards the Coast of Africa, that there are long banks of sand which run a great way out to sea, that in the morning and evening it is difficult to distinguish them from the water; that in short, in many places, it is impossible to see the land at the distance of three leagues; these reasons and the built of the ship, owing to which she necessarily made more lee-way than French vessels should have, induced us to keep further out, especially as we had made the land only two days before.

The terrible shock occasioned by our striking on the sand-bank, brought us all out of our cabins. Nothing could be distinguished, horrible cries were heard on every side, and the sailors ran about the deck, without knowing whither they were going. One laid hold of a hen-coop, and another of the rigging, while the sea broke entirely over us; the darkness of the night, the dreadful roaring of the waves, our officers' ignorance of the place where they had run the ship aground, and

and death before our eyes, every thing in short robbed us of our recollection, and drove us to despair.

Our ship, however, being Dutch built, made very little water, and it would have been easy to let go an anchor, to lighten, and to set her afloat, but nobody thought of so simple an expedient, which would have saved us all. We resigned ourselves to the will of the Supreme Being, and waited for day, without coming to any resolution.

About half after five the ship, beat by the breakers, which followed one another incessantly, made a great deal of water, and the danger appeared more urgent. The boatswain perceiving that she continued upright, and wishing to keep her in that position, cut away the masts, we then laboured to lighten the vessel, that she might drive nearer and nearer to the shore.

About seven o'clock the captain put a stop to all work that we might come to some kind of resolution in such unfortunate circumstances. Nobody knew where we were. Some asserted that we were ashore on one of the Canary Islands, and others on the Coast of Africa. Being recovered however from
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our first fright, our whole attention was turned to the safest means of reaching the land, whatever it might be.

We were more than a quarter of a league from it, nor could we distinguish any thing on the shore; this however did not prevent M. Decham, the master's mate, a native of Bourdeaux, only nineteen years old, but of a bold and intrepid disposition, from leaping into the sea. He tied the * deepsea-line round his waist, that it might serve him to tow a somewhat thicker rope ashore, that would have been a great assistance to us, in case of the ship's going to pieces.

The rocks among which this young man was obliged to swim, made him let go the line; so that his courage was of no use to us. Overcome with fatigue and cold, he sheltered himself from the wind in a cask that the sea had already carried to the beach.

Scarcely was he in it, when we saw an animal running along the sea-side, which our fear transformed into a tiger; it was a dog, belonging to some Moors, who soon after made their appearance. The people known

* Line for sounding in deep water.

in Europe by the general name of Moors, compose however several nations; those whom we perceived are the descendants of the wandering Arabs, and of the Portuguese fugitives, who took refuge in Zaara when the sherifs made themselves masters of the three kingdoms of Barbary; they are known in Africa by the general appellation of Nar. Those who occupy the country where we were wrecked, are called Mongcart: they are only governed by chiefs of hordes, and acknowledge no sovereign but the Emperor of Morocco, to whom however they pay no tribute, and whose very laws they do not observe; those who inhabit the country towards Cape Blanco, and on the banks of the Niger, are known by several names, and have their own princes; the most considerable are the King of the Blacnars*, and the King of the Trafnars†.

These people are miserably poor, destitute of every thing, and live only upon what they can find or steal. The earth they inhabit not supplying their wants, they eagerly seize

* In 1786 the name of the reigning king was Halicon.

† His name was Admet-Moctar.

every thing that seems likely to satisfy them. They came running down in crowds to the sea-side, and bellowing in the most dreadful manner.

On hearing their cries the wretched Decham left his cask, and throwing himself into the sea, attempted to swim back to the ship; but he was soon stopped by the Moors, who leaped in after him. They dragged him to the beach, stripped him of his shirt, and led him to the top of the hill. Standing all on the fore part of the ship, we stretched out our arms towards them, and implored their mercy, as if they could have heard us. Our weak voices did not reach them, nor did they even seem to pay attention to our gestures. By the help of our glasses we saw them make a hole in the sand, put the wretched Decham in it, and cover him entirely.

Two men guarded him, and the others returned to the beach; part of them leaping into the sea, and swimming towards the vessel, while the rest were employed in picking up the fragments of the casks we had thrown over-board. They then kindled them, ran to fetch Decham, carried him between four, and exposed him to the fire. Sometimes
they

they suspended him by the feet, sometimes they held him transversely, and handed him from one to another. New mountaineers coming down took the place of the first, who began to dance round the fire with horrid cries. At this moment we gave him up for lost, our frightened imagination making us regard as the height of inhumanity in this people, what was no more than the signs of their pity and sensibility.

Our sailors, little accustomed to a sight of this nature, fancied they had killed and eaten him; several even affirmed that they had seen him torn to pieces. It was in vain we told them that no cannibals existed on those coasts, nothing could make them change their idea.

Neither the orders of the officers, nor of the captain himself, were any longer listened to. They imagined that the savages would be bold enough to come on board, and were determined, they said, to fight to the last extremity.

Finding that no reasons could prevail upon the crew to lighten the vessel, which the waves drove towards the coast, I went upon deck, offering money to any body that would
take

take it. A bag of twelve hundred livres, that I had received from M. Follie, was emptied in a moment. Although they were certain that if they saved their lives, this money would be of no use to them, yet it served to draw them out of the kind of lethargy into which they were sunk. A part of them busied themselves again in lighting the vessel, while the others put the arms in order. They were scarcely prepared, when the captain ordered every body to leave off work. His design was to repair to the beach in parties, well-armed.

Two swivels loaded with langridge shot were put into the barge; we hoisted it out by main strength, and four sailors got into it, fully resolved to make a desperate defence. We were persuaded that these people seeing them armed, would not dare to attack them; we thought besides that our swivels were more than sufficient to keep them off; luckily however our project proved ineffectual. Our measures had been ill taken, the barge upset, and our people were fortunate enough to get on board again, by the help of ropes we instantly threw out.

This event did not make us abandon our
idea;

idea; the long boat remained, and we resolved to make use of it to execute the same project. Working with the greatest ardour to get it over the side, we exhausted our strength, and were obliged to take some refreshment. This was what saved us. Reflection made us perceive the danger, to which we were so wantonly exposing ourselves. The idea of laying a deck over the long-boat, came into the head of one of us, and we believed it to be of easy execution. Our captain thinking we were wrecked upon Cape Non, hoped by these means to reach the Canary Islands. Others said it would be easier to reach Senegal, on account of the winds that prevail in those latitudes. This latter opinion was the best, and would have been followed. We set to work, but without success, being only able to nail on a few planks. After infinite pains in hoisting out the boat, we moored it alongside with stout ropes, for fear it should meet with the same fate as our barge. We then put on board provisions, money, arms, and our most valuable effects; but however wisely our measures were taken, we were once more disappointed in our hopes.

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The sea ran so high that we were obliged to get out again. It was with great regret that we left our long-boat. Soon after one of the ropes by which it was moored breaking, it dashed violently against the ship's side. In spite of the danger it was moored anew; but as it was all over leaks, and as it was impossible to hoist it in, we were reduced to the sad necessity of letting it go altogether.

It was hardly upon the beach when the Moors came down. They laid hands on every thing it contained, hauled it over the sand by main strength, and set it on fire. This action appeared as cruel to us as what we thought they had done to our wretched fellow in misfortune. Ignorant of their laws and customs, we only judged of their actions by what our astonished imagination led us to believe. We did not know that these people are bound to destroy whatever their habits of life render of no use. Simple as it was, this action converted our courage into despondency.

Our ship advanced but little, and suffered perceptibly from the sea. She beat towards the middle, the deck was loosened, and at
every

every wave that came we thought she would have parted. On the other hand, the danger to which we imagined we should expose ourselves, even if we had the good fortune to reach the shore, seemed still more terrible. Our spirits gave way to these reflections, and despondency and consternation were pictured in every countenance.

The cooper, a bold fellow, and an excellent swimmer, soon recalled us from our sad reflections. "Friends," said he to his fellow sailors, "we must perish here, or fall into the hands of those people; there is no other alternative, and my incertitude as to the fate that awaits me is more dreadful than death itself. I am going to swim ashore. Observe well what they do with me. If they do not kill me I will make you a signal; but at all events I shall have the consolation of dying before you."

We were all astonished at his resolution, and nobody thought of stopping him. He leaped into the sea; more than twenty Moors swam to meet him, assisted him in getting to the beach, stripped him of his shirt, exposed him to the fire, as they had Decham,

danced round him, and at last conveyed him out of our sight, without any of us being able to decide whether they had killed him or saved his life.

The captain, who to all appearance had still preserved his recollection, now lost all presence of mind. He believed he had seen him torn to pieces, and no longer thought of any thing but the readiest way to die. His design was to blow up the ship, and several thousand weight of powder in the magazine rendered it of easy execution. He sent for us all upon deck, and exhorted us to meet our fate; not wishing however to die without revenge, he made preparations for firing upon the multitude that covered the beach. To draw them thither in greater numbers, and to be sure of doing greater execution, we threw every thing of the most value into the sea. He was deceived in his expectation, for the Moors, informed by our two fellow-sufferers that we were Frenchmen, and remembering the loss they had met with at the wreck of two ships of the same nation, suspected a part of the plot that was laid against them. They retired from the beach without attending to
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the objects the sea carried thither, kindled great fires upon the top of the hill, and gave way to all the emotions of joy the sight of so rich a prize excited in their hearts.

Frustrated in his hopes, and unwilling to fall alive into the hands of the savages, the captain again assembled the crew, and exhorted them to blow up the vessel. Although the officers were of the contrary opinion, we should all have perished but for the courage of M. Bardon, second lieutenant of the African battalion. With his drawn sword, and seconded by the officers, he threatened to cut down the first who should dare approach the magazine.

What a strange contradiction is there in the minds of men, especially when in danger ! They all wanted to die, and yet there was not one bold enough to rush upon the sword of M. Bardon ! The crew retired to the fore part of the ship, while with M. Follie, a cabin-boy, and a landsman, I watched over the conduct of the captain, who seemed to have adopted our opinion. He thanked us for our resistance, and begged us to forgive the weakness of a moment. About midnight

he threw himself upon his bed, waked about two o'clock, came upon deck, and was so frightened at the fires and dances of the Moors, that he determined to put an end to his existence. He took care not to acquaint us with his design, lay down on his bed, addressed a prayer to Heaven, and leaning down his head, discharged two pistols in his mouth. We hastened to him, and thought him dead, but he had missed the vital parts; the surgeon immediately dressed his wounds, and he was prevented from making a new attempt upon his life.

The horrid sight exhibited by his lacerated countenance, so far from discouraging the crew, only served to confirm each of us in our design of escaping from the wreck; several, for fear the Moors should ascribe his wound to *us*, proposed tying a swivel round his waist, and throwing him into the sea; but this barbarous advice was rejected.

As soon as the day began to dawn, the mate assembled all hands on deck, and we set about making a raft, but warned by the last evening's experience, we resolved to wait for the ebb tide.

About

About eleven o'clock, the Moors, no longer perceiving any thing stir upon deck, came swimming off, with the intention of boarding the vessel. Directed by their cries, we threw out ropes to them, and took them aboard. Without answering, or troubling themselves about our questions, they attended to nothing but the plunder, the word Morocco being the only one we heard.

Deprived of the assistance we expected from their arrival, and in haste to reach the land, since they were growing more numerous than ourselves, we got the raft into the water about two o'clock. Only ten could find room upon it. The violence of the surf washed off four of them, and M. Bardon, the officer of the African battalion was drowned; such was the sad fate of him, who, the evening before, had saved us all. Two others, one of whom was M. Follie, were seasonably succoured by the Moors, who jumped overboard, and carried them senseless to the beach. The mate, who was the fourth, returned to the ship. The other six, among whom was the captain, were scarcely ashore, when the Moors conducted them to an eminence where

there was a little fire, and after having stripped them, left them there. No more than eleven remained on board. We began a new raft with the greatest diligence; it was soon ready, and though of little solidity, afforded room for five persons. Four saved themselves without accident, the fifth was assisted by a Moor, who was on his return with what he had plundered in the ship.

Six of us were left behind, without the possibility of making another raft, the great number of Moors busied in plundering, rendering it impracticable. We therefore resolved to avail ourselves of the bundles they were throwing into the sea, to hold fast by them, and by these means to get ashore. I was the first to adventure, and the good success I met with encouraged the sailors to follow my example.

About six o'clock we were all assembled on the hill, round a great fire. The Moors left us there half an hour, and then having examined us, as is customary with slaves, made us all get up, and conducted us about half a league up the country. There they divided; one half returned towards the beach, and we were left

left the sad witnesses of the disputes of the rest to know to whom we should belong.

Seeing them rush upon us with their sabres drawn, we did not well know what to think; we were naked and unarmed; nor had we as yet perceived our two fellows in misfortune, who had swam to the shore on the preceding evening. We all believed the last moments of our life at hand, and instinctively took flight, with the intention of preserving it a few minutes longer.

A bloody conflict followed for the possession of our persons, all of them attempting to lay hold of us. Several of our people were desperately wounded, and I myself had the misfortune to be stopped by two Moors, almost at the same instant. He who had touched me first pretended I was *his*; such was the law; but his adversary, too cruel to hear reason, endeavoured to settle the dispute by my death.

I parried the stab he made at me, and had only two fingers hurt by the poignard; this action cost him his life; he was not quick enough in putting himself on his guard against my true master, who, having like him his
dagger

dagger in his hand, laid him breathless at his feet.

The Moor to whose lot I fell, then led me to the place where were his brothers, his wives, and his slaves. The fire they applied to my wound, to stanch the blood, stopped, at the same time, the progress of the poison. Plants, dipped in turtle-oil, were afterwards wrapped round my hand, and ere long I experienced the most perfect cure.

Let any one figure to himself, if possible, the sad situation of a man, who, having never been accustomed to travel, found himself suddenly stripped of his cloaths, dying of hunger, and surrounded by barbarians, whom he looked upon as his executioners. Death, which at the moment of our shipwreck was pictured in my imagination in the most dreadful colours, no longer wore so frightful an appearance. Although I was resolved to bear every thing to preserve my wretched existence, I looked on the excess of my sufferings with the greatest indifference. My misfortune was too great for me to feel it. I thought that every moment was to be the last of my life. Resigned to the Supreme will, I waited without

out inquietude for the fatal stroke, and considered it as the happy period of my woes.

The disputes of the Moors about the most trifling matter that excited their cupidity, and the blows and stabs they dealt on one another, made me believe they were sacrificing my wretched fellows in misfortune to their fury. I had seen two of my countrymen knocked down by my side; I thought they had been killed, and I no longer gave any faith to the historians who have described the manners of these people. I believed them to be cannibals. I was separated from my countrymen, I was surrounded by a score or two of Moors, and I fancied that we had been shared in this manner to serve for their family repasts. The stones brought to support the fire, the faggots, and the fragments of casks piled up near the spot where I was detained, seemed so many instruments of the torments reserved for me. In this persuasion I once more recommended my soul to God, and when my prayer was over, waited quietly for death, and looked upon what I thought the preparation for it without dismay. My tranquillity however was not philosophy, but rather an entire confidence

fidence in the mercy of the Divinity. The dressing put upon my wound did not remove this fatal idea.

The dances, and the cruel joy of the women who surrounded me, and plucked out my hair, rather out of curiosity than a mischievous design, and who, without thinking of covering me, rejoiced at having me among them, all concurred to confirm me in my opinion. It was at length dispelled, when I beheld them take a pleasure in seeing me drink the milk that was offered me about ten o'clock in the evening. I passed however a most miserable night, a prey to a thousand heart-breaking reflections, stretched out naked upon the sand, and exposed to all the inclemency of the air.

The Mongearts, or Arabs of Zaara, were the only ones who happened to be upon the sea-side at the time we were wrecked, but they did not enjoy the whole of our spoils. They were obliged to share them with the Moors at Bilidulgerid, a warlike and well-armed nation, known in the country by the appellation of Monselemine. It was to an Arab of this latter nation that I belonged.

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The following day our masters permitted us all to assemble upon the beach. Such of our party as belonged to the Mongearts had been treated with the utmost humanity. Some had skins to cover them, and others apparel that their masters had plundered from the wreck. As to those who belonged to the Monselemine, they were all naked like myself, nor had they been better treated.

This diversity of manners in such neighbouring nations, made me believe, that without doubt my companions had been better treated by the Mongearts, merely because that people was accustomed to see Europeans in the river of Senegal, and at Portendie, and I consequently imagined that if I could belong to them I should certainly be carried to the former of those places.

This idea, true or false, made me form the project of escaping, should it be in my power, from the place where my master kept his wives and slaves. The little or no attention that was paid to me, induced me, about nine in the morning, to make for the interior part of the country, without knowing whither I was going.

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I had hardly proceed half a league when I was met by a party of Moors, who made me quicken my pace, and conducted me to their tents, where I saw an abundance of goats and camels. They gave me milk as soon as I arrived, and covered me with several goat-skins sewed together.

Although I was much fatigued, and had passed two nights without sleep, it was in vain to think of repose. I was obliged to walk all day long. Towards night we stopped, and I passed it most peacefully, although exposed to the inclemency of the night-air.

Scarcely was the sun risen, when the camels were again ready for the route. A Moor made me get up behind him, and I continued to travel in this way without knowing whither I was going, having left all the rest of the crew by the sea-side.

About three o'clock I arrived at other tents, where I rested from the fatigues of the foregoing days. I staid there however only two more, for on the third, three naked, but well-armed Arabs, dragged me away in a southern direction. We had crossed several rivers, when, after a march of sixteen days, they

they stopped, without daring to conduct me any further.

On the first day my footsteps were marked by my blood; but the Arabs having drawn out the thorns, having scraped the soles of my feet with their daggers, and plaistered them over with tar and sand, I walked on without further pain or difficulty.

Their intention was to sell me to the ships that come to Senegal, to buy gum, and every day they repeated to me in Arabick, *Soui soui ou cannefeine Gaderdome*; which, as I afterwards learned, signifies, you will soon be at Senegal. But the war which then raged between the princes of those cantons, hindered them from executing their designs.

We passed three days in a forest of gum-trees. The utter impossibility of their selling me at Senegal obliging them to return by the way they came, we set off again, and after thirty days continual walking, I arrived at my master's tent*. He had been long re-

* That is to say, the way backwards and forwards took up thirty days, and as these two journies may be considered as one, the whole route was performed in thirty-four.

turned

turned from the plunder of the ship, and had been obliged on account of his flocks to remove towards that part of the desert that separates the territory of the Monfelemine from that of the Mongearts. My food during this laborious march consisted of nothing but milk mixed with camel's urine, and a little barley-meal or millet, which they stir up in brackish water, whenever they have the good fortune to meet with any.

It would be impossible to describe all my sufferings in so long a journey. I should have infallibly sunk under them if I had not possessed a good constitution, and had I not all my life been accustomed to fatigue. As often as they pronounced the word *Gaderdome*, though I did not understand it, I felt my fatigue alleviated. Their manner of speaking to me of that place made me regard it as the period of my misfortunes; but when they mentioned it no more, I thought with reason that my sufferings would be long.

They made me understand, by shewing me their muskets, that they should be killed if they went that way. The truth was, that they were under no such apprehension, but they

they were afraid lest they should be robbed of their prize, and did not chuse to run the risk of losing the profit they hoped to derive from the sale of my person.

In the desert very excellent land is to be met with, which, if cultivated, would doubtless produce all the necessaries of life. We found there an abundance of truffles, that ate with an high relish, the Moors, in whose company I was, often procuring them for me. Being accustomed to live on milk, they contented themselves with that of our camels, and chearfully denied themselves those roots on my account. I had no complaint to make of my conductors; they treated me with humanity, and, as far as lay in their power, procured me whatever seemed to please me the most.

I was so sincerely attached to them, that it was not without regret I saw them set off the day after our arrival; nor did I ever see them again. During the journey, when we stopped in the evening, they went themselves in quest of wood for the night, and left me to take care of the camels and baggage; nay, very often, when they perceived I was too much fatigued,

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they halted two or three hours before the setting of the sun.

The horde to which I belonged, was composed of fifty-two tents, sometimes all together, sometimes divided, according as the convenience of pasturage required. These tents are made of a black and stout stuff, woven of goat's and camel's hair, and about eighteen inches wide; they are sewed together, and two cross sticks support the tent. All their furniture consists of some straw ropes for their cattle, an earthen pot to warm their milk, or boil their meat, a ladle, a mat, a knife, a pike, and a great stone, which serves them as a hammer to drive in the pins of the tent. Contented in their indigence, and strangers to artificial wants, these people live in perfect tranquillity. The men pass their time in hunting, and keeping their flocks, the women in spinning, and dressing their victuals. Both sexes alike wear goat-skins, or (*pagnes*) when they can get Guinea blues.

The finery of the men consists in the beauty of their arms, such as daggers, sabres, and muskets, and in a string of large white chrystal; as to that of the women, it consists in necklaces

necklaces of amber, coral, or glass beads of every kind, in gold or silver ear-rings, according to the wealth of the individual, and in a very ample *pagne*, of which one half is red.

I passed two days without being called upon to do any work; on the third they sent me to fetch wood for the tent. For this purpose an old cord was given me, and a child accompanied me, to shew me the proper kind to take.

Although the whole country is covered with bushes, these people are most careful to preserve them, never touching a green stick. It very often took me two whole hours to seek for dead wood; and when my faggot was sufficient for the day's consumption, I carried it to the tent.

It is needless to descant on what I suffered from this work, easy as it may appear. I passed the whole day without any thing to cover me, and my naked shoulders, lacerated by my burthen, used to run down with blood.

Contented with my punctuality and assiduity, in furnishing the necessary quantity of

wood, they next employed me in making butter. For this purpose they put their milk in a goat's skin, suspend it on three sticks, and shake it for about two hours. Such were my occupations during my stay in this tent.

My master having met with an opportunity of disposing of me, I saw a barrel of meal, and an iron bar about nine feet long given in exchange for my person : I do not know whether the purchaser gave any thing else.

The following day, as soon as the sun arose, we set off, and walked for nine successive days. It is the custom of all the people of Africa to begin their journey at sun-rise, and not to stop till it is about to set. In the day-time they eat nothing but a small wild fruit resembling *jujubes*, (the jujube-tree) which is to be found every where.

When we halted, I was obliged, like the negro-slaves, to go and fetch wood, to keep us warm during the night, and to protect us from the serpents and wild beasts that overrun the country. A little barley-meal, mixed up with brackish water, was then given me, and was my only food, when we met with no tents on our way.

All

All these people are hospitable in the highest degree. When a stranger arrives they greet him with the salutation of friendship, and often deny themselves food, that they may supply his wants.

Scarcely was I arrived among the Moors in rebellion against the Emperor of Morocco, when I was sold. My new master gave me no rest, sending me the very next day to keep his camels, the care of the goats being generally entrusted to children. I passed day after day in the midst of the mountains, entirely abandoned to my own reflections, and totally ignorant of the fate of my fellows in misfortune.

The long journies I had performed had left me without an idea of the country I was in, and the hope of my deliverance began to desert me. I saw no period to my misfortunes; they grew more and more intolerable; my strength perceptibly diminished, and every time I changed my master I found myself worse treated.

In the evening, on my return to the tent, plenty of camel's milk was given me, but the unfrequency of my meals, and the poorness

of this fare, would certainly never have sufficed to keep up my strength, if I had not taken care, during the day, to seek for truffles, and other wild roots, which necessity had made me acquainted with while on the road with my first conductors.

I was sold again, my health being already impaired, and was conducted by my new master to his tent, where I did not remain long. Poorer than are the generality of people of that country, he carried me to a neighbouring market, to endeavour to make some profit by my person. He there met with an Arab, who bought me for two young camels, and sold me at the market the day after. He received money in exchange, how much I know not ; all I know is that he set off highly satisfied, since he gave me about two pounds of dates, and a small piece of silver money that I have kept to this day.

Throughout Zaara trade is only carried on by barter. It was in this place that I saw money for the first time. The sight of it revived my hopes, for I thought with reason that I was not far from a civilized state. The variety I observed in commerce made me imagine

gine that it would not be long before I should find the means of alleviating my distress. I conceived the hope of sending information of my wretched fate to my family; I expected my deliverance from their tenderness; and this idea made me support my sufferings with greater fortitude.

I learned by experience the truth of *their* opinion, who affirm that the more men are civilized, the more they are cruel. Every new master treated me worse than the last; and accordingly I was approaching the Morocco dominions, where we should have had still more to suffer, if we had been unfortunate enough to belong to any one but the Emperor.

We set off in the dusk of the evening, and took our way towards Cape Non. Four Arabs, who were at the market while the Moor was buying me, lay in wait for us when the night was coming on. They were only armed with their daggers, and as my master knew them, he had no distrust of their intentions. Seeing one of them in the act of stabbing him, I cried out; my master avoided the blow, and shot his adversary dead. The
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others immediately attacked him; I ran to his assistance, and with the help of my stick stretched one of them at his feet; and as he stabbed him instantly, the two others fled. We took nothing but the daggers of the two that were killed, and continued our journey. Instead of selling me, as was his intention, he turned me over to his brother, one of the richest individuals in the country.

That moment was the end of my sufferings. I was obeyed by the negro slaves; the women gave me every thing I could desire; I had no longer any work to do; and if I went out with the cattle it was for my own amusement.

We naturally assume the manners of the people among whom we live, however savage they may be; especially if there be no blows in the bargain. There was no kind of friendship they did not shew me; they endeavoured to attach me to them; promises, presents, nothing was spared; they even offered me my master's sister. The Arabs of his horde looked upon me rather as their countryman than as a slave, often entertained me with sham fights, and let me join in their nocturnal dances.

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I then began to have some knowledge of the Arabic, and clearly saw into their designs, but I made them understand, by a variety of examples, that I should become despicable even in *their* eyes, if I accepted their proposals. Seeing that my determination was not to be shaken, they pressed me no longer.

The friendship they entertained for me then made them come to the resolution of conducting me to *Hali Laze*, the chief of Glimi, that I might be conveyed, they said, as soon as possible, to the country subject to the dominion of the Emperor of Morocco.

I remained eight days at his house without belonging to him; at length however he bought me. I cannot say what made him pay for me at so dear a rate, I only know, for I counted the money myself, that he purchased me for a hundred and fifty dollars, all in little pieces, of the value of ten *sous*. As these pieces were fifteen hundred in number, my master and I counted them over two days running for fear of a mistake.

I was not pleased at the enormity of this sum; I knew that he had refused to give a
hundred

hundred dollars for M. Decham, and I imagined that he had not paid so dear for me without the intention of rating my liberty at an excessive price.

Hali Laze had a house which, in that country, might well pass for a superb palace. He had a great number of negroes, negresses, horses, cows, camels, and almost every thing that is to be seen in our farm-houses. He had been formerly at Paris, in the suit of an embassador of Morocco; reasons of discontent, and the stronger one of saving his head, had forced him to take the command of the Moors in rebellion against the Emperor, and he resisted the power of that prince by the force of arms.

He treated me well, exacted no labour from me, and gave me cloaths: I was now sheltered from the inclemency of the air, and had straw given me, of which I made a kind of bed. I ate two meals a day. I had food indeed in abundance, in so much that almost every day I shared my dinner either with a sailor of Provence, who happened to be then at Glimi, or with M. Lanaspèze, our mate, and son of the owner. As on the market-days

days I had often some of my countrymen to regale. I used to ask the women for victuals, and was never refused. This treatment soon restored me my strength.

The French and English merchants settled at Mogadore, informed of our misfortune by the different brokers their commerce obliged them to disperse about the country, sending to make proposals for our liberty, Bentahar, a Moor, who lodged at my master's, bought me for a hundred and eighty dollars. I was witness to the bargain, and argued myself concerning the price of my ransom; nor did the Moor buy me but on the assurance I gave him that he would be paid by the French merchants, the moment I should make myself known at Mogadore.

This man got together at the same time five of my companions, namely, M. Follie, a native of Paris, and officer of administration in the colonies, whom he purchased for two hundred and fifty dollars. M. Decham, master's mate, a native of Bourdeaux, and the first who got ashore, cost him ninety-five dollars. The boatswain and two sailors were sold for only eighty-five, or ninety each.

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From the moment I left the wreck till my arrival at Glimi, the principal city of Cape Non, I was ignorant of the fate of the rest of the crew.

M. Lanaspèze, our mate, was in the same place, but left free from all constraint by his masters. *He* was not bought, though I cannot conceive what motive could prevent Bentahar from entering into treaty for his ransom. As soon as he heard of my arrival he came to see me, and found me in the outward court-yard. He looked like a walking spectre. At first I did not recollect him, nor did he remember me; tanned by the sun, wearing our hair and beards like the Moors, and dressed in their fashion, there was nothing surprising in our being so much altered. In a few moments however we were in one another's arms. Our words died away upon our lips, but the tears that trickled down our cheeks expressed the warmth of our sentiments. We passed the whole day together, and related our sufferings to each other with satisfaction.

As he told me M. Follie was in the same town with us, I set off immediately, accompanied

panied by himself and several Moors, and repaired to the place where he was detained. M. Follie belonged to a cruel Moor, who treated him with the greatest barbarity; he slept upon the hard ground, and was denied the smallest liberty. Little accustomed to fatigue, he was covered with sores, the consequence of the blows given him by the Moors, to force him to walk beyond his strength.

There was in the same place a sailor of Provence, belonging to our ship, who was claimed by no master; he lived sometimes with one, sometimes with another, nobody giving him the least molestation. Bentahar was in hopes he would set off with us, and thought he should have him without a ransom; but the very day of our departure he was removed up the country, without our knowing what became of him. He lost his liberty by his own fault, in keeping for ever with the Moors. No doubt he found himself obliged to remain at the very moment it would have been the most easy for him to obtain his liberty.

I learned from my fellow-slaves that they had all been uneasy as to my fate; that several

veral persons insisted they had seen me killed ; that this general persuasion of the crew had induced them to acquaint the French consul with my death ; that they had as yet no information respecting those who had followed their masters to the south of Africa ; that as to themselves they had met with horrible treatment ; that they had been forced by hard blows to unload the ship ; that they had been obliged to grind corn, fetch wood, and tend cattle ; and that they were cruelly beat for the smallest fault, without even knowing they had done amiss. The wounds with which they were covered but too well confirmed the truth of their recital.

While they congratulated me on having escaped such rigorous treatment, they told me that the Moors, after fighting to know who should be our masters, had at length set fire to the wreck ; that several Arabs had been killed by splinters from the ship, from whence they had not taken out the powder ; that many of our people had been wounded ; and that the captain, after having lived twelve days with no sustenance but a little brandy, had been knocked on the head upon the beach. Perhaps

haps the report of his fate was as ill-founded as that of mine, for M. Follie was the only one of all the crew who certified his death, nobody else knowing any thing of the matter.

The city of Glimi is the first place where we met with Jews : they are very numerous there, as well as in all the towns between that place and St. Croix, almost all the trade that is carried on passing through their hands. The Mahometans of these cantons treat them like slaves. Cruel as was the Arab, M. Follie's master, and however determined in his enmity to the Christians, he told that gentleman to suffer nothing from the Jews, who had gone his halves in the purchase.

When M. Follie lived with the Jew I used to go and see him without any reserve, accompanied, it is true, by Moors attached to the interests of my master ; nor did the Jew ever dare to refuse M. Follie leave to go out and walk with me. The Moors that accompanied me were surprised we should ask it, and gave me to understand that he might go out when he pleased, and that they would beat the Jew, if he dared to offer him the smallest affront.

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The Jew of Glimi, whose name was Good Jacob, had received orders from Messrs. Cabaner and Depra to assist us; the letter imported that he might spend two hundred ounces of silver to supply our wants. We did not know that by the word ounce is understood in Barbary, a little piece of money of about the value of ten *sous*, and as the letter was written in French and Arabic, I persuaded my master that two hundred dollars were the sum the Jew was ordered to spend on our account. I put a musket ball in one scale, and in the other small pieces of money till they amounted to the same weight. Induced by this representation, the Arabs obliged the Jew to dress us all in the Moorish fashion.

Our mistake was of the greatest use to us, and guarded us against the excessive cold on the summit of Mount Atlas, which we were obliged to cross, and which is at all times covered with snow.

My share of the expense amounted to about fifteen dollars and a half. M. Follie, M. Lanaspeze, and myself, were the only three who had Moorish cloaks. As to the rest of the crew nothing was given them but *haicks*.

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The *renif* is a large cloak, without a seam, made of goats and camels hair, and proof against the rain; the usual price is twenty-two ounces, but it was charged in our account at forty. The *baick* is nothing but a woollen blanket, four ells and a half long, and five quarters wide, which in that country costs only seven or eight ounces. The Jew made us pay twenty.

M. Lanaspèze not being able to set off with us, gave me, at the moment of our departure, nine louis d'ors in gold, his watch-chain, and a seal of the same metal, which he had had the good fortune to conceal from the observation of his masters.

He held this little parcel in his hands at the time he was stripped, and afterwards took care to hide it in the sand. When he was allowed to take an old pair of breeches, he put it in his pocket, and had kept it there ever since. On my arrival at Mogadore I delivered the whole to M. Cabanes and Co. merchants in that town.

Six of us being got together, by the care of Bentahar, an Arab, connected with the house of the English merchants, we set off for Mo-

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gadore,

gadore, transported with joy. The dread of being surpris'd by the wandering Arabs, who would have carried us off anew, and dragged us to the mountains, obliged our conductors to travel by night, and in this manner we proceeded as far as St. Croix, called *Agader* by the Arabs.

We were five days on the road between Glimi and St. Croix: at about half a league from the former place we cross'd a small stream of very clear water, and leaving the road that seem'd much frequented, we repaired to a large house on the plain, from whence we proceeded by night to a very thick forest.

The next day we went to the house of some Jews, situated on a hill, there we pass'd the night, and from thence we enter'd defiles, running parallel to the sea. This day's journey was very severe, on account of the bad roads, obstructed by woods and mountains.

At about eight leagues from St. Croix we ford'd a small river, and found hard by an old house built in the French manner; it is now abandoned.

At half a league at most from this house exist the ruins of a town, the name of which

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we could not learn, but its situation and extent prove that it was once a considerable place. From thence we descended to well cultivated plains that led us to the sea-side, and then, on camels, crossed the river that waters the walls of St. Croix.

The Moors of that place make fishing almost their whole occupation; their barks are built like large *piroques*, and are hauled ashore every day.

On our arrival at St. Croix, each Christian was obliged to pay five *mousouns*, which make about five *sous* in French money. That town contains nothing remarkable. It was formerly one of the most commercial of all Barbary; but it is now almost in ruins, and only defended by a miserable fort, with twelve pieces of cannon, and even they are unserviceable.

We slept near a fountain, the work of the Portuguese, who were once in possession of the country. From thence we continued our journey without accident, notwithstanding the difficulty of roads cut through the rocks, and the precipices and forests of the Atlas mountains, the chain of which begins at *St. Croix de Barbarie*.

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does, all in the pay of the Emperor. The town is inhabited by Christians of every nation, by Jews, to whom the emperor advances a capital, and by Moors, engaged in trade. It is the best fortified and most commercial of the whole empire of Morocco. The Christians have two priests there of the Spanish mission, and are unmolested in the exercise of their religion.

A great trade was formerly carried on at *St. Croix de Barbarie*, but the reigning Emperor, the founder of Mogadore, ordered the merchants to remove to the latter town, and *St. Croix* is now a desert.

I am ignorant of the motive that prevents the French from giving their real names to the towns of this country. Every thing in that regard is totally changed. *St. Croix* is only known to the Arabs by the name of *Agader*, *Mogadore* by that of *Souera*, and so on. The name given to those cities in France not being known in the country, the French travellers who visit Barbary, often find themselves very much embarrassed.

The Governor of *Mogadore*, informed of our arrival, sent for us to his house. He is a

man of a mild and affable disposition, can neither write nor read, and owes his elevation to the post he holds, to the signal marks of bravery he shewed, in the presence of the Emperor. He had our names taken down by the *talbes*, or Mahometan priests, and sent off a courier immediately, to inform the Emperor of our arrival.

That prince, on hearing the news, fell into a dreadful fit of rage. Two months before he had given the most positive orders to the governors of the provinces in the vicinity of the desert, to use their utmost endeavours to extricate us from the hands of the wandering Arabs.

Exceedingly jealous of his authority, he thought this affair an attack upon it; nor could he bear the idea of Christians being more readily obeyed, in his own dominions, than himself. He broke out into threats, condemned to death the Arab, whom the English had sent to our assistance, wrote to the merchants in the severest terms, threatening to burn alive the first person who, from that time, should dare to interfere in the redemption of a captive, of any nation whatever.

The

The captains of all the ships in the road were forbid to receive us ; a strict watch was kept over us, nor were we suffered to go to any distance from the city.

Bentahar, having received timely information of the Emperor's designs, and of the sentence of death pronounced against him, saved his life and his fortune, by a hasty retreat to the people who had kept us in slavery.

A few presents, dexterously administered to the favourite Sultanas, soon dispelled the anger of the Prince. He was made to understand that we had not been bought by the merchants, but that our relations, informed of our misfortunes, had sent them the necessary sums of money ; and that, ignorant of his laws and will, we might ourselves, without meaning to offend him, have entered into treaty for our ransom.

He yielded to these reasons, but he was determined to have us in his power ; in consequence of which the Governor of Mogadore, on the 15th of May, sent for us to the public square. There, by order of his master, he repaid the French merchants the money they advanced for our deliverance. He told them

that the Emperor pardoned them, as well as the Arab, whom they had employed to put an end to our distress; he then delivered us into their hands, after having made known to the people that we belonged to the Emperor.

We were free but an instant before, and we now saw ourselves again reduced to slavery; we were not however required to work. The manner in which we were received by the governor, the respect shewn us by the Moors, the liberty we were left at to go where we pleased, the accounts we heard of the rest of the crew, every thing in short contributed to restore tranquility to our minds.

It was then that we received our first French dresses. A coat, waistcoat, and breeches of blue cloth, three shirts, two handkerchiefs, a silk cravat, a hat, a night-cap, and two pair of shoes, were given to each of us; an expense that might amount to thirty-six dollars a-piece.

We had been told that the Emperor's son, the Governor of Teroudan, had advanced towards Cape Non, at the head of an army of eight thousand men. His orders were to get
the

the French, either by money or by force. We conceived hopes that this enterprize would be attended with success; but the French merchants were of a different opinion. They told us that the delay in the execution of the Emperor's orders is solely occasioned by the avarice of that prince. He generally employs the Jews to advance the necessary money, and does not reimburse them. He thinks them but too happy to have an opportunity of obeying him at the expense of their fortune, and from thence arises the tardiness with which the individuals of that nation are sure to proceed.

On the fifteenth of June, about ten in the morning, we received orders to set off for Morocco. A numerous caravan serving as an escort to the royal treasure, arising from the customs paid by foreign ships that put in at Mogadore, insured the safety of our arrival.

The French and English merchants were the only persons that came to take leave of us; they left us with tears standing in their eyes, and promised us all the assistance in their power, in case we should not be able to obtain our freedom from the Emperor.

The

The journey from Mogadore to Morocco was not laborious; in quality of the Emperor's slaves a mule was given to each of us, not without great displeasure on the part of the Moors to whom they belonged. The sovereign never pays; and these people were obliged to follow us to Morocco, instead of selling their commodities at Mogadore.

The Jew, the Emperor's principal scribe, had orders to supply our wants. In the evening, on our arrival, the wretch wanted to oblige us to unload the camels, fetch wood, &c. but the Alcaide, who commanded the caravan, perceiving it, ordered the Moors to take care of us, ill treated the Jews, and forbade them to follow the caravan, of which they availed themselves for the safety of their merchandize, at less than half a league distance.

We arrived at Morocco on the 20th of June, about two o'clock, much fatigued by the heat that had killed three Jews, and four camels. The Alcaide wished on our arrival to conduct us to the Emperor; but that prince had set off in the morning at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, to punish the rebels, who

who had beat his lieutenant, and taken refuge on Mount Atlas. The Emperor not being at Morocco, we were intrusted to the care of the priests of the Spanish mission, who had a convent in the quarter of the Jews.

The prior, replete with that pride so natural to his nation, treated us with insupportable haughtiness. He highly extolled our good fortune in experiencing the kindness of his *community*, treated us rather like slaves than Christians, and refused us even the things of the first necessity, although M. Mure, our vice-consul, had sent him the money necessary for our wants.

Fortunately the Emperor's absence did not last long. His presence had reduced the rebels to a sense of their duty ; he heard of our arrival, wished to see us immediately, and on the 28th of June we had the happiness of appearing in his presence. We desired it ardently, for whatever might have been the fate reserved for us, we should, without doubt, have preferred it to remaining with the most reverend fathers of the Spanish mission.

When we made our appearance at the *Mis-*
sois, the Emperor was employed in exercising
his

his troops. He immediately put a stop to the evolutions, ordered us to approach his person, spoke to us with a kindness we little expected, questioned us concerning the names of the places in which we had been separated from our fellows in misfortune, and about those of the masters to whom they belonged, and promised to send us in a short time to France. He enquired into the manner in which we were treated at the convent, and on hearing our complaints, intrusted us to the care of the Kailebes Basha, making his head responsible for any thing that might happen to us.

At Morocco we found a landsman of the crew, who had been taken by the wandering Arabs for a man of a distinguished family. They had conducted him to the Emperor's son at Teroudan, who had sent him to his father.

We remained eight days in the city of Morocco, all the inhabitants shewing us the greatest marks of kindness. The town is large, and populous, but ill-built; the houses are very low, and the streets very narrow. There are a number of squares in which all bargains are made.

Being

Being the Emperor's slaves, our persons were held sacred by the Moors; and accordingly we saw, without difficulty, every object of curiosity in the capital. Among the things we remarked, was a very lofty tower, to the top of which a man can ascend on horseback. It is to be seen at the distance of ten leagues, although Morocco is situated in a plain.

On the 5th of July, the Basha having received orders to prepare his troops, we appeared again before the Emperor, who gave us our liberty, a piece of good fortune we were far from expecting.

There was a talk of war with France; the commercial house at Mogadore no longer hoisted the white flag; it was said that the French were determined to have satisfaction for the insult offered to M. Chenier, consul at Sallee, whom the Emperor had driven from his presence in the rudest manner. Messrs. Cabanes and Depras, of Mogadore, were remitting all the money they could to France, and M. Royer, of Marseilles, had just taken shipping for Europe, and abandoned his house.

These reasons, that seemed likely to prolong our servitude, were no doubt those that hastened

tened our liberty. The Emperor wished to make amends for his fault, and that might induce him not to detain us any longer; perhaps we might owe our deliverance to gratitude; for news had just been brought to Morocco that two hundred Moors had been assisted by a vessel from Marseilles, after having tried all the Italian and Mahometan ports in vain; that the assistance of which they stood in need had been every where refused them; that they would have died of want but for the assistance of the Marseilles ship; and that they were then performing quarantine in that port, from whence they would set off to return to their own country, at the first favourable moment.

However this might be, the Emperor having ordered us a gratification of three dollars each, we set off on the 5th, well mounted, and with an escort of eight hundred foot and two hundred horse.

The Moorish soldiers took care to pitch our tent every day near that of the general. With this escort we passed through the greatest part of the cities of Barbary, our little army being every where augmented by fresh reinforcements.

ments. In every town it was received with honour; the inhabitants of Azimor in particular distinguishing themselves; they came out half a league to meet us, exhibited a sham fight, and afforded us the most interesting spectacle of the Moorish manner of fighting.

We found in that town a Marseilles captain, who had turned renegado to escape the infliction of five hundred blows to which he was sentenced, for having been shipwrecked near this place. This law is the Emperor's own, that prince pretending that it is impossible for a ship to run ashore on his coast, unless it be done on purpose. The captains alone who are on their way to Barbary, are exempt from this punishment.

We made some stay encamped before Azimor, where the Bascha levied three hundred men; he gave them about ten ounces each, and they joined our line of march.

The same day these troops were raised we passed the river of Lions, and encamped on the opposite bank; we then proceeded along the coast, and saw on our way Darzbedda, Montforia, Fadal, and several other towns, which are nothing but ruins, and only known by the trade they carry on in corn.

On

On our approach to Rabate, the ground being marked out for the encampment, and the Basfa having given his orders, he took his own particular guards, and delivered us to the governor of that place, who immediately sent advice of our arrival to M. Mure, the French vice-consul.

That worthy and obliging Frenchman came to see us. His surprise was great when he heard the honours with which we had been received in all the towns of Barbary. Wishing to take advantage of such a favourable moment, and fearing some change in the Emperor's sentiments, he ordered the necessary matters to be prepared for our journey, and sent us off for Tangier.

Rabate and Sallee are two towns only separated by the river, and usually confounded with one another. Rabate, where the French consul and the governor reside, is the most considerable; they are both paved, and were the first we had met with that were.

Rabate has a supply of fresh water, by means of an aqueduct constructed by an English engineer, which brings it from a source at two leagues from the town. There is in this place also a tower, like that of Morocco; it

it serves the inhabitants to discover the ships in the offing.

Sallee is a King's port; there were three ships of eighteen guns in the river, and one on the stocks, being the greatest part of the naval force of Morocco.

The escort which had conducted us to Rabate, having levied fresh troops, decamped to go to the attack of Oran; and we set off on the 25th of July with new conductors.

The mules which M. Mure had taken care to provide for us, not being able to perform the journey, we left three of them at a little ruinous town, at about twenty leagues distance from Sallee, and continued our journey to Tangier, almost always on foot.

We arrived there on the 31st, and were much better received by the Spanish consul, to whom we were addressed, than by the monks of the mission. He communicated the Emperor's orders to the governor of the place, who facilitated the means of our setting off for Cadiz.

The master of the Spanish bark, who was come to Tangier to purchase poultry and corn, set sail about seven in the evening, and about eight in the morning we arrived at Cadiz.

We hoisted our flag; the physicians came on board to visit us, and sent us to perform quarantine on board the Lazaretto, at two leagues distance from the town. We were three days in this hulk, without being able to set a foot on shore. At length we disembarked, and were placed in a kind of barn, where we were only sheltered from the rain.

On the 11th of August the physicians came again to visit us, gave us a bill of health, and we set off for Cadiz.

M. Boirel, the French vice-consul, received us well, supplied the most urgent of our wants, and busied himself in the means of procuring us the most speedy return to our native places.

On the 28th of August I embarked on board the *St. Francois de Sales*, of about two hundred tons burthen, commanded by Captain Sénécal of Dunkirk. Our passage was long and dangerous, and while it lasted I suffered a good deal, having very little linen, and being obliged to sleep on the sails and cables between decks. At length we arrived at Ostend, on the 11th of October, after having been five days beating off the harbour.

The

The 12th the captain conducted me to Dunkirk, and delivered me up at the office for registered seamen, (*bureau de classes.*) The commissary inspected my passport on the 13th; on the 14th I set off from Dunkirk, and after being obliged to make some stay at Lille for want of strength, arrived at St. Quentin, the 21st of October, 1784.

The various digressions that occur in these memoirs, not sufficing to furnish a just idea of the manners and customs of the countries I have spoken of, I have thought it would not be altogether useless to give a few further notions of the people, among whom I made some stay.

Z A A R A.

EVERY body knows that the people who inhabit Barbary, as far as the Niger, are an assemblage of various nations. The Moors occupy the three kingdoms of Suz, Fez, and Morocco. That part of Bilidulgerid that is washed by the Atlantic Ocean is inhabited by

the native Arabs, and by the fugitive Moors from the empire of Morocco, too enlightened to remain under the dominion of a master, who rules over his people with absolute sway, and who makes his safety and happiness consist in the misery of his subjects. This mixture forms one and the same nation, known indiscriminately by the appellation of Monselemes.

Zaara, as far as the Niger, contains a variety of wandering nations, all proceeding from Arabs, Moors, and fugitive Portuguese, who took refuge there when the family of the Sherifs made themselves masters of the three kingdoms of Barbary. All these people bear indiscriminately the names of Nars, Moors, or Arabs. They are subdivided into various nations, of which the most considerable are the Mongearts, Trafars, and Bracnars.

The first of these three denominations is a term of contempt among the people who surround them; no doubt because those who bear it, less versed than their neighbours in the use of arms, are in general occupied by the care and the feeding of their cattle; while the Monselemes, on the contrary, though
shepherds

shepherds also, are warriors to a man. These latter, accustomed to murder and pillage, take advantage of their superiority and numbers to oppress the former, who are always rendered but too wretched by the sterility of the country they inhabit. Their climate, little tempting to an invader, serves them, it is true, as a barrier; but in the months of August, September, and October, when the overflowing of the plains obliges them to take refuge in the mountains, they are almost sure of becoming the victims of their neighbours, who pillage them without scruple, although they profess the same religion.

The cause of this nation's distress might also be ascribed to another reason; I mean to that of religion. When the Sherifs made themselves masters of the three kingdoms of Barbary, the Portuguese inhabitants of the towns evacuated them, and sought an asylum in their native land; but the country people had not this advantage within their reach. The greater number, to preserve their lives, abjured the Christian religion, and were allowed to remain in the country; while those who would not embrace Mahometanism were put

to the sword without mercy. Notwithstanding the change in their religion, it was still remembered that these people had been Christians. The conquerors loaded them with incessant insults ; plundered their property ; carried off their wives, ravished their daughters, and behaved with the utmost cruelty.

To escape from such tyranny they took refuge in the desert, and finding there some wretched hordes of slothful Arabs, were soon incorporated into one and the same nation. The habit of plundering these poor people has been handed down from generation to generation, and unfortunately is still but too much the practice.

I will not speak here of the *Trafars*, or of the *Bracnars*, any more than of the other nations scattered about on the northern banks of the Niger. Such information would too nearly relate to commerce, of which I reserve a succinct mention for the moment when I shall treat of the Moorish and Negro races, who carry on the trade of Senegal, no historian having as yet given certain accounts of them.

It is not possible that a people, for ever wandering, and fugitive, and composed of a mixture

mixture of various nations, that does not even form a distinct and separate body, should do otherwise than adopt a part of the usages and superstition of their neighbours, whatever may be their way of thinking: they have however only the name and appearance of Mahometans. The principles of the natural religion are observable in their customs, and evident in almost all their actions.

Religion, according to these people, is Mahometanism in all its purity. They offer up prayers three times a day, sometimes oftener; but they are never pronounced in public, unless when a Mahometan priest is with the horde, who seldom comes but upon account of the children's education. Then all the Arabs assemble at the hour of prayer, place themselves in a line, turn to the east, and, wanting water in the desert, rub their face and arms with sand, while the priest recites aloud the general prayer; it is the same as that which is rehearsed by the public crier on the mosques in the civilised countries.

The priests are employed in travelling about the country to instruct the children. There is nothing like force in their education. The

Arabs of the desert are even ignorant of the custom of constraining wills.

The little boys meet in the morning of their own accord, at the place of instruction, which is to them a place of recreation. They go there with a small board inscribed with the Arabic characters, and a few maxims of the Koran. The biggest, and the best informed, receive their lessons directly from the priests, and afterwards communicate them to their fellows.

The children themselves teach one another to read; nor are they ever corrected. It would be a crime to beat a child, who, according to the received ideas, has not sufficient reason to distinguish good from evil.

This opinion induces these people to hold the same conduct in regard to those who have the misfortune to be ill-treated by nature. The deaf, the dumb, and the mad, enjoy the same privileges; they are considered as beings already so unfortunate from their situation, that their desires are satisfied with a blind complaisance. This custom is invariable among all the Mahometans.

No difference exists among the civilized nations,

tions, unless it be in respect to the age at which a child may be subjected to correction. In the desert it is never allowed at all. Nature, left to herself and the force of example, are the only education in a country where the same principles and same errors are common to all. If the child gets tired of the places of public instruction, he quits them at pleasure, and without feeling constraint, or hearing reproach, goes and employs himself in tending his father's flocks: and accordingly there are very few among them who can read.

Those who persevere in the study of the Koran are made priests, after having past an examination before the learned elders, and enjoy the greatest public consideration. They have no need of cattle, those of the nation being their's, they find their subsistence every where.

It is generally at seven or eight years of age that children undergo the painful operation of circumcision. Their head is also shaved, nothing being left but four locks of hair, one of which is cut off in a meeting of the family, at each remarkable action performed by the child.

If

If, at the age of twelve or thirteen, he kill a wild boar, or other beast of prey, that should fall upon his flock, he loses one of his locks. If, in the passage of a river, a camel be carried away by the stream, and he save it by swimming to its assistance, another is cut off. If he kill a lion, a tiger, or a warrior of an hostile nation, in a surprise or an attack, he is considered as a man, and his head is entirely shaved.

Seldom does an Arab reach the age of twenty, without having deserved this honour, for as they are ashamed of being treated like children, they expose themselves to the greatest dangers to obtain it.

Their knowledge, their wants, and their laws, being very circumscribed, it is not surprising that the children should talk with the men, and keep up a regular conversation. Age and experience are of no use where there is no need of much information to attain a perfect knowledge of the customs of their nations; hence arises that boldness, that valour, and that temerity, which so well become a man, and which no people possess in so high a degree as these savages.

The

The laws of hospitality are observed in Zagara, in the largest sense of the word. Scarcely does a stranger appear before the tents, when the first person who perceives him, points out the tent to which he is to go. If the master be not there, the wife or the slave advances to meet him, stops him at twenty paces distance, and brings him a draught of milk for his refreshment. His camels are then unloaded, his effects are ranged around him, a mat, of which the owner deprives himself, is given him, with whatever else is necessary to guard him from the injuries of the air.

His arms are taken and deposited near those of the master of the tent, either that they may not suffer from the dew, or to guard against ill intentions on the part of a man unknown. A repast is then prepared for him. If there be nothing in the tent, as often happens, some victuals are speedily procured from the neighbouring ones. The traveller is always sure of having something, for rather than let him want, his hosts would go without a supper themselves.

The duties of hospitality are so great, and
so

so much respected, that should an enemy have wounded, or even killed the master of a tent, would there meet with a sacred and inviolable asylum, although surrounded by those who must naturally desire his ruin.

The tent of the chief is always the one pointed out. But as his gains are not greater than those of the rest, he could not, if custom had not provided for it, entertain at his expense, all the strangers that happen to pass; nor could he support himself and his slaves, since he is for ever occupied by the affairs of his horde. Every tent contributes to his stock of provisions. Each individual generally furnishing him two pounds of ground barley per week, which is a great advantage to him, especially when he happens to have few travellers to entertain. As the richest in cattle is generally chosen for chief, he has plenty of milk; but in case of need he would obtain a supply any where.

Different from the other Arabs, their neighbours, the Mongearts, trouble nobody on the score of religion. The only one they do not tolerate is the Jewish; no doubt on account of their ancestors' prejudices, who followed
the

the customs of the Portuguese. None of the Hebrew nation is found among them; and if a Jew had the misfortune to enter their territory, and to be taken there, he would to a certainty be burnt alive. It is very easy to know them by their faces, and by the distinctive drefs they are obliged to wear throughout the whole extent of Barbary, where they are in great numbers.

Infinite respect is paid to all old men, whatever be their family. They enjoy the same prerogatives as the priests, and equal consideration with them and the Arabs who have had the good fortune to visit the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca.

The latter are distinguished by the appellation of *Sidi*, which signifies master, while the rest of the nation only bear the distinctive names they received at their birth. If it happen that two individuals of the same family have the same name, they are distinguished by that of their father; for instance, the Emperor of Morocco's true name is Mohammed, but as he might be confounded with many other Moors, who bear that name, he is generally called *Ben Abdella*.

The

The old men, as well as the chiefs of hordes, are the judges of the nation. They take cognizance of all differences, the pain of death being the only one they cannot pronounce. An assembly of several chiefs of the horde is necessary for that purpose; and as the accused has generally a number of friends, it seldom happens that he undergoes a capital punishment. The old men pronounce judgment without appeal, and their decisions are instantly executed.

A war between two nations seldom happens: the different families destroy one another fast enough in their intestine broils; however when these people are obliged to take refuge on the Atlas Mountains to pass the bad season, they assemble in the greatest numbers possible, and march in military order: shepherds or warriors (these words are synonymous) every man able to bear arms is armed, and advances bravely to battle. They choose chiefs to command them, and pay them the most implicit obedience.

The expedition being finished, the chief has no longer any authority, but over his particular horde; for it is commonly from among
the

the heads of hordes that the general is chosen. On the march, the captives and women drive the cattle, and are followed by the men in readiness for action. When the horse, who are on the look out, perceive any thing, the whole caravan halts, and prepares for combat.

It is never bloody. If the aggressors are the stronger, they content themselves with the plunder of the baggage; if they think their strength inferior, they do not attack at all. They encamp every night, and place centinels in the front, who call out to prove their vigilance. This method is not very prudent; but as their enemies do the same, they distinguish one another from afar. I was much surprized at finding this custom prevail among the disciplined troops of the Emperor of Morocco.

War is not the most formidable scourge that afflicts this nation; for there is always little blood spilt in their battles. Much greater ravages are made by their private quarrels. They are all thieves; nay theft is in a manner authorized by the laws. All that is necessary to practise it with impunity, is to avoid prosecution,

tion, by taking care not to be caught in the fact. It is true that theft is severely punished, if an Arab rob another of his own horde ; but to be punished, he must be detected at the very moment.

Theft is only a crime in the day-time, at night it is authorized by law ; no doubt by way of obliging them to take the greater care of their cattle. If they could complain when robbed by night, they would be less upon their guard, and their herds would be more exposed to the voracity of the wild beasts that over-run the country. Obligated, on the contrary, to be on their guard, even against their neighbours, they are always ready to repel the savage animals, which frequently come to attack their cattle. It is on this account that in the evening the women and children take the greatest care to put in the tent all such articles as might be carried off.

If one of their neighbours or friends come to visit them, they surround him, and keep an eye on all his motions. The difficulty of taking any of the few things that can be carried away, without being seen, and the punishment that attends the crime, if detected, prevent robberies from being frequent.

When

When any thing is stolen unperceived it belongs to the thief ; in vain would the owner recognize his own property in his neighbour's tent, he cannot reclaim it ; it ceases to be his from the moment he has been negligent in its care. Hence arises this peoples' inclination for rapine ; they do not think they commit a crime, and only follow, in this regard, a custom allowed by their laws.

When an Arab is going to market, or on his return from thence, if he do not take the greatest care to keep his journey a secret, he is often attacked. Neighbouring Arabs are desirous of profiting by his industry, and as there are no persons in the country appointed to apprehend robbers, the hope of booty spurs them on to the attack. That they may have nothing to fear, they lay in wait, when the night is coming on, for him they mean to pillage.

Their intention is never to kill ; they only endeavour to surprise, to disarm, and to make themselves masters of every thing that comes in their way. But it sometimes happens that the man they intend to plunder, being acquainted with the customs of his country,

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keeps

keeps an attentive ear, stands on his guard, fires upon his assailants at the first motion he observes, and then fights desperately with his dagger. The report of the musket almost always brings out the neighbouring Arabs, who, in virtue of the laws of hospitality, take the defence of the weaker side. They run up well armed, and then woe to the aggressors, if they do not save themselves by a speedy flight.

In these cases it little matters who falls; the affair ends there; the dead man passes for the aggressor; nor do the family ever seek for vengeance. They content themselves with burying the dead where they were killed, turning their heads to the east, and heaping up all the stones at hand upon their tomb.

The chiefs of hordes are always the eldest of their families. The difference of wealth is not considered; the chief often having several individuals at his house richer than himself, who nevertheless obey him in every particular; he is, properly speaking, their King; examines their difference with the old men, and judges without appeal. As to himself, he cannot be tried, but by the chiefs of several hordes assembled.

sembled. It is his business to determine the spots where the tents are to be pitched, the moment of departure, and the place where the caravan is to stop. If the pasturage do not suffice for the herds of all the horde, it divides, and the chief assigns the ground for the different encampments. They are very often composed of no more than seven or eight tents, according to the quality of the ground they meet with.

The tent of the chief is always the largest and most lofty, and is placed in the centre of the divisions. When it is determined upon to quit an encampment, which never happens till the pasture is exhausted, the chief sets off to choose another spot.

In these removals the women alone do all the work. Early in the morning they fold up the tent, and load every thing upon the camels' backs; they then move slowly on, that the cattle may have time to feed upon the way.

The negro slaves conduct the herds, the women, and the camels; while the Arabs scour the country in the front, to give security to the march. Some few remain behind, that in case a goat, a sheep, or a camel, should chance to stray, they may recover, and lead

it back to its master. The march in general does not exceed five or six hours duration.

It often happens indeed that the spot assigned for the pitching of the tents has been ill explored, and that other hordes have been lately encamped there; in this case they are obliged to set off anew, and seek better fortune elsewhere. This happens most commonly in the season when water begins to fail.

As there is scarcely any in Zaara, the inhabitants are particularly careful to make great holes, from distance to distance, by way of collecting the rain water, which, stagnant and putrid as it is, is the only drink man or beast can hope for.

There are very few cows or oxen in the desert, except on the banks of the Niger; this is owing to the scarcity of water, for there is no want of pasture land.

The flocks and herds of the Mongearts are composed of nothing but sheep, goats and camels, all animals patient of thirst. Horses are also very scarce in these cantons, none but the possessors of numerous herds being able to keep them, because for want of water it is necessary

cessary to have milk in sufficient abundance to give it them to drink. Great care is taken to preserve the camel's urine, both to mix with milk, and to wash the different vessels in which they put their food. Detestable as is this mixture of milk and urine, they are often reduced to the use of it; hunger and thirst give a relish to every thing; *multa cogit facere necessitas.*

The only workmen useful to this nation, are blacksmiths or goldsmiths, as they may be called indifferently. The Mongearts not being sufficiently laborious to apply themselves to such occupations, these workmen come from Bilidulgerid, and disperse themselves all over the different parts of the desert. Wherever there are tents they are sure to find work.

They are fed for nothing, and receive besides the hire for their labour. They make trinkets for the women, such as ear-rings and bracelets, &c. mend the broken vessels, by rivetting them, and clean the arms.

They are generally paid in skins, goats and camels hair, or ostrich feathers, according to their agreement. Those who have silver pay them a tenth part of it's weight for any

thing wrought out of that metal. On their return they sell what they have earned ; four or five excursions at most enabling them to live afterwards at their ease, in their own country.

The Mongearts, however, stand in need of other merchandize, such as shoes, and articles of dress, but they have no artificers of their own nation. Wretched sandals are their only manufacture ; their other wants they supply by going in caravans to Bilidulgerid, or to the Trafars, a nation of Moors that inhabit the northern banks of the Niger. They give a part of their cattle in exchange.

Those whose herds are barely sufficient for their subsistence, go without these articles ; goat-skins, sewed together, serve them as a dress, and protect them from the vicissitudes of the seasons.

When they can procure the stuff called Guinea blues, for shirts, they do not let slip the opportunity ; it is the height of their finery ; but when that is not to be had they wear woollen ones ; having besides a haick, or kind of blanket, five ells long, and five quarters wide, and a cloak of camel's hair, to keep

keep off the dew or rain on the road, or during the night.

None but the most wealthy can procure this latter article ; the rest imitating it with goat-skins, and wrapping a roll of linen, or other stuff round their heads, in the form of a turban ; this usage is however only followed by the priests, or those who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

They always carry a little leathern bag, suspended from their neck, in which they put their tinder, their pipe, and their tobacco. Their daggers are elegant ; the hilt is always black, and inlaid with ivory ; the blade is crooked, and sharp on either side ; the sheath is of brass on one side, and of silver on the other, and of very tolerable workmanship. They wear sabres when they can get them, and prefer those of Spanish make. Their muskets are always highly ornamented ; the stock is very small, and inlaid on every side with ivory, and the barrel embossed with brass or silver, according to the opulence of the owner. There is a spring to the lock, covering the priming, to prevent the piece from going off, contrary to the intention of him

who carries it. The poor, who do not possess muskets, wear daggers, made like the Flemish knives, with leathern sheaths. They arm themselves also with a thick stick, to the end of which they fix a kind of iron wedge. This weapon is exceedingly dangerous at close quarters. Others carry *zagays*. In a word, the principal riches of an Arab, and his highest gratifications, are a handsome musket and a good dagger. He prefers them to neatness of apparel; for as to dress, it is indifferent to him, whether he be cloathed in Guinea blues, woollen stuffs, or goat-skins. Their arms being their principal ornament, they take particular care to put the muskets in leathern bags, by way of keeping them in good order, and preserving them from the rust.

Accustomed to live on milk, and the corn they procure from their neighbours, these people are entirely taken up with the care of their cattle: agriculture is totally out of the question, and they are even so slothful as not to provide their food till urged by hunger. Then perhaps it is not to be had, and they are obliged to be contented with milk, which, very fortunately, is always in abundance.

While

While the women are employed in household affairs, the negroes and children of the Arabs tend the flocks. They leave the tents about nine or ten in the morning, and do not return till the evening, the children of the Arabs who have no slaves taking care to carry victuals with them. The women would be beat, if they did not provide them with food. As to the negroes, they set off fasting. It is true, that however savage be the country, they are sure of meeting with roots, such as truffles, and sweet potatoes, and with a red fruit, much smaller than *jujubes*, but of the same taste. Many other wild plants, that afford nourishment are also to be met with.

As to the men, they go either to the places of assembly of several hordes, or to the public markets, where they procure every thing they want for their household, or for hunting; the game they are the fondest of pursuing is the ostrich, because it affords the most food and profit. As horses are indispensably necessary for this species of hunting, it is undertaken by horsemen alone, who go out twenty together, and ride against the wind at about a quarter of a league distance, behind one another.

ther. They rush upon the animal as soon as they perceive it.

The ostrich, being unable to make use of it's wings against the wind, turns towards them, and easily avoids the first horseman. If it's agility save it from the second and third, it is impossible for it to escape the rest. They seldom have recourse to their musket to knock it down; a stick, about two feet in length, sufficing to bring it to the ground. They then lose no time in killing it, pluck out it's feathers, divide them as well as the flesh, and retire each to his family, where they do not fail to regale themselves with the produce of their sport.

When a number of Mongearts have joined in an association for hunting, pillaging their enemies, or trade, they divide the booty or property acquired, into as many shares as there are persons to partake of it; then, to avoid all dispute, each putting something or other into the skirt of a *pagne*, mingle them together, and the first child, woman, or stranger, who happens to pass, takes these effects, which he knows nothing about, and lays one upon each share. Every one recognizes,

nizes his own, and happy is he who has the largest lot. This simple and natural mode of division saves them an infinite number of disputes. The market-women in Brittany, follow the same custom, and never have any contention about their shares.

When the tents are separated by families, for the greater convenience of pasture, the men and boys, great and small, assemble at the setting of the sun, on the hill the nearest at hand to their respective herds, and there exercise themselves in their different sports of dexterity or strength, or join in a dance. Generally there are two or three negro musicians with them, who, with their savage music, excite their hearts to joy. They remain in these assemblies till near midnight, when they retire to their tents to seek repose.

On Friday, their great festival, several hordes assemble, and pass the whole day in diversions of various kinds; they ride races, exercise themselves in the use of arms, and emulate one another in these public sports.

It is in these assemblies that the most promising youths distinguish themselves. They attract the attention of all the spectators, and
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in state concerns the most experienced are chosen to watch over the common weal. It is also from among these young men that is selected the advanced guard that marches before the caravan in the rainy season.

All the riches of the Mongearts consist in their herds, and accordingly they take the greatest care to preserve them. If a beast be sick, every thing is done to cure it; no care is spared; it is even treated with more attention than a man; but when it evidently appears that there is no hope of saving it's life, they kill and eat it. If it be a camel, the neighbours are called in to partake of the repast, if a goat, the inhabitants of the tent suffice for it's consumption.

An animal that dies without shedding blood is unclean. It's throat must be cut; the person who kills it turning to the east, and pronouncing beforehand the first words of the general prayer.

An animal killed by a wild boar is unclean; nor is it eaten although it's blood has been shed, because the wild boar is itself an unclean beast. That species is so numerous in the desert that they do more mischief than all the
other

other wild beasts together. The Arabs kill as many as they can; but never taste their flesh.

Whatever losses an Arab may meet with, he is never heard to complain; he rises superior to poverty, supports hunger, thirst and fatigue, with patience, and his courage is proof against every event. God will have it so, says he; he employs, however, every means in his power to avert misfortune; and often exposes himself to the greatest dangers to procure matters of no real utility.

When a father of a family dies, all the effects in his tent are seized upon by the eldest son present at his decease. Gold, silver, trinkets, every thing disappears, and the absent children have only an equal share in the division of the cattle and the slaves. The girls are entirely excluded from all participation, and take up their residence with their eldest brother.

If the deceased leave children in helpless infancy, the mother takes them with her to her sister's, if she have a sister married; if not, to her own maternal roof. The dead man's possessions, however, are not lost; the
chief

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Although polygamy be authoris'd by their religion, few Arabs however take more than one wife. They repudiate her, it is true, at will, when she does not bear them boys, but then she is free to live with another man; but if, on the contrary, she have the good fortune to have one or more male children, her husband's regard for her is inconceivable. She has no longer a divorce to fear, has an absolute authority in the tent, and passes her whole time in conversation, sleep, or dancing, as she thinks fit. The captive negresses do all her work, and are no longer assisted in their labour by the Arab's wife, who treats them on the contrary with the greatest harshness and arrogance.

When a woman is not agreeable to her husband, or when he is disagreeable to her, they have it in their power to part. The formality in this case consists in the wife's retiring to her parents. If the husband be attached to her he goes thither in quest of her; but if she persist in refusing to return she is free, and at liberty to marry another. If however she have had a child, especially a boy, she has not the same privilege; in that case, if her
retreat

retreat should last more than eight days, it might be punished with death.

When a man beats his wife, it is a sure sign that he is sincerely attached to her, and that he does not mean to part with her; if he content himself with reproaches, the wife thinks herself despised, and infallibly retires to her parents. Hence it is that in the most trifling disputes the women are cruelly beaten: they prefer it to the complaints that the husband might make to their parents; this proof being the most certain one of a man's fondness for his wife. When a girl marries, she makes up her mind to such treatment, deeming it much more supportable than the humiliations she would otherwise experience from her family, in consequence of her husband's complaints.

The wife brings no portion to her husband. When a Mongeart is desirous of undertaking the care of a family, he pitches upon the girl that pleases him the most, and asks her of her father without further formality; nor can the latter refuse her, unless the man who pretends to her hand, have done something contrary to the laws of the nation. The girl is conducted by
her

her parents to the tent of her future husband, where there is always an abundant repast prepared for the ceremony. Presents are made to the father; but if the son-in-law be poor his wife's family assist him, and furnish him with the means of increasing his flocks; if, on the contrary, he be rich, and the father poor, he supports the whole family in his own tent.

The fidelity of the women is incorruptible; different in their opinions from all the other Mahometans, they think they are immortal like the men; but they do not flatter themselves with the possibility of pretending to happiness in the other world, unless when they shall have been faithful to their husbands. If they should fail in this duty, they think they should be the eternal slaves of the more virtuous part of their sex, without ever partaking of their bliss.

They often visit one another; on these occasions, the honour consists in letting the female who comes to see her friend or relation do all the work of the tent. The visitor assumes the management of every thing, dresses the victuals, churns the butter, and keeps her-

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self

self continually employed, while her friend entertains her with an account of the different affairs of the family or nation.

The heartiness of the welcome is measured by the extent of the work submitted to the guest, who generally prepares double the usual quantity of food, so that the Arab is obliged to invite his neighbours to partake of the repast. The slaves are always pleased with these entertainments, a larger portion then coming to their lot. It is the business of the visitor to do the honours; nor will she suffer any body about her to remain dissatisfied.

As neither sex wears linen, and as the want of water will not admit of their cloaths being frequently washed, they are covered with vermin. That they may not feel the inconvenience, and that they may rid themselves of the bite of the gnats, they rub their whole bodies with butter or grease, always preferring the most rancid. This gives them an unsufferable smell to who all are not accustomed to it by long habit. The negresses, especially, who have naturally an ill smell, exhale a scent sufficient to disgust a man of the least delicacy;

delicacy; infomuch that, notwithstanding my acquaintance with the country, I rather chose to fleep in the open air, than to remain in the fame tent with a negrefs.

An Arab must be poor indeed, not to have at least one negro slave. His sole occupation is the care of the herd. They are never employed in war, but they have it in their power to marry. Their wives, who are captive negresses, do all the domestic work, and are roughly treated by the Arabian women, and by the Arabs themselves. Their children are slaves like them, and put to all kinds of drudgery.

In their infancy, the little negroes may attend the public schools, and join in all the amusements of the young Arabs: but if they be guilty of a fault, they are rigorously punished: these people, who have so blind a complaisance for their children, because they do not suppose they have sufficient knowledge, have no kind of consideration for those of the negroes, but treat them with unheard of barbarity. If it happen that an Arab have a boy by a negress, she is better treated, without however ceasing to be a slave. Her child is

brought up like the other Arabs, and enjoys freedom, and the rank of citizen.

When the master of a tent has a Christian slave, which only happens when there has been a shipwreck on the coast, the white is considered as superior to the negro, although the latter be a Mahometan. He is fed separately, his victuals are taken from the general stock, and if any remain, which can only happen on days of ceremony, neither the women nor even the slaves will touch it: they carry their scruples so far as not even to make use of any thing that has contained a Christian's food. As to the latter's occupations, I have said enough of them in my relation of the shipwreck.

If the Christian be a child, he is treated like those of the Arabs, and has no task set him, obeying only the impulse of his will. The Moor who should be rash enough to strike him, would run a risk of his life. Our cabin-boys suffered nothing in their slavery; no service was required from them; they did whatever they pleased; and when the horde removed, the women took the greatest care to make them get upon the camels, for fear of their being fatigued.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the hardships experienced in this country, it is still fortunate for the shipwrecked man to be of the French or English nation. Some time before us a Spanish bark had the misfortune to run aground, near the place where we were lost; there were fourteen men, and two women on board. As it appeared that they came from the Canary Islands, they were all massacred without mercy, except the women, who were reserved for sale at Morocco. Nor is it without reason that the Mongearts act in this manner with the inhabitants of the Canaries, and even with all Spaniards whatever; we afterwards learned that their hatred arose from the natives of the above islands making frequent descents upon their coasts, and carrying off men, women, and cattle, every thing in short that they meet with.

These people are ignorant of what becomes of their countrymen, and sacrifice, without exception, all those of the Spanish nation that fall into their hands; while, on the contrary, they treat the French and English as well as they can, and that is bad enough. They are acquainted with the two latter nations by

the trade they carry on along the banks of the Niger, and in all the cities subject to the dominion of the Emperor of Morocco.

Medicine is almost unknown among the Mongearts, their priests alone being the depositaries of the secrets of that important art. Their general remedies for internal diseases are regimen, rest, and a few maxims of the Alcoran, which the priest mysteriously applies to the affected part.

In the head-ach they bind the head with such extraordinary violence as to force out the blood from the forehead. Flesh wounds are cured with fire; that is to say, a stab is heated by cauterizing the injured part with the red-hot blade of a knife. Turtle's oil and tar are then put upon it, the wound is enveloped with herbs of known efficacy, and by these means they bring about a speedy cure.

The country is full of antelopes, wild boars, lions, tygers, apes, and serpents. The tyger's skin sells to advantage; that of the snake is carefully preserved, being of use, as they say, in strengthening the sight, which is easily lost in a country where one is obliged to lie in the open air. A bandage of this skin is put upon
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the eyes, and the patient in a short time finds relief. One of our sailors was cured in this manner, in three days, on the road to Tangier.

The scorpion carries the antidote to its own poison: it is sufficient to crush it upon the wound, otherwise, to escape death, it would soon be necessary to cut off the bitten part, the venom speedily communicating itself to the circulation.

Snakes are very common in the Desert, but it contains few scorpions; the latter species delights in old ruins, and is very numerous in deserted cities.

The wild boars do very great mischief. They often rush upon the flocks of goats; but as the Mongearts are always armed, either with muskets, or some other weapon, they kill a great many, and endeavour to keep them at the greatest distance possible from their habitations.

The ground in the Desert is uncultivated, and almost every where parched up; few trees are met with, the country being only covered with brush-wood; here and there, however, palm and date-trees are seen, but

they are very scarce. Fine plains also occur, that might be made productive, did not three reasons oppose their cultivation. The first arises from the inhabitants' manner of living, who content themselves with a milk diet, of which they have always a plenty; the second from the wandering life they lead, without a settled abode, and very often never setting their feet a second time in the spot from which they remove: the third and most weighty one is, their being obliged to leave the plains in the rainy seasons, and to take refuge in the mountains; so that being under the necessity of removing from place to place, they might not be able to gather in their harvest, and thus would lose the fruits of their labour.

All cultivation is also opposed by the flying sand, which, being infinitely light, rises into high mountains, that frequently shift their place. It is very remarkable that this sand forms itself into mounds, at regular intervals of distance, as if they had been thrown up on purpose with a deal of labour. This sand is one of the greatest inconveniences of the country. When the wind begins to fill the
air

air with it, the Arabs decamp without delay, load their camels, turn their backs upon the gale, and haste away : but for this wise precaution a single night would be enough to heap fifty feet of sand upon their heads.

All these customs are nearly general among the Trafars, and the Bracnars, nations inhabiting the northern banks of the Niger. The latter differ only in some few unimportant customs, that proceed from their communication with the negroes, from whom they are separated only by the river.

These usages are likewise general in Bili-dulgerid, and in the states dependent on the Emperor of Morocco : for this reason, when speaking of the nations that inhabit those several countries, I shall only dwell upon the customs that are not in practice among the Mongearts.

It only remains to observe, that all these nations call and think themselves but one, and that they are denominated, without distinction, Arabs or Moors. In the Desert they are pleased with the name of Monselemine. It seems as if they were honoured by that appellation, of which they are proud, although
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the true Monfelemineſes, are their moſt inveterate enemies,

BILIDULGERID.

BILIDULGERID, in the part I have travelled through, is inhabited by a people known by the general name of Monfelemineſes. They differ in their religion and cuſtoms from the Moors their neighbours, and from the Mongearts, inhabitants of the Deſert. This variation however is hardly perceptible. The parts that confine on Morocco follow the cuſtoms of that empire, unleſs in one ſingular particular. They that are in the vicinity of the Deſert, and do not turn their attention to trade, adhere more cloſely to the prejudices of their nation.

This Arabian tribe, no doubt, derives its origin and name from the ſectaries of Moſeilama, a contemporary of the great prophet. They have the ſame love of liberty as the ancient Arabs, and follow, in all reſpects, the cuſtoms of the people who lived in the remoter ages. Like the Mahometans they have the greateſt reſpect

respect for the prophet, but they are far from believing that he was infallible ; that his descendants are all inspired by God, that their will is a law, and that it is impossible to be a good Mahometan, without giving faith to such ideas.

This nation, in the part washed by the Atlantic, occupies a space of land of various qualities, from about twenty leagues from *St. Croix de Barbarie* to the distance of about thirty beyond Cape Non. The limits of their possessions are indicated by lofty columns, placed at distant intervals towards the Desert. This they have done as they have thought fit, the inhabitants of the Desert never interfering, and even inhabiting unmolested by any body, the spots where the pillars stand.

Some people pretend that these columns were erected by the Emperors of Morocco, to mark the bounds of their empire. However it may be, the country is inhabited by an assemblage of true Arabs, descended from the ancient Arabs, and of fugitive Moors from the empire of Morocco.

The government is republican. They defend themselves with great courage, choose

new

new chiefs every year, and pass for invincible in the eyes of the Moors, as well on account of the difficulty of penetrating into their country, surrounded as it is on every side by steep and arid mountains, as from their courage, and the obstinate resistance they oppose to the efforts of their enemies.

This nation, more civilized than those that inhabit the desert, is not for ever wandering from region to region ; but is settled in towns that are all situated upon the declivity of hills. Their houses are built of stone and earth, and are of a construction similar to those of the Moors ; they are low, and covered with terraces that are laid sloping to carry off the water. The heavy rains that prevail in this country for three months of the year, are greatly prejudicial to this kind of habitations ; inasmuch that they are obliged to change their abode every fifteen or twenty years. The towns are inhabited by the artisans, and opulent people, as well as by the Jews, who are occupied in a variety of work. The Monselemines have mosques, where they assemble to pray on Fridays. Although that day is consecrated to religious duties, it does
not

not prevent them from working: it is the day of their principal market, when the country people, and Arabs of the Desert repair thither to trade. There are public squares for the sale of merchandise, the inhabitants alone having little shops to expose their goods to sale. As to the others, they merely spread them out upon the square. If any disputes arise, the old men judge without appeal, and the suit is immediately terminated.

More industrious and more laborious than their neighbours, the Monselemine nation cultivates the earth. The chief of each family having chosen the ground that appears to him most proper, they slightly turn up the surface of the earth with a kind of crook, and then throw in the seed. They take care to surround the field with bushes, to indicate the spot that has been cultivated, and to keep off the cattle of the wandering Arabs. The crop is ripe three months after the sowing of the seed, generally at the end of March: they cut their corn at about six inches from the ear, and make it up into little bundles. Every body then goes to work from morning till

till night without intermission. The corn is brought before the tent, threshed, winnowed, and then laid by. As soon as the harvest is over they set fire to the straw that remains standing, and abandon the field for two or three years.

Their method of keeping their corn is exactly similar to that of the inhabitants of Barbary. They make for the purpose a great hole in the earth, in the form of the *frustum* of a cone, and fill it with wood, to which they set fire: this operation over, they clean the cavity, and there deposit the half-winnowed corn: they then take strong planks, lay them close to one another, and cover the whole with earth. By these means, it is rendered impossible to cut off their supplies in time of war, the enemy marching, without knowing it, over heaps of corn.

The inhabitants of the plains make a stop in seed-time, and return at the moment of the harvest: every one knows the spot he has cultivated, and reaps the crop. When they have done so, they lay by the corn in the manner I have just mentioned, and go wandering about in all directions with their cattle,
only

only taking with them what is absolutely necessary. When they find that their stock is nearly exhausted, several individuals well armed, set off with their camels, and go to the magazines of the horde to fetch a supply. Every one shares in proportion to the number of men he employed in labouring for the common advantage.

The laws of hospitality are generally observed among the wandering tribes; and here, as in the Desert, the traveller pays nothing for his entertainment. It is not the same in the towns, where the multitude of strangers that frequent the market, oblige them to exact payment, otherwise the inhabitants would ever be poor, since on the market days, and those of assembly, they would have an infinite number of aliens to support. As to lodgings, the country Arabs always sleep upon the terrasses in the open air, the inhabitants permitting none but their kinsmen, friends, or chiefs of hordes to enter their houses. The negro slaves belonging to them carefully examine the number of persons that ask for victuals, give it them at the door according to their number, adding a sufficient quantity

quantity of water to quench their thirst. There is a separate yard for the horses; but unless their masters stay all night, nothing is given them. When they do, three pounds of barley are distributed to each horse at the close of the day, and that is all they get for four and twenty hours. I have dwelt a little upon this article, because when I lived with Hali Laze, to whose house the country people used to come for food, I have seen all this put in practice several times.

Those who reside in the towns have in general no cattle, but profess some trade; such as weaver, shoemaker, goldsmith, potter, &c. The principal ones, however, do not apply to any of these occupations. They have a great many cows, horses, camels, sheep, goats, and poultry of every kind: their negroes have a great deal of work to do, and are harshly treated. Those who tend the cattle are undoubtedly the most happy; but those who are kept at home for domestic occupations, have much to undergo. They must take care of the repairs of the building; supply the house with wood and water, and prepare the corn. The negresses reduce it

to

to meal, making use for that purpose of stone mills, like those that are used in France to grind pepper and mustard: they also dress the victuals, and are incessantly employed from morning to night. The negro shepherd on the contrary, knows no care but that of his flock; always finds his repast ready; is well cloathed and well armed; and has a little retreat for himself and his family.

This country is well peopled, and would be more so, but for the continual wars its inhabitants are obliged to support against the Emperor of Morocco. It is improperly said that this nation is in rebellion against him; for they never were his subjects. When a Moorish army takes the field, the inhabitants of Bilidulgerid, who have many of their countrymen settled in the Morocco dominions, are speedily apprized, hold themselves prepared; and all the inhabitants of the country cantons being well mounted, they compose formidable bodies of cavalry, take possession of the passes, and massacre without mercy any troops that may have the temerity to adventure within them. No prisoners are made on either side. The women and the slaves,

escorted by a sufficient number of warriors for their defence, quit their habitations, and retire to the interior parts of the country, sometimes they even retire to the Desert. The liberty these people enjoy encourages them to support the greatest fatigue. They consider it as the first of all blessings, and fight to the last extremity to preserve their rights. The trade, between Barbary and Zaara, of which they have the exclusive possession, renders them opulent, and accordingly they are sure to hold out, and terminate the war to advantage. As this country is the retreat of the rich Moors, who wish to withdraw from the Emperor's tyrannic sway, they have always many among them, who being acquainted with the Moorish customs, enables them by their counsels to guard against all surprise. There is no danger of their being betrayed by these fugitives, who have been plundered and condemned to death in their own country. So far from it, they always fight with obstinacy; and rather choose to die with their arms in their hands, than to let themselves be taken, and executed before the eyes of the whole nation.

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The Monselemine, richer than any of the people that inhabit the provinces subject to the dominion of Morocco, is always well clothed and well armed. He pays no tribute, enjoys the fruit of his labour, and of his commerce; and having nothing to contribute to the charges of the state, every thing he can acquire is his own. There is this difference between the fugitive Moors and the natives, that the latter are always armed, whether residing in the country, resorting to the markets, present at the assemblies of the nation, or paying visits: the fugitive Moors, on the contrary, even be they princes, never bear arms but in the country, when they take the field.

The women are no more slaves than those of Zaara. Those of the towns remain in a kind of seraglio, each man having as many as he can maintain. The most respected are they who bear male children. Although their apartment is distinct from that of the men, admittance to them is not forbidden. They are well clothed, and the husband not being jealous, they may be seen, may walk about the town and visit their friends. When

they go out they have a veil, which covers them entirely, but which is useless, nay, even inconvenient, since they take it off, whenever they meet any one to whom they wish to speak. They are more humane those of Zaara, and are not like them for ever liable to blows. They think it is possible for their husbands to love them, without giving them such solid proofs of their fondness. Their nails and face they paint with red and yellow, and stain the edges of their eye-lids with black. When they paint only one side of their face, they have no communication with the men; a custom that is common to all these nations, even to those who inhabit the banks of the Niger.

The children are brought up with the greatest care; but they have not, like those of Zaara, any proofs of courage to give to be considered as men. Age alone, their dexterity in the management of their horses and arms, and their labour in harvest time suffice. When they marry, a portion is given them, consisting of apparel, arms, and cattle; and they afterwards become whatever their industry or opportunities may permit. Those
who

who have a knowledge of their religion turn priests, marry as well as the rest, and practice all the exercises of their countrymen. They are, however, more respected, and in their old age become the judges of the nation. If they meet with misfortunes they are supported, whereas those who are not of that holy profession, find no resource but in their industry, in the plunder for which they adventure on the territory of their neighbours, the Moors, or in the profit of the caravans.

The horsemen are more respected than the rest, having no employment but the use of arms, and being for ever in the practice of it, both in peace and war. In the field they behave courageously; in time of peace, they exercise themselves in the management of their horses, and in a variety of military evolutions. They also escort the caravans, for which service they receive pay, being obliged to buy and keep their horses themselves. They are easily known, for being almost always on horseback, and wearing no boots, they have a callous lump on that part of the leg, that comes in contact with the iron of the stirrup. These people are the

most formidable robbers in the world: they rush with unequalled rapidity on those they mean to plunder, and without giving them time to stand on their defence, carry off every thing that comes in their way. Their horses, which they break in an admirable manner, and for the wants of which they are always able to provide, are the best in existence. They are taken the greatest care of, know their master, are obedient to his voice, and will not bear to be backed by any other man.

The chief, in time of war, is chosen indiscriminately from among the natives, or the fugitive Moors. His authority lasts no longer than the campaign; but during that time it is absolute. When it is expired, he gives an account of his actions to the old men assembled, and is rewarded or punished, according to his success or his conduct. His successor is then appointed, and he serves in the army, undistinguished from the common mass of individuals.

These people have a chief priest, whom they treat with a respect bordering on admiration. His name is Sidy Mohammed Moussa, and his ordinary residence at about fifteen leagues

leagues from Cape Non, near the town called Illeric. Although this man has no troops at his command, he is nevertheless the most powerful of all Africa; his authority is indeed without bounds. If he order war to be made upon the Emperor of Morocco, war is proclaimed: if he wish it to cease, the war is at an end. Though he has no property of his own, every thing is at his disposal. Every family makes him a yearly present, vying with one another in the richness of the gift. He administers justice to every one; submits all accusations to his council, and a few days after, pronounces a definitive sentence. He requires nothing from any body, and yet all are inclined to give. Widely different in his principles and conduct from the Emperor of Morocco, he does not pretend to be inspired by the prophet; nor has he the audacity to make his people believe so; he listens on the contrary to the advice of the wise and experienced, and gives judgment in conformity with their opinions. His dominion extends over all the nations of Bilidulgerid and Zaara. The very Moors respect him; and the Emperor himself, all-powerful as he is, has never dared to make an attack on this man's

authority, nor to send his troops towards the place he inhabits. This ought to convince him that the authority which proceeds from the love of the people, is a thousand times greater than that conferred by terror, or a warlike force.

The Jews, dispersed in the different parts of the country, live only in the towns, and never cultivate the earth, although much remains unoccupied. They all turn their attention to trade, work in a variety of ways, and are obliged to purchase the necessaries of life. This nation, among the Monselemes, is what the slave is in Barbary. They are made to work according to the pleasure of the Arabs, nor are they even allowed the wretched liberty of complaining. A Jew never carries arms: if he had the misfortune to do so, and should defend himself against an Arab, he would be punished with death, the vengeance may even extend to his family. The free exercise of their religion is however left them, which, joined to the avarice that descends from one generation to another of this wandering nation, makes them suffer all the indignities, that a man of the least feeling would revolt at.

Different

Different from their neighbours, the Mongearts and the Moors, the Monfelemineſes never endeavour to make profelytes. When they have a chriſtian ſlave, they treat him with humanity, let him want for nothing, and put him to no painful taſk. Money, their darling idol, is the cauſe of this indulgence. They deteſt the chriſtians, but they love money; and fear that the ill-treatment of their ſlaves might occaſion their ſickneſs or death, and thus rob them of the expected ranſom: it is to money, that the chriſtians, whoſe evil ſtar conducts them to that country, owe the little comfort they experience there.

Among the Mongearts, a chriſtian who ſhould chaunt the prayer, or ſuffer circumciſion, would have his liberty and the rank of citizen; the family to which he might have belonged, would give him cattle to enable him to live like them. A chriſtian at Morocco, whoſe curioſity ſhould carry him within a moſque, would be put to death, or forced to aſſume the turban. But among the Monfelemineſes he would have nothing to fear; money there takes the lead of religion; they would content themſelves with turning him out,

out, without even giving him a blow ; but they would make him pay as much as his means might permit.

Among the Moors, a christian who should be caught with a woman of the nation, would be forced to turn Mahometan to avoid death ; but among the Monfelemineſes the woman alone is puniſhed. She is put into a ſack, and thrown into the ſea : the christian has nothing to apprehend ; money is his ſaviour.

If in a diſpute, a christian ſlave defend himſelf againſt his maſter, the crime is puniſhed with death among the neighbouring nations ; but among the Monfelemineſes it remains unpuniſhed, or is at moſt repaid with a few ſtripes. The money expected for his ranſom protects him : *that* is the touchſtone that puts every thing to the proof.

If an Arab kill a Jew, or a man of his own nation, a ſmall fine to the Jew's family ſaves him ; but he is obliged to pay a large ſum to that of the Arab. This inſatiable thirſt of gold is the more inconceivable, as the inhabitants of theſe countries hardly make any uſe of it. They hoard it up with care, and often deny themſelves the neceſſaries of life, rather

rather than spend the smallest piece of money : when a father of a family dies, although he has accumulated a great deal during his life, none is ever found among his effects ; he has buried it in the earth unknown to every body. He hopes, no doubt, to be the better for it after his death, and to be respected in the other world, according to the quantity of specie he shall have had in his possession. Misers should go to that country ; they would there learn means of economy that would shew them, that in comparison with the Arabs, they are perfect prodigals.

The Mongearts have not near so great a lust for gold or silver : they employ those metals only to make trinkets for their women, when they procure any by a shipwreck or the sale of their productions ; and will willingly exchange it for gunpowder or other articles useful to their existence, or pleasing to their fancy.

The country of the Monselemines is very fertile, producing all the necessaries of life, almost without cultivation. The plains are watered by an infinite number of streams that render them fruitful. Palm, date, fig, and
almond

almond trees abound. They have also large quantities of oil, wax and tobacco, which they sell at the public markets, the merchandize of the country being carried to Mogador. Very good grapes are cultivated in the gardens, are dried by the Arabs, and converted into brandy by the Jews.

This abundance enables the inhabitants to live better than those of Zaara: in the country, however, their frugality approaches that of the Desert; for as the Arabs of Zaara, are often obliged for want of corn to content themselves with milk, so the Monselemine, that they may not make such frequent visits to their magazines, eat only in the evening. In the towns they live well, making two meals a day, one at about ten o'clock, and the other at the setting of the sun, which gives a great deal of occupation to the negroes; for they are almost incessantly employed in grinding the corn, and dressing the victuals. The inhabitants of the small towns also sleep in a more comfortable manner; they spread mats on the floor of their apartments, make use of linen, and rest quietly, without being exposed to the night air.

Their

Their ways of treating wounds and diseases are precisely the same as those of the inhabitants of the Desert.

THE EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

THE people subject to the dominion of the Emperor of Morocco, are less happy than those of whom I have just spoken. The prejudices of their nation, the arbitrary power of their princes, whom they believe to be descended from the great prophet, the pillage to which they are ever exposed, whether at war or not, the necessity of concealing their property, for fear of being stripped of it by the Emperor or his governors, all concur to make them slaves and barbarians. They have no regard for their neighbours; plunder and rob one another as often as it is in their power; and subject in every thing to the will of an imperious master, they have not even the liberty of lamenting their sad situation. Their greatest misfortunes, no doubt, is their ignorance of all the social affections. The father fears his son, the son is afraid of his

his father ; and thus from this complication of vices and prejudices, the Moorish nation, which possesses one of the fairest portions of the earth, is always wretched, and often in want of the very necessaries of life.

As these people are born to slavery they have no settled usages or manners. The will of the prince is a law ; they know no other. They have nothing in common with the other Mahometans, but their defects, without having any of their virtues.

It is not astonishing, with such a want of principles, that this nation, which looks upon itself as the first in the universe, and which despises all others, should be for ever changing its customs. In one province crimes are authorized that are punished in another. Always in contradiction with themselves, a part of this people is often seen in revolt against sovereign authority, and waging a cruel war with those who obey the Emperor. The next year the most determined rebels become the most faithful subjects, and the others revolt in their turn. This contrariety of sentiments, and the ignorance of the nation, continue to maintain the sovereign

reign in his rights, and give him an unlimited authority, of which he avails himself, to plunder his subjects, and to keep them in servitude. Not being able to observe any order in speaking of people who are unacquainted with it, I can only touch upon matters as they offer themselves to my memory.

The plurality of wives is permitted, and is a received usage among the Moors; they are allowed to have four who bear that name, the others being no more than slaves, of whom they are free to have as many as they can afford to keep. The least wretched are, no doubt, those who inhabit the country, in other words the poorest; for they are free, and may go wherever they please. They are, indeed, very little less happy than those of Zaara and Bilidulgerid. The case is very different with the females who live in the towns. They can never go out; are always shut up within the limits of the house, and are no longer happy than they please their master. When a barbarous husband is discontented with his wives, he may treat them as he pleases; he may act the tyrant untrouled; nobody can go to their assistance;
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for nobody has a right to enter his seraglio; nay, often when he has made them endure long sufferings, and is tired of their sight, he kills them, that he may be delivered from the care of keeping them. The most humane get rid of them by sale, or by exchange. But whatever be the fate of these unfortunate women, it is sure to be wretched, when they have no male children. In that case it assumes a different face, the father not daring to behave ill to the mother of his son, who would not fail to take revenge. A father, however fond of his daughter, cannot assist her, even if informed of the ill treatment she undergoes. True it is, that the husband would be severely punished if convicted of the murder of his wife; but that is impossible. If she bear about her the marks of his barbarity, nobody knows it: he has her buried at home, and acquaints her parents that she is dead. As none but the great dare act in this manner, by reason of the impossibility of calling them to an account, men in high stations, who love their children, often marry them to people of inferior condition, that they may be treated with greater kindness. The assistance they obtain

obtain from the father in their trade, or on other occasions, induces them to behave with decency to the daughter. A father often feigns to refuse his daughter to him who asks her in marriage, to avoid the reproaches of people of his own rank. In that case the flighted suitor complains to the Emperor; his conduct is examined, and as all has been settled beforehand, nothing can ever be laid to his charge: the father is consequently condemned to give him his daughter, and pretends to be angry, although in reality his dearest wishes are accomplished.

The Moors are equal by birth, and know no distinctions, except those that are derived from official employments; on resigning these employments they again return into the common mass of citizens; thus may the poorest man in the nation pretend, without presumption, to the hand of the daughter of the most opulent. An accident, or the caprice of the prince, may precipitate the latter into ruin, and the former may, by the same caprice of fortune, be elevated to a state of wealth and honour.

The mode of education is generally alike

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throughout the whole empire. The children remain unemployed until the age of seven or eight, but as soon as they are circumcised they are all occupied, either in the arts, the study of the Koran, the care of the flocks, or the exercise of arms. Those engaged in the latter are most noticed by the Emperor. When able to bear arms they are sent to Morocco, and when received into the army remain there during his pleasure. They are incorporated in the cavalry or infantry, according to their respective talents. Those bred up to the sea are also obliged to present themselves before the Emperor, and are then sent to the different ports to man the vessels destined to cruise against the Christians.

The Emperor goes every day to the *Nuffoire* or place of Assembly, where he administers justice. He listens to every one; foreigners or subjects, men or women, rich or poor: every one has a right to appear before him and explain the nature of his cause. Between eight and nine o'clock he comes to the audience, where he is surrounded by a great number of soldiers. Those who have cause for complaint make him a present, without which

which previous ceremony it is impossible to speak to him. This present is proportioned to the condition and fortune of each individual. The smallest matter, even two eggs, is accepted. They talk with great freedom before the prince, who, if the adverse party be present, soon gives judgment; if absent, they are sent for, and the plaintiff returns another day for a final determination. The Moors address their sovereign with boldness; they are never bashful before him, and he that should seem so would, in some measure, confess his guilt, and infallibly lose his suit.

In places remote from the Emperor's residence, the governors administer justice. Each province has a chief governor, and every village a particular magistrate. They have persons under them, who execute the orders of the sovereign, or rather their own. They are so many petty tyrants spread over the provinces, and are ever ready to sanction their extortions by the name of their master; for to get rich as rapidly as possible is the object of all their desires. It very seldom happens, however, that they enjoy the fruit of their rapine. When they learn, by means of their spies, that

an individual has acquired any property, either in plunder, or by the profits of trade, they never fail to insist upon their share, and the wretch is obliged to sacrifice a part of his wealth, in order to preserve the rest. Should he refuse the demand, he is immediately accused before the Emperor, and when he least thinks of it, an order for his ruin arrives from court; he is dispossessed of all he possesses; his cattle, his slaves, his effects are publicly sold, and he is put into prison, till such time as he is sent to answer his accuser before the sovereign. Not unfrequently the wretches expire with misery and ill-usage before they reach the royal presence; and even should a man have the good fortune to justify himself to the Emperor, he does not, on that account, recover his property; all that has been taken from him having been deposited in the royal treasury, cannot, without sacrilege, be removed from thence, where it is said to be kept in reserve for the exigencies of the state. He obtains nothing but his liberty, and the right of vengeance; nor is he ever told the name of his accusers; they are left to the sagacity of his suspicion. When
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he returns to his family, he forms a party, who prefer different accusations against the governor. He, in his turn, falls a sacrifice, and his property is confiscated to the profit of the royal treasury.

This latter, however, finds it much more difficult to make his way out of the labyrinth than an ordinary man; for as he is possessed of greater property, and as that property is the produce of rapacity, he has very seldom any means of defence. He is then sentenced to die, unless the Emperor should stand in need of him, in this case he is re-appointed governor, and sent into another province. The impunity which attended his first transgression determines him to shew less regard for the people, and sooner, or later, he is sure to lose his head. If he can foresee the instant of his ruin, and be inclined to retire, he easily obtains his pardon, by giving up the fruits of his rapine, for he must be endowed with no small share of cunning to make any reserve for himself, when destined to live among a people whom he has plundered, and who would not fail to accuse him, if they saw him enjoying the comforts of life. He
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proclaim the pardon, carry it away, and perform the rites of sepulture. The spot where the body is interred is surrounded with a wall, and the deceased is afterwards considered as a saint. If the Emperor does not grant a pardon, the Jews carry away the body, which remains without burial, and becomes food for the beasts of prey.

Friday, which at Bilidulgerid, is a market day, is in Morocco the day of prayer. Labour is suspended, and the mosques are devoutly attended. When prayers are over, the Moors visit each other, meet together in places of public worship, and pass the day in recreation. At dawn of morning the public crier ascends the terrace of the mosque, and chaunts aloud a general prayer; this ceremony is repeated at noon and at sun-set.

Among these people, hospitality is known only by name; the traveller must pay for his entertainment; but the personal safety of the guest is inviolate. A recent instance evinces the sacredness of this law. A chief of a band of robbers, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Atlas, having received information from his spies of the day on which the

French merchants were to leave *St. Croix*, in order to settle, by the Emperor's command, at Mogodor, was determined to attack and pillage them. He ordered his men to advance into one of the defiles of the mountain through which the caravan that escorted their merchandize was to pass. This body of robbers consisted of four hundred men, resolute and well armed. The escort of the caravan was far from being so numerous, but a lucky chance rescued them from pillage, and perhaps from assassination; a heavy shower of rain obliged them to halt late at night, and as it happened, near the house of the chief of the band. Not chusing to stay in the place where they had halted, the conductor of the caravan proposed to quit the road and make to the house of this man, who was known here as a chieftain of the country, and not as the head of a band of robbers. The proposal was adopted; and having soon arrived at the mansion, they began to unload their goods to put them under cover. The master of the house being informed of their arrival, came to receive the merchants; and told them that he had put four hundred men in ambush, in order

order to plunder them; a disaster which he observed they could not have escaped without the special protection of the prophet. He added, that having taken refuge under his roof they had nothing to fear, that his religion enjoined him to give them protection, and that far from annoying them, his men should be their escort as far as Mogodor. This was put into execution without his men requiring any recompense either for himself or for his band.

The Moors scrupulously observe and practice all the austerities of their lent. It consists in abstinence from food, from drinking, and from the use of tobacco, from the rising to the setting of the sun. The person detected in the violation of these precepts is rigorously punished. If he has taken food, he receives the bastinado according to the sentence of the chief: if he has drank water, he receives twenty or thirty blows upon the head: a punishment I myself saw inflicted in the camp before the town of Rabate. As to the use of tobacco, an article which can be more easily dispensed with, it is punished with still greater severity. In this case the offender seldom escapes death; gunpowder is stuffed
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into his mouth, and set on fire. The soldiery, even on the march, are not exempted from the austerities of lent, and it was during the time that I accompanied them, that I had an opportunity of observing the penalties inflicted on those who violate these religious precepts.

The sick are indulged with dispensations, but as soon as they are restored to health, are required to redeem the indulgence, by doing what they should have done before. During this holy season the priests are occupied almost the entire day and part of the night in reading the Koran, and the commentators of the Mahometan law.

The Moors believe in the immortality of the soul of those men who are zealous observers of the law, while those who live in violation of its precepts are condemned to suffer for a season, and afterwards to be annihilated. They reject eternal torments; this dreadful doctrine seems to them contrary to the goodness of the Divinity.

With respect to the women, the souls of those whose conjugal fidelity has been inviolate, are alone immortal. After death, they become

become celestial beauties ; annihilation attends the rest. According to their principles, man is not a free agent ; every thing is ordained from eternity ; and hence it is that a person who commits a crime is not the less esteemed by his countrymen. When a Moor falls under adversity, he supports it with heroic firmness ; he is never heard to murmur ; but submits entirely to the divine will ; nor does he make the least effort to emerge from his distress.

The present Emperor had an intimate friend, who had been bred up with him from his infancy. When the prince came to the throne this man was his only confidant. His enemies (for such distinguished favour never fails to excite ill-will) persuaded the Emperor to remove him from his person, by giving him a government, under the specious pretext, that the favourite, by the mildness and equity of his administration, would soon restore peace and tranquility to the country. The prince listened to the insidious counsel, and mentioned it to his friend, who fully satisfied with the mediocrity of his fortune, and happy in the friendship of his sovereign, heard the
news

news with sorrow. He made known his uneasiness to the Emperor, who endeavoured to reconcile him to this separation, assuring him that the first person who should presume to accuse him should be punished with death. He submitted then to his destination, but not without regret; and acquitted himself irreproachably of all the duties of his employment. The whole province applauded the mildness of his administration, and the neighbouring ones, envying the happiness of those who lived under his sway, solicited, by their deputies, to be governed by such rulers. This blameless conduct proved his ruin. His enemies, taking the advantage of the revolt of the neighbouring provinces, which had refused to pay tribute to their governors, persuaded the Emperor that his old friend, elated with the popular favour, had the design of making himself independent. This charge sufficed for his condemnation. He was recalled from his government, and without hearing or seeing him, the Emperor ordered him to be confined in a corn magazine, and to be fed only once a day. In this confinement, where he had scarcely room to breathe,
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he languished unheard of for fifteen years. The Emperor imagined he had been long dead, when the son of this unhappy man having distinguished himself in a revolt, in which he received several wounds to save the Emperor, ventured to ask, as the only reward of his services, permission to deliver his father from prison. This request awakened the affection of the Emperor, who, astonished to find that his friend was still alive, instantly ordered that he should be released from his painful abode; placed him again near his person, and restored him to his former confidence and friendship. During so long a space of time the old man was never once heard to give utterance to a single complaint. He had often enjoined his son, whom he tenderly loved, to beware of incurring the displeasure of the prince by daring to speak in his behalf. He affirmed that he should one day be released, and heard the news of his deliverance with as little emotion as he had done that of his unjust condemnation.

When the Emperor of Morocco is informed that a province is growing rich, in consequence of a long continuance of peace, he

he imposes more than the ordinary taxes, which does not fail to excite the murmurs of the inhabitants, and this is the very object he has in view. The people, whose taxes are thus augmented, assemble to deliberate, and on such occasions the hot-headed are sure to run to arms. At first the Emperor temporizes, affects to yield to the just representations of his subjects, and taking care to inform himself of the number of the revolters, their names and wealth, reduces the taxes to their ordinary amount, and public tranquility is instantly re-established. This calm, however, is more dangerous to the province than the tempest itself; for, by the removal of the chiefs, either by alluring them to his court, or charging them with some honourable commission, he necessitates their absence from their province. He then takes vengeance, by ordering the adjacent ones to attack it, under the pretence of rebellion, and comes in for one half of the plunder. The people taken by surprize, attacked on all sides, and deprived of their leaders, are easily overcome: they submit and pay; and the Emperor then puts a stop to havoc and depredation.

tion. It often happens that, under the pretence of having exceeded their orders, the provinces that had assisted in executing his vengeance, are in their turn subjected to the sentence which they had inflicted on their neighbours. By this barbarous species of policy the prince contrives to get into his hands all the riches of the empire.

It is most probable that the reigning prince is of the nation of the Monselemine; for his domineering passion is avarice, the inherent vice of that people. The inhabitants of Cape Non affirm that his mother was of their country; and this is very probable, notwithstanding the contrary assertion of the Moors. Differing in every respect from his father, who left his people in the possession of no arms, the present emperor leaves them no money, but he allows them to be armed; and all the Moors are now so, as well as those of Bilidulgerid. From this policy he obtains another advantage, that of dispensing with regular troops. If he wishes to make war, he orders a whole province to march, and the province instantly assembles her swarms of warriors. They are led to the field by the hopes

hopes of plunder, never think of the future, and are infatuated enough not to perceive that they themselves will, sooner or later, become victims to the blind submission which they pay to the orders of the Emperor.

Commerce commands his attention, on account of the great sums it brings to the treasury. He permits all nations to establish factories in his territories; exacts the twelfth of the cargo for his customs; and frequently forces the merchants to pay him considerable sums for permission to carry on their traffic without molestation. Affairs of commerce are in this country carried on with much tardiness; this is occasioned by no business being done on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, any more than on the Christian holidays. Sunday is a day of most profound repose, for on that day the Christians, who carry on the much greater part of the traffic, shut up their warehouses.

The Jews, to whom he grants the free exercise of their religion through the whole extent of his dominions, furnish him with immense sums of money; the industry of this wandering race of men being a never ceasing source

source of wealth. He facilitates their commerce, and even furnishes them with a capital, but he knows how to recover it with usury. The Jew is the slave of the nation; and hence it is, that if a Moor or a Christian kill a Jew, he is condemned to pay a penalty of one hundred dollars; but if a Moor should kill a Christian, money cannot save his life, for the Emperor would fear to lose the commerce of the Europeans, if the murder remained unpunished. The Christian on the other hand may commit this crime with impunity; for the Emperor would never be made to believe, that in his dominions, a Christian would dare, except in self-defence, to kill a Moor.

Though every citizen, as I have already observed, is obliged to serve the Emperor, he notwithstanding always keeps on foot, a body of regular troops, composed of Moors. His father left him an army of well disciplined negroes, under the command of a black Pacha; but the present Emperor having contrived to gain the respect of the people by whom his father was detested, has changed all the establishments of the preceding reign.

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He rid himself almost entirely of this negro army, by exposing it in the defiles of Mount Atlas against the Monselemines. He stood much in fear of these foreign soldiers, who formed a body of forty thousand men ; for he had often been a witness to their spirit of mutiny. His best disciplined troops, and those on whom he most depends on all critical occasions, are a band of two hundred and fifty French renegadoes, commanded by an Alcaide of the same nation. This chief, in the year 1784, was the son of a hat-maker at Paris, of the name of Boisselin. The band is composed of Frenchmen who have deserted from Spain. They are well paid, seldom employed, and in time of peace are stationed at Mogodor. The Alcaide of the renegadoes is the sole judge of all their disputes, or delinquencies ; he is not bound to render any account of his conduct except to the Emperor himself. Although the renegadoes are permitted to have several wives, they are generally satisfied with one ; the greater part even dispense with them altogether. There are also eight hundred other renegadoes of the Spanish and Portuguese nations ; but they form no distinct body, are distributed

distributed in the different parts of the empire, and are subject to the orders of the governors of provinces.

The reason that the Emperor's orders are not put in force at a distance from the seat of empire, is, because he promises and never pays; he knows how to make himself master of money, but is unacquainted with the art of bestowing it. When he wants to purchase slaves, the Jews are charged with this commission. The Jews temporize, in concert with the governors, sometimes under one pretext, sometimes under another, till the Emperor, tired with their delay, sends other Jews on the same errand, who with the certainty of never being paid, are as little solicitous as the first to fulfil their commission.

The independent Arabs, who know his character, will not deliver up their captives on his bare promise; and for this reason it is that the Christians have no hope of deliverance from their captivity, except through the means of the merchants who are spread over the empire. These merchants would hasten their relief; but they are obliged to have recourse to stratagems, in order to get the Em-

peror's permission to redeem the captives. Scarcely have the natives of Bilidulgerid the word of the merchants when they give up their slaves. They are under no apprehension of being defrauded of the ransom agreed on, for there has never occurred an instance of the head of a commercial house having failed in performing his engagements. The Moors accordingly say, that Christians may be depended on, as their religion, which they scrupulously observe, forbids them to lie. This received opinion gives great facility to commerce, and tends much to ease the sufferings of those unhappy men who are shipwrecked on the coast of Barbary; for as soon as such an event happens, the inhabitants immediately inform the Christian merchants, but never give advice to the Emperor, who only hears of it by accident.

Among a people so superstitious as the Moors, it is not surprising that ambitious men frequently endeavour to make parties in the state. The abuse of power, their countrymen's fondness for novelty, the desire of independance so natural to man, all concur in stimulating such turbulent characters to spread
their

their opinions among the country people. They have ever recourse to the specious plea of religion, and however absurd their arguments, never fail of finding fanatical partizans, especially if the impostor has dexterity enough by some artful trick to surprize the mind, and gain the attention of these ignorant people. He takes care above all to boast a divine intercourse with the prophet, and his doctrine never fails to allow of all kind of pillage; a powerful incitement to a nation naturally addicted to rapine. His sectaries run to arms and fall upon the possessions of the Emperor. The latter immediately sets an army on foot, being unwilling to depend upon the zeal of the the provinces, who have nothing to gain, but every thing to lose, and who might very probably be drawn into the sedition, through the desire of novelty, and the hope of meeting with better treatment. The Emperor's troops, well disciplined, and under the conduct of able leaders, bred up in arms, soon disperse the rebels, who not daring to appear in their provinces after their defeat, where they would be treated as sacriligious persons, take refuge in the mountains of Atlas, from whence it is not possible to dislodge them. Here

they form themselves into bands of robbers, and attack every one who falls in their way. They frequently make incursions into the plains, and as they are dressed and speak like the natives, there is no guarding against them. They get information of the departure of the caravans, which they attack and generally plunder. Those of the Emperor, transporting the royal revenue arising from the customs of the different sea-ports, are not more respected than the others. But the escorts are in general so strong, that these caravans are rarely pillaged.

A rebel of this description, under the reign of the present Emperor, pursued his conquests to the very city of Morocco. The multitude, on whom his miraeles, his revelations, and a thousand other pious absurdities had imposed, were ready to join the standard. The Emperor was only sustained by his French renegadoes, who had hastily repaired to the capital, and by a small body of his most faithful Moors. The Prince perceiving that force could be of no avail, had recourse to stratagem, and advancing towards the people at the head of his renegadoes, cried out with a loud voice,

voice, that if the man before him were really a messenger of the prophet, he would be the first to kiss the dust of his feet ; but that it was at least necessary to know the will of the great prophet, and that for that purpose he was going to the mosque. The rebel chief observing that the people applauded these sentiments, and finding himself at the head of a numerous party, while the Emperor was abandoned by his subjects, conceived he had nothing to fear. Taking an escort of chosen men, he repaired thither likewise. They remained there about half an hour, and on their return to the people, the Emperor asked the impostor what it was that the prophet had inspired him with. "To dethrone thee," replied he, "and to use violence if thou do not submit with resignation." — "Well, then," said the Emperor, "the prophet has revealed to me, that I should acknowledge for my successor the person who lying prostrate on the ground, in the presence of all the people, should continue in that posture with a stone weighing five thousand pounds suspended over his head, and ready to crush him. Lay thyself down then if thou art truly sent

by the prophet ; and if all the wonders which thou hast hitherto performed, be not false miracles invented to deceive the people, the stone will remain suspended over thee in the same manner as over Mahomet's tomb at Mecca. I shall then be the first to submit to thy laws, and to give to my people the example of fidelity."

The impostor did not chuse to accept this proposal ; but the people having applauded the renegadoes, laid hold of him, notwithstanding the resistance made by his guard, raised over him a large stone, which instead of remaining suspended, fell and crushed him to death.

This fortunate stratagem, and the courage of the renegadoes, who were not to be intimidated by the number of their enemies, preserved the Emperor, and insured to them the inviolable attachment and lasting generosity of that Prince, who reviews them once a year, clothes them anew, and allows them pay in proportion to the eminent services displayed on the above most critical occasion.

When a person is accused before the Emperor, and the Prince has spoken, no one dares to reply ; such presumption would be
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attended with certain and instant death. The Alcaide of the French renegadoes was the only person who ever attempted it with impunity. "Thou favoured the flight of thy countrymen," said the Emperor to him, in the presence of the people, "I know it from good authority, and thou art to expect the punishment which such a crime deserves."—"O, mighty Prince, thou hast been deceived," replied the Alcaide. "What," said the Emperor, "thou dost not admit the charge?"—"No," my lord, "command my accusers to appear in thy presence, and thou wilt know the truth." This determined answer would have been for any other a sentence of death, but it saved the life of the Alcaide. His accusers, among whom was a Pacha, were ordered to appear; and although the charge was true, yet it could not be proved, and they were instantly put to death. The Alcaide on the contrary was rewarded. I heard him relate this circumstance himself.

When a Moorish army is on the march no order is observed; only those who carry the colours march at the head of the troops.

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The horse are indiscriminately mixed with the foot. When they arrive upon their ground the whole assemble, but no roll-call takes place. The encampment is circular; the general's tent, and that destined for religious ceremonies, are placed in the middle. Towards night centinels are planted before the tents; the troops lie on the bare ground; every quarter of an hour their war-cry goes round their camp to prove their vigilance; and during the whole night a most terrible noise is heard. It is a difficult matter to surprise their camp, for the troops sleep in their clothes, and on their arms. Their horses tied only to a small stake, are disengaged in an instant, and ready for action. They swim across rivers, and transport their baggage upon rafts made of tent poles, sustained by inflated goat-skins. When an army approaches a city, the cavalry come out to meet them, and both parties advance in a sham fight. They fall upon each other in full speed, and after discharging their carbines, the cavalry retreat, load as they make off, and return to the charge several times on the same front. We were entertained with this spectacle before the city of Azemor.

The

The naval forces of the empire of Morocco are very inconsiderable. Their corsairs, however, are by no means to be despised. They always endeavour to board the vessels they attack, and as their crews are numerous, have often the advantage. They scarcely ever lose sight of the land ; and if they find themselves pursued by a superior force, they soon take shelter under the cannon of some fort.

The towns of Barbary are very ill built ; the streets are narrow and without pavement ; there consequently are no carriages to be seen. The houses have no windows towards the streets ; the roofs are terraced. Several ancient monuments of this country have fallen into ruin. At the entrance into Morocco is seen a magnificent bridge of a surprising length. The town of Rabate is well fortified, and in some parts paved. That of Mogodor, however, is much more elegant, for the French merchants have built there several magnificent houses of hewn stone ; they have also in common a large garden, given them by the Emperor, which is kept in excellent order.

The territory is fertile, and produces abundantly

dantly all the necessaries of life. The mountains are extremely abrupt. The chain known by the appellation of Atlas, in the part opposite to Morocco, is entirely covered with snow the whole year round.

The Moors who inhabit that part of those mountains which lies near St. Croix, leave not a single inch of land untilled. They support their grounds by small walls. It often happens that a cultivated spot is not more than eight or ten feet in breadth. A person observing with what care the soil is laid out would be apt to imagine that it was extremely scarce in these parts; yet at some leagues distance there are extensive plains of excellent earth, which are totally left waste; nor is it easy to find out the reason of such a practice, unless it arise from a preference given to the cultivation of the mountains, where property is better secured from depredation. By occupying the neighbourhood of Bilidulgerid, they can easily take refuge there, for they are masters of the defiles in the way, and of course are secure from surprise. This, doubtless, induces them to prefer such sterile spots to the pleasant habitations which the neighbouring champaign

champaign country would afford. When harvest is got in, it is the custom to set fire to the stubble. They preserve their corn as at Bilidulgerid. As to the commerce of this country, every one knows, and particularly at Marfeilles, with what advantages it is attended. On closing these reflections, what remains to be observed, is, that nothing is wanting to render the a Moors prosperous and an invincible nation, but fixed laws, and an administration independent of the caprice of their Emperors.

PART THE SECOND.

VOYAGE TO GALEM, AND RETURN TO FRANCE.

RESTORED again to my family, I thought to have enjoyed some consolation, but I was cruelly disappointed. I discovered, with great pain, that my relations gave no credit to the story of my sufferings. Some of them told me, that as I had brought them upon myself, they were nothing more than what I deserved. Others, quite unmoved at my situation, had not even condescended to answer the obliging letters they had received from several merchants at Bordeaux, who not being of the same opinion with my family, had warmly interested themselves in my behalf. These merchants had had the goodness to write to Cadix, Mogodor, Sallée, and other places, to urge every possible means of extricating me from my miserable condition; engaging themselves, without any limitation,

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to defray every expence attending it. I think it incumbent on me to insert a letter to this effect which I received by duplicate at Sainte Croix de Barbarie, and which was written to me by Mr. Mocquart of Bordeaux. It came to my hands by the means of a Jew.

Bordeaux, April 14, 1784.

Mr. SAUGNIER,

“ I only heard yesterday of the misfortunes that have befallen you. I had that information by a letter Mr. Lanespeze, junior, your mate, wrote to Mr. Mure, the French consul at Sallée, dated the 21st February last, which Mr. Mure sent to Mr. Lanespeze, senior, the 14th March. There is no evil, my dear friend, without a remedy. May God preserve your health, and we will soon relieve you from your distress. I wrote yesterday to Mr. Mure, to engage him to use all possible means to find you out, and immediately to furnish what is necessary for your ransom, and I have made myself answerable for the payment. By which means, my dear Sir, I hope, that although your misfortunes have been great, that

that they will not be of long duration. Do not then give yourself up to sorrow, I earnestly intreat you. It would be so much the more unworthy of you, as you should know how to surmount the adversities of fortune, to which you have been so long inured.

“ Your friends, Messrs. Floquet, set sail the 29th of December ; they met with bad weather, and were obliged to put into Brest the 7th of January ; their letter of the 10th informs me they were to sail again the 11th.

“ This is all the account I have of them to the present time. I imagine they are arrived by this time. I am now shipping them a small consignment, part of which is a still. I thought your arrival would have preceded theirs. But after all, I hope it is only delayed. Apropos, I have written to M. Mure, if by chance it should be in his power, to send you either to the island of St. Louis at Senegal, or to Goree, if agreeable to you ; and in case of your declining it, I have desired him to forward your return to France with all possible expedition ; adding, that which ever proposal you chuse to accept, he may still look to me for reimbursement.

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“ I wrote,

“ I wrote, besides, by the same conveyance to David Benatar, a Jew, settled at Mogodor, (the person to whom Lanespeze addressed his letter to M. Mure,) to engage him to use every means in his power to find you out, and to give the earliest intelligence of the same to M. Mure. After having taken the foregoing steps in order to terminate your misfortunes, the end of which I shall see with extreme satisfaction, I am, with the sincerest attachment, Sir,

“ Yours, &c.

“ M. MOCQUART.”

My mother, who is far from being in easy circumstances, was the only one of my relations who felt for my distress. She furnished me with linen, and other necessaries, as far as the scantiness of her means would allow. One of my uncles, a prebendary, and in good circumstances, sent me 300 livres, more through ostentation than friendship, observing that it was the last present I should receive at his hands, and that notwithstanding the interest he took in my sufferings, he could not hereafter do any thing more for me. In this trying
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ing situation, with so small a stock, and with only the coat I had on my back, I determined upon returning to Paris, and engaging myself in my original line of business, however painful the task. I did not repine at my fate, for by comparing the situation I had lately experienced, with that in which I now found myself, I considered the latter as a state of happiness, although my health had been greatly impaired by the hardships of slavery. My example ought to serve as a lesson to those young people, who even if they are of an affluent family, ought never to depend too much upon the support of their relations. Selfishness prevails in France, and the ties of blood are a mere illusion. We are in the wrong not to allow that the fault of an individual reflects dishonour upon his family, and that they ought to partake of the shame; for frequently they are the only cause of his delinquency, by the barbarity with which they treat the unhappy person, whom despair alone has led on to crimes. Whenever such calamity happens, the fault is almost always on the side of the family. With less avarice, and more gentleness and good-nature, they would soon

reclaim the errors of an exasperated mind, which, urged on by want and despair, is prone to consider every thing allowable for the preservation of life.

Having taken this resolution, I remained in quiet at my mother's house till I recovered my health. In the mean while I wrote to several shop-keepers in the capital, with a view of obtaining a place. But I was not yet come to the end of my misfortunes ; my wanderings were not terminated. Heaven had decided otherwise. I had suffered much in the hope of going to Senegal, and it was written in the book of fate that I should go there. I received at this time a letter from the elder of my two companions in misfortune. He had lately returned to Paris, where he learnt my arrival in France, through the merchants of Bordeaux, whom I had thanked for the succour they had afforded me in my captivity, and for the obliging letters which they had written to my relations, and which those relations had never deigned to answer.

My shipwreck, and the loss of our common venture had thrown the greatest obstacles in the way of his success, as well as mine. He embarked

embarked in the Bayonnaise, as I have before mentioned, and two months after his departure from Bordeaux arrived at Senegal, where he expected to find me. My absence, the uncertainty of my being alive, and the probable loss of our common effects, had proved a stroke of thunder to him. Some time, however, after his arrival at the colony, he had learnt, or rather had conceived some suspicion of my shipwreck from the report of some wandering Moors, who had spread about the rumour of a ship being lost on their coasts. This news determining him, after a residence of three months at the colony, to return to France, he took shipping for Cape François, from whence he afterwards sailed for Bordeaux.

He exhorted me in his letter not to lose courage. He drew an argument from my past misfortunes to infer that our next voyage would be more prosperous; and he gave a very flattering account of the advantage to be derived from traffic at Senegal. He likewise communicated to me the motive of his coming to Paris, and encouraged me to pursue my former projects. The recent example of the

ship *Antonia*, Captain *Vegneux*, belonging to Mess. *Lavayffe*, *Puchelberg* and Co. of l'Orient, which, with a cargo of 42,000 livres value, had produced more than 500,000, afforded a proof of the high probability of making a speedy and considerable fortune in that country. I determined then once more to try mine. I had received but 300 livres from my uncle; a sum far from being sufficient to clothe, maintain me, and defray the expences of a new voyage; and I was under the necessity of making another effort to obtain supplies from my family, and at length, after much trouble and humiliation, I got 300 livres more, and that only on my mother's becoming my security, without which I should never have succeeded.

I repaired to Paris with this small stock. There were several companies established in that capital, who all expected an exclusive privilege for the gum trade at Senegal. The hope of being placed at the head of the company which obtained it, induced us to stay at Paris for the space of two months to no purpose.

Perceiving no progress made in our business, and that we were only amused with fair promises,

promises, we set off for Bordeaux, a place of great resource to those who are not deterred by the dangers of the sea, and who are willing to apply to business. We hoped to meet with ships taking in freight, and fortunately were not deceived in our expectations.

Two weeks after our arrival in that city, I embarked with a venture on board the *Gustavus Adolphus*, commanded by Captain Marc, of Havre, and belonging to M. Lamalathie, merchant of Bordeaux. This vessel was to trade along the coast, and thence to set sail for India, after having delivered provisions for the garrison of Senegal. M. Lamalathie allowed me a commission upon such negroes as I should purchase in concert with the captain.

In the situation I was then in, I was obliged to accept any conditions, although I was well aware that in purchasing jointly with the captain, I should gain next to nothing, for it being the interest of these gentlemen to carry on the trade alone, they are unwilling to share the commission with any one. I think it essentially necessary for the good management of an expedition, that either

the entire business should be left to the captain, or that his power should be restricted to the mere navigation of the ship. A diversity of opinions is ever prejudicial: one objects to the proposal of the other, and this dissension proves always detrimental to the interest of the owners. As I was absolutely bent upon going to Senegal, I closed with the offers of M. Lamalathie, and reconciled myself to the rest.

My partner remained at Bordeaux to fit out the brig to Furet, Captain Gabory, of about 70 tons burden, and on board of which he embarked six weeks after me. The Gustavus Adolphus was a prime sailer, and our voyage short and fortunate. On leaving the Canary Islands we nevertheless met with violent gales of wind, which sprung our main-mast, an accident that determined the captain, from the impossibility of repairing it thoroughly on that coast, not to hazard the voyage to India: he therefore finished his business at Goree, where he staid a twelvemonth, and from thence sailed for America.

Scarcely had we lost sight of the Canaries when we perceived the coast of Africa. The
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story of my misfortunes, and the experience of the captain, made him resolve of keeping well out to sea. The next day, however, we made Cape Blanco, and perceived two wrecks, the one appearing to be a vessel of about 150 tons, and the other a frigate.

We arrived without much difficulty within sight of Senegal the 13th of June, 1785, and the same day we crossed the bar, according to the report of seamen, the most dangerous in the world. The bar is the effect of several successive surfs that constantly pursue and break upon each other with great force. This surf is occasioned by the current of the river, that is thrown back upon itself by the sea into which it flows. The sand carried down by the stream, and cast back by the sea, forms a flat which renders this passage inaccessible to vessels of great burthen. There was only thirteen feet water when I passed it. I ventured over it in the pilot's boat. I did not know the danger; but when the violence of the surf bore us aloft, I began to tremble for my life. In the month of September of the same year, though the bar had but seven feet water, it was more easy to be passed in boats.

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It seems as if nature, by these dangers, would forbid the Europeans to make establishments in this country, where they come only to carry on a commerce disgraceful to humanity; but the desire of gain prevails over every consideration, and surmounts the greatest obstacles. It is necessary to be piloted over the bar by negroes, who are good swimmers, and will not easily abandon the whites in the moment of danger; they often save them when the boat oversets, and in such case the best expedient is to trust ones self entirely to their care. Woe to him, who contradicts them during this dangerous passage, for in that case, if an accident happen they only provide for their own safety, without paying any attention to the situation of the whites, who are soon swallowed up by the waves. Of this truth the fate of M. de la Echouart, Captain of the *Bayonnaise*, who was drowned in the month of April, 1786, is a melancholy example.

Having crossed the bar, we went on shore; and although the sun was extremely hot, I continued my way to Senegal along the Barbary point, a slip of sandy ground, from fifty
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to sixty toises wide, that separates the Niger from the sea. The breadth of the river near the village of Gandiole is more than three hundred toises.

The island of Senegal is three leagues higher up. This island, properly speaking, is only a bank of sand in the middle of the river. It is a thousand geometrical paces long and about sixty in its greatest width; is almost on a level with the river, and with the sea, being defended from the latter by Barbary point, which is of greater elevation than the colony. The eastern branch of the river is the more considerable of the two, being about four hundred toises across; the western branch is only from fifty to two hundred toises wide. The isle consists entirely of burning sands, on the barren surface of which you sometimes meet with scattered flints, thrown out among their ballast by vessels coming from Goree, or with the ruins of buildings formerly erected by Europeans. There is scarcely such a thing as a garden upon the island; European seeds in general not thriving here. It is not surprising that the soil is so unproductive; for the air is strongly impregnated with sea salt,
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which pervades every thing, and consumes even iron in a very short space of time. The heats are excessive, and rendered still more insupportable by the reflection of the sand, so that from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon it is almost impossible to do any work. During the months of January, February, March, and April, the heats are moderated; but in August, and in the following ones, they become so oppressive as to affect even the natives themselves. What effect then must they have upon the Europeans, suddenly transported unto this burning climate? The nights are a little less sultry; not always, however, but only when the sea breeze sets in. It is then, that the inhabitants of the colony breathe a fresher air, for which they have been longing the whole of the day; but this air in our climate would seem a burning vapour. The nights are nevertheless troublesome, notwithstanding the comforts of the sea breeze. The instant the sun is set, we are assailed by an infinity of gnats, which are called musquitos; their stings are very painful, and their multitude incredible. The inhabitants find but a poor defence in their

their gauze curtains. For my own part, accustomed as I had been to live among the Moors, I was but little annoyed by these insects. Being half a savage, I felt no desire to recommend myself to the favourable regard of the fair-sex, and I was therefore under no necessity of taking care of my person. In imitation of my former masters, I smeared myself with butter, and this expedient preserved me at all times from these impertinent stingers, these spiteful enemies to the repose of the human kind.

If the prospect of Senegal is not agreeable to the eye, much less are its environs, which are covered over only with sand, and over-run with mangles. It may be said, without exaggeration, that there is not a more forlorn situation to be found on the face of the inhabited globe, or a place in which the common necessities of life are procured with greater difficulties. Water, that indispensable aliment of man, is here not potable. Wells are dug in the sand to the depth of five or six feet, and water is obtained by this means; but whatever pains are taken to freshen it, it ever retains a brackish taste. I have distilled
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this water myself, and observed that it always kept a disagreeable flavour, which cannot fail to be hurtful to the health ; it is true that when the river is high, its streams are fresh, but the water is only the more dangerous. It proves the cause of most of those maladies which carry off the Europeans so rapidly, that at the end of every three years the colony has a fresh set of inhabitants. The blacks themselves, although accustomed to the climate, are not in this season free from disease.

There is not any good water to be got in the country, but that which is brought forty leagues down the river, and through the most infectious swamps. A spring of good water rises, however, four leagues above Gandiole, upon the way from Senegal to Goree, but it is not sufficiently copious to become of general utility. As to the other aliments of life, they are equally unwholesome, notwithstanding the lying report of travellers, and their book-makers, who in their accounts of this sad country, seem as if they were striving to outdo each other in falsehood. The meat is in general detestably bad, and the fish
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of an ill taste. It must be dressed the day it is caught ; for the next morning it is good for nothing. The oxen furnish the best meat : but they are not half so tall or so big as those of France, even of Brittany. Messrs. Adanson and Dumanet have taken a pleasure in embellishing the narratives they have written relative to these countries, where they have found something marvellous at every step. As for me, who have gone over the greater part of these districts, I have found the country only more or less detestable. No man can speak in its favour, except to answer some particular purpose. The Senegal company derive great benefit from their commerce, and consequently have an interest in representing the country as a terrestrial paradise ; for if it were known to be such as it is in fact, they would find nobody to go there, the chance being five to one that the adventurer will never return, (independent of the hazards of the voyage) and that in the space of three years. It must, however, be confessed that this charming country has one advantage, which is, that if a man become tired of life he may easily terminate his existence

istence without committing the crime of suicide. He need only remain at Senegal a little while, or if he would wish to make it shorter still, let him undertake a voyage to Galam. Those on the contrary who wish to prolong their life a little must be satisfied with negro food—and heavens! what food! The females pound millet in wooden mortars upon the sand, but it is so ill prepared that it grates between the teeth. Walking or riding out is no amusement here, as it is ever attended with danger, and as there are no situations tolerably agreeable nearer than ten leagues from the colony. Besides, a man is always exposed either to the danger of being made capture by the inhabitants of the country, or to be devoured by wild beasts, such as the tiger, and the lion. Neither can such excursions be made without danger, even when the colony is at peace with the natives of the country. This, however, does not involve a contradiction, for there are in Senegal, as in every other part of Africa, troops of robbers, who carry away whatever they meet with, and who wage war with all the world. A person may, therefore, be in
danger

danger even in time of peace, more especially as one or other of these gangs are always scouring the country. These robbers never attack the inhabitants of the colony on their own ground, but whenever they find them upon the territories of their enemies, they fail not to lay hold of the occasion, to the ruin of those whom curiosity leads abroad. In fine, in order to give a just idea of this wretched colony, let it suffice to observe, without exaggeration, that it is the most detestable spot on the face of the earth; and that nothing but utter ignorance, or a total want of any other means of subsistence, can induce a man to settle there.

While waiting the arrival of the Furet, which had been fitted out by my friend, I had time to study the character of the inhabitants of Senegal, and their manner of trading, this was the only matter to which I turned my attention. I was convinced that I should never succeed without understanding thoroughly the people with whom I had to deal; and I was assisted in this study by the younger Floquet, who had been left by his brother at the colony, and who, with

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the assistance of the Count de Repentigny, had made upon the whole a profitable speculation.

At that time there were only three European houses at Senegal that carried on the greater part of the commerce of that place; these were, first, the company's house, which, besides the exclusive privilege of the gum trade, dealt also in slaves. This house was certainly the most considerable, but withal the worst regulated; the persons who had been sent by the company having no knowledge whatever of this commerce. It was therefore the least formidable. That of M. Aubry de la Fosse, of Nantz, was better conducted. With a smaller stock they carried on a more considerable trade; the superintendence of the house was committed to M. Vigneux, formerly captain of a ship from Nantz. He was the person, who taking the advantage of my unhappy shipwreck, which happened in the year 1784, had made one of those surprisingly lucrative bargains, which allure so many of our countrymen to their ruin. He made also, in the years 1785 and 1786, several highly advantageous speculations without going

ing from Senegal; the last, however, cost him his life.

The third house was conducted by M. Paul Benis, who traded solely on his own bottom. He had been formerly cooper to the company at Goree, and when that island fell into the hands of the English, took refuge in Senegal. He was the man the best acquainted with the colony. He spoke the negro language as well as the negroes themselves, lived in their manner, and always found means to lay hold of the best bargains. This man, who could neither write nor read, had, by a long residence in the country, obtained a thorough knowledge of trade; but though he could rival the company, he found himself unable to stand the competition of M. Vigneux; who, ignorant as he was of the country, had nevertheless a great advantage in the better assortment of his articles, and the friendly advice of the natives, who detest whatever bears the name of company.

The principle persons among them, as well negroes as mulattos, engaged in commerce on their own account, were *Thévenot*, a man, who in the early part of his life had spent a great

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deal of money at Paris, and had assumed the title of an African prince; *Saint-Jean*, his brother-in-law, who was son of an Englishman, formerly a governor of Senegal, and who had been at London; *Le Juge* of the same family, who had travelled into India and through all Europe; *Dubois*, a negro, the most artful of the set, and who undertook nothing for the company, but on condition of having a considerable share for himself; and several others, who trafficked sometimes on their own bottoms, and at other times for those who had recourse to their agency. There were also two Moors of the family of the Sherifs who followed trade; but all, whether whites or blacks, Christians or Mahometans, were equally strangers to probity, which indeed is entirely banished from that species of commerce. The most sacred engagements are only words of course, and who shall trick most, seems to be the object of general emulation. When a bargain is made, it must be instantly fulfilled, or otherwise considered as null. Such were the characters of those with whom I was on the point of being concerned.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the barrenness of the spot, Senegal contains more than six thousand negroes, including the captives of the *Tapades*, or negroes born of the black inhabitants of the country. They are never put up to sale, unless convicted of some crime. Their huts, constructed in the form of bee-hives, and supported upon four stakes, surround the habitations of the negro inhabitants. The entire height of those huts may rise to about twelve feet, the width in every direction is commonly from ten to twelve. The beds are composed of hurdles laid upon cross-bars, supported by forked stakes at the height of about a foot from the ground. Here the slaves sleep promiscuously, men, women, girls, and boys. A fire is made in the middle of the hut, which is filled with smoke, sufficient to stifle any man but a negro.

The men are tall, and the women are accounted the handsomest negresses of all Africa. The Senegalians may be considered as the most courageous people of that part of the world, without even excepting the Moors. Their courage, however, is more nearly allied to temerity, than to bravery. In the course

of the voyage to Galam, they meet the greatest dangers with gaiety and song; they dread neither musket nor cannon, and are equally fearless of the cayman or crocodile. Should one of their companions be killed, and devoured by these animals before their face, they are not deterred from plunging into the water, if the working of the ship require it. These excellent qualifications which distinguish them, and on which they value themselves so much, do not, however, preserve them from the common contagion of the country, which inclines them all to rapine. They are emulous to surpass one another in all the arts of over-reaching and fraud. The conduct of the Europeans, has, no doubt, encouraged these vices as much as the lessons of the *marabouts*, who inculcate the duty of plundering the Christians to the utmost of their power.

The Yolof negroes of Senegal are either Christians or Mahometans, or rather one and the other, or with more truth neither; religion being a matter of indifference to them. Those on the continent are of the same way of thinking, and their religious practices are kept up only for the sake of form. A bar of
iron,

iron, a few beads, will make them change their opinion at will. By such means are they acted upon; a sufficient proof of their want of all religious principle. The marabouts, or priests, and the men of their law, are no better than the rest. I have examined the character of several of this order of men, and even among the nation of the Poules, who are considered as great fanatics, I discovered that they were only publicly attached to their opinions. "This white man," say they, "does so; he is better informed than I, and why should not I imitate his example." This way of reasoning is common to all that tract of country.

The colony of Senegal is surrounded with islands, which, on account of the proximity of the sea, are all more unhealthy than that on which the town is built. They are full of standing pools, that, when dried up by the sun, exhale a putrid vapour that carries mortality with it, and disolates these islands. It is doubtless the same cause that takes off so many of the French at Senegal, during the dangerous season of the year. This also may be in part occasioned by the bad quality of the water,

which flows from the ponds in the neighbourhood of the colony, and though incorporated with that of the river, comes down little agitated by the current, and is easily distinguished by a vapidness of taste. This particular is, in my opinion, essentially worthy of notice, and if properly attended to by our medical men, might become the means of preserving many lives.

Not one of the French at Senegal, belonging to the several houses of commerce, being inclined to make the voyage to Galam, (a place of considerable trade) because none of them had ever been in that part of the country, I resolved to undertake it myself. I saw how much superior the other houses were in point of funds and resources, I fought therefore to obtain, some how, an advantageous foundation for mine. This point could be gained only by acquiring an accurate knowledge of the country. I hoped by that means, that though unable to stand a competition in the colony, I should at least in the trade on the river, have a decided advantage over every other house. I determined then to set off for Galam. The concurring reports of
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the inhabitants as well as of the Europeans, who had made this voyage, left me no room to doubt the reality of the dangers to which I was going to expose myself; but I was resolved to pursue fortune, however rough the road. I had lived among the Moors, and had braved naked all the burning influence of the clime; I had supported, during the period of my slavery, the most deplorable state of misery and want; I knew and confided in the strength of my constitution; and I set down to the account of exaggeration, a good deal of what I was told of the unwholesome atmosphere of that district: the negroes, said I to myself, prepare with the greatest joy for this voyage, why therefore should I be dismayed?

The time which we were obliged to wait for the arrival of the Furet, we employed in collecting salt for ourselves, and for the King's ship which was bound up the river. This traffic of salt is carried on at the bar of Senegal, the articles of exchange are swords, gunpowder, balls, flints, and glass ware. The salt cost me this year three livres per cask, and was sold at Senegal at the rate of five livres,

livres, to those who had not the opportunity or the will to trade for themselves.

The 26th of July, the fleet got under way, and sailed up the river. It consisted of twenty-seven vessels, freighted by the inhabitants, together with a vessel of 50 tons, called the *Moor*, belonging to Paul Benis; the great bark of M. Vigneux, superintendant of the house of Aubry, of Nantz, burthen 180 tons, and a King's ship called the *Bienfaisant*, Captain Thevenot, an inhabitant of Senegal, carrying the customs, or dues for the several princes of the country.

The company, ever slow in their operations, had not yet any vessels ready, when the Furet brig appeared in view. The same day that she came before the fort she entered the river. We proceeded immediately to unload her. She was then repaired and loaded for the slave trade. I embarked on board the vessel, and sailed from Fort Louis, August the 16th, 1785, about eight o'clock in the morning.

This ship of 70 tons burthen, but light and an excellent sailer, had a crew composed of 24 *laptots*, four *gourmets*, a linguist, a carpenter, a mate,

a mate, six *pileuses*, and a dozen of *repasses*. By *laptot*, is understood a negro sailer; the *gourmets* are the officers, or rather steersmen, for the negroes acknowledge but one commander, who is their Captain. The linguist is in fact the boatswain, who understands and commands the working of the ship in the French language. The *pileuses* are women who cook for the crew, and wash their linen during the voyage. In fine the *repasses* are negro children who receive no pay, and who serve aboard ship much in the same manner with our cabin-boys; the children of the negro inhabitants of Tapade make the same voyage on the same conditions, by these means they are inured to fatigue, and acquire a knowledge of the navigation of the river.

We had scarcely left Senegal when the whole crew began to pray. Every person, with melancholy visage and tears in his eyes, turned his looks to that barren spot of sand which gave him birth, and where he abandoned his wife and his children. They bade their relatives a woeful farewell, as if they had lost all hope of seeing them again. These sad ceremonies, and the lamentations of the
negroes,

negroes, made me form a disagreeable idea of the dangers of the voyage. But scarcely had we lost sight of the colony, when every visage brightened up, and the laptots began to sing.

The Count de Repintigny, Governor of Senegal, had engaged me to collect together all the straggling vessels, in order to escort them to the rendezvous of the convoy. In the evening of the same day I met with a vessel belonging to one Soliman, who had left the colony three days before me. He had only three laptots aboard, and I did not think myself obliged to delay my voyage, on account of a person so imprudent as not to supply himself with a number of hands sufficient to work his ship. My negroes, however, who knew the orders which I had received from the governor, endeavoured to persuade me to give him some assistance; I ordered him to return to Senegal, which was only eight leagues distant; he thought proper to comply with my desire.

We handed our sails about eight o'clock in the evening; being then at the great *Merigots*, which extend to Portandic. The ship was afterwards

afterwards baptized according to the custom of the negroes, and all those who had not before passed that place were obliged to submit to the same ceremony. At the same time they made me fire a salute with my small train of artillery, consisting of six swivels, with six French and some English wall pieces. In order to perform this ceremony with due pomp, the linguist, accompanied by two *gourmets*, cast anchor and assembled the crew. He caused all the artillery to be charged, filled a vase with water from the river, and threw it at three several times upon different parts of the ship. At each operation, in order to render the ceremony as august as possible, a salute was fired; and after the baptismal rites were performed upon the vessel, the same linguist proceeded to baptize those who had not yet made the voyage: these are commonly the whites and the repasses. He sprinkled water of the river on my chin and forehead; a ceremony which was announced by a general discharge of the artillery. In short, to close this festivity with becoming cheer, I gave the crew a present of good liquor. Our sloop joined us, and the evening was spent in merriment and joy.

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or head of the village, prevailing on us to come ashore. We took the diversion of the chace; we met with excellent sport, for the country was full of game, and every shot took place. At about five in the morning, the wind freshening considerably, the vessel drove at her anchors, and stranded on the Moorish coast. Accidents like these daily happen, but are not attended with danger. The river is full of sand banks, and it is only off *Doumons*, that there is cause for real apprehensions. These small trading vessels are hauled ashore every night; and when it is necessary to proceed, the negroes soon set them afloat by plunging into the water and pushing them off. It often happens, that in this operation some are drowned, but this is the only method they know, and they consider it as the readiest and least laborious. On that day we lost an anchor, and notwithstanding all the pains we took we could never lay hold of it with the drag.

We proceeded on our way, and saw on an extensive plain a Moorish camp, consisting of eighty or an hundred tents; they were desirous to dispose of some cattle and captives,
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but we had no time to treat with them. The 19th we saw the village of Berne, situated on the Moorish coast, near the desert of Zaara, which extends to this part of the river. Thus, after having formerly travelled during my slavery through the interior of that vast desert, I had an opportunity of seeing its extreme bounds. Two stately palm trees mark its limits on this side; as on the other bordering on Bilidulgerid, the boundaries are ascertained by two high pillars, which I observed in the plain before I entered the territories of the Monselemine.

On leaving the desert, on the opposite shore we saw the village of Brac, belonging to the King of the Walon negroes. The present Prince had been minister to the former King, whom he caused to be assassinated by the Moors of Halicory, King of the Bracnars. It was under the specious pretence of public good that he seized upon the throne. But his treachery cost him his life; for having some disputes with Halicory, the latter caused him to be strangled a few months after my departure. This prince was not at his village when we passed by it; but his favourites
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and women came down to the ship; I presented them with a few bottles of brandy, and by that means got rid of them.

We arrived at Podor on the night of the 20th, and found the Sherif's boat there, which put off the moment we were perceived. At eight o'clock I went on shore to the fort, where Admet Moctar, King of the Traffarts, was already waiting for me. This prince, contrary to all law, departing from his original demand, insisted on getting possession of all the merchandize which Scipio's laptots had saved from the wreck; he no longer talked of participation, but asserted that the whole belonged to him, and that in consequence of this shipwreck the very laptots became his captives; he wanted even to compel me to pay their ransom: in vain did we tell him that if the King of France paid him an annual custom, it was with the sole view to promote the liberty of commerce along the river; he would listen to nothing; but, inflexible in his resolution, threatened to attack me, whether I returned down the river to Senegal, or continued my voyage to Galam. He knew I had but lately arrived at
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the colony, and was far from thinking that his speech and menaces made no impression on me. He wished to intimidate me; and hoped by these means to become master of the merchandize which the commandant at Podor had been weak enough to deliver to him; but having been a slave among the Moors, I had learnt by my misfortunes to know them perfectly. Before I left the vessel in order to go to the fort, I had put her in a state of defence. The swivels, wall pieces, and small arms, were all ready for an engagement. I had ordered my mate to allure as many Moors on board as he could, to disarm them, and to put them down into the hold. My precautions were not useless, for perceiving that I would not yield, Admet Moctar directed one of his officers to order his brother to make seizure of my vessel. His orders did not escape my knowledge, though he imagined I was totally ignorant of his language. I instantly withdrew from the assembly, on pretext of an occasion to retire; and having sent for a faithful negro, I dispatched him on board with orders to the mate, to put all the Moors, that were already
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in his power, in irons, to inveigle as many more as possible, particularly the king's brother, and to fetter and put him with the rest in the hold. Scipio, inured to warlike exploits, perfectly understanding and speaking Arabic, had comprehended the orders of Admet Moctar. He reproached him on the occasion, had even recourse to menaces, and left the assembly in a precipitate manner to go on board the vessel. On his arrival he was astonished to find the brother of that prince disarmed, and in irons. Observing that the crew were out of all danger of being surprised, he returned to the fort. During this interval, as I was at breakfast with M. Duchozel, commandant of Podor, I communicated to him the intentions of Admet Moctar, and the orders I had given to counteract them. Scarcely had he heard to what excess this savage had carried his audacity, than he put his detachment under arms, repaired to the prince, and informed him, that affairs of commerce not coming within his cognizance, he recommended him to make up matters with me, but that he should never suffer a vessel of his nation to be attacked

under the cannon of the fort he commanded. This entirely disconcerted Admet Moctar. Having spoken in Arabic, he did not imagine he had been understood, for he knew not that Scipio spoke that language as well as himself. He was likewise unacquainted with the precautions I had taken, and was alarmed to find himself in the power of a French detachment under arms. He was still more intimidated, when one of his attendants came and told him that all the negroes of the village of Podor, on the information of the crew, had ran to arms; that they had seized those of his soldiers; and that unable either to act on the offensive or defensive, the latter were open to the fire of the fort, the village, and my vessel; that all the negroes had set up the shout of war, and only waited my orders to put all his subjects to death. Thus circumstanced, and standing at a few paces from him, and having my pistols charged and cocked, I had nothing to apprehend but the stroke of a dagger; but I had determined that the first step he might make towards me should be his last. As I was surrounded by the bravest of my men, I upbraided him in
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the Arabic language with his perfidious designs. He was confounded on hearing me speak his own tongue; and yielding to necessity, he told me that having always been the friend to the French, he had no intention whatever to seize upon my vessel, but only to claim that to which he had a right by the laws of his country; that rather than come to hostilities with a nation that he loved, and to which he owed his elevation and authority, he was going to retire up the country. He hoped by this subterfuge to have procrastinated the matter; but upon the requisition I made, that in proof of his sincerity, he should make restitution of the effects he had seized, he plainly perceived that he could shuffle with me no longer, and told me, that having cut and distributed the merchandize among his attendants, it was no longer possible to restore it, but that he willingly undertook to return Scipio the value of whatever he had seized, out of the account of the customs to which he was entitled.

The mere promise of such a man did not satisfy me. I required an engagement signed by himself and his ministers. He would not

consent to this ; his word, he said, ought to be sufficient. Four hours had been wasted in this dispute, when it was reported to him that his brother, who had gone on board my vessel, was no longer to be seen upon deck. This intelligence made him uneasy ; and soon discovering that the prince was detained, he no longer made any objections ; but subscribed to my conditions, liberated Scipio's laptots, and consented to re-imburse me in every expence. This engagement was signed by himself, his two principal ministers, and his brother, who in consequence of this writing was liberated, and conducted by my negroes to the fort, as soon as they had restored to me the two Senegalians, who had been seized by order of Admet Moctar, on his arrival at Podor.

I then invited the prince on board, but apprehending, that I should treat him as I had already done his brother, he would never trust himself in my power. He questioned the laptots, and learnt from them, that I had been a slave in the Desert and at Morocco, the preceeding year. The following day we met in a friendly manner ; he asked me many questions

questions concerning the force of the Mongearts, and Monfelemine; and particularly the character and the forces of Mouley Abdramene, the son of the Emperor of Morocco, who was was, he knew, at the head of a strong party in the Desert. He was sensible, if this prince made his appearance upon his domains, that all the Moors would instantly recognize him as their sovereign; and was desirous of getting information respecting his intentions. His brother Sydy Hali made me a visit, I had him disarmed immediately, according to the custom of the Moors; and making him observe the force of my swivels and wall-pieces, I asked him if a French man, whose vessel was thus armed, with Scipio for a captain, had any reason to fear the menaces of his brother. I then regaled him with large quantities of sugar and water, and sent him away on the approach of the evening.

The next day, when we were on the point of getting under way, we saw Scipio's boat, that was just returned with the governor's orders from Senegal. I again landed, and went to Admet Moctar, who signed a second

engagement conformable to the first, which was to deduct out of his customs the value of the merchandize he had taken. He made me a present of two oxen, ten sheep, and some ostrich's feathers, and pressed me very much to visit him on my return from Galam. I promised to see him again; and we parted highly satisfied with each other.

On the 24th, at about ten leagues from Podor, we perceived the mast of the Maleime, that was lost on the 12th, by running against the trunk of a tree. Scipio requested my leave to endeavour to save something from the wreck of his vessel; and having obtained it, he directed his course that way; the crew were employed the whole day in weighing her. They hauled her nearer shore, but on the coming on of the evening, perceiving the impossibility of getting her afloat, they were satisfied with taking out the mainmast, the bow sprit, the rudder, and the anchor.

The next day we lost a captot of the name of Bacary, belonging to Isabella Nagot, with whom I had lodged. This man, who was an excellent diver, having on some occasion plunged into the water, disappeared, and
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never more was seen. He was doubtless carried off by one of the alligators or crocodiles, of which the river is full. As we were under the necessity of towing the vessel, an operation very fatiguing to the crew, I was desirous of amusing my people, and of diverting their attention from the misfortune that had happened to their companion; for this purpose I regaled my captots with copious draughts of liquor. We anchored in the evening off the village of Donguelle, where I purchased three elephant's teeth for a small quantity of gun-powder. At a league higher up, we cleared the rock of *Gdioul-de-Diabbé*, or the Devil's Mouth, the most dangerous pass in the whole course of the river. On the way back from Galam this place may well be called the Devil's Mouth, for the inhabitants fire in front, and on both sides upon the vessels, in the very moment when the crews are employed in surmounting the almost invincible difficulties of the passage.

Engaged intirely in commercial concerns, on which my all depended, and not being in circumstances that allowed me to dedicate
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any of my time to the purpose of making observations, I paid but little attention to the natural history, the sites, and the productions of these countries. In the whole extent of country which belongs to the Poules, and which begins two leagues below Podor, nothing is seen but thick forests that cover the banks of the river, and render the situation extremely unwholesome. Never is the air refreshed by a cooling breeze. The insufferable heat of the climate is rendered still more suffocating by the pestiferous smell that exhales from trees in blossom; an exhalation that most sensibly affects the nostrils, and is often attended with death. This country abounds with wild beasts of every kind; it may, indeed, be called the immense monster magazine of Africa. The serpents are of a prodigious size, but they do not measure from forty-five to fifty feet, as some authors have reported. I offered the value of a slave for the skin of one of these creatures, which was about twenty-eight feet long, and my offer was rejected. If they were commonly fifty feet in length, according to M. Adanson's account, it is certain my negroes would have prevented me from

from bidding such a price for a skin of so inferior a size. But when a traveller has once passed the tropic he thinks himself entitled to exaggerate, and considers himself within the limits of veracity when he magnifies only one half.

Crocodiles are more frequent here than in any other part of the river; no doubt on account of the neighbouring forests which afford them a retreat from the hunter. They are rarely seen at Senegal, and only when the river is not impregnated with salt water. Hence it is, that during almost the whole year they are not found lower than forty leagues from the mouth of the river. The river is always dangerous, for the sharks, which never go into fresh water, ending where the crocodiles begin, any one who ventures to bathe, exposes himself to imminent danger at all times, and in every part of the stream.

The hippopotamus, or sea-horse, is likewise very common in the kingdom of the Poules. This animal is amphibious like the crocodile, living indifferently on land or in water; he is generally half as large again as our full-grown ox; yet sometimes very small ones
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are found among them. But when the animal has attained to his full growth he is of enormous size. From his head, which, however, is not proportioned to his body, an idea may be formed of his whole bulk. There are several skeletons of the head of the hippopotamus preserved at Senegal, which, without the teeth, weigh from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds: teeth of this animal I have seen weigh seven pounds. The hippopotamus in this climate is an inoffensive creature, and is easily taken and destroyed. He never makes any attack, nor does he even stand upon his defence but when he feels himself wounded. As he is very heavy it is easy for the hunter to escape from his fury, when he sees him coming.* His flesh is good, and when cut up in slices and dried in the sun, will keep a long time. The fat when melted becomes an oil, of which excellent soap is made; the negroes employ it for this purpose; and this soap, except that its

* The hippopotamus of the south of Africa is apparently not of the same species; for Messrs. Vaillant, Spearman, and Patterson, mention him as a dangerous animal, and difficult to be destroyed.

smell is not agreeable, is better than the best manufactured at Marseilles. There are also in this district a great number of elephants; I have never, however, seen any of them, although I frequently went ashore to kill game, and could observe their traces on every side.

The aigrettes are found in great numbers all along the banks of the river Niger; but those which have the best plumes are peculiar to a small island, about seven leagues from Podor, which in the months of August and September is covered with them. I have killed many of them in this place, and their plumes were twenty-two inches in length, while those which I could procure in the river, were only fifteen or sixteen.

On the 28th, the wind not permitting us to set sail, I set out for the chase. I found in the woods a tree which bears a fruit resembling our peach. I was going to taste it, but the negroes having assured me that it contained a deadly poison, my curiosity was satisfied. The stone of this fruit is very like that of an apricot, but much larger.

On the next day, the 29th, about eleven
o'clock

o'clock in the morning, we heard several cannon shot. The laptots thought that it was the Almamy of the Poules who had arrived at Saldee to receive his dues. On the 30th we saw M. Pontret's vessel coming down the river; we hailed him, and he told us that he would much rather lose his voyage to Galam, (and he was certainly in the right) than submit to the enormous duties which the Poules had established in 1785. He was a Frenchman, and on that account his vessel, though very small, would have been forced to pay the same duties that are exacted from the largest ships. Those duties would have consumed one half of his cargo; he would have lost his time, and been obliged to undergo the fatigues of the voyage and of the slave trade at *Tamboucanee*; instead of which, by taking in a cargo of millet at Saldee, he could no doubt indemnify himself at the colony for losing the profits he would have made by a voyage to Galam.

At noon, on the 31st, we arrived at Saldee; this village is situated a league up the country, but being the place where the Poules receive their customs, ships are obliged to anchor opposite.

posite. Although these duties are regulated by the Governor of Senegal and the envoys of the Almamy, before the departure of the convoy for Galam, difficulties, however, frequently arise at the time of payment; the *Tampfir* chosen for this purpose, and the minister of the Almamy, are always starting the most frivolous objections. They insist on receiving all the duties on the same day; and do not allow any vessel to continue the voyage to Galam, until the whole convoy from Senegal be arrived. As the air of this spot is very unwholesome, it is here that the greater part of the French traders, who imprudently undertake the voyage, fall sick; and very few of them recover.

Immediately on our arrival, St. Jean, Master of the *Maure*, a small vessel belonging to Paul Benis, came on board, and acquainted me with the death of M. Bertrand, an officer of the African battalion, who commanded the convoy. The cannon we had heard was fired at his interment, and not on account of the *Almamy*, who did not come this year to receive his customs. This master gave me a tariff of the usual dues. Never having made
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the voyage before, I did not find the demands too high, although they were double what had been paid the preceding years. The captains of the convoy assembled on board my vessel, with the agents of the *Almamy*; and, after mutual concessions, the customs we settled and paid in a few days after, the greater part being deposited on board my vessel.

The traders submit to pay the customs, in order to have the freedom of trafficking during the voyage, of going on shore at pleasure, and of enjoying the same privileges as the natives. These customs are become very considerable, through the culpable conduct of the successive governors of Senegal; who, more attached to their private interests, than to that of the French nation, have every year, in the King's name, made additional presents to the savages. They receive negroes in return, who are considered as part of the royal property; but if the general opinion may be credited, the whole finds its way into the governor's pocket. The negroes of the inland parts, who are extremely avaricious, and who know not how to estimate things at their true value, insist on receiving from European bottoms, customs

customs proportioned to those which have been introduced by the avarice of the governors. In the year 1785, the customs paid at Saldee amounted to five livres in specie a bar, which makes 3125 livres for each vessel carrying 625 bars.

These customs increase in proportion as the merchandise in the river is enhanced in value. A barrel of gun-powder, for instance, of two pounds weight, is considered an equivalent for four bars, an hundred flints for two bars, &c. The general amount of the customs on bars got up to 839 instead of 625. The value of each negro being estimated, according to the convention of Galam, for this year at 70 bars, the amount of twelve captives was given for the payment of the customs. It even amounted to more, for the greater number of bars paid at Saldee consisted of full bars, whereas in the payment of the captives, forty full bars only are given for each negro, as will be more fully explained, when I come to speak on the subject of commerce. The large vessels belonging to the negro inhabitants pay only one half of these customs, and the small ones a quarter. The

Sherif's vessel alone was exempted from the tax. As these people retain some traces of the Mahometan religion in their own, it is considered as a piece of injustice to require payment from a man who is allowed to be of the family of the great Prophet, they were therefore satisfied with his benediction. I wanted to try if they would be satisfied with mine, but they gave the preference to my guinea-blues and muskets; which made us laugh, especially the Sherif, for all the profit was on his side.

The Poules, or Foulques, are one of the principal nations that inhabit the banks of the Niger. They possess an extent of more than sixty leagues along that river. Their territory begins below Podor, at a place called *Le Coq*, situated two leagues from the fort, and terminates at Matame, a village of great strength, inhabited partly by the Poules, and partly by the Saltiguets. A people few in number, and generally confounded with the Poules. The latter nation are not so black as the other negroes, but of a copper colour, much inclining to red. It is remarkable, however, that their children who are sent to
Senegal

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I went on shore to his house. It is built of clay, thatched with reeds in some parts, terraced in others, and upon the whole commodiously constructed. Here I was treated with such attention, that I quickly began to recover my health. I took an airing every day on the banks of the river : two negroes carried me ; and when the heat became too troublesome, I returned to my abode, and was put under a kind of shed, which sheltered me from the rays of the sun.

The Captains of the convoy and the Marabous of the country repaired to Sirman, King of Galam, in order to settle the price of slaves. It was fixed at 70 bars, part of which consisted of 4 pieces of guinea-blues. The price being agreed upon, we sailed immediately to Tamboucanee, a principal mart for the traffic of negroes and ivory. This village is situated fifteen leagues from Galam. The lords of the neighbouring villages, exasperated against the Senegalians, for making Galam the place of their general rendezvous, united their forces to make an attack upon the convoy, which was detained at Saldee on account of the shallowness of the river. The King's ship,

and that belonging to M. Vigneux had not yet reached Galam. The one had stopped at Baquelle, and the other at Cotterat. The Furet alone, which drew but six feet water, was sufficiently well armed to command respect. She immediately hoisted sail and advanced to the assistance of the convoy. The courage of Scipio, my Captain, was well known among the negro Princes, they were afraid of contending with him, his presence put an end to the faction, and imposed peace upon the negroes.

Having fallen ill at Saldee, the first place we touched at since our departure from fort St. Louis at Senegal, I could not examine the different merchandize, which, on account of the advanced state of the season, had been hastily put on board at the colony. I now examined it in order to dispose of that of inferior quality in the first place; and I found to my great surprise that all the guinea-blues were of a bad quality and damaged. They had certainly been dyed over again in France. The owners, for the sake of a greater profit, had purchased them at a very low price. Ill acquainted with their business, and blinded with

with avarice, they were the occasion of my losing my market, as none of the guinea-blues would pass in payment for slaves. This disappointment obliged me to change my plan; I ordered my Captain to trade for whatever fell in his way with the other articles of the cargo, and I put by the guinea-blues that were the least damaged, in order to make a purchase of some negroes. My plan was to gain by gold and ivory sufficiently to make up for the loss occasioned by the bad quality of the guinea-blues. I had at most, 120 pieces that could be considered as saleable. Scipio took them, and set sail in a boat with a proper assortment of goods, to Tamboucanee. I kept the damaged blues with a view of disposing of them in exchange for whatever might be offered to me.

The rainy season was over: the delay occasioned by the payment of customs at Saldee had proved very prejudicial to us. I was under the necessity of embarking the 25th of October to go down to Senegal. I had made but little progress in the slave trade; I had, however, procured six negroes with my damaged guinea-blues, all of which I should have got rid of, had I been able to protract

my departure ; but being unwilling to risk my ship, I left Scipio with the long boat to trade in the customary manner at Tamboucanee. The King of Galam, who had shewn me every kind of attention, accompanied me on board. As I had been a slave in Morocco, he looked on me with admiration. The respect in which all these people hold the Emperor extended even to my person : this petty monarch had given up his chamber and a good bed to me, while the whites employed in the convoy on the King's account, were only lodged under sheds. M. Molinard, who was one of them, was an engineer, and was sent out to take a plan of the river and to explore the gold mines. He fell ill at Saldee, and died on his return from Galam to Senegal.

Sirman, King of Galam is very fond of wine, and I regaled him with that liquor every day during my residence in his house. I took care, however, not to give him any but at night ; and in order to obtain it, I laid him under the necessity of returning the bottles, on which account he ordered his people to take the greatest care of them. Having attended me on board, he was obliged to be carried

carried back to his village, for he had drank to excess, to prove how much he regretted my departure. This Prince had purchased of me thirteen beads of coral, half a string of amber, twenty-eight silver bells, and three pair of bracelets for his women. He was to have paid me in gold or ivory, but having neither of those articles, he gave me a fine negro, although the things I had sold him amounted to no more than sixty-three bars. In acknowledgment of his liberality, I made him a present of a sabre, with a pistol in the hilt, of a little wool for his wives, and to his favourite, who alone had borne him sons, I presented some rows of glass beads, and about four ounces of scarlet wool. She had taken the greatest care of me during my illness, and to her I was principally indebted for my recovery. My magnificent present to her might amount in all to about thirty-six sous.

This favourite pretends to be a Christian. She had formerly been mistress to one Labrue, an agent for the factory of Senegal. As it was the King himself that communicated this anecdote to me, I apprehend it will afford a sufficient estimate of the delicacy of the Princes of this country.

Galam,

Galam is a small village, known only as the place of meeting of the inhabitants of Senegal, for the purpose of settling their mercantile concerns, and on account of a wretched fort built by the French in the time of the former African company. The father of the reigning King was born a freeman among the Saracolets, and had been a laptot at Senegal. Considered by the negroes as a man of bravery, and speaking good French, he was placed in the fort by the company in quality of broker. The grand Fouquet of Tuago, chieftain of the country, gave him the absolute property of the village of Galam, on condition of his charging himself with the receipt of the customs paid by European vessels. His son, the present King of Galam, was brought up at Senegal, and speaks French and English fluently. When the company abandoned the fort, he took possession of the cannon, put himself at the head of a party in the country, became formidable to his sovereign, and lastly, entirely independent. He has several villages subject to his authority. The laptots of Senegal are received by him in the most cordial manner, and every voyage he de-
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tains some of them by his kindness, particularly those belonging to the Saracolet nation, for in order to have one of these he will give several slaves in exchange.

The tribes, which in this part of Africa occupy the lands situated between the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, are all of the Saracolet nation. From Galam, situated on the banks of the Niger, to the river Gambia, is a journey of a day and a half. The Saracolets acknowledge as sovereign the grand Fouquet of Tuago. They are a laborious people, cultivate their lands with care, are plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life, and inhabit handsome and well built villages; their houses, of a circular form, are for the most part terraced; the others are covered with reeds as at Senegal; they are inclosed with a mud wall a foot thick, and the villages are surrounded with one of stone and earth of double that solidity. There are several gates, which are guarded at night for fear of a surprize. This nation is remarkably brave, and it is very uncommon to find a Saracolet slave. They always defend themselves with advantage against their assailants. Such Saracolets as are exposed to sale, may
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be safely purchased, for (excepting when they are at war with the Poules) none are to be met with but such as have been condemned by the laws for some misdemeanour; in such case, these wretches could not escape slavery even by taking refuge in their own country; for they would be restored to their masters, or would be put to death, if the convoy should have failed. The religious principles of this people is nearly allied to Mahometanism, and still more to natural religion. They acknowledge one God; and believe that those who steal, or are guilty of any crime, are eternally punished. They admit a plurality of wives, and believe their souls to be immortal like their own. They think lightly of adultery; for as they allow themselves several wives, they are not so unjust as to punish women who distribute their favours among several gallants; a mutual exchange is then permitted, one woman may be bartered for another, unless she be free, or a native of the country. In this last case, the French custom prevails; it is winked at, although the laws are particularly severe against the violation of the most sacred of all property.

property. This nation lies near that of the Poules. Its extent up the country is unknown; all that we know is, that it is governed by four powerful princes, all bearing the name of Fouquet. The least considerable, according to the testimony of the Saracolets, is that of Tuago, who can assemble thirty thousand horse, and whose subjects occupy a territory two hundred leagues in extent, as well on the Niger, as on the tract that reaches beyond the Felou, a rock, which according to the same report, forms cataracts, from whence proceed the Niger and the river Gambia, equally considerable. The latter is the more navigable, carries down a less quantity of sand, and forms fewer flats. Its mouth is about sixty leagues from Senegal by land, and seventy-five by doubling Cape Verd.

On the 24th of October at night, Scipio, who observed the water lowering at Tamboucanee, dispatched a negro to me, desiring me to quit Galam. I embarked on the next morning at eight o'clock, but my lap-tots had not as yet fold their salt. The mate and the boatswain insisted on staying in spite of
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of me; but on the 26th, seeing that all the laptots adhered to me, and that if they persisted they would be put into irons, they weighed anchor and set sail. The water on the night of the 25th lowered a foot more, which occasioned our stranding a league below Galam. In this critical moment, I stood in need of all my authority to hinder the laptots from killing the mate and boatswain, who had refused to set sail, as soon as I embarked. They threw over board their salt to lighten the vessel; but all their efforts proved ineffectual. I dispatched a Saracolet to acquaint Scipio with my situation, and he immediately set off to my assistance. As the horses in this country are excellent, and as he changed them at every village, he travelled with the greatest speed, and arrived the following day at four in the afternoon, to my great astonishment; for he had performed in that time a journey of sixteen leagues. The messenger whom I had dispatched, returned also with Scipio, having executed his commission with great diligence. We laboured for the space of twenty-four hours with unremitting perseverance, to disengage ourselves from this distressing

distressing situation, to no purpose; a circumstance that would have discouraged the negroes, except for the assistance of the whites, and the consciousness that they were commanded by one of the most experienced captains of the colony. As soon as he arrived, he made the laptots cease their labour, gave them two hours for rest and refreshment, and likewise reposed and refreshed himself. He was perfectly acquainted with the river; and having examined the passes, saw there was no danger to be apprehended, directed all the operations, and in less than half an hour, succeeded in getting her into deep water. He staid on board twenty-four hours, to steer us clear of the more dangerous shoals, which we passed without once striking, and without any fatigue to the crew. He then left us, after having traced the course we had to make, and pointed out to the mate and boatswain the dangerous parts of the river. He was determined on keeping up his reputation; and notwithstanding the bad quality of our merchandize, he hoped still to traffic with advantage, at Tamboucanee.

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About ten leagues from Galam, we came in sight of the Furet, that could not make her way to that place, for want of water. She lay at anchor off Cotterat, where there is a good depth of water all the year round. The agent of the company, whose name was Bardinal, a relation of the director of Senegal, transported all his merchandize in a boat to Galam, with an intention to pass the year there. He came on board to see me, and I had some dealings with him. I sold him the amber, the coral, and the silver bells that remained on my hands; and it was an advantageous-purchase to him, as well as very convenient to me, for I had no occasion for those articles at the colony. Thus, after transacting the business, we mutually congratulated each other on our meeting. I made him afterwards acquainted with the value of the merchandize saleable in the negro trade, and of which he had conceived very imperfect ideas at Senegal; and in regard to which, he had also been imposed upon by his laptots since his departure from that place. When a man is at such a distance from his native land, and without any
intercourse

intercourse with his countrymen, the pleasure he feels when he has the happiness of meeting one of them, even were he an enemy, cannot be easily expressed, and is still more difficult to define. I had an affecting proof of it on the present occasion. Engaged as I was in a private trade, I could not have conceived that a person in the employ of the company would have come to see me, particularly as the house with which I was connected had materially thwarted all their speculations. On the 30th I parted from this worthy man with tears in my eyes; for although he was in good health, and I infirm, yet knowing that his intention was to pass the year at Galam, I was persuaded he would never have the happiness of revisiting his native country, to which I hoped to return; he was prepossessed with the same idea, and we were both in the right; for he fell ill, in consequence of extreme fatigue, eight days after I left him, and died in a few hours.

The 2d of November, after having passed the village of Baquelle, without touching there, we entered into the canal of the island of that name. The boatswain, for want of experience, being unable to stem

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the current, the vessel lost her head way, and foundered upon the rocks, at nine o'clock in the morning. Peter Mambao, a Senegal captain, who had arrived at Baquelle with a cargo of salt, instantly sent out his boat to our assistance. I put on board her the most valuable of my goods, and one of my chests; the other disappeared in an instant, nor was I ever able to get any account of it. It was doubtless stolen by my negroes. At ten o'clock, finding that the hold of the vessel was full of water, and that the bank of the river was covered with the natives of the country, who plundered whatever was put on shore, I transported the goods that were left on board the wreck, to the island, which they could not reach, except by swimming, and went on board Mambao's vessel, that lay at about half a league distant from mine.

I should have saved the whole cargo, had not the laptots themselves fallen to pillage. In this scene of distress, my people were desirous of indemnifying themselves for the toils of the voyage, and for the wages of which the loss would have followed that of the vessel. They plundered as fast as they were able, but it proved of no advantage to them.

them. Had they kept to their posts, the Saracolets would not have come near us, the goods would have been all preserved, and the vessel relieved by the Senegalians, by whose assistance she would have been set afloat; but they considered her as irrecoverably lost, and carried away every thing which they could conceal from my observation.

Amadi Tkioncoli, Lord of Baquelle, as great a knave as any of his subjects, was determined to take advantage of my unfortunate situation. He came to me on board Mambao's ship, and made me a tender of his house, and a good warehouse to store the goods I had saved. All the Senegalians assured me I might rely upon his word; to which I was indeed compelled by necessity. I was obliged then to suffer every thing that I had preserved from the wreck to be carried to the house of this prince. The next day, being pressed by his solicitations, and perceiving that Mambao was unwilling to expose himself any longer on my account, I went on shore, and repaired to the village of Baquelle. I was accommodated with a kind of a tent, that while it screened me from

the heat of the sun, admitted the fresh air ; and on the first day I was treated with the most attentive care.

The grand Fouquet of Tuago, being informed by his son, who had been some days on board my vessel, of my misfortune, came to Baquelle with a numerous escort of cavalry to share the plunder. My laptots then gave up every thing for lost. This king pretended, according to the custom of the Moors, that my vessel, the freight, the crew, and myself, were all become his property. He would have taken immediate possession of the principal articles, had not the Lord of Baquelle, dreading the return of Scipio, interposed.

I had taken two Moors on board at Galam, to deliver to Admet Moctar ; they informed these princes that I was a slave to the Emperor of Morocco, and that they would infallibly draw down upon them the resentment of the Moors, if they ventured to offer me any violence.

This intelligence induced the grand Fouquet to desist ; yet a close watch was kept over my laptots ; they were not allowed to pass the
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the second court-yard, and they considered themselves all as prisoners. As to myself, I was at full liberty, but I could scarcely walk, and was obliged to be supported by two negroes. As I was walking out about ten o'clock in the morning, I heard a great noise, and perceived the Lord of Baquelle, who was going to decide a dispute that had arisen between one of my sailors, and one of his guards. I approached him, and having seated myself near Amadi, I informed myself of the cause of the dispute. His guard had robbed me of a remnant of scarlet cloth. My laptot had perceived the theft, and taken the stuff from him; they had come to blows, and the guard was severely beaten; he was all over blood. I soon decided the cause, by taking the cloth, and giving it to the man who had been beaten. I then took the laptot, whose name was Sagot, away with me, and the assembly broke up and retired, without saying a word. The Lord of Baquelle himself, did not require more, and he came with my people to attend me to my tent.

I had but seventeen laptots remaining of my crew, and four of them were disabled;

for when the vessel was wrecked, and the men were endeavouring to save the powder, a barrel containing four pounds blew up upon deck. The man who had it in his hands was so desperately wounded that he died the next day, and the bodies of the three others that were near him, were so miserably scorched that only one of them recovered. My other laptots were with Scipio to carry on the slave-trade. I had dispatched a courier to him; as likewise to M. Vigneux's captain, and the commandant of the King's ship, called the Bienfaissant.

Having but thirteen laptots that were able to work, I could not make any attempt to weigh my vessel; besides the Saracolets, who had cut the rigging and taken away the cordage, would not have suffered us to make such an attempt. I was obliged therefore to wait for a reinforcement to extricate me from my embarrassment. Six or seven resolute laptots arrived in Basca's long-boat. That negro being well acquainted with their courage, had sent them, with orders to attempt every thing to save me; they came at eleven o'clock in the morning, having travelled the whole night.

night. They told me that they had seen my vessel; that the Saracolets having entirely plundered her and taken away all her rigging, there was now no remedy for my misfortune; that I should rather look to my personal safety, since I was still left at liberty; their sloop, they desired me to observe, was well armed; they were going, they said, to take the merchandize which I had left on board Mambao, and they advised me to endeavour by all means to embark with them. I followed their advice. In about two hours I reached Mambao's vessel. The guard, who saw me going out, did not oppose my passage; perhaps because they considered me as too weak to attempt an escape, perhaps also the consideration and respect which they pay to the Emperor of Morocco might deter them from offering violence to a man who had belonged to him. Whatever were their reasons, I reached the banks of the river without meeting any molestation, and from thence got aboard Mambao. In the evening I embarked with my merchandize. We kept on during the whole night, and on the 7th, about nine o'clock in the morning, reached the

vessel which was under the command of Basca.

If any other reason, except the necessity of a shipwreck, had conducted me to Baquelle, I should have considered with pleasure the sight of this place. The streets of the village are wide and straight, the huts are all of earth, surrounded with great courts, and are almost all terraced. The gardens are beautiful and well situated; they offer to the view along the river, the most agreeable of prospects. This village is strong. It contains about three thousand inhabitants; and if one may give the name of town to the habitations of these countries, Baquelle will certainly stand in the foremost rank. It is the best fortified of all that are situated along the banks of the Niger.

I had scarcely taken a little rest, when I was informed of the arrival of Maffé, a mulatto of Senegal, who was one of my gourmets. He had run away from Baquelle with my boat, carrying with him at the same time about eight hundred pounds of ivory, forty pieces of guinea-blues, a few muskets, and a barrel, containing about an hundred pounds weight

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He reached the middle of the river, sailed on the whole night without encountering any danger.

Masse, on his arrival on board the vessel of Basca, made enquiry after the King's ship; and having learnt that it was at no great distance, he proposed to me to embark aboard the boat in order to overtake her. Recovering slowly from the cruel malady under which I laboured, and having no time to recruit my force, depressed by the consequences of my shipwreck, and worn out by the continual disputes at Baquelle, and the fatigues of my flight; living only on the fare of the negroes, that is to say, eating whatever came to hand, sometimes raw millet steeped in water, at other times flesh or fish dried in the sun; poisoned by the foetid atmosphere aboard Basca's ship, where there were 107 negroes in irons; exposed during the day to a burning sun, and in the night forced, in order to avoid the dew, to shut myself up in the ward-room, where I was stifled with bad air, and the excessive heat concentrated there, I did not hesitate a moment; and lucky was it for me, for certainly I should never have surmounted so many

many evils united, if I had refused to follow his advice.

I embarked with him in the night, having no more than the three laptots whom I have already mentioned. My swivels were in order, mounted upon the gun-wale of the boat, and charged, in case of an attack. My people were all armed, each with a double barrell'd musket, and I proceeded, confiding entirely in their care. We were thirty-seven hours under sail. I arrived on the 14th, at seven in the morning, and went on board the *Bienfaisant*, commanded by Thevenot, a wealthy inhabitant of Senegal.

My bodily pains were embittered by the afflictions of my mind. My vessel was abandoned on the territory of the Saracolets; my merchandize was dispersed up and down the river; part of it lay at the mercy of the Senegalian negroes, should Scipio leave the place he was at in order to come to Baquelle, the other part was exposed at the house of the lord of that village, who considered it as his own property. I had been forced to leave twelve negroes on board *Mambao*. This man might possibly deceive me, and get them
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seized by the princes of the country for a personal reward. I knew Mambao to be an artful and determined robber; I had detected him in purloining and carrying on board many of my effects. He had even carried off my Moorish habit, and a sheet; and I had every thing to apprehend from his want of honesty. The only things then, that I could consider in safety, were the muskets and the guineablues that I had left aboard with Basca; it was all I could hope to preserve from the wreck of my vessel.

Thevenot, however, endeavoured by his kind attentions to mitigate my distress. His vessel, fitted out solely for the purpose of paying the duties, was well armed and commodious. I was well lodged, had a good table, and being no longer exposed to the dew, nor to the ardour of the sun, my fever visibly abated. This fever was solely the consequence of a weakness, arising from the continual fatigue I had so long undergone. After having been eight days on board, it left me entirely. The river gradually lowering, and the vessel drawing nine feet water, Thevenot determined to use the greatest speed to return
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and avoid the shoals, which are frequent in the river. Notwithstanding his incessant care, together with the experience of the boatswain, who was then on his forty-fifth voyage, and the uninterrupted labour of the laptots, we made but little way. In one place it was a sand bank which prevented our passage, in another trunks of trees, which had been swept away by the currents, impeded our progress; sometimes one obstacle, sometimes another. To complete our misfortunes, when we arrived at Saldee, we were informed that a party of the Poules were determined to stop the convoy. This intelligence induced Thevenot to depart immediately, without staying to take any millet on board. We touched the ground at the passage of the grand canal, ten leagues below Saldee. The Poules who had seen us, came to wait for us near the rock of Gdioul de Diabbé; they hoped to surprise us here; but when we founded the two channels which run through this rock, every one set to work, and we soon disengaged ourselves. The captain had taken care to put the cargo and trunks on a point of the rock which rises in the middle of the river, nor could the Poules
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get at it to plunder. We lost, however, the small quantity of millet, which according to custom, is generally left on the Moorish coast, to lighten the vessel when near this dangerous passage. The Bienfaissant was the first vessel which returned ; but we were not without fears for the rest ; we dispatched an express by land, to inform the remainder of the convoy of the measures which had been taken to attack and surprize them : but this messenger, who was one of the tribe of the Poules, was better pleased to stop near the rock, and share in the plunder of the convoy, than to warn the vessels of the danger. Why then, it may be said, employ a messenger of this nation ? The reason was, that this man had his family settled in the colony, was desirous to fix himself there, and that any other ran the risk of being stopped in the country. We received no news from our companions, nor did we see any of the convoy, which made us fear that the whole had been stopped. We were of opinion, however, that the whole forces of the Poules were not capable of opposing the Senegalians united. Their spirit and bravery sufficiently ensured the freedom
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of their persons; but the vessels could not possibly have escaped being taken, if the Poules had taken the precaution of throwing trunks of trees across the passages near the rock; in such a case, every thing was to be dreaded; besides the captains of the vessels having no suspicion, and relying on the faith of treaties, were not returning in company. Six hundred Senegaliens would have soon scoured the river, and the Poules, though in thousands, never would have ventured coming to action with such a body of colonists. The cannonade from the shipping must have made them retreat, and landing upon the banks of the river, the Senegalian negroes, accustomed to arms, would have soon put to flight so dastardly a people.

After having got clear of many sand banks, we struck again on that of Haliburum. It then became necessary to lighten the vessel, and we employed half the day in that business. At night we saw the boat of the Paul, Captain St. Jean. He had been attacked at the rock, but as his vessel drew but little water, and his crew was numerous, he passed without loss. He informed me that Scipio,
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the day after my departure, had arrived at Baquelle; that he had weighed my vessel, saved my cargo, and would soon be with us. On the 11th of December he arrived at Doumons, the general rendezvous of the convoy on their return from Galam.

Immediately on the arrival of my courier at Tamboucanee, Scipio deposited his merchandize on board the different Senegalian vessels, and putting a stop to his traffic, came off with his laptots in the boat. At Cotterat he was informed I had left Baquelle; and although he was told he could never be able to save either my merchandize or vessel, he nevertheless continued his voyage, in hopes of meeting both. Instead of landing at Baquelle, he went with his men to examine the vessel which was left upon the rocks; from thence he repaired to Tuago, and presented himself before the grand Fouquet, made him a tender of his services, and promised to spend his whole life with him. The prince, glad to engage a man of such courage and reputation, gave him a very gracious reception.

Scipio finding him disposed as he could wish, represented that he could not do him
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any essential service, unless my ship was first cleared from the rocks ; that by means of repairing the vessel, he might expeditiously transport his troops where the war required them ; that his neighbours and the governors of the different provinces would by this means be taught to hold him in greater fear, and learn to respect his authority ; that Sirman himself would soon return to his duty, particularly when he should perceive that the Senegalian laptots were united against him to bring him to submission. These measures were approved by the prince ; and Scipio, in order to bring about his designs, recovered the cordage which the Saracolets had taken away ; and with their assistance succeeded, after much labour, in heaving down the vessel upon the sand. He then requested the grand Fouquet to restore him his laptots, who being more expert in naval matters than the Saracolets, would facilitate the repairs of the vessel while the convoy remained ; a thing impossible to effect after their departure for Senegal. The Lord of Baquelle received an order, and let the laptots go. With their assistance, Scipio turned the ship keel upwards ; and several Senega-

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lian vessels, among the rest the Moor, coming by, he borrowed a sufficient number of laptots, got her upright again, after having repaired the damage her keel had suffered, dismissed the Saracolets, who had been very useful to him, and made towards Baquelle. Being called upon to fulfil his engagements by the grand Fouquet, he replied, that if the Fouquet was king on land, Scipio was monarch on the river; that he was ready for battle; and that a Senegalian, bearing the title of Frenchman, could never think of becoming a slave to a negro king. The vessel no longer leaked; Scipio, with none but his own laptots on board, moored her across the principal passages of the river, and waited for the returned vessels. He felt himself too much obliged to St. Jean to detain his laptots, and as soon as the vessel had undergone her repairs, sent them back to him. He then forced the laptots belonging to the convoy to come on board him, and summoned the Lord of Baquelle to restore him all the merchandize that he had purloined by trick, or taken by force. Amadi at first made some difficulty; but consented the moment he saw Scipio was about
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to make a descent in order to set his village on fire, and to carry off whatever should come in his way. He called to recollection the check which the grand Fouquet had received seven years before : when that prince having newly mounted his throne, and being vain of his power, endeavoured to stop a convoy. He had 12,000 men under arms, and was beaten by Scipio at the head 800 men of the colony. On that emergency, the captain, though a slave, was recognized as general, and burnt and entirely destroyed the village. The king himself had fallen into his hands, but Scipio, satisfied with his victory, had generously restored him without ransom. A man who is considered as invincible, who has never been vanquished, who is looked upon by those under his command as well as by his enemies as a hero, is capable of executing an enterprize that another would not undertake with double the force ; and accordingly the old Amadi would not expose his village to destruction, and being besides at enmity with the Fouquet, to whom he had refused to deliver up the merchandize, he thought fit to capitulate. He gave back the

goods of which I had taken an account in writing, and restored besides, two barrels of gun powder of an hundred pounds weight each, which I had not recollected to set down, and which he took for barrels of flour.

The Senegal captains were not inclined to expose their sailors in my behalf, but those brave fellows, accustomed to fight under the command of Scipio, and acknowledging no other leader but him, could not reconcile to themselves the idea of abandoning him. Besides they had hopes of plunder in attacking the village of Baquelle, and they believed themselves to be invincible under his orders. All these considerations made them determine to stand by him in this critical emergency. Every thing being in readiness for the onset, Scipio began to proceed down the river. The army of Tuago was already drawn out upon the bank. The grand Fouquet wanted to take vengeance on Scipio, and hoped that with small arms alone he should be able to prevent his passage; but the balls only grazed the ship, the barricado kept Scipio's men in safety; and his swivels, from which several discharges were made, soon scattered the undisciplined

disciplined troops that tremblingly advanced against him. Without loss of time, he continued his way as far as Yfanne, the residence of the principal minister of the Almamy of the Poules. This man informed him that the Tampfirs, dissatisfied with the distribution of the duties made by the Almamy, were assembled together, that forming a numerous body they waited at the rock for the return of the vessels. Scipio determined anew either to conquer or to die. He dispatched several expresses to the other ships of the convoy to prevail on them not to sail but in a body, in order to repel the attacks of the Poules. As his vessel drew too much water to wait for the convoy, he determined to sail prepared for every event. His design was to make himself master of the passage, to resist at that post every attempt of the enemy, and to wait there the arrival of the convoy. He hoped, with the assistance of the sailors from Senegal, to repel the combined force of the Poules, and to indemnify himself for the losses of the voyage by the captures made on this people; but circumstances changed his resolution. His crew were considerably diminished; he

had lost five men ; and I had taken with me three, together with a gourmet ; which (if we comprehend another left at Galam, to assist in repairing the fort) deprived him of the aid of ten of his men ; there remained only twenty-two on board, the greater part of whom were so reduced by the fatigue attendant on so dangerous a voyage, that little dependence could be placed on their assistance. In this dilemma he armed the negroes he had retaken on board of Mambao ; and as they were his countrymen, that is, from Baabarn, he found no difficulty in determining them to fight, in case of an attack on the part of the Poules. Things being thus disposed, he advanced with confidence to that part of the river where he knew the negroes were waiting to plunder the ship. Four leagues before he arrived at the rock, he cast anchor, and took post in a wood, with twelve resolute laptots, in order to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy. Here he surpris'd two princes, who were going to join the forces of the Poules, carried them on board his vessel, and put them in irons. He then weighed anchor, and appeared at seven in the morning, in that
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part of the channel which he judged to be deepest.

When arrived near the rock, he saw both sides of the river lined with an innumerable multitude of Poules, shouting with joy, and preparing to oppose his passage. He remained, according to his first intention, the whole day inactive on board; at night he sounded the channel, found there was a foot less water than the vessel drew.

At day-light he retired into the ward-room from whence he heard the Poules crying from shore, "Scipio, thou canst no longer escape from our hands, thou shalt come among us to plant pistaccio nuts." He was undetermined what part to act. His courage urged him to the battle, but he had not men enough to enable him to go on shore and repel his enemies, timorous it is true, but in great numbers. The convoy was at a great distance from him, and he could not bear to remain longer in a state of inaction. He had recourse then to stratagem, and succeeded. At sun-set, after having observed the spot where the Tampirs that commanded the Poules were stationed, he swam on shore with

a sabre stuck in his girdle, and his musket on his head, accompanied by twelve of his crew. He attacked the Poules, who instantly fled, and took prisoners, six princes, who were not able to make their escape. He then obliged them to swim to the vessel and put them in irons.

The next morning the Poules perceiving that several of their chiefs were wanting, sent a man aboard; Scipio shewed the princes to their messenger, and desired him to inform the Tampsirs, that if they continued to attack and to molest him in his business, he was determined to cut off the heads of the captives; that as for him he did not fear them, that he would wait for the convoy, and that then, setting fire to his ship, he would open the pass, and that, aided by the Senegalians, he would massacre all the Poules that opposed him. When this resolution was reported to the chiefs, they thought proper to send a second messenger to Scipio, in order to tell him, that if he would only restore the princes they would permit him to act as he thought fit.

To trust to the promise of a negro, and to
become

become his dupe is the same thing. Scipio therefore refused to hearken to their request. But he assured them, that if he was not molested, he would liberate the prisoners as soon as he passed the rock ; and this assurance satisfied the Poules, who permitted him to proceed without further hindrance. During the course of two days the water lowered more and more every day, and the passage became less and less practicable. In order to succeed, it was necessary to lighten the vessel ; but where could the merchandize be deposited, for the banks of the river were covered with enemies ? These difficulties induced Scipio, in order to save the ship, to agree to give the Tampirs thirty pieces of guinea-blues, fourteen double-barrelled muskets, fourteen barrels of gun powder, and ten fusils of the better kind. As a surety for the performance of the capitulation, he required that the son of the Tampir who commanded the troops, should be put into his hands : this was instantly complied with ; and the Poules themselves assisted him to get through this dangerous passage. Scipio might have waited for the convoy ; but he thought
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it better, by this flight sacrifice to save a ship, which he had preserved with so much difficulty, and which would have perished inevitably if the arrival of the convoy had been delayed three days longer.

These multiplied misfortunes lost me the whole profit of my traffic. Of my damaged merchandize all that was saved was about 150 pieces of bad guinea-blues, 12 negroes, 194 drachms of gold, 906 pounds of ivory, and 56 casks of millet. I had got a great quantity of ivory, but it had been taken from me at Baquelle, together with my trunk, containing thirty-eight marks, two ounces of gold which I had procured at Galam, and also, my coral, my amber, my powder, my beads, and silver bells.

Scipio often told me, that if he had been permitted to take prisoners those who attacked him with an intention to deprive him of his liberty, my expedition would not have failed. But the order of the governors of Senegal is, that the traders shall only stand upon the defensive, but shall take nothing in the country; and for that reason, Scipio, who naturally might have made reprisals, having
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inhabitants could save, were his slaves; a very slender compensation for the misfortunes of the voyage, and the loss of the bark.

The convoy was saved by a miracle. Their capitulation at the rock cost but little, for in consequence of some heavy rains that had fallen, there were five feet and a half of water in the river when they arrived at the passage, were eight days before there were but three; but for this fortunate circumstance the convoy would have been lost; the Senegalians must have been under the necessity of returning by land, and with the vessels, must have been given up the millet, the negroes, and the merchandize. Such a disaster would have plunged the colony into extreme distress; as these craft are necessary during the whole year for the purpose of procuring the necessary millet for their subsistence. An event of this nature, is sufficient to contradict the false reports of those writers who represent this country as abounding in every necessary of life.

The marquis of Beccaria had been appointed by the governor, commandant of the fort Podor in the room of M. Duchozel. He arrived

arrived the day on which I appeared before that place, and informed me of the death of the younger Floquet, and of several other whites, who fell victims to the heat of the climate. This young man was extremely regretted by the negroes, especially by Scipio, who, as well as myself, was sincerely attached to him. M. Duchozel embarked with me, as likewise did the company's agent at Podor. The latter would not proceed in the company's vessels, and I received him on account of his situation, notwithstanding the injuries I had suffered from the directors of Senegal. We set sail from Podor with a fair and a strong current, which soon brought us to the colony, where we arrived the twenty-fourth of December, 1786, after having spent four months and eight days in this calamitous voyage.

Podor is considered, on account of the air, the most dangerous spot in all this part of Africa. The village and the fort, are situated on the banks of the river in the territory belonging to the Poules. The fort, which forms a circle, with four towers, was constructed by the English. It has no ditch, and
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being at the distance of 200 toises from the river, may, in case of hostilities with the Poules, easily be cut off from the water. It is consequently of no utility, since it can neither protect the vessels that pass the river, nor be relieved by them. The unwholesomeness of the air is occasioned by the surrounding swamps, which are scarcely ever dried up. It would be therefore, an imposition on the public to join M. Adanson in his praise of this part of the world, since wood, water, and the other necessaries of life, are only to be procured by sending for them at a great distance up the country.

The fever which had left me, returned on my arrival at Senegal. I had lost the companion of my fortunes. Every body, that is, all the French at the colony, considered me as a madman. The governor himself was impressed with that idea although he had never seen me. It is true that I was so absorbed in the rejection of past misfortunes, that I would not even speak to a white. I was never of their parties, and considered them with a kind of horror. The many instances of their dishonest conduct had made them

them odious in my sight. Deceived by the whites, deceived also by the blacks, I had no confidence in any body. I could not get my accounts passed with the commercial house in which I was concerned, and finding the eldest partner in the firm as dishonest as the rest of the world, I broke entirely with him the 6th of February, 1786. I now determined to return to France for the recovery of my health, which the fatigues of so long and painful a voyage had much impaired, and as I stood in great need of repose. I hastened the conclusion of my affairs in a manner little favourable to my interest. I waited for an opportunity of embarking for France, but fearing the frequent insurrections, and the bad air aboard the slave ships, I determined not to go by way of the West Indies. Under these circumstances, Captain Clouët Dubuisson of Havre, commander of the *Furet*, which had been repaired, (and which after remaining a month at Goree, and the Cape de Verd Islands, was to proceed directly for Havre) having offered me a passage, I accepted it, and embarked with him, rather than wait the departure of the companies
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gum ships, which had not yet arrived. There were not, indeed, as yet any accounts received of ships fitted out from France for that most lucrative branch of commerce. At length, on the twenty-sixth, we passed the bar, and on this occasion I had a convincing proof of the negroes attachment to my person. They came to conduct me, and while the vessel was going over that dangerous passage, stood naked on the deck ready to risk all to save me in case of accident. I wanted to reward their zeal, but they refused to take any thing either from me or from the captain.

About eleven o'clock we got out to sea, and the next day at eight in the morning, anchored in the harbour of Goree. This island is only a desert rock, and totally unproductive. There are, however, a few gardens which furnish a little fallad. It is destitute of water, although indeed there are three small springs on the mountain, which are guarded with great care, reserved for the commandant, and furnish water only for his use. The commandants are often so inhuman as to refuse water to their countrymen, even

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when they have more than they have occasion for themselves. They prefer employing it to wash their linen, or letting it run to waste, rather than give themselves the trouble of answering solicitations, or, as they pretend, rather than excite the jealousy of the inhabitants. Both whites and blacks are therefore obliged to procure their water from Dacar, a village in the neighbourhood, or from other places, according to the destination of the vessels. This water, fetched in casks, has always a very nauseous taste, and after the second day becomes quite unfit for use. The air is more salubrious here than at Senegal, which is doubtless owing to its being surrounded by the sea, and to the adjoining continents being free from swamps. The country is inhabited by the same race of people with that of Senegal, in other words, the Yolofo. The inhabitants of the colony are all of that nation. Although the population is not considerable, it furnishes, however, more than double the number of hands wanted for the purpose of commerce; for never did the slave-trade exceed one hundred negroes in a year, and even to procure that number it is necessary

sary to go from thirty to forty leagues along the coast. There were several ships in the harbour, and among the rest one from Honfleur, which had lost all her crew by sickness, excepting the captain and second mate.

Captain Clouët Dubuiffon, according to his instructions, wished to take in wax and ivory, but some days after his arrival he received orders to sail; he then resigned the command of his vessel, and embarked on board the *Bayonnaise*, a king's ship that was returning to France, with the Count de Repentigny, who was succeeded by the Chevalier de Boufflers. This vessel was commanded by M. Kerpel, the successor of Captain Echouard, who was drowned in attempting to pass the bar of Senegal, contrary to the advice of the negro laptots.

According to the arrangement which I had made with the house I had quitted, I was to receive my payments out of the cargo of the *Furet*; as this ship was not to return to France, I was obliged to go back to Senegal; the misfortune which happened to M. de la Echouard, the loss of two ships belonging to the company upon the same bar, de-

tered me from taking shipping; and as the air of Goree had restored me to health and strength, I determined to undertake the journey by land.

The Furet had hardly set sail before I observed on shore a sailor of a very suspicious appearance. Having him seized by the negroes, and brought before the commandant, he acknowledged, that he had concealed himself, in order to avoid being an accomplice in the depredations committed by a Bermudian vessel, that under pretext of taking in provisions, had put in for a few days to Goree. The deposition of this man alarmed me exceedingly; I had apprehensions that this ship, (which in fact was a pirate, but which could not be detected, as all her credentials were in due form) intended to attack the Furet. And this was really the case, but that vessel being an excellent sailer, would not let the pirate come up with her; she ran under the cannon of the fort, and we perceived the Bermudian sheer off. The Bayonnaise, king's ship, which was at Ben, taking in wood and water, not having had timely notice could not give the pirate chase.

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Had an engagement taken place, it is even probable that she would have come off with the worst, for the Bermudian's crew consisted of sixty men of determined resolution, and she mounted six howitzers and twelve twenty-four pounders. She was an excellent sailer, and had repulsed two Portuguese frigates who had given her chase on the coast of Brasil.

I set off from Goree the 9th of April, in the evening, and arrived at Dacar, where I put up for the night at the house of the marabou of the village; next morning I set out upon my journey, escorted by his son, and a negro of Senegal named Wally. I had an Arabian horse that I very seldom rode, being accompanied by the elder Floquet, who had been to Goree in the Bayonnaise. We arrived on the 14th about nine o'clock in the evening, after a journey of five days, constantly sleeping in the open air, walking along the sea shore, and broiling under a burning sun. It was too late to enter the colony, nevertheless Saerguy, one of our gourmets in the Galam voyage, carried me thither in his canoe, unperceived by the centinels.

My health was visibly mending, and this

journey far from weakening had re-established my strength. I was determined then to remain at Senegal to trade on my own bottom; I was desirous of coming to terms with the elder Floquet, and I acceded to disadvantageous conditions to effect it; however, he still procrastinated affairs, which compelled me, in order to draw something from him, to embark on board the *Esperance* of l'Orient, belonging to Messrs. Lavuyssé, Puchelberg and Co. Captain Everard of Dunkirk, commander. This vessel was come on a particular commission from France, for the purchase of gum at Portendic; nevertheless it was seized by order of the King. The altercations which the captain had with the governors of the company upon this subject, detained him near a month at Senegal. I was quite idle there, and time hung heavy on my hands. The mortification of having been exposed to so many dangers, and again to lose, in spite of myself, the little I was possessed of, threw me into a languid state of body, of which again brought on my fever; and when the ship set sail on the 30th of June, 1786, I was carried on board in a state of insensibility.

bility. I had shipped 800 salted cow-hides. The negroes carried me over the bar in the company's boat. The directors had objected to hire it to me for that purpose; but they were obliged to consent, for the negroes obstinately refused to work for them but on condition of first conducting me on board the *Esperance*. Scipio insisted so forcibly that they were obliged to submit. He accompanied me himself, and would not quit me till he saw me safe on board.

One may say with great truth, that if the company is detested in the colony, they merit it in every respect. After all the service that I had gratuitously rendered them, this last trait proves in what degree of estimation the directors are to be held; and if this commerce cease to be exclusive, I still hope to have it in my power to testify before I die, the warm sense I entertain of their conduct towards me.

We weighed anchor two hours after I came on board, on the 30th of June, 1786. The voyage though long was prosperous. I entirely recovered my health on the passage,

and arrived at l'Orient the 23d of August, 1786.

Whatever may be my future lot, I think it can scarcely be more unhappy than the past ; and it is with this hope, that resigning myself to Providence, I look forward to the period when fortune, wearied at last with persecuting me, shall crown my honest endeavours with a decent independency.

PART THE THIRD.

COMMERCE OF SENEGAL AND GALAM.

ALTHOUGH the nature of the commerce of Senegal appears so simple, that even those not bred to trade are confident of succeeding in it, it is nevertheless extremely complex, and liable to a thousand difficulties, requiring not only much experience in business, but likewise a thorough knowledge of mankind. Whoever is not well versed in both should not embark at all in the Senegalian traffic. His enterprise would be attended with loss of fortune in spite of the most unremitting industry.

It is necessary to consider, that having various nations to deal with, so many different modes of conduct are to be followed. The various seasons of the year require different operations. The barrenness of the colony, and the dangers of the bar at the mouth of the river, are great impediments in the way of trade ;
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and the manner of traffic pursued in other countries will not succeed here. He who confines himself to the colony alone, cannot, without extreme difficulty, carry on a thriving business. He must purchase the articles of the slave trade on the river at a high rate, and dispose of them to the captains of vessels at a small profit. In the prosecution of such a plan, a man would have leisure to die several times over before he would acquire a moderate fortune. It is necessary, therefore, for any one who settles in the colony to trade on an extensive scale.

A trader at Senegal, whether on his own bottom, or as factor for different houses in France, should be provided with two small schooners, or flat-bottomed boats, from 20 to 30 tons burden, drawing from four to six feet water when laden, and carrying swivels and wall-pieces. The preference is to be given to English wall-pieces, which carry much farther than French ones. They are mounted upon proper stocks, and may be used and pointed like a musket.

The swivel stocks should be three feet above the deck, to leave room for the barricade, for
which

which it is essentially necessary to bring planks from France, as it can only be set up at Senegal, and is indispensably necessary in the service of the river.

The cabin must be spacious, in order to contain the dry goods, with large lockers in the form of benches. Great care must be taken of the rigging, and provision made of two spare sets. If these small vessels were copper sheathed, it would prove of great advantage, it is the surest way to preserve them from the worm, that in the space of three years will destroy the most solid bottoms. The damage done by the worm might indeed be repaired were it not for the frequent scarcity of hands even at Senegal, and which becomes doubly difficult, when tar and other articles necessary for the paying of vessels happen to run short. In such predicaments, opportunities of advantage slip away, for the river is not navigable, unless in the rainy season. In order that vessels coming from France should pass the bar, the road without not being safe, they should draw at least nine feet water.

The advantage arising from small vessels
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is the possibility of doing every thing by ones self. In this manner one may go to all parts of the river, and even to Goree and down the coast. In these places provisions are taken in when they sail at the colony, which turns out a very beneficial commerce. The Dutch bilanders, such as trade to Ostend and Dunkirk, are the suitable craft for this navigation, but the grand difficulty lies in getting them to the African coast.

The people, who inhabit the eastern part of the river from Senegal to Galam inclusively, are of the YOLOF nation, governed by a powerful king, of the name of Damel. The general residence of this prince is Cahiers, an inland village, situated between Senegal and Goree. The inhabitants of these two colonies are mostly of this nation, and are reckoned the bravest of this part of Africa. They have always the advantage over their hostile neighbours, no doubt on account of the military knowledge they have derived from the French of the two colonies, and from the succour that nation ever affords them. The dominion of Damel upon the river extends to about forty leagues. Beyond

yond which boundary are the Wals and the Bracs, nations formerly powerful, but at present almost savages, and ever exposed to the incursions of the negroes, or of their Moorish neighbours.

The nation of the Poules or Foulques begins at Cocq, a village situated on the point of the isle of Podor, two leagues below the fort, and terminates at Validienta, comprehending an extent of 160 leagues along the banks of the river. The trade carried on with these people is very inconsiderable. All these countries only afford millet necessary for the consumption of the colony, tobacco and a small quantity of ivory; and in case of war between the different nations, choice of excellent slaves. From Validienta to Galam, and even beyond, lies the nation of the Saracolets. Their country is a place of advantageous traffic. The inhabitants are brave, numerous, and in a higher state of civilization than the other negroes. Their religion is partly Mahometan, and partly idolatrous. Great quantities of slaves of various countries of Africa, brought by the caravans, are exposed here for sale. Here also much traffic is carried

ried on in gold, elephants teeth, pagans, and various other articles. Nor is trade in these districts less secure than advantageous; for a man may advance far up the inland country without the least personal danger, even if alone. The northern part of the river is peopled by barbarous hordes of Moors, such as the Bracnarts near Senegal, and the Traffarts in the vicinity of Podor. The Mongearts are also very numerous in the neighbourhood of Galam. Those pastoral hordes rove from place to place, as I have before mentioned, in my observations on the manners and customs of the people with whom I travelled during my captivity. The Moors furnish the gum which they bring to the desert and to Cocq, two marts established for the carrying on of that traffic, and whither the company's vessels always repair in the month of May. They likewise bring slaves to the colony during the whole year, except in the rainy season, when the overflowing of the Niger drives them into the interior parts of the country. In this season their emigrations extend as far as the mountains of Atlas. The Saltiguets, a negro race, occupy the
banks

banks of the river above Yafanne, and extend as far as the dominion of the Saracolets. They compose in a manner but one and the same people, and are governed by a prince, who by right of birth, is intitled to the dominion of the Poules; but the priests deprived him of his crown and drove him out of his country. This prince is a man of courage, makes frequent incursions upon the territories of the Poules, and disposes of his captives to the neighbouring Moors, who bring them to Senegal. They are purchased, notwithstanding the treaty made with the Almamy, importing that no slave of his nation should be bought; no doubt because it is understood that this treaty does not hold good but in the case of the convoy touching at his dominions in the way to Galam.

From Podor to Mafon the hyppopotamus is found in great abundance. This is a most useful animal. Its flesh, as I have before observed, is good food, and its fat makes excellent soap. There is likewise in these cantons great plenty and variety of grain, which might be purchased at a very low rate. The exclusive privilege of the company proves the bane
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of this gainful commerce ; for their agents, wholly intent upon their own interests, and not that of their principals, neglect, perhaps through ignorance, this very essential branch of trade, but from which I can assert from my own experience, immense profits arise. The articles procured here are of the first necessity in France, for the manufactory of Marseilles soap, and their preparation costs as little as their original purchase. The continual apprehension of losing the fruits of one's labours, and of seeing one's discoveries enjoyed by others, is the reason why several branches of commerce are entirely abandoned.

The inhabitants of the colony, the Yoloſs, Poules, or Foulques, and Moors, are the four nations with whom trade is carried on without going out of Senegal. This is done in four different ways ; the difference of seasons occasions a farther variation ; the wants of these several nations, according to time and place, require particular information relative to the articles of which they stand in need. The Bracs and Wals have the same wants as the Yoloſs, and speak the same language. With respect to the Saracolets and the Saltiguets,

guets, business cannot be transacted with them, but in the voyage to Galam, of which an account will be given hereafter.

The natives of the colony are almost all, as has been remarked before, of a faithless character; they seek for opportunities, which they never suffer to escape them, to cheat such Europeans as are not sufficiently on their guard. To be proof against their wiles, it is absolutely necessary to know the Yolof language; for when a man is not acquainted with it, recourse must be had to interpreters, who necessarily belonging to this people, always cheat and share, according to agreement, the produce of their knavery. From this general and well-founded idea, it follows that a man should always distrust them whatever be the nature of the transaction. It is customary to deal with them either for the voyage to Galam, or for such articles as are necessary for their own consumption.

With respect to the last, to avoid every cause of difference, it is requisite never to deliver goods but on payment, either in money or merchandize. It is necessary even to be so scrupulous as to minute every article of agree-
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ment, to repeat each several times, even if the business were to be concluded on the spot, as well with the rich as with the poor. Possession should be immediately taken of whatever article is agreed for, either by purchase or barter ; but for this precaution a man would inevitably be exposed to a thousand quibbles, which, without breaking the bargain, would make it turn entirely to the advantage of the blacks. The employers, always affecting to believe that their servants were deceived, seldom fail to decide in their favour, and although a man have justice on his side, he will nevertheless incur in the colony an imputation of dishonesty, which cannot but prove detrimental to his affairs.

If credit be given for any merchandize, it is necessary, before delivery, to enquire into the circumstances of the buyer ; whether he have any negroes or not, and whether they can be made responsible for the debt ; whether the slaves of this native be Tapade's slaves by inheritance, or have been purchased by him in the voyage to Galam. These things well ascertained, credit may be given without apprehension, on observing, however, eight principal precautions.

1st. The

1st. The Tapade's slaves by inheritance are only nominally so; their masters cannot sell them without bringing dishonour upon themselves, according to the received customs of the country, unless they be considered as abandoned characters, or have been guilty of some great crime. Brought up with the natives, they are considered as inhabitants, and form a body apart in the colony. They have their friends and relations there, who would become implacable enemies to those who should endeavour to sell them; but when on account of any crime they are exposed to sale, the inhabitants readily buy them, and give in exchange slaves of a greater value.

2dly. Care must be taken to see that the slaves which come from Galam be not married to Tapade's negroes, for in that case, like the former, they cannot be sold, except by their masters.

3dly. An exact account must be kept of the time given for payment, the goods delivered, and the conditions of delivery.

4thly. Those bargains should never be concluded privately, but always before three inhabitants at least.

5thly. They must be signed by the mayor of the town, who is at the same time the chief of the negroes, and also by the sureties and the witnesses.

6thly. The sureties must consist of the nearest relations of the purchaser, and in their default, of the most wealthy inhabitants.

7thly. As soon as the time of payment arrives, no time must be lost, otherwise the sureties and witnesses will insist upon withdrawing their names, alledging, that without their knowledge, other bargains have been made with the purchaser, and that to their detriment, without advising with them; and that those engagements having been made in private, they are therefore released.

8thly. It is adviseable, though not absolutely necessary, to make some presents to the mayor of the town, and to the witnesses to the bargain, if one would remain on good terms with the natives. By observing all these precautions, one may carry on with the natives a traffic on credit without running any risk.

If the articles have been furnished for the
voyage

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of vengeance, or by way of bravado, to embark the Tapades captives, would run the greatest risk, nor could he escape being stabbed or poisoned but by miracle: at the best he would be sure to lose his merchandize, and to be reduced to slavery among the negroes or the Moors.

If the article furnished be for consumption, either before, or for the voyage of Galam, a different arrangement must be adopted in regard to the time and mode of payment. The term of the credit given ought to be fixed, at furthest, at a month before the Galam expedition, always before two witnesses and sureties, who sign the bargain and the engagement: the signature or presence of the mayor of the town is also necessary. The most advantageous period of payment is at the termination of the voyage; because returns may then be made to Europe.

When the term of payment comes, should the inhabitant neglect to pay, a complaint must be preferred before the mayor. If the creditor consent to allow the debtor time to enable him to perform the voyage to Galam, either because he should have sustained losses,
and

and it should appear that the payment would be prejudicial to his trade and means of existence, or because, from the want of the money or goods he would be obliged to give, he would no longer have it in his power to procure pitch, tar, cordage, and such other articles of indispensable necessity for the above voyage; in that case, the agreement must be annulled, and a second drawn up, bearing heavy interest, and payable at his return; taking care to observe the same precautions as before. The interest, which is generally fifty per cent, is not too high, considering that the creditor would obtain at least an equal advantage, by undertaking the expedition himself. By employing these means he is sure to be paid when it is at an end; a debt thus prolonged is sacred, and gives the right of seizing the Tapade's slaves, and even of selling them, without exciting the murmurs of any one. On failure of payment at this second period, the obligation may also be negociated; for when all these precautions have been taken, it is considered as ready money by the inhabitants, who are fond of engagements of this kind, especially if the debtor have any good work-

men among his Tapade's slaves; who would become his if the agreement should not be fulfilled.

If the goods furnished be intended to facilitate the Galam voyage, care is taken to settle their value, and the profit that might be obtained if the person furnishing them went thither himself. Every thing must be specified in the bargain; the quantity and quality of the merchandize to be received in return must be agreed upon, without any regard to the future price of the colony. For instance, if the article amount to 1200 livres, and a slave be then worth only 600, it shall be expressed in the agreement, two slaves, or so much ivory, or so much gold, on the return from Galam. So that should the vessels from Europe raise the price of slaves, the debtor will be obliged to pay, not 1200 livres in money, but two slaves in kind, whatever price they may then bear. It is true, that if at the same period, slaves should be worth less than 600 livres a piece, the debtor in like manner would be obliged to give only two, to obtain a discharge. But as there is no example of such a depreciation, he who sells has always the advantage.

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If, for want of being perfectly acquainted with the laws of the colony, a man have the misfortune to sell to Tapade's captives, thinking them free inhabitants, he must endeavour to remedy his error without loss of time, by getting their masters to be answerable for them; but in these cases he is seldom paid. Care must also be taken not to deal with the wives of the inhabitants, unless for ready money, or actual exchange; without that, all would be lost. The rich female inhabitants, who carry on their business themselves, and who have 150 or 200 negroes belonging to them, may be dealt with; but not without the above-mentioned precautions.

A person who does not understand the Yolof language is obliged to make use of negroes as interpreters, whether an opportunity offer of trading with the negroes of the continent, or with the Moors. In this case it is adviseable for him to have slaves of his own, who understand the language of those nations, that he may avoid the impositions of the negroes of the colony. These slaves hope that their cares and services, will one day or other procure them their liberty.

It

It often happens, in making a bargain, that the negro interpreter asks a higher price than he who sells, because in that case, besides the two bars he has a right to for the slave bought through his medium, what he demands above the real price is an addition to his profit.

He who has no slaves of his own sufficiently well informed, would do well to have several interpreters among the negroes he employs as day-labourers, and should give them, as well as to the interpreter appointed by the governor, the two bars for the bargain. By so doing he will avoid a part of the tricks and impositions, to which he is particularly liable when dealing with Moors.

A bargain concluded by one of these interpreters of the colony with the elder Floquet, sufficiently proves the imposition I have just spoken of. The Moors asked seven pieces of guinea-blues for each slave; the interpreter told Floquet that they demanded nine, and he agreed to give them. In the evening the Moors sent him a slave, who came at a moment when the interpreter was absent. On receiving him, Floquet gave
nine

nine pieces of guinea-blues, having in the morning paid the interpreter for several others in the same manner. The Moors, however, took only seven, and returned the other two. This difference astonished Floquet; he sent for a little negress who spoke Arabic, and learned from her that the Moors asked only seven pieces for this slave, being what they had received for the others in the morning. The Moors preferred their complaint of this knavery to the mayor of the town; Floquet laid his before the governor, and the negro interpreter was publicly punished.

However the interpreter may cheat, they must not be slighted, unless by a man perfectly acquainted with the country. For when they see that they are suspected, and that their dishonesty is known, they never fail to find a thousand reasons to insinuate into the minds of the Moors, by way of keeping them from the houses of the whites, of whom they wish to be revenged. To avoid this inconvenience, it is necessary to have negroes paid by the month, who, being dispersed upon the continent, give notice of the moment when the Moors arrive with their

their captives. The traders then go out to meet them, and it seldom happens that the bargain is not immediately concluded.

Nor must it be forgot to treat these savages with the politest regard, and to quit every occupation when they arrive. The captains of ships who are frequently wanting in those attentions which they expect, seldom succeed in the negociations they undertake. For the Moors, humiliated at seeing themselves in a manner despised, chuse rather to repair to the houses of those whites, who, accustomed to their usages, always receive them with kindness. The precautions here recommended in dealing with the Moors, hold good as to the negroes; it is, however, to be observed, in trading with the latter, that they never take interpreters; being sure of finding negroes of their nation in the houses of the whites, they go thither without precaution; debate the bargain personally; and take immediate possession of the articles agreed upon.

Whether dealing with the Moors, or with the negroes of whatever nation, it is necessary to have a room called the *palabre*, in other words, an apartment in which there are
neither

neither goods nor furniture; otherwise there would be great danger of theft.

The *palabres* often last two hours, and during all that time, the people who follow the principals, scrutinize every corner with their eyes, to see if it be possible to steal, while the bargain for goods or slaves is making.

They never agree upon the first interview; they are desirous of seeing whether the merchandize of the other houses be not of a better quality, or easier purchase.

If they be negroes, they are plied with liquor; for, though Mahometans, they will accept anniseed water, or brandy. They drink till they lose their reason, and then strike their bargains. If Moors, sugar and water is given them at discretion, and sometimes brandy; although followers of Mahomet also, they will not refuse it, particularly the princes.

It sometimes happens that they are regaled in vain: it is therefore prudent in the merchant who is dealing with them, to give them nothing to drink until he is nearly sure of coming to an agreement.

As these people generally practise hospitality,

lity, they eat and drink at the houses of the whites without any sense of obligation, because in their place, they would treat as willingly as they suffer themselves to be treated.

The Poules seldom or never bring their captives to sale; they carry their commodities to the colony, but they will not drink. Their *palabres* are of shorter duration; and when they see any merchandize that suits them, they give in exchange the money they have procured at the colony, by selling their millet, skins, elephants teeth, &c. Iron and wool are the articles, the want of which draws them to the colony.

Trade with this nation is carried on at Senegal only from January to June; and hence it is, that after that period, it becomes needless to send out iron, these people being the principal consumers. They make their other purchases in the voyage of Galam, as well as among the Saracolets, the Saltiquets, and the Moors settled on the upper part of the river.

There are three modes of making this voyage; nor has it yet been decided which of
the

the three is the best. The first and most practised by Europeans is, to enter into an engagement with a negro inhabitant, who purposes undertaking the expedition. In this case, the number of bars he is to receive for each slave is agreed upon; or else a bargain is made by the great, and he is allowed 120 or 130 bars, sometimes more, according to circumstances. He requires full bars, among which he insists upon eight pieces of guinea-blues. He then becomes answerable for all events, and the Galam voyage is at his own risk and peril. If it prove unsuccessful, his Tapade's captives, to whom the creditor's rights extend, are his security.

In the second manner, the inhabitant will be content with 100 full bars, but is not answerable for events or mortality.

The first of these two modes is without dispute the more advantageous, although the slave is purchased at a dearer rate. In either way the negro is a great gainer, even though some losses should attend his expedition.

The third motive, which is to perform it in person, would doubtless be preferable to the other two, if the whites could support
so

so laborious a voyage ; but as they almost all fall sick, the negroes avail themselves of it. All the faults, and all the misfortunes fall upon the whites, and all the profit goes to the negroes. The only advantage that can be derived from going there is a knowledge of the value of merchandize upon the river, which enables the trader to avoid the impositions of the negroes in making out their accounts in future voyages.

Several whites have tried a fourth manner ; that is, to freight a vessel themselves, and send, at their own expence, an inhabitant charged with the care of their interest.

This mode is more productive than the others ; but the profits must be shared with the captain, who brings to account nothing but full bars, and takes the salt for himself ; always affirming that he has been obliged to throw it overboard, on pressing occasions, or for some other reasons, of which it is impossible to prove the falsity. This is the mode the negroes like the best, being sure of gaining in expeditions of this kind.

However, though they thief as much as they can, it is still the most advantageous of all

all to the trader. To insure success it is only necessary to find the least rascally negro, and to be acquainted with the value of goods upon the river.

The voyage to Galam is the best in point of profit, though the most dangerous in regard to the trouble and fatigue that incessantly attend upon the adventurer.

It must be observed that there are articles at the colony, of which the price is fixed, and which cannot be refused in payment of the expences of the above voyage.

Such, at least, was the custom from the first existence of the colony to 1785, when I undertook myself to trade to Galam. Their price and currency is invariable; but all articles, not included in the note subjoined, may be rejected, although articles of trade. The custom at Goree is totally different: there the value of bars is settled in money, and never in goods.

The following are the articles which, at Senegal, have always the same value, and which cannot be refused in payment.

| | Bars. | French money. |
|------------------------|-------|---------------|
| A piece of guinea-blue | - 10 | 50 livres. |
| An ordinary musket | - 6 | 30 |

U

Two

| | Bars. French money. | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Two pounds of powder - | 1 | 5 livres. |
| One hundred musket-flints | 1 | 5 |
| One hundred musket-balls | 1 | 5 |
| Four quires of paper - | 1 | 5 |
| Four wedges of Swedish iron, two inches and a half broad, nine inches long, and seven or eight lines thick, weighing together 14 lb. - | 1 | 5 |

N.B. French Weight and measure.

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|----|
| A handsome musket sometimes accepted for - - - | 10 | 50 |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|----|

I do not pretend to say that these goods are of the value I rate them at here in French money; but only that they pass for that value at the colony of Senegal. As it never varies, no dispute arises from tendering them.

Fourteen pounds of iron, even when not cut into wedges, are not refused; but it is most advantageous to give them cut, as by that method a pound in a bar is saved, which, in a quantity, produces a very great profit.

The

The bar is an imaginary money, in goods only, and not in cash. This observation suffices to make known the difference between full and small bars. A bar counting for five livres, the inhabitant has a greater profit, or rather suffers less loss in taking a piece of guinea-blue for ten bars, than one hundred musket-flints, two pounds of powder, or two pounds of tobacco for a bar. The difference is evident enough.

Four pieces of twenty-four sours make a bar at Senegal. At Goree the bar consists of four pieces of twenty-four sours, and one of six. At Senegal the dollar passes only for a bar.

At Goree six sours are added to the dollar to make up a bar. The French crown there, as well as at Senegal, is worth a bar and a fifth; but in the river Salum a bar is only equal to a dollar.

Before I proceed to the pay and expences of the Galam voyage, I think it fitting to give a note of the articles current in the slave-trade, and of those that serve only for the consumption of the inhabitants of both colonies.

C H A P. I.

General statement of such merchandize as is necessary to carry on trade in the river of Senegal, Goree, &c.

FIRST Article. Guinea-blues of India, of a fine texture, a deep blue, approaching to black. This article is most necessary at Senegal, either for the gum or the slave-trade, with the Moors. The finest sort produce the greatest profit.

Such guinea-blues as are manufactured at Rouen, or other parts of France, should be rejected, for the Moors will not buy them.

2, and 3. Single and double-barrelled muskets, four feet eight and nine inches in length, large bore, bronzed and gilt, light stock and silver plate. These arms are purchased by the Moors, as also in the Galam trade, for the Saracolets of the caravans. They begin to be in request among the Yолоf negroes.

4. Am-

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13. English clasp-knives ; the best possible ; they only sell in proportion to their quality. A most useful article among the Moors ; they make use of them to bleed their cattle.

14. Swedish iron-plates, without flaws, two inches four lines in width, seven lines thick, for Senegal.

15. French-iron plates, one inch four lines in width, three or four lines thick ; a good article for Goree. These two articles are essentially necessary, and may be taken in the greatest quantity possible ; they are sold to advantage from the month of February to the month of June inclusively ; but afterwards are almost useless.

16. Dollars ; a thing of the first consequence at Goree, and without which it is impossible to trade ; at Senegal, however, they can be dispensed with.

17. Coarse linens, called *platelles*.

18. Brittany linens.

19. Common printed cottons.

20. English wool, red, yellow, and green, all of a good dye ; the quality should be excellent ; there should be but little green and yellow. This article is extremely profitable, particularly

particularly at Senegal; it is sold all the year round, but the briskest time of sale is in January and February, at the return from Galam; and June and July, when preparations are making for that voyage.

21. Red and yellow serges.

22. London scarlet cloth; it is adapted to their taste, and is always necessary for the trade.

23. Brandy, for Senegal, Galam, and Goree; the Moors and the Poules do not consume any.

24. Stout paper.

25. Virginia tobacco.

26. Silver bells, proper for Galam.

27. Silver *mortottes*, not very necessary.

28. Silver hand-bells, unnecessary at Senegal, but proper for Goree.

29. Copper basons, for Goree and the Poules.

30. Cloves.

31. Small scissars.

32. Small padlocks.

33. Steels to strike light.

34. Combs, of wood or box.

35. Tin tobacco-boxes, painted.

U 4

36. Snuff-

36. Snuff-boxes, lined with lead.

37. Small looking-glasses.

All these are current articles of trade, as well as the glass and bead branch, which varies according to the time of the year, and the quantity at market.

C H A P. II.

Articles of glass and beads, which are always in demand.

FIRST Article. Amber, No. 2, 3, and 4, proper in the Galam voyage for the purchase of gold.

2. Fine coral, from eight to nine lines in length, three lines in diameter, and very clear. At Galam this article goes for its weight in gold. Coral of a smaller size may meet with a market, but the very small sort will scarcely find a purchaser.

3. Round corneians, cut, and very transparent; an article of no value at Senegal, but of the first necessity at Goree.

4. Black

4. Black point ; an article quite useless at Senegal. There are upwards of twenty different kinds, which are all in demand at Goree, &c.

5. Tobacco pipes, an inch long. This ware is sold to advantage only among the Poules. Deputies from Doumons requested me not to have them cut so short, as in that case they were no better than pebbles ; for this reason it is that I prescribe their length.

6. Drinking-glasses, yellow, green, black, and white. The two sorts most in request are the black and white. This glass-ware sells extremely well at Senegal, and in the following proportions ; one half in white, a quarter black, one eighth green, and the same proportion of yellow.

7. Assortments of mock crystal. Small ones do not sell. They must be of a middle size, white, or rather of a glass colour. Azure coloured crystal is also much in request. This kind of glass-ware serves the negroes for the purchase of millet, poultry, game, fish, &c. There is a great consumption of it, and if care be taken to chuse the larger sort, too much cannot be had. This article produces
always

always an immense profit, even in times least advantageous.

8. Pigeons eggs of the sort called *tourne-culs*, white and blue.

9. Pebbles, white, black, and red. This is the most current kind of glass-ware. It is useful among the YOLOF nation to purchase millet, salt, &c. The Moors and the negro inhabitants of the interior part of the country, hold that commodity in high estimation.

10. Snow-white, round and cut out in the form of barley-corns is preferred at Senegal. This article is more beneficial than even amber or coral; but too great a stock should not be laid in; for in such cases, it lowers the market, as it is not a commodity of the first necessity.

11. White agate; it is sufficient to provide a small quantity only of this article, as it is not productive. It is even sold at a loss, but is necessary to complete the assortment of glass wares.

12. Mock coral; an article in great request at Goree, but not saleable at Senegal.

13. Mock garnets, for the trade of Goree and the neighbouring country only.

14. Mock coral beads. This species of glass-ware, though very beautiful, does not however pass in the slave trade; it sells only among the inhabitants of Senegal and Goree, and is one of the most essential articles of decoration in the dress of their young women.

The fourteen articles above-mentioned form forty-four different kinds of glass-ware, which have all a currency in either colony; but the assortments must be made up according to the greater or less demand for them; for some of them may be dispensed with, while others are absolutely necessary.

The above-mentioned articles of glass-ware, which of themselves are nothing, since their value is only ideal and momentary, are nevertheless indispensibly necessary in order to trade to advantage. One may trade indeed without them, but then one loses the benefit of the small bars in the river expeditions: for example, a bundle of snow-white makes four bars at the colony, and eight at Galam. In 1785, the bundle cost me in France 53 sous, being composed of forty strings. At Senegal the bundle is only of ten strings; in the river and at Galam,

Galam, it is only between three and five, according to the scarcity or abundance of glassware; for this reason it is that one should have good assortments without having too much of any one article, for the desire of gain is but too apt to make us take a greater quantity than we can sell. By following this mode, a person will always derive a very considerable benefit from his capital, and after a short residence at Senegal, he will always be able to get the money necessary to carry on as extensive a traffic as he may wish.

C H A P. III.

Articles of consumption and of advantageous sale for the inhabitants of Goree and Senegal, but which are not marketable in the slave trade.

1. Bordeaux wines.
2. Aniseed water.
3. Flour in barrels.
4. Dried fruits.
5. Sugar plumbs and conserves.
6. Negroes hats.

7. Red

7. Red flippers, with a few green and yellow.
8. Sailors linen trowfers.
9. Sailors blue shirts.
10. Large knives.
11. Large scissars.
12. An assortment of files.
13. An assortment of hammers.
14. Watches, steel springs.
15. Silks of good quality, and of divers sorts.
16. Axes of the first quality. They are necessary in every household.
17. Adzes, and carpenters tools.
18. Planes, and joiners tools.
19. Pens and ink.
20. Post-paper
21. Sealing wax.
22. Common linens.
23. Common printed cottons go in exchange for slaves at Goree.
24. Masulipatan handkerchiefs.
25. Blue and scarlet cloth.
26. Light stuffs for waistcoats.
27. English needles.
28. Silver buckles.

29. Pots

29. Pots of pomatum.
30. Rolls of pomatum.
31. Various perfumes.
32. Drinking glasses, flat bottomed.
33. Lanterns.
34. Small shot. It is current in the slave trade.
35. Black pepper and spices.
36. Funnels, coffee-pots, and measures.
37. Weights, scales, draehms, grains, &c.
38. Plate copper, for the Moors.

All the foregoing articles are to be advantageously disposed of on the return from Galam. The inhabitant then denies himself nothing; but at the beginning of the voyage these articles are useless. They should therefore be only considered as necessary, and provided in small quantities. A person would be very much disappointed should he rest the benefit of his voyage on those articles which are not vendible but on the return from Galam. On the contrary, when a vessel sails from France with a view of arriving at the colony by the end of May, it is then proper to bring the necessary articles of traffic, and not the staple articles of the slave trade.

1. Deal

1. Deal boards, ten feet long, from nine to ten inches wide, and an inch thick.
2. Oak planks for shipping.
3. Nails.
4. Pitch and tar.
5. White lead and verdigrease.
6. Canvas.
7. Oars.
8. Old ropes and oakum.
9. Grappling irons and anchors.

10. All the articles necessary to facilitate the means of performing the voyage to Galam, which is, as it were, the harvest of all these countries. Then the negro proprietors cannot indulge themselves in fanciful purchases. Whereas on the return from thence, the hopes of being employed by the Europeans, either in the river trade or at the colony; the distance of the next voyage to Galam; the want and toils they have undergone in that they have just performed; the money or the goods they have received in payment, all concur in tempting them to procure whatever would gratify their desires. They bargain little, and readily pay as long as their money lasts. If credit be given them, it is difficult

difficult to obtain payment. Recourse must in such case be had to the law, and a man is then considered as the enemy of the whole colony.

C H A P. IV.

Value of articles for the slave trade at Senegal, and their value on the river and at Galam, beyond Podor.

| | At Senegal. | | On the river. | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| | bars. | livres. | bars. | livres. |
| A piece of guinea-blue | 10 | 50 | 8 | 40 |
| A double barrelled musket | 20 | 100 | 16 | 80 |
| A single barrelled musket, | | | | |
| best quality — | 10 | 50 | 8 | 40 |
| A common musket - | 6 | 30 | 8 | 40 |
| A buccaneer musket | 10 | 50 | 10 | 50 |
| A brace of holster pistols, | | | | |
| single barrelled - | 6 | 30 | 8 | 40 |
| A brace of double bar- | | | | |
| relled ditto — | 16 | 80 | 16 | 80 |
| A common cutlafs - | 1 | 5 | 2 | 10 |
| Two pound of gunpowder | 1 | 5 | 4 | 20 |
| A hundred musket balls | 1 | 5 | 2 | 10 |
| A piece of coarse linen - | 2 | 10 | 4 | 20 |
| | | | A piece | |

| | At Senegal. | | On the river. | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| | bars. | livres. | bars. | livres. |
| A piece of Brittany, linen | 3 | 15 | 4 | 20 |
| Four quire of paper | - | 1 5 | 1 | 5 |
| Two pound of Virginia tobacco | — | 1 5 | 3 | 15 |
| Ten small looking-glasses | 1 | 5 | 10 | 50 |
| Ten snuff-boxes | — | 1 5 | 10 | 50 |
| Ten steels for striking fire | 1 | 5 | 5 | 25 |
| Ten small knives | — | 1 5 | 5 | 25 |
| Ten box combs | — | 1 5 | 5 | 25 |
| Four English clasp knives | 1 | 5 | 4 | 20 |
| An eighth of scarlet cloth | 1 | 5 | 2 | 10 |
| Four ounces of wool | 1 | 5 | 4 | 20 |
| Four quarts of brandy | 1 | 5 | 4 | 20 |

The produce of the glass-ware besides must be estimated, which in the river trade, is four times the value of its currency at Senegal. Another great advantage arises from the articles of glass-ware and such trifles as looking-glasses, &c. being what are called low bars, nor is it astonishing that the inhabitants when going to Galam will not receive them as full bars, unless they be furnished at the colony price, and even when they afford a very considerable profit.

C H A P V.

Directions for a vessel bound to Galam, with a view of purchasing an hundred slaves at least. Precautions necessary as to the vessel; amount of duties previous to trading; expences of the crew and negroes on the return from thence.

IN the first place, as to the vessel, she must be well barricaded, three feet above the deck, with stout planks musket proof; all communication between the hold and cabin must be cut off; there must be two good boats to lighten and tow the ship, according as occasion may require, in the different parts of the river. She should be well armed to be able to resist in case of an attack. Every man of the crew should have a musket, and cutlafs. Fifty pair of fetters are sufficient for the slaves, being almost all Banbaras, from whom no revolt is to be apprehended, and who are seldom put in irons; they are necessary however, for the criminals, whom the Saracolet nation, instead of putting to death, sell

fell to the Europeans. These latter cannot be too much guarded against: it would even be advisable, if possible, to separate them from the Banbaras, a mild nation, but capable of recurring to the most dreadful extremities, when heated by passion.

A captain should be had perfectly acquainted with the working of the ship, the river, and the language of the nations among which it is intended to trade.

The mate ought, if possible, to have the qualifications of the captain, one being employed in trading on shore, while the other remaining on board, should be able to trade there, work the ship, direct the course, take care of the slaves, and keep up good order among the crew.

There must also be five gourmets, namely, two to act as steersmen, one as carpenter, one as sailmaker, and one as boatswain: the last is called linguist. They all pass for gourmets, that is negro officers, live together, and receive the same pay.

Twenty four laptots, or negro sailors.

Four pileuses to pound the millet, and dress the victuals, and as many rapasses as

offer their services, no matter what be their age. These rapasses are negro children, who undertake the voyage gratis, with a view of making themselves acquainted with the river, and the languages of the nations on its banks. They are of great use on all occasions, and therefore ought not to be refused, especially as their food being taken from the general allowance, they cost the owner nothing, and are of the greatest utility to his enterprise.

Expences of a vessel trading to Galam for a hundred slaves. The duties as paid in 1785. The voyage of five entire months.

Bars. Livres.

The captain, his pay is sixteen bars per month. He is allowed besides a bottle of wine a day, which amounts to four bars per month. Five months make 100 500

The mate at eight bars per month, a bottle of wine or brandy per week, an expence equal to one bar per month, and making in all nine bars per month Five months 45 225

Carried over 145 725

COAST OF AFRICA.

309

| | Bars. | Livres. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|
| Brought over | 145 | 725 |
| The boatswain, five bars per month, and one for wine, make for five months - - | 30 | 150 |
| The two steersmen, the carpenter, and the sail-maker, the same pay as the boatswain - | 120 | 600 |
| Twenty four laptots at three bars per month, for five months make - - - | 360 | 1800 |
| The allowance of salt, which in 1785 cost a bar per barrel at the colony, must also be reckoned the whole free of freight up the river | | |
| The captain four barrels | 4 | 20 |
| The mate two barrels | 2 | 10 |
| The boatswain two barrels | 2 | 10 |
| The four gourmets one and half barrel each - - | 6 | 30 |
| Twenty-four laptots a barrel each - - | 24 | 120 |
| Four pileufes half a barrel each | 2 | 10 |
| Total expence of the crew | 755 | 3775 |

X 3

It

It must be observed that the barrel of salt is the barrel of Bordeaux, and salt is an essential article for the negroes who go up to Galam. It must be carried for them free of freight, as well as the articles they procure in return. They would not undertake the voyage without conditions, for salt serves them to buy pagns, wooden mortars to pound their millet, tobacco, dry kidney beans, and a thousand other articles, which are of indispensable necessity to them, and highly useful in their house-keeping. Those who do not stand in need of such articles, sell their salt for gold, at a dearer or cheaper rate, according to the wants of the Saracolets, six, seven, and even eight drachms per barrel. The gold sells at Senegal for two bars a drachm, that is ten livres; the barrel of salt is consequently worth to the laptots 60, 70, or 80 livres, according to the variation of circumstances. It even produces them more, when they dispose of it to procure the above-mentioned articles. It is not then to be wondered at if all the negroes set so high a value on this commodity.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Expences for the provisions of a crew as above.

A measure of meal is necessary for each person of the crew every day, making 35 measures, which, multiplied by 30, for each month, of a voyage of five, amount to 5,250 measures of millet.

Half a pound of meat for each laptot, and pileuse, a pound each for the gourmets; a pound and a half each for the captain and mate, make 22 pounds of meat per day, which multiplied by 30 for each month of a voyage of five, amount to 3300 pounds of meat.

Millet is bought by the matar. The matar contains 40 measures; then 15,250 measures make $131\frac{1}{4}$ matars.

The matar costs in the river four cubits of guinea-blues: in a piece of $13\frac{1}{2}$ ells three are about 29 or 30 cubits; a piece then will purchase only eight matars and a half; consequently $131\frac{1}{4}$ matars require $15\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of guinea-blues at ten bars a piece — — 155 775
 X 4 Meat

Bars. Livres.

Brought over 155 775

Meat is bought as follows : an ox, for a musket of the better kind among the Moors, for an ordinary one among the negroes. A piece of guinea blues will purchase a dozen of the heaviest sheep or goats, and fourteen when small.

The oxen above Podor produce from 100 to 140 pounds of meat : taking the mean term for the whole river, each ox will furnish 120 pounds. 3,300 divided by 120 pounds give $27\frac{1}{2}$ oxen. Let us suppose 18, equal in value to 28 muskets of the better kind, which estimated at Senegal at 10 bars each, make - - 280 1400

The expence of feeding the negro slaves must also be taken into account ; but the calculation cannot be exact ; it is sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number brought on board at the different periods of the ex- ———

Carried over 435 2175

Bars. Livres.

Brought over 435 2175

pedition. It cannot however be estimated at less than two months provisions for each slave. A hundred will consume one with another at least 80 measures of meal per day, that is two matars: for two months 120 matars, which cannot be procured for less than 14 pieces of guinea blues

140 700

It is the custom to give them meat, to add some relish to their sorry fare: less than four ounces a head cannot be put into the copper; this according to the above calculation makes 25 pounds per day: multiplying them by 60 days, the whole quantity will be 1500 pounds of meat, which divided by 120 give a further want of $12\frac{1}{2}$ oxen: let us suppose 12 to compensate the excess on the other side, at a musket per ox, the musket equal to 10 bars

120 600

Total expence of provisions 695 3475
CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Amount of the customs paid, as well for the liberty of trading in the river, as for the perquisites of the captain and of the king of Galam, the negro prince of the greatest consequence in the slave trade.

BESIDES the above allowance to the captain, he has a right to two bars on each slave. If the expedition turn out well, and a hundred be purchased, as was purposed, the captain's dues amount to — —

| Bars. | Livres. | Sous. |
|-------|---------|-------|
| 200 | 1000 | |

The Baquet of Galam for forwarding the trade up the country, for dispatching people to the caravans, and for the care he takes of them, requires also two bars per slave. Supposing that one half be bought above Tamboucanee and the other places of his jurisdiction,

| | Bars. | Livres. | Sous. |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------|-------|
| Brought over | 200 | 1000 | |
| jurisdiction, the duties to him will be — | 100 | 500 | |
| The general duties paid at Saldee should amount to | 625 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3128 | 15 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 925 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 4628 | 15 |

The rest of the customs
including those paid by the
king of Galam, ought not
to exceed —

| | | | |
|--|--------------------|------|----|
| | 120 | 600 | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 1045 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 5228 | 15 |
| | <hr/> | | |

General recapitulation of expences.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------|------|----|
| Wages of the crew a- mounting to | 755 | 3775 | |
| Expence of provisions | 695 | 3475 | |
| Amount of customs and relative expences | 1045 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 5228 | 15 |
| | <hr/> | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------|----|
| Total expence of voyage to Galam — | 2495 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 12478 | 15 |
| | <hr/> | | |

It

It follows from this calculation, that the expences of an European vessel, fitted out with the intention of purchasing a hundred slaves at Galam, amount in all, including the customs, to $2495\frac{1}{2}$ bars, which, estimated according to their value at the colony, and not according to their river currency, make the sum of 12,478 livres 15 sous. The value of the bars given in the purchase of slaves is much smaller than those paid for the duties, provisions, and for the pay of the crew, which are full bars. Hence it is that I have calculated them according to their value at the colony, and not at that they bear in the river.

It has been seen above that the provisions and the pay of the crew are all in full bars. Those for the customs are equally so; for, in 1785, I gave, as well as all the other European vessels, for the liberty of trading among the Poules, namely, for the general duties.

| | Bars. | Livres. | Sous. |
|------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| Ten pieces of guinea-blues | 100 | 500 | |
| Four double barrelled guns | 80 | 400 | |
| Four muskets of the better kind - - - | 40 | 200 | |
| Carried over | 220 | 1100 | |

| | Bars. | Livres. | Sous. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| Brought over | 220 | 1100 | |
| Four cutlasses - - | 8 | 40 | |
| Ten ordinary muskets - | 60 | 300 | |
| Ten pieces of coarse linen, called <i>platilles</i> , - | 40 | 200 | |
| Ten pieces of white Bri- tanny linen - | 0 | 0 | |
| Ten barrels of gunpowder, of two pounds each - | 20 | 100 | |
| One thousand musket-balls, | 10 | 50 | |
| One thousand musket-flints, | 10 | 50 | |
| Ten bars of scarlet cloth - | 10 | 50 | |
| Ten looking-glasses - | 2 | 10 | |
| Ten snuff-boxes - | 2 | 10 | |
| Ten quires of paper - | 2½ | 21 | 10 |
| Ten bundles of pebbles | 10 | 50 | |
| Ten bundles of snow-white | 10 | 50 | |
| Forty silver bells - | 13¼ | 66 | 5 |
| Ten strings of coral beads | 10 | 50 | |
| Ten ditto amber ditto, No. 2 | 5 | 25 | |
| They required besides, ten coffee-pots, ten copper ba- fons, ten hats, ten hammers, ten hatchets, ten adzes, and, generally speaking, ten of other articles which it is not | | | |
| Carried over | 432¾ | 2172 | 15 |

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As to the particular present made to the Almamy, he did not require any muskets, but

| | Bars. | Livres. |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|
| Two pieces of guinea-blues | 20 | 100 |
| Two pieces of <i>platilles</i> - | 6 | 30 |
| Two bars of scarlet cloth - | 2 | 10 |
| Two barrels of gunpowder, of two pounds each - - | 4 | 20 |
| Six strings of amber beads, No. 2 | 3 | 15 |
| Two ditto of coral - - | 2 | 10 |
| Six silver bells - - | 2 | 10 |
| Two bundles of snow-white | 2 | 10 |
| Four quires of paper - - | 1 | 5 |
| Total of the Almamy's present | 42 | 210 |

The present of Siry d'Ara, his minister.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|----|-----|
| Two pieces of guinea-blues | 20 | 100 |
| One double-barrelled gun - | 20 | 100 |
| One musket of the better kind | 10 | 50 |
| Two barrels of powder of two pounds each - - | 4 | 20 |
| One hundred musket balls - | 1 | 5 |
| One hundred flints - | 1 | 5 |
| Four quires of paper - | 1 | 5 |
| Three silver bells - - | 1 | 5 |
| Carried over | 58 | 290 |

| | | Bars. | Livres. |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-------|---------|
| | Brought over | 58 | 290 |
| Two strings of coral | - | 2 | 10 |
| Two ditto of amber | - - | 1 | 5 |
| Total of the Minister's present | | 61 | 305 |

For the present of the Tampfir, commissioned to receive the customs.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----|--------|
| Two pieces of guinea-blues | 20 | 100 |
| One musket of the better kind | 10 | 50 |
| Two pieces of guinea-blues - | 20 | 100 |
| Total of the Tampfir's present | | 50 250 |

N. B. These two last pieces of guinea-blues acquitted the article brought to account in the general customs for his right of presence. He was better pleased to have the two pieces of stuff, and we to give them.

Recapitulation of the customs paid, and presents made at Saldee, for liberty to trade in the river.

| | Bars. | Livres. | Sous. |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------|-------|
| The general customs | 472 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 2363 | 15 |
| The Almamy's present | 42 | 210 | |
| The Minister's present - | 61 | 305 | |
| The Tampfir's present - | 50 | 250 | |
| Total, 625 $\frac{3}{4}$ 3128 15 | | | |

These customs are the more considerable, as the goods bear a higher value in the river. The barrel of gunpowder, for instance, passes there for eight bars; the hundred of musket-flints for two, &c. The calculation in river bars made them amount to no less than 839. Reckoning the slaves at seventy bars, as they were in 1785, the value of twelve slaves, and even more, was given for the duties. I paid the slave, at Galam; seventy bars, namely, four pieces of guinea-blues, which, in the river pass for

| | Bars. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Only eight bars each - - | 32 |
| A musket of the better kind passing for no more than - - | 8 |
| An ordinary musket - - | 8 |
| A barrel of salt - - | 6 |
| A bottle of gunpowder - - | 4 |
| The sixteenth of an ell of scarlet cloth | 1 |
| Fifty musket-flints - - | 1 |
| Fifty musket-balls - - | 1 |
| Four quires of paper - - | 1 |
| A snuff-box - - | 1 |
| A looking-glass - - | 1 |
| Two heads of Virginia tobacco - | 1 |
| | <hr/> |
| Carried over | 65 |

| | Bars. |
|-----------------------------------|-------|
| Brought over | 65 |
| Three strings of snow white | 1 |
| Two ounces of red wool - - | 2 |
| Twelve strings of white pebbles - | 1 |
| Three silver bells - - | 1 |
| | — |
| Total river value - - | 70 |
| | — |

This price was agreed upon by the Marabouts of the country. Slaves were dear in 1785, as will be seen hereafter by the balance of the preceding years.

The slave valued at Galam at seventy bars, was only worth sixty-two three quarters, Senegal currency; for

| | |
|----------------------------------------|----|
| Four pieces of guinea-blues - | 40 |
| A musket of the better kind - | 10 |
| An ordinary musket - | 6 |
| A barrel of salt - - | 1 |
| A bottle of gunpowder - - | 0½ |
| A sixteenth of an ell of scarlet cloth | 0½ |
| Fifty musket-flints - - | 0½ |
| Fifty ditto balls - - | 0½ |
| Four quires of paper - - | 1 |
| A snuff-box - - | 0⅓ |
| A looking-glass - - | 0⅓ |
| Twelve strings of white pebbles - | 0¼ |
| | — |
| Carried over | 61 |

COAST OF AFRICA:

323

Bars.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Brought over | 61 |
| Three strings of snow white - | $0\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Two heads of Virginia tobacco - | $0\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Two ounces of wool - - | $0\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Three silver bells - - | $0\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Total of the value of a Galam slave, according to the current rate of mer- chandize at the colony, the negro va- lued and agreed for at seventy bars | <hr/> 62 $\frac{3}{4}$ <hr/> |

The slave, at seventy bars at Galam, equal to sixty-two bars three quarters, colony currency, was worth, in French money, only,

Livres. Sous.

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Four pieces of guinea-blues, at 40 livres - - | 160 |
| A musket of the better kind | 15 |
| An ordinary musket - | 7 10 |
| A barrel of salt - - | 3 |
| A bottle of gunpowder - | 1 4 |
| The sixteenth of an ell of scarlet cloth | 16 |
| Fifty musket-flints, at 4lb. per thousand | 4 |
| Fifty ditto balls, at eight sous per lb. | 1 |
| Four quires of paper, at seven sous - | 1 8 |
| A snuff-box - - | 0 12 |
| A looking-glass - - | 0 3 |
| Carried over | 190 17 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|
| Brought over | 190 | 17 |
| Three strings of snow white | 0 | 6 |
| Twelve strings of white pebbles, at 16 sous per lb. | 0 | 10 |
| Two heads of Virginia tobacco, at 35 livres per cwt. | 0 | 6 |
| Two ounces red wool, at 10 livres per lb. | 1 | |
| Three silver bells, at a livre a-piece | 3 | |
| Total value of the slave in French money | 195 | 19 |

The slave cost me then no more than 195 livres 19 sous, valuing the goods at the highest rate. In 1782 and 1783, the slave cost sixty bars, among which five pieces of guinea-blues and a musket were given, the rest in small bars. In 1784 the slave cost likewise no more than sixty bars; but only three pieces of guinea blues, and a musket of the better kind were given, the rest was also in low bars. In 1785 the captive cost seventy bars, among which were four pieces of guinea-blues.

From these several years a tolerable just calculation may be made of a commercial operation, whether more or less guinea-blues be given. They are what fix the price of the slave, the other articles are considered as a present,

a present, the value of these unfortunate wretches only consisting in the greater or smaller quantity of guinea-blues.

Livres. Sous.

The slave, worth at Galam seventy bars, at five livres, amounted in river money to - - - 350

Which, reduced to their value at the colony, made no more than sixty-two bars three quarters in Senegal currency - - - 313 15

Which sixty-two bars three quarters, in effective money, amounted to only - - - 195 15

From these calculations it is easy to see that the sum of 12,478 livres, 16 sous, for the customs, and the expence of fitting out at Senegal, being divided, we will suppose among an hundred slaves, make 124 livres, 15 sous, 9 deniers for each.

Hence it follows, that in 1785, the customs paid, and every thing valued in French money, each slave, delivered at Senegal, cost

Livres. Sous. Den.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|----|---|
| Seventy bars, river currency | 313 | 15 | |
| Customs, &c. - - - | 124 | 15 | 9 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 438 | 10 | 9 |
| | <hr/> | | |

The captains coming to trade at Senegal that same year, paid from eight to nine hundred livres, French money, for the slave on the return from Galam. The slave costing 438 livres, 10 sous, 9 deniers, currency of the colony, and delivered there, there was a profit of cent per cent, which proves the advantage attending the Galam trade, since there is, over and above, the difference between effective French money, and the ideal money of the colony. I do not undertake to give the exact value in French money, for the accidental losses, and expences which cannot be calculated, may be admitted as a compensation, and the trader may be content to calculate his speculations upon the footing of the money of the colony, with a certainty of a very considerable gain.

The dangers to which a man is exposed in this voyage; the expences occasioned by the payment of customs, and the purchase of provisions, added to the wages of the negro crew, will not allow of trading on a small scale: it is therefore necessary to prepare for the bringing back of a hundred slaves; for if only one half can be procured, and a compensation

penfation be not found in gold, and elephant's teeth, it is indifputable that the flaves would become much dearer, in which cafe it would be more advantageous to remain at Senegal, where at leaft the trouble and fatigue would be avoided. It is matter of wonder to me how any one can undertake this voyage, without being acquainted with the confequences. As to myfelf, I cannot now conceive how I could fo haftily come to fuch a refolution, efpecially after all the hardships I had undergone in Barbary

C H A P. VIII.

Merchandize equivalent to the purchafe of an hundred negroes with gold and ivory in proportion, at Galam or along the river.

Five hundred pieces of guinea-blues.

Fifty double-barrelled guns.

Eighty fingle-barrelled ditto, of a good quality.

Fifty ordinary mufkets.

Fifty cutlaffes.

Y 4

One

One hundred and twenty pieces of *platille*, or coarse linen cloth.

Fifteen reams of paper.

One thousand pound of gun-powder.

Ten thousand musket-flints, large and small.

Ten thousand musket-balls.

Looking-glasses, snuff-boxes, scissars, tinder-boxes; box combs of every kind, two gross

The total of the cargo would amount, prime-cost in France, to 27,800 livres.

Four pound of cloves.

Fifty barrels of salt. The overplus goes to the laptots.

Twelve pound of scarlet wool.

Two pound yellow, two green ditto.

As much coral and amber as possible; too much cannot well be provided: gold is obtained in exchange for these articles.

Twenty bundles of snow white, the bundle contains ten strings only.

Four hundred pound of white and red shuffle-boards, more white than red.

Twenty pound of large drinking-glasses.

Two hundred and ten pound tobacco-pipes
for

for the use of the Poules. They are bartered for millet and tobacco.

The foregoing cargo, freighted at the colony should produce an hundred negroes, 10,000 pound of elephant's teeth, and gold in proportion to the quantity of amber and coral, as well as silver bells.

After this statement of articles necessary for the river trade, and the notice of such goods as serve for the consumption of Senegal, and of such as being solely adapted to the slave trade, have no fixed value, it is useless to give the statement of a cargo for a person who should wish to trade for more or less negroes at Senegal only. It is sufficient to observe, that a man should have positive information of the current value of goods, and provide himself with the underwritten articles only, as circumstances require.

The returns sold at the colony
estimating an hundred negroes at Livres.

800 livres each - - - 80,000

Ten thousand pound of ivory at
42 sous per pound - - - 21,000

Total 101,000

Without

Without reckoning the gold, feathers, and other articles, such as provisions, &c.

C H A P. IX.

Of the manner of treating the negro slaves.

IT is not sufficient that the overseer should be merely versed in all I have hitherto explained, in order to promote the benefit of his employers; he must know, besides, how to manage his captives, to alleviate their sufferings, to give them hopes of a better fate. He must be able to make them consider the moment of their departure for the West-Indies as that of their deliverance and good-fortune. By these means he will prevent insurrections, and avert much of the mortality which arises from sorrow and despair.

As I have been myself a slave, I can speak from experience, and I declare that I was never so much attached to a master as when I perceived that, uniting his own interest with mine, he was about to transfer me to those
by

by whom I should be treated with care and humanity.

If I am deceived in the rules I would lay down, I doubt that a man who has never been in a state of captivity can furnish better.

An overseer, therefore, must be well informed in these particulars, if he chuses not to expose his employers to great and irreparable losses. A successful speculation, arising from favourable circumstances, should not give him too blind a confidence; he should take care to be always on his guard.

An agent, besides, should be acquainted with the manner of treating and feeding his slaves. He should endeavour to make them look on him as a father; he has then nothing to fear, for a father surely is safe in the midst of his children, and an agent is in like security among his slaves, when he knows how to soften the rigor of their captivity.

In such an occupation it is easy to make himself beloved and respected; nor can I yet conceive how a man can incur the detestation of his slaves. I have had more than once as many as a hundred and twenty negroes under my care. I went every day to
see

see them, and was always in perfect security among them. Scarcely was there an appearance of a revolt, either at the company's, or at Mr. Vigneux's, but my Banbaras that I left at perfect liberty in the colony, informed me of it. All then was peace about me. I was alone, surrounded by my captives, and sometimes, in case of fire, I have put myself at their head to give assistance, and never was one of them tempted to abandon me. I do not speak here of the Yolofs, who were too near the confines of their own country to let any opportunity of recovering their liberty escape them; but a part of my Banbaras guarded them while the rest attended me on such expeditions.

I have even observed many of my slaves go on board the vessel with joy, on my assurance that they would be well treated and happy, on the plantation where I was going to send them. It is by such means as these alone, that a man can acquit himself well of this painful and dangerous task; and I am convinced that an agent who is ignorant of this manner of treating slaves, can never succeed, either to his own, or his employer's advantage.

Of

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groes of the colony must absolutely be cut off.

The Banbaras, on the contrary, who come from the interior parts of Africa, towards the source of the Niger, never think of making their escape. They are all very laborious, and instead of being put in irons, they may with great safety be employed in useful toil. In order to engage them to act with the most submissive alacrity, it is sufficient to treat them with humanity, to feed and clothe them well; by so doing you will not only secure their good behaviour, but you will form to yourself a vigilant guard against the seditious motions of the Yoloofs, to which nation the Banbaras are sworn enemies.

When the Banbaras find that they are trusted by the whites, they never think of making their escape, preferring to be the slaves of the Europeans, rather than of a black man, who would treat them with the greatest cruelty.

The Saracolets, Saltiquets, Poules, Braes, and Wals, must also be put in irons, but not with so much rigour as the Yoloofs. One pair of fetters is sufficient for two slaves of these

these nations, while one, and even two pair of irons is scarce enough for every single captive of the Yolofo. You must take care that their irons are well rivetted, and examine them every night and morning. Above all, you must observe, if possible, never to put more than twenty of that nation together in one place.

It is contrary to the custom of the French to put the women in irons, and yet they are more dangerous than the men. In complying however with this humane practice, all communication between the men and women must be strictly prohibited.

The place where the slaves are confined, as well as the persons of the slaves themselves, must be kept in the greatest cleanliness. You must make them bathe often, in order to prevent those maladies which too often spread cruel havoc in the ship.

The diseases to which the negroes are subject, are of five sorts, viz.

1st. The venereal disease.

2d. Ulcers.

3d. The scurvy.

4th. The itch.

5th. Worms.

These

These five maladies may be reduced to four, by omitting ulcers, which are not in the least dangerous, being occasioned only by slight wounds, and easily cured, except when the blood is infested with *virus*.

Of all diseases the scurvy is that which attacks the negroes most fatally. It will sometimes depopulate a vessel in a few days. This malady is occasioned by foul air, by neglecting cleanliness, and sometimes by the bad quality of the water.

The Banbaras are more subject to this plague than the other negroes. Care must be taken, therefore, to supply them with the freshest provisions that can be procured, without paying any regard to their predilection for every thing that is salt; for, having no salt in their own country, they no sooner get the taste of it in their captivity, than they contract an immoderate liking to it, and mix it profusely with every thing, they eat. Great care must be taken to prevent the dangerous consequences of this habit.

The itch proceeds from the uncleanness of the captives purchased from the Moors. On their way to the colony those slaves lie

Z

promiscuously

promiscuously with their masters, who, for the most part, are eaten up by that disorder. When they arrive at Senegal they communicate the infection to the companions of their misery, except great care be taken to keep them apart till they be cured. It is therefore necessary to put in a separate place the negroes brought down by the Moors, if one would prevent the disease from infecting the whole habitation.

The worms are almost as dangerous as the scurvy. They carry off a great number of these wretches, and that so suddenly, that it often happens a man dies before the symptoms of the disorder have been perceived.

The Banbaras are also very subject to this disease, especially in the bad season of the year, for, accustomed in their own country to good water, they cannot endure the water of the colony, which is at that time corrupted. It is dangerous to salt their victuals much, for fear of the scurvy, but the best mode of guarding against the danger is to mix with their drink about two ounces of spirituous liquor to every quart of water.

The venereal disease is less dangerous at Senegal,

negal than in our climate. Few negroes are exempt from it, and on that account their ulcers are more difficult to cure, and demand a peculiar attention. It is therefore necessary to know those disorders and their causes, and to carry with one the proper remedies.

The overseer should have some knowledge of those drugs, by which means he would always have the medicines of a good quality, and ready to be administered. The scarcity of persons well informed in these particulars, renders it necessary to take every precaution. Every man has his *nostrums* for the curing of those disorders; I shall not, however, mention mine, though I have often employed them with success.

The following note of the principal articles that ought to form the *materia medica* of an agent, may not be without its use.

SALTS.

Glauber

Epfom

Rochelle

Duobus

Vegetable

Nitre

Ammoniac

POWDERS.

Jesuits Bark

Ipecacuanha

Rhubarb

Z 2

Jalap

| | |
|------------------|-----------|
| Jalap | Liquorice |
| Emetic Tartar | Dog Grass |
| Cremor Tartar | Rhubarb |
| Semeu-contra, or | Angelica |
| Worm-powder | |

Hellebore HERBS.

| | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| Euphorbium | Wormwood |
| Mistletoe | Coralina of Corfica |
| Zedoary | Fumitory |
| Gentian-root | And some other emol- |
| Saffron | lient plants, which |
| Senna | are not found at the |
| | Colony. |

FLOWERS.

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| Mallows | OINTMENTS. |
| Elder | Elder |
| Tussilago | Basilicum |
| Mullein | Oil of Laurel |
| Violets | Styrax |
| Camomile | Album Rafis |
| White Nettles | Galien's Cerat |
| | Roses |
| | Mallows |

Roots,

| | |
|------------|------------|
| Mallows | POMATUMS. |
| Water Dock | Citron |
| Strawberry | Theriaca |
| | Catholicum |

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Catholicum | Vinegar of the Four |
| Diafscordium | Thieves |
| Confect. Hyacinth | Volatile Alkali |
| Confect. Hamec | Burnt Allum |
| | Hoffman's Anoine Li- |
| | quor |
| PLAISTERS. | Oil of Sweet Almonds |
| Divine | OTHER ARTICLES. |
| Diachilon | Barley |
| De Vigo | Honey |
| Hemlock | Manna |
| Diapalma | Senna |
| | Rhubarb |
| BALSAMS. | Juniper |
| Arcens | Anniseed |
| Commanders | Coriander |
| Balf. Tranquil | Mistletoe |
| Melisse Water | Camphor |
| Cologne Water | Blue Vitriol |
| Goulard | White Vitriol |
| Oil of Turpentine | Hartshorn |
| Spirit of Scurvygrafs | Mercurial Pills |
| Antifcorbutic Wine | Corrosive Sublimate |
| Arquebusade Water | Rock Allum |

C H A P. X.

Route from Senegal to Galam, by way of the River, in leagues, according to the measurement of the Negroes.

THE distance from the island of St. Louis, at Senegal, to Podor, a French fort, erected on the territory of the Poules, is generally estimated at - Leagues.
70

In the whole extent of the river, as far as this port, the traffic of negroes, millet, and other trifling articles, is carried on during all the year. In the month of May the famous gum-trade is also carried on with the Yolofo, the Bracs, and the Wals, who are all of negro race, and with the Bracnarts and Trafarts, two Moorish nations; namely, with the Bracnarts in the Desert, and the Trafarts at Cocq, a point of the island on which the fort of Podor is built; and at Portrendie,

Carried over 70

| | Leagues. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Brought over | 70 |
| along the coast where the English are allowed to traffic. From Podor to Dou- mons | 15 |

Doumons is the first mart for the millet trade among the Poules. At this place there is much business transacted in water melon-seed, tiger-skins, feathers of all kinds, and negro soap. This village is situated on the northern bank of the river.

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| From Doumons to Mafou, a place where the tide ceases to ebb and flow, and where the same articles of commerce are to be found, but in smaller quantities than at Doumons | 8 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| From Mafou to Haliburum, the first place where the navigation of the river becomes difficult, on account of sand-banks | 6 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| From Haliburum to the famous rock called Dguioul de Diable, or the Devil's Mouth, the most dangerous part of all the river | 30 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

Z 4 Carried over 129

| | Leagues. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Brought over | 129 |
| From Dguioul de Diable to the Great Canal | 4 |
| From the Great Canal at Saldee, the place of general rendezvous of the con- voy for the payment of duties | 16 |
| <hr/> | |
| The whole route from Senegal to Saldee | 149 |
| <hr/> | |

All the villages of the Poules, except Doumons are on the bank opposite to the Moorish territories ; none of these villages are situated on the river side, but are generally a league or two up the country. The inhabitants, on hearing the firing of the cannon, at the arrival of the convoy, repair with their articles of commerce to the bank of the river.

I shall only insert the names of the principal villages, without their respective distances from one another.

Yafanne, a small but pleasant place, and the residence of the first minister of the Almamy of the Poules.

| | | |
|----------|---------|------------|
| Boffeia | Matame | Validienta |
| Rendeave | Canelle | |

All

All these places belong to the Poules, and are under the government of the Almamy of that nation, and much traffic is carried on there in millet, elephant's teeth, and tobacco, called improperly Galam tobacco, for the plant is not at all cultivated between Validienta and Tuago.

Validienta is the residence of a prince whose ancestors were dethroned by the Maraboux of the Poules. The inhabitants of this village and neighbouring country that surround it, obey that prince, without however being free from the yoke of the Almamy; they form a province in a certain degree independent, yet in order to escape pillage, they from time to time submit to pay tribute to the Poules.

Tuago is the principal residence of the Grand Fouquet, one of the four sovereigns of the Saracolets.

Baquette is a village of great strength, the most considerable of any I saw in these cantons. The lord of the place is a powerful prince, and rivals the authority of the Fouquet.

Cotterat.

Yafré.

Galam. From Saldee to this place is reckoned a journey of twenty days,
which,

| | Leagues. |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| which, at the rate of eight leagues a day, make | 160 |
| From Senegal to Saldee | 149 |
| Total, from Senegal to Galam, | 309 |

Validienta is the first place of any considerable traffic in the slave trade. Yafré is one of the principal marts for this trade ; and in all the other villages of the Saracolet nation, this trade, as well as that of ivory, is carried on in great abundance ; and it is at these places where the Laptots of Senegal take in the articles necessary for their housekeeping. All the territory of the Saracolets is an open country. The villages are well-built, the lands well cultivated, and the inhabitants well clothed ; and in this respect they differ very essentially from their neighbours the Poules, who are in want of every thing, and whose country is extremely unwholesome through their own neglect ; for, as they never fell the woods, nor drain the marshes, after the manner of the Saracolets, the air they breathe is infectious, and the cause of the greater part of their maladies.

Galam

Galam is not the principal mart of trade ; it is the place of meeting for the Senegal captains, and the Maraboux of the country. The price of slaves being agreed upon here, the traders repair to Tamboucanne, a large village of the same country, sixteen leagues above Galam. The route, therefore, that the caravan which conducts the slaves has to take, may from the above-mentioned mart be computed at 325 leagues.

Between Podor and Galam the nations are all Mahometans, and drink very little brandy. Beyond the limits of Galam, up the river, this liquor is a profitable article of trade ; the people are almost all Pagans, and drink it to excess. The negroes between Podor and Senegal, although of the Mahometan persuasion, are passionately addicted to brandy, which they drink without any scruple. The Maraboux alone abstain from this indulgence.

A longer residence in the colony would have given me a deeper insight into the means of carrying on successful trade with these nations ; yet I trust, that in the foregoing sheets I have touched upon what might be considered as of most general utility.

NARRATIVE

Galam is not the principal mart of trade; it is the place of meeting for the Senegal caravans, and the Marabout of the country. The piece of slaves being agreed upon here, the traders repair to Tamboukane, a large village of the same country, sixteen leagues above Galam. The route, therefore, that the caravan which conducts the slaves has to make, may from the above-mentioned facts be computed at 327 leagues.

Between Fouta and Galam the nations are all Moslems, and drink very little brandy. Beyond the limits of Galam, up the river, this liquor is a principal article of trade; the people are almost all Pagans, and drink it to excess. The distance between Fouta and Senegal, the change of the Moslem religion, and the different customs, are all the more strikingly marked by the fact that the Marabout of the country is a Pagan.

A larger religion in the country would have given rise to a different result; the Moslem religion, however, is so established, that in the Senegal, where I have been, there is no other religion to be seen.

NARRATIVE

NARRATIVE
OF THE
SHIPWRECK AND CAPTIVITY
OF
M. DE BRISSON.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SHIPWRECK AND CAPTIVITY

OF

ALFRED BRISSON

NARRATIVE
OF THE
SHIPWRECK AND CAPTIVITY

OF
M. DE BRISSON.

MY travels in Africa had already been a fruitful source of trouble, chagrin, and loss, when in the month of June, 1785, I received orders from the Marshall de Castries, minister and secretary of state, for the department of the marine, to embark for Senegal, on board the St. Catherine, Captain le Turc, the same who, during the last war, acquired so brilliant a reputation in the command of the *Flessinguois*.

After making all the head lands from the coast of France to the Canaries, we passed between those islands and that of Palma, on the tenth of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Previous to our departure from France, I had taken care to apprize the captain of the danger

danger to which ships are exposed in those latitudes from the strength of the currents. I observed to him, that as often as I had been there, I had narrowly escaped being embayed upon the coast of Barbary. This advice, dictated by experience, merited the attention of Captain le Turc; nor did I fail to repeat it the moment I saw the sea assume a clearer cast. I then asked him if he did not intend to heave the lead. "What are you afraid of?" answered he, "Of the land?"—"Why, we are not within eighty leagues of it."

Here let me be allowed to lament the vanity and boundless confidence of the masters of merchant vessels, particularly of those who have commanded privateers. However important the advice given them, they refuse it the smallest regard, and however serious the danger with which they are all threatened, they depend so entirely on their skill, that they rather chuse to remedy than prevent the mischief.

A similar answer was made me by the mate: alas! they perceived ere long how well founded were my fears!

At midnight, I was awakened by the striking

ing of the ship, and ran immediately upon deck, impressed with the idea that we were upon a flat; but how great was my astonishment when I perceived, that we were in a kind of basin formed by rocks. I hastened to awake the sleeping crew. "Get up if you value your lives," said I, "we touch the ground." The Captain came upon deck in great consternation; and such was the terror common to him and his officers, that he gave orders to steer towards the rocks. The vessel thus directed, and at the same time strongly impelled by the current, struck three times, and at length remained without motion on the sand.

All of a sudden a horrible din assailed our ears: the masts began to crack; the flapping sails were rent into rags by the violence of the wind; and the loud clamour of the sailors was confounded with the bellowing surge. So great was the consternation, that no one thought of saving his life. O my wife! O my children! cried every tongue, while every hand was lifted up to Heaven. The masts, however, were soon cut away to ease the ship; but these were fruitless cares; for

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the water had already found its way into the cabin.

In this wretched situation, I stepped up to the Captain, whose dismay was so great, that it prevented him from coming to any resolution. It was only eighteen months since Captain Carfin had met with the like misfortune near Cape Blanco, and by shooting himself in despair, he had occasioned the loss of several lives. Afraid that we might lose Captain le Turc in the same manner, I exhorted him to be patient, and tried to raise his drooping spirits; but it was in vain, and we should have been irretrievably lost, if Monsieur Yan the second mate, M. Suret a passenger, three English sailors, and a few others, animated by my example, had not assisted me in hoisting out the long-boat, and helped me afterwards to prevent her from being sunk or stove alongside. We were compelled to struggle thus during a tedious night against the furious sea, hoping that when the dawn should appear and enable us to avoid the rocks, which surrounded us on every side, we might have it in our power to land in safety upon the beach.

All

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compence also, when we had put the rest of the crew ashore! We only escaped, however, from this first danger, to be the victims of another of a still more dreadful kind.

I asked the captain at what distance he supposed we might be from Senegal; but was far from being satisfied with his answer. Not knowing consequently what route to follow, I told my companions, that I could hardly flatter myself that I should be able to lead them to some hamlet of the Trargea nation, where I might hope to meet with some of the Arabs with whom I had had dealings at the settlement of Senegal. “In that case,” added I, “our captivity would be less rigorous and of shorter duration. But I dread our meeting with some horde of the tribes of Ouadelims, and Labdesseba, a savage race, whose only food is the milk of their camels, and who are for ever wandering up and down the desert.”

We had scarcely landed, when I prevailed upon my companions to climb up the rocks, and to try to discover on what shore Providence had thrown us. When we had reached the summit, we perceived an immense plain, covered with white sand, over which were
thinly

thinly scattered a few creeping plants, not unlike the branches of coral. The seed they bear is of the same colour, and nearly of the same form as mustard-feed. The Arabs call it *Avezoud*, gather it, and make a paste of it, that they consider as a luxury. At a great distance, the eye could discover hills of small elevation, which being covered with a species of wild heath, resembled an extensive forest.

While walking towards these hills, I perceived some camel's dung upon the ground, and soon after saw several grazing in different places. We could then no longer doubt that this district was inhabited, and felt ourselves more at ease after the discovery ; for without knowing among what people our fate had conducted us, we were the happier on approaching human habitations, as hunger, which began to be importunate, might have driven us to direful extremities. No one knew better than I what we had to fear from it ; and the effects of thirst were still more to be dreaded.

This sad reflexion occupied my mind, when I perceived some children at a distance, hastening to collect their herds of goats, and to

drive them away. I concluded from thence that we had been descried, and that our appearance had excited some apprehension. The cries of the children spread the alarm through the neighbouring camps, and we soon saw the inhabitants advancing to meet us. No sooner did they make out what we were, than they separated, began to skip and dance upon the sand, covered their faces with their hands, and howled and cried in the most dreadful manner; this was enough to convince us that they were little acquainted with European faces. Their gestures, and the measures they took to surround us, did not afford a favourable presage. I therefore told my fellows in misfortune not to separate, but to walk on in an orderly manner, until I should be near enough to make myself heard. In my former voyages to Senegal, I had learnt a few words of Arabic, from which I hoped to derive much advantage on the present occasion. I began by tying a white handkerchief to the end of my cane, in the form of a flag; Perhaps, thought I, they may have some knowledge of this signal, especially if any of them have been at Senegal; or if they have ever seen
shipping

shipping on their coast, they will know us to be unfortunate shipwrecked Frenchmen.

When we drew near the savages, some of my companions, among whom were the first and second mates, dispersed; but they were immediately surrounded and seized by the collar. It was not till that moment, when the rays of the sun were reflected from the polished steel of their daggers, that we discovered them to be armed; for not having perceived it as yet, I had advanced without fear. The two unfortunate men, who had been carried off, not making their appearance again, all my efforts to stop the others became fruitless: fear took possession of their minds; they uttered unanimous cries of despair, and ran off in various directions. The Arabs, armed with weighty cutlasses, and little maces, rushed on them with incredible ferocity; and I soon beheld some of them wounded, and others stripped naked, and stretched out almost breathless on the sand.

In the midst of this horrible massacre, I perceived an unarmed Arab. From his dress I took him for one of those who had accompanied Prince Allicoury, in a visit he had for-

merly made me on the Island of St. Louis, and immediately I ran to throw myself into his arms; but after viewing me for some time, he cast upon *me*, upon the mate, Monsieur Devoise, and five others of the crew, who had never quitted me, a look of disdain, which told us but too plainly, that we were not less unfortunate than the rest: he took me by the hand, looked at it with attention, counted my fingers, and put his hand into the hollow of mine, making at the same time several motions with his head. He then asked me who I was, what I came to do there, and how I had found my way thither. I traced the form of a ship upon the sand, and with the assistance of the few Arabic words I was acquainted with, and of my gestures, I found means to make him understand that I solicited his assistance to conduct us to the place of our destination. I added that I had about me wherewith to recompense his trouble, and this last article he seemed to understand better than the preceding ones; for immediately after he locked his fingers in mine, as an assurance that from that moment we were closely connected; and told me with
equal

equal haste to deliver to him the effects of which I had just spoken. I gave him two very handsome watches, one a repeater, with the chains belonging to them, a gold stock-buckle, two pair of silver buckles, a ring set with brilliants, a silver cup, fork, and spoon, and two hundred livres in specie. I thought I remarked, that though much pleased with the trinkets, &c. he was still more so with the money. With great care, and still greater mystery, he hid his treasure in his blue shirt, promising not to abandon me. The precaution I had taken in saving these valuable effects, proved to me, in the end, an almost inexhaustible source of sorrow.

As soon as the Arab's booty was secure, he asked on what part of the coast we had been shipwrecked. I pointed it out to him; and he immediately called several of his people, and told them to follow him. From the manner in which they addressed him, I perceived that my protector was a man of consequence; and indeed he was their priest, whom they call *Talbe*.

When arrived at the sea-side, they began to utter loud cries of joy; but the jealousy, visible

visible in their faces, ere long called up the spirit of discord. They determined to make us swim on board, and get out of the ship every thing it was possible to save; but we all declined it, on the pretence of not swimming, and they were obliged to go aboard themselves. How strongly was the fear of not having as much as those who had swum to the ship, expressed by those who remained ashore! The women were particularly outrageous.

In the mean time the news of our shipwreck was already spread over the country; and the greedy savages, whose numbers could not fail to excite still further jealousy, were seen running down from every quarter: they soon came to blows, and several lost their lives. The women, enraged at not being able to plunder the ship, fell upon us, and tore off the small remains of clothes we had upon our backs: they were particularly attentive to mine, which I had preserved till then, and which they thought deserved a preference.

My master, who was more like any thing else than a warrior, and who perceived that
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the number of Arabs was every moment increasing, called two of his friends, whom he very wisely admitted to the partnership of twelve shipwrecked men that had put themselves under his protection. This was the best means of acquiring partizans, and of preserving the portion he had reserved for himself. After having made the necessary stipulations, as well for sharing what had already been got out of the ship, as for the division of the slaves that had been made, he withdrew from the crowd by way of securing us against any insult. It was in a miserable hut, covered with moss, that we were lodged, or rather heaped upon one another.

Our master's first care was to search us scrupulously, for fear we should still have any thing concealed. Unfortunately for them, my companions had not been able to keep the smallest article for him, so that in his ill humour he treated them without the least regard. He took away even their shirts and handkerchiefs, giving them to understand that if *he* did not, some other would. He wanted to go the same length with me, but I told

I told him that I had already given him enough, and he desisted.

Not knowing as yet what horde I had fallen in with, I addressed myself to my master, with a view of obtaining information on that head, and by means of words and signs had with him the following conversation: “What is your name, and that of your tribe? And why did you avoid the bands that advanced to the sea-side?”—“My name is Sidy Mahammet del Zouza; my tribe is that of Labdesseba; and I avoided the Ouadelims because we do not live with them on friendly terms. But, pray what is your name? Are you the brother of these men?” shewing me my companions. I answered his questions: but I was much afflicted at finding that we were fallen into the hands of the most ferocious among the inhabitants of the Deserts of Arabia. I foresaw that we should have nothing but hardships and trouble to undergo, till the moment of our deliverance. But how were we to be delivered? Alas! I hardly dared flatter myself with the hope.

My fears were but too well founded. My master, after having buried the little treasure
with

with which I had just enriched him, returned to the beach, to see what was coming to him of the plunder of the ship. During his absence a band of Ouadelims came to besiege our retreat. They sacked, plundered, and overturned every thing. They laid hold of some of us by the throats, of others by the hair; two of them advanced towards me, took me by the arms, and dragged me first one way, and then another. The small remains of my dress became the object of their jealous fury. More of them run up, surround, and carry me off; and after having torn off my shirt and neck-handkerchief, pushed me behind a heap of sand. There they committed all kind of outrages upon my person: I gave myself up for lost, and thought that I was going to expire beneath their blows. The cords with which they were preparing to tie me, seemed to announce that my last hour was at hand. I was in this cruel expectation, when one of the associates of my master ran up, quite out of breath. "Stop," cried he, "you have committed unheard of outrages in the hut of Sidy Mahamet, our talbe. Not contented with
having

having carried off his slave, you have, in your blind rage, trod under foot the holy books of our religion; the priest, incensed at the indecency of your sacrilegious conduct, has insisted that the old men of both parties should assemble, and judge the guilty in full council. Believe me; give him back his slave; it is the only means to appease his anger, and prevent the consequences*." This threat produced the effect that Mahammet's emissary expected. I was delivered up to him by those who had treated me so cruelly, after having separated me from my companions in misfortune. He took me away immediately, to lead me to a new scene of torture.

Nouegem, for that was the name of the man who had just delivered me, conducted me directly to the place where the council was assembled. "Here," said he, introducing me, "is Sidy Mahammet's slave: I have been following him the whole day, that I

* I was not as yet sufficiently master of the Arabic to comprehend this speech and several others that I shall mention; but when I understood that language better, I begged my master to repeat them.

might not lose sight of him ; and after much danger and fatigue, I have got him out of the hands of those who had carried him off. I ask, as the reward of my pains, that he may be one of the slaves that are to belong to me. I have the greater right to him, as I saw him deliver to his master a quantity of effects, which seemed to be very valuable." Immediately a crowd of women and children gathered round me. They looked at me attentively, and all cried out together, *Es Rey*.

Sidy Mahammet, enraged at what Nouegem had just revealed in regard to his treasure, and at the pretensions he had just discovered, cast upon him a look full of contempt and anger, and spoke as follows : " Whether this Christian be *rey* or not, he belongs to me : he came of his own accord to throw himself into my arms, and I have promised to protect and conduct him to Prince Allicoury. I have given my word, and I hope the tribunal will make a distinction in favour of my rights, between a man of my character, and such a one as Nouegem, whom I should punish severely if I treated him as he deserves." The reader may judge from

from hence of the pride of the Arabian priests.

“ Since such are your pretensions,” answered the Arab, “ and as your slave cannot be mine, he shall die by my hand.” On saying these words, he drew his dagger to stab me. I stood trembling beneath the barbarian’s threatening steel; but my master, without loss of time, threw upon me a kind of rosary * of enormous length; he then took a little book which hung to his girdle: and at the same instant the women rushed upon me, and took me out of the hands of Nouegem to deliver me into those of the wrathful priest, so much were they afraid lest he should pronounce an anathema against his adversary. The council in a body approved the talbe’s exertion of authority; while the conduct of the women was much laughed at, and applauded at the same time.

At a few paces from the place where the scene had just past, I found my fellows in misfortune, whom I had despaired of ever

* The talbes wear a long string of 115 small black balls, and make use of them as the Catholics do of their rosaries.

seeing again. But, good heavens ! in what a state did I find them ! they had already begun to feel the torments of hunger. They had ate nothing for two days ; nor was I less exhausted than they ; but the critical circumstances in which I had found myself, had so agitated my spirits, that I had in a manner lost the faculty of feeling the want by which I was so hardly pressed.

When become a little more tranquil, I reflected on the danger from which I had so fortunately escaped ; and my emotion was so great that I could not refrain from weeping. I endeavoured to conceal from every eye this testimony of my sensibility and grief. But some women perceiving it, instead of being moved to compassion threw sand in my eyes, as they said, to wipe away my tears. Luckily the night coming on, and concealing me from their view, saved me from the fury of these monsters.

Three days had already elapsed since we were made slaves, and we had as yet had nothing to eat but a little meal, spoiled by the salt water, and rendered still more detestable by a mixture of barley-meal, that had been

long kept in goat skins; and even this wretched repast was interrupted by cries of alarm, which we heard at some distance.

One of Sidy Mahammet's friends ran up to him to advise him to hide himself as fast as possible, as the Ouadelims were pouring in from all quarters, with the intention of carrying off what his horde had captured. "Fly with your slaves," said he, "while I go and assemble some of our people; and at the dawn of day we will set off on our march to return to our habitations." I have since learned that the Arabs of the horde of Labdesleba had only repaired to the sea-coast three days before our shipwreck, to gather wild grain for the subsistence of their families. A place of rendezvous was agreed upon; after which we went and hid ourselves behind some hillocks of sand, where we remained till some Arabs of a different tribe, but equally interested in the preservation of their plunder, came to join us, and reinforce our band. A guide, who had gone before us, had placed small pyramids of stones from distance to distance, to point out the road we were to follow, and to prevent our
falling

falling into the midst of some hostile horde, particularly that of the Ouadelims. These people, indeed, are universally so greedy and rapacious, that friends, or enemies, they are almost equally to be feared. At break of day, all those that had Christian slaves, having joined us, we set off on our march for the inland country, where resided the families of our respective masters.

It is impossible for me to express how much we had to suffer, especially from thirst. It became so painful to us to move our tongues, that we did not dare to ask one another any questions. We were obliged to go the same pace as the camels, which were hurried on at a rapid rate; and our masters, from the fear of our being taken from them, marched and counter-marched us so many different ways, that it was fifteen days before we reached their habitation, while, by following the direct road, we should have arrived there at most in five.

After having climbed up mountains of a prodigious height, and entirely covered with small grey stones as sharp as flints, we descended into a sandy bottom, thickly sown

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with prickly thistles. There we slackened our pace: the soles of my feet were by this time all over blood, and it became impossible for me to get on any further. My master was therefore obliged to take me up behind him on his camel; but this attention on his part, so far from being a relief to me, was the cause of my suffering unheard of torments. The camel's pace is naturally very heavy, and his trot exceedingly hard. As I was naked I had nothing between me and the animal's bare back, so that in a short time I was dreadfully galled. My blood streamed down the flanks of the camel: but this spectacle, instead of exciting the sensibility and compassion of these barbarians, served them as matter of amusement. They made a sport of my sufferings; and that they might enjoy it the better, urged on the beasts upon which they were mounted. My sores would no doubt have become incurable, if I had not come to a violent, though necessary resolution, that of letting myself fall upon the sand. All the hurt I met with in falling, was the being pricked from head to foot by the thistles, with which I have already said the ground was covered.

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In the dusk of the evening, we perceived a very thick smoke, and I thought we were approaching some hamlet where we should find something to eat, and above all something to drink; but I soon saw that it was nothing but underwood, behind which our guide had taken up his lodging. I went and stretched myself out behind a bush, and there waited for death; but scarcely had I laid down when an Arab of our company came to make me get up and unload his camel. I was so incensed at the manner in which this man gave me orders, that I answered him without any ceremony. Immediately he snatched off my head an old sailor's hat that had been given to me instead of my own, spit upon it as a mark of contempt, and seized me very roughly by the arm to drag me towards the camel. As soon as he laid his hand upon me, I was no longer master of my resentment. I began by giving him a blow in the face with my fist; then disengaging myself from his hands, I took up a stick with a lance at the end, and ran up to strike him, but he took to his heels, and thus escaped the effects of my anger.

At the same instant I perceived my master advancing towards me. Not knowing his design, I called out to him that if his intention was to avenge his countryman, he would find me prepared to go any length, rather than suffer myself to be struck. My resolution and threats made him laugh; however he dispelled my apprehensions, by telling me I had nothing to fear. This adventure made me imagine that with firmness I might avoid a great deal of ill-treatment, to which I could not fail of being exposed, if I shewed any signs of fear, and I often experienced afterwards, that this idea was well-founded. These Arabs are only brave where they meet with no resistance.

Soon after I saw preparations made which gave me a great deal of uneasiness. Flints were heated in a large kind of furnace; I saw a great stone, which was lying under a bush, taken up; a hole was dug in the earth, and the Arabs frequently repeating my name, burst into violent fits of laughter. At length they called me, and made me draw near the hole they had just dug. He, whom I had beat, made me a number of signs with his hand, passing

passing it backwards and forwards along his neck, as if he was going to cut off his head, or meant to make me understand that I should lose mine. Determined as I was to make a stout resistance, all these gestures excited very unpleasant feelings. But how great was my surprize, when, on approaching the cavity, I saw a leathern bottle, a little bag containing barley meal, and a goat that had been lately killed taken out of it. The sight of these provisions restored me to my tranquillity, although I was ignorant of the use to which the heated flints were to be applied. At length I saw a wooden vessel, in which some barley-meal had been thrown, filled with water; and the heated pebbles thrown into it served to make it boil. It was thus that our masters made a kind of paste, which they kneaded in their hands, and swallowed without chewing. As to us slaves, our repast consisted of the same meal mixed up with water: it was thrown upon a carpet which served our master to put under his feet during the prayer, and as a mattrafs at night. After having for a long while kneaded this paste, he delivered it to me to divide it with my

fellow slaves. It is impossible to conceive how nauseous it was to the taste. The water with which it was made, had been procured upon the sea-side, and then inclosed in a raw goat's-skin; to prevent it from corrupting, a kind of tar had been put into it, and had given it a most horrid smell. The same water was given us for our drink, and bad as it was, in very small quantities.

The Arab whom I had struck, hearing that I complained, gave me the remains of his paste, and told me that the next day we should eat the goat, which had been killed on purpose for us, as he had given me to understand by his signs. I testified to him, half by words, and half by gestures, my great surprise at the finding of these provisions; and he employed the same language to tell me, that the guide, who had gone on before us, had procured them in a neighbouring hamlet, and had hid them under ground, to conceal them from the sight of the Moors, in case any should pass that way. These details astonished me, but less, I must confess, than to see the resentment of this Arab converted into acts of kindness and complaisance. When
our

our repast was over, each of us retired to sleep behind a bush.

As early as the dawn of day, we heard our masters voices, ordering us to assemble and load our camels. After having obeyed them, we continued our journey with the small quantity of provisions that remained. It was almost noon when we halted in a plain, where we did not find a single tree to shade us from the rays of the sun, which came down perpendicularly upon our heads. There we were employed in unloading the camels, and in tearing up roots to make a fire, a piece of business the more disagreeable, as in this country all the trees, roots and shrubs are covered with thorns. As soon as the fire had heated the sand, the goat was entirely covered with it, and we continued to feed the flames, while our masters regaled themselves with the raw grease; they even seemed to consider it as a great dainty. As soon as the meat was dressed, it was taken up; and the Arabs, without giving themselves the time to take off the sand that was sticking to it, devoured it with incredible voracity. After having well gnawed the bones, they made
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use of their nails, the better to tear away the little remaining flesh ; they then threw them to us, enjoining us to eat with dispatch, and reload the camels, that we might renew our march without delay.

The sun was near setting, when by the light of its fiery rays (for in this country the sun almost always sets in a red horizon) we discovered tents scattered here and there upon a rising ground, and flocks and herds returning from pasture. The inhabitants of the camp we were approaching came out in crowds to meet us; but, far from practising the kind laws of hospitality in our regard, they loaded us with abuse, and made us suffer the most inhuman treatment: two of my fellows in misfortune were reduced to a most dreadful state; the women especially, far more ferocious than the men, took a pleasure in tormenting them. The resistance our masters dared to oppose was a very feeble one; they seemed on the contrary delighted to see that more attention was paid to us than to the lading of their camels.

I had removed to a little distance from mine, when all on a sudden, perceiving a man level
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a double-barrelled gun* at me, I presented my breast to him, and bad him fire. This act of firmness, to which he was no doubt little accustomed, astonished him, and his surprize contributed to strengthen my idea, that an appearance of not fearing these people, keeps them in awe. I was walking up to the man in question, when a stone, thrown by an unknown hand, but which I suspected to be that of a woman, struck me on the head. I was stunned for a moment; as soon as I recovered my senses, I fell into a violent rage, and called out for vengeance. This was enough to spread fright and terror among the children; and even the savages, who were come out to meet us, not knowing what might be the matter, took flight. One of them, however, before he retired, struck me on the breast with the butt-end of a musket, and made me vomit blood. If I could have discovered the man who dealt the blow, I would have revenged myself at all events;

* In the course of a few years past, several ships going on the slave-trade have been lost on that coast: the Arabs having taken out the cargoes, it is not surprizing that they should have muskets in their possession.

reduced as I was to the necessity of making my complaint, I did it with so much vehemence, that I excited the curiosity of some of these monsters. They asked my master who I was. "He is a Christian," answered he, "who must needs be very rich. He has a great quantity of muskets, balls, flints, and scarlet cloth * . To judge how much he is superior to the rest, it was sufficient for us to see that he was far more richly dressed, to perceive that his linen was perfumed with a very agreeable scent † , and to know that he received Prince Allicoury, his wife, and all his retinue at his house."

I had thought to avoid a great deal of bad treatment, by saying that this prince had come to pay me a visit; and to prove it I had mimicked his buffoons, who are called *egeums*. This kind of farce pleased my master so much, that he made me repeat it as often as he had an opportunity. He made use of this little stratagem to divert those by whom he

* He thought that the stores in the king's warehouses belonged to me.

† This scent was nothing more than lavender, of which my linen had retained the smell.

feared to be plundered, and to keep their attention otherwise engaged. Scarcely had he mentioned my talent for imitating the egeums, when I was furrounded by men, women, and children, who continually repeated to me *ganne*, *sing**. As soon as I had done, they made me begin again, and I was obliged to comply, as well to amuse them, as to procure (why should I not confess it) a few drops of camel's milk, the reward of this sorry buffoonery.

We staid only one day in this canton, the inhabitants of which, however ill-disposed in the beginning, were good enough to give us provisions for three or four days. The plains we traversed in advancing towards the east, were covered with little pebbles, as white as snow, and as round and as flat as a lentil. While walking we heard a hollow sound beneath our feet, as if the ground had been excavated. These regions afford no variety, the country being entirely flat, and not producing any plant whatever. The horizon is

* This nation is very fond of singing: they generally range themselves round him who affords them this pleasure.

there

there obscured by a reddish vapour. It looks as if there were burning volcanoes on every side. The little pebbles sting the feet like sparks of fire: neither bird, nor insect, is seen in the air: a profound silence, that has something dreadful in it, prevails. If now and then a small breeze arise, the traveller immediately feels extreme lassitude; his lips crack, his skin is parched up, and little pimples, that occasion a very painful smarting, cover his body. Our conductors, who had advanced into these regions to avoid some hordes, from whom they would have had much to fear, were not more exempt than ourselves from the ills we suffered in this tract of country, into which the fiercest animals dare not adventure. The rays of the sun struck upon the pebbles, and I was afraid at every instant lest the reflection should deprive me of my sight.

We proceeded from this immense plain into a second, which the wind had furrowed from distance to distance with a firm sand of a reddish colour. Some odoriferous plants which reared their heads above the ridges of the furrows, were instantly devoured by the camels,

camels, almost as famished as ourselves. We had the good fortune, in quitting this sandy plain, to find a bottom furrounded with mountains, the soil of which was white, and of a marly nature. It was in this kind of valley, at the foot of some broom, forming a kind of bower with its interwoven branches, that we met with water to quench our raging thirst. We drank it with unspeakable pleasure, although it was very bitter, covered with green moss, and of a foetid smell.

The evening, however, made us amends, by bringing us to a horde that was encamped at the distance of a few leagues. We there met with a very good reception, the road to other habitations was pointed out to us, and we were told that we should meet with all the necessary assistance to enable us to reach the residence of our masters. This event was the more fortunate, as our guides had lost their way.

My master's brother-in-law, who was one of the chiefs of the horde, took particular care of all the slaves. He ordered camel's milk, and ostrich's flesh dried in the sun, and chopped up small, to be given us. I do not know

know what prepossessioned him in my favour; but he walked up to me, and addressed me thus: "Unfortunate Christian, my brother has been long my debtor, if you will consent to attach yourself to me, he and I will settle the matter between us." This proposal made me tremble; for it seemed to threaten me with a long captivity. I was so firmly persuaded that mine was to be of short duration, that I ran in haste to acquaint my master with the intentions of his brother-in-law, and begged him not to consent to any such arrangement. I gave him to understand that my ransom would amount to more than his brother would give him. "Do not be uneasy," said he, "when you leave me, it shall be to go to Morocco or Senegal, and that shall be ere long." This hope filled my heart with inexpressible joy. However, notwithstanding my grateful sense of Sidy Sellem's kind behaviour, his proposal left unpleasant apprehensions in my mind. He perceived it, and told me that I might one day repent the not having accepted his offers. I attributed this discourse to his desire of having me in his possession: but I afterwards discovered that he had not deceived me.

After

After three days rest among the Arabs of the horde called Larouffye, we set off again on our march, to advance further up the country, where we were to find the families of our conductors. It was not till after sixteen days of fatigue, and the most dreadful want, that we arrived quite spent, and almost reduced to skeletons.

At sun rise we discovered a hamlet that seemed at first sight a delightful abode. Several tents spread under tufted trees, and innumerable flocks and herds feeding upon the hills, made this place look like the retreat of happiness and peace; but, on a nearer approach, it assumed quite a different appearance. The trees, of which I had admired the verdant foliage, were old gum-trees; and their boughs thick-set with thorns, rendered the shade they diffused about them inaccessible. We were soon perceived upon the declivity of a hill, which led to the abode of our masters.

Several black slaves, generally employed to tend the camels, came out to meet them, to kiss their feet, and enquire about their welfare; while the children, at a greater distance, made the air re-echo with their joyful cries,

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and the women standing respectfully at the entrance of their tents, waited for their husbands. As they approached, their wives advanced with a submissive air, laid their right hand upon their husbands' heads, kissed it, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. This ceremony over, they cast on us a look of curiosity, and began immediately to load us with abuse. The children, following their example, pinched us, pulled out our hair, and tore our flesh with their nails. Their cruel mothers called them sometimes towards one of us, sometimes towards another, and took a pleasure in seeing us tormented. Wretched men that we were! worn out with fatigue, hunger, and thirst, we had impatiently desired the moment of our arrival: could we, alas! foresee the new tortures that awaited us.

In the mean time our masters divided their slaves. As soon as mine had received the caresses of all his family, I asked him which of the women that surrounded him was his favourite: he shewed her to me; and I approached to give her two handfuls of cloves, that he had carefully preserved, on purpose
that

that by offering them to her, I might attract a more favourable notice. I knew that the Moorish women were passionately fond of odours, particularly of that of cloves. However, she received my present with insulting haughtiness, and drove me from her tent with contempt. A moment after, this woman, the most spiteful I ever knew, and hated by all about her on account of the malignity of her disposition, came to order Mess. Devoise, Baudré, and myself, who had fallen to her husband's lot, to unload the camels, to clean a kind of kettle, and to go and tear up roots to make a fire. While she was come to make known her will to us, her dear husband had fallen quietly asleep on the knees of one of his concubines.

The hope of soon obtaining my liberty gave me the fortitude necessary to enable me to bear the hard usage of this tyrannical woman. I set off then to make faggots; but how great was my distress, when on my return, I saw two of my fellows in misfortune cruelly beaten, and stretched out upon the sand. They had been treated thus, because, their strength being entirely exhausted, they had

not been able to fulfil the task assigned them. I awaked my master with redoubled cries, and though I as yet spoke the language but imperfectly, I undertook to address to him the following speech: "Did you then only bring us here that we might be killed by your cruel wife? Recollect the promise you made me; conduct me without delay to Senegal, or to Morocco; otherwise I declare to you, that, were it to cost me my life, I will have you robbed, if I cannot do it myself, of all the valuable effects I delivered to you. I shall easily find a master, who will treat me with more humanity than you do."

The approach of several of his neighbours, witnesses to the vehemence of my anger, seemed to give great uneasiness to my master, who was afraid that I should recount the number of the effects delivered to him. He came to me, took me by the arm, and pushed me hastily into his tent, desiring me not to make so much noise. He then offered me a porringer of milk: "Carry it," said I, "to my companions, who are dying of want." He answered that he was going to give them some, and that he begged me to be quiet. I then showed

showed him my bleeding and excoriated arms. "Recollect," said I, in my broken language, "that at the moment of our shipwreck, you exclaimed, on looking at my hands, *these are not accustomed to laborious work*; and yet you require from me the hardest labour. Your countrymen experience very different treatment in my country." He was astonished to hear that Moors ever went to France. "We will talk of that another time," replied he; "in the mean while do not despond, I will take as much care of you, as of my own son. I forbid you," added he to his wife, "to require him to do the least hard work, as I forbid him to obey you. Let some barley be boiled for these slaves. I shall come ere long to see if my orders have been executed." From that moment I became the object of the favourite's most implacable hatred.

The end of August was approaching fast, without my seeing the smallest travelling preparations. I had already asked Sidy Mahamet what he was waiting for to conduct me to Senegal. He answered that he was looking out for two stout and vigorous camels, that might be able to bear the fatigue of the journey,

and that we should set off as soon as he could procure them. I was the more desirous of expedition, as the nights began to be very cool; and the abundant dew wetted us behind the bushes, which served as for a retreat: it is true we found a resource in this dew, since by scooping it up in our hands from off our naked bodies, it helped to quench our thirst, the rage of which was not diminished by the coolness of the night; and this was a drink we preferred to our urine, to which we were very often reduced.

I spoke a second time to my master, who answered in such a way, as to persuade me of every thing he thought proper. “Do you think,” said he, “that it is possible to travel in such hot weather without provisions, and above all without water? We should also meet with great difficulty in getting to Senegal, the river that surrounds it having overflowed all the plains; we should likewise have reason to fear the Arabs of the horde of Trargea, who are our enemies. I tell you the truth,” added he, “we shall be obliged to wait till the month of October. At that period the rain will water our deserts, and procure us
pasture

pasture for our camels. It would be impossible otherwise to find subsistence for them during so long a journey." I was fully sensible of the propriety of this reasoning, and resigned myself patiently to my fate.

The famished flocks could no longer find pasture; and in the evening on their return, the ewes and goats brought back their udders almost empty. It was their milk, however, and that of the camels, that was to serve as the support of a numerous family. Let any one judge, from this, how much our portion was diminished. In our quality of Christians, the very dogs were preferred to us, and it was in their dishes that we received our scanty allowance.

One day the keeper of the camels cried out, that it was a shame for him to serve a master weak enough not to impose that task upon his slaves. His favourite woman did not fail to back this complaint, so that her husband, who had long made me his dupe, persuaded me also that to prevent the others from murmuring, it was necessary that Baudré should take upon him that care, he being the youngest. Soon after I was likewise obliged

to tend the ewes and goats. M. Devoise, on account of his age, and bad health, was exempt from all laborious servitude; but he was only the more to be pitied, as he was for ever exposed to bad treatment from the cruel Arabs, from whose presence I was happy to be removed by my new employment.

One evening, when I was coming back with my flock, one of my ewes brought forth a lamb upon the declivity of a hill. I took it in my arms, and carried it with equal haste and care to my master's favourite. I presented it to her, as soon as I perceived her, thinking she would receive it with the same pleasure she had always testified on similar occasions. I asked her at the same time if she would give me the first of the mother's milk, according to their custom of giving it to him who has the care of the flock. By way of answer, she threw a knife at my legs, drove me out of her tent with contempt, and loaded me with abuse. Her husband, witness to this brutality, came and told me, that he would make me amends by giving me a larger quantity of milk. I had always believed in the sincerity of his promises; but how great was my astonishment

nishment, in passing behind the tent, to hear the villain laughing with his wife at the blow she had just given me. I was much incensed; but nothing could equal my anger in the evening, when, on going to fetch the milk he had promised me, I saw the Moorish woman come in a rage to snatch it out of my hands, that she might give one half of it to her dog.

We were drawing near the end of October, and not a drop of water had as yet fallen. My situation became more wretched every day. I had nothing but a sorry bit of packing cloth round my waist; I was abandoned by all the world..... Men of feeling minds! transport yourselves for a moment to my desert, and you will no longer think it impossible to shed tears of blood.

The plains, the vallies, every thing was parched up, and nothing remained for the nourishment of the cattle: the season was far advanced; the month of December was begun, the period at which the rain generally ceases till October. For three years, the heavens had refused this favour to the inhabitants of the deserts. Were we going, by
a fourth

a fourth year of drought, to be exposed to the most dreadful want, and to inevitable death? A universal desolation prevailed, when an Arab from a distant country came to tell us, that abundant rains had fallen in several cantons. Joy immediately succeeded to fear and grief; every one rolled up his tent; and all set off together for the newly watered country. It was the thirtieth time that we changed our abode, and that our fatigue was renewed; for these hordes seldom remain more than twelve or fifteen days in the same encampment. I was always employed to set up and spread the tents, and load the baggage. Often I was obliged to carry heavy burthens to relieve the camels; and I thought myself happy if the flocks followed in good order, and did not give me the trouble of collecting them.

My fellows in misfortune were so exhausted, that they could do nothing; all the work consequently fell upon me, and I was obliged to divide with them the surplus of food that I procured by endeavouring to make myself useful; for the Arabs let them want for every thing.

At length we arrived at this place so much
desired,

desired, from whence I hoped soon to set off to enjoy my liberty ; but my master, who till then had combined the most persuasive language with the blackest deceit, ceased to dissemble, and made me suffer the most horrible tyranny.

We were encamped on sand so wet, that the mere pressure of our bodies made the water spring up in considerable quantities. We should have thought ourselves supremely happy, if we had an osier mat to sleep upon, and a thick woollen carpet with a long nap to cover us ; but among the Arabs themselves, none but the rich enjoy such luxury. During the night such a carpet serves to wrap up a whole family. “ Sidy Mahammet,” said I to my master, “ see whether it be possible for me to live in such places ? Let me lie under your tent. I suffer too much from the cold during the night ; the ground on which you make me sleep is too wet. I made your fortune ; you promised through gratitude to treat me like your child, and yet you abandon me !”—“ It is true,” answered he, “ that I promised you my friendship, and I am going at this moment to give you an extraordinary proof of it.

You

You say that your situation is very wretched ; but it will still be much worse than you think. Do you know what is the fate reserved for you ? Fire and flame await you, to torment you to all eternity. Do you understand your own religion ?” I immediately undertook to explain to him all its excellence. After having listened to me for some time, he retired, saying, “ that he preferred a bowl of buttermilk to all the absurdities I had been uttering.” Alas ! there are no torments that this fanatical priest did not make me undergo, to oblige me to embrace his religion.

Messieurs Devoise and Baudré, who had heard this conversation, (which I have much abridged) expressed to me the satisfaction they felt at it. They flattered themselves it would in some degree soften the rigour of their situation. The hour of milking the camels being come, I was called to receive my portion, and that of my companions. On seeing that they were larger than usual, I thought that my morality had indeed operated ; but on tasting it, we perceived that the augmentation was nothing but rain water, of which the dose was every day so much increased, that

that we had soon nothing but water a little whitened with milk, which weakened us to an incredible degree, and reduced us to the hard necessity of seeking our food with the cattle. The wild plants that they trod under foot, and raw snails, were from that time almost our only aliment till the moment of our deliverance. It behoved us however to prepare for new fatigues. I was charged to yoke the camels to the plough, to till the ground, and to sow the seed; and my master, not contented with employing me in his own service, hired me out to other Arabs for a portion of milk. I should infallibly have fallen a victim to fatigue, if, from time to time, I had not purloined a few handfuls of barley; and it is to this theft, very justifiable, I think, that I owe my preservation.

“ You see,” said I to my master, “ with what submission I do every kind of work. I make faggots, I churn butter, I tend the flocks, I pull up roots, I prepare camel’s hair for your wife to spin, I till the earth, I do every thing in a word that you require of me; I serve you after having enriched you, and you do not deign to give me a few rags
to

to cover me !”—Other Arabs more compassionate than he, and ever jealous of his possessing my jewels, which they considered as inestimable, one day made him the same reproach, which induced him to send for me, and to ask if at Mogador, which they call *Soira*, “a good ransom would be given for each of us?” “I told him he should be satisfied.” —“In that case,” replied he, “you may ask a Jewish merchant who is to call here to-morrow to give you some paper, and I permit you to write to those from whom you expect assistance. The Hebrew merchant* called, and I wrote a letter which I addressed to the consul at Soira, or if there should not be one there, to the person who might represent him. I begged him to commiserate our ills, and to afford us the speediest remedy. I pointed out the best and safest means of sending in quest of us, and the only one that could procure us a speedy deliverance.† This

* The Jews born in the desert live nearly in the same manner as the Arabs; but those who inhabit the towns are more rigid observers of the law of Moses.

† If ever the French government, or any other, receive information of the loss of a vessel in these latitudes,

letter once delivered into the hands of the Israelite, I thought myself already free : Alas ! how did my hopes deceive me !

A Moorish girl, whose flocks often fed in company with mine, convinced me of my error, by making me acquainted with the real character of Sidy Mahammet. “ If he had dared,” said she, “ he would not have treated you better than your companions : perhaps he would even have taken you aside to murder you, so little is he averse to the commission of crimes ; but he fears you almost as much as he does his two brothers, who have taken a strong liking to you. If he has promised to give you your liberty, ’tis only to amuse you ; he will never dare remove from hence, for fear Moulem Adaram should have him taken, seized, and rob him of all you gave him ; nay, perhaps of his life.

it would be adviseable for its agents, either at Mogador, or Tangier, to address themselves to a Jew of the name of Aaron, who resides at Gouadnum. This Jew sends his emissaries to the different parts of Africa, to reclaim the crews of shipwrecked vessels. This advice, dictated by humanity, is the best that can be followed.

This

This Moulem Adaram * was son to the emperor. Having heard a vague account of the effects I had brought with me, he imagined that I was a very rich Christian, and came in consequence more than a hundred leagues to purchase me. I was fortunate enough however never to belong to this cruel prince, who had revolted against his father.

My conversation with the Moorish girl made me despair of ever seeing my country again. This wrung my heart; I fell into the deepest despondency; and from that day I experienced nothing but new subjects of chagrin.

I no longer met in the fields with my fellows in misfortune. I regretted particularly the company of the Captain; I was accustomed to it, and I found a kind of consolation in talking with him of our sufferings, and of our

* Messieurs Soret, (one of my clerks) Pinjon, Surgeon of the ship *Les deux Amis*, Brifficure, and Jean, sailors, suffered the most cruel treatment from this barbarous prince. Sometimes they were beat with sticks, and sometimes their flesh was mangled with daggers. Burning brands and red hot irons were more than once employed to torment them. Monsieur Soret, whose scars will attest the truth of what I advance, is still to be found at Nantz.

hopes,

hopes of soon returning to our native country. One evening, when the coolness of the weather had invited my camels to stray further than usual, I was obliged to follow them to a neighbouring hamlet. Heaven ! what a horrible spectacle met my eyes ! the wretched Captain, scarcely to be known but by the colour of his body, was stretched out upon the sand. He had in his mouth one of his hands, which his extreme weakness had doubtless prevented him from gnawing. Hunger had so disfigured him, that his corpse was frightful to behold ; all his features were absolutely obliterated.

A few days after the second Captain, unable any longer to support his excessive weakness, fell senseless under a gum tree, where he lay exposed to the attacks of an enormous serpent. The famished ravens, hovering over their prey, frightened away the venomous animal with the noise of their cries, and darting on the body of the defenceless victim, immediately began their voracious repast. Four of the savages, still more cruel than these ferocious birds of prey, witnessed this horrid scene with indifference, and without

making the least effort to afford assistance to the unhappy sufferer. I ran towards the spot, encouraged by the hope that my endeavours to save him might not prove altogether ineffectual, when I was stopped by these barbarians, who insulted me by saying, "That Christian is about to be burnt in the flames." I turned from this place of horror, without knowing whither I went, and insensibly followed my camels and sheep, whom it would have been impossible for me to conduct to the fold. My agitation was extreme; involuntary tears flowed apace, and the most alarming apprehensions awakened the keenest sense of sorrow in my breast. On my arrival at the tent, I was insensible to every thing around me, imagination still presenting to my view the devouring animals bearing away the mangled flesh of my unfortunate companion. My master, struck with the wildness of my aspect, eagerly enquired the cause. "Go," replied I, "a little distance from hence, go and contemplate what thy cruelty, aided by that of thy wife, has been the means of producing. Thou hast suffered my associate in misery to expire, by inhumanly

manly refusing him the small quantity of milk necessary for subsistence, because his emaciated condition and ill state of health rendered him incapable of working any longer. Reduced to this situation, it was your duty, it was your interest, to cherish him, and administer to his affliction such comfort as you had power to bestow." When I had done speaking to my master, I endeavoured to conceal my tears, which, had they been observed, would only have excited the laughter of these monsters, who insultingly desired me to go and seek for the blood-stained girdle of the wretched victim of their barbarity. Fired with indignation at so detestable a proposition, my heart sickened; and the fern which the urgent calls of hunger had forced me to eat, occasioned the most painful vomitings, followed by an almost universal lassitude. I had however strength enough to retire behind a bush, where I found another of my unfortunate countrymen. He asked me the cause of my uneasiness, and whether I had seen Baudré? "He is at no great distance," answered I; for I could not, neither was I willing to tell him any thing further;

but the sister of our master, who brought him his milk, said, "Do you know that at this moment the ravens are devouring the entrails of Baudré? A similar fate awaits you, for you are scarcely good for any thing else." Notwithstanding my extreme weakness, I could willingly have replied to this tygress, but was restrained by the fear of still more agitating the feelings of my comrade. Had my courage allowed me to disclose poor Baudré's fate on first observing him, I might perhaps have softened the recital of his melancholy catastrophe; but it was now too late, and I could only accord with the overflowings of his sympathetic tenderness, by mingling my tears with those which fell from him.

My health, which had hitherto miraculously sustained me under the severest pressures of difficulty and disease, now yielded to their painful inflictions, and every day announced fresh symptoms of its rapid decline. Already, like the poisonous reptiles of this inhospitable climate, I had twice cast my skin; but the pungency of my grief was increased by the third change, finding my body covered, if I may be allowed the expression, with

with a kind of scurf or scale, resembling the natural coating of the Arabs. My feet, miserably wounded by thorns, afforded but a tottering support to my exhausted body; and the wanton cruelty of their savage diversion, in frequently setting dogs to pursue me, from whose jaws I could never extricate myself before I had felt the severity of their fangs, all contributed to my incapacity of longer tending the camels. But, to compleat my misfortune, towards the end of February and beginning of March, the excessive heats had dried up the water we found in the canton, and not a drop of rain had fallen to nourish the ground which I had tilled and sown. As pasturage for our cattle could no longer be found, they were on the point of perishing, when the two tribes of the Labdesseba and Ouadelims, after having held separate deliberations, resolved to go in search of lands occupied by a more industrious people than themselves.

The Ouadelims carried their ravages as far as Gouadnum, three hundred leagues distant from the place of our encampment. Several hordes of the Labdesseba, of a less roving dis-

position, staid behind; and as their numbers were inconsiderable, they found subsistence for their flocks in the neighbouring cantons. They killed and eat several sheep, and continued living in this manner till the end of the following month, the period destined for our departure from the deserts, where the most frightful misery menaced the distressed inhabitants.

Such was the sad situation of things, when by chance we met an Arab, who had a Christian slave in his suite, whom I recollected to have been the baker belonging to our vessel. The Arab offered to sell him to my master at a very low price; and the latter, who concerned himself very little as to the means of our support, readily offered a camel for this new slave. The bargain being concluded, he was charged with the work of my usual employment. The interval of leisure I derived from this relief, contributed in some measure to the recovery of my strength. The unhappy baker will dearly purchase his subsistence; but I will not anticipate the impending misery of his condition.

After having eaten up all the snails which
were

were found in our circuit, we lived upon the carcases of sheep who either died of hunger or disease. But these casualties not adequately supplying our necessities, we came to the resolution of smothering several young kids in the night time, knowing that our masters would reject their carcases, as their law does not permit them to eat the flesh of any animal that has not expired under the knife.

By our frequent recourse to this artful expedient, death became common among our flocks, and it was observed that those kids which appeared the most healthy in the evening when they were assembled, were generally found dead on the following morning. This circumstance awakening the suspicion of our masters, we were at length discovered in the commission of the fact. We however escaped punishment, though not without great abuse, and the intimidating menaces of death, should we be again found guilty of similar offences. It was therefore necessary for us to concert new means for our support. Thanks to my good constitution, I soon recovered strength enough to enable me to make faggots, which I had not

the least difficulty in disposing of, it being the custom of this country not to extinguish the fire during the night, and the women, to whom the care of the family is consigned, being too idle to cut wood for themselves. By this little traffic my own misery, as well as that of poor M. Devoise, who was then very ill, were considerably alleviated.

One morning, when I was preparing to pursue my daily occupation, my unfortunate friend, in a hollow and enfeebled voice, addressed me thus :—" The flattering illusion can no more sustain : till now the enlivening hope of again seeing my native country, gleamed a ray of comfort to my mind amidst the horrors of slavery, the pain of hunger, and the affliction of disease. But, alas ! in vain ; exhausted Nature forewarns me of a more awful change ; and this evening, my friend, (for well you deserve that name) shall you find me within the icy arms of Death. Fly, my dear Brissot, fly this hateful abode ; let the vigour of your mind be exerted to facilitate the means of your escape, and regain the liberty you have lost. You may yet be the happy possessor of an enviable state, and
your

your present sufferings but heighten the felicity of future enjoyment; and in that last moment when I resign my soul to Heaven's protection, shall my prayers be offered for your safe return to the embraces of your disconsolate family. Adieu, my friend; the tears you labour to suppress are additional proofs of your attachment. Write to my brother; tell him that with my last breath I mentioned his name, and died, as we had lived, in the true principles of Christianity. Farewell—my end is nearer than I thought—I die.”—And, to my unspeakable sorrow, at that instant he resigned his breath, and terminated his sufferings.

Some children witnessing the cause of my distress, eagerly reported it throughout the hamlet. My master's sister came to the place, but quickly retired, laughing heartily, and observing with the most perfect indifference, that his portion of milk would be saved. Several neighbours, who I thought were moved to compassion by my groans, wished me to leave the body of the deceased. They offered me milk, but at the same time unfeelingly derided my grief. “Wherefore,”
said

said I, “do you condemn these tributary tears to the memory of my departed friend? How often have I seen you, in circumstances less affecting than mine, roll yourselves in the dust, and your eyes bathed in tears, yield to all the pungency of bitter grief and unavailing sorrow? Do you imagine we are less gifted with the tender feelings of humanity? Undeceive yourselves; in trouble we are all friends and brethren.” Here I ceased speaking, it being impossible for me to continue longer in the presence of these beings, who differed only in shape from the savage tyrants of the wood, and were infinitely more to be dreaded.

Although I had only enjoyed the acquaintance of M. Devoile since our departure from France, the gentleness of his disposition, the evenness of his temper, and perhaps still more the similarity of our situation, had linked us so closely in the bonds of friendship, that I most feelingly deplored his loss. I now rejoined my only surviving companion in the fields, with whom I went to tend the flocks, a task which from the scarcity of pasturage became more troublesome every day.

On

On our return, we were ordered to dig a very deep grave, to hide, as the Arabs termed it, the remains of this Christian from the sight of their children. We performed this last sad duty with much sorrow and difficulty; for being too weak to carry the body, we were obliged to drag it by the feet near three-quarters of a league; and some part of the earth I had thrown up round the grave having given way, I fell in first, and thought I should have expired under the weight of my lifeless comrade.

A few days after this melancholy event, we quitted the situation we then occupied, and travelled in search of a more fertile spot. We encamped in the neighbourhood of different tribes, where I met with one of our sailors, named Denoux, a slave as well as myself. I asked him what were become of his companions? "Six of them," answered he, "who were carried away soon after our shipwreck by the son of the Emperor, are gone back to France. M. Taffaro, head surgeon, died in consequence of some blows he received on the head. The Sieur Raboin, second Lieutenant, died also in the most excruciating agonies ;

agonies ; and the rest have changed their religion, as the only alternative they had to preserve themselves from perishing through want. For myself, Sir, as I daily experience the most cruel treatment, like the two first gentlemen, I must soon fall a victim to the brutality of my master." " Alas ! unfortunate youth," replied I, " do not indulge these melancholy forebodings. If it is indeed true that six of your companions have regained their native country, our situation will soon be made known to the Minister, from whose humanity we have every reason to hope the most vigorous exertions will be made in our favour ; and I already begin to flatter myself our sufferings will not be of long duration."

Indeed I have since learnt, that on the first intelligence of our shipwreck, the Marshall de Castries issued the most pressing orders in our behalf ; but the Vice-Consul, M. Mure, to whom these orders were addressed, instead of fulfilling the benevolent instructions of his patron, only paid his court to the Emperor of Morocco and his officers, on whom he lavished many considerable presents, at the expence of the Court of France.

Had not the feelings of this agent been blunted by the length of his residence, and association with the barbarians of this country, he might easily have released us from our captivity, either by dispatching an Arab to Gouadnum, or employing a Jew merchant, who for the sum of 100 piaſtres (500 livres) would have travelled throughout the Deſert, and conſequently for a much leſs ſum would have viſited thoſe places bordering on Morocco. As ſoon as his appointment to bring the Chriſtian ſlaves from Mogador ſhould have been known, the Arabs would have reſorted thither from all parts, knowing that the ranſom of their ſlaves could be here laid out to advantage in the purchaſe of barley and wheat, which is to be found in great abundance at St. Croix de Barbarie. The negligence of the Vice-Conſul, however, prolonged our miſfortunes; for the Arabs were very unwilling to undertake ſo long and perilous a journey, while any doubt remained of obtaining the object of their purſuit.

The Sieur Mure contented himſelf with aſſuring the Miniſter, that he had cauſed the moſt diligent ſearch to be made, and that the
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utmost exertion should be used to obtain our liberty. His conduct on this occasion is so truly reprehensible, that, without considering myself as a detractor, but feeling as a Frenchman, a man of honour, and a friend to humanity, I hold it my duty to expose him to his superiors.

Turning with disgust from a conduct so marked by its turpitude, with what different sensations do I record the names of Mess. Déprat and Cabanes, merchants at Mogador, on whose characters eulogy itself would fall far short of desert! and to whose humanity and patriotism France is indebted for the redemption of the greatest part of her captive sons. The very extensive trade these gentlemen carry on with the inland countries has gained them esteem in the different cities as well as in the capital. Had their ideas been adopted, what misery and want would there not have been prevented! With them I am inclined to believe, that it is the duty of the Consul-General to interest himself in the recovery of his unfortunate countrymen who may be shipwrecked on this coast.

But to return to my narration. The conversation

versation I had had with the sailor sunk deep in my mind ; nor could I conceive, that with the means to put a period to our sufferings, we should be so totally abandoned by those who ought to protect us. Lost in contemplation on this subject, I arose from behind a bush, and was astonished to see my master's camels returning without their keeper. It was already late, and as I saw nothing of my poor comrade, when I was called to receive my portion of milk, I asked what was become of him ? They replied coldly, and drove me away. The sullen countenances of my master and his wife awakened all my fears for the safety of the poor baker, and I impatiently waited the return of day to inform myself of his fate. In the morning a young herdsman acquainted me, that Sidy Mahammet having for some time past suspected the baker to be guilty of sucking milk from the camels, had watched, and detecting him in the fact, immediately seized him by the throat, and strangled him. " Be very careful," added the youth, " for if a Christian only touches the paps of our cattle, they are deemed impure, and the proprietor, or any other Arab, is at liberty

liberty to punish the offender with death. I apprize you of this that you may not commit a similar crime."

Being unwilling to believe the existence of such cruelty even among these monsters, I ran to the tent, and asked for an explanation of what the youth had just imparted to me. A general silence confirmed the truth, and filled me with rage and indignation. The brother-in-law of my master, the only person who on this occasion expressed even a sentiment of compassion, addressed Sidy Mahamet in these terms :

" Why would you not sell me these slaves when I proposed to purchase them from you ? What pleasure or advantage have you derived from those you have already so miserably destroyed ? And why treat so cruelly the only one now left ? You argue that he merits respect, for you suspect him to be the King. Methinks the riches you have obtained from him should induce you to treat him with gentleness and respect."

The latter reproach awakened the jealousy of all present, who unanimously undertook my defence. Sidy Sellem was the sole person

son who spoke through benevolence, the rest not chusing to deliver their sentiments after him, in compliment to his age and his riches. This was the same Sidy Sellem of the tribe of La Rouffy, who had behaved so kindly to us after our shipwreck, and predicted that I should one day repent the rejection of a proposal he had made to purchase me.

I was now the only slave in the hamlet, nor had I any person to whom I could disclose my griefs; my situation daily became more deplorable, notwithstanding I resolved to bear it with fortitude. “I will meet dangers with firmness,” said I; “until now I have surmounted the greatest fatigues, my health is yet strong enough to encounter fresh ones, I will therefore support them with courage; perhaps Providence may now cease to oppress me.”

This resolution, and the behaviour I adopted towards those who would have humiliated me, gained me a sort of consideration among the savages, so that they permitted me at times to remain in the back part of their tents, and often to drink out of their

vessels. My master no longer employed me to keep his camels; it is true he ceased to speak of liberty; but if he had, his perfidy was so well known to me, that I could have no confidence or reliance on him.

I found it necessary to continue making up faggots, in order to procure myself a subsistence, but thirst frequently threw me into the most inconceivable agonies; nor is it possible to form an idea of the extremities to which it can reduce mankind, without having first sustained it.

The Arabs themselves were driven to the greatest distress, several dying from hunger and thirst; nor did the present season promise any succour, being the fourth in which the drought had destroyed the harvest. This calamity so embittered the minds of the different tribes, that they were at perpetual variance, stealing each other's cattle, in order to dry the flesh; milk was very scarce, and water more so, as it is rarely to be found in the desert, except in the vicinity of the sea, where it is black, salt, corrupt and noisome, which disagreeable drink, and the want of pasturage, causes the Arab ever to keep at a distance
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from the coast. Though in want of every kind of provision, yet no one dared to seek it at a distance. In this calamitous situation, I was a melancholy witness of the straits to which necessity can reduce the human race: the camels that were killed supplied water to those Arabs who had not the means of procuring milk, they preserving with the utmost care the liquid they found in the stomach of the slaughtered animal, pressing it from the dung. The water they thus preserved was of a greenish colour, and in which they frequently dressed their meat; that drawn from the stomach of the goats had a taste of fennel and a sweet smell, nor did the broth made therewith taste disagreeable; but that procured from the camel was much less pleasing to the appetite. What appeared really astonishing to me was, that those beasts, who drink but two or three times in the year and live on very dry food, contain a prodigious quantity of water in the stomach, particularly the camel.

Providence had not yet abandoned me, and still preserved a life which I wished to terminate, by exposing myself to the dangers of

war; existence was painful, and wishing to shorten its period, I asked leave of my master to repair to the spot where his flocks were feeding, that joining with the inhabitants, I might assist in defending them from pillage. My offer was accepted; he gave me the camel on which he rode and a pistol, being the only one he possessed, praying Heaven for the safety of his beast and the success of his party. I departed, accompanied by a relation of my master's, and arrived with my conductor into the midst of the warriors, who appeared to me in the greatest disorder. I knew not whether they were flying, or were encountered hand to hand, as I could distinguish nothing but a confused heap of men enveloped in a cloud of dust, nor could I conceive how they recognized friends from foes. My camel, who doubtless was not accustomed to such expeditions, marched slowly towards the enemies fire. My conductor was soon separated from me, and I saw him almost instantly drop, from a shot which pierced his brain. My camel being scared, plunged with the greatest violence, and at length threw me at a distance from him, on an hillock of sand; an

an Arab immediately attacked me, fired, but missed me, when suddenly receiving a wound himself, he fell at my feet. A second instantly took his place, advancing towards me with his poignard, ready to pierce my heart, when by a miracle, as he raised his arm to strike the blow, his weapon entangled in his turban, which floated loose on his shoulders: I profited by this accident, striking him with the butt end of my pistol, so that he fell senseless before me. This was the only use I could make of my weapon, having no ammunition but what it contained, and already twice missing fire. These accidents are very common, as the arms and powder are equally bad, a circumstance which causes the Arab battles to be soon decided, the greatest injury they do being the tearing each other's faces with their nails, and some wounds given with their poignards. The camels, accustomed to these combats, mingle in the confusion, lowing, biting, and dispersing the enemies more speedily than even armed men could effect.

The battle ended, several of our Arabs came to me, saying, I was *good, good*; they

being persuaded that I had killed three men, when in reality I had only wounded one; however I left them in their error, taking care to unload my pistol to favour the deceit.

“ Since Fate continues to spare me,” said I, “ what should I fear to attempt !” I then formed the project to escape, first taking from my master all the jewels I had before given him. With these I purposed to go over to another tribe, reasoning with myself in this manner—Any Arab who I may chance to meet, will be glad to accompany me to Morocco for the reward I can offer. This project appeared to me excellently devised, though I neither knew the road nor the dangers I might have to encounter. I therefore hastened to put it in execution, concealing the whole of the property in a hole till the next day, when I intended to endeavour to procure myself some covering to defend me from the cold.

Sidi Mahammed was not long before he discovered the loss of his treasure; he ran immediately to the thicket where I was, employing prayers, threats, and careffes, to obtain restitution of his wealth, and yet more particularly

particularly to entreat me not to divulge his possessing it to any person. "I swear to thee by Mahomet," said he, "and by every thing I respect most, that I will have thee immediately conducted to Mogador, and also to give thee liberty the first opportunity. Return me, I pri'thee, what thou before gavest me; should my wife, who is ready to be delivered, hear of my misfortune, it would affect her too deeply, she would lose her infant, nay, perhaps her life; think what evils this action of thine may cause."

The rhetoric of Sidi Mahammed would have been of little effect, had I not reflected, that during the night, if I attempted to escape, it was very possible that I might fall into the hands of some wretch too poor to undertake so long a journey, and who willing to possess my property, might dispose of me with his dagger. These ideas determined me to relinquish it, and I pretended to be affected by his entreaties, though I resolved to keep the ascendance his fears gave me over him; I therefore informed him, that if he did not keep his word, I would a second time deprive him of all which I now returned. He re-

newed his oaths, promising to give me in future, evening and morning, a portion of milk. He kept his word, but was careful of quitting me, fearful that his neighbours, or particularly his relations, with whom I frequently was, should be informed of what I had atchieved, and that he should a second time be deprived of his dear casket, and never more be able to regain it.

I now began to believe he sincerely wished to be rid of me, and Heaven furnished the means I had so long wished for. Chance conducted me to the spot which I had so often watered with my tears. Sidi Mouhammet, Sherif of the tribe of Trargea, saw me, asked who I was, and was soon informed, as well also of what I had told them I possessed at Senegal, in powder, guns, &c. The Sherif instantly called, and asked me what situation I filled at the Isle St. Louis? which question being answered, he observed me nearly, exclaiming, "Art thou Briffon?" "Alas! it is too true I am that unfortunate." He expressed much astonishment, adding to the Arabs, "Do you not know this Christian? All at Senegal appertains to him:"

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This man, who had seen me give orders for the delivery of goods out of the King's magazine, having imagined they belonged to myself. The brother-in-law of my master, encouraged by this information, immediately purchased me, giving five camels for his bargain. I was ignorant of this agreement, when one day I was struck with astonishment and joy. On returning with my master from watering the camels, his wife commanded me to carry into a neighbouring tent a leathern bucket which had been lent her. Sidi Sellem, of whom I have before frequently spoken, was there; he called to me, saying, I must prepare to depart with him on the morrow for Mogador. I had been so often flattered with this hope, and my expectation so frequently disappointed, that I could not persuade myself he spoke truth. Several Arabs who were present, assured me it was really intended, and the old man protesting it still more firmly, I threw myself at his feet, weeping, sobbing, and alternately laughing, unmindful of every consideration but the joy I felt at the information I had received. They must know the worth of liberty who can feel,

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or form any adequate idea of the pleasure I experienced when I learnt my chains were to be broken.

My former patron called to inform me, that I no longer appertained to him, "I keep my promise," said he, "thou wilt again see thy native country." At this moment I forgot all my former resentment in the rapture of the present expectation; a pleasure which was doubled, when they informed me I should have a travelling companion, whom they added was but a short distance from us. Judge my surprize, when I found in this companion the unfortunate baker. I asked him by what miracle he was risen from the dead? "Alas!" replied he, "it is a miracle that I am not really so; Sidi Mahammed one day found me milking the she-camel; he ran instantly upon me, griping me so hard by the throat, and giving me such severe blows, that I fell senseless at his feet. I was much astonished, on my recovery, to find myself alone, with my throat bathed in blood; even now the marks of his nails still remain. I dragged myself as well as I could into the aperture of a rock, from whence I heard echo several

veral times repeat the voice of my barbarous master, who had returned to seek me, and now called me loudly; doubtless curiosity of what could have become of me was a strong motive, as he must necessarily imagine he left me expiring. I determined not to answer, being resolved either to die of hunger, or gain the sea-coast, hoping there to discover some vessel. In effect I reached it in ten days, having, during that time no nourishment but snails, nor any drink but my own urine. The sight of a small fishing vessel, which lay at an anchor near land, redoubled my strength, and I ran hastily towards the shore, hoping by my signals to engage the captain to send his boat to my relief; but I had hardly advanced a few steps between the rocks which surround the coast, when I was suddenly seized by two young Arabs*, who dragged me to some distance from the shore. The distress I felt at finding myself in their

* The Arabs who inhabit the coast live entirely on their fishery; and though they are extremely poor, are much less ferocious than those who live in the interior parts, which last mentioned hold the former in the utmost contempt.

power,

power, the grief I sustained from failing in my enterprize, added to the extreme hunger I experienced, had doubtless overcome me, had they not immediately afforded me some succour. From that day they became my masters, and employed me to keep their goats, they having no other flocks, nor any other means of existence except fishing; yet are much more gentle and laborious than the Arabs who live in the interior parts. About fifteen days ago, they informed me they were going to conduct me to the Sultan, and as they have brought me hither, I suppose this is the rendezvous agreed on with your master, when they informed him they had taken me.

“I often wished,” continued he, “that you had been with me, as you would certainly have been less unhappy, for I had no reason of complaint against these people. I have frequently heard them speak of you, for your name appears well known to them*.

* The jewels I had given to Sidi Mahammet had so greatly raised my reputation among these hordes, that the travelling Arabs who passed through that part of the country used to ask my companions in distress which of us was Briffon.

Now we are re-united, what is next to be done with us? Is it true that we are to be conducted to the Emperor of Morocco?"

Having heard the information of the baker, I replied, that we in effect were going to depart for Morocco, that we had a long journey to undertake. "We shall have much to suffer," said I, "if we are obliged to follow the camels; neither can I tell how we must subsist, as there will not be any female animals to afford us milk. I much fear we shall be obliged to beg from hamlet to hamlet, which will greatly prolong our journey." The next day the inhabitants of the tribe of Trargea assembled round Sidi Sellem, making a long prayer; after which they brought us a large pot of broth, composed of the farinous part of some wild grain, of which I believe I have before spoken; they joined to this provision a large quantity of milk, and numberless wishes for a prosperous journey.

Sidi Mahammet bid me adieu most affectionately. "Farewel, Briffon," said he, "thou art about to undertake a long and wearisome journey; thou wilt then be sensible I had reason to dread exposing myself to it.

it. I sincerely wish thou mayst arrive in safety, and that thy next voyage may be happier than the last. Adieu, do not forget to send my wife some scarlet cloth ; thou mayst give it to Sidi Sellem. Once more adieu, my friend Briffon." The tears that accompanied these last words might have imposed on me, had I not well known what a hypocrite I had to deal with ; notwithstanding, the pleasure I felt in the idea of quitting him made me express a sentiment of gratitude. I even promised to send what he asked for. He assisted me to get on a large camel, which the baker and myself were allowed to travel on, but which we were necessitated to quit some few days after ; nor were we alone in this misfortune, for from want of pasturage, these animals were unable to proceed with any luggage. In this country they are not equal to much fatigue ; besides, the want of saddles would have prevented our making use of those beasts for any length of time. We were therefore obliged to walk during the remainder of our journey. What agonies did I sustain from the sand getting into the wounds in my feet, the pain of which was momentarily augmented

augmented by thorns ; frequently did I fall without the hope of ever more being able to rise ; to add to our fatigue, we were often obliged to wander from the direct road to collect our camels, who from weariness lingered behind ; at other times we were obliged to encrease our speed far beyond our strength, in order to avoid hordes whom we thought dangerous.

One day, alas ! the remembrance of that melancholy day will ever remain engraven on my memory, we reached a valley, which the rain lately fallen had covered with verdure. In this place my master determined to stop, that his almost famished beasts might graze ; himself ascending a high mountain which bounded the valley, and from whence he could see the beasts feed that he was taking to the city for sale. I followed, and at length passed him, firmly believing it was the road we were to pursue. What confirmed me in this opinion was, that the old man let me continue my walk without opposition, and that I also discovered a beaten path before me. When I arrived at the summit, I went a little aside from the path to clean my long beard,

beard, which, notwithstanding my utmost care, was full of vermin. I had passed near an hour in the thicket, when finding none of our travellers approach, I returned to the top of the mountain. But, good Heaven! what was my surprize, when I discovered no one, nor knew what road they had taken, or what path to pursue; for as a number of hordes had encamped on this spot for the purpose of feeding their cattle, an infinity of paths led to it. Thus situated I could devise no means but calling loudly on Sidi Sellem; at length I discovered at a distance four or five Arabs, who advanced towards me. I hastened to meet them, firmly believing them to be my own people, but soon recognized my error, for one of the most powerful of these barbarians, accompanied by a great dog, seized me, the Arab instantly knocking me down by a blow which he struck me on the head with the flat of his sabre, and the others immediately joining him, dragged me into a defile of the rock, which led to their asylum.

Behold my hopes of liberty for ever extinguished in the expectation of a more cruel slavery than I had yet experienced! I was
lost

lost in these melancholy reflections, when the barbarians gained a slope, which led to a cavity, where doubtless they intended concealing me, but coming to a sudden opening, I discovered in a valley below the mountain, our flock and little caravan, which contained about twenty persons; despair gave me strength, and making a sudden effort, I escaped from these wretches, running precipitately towards my old man, Sidi Sellem, for refuge, while the vagabonds, alarmed at our superior number, took to flight.

I was severely reprimanded by my master, who desired that in future I would be careful not to quit them; on my part, I complained that he had not informed me that the path which he saw me take, was not that himself intended to pursue; and that also he had continued his journey, without calling or causing me to be sought after. He replied, that he intended to have taken the same path, but had been obliged to descend into the valley, to collect the camels, who having been so long deprived of herbage, had strayed from each other in grazing. "I had just gathered them together," continued he, "and was pursuing

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path to join thee, when the sound of thy voice gave me notice of your danger, and of that I ran myself; but I could not expose my camels, or hazard my life to deliver thee. We have no time to lose; let us hasten from this spot, where I am in as much peril as thyself."

During the space of the six following hours, we redoubled our speed, taking also a contrary road, that we might deceive our enemies should they pursue us; neither had we any food until the evening of the second day, being forty-eight hours without any nourishment but some handfuls of wild endive, which I gathered in the fatal valley.

At day-break we continued our journey, crossing some mountains which led us to a plain covered with calcined stones, greatly resembling the coal that has been burnt in our forges; these stones in some places were overspread with a whitish earth, on which lay the trunks of large trees, apparently torn up by the roots, and entirely stripped of their bark, the branches being brittle as glass, and twisted like cordage. The wood was of a yellow colour, resembling the liquorice, and
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the interior part of the trunks full of a coarse harsh powder, all appearing to announce that some extraordinary revolution of nature had reduced them to that state. I was curious to discover whether the wood had not a taste of sulphur, but to my surprize, the wood, the stones, and even the dust which was inclosed in the trunks of the trees, were all equally devoid of taste or smell.

On proceeding, we arrived at some mountains of such prodigious height, that they appeared piled on each other, and which, in some places being torn asunder, formed tremendous precipices; others overhanging their base, seemed suspended in air, and appeared to threaten the traveller with annihilation.—Some, from concussions in nature, had been dashed violently together, leaving immense apertures. The surrounding vallies were also environed by rocks, whose craggy masses were no less tremendous. In short, as far as the eye could reach, it was a long chain of mountains, from whose enormous height huge fragments were continually detaching themselves, and which dashing from point to point, were reduced to pieces before they reached the bottom.

On the other side were two springs, the one of which was black, muddy, and of a sulphureous smell; the other, separated from the first by a sand-bank of the width of fifteen feet, was clear as crystal. The taste of both waters was tolerably pleasant, and the bottom of the springs being covered with different coloured pebbles, appeared very agreeable to the sight.

In this spot I observed a singularity, which I submit to my informed Readers. In a valley that appeared to me very narrow, from the closeness of the mountains that surrounded it, I discovered through some caverns, formed from the fall of prodigious pieces of rock that crossed each other, an immense flat, which astonished me by the varieties it contained. The earth appeared damp, and furrowed as though brooks had formerly ran in those channels; the edges of the furrows were covered with a thick coat of nitrous ificles, and even the surrounding rocks overspread with the same, giving them the appearance of cascades; large red roots and branches full of leaves resembling the laurel, filled up the crevices of the rock.

Advancing

Advancing yet farther towards the west, I discovered large heaps of stones as white as alabaſter, apparently piled on each other, and through which appeared the tops of palm-trees, but whoſe trunks were entirely buried therein, the ſtones bearing a reſemblance to thoſe on the ſea-ſhore. The dates, which are ſcattered among the ſtones, plainly ſhew, both by their colour and appearance, their antiquity, and are entirely deprived of their bark. I broke one of them with my nails, in order to taſte it, and found it at once bitter and ſalt, but without ſmell; thoſe that were already broken, fell to pieces on attempting to touch them, and the filaments that remained under the rind were covered with a ſalt powder as brilliant as cryſtal. The roots that hung among the rocks were of a glutinous quality, and the rinds came off on the ſlighteſt touch. I gathered ſeveral branches of wild laurel, from whence iſſued a white liquid; a drop falling on my hand gave me great pain, took off the ſkin, and left a black ſpot, a circumſtance that prevented my taſting it. In a word, the pebbles, the beds of nitre, the overthrown palms,

and others buried up to the top, the flat covered with a fine salt, the appearance of the earth, the shattered and craggy mountains, all announce, if I may venture my opinion, that formerly the foam of the sea reached this spot. I asked Sidi Sellem if we were far distant from it, or if he had ever before explored this place? He replied, that most probably we were the first men who had done so, that he imagined we were not far distant from the sea, which he wished much to reach, as the coast would direct him eastward to a hord of Arabs, where he had friends who had travelled to Mecca with him. "Make thyself easy," said he, "the sun is my guide, and will direct me truly; thou mayst therefore follow the camels with safety." His assurances gave me hope, and inspired courage to sustain my fatigues, though I endured the most excruciating pain from the saline dust penetrating into the wounds in my feet. But judge my pleasure and astonishment, when after two days journey I found myself on the sea-shore, and could contemplate the foaming waves beneath me. Towards the east, where I then was, the sea is limited

limited by immense rocks; on considering which, I relinquished the opinion that ever the billows had risen to such a prodigious height. "These rocks," said I, "must have restrained them." I was lost in conjecture; but as I simply mean to write a narrative of facts, philosophical dissertations would be foreign to the subject.

After a few days journey, as we advanced toward Morocco, we crossed some mountains no less elevated than the first; these were covered with pebbles of different colours, as red, yellow, blue, and green. I likewise discovered, at a great distance, prodigious forests, a sight I had been a stranger to during the thirteen months I was in the desert. I was astonished to see the trees adhering to the rocks, and appearing suspended from them; the goats also pursuing each other, leaped the steepest precipices, and escaped with inconceivable swiftness when they discovered any person approach; as soon as one takes to flight all the rest instantly follow.

I remarked among several other trees, that one alone, which bears a leaf like our parsley, had suffered from the thunder.

We were three days and four nights passing these forests, during which time we met no alarm from the wild beasts who resort in the deserts of Africa ; doubtless their haunts are in the most distant parts of the east ; but if so, where can they find water ?

The farther we advanced the more my miseries decreased, as we frequently met with fields of barley fit to be cut, among which I could sit and eat with a pleasure difficult to express. Water was no longer so scarce, and we also often met with hamlets where we were well received ; even in some of these which might have been dangerous to other travellers, Sidi Sellem was respected, because he had been to Mecca. Notwithstanding, the Arabs of the tribe of Telkoennes are held in the greatest consideration for hospitality.

After having received him with the customary honours due to a stranger, at their usual hour they brought him barley, flour, and milk. What he left appertained to me ; and which, retiring to a distance, I shared with my new companion, the baker ; for in travelling, a Christian (more particularly than at another time) must neither eat, drink, nor sleep near
his

his master. One evening after supper I dug a hollow in the sand, to lay me down in shelter from the cold, wrapping the cloth I wore about my body on my head, to defend my eyes from the sand. I had hardly attempted to fall asleep when I heard the report of two guns very near me, and found myself instantly seized. I tore the covering off my head; it was on fire, doubtless from the wadding of the gun. One of those who held me asked if I was wounded. "No," returned I, "but what have I done to be thus treated?" "Sir," replied he, "follow us*." My master, who had awoke at the report of the guns, ran to the place where he heard my voice, complaining of their behaviour to his slave, and their want of hospitality to a person like himself. The Arab mountaineer, replied with great arrogance, he was ignorant that I appertained to him; that as he watched his flocks, seeing a man concealed in

* I must here observe, that the language in the desert differs greatly from that spoken in the capital. Sidi Sellem, who was an informed man, was obliged to use many repetitions, to enable the Effendi to understand him, when he questioned him in the presence of the Emperor.

the sand, he took him for one of those nightly thieves who steal their young goats. Sidi Sellem feigned to believe him, praised his zeal, and rescued me from his hands. As soon as he thought all still in the hamlet, he hastened to depart from a spot, which might have proved as dangerous to himself as to me.

These Arabs of the tribe of Telkoennes are the worst situated of any I have seen in the deserts, living in the midst of mountains of sand which have been formed by the wind. They may be truly said to wish to deprive themselves even of the light of day, so difficult is it to penetrate into their retreats, or to explore the way from them. The neighbouring plains are infested with enormous serpents. I was once witness of the alarm these reptiles give the camels, they hastening from them with the utmost speed and fear, causing myself and the baker a great deal of trouble to collect them again.

At length we approached the famous city of Gouadnum, of which I had so often heard spoken; it was through the points of rock that I discovered at a distance a city built on
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an elevation, and whose environs announced a formidable fortification; but on a nearer view, I found the walls made of earth, and broken in several places; some inhabitants shewed themselves at the little windows on the house-tops, and were doubtless meditating whether they could do us any injury. The chief of the town, informed that Sidi Sellem was at the head of our little caravan, came to meet us, followed by four negro slaves, who carried an umbrella made of palm leaves, which he presented to him.—“Is that Gouadnum which I see before me?” said I. “No,” replied he, “it is fort Labat; the city is farther on; thou mayst distinguish it at a distance.” In effect we reached it in about two hours.

This city is the refuge of all the rebellious Arabs of the different tribes, and is divided into two parts, the lower being governed by Sidi Adella, and the higher, which is not unlike fort Labat, by another commander. The houses are all constructed alike, being four large walls surrounding a prodigious space of ground, those of the same party living together; these walls are very high,
have

have but one entrance, nor any light but what comes from the roof, which is left uncovered. The door, which serves for the whole circumference is guarded by large dogs ; every inhabitant also of the dwelling keeps one for his own security ; for without that caution, though inclosed in their own habitation, they would be pillaged by all their inmates, who might be bolder, or more dextrous than themselves.

I know not how to reconcile this general mistrust with the considerable traffic which is carried on in this city. I saw two markets which were nothing inferior to the fairs in the French provinces, and though they circulate specie, the exchange of merchandize is their principal object. I saw here very good woollen cloths, and particularly some of a mixture of crimson and white, which they use as cloathing. The dealers who purchase to sell again in the interior parts, give camels in exchange, their ordinary profit being about four hundred for one, and yet their gains on this article is much less than on wheat, dates, horses, sheep, oxen, asses, gunpowder, tobacco, combs, looking-glasses, and many other

other small articles, which are difficult to procure in the interior parts, the consumption being in the little towns, where there are days fixed for the sale of them.

What is most surprizing is, that scarce any but Jews trade; they are notwithstanding exposed to the most outrageous affronts. An Arab will snatch the bread * from the hand of a Jew, enter his hut, and insist on his giving him a handful of tobacco, frequently accompanying the demand with a blow, and always with insolence, which the poor Jew suffers with patience; it is true he recompenses himself by his skill in disposing of his merchandize, and the art with which he deceives the Arabs, who are in general very ignorant.

The two chiefs who command at Gouadnum have no superiority, except they exceed each other in point of property.

* It was at Gouadnum I first saw bread in these countries. Whether brick and stone are scarce, or that they are unacquainted with the construction of ovens, I know not, they heat small stones, on which they bake their paste. The bread thus made is tolerably good; that which the Consul was supplied with by order of the Emperor, appeared differently baked, though I know not in what manner, and was more agreeable to the taste.

In this city I met with a Moor who happened to be on the sea coast when we were wrecked. To this man I owe much gratitude, as he treated me with great kindness, his sister-in-law, Paphye, particularly, taking the most lively interest in my misfortunes, and who, during the eight days I staid at Gouadnum, employed me in grinding barley. She took care that I should be well fed, and treated me with great attention, even asking me to remain with her : but nothing could equal the generous assistance I received from the Jew Aaron and his wives, notwithstanding the ingratitude he had before experienced from several Christian slaves.

I left Gouadnum after a stay of eight days, and on my way to Regaden was perpetually meeting with hamlets and castles, for the most part built on very high mountains, and which at a distance might have been taken for very elegant dwellings, but on a nearer view bore a very different appearance. We were no longer so well fed, and the nearer we approached the city, the less hospitality we met with.

We had already been sixty-six days on our journey ;

journey; my strength was exhausted, my feet swelled almost to suppuration*, and I must infallibly have sunk under my calamities, had not my master been perpetually re-animating my courage by saying, "Look, look, there's the sea, seest thou the ships, bear up, we shall soon reach them." This hope sustained me; and at the very moment when fatigue had almost exhausted expectation, I again beheld the element which had caused me so many misfortunes, and that once more must be the arbiter of my fate. Sidi Sellem doubtless wished to enjoy my surprize, for in quitting a labyrinth of juniper bushes, we came suddenly on a hill of sand, from whence it opened at once on the view. Oh, you who read this narrative, too true in its misfortunes, never can you form an idea of the pleasure I experienced when I saw the French flag unfurled, as well as those of other nations appertaining to the vessels lying at anchor in the Bay of Mogador, which I yet only knew by the name of Soira. "Well,

* A thorn of the gum-tree had pierced my foot, nor could I extract it until it was rotten.

Briffon,"

Briffon, said my master, "art thou satisfied? Dost thou see the vessels? French ones I think are not wanting. I promised to conduct thee to the Consul; thou findest I keep my word: but why dost thou not speak?" Alas, what could I say? tears of joy intercepted the passage of words, nor was it possible for me to articulate a single sound. I gazed on the sea, on the flying colours, on the ships, on the city, and almost thought them all illusion. The unhappy baker, no less exhausted myself, shared the same rapture, while our grateful, though speechless tears, bathed the hands of the generous old man, who had afforded us such an agreeable surprize.

At length we arrived at the city; but I was not free from inquietude, as I had heard before I quitted France, that the Emperor had very ill treated M. de Chenier on his embassy, and that he had been necessitated to complain to his own Court. I knew not whether he had been redressed, and if a fresh Consul supplied his place; at all events I had cause for fear. My suspicions soon vanished on entering the city, and meeting two
Europeans,

Europeans, “Whoever ye are,” said I, “behold my distress, and deign to speak comfort to me; re-assure me, inform where I am. What is your country? What month is it? and what day of the week?” I addressed these questions to two traders, who after considering me attentively, went and informed Messrs. Duprat and Cabanes of my situation. These gentlemen, who made it their study to relieve those whom misfortune had thrown into this country, came immediately to seek me, and without seeming shocked at my revolting appearance, embraced me, shedding tears of joy to have it in their power to assist an unfortunate sufferer. “Your sorrows are over,” said they, “come with us, we will endeavour to make you forget them.” They took me with them immediately, engaging my master to follow us, desiring him to be perfectly easy on account of any agreement I might have contracted with him. I likewise entreated them to ‘permit me to conduct Sidi Sellem and his son with us; they consented, desiring me to use their dwelling as my own, treating me with the greatest care, attention, and friendship, and cloathing me entirely in

their own habiliments, until they had some made for me.

Soon after I was visited by all the Europeans at Mogador, congratulating me on the change in my situation, and also on my arrival in the city on the most fortunate time it could have happened, being the entrance of the new consul, who brought considerable presents from France for the Emperor. I was presented the same day to the Governor, who informed us of the order to repair to Morocco, the Emperor having declared, that henceforward he would see all the slaves, and that they should receive from himself the tidings of liberty.

In eight days we departed, accompanied with the escort which guarded the treasure; that is, my master, myself, and the baker, whom Sidi Mahammed had given in charge to his brother, but reserving to himself whatever ransom he should gain for him. We were furnished with mules, a tent, provisions, and proper attendants, and after four days journey arrived at Morocco.

The first thing I distinguished was the tower of one of the mosques, and which is discernible

discernible at a great distance. I expected to find in the dwelling of the Emperor some remains of grandeur and antiquity, but was greatly mistaken, the habitation of the King of Fez and Mequinez possessing neither. The walls which inclose the palace are of earth, and at the corners so damaged, that it has more the appearance of the circumference of an old burial-place than the dwelling of a Monarch. The houses in the vicinity are constructed in the same stile of those at Gouadnum, though more dirty and less airy.

The guard who had the care of me presented me to the Consul and Vice-consul; they offered me a table and habitation until I could return to France. A second guard came to inform me, that the Emperor knew of my arrival, and had commanded me to be brought instantly before him. I immediately obeyed, following the guard who took me through several spacious courts, with high walls and sand floors, almost insufferable from the sun lying on them the whole day.

We arrived at last into one where the King's guard were assembled; those employed about his person are armed with guns; their

garments

G g 2

cloathing

cloathing consists of different coloured tunics, and cloaks with hoods not unlike a friar's. On their heads they wear a small red cap, ornamented on the top with a blue tassel. Their feet are almost naked, going but half into their slippers, which obliges them to trail as they walk. They sling their guns across them, and wear a girdle, to which they attach their pouches. Those who appeared to me not in the service had no weapon but a white stick.

The horsemen are dressed the same, except that they wear half boots without feet, and spurs of the enormous length of nine or ten inches, which have much the appearance of large iron spikes. Their horses have almost always their flanks cut to the quick, as they take particular pleasure in spurring them. Such is a faithful portrait of the troops of the King of Morocco.

As I waited for an audience, I saw a captain review his company; he was seated on the ground with his elbows on his knees, which were bent upwards, and his chin supported with his hands. The soldiers advanced two by two, and received his orders, prostrating

prostrating themselves before him, after which they retired.

Five or six of those who were only armed with white sticks, seized me by the collar, as though I had been a thief, and opening a large folding-door, like those of our barns, they pushed me rudely forward into an inner court, where I in vain fought for something that might announce the grandeur of Majesty. After advancing fifteen or twenty paces towards a kind of wheelbarrow, such as we see in the streets of Paris, they commanded me, pushing me roughly at the same time, to prostrate myself before this same barrow, which contained the Emperor, who supporting one foot on his knee, was amusing himself in playing with his toes. He looked at me during some minutes, then asked me, whether I was not one of those Christian slaves whose vessel had been wrecked on his coast about a year before, and what business called me to Senegal? "You were wrecked through your misconduct," said he. "Why did you not keep sea-room? Art thou rich?" continued he. "Art thou married?" He hardly gave me time to answer these questions, be-

fore he called for ink and paper, and taking a small reed, which he used as a pen, he traced the four winds, shewing me that Paris was in the north. He then wrote figures up to twelve? “Dost thou understand that?” said he. After this he asked me several other questions, doubtless to shew his understanding.

“Tell me,” said he, “did the mountaineers* treat thee well or ill? Did they deprive thee of thy effects?” I replied to this question by saying, that the nearer I approached the capital the more polished I had found the manners of the people. “I do not command,” replied he, “all the districts thou hast passed, or, to speak more properly, my commands cannot reach so far.—With whom didst thou come to the city?”——“With Sidi Sellem de la Rouffye.”——“I know him; let him be brought instantly before me.”—My master was immediately introduced with the same ceremonies as I had been myself. The Emperor asked him if he

* The inhabitants of the citeis call the Arabs of the Deserts Mountaineers.

had paid a large purchase for me, and what were his intentions in coming to Morocco. He immediately replied, that his first incentive in travelling through immense countries was to prostrate at the feet of his Sovereign the most humble of his slaves*. “Dost thou know,” said the Emperor, “if there are more slaves among the Ouadelims and Labdesseba?” Sidi replied humbly, “Yes, master, there are some, whom I can easily assemble, if thou command it.”—The Emperor continued this conversation no farther, but ordered the guards to take charge of myself and the baker until further orders, and to give us food from the royal kitchen. The guard expressed great surprize to me that his Majesty had deigned to converse so long with a slave.

The next day the Consul asked the guard to permit me to be with him, saying, that

* It is certain that if Sidi Sellem had not wished to pay his duty to the Emperor, (it was fifty years since he had been at Morocco) and also been obliged by his personal interest to travel to the city, that I had never more returned to my country, being too far in the interior part ever to have left it.

should the Emperor ask for me, they could fetch me immediately. I now went to my new dwelling, which was a kind of cave that had before been inhabited by the Spanish Ambassador, the Emperor, willing to use equal attention to the French Consul, having ordered him the same lodging. This palace, which is one of the finest the King has at his disposal, is nothing more than a long cave built in the earth, the roof being supported by two rows of pillars, and the entrance to it a gradual slope; nor is there any air but what enters through the little openings in the roof. The Emperor keeps his tents and warlike stores in it, nor is there any thing else to be seen there, except bats, rats, and spiders. This dwelling is in one of the King's most delightful gardens, being decorated with olive, quince, pomegranate, and apple-trees; yet the high walls which surround it might easily furnish the idea to those that walk in it that they were state prisoners. Though the Emperor provides the Ambassadors with a dwelling, he supplies them with no furniture whatever, but gives orders for them to be daily served with a certain quantity of beef, mutton, poultry, bread, and water.

The palace of his Majesty consists of six vast courts, furrounded with walls. The exterior of the seraglio resembles a barn, and the mosque is built in the same taste; I know not whether the interior is beautiful, but there is nothing on the outside to please the sight. The town is separated from the palace by heaps of mud, offal, and bones of slaughtered beasts, piled on each other, and which may be said to form the circumference of the city. These pyramids of filth reach even into the interior parts of the town, in many places being so much higher than the houses, that they exclude the light of day; the sun shining on these mountains of nastiness, encreases the putrefaction, and renders the sight doubly loathsome. The houses are so ill constructed, that they bear more resemblance to pig-sties than human dwellings; neither are the streets airy, being very narrow, and in many places covered with straw.

One day that the Ambassador from New-England, the Consul, and myself, were on horseback, wishing to take an airing, we were obliged to relinquish our intention, and return home as speedily as possible; the people surrounded

rounded us, and prevented our advancing, although we were protected by the Emperor's guard, and without which we had doubtless fallen a sacrifice to their brutality; nor did even their presence restrain them sufficiently, for I received a violent blow on the head with a stone. Such are the inhabitants of Morocco.

The dispositions of the people in the city are but little different from those in the desert; they are rather more polished, and much fairer; accustomed to meet with Europeans, they express less astonishment at their manners, though they treat them with the utmost insolence. I have seen several come in to M. Duprat's, and also at the Consul's, sit down without being invited, and call for something to eat and drink, even asking for what food was most agreeable to their appetite. A porter, who had no trouble but thrice opening the gates of the Emperor's court to the Consul, came with the greatest effrontery, and demanded a gratification. The Consul gave him some silver, with which not being satisfied, he continued to hold out his hand, saying, *zit*, which signifies, it is not

not sufficient, give more. This was performed with the utmost arrogance, and was rather a command than a request. The Secretaries and writers conduct themselves in the same manner, laying all under contribution that transact any business with them. The principal officers of the crown are yet more greedy of presents, particularly of piaftres, which are worth five livres, ten sols. Their master always takes care to ask what profit they have made of such an affair or business, giving them distinguished employments, or sending them on embassies, until they have amassed a considerable fortune; he then accuses them of evil practices, deprives them of their whole possessions, and leaves them to finish their days in chains. His own children are not exempt from his barbarity, and Moulem Adaram, of whom I have before spoken, is now a wanderer in the desert, among a set of the vilest barbarians, victim of the avarice of his father. I know not whether this young prince ever shewed any good qualities; in the deserts his actions are cruel, and seem to promise, that should he ever ascend the throne, he would prove a worthless

less tyrant. Moulem Azry, his brother, appears designed for the Emperor's successor, nor is he a better character*.

I cannot here avoid observing, that it is very extraordinary that a prince, so little to be feared as the Emperor of Morocco, should extort Ambassadors from the Powers of Europe; nor is there a Sovereign who dares send his representative without loading him with considerable presents; or where is the Envoy that would dare to appear before him empty handed. When M. de Chenier, who was sent from the Court of France, remitted his dispatches to the Emperor, he not finding them to his liking, ordered them to be wrapped in a dirty handkerchief, and hung round the neck of the Consul, who was thus exposed to the insults of this cruel nation. Sure it is strange, that the Ambassadors have not the zeal and courage to represent to their respective Sovereigns, that the King of Morocco, Mesquinez, and Fez, is only great from the

* This was written before my return from Senegal; and it must be observed, that since that time the son has made war against his father,

succours with which they supply him.—Twenty years ago this Prince was without means of making, or procuring metal for cannons; he had no wood for building, no canvas, cordage, nails, implements, or workmen. It is France and the other maritime powers that have furnished them, or the Emperor would still possess none. It is Holland, Spain, England, and France, that have supplied him with large brass cannons, such as 24, 36, and 48 pounders. England, particularly, surpassed other nations, selling him the large brass guns which they had taken at sea.

The fort of Mogador, which is the nearest Morocco, is advantageously built, and its batteries well placed; there are cannon at each embrasure, but the mouths of the guns, for want of carriages, being obliged to rest on the embrasures, renders them only fit for show, there being no workmen capable of mounting, or making carriages for them. Every assistance of this kind being wanting to the Emperor, let his little frigates, which are almost unfit for service, be watched out of harbour, (two must be excepted, the Vice-Consul
Mure

Mure having put it in his head to ask to have them repaired) nothing would be more easy than to prevent their re-entrance, and to shut up his ports of Mogador, Rabat, and Salee? What would become of his commerce, and particularly his marine, were the Christian princes to cease to support him against the common interests of humanity? If England and Spain would unite, Tangier, his best fort, might be reduced so compleatly, as no longer to afford a refuge for corsairs, whose vessels, soon unfit for service, must renounce their piracies.

If the Consuls of the different countries have never made these observations, or if they have never pointed out the means of reducing the Emperor of Morocco, the reason is, that they are at the head of the commerce of their respective countries. The Consul from Spain engrosses almost the whole corn trade, the vessels being consigned to him. The French Envoy is the only one who does not traffic; and what I am well assured is, that the different representatives, far from remitting to their respective governments the means of diminishing the power of the Emperor, never
cease

cease to add to his strength and means of defence, by instigating him to increase his demands. Do we not supply these pirates with the power of injuring our commerce? It is true their situation renders them dangerous, but if we deprive them of all but situation, it will be of little use to them. Let any impartial person visit the country, let them speak with the same sincerity which I do, and the world must at length be convinced, that the Emperor of Morocco is the least to be feared of any prince, if we refuse him supplies.

At length the happy moment arrived when my slavery was to cease. One day the King on quitting the mosque ordered the Consul to attend, with the Christian slaves, in the *Mechoir*, (the place of public audience.) “Consul,” said he to M. Durochein, “I hope thou wilt not resemble thy predecessor, whose pride most singularly displeased me. Seest thou this young man (shewing the Vice-Consul) he is mild and complaisant, and has ever sought to please me. Study to imitate him, I command thee; thou mayst write to thy master that I am satisfied with the services he has rendered me. Adieu, thou

thou mayst retire with the slaves, whose liberty I give thee*. Embark them from which of my ports is most convenient. Adieu, I shall order proper officers from my court to accompany thee to the residence appointed the Consul."

It is at this audience that the Emperor takes account of affairs respecting the police. He appeared mounted on a beautiful horse, caparisoned in scarlet and blue cloth, with his crupper ornamented with nobs of gold; by the side of the Sovereign walked an equerry, who carried an umbrella to defend his Majesty from the sun. The guard follows on foot in the greatest silence, all announcing fear, a glance from the King spreading universal consternation; for giving command, he sees fall without the least emotion the head of one or more of his subjects; nor is the last word of the condemnation hardly articulated before the unhappy victim is lifeless on the ground. Yet the rich, if they chuse

* We were seven in number, myself, the baker, and five others, who belonged to the ship *The Two Friends*, which had been wrecked some time previous to us.

to buy his favour, may live in safety, and commit every crime with impunity.

What will be thought of a prince, who from having it suggested to him, that doubtless I was a Christian of higher rank than the rest, because I was better cloathed, and the Consul paid me particular attention, that could forget his promises, and send to Mogador to stop and bring me back to Morocco. Happily the winds had wafted me far from this detested country when the courier arrived with these orders to the Governor.

Thus I can truly affirm, that misfortune pursued me to the last moment of my stay. I should doubtless have sunk under my calamities as well as my unfortunate companions, but for a most unshaken constancy, and unbounded reliance on Providence. I should not forget to add, that before my departure Sidi Sellem retired, very well satisfied with the Consul's generosity.

I DID not wish to interrupt my narrative with an account of the religion, manners, and customs of these people, who being little known, may be interesting, and which fatal experience enables me to paint; I therefore give it at the end of my slavery; and the reader may be assured, that I shall be as true in the description I am about giving as I have been in my own adventures.

The Arabs of the desert follow the religion of Mahomet; but they have entirely disfigured it by their superstition and grossness of manners. They lead a wandering vagabond life amidst the burning sands of Africa; some of them perpetually travelling up and down the coast, without fixing in any particular spot. They are distributed in larger or smaller tribes, and each tribe divided into hordes that encamp in districts most convenient for pasturage, by which means an entire tribe is never to be met with, being all intermingled with the hamlets of the Ouadelims, Labdesseba, la Rouffye, Lathidierim, Chelus, Ducanois, Ouadelis, &c. The two first are the most formidable, carrying their depredations to the gates of Morocco. It is
not

not without reason that the Emperor fears them, as they consist of strong and vigorous men. They have in general short curling hair, the beard long, a ferocious look, large hanging ears, and nails so long, that they have the appearance of claws, and which they use particularly in the rencontres they are perpetually having with their neighbours. The Ouadelims, who are the most haughty, arrogant, and given to plunder, of any tribe, carry terror wherever they come, yet they are cowardly, as are all Arabs, without they have an evident superiority.

These people live in families under tents, covered with a coarse cloth of camels hair; the women spin, and weave it on frames so very small, that they work seated on the ground. Their furniture consists of two leather sacks, which serve to hold some rags and old iron; three or four goat skins (if they can procure as many) in which they keep their water and milk, some wooden utensils, pack-saddles for their camels, two large stones to grind their barley, a small one to drive down the pegs of their tents, a mat of willow, which serves for a bed, a coarse kind

of carpet to cover them, and a small boiler. Such is the furniture that distinguishes the tents of the rich from the poor.

Their cattle, which are their greatest wealth, consist of two or three horses, several camels, some sheep, and goats. The poorer possess only sheep and goats.

The first of their duties, and what they observe most scrupulously, is prayer, and of which there are many in the course of the day, the first beginning before sun-rise. The *Talbe*, remarkable for his long beard, and a loose garment of crimson and white, which in some measure shews a body that appears emaciated by abstinence, but is in reality only the effect of excessive idleness, holding a kind of enormous large chaplet in his hand, raises his voice in a lamentable and melancholy tone, which a stranger might take for pious contrition, but which is nothing more than consummate hypocrisy ; for, armed with a poignard, he can seek the spot where his perfidious hand may strike with security through the heart of his neighbour, friend, or brother.

The people, informed by his lamentable noise, of the hour of prayer, come and range themselves

themselves around him, to hear the praises of the Prophet ; all hastening with the utmost respect ; before the beginning of the prayer, they slip off a little petticoat, which they wear fastened to their girdle, and envelope themselves in that and their other garments. The Talbe then stoops to the ground, and throwing aside the earth his feet had touched, takes up some that has not been trodden, and (in scarcity of water) rubs his face, hands, and arms up to the elbows, to cleanse himself from impurities, the people imitating all his actions.

The prayer finished, they remain some time seated on the ground, drawing different figures in the sand, and by a variety of motions appearing to indicate that they are anointing their heads with holy unction. The savages, during the prayer, shew as much exterior piety and respect as we have in our churches ; yet I do not believe it possible for religion to be more trifled with when once the ceremony is over. The women, who only assist at the morning and evening prayer (which is at ten at night) place themselves at the entrance of their tents, turning

themselves towards the rising sun. The duties of religion concluded, the next care is milking the camels; they kick them till they rise from the ground, and then remove a kind of swathe made of tow, with which they bind up their dugs; the young one instantly runs, preparing to suck, but the master and keeper no sooner see the milk ready to flow, but they snatch the young one from the mother, and each pressing his head against the side of the animal, milking at the same time, they procure in damp seasons about five pints; the keeper taking a draught out of each portion, as he carries it to empty in a trough that stands by the side of his mistress, but he is only allowed the milk of the last camel he draws for his whole support.

The produce thus collected, the mistress puts her share aside, always taking care it is not the smallest; she then serves her husband and children, securing what remains in a goat-skin, which she hangs in the sun before she converts it into butter. Two or three hours after, the young girls bring in the sheep and goats; the mother, who is always present, mingles the milk of these last with
that

that of the camels ; and when she thinks the sun has sufficiently heated it, they blow out a goat-skin, in which they shake it, in order to separate the butter, the whey serving for drink. This butter is inclosed in small skins, from whence it acquires a strong smell, which renders it more agreeable to these savages. The women also use it to grease their hair, nor would they think themselves compleat without this pomatum, carrying their coquetry beyond what could be easily imagined ; their hair being decorated with their utmost art, leaving some tresses to flow loose on the bosom, and to which they attach shells, old keys, padlocks, the brass rings of umbrellas and breeches buttons, which were taken from the sailors, or, in short, any thing else they can procure. The hair thus decorated, they bind up their heads with a greasy rag, which covers half the nose, and ties under the chin. To give lustre to their eyes, they mark them round with a large copper needle, first rubbing it on a kind of blue stone. For the adjustment of their drapery, the whole art consists in folding it skilfully, so as to make the pleats remain, for the dress has neither

seam, strings, nor pins, to keep it in shape. A Moorish woman, to be esteemed beautiful, must have long teeth, that jut out beyond her lips, the flesh of her arm, from the shoulder to the elbow, loose and flabby; the thighs and body prodigiously fat, the walk heavy, and to compleat all, must wear on the arms and legs bracelets not unlike the collar of our Danish dogs. Their whole wardrobe consists in the dress I have before described; and when we consider natural infirmities, and that they are delivered in this same drapery, and receive on it the filth of their children, and that they also use it to blow their nose, it is impossible for imagination to form a more disgusting and revolting idea than the appearance and smell of a Moorish woman. Who could believe that these hideous creatures are given to jealousy and scandal? It is notwithstanding the truth. If they go to borrow any thing of a neighbour, and find the husband at home, they immediately cover their face, and make the demand at the entrance of the tent, with an air of timidity and fear; on the contrary, should the female neighbour be alone, they enter, and begin to scandalize all the females

males whose dress they think superior to their own; a third frequently joins them; and thus supported, they will pass half a day vilifying their neighbours, for the most part separating without remembering what they came to borrow. Laziness and gluttony are their favourite passions, exposing themselves to numberless affronts to procure a little goat or camel's flesh, when they know any is dressed in the neighbouring tents; but their favourite food is liver.

The faults of the men are equal; they will pass the whole day extended on a mat, sleeping, smoking, or causing the vermin, which almost devours them, to be picked off. They generally employ the women in this business, but have no scruple to perform it for each other; nor is it to be wondered at that the whole country is infested with them, as they never take the trouble to destroy, but throw them on the ground. Notwithstanding my utmost care, my beard was always swarmed, which I can truly aver was not among the least of the evils I had to suffer during my captivity.

The men sometimes assemble to talk over
their

their warlike exploits. Every one relates the number of enemies he has vanquished ; and frequently, on some false and ridiculous assertion, they give each other the lie, the dispute becomes warm, and usually terminates by blows given with their poignards. They cannot differ on the most trivial subject without their eyes sparkling with fury ; rage is expressed in every gesture, nor do they even transact their domestic business without the utmost noise and discord.

Deceit and perfidy are also two innate vices among the Arabs ; they never quit their tents unarmed, never give any written obligation, as the giver would be sure to poignard the acceptor, to prevent him ever demanding it. They wear round their necks a little purse, which contains what they have most valuable ; and though in general they have nothing in their tents secured by a lock, yet I have seen some few, who possessed small trunks, which, though most probably did not contain the value of half a crown, yet were the object of universal envy, excepting neither brother, father, or son of those who possessed them.

My

My master's brother was the most envious of the whole horde of the little wealth I had given him; he even one day proposed to me, as a very trifling matter, to murder him during the night, offering me his poignard, and promising as a recompence to conduct me to Morocco. However discontented with my fate, the proposal displeased me, and I declined it with horror, yet a few days after, the offer was renewed with many pressing instances by an uncle of Sidi Mahammed's, who appeared the most attached to him of any of his relations. More than once I have seen this same man, stealing cautiously into the tent when all were asleep to steal some old pieces of iron, or a girth, yet this man was one of the most considered in the hamlet, his opinion being asked on all disputes, and his judgment a law to the poor, for the rich acknowledge no restraint.

The young men are early instructed to use the poignard, to tear out the entrails of their adversaries with their nails, and to give to falsehood the appearance of truth. To these distinguished talents, those that can add reading and writing become the most dangerous
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of monsters, as these qualities give them distinguished pre-eminence. It may truly be said that they are familiarized to crimes from their infancy, and commit the vilest actions with pleasure.

By the custom of the country, every travelling Arab, of whatever tribe, let him be known or unknown, must be treated with hospitality; or, if there are several, the inhabitants must contribute jointly for their reception. Without distinction they all go out to meet them, congratulating them on their arrival, helping them off their camels, and carrying their baggage behind the thickets which is to shelter them during the night; for it is an established custom that no stranger should be admitted to sleep in their tents. This ceremony over, they seat themselves round the new comer, asking the news of the country from whence he came; if such, or such a people have left the spot on which they were encamped; what hordes he has met on his journey; where he saw the best pasturage, &c. When he has answered to these questions, they next ask to what tribe he belongs, and lastly they enquire after his health,

health, having exhausted all other questions. If the stranger is quite unknown in the canton, the richest Arab must entertain him, if more than one, the expence must be jointly made. They give to each a large porringer of milk, also some barley flower boiled in milk, or in water if they can procure any. If the visitor can read, they confer on him the honour of reading prayers, in which case the Talbe of the hamlet places himself by his side as master of the ceremonies. Such is the reception of an unknown; but should he chance to be rich, or have friends in the horde, they hasten to kill a goat or a fat sheep to regale him. The wife prepares the feast, and before she dresses the meat, separates the fat which is served up raw. As soon as the victuals is prepared, she puts by a part for her husband, and likewise some for the neighbours with whom she is in friendship, for failing in this duty would be an irreparable crime. She then places with great care on a straw mat the part designed for the traveller, setting it on the head of a christian or negroe slave, who following his master, takes it to the guest, who however is never regaled
till

till ten at night, although he should have arrived early in the morning, the custom being never to serve any thing but at night, by the light of the moon, or fire, which they kindle in all seasons. The traveller does not fail to press his entertainer to do him the honour of eating with him, but which he refuses as much as possible, as this refusal shews particular respect to the visitor. The next morning the traveller continues his journey without taking leave of any one. This manner of entertaining each other would doubtless be very praise-worthy, but how many stratagems do they use to avoid it? When they discover an unknown traveller, they hasten to a place at some distance from their tents, a saddle, a mat, a gun, and a little bag or packagee, which announces to the stranger that a traveller is already arrived; but these precautions seldom answer, for the unwelcome guest will often take up his lodging next to the baggage which is placed to deceive him. The master then declares that they appertain to an Arab of a neighbouring hamlet, but even this will not make the traveller move, if he chooses to remain, they have

have then but one revenge, which is to give him a small quantity of supper. He then watches on all sides, and if he discovers any fire, runs with great haste in the hope of finding boiled meat and broth; taking care to conceal himself behind the tent, to listen whether they are at supper, for were they aware of his approach, they would soon remove the three stones that support the pot; but by thus surprizing them suddenly, he is sure of success, since they cannot avoid asking him to eat. It frequently happens that while he is satisfying his gluttony, the others are stealing his effects which are in the thickets, but it is no more than he would do himself by them, if occasion served.

It would be difficult to give a proper idea of the pride and ignorance of these people; they have not only the presumption to think themselves the first in the world, but also to suppose the sun rises only for them. Some among them have said to me, “Contemplate that luminary, it is unknown in thy country; in the nights ye are not illuminated by the same light which numbers our days, and directs our fasts; those children who inhabit the sky

informs

inform us of the hour of prayer.* Ye have no trees, no camels, sheep, fard, goats, nor dogs. Are your women made like ours? How long wast thou in thy mother's womb?" "As long," replied I, "as thou wast in thine." "In truth," replied a second counting my fingers and toes, "he is made like us, he is only different in colour and language, it is astonishing." "Do you sow barley in your houses?"† "No," replied I, "we sow it nearly in the same season which you do." "How," exclaimed a number of them?" "What, do you inhabit the earth, we thought you were born, and lived on the sea." Such were the questions I had to resolve, when they honoured me with their conversation.

War among them is nothing more than depredation, being commenced for the purpose of stealing cattle, and ravaging the fields of corn, that by thus depriving their neighbours of their property, they may be themselves enabled to lead a life of idleness.

One day that the cattle of the whole ham-

* They call the stars the children of the moon.

† A name they give our ships.

let were feeding on a plain, a keeper ran almost breathless to inform the horde, that a company of the Ouadelis appeared on the top of the hill, and doubtless came with intention to steal the cattle. The timbrel was instantly sounded,* all hastened to prepare their arms, and advance towards the enemy, those on horseback were lost in a cloud of dust, nor were the camels, who cover at once a great deal of ground, less active, for pressed forward by the dissonant cries of their riders, they rushed into the confusion, biting with the utmost violence all they came near, and doing as much, or more execution, than the musketry.

They never attack each other in order of battle; so many men, so many distinct combats; and he who dismounts his adversary, and can get possession of his arms, camel, or horse, instantly retires with the fruit of his victory.

Others who think themselves more power-

* This large timbrel is kept in the tent of one of the principal Arabs, and is used on several occasions: sometimes to call them together to arms, sometimes that an Arab is missing in the desert, or that the camels are strayed.

ful than their adversary, close with him at once, giving and receiving repeated strokes with the poignard, or tearing out each other's entrails with their dreadful nails. By these means, those who possess what is to them considerable wealth, a large stock of cattle, are in one day often reduced to the greatest distress, being deprived of all, by those who a few hours before, were masters of no property whatever. The weakest tribes being the most exposed, they are careful to live at a distance, particularly from the Ouadelims and the Labdesseba. Sometime before I quitted the country, I heard those last had begun their depredations on the quarter of Arguem, (which they call Agadin) and carried them even to the gates of Morocco.

In general they only sow barley, or sometimes wheat, when there is a great deal of rain. But after a three years drought, their fields producing nothing, they unite and carry the horrors of war and desolation into countries more fortunate than their own; ravishing with brutal violence from their fellows, the fruits of their labour and industry. Thus does plentiful harvests pass from the
true

true proprietors, into the hands of ferocious men, who prefer the dangers of combat, to exerting a little industry to procure themselves a subsistence.

The battle terminated, each party prepare graves, and the Talbes, informed of what has passed, hasten to the field, tinged with the blood of their brethren, to perform the duties of their function. It consists in articulating some plaintive sounds over a few handfuls of sand which they hold in a shell, and sprinkle on the unhappy wretches, who lay in the agonies of death; from time to time pressing their thumbs on their foreheads as though they were applying consecrated oil, and lastly throwing on them a kind of a scarf and a chaplet. As soon as they are quite dead, they lay them in the grave already prepared, placing them on their left side, with the face turned towards the rising sun, as though to contemplate the tomb of their Prophet; the graves are surrounded by large stones heaped on each other, which serve for monuments to these plunderers. They distinguish the age of their warriors by the quantity of ground they inclose for their burial. The women

with an air of distraction come and throw themselves on the ground, their gestures, grimaces, and sobbing, presenting a most ridiculous scene to the spectator. A travelling Arab never passes one of these burial places, without laying down his stick, making a short prayer, and raising small pyramids of stone, to mark the intercessions he made for the repose of the deceased.

The funeral ceremony over, cries of desolation are heard throughout the horde, all mingling their tears with the relations of the defunct, whose tent is placed on another spot, all his effects exposed to the air, and the fattest goat killed to console the relations and friends. The feast concluded, they forget all animosity, and I have frequently seen them the day after a battle visiting each other, the conqueror boasting to the enemy he vanquished, of the address which he used, in skilfully seizing the moment to wound him. What I thought very extraordinary was, that to cure the deepest wounds, they used nothing but earth, and that taken indiscriminately from any spot, equally appearing to act successfully; they have another expedient
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to remove pains, but not so efficacious, applying red hot iron to the part affected. These people are subject to few maladies; I have seen several old people of both sexes very healthy.

Sore eyes and cholics are the most common complaints; children particularly are subject to them, though naturally of strong constitutions, their eyes being sometimes so affected, that it is difficult in the morning for them to separate the lids. As for the cholic, I attribute it to the verdigrease that impregnated all they eat and drink, and which not producing more rapid and fatal effects, is doubtless owing to the quantities of milk they drink. The boilers they have in constant use being of untinned copper, and from the scarcity of water never washed, occasions them always to be corroded with verdigrease, and that they do not even remove when they rub them with sand. During the time I was with them, and employed to clean the vessels, I endeavoured to cleanse them entirely from it, but they peremptorily forbid me, saying I should wear them out. It is impossible but the food that remains in these vessels must be prejudicial to health.

Some seasons the fields of these barbarians are covered with a plentiful harvest, but instead of waiting until it is ripe, they gather and dry it on hot cinders, without considering that by those means they deprive themselves of an abundance necessary for the support of their families, and their beasts of straw for nourishment, in default of which they are reduced to browse on dried branches, and that even themselves are sometimes necessitated to sustain life, by eating the leather of the saddles and bridles of their camels. The little care they take to prepare the earth, and to sow their grain, makes their frequent distress less to be wondered at; they first place the grain between a hillock of stones and a thicket, that the dried seed may imbibe the moisture of the soil, on which the water leaves a slime very proper to push the first vegetation. Those employed to sow, select the dampest places, scattering indiscriminately the seed, over which they drive a kind of plough drawn by one camel, consequently making very small furrows. If heaven secunds this labour by sending rain, each seizes his share, and flies into the interior parts of the mountains to enjoy it.

In passing some more fertile cantons, I saw sheaves of grain, whose ripe and full ears might have tempted the most opulent to have tasted; some heaped on each other were abandoned to the injuries of the weather, the proprietor doubtless being unable to regain the mountains, it being the season when abundant rains falling in torrents from the heights, inundated the vallies. “Is it possible,” said I, “that there are men in the world in a situation to set so little store by the gifts of Providence; how happy should I think myself to have such nourishment at my disposal?” I took some handfuls of this barley, and rubbing it between my hands to separate it from the husks, eat it with incredible pleasure, almost thinking myself transported to the time, when the manna dropped from heaven for the relief of the people in the desert.

There is no understanding or intelligence among the Arabs with whom I dwelt, being entirely devoid of industry, or without inclination to be instructed; there were among them but two workmen, and whom they regarded with a kind of veneration, doubtless

astonished to see them, though rudely, imitate the works of other nations, for they are incapable of invention. The first of these was a sort of cartwright, and the second on about the same equality for a smith, and in these two did the whole science of this part of the country unite; the knowledge of the first consisted in making wooden porringers, some few little domestic utensils, and a rude kind of plough, but he was far from giving this implement of husbandry a form to render it easily manageable to the labourer. The other art consisted in beating out iron, though the artist was perfectly unacquainted with the qualities of that metal, for after heating it several times, till he had rendered it nearly useless, he frequently abandoned it, unable to succeed in forming what he wished. He was not more successful in working other metals, though he attempted it with the greatest confidence; my master one day brought him a chain of gold which I had given him, desiring him to form it into rings for his daughter. The ignorant Arab, after examining it with great self-sufficiency, declared it was not gold, comparing it with one of base metal
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which had been taken from a sailor belonging to our ship, and which he affirmed was pure gold; to strengthen his assertion, he made him observe that mine was of a different colour, and a softer metal, and his of a deep yellow. After many observations and dissertations, as ridiculous as ill-founded, he determined to melt it, for which purpose he hollowed a large coal, in which he inclosed it, and after much blowing, succeeded in forming it into rings about the size of the circle of our snuff-boxes. His skill was generally admired, and for his recompence he obtained a porringer of churned milk.

How much pains have I taken to teach them how to grind their barley, and winnow it with greater ease, and more equally to balance the loads on their camels, so that they might carry with greater facility, and their burthens not be continually subject to falling and breaking to pieces. I also wished to instruct them how to prepare the ground before they sowed their corn, and to get in their harvest with more care; but the advice was superfluous; they were more headstrong than their camels, and that is not saying a little;
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for I suffered much from them during the thirteen months I was their keeper. Whatever proofs they may have of their own want of capacity in all their undertakings, yet it is not possible to conquer their prejudices, or correct their ill habits.

The smith was fifteen days working on the pan of a fusée, and which, when finished, was so badly let in, that I could not help observing, whoever first used it must run a very great hazard. The Arabs who were present would have obliged me to make the trial, but I excused myself. The pride of the smith taking the alarm, he determined to assay it himself, and had his jaw and part of his hand taken off. I am convinced that the want of skill in the workmen occasions more wounds than they receive in battle.

They questioned us several times whether there were any armourers amongst us, and suspected me after the observation I had made concerning the gun. Their arms are in the worst state that can possibly be imagined, being in general what they procure from the Arabs of the tribe of Trargea in exchange for camels.

camels. Other hordes have obtained them from vessels wrecked on their coast; many of them are also brought from Morocco. These last are the strongest, but so cumbersome, that they prefer those from Europe, particularly if double-barrelled; nor is there an Arab but what would willingly give a Christian slave for one of those guns. When they are out of repair, they make use of the old iron they have obtained from wrecks to mend them. I was astonished to see with what haste they staved the barrels of brandy to get off the hoops, nor could I suppose they designed them for such a use. If this metal and guns are to them of such value, it may easily be imagined that flint, ball, lead, and powder, are not less so. They know very well how to distinguish good powder from bad; a great deal is fabricated in the little town of Gouadnum, but it is very coarse and weak, being frequently almost useless, fouling the guns, which in default of oil they rub with butter.

Except crimes, which they always endeavour to commit in the night, these people make no mystery in their actions. If one intends to undertake a long journey, he informs
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the whole hamlet, who assemble to give him advice, every one offering his opinion, even children of fourteen years old, and who generally speak with as much confidence as old men. These conferences, which are either to approve or condemn the step meant to be taken, are sometimes prolonged for a month together. They are sometimes occasioned by their changing their encampment, or on account of the camels being taken to the coast to procure water. This last business is always the longest in settling, as the families remaining at home must be deprived of milk during the journey. It is true in that case, those whose camels are absent are furnished by those at home, but for which they afterwards expect a recompence. Nothing can equal their joy on the return of the cattle, who come back loaded with skin bags full of water, from which it contracts a very disagreeable smell and taste, but that notwithstanding, from its scarcity, is drank with great pleasure.

It is usually supposed in Europe that a dog would run mad should he be deprived of water; yet in the burning deserts they have no drink whatever, and generally subsist on excrements,

crements. The camels are sometimes four months without a drop of water, and the sheep and goats drink yet less; in short, was it not for their horses, I am apt to think the Arabs would most probably never be at the pains of fetching water, but wait until it was the will of Heaven to send it. The rains, which usually fall about the month of October, spread universal joy and public rejoicing; nor is it possible to form an idea of the general satisfaction, without having experienced the deprivation of that element.

A husband cannot put away his wife without obtaining the consent of the most ancient men of the hamlet, a permission they never refuse, as women are treated with the most sovereign contempt. They never take the name of their husbands, but are always called by that given at their birth; nor do even the children bear their parents' name. In almost all the hamlets I have seen, there are but four or five different names, being generally distinguished by their tribe, and any surname they adopt.

When an Arab sets out on a long journey, his wife having bid him farewell, follows him
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some twenty paces from his tent, throwing after him the stone which they use to drive the picquets of their tents, and which she buries in the sand where it falls until his return. 'This is the Moorish women's method of wishing a speedy and successful journey.

Though these women are very indecent, both in their discourse and gestures, they are notwithstanding very faithful to their husbands. I could never reconcile the tenderness they have for their children with the barbarity with which they correct them, particularly the girls, who seem indifferent to both father and mother; yet on them they delight to display their opulence, ornamenting their ears, arms, and legs, with rings of gold and silver. They use so much alloy in their silver, that it is little more than white copper. The poorer Arabs use the last mentioned metal entirely.

Nothing can exceed their joy when they are parents to a son; it may easily be supposed the mother has no midwife to assist, but is usually alone at the moment of delivery, laid on the ground, under an indifferent tent, insufficient to shelter her from the injuries of the weather.

A woman who is delivered of a son, to testify her joy, blackens her face for forty days; on the birth of a daughter, she smears but half of it, and that only for twenty days. Could the infants distinguish the hideous countenances of their mothers, they would surely never cling to their breasts, for nothing can equal their disgusting appearance.

I could not help shuddering to see the cruelty with which these women treated their children, even while at the breast, getting them to sleep, by giving them blows on the back with their fists, and to prevent their crying, pinching and pulling up their skin with their fingers. I have seen these inhuman mothers depart, even on the day of their delivery, to encamp at the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues; they are seated in a kind of cradle, which is placed on the top of the load of the camel. On these occasions they always try to outrival each other; for which purpose they decorate the camel with strips of scarlet cloth and white rags, ornamenting the four sticks which support the covering of the cradle with pieces of whitened or gilt copper.

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It is usually the women who take up the picquets of the tents when their husbands choose to change situation; it is also them who load the camels under the inspection of their masters; and when the husband gets on horseback, it is the wife who presents the stirrup; during which attendance, should she fall and hurt herself, it is very immaterial, provided she is ready on his return to attend him with a porringer of churned milk.

I was disgusted to see one of those Arabs, who, not sufficiently rich to keep a horse, was necessitated to seat himself on the load of his camel, which being overthrown, he reclined himself under a thicket, leaving to his women the care of picking up and replacing the loading. Nothing can be more arrogant than an Arab with his wife, nothing more humble than those women in the presence of their husbands; they are not even admitted to eat with them, but serve them with the utmost deference, and are called after they have done to take the remainder.

An Arab cannot without rudeness enter into the tent of one of his neighbours upon any occasion, but must call him out, the wife covering

vering her face with a veil, as she also does when before any stranger. A husband would fail in Moorish politeness who should throw himself on the mat of his wife, for that favour is only permitted him when herself also occupies it. They are generally kind to their women when with child; and there are few matches but what produce five or six children, consequently as plurality of wives is allowed, it may easily be supposed how populous they are. There is not however any jealousy among those women, who frequently live under the same tent witnessing the tenderness their husbands express for their rivals.

The tent designed for a new contracted couple is ornamented with a white flag, and the intended bridegroom has his forehead decorated with a binder of the same colour; for let it be his first or fifth marriage, or of whatever age, he is equally ornamented with the symbol of celibacy; the day of the ceremony the husband kills a camel to regale his friends. The women and children without distinction assemble about the timbrel player, who, seated on the ground, strikes the instrument with one hand, and with the other forms a kind of

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speaking trumpet, joining the most dissonant howlings to the sound of the instrument; the clamour is also augmented by the clinking of an iron chain, which he wears round his arm while he plays; a single female dances to this music, but that without moving her feet from the place on which she stands, her arms, head, and eyes, alone following the sound; her body being in perpetual motion, and her hands spread before her, forming divers gestures, each more indecent than the other. All the spectators beat time with their hands, turning their faces and necks, and making a thousand grimaces, to all which the dancer replies in the same stile with astonishing precision; at length she concludes by leaning herself negligently on the musician, the sound of the instrument becomes softer, the eyes of the actresses are half closed, her hand is pressed on her bosom; in short, every action appears to express the most violent passion; yet the moment after, the woman who has acted this curious scene joins her companions with an air of indifference it is impossible to describe. The young people sometimes form a ring, inclosing a person in
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the middle, who stands on one leg, and with the other defends himself from his companions, who all endeavour to hit him; the first that strikes takes his place. This is their only game in which there is the least dexterity. The day after the wedding the friends of the bride procure water, and wash her from the waist to the feet. They then comb and decorate her hair, redden her nails, and dress her in new cloaths, if she is rich enough to buy them; if not she borrows some till the rejoicing is over.

I always regarded as fabulous what I had heard respecting the breasts of the Moorish women, but now acknowledge my error; for not to cite many examples, I saw one woman particularly who was displeased with her child, throw her breast with such force against him, that he fell on the ground.

As soon as a boy can walk, his mother treats him with as much respect as his father; that is to say, she prepares his meat, and eats after him. The Talbe, who teaches them to read and write, instructs them with a loud voice, and the children studying in the same manner, causes a most dissonant noise.

noise. The examples given them are written on little slips of polished wood, and which when learned are effaced, and others substituted; a small twig answers the purpose of a pen; their figures have a great resemblance to ours.

After the description I have given of these barbarians, it may easily be imagined how much I wished to be restored to my country. We complain on quitting the places to which we are accustomed; we weep on parting with our friends; we suffer ourselves to be distressed for the smallest trifles, as the want of a handkerchief, or the growth of a beard of two days; yet I have been a slave, naked, devoured with vermin, wounded in every part of my body, and without resting place but the damp or burning sands, for fourteen months. Oh, Supreme Power! it is thou that sustained me in the hour of trial; to thee I called in my calamities—from thee I expect my recompence!

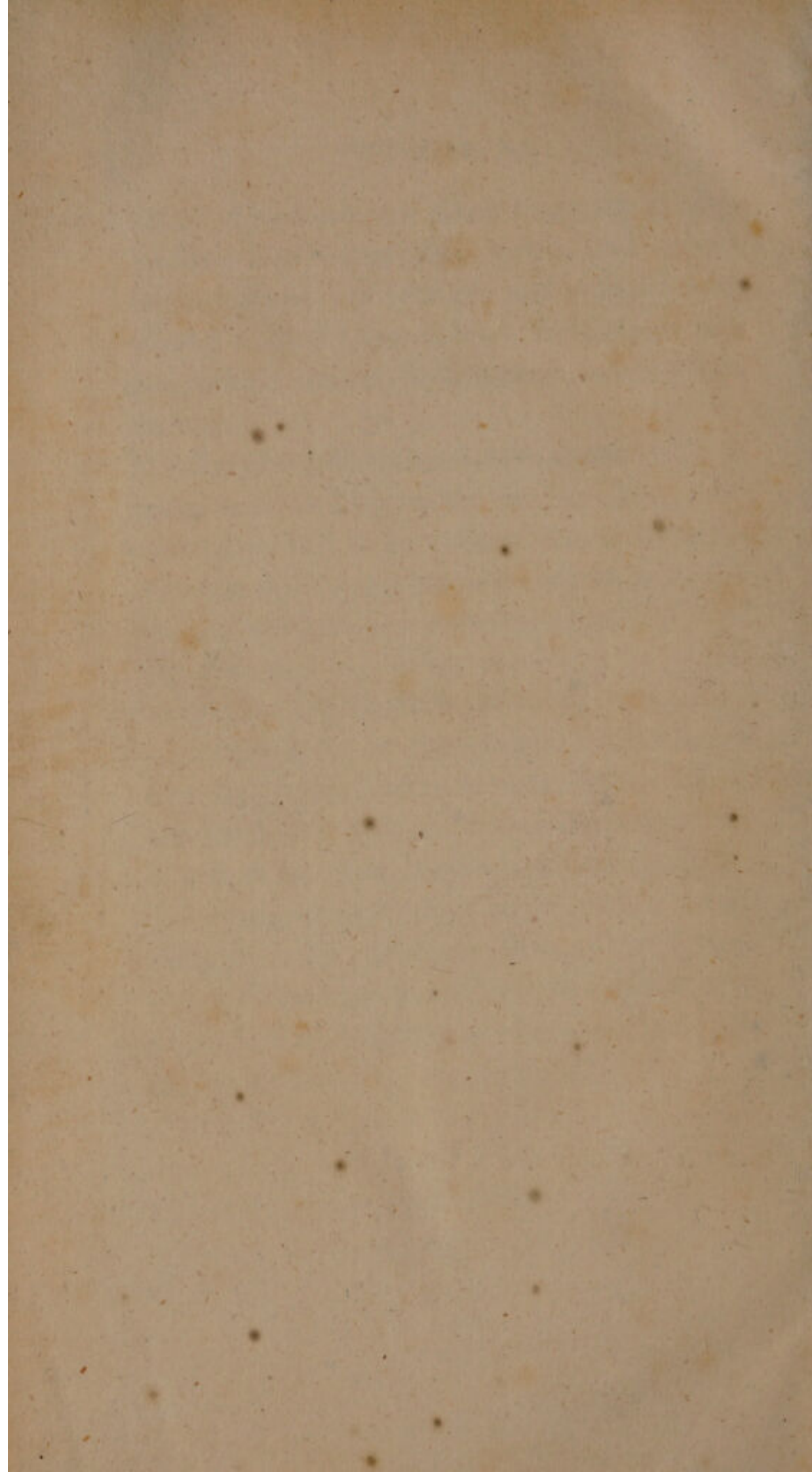
THE END.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
OF THE BARR

THE FIRST VOLUME
CONTAINING THE HISTORY
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE YEAR 1780
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THE SECOND VOLUME
CONTAINING THE HISTORY
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