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*Very Scarce*

A

**T O U R**

THROUGH

*THE DOMINIONS OF THE EMPEROR*  
OF

**MOROCCO.**

---

INCLUDING A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE

ROYAL HAREM,

AND OF

THE PERSONS, COSTUME, AND DOMESTIC HABITS,

OF THE

EMPEROR'S LADIES.

---

**THE THIRD EDITION, CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.**

---

---

To which has been added,

A CONCISE VIEW OF THE RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT  
OF

*The Barbary States.*

---

BY

**WILLIAM LEMPRIERE, M. D.**

PHYSICIAN TO THE FORCES.

---

NEWPORT:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY TAYLER AND CO.

AND

SOLD BY T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND; J. HATCHARD,

PICCADILLY, LONDON; AND

W. AND J. ROWDEN, NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT.

1813.



TO  
FIELD MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE  
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GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR,  
THE FOLLOWING WORK  
IS,  
BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S CONDESCENDING PERMISSION,  
FOR THE THIRD TIME,  
MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,  
BY  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S  
GRATEFUL AND DEVOTED SERVANT,  
THE AUTHOR.

*Army Depot, Isle of Wight,  
May 3, 1813.*





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# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

*First Edition.*

**T**HE Author cannot help feeling himself under an obligation of apologising for the frequent egotisms, which appear in the course of the following narrative, and for the share of it which his adventures necessarily occupy. The reader will only have the goodness to bear in mind, that these transactions are detailed merely with a view of throwing light upon the character of the people, and the court, which he has undertaken to describe; and in this view he humbly conceives that they serve better to illustrate the manners and disposition of the Moors than the most laboured disquisitions.

In the map which accompanies this volume, the Author's route is traced by a red line; the other divisions mark the several provinces of the empire.



# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

*Third Edition.*

WHEN the Author had the honour of announcing to his friends, and to the public, his intencion of committing to the press, a new edition of his Tour to Morocco, he merely proposed to himself a revision of the work, and the introduction of such further remarks, as a re-consideration of the subject might suggest; but finding that no account had yet been given (excepting in a very desultory way) of the rise of the Barbary States; and conceiving that such a relation, if not too elaborate, might prove an useful introduction to the work; he came to the resolution of altering his original plan, and of offering to the reader such a concise view of the subject, as might convey a general idea of that part of Africa, without rendering the work itself too voluminous. To accomplish this object, the Author did not deem it right to trust altogether to his own local information, or to the knowledge which he might have acquired from previous reading; these he wished to render subservient to the materials which he might collect from an immediate reference to the most respectable authors, and thus, from the whole, be enabled to form such a connected account of the subject under consideration, as might prove deserving of public perusal. The following works, therefore, were consulted, viz. Rollin's Ancient History—Modern universal History—Mr. Gibbon's, on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire—Dr. Robertson's History

## ADVERTISEMENT.

of Charles the Fifth—Dr. Shaw's Travels in Barbary\*—and a very interesting History of the Moors in Spain, lately published by Thomas Bourke, Esq.

With respect to that part of the work which has already been before the public, the Author begs to say, that with the introduction of new anecdotes, and other illustrations, the work has undergone a most strict revision, in order that inaccuracies might be detected, and obscure passages be rendered more perspicuous; and that the 13th and 14th chapters, which treat more particularly on the resources of the empire of Morocco, through the able communications of a friend, and from various other sources, have received so many additions, that the subject may, without much impropriety, be considered as new.

To the above alterations, may be mentioned, the omission of the former long titles to the chapters, and the introduction of a general index, as a more easy reference to particular passages; an entire new plate for the map; and such an improved type and paper, as the Author respectfully hopes, will altogether manifest his gratitude to his friends and to the public, for the distinguished patronage, with which, they have been pleased to honour the work, from its earliest publication, up to the present period.

\* The Author here begs to notice an inadvertence in page 53 of the following work, wherein it is stated, that Dr. Shaw has described three of the Barbary States, whereas his observations have been confined to the regencies of Algiers and Tunis; that of Tripoli, which in most particulars resembles the two former, having been noticed only in a very cursory way, by travellers who have casually visited the country.

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## ERRATA.

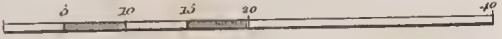
- Page 6, line 13, *for* "manufactories," *read* "manufactures."  
191, last line but one, *after* "for," *insert* "my."  
203, last line but two, *for* "corruptor," *read* "corrupter."  
251, line 20, *after* "sent," *add* "for."  
407, in the note, last line but one, *for* "foot in," *read* "foot on."



Longitude East from Ferro I.

# A New & Correct Map of the EMPIRE of MOROCCO.

Scale of 20 Leagues to a Degree



Note. The Authors Route is Coloured Red.

CONCISE VIEW  
OF  
*The Rise and Establishment*  
OF THE  
BARBARY STATES.

---

**T**HERE is no part of the world which, in a political sense, has attracted so little of public attention, as the continent of Africa, and yet, perhaps, there is none more deserving of investigation.

Its central situation with respect to the other divisions of the globe, its diversified climate and soil, its natural productions, and more particularly its known capability of furnishing most of those valuable commodities which now are imported to Europe from more distant regions, are all circumstances that, commercially viewed, are entitled to the very first consideration, and which, if brought into full effect by such a friendly intercourse with the natives as might lead to a reciprocal exchange of articles, could not fail to prove the source of wealth to other nations.

In the present state of things, Africa seems to be consigned to neglect and degradation; her inhabitants still retain the same character for barbarism and ignorance for which, from the earliest periods, they have been distinguished;

while the physical advantages of the country, which, in the hands of an enlightened nation, might be converted to the most beneficial purposes, have hitherto been so partially called into action, as to render the produce of very limited use to the country itself, and lost in a great measure to the rest of the world.

It would be exceeding our present limits, were we to notice all the circumstances, which thus appear to have prevented this extensive region from participating in the benefits, that so long have been reciprocally enjoyed, by the other divisions of the globe; we will briefly observe, that nothing is wanting to raise the continent of Africa to the highest importance, but the civilization of its inhabitants; for the accomplishment of which, it would be to the interest of the different European powers, in the place of forming small establishments upon the coast, that according to the present system, can only be productive of individual benefit, to co-operate in those bold and comprehensive plans by which alone great objects are to be attained, and which, if properly directed, could not fail to lead to the most important results.

The northern division, which is the more immediate object of our present remarks, and which is now comprehended under the general term of Barbary, of itself, affords a most extensive scope for interesting reflection. It was here where two of the greatest nations of antiquity contended for universal empire, and which ended only by the

total annihilation of one of the contending parties. It was from the shores of Barbary that the Mahometan arms, after extending, with an incredible rapidity, their influence over the greatest portion of Asia and a considerable part of Africa, conquered, and introduced a new dynasty, into one of the finest kingdoms of Europe, and raised it to a pre-eminence which it had never before experienced; and it was in this division of Africa, that the famous Barbarossa, in more modern times, established that system of piracy, which, at one period, carried terror and devastation into all the European states connected with the Mediterranean, and which, even to this day, exacts from most of them, a disgraceful tribute, as the terms upon which their vessels shall be exempt from molestation. We therefore conceive, it will not be out of place to take a general view of a country, which though at present but little known, has been the theatre of so many interesting events, and which from its geographical position, is not unlikely at some future period, to rise again into political importance.

Modern Barbary is bounded on the north, by the Mediterranean, on the south, by the great desert of Zaarha, on the east, by Egypt, and on the west by the Atlantic ocean. Its greatest length from east to west, has been estimated at about 2760 geographical miles, its principal breadth from north to south, it is apprehended, cannot exceed five hundred. Of the Mediterranean, it forms nearly the whole of the southern

boundary, extending from Egypt to the straits of Gibraltar. It therefore is most commodiously situated for a commercial intercourse with southern Europe, or for the piratical annoyance of its coast and trade, having equally a ready and immediate access to all the ports in the Mediterranean, and to the vessels which navigate that sea.

To the west, the line of coast is not so extensive, as it does not reach further than Cape Non, in the 29th latitude, but it is sufficient to afford the Moors a ready access to several important islands in the Atlantic Ocean, and to extend their depredations to the western coast of Europe, which not unfrequently has suffered by their piracies.

To the south, by means of their caravans, the inhabitants of Barbary are enabled to open a communication across the desert with the interior parts of Africa, and thus to exchange their own commodities, for gold dust, ivory, and other valuable articles, as hereafter will be explained.---- And to the east, the pilgrimage to Mecca, which all good Musselmen deem adviseable once in their lives to make, while it returns to Barbary the produce of Arabia and Egypt, causes such an intercourse between the inhabitants of the different states, as necessarily leads to a reciprocal exchange of their own manufactures and produce, which, from the great extent of the country, could not otherwise with so much facility be accomplished. To the advantages which the states of Barbary thus derive from situation, we may add,



a delightful climate, and a fecundity of soil that produces all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of life in the greatest profusion, affording not only an ample sufficiency for the inhabitants, but also a very considerable supply for the neighbouring states of Europe; and though from the bad policy of the government, but little encouragement has hitherto been given to trade, yet under more favourable auspices, it is capable of furnishing a great variety of those valuable articles, which, in the hands of a commercial people, could not fail to lead to wealth and aggrandizement.

Having noticed its local advantages, we are next led to inquire into those circumstances, that at one period, raised this country to a pre-eminence which threatened to end in universal empire, and since have reduced it, in political importance, far below the level of the most inconsiderable state of Europe. To throw light upon this interesting subject, it will be of use to take a cursory view of the history of the country from the earliest periods up to the present time.

It appears to be the received opinion of historians, that the northern part of Africa was originally peopled from Arabia; but as we have no satisfactory account of the inhabitants prior to the time when the Phœnicians established themselves in the country, we shall commence our observations from that period.\*

\* Some of the aborigines of the country, are however at this day to be met with in the Atlas Mountains under the title of

The Phœnicians, in an eminent degree, possessed those qualities which were calculated to give effect to colonization, and to call it into powerful action. With only a small territory of barren aspect and of no political importance, this extraordinary people by a rapid advancement in the arts and sciences, and by that enterprizing spirit which admits of no difficulties, raised, and gradually brought into notice, the two distinguished cities of Tyre and Sidon, which it is well known became the emporium of ancient commerce. From these, not only a great variety of ingenious and useful manufactories of their own invention, but also all the productions of India and Persia were conveyed into Europe in Phœnician vessels; and though the art of ship-building must necessarily then have been so extremely rude and imperfect, and navigation so little known, as to render it difficult to comprehend how such voyages could have been undertaken, yet we find, that their enterprizing mariners boldly ventured into the Atlantic Ocean, and sailing along the western coast of Europe, visited the British Islands, bringing back with them in return for the commodities with which they supplied the natives, such articles

**Brebes.**—They appear to be a simple people, fond of independence, and seem to possess none of those vicious qualities that for a very long period back, have distinguished the other inhabitants of Barbary, and which even were noticed by the Romans upon their invasion of Africa. The same character the latter have retained up to the present day, and will probably continue to do so, until some important change takes place in the government of the country.

as they deemed necessary for their own consumption, or for the more enlarged purposes of trade.\*

Such were the leading features of a nation, through whose commercial spirit and enterprize, a small colony which they accidentally placed in Africa, gradually rose into political importance, and ultimately became one of the most celebrated republics of antiquity. The Phœnicians however for some time prior to this period, had established colonies in different parts of the Mediterranean, and particularly in Africa, where they built the distinguished cities of Hippo and Utica. Thus they had opened a commercial intercourse with the continent of Africa, long before the event occurred which so unexpectedly led to the founding of Carthage, and which tradition has handed down to us, in the well-known story of a Tyrian princess, named by some Elisa, and by others Dido, who, in consequence of the ill treatment she received from her brother, Pygmalion, fled from his dominions, and with her followers took refuge in Africa, where they erected a town and named it Carthada or Carthage, the former word signifying in the Phœnician language, the new town.†

\* It has further been asserted, upon no improbable grounds, that the Phœnicians actually sailed round the coast of Africa, by departing from an Egyptian port in the Red Sea, and that having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, they returned home, after a voyage of three years, by the way of the Mediterranean.

† Carthage was supposed to have been built about 137 years before the founding of Rome.

Whether this be the true origin of that celebrated city, or not, it is certain that the Phœnicians could not, under existing circumstances, have selected a more desirable spot for the commercial purposes of a great nation, than the one on which Carthage was placed. Situated upon a peninsula within the bay of modern Tunis, it equally commanded access to the eastern and western boundaries of the Mediterranean, and thus by opening a ready communication with all the ports within that sea, and by its convenient distance from the mother country whence the eastern productions could be exported, it naturally possessed those commercial facilities that were calculated, not only to aggrandize individuals, but which no doubt laid the basis for the future elevation of the whole community.

It would be foreign to the present subject to enlarge upon the different circumstances that were connected with the rise and destruction of that once celebrated republic. It is well known, that among other important conquests, she placed under her dominion, and brought into civilization, a very large portion of Africa, including the whole of modern Barbary, many of the interior provinces, and a line of sea coast, reaching nearly as far as the tropic of Cancer; and had she not successfully been opposed by a rival, whose ambition and enterprise, could be equalled by none but her own, there is little doubt but that ultimately, she would have extended her conquests, not only into the very heart of

Africa, but probably over a very considerable portion of the other parts of the globe.

But states, like all human institutions, are doomed to experience their rise and decay. Carthage from the commencement, had sown those seeds of self-destruction, which in proportion as she rose into greatness, were making rapid advances towards maturity. From the earliest period, she displayed an ambition, of not only possessing, but also of commanding commerce, in which she too fatally for herself succeeded. With this view, she made the most extraordinary efforts, as well in her own ports, as in those of the countries which she subdued, to establish such a maritime superiority, as would enable her to monopolize the whole of the Mediterranean trade, consisting at that period, of a reciprocal exchange of articles, between the three known quarters of the globe, and in this she so effectually succeeded, that she literally stood without a competitor. It was the same policy that led her to exert every nerve to invent and improve manufactures which could not be obtained in other countries, and to dispose of which, she was induced to establish new settlements which she could ill afford to colonize, and to extend her conquests in a direction, that could not fail to excite the jealousy of a powerful rival. Already in possession of Spain, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and part of Sicily, besides her extensive territories in Africa, her ambition could not rest, until she had placed under her

dominion the whole of the island of Sicily, by which she might open to herself an easy access to every part of the Italian coast, and thus pave the way for more important conquests in Europe.

A measure so fertile in great events, it must be obvious, could not be viewed with indifference by the Roman people, whose territory approached too near the seat of Carthaginian operations for them to feel secure under such a conquest; and had it been otherwise, their ambition was too lofty, and their own views of aggrandizement too deeply interested, to admit of it.

After repeated attacks on Sicily, for the support of which the whole resources of Carthage were brought into action, the Romans, it is well known, were invited by the natives to assist in opposing the invaders, which led to those memorable conflicts between the two great contending nations, that under the title of Punic wars, and often with very doubtful success on both sides, terminated in the total destruction of the republic of Carthage, and of its magnificent city, which was burnt to the ground by the merciless hands of the conqueror.\*

It certainly appears much to the discredit of the Roman government, that while motives of

\* The first Punic war commenced about 264 years before the Christian era, and lasted 24 years; the second lasted 17 years; and the third, which ended in the destruction of Carthage only 3 years. This event took place about 146 years before the birth of Christ, the duration of the Carthaginian republic having been estimated at about 722 years.

jealousy and inveterate hatred towards a powerful rival, urged it thus to reduce to ashes one of the finest cities in the world, it should have made no exertions to preserve from the flames, those public and private records that might have illustrated with more precision, the character, policy, and general endowments of a people, who in so remarkable a manner had raised their country to the most distinguished pre-eminence. It is clear even from the Roman testimonies, depreciating as they obviously are, that the Carthaginians excelled their rival in all those arrangements that related to the internal concerns of the state; and that by the wisdom of their legislators, and the activity of their executive government, an admirable constitution was framed and preserved inviolable for more than 500 years; and though Carthage latterly was afflicted with those internal dissensions to which all declining states are exposed, and which paved the way for her ultimate destruction; yet when we examine her origin, and find that from a small colony of necessitous merchants, she rapidly branched out into an immense republic, and extended her dominion over a considerable portion of the globe; when we compare the excellence and permanency of her constitution, with the vacillating and turbulent government of her adversary; and more particularly when we consider that from her commercial resources alone, she was enabled to send forth armies that threatened and nearly effected the annihilation of a most powerful state that derived its elevation entirely from the success of its

arms ; we do not hesitate to express our conviction, that the Roman historians, from motives too obvious to be noticed, have failed to transmit to us an impartial account of a republic that appears to have been more entitled to our admiration, than the one which they so assiduously have laboured to immortalize.

By the destruction of Carthage, Barbary, though it no longer might be considered an independent state, contending for universal empire, yet did not altogether by that event lose its political importance. The natural advantages of the country as derived from climate and soil, and the immense trade, which the Carthaginians had established with every part of the Mediterranean, were circumstances that could not escape the discriminating eye of the Roman republic ; and though, at that period, it was its practice, to discountenance commercial pursuits among its own citizens, yet it did not fail to afford every encouragement to commerce and agriculture in its conquered provinces, and in none more so, than in Africa, from which it afterwards derived supplies of the very first magnitude.

The cultivation of the soil, the exploring of new regions, and the forming of commercial settlements along the coast, were therefore the objects which first engaged the attention of the Roman government, upon its acquiring a territory in Africa ; and so amply did the country re-pay its exertions, that independently of the wealth



which the state derived from its commerce, Barbary proved the granary from which a great part of the Roman territories was supplied with corn, stock, and every kind of provision, without which, her wide-extended dominion would often have been destitute of the most essential articles of subsistence.

In proportion as Rome advanced, Barbary, from its numerous local recommendations, became still more the object of her attention. Hence, great improvements were made in the country, which led, not only to increase its fertility, but also to render it a most desirable retirement for the luxurious and the wealthy. In the course of time, a new city was built on the same spot where Carthage had originally been placed, and under its former name, was made the capital of the provinces; other towns were raised in proportion to the increase of population; while the more beautiful parts of the country were adorned with fascinating villas, erected on the most improved plans of architecture, and embellished with all those rural decorations, for which the Romans, at one period, possessed the most distinguished taste.

It however must be admitted, that while Rome was thus advancing in refinement and civilization, its citizens were gradually losing that originality of character, from which the state had derived its greatness; new nations were rising into warlike importance, which, at the earlier periods of Roman experience, were not known to be in existence, and these, with a combination of

untoward circumstances, connected with the internal concerns of the country, and its external relations, foreboded altogether some important changes in the affairs of the empire.

But the impending dangers with which Rome was thus threatened, so long as she possessed her western provinces, and the ports in the Mediterranean, could only be indirectly felt in Africa; and it was not until the invaders of the empire had actually made their way to the coast, that Barbary could be considered in danger of sharing the fate of the mother country.

The circumstances that attended the irruption of those barbarous but warlike nations, which, under the title of Goths and Vandals, so unexpectedly issued forth from the forests of Germany, and the shores of the Baltic, and extended their conquering arms over the southern and most fertile parts of Europe, together with their ultimate subversion of the Roman empire, have given rise to a very animated description from the luminous pen of Mr. Gibbon; and the invasion of Africa by the Vandals under Genseric, and their establishment of a new dynasty in that country, have also been particularly noticed by that eloquent writer. We shall therefore briefly observe, that Barbary, from this change in its government, though elevated by Genseric to the dignity of a kingdom, was destined by his wild ambition and relentless cruelty, to become the scourge of that country, from which she had derived so many important benefits, and to witness in her own

territory, the total destruction of all those magnificent edifices, both public and private, that Carthage and Rome, in their best days, with so much taste, had bestowed on her, and which, without discrimination, were levelled to the ground by the savage hands of the conqueror.\*

But the military character which distinguished the Vandals upon their first entering Africa, through the operation of a warm climate, and by the influence of those luxuries which Africa, and the south of Europe, then under their dominion, naturally presented, after a certain period began to lose its efficacy; and this effect no doubt was not a little increased by their having exchanged that active but desultory mode of life which first impelled them to quit their native regions, for a permanent residence in a country, where the climate, soil, and various local circumstances, combined to awaken their attention to more refined enjoyments. Hence the disposition of this once ferocious people gradually became softened, civilization gave a polish to their manners, and the improvement and embellishment of the country in which they resided, assumed the place of those predatory incursions into the territories of other nations, which, on former occasions, had so frequently disgraced their arms.

But with this melioration of their condition morally considered, internal dissentions began to

\* Barbary was conquered by the Vandals about 428 years after the birth of Christ.

distract their councils, and to weaken those national resources by which they could resist the attacks they were threatened with from without; and their usurpation of a country that for a long series of years had been under the dominion of another state, which though humbled, was not yet subdued, placed them altogether in a situation, that demanded their very best energies to avert the impending danger.

Although the western empire might now be considered at an end, yet with this calamity, the Roman character was not altogether extinguished. Justinian still reigned at Constantinople as emperor of the east, and under that prince, Belisarius, one of the most renowned generals of the age, had distinguished himself by those brilliant military achievements in Persia, that bespoke him to be amply qualified to undertake the conquest of Africa and Italy, objects which the emperor of the east had always much at heart, and which Justinian was determined to carry into execution.

When we consider the magnitude of the preparations for this extraordinary enterprize, the qualifications of the general, through whose valour the diminished lustre of the Roman arms was to be restored, and the various disadvantages under which the Vandals at that period labored, we need not be surprised that the resistance of the latter, should be of little avail; and that by the victories of Belisarius, the African provinces

should once more form part of the Roman empire, after being dismembered from it for a period of near 200 years.\* Having conquered the African provinces, Belisarius conducted his victorious army into Europe, where he ultimately recovered Rome, Sicily, and the whole of Italy.

The return of the Romans to Barbary did not, as might have been expected, restore to that country its former happiness and splendor. The Roman character, in consequence of the various changes that had taken place in the habits and manners of that once celebrated people since the seat of empire had been concentrated at Constantinople, and of the easy access which that event had opened to the luxuries and dissipations of Asia, had undergone a complete revolution; and such as proved in the highest degree unfavourable to those elegant and rational pursuits, and to that attention to individual comfort, which had distinguished the Romans in Africa, prior to the Vandal conquest.

To this evil, many others were added of a nature far more pressing and important. The natives of Africa, during the former government of Rome, had not only, with some exceptions, submitted quietly to its jurisdiction, but in a great measure had assimilated with the conquerors, and by assisting them in the cultivation of the soil, and in various other useful occupations, had greatly

\* Barbary was re-conquered by Belisarius about the year 534.

contributed to the prosperity of the country. But this pacific disposition in a people in whom a love of independence though partially suppressed, was not extinguished, could only be preserved by a steady combination of conciliatory and vigorous measures on the part of the controlling power, such as Rome, in her first government of the country, had observed towards her African subjects.

The conduct of the Vandals, upon their taking possession of Barbary, was of a very different complexion, and led to far different results.---From the numerous dissensions which prevailed among that people, and from the consequent laxity of their government towards its subjects, the Moors were encouraged to look forward to their final expulsion; and this expectation nurtured and gave strength to that spirit of independence by which they had always been actuated, and which, upon the second visit of the Romans, broke out into alarming insurrections, that proved a perpetual source of uneasiness to the government, and which, without being totally suppressed, not unfrequently caused a great deal of bloodshed on both sides.

To this local calamity, the Roman empire itself, from the weakness of the emperors who succeeded Justinian, and from the change of opinion on politics and religion, which gradually was diffusing itself over all the neighbouring states of Asia, was rapidly declining; a circumstance which could not fail to have a powerful influence

on the affairs of the more distant provinces. Nothing now was wanting, but some leading character of sufficient talent and enterprize to reconcile the jarring opinions of the different sectaries and to direct them to one object, to produce the most important changes in the eastern world, and such a character was found in the person of Mahomet.

This extraordinary individual was born at Mecca in Arabia, about four years after the death of Justinian, and in the year 569 of the Christian æra; and what forms a singular part of his history is, that in opposition to our experience of those celebrated characters, whose talents in general have been distinguished at a very early period, it was not until he had reached his 40th year, that his vast and comprehensive plans were developed and called into action.

The origin, character, and religion of Mahomet, have so frequently been the subject of description among writers of the very first respectability, that it would be out of place here to enlarge upon those topics. We shall merely observe, that he possessed in an eminent degree, all those recommendations to public attention, which a very fine figure, an animated, intelligent countenance, and a graceful, persuasive address, could not fail to bestow; and if to these endowments, we unite a comprehensive mind, that could embrace, not only a perfect knowledge of human nature in general, but also a ready acquaintance

with the character, habits, and diversified religious opinions of the nations which he proposed to reform, overwhelmed as they were with superstition and the grossest idolatry; an inventive genius, that could adopt its ideas, in all their vast varieties, to any objects to which they might be directed; and a disposition not easy to be moved by the most adverse circumstances; our surprize will in some measure be diminished, at the success of this very extraordinary man, whose doctrines of unity, predestination, and Mahometan faith, supported by the most fascinating arguments, and the still more powerful influence of the sword, spread with wonderful rapidity over Asia, Africa, and ultimately over some of the finest portions of Europe, thereby producing a complete revolution in the politics of the civilized world.

The conversion of the inhabitants of Arabia, and the conquest of that country, were, as might have been expected, the first objects which engaged the attention of Mahomet; and which occupied the remaining part of a life, prematurely shortened by poison, administered, as it has been stated, by a Jewish female, in revenge for the death of her brother.\*

From Arabia, the immediate successors of Mahomet, who assumed the title of Caliphs, invaded, and with wonderful facility conquered, in their turns, Persia, Syria, and many other parts of

\* Mahomet, at the time of his death, was in the sixty-fifth year of his age.



Asia, Egypt, Barbary, and ultimately the whole of Spain ; and had not their career been impeded by those internal dissensions and disturbances, which the possession of extensive dominion not unfrequently engender, it seems doubtful whether they would not have reduced the greatest part of Europe to Mahometan obedience.

The first invasion of Barbary was attempted by the army of the Caliph Othman, who sent his relation, Abdallah, at the head of forty thousand men, to conquer the country. By this army, an important victory was obtained, but various circumstances attending the campaign, rendered it necessary for Abdallah to retreat into Egypt, without effecting his object.

Twenty years elapsed before a second attempt was made upon this devoted country, when the Caliph Moawiagh, availing himself of the dissensions which prevailed among the inhabitants, sent his first lieutenant with a considerable force to subdue the African provinces ; but this expedition, like the former, was attended with no other advantage than that of obtaining splendid victories, without making a permanent establishment in the country ; and a retreat, as before, became necessary.

It should have been previously mentioned, that at this period, the Arabian chiefs had not only to contend with a disciplined army, commanded by officers who had been educated in the Roman school, but also with a very numerous population,

which, from a variety of adventitious circumstances, had acquired a spirit of independence and a warlike aspect, that in the present instance was extremely useful to the cause of their country; and as upon an emergency, they could always find an easy retreat within the caves and recesses of their mountains, they proved the source of great difficulty and embarrassment to the invading armies.

But while attempts were thus made to subdue the country by force of arms, means were not omitted to convert the natives to the Mahometan faith by persuasion; and when we reflect, that the Moors and Arabians originated from one common stock, and that their mode of life, language, and customs, were nearly similar; and when we examine the plausible reasoning and fascinating doctrines of the new religion, so calculated to work upon a people naturally ignorant, and in the highest degree superstitious; we cannot wonder at the rapid advancement of Mahometanism in Africa, and that its introduction into the country should ultimately lay the foundation for those conquests, that otherwise might not so easily have been achieved.

Many, however, were the armies that unsuccessfully were sent by the Arabian caliphs, to accomplish the subjugation of the African provinces, and many were the unprofitable victories obtained, before the country could be brought to a surrender; and had not Moussar Ben Hassan, an officer of distinguished talent and enterprize,

been directed by the Caliph Valid to proceed against the Moors with a chosen army of one hundred thousand men, it is extremely doubtful whether this spirited people would ever have submitted to the Arabian arms.\*

Upon the Saracen conquest of Barbary, the inhabitants were easily persuaded to become converts to the Mahometan faith, by which the natives and their invaders were incorporated into one people, under the general denomination of Moors; all those dissensions, and consequent disturbances, that before had so frequently interrupted the harmony of the country, subsided; and the caliphs had now leisure, and increased means, to make more extensive conquests.

Spain was the next object which engaged the attention of the Saracens, while in Africa. The contiguity of its coast, the natural riches which, independently of individual wealth, the country was known to possess, and the prospect which its conquest opened to a further extension of territory in Europe, were all very powerful arguments in favour of an invasion of Spain, and such as to leave no doubt of the propriety of the measure; the opportunity, and the means of carrying it into effect, were the only subjects which demanded a more mature consideration.

This kingdom, which for more than 200 years had been under the dominion of the Goths, was at this period very populous, and from the

\* Barbary was conquered by the Saracens about the end of the 7th century.

face of the country in general being mountainous, it naturally possessed all those resources for defence and attack, which such situations uniformly present ; and as there existed the strongest antipathy between the members of the Christian and the Mahometan churches, the Saracens most probably would have been prevented from establishing themselves in the country, had not their cause been assisted by those moral defects in the government, and in the people, which so often have proved destructive to states and powerful empires.

The Goths, from the ease and relaxation which frequently succeed a life of enterprize and warlike exertion, had greatly degenerated from their ancestors, and were become, to a degree, luxurious, effeminate, and unprincipled ; failings in which the court, as usual in such cases, took the lead ; and though Roderick, who was then on the throne, was not deficient in military skill or personal bravery, yet his usurpation of a kingdom, to which the heirs of Witiza had much fairer pretensions, necessarily produced those factions, that could not fail to distract the country, and to render it a more easy prey to successful invasion.

Comit Julian, who at that period secretly abetted the party in opposition to the throne, from his extensive possessions in Spain, and from the number of his followers, was a man of very considerable weight in the country ; and having the command of Ceuta on the opposite coast, the only African town that had not submitted to the

Mahometan arms, he availed himself of the opportunity, under the plea of a personal injury he is stated to have received from the king by the violation of his daughter, to declare himself in open rebellion; and losing sight of that country to which he owed his birth, his wealth, and all his personal consequence, he hastily invited the Moors to its invasion, and assisted them with that advice and information, and with all those local means, that could not fail to impart vigour to their operations, and ultimately lead to success.

The first descent was made in the year 710 by a very small force of Arabs and Moors, which being joined by a number of the inhabitants, enabled the Saracens to take a position in the country favourable in the highest degree to their future operations. In the spring of the following year, 5000 of their chosen troops, commanded by Tarik, a general of very distinguished enterprize, were embarked in transports provided by Count Julian, who himself accompanied the expedition, and conducted it to Gibraltar, where the army was intrenched, and fortified, so as to secure it against the immediate attacks of the enemy.

A further reinforcement of 7000 men from Africa, induced Tarik to commence upon active operations; and having been joined by a number of malecontents, urged on to rebellion by the persuasion and example of Julian, he moved forward to meet the Spanish army, amounting to little short of one hundred thousand men, and commanded by king Roderic in person, who

was supported by all the nobility and first characters in the kingdom, that were not in open league against their sovereign.

Such a force, employed in a cause, when the very existence of the country was at stake, it might have been expected, would have overwhelmed the invading army, and devoted it to immediate destruction. But the prowess of the Gothic arms, which before had so often led to victory and renown, was gone by ; and this defect was but ill supplied by that patriotic zeal, which, under every disadvantage, has not unfrequently called forth the most heroic exertions, and saved a sinking country.

The scene of action was a plain near Xeres, on the banks of the Guadelette, at no great distance from Cadiz. The conflict between the contending armies, that was to decide the fate of a great and powerful kingdom, we are informed, lasted with incredible fury, and with doubtful success, for three whole days, during which, sixteen thousand of the Saracen army were laid prostrate in the field ; but the defection of the archbishop of Toledo with the two sons of Witiza, who occupied the most important post, and who, with their followers, went over to the enemy, threw the whole Spanish army into confusion, and thus decided the fate of the day, and ultimately that of the Spanish monarchy.

In this dilemma, Roderic is stated to have placed his hope of escape on the speed of his

favourite horse Orelia, which he mounted immediately after the defeat, and, as it is supposed, was drowned in attempting to pass the river Guadalquivir, as the splendid diadem and robes which he wore on the day of battle, together with his unsuccessful courser, were found upon the banks of that stream, after an unavailing search had been made for the body.

This decisive victory, aided by a second army from Africa, under the command of Moussar Ben Hassan in person, and by an incalculable number of converts whom the faithless Julian had brought over to the Mahometan cause, enabled the Moors to make very rapid advances in the country, and with reasonable expectations, to look forward to its ultimate subjugation.

Towns after towns, and provinces after provinces, submitted to the Mahometan arms, until the whole of Spain was conquered, excepting the Asturias, which, by the valour and enterprize of two illustrious characters, Don Pelagio and Don Alphonso, preserved their independence, and thus laid the foundation for the future emancipation of the country.\*

The conquest of Spain by the Moors was productive of the most important changes. The

\* The conquest of Spain by the Saracens was completed about the year 713, three years subsequent to its first invasion.

According to historians, Julian received the just reward of his treachery; for when the Moorish generals found they could dispense with his assistance, they confiscated his property, and consigned his person to a close dungeon, where he ignominiously ended his days.

Arabians were naturally a pastoral people, and at the period when they invaded Spain, they had made but a slow progress towards civilization. Their manners consequently were uncouth, their knowledge extremely confined, and their habits and opinions strongly tinged with the superstition, and prejudices, peculiar to the country from which they emigrated ; and it was not until they had thrown off their allegiance to the court of Damascus, and established for themselves an independent caliph, that any material change took place in the character of this people, whom hereafter we shall distinguish under the general denomination of Moors ; the Arabians having, at this period, been so completely incorporated with the natives of Africa, as to obliterate all distinction between the two nations.

Having alluded to the defection of the Moorish generals, we feel ourselves called upon to explain how that extraordinary event was brought about, and this we shall the more readily do, since it will throw considerable light upon the formation of what now are termed the States of Barbary, the politics of which country, during the Mahometan dynasty in Europe, had a very considerable reference to Spain.

When the immediate successors of Mahomet, under the title of caliphs, first sent their armies from Arabia to invade more distant territories, the generals whom they appointed to command the different expeditions, were necessarily dependent upon them for the requisite supply of troops,



stores, and money, and which, if not furnished in due proportions, and at seasonable times, must frequently have rendered their situations extremely precarious. So long, therefore, as any doubt remained of the success of the expedition, the generals did not fail to shew due allegiance to their lawful sovereign, and to look up to him for such further supplies as they might stand in need of, for the completion of the object in view. But when that was attained, and when they had established themselves so firmly in a country, that, without any risk of being dispossessed, they could derive from it all the sources which they had been accustomed to receive from the caliphs, they then availed themselves of the immense distance at which they were placed from the mother country, and of the dissensions that prevailed at Damascus, to appropriate to themselves that sovereignty, which a proper sense of duty would have left in the hands of the caliphs; and though, nominally, the generals in command, continued for a long series of years, to acknowledge the supremacy of the eastern caliphs, yet, in every other particular, they assumed to themselves all the consequence and authority of independent sovereigns, and uniformly acted as such, without attending to the instructions of the court of Damascus. This assumed authority, terminated in the formation of a distinct caliphate, upon the arrival in Spain of Abdelzamin, one of the leading members of the family of the Omniades, the chief of which had lately been driven from the throne

of Damascus by the usurpation of Abdallah, of the race of the Abassides, whose descendants, during the four succeeding centuries, swayed the Arabian sceptre. After a severe struggle in Spain, between the generals in command and Abdelzamin, that prince was unanimously elected Caliph of the West, and thus the Spanish provinces for ever were dismembered from the eastern caliphate. Barbary, which uniformly before had been under the direction of the caliphs of Arabia and Egypt, from a similar defection, was at this period divided into a number of petty kingdoms, varying in extent, according to the ambition and prowess of the Moorish chiefs, who had thus usurped authority.

The effect which this revolution produced in Spain, was very different to the one which took place in Barbary. In the former country, the caliph having no competitor, was enabled to direct his attention to all those arrangements, which, while they tended to promote civilization, and thus to strengthen the hands of government, were calculated to meliorate the condition of the subject, and to increase his sources of enjoyment. Every encouragement therefore was given to agriculture and the general improvement of the country. All the information that could be collected from the remains of knowledge in the east, was carefully imported into Spain, and called into useful action. Hence universities were formed, and schools established, in which were taught the different branches of science, but

more particularly astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, medicine, and mechanics, together with music and poetry, in both of which the Arabians particularly excelled ; and while the more liberal pursuits, as connected with science, were thus encouraged, the government was not inattentive to that which might more properly be considered as belonging to the arts. The invention and improvement of manufactures, with their appropriate machinery, and the increasing the number of handicrafts, were subjects therefore which formed an essential part of the Moorish system. Thus, by a happy combination of sciences and arts, so as to reduce both to practical utility, and by introducing into the country a spirit of industry and emulation, hitherto unknown, Spain, during the Moorish dynasty, was exalted to a rank, to which she never before, nor has she since, attained ; while her subjects became distinguished for the urbanity of their manners, the extent of their acquirements, and for that dignified gallantry, and that respectful attention to the female sex, which only are to be met with in nations that have made a considerable advancement in refinement and civilization.

Very different indeed was the situation of Africa at this period. The number of competitors for territorial possession that presented themselves upon the defection of the Moorish generals, involved the country in a state of unceasing warfare ; and which, from the barbarism of the inhabitants, and from the sanguinary policy of the

chiefs, was conducted with the most unrelenting cruelty and persecution, such, indeed, as threatened to end in the depopulation of the whole country.

These dissensions, as already intimated, gave rise to the establishment of a number of petty sovereignties: and as aggrandizement was the leading object of the contending parties, the chiefs did not hesitate to avail themselves of every opportunity of encroaching upon the territories of their neighbours; and thus by adding to their own dominions, the most successful of the competitors gradually acquired a preponderancy in the country, which enabled them to control the less powerful states, and ultimately reduce them to subjection.

By these means, the number of petty sovereignties gradually became diminished, more permanent kingdoms were formed, and the country, after experiencing a long series of desolation and bloodshed, began to look forward to the blessings of peace.

This state of things had not long continued, when Abu Texefien, an Arabian chief of great enterprize, availing himself of the dissensions, that after a certain period, took place between the newly-formed kingdoms, assembled together a formidable army, made up of the malecontents of each of the contending parties, and attacked the different states with such success, that he reduced the whole to tributary obedience, and thus established a sovereignty in the country, equal to that which formerly had been enjoyed by the caliphs.

Joseph, his successor, was still, if possible, more enterprising than his father; and having laid the foundation of the city of Morocco, which he afterwards made the capital of his empire, he directed his attention to new conquests, which he not only extended along the whole coast of the Mediterranean as far as Egypt, but also a considerable way into the interior of the country. He afterwards passed over into Europe, subdued a great part of Spain, and struck terror into the whole of the neighbouring states.

Upon the death of Joseph, though the empire continued for a few short reigns in the possession of his descendants, yet, at no very distant period, the country was again involved in all the horrors of a civil war, and exposed to perpetual revolutions, with their concomitant evils, until the family of the Sharifs, by conjointly conquering the different states at variance with each other, usurped the royal authority, and divided the empire among themselves, apportioning to each member a small principality, and placing the whole under the ultimate controul of the chief of their tribe, who assumed the title of Emperor of Morocco.

This system, by exciting a jealousy between the smaller states, and by the prompt interference of the Emperor when any one of them acquired too great a preponderancy, preserved the empire entire and in a state of tranquillity for a very considerable period; and had the succeeding emperors wisely observed the same line of policy, and with this, had they availed themselves of the

natural situation and other advantages of the country, Barbary must, in the course of time, have again risen to a political importance, that would have rendered her position and resources dangerous, in the highest degree, to the whole of the southern, and the greater portion of the western coasts of Europe.

Family dissensions, however, which from time immemorial, have distinguished the princes of Africa, began once more to disturb that harmony which, from the accession of the Sharifs, had prevailed in Barbary; and these ultimately breaking out into open rebellion, encouraged the more distant provinces to withdraw their allegiance from the court of Morocco, and to form themselves into independent states.

After many severe and sanguinary struggles, Barbary was divided into five distinct and independent sovereignties, *viz.* the empire of Morocco, and the kingdoms of Tremecen, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. These, though some changes may have taken place in their form of government, with the exception of Tremecen, actually exist at the present day, under the well-known title of the States of Barbary; forming altogether a confederacy that, at different periods, has proved the source of great mischief and much discomfiture to the neighbouring powers of Europe.

During these transactions in Barbary, the Moors were gradually losing their influence in Spain. A competition among their chiefs for

dominion, which, till lately, had but partially taken place, now began to weaken their cause, and to instil into the minds of the Christian princes those hopes of success, which, from the firm establishment of the Moors in the very heart of the country, they had hitherto but faintly entertained.

The Gothic princes of Spain therefore availed themselves of every opportunity to profit by the dissensions which thus prevailed among the Moorish chiefs, and to enlarge their means of attack, in which they were ultimately assisted by other Christian princes, whose territories had been invaded by the Mahometan arms, and who therefore, from necessity, became strongly interested in their final expulsion from Europe.

Great, however, were the struggles, and many were the sacrifices, before any serious impression could be made upon this warlike nation ; and notwithstanding the loss of most of their provinces, and the increased resources of the enemy, who beset them on every side with powerful and conquering armies, yet during this period of unparalleled difficulties, Grenada, under the Moorish dynasty, gradually rose into grandeur and importance, and for two centuries afterwards shone with undiminished lustre, displaying a magnificence which Spain never before had witnessed.

But independently of Grenada being at this period the only Moorish kingdom that had not been subdued, a combination of other unfavourable circumstances, evinced the impossibility of

her ultimately resisting the forces that were preparing to be brought against her. The whole of Christian Spain, which before had been divided into several principalities, was now absorbed by the two kingdoms of Arragon and Castile, which afterwards being united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, caused such an acquisition of power, and so great an increase of military strength, as the Moors never before had opposed to them ; and when to this calamity, we add the prevalence of internal dissensions, and the deprivation of all collateral assistance from their former allies, it was obvious that the fall of Grenada could not be prevented. The surrender, however, of this memorable kingdom, was not accomplished, until every honourable, though unavailing exertion had been made, to avert the impending calamity.\*

For a considerable period subsequent to the conquest, the Moors were permitted to remain in Spain, though under such persecutions, and severe restrictions, more particularly during the reigns of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, as to oblige many of them to quit the country, and others to abjure their religion, and become unwilling converts to the Christian faith.

During the reign of Philip the Third, the whole of the Moors, to the amount of near a million, were expelled from Spain, to the irreparable

\* This event, which completed the conquest of the Moors in Spain, took place in the year 1492, after a possession of the country on their part for near 800 years.



injury of the country. Under this severe edict, some of those unfortunate people took refuge in France, where they were kindly received by Henry the Fourth; but the principal part of them returned to Africa, where their descendants, to this day, entertain the hope of recovering their lost possessions in Spain, and regularly bequeath to their successors those estates which their ancestors were known to have occupied in that country.\*

Of the unfortunate refugees who thus fled to Africa, the greatest proportion was received into the dominions of the Emperor of Morocco, where, though no longer exposed to religious persecution, or to the horrors of an unrelenting inquisition, yet they experienced but little amelioration in their condition by the change. A refined education, and high intellectual endowments, were but ill calculated to confer happiness in a country where barbarism and the grossest ignorance took the lead; where wealth, that great incentive to industry, was considered a dangerous possession; and where the despotism of the country, and the wretched policy of the government, effectually closed the door to emulation, and to all those useful exertions, which, in civilized countries, not unfrequently lead to honour, and to the most distinguished rank. The Spanish Moors, therefore, from necessity, were compelled to assimilate with their barbarous countrymen in Africa, by which they soon lost sight of those arts which

\* The Moors were expelled from Spain in the year 1610.

they had formerly exercised with so much credit to themselves and advantage to the Spanish nation ; and they since have been so completely incorporated with the natives, as effectually to obliterate all distinction between them.

By this unwise policy, Spain was deprived of the whole of her most useful and industrious subjects, to whose exertions she entirely owed that greatness, which she never since has been able to recover ; and as the previous discovery of America had opened an easy access to wealth from foreign sources, without a mutual return of produce from the mother country, there no longer existed those motives for individual exertion, by which alone the former prosperity of the kingdom could be preserved ; and thus was sealed the decline of a nation, that, under more favourable auspices, promised to take a distinguished lead in the politics of Europe.

The Spanish people, however, naturally brave, and tenacious of honour, begin to emerge from that apathy, and to subdue those prejudices, by which they have so long been enthralled ; we therefore most earnestly hope, that the effusions of patriotism, which now, in every direction, display themselves, may not in their operation be confined to the mere expulsion of the common enemy, but that they ultimately will lead to those wise and comprehensive measures, by which alone this gallant nation can be restored to its former rank and splendour.

Long before the period that witnessed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, a new race of people had started into notice, who formerly had only been known as the slaves of the princes of Tartary, by whom they were employed to work the iron, that in great abundance was obtained from the mountains of that extensive country.

This occupation was naturally calculated to render them bold, robust, and daring ; and as the congregating a number of persons thus laboriously employed, will not unfrequently give rise to plans of emancipation, more particularly if urged on by some enterprizing leader ; the Turks, for so they have been denominated, availed themselves of the physical strength which they thus had acquired, and of their numbers, to throw off the yoke, and to establish their independence in Tartary. They now assumed the military character, which they soon so far improved, as to lay the foundation for those extraordinary conquests that afterwards distinguished their arms ; and having been employed as mercenary troops by the caliphs of Persia, and thence having embraced the doctrines of Mahomet, they revolted, and placed their chief upon the Persian throne.

From Persia, they extended their conquests to other parts of Asia, and having completely overthrown the empire of the Saracens, which for a long series of years had existed under the caliphs of Arabia, they directed their attention

towards Europe, in which, by the fall of Constantinople, and with that the complete overthrow of the eastern empire, they established a permanent footing.\*

Egypt, as might be expected, was the next object of their conquest, and to this, no doubt, Barbary would have succeeded, had not the Turks been more importantly engaged in opposing the attacks of the Christian powers of Europe, now alarmed at the rapid inroad which the Mahometan arms were making, into the very heart of their territories.

An unforeseen circumstance, however, apparently of but minor consideration, paved the way for their earlier introduction into the country, than they originally intended.

From the first invasion of Spain by the Moors, to their final expulsion, there had existed between the two nations, as might have been expected, the most rooted antipathy, originating partly in religious prejudices, and probably still more in the desperate opposition, and unceasing state of warfare, in which, for a long series of years, they had mutually been engaged; and though, by the subjugation of the Moors, all cause for hostility would appear to have been extinguished, yet the coast of Barbary presented too inviting an object for the Spanish government, to resist the temp-

\* Constantinople surrendered to Mahomet the Second, in the year 1453, by which event the eastern empire became extinct.

tation of making African conquests, and of indulging that spirit of retaliation, which, to the disgrace of the Christian arms, had so frequently been displayed towards the Moors.

Portugal was now a separate and independent kingdom, and was rapidly rising into political importance. Shut out by her natural position from taking any active part in the continental affairs of Europe, the sea opened to her the only field in which she might acquire a share of that glory, which her neighbour hitherto had monopolized; and as her numerous ports communicated at once with the Atlantic Ocean, her subjects, at a very early period, acquired a maritime turn, which she very wisely encouraged, by forming those settlements on the coast of Barbary, that, it is well known, ultimately led to the discovery of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope.

By this system of invasion on the part of Spain and Portugal, the Moors were kept in a perpetual state of alarm; many of their towns on the coast were in the possession of those nations; and the Christians had immediate opportunities of benefiting by the revolutions which were constantly taking place in the country.

It was under these circumstances of aggravation and embarrassment, that the king of Algiers, wishing to dispossess the Spaniards of an important position which they had taken in his territory, unwarily called into his assistance, an individual, who afterwards proved very unworthy of his confidence.

Horuc and Hayradin, who it appears were the sons of a Greek renegado, at Mytelene in the island of Lesbos, were originally brought up to the business of their father, which was that of a potter; but actuated by a restless disposition, and by the desire of novelty peculiar to youth, and naturally possessing quick talents, and all the requisites for a more active occupation, though very young, they soon left their father, and joined a crew of pirates, which, at that period, infested the coasts of the Mediterranean, and which opened to them a wide field for indulging that spirit for enterprize and adventure, for which they afterwards were distinguished.

It may readily be imagined, that these extraordinary persons, each of whom assumed the name of Barbarossa, were soon initiated into the mysteries of their new occupation; and having eloped from their piratical masters, they seized a small brigantine, and commenced piracy on their own account.

Their first depredations were confined to night adventures, when, without discovering their real strength, they could surprize small, unarmed vessels, and oblige, or invite their crews, to become converts to their system; this they did not omit to recommend with all the art and ingenuity their distinguished talents could suggest, or if that failed, to enforce by such measures of cruelty and intimidation, as they seldom scrupled to practise.

Thus from one step to another, the Barbarossas gradually increased their fleet, until it became

most truly formidable. Captured merchant ships or small traders, which, at the early part of their career, were the only vessels employed, were now but of secondary consideration, and in a certain degree gave way to ships of very considerable magnitude and force, which either had been taken from the enemy, or built in those ports where the pirates were permitted to frequent.

With this fleet, the corsairs under the command of Horuc Barbarossa, seconded by his brother, kept for a series of years the whole of the Mediterranean, and the coasts of Spain and Portugal in the Atlantic, in a constant state of terror and alarm, without the means, at that period, of checking their depredations. No vessel, however well armed, could venture to sea singly, without the certainty of being taken, and the crew put to death, or consigned to endless and the most ignominious slavery; and even under well-appointed convoys, the risk was always very considerable. For though it was the practice of the corsairs, rather to take by surprize, than to fight; yet, when closely pressed, they seldom declined the contest, but displayed a degree of prowess and bravery, which most frequently terminated in the accomplishment of their object.

Nor were their depredations confined to the watery element. It was frequently their practice to land during the night detached parties of their crews in different places on the coast, and to set fire to the towns and villages, carrying off the

property and persons of the inhabitants, the latter of whom they uniformly consigned to slavery.

As their attacks were directed against the Christians only, their ships always found a welcome reception in the Barbary ports, where they disposed of their booty and slaves, and obtained the requisite supplies; and as thus a line of coast was open to them from Egypt to the streights of Gibraltar in the Mediterranean, and thence to the southern extremity of the emperor of Morocco's dominions on the Atlantic Ocean, it was obvious that none but the most formidable fleets could navigate those seas without molestation; and that from the frequency of their invasions, it demanded the utmost vigilance on the part of the inhabitants, to guard against their sudden incursions on the coast.

The emperor Charles the Fifth was not inattentive to the annoyance which his Spanish subjects thus experienced from the depredations of Barbarossa; and aware of the difficulty of subduing an enemy whose policy led him rather to divide his fleet into small, flying squadrons, than to risk his whole force in a single battle, and whose means of retreat and attack rendered it not easy to bring him to an engagement, he determined to secure such strong positions in Africa, as, while they diminished the means of the enemy, would enable him to watch his motions with more effect, and pave the way for his ultimate destruction.



As Algiers was the port most frequented by the corsairs, the emperor directed his principal attacks against that place, and being already in possession of Oran, upon the coast of Africa, he from thence ordered such a chain of posts to be erected, as might facilitate his approach to the Algerine capital, and render it more easy of conquest.

It was in this dilemma that Eumi, king of Algiers, entertaining a high opinion of the prowess and talents of Horuc, the senior of the Barbarossas, and well knowing his enmity to the Christian states, unguardedly solicited his assistance in opposing the progress of the Spanish arms, which Horuc readily granted, and immediately marched into Algiers with all the force he could collect, leaving his brother Hayradin in command of the fleet.

Barbarossa was received with all the respect and attention that could be bestowed on a person, who was now looked upon as the future deliverer of the country; and having obtained complete possession of the city, and the command of the troops, he contrived to have Eumi secretly murdered, and himself to be proclaimed king; and as his followers were sufficiently numerous and enterprising to overawe the city, he felt no difficulty in establishing himself on the throne.\* His next step was to attack the neighbouring

\* Horuc Barbarossa took possession of Algiers in the year 1516.

kingdom of Tremecen, which he soon added to the dominion of Algiers.

Thus being in possession of increased resources, he enlarged his naval force to an incredible extent, and by his depredations and cruelties, became more than ever the terror of the whole Christian coast, not only throughout the Mediterranean, but also to a very considerable extent on the Atlantic Ocean.

The emperor, Charles, now saw the necessity of taking more decisive steps than he had hitherto done, to check the career of this extraordinary adventurer. He therefore sent a very considerable military force to Oran, with directions to the governor to co-operate with the dethroned king of Tremecen, in driving Barbarossa out of the country. The usurper, as might be expected, defended himself with the greatest bravery; but being surrounded in Tremecen, and completely hemmed in by a superior force, he was slain in the act of cutting his way through the enemy, for the purpose of making his escape.

By this event, the king of Tremecen was reinstated on his throne; but Hayradin Barbarossa, who was at Algiers at the time of his brother's death, contrived to persuade the inhabitants to elect him as their sovereign; and as, about this period, some changes had taken place in the affairs of Europe, which rendered it necessary for Charles to employ his forces in a different direction, the Spaniards ultimately failed in their

attempt to put a stop to the piracies which so often had infested their coast.

Hayradin governed the Algerines for a considerable number of years with great ability, and enlarged his territories in Africa, not only by the re-conquest of Tremecen, but also by the capture of many of the neighbouring provinces; and thus while he increased his dominions, he was gradually augmenting his fleet, and with his naval force annoying, in every direction, his Christian adversaries.

But his experience had made him too intimately acquainted with the fickleness and perfidy of the Moorish character, to expect any permanent support from that quarter; and fearing that he might ultimately be dethroned by one of those revolutions which so frequently had taken place in the country, or by a more successful invasion on the part of the Spaniards, he came to the resolution of placing himself and his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and of remaining at Algiers in the more subordinate situation of bashaw. Thus the Turks, for the first time, were introduced into Barbary.\*

The prowess which Barbarossa had formerly displayed when acting in the capacity of corsair, now impressed the Turkish emperor with a very favourable opinion of his naval talents; and as he afterwards was in want of a distinguished officer

\* This took place about the year 1520.

to command his fleet against Andrew Doria,\* one of the first admirals of the age, and at that period in the service of Spain, the situation was offered to, and accepted by Barbarossa, who thus became more formidable than ever to the Christian powers.

Among other exploits which distinguished this extraordinary character, while in command of the Turkish fleet, was the capture of the kingdom of Tunis, in Africa, which he annexed to the dominions of the Grand Seignior, and was appointed viceroy. He, however, did not long enjoy his usurpation, for Tunis was shortly after re-taken by the Spaniards, and the exiled king restored, Barbarossa escaping with great difficulty to Constantinople, where, in the capacity of high admiral, he spent the remainder of his days, having previously laid the foundation for that system of piracy, which, though conducted upon a more limited scale, is carried on to the present day by all the states of Barbary, to the great annoyance of the European trade in the Mediterranean.

\* Andrew Doria was one of those geniuses, who seem destined to shed lustre on the age in which they live. This distinguished personage, who was a native of Genoa, was born about the year 1468, and having successively commanded in the Mediterranean, the fleets of Genoa, France, and Spain, in each of which he obtained by his talents the most splendid victories, he availed himself of a favourable moment, though with very limited means, to rescue his country from the French yoke, and what is more to his honour, in the place of accepting the proffered sovereignty, he conferred on it that form of government, which, by the choice of the people, aided by the wisdom

At this period, Tripoli, which formed one of the Spanish conquests in Africa, was in the hands of the knights of Malta, to whom it had been given by the court of Spain, as a reward for their gallant exertions against the enemies of Christianity; the kingdom of Tunis, and the empire of Morocco, continued under the dominion of their own sovereigns; and Algiers was the only state, in the possession of the Turks.

But a new adventurer started up, who, like the Barbarossas, seemed destined to give a turn to the affairs of Barbary. This was Dragut Rais, a notorious and successful pirate, who, having been educated in the school of those distinguished corsairs, followed their system so closely, that he was even more dreaded than his predecessors. Secretly assisted in his piratical adventures, by

of their senators, was deemed best calculated to promote its prosperity. For this disinterestedness, the gratitude of his countrymen seemed to know no bounds. While living, they erected to his memory a statue, on which was inscribed—  
 “ANDREW DORIA, THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY;”—  
 they built him a most superb palace, which was for ever to be called by his name; they passed a law, ordaining that he and his posterity should, to the latest period, be exempt from all imposts; and they offered to raise on a spot which commanded the whole city, a fortress, into which he and his friends might retire, should his life be endangered by any accidental insurrection of the people. But the latter, from motives of the purest patriotism, he declined; and having lived to the advanced age of ninety-four, he left behind him an unblemished character, which has been handed down to posterity by the most honourable of appellations, “the father of his country, and the restorer of its liberties.”

supplies of ships and men from Turkey, he ravaged the coasts of the Mediterranean without control, notwithstanding the distinguished exertions of Doria, who was employed by the Spanish court to effect his destruction. Dragut, however, at last was dislodged from two very important settlements, which, for the purpose of carrying on his piracies with more effect, he had formed on the coast of Africa; and by this means, his power of doing mischief was very considerably diminished; but having afterwards persuaded the Turkish emperor to attempt the conquest of Tripoli, a sea-port more conveniently situated for the purposes of piracy, than even those places that he had previously lost; Dragut sailed from Constantinople with a very considerable force, which ultimately was commanded by the admiral in chief, Sinan Pacha, who attacked the city, and, after a very honorable defence, compelled it to surrender, by which the Turks became possessed of the whole of the kingdom of Tripoli.\*

About twenty years after this event, Sinan Pacha was sent by Selim the Second against the city of Tunis, which, at that period was a place of very considerable strength and great resources, and the capital of a kingdom then under the protection of the court of Spain.

The force employed upon this expedition, though of an immense magnitude, was three

\* Tripoli surrendered to the Turks about the year 1552.

months before the place without any serious impression being made upon its defences, during which the Turks are stated to have lost more than thirty thousand men ; and it was not until nearly the whole of the besieged were actually slain, that the fortresses upon which the security of Tunis depended, were brought to a surrender ; when Muley Mohammed, the king, being taken prisoner, the whole country fell into the possession of the Turks.\* Thus they succeeded to the sovereignty of all the states of Barbary, excepting the empire of Morocco, which has never submitted to the Turkish yoke.

For the government of the states thus subdued, a bashaw was appointed to each ; but great abuses having taken place in the administration of those officers, and the provinces being constantly in a state of revolt, the sultan gradually permitted them to elect their own chiefs, upon condition of their acknowledging him as their sovereign, and paying him such tributes annually, or occasionally, and affording such general assistance, as he should think proper to demand.

These states however have since, in a great measure, thrown off their allegiance to the court of Constantinople, though they continue to send an annual tribute to the Grand Seignior, and pledge themselves, if called upon, to furnish him with their quota of troops ; but they have

\* Tunis was conquered by the Turks about the year 1573.

reserved to themselves the right of choosing their own form of government, of going to war or of making peace; without consulting the Grand Seignior, and of regulating their interior concerns according to their own system.

Thus Barbary, after experiencing the most extraordinary revolutions, and after holding, at different periods, a very conspicuous place in the political world, has degenerated into a permanent receptacle for licensed piracy. For though the Barbary powers have assumed to themselves all the consequence of independent sovereignties, and are honored with the presence of accredited ministers from some of the most distinguished states of Europe, yet, from their total disregard of those laws, which other nations have held as sacred and inviolable, and from their unwarrantable system of exacting tributes as the terms of their forbearance; collectively, they still are to be considered in no better light than a nation of free-booters, which the jealousy, or mistaken policy of more powerful states, have hitherto prevented from destroying.

In the general view which we have taken of the subject under consideration, it did not seem necessary, nor would it have proved interesting, to have expatiated upon the various revolutions that have occurred in Barbary, from the Arab accession up to the present period; or to have noticed in particular terms, the dynasties under which those events were brought about. Historians have



informed us, that they uniformly originated in factions among themselves, each supported by some enterprising leader, the most powerful of which usually succeeded. Thus the families of the Alides, the Omniades, the Abbassides, the Fatifites, the Almoravides, the Almoahades, and the Sharifs, each in their turn enjoyed the sovereignty of the country, displaying alike in their government, a ferocity of character, proportionate to the barbarism of the people, over whom they had assumed authority; and thus northern Africa, for many centuries, has presented one continued series of bloodshed, rapine, and desolation, from which it has only been relieved, if in the present state of the country relief can be said to be obtained, by the emanation of those more permanent establishments, that now are known by the modern denomination of the states of Barbary.

It would be swelling our volume to an unnecessary bulk, were we in this place to give a particular account of each of those states; more especially as one of them, and that the most important, will be the subject of our future notice; and the other three, have been very ably described by the scientific pen of Dr. Shaw. We, therefore, briefly shall mention, that they consist of the empire of Morocco, and the three regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; that though each may differ in some degree in the form of its government, yet they all may be considered absolute monarchies in the most unlimited sense; and

notwithstanding the exertions which, at different periods, have been made by the European powers concerned, to compel the Moors by force of arms, to respect their flags ; yet they carry on, even to this day, though certainly upon a more limited scale than formerly, that system of piracy, that so long has disturbed the navigation of the Mediterranean ; and which alone is to be suspended, by those humiliating sacrifices, that now are offered without compunction, by many of the most powerful states of Europe.\*

\* The religion, laws, and customs, of the inhabitants of Barbary, in most respects being similar, the succeeding account of the Empire of Morocco, will serve to convey in general terms, a pretty accurate idea of the whole.

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## CHAP. I.

*Departure for Tangier.—Journey from thence to Larache.*

**I**N the month of September 1789 a request was forwarded through Mr. Matra, the British consul general at Tangier, to his excellency General O'Hara at Gibraltar, from Muley Absulem, the emperor of Morocco's favourite son, the purport of which was, to intreat his excellency to send a medical gentleman from the garrison to attend the prince, whose health was at that time in a dangerous and declining state. .

As the term *Muley* will frequently occur in the succeeding pages, it may not be improper to state in this place, that it is a title of honour, which is confined to the *royal family* of Morocco, and is equivalent to that of lord, or rather *prince*, in our language.

The promises of Muley Absulem to the consul were splendid and encouraging. The person who was to be sent on this expedition was to be protected from every indignity, and to be treated with the utmost respect. He was to receive a liberal reward for his professional exertions ; his expences during his journey, and while he staid in the country, were to be punctually defrayed ; and he was to be sent back without delay, whenever his presence should be required at the garrison. But the most flattering circumstance which attended this requisition of the Moorish prince was, the release of certain Christian captives who were at that period detained in slavery. These unfortunate persons consisted of the master of an English vessel trading to Africa, and nine seamen, who had been wrecked on that part of the coast which is inhabited by the Arabs, and were carried into slavery by that savage and merciless people.

How far these brilliant assurances were fulfilled, will appear in the course of the following narrative. It is sufficient for the present to observe, that, influenced by the faith which the inhabitants of Europe are accustomed to place in the professions of persons of rank and dignity, and still more impelled by that impetuous curiosity which is natural to youth, I was easily persuaded to embrace the opportunity of visiting a region so little known to European travellers, and to undertake this singular, and (as it was generally regarded) extremely hazardous service.

However disappointed I may have been in my hopes of pecuniary advantage and emolument, still I cannot at this moment regret my rashness, as it was considered by many. In the course of my visit, I had opportunities which no European had ever enjoyed of becoming acquainted with the manners, policy, customs, and character of this singular people. The sanctity of the royal harem itself was laid open to my inspection. Even the dangers which I encountered, and the anxious apprehensions which I occasionally experienced, I can now reflect upon with a degree of emotion which is not unpleasant. The notes which I made upon the spot I had the great pleasure to find proved interesting and entertaining to a number of my friends. By their persuasions I was encouraged to lay them before the public; and my only and earnest wish is, that the reader may not find his curiosity disappointed, his attention wearied, or his judgment disgusted, by the adventures and observations, which are now submitted to his inspection.

The necessary preliminaries being settled, and the baggage of a soldier requiring no great preparation, I embarked at Gibraltar the 14th of September 1789, on board a small vessel, and in six hours arrived at Tangier, where I immediately waited on Mr. Matra, whose polite reception and kind offices during the six months that I spent in Barbary, claim, and ever will command, my warmest acknowledgments. I soon learned that my intended patient was, by his father's command,

at the time of my arrival, at the head of an army in the mountains between Morocco and Tarudant, which obliged me to remain at Tangier, till we received certain intelligence of the prince's return to Tarudant, his usual place of residence.

It would be difficult to determine whether surprise or regret was most predominant in my mind upon my arrival in this country. The distance is so trifling, and the transition so sudden, that I at first could scarcely persuade myself that I was out of Europe, till I was convinced to the contrary by the wonderful difference of people and manners which immediately presented itself on my entering Tangier. Civilization in most other countries derives its origin from a commercial intercourse with foreign nations; and there are few parts of the world, however distant or uninformed, whose inhabitants have not, in some way or other, fallen into the manners of those foreigners by whom they are visited. But here this circumstance seems to have had not the smallest effect; for though situated only eight leagues from Europe, in the habit of a constant communication with its inhabitants, and enjoying the advantage of a number of foreigners residing in the place, yet the people of Tangier still retain the same uncultivated manners, the same aversion to every kind of mental improvement, for which the Moors have for ages past so justly been characterized.

It is well known that the town and fortress of Tangier formerly constituted a part of the foreign



dominions of Great Britain. While in the possession of the English it was a place of considerable strength, but when it was evacuated by the orders of Charles the II. the fortifications were demolished, and only the vestiges of them are now visible. There is at present only a small fort in tolerable repair, which is situated at the northern extremity of the town, and a battery of a few guns which fronts the bay. From these circumstances it is evident that it could make but a very weak resistance against any powerful attack. The town, which occupies a very small space of ground, and affords nothing remarkable, is built upon an eminence which appears to rise out of the sea, and is surrounded with a wall. The land for a small distance round it is laid out into vineyards, orchards, and corn-fields, beyond which are tracts of sand, with lofty and barren hills. The situation is therefore far from beautiful or agreeable. The houses are in general mean and ill furnished, the roofs are quite flat, and both these and the walls are entirely whitened over; the apartments are all on the ground floor, as there is no second story. Contrary to the usual custom in Barbary, the Jews and Moors live intermixed at Tangier, and maintain a more friendly intercourse than elsewhere in this quarter of the globe. The Jews also, instead of going bare-footed by compulsion, as at Morocco, Tarudant, and many other places, are only required to do it when passing a street where there is a mosque or a sanctuary.

The foreign consuls (except the French, who has a house at Sallee) reside at Tangier. Before the reign of Sidi Mahomet, they were allowed to live at Tetuan, a town greatly preferable, as well on account of the inhabitants being more civilized, as of the beauty of the adjacent country. A singular circumstance occasioned the expulsion of the Christians from that pleasant retreat :---An European gentleman was amusing himself with shooting at some birds in the vicinity of the town, and accidentally wounded an old Moorish woman, who unfortunately happened to be within reach of the shot. Upon this accident, the emperor swore by his beard, that no Christian should ever again enter the town of Tetúan. It may be necessary to inform the reader, that this oath (by the beard) is held by the Moors in such solemn estimation, that they are rarely observed to violate it, nor was Sidi Mahomet ever known to disregard it in a single instance. The situation of consuls, indeed, in this distant and uncivilized country, is by no means to be envied ; and the recompence that should induce men of liberal education to sacrifice their native comforts and advantages to such a system of life as is required here, ought not to be trifling. They can form no society but among themselves ; and even the universally allowed law of nations, is frequently insufficient to protect their persons from insult. Subject to the caprice of an emperor whose conduct is regulated by no law, and whose mind is governed by no fixed principle, they are

often ordered up to court, and after experiencing a very tedious, fatiguing and expensive journey, they are frequently sent back again without having effected the smallest point to the advantage of their own country, sometimes indeed without even being informed of the purpose of their journey. As an alleviation to so unsociable a life, the English, Swedish, and Danish consuls have erected country houses at a small distance from Tangier, where they occasionally retire, and enjoy those amusements which the country affords. These are chiefly gardening, fishing, and hunting. From the plenty of game of every kind with which the country abounds, and a total freedom from any restrictions with respect to it (for there are no game laws in this empire), they give a full scope to the pleasures of the field, and endeavour by those means to procure a substitute for the want of friendly and cheerful society.

On the northern side of Tangier is the castle, which, though very extensive, lies half in ruins. It has a royal treasury, and is the residence of the governor. Near the water-side are store-houses for the refitting of vessels, and at this port many of the emperor's row-gallies are built. A number of them also are generally laid up here, when not engaged in actual service. Indeed, from its convenient situation with respect to the Straits, this is the best sea-port that he has for employing to advantage these small vessels. The bay is sufficiently spacious, but it is dangerous for shipping in a strong easterly wind. The most secure place

of anchorage is on the eastern part, about half a mile from the shore, in a line with the round tower and the Spanish consul's house, which makes a very conspicuous appearance from the bay. On the southern side of the bay is the river, where, before it was choaked up with sand banks, the emperor used to winter his large ships, which he is now obliged to send to Larache. Most of the rivers in the emperor's dominions, which formerly were navigable, and well calculated for the fitting out of vessels, and for the laying of them up in safety, have now their mouths so continually filling with sand, that in a course of years small fishing-boats only will be able to enter them. It has often occurred to me, that an inquiry into the state of the emperor's navy, and in particular into the inconvenience of his harbours, might be an object of some consequence to the different European powers, who now condescend to pay a most disgraceful tribute to this shadow of imperial dignity. Over the river of Tangier are the ruins of an ancient bridge, supposed to have been erected by the Romans. The centre of it only is destroyed, and that does not seem to be the effect of time. It more probably was pulled down by the Moors, for the purpose of permitting their vessels to enter the river. The remainder of it is entire, and by its thickness and solidity, it evinces the excellence of the ancient architects, and shews that strength, as well as beauty, made a considerable part of their study.

As I propose in a future part of this Narrative to describe very particularly the architecture, houses, furniture, &c. in this country, I shall conclude my account of Tangier by observing, that in time of peace it carries on a small trade with Gibraltar and the neighbouring coast of Spain, by supplying those places with provisions, and receiving in return European commodities of almost every kind.

In a fortnight after my arrival at Tangier, the consul received a letter from the prince, informing him of his return to Tarudant, and of his wish that the English physician might be dispatched to him immediately. Previous to my departure, however, it became necessary to consider what was required for the journey. Two horsemen of the Black or Negro cavalry, armed with long muskets and sabres, were dispatched by the prince to escort me, and had been waiting for that purpose for some time. The governor of the town had orders to supply me with a tent mules, and an interpreter. But it was not without much difficulty that a person could be found in Tangier who could speak the English and Arabic languages sufficiently well to perform that office; and it was owing to an accident that I at length was enabled to obtain one. After searching the whole of the town in vain, the governor ordered, during the Jewish hour of prayer, that enquiries should be made among all the synagogues for a person who understood both languages. An unfortunate Jew, whose occupa-

tion was that of selling fruit about the streets of Gibraltar, and who had come to Tangier merely to spend a few days with his wife and family during a Jewish festival, being unacquainted with the intent of the enquiry, unguardedly answered in the affirmative. Without further ceremony the poor man was dragged away from his friends and home, and constrained by force to accompany me.

Of the mode in this despotic government of seizing persons at the arbitrary pleasure of a governor, an Englishman can scarcely form an idea. Three or four lusty Moors, with large clubs in their hands, grasp the wretched and defenceless victim with as much energy as if he was an Hercules, from whom they expected the most formidable resistance, and half shake him to death before they deliver him up to a superior power.— Such was exactly the situation of my unfortunate interpreter. From the sudden and abrupt manner in which he was hurried away, in the midst of his devotions, the women immediately took the alarm, flew in a body to the house of the consul, and with shrieks and lamentations endeavoured to prevail on him to get the man excused from his journey. The immense distance, and the ill treatment which they knew was offered to Jews by the Moors, when not under some civilized controul, were certainly sufficient motives for this alarm on the part of the women. Upon the consul's assuring them, however, that the wife should be taken care of, and the husband sent

back without any expence to him on our arrival at Mogodore, where I was to be furnished with another interpreter, and upon my promising to protect the Jew from insult, and, if he behaved well, to reward him for his trouble, the women immediately dispersed, and returned home apparently satisfied.

When this business was completed, the consul furnished me with a proper quantity of liquors, two days provisions, a bedstead formed by three folding stools, for the conveniency of packing it on the mules, with proper cooking utensils, and an oil-skin case to carry my bedding. The whole of my equipage, therefore, consisted of two Negro soldiers, a Jewish interpreter, one saddle-mule for myself, and another for him, two baggage-mules, and a Moorish muleteer on foot to take care of them.

On the 30th of September, at three in the afternoon, we set out on our journey; and at six the same evening arrived at a small village about eight miles from Tangier, named Hyn Dalia, where we slept that night. The country through which we passed, after quitting the neighbourhood of Tangier, was barren and mountainous, with scarcely any inhabitants; and it continued so the whole way to Larache, only a few miserable hamlets presenting themselves occasionally to our view. The villages throughout this empire consist of huts rudely constructed with stones, earth, and canes, covered with thatch, and enclosed with thick and high hedges. This

description exactly applies to that which received us on the first evening of our expedition.

So careful had the governor of Tangier been in executing his commission, and so attentive to the accommodation of the person who was to restore health to his royal master's favourite son, that upon examining my tent it was so full of holes, and in every respect so out of order, that I was obliged to place my bed under a hedge, and make use of my tattered tent as a side covering. After spending the night in this singular situation, we proceeded on our journey at half past seven in the morning, and in an hour after crossed the river Marha, which was nearly dry; though I was informed that after the heavy rains it is deep and dangerous to be forded. In a wet season, when the rivers are swelled, travellers are frequently detained for several days upon their banks. There are in fact but very few bridges in this country, so that, except at the sea-ports, where they have boats, there is no method of passing streams which are too deep to be forded, except by swimming, or by the use of rafts.

At ten we entered a thick and extensive forest, named Rabe a Clow. From its situation on a high mountain, from the rocky and difficult ascent, and from the distant view of the ocean through the openings of the trees, this forest presented to us an uncommonly wild, romantic, and, I may with truth say, a sublime appearance. From this prospect, however, our attention was in a great measure diverted by the



miserable road over which we now found we were to pass, extending for the most part over steep mountains and craggy rocks. On this account we were obliged to ride very slow, and with the greatest caution. At eleven we crossed another river, called Machira la Chef, running at the bottom of this elevated forest, which, though the season was dry, was rather deep. Here the eye was agreeably refreshed, by a fine champagne country, and a good road before us. On this we continued till we arrived at a rivulet with some trees growing at a small distance from its margin. At noon I fixed upon the most shady spot I could find, and, agreeably to the Moorish fashion, sat down cross-legged on the grass and dined.

As the dressing of victuals would have retarded us too much on our journey, I always made a point of having something dressed the night before to eat cold the following day. Such repasts in fresco were agreeable enough, when wholesome and palatable water could be procured; but very frequently that was far from being the case. In many places it was so muddy and offensive, that, though extremely thirsty, I could not drink it unless corrected with wine. Except in the large towns, no provisions could be procured but fowls and eggs; with these, which I had been before accustomed to esteem as delicacies, I now began to be satiated and disgusted. My usual supper upon my route was a cup of strong coffee and a

toast, which I found much more refreshing than animal food. Every morning I breakfasted upon the same, and experienced the invigorating effects of this beverage, by its enabling me to support the fatigues of the day.

After pursuing our course for about two hours, we arrived at the river Lorifa, where we were detained an hour by the height of the tide. The uncertainty and unevenness of the bottom, and the number of large stones that lie in the channel of the river, render it at all times unsafe to be passed. This circumstance we very sensibly experienced; for when the tide permitted us to make the attempt, though we had men on foot for the purpose of guiding our beasts, still by their striking against the stones, and by their sudden plunges into deep holes, we were continually thrown forward upon their necks. Hardiness and dexterity are, perhaps, the first among the few advantages which uncivilized nations enjoy. It was amusing in this place to observe a number of Moors, who were travelling on foot, pull off their clothes, place them commodiously on their heads, and immediately swim across the stream.

In the evening we reached Arzilla, where, in consequence of the service in which I was engaged, application was made by the soldiers to the Alcaide, or governor of the town, to procure me a lodging. Arzilla is eleven hours journey, or about thirty miles distant from Tangier: for

the Moors compute distance by hours ; and as the pace of their mules is at the rate of three miles an hour, the length of a journey is generally calculated in this way with sufficient accuracy.

The apartment assigned me was a miserable room in the castle, without any windows, and receiving light from a door-way (for there was no door) and from three holes in the wall about six inches square. This castle covers a large space of ground ; and though it is now in a very ruinous condition, appears to have been a building erected formerly in a superior style of Moorish grandeur.

The town is a small sea-port upon the Atlantic Ocean. It was once in the possession of the Portuguese, and was at that time a place of strength ; but through the indolence and caprice of the Moorish princes, its fortifications have been since neglected, and its walls are rapidly decaying in almost every part. The houses have a miserable appearance, and the inhabitants, who consist of a few Moors and Jews, live in a state of the most perfect poverty.

The reader may form some idea of the manners of this country, by imagining me and my interpreter at one end of the room as before described, drinking coffee ; and at the other, the muleteer and the soldiers enjoying themselves over a large bowl of *cuscasou*, which they were devouring with all the fervour of an excellent appetite, and in the primitive fashion, that is with their fingers.

This species of food is very common among the Moors, who have a tradition that it was invented by their prophet Mahomet, at a time when he could obtain neither sleep nor subsistence. It is their principal treat to all foreign ministers, and travellers of distinction who visit the country. It consists of bits of paste about the size of rice, crumbled into an earthen colander, and cooked by the steam of boiled meat and vegetables. The whole is then put into an earthen dish, and butter and spices added to it. The dish is served up in a wooden tray, with a cover of palmetto leaves plaited together.

About an hour after my arrival, the governor, and several of the principal Moors, paid me a visit, and brought me, in compliment to my royal patient, a present of fruit, eggs, and fowls. After a conversation of about half an hour, during which many compliments passed on both sides, my visitors took their leave, and we all retired to rest.

As the report was rapidly, and extensively circulated, that a Christian physician was arrived in the town, I found myself visited very early in the morning by a number of patients, whose cases were in general truly deplorable. Many of these objects were afflicted with total blindness, white swellings, inveterate rheumatisms, and dropsies. It was in vain to assure these unfortunate and ignorant people that their complaints were beyond the reach of medicine. All I could

allege gained not the smallest credit; a Christian doctor, they asserted, could cure every malady, and repeatedly offered me their hands to feel their pulse; for diseases of every kind in this country, it seems, are to be discovered merely by an application to the pulse. From the urgent importunities of my patients, who all wished to be attended to at the same time, I was at a loss at first how to proceed; however, I found myself under the necessity of ordering my guards to keep off the crowd, and permit one only to consult me at a time. It was truly distressing to observe so many objects of real misery before me, without having it in my power to administer that relief for which they appeared so anxious, and which they were so confident of obtaining. Though most of their complaints appeared incurable, yet had my time permitted, I should have experienced the most heart-felt pleasure in exerting every means in my power to alleviate their sufferings. Circumstanced as I was, I could only recommend them medicines which would have but a temporary effect, and which served rather to send them away satisfied, than to afford a permanent relief.

In the mean time the governor had been paying attention to the bad condition of my tent, and by ordering the worst parts to be cut out, and the rest to be patched, had reduced it so much in size, that he had scarcely left room for myself and interpreter with difficulty to creep into it.

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At eight o'clock the same morning, October the 2nd, we began our route for the city of Larache, about twenty-two miles from Arzilla, and arrived there the same day about four in the afternoon. Our journey thither was principally on the beach, so that but little occurred that was worthy of observation. Before we could enter the town, we were ferried over the river Luccos, which in this part is about half a mile in breadth, and which after many beautiful meanders falls into the ocean at Larache.

## CHAP. II.

*From Larache to Sallee.—Description of the wandering Arabs.*

**I**MMEDIATELY on my arrival at Larache I was introduced to the alcaide or governor, whom I found to be a very handsome black. He shewed me great attention, and placed me in a decent apartment in the castle, which is in a state totally different from that of Arzilla.

Larache formerly belonged to the Spaniards; it has tolerably neat buildings, and is of a moderate extent. This city is situated at the mouth of the river Luccos, upon an easy descent to the sea. The agreeable windings of the river, the clusters of date and various other trees irregularly disposed, and the gentle risings of the ground, have a most picturesque effect; which, aided by the reflection that you are contemplating the pure works of nature, unassisted or undeformed by art, cannot fail to inspire the most pleasing sensations.

The town, though not regularly fortified, possesses one fort and two batteries in good repair; the streets are paved, and there is a decent market-place with stone piazzas. This city indeed altogether exhibited a much more respectable appearance than any town which I visited in Barbary, with the exception of Mogodore.

At this port vessels are re-fitted and supplied with stores, though there be no docks or conveniences for building large ships. From the depth and security of the river, the emperor is induced to lay up his large vessels at Larache during the winter season ; it indeed is the only port which he possesses that can answer that purpose. It is however probable, that this river in process of time will be subject to the same inconvenience as that of Tangier, owing to the accumulation of sand, which already has produced a bar at its entrance, of which the annual increase is very perceptible.

As one of my mules had fallen lame, I continued the whole of the following day at Larache, with a view of exchanging him ; but to my great mortification was not able to succeed in the attempt. During a great part of the day my room was so filled with patients that it might with great propriety be compared to an infirmary, and that not the least considerable. The diseases that I observed to be most prevalent, were the hydrocele ; violent inflammation in the eyes, very frequently terminating in blindness ; psora, combined with inveterate leprous affections ; dropsies, and white swellings. I also observed a few intermittent and bilious fevers, and frequently complaints of the stomach, arising from indigestion. Though this country has in a few instances been visited by the plague, yet that disease by no means is so prevalent here as in the eastern parts of Barbary, which are more contiguous to Turkey,



whence it is supposed usually to proceed. The cause of the hydrocele so frequently occurring in this country seems to be in a great measure, the loose dress of the Moors, and the great relaxation which is induced by the warmth of the climate. The ophthalmia, or inflammation of the eyes, is evidently occasioned by their being exposed to the reflection of the sun from the houses, which are universally whitened over; to this inconvenience the Moors are more particularly subject, from their dress not being calculated to keep off the rays of the sun, and from no person being allowed the use of an umbrella except the emperor. The leprous affection appears to be hereditary, for I was informed that it has been frequently traced back from one family to another for several generations, and it has all the appearance of being the true leprosy of the ancients. It breaks out in great blotches over the whole body, in some few forming one continual sore, which frequently heals up, and at stated times breaks out afresh, but is never thoroughly cured.--- During my residence at Morocco, I had frequent opportunities of trying a variety of remedies for this complaint, but I never succeeded further than a temporary cure, for upon discontinuing the medicines, the disease was certain to return. The white swellings and dropsies probably arise from poor living; three parts of the people seldom having any other kind of provision than coarse bread, fruit, and vegetables.

With respect to the state of medical knowledge in this country, it is very limited indeed. They have, however, their practitioners in physic, both Moors and Jews, who have gone through the form of fitting themselves for the profession, which chiefly consists in selecting from the ancient Arabic manuscripts that remain in the country, some simple remedies, which they afterwards apply, as well as they are able, to various distempers. Their methods of treating disorders are, bleeding, cupping, scarifying, fomentations, and giving internal decoctions of herbs. Some are bold enough in the hydrocele to let out the water with a lancet; and there are those who even couch for the cataract. I never had an opportunity of seeing the operation of couching performed in Barbary, but I was introduced to a Moor at the city of Morocco, who told me that he had performed it, and shewed me the instrument which he used for the purpose. This was a piece of thick brass wire, terminating gradually at one end in a point not very sharp.

The Moors chiefly depend upon topical remedies, and seldom make use of internal medicines. Being strangers to the manner in which they are to operate, they seem to entertain no favourable opinion of their efficacy. It is indeed almost impossible to persuade them that a medicine received into the stomach can relieve complaints in the head or extremities. It is but justice, however, to add, that I never knew them object to any thing that I administered, provided I

clearly explained to them the manner in which they were to be benefited by it. From these observations, and from the frequent recourse which the Mahometans have to charms and amulets, it appears that, notwithstanding their belief in predestination, they are not averse to the use of means for the removal of disorders.

Of the number who applied to me for relief at Larache, none appeared to exhibit the least sense of gratitude except one ; the rest behaved as if they thought they did me a greater favour by asking my advice, than I conferred on them by giving it. The person to whom I allude, as being so different in his conduct from the rest, was an old Moor of some distinction in the place, who desired me to come to his house and visit a sick friend, with which request I immediately complied. The man for this trifling attention was so uncommonly grateful, that reflecting on the place where I was, and on the treatment I had already experienced, I was astonished and gratified beyond expression. After sending to my apartment a large supply of poultry and fruit, the usual present of the country, he waited on me himself, and assured me, that while he lived he should never forget the favour which I had done him ; at the same time insisting upon my making use of his house as my own upon my return. As this was one of the few instances of this very singular virtue among the Moors, that I experienced during my tour in Barbary, I have been the more particular in noticing the circumstance.

On the 4th of October, at six in the morning, we left Larache, and at ten passed the river Clough, a small stream. At four in the afternoon we came to the ruins of a large castle, said to have been built some hundred years ago, by a Moor of distinction, named Dar Coresy, who was put to death by the then reigning emperor, and his castle destroyed. Most of the castles and other public buildings indeed, which I saw in this empire, afforded strong marks of having suffered more from the hands of the tyrant than from the injuries of time.

I have already mentioned the beautiful prospects in the country adjacent to Larache : those in the road from that city to Mamora were not less delightful. We travelled among trees of various kinds, so agreeably arranged that the place had more the appearance of a park than of an uncultivated country. We crossed over plains which, without the aid of the husbandman, were rich in verdure ; and we had a view of lakes which extended many miles in length, the sides of which were lined with Arab encampments, and their surfaces covered with innumerable water-fowl. The fineness of the day greatly added to the pleasure I received from these variegated scenes, which are not unworthy the pencil of the ablest artist. At half-past four in the afternoon we arrived at the first of these lakes, and pitched our tent in the centre of one of the encampments.

These encampments are generally at a great distance from the cities and towns ; the villages,

on the other hand, are generally placed in their vicinity. The encampment consists of broad tents, constructed either of the leaves of the palmetto, or of camels' hair; some of them are supported by canes, and others are fixed by pegs. Their form in a small degree resembles a tomb, or the keel of a ship reversed; they are dyed black, and though they cover a considerable surface of ground, are uniformly very low; the tent of the Shaik or governor is considerably larger than any of the others, and is placed in a conspicuous part of the camp. These camps are named by the Arabs *douhars*, and the number of tents in them vary according to the proportion of people in the tribe or family; some of the *douhars* containing only four or five, while others consist of near a hundred. The camp forms either a complete circle or an oblong square, but the first is more common; the cattle, which are left to graze at large in the day, are carefully secured within the boundaries at night. In all the camps the tents are closed on the north side, and are quite open on the south, by which means they escape the cold northerly winds, so prevalent in this country during the winter season.

The Arabs who inhabit these encampments, are in many respects a very different race of people from the inhabitants of the towns. The latter, from being in general more affluent, from their intercourse with Europeans, and from their different education, have introduced luxuries, and imbibed ideas, of which the others are entirely

ignorant. From their strong family attachments indeed, as well as from their inveterate prejudices in favour of ancient customs, these tribes of Arabs appear to be at a vast distance from a state of civilization. As this singular people associate continually in tribes, their marriages are confined to their own family; and so strict are they in the observance of this attachment, that they will not permit a person who is not in some degree related to them, to inhabit the same camp with themselves.

The husband, wife, and children, all sleep in the same tent, commonly on a pallet of sheepskins, but sometimes on the bare ground. The children remain with their parents till they marry, when the friends of each party are obliged to provide them with a tent, a stone hand-mill to grind their corn, a basket, a wooden bowl, and two earthen dishes, which constitute the whole of their furniture. Besides these, they have, however, a marriage portion, which consists of a certain number of camels, horses, cows, sheep, and goats, with a proportionable quantity of wheat and barley: and by grazing and cultivating the neighbouring ground, they gradually increase their stock. The Arabs have seldom more than one wife; their women, who are in general the very opposite to every idea of beauty, do not, like those who inhabit the towns, conceal their faces in the presence of strangers.

Each camp is under the direction of a shaik, to whom the rest apply for redress whenever the

feel themselves aggrieved. This governor is invested with the power of inflicting any punishment he may think proper, short of death ; he is appointed by the emperor, and is in general the Arab who possesses the greatest property.

As they are generally at a distance from any mosque where they can exercise their religion, an empty tent is allotted for the purpose of worship, which is placed in the centre of the camp, and which at the same time serves for the nightly abode of any traveller who may chance to pass that way ; and those who take shelter in it are provided with a good supper, at the expense of the whole association. Within this tent all the children assemble every morning an hour before day-break, opposite a large wood fire, made on the outside, and learn their prayers, which are written in Arabic characters on boards, and are always hanging up in the tent. The learning to read the few prayers which are on these boards, and to commit them to memory, is the only education to which the Arabs in general ever attain.

The unsettled turn of these people, has conferred upon them the appellation of wandering Arabs. As soon as the land which surrounds them becomes less productive, and their cattle have devoured all the pasture, they strike their tents, and move on to some more fertile spot, till necessity again compels them to retire. I met one of these tribes upon their march, and observed that not only their camels, horses, and mules, but

also their bulls and cows, were laden with their tents, implements of agriculture, wives, children, and household furniture, all intermixed without discrimination.

In the empire of Morocco, all landed property, except what is immediately connected with the towns, belongs to the emperor. The Arabs, therefore, when they wish to change their situation, are obliged to procure a licence from him, or at least from the bashaw of the province, allowing them to take possession of any particular spot of ground ; and in consideration of this indulgence, they pay the emperor a proportion of its produce.

The treatment which I experienced from these people was kind and hospitable, betraying no signs of that inclination to impose upon strangers, which so strongly mark the character of the inhabitants of the towns. As soon as my tent was pitched, numbers flocked around it, but apparently more from curiosity than from any intention of offending. On the contrary, they appeared exceedingly desirous to do every thing in their power for my accommodation.

The dress of the men consists of a long coarse frock, made of undyed wool, which is girt about the waist, and is called a *cashove*. In addition to this they sometimes wear the *haick*, which is a piece of stuff several yards in length, made either of wool, or of wool and cotton ; this, when they go abroad, they use as a cloak, throwing it over the whole of the under-dress in a careless



manner, the upper part serving to cover their head. They wear their hair cut quite close, use no turban, cap, nor stockings, and seldom even wear slippers. The dress of the women is nearly the same, differing only in the mode of putting on the cashove, which is so contrived as to form a bag on their backs, for the purpose of carrying their children; and this they are able to do, and perform all the drudgery of the family at the same time. Their hair, which is black, is worn in different plaits, and is covered with a handkerchief tied close to their head. They are very fond of wearing gold and silver trinkets when they can obtain them, and none of them are without a number of bead necklaces. Their children go quite naked till the age of nine or ten, when they are initiated in the drudgery of their parents.

The mode of living amongst these people is much the same as that of the Moors in towns, cuscousou being their principal diet. Besides this, however, they eat camels' and foxes' flesh, and sometimes even cats have fallen victims to their voracity. They use barley bread, which is prepared without yeast or leaven, and baked in an earthen dish in the shape of a cake.

The complexion of the Arabs is a dark brown, or rather olive colour. Their features, from their more active life, have stronger expression, and fewer marks of effeminacy, than those of the Moors in towns. Their eyes are black, and their teeth in general white and regular.

The ill effects of strong family prejudices, and of that narrow and exclusive disposition which accompanies them, is strongly marked in these little societies. Every camp beholds its neighbour with detestation and contempt. Perpetual feuds arise between the inhabitants of each, and too commonly are productive of bloodshed, and the most extravagant outrages. When one of these unfortunate contests proceeds to open acts of violence, it seldom terminates till the emperor has taken his share in the dispute : whoever is the author, he at least generally derives advantages from these dissensions ; for, independent of the corporal punishment which he inflicts, he also imposes heavy fines upon the contending tribes, which proves the most effectual mode of pacifying the combatants. Besides what the emperor gains in this way, which is frequently considerable, he likewise receives annually the tenth of every article of consumption which is the produce of the country ; he also sometimes exacts an extraordinary impost, answering in value to about the fortieth part of every article they possess, which is levied for the purpose of supporting his troops. Besides these levies, these unfortunate people are liable to any other exaction which his caprice may direct him to impose upon them, from a plea of pretended or real necessity. The first tax (the tenth) is paid either in corn and cattle, or in money. The other is always paid in kind.

The mode practised by the emperor for extorting money from his subjects is very simple and expeditious. He sends orders to the bashaw or governor of the province, to pay him the sum he wants within a limited time. The bashaw immediately collects it, and sometimes double the sum, as a reward to his own industry, from the alcaides of the towns and shaiks of the encampments in the province which he commands. The example of the bashaw is not lost upon these officers, who take care to compensate their own trouble with equal liberality from the pockets of the subjects; so that by means of this chain of despotism, which descends from the emperor to the meanest officer, the wretched people generally pay about four times the taxes which the emperor receives—so little gainers are arbitrary monarchs by the oppression of the public! The exactions indeed have sometimes been so severe, that the Arabs have positively refused to satisfy the emperor's demands, and have obliged him to send a party of soldiers to enforce them. Whenever he is forced to this extremity, the soldiers never fail to give full scope to their love of plunder.

When a stranger sleeps in one of these camps, he rests in the most perfect safety; for should he lose the least article, or be in any respect injured, all the Arabs of the camp are rendered answerable; so that a foreigner travels with much greater security under the protection of government in this empire, than among the nations of Europe that are more civilized.

The lakes in this part of the world furnish great plenty of water-fowl and eels. The manner of catching the latter being in some degree curious, I shall trespass upon the reader's patience while I endeavour to give some account of it. A sort of skiff, about six feet long and two broad, is formed of bundles of reeds and rushes, rudely joined together, leaving only sufficient room to contain one man; the skiff gradually narrows off towards the head, where it terminates in a point, which is bent upwards in a manner similar to the turn of a skate; it is guided and managed entirely by one long pole, and from its lightness is capable of very quick motion. For the immediate purpose of taking the eels, a number of strong canes are fixed together, with a barbed iron in each, and with this instrument, as soon as the eels are observed in the water, the man immediately strikes at them with great dexterity, and generally with success.

The principal employment of the Arabs, consists in the tillage of the ground allotted to them by the emperor, and in grazing their cattle. The land at a distance from the lakes, by the burning of the stubble in the autumn, and a slight turning up of the earth with a wooden plough-share, produces good crops of barley and wheat; and by these means the Arabs procure not only sufficient for their own consumption, but are even enabled to bring a part for sale to the neighbouring markets; while that, in their

vicinity, affords a very rich pasture for their flocks and herds, the number of which to be observed, adds in no small degree to the beautiful scenery, which here in every direction presents itself.

With respect to their markets, they have spots of ground fixed upon for that purpose within a few hours ride of their habitations, where once a week all the neighbouring Arabs transport their cattle, poultry, fruit, and corn, to be disposed of, and sometimes meet with a good sale from the Moorish merchants, who come from the town to purchase cattle and grain. Were the emperor to allow a free exportation of corn, with moderate duties, and to permit the people to enjoy what they earn, exacting only the tax allowed him by the Koran, of a tenth on each article, his subjects would soon become rich, and his own revenue would be trebly increased. The soil is so fertile, that every grain is computed to produce more than a hundred fold; but, owing to the want of a greater demand for this article, the Arabs sow little more than is necessary for their own consumption.

The only guards of these rude habitations, both against thieves and wild beasts, are dogs of a very large and fierce species. If these animals perceive a stranger approach the camp, they furiously issue in a body against him, and would probably tear him to pieces, were they not restrained, and called off by their owners. Through the whole of the night they keep up an incessant and melancholy barking and howling, which,

though doubtless very useful, in keeping their masters upon the watch, and frightening away wild beasts, yet, when united to the lowing of the herds and neighing of the horses which occupy the vacant spaces of the camp, certainly tend to depress the spirits, and to impede that rest which the fatigue attending these journeys naturally requires.

On the 5th of October, between five and six in the morning, we quitted the habitations of these hospitable Arabs, and travelled on to Mamora, where we arrived about six the same evening. The greater part of this day's journey afforded us a continuation of nearly the same appearances with that of the preceding day.

As we approached the town, we observed on each side of the lakes several sanctuaries of Mocrish saints. These sanctuaries are stone buildings of about ten yards square, whitened over, with a cupola at the top, containing in them the body of the saint.

A veneration for persons of eminent sanctity has pervaded all nations and religions of the world. The Mahometan religion appears as little favourable to this species of superstition as most with which we are acquainted, as it so tenaciously insists on the unity of God, and so strictly inhibits all creatures whatever from participating in the honours which are due only to the Deity. Some degree of idolatry, however, will prevail in every rude nation. When, therefore, a Mahometan saint dies, he is buried with

the utmost solemnity, and a chapel is erected over his grave, which place afterwards becomes more sacred than even the mosques themselves. Should the most atrocious criminal take refuge in one of these chapels, or sanctuaries, his person is secure. The emperor himself, who rarely scruples to employ any means whatever that may serve to accomplish his purpose, seldom violates the privilege of these places. When a Moor is oppressed by any mental or bodily affliction, he applies to the nearest sanctuary, and afterwards returns home with his mind calm and comforted, expecting to derive some considerable benefit from the prayers which he has offered there: and in all desperate cases the sanctuary is the last resort.

Saints are of two kinds in Barbary. The first are those who, by frequent ablutions, prayers, and other acts of devotion, have acquired an extraordinary reputation for piety. Too many of these are artful hypocrites, who under the mask of religion practise the most flagrant immoralities. There are, however, instances among them, whose practices accord in general with their professions, and who make it their business to attend upon the sick, and assist the necessitous and unhappy. From such as these the severe spirit of philosophy itself will scarcely withhold respect and veneration. Idiots and madmen form the second class of saints. In every state of society, indeed, an opinion has been prevalent, that persons afflicted with these mental complaints were under the influence of superior powers.

The oracles and prophets of the heathen world derived their celebrity from this circumstance ; and even among the lower classes in our country we frequently have to encounter a similar prejudice. In conformity, therefore, with these notions, so natural to uncultivated man, the Moors consider these unhappy persons as being under the special protection of heaven, and divinely inspired. Superstition here, as perhaps in some other instances, becomes admirably subservient to humanity and charity. In consequence of this prejudice, the most friendless and unprotected race of mortals find friends and protectors in the populace themselves. They are fed and clothed gratis wherever they wander, and are sometimes loaded with presents. A Moor might with as much safety offer an insult to the emperor himself, as attempt by any severity to restrain even the irregularities of these reputed prophets.

It must not however be dissembled, that opinions which have not their basis in reason and philosophy, are seldom found to operate uniformly for the advantage of society. Independent of the wide scope which these superstitious notions afford to hypocrisy, numberless are the evils with which they are attended, since whatever mischief these supposed ministers of heaven may perpetrate, their persons are always sacred. It is not long since there was a saint at Morocco, whose constant amusement was to wound and kill whatever persons unfortunately fell in his way ; yet, in spite of the many fatal consequences from his



insanity, he was still suffered to go at large ; and such was the malignity of his disposition, that while he was in the very act of prayer, he would watch for an opportunity to throw his rosary round the neck of some person within his reach, with an intent to strangle him. While I resided at Morocco, I sensibly experienced the inconvenience of coming within the vicinity of these saints, as they seemed to take a particular pleasure in insulting and annoying Christians. Besides these, I may mention under the head of saints or prophets, the *Marabouts*, a class of impostors who pretend to skill in magic, and are highly esteemed by the natives. They lead an indolent life, are the venders of spells and charms, and live by the credulity of the populace.

There is also among these people a set of itinerant mountaineers, who pretend to be the favourites of the prophet Mahomet, and that no kind of venomous creature can hurt them. But the most singular of this class are the *Sidi Nasir*, or snake-eaters, who exhibit in public on market-days, and entertain the crowd by eating live snakes, and performing juggling deceptions. I was once present at this strange species of amusement, and saw a man, in the course of two hours, eat a living serpent of four feet in length. He danced to the sound of wild music, vocal and instrumental, with a variety of odd gestures and contortions, several times round the circle formed by the spectators. He then began his attack upon the tail, after he had recited a short prayer,

in which he was joined by the multitude. This ceremony was repeated at intervals, till he had entirely devoured the snake. Thus far by way of digression: I now return to the course of my narrative.—Early in the evening of the 5th we arrived at Mamora, which is distant about sixty-four miles from Larache. It is situated upon a hill near the mouth of the river Saboe, the waters of which, gradually widening in their course, fall into the Atlantic at this place, and form a harbour for small vessels.

Mamora, like the generality of the Moorish towns through which I have hitherto passed, contains little worthy of observation. When in the possession of the Portuguese, it was encompassed by a double wall, part of which still remains; it had also other fortifications, that have since been destroyed; at present, its only defence is a small fort on the sea-side.

The fertile pastures, together with the extensive waters and plantations which we passed in our way hither, have already been noticed; the vicinity of Mamora is equally enchanting. What a delightful residence would it present, had not the country the misfortune to groan under an arbitrary and oppressive government!

In the morning, between eight and nine, we mounted our mules, leaving Mamora, and directing our course towards Sallee, where we arrived between one and two at noon, after having traversed over a space of about fifteen miles.

The road between Mamora and Sallee is in excellent order, and tolerably pleasant ; it extends along a vale, towards which the hills gently slope on each side. Within a quarter of a mile of Sallee, we arrived at an aqueduct, which the natives assert to have been built many years ago by the Moors ; but from its style, and striking marks of antiquity, it bears more the resemblance of a piece of Roman architecture. Its walls, which are remarkably thick and high, extend in length for about half a mile, and have three stupendous arch-ways opening to the road, through one of which we passed on our way to Sallee. Although time has laid its destructive hand in some degree on this ancient piece of architecture, yet it still serves the purpose of supplying the town of Sallee with excellent water.

## CHAP. III.

*From Sallee to Mogodore.*

THE name of Sallee is famous in history, and has decorated many a well-told tale. Those piratical vessels which were fitted out from this port, and which were known by the name of Sallee rovers, were long the terror of the mercantile world. Equally dreaded for their valour and their cruelty, the adventurers who navigated these swift and formidable vessels, depopulated the ocean, and even dared sometimes to extend their devastations to the Christian coasts. As plunder was their sole aim, in the acquisition of it nothing impeded their career. Human life was of no value in their estimation, or if it was sometimes spared, it was not through any sentiment of justice or compassion, but only that it might be protracted in the most wretched of situations, as the hopeless slave to the luxury and caprice of a fellow mortal. The town of Sallee, in its present state, though large, presents nothing worthy the observation of the traveller, except a battery of twenty-four pieces of cannon fronting the sea, and a redoubt at the entrance of the river, which is here about a quarter of a mile broad, and which penetrates several miles into the interior of the country.

On the side opposite to Sallee is situated the town of Rabat, which formerly partook equally with Sallee in its piratical depredations, and was generally confounded with it. While Sallee and Rabat were thus formidable, they were what might be termed independent states, paying only a very small tribute to the emperor, and barely acknowledging him for their sovereign. This state of independence undoubtedly gave uncommon vigour to their piratical exertions. Few will take much pains, or encounter great risks for the acquisition of wealth, without the certainty of enjoying it unmolested. Sidi Mahomet, however, previous to his accession, subdued these towns, and annexed them to the empire. This was a mortal blow to their piracies; for when those desperate mariners felt the uncertainty of possessing any length of time their captures, they no longer became solicitous to acquire them; and at length, when the man who had deprived them of their privileges became emperor, he put a total stop to their depredations, by declaring himself at peace with all Europe. Since that period, the entrance of the river has been so gradually filling up with sand washed in by the sea, that were it possible for these people to recover their independence, it would incapacitate them for carrying on their piracies to their former extent.\*

\* In perusing the manuscripts of a gentleman lately deceased, who formerly resided a number of years in this empire, it appears that Sallee was, so far back as the year 1648,

Having a letter of recommendation to Mr. de Rocher, the French consul-general, I was ferried over to Rabat, where he resides, and met with a very polite reception. Upon landing my baggage, a warm dispute arose between the muleteer and my interpreter, concerning the method of packing it on the mules again, for the purpose of

eminent for its piracies and independence, and that it became an object of conquest to the monarch of that time. He expresses himself in these words:—

“ Sallee is a city in the province of Fez, and derives its name from the river Sala, on which it is situated, near its influx into the Atlantic Ocean. It was a place of good commerce, till addicting itself entirely to piracy, and revolting from its allegiance to its sovereign Muley Zidan, that prince, in the year 1648, dispatched an embassy to King Charles the First of England, requesting him to send a squadron of men of war to lie before the town, while he attacked it by land. This request being consented to, the city was soon reduced, the fortifications demolished, and the leaders of the rebellion put to death. The year following, the emperor sent another ambassador to England, with a present of Barbary horses and three hundred Christian slaves, accompanied with the following letter.”

[I insert it as a specimen of the loftiness of the Moorish style, and because it leads me to think, that Muley Zidan was a more enlightened prince than most of his predecessors. Neither the address, signature, nor reception it met with at our court, is expressed in the manuscript. It appears to be a modern translation.]

“ THE KING of MOROCCO'S Letter to KING CHARLES the First of ENGLAND, 1649. MULEY ZIDAN.

“ WHEN these our letters shall be so happy as to come to your Majesty's sight, I wish the spirit of the righteous God may so direct your mind, that you may joyfully embrace the

carrying it to the consul's house. Both parties appeared so strenuous in their cause, that neither of them paid any attention to my interference ; and it was at length carried to such excess, that the muleteer struck my interpreter. Upon seeing this, I could no longer remain a silent spectator, and I have reason to fear my warmth was almost as intemperate as that of the disputants. The

message I send. The regal power allotted to us, makes us common servants to our Creator, then of those people whom we govern ; so observing the duties we owe to God, we deliver blessings to the world in providing for the public good of our estates ; we magnify the honour of God, like the celestial bodies, which, though they have much veneration, yet serve only to the benefit of the world. It is the excellency of our office to be instruments, whereby happiness is delivered unto the nations. Pardon me, Sir ! This is not to instruct, for I know I speak to one of a more clear and quick sight than myself ; but I speak this, because God hath pleased to grant me a happy victory over some part of those rebellious pirates, that so long have molested the peaceable trade of Europe ; and hath presented further occasion to root out the generation of those, who have been so pernicious to the good of our nations : I mean, since it hath pleased God to be so auspicious in our beginnings, in the conquest of Sallee, that we might join and proceed in hope of like success in the war of Tunis, Algiers, and other places, dens and receptacles for the inhuman villainies of those who abhor rule and government. Herein while we interrupt the corruption of malignant spirits of the world, we shall glorify the great God, and perform a duty that will shine as glorious as the sun and moon, which all the earth may see and reverence : a work that shall ascend as sweet as the perfume of the most precious odours, in the nostrils of the Lord : a work whose memory shall be revered so long as their shall be any remaining among men : a work grateful and happy to men who

blow was given in so brutal a manner, that I could with difficulty refrain myself from immediately returning it. It was fortunate, however, that I still possessed sufficient coolness to reflect on the impropriety of such a proceeding, and I directed one of my Moorish soldiers to punish the muleteer. By means of long leather straps which he always carried about him, my Negro

love and honour the piety and virtue of noble minds. This action I here willingly present to you, whose piety and virtues equal the greatness of your power; that we, who are vicegerents to the great and mighty God, may hand in hand triumph in the glory which the action presents unto us.—Now, because the islands which you govern, have been ever famous for the unconquered strength of their shipping, I have sent this my trusty servant and ambassador, to know whether, in your princely wisdom, you shall think fit to assist me with such forces by sea, as shall be answerable to those I provide by land; which if you please to grant, I doubt not but the Lord of Hosts will protect and assist those that fight in so glorious a cause. Nor ought you to think this strange, that I, who so much revered the peace and accord of nations, should exhort to war. Your great prophet, Christ Jesus, was the lion of the tribe of Judah, as well as the lord and giver of peace; which may signify unto you, that he who is a lover and maintainer of peace, must always appear with the terror of his sword, and, wading through seas of blood, must arrive at tranquillity. This made James your father, of glorious memory, so happily renowned among nations.—It was the noble fame of your princely virtues, which resounds to the utmost corners of the earth, that persuaded me to invite you to partake of that blessing, wherein I boast myself most happy. I wish God may heap the riches of his blessings on you, increase your happiness with your days, and hereafter perpetuate the greatness of your name in all ages.”



deputy performed his part so well on the back of the delinquent, that he was soon glad to fall on his knees, and intreat a pardon both from myself and the interpreter. I was more desirous of punishing this insult for the sake of establishing my authority and consequence with the soldiers, than from an intention of revenging the cause of the Jew, for I could not find out which of the disputants was in the wrong ; but as my attendants had on two or three former occasions shewn a disposition to be troublesome, and as so glaring an indignity was offered to the person who looked up to me for protection, I was determined to avail myself of this opportunity of convincing them that it was their duty to pay me every attention.

Mr. de Rocher, who resides in an excellent house built at the expence of his court, and who is the only European in the place, has happily blended original English hospitality with that easy politeness which characterises his own nation. He gave me so pressing an invitation to spend another day with him, that though anxious to make an end of my journey, I could not resist his urgent solicitations.

The town of Rabat, whose walls enclose a large space of ground, is defended on the sea-side by three forts tolerably well finished, which were erected some time ago by an English renegado, and furnished with ordnance from Gibraltar. The houses in general are good, and many of the inhabitants are wealthy. The Jews, who are very numerous in this place, are generally in better

circumstances than those of Larache or Tangier, and their women are by far more beautiful than at any other town which I saw in this empire. I was introduced to one family in particular, where, out of eight sisters, nature had been so lavish on them all, that I felt myself at a loss to determine which was the most handsome. A combination of regular features, clearness of complexion, and expressive black eyes, gave them a distinguished pre-eminence over their nation in general; and their persons, though not improved by the advantages which the European ladies derive from dress, were still replete with grace and elegance.

The castle, which is very extensive, contains a strong building, formerly used by Sidi Mahomet as his principal treasury, and a noble terrace, which commands an extensive prospect of the town of Sallee, the ocean, and all the neighbouring country. There are also the ruins of another castle, which is said to have been built by Jacob Almonzor, one of their former emperors, and of which at present very little remains but its walls, containing within them some strong magazines for powder and naval stores. On the outside of these walls is a very high and square tower, handsomely built of cut stone, and called the tower of Hassen. From its workmanship, contrasted with the other buildings, an accurate idea may be formed how greatly the Moors have degenerated from their former splendour and taste for architecture.

In the evening the consul introduced me to Sidi Mahomet Effendi, the emperor's prime minister, who was at Rabat, on his way to Tangier. I found him a well-bred man, and he received me very graciously. After some conversation on the purpose of my journey, he desired I would feel his pulse, and acquaint him whether or not he was in health. Upon assuring him that he was perfectly well, he expressed in strong terms the obligation I had conferred upon him by such agreeable information; and having wished me success in my journey and enterprize, we mutually took our leave.

I availed myself of my delay at Rabat to get my lame mule changed, and directed my Negro soldiers to arrange our affairs in such a manner that we might leave the place early the next morning. Mr. de Rocher, in addition to the kindness I had already experienced, ordered a quantity of bread, which at this place is remarkably good, to be packed up for my use, as well as a proportionable share of cold meat, and as much wine as we could conveniently carry with us. This seasonable supply lasted me three days, and gave me time to recover in some degree my former relish for fowls and eggs. Though I must acknowledge that the attention and comforts which I experienced during my short stay at Rabat proved a great relief, after the inconveniences I had undergone in travelling thither; yet on the whole, I perhaps suffered more from the

idea of having similar inconveniences to those I had already experienced still to encounter, without a prospect of a similar alleviation ; than if I had continued the whole journey in an uninterrupted state. The consideration that I was to pass day after day through a country where there is little to amuse the eye ; that I had no companion with whom I could converse, or to whom I could communicate my sentiments ; and that I had to travel the whole day at the tedious pace of three miles an hour, and at a season of the year when the coldness of the mornings and evenings was but an indifferent preparation for the heats which succeeded in the middle of the day, altogether pressed so strongly upon my mind, that I must confess I could not help experiencing a considerable dejection of spirits at the idea of leaving Rabat.\*

\* The Abbe Poiret's remarks on travelling in Barbary are so apposite and so just, that I trust I shall be excused for introducing a quotation from that author.—In one of his letters he says, “ I have never known so well how to appreciate the advantages of living in a polished nation, as since I have resided among a barbarous people. Never has the convenience of our highways struck me so much, as when I have been obliged to travel through thick woods and deep marshes.—How much would a peregrination of eight days, in the manner I have travelled for some time past, change the ideas of those delicate Europeans, who are continually complaining of bad inns, and of the fatigues they endure in their journeys ! In this country there are neither inns, post-chaises, nor obliging and attentive landlords. One must not expect to find here broad highways, beaten and shady paths, or places for reposing

In consequence of the indolence of my attendants, my baggage was not completely packed up on the 8th till between ten and eleven in the morning, when I left the hospitable roof of Mr. de Rocher, and proceeded on my journey for Dar Beyda, the next town which offered itself on my way to Mogodore.

and refreshing one's-self; too happy, if, at the end of a fatiguing journey, one can meet with a small hut, or a wretched couch! But this is seldom to be expected."

Again, in another letter, "How often must you depart in the morning, without knowing where you will arrive in the evening! How often, losing yourself in these deserts, must you search out your way amidst thorny brakes, thick forests, and steep rocks; sometimes stopped by a river which you must wade through, by a lake which you must walk round, or by a marsh which you cannot cross without danger! sometimes scorched by the sun, or drenched by the rain, and at others dying with thirst, without being able to find the smallest spring to quench it! If you carry no provisions with you, it will be impossible for you to take any refreshment before night. This is the only time at which the Moors make a regular repast, or can offer any food to a stranger. But when night arrives, that period of repose for the traveller in Europe, it is not so for the African traveller. He must then choose out a dry situation, and well sheltered, to erect his tent; he must unsaddle his horses, unload his mules, cut wood, light fires, and take every precaution that prudence dictates, to defend himself against ferocious animals and robbers. It is safest to encamp not far from the tents of the Arabs, when one can find them. They furnish many succours when they are tractable, and they are always so when they see one with a sufficient guard."—See a translation of the Abbe Poiret's travels through Barbary, Letter the 8th.

With all the inconveniences which I had hitherto experienced, I had reason to think myself very fortunate in having such fine weather; for this was the season when the heavy rains usually come on, and when a shower of half an hour's continuance would wet more than the rain of a whole day in England. Dry weather had accompanied us the whole of the road from Tangier to Rabat, and the heat from the hours of eleven to three was violent; but, as I have just before observed, previous to, and after those hours, the air was uncommonly cool. As an alleviation to the great heat, we found the water-melons and pomegranates between Rabat and Mogodore of a most delicious flavour, and of particular use in allaying the excessive thirst, and removing the fatigue we experienced from the journey. These fruits grow common in the open ground, and we only paid two blanquils, or three-pence English, a-piece for water-melons, which were sufficiently large to serve half a dozen people. I could not help observing how provident Nature had been, in thus furnishing fruits so well adapted to the climate. Indeed, many of the poor in this country have scarcely any other provisions than fruit and bread.

At the time of our departure, the appearance of the atmosphere promised us a continuance of the same fine weather we had hitherto experienced; and it continued so till we had passed three small streams, which the Moors name the *Hitcumb*, *Sherrat*, and *Bornica*: these, after

the heavy rains have fallen, swell out into deep and rapid rivers, and are frequently rendered totally impassable, except in boats or on rafts. About five in the evening, however, very heavy and black clouds began to assemble, and shortly after followed a most severe storm: it was a dreadful union of wind, hail, rain, thunder, and lightning. From darkness approaching fast upon us, we became very anxious to find out a place of safety where we might pitch our tent, and for that purpose spurred our beasts; but no excitement from the spur or whip could induce them to face the storm, and we were obliged to wait a full hour in a state of inactivity, till its violence was over. We then pushed on till we arrived at a couple of Arab tents, pitched in an open country: bad as this situation was, we however rejoiced in being able to fix our tent for the night, even in this unsociable spot.

On the 9th of October, it having rained the whole night, we were detained till between ten and eleven in the morning in airing the tent, which, from being saturated with wet, had become too heavy for the mules to carry with the other baggage; when dry, we pursued our journey, and at 12 arrived at the ruins of Mensooria. There was formerly a castle on this spot, which, from the extent of its walls, and a square tower, that together form the whole of the ruins, appears to have been a very large building. My soldiers informed me, that it had been the residence of a prince who, from being in opposition

to his sovereign, was obliged to desert it. The building was afterwards destroyed, and the intermediate ground is now inhabited by a few Negroes, living in small huts. who were banished thither for having on some occasion incurred the displeasure of the emperor. In an arbitrary country, where the possession of the throne depends more on the will of the soldiers, than on the right of succession, the despot considers that castles may prove rather places of security to his opponents, than of any great utility to himself; he therefore either suffers them to decay, or destroys them entirely, according to the dictates of his caprice. Indeed every town through which I passed in the empire affords striking marks of the truth of this assertion.

Soon after our leaving Mensooria, we came up to Fadala, having forded in our way the river Infefic. Fadala, whilst its ruins exist, will be a lasting monument of Sidi Mahomet's caprice. It consists of the shell of a town, began by him in the early part of his reign, but never finished; it is enclosed within a square wall, and is furnished with a mosque, which is the only building completed; the inhabitants, like those of Mensooria, living in huts in the intermediate ground. To the right of Fadala, we observed a small but apparently neat palace, which my attendants informed me was built by the late emperor for his occasional use, when business led him to travel that way. The remainder of our journey to Dar Bèyda, where we arrived about six in the evening,



afforded nothing remarkable, excepting that we passed over a double bridge, which is the only piece of architecture of the kind that I saw in the country: it is the work of Sidi Mahomet, and is built of stone. The country between Rabat and Dar Beyda, a distance of about forty-four miles, is one continuation of barrenness and rock.

Dar Beyda is a small sea-port of very little importance; it possesses, however, a bay which admits vessels of pretty considerable burthen to anchor in it with tolerable safety, except when the wind blows hard at north-west, and then they are liable to be driven on shore. Upon my arrival, I was immediately introduced to the governor, who was then in the audience-chamber, attending to the complaints of the inhabitants. After offering me his services, and begging my acceptance of a few fowls, he soon left us in possession of the room, where we slept that night.

On the 10th of October we departed for Azamore, about fifty-six miles distant, between seven and eight in the morning; and after a journey of two days, came up to the Morbeya, at the mouth and southern side of which, is situated Azamore. The river is so wide and deep here, that it is necessary to be ferried over, and a large boat is continually employed for that purpose. We had no sooner got all our baggage, our mules, and ourselves into the boat, and were ready to row off, than a most violent dispute arose between my Negro soldiers and the ferry-men. As it was no new circumstance to me to be a witness to these

altercations, I remained very quietly in the boat till I observed one of the ferry-men was putting every thing on shore again, whilst another was collaring one of the soldiers. In fact, matters were proceeding to such extremities, that I thought it was full time to interfere. Upon enquiry, I was informed that the proprietor of the ferry farmed the river from the emperor, and that in consequence of it he was allowed all the perquisites of the ferry; that my soldiers insisted that as I was in the emperor's service, it was the duty of the people to ferry me, my baggage, &c. over the river, without receiving any reward for their trouble. Which of the two were in the right I could not pretend to determine; but I was very glad to end the dispute, by paying the usual demand. After a few curses on both sides, the baggage and mules were replaced in the boat, and we were ferried over to Azamore.

In a country where arts and sciences are totally neglected, and where the hand of despotism has destroyed public spirit, and depressed all private exertion, it is obvious that considerable tracts must occur which are productive of nothing deserving of notice. This was precisely the case in my journey from Dar Beyda to Azamore, which presented to our view one continued chain of rocks and barrenness, unpleasant and fatiguing roads, without any one object to vary the scene, or to interest curiosity.

Azamore is a sea-port town on the Atlantic Ocean, situated at the mouth of the Morbeya;

and though a large place, is neither ornamented with public buildings, nor has any thing remarkable in its history or situation. In compliance with the particular request of one of my soldiers, whose near relations reside at Azamore, I continued here the remainder of the day, and was lodged in a room of a Moorish house, which was secluded from the family. Soon after my arrival I was visited by a Jew in European dress, who had formerly lived with one of the English consuls, and who spoke the English language with tolerable fluency. He took me to his house, and there received me with great hospitality, insisting on my dining with him, and making use of his house as my own. After dinner, he shewed me the different parts of the town; and in the course of our conversation, requested me to be particularly cautious how I conducted myself with the prince whom I was going to attend; observing, that the Moors were extremely fickle, and their conduct governed merely by the caprice of the moment. To enforce this caution, he related to me a story, from which I learned that an European surgeon had, at some former period, attended a prince of Morocco, who, neglecting his advice when under his care, his malady had increased; that this circumstance so alarmed the prince, that he sent for the surgeon, and upon his appearance produced a pistol. The unfortunate man, alarmed and distressed by such unworthy treatment, hastily withdrew, and in a short time put an end to his existence.

On the 13th of October, having taken leave of my Jewish acquaintance, and my soldiers of their friends, we set off at eight in the morning for the town of Saffi, where we arrived on the evening of the 13th, after a journey of about fifty-seven miles. The country we passed through was rocky and barren, producing scarcely a tree, or indeed any verdure whatever.

Soon after leaving Azamore, the town of Mazagan presented itself to our view to the right. This place was taken a few years since by Sidi Mahomet from the Portuguese; a conquest of which his Moorish majesty made a very pompous boast, though it is well known that the Portuguese, from the great inconvenience and expence of keeping up the garrison, without deriving any material advantage from it, had come to a resolution to evacuate it before the emperor's attack, and for that purpose had actually began to embark their goods and property. As, however, the emperor was determined to exhibit some specimen of his military prowess and address, this circumstance did not deter him from commencing a regular siege. A magazine for military stores (which may be seen from the road) was raised with the utmost expedition, and the attack was carried on with all the vigour and ability which his Moorish majesty was capable of exerting. The Portuguese defended the town no longer than was necessary to allow time to carry away their effects and valuables; it was then surrendered, or more properly, abandoned, to the Moors.

On the day of our arrival at Saffi, we passed by the ruins of a town, which was once large and considerable; it was built by the emperor Muley Ocom Monsor, and now receives the name of Dyn Medina Rabæa; its only remains at present, are remarkably thick and extensive walls, which inclose gardens and huts, inhabited by disbanded Negro soldiers.

Saffi is a sea-port town, situated at the bottom of a steep and high mountain. It is a small place, and is only remarkable for a neat palace, which is the occasional residence of the emperor's sons, and a fort at a little distance to the north of the town; its vicinity is a mixture of mountains and woods, which gives it a wild and truly romantic appearance. Saffi carried on a considerable commerce with Europe, before Sidi Mahomet obliged the European merchants to reside at Mogodore; it affords a safe road for shipping, except when the wind blows hard at west, and then they are subject to be driven on shore. During my residence in this town, I took up my quarters at a Jewish house, and was visited by two Moors who had been in London, and could speak a little of the English language. Among other marks of attention, they contrived to procure, unknown to me, a chair and a small table, articles which I had not seen since I left Tangier, except at the French consul's house, as the Moors never make use of either.

At eight in the morning of the 16th, we set off for Mogodore, a journey of about sixty miles,

which we performed in two days. Soon after leaving Saffi, we passed over a very high and dangerous mountain ; the rocky, steep, and rugged path, which was only broad enough to allow one mule to pass at a time, and the perpendicular precipice which hung over the sea, filled our minds with a sense of terror and awe, which no pen can describe ; our mules, however, accustomed to this mode of travelling, carried us with the most perfect safety over parts where, with European horses, we should probably have been dashed to pieces. From this mountain we in a short time entered a forest of dwarf oaks, which is about six miles in length, and the southern extremity of which reaches the Tansif. This is a very broad river, which after the heavy rains have fallen, or when swelled by the tide, is always passed upon rafts ; those difficulties not presenting themselves to us now, we forded the river with great ease, and on approaching its southern side, observed in the midst of a thick forest, a large square castle, which my soldiers informed me was built by Muley Ishmael, who is immortalized by the pen of Mr. Addison, in one of the numbers of the Freeholder. Sidi Mahomet neglected it, and it is now falling to ruin. The breadth and windings of the Tansif, its high and woody banks, and the castle just discoverable among the trees, afforded altogether a scene, that was highly romantic and picturesque, though rendered somewhat gloomy, by the sombre appearance of the castle.

The directions which I had received from Mr. Matra were, to continue at Mogodore, till the return of a messenger, who was to be dispatched thence to Tarndant, informing the prince of my arrival. The very hospitable treatment I experienced from Mr. Hutchison, British vice-consul at Mogodore, during my stay at his house, with the sympathising letters and friendly advice with which he afterwards favoured me, whilst under the many embarrassments and inconveniences which I underwent at Morocco, have made the most forcible impression on my memory; and I should feel utterly dissatisfied with myself, if I omitted thus publicly to acknowledge my gratitude to that gentleman.

Before I proceed to describe Mogodore, it may not be improper to take a short review of the general appearance of the country through which I passed in my way from Tangier.

The first part of the way as far as Larache, presented to us, as I before observed, a rocky, mountainous, and barren country, and, if we except the forest of Rabe a Clow, but few trees or shrubs. From Larache to Sallee the eye was agreeably relieved by the variety of objects which offered themselves to its view. The evenness of the ground, the numerous lakes, and the verdure which surrounded them, indicated fully the fertility of the soil; and these, joined to the intersected clumps of trees, would lead the contemplative mind to conceive, that Nature had intended this spot for the residence of a more civilized

people, than its present inhabitants. From Sal-lee to Mogodore, and thence to Santa Cruz, we again meet with the barren, mountainous, and rocky country, which presented itself at the first part of the journey.

Though I occasionally observed forests of small trees, such as the arga, the dwarf oak, the palm-tree, &c. yet the country produces no useful timber whatever; the Moors are therefore obliged to import that article from Europe; and it may be on this account, that the emperor possesses so few vessels, and is obliged to send those to be repaired in foreign ports. As vegetation does not take place in this climate till some time after the heavy rains have fallen, I had not an opportunity of observing during the journey what plants were peculiar to the country. The variety of scenery which distinguishes the improved countries of Europe, and particularly that of England, probably arises as much from the land being distributed into enclosures, as from local situation. This advantage the empire of Morocco does not enjoy; since, excepting in the immediate vicinity of towns, no divisions of land are to be observed; the Arabs indiscriminately choosing pieces of ground, without fences, for the purposes of agriculture, which, as I before noticed, they change as occasion requires. The sameness which arises from this circumstance, is in some degree lessened by the numerous sanctuaries that are diffused over the whole country: but otherwise these



chapels prove troublesome to an European traveller, since the Moors, upon passing them, always stop a considerable time to pay their devotions to the remains of the saints who are buried there. There is likewise a custom in this country, which is also prevalent in Portugal, of consecrating the spot on which any person has been murdered, by heaping a large proportion of stones on the place, where it is usual for those who pass that way to add another stone to the number, and to recite a short prayer adapted to the occasion.

All the towns through which I passed in my way hither, were surrounded with high walls of Tabby, flanked with square forts, generally without any artillery, and commanded by castles, which usually were situated upon the most eminent spot in the vicinity; though from their ruinous state, the greater part of them seemed ill calculated for the purposes either of defence or attack. The houses, from having no windows, and but very few doors, had more the appearance of dead walls than inhabited places; and their streets were universally narrow, filthy to a degree, irregular, and badly paved. With all these inconveniences, the inhabitants enjoy an advantage of which many of the more civilized capitals of Europe cannot boast—I mean that of a good police. The streets are so well watched at night, that robberies or even house-breaking are but seldom heard of; and the general quietness which reigns throughout their towns after the gates are

shut, is a convincing proof of the attention of their patrols to their duty. Their detection, and speedy bringing to justice of criminals, likewise deserves our attention. From having no public-houses or other places to harbour thieves, and from no person being permitted to quit the country without leave, it is utterly impossible for a culprit to escape the hand of justice, except by taking refuge in a sanctuary, by which he banishes himself for ever from society; on the other hand, the vigilance of the governors and other officers of justice is so great, and conducted with so much address, that unless the means of safety which his religion points out be quickly adopted, the criminal in a very short time is detected, and as quickly punished.

According to the opinion of some travellers, much danger is to be apprehended in traversing this country, from the attacks of wild beasts: but it is only justice to observe, that during the whole of my progress to Mogodore, and indeed I may add afterwards in passing over the Atlas Mountains, I met with no obstruction or molestation whatever, from these animals; and I was also informed, that a circumstance of the kind was very rarely known to have happend. The fact is, the wild animals confine themselves principally to the interior parts of the country, and to those retreats in the mountains, that are beyond the track of men.

Mogodore, so named by Europeans, and Suera by the Moors, is a large, uniform, and well-built

town, situated about three hundred and fifty miles from Tangier, on the Atlantic Ocean, and surrounded on the land side by deep and heavy sands. It was raised under the auspices of Sidi Mahomet, who, upon his accession to the throne, ordered all the European merchants who were settled in his dominions to reside at Mogodore, where, by lowering the duties, he promised to afford every encouragement to commerce. The Europeans, thus obliged to desert their former establishments, considering this first step of the emperor to be a mark of his attachment to trade and commerce, and having long resided in the country without any better views at home, universally settled at Mogodore, where they erected houses, and other conveniences for the purposes of trade. The hopes, however, with which they had changed their situation, were considerably frustrated by the perfidy of the emperor, who indeed fulfilled his promise, till he observed the merchants were so fixed, as not to be likely to remove; he then began to increase the duties, and by that means to damp the spirit of commerce which he had promised to promote. His caprice, however, or, what had still more influence, valuable presents, induced him at times to relax these severities. In consequence of this circumstance, the duties have been so frequently varied, that it is utterly impossible for me to state, with any degree of precision, the usual burthens laid upon articles of commerce in this port.

The factory of Mogodore consists of about ten or twelve mercantile houses of different nations, whose owners, from the protection granted them by the emperor, live in full security from the Moors, and keep them at a rigid distance. They export to America, mules ;\* to Europe, Morocco leather, hides, gum arabic, gum sandaric, ostrich feathers, copper, wax, wool, elephants' teeth, fine mats, beautiful carpeting, dates, figs, raisins, olives, almonds, oil, &c. In return, they import timber, artillery of all kinds, gun-powder, woollen cloths, linens, lead, iron in bars, all kinds of hardware and trinkets, such as looking-glasses, snuff-boxes, watches, small knives, &c. tea, sugar, spices, and most of the useful articles which are not otherwise to be procured in this empire. Besides the commerce carried on between this empire and Europe, the Moors have also a trade with Guinea, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Grand Cairo, and Mecca, by means of their caravans, of which hereafter I shall have occasion to speak more particularly.

Mogodore is regularly fortified on the sea side ; and on the land, batteries are so placed as to prevent any incursion from the Southern Arabs, who are of a turbulent disposition, and who,

\* Since the accession of the present emperor, Muley Solyman, the exportation of mules, excepting under very peculiar circumstances, has been prohibited, and many other arrangements have been made, not very favourable to foreign commerce.

from the great wealth which is known to be always in Mogodore, would gladly avail themselves of any opportunity that offered to pillage the town. The entrance, both by sea and land, consists of elegant stone arch-ways, with double gates ; the market-place is handsomely built, with piazzas of the same materials, and at the water port there is a custom-house and powder magazine, both of which are neat stone buildings. Beside these public edifices, the emperor has a small but handsome palace for his occasional residence. The streets of the town, though very narrow, are all in straight lines, and the houses, contrary to what we meet with in the other towns of the empire, are lofty and regular ; the bay, which is little better than a road, and is very much exposed when the wind is at north-west, is formed by a curve in the land, and a small island about a quarter of a mile from the shore ; its entrance is defended by a fort well mounted with guns.

## CHAP. IV.

*Journey from Mogodore to Tarudant.—Introduction to Prince Muley Absulem.*

I HAD not rested from the fatigues of my journey above six days at Mogodore, before a new scene was opened, by the return of the messenger from Tarudant, with orders for my immediate attendance on my royal patient. In addition to my former party, I was allowed by the governor three Negro foot-soldiers, armed with muskets and sabres, an elegant tent, and a Jewish interpreter, who was perfect master of both the Arabic and English languages, and from whom in the end I derived the most useful services; the Jew who had been pressed in so singular a manner into my service at Tangier was immediately, and doubtless much to his own satisfaction, sent home. We performed a journey of seventy-six miles, from Mogodore to Santa Cruz, in about three days, which from the former part of this Narrative the reader will perceive, is not remarkably slow travelling in Morocco, however singular such a progress would appear on the level turnpikes of England. Our journey, which was on the sea coast, presented to our view one

continued expanse of wild, mountainous, and rocky country, and we had consequently very bad roads; our progress indeed could be compared to nothing but the continual ascending and descending of a series of rough and uneven stone steps. At one place in particular the descent was so steep, and the road so choaked up with large pieces of stone, that we were all obliged to dismount, and walk a full mile and a half with the utmost caution and difficulty, before we could mount again.

Santa Cruz is a small sea-port town, opening to the Atlantic Ocean to the south of Cape de Geer, and is situated upon the declivity of a high and steep hill forming the western termination of that chain of mountains, which nearly divides the emperor's dominions into two parts, so well known by the name of the Atlas. It formerly belonged to the Portuguese, and till the accession of Sidi Mahomet, was the principal place whence Europeans were allowed to trade. Although at present it consists of only a few houses which are hourly mouldering to decay, yet, from the greater convenience and security of the port than that of Mogodore, and from its vicinity to the southern provinces, it still appears to be that part of the empire which is best adapted to all the purposes of commerce.\*

\* As Santa Cruz, before the reign of Sidi Mahomet, was, and is still capable of being made of great commercial importance to Europe; and as its origin will afford some idea how the

On the 26th of October we departed for Tarudant, my point of destination, distant forty-four miles from Santa Cruz, where in two days we

the Portuguese came to settle upon this coast ; I must trespass upon the reader's patience, while I relate, from an eminent Spanish author, in what manner it was first raised ; as well as its subsequent state while possessed by the Moors, in the year 1737, from the manuscript of an English gentleman, who was resident in the country at that period.

“ Agader Aguer, which the Europeans call Santa Cruz, is a town of modern fabric ; nor can I any where find that the spot of ground on which it stands was ever actually inhabited, till the beginning of the sixteenth century. Then, or very soon before, in the reign of Don Manuel, king of Portugal, a certain Portuguese adventurer undertook to settle there, on account of the quantity of excellent fish with which its bay abounded ; and found means to build himself a timber fort or castle, which he garrisoned with his followers, naming his settlement Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross : his African neighbours calling it Dar al Rumi, or the Christian house.

“ Don Manuel, soon after foreseeing the great importance of this plaec to the navigation of those seas, and to his projected conquest of the western parts of Barbary, took it into his own hands, reimbursing the adventurer who had founded it, all his expenees, and making him other gratuities. Santa Cruz being thus annexed to the kingdom of Portugal, it was soon enlarged, fortified, and well inhabited ; and as this part of the world was at that time divided among several petty sovereigns, generally at variance with each other, it afforded the new colony, as well as many others upon the same coast, an opportunity of establishing a firm footing in the country, inducing a number of discontented Arabs and Moors, with a view of revenging themselves on their various adversaries, to swear allegiance to his Portuguese majesty.

“ The assistanee which was afforded by these people to the Christian garrisons, enabled them to make frequent incursions



arrived. Our journey to this place was immediately inland, being in the direction, and within half a day's ride to the south of the Atlas Moun-

a considerable way up the country, plundering and seizing upon a great number of the inhabitants, whom they sent over to Europe as slaves. At this period the Portuguese had established themselves so firmly on the African coast, that had not the family of the Sharifs started up, and the attention of these Christian adventurers been diverted to their new acquisitions in America, the greatest part of the country would in a short time have been completely depopulated, and the Portuguese would have established in it a permanent sovereignty.

“ These Sharifs, from whom the present royal family of Morocco are immediately descended, observing the variance between the people and their different sovereigns, and taking advantage of their credulity, pretended that they were lineally descended from Mahomet, and that they were sent by him to protect his followers from the oppression of their sovereigns.— They soon made converts to their standard, and in a short time established themselves in the sovereignty of all the southern parts of Barbary. In order to add importance to their government, and knowing that it would flatter the prejudices of their subjects, who had been so continually harassed by their Christian neighbours, they determined upon expelling the Portuguese from Santa Cruz, and if successful, to carry on their attacks against the other Christian garrisons upon the Barbary coast.

“ For this purpose, in the year 1536, an army of 50,000 men, horse and foot, was raised with all expedition, and put under the command of Muley Hamed al Hassan, who with this force completely invested the garrison. After many unsuccessful attacks on the part of the Moors, Santa Cruz at last owed its destruction to the negligence of one of its own people : who, carrying a lighted match into the powder-magazine, it unfortunately blew up, and by its concussion, made a large breach in the wall ; of which the Moors availing themselves,

tains. We enjoyed the whole way from Santa Cruz a fine level road, through a woody and uncultivated country.

they immediately recovered their spirits, and, headed by their commander, hastened in force up to the breach, before the astonished Portuguese had time to apply a proper remedy to this unforeseen accident. They now attacked their enemy with so much energy, and with such superior numbers, that they soon reduced the garrison, and put every person in it to the sword.

“Thus did Santa Cruz fall into the hands of the Moors, by whom it has ever since been possessed. The loss of this important place proved extremely injurious to the Portuguese navigation to Guinea and India, by affording a harbour to their European enemies, whose ships were accustomed to slip out from this port, and to plunder and take the Portuguese as they passed by; while they supplied those barbarians with powder, cannon, and other warlike stores, enabling the Moors by that means, in the course of time, to attack the other possessions of the Portuguese in Africa.”

My English author, who dates his manuscript in January 1737, gives the following account of Santa Cruz:—

“Santa Cruz is a city of Africa, in the kingdom of Suz, subject to the emperor of Fez and Moroco, situated in a temperate air, on a mountain distant about half a league from the sea, in the latitude of 30 deg. 35 min. north, seven leagues from Cape de Guerra, sixty from Moroco, one hundred and forty from Fez, and one hundred and fifty from Mequinez. It is in circumference about three quarters of a mile, of a square form, the four sides fronting the four quarters of the world. On the east, it has a spacious plain of sand; on the west, the sea: to the north, about the distance of a quarter of a mile, is a small village, containing about twenty inhabitants; and on the south is its entrance, opposite to the mount of Tylde.

“The town is encompassed with walls defended by seven

Upon my arrival at Tarudant, without being allowed time to dismount, I was immediately carried to the residence of the prince, situated

bastions, having artillery mounted on them which carry between four and six pound balls; there are also some sixteen and twenty-four pounders, but, owing to their not having proper persons to work them, those pieces of ordnance are suffered to lie on the ground, half buried, rendering them by that means entirely useless. The walls indeed are only of sufficient strength to resist an attack from their neighbouring enemies, the Arabs, who have no ordnance to oppose them with, but they could by no means withstand even a weak cannonade from a regular appointed artillery.

“Santa Cruz is a place of considerable trade, owing to the great quantities of copper which they procure from mines in the neighbourhood of Tafilet. It is also plentifully stored with various other merchandizes, such as wax procured from Heja Saxit and Moroeco, the best in the country, Moroeco leather, yellow leather of Tafilet, almonds, gum arabic, gum sandaric, ostrich feathers, elephants’ teeth, gold dust, and salt-petre, which is exported with some difficulty, owing to its being contraband. There are also other merchandizes of European manufacture, such as iron, leather from Buenos Ayres, musquets, swords, and all kinds of hardware, &c. as well as those of Asia and the eastern parts of Africa, brought thither by caravans. The people are for the most part of a tawny, sun-burnt complexion, spare and lean in body, but active, strong, and capable of undergoing any labour or hardship, pretty good economists, not much addicted to prodigality or vanity, and are dextrous and active in their trade and business.”

Such was the state of Santa Cruz before Sidi Mahomet ordered it to be evacuated by the European merchants; and it is impossible to read this account without being convinced that what I have advanced, with respect to its importance in a commercial view, is not beyond the truth.

about half a mile to the south of the town. At a short distance, the house, which is small, and was built by Muley Absulem, has a great appearance of neatness ; but that want of taste and convenience, which is universally the characteristic of the Moorish buildings, is presently discernable when it is narrowly inspected. It is composed of tabby, and is surrounded with a high square wall, which also encloses two tolerably neat gardens, planned by an European, and now under the care of a Spanish renegado. The apartments, which are all on the ground floor, are square and lofty, opening into courts, in the centre of each of which is a fountain. The first entrance is through a small arched door-way, which leads into a court-yard, where on one side are a few out-houses ; on the other, the space allotted for the horses of the prince ; as the climate is open and fine, there are few or no stables in this country, but the horses are kept out in the open yard, and held by pins fixed in the ground. There was not much of magnificence, it must be confessed, in this introduction, nor did any thing occur to counteract this unfavourable impression, previous to my admission into the apartment of the prince. The chamber into which I was first conducted, consisted of a small room with seats in the walls ; and there it is customary for all persons to wait till their names be announced. Here I observed a number of singular looking persons attending ; and as I was not much disposed to make one of their

company, in the place of sitting, I amused myself, as other Europeans do, with walking about the room. In this exercise, however, I was a solitary performer; for the Moors, whatever be their object, whether business, conversation, or amusement, are generally seated; and indeed so novel to them was my deportment in this respect, that they concluded I was either distracted in my intellect, or saying my prayers.

After being detained in this disagreeable situation for about an hour, orders were brought from the prince for my immediate introduction, with my interpreter. From the chamber where we had been waiting, we passed through a long and dark entry, which at its termination introduced us to a square court-yard, floored with coloured tiling, into which the prince's room opened by means of large folding doors; these were curiously painted of various colours, in the form of chequers. The immediate entrance to the room was neat: it was a very large arched door-way, curiously ornamented with chequered tiling, and forming a small porch, or anti-chamber; the room was lofty, square, and floored with chequered tiling, the walls stuccoed, and the ceiling painted of various colours. Much of the beauty of the room was lost for want of windows, a defect observable in most Moorish houses.

I found the prince sitting cross-legged, on a mattress covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor; this, with a narrow and long piece

of carpeting that fronted him, on which were seated his Moorish friends, was the only furniture in the room. Upon my first entrance, and delivering the consul's letter of introduction, which, according to the custom of the country, was presented in a silk handkerchief, I was addressed by the prince with the salutation, *Bono tibib, bono Anglaise*; which is a mixture of Arabic and Spanish, meaning, "You are a good doctor, the English are good;" and was ordered with my interpreter to sit down on the floor, between the prince and his visitors; when I was immediately interrogated by every one present, each having a question to put to me, and that of the most insignificant kind. The prince who expressed great pleasure at my arrival, wished to know whether I came voluntarily or not, and whether the English physicians were in high repute. To the first question I replied, that I was sent by order of the governor of Gibraltar; to the second, I felt it a duty which I owed to truth and to my country, to answer in the affirmative. He then desired me immediately to feel his pulse, and to examine his eyes, one of which was darkened by a cataract, and the other affected with a paralytic complaint; and requested me to inform him, whether I would undertake to cure him, and how soon? My answer was, that I wished to consider his case maturely before I gave my opinion; and that in a day or two I should be a better judge. One of his particular friends observed to him, from seeing me without a beard, for I had shaved in

the morning, that I was too young to be an able physician ; another remarked, that I had put powder in my hair on purpose to disguise my age ; and a third insisted that it was not my own hair : but what seemed to produce the greatest astonishment among them, was my dress, which, from its closeness, the Moorish dress being quite loose, they were certain must occasion pain, and be disagreeably warm.

The reader may be assured, that a part of this conversation was not very entertaining to me ; and indeed, after the great fatigue which I had undergone, I could well have dispensed with most of their interrogatories ; but instead of the dismissal and repose which I wished and expected, my patience was exhausted by the absurd curiosity of the whole court, who one after another intreated me to favour them with my opinion, and inform them of the state of their health, merely by feeling the pulse. Having acquitted myself to the best of my ability in this curious enquiry, the prince informed me that he had prepared for my reception a good house, whither he desired me to retire, and visit him the following morning early, when I was to examine his case more particularly.

The good house promised me by the prince, proved to be one miserable room in the Jewdry, that is, the part of the suburb inhabited by the Jews, situated about a quarter of a mile from the town. It was, however, in the habitation of the prince's principal Jew, and considered to be the

best in the place. This apartment, which was on the ground floor, was narrow and dirty, having no windows, but opening by means of large folding doors into a court, where three Jewish families, who all lived in the same house, threw the whole of their rubbish and dirt. I suppose my feelings might have been rendered more acute by the disappointment; for on being introduced into this wretched hovel, I was so struck with horror and disgust, that I was on the point of mounting my horse, for the purpose of asking the prince for another apartment; but upon being told it was the best in the town, and reflecting that I had voluntarily entered upon these difficulties, I determined to struggle through them as well as I could, and consented for the present to acquiesce in this indifferent fare. I took, however, the first opportunity of representing my disagreeable situation to the prince, who immediately gave orders for apartments to be fitted up for me in his garden; but from the slowness of the masons, they were not finished in time for me to occupy them before I left Tarudant. The prince's Jew had directions to supply me with every thing that was necessary, and to render my residence with him as comfortable, as the nature of things would admit; so that while at Tarudant, I had no reason whatever to complain of any inattention on the part of his highness.

As soon as my baggage was unpacked, the first thing which occurred to me was to endeavour, under these circumstances, to make the



most of my very indifferent accommodation. At one end of the room I placed my three folding stools, which I had used as a bed on the road, and screened it off as well as I could with mats, which I fixed across the room as a partition: one of my boxes was substituted for a table, and another for a chair, not being able to procure either of those articles in Tarudant; and at the other end, my interpreter placed his bedding on the floor, where he slept during the whole of our stay. Having furnished our room, our next object was to consider in what manner our cookery was to be performed; the whole of our kitchen furniture consisting only of one small iron sauce-pan, one pewter dish, two pewter plates, a horn to drink out of, and two knives and forks. As the Moors are many of them accustomed to the use of tea, we found no difficulty in procuring the requisite articles for breakfast. On the road the iron sauce-pan had served very well to boil our eggs and fowls, which, as I before observed, were the only food we could procure; but at Tarudant, we found ourselves in a land of plenty, without having it in our power to avail ourselves of such an advantage. However, after a few days inconvenience from this circumstance, I found out a Jew, who contrived to dress me a few hashes and stews, something in the Spanish style, with which fare I was obliged to be satisfied during my residence at Tarudant.

Two hours before my arrival, the whole of the English people who had been shipwrecked,

except the captain and a Negro, passed through the town on their way to the metropolis; they had been redeemed from the wild Arabs, by Muley Absulem, with an intent, I presume, of complying with his promise, but by the emperor's orders were sent up to Morocco.

Upon my visiting the prince the following day, and examining into his complaint, I found it to be of the most inveterate nature; but as I had travelled near five hundred miles to see him, I could not be satisfied to return back without attempting something. I therefore gave a formal opinion to the prince in writing, stating, that I could by no means absolutely undertake to cure him; that I could not even flatter him with very great hopes of success; but that if he chose to give my plan of treatment a trial for a couple of months, we could then judge whether the disease was likely to be removed. This plan was approved of, and he immediately began his course of medicines.

I have already intimated, that the prince had totally lost the use of one eye by a cataract; and I may add, that he had nearly lost that of the other by a paralytic affection, which threatened to end in a gutta serena,\* and which had drawn the eye so much towards the nose, as sometimes entirely to exclude the appearance of the pupil. The only remains of sight left, were merely sufficient to enable him to see large bodies, without

\* By this disease is to be understood, such a state of the nervous coat of the eye, as to render it insensible to the rays of light.

distinguishing any of them particularly. The spasm was the disease which I was ordered to cure. But these were by no means the limits of the prince's complaints: for, in truth, his whole frame was so enervated by a course of debauchery, that I found it necessary to put him under a strict regimen; to enforce the observance of which, I committed from time to time my directions to writing; these were translated into Arabic, and one copy delivered to the prince, and the other to his confidential friend, who undertook, at my request, to see them carried into execution.

As I administered internal as well as topical remedies, I made a point of giving them to my patient with my own hand. The prince made no difficulty of swallowing the medicine, however nauseous; but it was a long time before I could make him comprehend, how a medicine introduced into the stomach could afford any relief to the eye. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that I found him a more apt disciple than any of his attendants: many of them could not be made at all to understand the action of medicines, and of consequence were full of prejudices against my mode of treatment.

In a few days after my first attendance on the prince, one of his prejudiced friends persuaded his highness, that I had administered medicines to him, intended to produce a certain effect upon his constitution, of which I had never entertained so much as an idea, before it was mentioned to me. What this effect was I cannot with decency

explain ; suffice it to say, that these malignant insinuations had too powerful an effect on the mind of my patient, and he expressed himself to me upon the subject in terms which I could not hear without the most poignant indignation and uneasiness. I vindicated my conduct as well as I was able, under the disadvantages of an interpretation, by explaining to him how impossible it was for the medicines to produce the effect he suspected ; and how much more to my credit, as well as advantage, it would be to re-establish his health than to do him a prejudice ; that a professional man had a character, which when once lost was irrecoverable ; and that therefore I trusted he would reflect on my situation, and consider me in a more favourable light than his resentment at first had led him to suggest. The prince began now to retract his calumny, by saying, that he believed the medicines had produced an effect different from what I intended, but that it was the duty of a patient to inform his physician of every circumstance which related to his health. In short, after a variety of explanations, I at last brought him to consent to give my plan a few days longer trial, and if then there appeared any objections to the pursuing it, I would willingly consent to give it up entirely. Those days being elapsed, and none of the suspected effects appearing, the prince proceeded regularly in the course agreeably to my directions.

The intermediate time between my attendance on the prince, whom I visited twice a day, was

employed in reading a few books which I brought with me from Mogodore, making little excursions into the country, and visiting patients at Tarudant. Among the latter was the Cadi, or judge of the town. This I found to be a venerable old man, of about seventy years of age, whose beard was become perfectly white, and whose countenance, though doubtless altered by time, yet still retained a great expression of vivacity and sense, mixed with more apparent goodness of heart than any I had seen in the country ; he received me with the greatest respect, and expressed his gratitude for my visit in a manner that appeared strongly marked with sincerity ; he seemed fully aware that his complaint was merely a decay of nature, and only wished me to administer something to him which might palliate his most urgent symptoms. With a great share of feeling he expatiated on the inconveniences I must undergo, from being at so great a distance from my friends, and in a part of the world where the manners of the people were so different from what I had been accustomed to, expressing his wish at the same time to render me every service that a person in his situation could offer. Such an uncommon share of sensibility and reflection, from one whose countrymen are in general in a very small degree removed from a savage state, excited in me a warm desire of rendering my patient a service. Among the many questions he put to me, he asked what was customary for our judges in England to receive as a reward for their

services. Upon my informing him, the *cadi* was in perfect astonishment: "Good God!" he exclaimed, "the emperor allows me only fifty ducats (about twelve pounds sterling) a-year!"

I wish I could have it in my power to give as favourable an account of my other patients at Tarudant, as of this respectable old man. Most of them were insolent, ungrateful, and some of those who visited my habitation, proved notorious thieves. From my apartment being in the house of a Jew, none of whom dared to prevent a Moor from entering, I was from morning to night pestered with Arabs, mountaineers, and the worst description of town's-people, who were seldom satisfied with my advice, but insisted on my either giving them money, or something else equal in value: many I turned out of my room by force, while with difficulty they restrained their resentment at my conduct, and every moment threatened to draw their knives upon me; to others, who behaved a little better, I gave something to get rid of them; and to a third, who were real objects of distress, I with pleasure extended my utmost assistance. On the whole, my situation was such as to oblige me to complain of it to the prince, who afterwards allowed me a soldier to mount guard constantly at my door, with directions to permit no person to enter my room without my particular permission.

It was with the greatest pleasure that in about a fortnight after my first attendance on the prince, I observed an amendment in his complaint. His

eye now evinced a disposition to recover its former position ; at first he was able only to discern light from darkness, but he could now distinguish an apple at about ten yards distance. These flattering appearances entirely removed every prejudice which at first arose in the minds of the prince's attendants ; and his highness himself acknowledged that he had been too hasty in the opinion which he had formed of my mode of treatment. The confidence which this success occasioned, induced the prince to admit me into his harem,\* where there were several ladies who had occasion for my services.

Upon receiving the prince's orders, one of his friends was immediately dispatched with me to the gate which led to the female apartments, with directions to the alcaide† of the eunuchs, to admit myself and interpreter, whenever I thought it necessary.

The eunuchs, who have the entire charge of the women, and who in fact live always among them, are the children of Negro slaves : they are generally very short and fat ; or if tall, are deformed, and lame ; their voices have that particular tone which is observable in youths who are just arrived at manhood ; and their persons altogether afford a disgusting image of weakness and effeminacy. From the trust reposed in them by their masters,

\* I shall hereafter have an opportunity of giving a very particular account of the nature of these establishments.

† A title applied to military officers in general.

and the consequence which it gives them, the eunuchs exceed in insolence and pride every other class of people which I met with in the country. They displayed indeed so much of this conduct towards myself, that I was obliged, in my own defence, to complain of them once or twice, and to have them punished.

Attended by one of these people, after passing the gate of the harem, which is always locked, and under the care of a guard of eunuchs, we entered a narrow and dark passage, which soon brought us to the court, into which the women's chambers open. We here saw numbers of both black and white women and children: some concubines, some slaves, and others hired domestics. Upon their observing the unusual figure of an European, the whole multitude in a body surrounded me, and expressed the utmost astonishment at my dress and appearance: some stood motionless, with their hands lifted up, their eyes fixed, and their mouths open, in the usual attitude of wonder and surprise; some burst into immoderate fits of laughter; while others, again, came up, and, with uncommon attention, eyed me from head to foot. The parts of my dress which seemed most to attract their notice, were my buckles buttons, and stockings; for neither men nor women in this country wear any thing of the kind. With respect to the club of my hair, they seemed utterly at a loss in what view to consider it; but the powder which I wore, they conceived to be employed for the purpose of destroying vermin.



Most of the children, when they saw me, ran away in the most perfect consternation ; and on the whole I appeared as singular an animal, and I dare say had the honour of exciting as much curiosity and attention, as a lion or a man-tiger just imported from abroad, and introduced into a country town in England on a market-day. Every time I visited the harem, I was surrounded and laughed at by this curious mob, who, on my entering the gate, followed me close to the very chamber to which I was proceeding, and on my return universally escorted me out. The greatest part of the women were uncommonly fat and unwieldy ; had black and full eyes, round faces, with small noses : they were of different complexions—some very fair, some very sallow, and others again perfect Negroes.

One of my new patients being ready to receive me, I was desired to walk into her room ; where, to my great surprisc, I saw nothing but a curtain drawn quite across the apartment, similar to that of a theatre, which separates the stage from the audience. A female domestic brought a very low stool, placed it near the curtain, and told me I was to sit down there, and feel her mistress's pulse. The lady, who had by this time summoned up courage to speak, introduced her hand from the bottom of the curtain, and desired me to inform her of all her complaints, which she conceived I might perfectly understand by merely feeling the pulse. It was in vain to ask her

where her pain was seated, whether in her stomach, head, or back; the only answer I could procure, was a request to feel the pulse of the other hand, and then point out the seat of the disease, and the nature of the pain.

Having neither satisfied my curiosity by exhibiting her face, nor made me acquainted with the nature of her complaint, I was under the necessity of informing her in positive terms, that to understand the disease it was absolutely necessary to see the tongue, as well as to feel the pulse; and that without it I could do nothing for her. My eloquence, or rather that of my Jewish interpreter, was, however, for a long time exerted in vain; and I am persuaded she would have dismissed me without any further enquiry, had not her invention supplied her with a happy expedient to remove her embarrassment. She contrived at last to cut a hole through the curtain, through which she extruded her tongue, and thus complied with my injunction as far as it was necessary in a medical view, but most effectually disappointed my curiosity.

I was afterwards ordered to look at another of the prince's wives, who was affected with a scrophulous swelling in her neck. This lady was, in the same manner as the other, at first excluded from my sight; but as she was obliged to shew me her complaint, I had an opportunity of seeing her face, which I observed to be very handsome. I was informed that she had been at one period

the favourite of the prince, but owing to this defect he had in a great measure deserted her; and this circumstance accounts for the extreme anxiety which she seemed to express to get rid of this disagreeable disease.

As soon as I had examined her neck, she took off from her dress the whole of her gold trinkets, which were very numerous, and of considerable value, put them into my hand, and desired me to cure her; promising a still greater reward if I succeeded. Conscious of the uncertainty of rendering her any material service, I immediately returned the present, and assured her that she might depend on my giving all proper remedies a fair trial, but that I could not be answerable for their success. There is nothing more unpleasant than the inability of giving reasonable ground for hope, when it promises to be productive of so much happiness to a fellow-creature. It was with pain I observed that this poor lady, though somewhat cheered, was yet dissatisfied with my reply; she could not refrain from shewing evident marks of disappointment, and even displeasure, at my hesitation, by saying, she always understood that a Christian physician could cure every disease.

During the course of my attendance in the harem, I had an opportunity of seeing most of the prince's women, who, exclusive of the four wives allowed him by his religion, were about twenty in number, and who did not, like his wives, discover that invincible reluctance to the display of their

beauty. They at first proved very troublesome patients; for upon my not telling them all their complaints immediately upon feeling the pulse, they considered me an ignorant empiric, who knew nothing of my profession. Besides this, I found that each of them flattered themselves with almost an instantaneous cure. In short, after many fruitless efforts to teach those reason who had never made the smallest use of their understandings, I was at last obliged to adapt my deportment to the capacities of my patients, and soon acquired among them as much undeserved commendation as I had incurred unmerited reproach.

Most of the women in the harem were under thirty years of age, of a corpulent habit, and of a very awkward gait. Their knowledge of course, from having led a life of total exclusion from the world, was entirely confined to the occurrences in their harem; where, as they were allowed a free access to each other, they conversed upon those subjects which their limited means of information afforded. They are never suffered to go out, but by an express order from the prince; and then only when removing from one place of residence to another. I in general found them extremely ignorant, proud, and vain of their persons, even to a degree of childishness. Among many ridiculous questions, they asked my interpreter if I could read and write; upon being answered in the affirmative, they expressed the utmost surprise and admiration at the abilities of

the Christians. There was not one among them who could do either ; these rudiments of learning are indeed only the lot of a few of their men, who on that account are named *talbs*, or explainers of the Mahometan law.

Among the concubines of the prince, there were six female slaves of the age of fifteen, who were presented to him by a Moor of distinction. One of these was descended from an English renegado, another from a Spanish, and the other four were of Moorish extraction.

Where the more solid and useful accomplishments are least cultivated, a taste is often found to prevail for those which are purely ornamental and frivolous. These devoted victims of libidinous pleasure received a daily lesson of music, by order of the prince, from a Moor who had passed some little time in London and Italy, where he had acquired a slight knowledge of that science. I had an opportunity of being present at one of these performances, but cannot say I received much amusement, in a musical view, from my visit. It was a concert vocal and instrumental : the instruments used upon the occasion were the mandoline, a kind of violin with only two strings, and the tabor. The principal object in their performance seemed to be noise ; it was without the least attention to melody, variety, or taste, and was merely drawing out a wild and melancholy strain. Conversation, however, forms the principal entertainment in these gloomy retirements. When I visited the harem, I never found the

women engaged in any other employment than that of conversing on the ground in circles. In fact, as all their needle-work is performed by Jewesses, and their cookery, and the management of their chambers, by their slaves and domestics, of which they have a proportionable number, according to the favour they are in with the prince, it is not easy for them to find means of occupying their time, and particularly since none of them are able to read or write. It is impossible, indeed, to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate women without the most lively sentiments of compassion. Excluded from the enjoyment of fresh air and exercise, so necessary for the support of health and life; deprived of all society but that of their fellow-sufferers, a society to which most of them would prefer solitude itself; they are only to be considered as the most abject of slaves—slaves to the vices and caprice of a licentious tyrant, who exacts even from his wives themselves a degree of submission and respect, which borders upon idolatry, and which God and nature never meant should be paid to a mortal.

After the lapse of a third week, there was a considerable amendment in the prince's complaint. He began to distinguish very large writing; and he assured me that he had written with his own hand a letter to the emperor, wherein he informed him of the relief my attendance had afforded him; assuring me, that his father would reward me very handsomely if I effected a cure.

Our intercourse was at this time improved into intimacy. He used to see me without reserve, and often at a time when he had his women with him, which, I was informed, was a mark of confidence, with which no man had ever before been honoured. He made me feel their pulses, and obliged one of them, who was remarkably fat and unwieldy, to be held on the floor by two others, while I dropped into her eye some of the same medicine which I had occasion to apply to his. The violent but temporary pain brought on by this application produced an immoderate fit of laughter in the prince, as well as in the other ladies; and the object of it, though in most violent pain, to evince her respect to his royal highness, declared it to be a very pleasant sensation. Upon other occasions he would detain me for two, and sometimes three hours, enquiring concerning European customs, and particularly those of the English, their religion, laws, and government. He made some comments upon what I told him, manifested an earnest desire of information, and appeared greatly interested in the conversation. At other times, when he had been put out of humour, after I had felt his pulse, and administered to him the medicines, he would dismiss me without asking me to sit down, or even allowing me to put any further questions.—But the curiosity of the reader is probably by this time excited respecting the person and character of this prince; and perhaps it cannot be gratified at a more convenient part of the Narrative.

Muley Absulem is of the middle size, of rather a corpulent habit, and about thirty-five years of age. His features are very much disfigured by the great defect in his eyes; the cataract having entirely obscured one of them, and the other being drawn quite on one side by the violence of the paralytic affection. These circumstances, joined to the great natural size and prominence of both eyes, a bad set of teeth, and a sallow complexion, will not allow me to say that the prince has the smallest pretensions to the character of handsome. His dress was the same as that of other Moors, which I shall hereafter describe, except a silk tassel to his turban, which is in this country a distinctive mark of royalty. When I first saw him, he was covered with a loose surtout, made of scarlet broad cloth, and edged with fur-skin, which the Moors term a *caftan*; indeed the only distinction of dress in this country is in the good or bad qualities of the materials; for I have known instances of private Moors, whose dress was much more splendid than that of any of the princes, or even of the emperor himself. The attendants of the prince consisted principally of soldiers, of which he has an unlimited number, pages, who are generally about his person, black eunuchs, and a few black slaves.

The character of Muley Absulem, as a Moorish prince, stands high in the scale of humanity; at the same time it possesses none of that acumen, vigour, and decision, which seem necessary in a country, where the people are barbarous, and



the government in the highest degree despotic. To be explicit, this prince is naturally of a mild and indolent disposition ; immoderately indulgent to his passions, when he can enjoy them without much trouble ; and very little ambitious of fame. Till very lately he had accustomed himself to drink, to a very great excess, strong brandy ; that practice he has now entirely relinquished, and his principal passion since, has been the love of women, which engrosses the whole of his attention and time. I observed that he allowed his ladies much more indulgence than is in general customary among the Moors ; and I found that even in his presence, they conversed among each other with as much freedom, as if they had been by themselves.

From the sketch which I have given of the prince's character, it will be found no difficult matter to discover the reasons why his father's wishes for appointing him his successor were disappointed. He was rich, it is true, but a great part of his wealth was squandered on sensual gratifications ; and the total want of energy in his character, prevented his securing friends in a country, where cruelty and great activity are considered as the only characteristics of sovereignty.

The advantages of hereditary succession can only be seen by contemplating the state of those monarchies where it does not exist. In Morocco, though the order of inheritance is at present confined to the family now on the throne, and though

the emperor is indulged in the formality of nominating his successor, yet the sword supplies the place of right ; and that prince of the royal blood who can acquire the greatest number of friends, and consequently the strongest army, uniformly succeeds. This circumstance is often attended with the most fatal effects, and has given rise to those bloody revolutions, which from one period to another have shaken and depopulated the empire of Morocco. The emperor Sidi Mahomet, from having no competitors, enjoyed a much more peaceful reign than any of his predecessors. How far his successor, who has several brothers, each conceiving himself to possess an equal claim to the throne, will inherit the same good fortune, time alone can determine.

## CHAP. V.

*Description of Tarudant.—Unexpected Order to repair to Morocco.*

AS it is quite unfashionable in this country to go even to the next street on foot, and as my situation was at some distance from that of the prince, his highness made me a present of a horse, which, however, I could not say was one of the best in the country; but as I had once engaged in this service, I conceived it my interest to make the best of every situation. In the hours, therefore, when my personal attendance on my patient was not demanded, I frequently made use of my Rosinante, both for the purpose of exercise, and for the gratification of my curiosity in visiting every thing which appeared worthy of inspection. The following are the principal observations which I was able to collect in the course of my excursions; and I flatter myself they will serve at least to give a general idea of the city where I resided, and its environs.

Tarudant, now the capital of the province of Suz, was formerly, while the empire was divided into petty states, the metropolis of a kingdom. It lies in a fine but uncultivated plain, about twenty

miles to the south of the Atlas, and may be considered as the frontier town of that part of the emperor's dominions. The emperor, it is true, claims the sovereignty of the desert of Zahara, and the territory of Vled de Non ; but his authority over that part of the country is almost nominal, as it entirely depends on the caprice and inclination of the Arabs who inhabit it ; and who, from their distant situation from the seat of government, are more properly under the dominion of their own chiefs. They acknowledge the emperor to be their sovereign, and the head of their church, and occasionally pay him tribute as such ; but they give no attention whatever to his particular orders, and over their interior government he has not the least control. These people consist of different tribes of Arabs, who live in tents without any fixed places of residence : they wander over the country in search of plunder, and are supposed, on some occasions, to extend their depredations as far as Nigritia, whence they carry off Negroes. They profess the Mahometan religion, though they intermix with it a great portion of idolatry ; and in the deserts, where no water can be procured for the purpose of ablution, they substitute sand. Their manner of treating those unfortunate mariners who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their coast, I shall hereafter have occasion to represent.

The walls of Tarudant, now half in ruins, are very extensive, and enclose a much larger space of ground than is occupied by the buildings.

The houses, which are composed of earth and mud, beaten very tight in a wooden case, and left to be dried by the sun, have only apartments on the ground floor; and as each house is surrounded by a garden and wall, the place altogether bears a greater resemblance to a well-peopled spot of country, or a collection of hamlets, than a town. This idea is much increased by the number of lofty palm, or date trees, which are intermixed with, and overlook the houses, affording altogether a very rural appearance. The apartments are in general mean and inconvenient, and principally inhabited by the lower class of mechanics; very few Moors of distinction at present residing at Tarudant, excepting the followers of the prince, who more usually are accommodated in the castle. From the irregular and straggling manner in which the town is built, it is impossible to form a conjecture concerning the number of houses and inhabitants it may contain; as its extent, however, is considerable, it may be accounted an important and populous city, when compared with most of the others in the emperor's dominions.

The principal manufactures at Tarudant are the making of fine haicks, and the working of copper, which is procured in great plenty from a neighbouring mine. They have a regular market twice a week, where all kinds of cattle and provisions are brought to be disposed of. For the sale of horses and mules, the proprietor of the market employs men on purpose to ride, and ex-

hibit the beasts to the best advantage, and afterwards to put them up to public auction. In these sales, if the highest bidder does not offer a price agreeable to the owners, they are at liberty to refuse selling them. This custom prevents many of those impositions in the sale of cattle, which too frequently prevail in European fairs and markets. By thus putting the cattle up to public auction, those persons who have really good ones will in general get their full price for them; and those buyers, who from their ignorance might be liable to be imposed upon, can without much difficulty form a tolerable idea of the real value of the animal by the price which others bid.

The Jewdry is a miserable place, situated about a quarter of a mile from the town; the inhabitants are in the most abject state of poverty and subjection, and when they enter the Moorish town are obliged to go barefooted. The castle, which is very extensive, is situated half-way between the town and Dar Beyda the private residence of the prince, and is enclosed in a tolerable neat garden, which was planned by a Frenchman. It is divided into three parts; one for the prince, which he occasionally uses in his public capacity, the other for his women, named the harem,\* and the third for all those who are in his service.

\* Europeans have in general an idea, that the place of residence for the women, is named the Seraglio: this is quite erroneous; Seraglio means properly a palace, and the women's place of residence is called the Harem.

As the prince's recovery became daily observable, I thought I might venture to try him with a large watch which I had with me, to see whether he could point out the time of the day. In this he succeeded very well, and had discernment enough to observe, that the watch which I presented him, was old, and in part broken. He therefore begged my acceptance of a very elegant gold one, requesting me to wear it instead of the other. The handsome manner in which his highness made this present, gave me a much more flattering idea of his character than his conduct afterwards warranted. But we are to recollect, that he was then in the act of receiving a benefit from me: that the journey which he was afterwards obliged to undertake, put it out of my power to render him any further service; and therefore, to an illiberal and uncultivated mind, the motive for continuing any acts of generosity or kindness no longer existed.

In the course of my visits to the prince, I occasionally met with two Moors, one of whom had been in Italy for some time, and the other in England, who could speak a little of the English language. I mention these men not only from motives of gratitude, but also to evince, that it is by improving the mind, and by conversing with refined and civilized people only, that we are able to conquer illiberal prejudices. From an impulse of benevolence, for it could proceed from no other motive, since they had not received the smallest favour from me, they in a short time contracted so warm a friendship for me, that

had I been their nearest relation, they could not have shewn it in a stronger manner than I experienced. They not only expressed their distress at seeing me in a country where I must be continually subject to insult, and where the manner of living must be so very different from that to which they knew by their own experience I had been accustomed, but they also took me to their houses, introduced me to their wives, and desired them to take the same care of me as of their own family. This was not all; they urged me to allow one of them to go into some apartments, which they could obtain from the prince, in order that I might accept of theirs. To this friendly proposal, however, I could not accede. Indeed I was in daily expectation of taking possession of the apartments promised me by the prince; and had it been otherwise, I could never have intruded so much upon their friendship as to have consented to this request. They continually, however, obliged me to accept of tea and sugar, and many other articles, which, from their scarcity at Tarudant, were very valuable. Of money they knew I was not in want, as I drew upon Mr. Hutchison's agent for that article; but of those little rarities which they frequently sent to the prince, I was always kindly compelled to take my share. Had these two estimable persons received all the advantages of a liberal education, what an ornament would they have proved to society, and of what extensive utility to their nation!



On returning home from one of my visits to the prince, and having passed the gate-way, which is very lofty, and leads to the town, I was surprised at hearing a number of voices from above calling out very loudly, *Tibib, tibib!* (Doctor, doctor!)----On looking back, I observed Muley Omar, one of Sidi Mahomet's sons, and half-brother to Muley Absulem, sitting in great state on the centre of the wall over the gate-way, with a number of his attendants on each side of him. I immediately rode up to the prince, and found him a tolerably good looking young man, of about two-and-twenty. He was rather of a dark complexion, and his features were strongly marked with good nature. After the usual salutation, and having answered his question, whether I approved of the horse his brother had given me, I took my leave; but could not possibly conceive the reason why a person of his consequence should be seated in so strange a place. I had not ridden far, before I observed about a hundred Moors on horseback, who were upon the full gallop, and firing at each other in a strange and irregular manner. I now was informed that this was a sham fight, performed for the amusement of the prince, who had chosen the top of the gateway for his place of observation.

As I found it an easier matter to keep my mind employed in the day time than in the evening, I accustomed myself to go to bed, as well as to rise, very early. One evening I had not retired to rest more than three hours, when I was alarmed by a

noise, which I at first imagined was occasioned by thieves getting into the house. There had been lately a great number of robberies at Tarudant committed by the Arabs, who, as the houses in general were constructed of nothing but mud, had a custom of making a hole in the wall large enough to admit themselves through, without occasioning the least alarm to any of the family. This I conceived to be the case, and supposed that the noise I heard arose from the accidental falling down of part of the wall. I immediately got up and flew to the door, which was already opened by my interpreter, who had risen before me, and there I observed the whole of my neighbours with lights in their hands, and in their shirts and shifts, in a perfect state of consternation. They were standing as if totally unconscious where they were, and without the power of speech. Indeed the alarm had occasioned the same apprehensions in them that it had in me, and they had just advanced as far as the spot where I first saw them, without having the resolution to examine any further into the cause of the noise. My interpreter, though but little better than the others, had summoned up courage enough to approach the spot whence the noise arose: he there found that one fourth of the house, which was built in a square, with a court in the centre, had entirely fallen down, and buried in its ruins two jews, who were sleeping in the fallen apartment. I immediately assisted, and we soon brought the two men into my room, where I examined them very particularly,

and found them speechless--but speechless only from fright. I must confess this accident, which had occasioned a crack in my apartment, increased my anxiety to change it, as it was impossible to say how soon I might be in the same predicament with the two Jews whom I and my interpreter had extricated from the ruins; but notwithstanding all my importunities I could not persuade the prince's masons to work fast enough to prove of any utility.

Among the many inconveniences which I experienced at Tarudant, were the frequent insults I received in the streets, for which I could certainly have had redress, but the number of new faces which were daily appearing, made applications for it entirely useless. One day in my way to the prince, I was insulted by an ill-looking Moor, who, under the sanction of a Sharif,\* thought himself justifiable in so doing, and therefore in a very rude manner ran his mule directly against me, with an intention of either giving me a severe blow, or of frightening my horse. I immediately expostulated with him on the impropriety of such brutal conduct; when he told me I might go to the devil, for he was a Sharif. Upon this, I found it necessary to explain to him that I was physician to his prince, who, from being governor of the province, and from having me under his immediate protection, would pay

\* Sharifs are men who profess themselves to be the descendants of Mahomet, and on that account are held in great esteem.

very little attention to his being a sharif, but would punish him in the manner his conduct merited; that I was then going to his highness, and as I was well acquainted with his name, should make my complaint of him. With a meanness proportioned to his pride, this haughty sharif turned back his mule, and offered to make any atonement I could point out, even that of going down upon his knees, if I would forgive this offence, for he dreaded the idea of his insolence being made known to the prince. I immediately consented to accept his submission, but admonished him, though a sharif, to be cautious in future how he committed such a breach of hospitality as to insult a stranger.

At the end of the fourth week, the prince informed me that he had received orders from the emperor to prepare himself to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, when it was his intention to take me with him to Morocco, for the purpose of introducing me to his father. From Morocco, we were to proceed to Fez, and thence to Mequinez, at which place I was to be provided with a suitable escort, and dispatched immediately for Tangier. "By these means," added his highness, "you will have an opportunity of telling your brother Christians what a number of fine places you have seen in this country." His departure from Tarudant, however, was not to take place for some weeks, so that it would not interfere with the plan of cure which I was at present pursuing. In the course of our conversation, during

the different times I visited the prince, I repeatedly urged him to redeem out of his captivity, Captain Irving, the master of the shipwrecked Guinea-man, agreeably to his promise; and always received the strongest assurances, that my requests would be complied with; but hitherto nothing had been done. I therefore proceeded upon another plan, which as it operated to the interest of the prince, I flattered myself would be attended with more success. I told him that Captain Irving was a physician, whom I knew to be a man of great abilities (for he originally had been brought up to the profession) and that his advice was highly necessary in order to promote and facilitate my plan of cure, and therefore I wished him to be sent for immediately. The prince, though satisfied with my professional conduct, came into my proposal, and obtained the emperor's permission, to send for Captain Irving, but he did not reach Tarudant, until after my departure.

Having no European with whom I could converse, and residing among the very worst description of the natives, who harassed me at one time with their solicitations for relief, and at another with their insolence, it will easily be conceived that my time was not spent in the most agreeable manner during my residence at Tarudant. My attendance however on the prince, and the apparently great amendment in his health, served in some measure to keep up my spirits,

amuse me, and enabled me to bear my situation with patience.

At the expiration of five weeks, during which the prince expressed the most perfect satisfaction at the relief I had afforded him, an order was received from the emperor, commanding my immediate presence at Morocco. It may well be imagined that I could not hear of this order without strong emotions of chagrin and surprise. From the well known disposition of the Moors in general, I was aware that had any accident happened to the prince during my attendance, such an order would have been the consequence: but to remove me from my patient, at a time when his highness was continually informing his father of his amendment, was a mystery which I could not unfold. I repeatedly urged the prince to explain the reason of this extraordinary conduct on the part of the court; but he was either unable, or unwilling, to afford me any information.

Conscious how useless and absurd the attempt would be to withstand a positive order of the emperor in a government so uncommonly despotic, and reflecting upon the unfavourable state of the prince's health; after revolving the question again and again within my own mind, I in the end (so ready are our imaginations to flatter us on every occasion) brought myself to hope, that the journey might prove rather to my advantage than otherwise. How egregiously I was deceived, the sequel will sufficiently prove. A gold watch, an indifferent horse, and a few hard

dollars, forced into my hand contrary to my inclination, were the princely and magnificent rewards which I received for taking a journey of five hundred miles, and an assiduous attendance on an ungrateful despot !

## CHAP. VI

*Journey over the Atlas Mountains to Morocco.*

ON the 30th of November, between seven and eight in the morning, I took my leave of the prince, having previously intreated him to continue his course of medicines, and left Tarudant, under the charge of an alcaide, and two soldiers of the Negro cavalry, who carried up the annual present from the prince to the emperor, of six horses and three boxes of money. These, with my interpreter, a jew, who served both as cook and groom, and a muleteer, who had the charge of my baggage, were my party for the journey.

Between twelve and one at noon we arrived at the foot of the mountains, about twenty miles from Tarudant, where we pitched a very elegant tent, which the prince had procured for me, adjoining to some Moorish huts. We found the country in our way hither a woody and uncultivated plain. On the following day at six in the morning we struck the tent, and immediately began to ascend mount Atlas. For near four hours we had one continued, difficult, and fatiguing ascent, owing to the road being narrow, rocky, and steep. From its abrupt and angular



turnings, the Moors distinguish it by an Arabic name, which signifies the camel's neck. In many places, and particularly on the higher parts of the mountain, besides the inconvenience of a rocky road, which was only broad enough to allow one mule with difficulty to pass, we had a tremendous perpendicular precipice on one side, and in some places, where the mountain consisted of only a narrow ridge of rock, on both. It was astonishing to observe with what ease and safety our mules ascended and descended the rough and uneven paths over the mountains, without putting us under the necessity of dismounting. By two in the afternoon we began to descend, and arrived at a small village, in the centre of which we pitched the tent.

On the following morning, at a little before six, we proceeded on our journey, and at five in the evening arrived at the termination of the mountains, where we slept that night. The first part of this day's journey was a descent on a most dreadfully steep and rocky road, which at last brought us into a beautiful vale, between two very high mountains, which immediately opens into the plains of Morocco, in a manner that is truly picturesque and sublime. I confess it would have gratified me to have prolonged my stay for a little while in these mountains, so fertile in objects interesting to curiosity. The few observations which I was able to collect in my passage over them I shall, however, present to my readers, without any further apology.

The Atlas are a chain of high mountains, intersected with deep vallies, which extend from the eastern to the western parts of Barbary, dividing it into two parts or sections. Those to the westward, from their height, are named the Greater Atlas, and those to the eastward, the Lesser. So immense is the height of these mountains, and particularly of those in the neighbourhood of Morocco, that though so far to the southward, their summits are perpetually covered with snow. When Muley Absulem, the following January, passed over the same track which I had previously traversed in December, it snowed the whole way : at the time of his arrival at Morocco, we could not discover any part of the mountains that was not perfectly white from the same cause. The atmosphere near their summits is intensely cold, to a degree indeed which is frequently found to be destructive to animal life. I was well informed that some Brebes, who had attempted to ascend the highest part of the mountain, died immediately on the spot, while others who were engaged in the same attempt, were obliged to return with the utmost precipitancy.

As December was not the most favourable season for botanical researches, I saw little vegetation on the mountains, except the arga-tree, on which I have already made some remarks ; but I am informed from the best authority, that in the spring, these mountains abound with an innumerable variety of curious plants. Indeed I have

great reason to believe the natural philosopher would find a nobler scope in this country for his enquiries, than in almost any part of the globe; and that the knowledge of medicine, as well as of botany, would be improved by a philosophical tour over the Atlas.

In the interior parts of the mountains there are, as I have before observed, numerous iron-mines, and the Moors have an opinion that there are gold ones also; but the truth of this has not been ascertained. I was informed of several volcanoes which existed in different parts, but as I did not see them, I only give this as a mere report; though from the nature of things I cannot help repeating, that I think it highly probable many curious and valuable articles are concealed in the bowels of these unknown mountains, which indolence and want of emulation, so strongly interwoven in the disposition and character of the Moors, will not suffer them to explore.

With respect to animal productions, Mount Atlas abounds with lions, tigers, hyænas, and a great variety of serpents. But except when the necessity produced by an extremely severe winter drives the wild animals into the vales or tracks of men, they generally confine themselves to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. This remark, however, is not to be understood without exceptions; for when I was at Tarudant, a tiger was killed quite close to the town; and there have been other instances of their ranging far beyond the limits of the mountains. The means

made use of by the inhabitants to secure themselves from their attacks are, by making large and numerous wood-fires, which they seldom venture to approach. When I passed over the mountains, I met with no animals of prey, excepting some remarkably large eagles.

On the upper parts, in some places, there was nothing to be seen but a huge mass of barren and rugged rocks, whose perpendicular and immense heights formed precipices, which, upon looking down, filled the mind with inexpressible horror: in others, we passed through thick and extensive forests of the arga-tree, which, though it afforded an agreeable variety, being the only vegetable on the mountains, very little lessened the general appearance of barrenness. The valleys, however, presented us with a very different scene. Here we observed numerous villages, gardens, and inclosures, which, though in December, were beautifully covered with verdure, and fruit-trees of every description; corn grew at this season in the greatest abundance, intermixed with plantations of olives and oranges, and served as the resort of a variety of singing birds. In some places, small cascades of water issued from the rocks and mountains above, uniting and forming one continued stream, which plentifully watered the plain. In fact, this scene afforded the most pleasing relief to the mind, after the fatigues and dangers we had experienced in the higher parts of the mountains.

The villages consisted of huts, rudely constructed of earth and mud, and walled in ; they are very numerous, and inhabited by a set of people who are named Brebes. These people differ entirely from the Arabs and Moors ; they are the original inhabitants of the country, who at the time of the conquest by the Arabs fled into these mountains, where they have ever since continued, and in a great measure maintained their independence. Each village is under the direction of a shaik, who, contrary to the practice in the encampments of the Arabs, is an officer of their own choice.

The Brebes are a very athletic and strong-featured people, patient, accustomed to hardships and fatigue, and seldom removing far from the spot where they reside. They shave the fore part of the head, but suffer their hair to grow from the crown as far behind as the neck ; they wear no shirt or drawers ; they are only covered by one woollen garment without sleeves, and belted round the middle ; though I saw some few, who wore the haick. Their principal amusement is in the use of their muskets ; they are excellent marksmen, and are particularly dexterous in twirling their muskets round, throwing them very high in the air, and afterwards catching them ; so attached are they to these instruments, that they frequently go to the expence of sixty or even eighty ducats, to ornament them with silver and ivory. Their employment consists principally in cultivating the valleys, looking after their

cattle, and hunting wild beasts, the skins of which become a very valuable article of sale. Like the Arabs, they have their regular markets for the disposal of cattle, &c. where they either receive money or some other article in exchange. They have fallen, in a great measure, into the customs and religion of the Moors, but they still retain their original language; and a Moor is frequently obliged to use an interpreter to enable him to converse with them. Besides those who reside in huts in the valleys, which are numerous, there are also others who live in caves in the upper parts of the mountains; so that the number of the whole must be very considerable.

From their secure situation, the Brebes, although inhabiting a considerable tract within the bounds of the empire, have frequently proved troublesome to the Moorish monarchs, sometimes paying them tribute, at others refusing it, according to the dictates of their inclination. It is not long since, a general revolt took place among the Brebes, which obliged the emperor to send a large army to subdue them; but he succeeded no further than to oblige them to disperse, without either conquering them, or gaining the point at which he aimed, which was to compel them to the payment of the tribute he demanded. The situation indeed of these mountains does not admit of the operations of a large army; for the mountaineers, accustomed to climb up into the almost inaccessible recesses, soon get beyond the

reach of enemies who never before had made the attempt.

Beside the Brebes, many Jews reside in the valleys, and possess separate habitations or villages. These people are employed in the trifling mechanical occupations which the Brebes require. Indeed I believe there is no part of the world where the Jews are so completely diffused over the face of the country, or where they are so severely oppressed, as in Barbary.

It is by no means an easy matter to describe the different sensations which are experienced in passing over these wonderful mountains. Their immense height, the dangerous precipices, the vales, which from their depth appeared like so many abysses, inspired altogether an emotion of awe and terror, that may better be conceived than expressed. On the other hand, the unlimited and great variety of prospects discoverable from their summits, the numerous herds of goats and sheep which were scrambling over the almost perpendicular cliffs, and the universal barrenness of the mountains, contrasted with the beautiful verdure of the valleys immediately below, formed on the whole a scene sufficiently beautiful and picturesque, to counterbalance the inconveniences we otherwise suffered.

## CHAP. VII.

*Arrival at Morocco.---Difficulty of obtaining an audience.---Description of the Metropolis, and of the Emperor's Palace.---State of the Jews in Barbary.*

ON the 3d of December, between five and six in the morning, we proceeded on our journey, and soon reached a fine plain, on which we continued the whole way to Morocco, where we arrived on the following day about noon, having performed altogether a journey of about one hundred and twenty-five miles. My first object, on my arrival, was to secure myself a convenient place of residence in the Jewdry; and having accomplished that to my satisfaction, I immediately took possession, expecting anxiously every hour to be summoned before the emperor. Though, however, his Moorish majesty was repeatedly informed of my arrival, yet to my great astonishment I continued a whole month in a state of uncertainty and expectation, without having it in my power to obtain an audience, or to be informed of the cause which removed me from Tarudant.



The number of anecdotes in circulation through the town to my prejudice, excited in me continual uneasiness, which even increased in proportion to the length of time that had elapsed since my arrival. By one of the emperor's confidential friends it was insinuated to me, that his imperial majesty had heard that I was young; that I was administering internal medicines for diseases of the eye, which was a practice totally new and unaccountable to them; that European medicines were always powerful and violent; and that if I had been suffered to attend the prince much longer, his constitution would have been ruined for ever. Another even went so far as to say, that the emperor suspected me of having been employed by my countrymen with a view to poison his son. After much perplexing investigation into the truth of these assertions, I now discovered that my journey to Tarudant was a private affair, settled between the consul and the prince; that the emperor, who at that time was not upon the best terms with the English court, and who had already stopped all communication between his dominions and the garrison of Gibraltar, was highly displeased that an Englishman should be introduced, unknown to him, for the purpose of attending his son in a medical capacity; that his Moorish physician, out of pique, had persuaded the emperor, that European medicines were too potent for the prince's constitution, and that in reality his son was in extreme danger while under my care;---that, in fine, all

these arguments weighed so powerfully with the emperor, that he not only determined on immediately removing me from the prince, but at the same time ordered some of my medicines to be privately sent up to Morocco, where they were to undergo a strict examination by his physician. The cause of my not being honoured with an audience, I found to arise from a desire in the emperor, to be thoroughly informed of the state of the prince's health before he saw me, that according to circumstances he might give me a favourable, or a cool reception.

As some alleviation to the uneasiness occasioned by this state of suspense, I was now much more comfortably situated than I had been before at Tarudant. The apartment which I had procured, was one story high, in the house of a respectable family, and was spacious, clean, and retired. From a Genoese gentleman in the service of the emperor, I was furnished with a table, two chairs, two dishes, a few plates, some knives and forks, and a couple of tumblers; in addition to this a Jew offered his services as cook, who had lived sometime with an European, and who proved an adroit and useful person: provisions of every kind were remarkably plentiful, good, and cheap; for beef and mutton I paid only about two pence English a pound, for fine fowls about six pence each, and pigeons were frequently sold at the rate of three halfpence a pair. Had I, in addition to all these comforts,

been able to have procured a little agreeable society, my situation would have been very supportable ; but in that particular I scarcely possessed more advantages than I had enjoyed during my residence at Tarudant.

The Genoese gentleman, from whose house I had borrowed a part of my furniture, was at Mogodore, and the only Europeans who were at that time at Morocco, if we except a few Spanish artificers in the emperor's service, were part of the English seamen who had been shipwrecked, a French officer, with some French seamen, who were also captives from a similar accident, and three Spanish friars. Out of these I could only chuse for my society the French officer and the friars. With the first, as I was acquainted with the French language, I could converse pretty fluently, and I certainly found him a most agreeable companion : he had taken his passage on board a vessel bound for the French settlements on the coast of Guinea, whither he was proceeding to join his regiment, and was shipwrecked on that part of the coast of Africa which lies in the direction of the Canary islands. This misfortune, united to the hardships which succeeded on his being carried into slavery by the wild Arabs, and the little prospect which then appeared of his redemption, had made a deep impression upon his spirits, and subjected him to occasional attacks of hypochondria. The emperor, it is true, could not be accused of ill treating any of the captives ; on the contrary, he allowed them

daily a small sum of money, and permitted them to walk about at liberty. His detention of them, however, in the country, without any immediate prospect of returning home, was a sufficient reason for them still to consider themselves in no other light than that of slaves.

The Spanish friars, who have a small convent in the Jewdry, and who were originally placed at Morocco for the purpose of redeeming captives; from being in the habit of distributing medicines to the poor gratuitously, considered themselves engaged in the same profession with myself, and received me very hospitably; but, from my not understanding the Spanish language, I was obliged to converse with them by means of my interpreter, which rendered my society with them very limited indeed. I cannot help expressing my concern for the fate of these worthy men, who are destined to spend the whole of their lives on a spot destitute of all civilized society, where they are continually exposed to the caprice and insolence of the emperor, as well as of the worst part of his subjects. They appeared to me to be men who had received much information from reading, as well as from observation; and they very properly employed their time in the duties of their profession; in the offices of devotion, and administering medicines to the poor; in study; and in such innocent recreations as the limited society of Morocco affords.

To divert my thoughts from the great uneasiness which my situation naturally inspired, during

so long a state of suspense, I made daily excursions through different parts of Morocco ; though, from the continual insults which I experienced when in the streets, even this amusement was attended with considerable inconvenience.

The city of Morocco, which lies about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Tarudant, ninety to the east of Mogodore, and three hundred and fifty to the south of Tangier, is situated in a beautiful valley, formed by a chain of mountains on the northern side, and those of the Atlas, from which it is distant about twenty miles, on the south and east. The country which immediately surrounds it, is a fertile plain, beautifully diversified with clumps of palm trees and shrubs, and watered by small and numerous streams, which descend from the Atlas mountains. The emperor's out-gardens, situated at the distance of about five miles to the south of the city, and which consist principally of large plantations of olives walled in, add considerably to the beauty of the scene.

Morocco, though one of the capitals of the empire, (for there are three, Morocco, Mequinez, and Fez,) has at present nothing to recommend it but its great extent, and the royal palace. It is enclosed by remarkably strong walls, built of tabby, the circumference of which is about eight miles. On these walls there are no guns mounted, but they are flanked with square towers, and surrounded by a wide and deep ditch. The city has a number of entrances, consisting of large

double porches of tabby, in the Gothic stile, the gates of which are regularly shut every night at certain hours. As polygamy is allowed by the Mahometan religion, and is supposed in some degree to affect population, it is impossible to form any computation near the truth with respect to the number of inhabitants which this city may contain. The mosques, which are the only public buildings, except the palace, worthy of notice at Morocco, are more numerous than magnificent; one of them is ornamented with a very high and square tower, built of cut stone, which is visible at a considerable distance from the city. The streets are very narrow, dirty, and irregular, and many of the houses are uninhabited and falling to ruin; those which are decent and respectable in their appearance, are built of tabby, and enclosed in gardens; that of the Effendi, or prime minister, was among the best which I visited at Morocco. This house, which consisted of two stories, had elegant apartments both above and below, furnished in a stile far superior to any thing that I had yet seen in the country. The court, into which the lower apartments opened, was very neatly paved with glazed blue and white tiling, and had in its centre a beautiful fountain; the upper apartments were connected together by a broad gallery, the ballusters of which were painted of different colours; and the hot and cold baths were large, and possessed every convenience that art could afford. Into the garden, which was laid out in a tolerably neat stile, opened a

room adjoining to the house, which had a broad arched entrance, but no door, beautifully ornamented with chequered tiling; and at both ends of the apartment, the walls were entirely covered with looking-glass. The flooring of all the rooms was covered with beautiful carpeting, and the walls were ornamented with large and valuable looking-glasses, tastefully intermixed with watches and clocks in glass cases. The ceiling which was decorated with carved wood-work, was painted of different colours, and the whole was in a superior stile of Moorish grandeur. This, and a few others, were the only decent habitations which I noticed in Morocco. The generality of them served to impress the traveller with the idea of a miserable and deserted city.

The Elcaisseria is a particular part of the town where stuffs and other valuable articles are exposed to sale. It consists of a number of small shops, formed in the walls of the houses, about a yard from the ground, of such an height within as just to admit a man to sit in one of them cross-legged. The goods and drawers are so arranged around him, that when he serves his customers, who are standing all the time out in the street, he can reach down any article he wants, without being under the necessity of moving. These shops, which are found in all the other towns of the empire, are sufficient to afford a striking example of the indolence of the Moors. There are three daily markets in different parts of the town at Morocco, where provisions are sold, and two

weekly fairs or markets for the disposal of cattle, where the same custom is observed as at Tarudant. The city is supplied with water by means of wooden pipes connected with the neighbouring streams, which empty themselves into reservoirs placed for the purpose in the suburbs, and some few in the centre of the town.

The castle is a large and ruinous building, the outer walls of which, enclose a space of ground about three miles in circumference. It has a mosque built by Muley Abdallah, father to Sidi Makomet, on the top of which are three large balls; these, the Moors allege, are formed of solid gold, but as no person is permitted to ascend to them, we must trust to their word for the truth of this assertion. The castle is almost a town of itself; it contains a number of inhabitants, who in some department or other are in the service of the emperor, and all under the direction of a particular alcaide, who is quite independent of the governor of the town. On the outside of the castle, between the Moorish town and the Jewry, are several small, distinct pavilions, enclosed in gardens of orange trees, which are intended as occasional places of residence for such of the emperor's sons or brothers as happen to be at Morocco. As they are covered with coloured tiling, they have at a small distance rather a neat appearance; but upon approaching, or entering them, that effect in a great measure ceases.

The Jews, who are at this place pretty numerous, have a separate town to themselves, walled



in, and under the charge of an alcaide, appointed by the emperor. This town has two large gates, which are regularly shut every evening about nine o'clock, after which time no person whatever is permitted to enter or go out, until the gates are opened again the following morning. The Jews have a market of their own, and, as at Tarudant, when they enter the Moorish town, castle, or palace, they are always compelled to be barefooted. These people in general, are obliged to pay to the emperor a certain annual sum, in proportion to their numbers, forming of itself a very considerable income, independently of his arbitrary exactions. Those of Morocco were excused by Sidi Mahomet from this tax, upon condition of their taking off his hands, certain articles of merchandize, of which they were to dispose in the best manner they could, paying him five times their original value; by which they become far greater sufferers than if they had submitted to the annual tax.

Every part of the empire more or less abounds with Jews, who originally were expelled from Spain and Portugal, and who fled into Barbary as a place of refuge; these people are not confined to towns, but are spread over the whole face of the country, the Atlas mountains, as was before mentioned, not excepted. In every country where they reside, these unfortunate people are treated as another class of beings; but in no part of the world are they so severely and so undeservedly oppressed as in Barbary, where the

whole country depends upon their industry and ingenuity, and could scarcely subsist as a nation without their assistance. They are the only mechanics in this part of the world, and have the whole management of all pecuniary and commercial matters; except the collecting of the customs. They are, however, intrusted in the coinage of money, as I myself have witnessed.\*

The Moors display more humanity to their beasts than to the Jews. I have seen frequent instances where individuals of this unhappy people were beaten so severely, as to be left almost lifeless on the ground, and that without being able to obtain the least redress whatever; the magistrates always acting with the most culpable partiality when a Moor and a Jew are the parties in suit. What they lose by oppression, however, they in a great measure make up by their superior address and sagacity, which frequently enables them to over-reach the Moors—as I cannot compliment the Jews of Barbary in general upon the probity or soundness of their principles. Jacob

\* Doubloons and hard dollars are current in this country: but the coins peculiar to it are, gold *ducats*, of the value of ten hard dollars, some of five, of one and a half, and others of only one; ounces, of the value of about five-pence English, and blanquils, of five farthings, both silver coins; fluces, which are of copper, twenty-four being equal to a blanquil; but ounces are the money in which bills are usually drawn in the country. All the emperor's coins have his name in Arabic stamped on one side; and on the other the date, and place at which they were coined.

Attal, the emperor's Jewish and favourite secretary, had more influence with his royal master, and did more mischief by his intrigues and address, than any of the persons about the emperor's court. This young man, who was a native of Tunis, and who was tolerably well acquainted with the English, Spanish, Italian, French, and Arabic languages, was of an active and enterprising mind, and so well informed himself of the natural disposition of the Moors, and particularly that of Sidi Mahomet, that he had gained an entire ascendancy over the emperor. As he knew that an unbounded love of money was the ruling passion of his royal master, he not only surrendered to him half of his own gains, but also furnished the emperor with the earliest and best information concerning those who were in possession of wealth, as well as with a project for extracting it from them. By thus attacking the emperor on the weakest side, he secured his friendship; but he secured it by means which exposed him to the resentment and revenge of thousands as soon as the emperor died, which has since been too fatally verified. I must, however, do this young man the justice to add, that throughout the whole of his administration, though in some instances perhaps contrary to his own interest, he shewed an exclusive preference to the English; and of this the Moors in general were so sensible, that they gave him the appellation of the English ambassador. The Jews in most parts of this empire live entirely separate

from the Moors; and though in other respects oppressed, are allowed the free exercise of their religion. Many of them, however, to avoid the arbitrary treatment which they constantly experience, have become converts to the Mahometan faith; upon which they are admitted to all the privileges of the Moors, though they lose their real estimation in the opinion of both sects. In most of the sea-port towns, and particularly at Tetuan and Tangier, they have a tolerable smattering of Spanish; but at Morocco, Tarudant, and all the inland towns, they can only speak Arabic, and a little Hebrew. They nearly follow the customs of the Moors, excepting in their religious ceremonies; and in that particular they are by far more superstitious than the Jews of Europe.

The men shave their heads close, and wear their beards long; their dress indeed, altogether differs very little from that of the Moors (which I shall hereafter describe) except in their being obliged to appear externally in black, and for which purpose they wear a black cap, black slippers, and instead of the haick used by the Moors, they substitute the *alberoce*, a cloak made of black wool, which covers the whole of the under-dress. They are not permitted to go out of the country, but by an express order from the emperor; nor are they allowed to wear a sword, or ride a horse, though they are indulged in the use of mules; this arises from an opinion prevalent among the Moors, that a horse is too noble an animal to be

employed in the service of the Jews, whom they consider to be infidels of the worst description.

The dress of the Jewish women consists of a fine linen shirt, with large and loose sleeves, which hang almost to the ground; over the shirt is worn a *caftan*, a loose dress made of woollen cloth, or velvet, of any colour, reaching as low as the hips, and covering the whole of the body, except the neck and breast, which are left open, the edges of the caftan being embroidered with gold. In addition to these is the *geraldito*, or petticoats, made of fine green wollen cloth, the edges and corners of which have sometimes a gold ornament; this part of the dress is fastened by a broad sash of silk and gold, which surrounds the waist, and the ends of it are suffered to hang down behind, in an easy manner; when they go abroad, they cover the whole with the haick, the same as used by the Moorish women. The unmarried Jewesses wear their hair plaited in different folds, and hanging down behind; and to this they have a very graceful and becoming method of putting a wreath of wrought silk round the head, and tying it behind in a bow. This dress sets off their features to great advantage, and distinguishes them from the married women, who cover their heads with a red silk handkerchief, which they tie behind, and over it place a silk sash, leaving the ends to hang loose on their backs. None of the Jewish women have stockings, but use red slippers, curiously embroidered with gold. They wear very large gold ear-rings

at the lower part of the ears, and at the upper, three small ones set with pearls or precious stones; their necks are loaded with beads, and their fingers with small gold or silver rings; round each wrist and ankle are fixed large and solid silver bracelets; and the rich have gold and silver chains suspended from the sash behind.

Their marriages are celebrated with much festivity for some time previous to the ceremony, and the intended bride, with all her female relations, go through the form of having their faces painted red and white, and their hands and feet stained yellow, with an herb named *henna*. A variety of figures are marked out with a needle, and this herb, which is powdered and mixed with water into a paste, is worked in, and these marks continue on the hands and feet for a long space of time. Upon the death of a Jew (before and after burial) all the female relations, with other women hired for the purpose, assemble in the room of the deceased, and for several days lament his loss by most dreadful shrieks and howlings, and tearing their cheeks and hair.

The Jewesses of this empire in general are remarkably fair and beautiful. They marry very young, and when married, though they are not obliged to hide their faces in the street, yet at home they are frequently treated with the same severity as the Moorish women. Like the Moors, the Jewish men and women at Morocco eat separate; and the unmarried women are not permitted to go out, except upon particular occasions, and

then more frequently with their faces covered. A disposition for intrigue in the female sex is always found to accompany tyrannical conduct and undue restraint on the part of ours ; and this disposition is again made the excuse for the continuance of these restraints. Thus the effect becomes a cause, and when women cease to be the guardians of their honour, they derive no credit from the preservation of it, and incur in their own estimation but little disgrace by its loss. The Jews allege, in extenuation of their severity, the licentious inclinations and artful dispositions of their women, and that a single act of criminality in a daughter would be an effectual bar to her ever forming a legal connection. The same objection not being so applicable to their married women, they are permitted to go out without restraint. Indeed many of their husbands, from interested motives, are too apt to connive at a conduct, which, in other countries, would infallibly bring down upon them deserved contempt.

The palace of Morocco is an ancient building, surrounded by a square wall, the height of which nearly excludes from the view of the spectator the other buildings. Its principal gates are constructed with Gothic arches composed of cut stone, which conduct to several open and spacious courts ; through these it is necessary to pass, before we reach any of the buildings. These open courts were used by Sidi Mahomet for the purposes of transacting public business, and exercising his troops. The habitable part of the

palace consists of several irregular square pavilions, built of tabby, and whitened over; some of which communicate with each other, others are distinct, and most of them receive their names from the different towns of the empire. The principal pavilion is named by the Moors the Douhar, and is more properly the palace or seraglio than any of the others. It consists of the emperor's place of residence, and the harem, forming altogether a building of considerable extent. The other pavilions are merely for the purposes of pleasure or business, and are quite distinct from the one we have mentioned. The Mogodore pavilion, so named from the emperor's partiality to that town, has by far the fairest claim to grandeur and magnificence. This part of the palace, which was the work of Sidi Mahomet, is lofty and square, and is built of cut stone, handsomely ornamented with windows, the whole being covered with varnished tiles of different colours; its elegance and neatness, contrasted altogether with the simplicity and irregularity of the other buildings, produce a most striking effect. In the inside, besides several other apartments, there is a very spacious room, floored with blue and white chequered tiling, its ceiling covered with curiously carved and painted wood, and its stuccoed walls variously ornamented with looking-glasses and watches, regularly disposed in glass cases. To this room Sidi Mahomet manifested an exclusive preference, frequently retiring to it both for the purposes of business, and



of recreation. The apartments of the palace in general have a much smaller complement of furniture than those of the Moors in the inferior walks of life ; handsome carpeting, a mattress on the ground, covered with fine linen, and a couple of European bedsteads, being the principal articles which they usually contain. The gardens within the walls of the palace, of which there are several, are very neat ; they contain orange and olive trees, variously disposed and arranged, and intersected with streams of water, fountains, and reservoirs. Those on the outside are little more than large tracts of ground, irregularly planted with olives, and divided by four straight walks ; and as the ornamental part has not been attended to, they are not calculated to attract attention ; though from the appearance of the plantations above the walls which surround them, at a distance they have a pleasing effect.

In introducing the description of the palace in this place, I have rather deviated from the chronological series of my narrative, as the events which brought me acquainted with this sacred residence of the Moorish princes, were posterior to my visiting all the other quarters of the metropolis.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Introduction to the Emperor Sidi Mahomet.—  
His character and court described.*

AFTER the lapse of a month without a prospect of obtaining an audience, my anxiety was increased to a degree which in the end proved extremely injurious to my health. From the attention which I had paid to most of the emperor's ministers, who all of them in their turn had occasion for my services, I thought I had a right to expect some little return. With all that deceit which has characterised the inhabitants of Barbary \* from the earliest periods, they professed the warmest friendship for me, and assured me that they would exert their influence upon the emperor to persuade him to see me. Among the number was a Moor named Sidi Brahim, to whom the prince had given me strong letters of recommendation, and who, during a tedious sickness which had prevailed in his family, had received from me the most constant attention. This Moor had directions from the prince to introduce me immediately upon my arrival to the emperor, and to shew me every civility that was due to such

\* Punica fides.

recommendation. All these circumstances I conceived gave me a sufficient right to expect that Sidi Brahim, both from motives of duty to his prince, and gratitude to me, would have exerted himself in a manner correspondent to such obligations. But that was far from being the case. When his family was under my care, he certainly did receive me with attention, and treated me with kindness; but when my advice became no longer necessary, his friendship cooled in proportion; and latterly, when we happened to meet, he scarcely seemed to recollect me. Upon reflection, what was I to expect from a man, who for his notorious crimes, though at this time in great favour, had formerly been punished by his sovereign, by having the greatest part of his beard pulled up by the roots?

Unsuccessful and disappointed through this channel, I had recourse to some other attendants of the emperor, on whom I had conferred favors, and who had perhaps still greater influence with the emperor than even Sidi Brahim. Among this number was the prime minister, and one of the emperor's principal talbs. From these officers I experienced, however, much the same treatment as from Sidi Brahim; and had I not been accidentally called in to attend the wife of one of the emperor's principal Jews, it is probable I might have continued in the same state of anxious uncertainty for some weeks longer. As a return for attendance, the husband of this patient, agreeably to my request, had address and influence

enough to persuade the emperor to appoint an audience for me the very day after the application.

On the day appointed for my reception at court, about twelve at noon, three negro soldiers, with large clubs in their hands, came to my apartments to escort me to the palace, telling me that they had directions to return with me instantaneously, and that they must answer it with their heads, if they delayed a moment in the execution of their orders. Not suspecting that my Jewish friend, for such I must denominate him, could have effected my wishes so immediately, I was by no means prepared for the audience; and I requested them to wait a few moments, till I could enable myself to appear in a decent dress before the emperor. Far, however, from acceding to my request, the soldiers become quite impatient, and acquainted me that I must either proceed with them immediately, or they would return and inform the sultan that I had refused to comply with his orders. I now found myself under the necessity of setting off, and we all actually *ran* together to the palace with the utmost expedition. When we arrived there, I was introduced to one of the masters of the audience, who desired me to wait on the outside of the palace till I was called for.

From the abrupt and sudden manner in which I was forced away by the soldiers, I expected to be ushered immediately into the imperial presence; but so far was I still from the consummation of this expectation, that I remained on the

spot where they first placed me from twelve o'clock at noon till five in the evening, revolving in my mind what kind of a person I should find the emperor, what reception I should meet with, and the answers I ought to make to any questions he might propose. Situated as I was with respect to the prince whom I had been attending, and considering the malicious reports respecting my conduct which had been circulated about Morocco, the reader may well suppose that I was led to form a variety of conjectures, concerning what was likely to be the result of the audience. I however placed my whole confidence in the prince's recovery, which was a circumstance, when clearly known to the emperor, that must undoubtedly operate in my favour. This idea at last entirely removed a number of uneasy and anxious reflections, which had occurred to me when I first entered the palace ; and by the time the messenger came to introduce me to the emperor, I had brought myself to be as calm and recollected as if my mind had been perfectly at ease, and had no reason to be otherwise.

From the court-yard into which I was first introduced, I was hurried with the greatest precipitancy through two or three others, till I arrived at the gate which opened to the court where the emperor was waiting to receive me. I was there detained for some time by the master of the audience, owing to my refusal of the present which Europeans are accustomed to make to the emperor upon being honoured with an audience. I had

been previously acquainted, that no person was ever permitted to appear in his majesty's presence, unless accompanied with a handsome present; but I conceived my situation to be in every respect so totally different from that of other strangers who visited the court, that I told the master of the ceremonies, if he persisted in refusing me entrance, I would immediately return home again. The Moor, finding that I was determined not to comply with his request, and knowing that the emperor was purposely waiting to see me, was afraid to defer my introduction any longer; I was therefore ushered into his Majesty's presence very expeditiously, and directed to place myself and my interpreter in such a situation as to be seen without approaching too near his person. The Moor who introduced me, upon appearing in sight of the emperor, prostrated himself on the earth, kissed it, and in a very humble manner exclaimed in Arabic, "May God preserve the king!" The emperor then ordered him to approach, and deliver what he had to say: he informed his majesty, that in compliance with his order, he had brought before him the English doctor; after which, having made a very low bow, he retired, and the emperor immediately desired me and my interpreter to advance towards him; but as soon as we had got within ten yards of the emperor, two soldiers came up, pulled us by the coat, and acquainted us that we must not presume to approach any further.

I found the emperor seated in an European post-chaise, placed in one of his open courts, and drawn by one mule in shafts, having a man on each side to guide it. Behind the carriage were foot soldiers, some Negroes and others Moors, in two divisions, forming together a semi-circle. Some of these soldiers were only armed with large clubs, while others had muskets which they held close to their bodies, and pointed perpendicularly. The emperor, after surveying me minutely and with the greatest attention, accompanied with no small degree of *hauteur*, demanded from my interpreter, in a very stern manner, if I was the Christian doctor who had been attending Muley Absulem? I desired him to answer that I was.—“How came you into the country, and were you sent by order of your own king, or by whom?” To render my visit of more importance, I answered, “By order of government.”---“Where did you learn your profession, and what is the name of the person who taught it you?” I informed his majesty.---“What is the reason that the French surgeons are better than the English; and which do you think are the best?” I answered, “The French surgeons are very good, but it must certainly be allowed that the English are in general superior, being more scientifically educated.”---The emperor then observed, that a French surgeon had come into the country, and in the course of his practice had occasioned the death of several of his patients. His majesty next asked, in a very austere manner, “What was the

reason I had forbidden Muley Absulem the use of tea ?” My reply was, “ Muley Absulem has very weak nerves, and tea is injurious to the nervous system.” ---“ If tea is so unwholesome,” replied his majesty, “ why do the English drink so much ?” I answered, “ It is true, they drink it twice a day ; but then they do not make it so strong as the Moors, and they generally use milk with it, which lessens its pernicious effects ; but the Moors, when once they begin to use it, make it very strong, drink a great deal, and very frequently without milk.” ---“ You are right,” said the emperor, “ and I know it sometimes makes their hands shake.” After this conversation, about a dozen distilled waters, prepared from different herbs, were brought for me to taste, and inform the emperor what they were ; which were hot, and which were cold, &c.

His majesty now condescended to become more familiar and easy in his remarks, and desired me to observe the snow on Mount Atlas, which his carriage immediately fronted, wishing to know if we had the same in our country ; I answered, that we frequently had a great deal of snow in the winter season, but that England was a much colder climate than Morocco ; the emperor observed, that if any person attempted to go to the top of the mountain, he would die from excess of cold ; he then informed me, that on the other side was a very fine, plain, and fertile country, which was named Tafilet.



Observing that the emperor was now in a good humour, I embraced the opportunity of mentioning to him, how much my feelings had been hurt by the malicious reports which for some time past had been circulating to my prejudice ; that they were of such a nature as to make me very desirous of having my character cleared up, by a proper examination into the present state of the prince's health, as well as into the nature of the medicines which I had been administering to him. The emperor in reply said, that he had already ordered his Moorish physician to examine very particularly my medicines ; who had declared, that he could find nothing improper in them. It is very clear, however, that some suspicion must have taken place in the breast of the emperor, to have induced him to send privately for these medicines, for the purpose of having them so nicely examined ; from which circumstance I could not help considering it a very fortunate event for myself, that the prince's health was in so favourable a state.

After a conversation of some length, the heads of which I have endeavoured briefly to state, the evening being far advanced, the emperor commanded one of his attendants to conduct me home to his Jew, and desire him to take great care of me ; adding, that I was a good man, I was Muley Absulem's physician, and that he would send me home to my entire satisfaction ; he then ordered his carriage to drive on. .

Considering myself as now acquitted of the charges which had been insinuated against me, and elevated by the emperor's promise at the audience, I must confess that I returned home with a much lighter heart than I could boast of when I went. I now only waited for the arrival of the prince at Morocco, who I conceived would confirm the emperor's good wishes towards me, and make my situation as agreeable as I could expect. Such are the sanguine hopes with which we are apt to flatter ourselves, after having encountered difficulties, when the smallest prospect opens of relief.

In the evening, my room was filled with a number of the attendants of the emperor, who came to congratulate me on the honour I had received by a sight of their royal master; at the same time to demand presents, which on such occasions they alleged was a custom to which all Europeans submitted. As therefore I saw there were no other means of relieving myself from their impertinent importunities, I was obliged in some degree to comply with their demands.

I found the emperor Sidi Mahomet to be a tall, thin old man, of near eighty years of age, and of a sallow complexion. From a visage naturally long and a distortion of one eye, united with an acquired habit of austerity, his appearance at first was rather disgusting to strangers; but that impression was soon worn off by the affability of his conversation, which he generally confined to those subjects he thought most adapted to the

person with whom he conversed ; at the same time he displayed a great desire to acquire information, as well as to discover the abilities of others. Some years ago he so far lost the use of his feet as to disable him from walking ; this disagreeable effect was probably owing to want of use, and to his accustoming himself constantly to be either in his carriage or on horseback. When I saw him, his beard and eye-brows, though before, as I was informed, very dark, had acquired a perfect whiteness, and his voice was much impaired. His dress was exactly similar to that of other Moors, differing only in the fineness of the materials, and he was only distinguished from his subjects by a larger retinue, riding in a carriage, or when on horseback having an umbrella carried before him. From the general tenour of his conduct throughout his reign, Sidi Mahomet appears to have possessed strong natural talents, to which had a good education been united, he might have proved a great monarch. But the want of education, and the illiberality and superstition of his religion, betrayed him frequently into cruelty ; and the possession of arbitrary power tinged his character with that intolerable caprice, which has ever distinguished and disgraced the Moorish princes. Avaricious from his youth, he gave his whole attention to the accumulation of wealth ; and it was from that motive only that he appeared to give more encouragement to European merchants than any of his predecessors ; at the same time it is

well known, that he occasionally oppressed them with such heavy duties, that they have been obliged to send home their vessels empty. In hopes of adding still more to his treasures, Sidi Mahomet became himself a merchant, took up goods from Europeans, and obliged the Jews to pay him five times their value for them ; so that there was not a single resource for becoming rich of which he did not avail himself. Avaricious to this excess, and naturally of a very timid disposition, his great object has been peace : well aware that war could neither enrich him, nor contribute to his enjoyments in any respect. His reign, it is true, has been distinguished by fewer instances of cruelty than that of any of his predecessors ; but he has certainly exceeded them all in the licentiousness of his attacks upon private property. He was always surrounded by people, who, for the sake of rising into favour, were ready to give him information concerning any of his subjects who were rich. It was then his usual course of proceeding, to invent some plea for confining them in prison ; and if that did not succeed, he put them in irons, chained them down, and proceeded in a course of severity and cruelty, till at last, wearied out with punishments and disgraces, the unfortunate victims surrendered the whole of their possessions ; which alone procured them the enjoyment of liberty, an opportunity of again obtaining subsistence, or perhaps of once more becoming the prey of the rapacious monarch. Such of his sons as were in

friendship with him, were continually making him presents, as if apprehensive of the same fate ; and since I left the country, it has been strongly reported that my patient Muley Absulem, who was the only son for whom the emperor professed much affection, was plundered by his father of the greatest part of his riches ; which indeed were reputed to be very considerable.

Vices are never solitary ; and those which are most naturally connected with an avaricious and timid disposition, are jealousy and suspicion. Conscious how little he deserved the affection of his people, and latterly sensible of having totally lost it, Sidi Mahomet was in constant fear of assassination and poison. In this state he dragged on a miserable existence ; an example to arbitrary kings, and a living proof that the picture exhibited of the Roman tyrant, by the sarcastic historian, was not overcharged. He seldom stirred out of his palace, unless accompanied by a numerous band of soldiers, and even of these he had always his suspicions. At night he had constantly six blood-hounds in his chamber, and relying more on the fidelity of the irrational creation than on man, he thought these a more certain guard than his soldiers. His victuals were dressed and tasted in his presence ; and at dinner, though no person was permitted to eat immediately with him, yet he had always some of his sons and ministers in the same apartment, who were helped out of his dish. To complete the misery of this unfortunate old man, he lived under

the continual apprehension of being conquered by his eldest son Muley Yazid, the late emperor, who, in consequence of some ill treatment received from his father, retired secretly from court, and took refuge in a sanctuary near Tetuan.--- This prince, whose grandmother was an English woman, had acquired the universal esteem of the whole country by his generous conduct and his great abilities ; and though at that time in a state of poverty, and with only four attendants about him, such was his influence, that he had only to step forward, and say he wanted money and troops, and he would shortly have been at the head of an army, that must at any time have entirely overwhelmed the late government of Morocco. From motives of duty, and perhaps of policy, this however was a step he did not wish to take, conscious that his father could not long survive, and that upon his death he was certain of the succession. The emperor, notwithstanding, was still unable to subdue his apprehensions ; and when I was at Morocco, sent an army of five thousand blacks, with an order to violate the sanctuary, and carry off the prince. This order was not obeyed, for the chief could not place sufficient confidence in his troops ; and the prince continued quiet in the sanctuary till his father's decease.

To evince the policy, as well as the sagacity of Muley Yazid, I must beg leave to relate an anecdote, which occurred a short time previous to that period. The people who have the care of the

sanctuary, received positive orders from the emperor to expel the prince by force ; which, if they failed in doing, he assured them he would send and put every man, woman, and child in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary to the sword. The people, though well disposed to the prince, intimidated by these orders, related faithfully to him the emperor's intentions, and informed him that, as their lives were at stake, they expected him to remove, at the same time recommending him to another sanctuary at no great distance, where he could equally take refuge. The prince, who is one of the best horsemen in the country, and who had a horse of which he had the entire command, immediately promised them to depart, and mounted his horse for the purpose. But what was their surprise, when they found the horse would not stir from the spot, notwithstanding the apparently free use of whip and spur ! Upon this the prince exclaimed, " You see plainly that it is God's will I should continue here, and therefore no other power shall ever drive me out." This had such an effect upon the superstitious multitude, that they preferred risking the resentment of the emperor, to the violation of what, in their estimation, was so apparently the will of God.

With respect to the other features of the emperor's character, his principal vices appear to have resulted from that great corruptor of the human heart, arbitrary power ; for he was the most arbitrary of monarchs, having at his absolute

disposal the lives and properties of all his subjects. In such circumstances, what man can be trusted, nay, who would trust himself? In such circumstances, can we wonder, when we observe the occasional indulgence of intemperate revenge? Among these we are to account his treatment of an unfortunate Jew who had imprudently written something to his prejudice, and for this slight offence was quartered alive, cut to pieces, and his flesh afterwards given to the dogs. Upon another occasion, a similar disposition was manifested by Sidi Mahomet. A Moor of some consequence, and very opulent, gave a grand entertainment on the marriage of one of his sons. The emperor, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and who well knew that magnificence was a striking proof of wealth, was determined to be present at the festival, in order that he might more fully inform himself of the circumstances of the Moor. For this purpose he disguised himself in a common dress, and entered the house in the midst of all the jollity, and perhaps the licentiousness, of the entertainment. The master of the ceremonies observing a person of mean appearance intrude himself into the room so abruptly, ordered him out; and upon the refusal of the stranger, he gave him a kick, and pushed him by violence out of the house. For a short space of time after this occurrence, the whole affair passed without notice, and probably had escaped the memory of most; and it was a matter of the utmost surprise to the master of the house, to receive an order,



commanding him immediately to repair to Morocco. Upon being introduced to the emperor, he was asked if he recollected the circumstances which have just been related, to which he replied in the affirmative. "Know then," said the emperor, "I was that Moor whom you treated thus contumeliously; and to convince you I have not forgot it, that foot and that hand which insulted me shall perish."—I have seen this unfortunate victim of tyranny walking about the streets without his leg and arm.

The emperor was as ready to revenge the imaginary as the real injuries of his subjects. To elucidate this assertion: an English and a French gentleman were amusing themselves by the diversion of coursing, in the vicinity of Mogodore, when one of their dogs unfortunately attacked the calf of a Moor. This accident soon brought out the villagers, who immediately shot the dog, and entered into a very serious quarrel with the Christians, which terminated in a general contest. The women of the village now thought it a proper occasion for their interference; and among their number was one, who from old age had lost all her teeth except two, and these were so loose that they could with difficulty be retained; and another, who had upon a former occasion fractured her arm, the bone of which had never been reduced or united. In the course of the dispute, these two women were unintentionally thrown down, and by this accident the old lady lost both

er teeth, while the other insisted that the Christians had been the occasion of fracturing her arm. To be brief, the Christians were overpowered by numbers, and were obliged to retire to Mogodore, where they immediately made a complaint to the governor, of the insults they had received from the Moors, who in their turn also appeared before him with a complaint against the Christians. The whole being referred to the emperor, both parties were ordered up to court, with a view of giving the matter an impartial hearing, and of administering justice accordingly. It is hardly necessary to intimate, that in this uncivilized country, and with a man of Sidi Mahomet's prejudices, the Moorish evidence would be certain of a favourable hearing. The circumstances indeed of one woman losing her teeth, and another having her arm fractured, appeared in the eyes of the emperor so plausible, that upon their being made known him, without hesitation he ordered the Christians to be put in irons, and confined, till he should determine upon the punishment which such apparent crimes merited. For this purpose, the mufti, or high priest, was directed to refer the matter to the Koran, with an intention of punishing the delinquents according to its dictates. The priest soon found out a passage, where it specifies an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. The English gentleman, whom the old lady fixed upon for the person who had been the occasion of her misfortune, was

ordered to lose two of his teeth, which punishment was immediately put in execution in the presence of the emperor; while his French companion, as they could not find out a punishment in the Koran for breaking an arm, received the bastinado in a manner which disgraced humanity and the law of nations; the prisoners were then set at liberty.\*

This circumstance brings to mind how narrowly I escaped falling into a similar predicament in the course of my detention at Morocco. One day, within the walls of the palace, I was grossly insulted by a Moor, at a time when, from the great anxiety I was under, my temper was much disturbed, and which so far had put me off my guard, as to induce me to give the offender a blow on the face. Upon this a Moorish soldier,

\* The following curious specimen of Moorish diplomacy, will shew what little respect is paid to Europeans in Barbary though acting in even official capacities, and upon what frivolous grounds the most solemn treaties are liable to be annulled in that country.

Copy of a translated letter from Samuel Levy, Jewish secretary to the Emperor of Morocco, to Philip Severn, Esq. British consul-general:

“ To the British consul.

“ God preserve.

“ After many compliments, offers these few lines. My master, whom God preserve, sends to you for two dogs, called Dabas, and are to be of this make: with upright ears, and large head, with a three-cornered muzzle; I once more repeat that they are called Dabas, neither must they be too short nor too long; and my master tells me, that if the said dogs are not

who, unobserved by myself, was sitting behind me in a corner of the wall, exclaimed in Arabic in a very austere tone, "Christian, how dare you strike that Moor?" A full consciousness of having acted imprudently, and a recollection of the emperor's former treatment of Christians under similar circumstances, now pressed upon my mind with such force, that at first I was at a loss what part I should take to extricate myself from this difficulty. To walk away, would be an acknowledgement of guilt, and would afford the soldier a greater plea for making a complaint; I therefore determined upon returning back and expostulating with him, by telling him that I had been grossly insulted, and must therefore be under the necessity of making immediate application to the governor of the town to have the offender severely punished for attacking one, who, from the

in his power by this time fifteen days, you must take care of your head, and that you do not break the peace; for which be as speedy in sending for them as you can, and my friend will stay with you till they arrive, which must be as soon as possible. Those dogs come from Lisbon, and must come in all haste, and that they be of the manner I write you, with large heads, upright ears, the mouth three-cornered, and that they be neither high nor low, and here in fifteen days, to prevent breaking the peace. These are my royal master Muley Abdallah's words, and I am blameless of what may happen, and don't you neglect them in time, from

"Your humble servant,

"SAMUEL LEVY.

"Palace of Mequinez,  
"Sept. 23, 1737."

nature of his employment, was in the emperor's service, and consequently under his particular protection. In reply the Moor said, that had I kicked him, horse-whipped him, or punished him in any other way but that of slapping his face, he should have overlooked it; but a blow in the face was in their law a crime of so serious a nature, that he thought it his duty to acquaint the emperor of it, who had hitherto never pardoned any person convicted of so heinous an offence, but had always cut off that hand of the Moor which had committed the insult; what then could a Christian expect from him? From the knowledge I had already acquired of the Moorish character, I still thought it necessary to continue in the same strain, by informing the man, that he might act as he thought proper, but that I should still fulfil my resolution, and had no doubt but it would have its proper effect. He now began to soften, and said, that as I was in the emperor's service, he would for this time overlook the offence, but cautioned me to be careful how I acted in future. Upon considering every circumstance, I thought it most prudent to let the matter drop here; and I acknowledge that this affair proved a sufficient lesson to me to avoid in future entering into similar contests with the Moors.

Sidi Mahomet was sufficiently conscious of his own power and dignity, and kept every person at the most abject distance; no person daring to approach or speak to him without his permission. Sensible also of the excesses into which he might

be betrayed by ungoverned passion, if at any time he found his temper discomposed, he indiscriminately ordered every one out of his sight. It may easily be conceived that the monarch had no difficulty in securing obedience to this mandate, since all were sensible that to have continued in his presence would have been highly dangerous, if not fatal. The only persons who possessed any considerable influence over the emperor were his women; and it was through that channel that the most successful business was transacted with him.

Thus far for the vices of arbitrary power. But deceit, hypocrisy, and falsehood were qualities which could not be immediately ascribed to that source, unless we consider them as the necessary effects of an education in a despotic court. As a cloak to actions which he knew must excite disapprobation and disgust, Sidi Mahomet attempted to persuade his subjects that they proceeded from motives of religion and justice; and to give them a greater sanction, he enrolled himself in the fraternity of saints, and paid a strict attention to all the superstitions and forms peculiar to his religion. This conduct answered well with the ignorant part of the community, but the more enlightened could not but observe, that he attended more to the ceremonial of his religion, than to its principles, which he made no scruple of violating whenever it suited his convenience. What he promised one day he would refuse the next, so that no dependence was ever placed upon his

word ; added to these, he possessed a large portion of that low cunning which is common to persons whose minds and sentiments have not been elevated or refined by literature or science. He perhaps, indeed, found this quality not without its uses in governing a people so uncivilized as the Moors ; and no man understood their character and disposition better than he did. He was aware that respect is frequently destroyed by unseasonable familiarities, and therefore kept at a most stately distance from his subjects, and but seldom appeared among them. By these means his consequence was preserved, and his conduct and his talents were involved in that impenetrable and awful mist that surrounds the seraglios of eastern monarchs. The few rebellions which occurred during his long reign, proved decisively that he knew how to govern his subjects. Whenever a disposition for revolt prevailed in any of the provinces, a body of troops was immediately dispatched to plunder the whole of the discontented province, and to seize the insurgents, who were immediately conducted to court, and punished according to their respective offences. Some were put to death, others were deprived of their hands and legs ; and for lesser crimes the discontented parties underwent the bastinado.--- This monarch employed persons in different districts to watch the motions of his subjects, and to inform him of every symptom of revolt ; and thus, by a well-timed interference, he was enabled to crush rebellion in the bud.

In his conduct towards foreign powers, Sidi Mahomet discovered the same disregard to truth and justice, the same adroitness and cunning. He readily promised to grant every demand, provided he was to be well paid for the concession ; but it must have been valuable presents indeed which would induce him to perform his promise. He protracted negotiations in order that he and his ministers might be enriched by them ; but always as much as possible avoided bringing them to a final determination, by either granting or refusing a favor. If foreign powers omitted to pay him the tribute he demanded, he immediately threatened in the severest manner to commence hostilities ; yet in this he was never in earnest, for he was more afraid of his enemies than they had reason to be of him ; when he found they were not disposed to contend the matter with him, he increased his demands accordingly. In order to enhance his consequence, he endeavoured to persuade his subjects that he was remarkably skilled in matters of which they were entirely ignorant. To preserve an appearance of ability, when he was visited by Europeans, if the stranger was a merchant, the subject of conversation was on manufactures, foreign commerce, and the like. If he was a military officer, fortifications, attacks, &c. were the topics ; and if a sea-faring person, he would then scratch on a piece of paper a plan of his coasts and harbours. Though he rarely advanced any thing to the pur-



pose on these subjects ; yet as foreigners who visited the court generally appeared there with a view of obtaining some favour, and as it was never customary for any person to contradict the emperor, they always coincided with his opinions, and pretended at least to admire his extensive abilities. This fully answered the intention of the emperor ; it induced his subjects to form a good opinion of his understanding, and he often collected some real information from the answers which his visitors returned to his questions.

Sidi Mahomet paid more attention to military affairs than to his navy, though if any power refused to repair a frigate, it was a sufficient inducement for him to threaten a war. He thought himself perfectly acquainted with the art of fortification, but his knowledge of it extended no farther than a few loose hints which he had received upon the subject from those Europeans who had visited the court.

In his court and personal appearance, Sidi Mahomet affected great simplicity of manners, not allowing even his own sons to appear in his presence except in a plain Moorish dress. They then were obliged to uncover their cap or turban (for a Moor never pulls off either, except when going to bed) and to wear instead of the haick, the *sulam*, which is a cloak made of white or blue woollen cloth, the front parts of which they were obliged to throw over their soldiers, and as soon as they saw the emperor to prostrate their heads to the ground, and kiss it, exclaiming, “ God-

preserve the king!" He then ordered them to approach, and speak to him.

Though in general of a stately demeanour, he was sometimes known to unbend, and occasionally took pleasure in conversing with his courtiers on various subjects; but they were permitted to advance no opinion of their own, but merely to approve of what he said. He frequently talked upon the subject of religion, and considered himself to be well informed in that particular. He sometimes endeavoured to explain to them different parts of the Koran, pointing out its beauties, and impressing on the minds of his auditors the most intolerant prejudices against Christians.

The mixture of good and evil so incident to all human characters, was also to be found in Sidi Mahomet. Notwithstanding what has been remarked of his avarice, his duplicity, and absurd pretensions to religion, there are some circumstances which serve to lessen our indignation, and these it is only consistent with justice and candour to state. It is generally allowed, that though he must necessarily suffer in comparison with the princes of free and civilized nations, yet when we examine the despotic conduct which distinguished his predecessors, his character greatly rises in the scale of humanity. He was seldom wantonly cruel; though certainly he was sometimes too hasty in pronouncing sentence on criminals, for which he has been often known to express the strongest sentiments of remorse; and

his desire to prevent any ill effects from his passions has already been remarked. In his administration of justice he generally acted very impartially, except indeed when his own interest was immediately concerned, and then every other feeling gave way. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though himself a most notorious violator of the laws, he so far respected them that he never would permit others to follow his example. Though so extremely avaricious, it has been already stated, that in some severe instances of public distress, he generously dispensed his treasures to administer relief to the sufferers; and the number of poor people who were daily fed at his palace, and of which I was an eye-witness, plainly evinced that he was not destitute of charity. Europeans met with greater encouragement, and the wheels of commerce were less clogged, during the reign of Sidi Mahomet, than at any preceding period.

Thus was this monarch a singular compound of liberality and intolerance, of avarice and benevolence, of cruelty and compassion. It is perhaps only in a state of despotism that we behold this confusion of character. The legal restraints of civilized life, form themselves into habits; and the eccentricities and caprices to which circumstances, situation, the state of the health, or perhaps the variations of climate, dispose the human mind, are no longer found to exist in European countries, or exist in an inferior degree. Happy

it is, when any restraints are imposed upon us, to prevent us from doing evil. Man is a creature not formed for arbitrary power. So limited are his views, so variable his disposition, so violent and tyrannical his passions, that the wisest of men would certainly not wish for absolute authority, and the best, if entrusted with it, would probably abuse it.

The conduct of Sidi Mahomet towards foreign courts has already been noticed. His mode of extracting money from them by threatening a war, which perhaps in reality he dreaded, has likewise been stated. It will probably not be unreasonable in this place to introduce a few remarks on their conduct towards him.

The observation that first and most naturally presents itself upon this occasion is----that nothing but gross neglect or inexcusable ignorance, could induce the European princes in general to remain in a kind of tributary state to a prince, who had neither an army nor a fleet which deserved the name, and a people whose disposition is less suited to enterprize than perhaps any other. What had they to fear from him? His whole fleet consisted only of a few small frigates and row-boats, ill managed and worse manned, the whole of which might have been destroyed in one day by two or three well-appointed European frigates. The entrances of those ports where he laid up his shipping, if we except Tangier and Larache, are, as I before

observed, so continually choaking up with sand, that in a short time they will only admit fishing-boats, or the very smallest craft. The towns are none of them regularly fortified, except Mogodore, and that hardly produces half a dozen men who understand in the least degree, the working of the guns; and yet this contemptible power gives laws to all the coasts of Portugal and Spain, and may be said in some measure to command the entrance of the Mediterranean! It may be said he was too trifling a power to notice; if so, why lavish immense presents for the purpose of keeping him in temper? Those who imagined they secured his friendship by these means, were much mistaken; on the contrary, they only added fuel to that flame of extravagance which was not to be extinguished. If he was one day presented with a frigate, he asked for two the next; and the more his requests were indulged, the more his inordinate desires were increased. It is well known to those who have been conversant with the Moors, that to secure their friendship you must first assert your own superiority, and then if you make them a trifling present, its value is trebled in their estimation. The same disposition would have been found in Sidi Mahomet, as in the common Moor. So far from courting an alliance, it would rather have been good policy at once to quarrel with him; the loss of a few towns, particularly Mogodore, to which he was much attached, from its being raised under his

own auspices, would soon have reduced him to good humour and submission. \*

But should the friendship of the emperor on commercial principles be deemed worthy of cul-

\* The following correspondence, which passed between Muley Ishmael, one of the former emperors of Morocco, and the much lamented Sir Cloudesly Shovel, affords a very tolerable specimen of Moorish literature and of Moorish liberality, as well as of that independent conduct which should always be observed towards the piratical states of Barbary.

“I, servant of God, and emperor of Morocco, and king of Mauritania, whom God preserve in all his undertakings.

“I salute you and the rest of the captains.

“As for the captives you have taken, they belong to several places, and are not all my subjects; and what I do is out of charity, as they are Mahometans, being forced to go to sea for want of maintenance.

“As for those that are my soldiers, they go to sea to fight, and die in my quarrels; but those Moors that you have taken, are inconsiderable, and of no account. Henceforward, I shall have ships built as large as yours, if not larger; hoping to take some of your ships, and captains, and cruise for you in your English seas, as you do for us in ours.

“I have written letters to the king of England, in which are kind expressions: and when you had Tangier, there was all things given to you as you wanted, and all done out of kindness. And now as you have left Tangier for the Moors, whatever his majesty of Great Britain wants, either by land or sea, it shall be granted, so that there be a peace between the two crowns; for which I pass my word and truth.

“Whereas I have written several letters to his majesty of Great Britain, to which as yet, I have not received an answer, hoping when it comes to my hand, there will be a good accommodation between us.

“You have taken several of our ships, and destroyed others, and you are cruising on our coasts: the which is not the way to make a good peace, neither the actions of honesty in you.

ivation, a very different line of policy to the one now in practice, must be observed. I hereafter shall have occasion to notice the immense resources of this empire, and of what importance

“God be praised that you have quitted Tangier, and left it to us, to whom it did belong: from henceforward we shall manne it; for it is the best part of our dominious.

“As for the captives you have taken, you may do as you please; heaving them into the sea, or destroy them otherwise. The English merchants that are here resident, their debts will be satisfied; which being complied with, none shall remain in my country.

“MULEY ISHMAEL.”

“To Captain Shovel.

*Captain Shovel's answer:—*

“May it please your majesty,

“On board the Charles Galley,  
Aug. 26th, 1684.

“We the king of England's captains, return your majesty humble thanks for your kind wishes to us. Your majesty by this may know, that we have received your letter, and by it understand that your majesty is informed that most of these people that are taken, are none of your subjects. We perceive by this, as well as in other things, how grossly your majesty has been abused by those people you trust; else we doubt not, but that long before this, our master, whom God preserve, and your majesty, had accommodated all differences, and we had had a firm peace.

“Of those 53 slaves that are here, excepting two or three, they are all Moors of your country, as they themselves can make appear. But if they are to be disowned, because they are poor, the Lord help them. Your majesty tells us that we may throw them over-board, if we please: all this we very well know, but we are Christians, and they bear the form of men, which is reason enough for us not to do it.

“As to Tangier, our master kept it twenty-one years, and the world is sensible, that in spite of all your force, he could, if he had pleased, have continued it to the world's end; for he levelled your walls, filled up your harbour, demolished your houses in the face of your Alcaide, and his army; and when he

they would prove to Great Britain, could a judicious alliance be formed with the court of Morocco. But this can only be accomplished by

had done, he left your barren country (without the loss of one man) for your own people to starve in ; but our departure from thence long before this, we doubt not but you have repented of. When you tell us of those mighty ships your majesty intends to build, to send on our coast, you must excuse us, if we think ourselves the better judges ; for we know what as to shipping, you are able to do.

“ If you think fit to redeem those slaves, at a hundred dollars a piece, they are at your majesty’s service ; and the rest shall be sent you ; or if you think fit to give so many English in exchange, we shall be well contented, but, we think you will hardly comply with that ; for the poorest slave that ever our master redeemed out of your country, cost him 200 dollars and some of them five-times that sum ; for he freely extended his charity to all, and never forgets his people because they are poor.

“ It is great wonder to us, that you would tax us with unjust proceedings, in taking your ships in time of truce ; when your majesty may remember, that during the time your ambassador was in England, your corsairs took above 20 sail of my master’s subjects : and this very year, you have fitted out all the force in your kingdom to sea, which has taken several of our ships, and at the same time pretend to a truce for peace ! but some of your ships, for their unjust dealings, have already had their reward ; and the rest, when they shall come to sea, we doubt not but God Almighty will put them into our hands.

“ If your majesty thinks fit to send proposals to my master concerning peace, I shall take care for the speedy and safe conveyance of them. I do desire your majesty’s speedy answer ; for I do not intend to stay long before Sallee.

“ Thus wishing your majesty long life and happiness, I subscribe myself,

“ Your majesty’s obedient humble servant,  
“ CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.”



taking the most decisive steps, to impress on the mind of the emperor, the sincerity of our intentions, and the benefit which he himself would derive from the proposed arrangement. For this purpose, the minister for Morocco should be perfectly acquainted with the language and character of the Moors ; with the policy of the court ; and more particularly with the geography and the general productions of the country. A person so accredited, should not only be a good financier, but he should be master of commercial subjects, in all their different ramifications ; and with these acquirements, he should possess an undaunted mind tempered with conciliatory manners, and sufficiently under command to admit occasionally of a well-timed forbearance. To check the intrigues of artful ministers, and to have immediate access to explanations, when requisite, the British minister should reside with the court, in the place of living on the sea coast, some hundreds of miles from the seat of government, as at present ; he should be allowed an establishment that would enable him to support with rank, and dignity, the character of the country which he would be deputed to represent ; and he should be assisted by intelligent British consuls, and not by Jewish agents, in all those seaport towns or other places, where a commercial intercourse was likely to be opened between the two nations.

Thus the emperor, from the explanations which would necessarily arise from frequently communicating with the British minister, might

be taught to improve and to increase the vast resources of his extensive dominions in Africa, the prejudices between the two nations, by an association of mutual interests, might gradually be diminished, and with other important advantages, a chance might be afforded, of indirectly opening by means of the Morocco caravans, a commercial intercourse with the more interior parts of Africa.

The emperor's title is, "Emperor of Africa ; emperor of Morocco ; king of Fez, Suz, and Gago ; lord of Dara and Guinea : and great Sharif of Mahomet."

The principal amusement of Sidi Mahomet latterly was observing his soldiers fire with musquets at targets, and rewarding those who were successful with small pieces of money. He also occasionally entertained himself with falcons ; but in general he spent the greater part of his time with his women. He usually received foreigners, and transacted all public business, either in his carriage or on horseback, in some of the open spaces within the palace. Formerly on such occasions, it was sometimes customary to admit strangers into one of the rooms ; and then he obliged them to conform to the custom of the country, by pulling off their shoes when in his presence : but some spirited Europeans a few years ago having refused to pay that homage, he ever after gave them audience in one of his court-yards. The Spanish friars at Morocco only were an exception to this rule, for upon their in-

forming him that they never pulled off their shoes to any power under God, he always permitted them to enter his room with them on.

Previous to a stranger, whether an European or a Moor, obtaining an audience of his Moerish majesty, a present was always made to one of his ministers, as an inducement to him to acquaint his sovereign that a stranger solicited that honor. The first present, unless it was something very handsome, did not always succeed; and it was frequently necessary to apply to two or three ministers to procure a speedy audience, or even to send in a present to one of the sultanas, none of whom entertained very uneasy sensations about accepting the compliment. The latter was indeed the most certain mode of succeeding. After having so far accomplished his wishes, the stranger was next liable to be detained a longer or a shorter time before the capricious monarch would fix on a day for receiving him. Even after this, he would frequently send for him in a violent hurry to the palace, and when there, keep him standing in one of the open courts several hours; he would then send an excuse for not admitting him on that day; and this agreeable process was in many instances repeated three or four times. The tardiness, insolence, and irregularity of the court of Morocco, during the reign of Sidi Mahomet, indeed was embarrassing and vexatious, beyond all comparison, and such as to demand no small degree of forbearance on the part of those who had business to transact with the emperor.

No person whatever, whether Moor or Christian, was admitted into the presence of the sovereign, but when accompanied with a handsome present, more or less valuable, in proportion to the favour intended to be requested; even the emperor's own sons were not exempt from this custom, upon paying their first visit after a previous absence. The generosity of the suitor must not even stop here; for when the audience is over, the master of the ceremonies with his servants, and the porters of all the gates in the palace, which are rather numerous, have a claim for their perquisites, and are not to be got rid of till they obtain something; indeed, as they receive no pay from their royal master, these perquisites were the only means they possessed of obtaining a subsistence. \*

\* For the satisfaction of those who have occasion to visit the court of Morocco upon business, I have with difficulty obtained an account of the fees which are usually paid by European merchants to the emperor's attendants. Consuls and ambassadors of course pay more in proportion.

Expences at court.

To the emperor— { A more or less valuable present, according to the favour which is expected.

To the master of the ceremonies for public audiences, who introduces strangers to the emperor— } The same in proportion.

Ounces.

To the man who attends the emperor at the Machoire . . . .	20
To . . . . . who cleans his muskets . . . . .	20
To . . . . . who has the care of his horses . . . . .	20
To . . . . . who makes tea for the emperor . . . . .	10
To . . . . . who has the care of his lance . . . . .	10

After having completed the business at court, the obtaining of the final dispatches was commonly attended with the same difficulties as the procuring an audience. The emperor was not only naturally very forgetful, but sometimes, from political motives, intentionally so. He was well aware that the longer strangers were detained at Morocco, the more his ministers would be enriched; and as the money came at last, though by a circuitous course, into his own pocket, he used frequently to forget that strangers were waiting for their dispatches. The ministers, on the other hand, unless urged by substantial presents, were generally extremely dilatory in reminding the emperor; and there have been many instances of foreigners being detained at Morocco five or six weeks, entirely owing to this circumstance.

	<i>Ounces.</i>
To the man who has the care of his umbrella .....	5
To ..... who has the care of the emperor's saddles ..	10
To the emperor's coachman .....	5
To the man who has the care of the emperor's spurs ....	5
To .... who has the care of the emperor's tents ....	10
To ..... who has the care of the emperor's slippers ..	5
To .... who gives the emperor water to drink .....	5
To ..... who takes care of the emperor's chair .....	5
To ..... who takes the flies off the emperor's face ....	5
To ..... who takes care of the emperor's sword .....	5
To ..... who takes care of the emperor's watch .....	5
To the porters of the Machoire, for ten gates .....	40
To the emperor's gardeners .....	10
To calling for each audience .....	10
Total ..	<u>205</u>

An ounce, as I have before observed, is a silver coin of nearly the same value as five pence English.

With respect to the court of Morocco, it latterly hardly deserved that appellation. When the emperor was young, his faculties clear, and his abilities in their prime, he entrusted to his ministers a considerable share of the public business; but within the last few years of his life, when his strength of body as well as of mind were worn out by hard services and old age, either from suspicion or dotage, he took the reins of government entirely into his own hands. The ministers and secretaries not daring to notice the mistakes of the sovereign, were obliged to write out letters and send orders, which were contradicted almost every hour, and which created the utmost confusion. The court of Morocco, indeed, under the most advantageous circumstances, as we have before observed, was always notorious for its irregularity and contradiction; but a short time previous to the emperor's death, the government could scarcely be said to exist at all.

As an account of the officers employed about the court of the emperor has never been particularly detailed to the public, a short statement of them will probably not be uninteresting; I shall therefore, in as few words as possible, point out their respective employments.

The emperor's court consisted of,

1. A prime minister, named the Effendi, or friend; who was the responsible man, and during that period when the government was carried on in a more regular manner, all letters and orders were signed by him before they were dispatched.

2. A principal secretary to the treasury, united with the office of Effendi : who had the disbursement at large of the emperor's payments, with six Moorish and seven Jewish under-secretaries.

3. A master of the horse with one hundred and twenty assistants.

4. A grand chamberlain, a place commonly united with that of prime minister, with seventeen assistants ; nine of whom were sons of Spanish renegadoes, three sons of negroes, and the others Moors.

5. A grand falconer, which is an hereditary place, and perhaps the only one in the country, with twenty assistants.

6. A keeper of the great seal.

7. Two grand stewards, with eight assistants.

8. Five inspectors general of all the emperor's affairs, the principal of whom was the Effendi,

9. Three masters of ceremonies for public audiences, with forty assistants.

10. An interpreter general for the German, Dutch, English, French, Spanish, and Latin languages ; this man was a German renegado.

11. A secretary for the Spanish and Italian languages, who was a Genoese.

12. Two grand keepers of the jewels and plate.

13. A grand master of the baths.

14. Two grand keepers of the arsenal.

15. Two keepers of the emperor's goods and warehouses.

16. Three inspectors of mosques, &c.

17. Five keepers of the provisions.

18. Two keepers of the library.
19. Two astrologers.
20. Four masters of the carriages, with two assistants.
21. Twelve sons of renegadoes, who have never had beards, employed in drawing the small carriages.
22. Three principal assistants for prayers, with seventeen deputies, sons of the great people of the empire.
23. Three bearers of the umbrella, with nine assistants.
24. One bearer of the sabre.
25. Two bearers of the bason.
26. Two bearers of the lance.
27. One bearer of the watch.
28. Five bearers of the emperor's own firelocks, who are all alcaides, with fifteen inferior assistants.
29. A bearer of the colours and standard.
30. A physician and a surgeon, with several tradesmen too numerous to mention.

Upon taking a retrospective view of the employments under the emperor of Morocco, we shall not find that they differ so much from those of other states, as might be imagined, from the ignorance of the European customs observable in this people in other respects. The places of Efendi and principal secretary to the treasury being united in one person, bears considerable analogy to the union of the office of prime minister with



those of chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. The appointments of secretary of state, master of the horse, grand chamberlain, keeper of the great seal, and grand falconer, are all places which are well known in European courts; and many others have nearly the same correspondence. The principal difference between the court of Morocco and those of Europe is, that the possessors of these appointments in European courts, enjoy very lucrative incomes from their respective states, while those of Morocco, receive none at all from the court; they depend solely on the perquisites which are paid them by those who have business to transact with the emperor. From these however a very considerable income not unfrequently arises, though always subject to defalcation from the rapacious hand of the sovereign, who seizes upon every thing with which he comes in contact.\*

The Effendi to the emperor had a degree of address, and an elegance of manners, which would have done honour to an European courtier. He received a stranger with a pleasing smile, and a respectful bow; shook him warmly by the hand, enquired after his health, invited him to his house, and offered him his services. As he was rich, he was always extremely timid in the presence of the emperor, notwithstanding he annually

\* The following account of the provisions made for a Moorish ambassador while residing at the court of London, and an English ambassador at the court of Morocco, may serve per-

made him a large present to keep him in temper. Some of the princes, and many others, followed his example in this respect, judiciously preferring the enjoyment of a little with a certainty, to the running a risk of losing the whole.

The emperor of late had no regular court days, but fixed upon them as inclination or convenience dictated. On those days all the princes who were at Morocco, and every person in the immediate service of the emperor, were obliged

haps to amuse some of my readers, as it affords a striking contrast between the customs of the two countries:—

Provision and allowance granted to admiral Perez, ambassador from Muley Abdallah, emperor of Morocco to the king of Great Britain, from the 15th of May, 1737, to the 15th of August, 1741, being a period of four years and three months.

From the day of audience delivering his letters of credence, to audience of leave, a coach and six at his command provided by the master of the horse to his majesty at 31s. 6d. per diem, making per annum, about . . . . . £ 575 0 0

For a furnished house in Suffolk-street, at four guineas a week, or per annum . . . . . 218 8 0

Issued out of his majesty's treasury monthly, and paid by the master of the ceremonies to the ambassador, for keeping and maintaining his retinue and table, in the place of providing, as the Moors do, in kind, £75 per month, or £18 15 per week, making per annum . . . . . 975 0 0

All his goods and baggage at the custom-house, ordered duty free.

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Total per annum . . . . £ 1768 8 0

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to attend at the Machoire, an open part of the palace so named, where they, with the soldiers, were arranged in the form of a crescent; the ministers and strangers in front, and the sovereign, either on horseback or in his carriage, in the centre. Upon these occasions the public business in general was transacted, foreigners were received, grievances were stated, complaints heard (every person being at liberty to apply to the emperor for redress) and malefactors were

Provisions and necessaries usually allowed to an English ambassador while residing at the court of the emperor of Morocco, and which are uniformly issued in kind.

A house to reside in, the rent of which is estimated at about £26 13 4 per annum.

Three white wax candles per diem, valued at 2d. each.

Four yellow wax candles per diem, at 2d. each.

One quart of oil for three nights, valued at 8d.

One pound of butter per diem, at 8d.

Two quarts of milk per diem, at  $2\frac{3}{4}$ d.

A quarter of mutton per diem, at 2d. a pound.

Twelve pounds of beef per diem, at 2d. a pound.

Two fowls per diem, at 6d. each.

One sack of flour for his own table per month, at £1 0 0

Bread for his servants per diem, 8d.

Wood, charecoal, and greens, at the rate of about 13s. 4d. per month.

Also horses out of the emperor's stables, for the ambassador, and his retinue.

The actual expence of the above contingencies, bears a very small proportion to the preceding estimate of British allowances, but to the emperor, may be rated at little or nothing, since most of the articles have previously been furnished in the form of presents by his own subjects, either to preserve the peace with him, or to obtain some favour.

punished in the presence of the sovereign and the whole court.

The revenues of the emperor of Morocco consist of a tenth on every article of consumption, being the natural production of the country, as allowed him by the Koran ; an annual tax upon the Jews ; his custom-house and excise duties ; and the tributes which he exacts from his subjects, foreign states, and European merchants, in the form of presents. From the last article he derives the most considerable part of his income.--- The want of system and caprice of Sidi Mahomet, was such, that it is utterly impossible to say what might be the annual amount of all these branches of revenue. The duties were frequently changed three or four times in the course of a year, and the tributes were subject to an equal degree of uncertainty. After all it has been a matter of great doubt and speculation, whether Sidi Mahomet was wealthy. From the greater encouragement to commerce during his reign, from the trifling expence of his court, every person engaged about it receiving little or no pay from the emperor, from the uncommonly severe exactions he enforced, and from the numerous voluntary presents which he received, the natural conclusion was, that he must have accumulated very considerable riches ; on the other hand, his expences at the sieges of Melilla and Mazagan are known to have been extremely heavy ; and these, united to the valuable presents which he annually transmitted to the grand seignior and to the

Sharifs of Mecca, various other contingencies, are to be placed in the opposite scale ; and when this is done, it will perhaps appear that his wealth was not so considerable, as at first apprehended.

The land forces of the emperor of Morocco consist principally of black troops, the descendants of those Negroes which Muley Ishmael imported from Guinea, and some few white, amounting altogether to an army of about thirty-six thousand men upon the establishment, two thirds of which are cavalry.\* This establishment, however, upon occasion, admits of a considerable increase, as every man is supposed to be a soldier, and when called upon is obliged to act in that capacity. About six thousand of the standing forces form the emperor's body guard, and are always kept near his person ; the remainder are quartered in the different towns of the empire, and are under the charge of the bashaws of the provinces. They are all clothed by the emperor, and receive a trifling pay ; but their chief dependence is on plunder, which they have frequent opportunities of acquiring. The soldiers have no distinction in dress from the other Moors, and are only marked by their accoutrements, which consist of a sabre, a very long musquet, a small red leather box to hold their balls, which is fixed in front by means of a belt, and a powder-horn slung over their shoulders. The army is under the direction

\* The military force of the present emperor is limited to a much smaller establishment.

of a commander in chief, four principal Bashaws, and Alcaldes who command distinct divisions. With respect to the Alcaldes, it is proper to remark, that there are three descriptions of persons who bear this appellation; but those to whom I at present allude, are military officers who command soldiers from a thousand to five hundred, twenty-five, or even four men in a division.

The black troops which I have been describing, are naturally of a very fiery disposition, capable of enduring great fatigue, hunger, thirst, and every difficulty to which a military life is exposed. They appear well calculated for skirmishing parties, or for the purpose of harassing an enemy; but were they obliged to undergo a regular attack, from their total want of discipline, they would soon be routed. In all their manœuvres they have no notion whatever of order and regularity, but have altogether more the appearance of a rabble than of an army. Though these troops are supposed to be the strongest support of despotism, yet from their avarice and love of variety, they frequently prove the most dangerous enemies to their monarchs; they are often known to excite sedition and rebellion, and their insolence has sometimes proceeded to such excesses as nearly to overturn the government. Their conduct is governed only by their passions. Those who pay them best, and treat them with the greatest attention, they will always be most ready to support. This circumstance, independent of every other, makes it the interest of the monarch to keep his

subjects in as complete a state of poverty as possible. The Moors are indeed remarkable for insincerity in their attachments, and for their love of variety; a military force, in this kingdom especially, is therefore the only means which a despotic monarch can employ, for securing himself in the possession of the throne. Ignorant of every principle of rational liberty, whatever contests this devoted people may engage in with their tyrants, are merely contests for the succession; and the sole object for which they spend their lives and their property, is to exchange one merciless despot for another.

The emperor's navy consists of about fifteen small frigates, a few xebecs, and between twenty and thirty row-gallies. The whole is commanded by one admiral, but as these vessels are principally used for the purposes of piracy, they seldom unite in a fleet. The number of seamen in the service are computed at six thousand. I have already noted the bad state of the ports of Morocco, and the probability of their becoming still worse; it is therefore evident, that very little is to be apprehended from the emperor as a naval power; and indeed I am apt to believe, that though a considerable part of his dominions be apparently maritime, he will in the course of some years be destitute both of fleets and harbours.

When describing the emperor's character, I observed, that there cannot exist a more absolute government than that of Morocco, the lives

and property of the subjects depending entirely on the will or caprice of the monarch. The forms of order and justice however are still preserved, though but very little of the substance remains.

An officer is appointed by the emperor for the government of every province, who, as I have already stated, is named a Bashaw; he is generally a Moor of some distinction, and frequently one of the emperor's sons. This officer, who is appointed or removed at the will of the sovereign, has almost an unlimited power throughout the province which he commands; he can inflict every punishment but death, can levy taxes, impose fines, and in short can plunder any individual he pleases; and indeed, if the reader will not smile at the abuse of words, the plundering of the public and of individuals may be considered as a part of the duties of his office. When by every species of rapacity he has amassed a large property, it then becomes the business of the emperor to divert this treasure into his own coffers. Some frivolous plea is therefore invented for imprisoning the Bashaw, which is immediately put into execution. The emperor then seizes upon all his property, and afterwards reinstates him in his government, in order that the same game may be played over again.—So perfectly acquainted with mankind in every state and situation was our inimitable Shakespeare:

“*Rosencrantz*. Take you me for a sponge, my  
“lord?



“*Hamlet.* Aye, sir ; that soaks up the king’s countenance, his rewards, his authorities. But such officers do the king best service in the end ; he keeps them, like an ape, in the corner of his jaw ; first mouthed, to be at last swallowed. When he needs what you have gleaned, it is but squeezing you, and, sponge, you shall be dry again.”

Subordinate to the bashaw, the emperor appoints governors to each town, named Alcaides, and officers with a similar authority in every Douhar or encampment, who are called Shaiks. These officers have the same power invested in them over their several districts, as the Bashaws have in their provinces ; but in other respects their situation is worse, as they are not only subject to the tyranny and caprice of the emperor, but also of the Bashaws.

The Alcaide, or governor, is invested with both the military and civil authority in the town where he resides. As a military officer he commands a certain number of soldiers, which he employs for the public defence and tranquillity, and also for enforcing the payment of taxes, for the punishment of delinquents, and to convey his orders and messages to court, or into the country. As a civil officer, he has the entire cognizance of all criminal matters, for which he discretionally inflicts any punishment short of death.

If we only reflect on the dangerous extent of this almost unlimited power, it is easy to anticipate the abuses of it in a country where so little

attention is paid to justice or honor. For the most trifling offences, the Alcaide condemns the delinquent not only to be bastinadoed very severely, and imprisoned, but also to pay him a sum of money, or present him with some other article equal in value, which probably the prisoner has been half his life in acquiring. It frequently happens, indeed, that false accusations are invented purposely against individuals to plunder them of their property. This is not the only inconvenience arising from an abuse of power;—for let a person commit the most notorious crime, if he can carry up a present to the governor of greater value than what was presented by his accuser, he is not only forgiven, but if he has the least ingenuity he will find very little difficulty in even throwing the whole of the crime upon his antagonist. Indeed, in this country, justice, or rather judgment, is most easily procured by purchasing it.

Under the Alcaide, is an officer named Ell-hackum, or deputy governor, whose office bears some analogy to our principal bailiff or constable. Besides these officers, there is in every town a Cadi, who is both a civil judge and the chief priest; for it is well known that the civil and religious institutions are united in the Koran. When any dispute happens between individuals, respecting matters of right or property, debts, insults, &c. the person who supposes himself injured may apply for redress to the Cadi, who

is to determine the matter agreeably to the principles of the Koran. In the absence of the Cadi, any of the Talbs, who are common priests, are equally authorized to act for him. If the parties chuse to employ lawyers, the pleadings must be carried on in writing, otherwise they plead orally their own causes. Upon these occasions the Cadi or Talbs cannot openly receive any payment but it is well known that they too frequently are influenced by private presents.

The chief of the Cadis is the Mufti, who is also the supreme head of the church.

When any party in a suit conceives that he has reason to complain of the jurisdiction of these officers, he has a right to appeal to the emperor who gives public audiences for the purpose of administering justice. This custom would be a great alleviation to the evils of despotism, were the emperor always to administer justice impartially; but valuable presents have sometimes so powerful an influence even over the sovereign himself; on this account, as well as on that of the great distance of many of the provinces from the seat of government, the people seldom embrace this last resource in applying for justice.

The mode of punishing criminals in this country depends entirely upon the will of the sovereign. Trifling offences are usually followed by imprisonment and the bastinado, which is inflicting a certain number of stripes on the back and legs by leather straps, and which is sometimes executed with great severity. For crimes of a more

serious nature, in some cases, the hands are cut off, particularly for stealing, in others, a leg and a hand; when I was at Morocco four men who had committed murder had both their hands and legs cut off, and were afterwards shot; other criminals are run through with swords, knocked down with clubs, or are beheaded. Another mode of punishment is tossing, which is so contrived that the victim shall fall immediately upon his head. There were several persons about Sidi Mahomet, who from practice had acquired a habit of throwing persons up, so as at pleasure either to break the head, dislocate the neck, fracture an arm, leg, or both, or to let them fall without receiving any material injury. When I was at Morocco, a man received the latter punishment in the morning, and in the afternoon the emperor made him a handsome present, as a recompense for what he had suffered.

To sum up all in a few words, there is no mode of cruelty known which has not been practised at Morocco. I am well aware that in the present uncivilized state of the people, severe and exemplary punishments may be necessary to keep them in any degree of subjection; but it must be at least allowed, that such severities should never be inflicted but when there is full proof of guilt. The contrary of this I am afraid is too often the case at Morocco. The accused is seldom permitted to make his defence, but is sent out of the world very frequently without knowing for what he suffers. These punishments were always

inflicted in the presence of the emperor. The former monarchs of this country were their own executioners, and Sidi Mahomet acted in the same capacity when prince; but upon his accession to the throne he resigned that respectable office to his Negro soldiers. I never was present at any of these executions, but was informed that legs and arms are taken off by a common knife and saw, and that the stump is afterwards dipped in boiling pitch, which is the only mode of stopping the hæmorrhage with which the Moors are acquainted.

## CHAP. IX.

*Arrival of Muley Absulem at Morocco.—Efforts of the author to procure leave to return.*

ABOUT ten days after my interview with the emperor, Muley Absulem arrived from Tarudant, in his way to Mecca. As this prince was so distinguished a favourite with the emperor, his public entrance into Morocco was conducted in a much more magnificent stile, than any other part of the royal family would perhaps have ventured upon. As soon as intelligence arrived that the prince was approaching the city, two of his brothers, Muley Slemma and Muley Oussine, who happened to be at Morocco at the time, the bashaw, and all the principal persons in the city received orders to proceed on horseback to meet him, which they did in great form, and found him encamped at the distance of about four miles. As soon as the prince had dined, the cavalcade commenced in the following order: first, twelve of the prince's alcaides abreast, flanked on each side by one standard-bearer, who carried each a red flag, and one lance-bearer, carrying a lance of an uncommon length; next, Muley Absulem,

having on his right Muley Slemma, and on his left Muley Oussine ; to these succeeded the bashaw, with the principal persons of the city ; and the rear was brought up by a troop of one hundred cavalry, all abreast, partly Negroes and partly Moors, who had the butt end of their musquets resting on their saddles, with the muzzles pointed perpendicularly. In this manner the prince advanced till he approached the walls of the town, where he received orders to halt till the arrival of the emperor ; an honour which had never been paid by Sidi Mahomet to any person before. The emperor shortly after advanced on horseback, with his suite, consisting of about fifty soldiers. Upon his approach, Muley Absulem dismounted and kissed the earth ; upon which the emperor commanded him to rise and approach close to his person. He then blessed him, laying his hand on the prince's head, and afterwards embraced him with all the affection of a fond father. Having made many enquiries concerning his son's health, the emperor took his leave, and each retired to their respective places of residence. As soon as the prince had got within the walls of his garden, his troops fired three vollies of musquetry in an irregular manner, as is customary on these occasions, and there the ceremony concluded.

It may easily be imagined that I lost no time in waiting on his highness, and I received from him as flattering a reception as I could possibly

wish. The prince informed me that he had continued recovering his sight gradually, and that he found himself in every other respect in good health. I took this opportunity of representing to him how disagreeably I was situated with respect to the emperor, and trusted that he would now clear up every doubt that might have arisen on my account; and with this request he promised to comply. On paying my second visit, the prince informed me that he had obtained the emperor's permission to have again recourse to his medicines, and that he was certain he should have influence sufficient with his father to persuade him to give me up the English captives, as a compliment for my services.

The prince had brought along with him to Morocco the English captain, the only Englishman that had been left in slavery, the black having died some time before. My reader will easily conceive the pleasure I felt at seeing my unfortunate countryman, who had been left alone in the hands of savages, now out of immediate slavery, and with the cheerful prospect, according to the promises of the prince, of being immediately sent home to his friends and country. My sensations indeed on the occasion may be much more easily felt than described. But if this circumstance produced such an effect upon me, what must it have had upon this unfortunate officer, who for some months past had been separated from his people, one of whom was a near relation, without knowing whether they were dead or



alive ; who, with the evils of slavery, had experienced that of a severe fever, without having any person to console him, or to afford him that assistance so necessary on such occasions?---- To be redeemed under such circumstances from his inhospitable situation, to recover from his illness, and to meet with all his companions at Morocco, well taken care of by the emperor, was a change which he had given up all expectation of ever beholding. The captain was a well-informed young man, and an agreeable companion. He had been brought up, as I before intimated, to the profession of medicine and surgery, in both of which he had received a good education. His first essay in the world was as surgeon to a Guinea-man ; after having made several voyages in this capacity, finding it a disadvantageous employment, he obtained the command of a small vessel in the same trade, and this was his first voyage as a commander. Contrary to his inclination, he was ordered by his owners to sail between the Canaries and the coast of Africa, which is at all times considered a dangerous navigation. As he approached towards the spot where his misfortune happened, which is inhabited by wild Arabs, he got into a strong current which drives directly towards the shore, and a perfect calm succeeding, the vessel unavoidably ran aground. The crew immediately took to their boat, carried off all the money on board, which was about five hundred dollars, with a good share of provisions and water, and got safe

on shore. The part of the country where they were wrecked consisted of deep and heavy sands. As upon their first landing they saw nothing to molest them, it was their intention to proceed on foot, along the coast to the northward, till they could reach Santa Cruz or Mogodore, where they could make their situation known. For this purpose they set off with their money, provisions and water, and met with no disturbance till the end of two days. They then observed a party of wild Arabs, armed with large clubs and knives rapidly advancing towards them; their first object was to bury their money in the sands. Overpowered by numbers, they saw no chance of making a successful defence, and therefore every moment expected instantaneous death. The savages, however, had a different object in view. They knew very well that what property the unfortunate people had about them was sufficiently secure, without being under the necessity of taking away their lives, and they were not ignorant of the value of their persons when offered for sale; their ultimate object therefore was to bring them to market as slaves. As each of their conquerors conceived himself equally interested in the capture, they were some time before they could agree among themselves how they should dispose of their prisoners; in the mean time some of the people were knocked down, others had their pockets cut out, and the buttons torn from off their coats: they were at last seized on by diffe-

rent persons, and carried away to their respective places of residence.

As I had an opportunity of seeing some of these savages at Morocco, and as they appeared to be in some respects different from those Arabs whom I had met with in my travels, I shall beg leave to describe them. Contrary to the custom of the Moors, they wear the hair long, which is a dark black, and starting from their heads like porcupine's quills. Their complexions are of a very dark brown, their noses very pointed, their eyes dark and staring, their beards long, and their features altogether suggest the idea of lunacy or raving madness. In their persons they are very strong and muscular; and many of them go quite naked; others wear only a small garment round their waists.—But to return to my narrative:—

The English sailors were put into miserable huts or tents, where for several days they could procure no sustenance, but juniper-berries, brackish water, and now and then a small quantity of milk.

From these people they were soon disposed of to others, who put them into the immediate employments of slavery; these were the carrying of water in skins, and performing various other acts of drudgery, which were at all times accompanied with stripes. After continuing in this state between two and three months, they contrived to get a letter conveyed to the English vice-consul at Mogodore, expressive of their situation, who

forwarded it to the consul general at Tangier, and at the same time wrote to Muley Absulem upon the subject. This prince, who commanded the province adjoining to that where Capt. Irving and his people were detained, at the expiration of eight months from the time this accident happened, obtained the emperor's permission to redeem them out of slavery, with orders to send them up to Morocco, where his Moorish majesty thought proper to keep them, till they were expressly sent for by our sovereign; or, in other words, till he received a handsome present.

About four days after the prince's arrival, the flattering assurances which he had at first given me respecting these unfortunate persons were apparently confirmed, by his informing me, that he had succeeded to his wishes with the emperor, in what he had promised relative to the English captives; that in two or three days he was to set off for Fez, in his way to Mecca, and that he was to take with him all the English including myself as far as Sallee, whence a party was to be dispatched to conduct us to Tangier. Such agreeable intelligence, and from such authority, afforded me the most pleasing hopes that my journey would yet end to my satisfaction. I eagerly flew to the captain to acquaint him with it; but he seemed too much accustomed to disappointments, to entertain any very sanguine expectations from my information. I think, however, his spirits appeared somewhat revived upon the occasion. The day before the prince's

departure I was desired to state the number of mules which would be necessary to convey my baggage ; at the same time I was told, that in two days we were all to set off. To my very great surprise, however, on the same evening, I was for the first time refused permission to see the prince ; an excuse being made that he was then busy, and therefore wished me to call in the morning ; at the same time I saw every preparation making for the journey, and was positively told that the prince was to depart from Morocco the very next day. As I could not help feeling uneasy and alarmed at this circumstance, I repaired early in the morning to the prince's habitation, to know the truth of what I had heard the day before ; little enquiry however was necessary, since the first object that presented itself was the baggage mules ready loaded ; and in addition to this circumstance, I was informed, that the prince was to set off in an hour's time. It was in vain that I sent in repeated messages to the prince, requesting that he would permit me to see him ; the only answer I could obtain was, that he was then engaged, and that I must wait a little. Wearing out at length by the urgency of my solicitations, a particular friend of his highness came out and told me, that the prince had sent me ten dollars, with orders to leave the garden immediately, as no person but the emperor could send me home. Enraged at this unworthy treatment, I desired the Moor to acquaint the prince, that it was not money I wanted ; I

wished him only to fulfil his engagement, and that till I had some prospect of that being accomplished, I would not stir from the garden, unless compelled by force. The result of this message was, that the same man returned with two dollars more, and said that the prince had done all he could for me ; if I choose to go to one of the emperor's secretaries, whose name he mentioned, he would give me the emperor's letter of dispatch, and I then might proceed home in what manner I pleased, but that the prince had no further business with me. Finding that messages were fruitless, I determined to watch the opportunity of the prince's coming out of his house, and as soon as he had mounted his horse to place myself directly before him. In this last resource, however, I found myself equally unsuccessful as before, and experienced the very extreme of rudeness and ingratitude ; for before my interpreter could pronounce a single sentence the prince pushed on, and rode hastily by me, leaving me in as disagreeable a situation as can well be conceived.

To whatever point I directed my view, there appeared nothing comfortable in the prospect. I had come purposely into the country to attend the prince, with his most positive assurances that I should be sent back again, when he had no further occasion for my services. How great then must be my mortification to find myself in a worse situation than the crane in the fable, since instead of obtaining from him this negative

favour, in return for all the fatigues and inconveniences which I had experienced on his account, I found myself deserted entirely, and left in the charge of a haughty and perfidious emperor! Doubt after doubt took possession of my mind; and this, joined with the reflection of having so completely disappointed the hopes of the unfortunate seamen, and of my having written to the consul such favourable accounts of the prince's recovery, pressed so forcibly on my feelings, that for the space of two or three hours I was in a state little better than that of insanity. As soon as I found myself in some degree recovered, I went to the person to whom I was directed for my letter of dispatch, and was informed that he had set off early that morning for Fez; and had the further satisfaction of discovering that the prince had availed himself of this excuse, in order to avoid my importunity. As no stranger who is sent by the emperor can stir from the court till he gets his dispatches, I now considered myself in every respect a prisoner. Disappointed in every hope of emancipation, I returned home, and immediately dispatched expresses to the consuls at Tangier and Mogodore, informing them of my situation, and earnestly requesting their immediate interference. In the meantime I omitted no other means which occurred to procure my dispatches, but all without success. The most probable step which I could devise, or at least which I could carry into effect, was to

convey to the emperor's hands the following memorial, by means of one of his sons.

To his Imperial Majesty of Morocco.

Most august sovereign,

With all the respect and submission due to your majesty's exalted station, I take the liberty of informing your majesty, that I had particular orders from the governor of Gibraltar, under whose command I have the honour to serve, to return immediately to my duty, upon my services being no longer necessary to your majesty's son, the prince Muley Absulem. That now being the case, I only wait to know whether I am to have the honour of conveying your majesty's commands to Tangier, either for your son Muley Hasem, or for the British consul general.

I have the honour to be, most respectfully,  
 your majesty's most humble  
 and devoted servant,

W. Lempriere.

I got the above letter translated into Arabic, worded in the usual compliments of the country, and having enclosed it in a silk handkerchief, the mode in which all letters are presented to royal personages in Barbary, I carried it to Muley Omar, whom I had seen at Tarudant, with a present of Irish linen, in value about six dollars, wrapped up also in a silk handkerchief;



and requested him to deliver it into his father's hands the first opportunity. The prince first received the present, and then told me, that as we were always old friends, I need not have troubled myself with bringing one; but that I might be assured he would settle the business to my entire satisfaction in a very short time. The result of this application was, a promise from the emperor of being sent home immediately; but this was attended with the same insincerity which I had usually experienced. My next effort was, by making presents to the principal ministers to bribe them over to my interest, as my delay might probably arise as much from the emperor's want of memory as from any other cause; for his faculties were then so much impaired, that he was not able to recollect circumstances from one hour to another. I was in hopes that by means of his ministers he would be continually reminded of me; but, either because my presents were not sufficiently large, or because these rapacious ministers were in hopes I would repeat them, I effected nothing by this plan.

## CHAP. X.

*Character, costume, and domestic habits of the Moors.*

IN a fortnight after the prince's departure all the English captives were ordered to Mogodore, to remain under the care of a gentleman of that place, till our court should think proper to send for them. Deprived by this circumstance of the society of the captain, whose good sense and agreeable conversation lessened in a great degree the uneasiness I experienced from the irksomeness of my situation, I must confess my spirits did not receive much benefit from the change.--- My only resource at present for society was the French officer whom I formerly mentioned.— In this gentleman, I found a pleasant companion, but our means of amusement were extremely limited ; for we could not leave the Jewdry without being saluted with repeated showers of stones, opprobrious names, and every insult that bigotry and brutality could devise. The ignorant of every nation are intolerant ; and there can scarcely exist a more desperate or savage description of people than the Lazzaroni of Morocco ; they are

a mixed race, consisting of the basest of the citizens, with a number of ferocious mountaineers and wild Arabs, who have wandered thither in hopes of acquiring a subsistence either by labour or by theft.

The description indeed of a mingled race will still more extensively apply even to the higher order of the inhabitants of this country. In the towns particularly, the descendants of the different tribes from which they are sprung may still be traced, viz. those of the native Moors, of their Saracen conquerors, and of the Negroes who have been introduced in the manner already related. The complexion of the two first, is a sallow white, and from this circumstance, and from their intermarrying with each other, it is not always possible to determine the origin of each individual; I shall therefore class them both under the general appellation of Moors. But the Negroes, though they form a large proportion of the emperor's subjects, are now by no means so numerous as in the reign of Muley Ishmael, who first introduced them into the country. Those people are better formed than the Moors, and as they are more lively, daring, and active, they are intrusted with an important share in the executive part of government: they constitute also the most considerable part of the emperor's army, and are generally appointed to the command of provinces and towns. This circumstance naturally creates a jealousy on the side

of the Moors, the latter considering the Negroes as usurpers of a power which they have no right to assume. These black troops are blood-thirsty, capricious, and revengeful. As soldiers, they manifest sufficient ardour when commanded by popular officers; but their attachment depends on the generosity of their chief, and the energy, severity, and cruelty of his disposition: if he slacken in any of these particulars, they either desert him, or deliver him up to his enemy. Besides those which form the emperor's army, there are a great many other Negroes in the country, who either are, or have been slaves to private Moors: every Moor of consequence, having a proportion of them in his service. To the disgrace of Europe, the Moors treat their Negro slaves with humanity, employing them in looking after their gardens, and in the domestic duties of their houses; they allow them to marry among themselves, and after a certain number of years spontaneously present them with the invaluable boon of liberty. They soon are initiated in the Mahometan persuasion, though they sometimes intermix with it a few of their original customs; in every other respect they copy the dress and manners of the Moors, of which I shall endeavour to give the reader some general idea.

To think justly and with candour of the Moorish character, we must take into our consideration the natural effects of a total want of education, a most arbitrary government, and a climate calculated, as far as climate has influence,

to stimulate and excite the vicious passions, as well as by its debilitating and relaxing influence, to weaken and depress the nobler energies of the mind. To these we may add the disadvantages arising from the want of a free intercourse with other nations, and the influence of an absurd and uncharitable religion. In such a state of things the traveller is not to be surprised if he observes most of the vices of savage nations grafted upon those of luxury and indolence; if he observes superstition, avarice, and lust, the leading features of character, with their natural concomitants, deceit and jealousy; he is not to be surprised if he finds but little of the amiable attachments and propensities, little of friendship or social union with each other, since the nature of the government, and the habits of his private life, are calculated to inspire each man with distrust and suspicion of his neighbour. I will not assert, however, that this character will universally apply.—However the customs and government of a nation may militate against virtue and excellence, there are always splendid exceptions to the prevalent vices of every society. There are certainly among the Moors many whose private virtues would do honour to any civilized nation; but I am sorry to add, that those characters are not numerous. Groaning under the severest oppression of despotism, they lose all spirit for industry and improvement, and suffer indolence and ignorance to reign without controul. Sensible of the uncertainty of enjoying the fruits of

their labour and ingenuity, the great majority of the people remain content with the bare necessities of life, or, when in power, endeavour to enrich themselves by the same means which had before kept them in a state of poverty.

Arts and sciences seem to be almost unknown here, or, if at all cultivated, it is only by the Jews, who indeed are the only industrious and ingenious people in the country. The Moors in general may be considered as existing in the pastoral state, following only a few mechanical trades, and leaving every thing that requires invention to the Jews, who have likewise the principal management of their commercial and pecuniary matters; and even those few of the Moors who are merchants are obliged to have Jew agents for the purpose of transacting their business.\*

Fearful of having it discovered that they are rich, sooner than part with money, which, under such circumstances, is of little or no use to them, they deprive themselves of the luxuries or even the comforts of life; they hoard up and conceal their treasures, though seldom so artfully but they are at length detected, and consequently plundered by the bashaw, the prince, or the emperor. To conceal more effectually their riches, they are obliged to have recourse to every form of

\* Some exception however must be made to this rule in the cities of Tetuan and Fez, more particularly in the latter, in which the Moors are very industrious, and carry on a number of ingenious manufactures.

dissimulation and deceit ; and being exercised in these qualities during the early part of life, at a more advanced period they become an established part of their character.

The Moors are naturally of a grave and a pensive disposition, fervid in professions of friendship, but very insincere in their attachments. They have no curiosity, no ambition of knowledge ; an indolent habit, united to the want of mental cultivation, renders them perhaps even more callous than other unenlightened people to every delicate sensation, and they require more than ordinary excitement to render them sensible of pleasure or of pain. It is to this circumstance, and to their religion, which teaches them to impute every thing to a blind predestination, that we may attribute that passive obedience which the Moors discover under all their misfortunes and oppressions. This langour of sentiment is, however, unaccompanied with the smallest spark of courage or fortitude. When in adversity, they manifest the most abject submission to their superiors, and in prosperity their tyranny and pride is insupportable. They frequently smile, but seldom are heard to laugh loud. The most infallible mark of internal tranquillity and enjoyment is, when they amuse themselves with stroking or playing with their beard. When roused by resentment, their disputes rarely proceed further than violently to abuse each other in the most opprobrious language. They never fight or box

with their fists, like our peasantry, but when a quarrel proceeds to great extremities, they collar each other, and sometimes terminate a dispute by assassination.

It has been somewhere remarked, that whatever debases the human spirit corrupts at the same time and depraves the heart. That abjectness of disposition, which a state of slavery induces, eradicates every noble, every generous sentiment. The Moors are dishonourable and unfair in all their dealings; nor are the greatest among them exempt from propensities which would disgrace the meanest of the civilized inhabitants of Europe. When the emperor's army was at Tangier, one of the consuls invited the Moorish general and his particular friend to tea. Soon after their departure the consul missed one of his tea-spoons, and knowing the disposition of the Moors, sent to the general for it; who immediately returned it, and simply apologized, by saying he had put it into his pocket by mistake.

When we treat of national genius or character, it were to be wished that language supplied us with some term which might serve to indicate that habit or custom is the great framer of the character of nations. Of this truth there can be no stronger evidence than Morocco affords. Torpid and insensible as I have represented the Moors in general to be; this character is by no means applicable to them in early life. In the state of childhood they possess an uncommon share of vivacity and acuteness, but they sink



gradually into indolence and stupidity as they advance in life. It is evident, therefore, that to the want of education only is this circumstance to be attributed. While at school they are scarcely less remarkable for attention than ability; and as they commit their lessons to memory, no small application is required. This course is, however, extremely limited, and continues for a very short period; it consists at most of being instructed in certain parts of the Koran, and perhaps learning to write. After this, all attention to learning ceases; and though their parents never indulge them, yet they are rarely chastised, and are left to themselves in general almost in a state of nature. A late eloquent writer has remarked, that “the ancients did not, like Archimedes, want a spot on which to fix their engines, but they wanted an engine to move the moral world. “The press is that engine,”—and to the want of it may fairly be attributed the ignorance, the stupidity, the slavery of the African nations. The art of printing is entirely prohibited and unknown in Barbary; and, from some inexplicable cause, most of the manuscripts which were possessed by their Saracen ancestors are lost to the present generation of Moors. A few indeed are still in being, which treat of astronomy, astrology, and physic; but those on astrology only are at present studied.

If any thing could effect an important and beneficial change in these people, it would be the

exertions and example of some great and magnanimous prince; who accidentally might be raised to the throne of Morocco. In so despotic a government, where religion conspires with habit in teaching the subject to consider his prince as something more than man, much more might be effected by example, than in a free country, where the sovereign is merely considered as an individual placed on the throne for the public good, subject to all the imperfections and frailties incident to human nature, and where the mind, by being allowed a free scope for reflection, disdains all authority but that of reason and truth. The plan adopted, however, for the education of the princes of Morocco, so far from tending to the improvement of their minds, or the enlargement of their ideas, serves, on the contrary, too frequently to render them still more remarkable for vice and brutality than even the worst of their subjects. As soon as they become of an age that renders it imprudent to trust them any longer within the walls of the harem, they are taken out, and put under the care of one of their father's confidential Negroes, with whom they soon form a close intimacy, from whom they imbibe all the bad qualities inseparable from a state of slavery, and by whom they are also initiated in vices of every kind, in debauchery, cruelty, and oppression. Their education extends no further than to read and write; and their knowledge of the world is confined to what they can observe and learn in

the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca. They are totally unacquainted with the political history of every foreign power; and their knowledge of their own government is confined principally to its worst parts. To acquaint themselves with the resources of the country, and the improvements which from its situation it would admit of, or to direct any part of their attention to those regulations in their government which might tend to the advantage and ease of their subjects, or to their own aggrandizement, is as much out of the line of their education, as the *Principia* of Newton. Thus they ascend the throne with all the prejudices of ignorance, with all the vices of barbarism, with a pride that teaches them to look upon their fellow creatures as inferior beings, and without any sentiments of tenderness, compassion, or true policy, to restrain the arm of despotism from its most cruel and fatal excesses. Thus ill qualified in general are the sovereigns of Morocco, for effecting a reformation in the manners and character of their people.

The ignorance of the Moors is, however, no bar to their loquacity. They speak very loud, and generally two or three at a time, as they are not very exact in waiting for a reply. Useless as the forms of politeness may appear in the eye of the philosopher, there are some of them which probably conduce in no trifling degree to even our intellectual excellence and improvement.---- Personal cleanliness has been pointed out by

modern philosophers as one of those circumstances which serve to mark and determine the civilization of a people. It was in vain that Mahomet enjoined the frequency of ablution as a religious duty to the Moors; their dress, which should be white, is but seldom washed, and their whole appearance evinces that they perform this branch of their religious ceremonies in but a slovenly manner. With this degree of negligence as to their persons, we may be justly surprized to find united a most scrupulous nicety in their habitations and apartments; they enter their chambers barefooted, and cannot bear the slightest degree of contamination near the place where they are seated; this delicacy again is much confined to the insides of their houses; the streets receive the whole of their rubbish and filth, and by these means the ground is so raised in most parts of the city of Morocco, that the new buildings always stand considerably higher than the old.

The persons of the Moorish men are so disguised by their dress, that it is impossible to acquire any good idea of their form or proportion; in height they are commonly above the middle size, and they are rather meagre than fat. Their complexions in general, are sallow in the northern parts of the empire, but are darker in proportion to their situation towards the south.— Their features have universally a great sameness; their eyes are black and full, they have an aquiline nose, and in general a good set of teeth.

The dress of the men \* consists of a short linen shirt, with large and loose sleeves hanging half way down to the ground ; of a pair of loose linen drawers, reaching almost to the ankle ; of a pair of woollen trowsers, made very full throughout ; and of two, and sometimes three very loose and different coloured waistcoats, of broad cloth of European manufacture ; each connected in front with a range of small buttons, the whole being fixed very tight round the waist by a silk belt. Over these waistcoats they throw a velvet cord, which crosses the right shoulder, and suspends on the left side a curved dagger or knife, sheathed in a brass case. This is the dress worn by the Moors when in their houses ; but when they go abroad, they cover it with the haick, a part of dress which has been already noticed ; it is thrown over the whole of their other cloathing in a careless but easy manner, something similar to the Scotch plaid. When the weather is wet or cold, instead of the haick, the Moors substitute the *sulam* ; which is a large hooded cloak, reaching to the heels, all of one piece, and made of blue or white woollen cloth of European manufacture, without seams, closed at the neck, and ornamented with silk fringes at the extremities ; which has behind

\* The dress, and general remarks on the Moorish women, will be introduced hereafter, when we speak of the emperor's harem.

the hood a long silk tassel, being fixed on the head by means of a strong cord of camel's hair ; and among the common people this part of the dress often supplies the place of a cap or turban. These Moors only who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca, are entitled to wear the latter, and are named *Ell-hatch* ; they are always treated with peculiar respect ; even the beasts of burden which have performed this journey are held in great veneration, and upon their return are exempted from labour. The other class of Moors wear only plain red caps. The Moors in general shave their heads close, leaving on the upper part a single lock, and wear their beards long. They use no stockings or shoes, but substitute in the place of the latter, yellow slippers. They are very fond of beads, of which the better order always carry a rosary in their hands ; but they use them more as a matter of amusement than for any religious purpose. Many also wear plain gold rings on their fingers ; and those whose circumstances will allow them to go to that expence, possess likewise watches, which, like the rosary, they consider rather as an ornament than an article from which any great benefit can be derived ; very few, in fact, are properly acquainted with their use. This may serve to give some idea of the dress of the rich : among the poorer class of people, some wear the linen drawers, shirt, and one woollen waistcoat, and over it the haick ; and others

have merely a coarse woollen frock, belted round the waist, and covered with a similar garment.

The houses in most of the towns in this empire appear at a little distance like vaulted tombs in a church-yard; and the entrance into the best of them has but a mean appearance. They are of a square form, the apartments are seldom built higher than the ground floor, and their outer walls are universally white-washed, which, in the streets, particularly when the sun is out, produce a very unpleasant sensation to the eyes — All these circumstances, united to the want of windows, the filthiness and irregularity of the streets, the dirty appearance and rude behaviour of the inhabitants, and their total ignorance of every art and science, leave at first sight an unfavourable impression on the mind of the traveller, which perhaps while he continues in the country he can never do away. As the roofs of the houses are all terraces, they serve as verandas where the Moorish women commonly sit for the benefit of the air; and in some places it is possible to pass nearly over the whole town, without having occasion to descend into the street. As the best apartments are all backwards, a stable, or perhaps something worse, is the place to which visitors are first introduced. Upon approaching the house, the stranger is either detained in this place, or in the street, till all the women are dispatched out of the way; he is then allowed to enter a square court, into which four narrow and long

rooms open by means of large folding doors, which, as they have no windows, serve likewise to introduce light into the apartments. The court has generally in its centre a fountain, and if it be the house of a Moor of property, it is floored with blue and white chequered tiling. The doors are usually painted of various colours in a chequered form, and the upper parts of them are frequently ornamented with very curious carved work. None of the chambers have fire-places, their victuals being usually dressed in the court-yard, in an earthen stove, heated with charcoal. When the visitor enters the room where he is received by the master of the house, he finds him sitting cross-legged and barefooted on a mattress, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor, or else on a common mat; this, with a narrow piece of carpeting, is in general the only furniture he will meet with in the Moorish houses; though they are not destitute of other ornaments. In some, for instance, he will find the walls decorated with looking-glasses of different sizes; in others, watches and clocks in glass cases; and in some the apartments are hung with the skins of lions or tigers, or adorned with a display of muskets and sabres. In the houses of those who live in the very first stile, an European mahogany bedstead, with one or two mattresses, covered with fine white linen, is sometimes placed at each end of the room; these, however, are only considered as ornaments, the Moors uniformly sleeping on a mattress, or a mat



placed upon the floor, covered only with their haick, or perhaps a quilt.

As the law of Mahomet strictly proscribes the use of pictures of every description, this delightful species of ornament finds no place in the houses of the Moors. I was, however, acquainted with a Moor at Morocco, who used to amuse his friends and acquaintance with a raree-show, all of whom appeared to express infinite surprize and admiration at his exhibition. This, indeed, was not the only instance in which he was guilty of violating the Mahometan law. He scrupled not to drink very freely his bottle of port or claret, which, as it was manufactured by Christians, was an aggravated offence. He employed me to procure for him from Mogodore three dozen of claret, which appeared to administer to him infinite comfort and satisfaction. This affection indeed for the productions of Europe, made him perhaps more than usually favourable to its natives.— However this may be, he was the only man who shewed me much attention during my residence at Morocco. He repeatedly took me to his house, and made me little presents of various kinds, which at that place proved very acceptable.

When a Moor receives his guests, he never rises from his seat, but shakes hands, enquires after their health, and desires them to sit down, either on a carpet or cushion placed on the floor for that purpose. Whatever be the time of day, tea is brought in on a tea-board with short feet.— This is the highest compliment that can be offered

by a Moor ; for tea is a very expensive and scarce article in Barbary, and is only drank by the rich and luxurious. Their manner of preparing it is by putting some green tea, a small quantity of tansy, the same of mint, and a large portion of sugar ( for the Moors drink their tea very sweet ) into the tea-pot at the same time, and filling it up with boiling water. When these articles are infused a proper time, the fluid is then poured into remarkably small cups of the best India china, the smaller the more genteel, without any milk, and, accompanied with some cakes or sweetmeats, is handed round to the company. From the great esteem in which this beverage is held by the Moors, it is generally drank by very small and slow sips, that its flavour may be the longer enjoyed ; and as they usually drink a considerable quantity whenever it is introduced, this entertainment is seldom finished in less time than two hours.

The other luxuries of the Moors are snuff, of which they are uncommonly fond, and smoaking tobacco, for which the greater part use wooden pipes about four feet in length, with an earthen bowl ; but the members of the royal family generally have the bowls made of solid gold. Instead of the indulgence of opium, which, from the heavy duty imposed upon that article by the emperor, is too expensive to be used by the Moors, they substitute the Achicha, a species of flax. This they powder and infuse in water in small quantities. The Moors assert, that it produces agreeable

ideas, but own that when taken to excess, it most powerfully intoxicates. In order to produce similar effect, they mix with their tobacco an herb, named in this country Khaf, which, by smoaking, occasions all the inebriating effects of the Achicha. The use of spirits as well as of wine is strictly forbidden by the Koran; there are, however, very few among the Moors who do not joyfully embrace every private opportunity of drinking both to excess.

With respect to the hours for eating, the people of this country are remarkably regular. Very soon after day-break they take their breakfast, which is generally a composition of flour and water boiled thin, together with a herb which gives it a yellow tinge. The male part of the family eat in one apartment, and the female in another; the children are not permitted to eat with their parents, but take their meals afterwards with the servants; indeed in most other respects they are treated exactly as servants or slaves by their parents. The mess is put into an earthen bowl, and brought in upon a round wooden tray; it is placed in the centre of the guests, who sit cross-legged either on a mat or on the floor, and who form a circle for the purpose. Having previously washed themselves, a ceremony always performed before and after meals, each person with his spoon attacks vigorously the bowl, while they diversify the entertainment by eating with it fruit or bread. At twelve o'clock they dine,

performing the same ceremonies as at breakfast. For dinner, from the emperor down to the peasant, their dish is universally *cuscosoo*, the mode of preparing which has been already described. I believe I have intimated more than once that neither chairs, tables, knives or forks, are made use of in this country. The dish is therefore brought in upon a round tray and placed on the floor, round which the family sit as at breakfast, and with their fingers commit a violent assault on its contents; they are at the same time, however, attended by a slave or domestic, who presents them with water and a towel occasionally to wash their hands. From the want of the simple and convenient invention of knives and forks, it is not uncommon in this country to see three or four people pulling to pieces the same piece of meat, and afterwards with their finger stirring up the paste or *cuscosoo*, of which they often take a whole handful at once in their mouth. Their manner of eating indeed was to me so disgusting, that though *cuscosoo* is in reality a very good dish, yet it required some time to get rid of my prejudice so far as to be induced to relish it. At sun-set they partake of the same dish, making supper their principal meal.

Such is the general mode of living among the higher orders of the people. There are considerable multitudes, however, who do not fare so well, but are obliged to content themselves with a little bread and fruit instead of animal food, and to sleep in the open streets. This kind of

existence seems ill calculated to endure even in an inactive state ; far more severe must it therefore be to those who exercise the laborious employment of couriers in this country, who travel on foot a journey of three or four hundred miles, at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a day, without taking any other nourishment than a little bread, a few figs, and some water, and who have no better shelter at night than a tree. It is wonderful with what alacrity and perseverance these people perform the most fatiguing journies at all seasons of the year. There is a regular company of them in every town, who are ready to be dispatched at a moment's warning to any part of the country their employers may have occasion to send them. They constitute in this empire the only mode of conveyance for all public and private dispatches ; and as they are well known in the place to which they belong, they are very punctual in delivering every thing that is put into their hands. From their steady pace in travelling, at the rate of about four miles an hour, and from their being able to pass over parts which from the mountainous state of the country, and from the want of good roads, persons on horseback would find inaccessible, they are indeed by far the most expeditious messengers that could be employed. As a proof of the amazing exertions of which they are capable, I need only mention, that there have been repeated instances of a courier proceeding from Morocco to Tangier,

which is a journey of about three hundred and thirty miles in six days.

As none but the very vulgar go on foot in this country, for the purpose of visiting, mules are considered more genteel than horses; and the greatest pride of a Moor is to have such as walk remarkably fast, and keep his footmen, of which the number is proportionable to the rank and consequence of the master, on a continued run.

As the Moors are not fond of admitting men into their houses, except upon particular occasions, if the weather be fine, they place a mat, and sometimes a carpet on the ground before their door, seat themselves upon it cross-legged, and receive their friends, who form a circle; the attendants being placed on the outside of the groupe. Upon these occasions, they either drink tea, or smoke and converse. The streets are sometimes crowded with parties of this kind; some engaged in playing at an inferior kind of chess or drafts, at which they are very expert; but the majority in conversation. The people of this country, indeed, are so decidedly averse to standing up, or walking about, that if only two or three people meet, they squat themselves down in the first clean place they can find, if the conversation is but for a few minutes. At Morocco, when I visited Muley Oussine, one of Sidi Mahomet's sons, I was always received in the manner which I have now described. I found him sitting cross-legged on a common mat, in the open place where his horses were kept, and his

friends forming a semicircle round him. I was immediately desired to form one of the groupe, and was helped to tea upon the occasion. In the course of our conversation, the prince told me, that the Christians and Moors were brothers; that the English were very good men; but that he had a particular aversion to the friars, for they were a determined set of knaves, and were neither friends to Christians nor Moors. I found this prince a handsome young man, of about the age of six-and-twenty, of rather a dark complexion, but accompanied with an open and generous countenance. He had been a few years ago appointed to the government of Tafilet, where he so far gained the affections of the people under his government, that they proclaimed him king; and he for some time governed with all the independent authority of a sovereign. This circumstance obliged the emperor to dispatch an army against him, upon the arrival of which he immediately surrendered, and was brought to Morocco, where he was deprived of all his property, as well as his power; and when I was in the country, he lived in a very retired manner indeed. When at Tafilet, he had the character of acting very liberally towards every person with whom he was connected; at Morocco he manifested some proofs of the same disposition towards me: merely for a trifling attention which I shewed to his favourite black, he presented me with a horse, that proved as good as any of which I had possession while in the country. The only vice

to which this young man was addicted, was that of drinking to a very great excess. In this respect, however, he was not more culpable than all the rest of his royal brothers. He told me, that if he did not daily take before dinner six glasses of aquadent, a species of brandy something weaker than spirits of wine, he would not be able to hold up his head the remainder of the day. He wished to know if this custom was bad for his health; and if so, what I would advise him to do. I recommended to him the disuse of spirits, and to supply their place with wine; which he might either procure from the European merchants at Mogodore, or he might use the wine which was made by the Jews. This advice, however, the prince observed he could not follow, since the Mahometan law more particularly forbade the use of wine, than that of spirits. This, I replied, might be true, in the strict letter of the law; but when wine was used as a medicine, the objection no longer existed. This idea I found satisfied the scruples of the prince, and he promised to follow my advice.

I was afterwards sent for to Muley Slemma, another of the emperor's sons, who, with the late emperor Muley Yezid, were the offspring of a woman whose parents were English. This prince, who was about thirty-eight years of age, and of a tall and majestic appearance, with a very expressive and lively countenance, shewed me uncommon attention the whole time I was at Morocco. His pavilion, where he received



strangers, and transacted business, was situated at the extremity of a long walk, in a garden of orange-trees. It consisted of one large room on the ground floor, fitted up in the same stile as that of Muley Absulem at Tarudant. The prince was sitting cross-legged on a large mattress covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor fronting the door-way, with his Moorish visitors on each side of him, forming a semicircle. Upon my first introduction he expressed uncommon pleasure at seeing me, exclaiming, *Bono, Bono Anglaise!* and added, that the English were his brothers and best friends. I was then directed to feel his pulse, and to inform him whether or not he was in health; as soon as I assured him he was perfectly well, he desired me to be seated on a narrow carpet, which was placed on the floor for the purpose, and he then ordered one of his pages to bring in tea, though so late as twelve o'clock at noon. Out of compliment to me, for the Moors seldom use it, the prince sent for milk, and said, as he knew the English always drank it with their tea, he would present me with a milch cow, that I might enjoy the custom of my own country. This promise, however, entirely escaped his royal highness's memory, and the cow never made her appearance. I should however previously have mentioned, that upon my first going into the room, I observed the eyes of the prince fixed on my shoes, for in the hurry of the moment not recollecting the established custom of entering the royal apartment

barefooted, both myself and interpreter had very unguardedly neglected that compliment. The prince however received me very graciously, and having seated me near his person, he called to one of his attendants and desired him to come and take off the Christian's shoes for him, and to put them on the outside until he wanted them again ; while my Jewish interpreter was most indignantly ordered that moment to retire, and upon no account whatever to presume to return until he had left behind him his shoes. This circumstance of course occasioned me some embarrassment, and led me to apologize for the omission ; but the difficulty was soon removed by the condescension of the prince, who with a smile, and much complacency, desired me not to give it a consideration, as he was sure it originated in my ignorance of Moorish customs.

In the course of our conversation, the prince manifested many indications of good breeding and address ; told me, that whilst he was on his travels in Turkey, he had been conducted from one port to another in the Mediterranean by an English frigate, the captain of which shewed him so much attention, that he should always bear it in remembrance. As soon as the ceremony of tea was concluded, the prince ordered out his horse, which was a beautiful young animal, with a saddle ornamented with a rich crimson velvet cover, and gold stirrups. He then mounted him, and went through all the manœuvres of managing a horse with which the Moors are acquainted, such

as putting him upon the full speed, and stopping him instantaneously, rising up on the saddle and firing a musket when the horse is on the full gallop, &c. in the performance of all which exercises he seemed very dexterous. The prince then asked me if we could do such things in England; and without waiting for a reply, ordered one of his attendants to catch a sheep out of his grounds, and take it home to my lodgings. He said, that as he was always fond of seeing his brothers the English, he wished I would visit him twice a day during my continuance at Morocco, and then galloped off.—But to return to my observations.

The manner of salutation among the Moors is, when two equals meet, by a quick motion to shake hands, and afterwards kiss each other's hand. When an inferior meets a superior, such as an officer of rank, a judge, or a governor, he kisses that part of his haick which covers the arm, and sometimes, as a higher mark of respect, he will kiss his feet. But the compliment due to the emperor, or any of the princes of the blood, is to take off the cap or turban, and to prostrate the head to the ground. When two particular friends or relations meet, they anxiously embrace and kiss each other's faces and beards for a few minutes, make a number of enquiries about the health of each party, as well as that of their families, but seldom allow time for a reply.

The common topics for conversation among these people, are the occurrences of the place,

religion, their women, and their horses. As curiosity is a quality which naturally attaches to all indolent people, it may easily be conjectured that the Moors are not deficient in this respect. It is incredible with what avidity they lay hold of any trifling circumstance which may occur in the neighbourhood; what pleasure and what pride they seem to take in communicating it; nor are they deficient in the arts of magnifying or adorning the tale with every addition which may serve to render it more palatable, or give it a greater appearance of plausibility. Religion is also a favourite topic; but this subject is confined principally to those societies which are frequented by their Talbs, or men of letters. As these gentlemen, however, are not a little proud of their acquirements in reading and writing, they do not fail to embrace every opportunity of manifesting their superiority over those who are not so happy as to be distinguished by those accomplishments.

Decency of manners and delicacy in conversation are among the most certain marks of refinement and civilization, and the contrary vices are equally universal characteristics of ignorance and barbarism. The conversation of the Moors concerning their women is of the most trifling and disgusting description, and consists of absurd and vulgar observations, equally repugnant to decency and common sense.

The subject, however, on which, like our young men of fashion in England, they appear most calculated to shine, is their horses. It would

indeed be truly disgraceful not to be accomplished upon this topic, since it appears to occupy, both day and night, by far the greatest portion of their attention. I have formerly intimated that these animals are seldom kept in stables in Morocco. They are watered and fed only once a day, the former at one o'clock at noon, and the latter at sun-set; and the only mode which they use to clean them, is by washing them all over in a river two or three times a week, and suffering them to dry of themselves. Notwithstanding the attachment which the Moors manifest to their horses, they most certainly use them with great cruelty. Their highest pleasure, and one of their first accomplishments, is, by means of long and sharp spurs to make the horse go full speed, and then to stop him instantaneously: and in this they certainly manifest uncommon dexterity. The iron work of their bridles is so constructed that by its pressure on the horse's tongue and lower jaw, with the least exertion of the rider, it fills his mouth with blood, and if not used with the utmost caution, throws him inevitably on his back. The bridle has only a single rein, which is so long that it serves the purpose of both whip and bridle. The Moorish saddle is in some degree similar to the Spanish, but the pommel is still higher and more peaked. Their stirrups, in which they ride very short, are so formed as to cover the whole of the foot; they either plate or gild them, according to the dignity, opulence, or fancy of the possessor. Their saddles, which are

covered with red woollen cloth, or, if belonging to a person of consequence, with red satin or damask, are fastened with one strong girt round the body, in the European style, and another round the shoulders. The Moors frequently amuse themselves by riding with much apparent violence against a wall; and a stranger would consider it impossible for them to avoid being dashed to pieces, when just as the horse's head touches the wall, they stop him with the utmost accuracy.—To strangers whether on horseback or on foot, it is also a common species of compliment to ride violently up to them, as if intending to trample them to pieces, and then to stop their horses short and fire a musquet in their faces. This compliment I have experienced, and could very well have dispensed with their politeness. Upon these occasions, they are very proud of discovering their dexterity in horsemanship, by making the animal rear up, so as almost to throw him on his back, putting him immediately after on the full speed for a few yards, then stopping him instantaneously, and all this is accompanied by loud and hollow cries.

There is another favourite amusement which displays perhaps superior agility;—a number of persons on horseback start at the same moment, and accompanied with loud shouts, gallop at full speed to an appointed spot, when they stand up strait in their stirrups, put the rein, which I have just observed is very long, in their mouths, level

their pieces and fire them off; throw their firelocks immediately over their right shoulders, and stop their horses nearly at the same instant; this I am told is their manner of engaging in action. Though I am willing to allow the Moors the merit of sitting a horse well, and, as far as is necessary for the above-mentioned exercise, of having a great command over him, yet their horses are ill-bred, and they entirely neglect to teach them those paces which in Europe are considered as the most agreeable for the common purposes of riding. As none of these animals in Morocco are geldings, and as the Moors are unacquainted with the use of the ring, they are obliged to break them in when very young by taking them long and fatiguing journies, particularly over the mountainous and rocky part of the country, where they soon reduce their spirit; they then take the opportunity of teaching them to rear up, stand fire, gallop, and stop short in the manner already related; and having accomplished this, they are satisfied without any farther qualification. For this reason, the Barbary horse seldom can perform any other pace than a full gallop or a walk; and from being broken in and worked hard before they have acquired their full strength, these horses in a very few years become unfit for service. The Moors seldom ride the mares, but keep them in the country for breeding; and, contrary to the general opinion in Europe, they consider them so much more valuable than horses, that they are never permitted to be exported.

Like all barbarous nations, the Moors are passionately fond of music, and some few have a taste for poetry. Their slow airs, for want of that variety which is introduced when the science has attained a degree of perfection, have a very melancholy sameness; but some of their quick tunes are beautiful and simple, and partake in some degree of the characteristic melody of the Scotch airs. The poetry of their songs, the constant subject of which is love, though there be few nations perhaps so little sensible of that passion, has certainly less merit than the music. Their instruments are a kind of hautboy, which differs from ours only in having no keys; the mandoline, which they have learned to play upon from their neighbours the Spaniards; another instrument, bearing some resemblance to a violin, and played upon in a similar manner, but with only two strings; the large drum, the common pipe, and the tabor. These united, and accompanied with a certain number of voices, upon many occasions form a band, though solo music is more common in this unsocial country. Upon all days of rejoicing, this kind of music, repeated volleys of musquetry, either by men on horseback or on foot, and in the evening a grand attack upon the cuscous, constitute the principal part of the public entertainments. Mountebanks and jugglers also of every description meet with great encouragement from the Moors.

There are no other places of reception for the accommodation of travellers in this country, ex-



cept in their Fondaks, which are only to be met with in large towns. These consist of a certain number of dirty apartments, with no other accomodation whatever, but the walls and roof, to protect the stranger from the inclemency of the weather ; and he must furnish himself with every article of which he may be in want, both in respect to provisions and bedding. There is at the same time an open court, where the horses of all travellers are intermixed.

In most of the towns there are regular schools, where those children whose parents have the means of doing it, and have sense enough to send them (which indeed are but few in proportion to the whole) are instructed by the Talbs in reading and writing, and sometimes in the first rules of arithmetic. The greater part of the people, however, learn very little more than to read a few prayers selected from the Koran, which are in common use, and are written in Arabic characters, on paper which is pasted on a board.

To speak particularly on the religion of the Moors would require a volume, and such a volume as would certainly be more extensive than entertaining. It is well known they profess the Mahometan faith, and I may add, that they attend very rigidly to all the bigotry and superstition peculiar to that religion. Since every stranger who enters a mosque is either put to death or is obliged to conform to their religion, a very exact account of their places of worship is

not to be expected from an European. The observations I made *en passant*, the doors, which are very large, being in the day-time always open, I shall endeavour to relate. The mosque is usually a large square building, composed of the same materials as the houses, consisting of broad and lofty piazzas, opening into a square court, in a manner in some degree similar to the Royal Exchange in London. In the centre of the court is a large fountain, and a small stream surrounds the piazzas, where the Moors perform the ceremony of ablution. The court and piazzas are floored with blue and white chequered tiling, and the latter are covered with matting, upon which the Moors kneel while repeating their prayers. In the most conspicuous part of the mosque, fronting the East, stands a kind of pulpit where the Talb or priest occasionally preaches. The Moors always enter this place of worship barefooted, leaving their slippers at the door. On the top of the mosque is a square steeple with a flag-staff, whither at stated hours the Talb ascends, hoists a white flag (for they have no bells,) and calls the people to prayers, repeating in Arabic three times, and addressing himself each time in a different part of the town, *How great is God! Mahomet is his prophet! Come all ye faithful; come to prayer.* From this elevated situation the voice is heard at a considerable distance, and the Talbs have a monotonous mode of enunciation, the voice sinking at the end of every short sentence, which in some measure

resembles the sound of a bell, and has by no means an unpleasing effect. The moment the flag is displayed, every person forsakes his employment, and goes to prayers. If they be near a mosque, they perform their devotions within it, otherwise immediately on the spot where ever they may happen to be placed, and always with their faces towards the East, in honour of their prophet Mahomet, who it is well known was buried at Medina. The prayer usually repeated on these occasions, is a chapter from the Koran, acknowledging the goodness of God and Mahomet; and it is accompanied with various gestures, such as lifting the hands above the head, bowing twice, and kissing the ground. The whole of this ceremony they repeat three times. Their sabbath is our Friday, and commences from six o'clock the preceding evening; on this day they use a blue flag instead of the white one. As it has been prophesied that they are to be conquered by the Christians on the sabbath-day, the gates of all the towns and of the emperor's palaces are shut when at divine service on that day, in order to avoid being surprised while at prayers. Their Talbs are not distinguished by any particular dress.

The Moors have three solemn devotional periods in the course of the year. The first, which is named *Aid de Cabier*, is held in commemoration of the birth of Mahomet. It continues seven days, during which period every person who can afford the expence, kills a sheep as a sacrifice,

and divides it among his friends. The second is the *Ramadam*. This is a rigorous fast or lent, held at the season when Mahomet disappeared in his flight from Mecca to Medina; and is conducted by the Moors with so much superstition, that for thirty days, from sun-risè to sun-set, they lay aside all worldly acts, and devote their whole attention to exercises of piety; carefully abstaining during the day from eating, drinking, smoking, washing their mouths, or even swallowing their saliva; and their usual custom of bathing is allowed upon no other condition, but that of not permitting the water to approach their heads, lest any of it should enter the mouth or ears. To make amends for this strict observance of their lent during the day, they appropriate the whole night to the indulgence of every gratification, and at the expiration of the fast, a general festival takes place, named the Beyran, which continues seven days. The third is named *El-ashore*, and is a day set apart by Mahomet for every person to compute the value of his property, in order for the payment of Zakat, that is, one tenth of their income to the poor, and other pious uses. Although this feast only lasts a single day, yet it is celebrated with far greater magnificence than either of the others. There is also a superstitious custom among the Moors, when any thing of moment is to be undertaken, such as going on a dangerous journey or voyage, the disposal of their children in marriage, and the like, for some grave person to make an harangue

to the multitude, upon which his auditors call for the key of direction. By this is meant the performance of joining the hands, looking steadfastly on the palms during the admonition, then by a joint concurrence calling on God and the prophet, and concluding the ceremony by stroking their faces with both their hands, and joining in chorus, saying *Salem, Salem*, ( peace be with you ) with much devotion. The due performance of this ceremony, they conceive will ensure them certain success in all their undertakings.

The Moors compute time by lunar months, and count the days of the week by the first, second, third, &c. beginning from our Sunday.— They use a common reed for writing, and begin their manuscripts from right to left.

They marry very young, many of their females not being more than twelve years of age at their nuptials. As Mahometans, it is well known that their religion admits of polygamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they please ; but if we except the very opulent, the people seldom avail themselves of this indulgence, since it entails on them a vast additional expence in house-keeping, and in providing for a large family. Whatever institution be contrary to truth and sound morality, it will in practice refute itself; nor is any further argument than this last observation wanting to answer all the absurdities which have been advanced in favour of a plurality of wives. In contracting mar-

riage, the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never see each other till the ceremony be performed. The marriage settlements are made before the Cadi, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion, or if not, the husband agrees to settle a certain sum upon her in case he should die, or divorce her on account of barrenness, or for any other cause. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of the father and mother, but those of the concubines can each only claim half a share.

When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days, to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory visits every day; at the same time a Talb attends upon her, to converse with her, relative to the solemn engagement on which she is about to enter; on these occasions he commonly accompanies his admonitions with singing a pious hymn, which is adapted to the solemnity. The bride also with her near relations go through the ceremony of being painted afresh; the nature of which custom I shall describe when I speak of the harem. During this process, the bridegroom on the other hand receives visits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening they accompany him through the town on horseback, some playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing volleys of musquetry. In all their festivals the discharge of musquetry indeed forms a principal part of the entertainment; and contrary to the

European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactness, the Moors fire their pieces as irregularly as possible, so as to have a continual succession of reports for a few minutes.

On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a square or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with white linen, and sometimes with gauzes and silks of various colours; in this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, she is paraded round the streets, accompanied by her relations and friends, some carrying lighted torches, others playing on haut-boys, and a third party again firing volleys of musquetry. In this manner she is carried to the house of her intended husband, who returns about the same time from performing similar ceremonies. On her arrival, she is placed in an apartment by herself, and her husband is introduced to her alone for the first time, who finds her sitting on a silk or velvet cushion, supposing her to be a person of consequence, with a small table before her, upon which are two wax candles lighted. Her shift, or more properly shirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a silk or velvet robe with close sleeves, which at the breast and wrists is embroidered with gold; this dress reaches something lower than the calf of the leg; round her head is tied a black silk scarf, which hangs behind as low as the ground. Thus attired, the bride sits with her hands over her eyes, when her husband appears and receives her

as his wife, without any further ceremony: \* for the agreement made by the friends before the Cadi is the only specific contract which is thought necessary. If the husband should have any reason to suspect that his wife has not been strictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her and take another. For some time after marriage, the family and friends are engaged in much feasting and a variety of amusements, which last a longer or shorter time, according to the circumstances of the parties. It is customary for the man to remain at home eight days and the women eight months after they are first married; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herself from her husband if she can prove that he does not provide her with a proper subsistence. If he curses her, the law obliges him to pay her, for the first offence, eight ducats; for the second, a rich dress of still greater value; and the third time she may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months.

At the birth of a child, it is usual for the parent to grieve eight days, at the expiration of which they sacrifice a goat or a sheep, and invite their friends and acquaintance to partake of the feast. Women suffer but little inconvenience in this country from child bearing; they are frequently

\* Interim duæ ministræ negræ expectant foris, ut notitiam habeant consummationis; quod cum pro certo cognoverint, cantus buccinarum, & bombardarum emissio factum annunciant.



up the next day, and go through all the duties of the house with the infant upon their backs. They do not adopt the method of teaching their children to walk which is customary in Europe, but when they are twelve months old they put them on the floor, where from first crawling, they naturally in a short time acquire the habit of walking, and as soon as they can be made in the least degree useful, they are put to the various kinds of labour adapted to their age and strength. Others, whose parents are in better circumstances, are, as I before observed, sometimes sent to school: and those who are intended for the church, usually continue their studies till they have nearly learnt the Koran by rote; in that case they are enrolled among the Talbs or learned men of the law; and upon leaving school are paraded round the streets on a horse, accompanied by music and a large concourse of people. The procession is conducted in the following manner. Upon the day appointed, one of the most shewy horses in the place is procured for the youth to ride on, who, if he be a person of consequence, is dressed in all the gaiety which silks and brocades can afford, wearing a turban richly ornamented with gold and jewels, and interspersed with flowers. Thus arrayed, he mounts his horse, which also is not without its decorations, carrying in his hand his prayers pasted on a board, on which he looks with steadfast attention; and he proceeds with all the sedateness and composed gravity of old age to the

different places appointed for the purpose, accompanied by music, and all his schoolfellows on horseback dressed according to their circumstances. At last they meet at the house of the head boy of the school, where they are treated with a collection of sweatmeats. This custom, which is evidently adopted with a view of promoting an emulation in their youths, is one of the very few good institutions which are observable among these people.

In celebrating the rite of circumcision, the child is dressed very sumptuously, and carried on a mule, or, if the parents are in poor circumstances, on an ass, accompanied with flags flying and musicians playing on hautboys and beating drums. In this manner they proceed to the mosque, where the ceremony is performed.

When any person dies, a certain number of women are hired for the purpose of lamentation (for the men are seldom observed to weep for the loss of a friend) in the performance of which nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleasant, than their frightful moans or rather howlings: at the same time these mercenary mourners beat their heads and breasts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are usually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment, the corpse is washed very clean, and sewed up in a shroud composed of seven pieces of fine linen united together, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca; it is carried on a bier supported upon

men's shoulders to the burying place, which is always situated, with great propriety, at the outside of the town, for they never bury their dead in the mosques or within the bounds of an inhabited place. The bier is accompanied by numbers of people, two a-breast, who walk very fast, calling upon God and Mahomet, and singing hymns adapted to the occasion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom, and having received the corpse, the ceremony is concluded by hymns and prayers adapted to the occasion. They have no other tombs in the country, but long and plain stowes; and it is frequently customary for the female friends of the departed, to weep over their graves for several days after the funeral. The Moors will not allow Christians or Jews to pass over their places of interment; as they have a superstitious idea, which is perhaps more prevalent among the lower class of people, than those who are better informed, that the dead suffer pain from having their graves trodden upon by infidels; and I recollect when at Tangier, I received a very severe rebuke from a Moor, for accidentally having passed through one of their burying grounds.

When a woman loses her husband, she mourns four months and eight days, during which period she is to wear no silver or gold; and if she happens to be pregnant, she is to mourn till she is brought to bed. During the above period, the relations of her late husband are obliged to support her. I could not learn that any mourning

was due from the husband for the loss of his wife; but it is customary, particularly among the great people, for a son to mourn for his father by not shaving his head or any part of his beard, and by not cutting his nails for a certain period.

When a Jew or a Christian is converted to the Mahometan faith, he is immediately dressed in a Moorish habit, and paraded round the streets on horseback, accompanied with music and a great concourse of people. He then chuses himself a Moorish name, and fixes on a person who adopts him as a child, and is ever afterwards called his father. This adoption, however, is only nominal, for he is by no means bound to support him. The new convert is not allowed to marry any other woman than a Negro, or the daughter of a renegado; and his descendants are not considered as genuine Moors till the fourth generation.

The renegadoes in the empire of Morocco are principally Spaniards, (though there are some few of other nations in the country,) who have deserted from Ceuta or Spain, to avoid the hand of justice for some capital crime or misdemeanour—commonly, indeed, murder. I met with many of these people at Morocco, who frankly acknowledged that murder had been the cause of their desertion. Though the emperor may for various reasons find it convenient to countenance renegadoes, yet the more respectable Moors in general hold them in such disrespect, that they cannot be induced on any terms to associate with them; so that they form a distinct class of society in this country.

## CHAP. XI.

*Summons to appear a second time before the emperor.—Admission into the Royal Harem.—State of female society in Barbary.*

FROM the unsuccessful efforts which I had made for the purpose of procuring my dispatches, I had begun to reconcile myself to the idea of remaining a prisoner at Morocco, when, to my great surprize, at the expiration of a month from the time of the prince's departure, his Moorish majesty sent to me in particular haste to repair to the palace. Upon receiving this message my best hopes were excited. I naturally expected immediate emancipation, as it is necessary that every stranger should see the emperor previous to his departure; and I flew to the palace with all the alacrity which such an expectation was certain to inspire. What then was my astonishment, when, upon my arrival at the palace, a messenger brought orders from the emperor, the purport of which was, that I should immediately examine one of his sultanas who was indisposed, and in the afternoon return with proper medicines, and report my opinion on her case to his majesty.

It is difficult to say whether disappointment or surprize was the predominant emotion in my mind on receiving this order. After the prejudices which from his dislike to the English, and his ignorance of the effects of internal medicines, the emperor was known to have entertained against me, and after having detained me at Morocco for such a length of time, with no apparent view but that of manifesting his contempt of me as an Englishman, it appeared unaccountable that he should give orders for my admission into the harem, where, in addition to the former objections, there were also some still stronger in the eyes of the Moors; as the admission of one of our sex into that sacred depository of female charms was almost unprecedented, and I believe totally so with respect to the harem of the emperor. Whatever might be the motives with his imperial majesty for the violation of Moorish decorum in this instance, I did not conceive that I had much reason to rejoice at the event. I had already experienced too much ingratitude from the prince, as well as too much ungenerous treatment from the emperor, to encourage me to undertake any future engagement of the kind in this country; and the difficulties and prejudices which from experience I knew I had to encounter, when employed in my professional line by the Moors, united to the uncertainty of removing the lady's complaint, rendered it altogether not very safe to administer my advice under such disad-

vantageous circumstances; even that curiosity which would naturally be excited in most persons on so interesting an occasion, was hardly sufficient to reconcile me to this new employment.— Unfortunately in this dilemma I had very little time allowed me to determine, since the messenger was waiting to conduct me to the gate of the harem. My embarrassment, however, continued only for a short period; for I soon recollected that it was in vain to oppose the emperor's order. I therefore deferred the giving a decisive answer until I had seen my patient, and made myself fully acquainted with the nature of her complaint.

The public and usual entrance to the harem is through a very large arched door-way, guarded on the outside by ten body-guards, which leads to a lofty hall, where the captain or alcaide, with a guard of seventeen eunuchs, is posted.— No person is admitted into this hall, but those who are known to have business in the harem.

The emperor's order being delivered on the outside of the door to the alcaide, I was immediately, with my interpreter, conducted into the harem, by one of his negro eunuchs. Upon entering the court into which the women's apartments open, I discovered a motley groupe of concubines, domestics, and negro slaves, who were variously employed. Those of the first description had formed themselves into circles on the ground in the open court, and were apparently engaged in conversation. The domestics and

slaves were partly employed in needle-work, and partly in preparing their cuscosoo. My appearance in the court, however, soon attracted their attention, and a considerable number of them, upon observing me, unacquainted with the means by which I had been admitted into the harem, retreated with the utmost precipitancy into their apartments; while others more courageous approached, and enquired of my black attendant who I was, and by whose orders I had been brought thither.

The moment it was known that I was of the medical profession, parties of them were detached to inform those who had fled, that I was sent in by order of the emperor, to attend Lalla Zara, my intended patient's name, and requesting of them to come back and look at the Christian.—Seranio Tibib! Christian Doctor! resounded from one end of the harem to the other; and in the course of a few minutes I was so completely surrounded by women and children, that I was unable to move a step. Every one appeared solicitous to find out some complaint on which she might consult me, and those who had not ingenuity enough to invent one, obliged me to feel their pulse; and were highly displeased if I did not evince my excellence in my profession by the discovery of some ailment or other. All of them seemed so urgent to be attended to at the same time, that while I was feeling the pulse of one, others were behind pulling my coat, and intreating me to examine their complaints, while a third



party were upbraiding me for not paying them the same attention. Their ideas of delicacy did not at all correspond with those of our European ladies, for they exhibited the beauties of their limbs and form with a degree of freedom that in any other country would have been thought indecent; and their conversation was equally unrestrained.

This apparent laxity of conduct in the Moorish ladies does not proceed from a depravity in principle. As the female sex in this country are not entrusted with the guardian-ship of their own honour, there is no virtue in reserve. A depraved education even serves to corrupt instead of to restrain them. They are not regarded as rational or moral agents; they are only considered as beings created entirely to be subservient to the pleasure of man. To excite the passions, and to do and say every thing which may inflame a licentious imagination, become therefore necessary accomplishments in the female sex, and their manners and conduct naturally assume a cast totally different from those of women in a more refined and more liberal state of society.— In those instances to which I refer, they were not conscious of trespassing the limits of decency; and in others they manifested a singular attention to what they conceived to be decorum. When I requested to see the tongues of some patients who complained of feverish symptoms, they refused to comply, considering it as inconsistent

with their modesty and virtue ; some of them indeed laughed at the singularity of the request, and attributed it either to an impertinent curiosity, or an inclination to impose on their understandings.

As the number of my patients continued to increase rather than to diminish, there appeared but little prospect of an introduction to the sultana Lalla Zara, whom I was first directed to attend, in any reasonable time. The eunuch, however, wearied out with waiting, exerted all the vigour of authority which his natural effeminacy would admit of in obliging them to disperse, and which was so far effectual at least as to allow me room to pass, though this female croud still followed me till I had nearly reached the lady's apartment. From the first court into which I had been introduced I passed through two or three similar, till I at length arrived at the chamber of my intended patient. I was here detained a little time in the court, till my patient and her apartment were ready to receive me.---- Upon my entrance I found the lady sitting cross-legged on a mattress placed upon the floor, and covered with fine linen, with twelve white and negro attendants, seated on the floor also, in different parts of the chamber. A round cushion was placed for me next to the lady, on which I was desired to be seated. I should have remarked, that, contrary to my expectations, I found that none of the emperor's women disguised their faces in the manner which I had

experienced in the prince's harem, but I saw them all with the same familiarity as if I had been introduced into the house of an European.

Lalla Zara,\* who was of Moorish parents, was about eight years ago remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments; on which account she was then in every respect the favourite wife of the emperor. So dangerous a pre-eminence could not be enjoyed, without exciting the jealousy of those females whose charms were less conspicuous; and who, besides the mortification of having a less share of beauty, experienced also the disgrace of being deserted by their lord.—Determined to effect her ruin, they contrived to mix some poison (most likely arsenic) in her food, and conducted the detestable plot with so much art and address, that it was not perceived till the deleterious drug had began its baneful operations. She was seized with most violent spasms, and a continual vomiting; and had she not been possessed of an uncommonly strong constitution, she must immediately have fallen a victim to the machinations of her rivals. After a severe struggle, however, between life and death, the effects of the poison in some degree abated; but it left the unhappy lady in a state of dreadful debility and irritation, and particularly in the stomach, from which it was not perhaps in the

\* Lalla signifies lady or mistress, but is only applied in this country to the sultanas.

power of medicine to extricate her. Her beauty too, the fatal cause of her misfortune, was completely destroyed, and her enemies, though disappointed in their aim of destroying her life, yet enjoyed the malignant triumph of seeing those charms which had excited their uneasiness reduced below the standard of ordinary women. When I saw her, she had such a weakness of digestion, that every species of food which she took, after remaining for a few hours on her stomach, was returned perfectly crude and undigested. As she did not receive proper nourishment, her body had wasted away to a shadow, and her frame was in so weak a state, as not to allow her to walk without assistance. Her complexion was entirely altered. Her skin from being naturally clear and fair, as I was informed, was changed to a sickly brown, which, joined to a ruined set of teeth, and a ghastly countenance, has effaced every trace of that beauty, which she before might have possessed. Upon my first entering her apartment, though from my profession accustomed to behold objects of distress and misery, yet I was so forcibly struck with her unhappy situation and wretched appearance, that I was obliged to exert all the fortitude of which I was master, to avoid the discovery of my feelings.

Lalla Zara was at this time about six-and-thirty years of age, and though in so weak a state, had two beautiful young children; the first was in its sixth year, and the youngest, which was then

under the care of a wet-nurse, was very little more than a twelvemonth old. I was quite astonished to observe such strong and apparently healthy children, the offspring of a mother whose constitution was so dreadfully impaired. It was certainly, however, a very fortunate circumstance for Lalla Zara that she had these children; since by the Mahometan law a man cannot divorce his wife provided she bear him children; so that though the emperor took very little notice of this poor lady, yet he was, for the above reason, obliged to maintain, both herself and her offspring.

From the wretched situation in which I have described this unfortunate female, it is easy to conceive that her spirits must revive at the most distant prospect of procuring relief in her disagreeable complaint. Such, indeed, was the case. She received me with all that satisfaction which hope, united with some degree of confidence, most naturally inspires. Under these circumstances the predicament in which I felt myself was, I must confess, most truly embarrassing. It was one of those unpleasant situations, in which duty and interest are completely in opposition to each other, or rather when the sympathetic feelings stand opposed to personal safety. Humanity pointed out to me that it was my duty to relieve her if possible; on the other hand, self-preservation no less strongly dictated, that it was absolutely necessary to my safety and happiness to embrace the first opportunity of leaving a country where I existed in the most

critical and most disagreeable of situations. Both these sentiments for some time pressed equally on my mind, and left me at a loss how to determine. I at length, however, fixed on a middle plan of conduct, which appeared likely to contribute to the safety of the lady, without endangering my own. This was, to give a proper course of medicines a fair trial for a fortnight; and then, if the least prospect of amendment should appear, I could leave her a further supply with such directions, as might enable her to continue them without medical attendance. This plan I conceived it most prudent not to communicate immediately to my patient: I therefore, without affording her any very flattering hopes of a cure, assured her, that I would use every means with which I was acquainted for the restoration of her constitution. Contrary to most other Moorish females, I found Lalla Zara in every respect affable and polite; though deprived of her health, she retained her natural vivacity, and with the ravages of her inveterate malady she still remained a pleasing and an interesting character.

I was upon the point of taking my leave of Lalla Zara, when a female messenger appeared to request my attendance upon Lalla Batoom, who, from the priority of her marriage, is called the first wife of the emperor, and is more properly entitled to the denomination of sultana than any of the others. As the emperor had given directions for my admission to Lalla Zara only, and as I soon perceived that the eunuch regarded me

with the most jealous eye, I must confess that, however my curiosity might be excited, yet when solicited to visit the other ladies, I could not help feeling some apprehensions of the danger which I incurred by transgressing the emperor's order. On the other hand, I reflected, that both the eunuch and the women would be equally involved in the consequences of a discovery; the first for conducting me, and the others for admitting me into their apartments; and therefore that it was as much their interest as mine to be cautious, as well in preventing the circumstance from reaching the emperor's ears, as in not receiving me in their apartments at a time when he was likely to enter the harem. All these arguments, united to the desire which I felt to avail myself of so favourable an opportunity of seeing a place where no European had ever before been admitted, had so much weight, that my objections were speedily removed.

I found Lalla Batoon to be a perfect Moorish beauty; she was most immoderately fat, about forty years of age, with round and prominent cheeks, which were painted a deep red, small black eyes, and a visage completely guiltless of expression. She was sitting upon a mattress on the floor, which, as usual, was covered with fine white linen, and she was surrounded with a large party of concubines, whom I was informed she had invited to be her visitors on the occasion. Her room bore a much greater appearance of grandeur than that of Lalla Zara, and she was

indulged with a whole square to herself. As soon as I entered her apartment, Lalla Batoon requested of me to be seated close by her side, and to feel her pulse. Her complaint was a slight cold, of which an unconquerable desire of seeing me had most probably been the occasion. As soon as I had felt her pulse, and pronounced my opinion, I was employed in going through the same ceremony with all the other ladies in the room, who desired I would acquaint them with all their complaints, without any further enquiries. From the great experience which I had acquired in this kind of practice at Tarudant, and from the knowledge which I had attained of their complaints, which in general proceeded from too violent an attack upon the coscosoo, I was enabled to make no despicable figure in this mysterious art, and was very successful in my opinions.

From the subject of their own health, the conversation presently changed to criticisms upon my dress. There was not a single part of it which was not examined, and commented on with their usual loquacity. My interpreter was then asked if I was a married man, and if so, whether I had brought my wife with me, with a variety of equally important questions. In the midst of this conversation, tea was introduced, though at eleven o'clock in the morning. A small tea-board, with four very short feet, supplied the place of a table, and held the tea equipage. The cups were about the size of large walnut-shells,



of the very best Indian china, and of which a very considerable number was drank.

After I had concluded my visit to the queen of the harem, I was next conducted to Lalla Douyaw, the favourite wife of the emperor, whom I found to be, what in Europe would be termed, a very fine and beautiful woman. She was a native of Genoa, and was shipwrecked with her mother on the coast of Barbary, whence they became the emperor's captives. At that period though but eight years of age, her personal charms were so very promising and attractive, that they induced the emperor to order her to be taken forcibly from her mother, and placed in his harem, where, though at so early a period of life, every means were in vain employed to entice her to change her religion, till at length the emperor threatened to pull up every hair of her head by the roots if she desisted any longer; and she then found herself obliged to submit to his inclinations. After remaining some time in the character of concubine, the emperor married her; and from her great beauty, address, and superior mental accomplishments, she soon gained his best affections, which she ever after possessed. She had, indeed, so much influence over him, that though he was naturally of a very stubborn disposition, she was never known to fail in any favour she solicited, provided she persevered in her request. When I saw her she was about thirty years of age; in her person rather corpulent, and her face was distinguished by that expressive beauty which is almost peculiar to the

Italian women. Her address was pleasing, and her behaviour polite and attentive. In the Harem, from her accomplishments in reading and writing well the Arabic language, she was considered by the other females as a superior being.

From the circumstance of being taken so young into the harem, she had nearly forgotten her native language, and could only converse fluently in Arabic, having but a distant recollection of the events which first brought her into her present situation. She, however, informed me that we were brother and sister (a common phrase used by the Moors to express the affinity which Christians bear to each other in a religious sense) and had discernment enough to observe that she was among a very uncouth and ignorant people. She added, that her mother, whom I had afterwards an opportunity of seeing at a Venetian merchant's house at Mamora, was still a Christian, though she herself was no longer such, and that she hoped I would visit her every time I came to the harem. Her complaint was a scorbutic affection of the gums, which threatened the loss of some of her front teeth. This circumstance gave her the greatest uneasiness, as she was fearful it might disfigure her other features, and by that means cause an abatement in the affection of the emperor. On this account she was extremely anxious to have my advice, though when I was in her apartment she always experienced the strongest apprehensions lest my attendance on her should come to the emperor's

knowledge, which might be attended with the most serious consequences to us both. Lalla Zara, owing to her bad state of health, and the consequent ruin of her personal charms, had long been neglected by the emperor, who, most probably, admitted of my attendance on her more for the sake of exonerating himself from her constant importunities to see me (for it was a considerable time before she could gain his consent) than from any great anxiety on his part for her recovery. With respect to a person of such a description, it was perhaps a matter of indifference to the emperor by whom she was seen or known, and therefore there was no ground for that jealousy to which the Moors in general are so notoriously addicted. Lalla Douyaw, was very differently situated. She was in the bloom of health and beauty, with all those exterior accomplishments which were likely to excite the most ardent passion; and indeed the emperor's attachment to her was unexampled. Under these circumstances, when we consider with what caution the Moors in general endeavour to prevent any foreign intercourse with their women, it could not be supposed that the emperor would relish the idea of an European in particular being admitted frequently, and almost alone, to this first object of his dearest affections. Lalla Douyaw, however, to prevent the possibility of detection, enjoined her female slaves to be particularly assiduous to inform her when there was the smallest reason for an alarm; while, on the

other hand, she was continually making presents to the eunuch who attended me, cautioning him at the same time not to intimate to any person out of the harem that I had been admitted into her apartment. She so far gained an ascendancy over him, that I have frequently remained with her an hour at a time, conversing upon European customs ; and though she knew but little of them, yet the subject always seemed to afford her the highest pleasure. As soon as she thought it imprudent for me to remain any longer, she requested of me to go, but with a promise to call upon her the next time I visited the harem. Her apprehension of a discovery was not confined to the chance of an alarm from the emperor, or from the perfidy of the eunuch ; it was likewise extended to the jealousy of the other women in the harem, who might probably rejoice in an opportunity of effecting her ruin. It was, however, perhaps a fortunate circumstance for us both, that by most of them admitting me into their apartments, it was equally their interest to be silent, since a discovery of the one would inevitably lead to a detection of the others.

The fourth wife, who is daughter to an English renegado, and mother to the reigning emperor, being at Fez at the time when I visited the Harem, I had not an opportunity of seeing.

When I waited on the emperor in consequence of my visit to the harem, I was honoured with quite a private audience ; for he received me in the court close to his house, where no person is

permitted to be present while the emperor is there, but a few pages, and the people who immediately belong to his carriage. The sovereign was in an open four-wheeled carriage, hung very low, of a size just large enough to admit one person, and drawn by the sons of four Spanish renegades. As soon as I was observed by him, his majesty ordered me with my interpreter to approach, and carry him the medicines, desiring me to taste them before him, to convince him, I imagine, that there was nothing in them that was improper. He then examined them with great attention, and ordered me to explain to him what they were, and in what manner they were expected to act. When required to give my opinion concerning the case of my patient, I informed his majesty, that the sultana's complaint was of such a nature as to require a very long course of medicines, but which I apprehended it would not be necessary to change; that therefore I proposed to attend her for a fortnight, and then to leave her a proper supply, with such directions as might enable her to take them almost with the same advantage as if I were present. I added, that I had received orders from the governor of Gibraltar to return to the garrison immediately, which, if I disobeyed, I should certainly lose a very good employment; and that, as I was convinced of the emperor's kind intentions towards me, by the promises which he had made at my first audience, I was persuaded his majesty would not detain me a day longer than the period I

mentioned. In reply, the emperor said, that he only wished me to attend the sultana for about ten days, at the expiration of which, if the medicines proved likely to be useful, I should then leave her a proper supply, and he would send me home (to use his expression) upon a fine horse. He then gave orders to his prime minister to pay me ten hard dollars as a present; and commanded that a free admittance should be granted me into the harem, whenever I thought it necessary.

The harem, as I before observed, forms a part of the palace or seraglio, without any other immediate communication with it than a private door, used only by the emperor himself. The apartments, which are all on the ground floor, are square, very lofty, and four of them enclose a spacious square court into which they open by means of large folding-doors; these as in other Moorish houses, which in general have no windows, serve the purpose of admitting light into the apartments. In the center of each court is a fountain, supplied by pipes from a large reservoir on the outside of the palace, which serves for the frequent ablutions recommended by the Mahometan religion, as well as for culinary and other purposes. The whole of the harem consists of about twelve of these square courts, communicating with each other by narrow passages, which afford a free access from one part of it to another, and of which all the women are allowed to avail themselves.

The apartments are ornamented externally, with beautiful carved wood much superior to any I have ever seen in Europe, as well for the difficulty of the workmanship, as for the taste with which it is finished. Within, most of the rooms are hung with rich damask of various colours; the floors are covered with beautiful carpets, and there are mattresses disposed at different distances for the purposes of sitting and sleeping. Besides these articles, at each extremity, there is an elegant European mahogany bedstead, hung with damask, having on it several mattresses placed one over the other, which are covered with various coloured silks; but these beds are placed there merely for ornament. In all the rooms without exception the ceiling is wood, carved and painted. The principal decorations in some, were large and valuable looking-glasses, hung on different parts of the walls; in others, clocks and watches of different sizes, in glass cases, were disposed in the same manner. In many I observed a projection from the wall, which reached about half way to the ceiling, on which were placed several mattresses over each other, and covered with silks of different colours; above and below this projection, the wall was hung with pieces of satten, velvet, and damask, of different colours, ornamented on each edge with a broad stripe of black velvet embroidered in its centre with gold.

The whole harem was under the management of the principal sultana, Lalla Batoon: that is

in general she was distinguished by the title of the mistress of the harem, without having any particular controul over the women. This lady and Lalla Douyaw, the favourite, were indulged with a whole square to themselves; but Lalla Zara, and all the concubines, were only allowed each a single room.

Each female had a separate daily allowance from the emperor, proportioned to the estimation in which they were held by him; out of this they were expected to furnish themselves with every article of which they might be in want: the harem therefore may be compared to a place where so many distinct lodgers have apartments without paying for them, the principal sultana being the mistress of the whole. The daily allowance which each woman received from the emperor for her subsistence was very trifling indeed. Lalla Douyaw, the favourite sultana, had very little more than half-a-crown English *per diem*, and the others less in proportion. It must be allowed, that the emperor made them occasional presents of money, dress, and trinkets; but this could never be sufficient to support the number of domestics and other expences which they unavoidably must incur. Their greatest dependence, therefore, was on the presents they received from those Europeans and Moors who visited the court, and who employed their influence in obtaining some particular favour from the emperor. Nor had the monarch sufficient delicacy to discourage this mode of negotiation. He well knew



if his women had not obtained supplies by other means, they must have had recourse to his purse ; and as he had taken too good precautions to allow any mischief to arise from this custom, he was always well pleased to have business transacted through that channel. Ambassadors, consuls, and merchants, acquainted with the nature of the court, were perfectly aware that this uniformly was the most successful mode that could be adopted. As an illustration of this assertion, when I was at Morocco, a Jew, desirous of obtaining a very advantageous favour from the emperor, for which he had been a long time unsuccessfully soliciting, sent to each of the principal ladies of the harem a present of pearls to a very considerable amount ; the consequence was, that they all went in a body to the emperor, and immediately obtained the wished-for concession.

The ladies separately furnish their own rooms, hire their own domestics, and, in fact, do what they please within the harem ; but they are not permitted to go out of it without an express order from the emperor, who very seldom grants them that favour, except when they are to be removed from one palace to another ; in that case a party of soldiers is dispatched a little distance before them, to disperse the male passengers in particular, and to prevent the possibility of their being seen. This previous step being taken, a piece of linen cloth is tied round the lower part of the face, and afterwards these miserable females cover themselves entirely with their Haicks, and

either mount mules, which they ride like men, or, what is more usual, are put into a square carriage or litter, constructed for the purpose, which by its lattice-work allows them to see without being seen. In this manner they set off under the charge of a guard of black eunuchs. This journey, and sometimes a walk within the bounds of the palace, with which they are, however, seldom indulged, is the only exercise which they are permitted to take.

The emperor's harem consisted of between sixty and a hundred females, besides their domestics and slaves, which were very numerous. The four wives I have already mentioned are by no means to be considered as the first set of which the emperor was possessed, since some have died, and others have been repudiated. \* This renders it difficult to determine the precise number he has actually married. Many of the concubines were Moorish women, who had been presented to the emperor, as the Moors consider it an honour to have their daughters in the harem; several were European slaves, who had been either made captives or purchased by the emperor, and some were Negroes. In this groupe the Europeans, or their descendants, had by far the greatest claim to the character of handsome. There

\* The Mahometan law allows a man to divorce his wife, provided she does not produce him any children, and he returns her the portion which was agreed upon when the marriage first took place.

was one in particular, who was a native of Spain, and taken into the harem at about the same time as Lalla Douyaw, who was indeed a perfect beauty; nor was this lady quite singular in that respect, for many others also were equally handsome. The women of Moorish birth have in general an inexpressive countenance, and a rustic simplicity of manners, which distinguish them in a very remarkable manner from Europeans. Their persons are below the middle stature, of a remarkably fat and square make, with very large hands and feet; their complexions are either a clear brown, or, what is more usual, of a sallow cast; their faces are round, and their eyes, in general, black; the nose and mouth very small, and the latter is usually accompanied with a good set of teeth.

Among my patients in the harem, was one of the Moorish concubines, who with a handsome set of features had united an intolerable share of pride and affectation, the effects of which I experienced in the most disgusting degree, I was desired to administer to her a remedy for a slight complaint of the stomach, with which she had been affected for a few days, The medicine was to be of so gentle a nature as not to create the slightest degree of pain, or any inconvenience whatever. Determined that she should have no reason to complain on that account, I prepared her a powder, which, had she given it to a newborn infant, would have proved as inoffensive as to herself.

The lady, however, still apprehensive of its bad effects, obliged her younger sister, who was likewise a concubine in the harem, to take it by way of trial ; and then, if it agreed, it was her intention to have had another dose for herself. Unfortunately for me, the young lady, at the idea of being compelled to take a medicine of which she was not in want, soon after she had swallowed it, became very sick, which so alarmed her sister, that she immediately sent for me, and upbraided me in the severest language, for sending a medicine which had nearly destroyed the young lady, who had been in the most violent agonies the whole day ; adding, that had she not been possessed of a very strong constitution, she must inevitably have perished. She tauntingly observed, that she had formed a better opinion of the Christians than she now found they deserved ; and asked me imperiously, whether I was a proper person to undertake the cure of the sultana ? As it was impossible that I could be pleased with these ignorant and unmerited reproaches, and as I was well aware that since I had no directions to attend any person but Lalla Zara, it was entirely a matter of favour in me to comply at all with her request, I embraced this opportunity of at once silencing her ill-timed loquacity, and of effectually putting a stop to similar impertinence from any other quarter. I explained to her, in the first place, that so far from the medicine having the tendency to which she alluded, that in reality it was of much too mild a nature for a person

of her constitution. I added, that since she entertained such suspicions, how could she be so destitute of affection and feeling as to compel her sister to take what she would not venture upon herself, without regard to the difference of her age, or to the state of the health? That her ungrateful behaviour would operate as a discouragement to me, and would perhaps prevent my affording assistance to many of the other ladies, whose complaints might require much more attention than hers did; and that in future she could not expect to receive from me, if it should even be necessary, the smallest assistance. She now began to relent, and acknowledged she had been rather too warm, adding many apologies, and concluded with wishing me a happy return to my country and friends. I could adduce many other anecdotes to illustrate the ignorance and pride of these unfortunate women; but this I think will be sufficiently convincing to answer the purpose. It may not be improper to add, that this little altercation proved afterwards of great service to me in the harem, by convincing the ignorant part of it that I paid very little attention to their caprice.

Observing that the eunuchs kept a very close and watchful eye over me, I always took care that my deportment in their presence should be such as to give them no reason for any complaint against me. When in the apartments of my patients I sometimes so far forgot myself, as to enter into a pretty long conversation; but I found that

the eunuch was always disposed to interrupt our entertainment, by hinting that I had already staid too long, and must therefore depart. With Lalla Douyaw, however, they seemed to have less influence; and though she thought it prudent to make them occasional presents, yet she never would suffer me to leave the room till by her own request.

In one of my visits, I observed a procession, which upon enquiry I found was intended as an invocation to God and Mahomet for rain, of which there had been a scarcity for several months. The procession was commenced by the youngest children in the harem, who were barely able to walk, two abreast, and these were followed by the next in age, till at length a great part of the women fell into the groupe, making altogether upwards of a hundred persons. They carried on their heads their prayers written on paper, pasted on a square board, and proceeded through all the courts singing hymns, the purport of which was adapted to the solemn occasion. I was informed that they had continued this ceremony every day during the whole of the dry weather, and were to repeat it till their prayers were attended with success.

Though the emperor occasionally came into the harem, yet it was more usual for him to give notice to those ladies whose company he wished, to attend in his apartment; when they made a point of setting off their charms to the best advantage. When in his presence, they paid him

every attention which a common slave would shew to his master, and never ventured to offer their opinion, except by his approbation.—But to return to the Moorish ladies.

From the idea which is so prevalent with this people, that corpulency is the most infallible mark of beauty, the women use a grain which they name *Ellhouba*, for the purpose of acquiring that degree of personal excellence at which they aspire; this they powder, and eat with their *cuscoso*. They likewise take, with the same intention, large quantities of paste, heated by the steam of boiling water, which they swallow in the form of boluses. It is certainly true, that the number of corpulent women in this country is very considerable, but it is probable that this circumstance arises as much from their very confined and inactive mode of life, as from any of the particular means which they may employ to produce that effect.

The dress of the ladies, perhaps, will be understood from the following description.—Over a shirt with remarkably full and loose sleeves hanging nearly to the ground, with the neck left open, and with the edges embroidered with gold, they wear linen drawers, and a *caftan*, resembling in form a great coat deprived of its sleeves and cape, the *caftan* being usually made of silk and cotton, or of gold tissue. Round the waist is fixed in a very graceful manner, a folded sash of very fine linen or cotton, the extremities of which are allowed to fall below the knees. A gold chain

hangs carelessly in front, fixed at each shoulder by a gold tortoise; over this dress, when they go abroad, they loosely invest themselves with the haick. The hair is plaited from the front backwards in different folds, which hang loose behind, and at the bottom are all fixed together with twisted silk; over this, they wear a long piece of silk about half a yard wide, which they tie close to the head, and suffer the long ends edged with twisted silk, to hang behind in an easy manner nearly to the ground; and the whole is completed by a common silk handkerchief, which surrounds the head like a woman's close cap, differing from it only by being fixed in a full bow behind instead of in front. At the upper part of each ear, hangs a small gold ring, half open, which has at one end a cluster of precious stones, sufficient nearly to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the opening. At the tip, or lower part of the ear is likewise suspended, a broad and solid gold ring, which is so large that it reaches as low as the neck, and which, as well as the other, has a cluster of precious stones, in proportion to the size of the ring. The ladies wear on their fingers several small gold, and often diamond rings, and on the wrists broad and solid gold bracelets, in which are frequently set precious stones. Their necks are ornamented with a great variety of bead and pearl necklaces; below these, a gold chain surrounds the neck, and suspends in front, a gold ornament. Like the men, the Moorish women wear no stockings, but use red slippers curiously



embroidered with gold, which they take off when they enter their rooms. Immediately above the ankle, each leg is surrounded with a large solid gold ring, narrow in front, but very broad behind. The ladies paint their cheeks of a deep red, and stain their eye-lids and eye-brows with a black powder, which I apprehend to be antimony, It is also a branch of artificial beauty in this country, to produce a long black mark on the forehead, another on the tip of the nose, and several others on each cheek; the chin being stained of a deep red, and thence down to the throat runs a long black stripe. The inside of the hands, the feet, and the nails, are stained like the chin, of so dark a red, that in most lights it borders on black; and the back of the hands have several fancy marks of the same colour.

I seldom observed in the harem the women at any employment but that of forming themselves into circles for the purpose of conversation, sometimes in the open courts, at others in the different apartments. As they are not permitted to enter the mosques, they pray at the appointed times in their own chambers. The Moors, indeed, entertain the prejudice which is commonly attributed to the Mussulmen in general, that the female sex are altogether an inferior species of animals, merely formed to be slaves to the pleasures of men, whose salvation is consequently not of so much importance; and with this sentiment the conduct of the men towards them in every instance

corresponds. The Moors likewise assign other reasons for not permitting their females to enter their places of worship: they assert, that it would be not only contrary to the custom which prevails in the country, of not allowing the sexes to meet together in any particular spot, but it might also, by creating loose and improper ideas, abstract their attention from devotion.

The women have their Talbs as well as the men their Talbs. These persons, who are either wives or concubines, just as it happens, and whose principal qualifications appear to be reading and writing, teach the younger part of the harem to repeat their prayers, and the older females they instruct in the laws and principles of their religion.

All the emperor's daughters, and the children of his concubines, as soon as they are of a proper age, are sent to Tafilet, where they finish their education, and by intermarrying with the descendants of his ancestors, they serve to people that extraordinary city—extraordinary on this account, that the inhabitants of it are all Sharifs, or the supposed lineal descendants of Mahomet, and are most of them collaterally or otherwise related to the present royal family of Morocco. Muley Ishmael, who as I before observed, was grandfather to Sidi Mahomet, had three hundred children at Tafilet, and their descendants are now supposed to amount to nine thousand, who all live in the same place.

The sons of the emperor's wives are considered as princes, who have each an equal claim to the empire, and as such are always respected. If they retain the emperor's good opinion, they are generally appointed to the government of some of the provinces, where, in the capacity of Bashaws, their principal object is the accumulation of riches.

The reader will have observed, that I reserved my observations on the female part of society in this country, till I had given such a general account of the harem as might serve for a proper introduction to that part of my subject. By this arrangement I have relieved myself from the tediousness of repetition, and my readers from that obscurity which naturally ensues when information is imparted in a disjointed state. A few observations will serve to complete the description.

The Moorish women may be divided into two classes; the black or negro women, and the white.

The first are either slaves, or have been so formerly; and from their services, or through the favour of their proprietors, have obtained their freedom. These women have all the character, both with respect to disposition, features, and complexion, peculiar to the country from which they are brought. Many of them hold the situation of concubines, and others that of domestics. Their male children are all brought up to serve in the army of the emperor.—To this class may be added the mulattoes, or women of

colour, who are the production of a Moor and a Negro woman, and are consequently very numerous in this empire ; but as they differ but little in character from the Negroes, from whom they are only distinguished by being indulged with their freedom, I shall pass them over without any further observations.

Those of the female sex who may be properly considered as natives of the country, are of a white, or rather a sallow complexion. From the very limited sphere in which they are allowed to act, and the contempt in which they are held as members of society, their characters admit of very little of that variety which distinguishes the European women. Happy, perhaps, it is for them, that the sun of knowledge has never beamed upon their gloomy prisons, since it could only serve to enlighten them to a sense of their own misery, disgrace, and servitude ! Happy is that accommodating power, which providence has vouchsafed to human-kind, which adapts them to their several situations ! and happy it is that the information of mankind is generally such as suits the sphere in which they are destined to act !— Educated with no other view than for the sensual purposes of their master, or husband, the chief object of the female sex of this country is to administer to his pleasure, and by the most abject submission to alleviate the rigours of that servitude to which they are doomed. When in the presence of their despot, both wives and concubines are obliged to manifest the same respect as his

common slaves ; and though all be not confined closely to their houses, as is customary in the emperor's harem, yet when they do go out they are obliged to be extremely circumspect in concealing their faces, and cautious in every part of their demeanour. Women of distinction, however, are very seldom allowed to go abroad ; it is only those of the lowest class which are usually seen in the streets, and even these are so disguised and wrapped up in their haicks, that they appear more like a bale of cloth put in motion, than a human form. If they happen to meet an European in the country, at a time when no Moor is in sight, they seldom miss the opportunity of displaying their features, by throwing the haick on one side, and even to laugh and converse with him, though always with the utmost risk, as the eye of jealousy, it is well known, never slumbers. If an European or a Jew be caught in a clandestine connection with a Moorish woman, he is obliged to become a convert to the Mahometan faith, or his life would be forfeited ; and the woman, as I was informed, is punished either by burning or drowning, though I cannot say I ever knew an instance of that dreadful sentence being put in execution : a man, indeed, must have uncommon address, and no small share of caution, to carry on an intrigue of that kind, though on the part of the women of this country, he will seldom want for encouragement. It must, however, be allowed, that the means which the Moors employ for the prevention of intrigues, very often tend to their

encouragement. By dressing themselves in the female habit, men may very easily pass the streets unobserved, as they may rest assured they will not be addressed or even looked at by the Moors; and if they contrive to call at the house when the master is from home, they need be under no apprehensions of being detected when he returns; if he sees a strange woman's slippers at the door of his harem, he concludes it is a female neighbour, and never approaches the room till the slippers are removed.

The dress of the females belonging to the opulent Moors, is similar to that of the emperor's ladies, differing only in the value of the materials; those of the inferior class, wear linen drawers, and over them a coarse woollen frock, tied round the waist with a band; they plait the hair in two folds, from the upper part of the head all the way down behind, wearing over it a common handkerchief tied close to the head, and when they go out, they cover themselves with the haick.

## CHAP. XII.

*Duplicity of the Emperor.—The Emperor's dispatches with difficulty obtained.—Departure for Tangier.—Return to Gibraltar.*

TEN days having elapsed since my first attendance on Lalla Zara, the emperor desired my patient to acquaint him what effect the medicines had produced ; and being informed that she was apparently in a state of recovery, he sent into the harem a doubloon piece, wrapped up in one corner of a silk handkerchief, and ordered the lady to present me with it as a compliment for the service which I had already rendered her, accompanied with splendid promises, if I succeeded in restoring her to perfect health.

Little reflection was requisite to convince me, that the emperor's conduct on this occasion, had an aim and tendency very different from that of fulfilling his engagements relative to my return. It required, therefore, some consideration to determine, whether it would be most prudent to continue my attendance for some time longer, or to exert myself immediately with redoubled vigour to accomplish my emancipation. The latter mode of conduct I resolved upon, for the following reasons. In the first place, I had been

absent from the garrison much longer than originally was intended by government; it was, therefore, impossible to say how far the protraction of my residence in Morocco, might interfere with the arrangements of my superiors, or affect the service. Secondly, every European with whom I conversed, or corresponded, advised me by all means to embrace the first opportunity of returning; since, though my patient was for the present in a recovering state, yet, from the caprice and ignorance of the Moors, there was some reason to apprehend that she might tire of her medicines; and considering the matter in the most favourable point of view, by supposing that she could be relieved entirely from her complaint, it was not improbable that the women, who had been the original occasion of her illness, upon observing her recovery, might, with the same diabolical malignity which induced them to administer the first dose of poison, be inclined to avail themselves of my attendance, and injure her constitution a second time; while all the ill consequences would infallibly be attributed to my treatment. The age and infirmities of the emperor also rendering my situation very precarious, determined me to employ the earliest opportunity in effecting my escape; and the following was the plan which appeared to promise the most probable success.

I told my patient that I had brought with me very little more medicine than was sufficient for the cure of Muley Absulem; and that those which



I had administered to her were the few which had not been used; that as they must necessarily soon be exhausted, and as my attendance on her without medicines could answer no purpose whatever, I would recommend her, for her own sake, to advise the emperor to send me to Gibraltar for a fresh supply. "Ah! exclaimed the lady, "there is no occasion for your going, the emperor can write to the consul for them." For a reply of this kind I was not wholly unprepared; and as I had found it necessary to act a part on this occasion, I determined to go through with it, and reluctantly to play the empiric, by informing my patient that the composition of these medicines was known to no person but myself; and therefore to write for them would be totally useless. This statement appeared unanswerable, and my plan was so far crowned with success. An application, on my account, was immediately made to the emperor by all the principal women, whom Lalla Zara had engaged in her service for that purpose.

The emperor, however, whose discernment had been excellent in his youth, and whose intellect was at intervals as vigorous as ever, was not to be imposed on. He promised the women more than he intended to perform, and ten days more elapsed, when I found myself as near returning as on my first arrival at Morocco. Thus baffled in my attempt, though my indefatigable female agents repeated their application not seldomer than twice every day, I applied to a German renegado,

who spoke the English language, and who, from his situation at court, had frequent opportunities of seeing the emperor privately, and intreated of him to procure me a licence to depart. But all that he was able to obtain in my favour, was a renewal of the same fair promises which had been so frequently made, and made with the same sincerity. I must not omit, however, to relate, that in a few days after this application, I received from the emperor a present of two horses, accompanied with a positive assurance of being dispatched immediately home. One of the horses was young, but was in so wretched and emaciated a state, that he appeared better calculated to afford food for the canine race, than to prove of any utility to a traveller. The other, it must be confessed, was not in so starved and miserable a condition, but then he was completely superannuated, and consequently quite as useless as his companion; he had been presented to the emperor in the morning by a poor man, who, for some trifling disgrace which he had incurred, had brought this horse as an atonement; the man, however, was committed to prison, and in the afternoon the horse was offered for my acceptance. Before I could get these unparalleled coursers out of the walls of the palace, I was stopped by the porters of four gates, who each demanded a dollar as a perquisite annexed to their places. On my arrival at home, two deputy masters of horse also came to my apartment for a present for themselves, and for their

chief; so that the reader may easily judge how far I was a gainer by the emperor's munificence!

After this circumstance, several days having elapsed without any prospect of accomplishing my wishes, I was advised by an European, who had come from Mogodore to Morocco upon business, as the surest means of succeeding, to seize the first opportunity that offered of the emperor's appearing in public, which he seldom did so as to be seen by strangers, and, trusting no longer to other agents, at once ask his majesty for my dispatches. Fortunately, as I thought, the emperor afforded me an opportunity of seeing him the following day; and, though the soldiers would not allow me to approach him so near as to enable me to speak to him, yet I took care to place myself in a conspicuous situation; but after continuing about half an hour, he retired without taking the least notice of me, or even appearing to observe me. The emperor, upon this occasion, was in one of his open courts on horseback, with a large umbrella suspended over his head by a soldier of the negro infantry, who was standing in front of the horse; while two other attendants were on each side, and with pieces of silk fixed to a cane, were, by an easy but constant motion, guarding off the flies from the emperor's face. The ministers of state were placed in front, and behind them were about 100 foot soldiers in different divisions, forming altogether a kind of crescent. Some of these troops were armed with musquets, which they held in a stiff manner close to their

bodies, with their muzzles pointed perpendicularly, while others had no weapon of defence but thick clubs. The sovereign being at this moment in a good humour, was conversing with his ministers; and, as my interpreter informed me, he was boasting to them of the mighty actions which the Moors had performed against the Christians; remarking, that his predecessors had deprived them of nearly all the places which they formerly had possessed in Barbary, and that he had the satisfaction of having taken Mazagan from the Portugueze. The ministers entered very little further into the conversation than to repeat at the conclusion of each sentence, *Alla cormus Sidi!* in English, May God preserve the king! which was communicated to the nearest party of soldiers and from those in the next, till they made the palace echo with their voices.

My ill success upon this occasion, did not deter me from making an experiment upon another favourable opportunity which offered, after the lapse of a few days. I then had influence enough with the soldiers to allow me to approach so very near to the emperor's person, as rendered it utterly impossible for him to avoid observing me, though not sufficiently close to enable me to speak to him. A messenger was consequently dispatched by the sovereign to know (using his own expression) what the Christian wanted. I returned for answer, that I came to thank his majesty for the honour he had conferred on me, by presenting me with the two horses, at the

same time to remind him of his royal promise to send me immediately home. In consequence of this message and reply, I expected every moment to be ordered into his immediate presence, but in that respect I was disappointed; for, after conversing near half an hour with his ministers, he retired, and left me in the same state of suspense which I had a few days before experienced. The emperor was on horseback, and was endeavouring to explain to his auditors, the beauties of various parts of the Koran, and laid a particular stress on those passages, which teach the followers of Mahomet, to detest the Christians.

Such repeated disappointments, after having exerted myself to the utmost in every mode I could devise, it must be allowed were sufficient to induce me to consider my situation as desperate; and I felt myself totally at a loss what further steps could be adopted in this very critical situation. The uneasiness I experienced at this moment was happily not of long continuance, for the day following the German renegado brought me the emperor's letter of dispatch, consisting merely of a few lines addressed to the governor of Tangier, ordering him to permit me to embark, with my two horses, for Gibraltar.

The reader will too easily anticipate the extreme pleasure I felt at the idea of shortly leaving a country where I had experienced such a continued series of ingratitude, disappointment, and uneasiness, to render it at all necessary for me to enlarge upon that topic. It will be sufficient to

say, that I lost no time in making the necessary preparations for the journey, and in availing myself of the earliest opportunity to take my leave of the ladies in the harem, most carefully avoiding to communicate to them the contents of the emperor's letter. Had they known, indeed, that I was not to return, it is probable they would have employed the same influence for my detention, which they had before exerted in favour of my liberation, and most likely with much greater success.

It is humiliating and unpleasant in the highest degree to stoop to deception upon any occasion ; to be obliged, therefore, in justice to myself, and for my own personal safety, to carry on a systematical plan of duplicity, was not the least of the hardships to which I was compelled to submit in this country. I could not, however, now retreat ; and, as I knew that Gibraltar furnished many articles which were not to be procured in Barbary, I made an offer of my services to the ladies, and received the following commissions ; for the faithful execution of which, on my return from Gibraltar, I was obliged to pledge myself.

For Lalla Batoom, the queen of the harem, a set of elegant, but very small cups and saucers.

For Lalla Douyaw, the emperor's favourite wife, a neat mahogany tea-board, with four short feet, to have two drawers, and to be elegantly ornamented with glasses ; a set of very small Indian cups and saucers ; a set of different kinds of perfumed waters.

For Lalla Zara, my patient, nine yards of yellow, the same of crimson, and the same of cochineal coloured damasks; the same quantities and colours in sattins; one dozen of Indian cups and saucers; one hundred large red beads; one chest of tea and sugar; a large quantity of coffee and nutmegs.

For one of the concubines, a large portion of different coloured sattins and silks; a variety of handsome pearls; a set of Indian cups and saucers; two small mahogany boxes for cloaths; two japanned tea-boards, the one to be white and the other yellow.

For another concubine, some perfumed waters; a mahogany bedstead and posts; a green Dutch box.

For Lalla Talba, a priestess, a handsome present, which she leaves to my taste and choice.

For the daughter of Muley Hasem, a mahogany chest with two drawers; a flask of lavender water.

For Lalla Zara's nurse, twelve large red beads.

For two of the eunuchs, each a silver watch.

These commissions may perhaps appear too trifling to deserve insertion; but I have brought them forward to the reader only because these little circumstances frequently display the peculiar taste, the manners, the genius of a country, much better than those weighty and important transactions in which the passions common to human nature must be interested, and in which, of consequence, all people in similar circumstances must

act and feel alike. It would have required no trifling sum of money to purchase all these articles ; and even when that obstacle was removed, there would arise one still greater from the difficulty of transportation in this country. As Morocco is an inland city, I was entirely precluded from the safest and easiest of carriages ; and by land, many of the articles were so cumbersome and weighty, that in the bad roads it would have been impracticable to employ mules. I should therefore have been reduced to the necessity of hiring camels, the expence of which, joined to that of the commissions, would consequently have been enormous.

Having supplied Lalla Zara with the few medicines which remained, and taken my final leave of the harem, my next object was to find out a new interpreter, since the person whom I had procured at Mogodore, had it not in his power to accompany me to Tangier. In his place, I fixed upon a mulatto, who was born a Christian in one of the English West India Islands, and upon coming to Mogodore as a seaman in an English vessel, was immediately, on account of his complexion, claimed by the Moors as a countryman. They committed him immediately to prison, and, by the influence of hard usage, at length compelled him to become a convert to their religion. This man, who was between sixty and seventy years of age, had been in the country about seven years, and was occasionally employed in the public works by the late emperor. He could



speak the English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Arabic languages, but with the English he was most familiar.

The horse presented to me by Muley Absulem I mounted myself, and made my interpreter ride those of the emperor alternately, that I might give them every possible chance of reaching Tangier alive, in case I could not dispose of them on the road. These, with three horse soldiers allowed by the emperor, two mules for my baggage, and a muleteer to take charge of them, formed the whole of my suite on the journey.

We departed from Morocco on the 12th of February 1790, and in three days arrived at the castle of Buluane, which is a journey of about eighty miles, consisting of an uninterrupted series of wild uncultivated heath. This castle was the first piece of architecture which offered itself to our view since we left Morocco; the country being very thinly inhabited by only a few Arabs, who live in tents. In these douhars or encampments I endeavoured, on the score of safety, nightly to pitch my tent.

The castle is situated on the summit of a very high and rugged hill, forming on its Northern side, a steep precipice, at the bottom of which runs a deep and rapid river, named the Morbeya, which I had previously passed at its termination in the ocean at Azamore. As a piece of architecture, this castle has no recommendation but the strength of its walls: it is inhabited by some Negroes who were banished to this place, at the

time when Sidi Mahomet thought proper to disband a considerable portion of his black troops ; intending, by that means, to prevent their raising a mutiny or rebellion in the country, to which, as I have intimated, they are always inclined. To dispose of them in this manner, therefore, was sound policy, as, though they were out of the way of mischief for the present, they might easily be embodied upon any pressing emergency.

The eminent situation of this fortress, the steep and rugged precipice, the depth and rapidity of the river below, with the wildness of the neighbouring country, fill the mind with a mixture of admiration and sublime horror. But what attracted my attention more than any other circumstance, was the mode in which they pass this dangerous river. At Azamore, Sallee, Mamora, Larache, &c. where the rivers are too deep to be forded, the traveller is ferried over ; and yet at this part, though at no very great distance from any of the above places, the people are totally ignorant what kind of a machine a boat is. What is still more remarkable, the first people of the country, who are obliged to pass this river in their way from Morocco to all the Northern provinces, and who are as well acquainted with the use of boats as the Europeans, are content to submit to the crazy substitute which they find here, rather than impart to the inhabitants of the castle this easy piece of information.

The mode in which these people cross the river, served to remind me of a puerile amusement, in which most boys at one period or other have taken delight. A raft is formed of eight sheep skins, filled with air, and tied together with small cords; a few slender poles are laid over them, to which they are fastened, and this is the only means used at Buluane to conduct travellers with their baggage over the river. As soon as the raft is loaded, in other words, as soon as it is charged with as much weight as it will bear without sinking, a man strips, jumps into the water, and swims with one hand, while he pulls the raft after him with the other; and in the mean time a second places himself behind, pushing and swimming in a similar manner. The current at first carries the apparatus a considerable way down the river, but by the activity of the swimmers it is speedily extricated, and its contents as quickly landed. The horses, mules, &c. having every article removed from their backs, are driven in a body to the water side, where the Moors immediately get behind them, and by the violence of their shouts so completely terrify the animals, that one or two of them speedily take to swimming, and thus set the example, when the rest immediately follow.

Four days after leaving this river, we arrived at Sallee, which is about a hundred and ten miles from Buluane, and one hundred and ninety from Morocco, without the occurrence of a circumstance worth relating; the country proving a

continuance of the same uncultivated heath as far as Menscoria, which has been described in a former part of this Tour.

Sallee being the first town I had seen since my departure from Morocco, which was seven days, I was lappy to avail myself of my former introduction to the French consul, and remain with him a couple of nights. After this agreeable relaxation, I departed for Tangier, where I arrived on the 26th of February.

As it was evident that the horses which had been presented to me by the emperor, were not worth the expence of exportation, and indeed seemed scarcely able to encounter the journey, I took every opportunity that offered on the road to dispose of them, but my efforts were not attended with success; and by the time I arrived at Mamora, they were so completely tired, that they would certainly have died had I used them another day. I therefore found it necessary to leave them under the care of a Venetian gentleman who resided at Mamora, with a request to dispose of them in the best manner he could; and, as I did not like to lose the advantage of the order for embarkation, which from no horses being allowed to be exported but by an express order of the emperor under his sign manual, is always to be considered valuable, I requested this gentleman to purchase for me two of the best that were to be procured in the province, and to send them after me to Tangier; but they unfortunately did not arrive in time.

In about a fortnight after my reaching Tangier, an order came down from the emperor, desiring the governor to purchase, at the expence of his royal treasury, two oxen, ten sheep, ten milch goats with their kids, a hundred fowls, and a large proportion of fruit and vegetables of every description. These articles were to be considered as a present from the emperor, in return for my attendance on Lalla Zara ; and I was to be allowed permission to embark them, free of all duty, for Gibraltar. The same order was accompanied with a desire, that I would engage to send my patient a fresh supply of medicines.

On the 27th of March I arrived at Gibraltar.— It would be trifling with my reader to describe my feelings on the first view of a spot, protected by English laws, and decorated by English manners. My sensations, indeed, may be more easily conceived than they can be expressed.— Let it suffice to say, that no wretch, escaped from the gloomy horrors of a dungeon, could experience more lively pleasure on first contemplating the light of day, than I felt on the first view of an English garrison.

As the communication between the garrison and Barbary was not open at the time of my arrival, the present of the emperor proved more valuable than I at first apprehended. It is obvious, however, that its amount, and indeed the total of all which I received during my residence in the country, could scarcely be more than adequate to my expences ; much less could it be considered

as a compensation for the great risk, the trouble, and the anxiety which I had encountered. I had been under the necessity of drawing on the consul for considerable sums, besides what I received through other channels ; so that I returned from my expedition with my curiosity satisfied, my mind, I trust, in some degree enlightened, as far as the observation of a different country, and different manners, serves to improve our stock of knowledge ; but in a pecuniary view, I certainly was very little benefited by the journey.

## CHAP. XIII.

*General Observations, on the Empire of Morocco  
its climate, productions, and manufactures.*

**I**N the two former editions, this chapter was introduced into an early part of the tour, and dated from Mogodore; but as it has undergone some important alterations, and is now very considerably enlarged, the subject has been thought deserving of a separate consideration.

The empire of Morocco, from the superior advantages of its situation, climate, and soil, and from the greater variety and abundance of its natural productions, may deservedly be ranked the first among the Barbary powers; and though at present it stands low in estimation, when compared with the more civilized nations of Europe, yet, naturally, it possesses resources, which, if called into action, could not fail to render it a country of great commercial importance.

It has already been intimated, that this empire, after experiencing a series of the most sanguinary and desolating revolutions, was consolidated into its present form, by the family of the Shariſs, the ancestors of the prince now on the throne; and that prior to the revolution by which that event

was brought about, the country was divided into several kingdoms and petty sovereignties, that were perpetually at variance, until the whole were subdued and united under one chief, who assumed the title of Emperor of Morocco ; and though, at that period, the empire embraced a much larger territory than it can boast of at present, yet still it may with justice be considered a very extensive dominion. It therefore may not prove uninteresting, to take a view of its relative situation, and of its internal resources, as depending upon climate, soil, and natural productions.

The empire of Morocco commences, in the Mediterranean, at the river Mulvia, Mullooiagh, or, as some have termed it, Muluwia, which separates the emperor's dominions from the kingdom of Tremecen, now forming a part of the territory of Algiers. From this river, the coast takes a westerly direction, (presenting, in its way, the small town of Melilla, now possessed by the Spaniards), until it approaches so near to that of Europe, as to admit of the houses in the town of Ceuta being distinctly seen, on a clear day, from the opposite shore. From Ceuta Point, to the eastward of which, is situated the port and extensive city of Tetuan, a range of lofty hills, inaccessible towards the sea, runs westward, in a parallel line with the Spanish coast on the opposite side, and forms the southern boundary of the straits of Gibraltar, so well known as being the medium of communication between the Mediterranean sea and the Atlantic Ocean. This range



continues in the same direction, until interrupted towards the western extremity of the straits, by an inlet of the sea, forming the bay and port of Tangier. The coast then again advances to the west, until it reaches Cape Spartel, in the Atlantic Ocean, when it suddenly takes a southerly course, in which it continues for near five hundred miles, until it is lost in the desert of Zaarha, beyond Cape Non, in the latitude of 28. 20. North; the desert forming the southern boundary of the emperor's dominions. Between Cape Spartel and Cape Non, are situated those numerous sea-port towns upon the Atlantic Ocean, that so particularly have been described in my journey from Tangier to Santa Cruz; and which, if improved, are admirably calculated for opening a commercial intercourse with Europe, America, the East and West Indies, and if we include Tangier and Tetuan, with the Mediterranean.

Thus the empire of Morocco, generally, may be said to be bounded on the north by the Mediterranean sea and the straits of Gibraltar; on the west, by the Atlantic ocean; on the south, by the desert of Zaarha; and on the east, by the kingdom of Tremecen, and the country to the east of Tafilet.\* It however may be observed, that the Arabs to the south of the river Suz,

\* In a work which does not profess to offer more than general observations, it is not to be expected, that a topographical account will be given of each of the provinces; more particularly as such information, if it be at all interesting, could only have been acquired by a long residence in the country, and by

though they nominally acknowledge the emperor of Morocco to be their chief and the head of their church ; yet, availing themselves of the great distance at which they are placed from the seat of government, and of other local advantages, they pay but little attention to his mandates, and at times have proved extremely troublesome to his government. On this account, in the map which accompanies the present work, I have made the river Suz the southern boundary of the empire ; though in most other publications, his dominions have been extended as far as Cape Non, and which, with the exceptions I have noticed, is actually the case at the present day. With this admission, the emperor's dominions may be estimated at about 500 miles in length from north to south, and 200 from east to west ; the whole being situated between the 28th and 30th degrees of north latitude.

Within such latitudes, the climate, as might be expected, is comparatively mild in temperature ; and as the country, in a great measure, is

a free access to every part of it. It will be sufficient to notice in general terms only, the different provinces, into which the empire is at present divided.

The empire of Morocco appears to be formed of four of its ancient kingdoms, viz. Fez, Morocco, Suz, and Tafilet.

Fez, or the northern division, includes the provinces of Garb, Rif, Tedla, the modern district of Fez, Shaus, Benihassen, Shavoya, and Temsena. Its principal towns are Fez, Mequinez, Tetuan, Tangier, Arzilla, Larache, Sallee, Rabat, and Dar Beyda.

free from those marshy districts, which, in warm climates, not unfrequently engender the most fatal diseases; and as the plains are well ventilated and tempered by the approximation of lofty mountains; the country proves uniformly healthy to the inhabitants, and most highly beneficial to those Europeans who, from previous indisposition, have resorted thither for a change of air.

In the northern provinces, the climate is nearly the same as that of Spain, with the autumnal and vernal rains peculiar to that country, but towards the south, the rains are less general and certain, and of course the heat is more excessive. Indeed to the south of the river Suz, and throughout the desert of Zaarha, little or no rain falls throughout the year, and it is principally from this circumstance, that the caravans experience so much difficulty in traversing the desert. We may however generally observe, that throughout the whole of the emperor's dominions, the air, with exceptions as to certain periods of the year, and the occasional influence of particular winds, has

The provinces of the Kingdom of Morocco, or central division, are Duquella, Abda, Hea, and the modern district of Morocco. Its principal towns are Morocco, Mazagan, Azamore, Valedia, Saffi, and Mogodore.

The kingdom of Suz, or southern division, contains the towns of Santa Cruz, and Tarudant, beyond which the emperor's authority is but little respected,

The kingdom of Tafilet, or eastern division, has only one large town, named like the province, Tafilet.

a congenial softness, and a degree of serenity, which render the climate peculiarly delightful.— The seaport towns have the additional advantage of being frequently refreshed with sea-breezes; and Mogodore, though so far to the southward, from being subject in the summer season to have the wind regularly at north-west, is quite as cool as the more temperate climates of Europe.

The soil of the empire of Morocco, though varying in its nature and quality, according to the province in which it is to be found, yet generally, is in the highest degree fertile, and under proper cultivation, is capable of producing all the luxuries of the eastern and western worlds. It must however be confessed, that on some parts of the seacoast, like every other country under similar circumstances, it is sandy and barren; but the plains of the interior, uniformly consist of a rich, black loam, which renders them fertile beyond all calculation. The mountainous parts also, by suitable cultivation, no doubt might be rendered capable of producing most of those fruits and plants which succeed best in the hilly countries of warm climates; and I see no reason, why plantations of coffee, cocoa, pimento, and those of most of the tropical productions, might not be brought to perfection in the southern provinces, as well as of sugar, cotton, rice, and indigo, the cultivation of which has already been successfully introduced into the country.

From the slight cultivation the ground at present receives, which is merely the burning the

stubble before the autumnal rains come on, ( for manure is not required ) and the ploughing it about six inches deep, it produces, at a very early season, and in most luxuriant abundance, excellent wheat and barley, though no oats, Indian corn, alderoy, beans, pease, hemp, flax, and a great variety of esculent vegetables.\* Among the fruits may be mentioned, oranges of a very superior quality, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, melons, water-melons, olives. figs, grapes, almonds, dates, peaches, apricots, apples, pears, cherries, plums, and, in short, all the fruits to be found in the southern provinces of Spain and

\* For ploughing, the Moors most frequently use oxen, which are made to draw by the horns; sometimes however, camels, mules, and even asses are employed, and more rarely horses of the most inferior breed. The ground being slightly turned up by the plough, the seed is committed to the earth, and is covered by a second ploughing in an opposite direction. The corn when reaped, is not housed as in this country, but when dry, is separated from the straw on the spot, by treading it out with oxen or horses; it is then winnowed, and if not required for immediate use, it is buried under ground in what are termed *matamores*, consisting of subterraneous caverns lined and covered with straw, over which earth is thrown and raised in a pyramidal form, so as effectually to throw off the rain from its surface, and to exclude the air. In these stores, corn has been preserved for an incalculable number of years, without experiencing any material change. The chaff is burnt on the ground, to promote its fertility, and the straw is chopped small, and used as fodder for the horses; it not being customary here to give their horses straw, or any other beds, as in Europe; but most frequently they sleep in the open air, pinned by one of the legs to the ground.

Portugal, with many others peculiar to the country itself. To these productions, may be added a variety of plants, capable of being applied to the most useful purposes, both in medicine and the arts, and probably a great many others which have not been noticed, or the uses of which have not been ascertained. As little encouragement, however, is given to emulation, or industrious exertion, many of the productions of the country do not arrive at the full perfection of which they seem capable. Could, indeed, a proper spirit for agriculture and foreign commerce be introduced, or, in other words, could the sovereign be persuaded, that by suffering his subjects to be enriched, he would improve his own treasury, this empire, from its convenient situation with respect to Europe, and from the natural luxuriance and fertility of its soil, might, as we have more than once stated, become of the highest political and commercial importance. The only material impediment to commerce is the inconvenience and insecurity of the ports. I am well informed, however, that at Valedia, or El Waladia, there is a bason formed by nature, which, with very little alteration, might be made to contain, in perfect security, a fleet of almost any magnitude; and the other ports might most probably be improved. It is melancholy, in traversing the immense tract of so fine a country, to observe so much land lying waste and uncultivated, which, by a very little attention, would be capable of

producing an inexhaustible treasure to its inhabitants. From this representation, it would scarcely be supposed credible, that Spain, which is also a fertile country, should be obliged to remit to the emperor very large presents of money, to induce him to allow his subjects to export corn, as well as most other kinds of provisions and fruits, from Tangier and Tetuan. Indeed the southern provinces of Spain can hardly exist without this supply. To what are we to attribute this circumstance? Is it that Morocco is so much more fertile than Spain, that it produces a redundance with scarcely any cultivation; or is the indolence of the Spaniards superior to that of the Moors themselves? \*

The Jews in most of the towns of the empire make wine; but, either owing to the grapes not being in such perfection as those of Europe, or to an improper mode of preparing it, its flavour proves but very indifferent. They also distil a species of brandy from figs and raisins, well known in that country by the Spanish name of aquadent. This liquor has a disagreeable taste, but in point of strength is little inferior to spirits of wine. It is drank without dilution very freely by the Jews on all their feasts or days of rejoicing, and there are very few of the Moors disposed to forego any private opportunity of taking their share of it also.

\* The reigning emperor, since his accession, has totally prohibited the exportation of corn.

The Moors cultivate tobacco ; there is a species of it near Mequinez, which affords snuff, the flavour of which is very little inferior to Maccaba. In my progress through the country, I have noticed forests of oak trees of a dwarf kind, which bear acorns of remarkable size and sweet taste. To the southward, we meet with the palm or date tree, the arga, bearing a nut of the almond species, with the olive, from both of which the inhabitants extract great quantities of oil, which constitutes a considerable part of their exports to foreign countries. There is also an infinite variety of shrubs and plants, such as the prickly pear, the aloe, &c. all, in short, that are to be found in Spain and Portugal. Cotton, indigo, wax, honey, salt, salt-petre, transparent gum, and gum sandarac, are all productions of this empire.

In the mountains of Atlas there are numerous iron mines ; but as the Moors are but little acquainted with the mode of working iron, those mines prove only of partial use to them, and therefore they are obliged to procure very large supplies of that article from Europe. The neighbourhood of Tarudant produces mines of copper ; and the Moors assert, that in the Atlas there are also some of gold and silver, which the emperor will not allow to be touched. But I am inclined to imagine, that if the assertion had any foundation in truth, the Brebes, who inhabit these mountains, and who are mere nominal subjects, and pay but little respect to the government of



Morocco, would long before this time have discovered them. It is, however, probable, that this vast chain of mountains may contain productions which might be converted to very valuable purposes ; but, owing to a want of emulation on the part of the inhabitants, and from Europeans not being allowed to attempt any new discoveries, a knowledge of them is not to be attained.

The domestic animals of Morocco are much the same as those of Europe, excepting the camel, which is the most useful animal in this quarter of the globe, both on account of the great fatigue which it is capable of undergoing, and the little subsistence it requires. Camels are employed here for all the purposes of agriculture and commerce, and are very numerous. It has been asserted that dromedaries of a very peculiar species, are indigenous to this country ; but in the course of my whole tour I could hear of none, excepting those which were in possession of the emperor ; and he, as I discovered, procured them from the coast of Guinea. These are the fleetest animals for travelling that are known, and are only used by the emperor upon urgent occasions. I was informed that their pace is sometimes so exceedingly swift, that their riders are obliged to tie a sash round their waists, to preserve the power of respiration ; and to cover the whole of the face except the eyes, to prevent their suffering from the strong current of air occasioned by the rapid motion of the animal. It is computed that, in an

ordinary way, a dromedary will perform a journey of five hundred miles in four days.

The oxen and sheep of this country are small ; but their flesh is well flavoured. The hides of the former, and the wool of the latter, are both articles of exportation. The sheep with large tails, distinguished in England by the name of Barbary sheep, are here very scarce, and are more indigenous to the eastern parts of Barbary. The horses, for want of attention in keeping up the breed, are much less valuable than they were formerly ; there are still however some few good in the country, and those are generally strong, and have great spirit. The mules and asses are numerous and useful, and of a superior breed, though I do not think them quite equal to those of Spain, either in size or beauty.

The coasts afford a great variety of excellent fish, differing but little in their kind, from those which are peculiar to the shores of the Mediterranean.

Fowls and pigeons are remarkably plentiful and good in the empire of Morocco ; but ducks are scarce, and geese and turkies are very rare, if at all to be met with in Barbary. The country abounds with the red-legged partridge, and in the proper season, the frankolin, a bird of the partridge species, of a delicious flavour, and beautiful plumage ; there are also a few woodcocks, snipes in great numbers, wild pigeons, doves, ring-doves, all kinds of water fowl, and a variety of small singing birds. Storks are very

plentiful, and as they are never molested by the Moors, who are taught to believe it sinful to destroy them, they become quite domestic and tame; they are generally to be seen feeding among ruinous walls and castles, where they pick up insects and snakes. Hares, rabbits, wild goats, antelopes, porcupines, apes, foxes, wild cats, and a great variety of lizards and snakes, of a very large species, are likewise natives of this empire.

Among the more ferocious animals may be enumerated wild boars, hyænas, panthers, lions, and jackalls; but these more frequently are the inhabitants of the higher and inaccessible mountains, or deep impenetrable forests, which they seldom leave, unless pressed by hunger, or by some very strong impulse. Eagles, and a very extensive variety of beautiful hawks, abound in this country, the latter affording the princes, and the higher orders, a great source of amusement in the chace. Scorpions, centipedes, tarantulas, musquitoes, and a great variety of gnats, are also to be met with here, the same as on the opposite coast of Europe, and often prove the source of great inconvenience to travellers.

During my residence in the country, I had frequent opportunities of examining that most singular of the animal productions, the cameleon. Though it is hardly necessary to adduce any proof to the philosophers of the present day against the vulgar error, that it feeds only upon air, yet it may afford some satisfaction to my readers to be

told, that I had an opportunity of seeing a complete refutation of this opinion at Mogodore. A gentleman of my acquaintance there had in his possession a cameleon, the dexterity of which in procuring its food, I had ample means of observing. The fact is, its principal support is flies, which it catches by darting at them an exceedingly long tongue, covered with a matter so very glutinous, that if it but touches an insect, it is impossible for it to escape. The most singular part of its conformation however, (if, perhaps, we except the power of varying its colours) is the eye, the muscles of which are so constructed that it can move the ball quite round; and I believe in it exists the only known instance in all animated nature, of a creature which is able to direct its vision to two different objects at the same time, however those objects may be situated. Except in the act of darting out its tongue to procure subsistence, its motions are remarkably slow.

Although it must be allowed that the climate of Morocco is delightful to a degree, yet it is occasionally subject to great droughts, which naturally produce immense swarms of locusts, the most destructive enemy to vegetation that exists. In the year 1778 these insects came in such numbers from the south, that they perfectly darkened the air, and, by destroying all the corn, produced a general famine. This calamity was increased to such a degree in the year 1780, that several unfortunate persons actually died in the streets for want of food; many were driven to the

necessity of digging in the earth for roots to supply the urgent calls of nature ; while others were happy to find some undigested corn in the dung of animals, which they most eagerly devoured.— Upon this occasion of public distress, the emperor generously opened his store of corn, and distributed it, as well as money, among his subjects ; and every person who was known to possess stores was obliged to follow his example. These melancholy facts are so recent in the memory of the people, that they still repeat them to the Europeans who visit the country.

Though the arts and sciences, for which the Moors in former days were so pre-eminently distinguished, be nearly lost sight of at present by that people, yet they are not totally extinguished. The city of Fez, in which many of the Spanish Moors took refuge, is distinguished not only for its public buildings, consisting of sumptuous mosques, sanctuaries, and hospitals ; but also for some remains of its antient colleges, at which the more learned attend, to teach the students the rudiments of their language, and the principles of the established religion, on both of which subjects, disputations are encouraged, and different points explained. Here are also some ingenious and useful manufactories, which serve to supply a large portion of the empire with their principal articles of apparel ; and in this city, the inhabitants are more wealthy, and possess a much greater share of urbanity and intelligence, than in any other part of the emperor's dominions.

Yet still they are deficient in most of those accomplishments which more frequently distinguish the inhabitants of civilized countries, and the few arts which they have retained, serve only to press on the mind, the obvious decline of their former splendor and greatness.

The manufactures of the empire, are the haick, which, as previously noticed, is a long garment composed of white wool and cotton, or cotton and silk woven together, and is used by the Moors as an external dress, in the manner of the Scotch plaid, or the toga of the antient Romans; silk handkerchiefs of a particular kind, prepared only at Fez; silks, chequered with cotton; carpeting, little inferior to that of Turkey; beautiful matting, made of the palmetto or wild palm-tree; paper of a coarse kind; Cordovan, commonly called Morocco leather; gunpowder of an inferior nature; and long barrell'd musquets, made of Biscay iron. The Moors are unacquainted with the mode of casting cannon, and therefore the few which are now in the country, are presents from Europeans. The manufacture of glass is likewise unknown to them; this article, as they make great use of earthen ware, and have few or no windows to their houses, may be of less importance to them than many others. They make butter, by putting the milk into a goat's skin with the outer coat turned inwards, and shaking it till the butter collects on the sides, when it is taken out for use. From this operation it proves always full of hairs, and has an insipid flavour.

Their cheese consists merely of curds hardened and dried, and has uniformly a disagreeable taste. The bread in some of the principal towns, particularly at Tangier and Sallee, is remarkably good, but in many other places it is coarse, black, and heavy.

Their markets are under more strict regulations than might be expected from a people who are so deficient in most other instances. A proper officer, entitled *Almotason*, or Mayor, is appointed to inspect all kinds of provisions and corn, and according to their plenty or scarcity, to fix the price on each article: it is also the duty of this officer to attend constantly the markets, and to see that no person is guilty of overcharging what he sells, for which, upon detection, the offender is punished, by having his hands tied behind him, and being publicly flogged through all the streets, the executioner occasionally exclaiming, "Thus do we treat those who impose upon the poor."—Provisions both of the animal and vegetable kind are sold by the *rtab*, or large pound, consisting of the weight of twenty hard dollars, or Spanish ounces; corn, by the *almood*, four of which are equal to a *faneg* Spanish, or sack; and articles of merchandize, by the small pound of sixteen Spanish ounces, when sold by weight; and by the *code*, which is about two-thirds of an English yard, when by measurement.

The Moors agreeably to the Jewish custom, cut the throats of all the animals they eat, at the same

time turning their heads towards Mecca, in adoration of their prophet. After suffering them to bleed pretty freely, they carefully wash all the remaining blood away, and divide the meat into small pieces of about one or two pounds weight. As they are unacquainted with the invention of pumps, and have but few springs, it affords employment to a number of indigent people, who would probably be idle otherwise, to carry water in skins from the nearest river or reservoir, and sell it to the inhabitants. From their being obliged to tar the skins to prevent them from leaking, the water is frequently rendered very unpleasant.

From the preceding account it must be concluded, that though the arts have not been altogether banished, yet, in most particulars, they are at a very low ebb in Barbary. Their looms, forges, ploughs, carpenters' tools, and all their instruments for mechanical purposes, are upon a still worse construction than those of the unimproved kinds, which are used in many parts of Europe. In their work they attend more to strength than to neatness, and, like all other ignorant people, they have no idea, that what they do is capable of improvement. They use no kind of wheel-carriage, and therefore their articles of burden are transported from one place to another on camels, mules, or asses. Their buildings, though by no means constructed on any fixed principles of architecture, have at least the merit of being very strong and durable. The manner



of preparing tabby, of which all their best edifices are formed, is, I believe, the only remains of their ancient knowledge at present existing. It consists of a mixture of mortar and very small stones, or close compact bricks, beaten tight in a wooden case, and suffered to dry, when it forms a cement equal to the solid rock. There are always unaccountable discrepancies and inconsistencies in the arts of uncivilized nations. The apartments are, if possible, even more inconvenient than those of their neighbours the Spaniards; yet the carved wood-work in many of them, displays great taste, and is highly ornamental. The Moors have no idea of making high roads, or repairing those which have been formed by the ancient possessors of the country, or perhaps by the mere resort of passengers, but are content to leave them in the same state in which they found them. Indeed, they are incapable of comprehending the simple fact---that by improving the roads, travelling would become more expeditious, and less expensive.

If we look for any of the elegant appendages of luxury and refinement in this country, we shall be grievously disappointed. Their gardens, with some exceptions, are mere tracts of inclosed ground, over-run with weeds, interspersed with vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, without taste or disposition. and having perhaps one straight walk through the whole. They sometimes sow corn in the intermediate space: but their gardens are rarely productive of esculent vegetables, and

seldom or never ornamented with flowers. As there are but few bridges in the country, I am inclined to believe that the Moors are not thoroughly acquainted with the mode of constructing large arches ; and it is only at their sea-ports where they even use boats. These circumstances, united to the bad roads, render this part of Barbary very inconvenient and dangerous to be travelled through.

The country throughout is ill-watered. Most of the rivers, which however are very few, in proportion to the extent of ground, except just at their sea-ports, deserve only the name of rivulets, and in the summer season are many of them dried up. From all these circumstances, it may be conjectured that the population is not extraordinary. When on my return, in my journey from Morocco to Sallee, which required seven days to accomplish, I met with no habitations but a few Arab tents scattered in different parts ; and I had reason to believe that a great part of the interior country is nearly in a similar situation. The towns are very few, in proportion to the extent of country, and those are but thinly inhabited. Indeed Morocco, which is a metropolis, has many of its houses in ruins, and others are without tenants.

The want of population in the empire of Morocco at this period, may have been occasioned, in some degree, by the enormous cruelties exercised by its former sovereigns, who have been

known, not unfrequently, through a slight disgust, to abandon a whole town or province to the sword. In the character of Muley Ishmael, grandfather to Sidi Mahomet, we find the most singular inconsistencies; for it is certain, that although a tyrant of the class which I have been describing, yet in other respects, as if to repair the mischief which he committed, he left nothing undone for the encouragement of population.---- He introduced large colonies of Negroes from Guinea, built towns for them, many of which are still remaining, assigned them portions of land, and encouraged their increase by every possible means. He soon initiated them in the Mahometan faith, and, had his plan been followed, the country by this time would have been populous, and probably flourishing. As the Negroes are of a more lively, active, and enterprising disposition than the Moors, they might soon have been taught the arts of agriculture, and their singular ingenuity might have been directed to other useful purposes. It is true Muley Ishmael, when he adopted this plan, had more objects in view than that of peopling his dominions; he saw plainly that his own subjects were of too capricious a disposition to form soldiers calculated for his tyrannical purposes. They had uniformly manifested an inclination to change their sovereigns, though more from the love of variety than to reform the government, or restrain the abuses of tyranny. In short whatever revolutions took place in the country, consisted merely

in a change of one tyrant for another. Muley Ishmael had discernment enough to see, therefore, that, by forming an army of slaves, whose sole dependence should rest upon their master, he could easily train them in such a manner as to act in the strictest conformity to his wishes. He soon learnt that the great object with the Negroes, was plenty of money, and liberty of plunder; in these he liberally indulged them, and the plan fully answered his expectations. Though, however, Muley Ishmael had no great merit in introducing subjects for the purposes of tyranny, yet the good effects of this new colonization were very generally experienced. By intermarrying among themselves, and intermixing among the Moors, (for the Moors will keep Negro women as concubines, though they seldom marry them) a new race of people started up, who became as useful subjects as the native inhabitants, and brought the empire into a much more flourishing state than it had been in for a very long period.

Sidi Mahomet had different views, and was actuated by different motives. From his inordinate avarice, he ceased to act towards his black troops in the generous manner which had distinguished his grandfather Muley Ishmael; and they soon shewed themselves discontented with his conduct. They frequently threatened to revolt, and support those of his sons who were in opposition, and who promised them the most liberal rewards. They offered to place his eldest son Muley Ali, who is since dead, on the throne;

but this prince not unmindful of the duty which he owed his father and sovereign, declined their offer. They next applied to Muley Yazid, the late emperor, who at first accepted of the assistance they tendered, but in a short time relinquished the plan.

Sidi Mahomet, disgusted with this conduct of the Negroes, determined to curb their growing power, by disbanding a considerable part of these troops, and banishing them to distant parts of the empire. This important mode of population has therefore been of late years neglected, while no better system has been substituted; for though Sidi Mahomet indulged in cruelty much less frequently than his predecessors, yet population, perhaps, has been more completely impeded by the general poverty which he has introduced into the country by his severe exactions, than if he had made a liberal use of the sword or the bow-string. To acquaint Sidi Mahomet that any of his subjects were rich, was equivalent to telling him that he had so many ambitious opponents, who by their wealth would support his sons in rebellion, which it was necessary to prevent by depriving them of those riches. The only maxim of government therefore adopted by this monarch was to keep his subjects as nearly as possible on a level; that is in a state of poverty. This he most effectually accomplished. No man who had property one day could with certainty call it his own the next. The most devoted misers, with their

utmost ingenuity, were unable to evade the discovery of their treasures. If the victim of tyranny manifested any reluctance to reveal to his inquisitors the sacred depository of his hoarded wealth, the emperor seldom hesitated on the means of compulsion. The fortitude of several, enabled them to resist every torture short of death ; but the love of life was always found to prevail over even avarice itself. But this perhaps was not the worst ; the heavy taxes and duties imposed by this impolitic monarch impeded commerce, and discouraged manufactures ; and on the whole I am inclined to believe that the country was never in a greater state of poverty than during his reign.

Power and weakness, rank and meanness, opulence and indigence, are here equally dependent, equally uncertain. There are instances of the sultan elevating at once a common soldier to the rank of a bashaw, or making him a confidential friend ; the following day he would perhaps imprison him, or reduce him again to the rank of a private soldier. It is surprizing that men under these circumstances should be ambitious of rank, or desirous of riches and power. Yet such is the disposition of these people, that they have an unbounded thirst for rank and power with all their uncertainties ; and what is more extraordinary, when they have obtained a high station, they seldom fail to afford their sovereign a plea for ill treating them, by abusing, in some way or other, their trust. The only independent people in the country, if it be at all lawful to make use of the

expression when speaking of Morocco, are to be found among the merchants who reside in towns at some distance from the seat of government.—The neatness of their houses and gardens, the furniture of their apartments, their rich display of china and glass, and their liberal treatment of strangers; their better education, and more enlightened ideas; all serve to point them out as a class of beings different from the rest. I wish this description would apply generally to all the people in trade; but I am sorry to add it does not: it is confined to a particular class of merchants who transact business upon a very large scale. Even these, however, though distant from the seat of government, besides, rigorously paying their quota of every severe tax which the emperor chuses to impose upon them, are not always exempt from plunder. If the bashaw or alcaide of the town can discover a plea for imprisoning them, which he sometimes does without much regard to justice, he seldom fails to turn it to his own advantage; and not unfrequently disgraces his master's royal name, by using it as a pretext for seizing their property.—Thus the empire of Morocco, in all its parts, presents a striking picture of the wretched policy and miserable consequences of a despotic government.

## CHAP. XIV.

*On particular articles of production.—Caravans to Mecca and Tombuctoo.*

THE following observations on the produce of the country, were made by an intelligent friend who lately visited the emperor of Morocco's dominions, and who very obligingly has permitted me to insert them. They serve to throw considerable light on the subject.—

Vast are the resources of this empire, and under a free government, great would be its commerce. Enjoying the advantages of a most fertile soil and a delightful climate, its productions are such as to render it nearly independent of foreign supplies; and to our own country, many of those productions would be highly interesting. The following are among many of the useful articles which it furnishes.-----

## GRAIN.

The grain of this empire, is chiefly wheat, rice, and barley. Such is the luxuriance of the soil, that instances are not unfrequent, of wheat yielding from 130 to 150 fold. It is of a rich gummy substance, and of a fine colour, but like all other Barbary wheat, is exceedingly hard. Knowing the difficulty which has been experienced in



England in grinding this grain, I have made particular enquiries regarding it, but have not yet obtained all the satisfaction I could wish. The idea of its being previously softened with water seems to be erroneous. The general mode is to grind it between the common mill-stones of the country, which process I find it is necessary to repeat three or four times before the grain be reduced to flour. For the first grinding, coarser stones are used, and afterwards finer ones by gradation. Notwithstanding these repeated triturations, the flour which is produced is not of that perfectly impalpable nature, to which our own wheat is reduced ; but here this is not so necessary, as the Barbary flour kneads as well as the British, and is as easily formed into bread.---- Owing to the bran not being properly separated, the bread of Tetuan has a brownish hue ; but the wheat cakes made by the Jews, have a good colour and are of excellent quality. The Moors are of opinion that the hard bread is in a much greater degree nutritive, than the soft ; and Bentaleb, an intelligent Moor, informs me, that the latter, if introduced into the country, would never be used. At Fez, a method is practised of sifting and grinding the wheat, of which the inhabitants of Tetuan, and, I understand, of every other part of the empire are entirely ignorant. It has the effect of rendering the flour so much purer, more white and fine than that in common use, that it commands an advanced price of nearly 50 per cent. This wheat, I am told, is in some way

or other previously prepared by moistening before it be ground, but the particulars of the process I have been unable to discover. Owing to the prohibition of the exportation of wheat, the quantity in the country is immense. It is all stored underground, and so well preserved, that I have been assured these subterraneous granaries contain a very large proportion that has been deposited therein for more than fifty years. Rice and barley may be obtained from this country in great abundance, but like wheat, their exportation is prohibited.

#### CATTLE.

The cattle of Morocco are very fine, and the beef is much superior to that of Spain. Their general exportation is prohibited, excepting for the limited use of friendly nations, and for the supply of Gibraltar, where the English enjoy a privilege, which is absolutely refused to other countries. They are not only permitted to import into Gibraltar annually two thousand head, on payment of five dollars duty on each; but they are also allowed to receive any further supply of which they may stand in need; but this only upon condition of their paying a duty of twenty-six dollars upon each extra bullock. The emperor also permits our ships of war to receive a certain allowance of provisions, including, I think, beef and mutton.

#### HIDES.

Hides are permitted to be exported, on payment of three dollars per cantar for duty, and their usual price here is about five dollars.---

Though small, they are good, but in the present state of our markets, they would not answer for exportation to England.

#### TALLOW AND HORNS.

Such is the caprice of the emperor, that although he permits a vent for the hides, and, under some circumstances, for the cattle themselves, yet he prohibits the exportation of either tallow or horns. The latter, therefore, are absolutely thrown away, and rot upon the ground; and the former, is only used in small quantities to mix with the wax, of which the candles in this country are universally made. The price of tallow at Tetuan is three dollars per cwt.

#### MULES.

The mules of Barbary are hardy, strong animals, and before their exportation was prohibited, formed a considerable article of commerce. A large proportion of them was formerly shipped for the West Indies, but for several years past, none have been permitted to be sent out of the empire, excepting by special licence, the trouble and expence of procuring which, have always been such as to defeat the object of the intended speculation.

#### WOOL.

The wool of this country, if allowed exportation, would, I conceive, be a very valuable article for our manufactures. It is long and strong, and Bentaleb assures me, that the better kinds of it, are equal in quality to the Spanish. Owing

to the ignorance of the people, the fleeces are so mixed together, good and bad, and from various sorts of sheep, and so much dirt is likewise left in the wool, that to form a judgment of its quality is difficult. In its present state, it sells for about ten dollars per cantar. Were it cleaned and separated, the price of course would be enhanced in proportion to the trouble occasioned, and the diminution of weight sustained.

#### WAX AND GUM.

Bees-wax and gum-arabic are two of the few articles allowed to be exported. They are both of an exceedingly good quality, and are brought to Tetuan from marts of the neighbouring provinces. Of wax in particular, there is so great a consumption in the country itself, that it is impossible to conjecture on what principle the emperor allows it to be exported, at a time when he prohibits so many articles of much inferior use. The price of the best wax, the small cakes of which are always preferred, on account of their superior clearness, is from twenty-two to twenty-five dollars per cwt. and the duty is fourteen. The best gum, the duty of which is five dollars, sells for about seven.

#### CANDLES.

Of the wax, very tolerable candles are manufactured, which are likewise allowed to be exported. They are long, and burn clear, but are of an awkward shape, being seldom straight, and their wicks are far too large.

## RAISINS.

The fruits of Morocco are many of them very rich. The grape, of course, grows luxuriantly, and the Muscadel raisins from being remarkably clean, full, and rich; and from the fineness of their flavour; are superior to any that I have yet met with; and had not their exportation been prohibited, they would have formed a valuable article of commerce.

## ORANGES.

The oranges raised about Tetuan and the neighbouring provinces, are large and rich. Extensive gardens and groves of the fruit are to be met with in every direction; they form indeed one of the principal ornaments of the country. Their exportation being allowed, a large trade is carried on in oranges from Tetuan, and it is a trade which I consider to be highly deserving of attention. From Tetuan, there are annually exported from five to six millions, and one of Bentaleb's gardens alone produces him upwards of three hundred thousand. For the last twelve-month, Bentaleb has enjoyed, through the favour of the emperor, the exclusive privilege of exporting oranges free of duty; but whether this indulgence will be continued for another year, may be considered very doubtful. The usual price of oranges varies according to the season. In the months of March, April, and May, when the fruit is in perfection, they are worth two dollars

per thousand, and the regular duty amounts to about as much more ; at other times they sell for about a dollar and a half. In order to compensate for the proportion of fruit usually damaged on a voyage, it is customary to make an allowance in purchases of oranges, of no less than 20 per cent ; so that I should think, the trade must be very safe and profitable. The only drawback is the difficulty of obtaining proper chests, and this might be obviated by importing them from Spain. Many other valuable fruits are raised in Morocco, but the greater part of them, like the raisins, are not permitted to be exported.

#### COTTON.

A great deal of cotton is grown in various parts of the empire, particularly in the southern provinces. This article is soft and fine, but its staple seems short, and its colour rather dark. Were its exportation allowed, it might prove however of tolerable use for many of our manufactures, though for others its quality does not appear sufficiently good. It is successfully used in most of the fabrics of the country, excepting for the haick, in the manufacture of which, its colour is an insuperable objection ; and therefore in its place, the cotton of the Levant is substituted. At Tetuan, the Morocco cotton, unpicked, sells for seven dollars per cantar ; its price, when picked is about twenty dollars, or exactly ninepence per pound. The cotton is uniformly brought from the country in its rough state, and

the business of picking and cleaning it, is performed at Tetuan, and those towns where manufactories are established.

## OIL.

In so fine a climate, and a soil so luxuriant, the olive-tree, as might be expected, grows in great abundance ; and the oil, were its exportation allowed, would form a great object for speculation. It is of two qualities, that produced in the northern and eastern parts, having the superiority over that which is brought from the neighbourhood of Morocco. The former is sold for about two dollars per measure, weighing one and a half arobas, and the other may be had for half a dollar less.

## SILK.

Silk is produced in Morocco, but in such small quantities, that the importation of this material from Malta and Sicily is immense. For the manufactures, the silk of Messina is used ; but I understand that the reason of the native silk not being employed, originates more in the deficiency of the quantity, than in any defect of the quality of the article.

## TOBACCO.

Tobacco is raised in considerable quantities, and forms an article of great export to the countries in the interior of Africa. To me its quality appeared to be very indifferent. The leaves are large, and the veins are swelled. Were its culture properly attended to, and its maritime exportation

allowed, it might probably be calculated for the European markets ; but in its present state, I am of opinion, it would not answer.

#### GOAT SKINS.

Goat skins are allowed to be exported in their perfectly natural state ; but if coloured, manufactured, or even if simply tanned, their exportation is prohibited. The goat skins are larger in the neighbourhood of Mogodore, than in most of the other parts of the empire ; but they are neither better, or proportionably cheaper, than those of the eastern and northern provinces. The duty paid on them, is seven and a half dollars per cwt. and eleven dozen may be reckoned at Tetuan to be equal to one and a half of that weight, Pariente states the price, including the duty, to be three dollars per dozen ; but Bentaleb assures me that, by proper management, they may be had, exclusive of duty, for eleven to fourteen dollars per hundred.

#### IRON AND COPPER MINES.

In several parts of the empire are found rich mines of iron and copper, but hitherto they have only been partially worked. With the quality of copper I am unacquainted, but that of the iron is excellent ; it is considerably softer than that from Sweden, and of course much preferable to the English. Its price is likewise lower than that of foreign iron ; and were a sufficient proportion extracted from the mines, no other would be used in this country. Hitherto however, a great deficiency of this article has been experienced, and



in consequence, large quantities of Swedish iron are annually imported.

#### BRICKS AND MORTAR.

The materials for building are here superiorly good and very reasonable. The bricks from being made of excellent clay well manufactured, are very fine, compact, and strong. They are prepared rather larger than our bricks, but not more than half the thickness. In winter time they sell for about two dollars per thousand, but in summer, their price seldom exceeds one and a half. The mortar generally used, and of which, in the composition of a Moorish wall, there is nearly as large a proportion as there is of brick, is made of one-fourth lime, and three-fourths of earth. This mortar is so durable, that houses have been pulled down after standing two or three hundred years, in which the tenacity of the mortar has not in the least degree been impaired; and Bentaleb informed me, that if the mortar were composed of equal proportions of earth and lime, instead of three-fourths of the one, and only one of the the other, it would last to eternity. Both lime and the earth are of excellent quality.

#### HEMP.

Could the sources of Morocco be brought effectually into use, unfettered by the restrictions of a barbarous policy, I have great reason to think that this country might be rendered of the first importance to Great Britain, in the supply of naval stores. The hemp which is grown here

appears of an excellent quality, but owing to its limited consumption, but little is raised. To Tetuan it is brought in a very foul condition, full of tar, in which state it is purchased by the cordage makers, by whom it is afterwards properly cleaned. The specimens which I perceived, I have shewn to some naval gentlemen, who extolled it highly. They were strong and fine, and in point of length, they did not yield to the hemp of Russia.

#### TAR, PITCH, AND TIMBER.

The native tar is not of good quality. For general purposes however, it answers as well as the pitch from which it is made. Timber does not seem to be plentiful in this empire, though as many parts of the country have hardly been explored, our information on that subject must necessarily be limited. In the vicinity of Tetuan there is a species of wood to be found, which is represented to be impervious to the worm. From this wood which is hard, rather heavy, and brittle, the beams of the houses are made; and three beams, four and a half yards in length, four inches thick, and six wide, Bentaleb tells me, may be purchased for a dollar. Oak forests are to be met with in various parts of the country, and a pretty large one has lately been seen at no great distance from Fez: but such as hitherto have been discovered, do not furnish trees of any very considerable growth. In the mountains there must also be fir trees, since all the pitch is brought

from thence by the mountaineers into the towns for use. Pitch is sold for two dollars per cantar of one and a half cwt. All these articles of naval consumption are prohibited exportation.

#### MANUFACTURES.

Various are the manufactures of the empire, and to do the Moors justice, they seem to be industrious, and to possess no small share of ingenuity. Fez is the principal place both for manufactures and internal commerce. Here are made the alhaicks of which the female dresses are usually formed. These are a manufacture peculiar to this country, and are composed of silk and cotton in stripes. They are of various qualities, from three and a half up to ten dollars a piece, of about five yards by one and a half. Handkerchiefs of different kinds, and scarfs are among the silk fabrics of Fez, and many of these articles are extremely beautiful; they are principally made for home consumption, and it is for the supply of these looms, that so large a proportion of silk is annually imported from Sicily, and from the Levant. A coarse, but thick and warm woollen cloth, is made in different parts of the empire of various degrees of fineness. With this, the men are here almost universally clothed, using it as a *capote* or round frock, extending from the shoulders to the feet, the upper part having sleeves and a hood. This article of course is of very extensive manufacture, and it has the effect of rendering the Moors, on the score of necessities, almost

independent of foreign supply. Sacking of good quality, coarse cotton cloths, &c. &c. are likewise manufactured in this country; and if proper encouragement were held out, there can be no doubt but their quality would be greatly improved. In the province of Morocco, there is an extensive manufactory of carpets, which have a strong resemblance to those made in the Levant; but though with a great appearance of strength, and of an excellent colour, I apprehend they are not so durable. They are sold very cheap, and if permission could be obtained for their exportation, I have little doubt but they would answer extremely well in England, where they might pass off for Turkey carpets.

#### PRICE OF LABOR, PROVISIONS, ETC.

It has uniformly been a part of the Moorish system, to enrich the sovereign at the expence of the subject, or, in other words, to drain the country of all its wealth, for the purpose of filling the royal coffers. Thus as there is little money in circulation, provisions of every kind, labor, and all the productions therefrom, are proportionably cheap. A laboring man considers himself very lucky, if he can earn three pence half-penny or four pence per day. From no posts being established in the empire, it is necessary to send all letters from place to place by express. A man may be hired for that purpose, to go on foot from Tetuan to Tangier, and to return, a journey together of at least two days, for a

dollar. The price of a courier from Tetuan to Fez and back, a journey of six days, is three dollars, and from Tetuan to Morocco and back, which may be performed in fifteen days, seven dollars. Meat is sold for about three farthings a pound; eggs, eighteen for a penny; fowls, a dollar per dozen; and bread, three large cakes for a penny. The manufactured goods of the country are proportionably reasonable.

The preceding observations of my friend, bespeak in very strong terms, the extensive resources of an empire, that hitherto has been little known beyond the straits of Gibraltar. Important as these resources might prove to the commercial nations of Europe, and particularly to Great Britain; yet they may be considered as bearing only a very small proportion of the actual means of the country, much less of what might be derived from those improved exertions, which a liberal policy, and an enlarged commerce, could not fail to call forth. It has ever been the system with the Moors, and particularly with the government of Morocco, to conceal from Europeans as much as possible, all information on the state of their country, and more especially respecting the mode of carrying on their manufactures; and it is on that account probably that strangers are not permitted, excepting on very particular occasions, to visit the city of Fez; and that so much pains have been taken to mislead those

foreigners who have manifested a desire to acquire information. It is again to be observed, that many portions of the empire of Morocco, have only been partially, if they have been at all, explored, even by the Moors themselves; and that with a great many of the trees, plants, and mineral substances to be met with in different parts of the country, particularly in the mountains, and from which probably the most important uses might be derived, the inhabitants are totally unacquainted. The intercourse which annually takes place between the Moors of Morocco, and the interior of Africa, by which their produce is exchanged for gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, and the like, might, no doubt, be greatly improved; and by proper management, might prove the indirect channel for conveying European manufactures into the interior of Africa, and of returning its produce into European ports; and when to all these advantages, be united the convenience of the Barbary coast for a commercial intercourse with Europe; and the well-known love of wealth which has ever distinguished the emperors of Morocco; it must be left to more competent judges to decide, how far all these collateral circumstances be deserving of public consideration; and whether, by a total change of the present system, a closer alliance with the court of Morocco, and a more enlarged commercial intercourse with his dominions, might not prove an important acquisition to Great Britain.

I cannot better conclude this section, than by submitting to the reader the following account of the caravans to Mecca and Tombuctoo, which I received from a gentleman resident in Barbary, on whose veracity I could place the utmost confidence.

Seven months before the feast Aid de Cabier, or the commemoration of the birth of Mahomet, pilgrims from every quarter assemble at Fez, in order to join the caravan, which at that season proceeds for Mecca. They are composed of three classes of people.----First, the mountaineers, named Brebes; secondly, the Moorish merchants; and, thirdly, persons in public employments, or who are engaged about the court of the emperor. Thus religion and interest conspire to draw together a large and motley group, and to induce them to undertake a journey, which is as fatiguing and dangerous, as it is expensive.

The first class are not required to ask permission to join the caravan. The second are obliged to present themselves to their respective governors, as well to avoid the inconveniencess of debt on their own account, as on that of their families, who might be subject to be molested by creditors during their absence. If a merchant has the least connection with the court, it is expected that he also present himself to the emperor, who, as he feels disposed, grants or refuses him permission to enter upon the journey. Those of the third class must have an express permission from the emperor, who never allows any to go

whose circumstances will not sufficiently enable them to defray the expences of the pilgrimage.

As there are two modes of performing this pilgrimage, by sea and by land, those who prefer the former, are subjected to an examination by the governor of the port whence they embark, to see that they pay the freight of the vessel, and to inform himself whether they have sufficient means to go and return from this sacred object of Mahometan devotion, without being under the necessity of borrowing, or of being suspected of using any base or dishonourable means of obtaining a subsistence. Those who proceed by land, are liable to be examined also, but not so rigorously as the others, the shaik of the caravan having power to punish those who are guilty of any irregularities.

The place whence the caravan sets out by land, is from Teza, a town in the province of Tedla, some distance to the east of the city of Fez, the latter being the first place of rendezvous. At Fez, the most commercial city in the whole empire, and abounding with provisions of every description, each person furnishes himself in the best manner he is able, according to his rank and circumstances, with a sufficient supply to last, until he reaches Tripoli, or at least Tunis.

This grand caravan is always accompanied by many others, of which one goes to Algiers, another to Tunis, and a third to Grand Cairo, &c. Those persons who go to Algiers and Tunis, are not under the necessity of asking permission, as



they are accustomed to carry on a trade with these places; whence they return with a quantity of their respective manufactures. The caps of Tunis are of great use in the empire of Morocco, and their silks also sell at a very good price; though upon the whole, those of Algiers are preferred; as they are used by the Moors, for their girdles, curtains, women's dress, and furniture for their beds and rooms. The manufactures indeed both of Algiers and Tunis, are brought to greater perfection, than those of Morocco. The merchants who go upon these expeditions, carry with them ready money, haicks, and slippers, which are the manufactures of Morocco, and dispose of the two last articles to the Arabs and inhabitants of the towns in the neighbourhood of Algiers and Tunis, who, though they do not wear the haick as a part of their dress, yet they make use of them for a variety of other purposes.

Some time within the first fifteen days of the month Jumeth Tenii, every proper preparation being previously made, the grand caravan sets off from Teza in the following order:—After having invoked the true and sole God, and his prophet Mahomet, to give every benediction to this sacred journey, they all meet near the tent of the chief conductor, who is named in Arabic Shaik Rebeck, and commence their devotions to the sound of clarionets, tambours, &c. The unloaded camels and mules are then first put in motion, attended by the cooks, watermen, &c. Next to this party, follow those who travel on foot, either

from devotion or necessity ; to these is entrusted the care of the loaded mules and camels ; and the rear is brought up by those who are mounted either on horses or mules. The carayan is put in motion at sun-rise, stops at twelve o'clock at noon to dine, and about four in the afternoon the people encamp in the same manner as they did at Teza.

The course which they take is through the interior parts of the country, leaving Tremecen, Algiers, and Tunis, to their left. Some of them indeed, make excursions to the two latter places, and afterwards join the caravan. By these means they are enabled both to obtain a fresh supply of provisions for themselves and beasts, and to sell to the Arabs haicks, slippers, and old caps, for which they usually receive a very good price ; and the profits enable them frequently to make advantageous purchases at Mecca, Alexandria, and Cairo.

Upon their arrival, after a journey of two months and a half, at that part of the sea-coast where the tower of Salines is situated, and which is about half a day's ride from the city of Tripoli, they rest themselves ten days. At this place all the pilgrims supply themselves with forty or fifty days' provisions, which is generally sufficient to support them to Alexandria or Grand Cairo ; and on their return, they purchase in the neighbourhood of Tunis and Tripoli, a large supply of mules, frequently giving only twenty-five hard dollars, for what they afterwards sell in Morocco, for eighty or a hundred.

From the tower of Salines they continue their route as far as Alexandria and Grand Cairo, where they furnish themselves, in the same manner as at Tripoli, with sufficient provisions for the remainder of the journey, which requires altogether near seven months to accomplish. To those who undertake this journey for the purpose of trade, it generally answers extremely well. By purchasing goods at one place, and selling them at another, they contrive to make upon each sale a profit of ten per cent.

The Arabs between Fez, Alexandria and Grand Cairo, though a rude class of people, are warmly attached to their religion, and on that account give the pilgrims a friendly reception, furnishing them with barley, butter, eggs, mutton, beef, &c. From Cairo, however, to Mecca, the route is not so easy, as the Arabs, instead of the benefactors, frequently become the plunderers of these holy travellers. On these occasions they spare nothing, and leave them not so much as the necessaries of life; particularly if they refuse the contributions which they usually demand for permitting the caravan to pass peaceably through the country. Within the last seven or eight years, the passage is become more dangerous than ever. The banditti now assemble in very considerable bodies in these deserts, and at certain passes the travellers may be assailed with great advantage. In passing the isthmus of Suez, for instance, above Alexandria, the caravan may be defeated by a hundred men. These robbers, therefore,

generally endeavour to post themselves in such a manner as attack it in this place,

Those people who carry on a petty trade, endeavour to convert their little stock into ready money, upon their arrival at Mecca ; where, with the remainder of the caravan, and with other Mahometan pilgrims, they commemorate by a feast the nativity of their great prophet Mahomet, when each person is obliged to sacrifice at least one sheep. It is computed that on this day, which is the tenth of the moon Delaja, above two millions of sheep are slaughtered at Mecca.

After the performance of this solemn rite, the majority of the travellers employ themselves in laying out their money to the best advantage. Some purchase muslins, Levant silks, &c. ; others, essence of roses, amber, musk, Persian silks, and the like ; while another part of them save their money to lay it out at Grand Cairo, where they purchase a good stock of raw silk, cottons, and manufactured silks of different kinds ; in that city, indeed, every article may be had at nearly the same price as at Mecca. On the whole, we may assert, at a moderate computation, that the value of the articles contained in one of these caravans, joined with the ready money, amounts to two millions of hard dollars.

Those persons who proceed by sea join the caravan after disembarking at Alexandria, and paying the freight of the vessel in which they set sail. On their return also considerable numbers embark at Alexandria, and land at Tetuan or Tau-

gier, whence they depart for their respective homes, and sell the commodities they bring with them, for perhaps a third more than their original price. Others continue their journey by land, and add to the riches brought from the Levant, the merchandizes of Tunis and Algiers, which are held in great esteem throughout the empire of Morocco. By these means they double the capital they provided themselves with at first setting out.

It would be no very difficult matter for a Christian to join one of these caravans, provided he obtained the recommendation and express permission of his Moorish majesty, or the shaik of the caravan, who would take him under his protection. This obstacle would be still further removed, if the Christian would consent to wear the Turkish habit, or dress himself in the manner they are obliged to adopt at Grand Cairo. By these means he would obviate every inconvenience to which the European dress subjects a traveller, both with respect to the wild Arabs, and to the weak and illiberal people of the caravan. As the caravan, however, does not go far into the interior parts of the country, the object of discovery would hardly be sufficient to counterbalance the fatigues and dangers of the expedition.

There are no caravans which go directly into the interior parts of the country. It would, in fact, be as dangerous for a Mahometan, as for a Christian, to penetrate a hundred leagues beyond

the known limits of the empire of Morocco, as the inhabitants of these parts are savage, avaricious, and capable of committing any crime for a very trifling emolument. A fatal proof of the cruelty of these Arabs occurred in the year 1786, when forty pilgrims, on their return from Mecca, were massacred. These people demanded hospitality from the mountaineers of Zánor, near Mequinez, for only one night; but as they brought some valuable goods with them, it is supposed that it was owing to that circumstance, that they were all put to death.

The country beyond the mountains of Atlas, about six days' journey to the east of Morocco, is not even known, though it is probable it might be penetrated with safety, provided the same means were used as are employed by the caravans which go to the south; that is, a small proportion of force, and a small proportion of generosity.

There is no particular caravan so considerable for the south, as that which goes to Mecca. As these, indeed, are intended merely for the purposes of commerce, they seldom consist of more than one hundred and fifty, or perhaps two, or at most three hundred persons, including the muleteers, camel-drivers, and other servants. Some of these caravans set out from Morocco, while others go from Tarudant, Fez, and Tetuan. The first pass by way of Domnet, while the others meet at Tafilet, and thence pursue their journey towards the desert. These caravans go no further than Tombuctoo, where there are some merchants

of Morocco established, for the purpose of carrying on a trade with the inland parts of Guinea, where they traffick for slaves, ivory, gold dust, &c. The merchandizes which the caravans carry from Morocco, Tarulant, &c. consist of haicks and blue cloths, for which they find a good sale throughout the country of the Mohafres, and at Thouat.

The city of Thouat is in the interior parts of the country, about thirty days' journey from Taflet. From Thouat, the caravans proceed directly to Tombuctoo. There is much greater danger in passing the two deserts between Taflet and Thouat, than between the latter place and Tombuctoo. As the Arabs of the deserts are much addicted to rapine, the caravans are obliged to make them trifling presents, to enable them to travel without being molested. The other Arabs, who purchase merchandize, such as blue cloths, small daggers, looking-glasses, &c. pay generally in return ostrich-feathers; and this traffick is attended with very tolerable profits.

The articles which the caravans carry immediately to Tombuctoo, are tobacco and salt. It is necessary to pay attention to what camels may be wanted for the purposes of carrying water through the deserts, as in some parts they travel four, and in others nine days, without meeting with a drop of water. It is in a great measure on this account, that the camel becomes so useful an animal in hot climates. Their stomachs, it is well known, are so constructed, as to allow them to

pass many days without food or drink ; its inner coats being provided with a number of little cells, in which is retained a large proportion of water, for a length of time, which is regurgitated by the camel when thirsty ; while its size admits of an ample supply of food being received, not only for the immediate wants of the animal, but also for his future purposes of rumination, to which he has recourse, when the ordinary supply begins to fail. Their owners, therefore, have only to give their camels plenty of barley and water at the entrance of the deserts, and this proves sufficient to last them till a fresh supply can conveniently be procured.

These extraordinary animals are able to carry a very great weight, in proportion to their size, and to perform very long journeys, without much apparent fatigue. They are used both for the purposes of riding and carrying burthens. Their steps are very long and slow, and they are tractable and easily managed ; they are taught to kneel down when they are loaded ; and when used for the saddle, they are entirely managed by a short and thick stick, which both serves the purposes of bridle and whip. It is not uncommon in Barbary, to see three persons, with furniture in proportion, mounted upon one camel.

Upon the arrival of the caravans at Tombuctoo, they exchange their tobacco and salt for slaves, gold dust, and ivory, which are brought thither from Guinea. Four thousand slaves are supposed to be annually carried from Tombuctoo, great



part of whom are sent to Mascar, Algiers, and Tunis. It but seldom happens that any eunuchs are brought away, unless by a particular commission from the emperor, or some of the princes, no other person in the country being permitted to keep them. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to procure them at all; the place whence they are usually brought, is the kingdom of Bambara. In Muley Ishmael's reign, the number of eunuchs in the empire of Morocco was supposed to amount to seven hundred; but they are now so reduced, that one hundred is the utmost that could be mustered in the whole empire.

Those persons who have been concerned in the trade to Tombuctoo for the last twenty years, compute the value of the merchandizes, transported annually thither from the empire of Morocco, to amount to at least a million of hard dollars; and the commodities received in return, such as ostrich-feathers, ivory, gold dust, amber, and Guinea slaves, to ten millions, two-thirds of which are carried to Algiers, Tunis, &c. The slaves are purchased near Tombuctoo at a very cheap rate, there having been instances of a fine Negro boy being bought for six pounds of salt.\*

\* It appears, that in a distant part of the Moorish dominions, there are beds of fine rock salt, which belong exclusively to the emperor: and that a very curious custom is observed at Tombuctoo, and among the Negro nations of the interior, in bartering this article for Negro slaves. The mode of fixing the price of the slave, is by measuring his foot in the salt, and a slab of its size, about two inches thick, is his value.

As a proof that Christians may proceed along the shore by land from Guinea to Morocco, two Frenchmen, in the year 1781, came from Senegal to Morocco, and brought intelligence of some forts having been taken from the English on that river. It is, however, proper to remark, that they were provided with escorts from one place to another.

I am not aware that any attempt has hitherto been made by Europeans, to proceed to Tombuctoo, under the protection of the Morocco caravans; though if proper precautions be observed, I do not see why it might not with facility be accomplished. Thus, with comparatively but little risk, much useful information might be obtained, upon a subject which still continues to be involved in great obscurity, notwithstanding the exertions of the African Society, by whom no pains, or expence, have been spared, to confer success on the laudable exertions of those distinguished travellers, who, with undaunted minds, and with a persevering spirit, have endeavoured to find their way to this reputed emporium of African commerce.

## CHAP. XV.

*Return of the Author to Barbary.—Tetuan described.—Death of Sidi Mahomet, and of Muley Yazid, and accession of Muley Solyman.*

SOON after my arrival at Gibraltar, I was prevailed upon to digest and arrange the notes and observations which I had made during my residence in Barbary, and to publish proposals for a narrative of my Tour. In these proposals, having engaged to relate the particulars of the emperor's death, and of his son's succession, and being desirous of procuring every information that could serve to complete my account of the empire of Morocco, I obtained leave of absence for a short time from the garrison for the purpose, and was induced, from that motive, to pay a second visit to Tangier. It would be useless to detain the reader with any further description of that place; I shall therefore only observe, that after diligently collecting all the information, political or otherwise, that I could procure, I availed myself of the opportunity of visiting Tetuan, which the new emperor had once more opened to the resort of Christians; and which I had long with much earnestness desired to see.

Some of my friends have, however, expressed their surprize, that after the treatment which I had formerly received in Barbary, I should venture again into that country. In explanation, it must be observed, that at the period of my second visit, the state of affairs was totally changed. Sidi Mahomet was then no more, and his son, the new emperor, had manifested an exclusive preference to the English, by inviting them into the country, and offering them every encouragement and protection. These circumstances, united to the little chance of my being known at Tetuan, where I was a perfect stranger, and to an anxious desire of obtaining information, without which my proposed work could not have been completed, encouraged me, without hesitation, to proceed on this short excursion, the risk of which was greatly diminished, by my visits being confined to the towns of Tangier and Tetuan, both within a few hours sail from Gibraltar, and for which place, daily opportunities offered of returning.

The city of Tetuan is very pleasantly situated near the opening of the straits into the Mediterranean ; being built upon a rising ground between two ranges of high mountains, one of them forming a part of the lesser Atlas. It lies about ten leagues to the east of Tangier, and commands a beautiful prospect of the Mediterranean, from which it is only distant five miles ; and the valley below is variegated with gardens, plantations of olives, and vineyards, and ornamented with a

river, which takes its course directly through its centre. The barren and gloomy appearance of the lofty mountains, which seem almost to project over each side of the town, contrasted with the beautiful verdure with which it is immediately surrounded ; the distant view of the sea, and the serpentine direction of the river, which is navigable for small craft as far as Marteen ; afford altogether a scene, highly interesting and romantic.

The town is of considerable extent, and its walls are flanked in different parts with square forts, on which a few small pieces of ordnance are mounted. This fortification, however, is merely calculated to defend the place against the Arabs, who are often discontented, and disposed to commit depredations ; but it could by no means resist the attacks of a regular army. Besides these small forts, there is a square castle on the summit of the hill, on which 24 pieces of cannon are mounted ; this, though in itself but a weak and ill-constructed piece of fortification, is calculated, from its elevated situation, to command the town in every direction. The streets of Tetuan, are narrow and filthy ; and many of them are nearly arched over by the houses. Of the intention of these projections I could form no conception, unless they are meant, by keeping off the rays of the sun, to render the streets cooler in the summer season. If so, it must on the other hand be allowed, that they also prevent a free circulation of air, which, in a hot climate, and in streets so confined, must be greatly injurious to the health of the inhabitants.

Though the houses have a mean appearance from the streets, yet their apartments in general are roomy, tolerably convenient, and well furnished; and, contrary to those of Tangier, are built two stories high. The Elcaisseria, or fair for the disposal of goods, is filled with shops, containing a great variety of valuable articles, both of European and of African manufacture. From Fez, the tradesmen are supplied not only with the manufactures of that city, but also with articles brought thither from Tunis, Algiers, Alexandria, and Tombuctoo, by means of the annual caravans; from Spain and Gibraltar, they import European merchandize, for which they give in return provisions and fruit of every description; and in addition to these, they have many manufactures of their own. Tetuan, therefore, may be ranked next to Fez, in commercial importance.

As the Moorish inhabitants are principally merchants on a large scale, they are opulent, and more polished and accessible to strangers, than those of most of the other towns in this empire. Their complexions are generally fair, and they are altogether a well looking people. On our first arrival, from the novelty of seeing Christians in the town after an exclusion of nearly twenty years, when we walked the streets, the people universally ran out of their houses to look at us; and a very considerable body of them for some time followed us wherever we went. They, however, by no means offered us any kind of insult; on the contrary, upon being informed that we were English,

they expressed every mark of satisfaction, and many of them invited us to their gardens. The Moors were always partial to the English in preference to every other European nation; they even professed their attachment at the very time when Sidi Mahomet was upon such ill terms with our court; and since Muley Yazid's accession, they have given the most unlimited scope to the expression of their partiality.

The mosques of Tetuan which are very large and numerous, appear to have by far a greater claim to magnificence, than those in the other towns of the empire.

The Jews in this place, previous to the plunder by order of Muley Yazid, were wealthy; they live by themselves in a separate part of the town, where they are shut out every night from the Moors; their women are remarkable for their clearness of complexion, and the beauty of their features.

The port of Tetuan is situated at about two miles distance from the sea, and is named Marteen; at this place there is, however, only a single house, which is used for the purpose of collecting the customs. As the mouth of the river on which it is situated, is now nearly choked up with sand, it only admits of small craft; and even these can proceed no further than Marteen, where there are usually a few of the emperor's row-gallies laid up to winter. The entrance of the river is defended by a high and square tower, on which are mounted twelve pieces of cannon.

This fortification might answer the purpose of preventing the approach of small vessels, but it is by no means calculated to oppose any considerable force. The bay, or more properly the road of Tetuan, is formed by a high point of land which runs out into the sea a considerable distance to the west of the river, and will only shelter vessels in a westerly wind; when it veers round to the east, they are obliged to leave the bay, and retire to some safer port.

During my continuance at Tetuan, I was not inattentive to the main object of this expedition; but, as the information which I could collect there, was not materially different from what I learned at Tangier, I shall blend the different accounts together, and hasten to gratify the reader's curiosity, as far as lies in my power, concerning the succeeding events which took place in the empire, from the time of my leaving Morocco to the accession and death of Muley Yazid. The information which I obtained in consequence of my second visit to Barbary, concerning the events that took place in the empire subsequent to the death of Sidi Mahomet, and which I communicated in my first edition, were the most authentic and best I could, in the short time I was in the country, procure; several new circumstances have however since arisen, which have obliged me to alter both my original plan and my sentiments, and to carry on my narrative up to the death of Muley Yazid, whose conduct will now appear in a very different light. The difficulty of



obtaining an impartial account of the politics of a country in which individuals are cautious to a degree how they express their sentiments, will be deemed, I hope, a sufficient apology for my conciseness on this subject, as well as for any errors into which I inadvertently may have fallen.

Muley Yazid, whose mother is the offspring of an English renegado, having incurred his father's displeasure, was sent on a journey to Mecca, the old emperor hoping, that by seeing the world, he would, in a maturer age, reform, and be brought to a sense of his duty. Upon his approaching the frontiers, some years ago, very strong, and seemingly authentic reports were circulated, that he was on his march with a large army to dethrone his father. These rumours could not fail to affect the old man with considerable anxiety, which, however, was afterwards removed by the retreat of Muley Yazid to Tunis, without having made any hostile exertions whatever.

In the summer of 1789, the prince privately entered the country, and took refuge, as has already been intimated, in a sanctuary named Muley Absulem. To this sacred spot, which is held in great veneration by the Moors, he retired as a place of safety, without any intention of attacking his father, but merely to remain there in readiness to declare himself, when the emperor's death should take place, which, from his great age and infirmities, was evidently an event which could not be very distant. Here he had no people about him, but three or four faithful attendants,

and lived a strictly retired life, as far removed as can well be conceived, from that state and consequence, which are usually affected by princes.

The old emperor, however, considered his son's intentions in a far different point of view, and used every stratagem he could invent to draw him out of the sanctuary, but without success. At one time he wrote him word, that if he would come to court, he would re-instate him in his affections, and acquiesce in every demand he would make; or, if he chose to leave the country, he would allow him sufficient to live in Turkey, or at Mecca, respected as a prince. On another occasion, he threatened to attack him, pull down the sanctuary, and take him away by force. To all these letters, the prince, by the prudent advice of his mother, with whom he kept up a private correspondence, always evaded giving a positive answer. He assured his father of his affection, duty, and the purity of his intentions; and, without refusing to acquiesce in his wishes, sent some excuse or other, explaining why he could not for the present comply, but promising that he soon would. It is difficult to conjecture, whether the emperor would have used any violence towards his son, in case he had repaired to court; but it is well known, that the old monarch wished particularly, that Muley Absulem might be his successor, and that he had a private dislike to Muley Yazid; and these appear to be sufficient motives for the prudent conduct of the prince.

The various reports that were circulated through the country, and particularly by the people at court, that Muley Yazid's intentions were hostile to his father, and the great esteem in which the prince was held by every individual in the country, caused the emperor to consider his son to be a very dangerous rival. I have already so fully represented the state of the emperor while under this impression, that it would only be a repetition to expatiate on it at present. It will be sufficient to say, that after three or four months unsuccessful negociation, the emperor sent Muley Hasem, another of his sons, to Tangier, with an army of six thousand Negroes, which were to be reinforced by men drawn from the neighbouring provinces. This prince's directions were, to offer a considerable reward from the emperor to the persons who had the care of the sanctuary, if they would surrender or expel Muley Yazid; but if they refused to comply, he was to pull down the sanctuary, seize Muley Yazid, and to put every man, woman, and child, in the neighbourhood, to the sword. This sanguinary edict, however, the sharifs had spirit or enthusiasm enough to resist; and Muley Hasem, not having secured the confidence of his troops, was afraid to attack his brother. When they were encamped at Tangier, he did not even venture to sleep among them, but at night always retired to the castle.

Disgusted with this fruitless attempt, the emperor called his son a coward and a trifler; and

immediately ordered Alcaide Abbas, the commander in chief of the black army, and the best officer in his service, to supercede Muley Hasem in his command. Abbas carried a considerable reinforcement to the army already at Tangier, and was soon after joined by Muley Slemma, the prince's full brother. These two officers were directed to encamp near the sanctuary, and wait there till joined by the emperor himself, with a considerable army from the south.

For this purpose the emperor left Morocco on the 29th of March, 1790, and travelled on horseback. At the time he was passing out at the gate of the city, the umbrella, which is always carried before the emperor, and in that country is the distinctive mark of royalty, suddenly broke in two, and the head was carried up into the air to a considerable height before it fell. That the ensign of royalty should be in so unaccountable a manner broken, at the very moment of his departure on a journey, upon the success of which his empire seemed to depend, was an accident which the emperor, who was remarkably superstitious, considered as a bad omen, and he was certain portended some calamity which was to befall him on the road. In consequence of these apprehensions, he became remarkably uneasy, pensive, and indisposed; and it is not improbable that this trifling circumstance, united to a previously weak state of body and mind, contributed materially to hasten his death.

From the time of his departure to the second of April, he made unusually short stages ; and on that day he ordered letters to be written to Muley Slemma and Alcaide Abbas, in very strong terms, arraigning the conduct of Muley Yazid, and directing them to encamp at the bottom of the mountain, on which the sanctuary was situated, and to block it up in such a manner, that the prince should not find it possible to make his escape. Soon after the signing of these letters, he complained of a pain in his head and stomach, and was seized with vomiting ; he continued, therefore, for the space of two days, without being able to proceed on his journey. On the 5th of April, as he found himself unable to ride on horseback, he ordered his people to place him in his litter, and commanded his own physician to accompany him. When he halted on his journey, in the evening, he was visited by a large body of people, who came to pay their respects to him. For these adventitious visitors, the sovereign ordered a great feast to be prepared ; he tasted of every dish that was sent to them, and soon after complained of a pain in his bowels. On the following day, he proceeded on his journey, and in the evening, the pains of his head and stomach were considerably increased, and were soon after followed by a vomiting of blood. He now began to express a sense of his approaching dissolution ; and, it is said, ordered a letter to be written to Muley Yazid, telling him, that he hoped God would forgive, and bless him ; but, as the truth of this

circumstance has been doubted, it is to be considered merely in the light of a report. His uneasiness concerning his situation did not prevent him from regularly and devoutly performing every part of his ablutions and prayers, and fulfilling every ceremony of his religion. On the two succeeding days, the emperor took very short journeys, and, finding he had no prospect of recovery, he desired that his women would have him carried to Rabat, and, upon his decease, buried in a vault which he had built in his palace for that purpose. On the 11th of April, 1790, upon entering the town of Rabat, he expired in his carriage, without speaking a word. The news of his death was not made public till the following day, when he was buried in his palace, agreeably to his orders, with all the honours usually paid to such personages.

The death of Sidi Mahomet was certainly a most fortunate event for the people of the northern provinces, and particularly for those who had manifested any attachment to Muley Yazid. He had in view, no less than the total extirpation of the inhabitants of that part of the country; and it was impossible to foresee where his cruelties might have terminated. On the other hand, it was not the intention of Muley Yazid to come to any engagement with his father; therefore, as the emperor approached, he would have retired, till he had got beyond the boundaries of his father's dominions.

Sidi Mahomet, when he died, was in the 81st year of his age, and in the 33d of his reign. His character has already occupied so large a portion of these pages, that it would be entirely superfluous to offer here any further observations on that subject. It is well known, that, a few months previous to his death, he was thoroughly convinced how greatly he had fallen a dupe to Spanish intrigues. By bribing the ministers, and obscuring the mental eye of the sovereign by large and repeated presents, the court of Spain procured leave to export great quantities of corn free of duty, the customs of which, at a moderate computation, would have brought into the emperor five times the value of the presents which he received. This, indeed, was not the only inconvenience which the country suffered through this imprudent concession: the drought had been so excessive the preceding year, that a scarcity of corn had already taken place, and occasioned a universal murmur among the people; so that had the exportation of that article been allowed a little time longer, a general famine, and consequently an universal rebellion, must have taken place. Besides this, from motives of pique, the Spaniards persuaded the emperor to withdraw the supplies from Gibraltar, by which another considerable defalcation was made in his revenue. Latterly, however, the monarch was sensible of these impositions, and he raised the duties upon the provisions and corn which the Spaniards exported, to so immoderate a height, that they were obliged

to send home their vessels empty. Had he lived a little longer, it is a matter of doubt, whether affairs with Spain would have ended only by increasing the duties ; for he was so entirely irritated by their conduct, that it is not improbable but a rupture between the two courts would have been the consequence. On the other hand, his differences with England, from the same circumstances, would most probably have been adjusted and settled, perfectly to the satisfaction of our court. Indeed, he had given directions for that purpose two days previous to his death,

I have already mentioned, that in this country the succession to the empire, though restricted to the same family, is not limited to any particular branch, but depends on the influence each of the princes may have in the country, and particularly over the army. The government may therefore be considered as partly hereditary, and partly elective.\* Wealth, however, is not the only means of obtaining this influence ; for Muley Yazid, the new emperor, was the poorest of the royal brothers.

When the news of Sidi Mahomet's death reached Muley Slemma and Alcaide Abbas, they certainly fell back with the army towards Sallec ;

\* The Mahometan law particularly directs, and it is well understood by the more enlightened part of the Moors, that the eldest son is the next heir to the throne ; but owing to the influence of the black army, and the ignorance of the majority of the people, this circumstance in the empire of Morocco is but seldom attended to.



but whatever they might have in view by so doing, they could meet with no support. At Morocco, the old emperor left his two sons, Muley Hasem and Muley Oussine, entrusted with the joint government of that city, ordering the inhabitants to pay to the first prince the sum of ten thousand hard dollars, and to the latter only five. This partiality, on the part of the monarch, so greatly irritated Muley Oussine, that he discharged a musquet at his brother, but missed him. Muley Hasem, who at Tangier had manifested a want of resolution, intimidated by this circumstance, shut himself up in the palace, and left Muley Oussine in full possession of the whole of the money.

As soon as Muley Hasem received intelligence of his father's death, he published it to the people of Morocco, at the same time presenting himself as the immediate heir of the crown. He was soon after proclaimed by a few mountaineers; but the principal people of the city declaring in favour of Muley Yazid, Muley Hasem was obliged to give up his pretensions, and retire to his late father's house.

Muley Oussine took the first opportunity of leaving Morocco, and repaired to Muley Abrahaman, who resided among the Arabs in the most southern part of Suz. His motives for this step are differently accounted for: it is by some attributed to an apprehension of the new emperor's resentment, on account of the robbery he had committed on Muley Hasem; while others allege

it was on the score of having formerly killed one of Muley Yazid's children.

Muley Abdrahaman had, during his father's life, amassed a very considerable sum of money, by his industry and attention to commercial affairs, and was at one time in great favour with the emperor. The old man, however, of whose immoderate love of riches I have already had occasion to speak, soon became jealous of his son's wealth, and consequently desirous of possessing it. To effect his purpose without opposition, he dissembled his intentions so far, as to appoint his son governor of Sallee, a place of no inconsiderable importance; and, in consequence of this appointment, Muley Abdrahaman, having packed up all his money and valuables on mules, in the most affectionate manner took leave of his father, and proceeded on his journey. He had not, however departed long, before the emperor sent a large detachment of troops after him, with orders to strip him of every article in his possession; which they so effectually accomplished, that they left him master only of an old rusty pistol. The prince, naturally irritated by such unworthy treatment, made a rash, but most solemn vow, that he would never see again his father's face; and immediately retired to the mountains in Suz, where he has ever since continued. The emperor endeavoured to persuade his son to return to court, by offering him large presents of money, and by the most splendid promises; but the prince uniformly declined the

proposal, by not hesitating to tell his father, that his word was not to be trusted ; upon which, the old monarch included him in the curse he had uttered against Muley Yazid.

When the emperor's death came to be known in Suz, forty thousand Arabs immediately tendered their spontaneous services, to assist Muley Abdrahaman in ascending the throne, and in resisting the pretensions of Muley Yazid ; and it was generally expected that he would have made the attempt ; but he wrote a letter of congratulation and submission to his brother, and made an offer of his services. Thus, amidst so many difficulties, and with so many competitors, all of them considering themselves as equally entitled to the succession, was Muley Yazid seated on the throne, without the shedding of a drop of blood, and almost as peaceably as in the best-regulated state in Europe. If we look back on the change of masters which this empire had previously experienced, I believe we shall scarcely find an instance, where affairs have been settled so successfully and so happily as on this occasion. The only disturbances that took place after the old emperor's death, were some predatory incursions of the Arabs into the southern provinces, who, under a pretence of supporting Muley Hasem, plundered Morocco, and obliged the Christians and Jews to take shelter in the castle. Mogodore was saved by being so well fortified, and by the great exertions of the governor and inhabitants. The country, however, adjacent to those places, even

as far as Sallee, was in such a state of confusion, that travelling became totally impracticable for a considerable time.

The town of Dar Beyda, which is garrisoned by about an hundred and fifty Negroes, who on several occasions had made themselves disagreeable to the surrounding Arabs, nearly shared the same fate as Morocco. As soon as the emperor's death was made known in that place, the Arabs bought up all the powder and ball that was in the town, before the inhabitants were aware of their intentions. For balls, which were usually sold at the price of eight or nine for a blanquil, the Arabs now consented to purchase at the rate of two blanquils each, and at last they completely stripped the town of all its small ammunition. Having effected this first step, they assembled in great numbers in the neighbourhood, armed with musquets.

The governor, alarmed at the appearance of so considerable a body of Arabs, went out with fifty soldiers, and demanded of them their intentions in thus tumultuously assembling together. They replied, that as the country and town people were both equally subjects of the empire, it became necessary that deputations from each party should meet in the town, to determine upon the person proper to be elected their sovereign.

In return, the governor answered, that he had no objection whatever to a few of their principal people coming into the town, for the purpose they mentioned ; but that he could not see any reason

why so many persons should on such an occasion be collected together, and present themselves in a hostile state against a city of the empire. To this observation the Arabs did not condescend to reply, but insisted on being admitted into the town; and were as obstinately refused. After some parleying, however, they promised to disperse, if the governor would pay them two thousand dollars. This he refused, observing, that in making this demand, they were treating the inhabitants of the town like Jews; and that they must disperse, or take the consequence. A reply of this nature was calculated rather to enrage than to conciliate; the Arabs, therefore, began to set the huts on fire, and to advance towards the town.

Their force at this period was increasing almost every moment, by numbers who came down from the mountains; and the governor, apprehending immediate danger, privately dispatched a messenger to the inhabitants, cautioning them to be on their guard against the Arabs; at the same time announcing, that he had no opportunity of retiring himself.

As the town had been previously cleared of its flints, powder, and ball, it is impossible to describe the consternation of the people. To add to their distress, some small vessels, which had ammunition on board, had the day before been, unfortunately, driven by bad weather out of the bay, from all which circumstances, the town appeared destitute of every resource. A Spanish

mercantile house, however, which was settled at Dar Beyda, and had very considerable property in the place, advised the inhabitants to close the gates immediately, and to mount on the wall fronting the enemy an old twelve pounder, which was without a carriage, and was the only piece of ordnance in the place; at the same time they offered three dollars to every man, who would assist in defending the ramparts. Having mounted the gun, they were still at a loss for one of the most material articles, viz. powder; there was some in the magazine, but the governor was on the outside, and had the key in his custody. The Spaniards, upon this pressing emergency, advised the people to break open the door, which they immediately did, and with powder only fired off their piece of cannon.

An attack so unexpected upon the Arabs, who had flattered themselves that there was neither a gun or powder in the place, put them for some time into the utmost consternation, and they began to disperse; but upon finding that no person was wounded, they soon assembled again, with a full determination to attack the town. The Spaniards now recommended the inhabitants to load the piece with a ball, which they by accident found, and fire it directly among them. This manœuvre was attended with the most brilliant success: the Arabs immediately dispersed, and gave the governor time to re-enter the town with his troops; and at length, being sensible that they could effect nothing by a regular attack, they next

attempted to take the place by stratagem. For this purpose, they divided themselves into two parties; one of which they posted on the right side of the town, and the other on the left. The party on the right side, sent a deputation to the governor, informing him that they were friends, and requesting that they might be admitted into the town, to assist him in conquering those on the left, who were enemies, from whom they had deserted. This proposal, however, was obstinately refused by the governor, who desired them to keep at a distance, or to take the consequence; upon which the two parties again united, and endeavoured to surprise the town on the water side.

The vessels which had been driven out the day before returning about this time, powder, balls, and a few small pieces of cannon, were taken out of them; and when the Arabs made their last attack, by night, the town took the alarm; fired on them, and obliged them to retire. The following day, the pieces of cannon were mounted in different parts on the walls of the town, which had the desired effect; for the Arabs, finding they had no chance of success, dispersed totally, and went to their different homes. For some time after this circumstance, not one of them was permitted to enter the town, but upon condition that he should first leave his musquet and sword on the outside of the gate.

The Spanish house, during this petty siege, supplied the late emperor's women, who happened to be in this town on the occasion, with money

and other necessaries, and out of their own stores furnished corn to the inhabitants. The new sovereign was so pleased with the conduct of the Spaniards, that he sent them a letter of thanks, as well for their zeal in defending the town, as for the support they afforded to his father's women. Not satisfied, however, with the barren return of thanks, he ordered them also to be repaid the whole of their expences, and sent them a present of two lions.

These were the principal disturbances which took place, in consequence of the emperor's death. By degrees, the spirit for plunder, on the part of the Arabs, was less general, and the country became in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity.

The news of the emperor's death reached Tangier on the 15th of April; upon which the governor repaired to the great mosque, made a short prayer for Sidi Mahomet, and proclaimed Muley Yazid his successor. After this ceremony, the public crier was placed in a conspicuous situation, where he publicly proclaimed Muley Yazid; in his name denouncing the severest punishment against any person who should dare to oppose the new sovereign. As Muley Yazid had been proclaimed both in the church and in the town, the consuls all agreed to write him a letter, condoling with him on his father's decease, and congratulating him upon his accession to the throne. I should have observed, that the only ceremony attending a new emperor's accession to the throne,



is a public proclamation in the streets and mosques. When the proclamation takes place in the presence of the emperor, which by the law ought to be performed publicly, at least in the three capitals of the empire, it is customary for all the chief priests and doctors of the law to assemble, with the other great people of the town, and for the mufti or cadi to read aloud to the emperor, a short recapitulation of some of the laws of the Koran ; which direct, that he shall preserve the empire, administer speedy justice, protect the innocent, destroy the wicked, and so far from countenancing & keeping near his sacred person any adulterer, that he shall punish adultery, prevent the exportation of corn and provisions to the prejudice of the people, tax provisions according to their plenty or scarcity, and forbid usury to be exercised towards the poor, which is an abomination before God. He is told, that if he break these articles, he shall be punished, as he ought to punish others under a similar circumstance. The same ceremony is performed before all bashaws, alcaides, and shaicks, upon their first receiving their appointment. How far these few but excellent admonitions are attended to, either by the emperor or by the officers under his command, I have already sufficiently explained in a former part of the Narrative.

On the succeeding day, which was the Moorish sabbath, all the great people of the town assembled at the mosques, and, with greater ceremony than the day before, prayed for the soul of the

deceased sovereign, and proclaimed Muley Yazid his successor. On the same day, all the Jewesses of Tangier were ordered by the governor to repair to the castle, and lament Sidi Mahomet's death; which they performed by loud shrieks and lamentations.

On the 17th, the bashaw communicated to the consuls a letter, which he had received from Muley Yazid at the sanctuary, wherein he ordered the bashaw to conduct all the consuls to him with their presents, under a guard of fifteen soldiers. On the same day, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the battery, in consequence of an order having arrived for a general release and pardon to all prisoners. Seven poor Sharifs, or petty princes, who brought this order, delivered at the same time directions to the consuls to clothe them from head to foot at their own expence. In consequence of this, the consuls furnished each of them with cloth for a caftan, with two britanias, and twenty dollars; to this, as it was not sufficient to satisfy them, they were obliged to add a still further supply of money. On the following day, the consuls set off on their journey with the bashaw, and the principal people of the town, both Moors and Jews. In the evening, Reis Musti Gali, with two other sea captains, arrived at the consuls' camp with a letter from the new emperor, inviting them to repair to him at Tetuan, and promising to renew the ancient treaties of peace and commerce with their nations. The captains related, that Muley Yazid had left the

sanctuary, and had made his public entry into Tetuan the day before.

On the 19th of April, the consuls arrived in the evening at Tetuan, where, upon entering the gates, they were met by a messenger, who informed them that the emperor would give them audience immediately whilst upon their horses; upon which their baggage was all sent away, and the consuls ranged themselves in a regular form. After waiting, however, a short time, another messenger came to acquaint them, that the emperor would see them the next day. On the following day, at twelve o'clock at noon, the consuls were sent for to the emperor's camp, where they found the sovereign on horseback, in a very rich Turkish dress, and his horse ornamented with Turkish furniture. After having asked their respective names and titles, the emperor told the consuls he was at peace with the English, and the Ragousi, but at war with all the other nations; whose consuls he allowed only four months to retire from his dominions with their property, and ordered them to send him back every thing which belonged to his subjects. On the 22d of April, the consuls had their second audience, at which each of them brought their separate presents. The emperor now told them, he would remain at peace with all their nations on the same footing as before, requiring of the Spaniards only an ambassador within four months. At this audience he promised the consuls letters to the respective courts, expressive of the same sentiments; and

assured them that the bashaw at Tangier should make them out, in terms the most agreeable to the consuls. The succeeding day, the consuls received orders to return to Tangier, at which place the emperor was to deliver to them the papers which he had promised.

On the 25th of the same month, the emperor arrived at Tangier, and the day following was waited upon by all the consuls, to congratulate him on his safe arrival. At this place he continued till the 29th, during which time he gave private audiences to those consuls who asked them, and was every day fully employed in receiving people of various descriptions, who came from the different provinces to pay their homage. These were supposed to amount to no less than twenty thousand. The bashaw of Tangier, who had the commission to write out the letters from the emperor, which the consuls were to send home to their respective courts, behaved in the most arbitrary and insolent manner towards those gentlemen. He demanded of some no less than two thousand, of others fifteen hundred dollars, for the trouble he had taken, by interfering in their favour with the new sovereign; at the same time positively refusing to make out or deliver the letters, till they had either paid the sum he exacted, or given him the requisite security.— After the consuls had endeavoured to satisfy the bashaw in this particular, they at last did not receive the letters till the day after the emperor's departure from Tangier, when they were brought

to them by the bashaw's secretary, and another of his attendants, who not only demanded a present for themselves, but also obliged them to pay an exorbitant price for the seal on each paper, which the bashaw pretended he had paid to the keeper of the seals.

The emperor arrived on the 10th of May at Mequinez, whence, after some little stay, he went to Fez, and there kept the feast of the Ramadan. About this period, in consequence of his not having appeared in public for several days, a false report was circulated, that he had been killed by his brother Muley Hasem, who had just before arrived at Fez from Morocco.

Having conducted the emperor to Mequinez, it will be only necessary to take a general view of his conduct, during the short time that elapsed between his accession to the throne, and arrival at that city; and thence go on to those circumstances which led to his death. After the caprice, pusillanimity, and avarice, which had distinguished the reign of his predecessor, Sidi Mahomet, Muley Yazid appeared to possess many qualities well calculated to render him a very popular prince in the eyes of the Moors. To a tall, elegant and majestic figure, were united a handsome and expressive countenance; a specious and persuasive address; a generous and disinterested, but determined conduct; great activity of body; and uncommon agility in horsemanship. These accomplishments could not fail to impress on the minds of his subjects, a very favourable opinion

of their new sovereign ; and it is certain that Muley Yazid succeeded to the throne by the voluntary choice of the majority of the people. Happy would it have been, had he possessed sufficient virtue or policy to have preserved their good opinion ; but an ungovernable propensity to cruelty and drunkenness, which he had artfully concealed during his minority, he had not resolution sufficient to command when he succeeded to the throne ; and in the whole history of Morocco, we do not meet with a tyrant who exercised greater barbarities than this monster was guilty of.

His first step after leaving the sanctuary, was to repair to Tetuan, where he immediately ordered a general plunder of the Jews, in consequence of an insult he had received from that people upon a former occasion. In pursuance of this edict, their houses were instantly ransacked, the furniture which could not be carried off was destroyed and thrown into the streets, some of the owners were put to death, and others were severely beaten, and the persons of their wives and daughters violated by the outrageous soldiery, who indiscriminately stripped them even of their clothes, and turned them naked into the streets. It is not possible to paint in just colours, the distress and hardships which this unfortunate race experienced ; when, after a persecution of several days, the emperor thought proper to pardon them, and threatened with death any further irregularities on the part of the soldiers.

There were two persons of the Hebrew nation, of some consequence, whom Muley Yazid marked out as particular objects of his revenge. The first of these, while officiating in the capacity of Spanish vice-consul, had committed some act during the reign of Sidi Mahomet, which the new emperor considered to be inimical to his interest. For this real, or imaginary crime, the culprit was suspended by a cord passed through the tendons of the lower part of the legs, with his head downwards; in which situation, without any sustenance, he continued alive for near four days, when the emperor ordered his head to be taken off, under the plea of relieving him from his misery. The other person was Jacob Attal, who, in a former part of the work, has already been noticed as the favourite of Sidi Mahomet. There is great reason to believe, that this young man, who possessed considerable abilities, was accessory to his own unhappy fate, by his too busy interference in politics, which occasioned him many enemies at court, who were now glad of seizing the opportunity of gratifying their revenge, by persuading the emperor that he was one of those who, in the time of Sidi Mahomet, had been particularly inimical to him. Attal, conscious of his danger, placed himself under the protection of the English consul, with an intention of accompanying that gentleman to Tetuan, in hopes that a considerable present of money, might induce the emperor to treat him with some lenity. Unfortunately, before this plan could be put in

execution, an order for seizing Attal met the party on the road, upon which the unfortunate Jew was forced off his mule, stripped of his dress, and in an old Moorish frock with a cord about his neck, was driven on foot with whips to Tetuan. Upon his arrival, he was immediately conducted to the emperor, who ordered both his hands to be cut off, in which state he continued three days in the greatest misery, and then he was decapitated.

These are by no means the only instances of cruelty that were exercised upon the Jews. In most of the towns of the empire, they were either plundered or obliged to pay the emperor a very heavy fine; and at Mequinez, and some other places, several were put to cruel deaths, and their wives and daughters left to the mercy of the black troops, who treated them with the greatest indecencies.

A third object of the emperor's personal revenge was Alcaide Abbas, his father's black general. With respect to this officer, the emperor had two motives for punishing him. In the first place, he was the commander of that very army which was intended for his own destruction; and in the second, upon his father's decease, instead of surrendering the army to Muley Yazid, he withdrew it to the south, and, it was supposed, with an intention of supporting Muley Slemma. Notwithstanding, however, this conduct on the part of Abbas, the emperor certainly would not have put him to death, had it not been at the particular



request of the black army, which at that time he did not wish to offend. Abbas, fully conscious how much he was disliked by his troops, attempted to make his escape to a sanctuary upon a very swift horse; but his horse falling, he was unluckily seized, and was immediately carried before the emperor, with very heavy charges on the part of his soldiers. After hearing the charges, the emperor signified to the culprit, that he might yet partake of his royal mercy, provided he would confine himself for two months to the sanctuary of Muley Absulem. For this purpose he set off; but he was again seized by the soldiers, who brought him back to the emperor, with still heavier charges; and the emperor, finding that the soldiers were determined on his destruction, he, with his own hands, by one blow of his sabre, divided his head in two, and he immediately expired. Abbas was the best officer in the emperor's service, and never manifested the slightest token of timidity, or condescended to ask his life; on the contrary, when the emperor lifted up his sabre, he in a stern and undaunted manner looked his sovereign in the face, and died with the countenance and the tranquillity of a hero. As his body had not received the emperor's pardon, it remained on the ground unburied, to the great nuisance of every person who passed that way; for such is the barbarous custom of the country, that when a man is put to death by the emperor, or his order, his body cannot be buried, without its first receiving a formal pardon from the emperor.

Muley Yazid, long before his father's death, had threatened the life of the Effendi. He had been a principal agent in exciting the father's hatred and prejudice against his son. A further cause of the emperor's resentment, was the great imposition practised on his father by the Effendi respecting the corn concern with the Spaniards, by which he had amassed a very considerable sum of money in bribes and presents. Upon the death of Sidi Mahomet, therefore, the effendi took refuge in a sanctuary, and, had he been wise, he would not have ventured abroad ; but Muley Yazid having positively promised to pardon him, he was induced to forsake his asylum. For some time the new sovereign dissembled his intentions, and waited for a favourable opportunity to seize him. As soon as he was taken, he offered the emperor two hundred thousand dollars to spare his life ; but the monarch haughtily replied, that he would not condescend to receive a bribe from a traitor. He then ordered his hands to be cut off, in which state he suffered him to remain for some days, and then commanded him to be beheaded. One of his hands was placed on the walls of Fez, and the other sent down to Tangier, and ordered to be nailed on the door of the Spanish consul, to convince that nation in what manner the emperor was disposed to treat all the friends of the Spaniards.

Muley Yazid always, indeed, manifested an exclusive preference to the English beyond all European nations, and on many other occasions, evinced an inveterate dislike to the Spaniards. From

the moment of his accession to the throne, he expressed a disapprobation of the Spanish measures, during his father's reign; and threatened to revenge himself very shortly on that country. The Spaniards, who have more reason to wish for peace, from their ports being so contiguous to the emperor's, as well as from the immense supplies which they procure from his dominions, than any other nation, endeavoured to ward off the threatening storm, by very large and repeated presents of money, and other valuable articles, to the emperor and his ministers. But this plan, which had been so successful in the former reign, effected nothing in the present. Muley Yazid had, from his youth, been disregarding of money; and, indeed, in his contempt of wealth, had even exceeded the boundaries of prudence; he had also conceived a very strong and very early predilection in favour of the English. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the Spaniards still continued to entertain hopes of success in their negotiations, until they heard of the death of the Effendi, their great friend and patron, and of the insult offered to their court, by the effendi's hand being nailed on their consul's door. Such an affront was sufficient to convince them, that war was inevitable; but they esteemed it most prudent to get their consul, and friars, out of the country, before they commenced hostilities: and a frigate for that purpose was dispatched to Tangier. When it arrived, the captain informed the governor, that he had on board a valuable present for the emperor, and

desired that he would send proper persons to receive it. The consul & friars took the opportunity of going on board ; and the frigate, having sent back the Moors with the present, set sail, and the next day captured two Moorish galleys off Larache, in sight of the emperor, who was walking upon his terrace at the very moment. The valuable present proved nothing more than huge bales of rags.— These repeated insults were not calculated to conciliate the emperor ; he consequently made immediate preparations for the attack on Ceuta, which he soon after besieged. But the garrison proved too strongly fortified, both by nature and art, to render it possible for the Moors to be successful, unless assisted by a naval power ; and the emperor, after a fruitless siege for several months with a very considerable army, was obliged to retire. The insults offered by the Spaniards, in the deception they employed to procure the release of their consul and friars, and afterwards in the capture of the two Moorish vessels, made such an impression on the emperor, that he threatened to put the town of Tangier to the sword, for so flagrant a piece of neglect, in permitting the Spaniards to escape. In their justification, the people informed their sovereign, that the error must be imputed to the governor, who alone was responsible for every circumstance which happened within his district. This officer, who at the risk of his life had supported Muley Yazid in his minority with money, and afterwards placed him on the throne, for which the emperor

took a solemn oath that he would never do him or his family the smallest injury, was now thrown into irons, and immediately ordered into the royal presence. The unfortunate man, foreseeing his fate, requested the emperor would do justice to God and to Mahomet; to which he replied, I mean to do justice to my country by punishing a traitor; and he immediately dispatched him with a musquet.

I am not in possession of sufficient information, to authorise me to detail all the calamitous circumstances, which distinguished the transitory reign of Muley Yazid. Thus far I can venture to assert, that he in a short time devoted himself entirely to the drinking of strong *liqueurs*, which for the greatest part of the day rendered him unfit for business, and excited him to the most savage cruelties; and, what was most distressing, where they were the least merited: for with some he amused himself by galloping up with great violence and spearing them, others were buried alive, while a third party were cut to pieces with swords.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the neglect of public business, and the total insecurity of their persons from the tyranny of the monarch, destroyed in time entirely that confidence which the people had at first placed in their sovereign, and encouraged Muley Hasem, towards the latter part of the year 1791, to put himself at the head

of an army in opposition to his brother. This prince, who possessed most of the bad, without any of the good qualities of the emperor, and who commanded against him during the life of Sidi Mahomet, was further induced to this measure, in consequence of a supply of stores, and of considerable sums of money, which he received from the Spaniards, who had great reason to wish for a change of government. The emperor, who still had many friends, soon collected a considerable army, with which he marched to the south, to dislodge his brother, who had taken possession of the city of Morocco and its vicinity. Muley Hasem, upon this occasion, discovered his usual pusillanimity, by resigning the command to one of his generals, who however was an active and enterprising officer. When the two armies met, a dreadful engagement ensued. The emperor discovered an uncommon share of personal courage, intermixing with the enemy, and fighting like a private soldier. After a severe conflict, he totally routed his adversary, and took possession of Morocco, but not before he had received several wounds, which in a few days proved mortal. During the short period of life which remained to him, his whole attention was occupied in punishing the people of Morocco for their attachment to his brother. Between two and three thousand of the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, were massacred in cold blood; while some of them he ordered to be nailed alive to the

walls, he tore out the eyes of others with his own spurs, and, in his dying moments, passed an edict that sixty people of Mogodore, among whom were most of the European merchants, should be decapitated, for the assistance which he supposed they had afforded to his enemy. Fortunately for them, he died soon after issuing the order, and it was not forwarded. This event took place in the early part of the year 1792.

Muley Yazid, who only reigned two years, and at his death was in the forty-third year of his age, was possessed of many qualities, which, had they been properly improved, might have rendered him a most useful monarch, in a country where the sovereign possesses an unlimited controul over his subjects. Naturally quick of apprehension, determined in his conduct, and not easily biassed by the persuasion of others; possessing a great share of personal courage, and a total contempt of wealth; had these endowments of nature been meliorated by an enlightened education, they might have enabled him to have accomplished a reformation in his subjects, and thus perhaps led the way to great improvement. Unfortunately, this prince too easily yielded to the dictates of his passions, which, in a short time, totally incapacitated him for conducting even the ordinary business of government, and by increasing his natural propensity to cruelty, rendered him as great a monster as ever filled the throne of Morocco.

Upon the death of Muley Yazid, the country became in a very unsettled state, which made the people extremely cautious how they elected another monarch. To the southward of Sallee, Muley Hasem, from possessing the army, was obeyed as the sovereign ; while on the northern side of the empire, Muley Solyman, who, from his exemplary conduct, had gained the esteem of the people, was considered as emperor.

After some struggles between the contending princes, of the particulars of which I am not in possession, Muley Solyman succeeded to the throne, and is now the reigning emperor. This prince who has passed his fortieth year, at the time I was in the country had assumed the sacerdotal habit, and was residing in the mountains in perfect retirement. He was then much respected, and from the simplicity of his life, and the suavity of his manners, was emphatically termed by the Moors, a *good man*. Since his accession, I have been informed, he still preserves his reputation for sanctity, and holds war in the greatest abhorrence ; but with this pacific disposition, he unites an inordinate love of wealth, and, what under such circumstances seems very extraordinary, a great contempt for foreign commerce. This mistaken policy has led him to make such alterations in the duties, and in the articles to be exported, as to amount almost to a general prohibition ; at the same time he has manifested an exclusive preference to the English



nation, and a desire to be better acquainted with its policy and people. How far this partiality on the part of the emperor might be so improved, as to lead to a commercial alliance between the two countries, though perhaps well deserving the consideration of the British government, is a subject upon which I do not presume to offer an opinion.

FINIS.



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