

Appendix 2

The Captivity Narrative of John Whitehead

Nothing is known about John Whitehead, but Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), to whom Whitehead dedicated his account, was a British collector and physician. After living in London and traveling in France, Sloane worked toward a degree in medicine, which he received in 1683 from the University of Orange in France. He returned to England with a vast collection of plants and other curiosities, and was elected to the Royal Society. In 1687, he went to Jamaica and collected specimens of plants that he catalogued in *Catalogus plantarum quae in insula Jamaica* (1696); and in 1707 he published *A Voyage to the Islands Maderam Barbados, Nieves, S. Christopher's* (1707). In 1693 he became secretary of the Royal Society and began editing its *Philosophical Transactions*. It was in the context of this editorial task that he asked Whitehead to write an account of his captivity, probably urging him to describe all the aspects that would be of interest to his readers. The captivity account became part of the Royal Society archive. Sloane died in January 1753.

To my most esteemed & very charitable Benefactor M[aste]' Hans Sloan
Doctor of Physick.

S[i]'

Tho[ugh] none can be more willing than myself with Pleasure to serve you so far as I am able (otherwise I should be most ingreatful on whom you have laid the greatest of obligations, which I shall be ready thankfully to acknowledge on all occasions) yet I am apprehensive, that in my obeying yo[u]' late commands you will not meet with that satisfaction which I am sorry for: but, as I have in a great measure experienc'd yo[u]' goodness, I promise to my self your Excuse when you please to consider the heavy Pressures of Servitude which I labour'd under while in Barbary such as Confinement at my Work; Abuses received from a barbarous & inhumane People; the little or no Hope I had of ever seeing Christendom again; and consequently the great Dejection of my Spirits: which you may easily conceive was enough to banish from me all thoughts of making such Observations, and registering Memoires of 'em, as some travelers use to do, for the satisfying of themselves and others. And indeed had I been free from these Miserys, & enjoy'd my Health & Liberty in that Country, I am very sensible of my Insufficiency & want of Capacity to have made such Remarks, as would be worth your Regard. However, to testify my Obedience to your Commands, I shall give you a Relation; tho[ugh] imperfect & weak, of somewhat I have observ'd, as my troubled mind can call things to Remembrance. My Ability to serve you in this Kind is not answerable to my

Good-will: therefore that you may please favourably to accept of the First, for the sake of the Latter, is the humble request of

S[i]r

Yo[u]r most obliged, and most humble servant

John Whitehead

On the first of January 1690/1 I sail'd from the Road of Carrickferyas Supra-cargo on a small vessel bound for the Island Theneviffa; the Master & eight hands more being on Board. We were ten in Company & took our course about the North of Ireland to shun the French Privateers: but tho[ugh] we escap'd them, on the 9th of Feb. following it was our lot (as the most Wise the Divine Providence was pleas'd to order it) to fall into the hands of our greatest Enemys, I mean, those barbarous Infidels the Moors; for partly by reason of bad Weather, and partly though Ignorance & Mistake of the Master, in the Night our ship fell in amongst Banks of Sand on the Barbary shores, against which the surges of the sea breaking rose like Mountains: & had it not been then spring tide (for the Moon chang'd that very night) and just the time of High-Water; we must needs all have perisht: for as we were upon the Banks, sometimes the ship struck; but at last was driven ashore almost to a full-Sea Mark: where she quickly bilged and stranded and had her Deck stav'd down by the seas that wash'd all over her. When the Tide ebb'd from her, we saw the Damage was not to be repaired by us: and tho[ugh] the ship had continu'd sound and tight, when we lookt towards the sea; we saw it was impossible to get her over the Banks & Shallows, which were two miles off shore, against the broken surges of the sea, and far less could our Boat, tho[ugh] it was whole, do us any service: for the Beaches were much alike when the Wind was off shore, as when it blew right in [on the Northside of Cape de Non]. The Place is a Sandy Bay in the Latitude of 28 Degrees and 40 Min. The Land we found to be a Sandy Desert without grass or trees - shrubs enough grow there, and abundances of Prickle Pears (so one of our company called them; having as he said seen several in the West Indies). There are of them small & great, some 18 or 20 Foot in circumference near the ground, and 4 or 5 Foot high: they rise somewhat tapering towards the top, and grow in Clusters like Grapes, or closer, but with this Difference, each Grape of the Cluster is round, but the Particles that compose the Pear-Prickle are long, and have each of 'em a sharp Prickle on the top: they are soft as cowcubers, and when bruise'd or broken yield a milk that will drop from them of a bitter taste, which 'tis said if it touches the Eyes will make one blind.

There were in this Desert such swarms of Locust, that I could scarce set my boot down without treading on them: in some Places, they were so thick, that they seem'd at a distance to be a pleasant spot of Grass: when they rose together, they made a Shadow on the Ground; as if a cloud had interpos'd betwixt & the Sun. I saw no Beast there but one Anthylop nor Spring nor River except once that two Moors about a Stone's Cast from the sea mark made a Hole in the Sand with their Hands, as deep as they could reach till they came to a white

Clay, whense sprung up immediately as sweet water as ever I drank in my Life, only it was whitish & a little muddy, for we gave it not time to settle.

About 25 miles to the Northward of the Place where the ship was cast away, we were brought among Mountains to a Village of tents all black, made of Goats Hair. The People that dwelt there, had no Corn and consequently not a Bit of Bread to eat: they kept cattle but could not afford themselves any Flesh to eat, at least did not for four days that I was amongst 'em. Their Food besides their Milk, so far as I could perceive; was only Locusts, which when they had catcht & kill'd, they laid on their tents to be dried by the Sun; afterwards they pull'd off Head, Wings, & Legs; and ate the Body alone, which will be about two inches long, & near as much about: they tasted, as seemed to me, somewhat of fishes for I have eaten several of them dried after this Manner; but they have another way of cooking them which my Stomach would not at all approve of: that is, after the Locusts are dried, they pat them into a trough without dismembering them as before; and beat or pound all together very small; then they put them into a Platter of milk stirring all about and so eat it up. They would by no means let us see where they kept their Water, which I suppose was only standing Water in some Hole covered from the Sun for about that time of the year there is sometimes great Rain there. Their Cattle had no Water to drink, but I believe the Showers that happen'd and the Dew that fell in the Night on the Grass refresht them. When their Cattle have eaten all bare round about them, they load their Tents & their Lumber on their Camels (setting their Wives and Children above all, who sit in things like Cradles made of thick sticks) and drive their Cows, Sheep, & Goats before them to another Place, where they pitch their Tents again in a Ring; and make a Hedge of Thorns and Shrubs about all. Their Cattle are brought every Evening into the Middle within the Ring where they are kept till Morning, to save them from being devour'd by Lions that range about in the Night.

From these Tents we were carry'd through the mountains about 35 miles to the North easterly, into a large Plain to a small Fortress called Wadnoon [Wadi Nun], kept by three hundred Souldiers Horse & Foot, who were commanded by an Alcaide: their Wives & Children liv'd with them in the Fort. The Walls of it, as also of the houses within it, were only of Earth, which when moistened a little with Water, is mixt well, & made into a dry sort of Morter: whereof nine or ten inches at a Time is put into Wooden Cases or Boxes and ramm'd close together with Beetles or Rammers of Wood: when the Boxes are full they remove them, and place them again on the top of that they ramm'd in them before. Their Houses are flat rooft, they lay Canes or Bundles of sticks close together over the Timbers; and then Earth on the Canes: when it rain'd their Houses were very leaky for want of Lime there to make good Morter: for which Reason their Walls also soon decay.

They had no other Corn here than Barley, which they ground with Hand-Mills that often made their Meal of Flower very Sandy: they make broad thin Cakes which they bake in an earthen Pan, of the fashion of a frying Pan, set over

an easy Fire. All the People that live in Tents, also the poorer sort that live in Towns, make their Bread after this manner throughout all the Emperor of Morocco's Dominions.

We left Wadnoon, and after we had rid about 100 Miles, we came to Taradante [Taroudant] the Metropolis of Sooss [the Sus region], and place of Residence of the Emperor of Morocco's Lieutenant, who Governs all that Country under him. The Governor at that Time was a Bashaw, who since was sent for by the Emperor, & strangled upon Complaint made by the Country of his Avarice & Cruelty; and for not pleasing the Emperor by sending him Presents great enough. As we were Coming to this Place we saw several Towns that had come to Ruine: a Moor of our company (that spoke some few Words of corrupt Spanish, or *Lingua franca*, as 'tis called) as we pass'd by these depopulated Towns, pointing his Finger to them, told me the Emperor had kill'd most of the People, and that the rest had fled to the Mountains. The Bashaw was then in camp with an Army of 14,000 Men against these Mountaineers, who had got together in a Body of 30000 to defend their Liberty. Since that, as I acquainted you before, the Bashaw was sent for by the Emperor, who sent one of his own Sons in his Place: through whose Clemency & good Government (tho[ugh] a youth not twenty years of age) these People did most of them submit to him: while he was governor he was well belov'd, which made his Father jealous of him, and apprehensive that some time or other he might revolt: therefore he recall'd him, and picking a Quarrel with him, he beat him, and sent another Governor in his Place. In this 100 miles we found the Country but ill watere'd: on the road we met with narrow Ditches fourty or fifty foot long archt to save Rain Water & cover it from the Sun, for the Convenience of Travellers. I do not remember that I saw Wheat growing there (some I am satisfy'd they have notwithstanding) but great Plenty of Barley. I have seen there seven or eight miles in Length, and a mile & a half or two miles over, as near as I could guess, all Barley, as high almost as my Shoulder as I sat on Horseback. The People were then a reaping which was about the middle of March.

Taradante is situate in a pleasant Plain 60 miles to the Eastward of S' [Santa] Cruz [Agadir], a Sea Port that lys in the Latitude of 30 Deg. Min where the River Sus that passes Taradante falls into the Atlantick Ocean: while I was there I had not Liberty to go out of the Castle till I came away: therefore could see but little of the City within: where view'd at a Distance it seem'd to be a large Place. The Walls are of a good Height, and firm Works made of good Morter, whereof one third part is Lime, & the other two thirds Earth which, when well mixt, and ramm'd or beaten into such Cases as I made mention of before, becomes so hard when thorouly dry'd, that a Pickax will scarce enter it. As the cases are remov'd, the Work is plaister'd on both sides with a white morter, which does very much beautify it, & also preserve the Walls from Decay. See Fig 1.2.

From Taradante we travell'd twelve Miles North easterly, and came to Atlas Mountains which we crossed to go into the Kingdom of Morocco: in our Way we pass'd some Places of great Danger by reason of the narrowness of the Passages on the tops of Precipices; but our Mules were sure footed.

In nine days after we left Tardante we came to the City of Morocco [Marrakesh], which was also govern'd by a Bashaw: it is wall'd about, and seem'd to be of a great Circumference: we were also confin'd in the Castle there, while we staid so that we had not Liberty to take a view of the City within: that part of it which we past in going to & from the Castle look'd like a decay'd place; the Houses were but thin & scattering; and here & there lay a Dung-hill or heap of Dirt and Rubbish; but I was inform'd it was not so farther into the City. A River passes it which runs away to the Northwestward to the Atlantick Ocean.

After we left the City of Morocco, in three or four days we came to a small Town called Tedla [Kasba Tedla], not wall'd about. 'Tis situate near to, or on the Bank of another River that falls into the same Atlantick Sea at a town called Azamore [Azemmour], three leagues to the East of a Garrison that the Portuguese have on that Coast called Masagan [Mazagan]. There is a Castle on the South side of the River, built lately by the Emperor's Christian Slaves, almost opposite to Tedla. On the Road coming hither we met with Giants Graves (so they were call'd by a Moor, one of our Guard that could speak Spanish) they were of prodigious Length. There was about half a Score of them. One of our Company alighted from his Mule, and measured the longest of them which was five and twenty of his Paces. I found another to be two & twenty of the Mule's Paces that I rode on, for I did not alight. They were all covered with stones to the Length: but it seems there has not been that Care taken to mark the due and proportional Breadth: for by the stones they were but three or four Foot over. The Moor told me that a tooth of one of these Giants did weigh seven pounds; and that they were some of the Aborigines of the Country. In this last 3 or 4 days journey; the Weather being excessive Hot; and neither Spring nor River to be seen above half the Way, (and my self and the rest of the Christians not being able to endure thirst & to satisfy our selves with so little Water as the Moors allow'd either to themselves, or to us of that they carry'd along with them in Leathern Bottles) We were necessitated to drink of any stinking Pool of Rain Water that we could meet with; and then after the Fatigue of our Journey every Day, sleeping in the Night abroad under unwholesome Dews that fell, and sometimes, Rain made us all sick: some of an Ague & Feaver, and some of a Feaver alone: and in this Condition after four Days Journey from Tedla we were brought to Maccaness [Meknes] where the Emperor of Morocco keeps his Court. In eight Days after we came hither Six of our Company dyed: and two more some few Weeks thereafter. My self and other recover'd of that Sickness, after we had labour'd Ten weeks under it in extreme Misery: but the other is since dead. So that of all our Ships Company, I am only through the mercy of God remaining now alive.

Maccanes is divided into two Parts, the Old town & the new. The first is situate on an easy Hill, the Buildings descending from the Top on each side. 'Tis said to be built & wall'd about first by the Portuguese, who once were Masters of a great Part of the Country. The old Walls were thrown down, and new Walls have been rais'd about it within this ten or twelve years. 'Tis thirty miles to the

North of Fess [Fez] and seventy Miles East & by South from Sally [Salé], and lays in the Latitude 33 Deg. 30 Min. A small River runs by the North side of it, which falls into the Atlantick Ocean at Manora, 15 miles to the Eastward of Sally. The Emperor's Palace is seated at the East End of the Town, and is encompassed with a high Wall; The Circumference about three quarters of a Mile, but the Circuit of the old Town and Palace together is about two miles and a half. On the South Side of the Town and Castle or Palace, at a little Distance from them, lyes the New Town. To the South Eastward of all are the Emperor's Gardens and his Stables, all wall'd about. The Compass of all together, that is, of the old & new Towns; Palace: Stables, and Gardens is Six or Seven Miles. The Palace is lately built. The Houses within are very high, covered with green tiles, not flat-roof'd, as generally the Houses of the Town are, but sloping, eminent above the Battlements on the Top of the Walls that surround the Palace which afford a handsome Prospect at a Distance. I was never within it but have been inform'd that there are stately Courts in it, of a square figure, set about with Marble Pillars, which support fine painted Works above, and in the Middle of the Courts handsome Marble Fountains, of the Fashion of great Basins, that have Holes in the Bottoms of 'em through which delicate Water does boil up constantly, that is brought by Conduits from it's Spring about three miles. In one of the Courts there are seventy & two Marble Pillars.

The Emperor has about Two hundred Eunuchs that are the inner Guards of his Palace, & of his Women; of whom he has several Hundred and has always a School of young virgins a bringing up for him; from whence he still takes al his Pleasure such as are come to fit years to be his Concubines notwithstanding that he is near Sixty years of Age. His Women are of diverse Colours as White, Black, Mulattos or Copper colour'd of several sorts: His Father was a White; his Mother a Black; and he is Mulatto himself: which Colour is doubtless best liked by him; the Woman that is most in his Favour, and to whom he has given the Title of Sultaness; as also that Son whom he has Nominated to be his Successor, being both of his own Colour. His Eunuchs dare suffer no Man to go into the Palace where the Women are but himself. He never permits them to go abroad, but when 'tis his Pleasure to call them out: and then he rides before them with his Launce on his Shoulder: some Hundreds of them following him all in a Croud on foot; and Eunuchs on Horse-back at some distance from them firing their Pieces laden with Ball round about, to give Notice that the Emperor's Women are abroad, at which time all clear the Way: Christians, Jews, and the Moors themselves to shun being seen by the Emperor or his Eunuchs: Such as are at his Works are then also oblig'd to make haste & quit them, & keep themselves out of sight till the Women be past, least they should be shot by the Eunuchs, or Launc'd by the Emperor himself. 'Tis said he had three hundred Children nine or ten years ago.

The Habit of the Men that are of Ability, and do furnish themselves with a compleat suit of Apparel, is after this Manner: the Moor puts on first, Linnen Drawers that reach down to his Feet; then his linnen Shirt which hangs down about the length of his Knees above or on the outside of his Drawers, each

sleeve of the Shirt is as large as the Body: above his shirt he wears a colour'd Cloath Wastecoate, not much unlike to the fashion of ours except that it wants Sleeves: yet some do wear them with Sleeves in Winter. On their Heads (which they shave all except one Lock that they leave) they wear red Caps with Silken or Linnen Sashes twisted and roll'd about them. Above their Wastecoate they wear a white Garment about fifteen foot long, and about half so broad made of Wool: which they wrap about their shoulders, and put sometimes over their Heads: the breadth of it hanging down loosely about them to their Shoes. This long Garment is call'd by the Moors a Haig, which is made so fine and thin for summer Wear and is so white, that it looks like Muslin: but for Winter they have of another sort, thick and warm. Sometimes above their Haig they have a short Cloak open before from the Breast downwards, with a Hole in it at the Neck to put their Head through, and a little Hood like a Monk's Cowl hanging down behind between their Shoulders to put upon their Head when they please. They have also a long Cloak of blew Cloath: 'tis wide and large as an English Cloak: but close before, and has a Hole at the Neck and Hood as the short one. They have also a white loose Coat close before, with a Hole at the Neck for their Head to go thorow, and Holes in it for their Arms: above this they ty a Sash about their Middle: This they wear instead of a Wastecoate: 'tis like a wide smock or shift for Women without sleeves: most of all the People of the Country wear such next their Skin: some are made of Leather (for there's not the tenth part of them use linen shirts, and many no Drawers that are of the poorer Sort) their long Blanket they wrap about them above That: and their short Cloak above all when 'tis cold. Or else instead of a short Cloak, such a Coat as the Emperor gives to his Christian Slaves every year: close before with a Hole at the Neck for the Head to go through, and a Hood behind, with short sleeves. (The Seamen go after another fashion, they wear a short Jacket, and long Breeches) Their shoes are almost like Irish Brogues: of one Sole of Neer's leather: the upper leather of Goats skin & lin'd, the outside colour'd yellow, the Lining red. I never saw any wear Boots but the Emperor which were of red Leather [Goats skin] plaited or folded very even, not lengthwise, but cross & round his leg. Wigs, Cravats, or Neck-cloaths, Gloves, Breeches, nor Stockins they wear none.

The Apparel of the Women of that Country does much resemble that of the Ancient Irish the white Women plat their Hair, and the Blacks, (whose Hair is short & curl'd) to be of the Fashion, fasten to their Heads false Plats of black Silk, or Woollen Thred which they turn or ty up after such a manner that the middle of it lys upon their shoulders. Those that are of Fashion lay a square Piece of red or yellow silk on their Heads: one side thereof hanging down over their Shoulders behind: above which they bind about their Temples a piece of white Silk or fine Linnen like a Cravate or Neckcloath, the Ends of it hanging down behind. They wear Neck-laces about their Neck, and broad Silver ornaments about their Wrists and Ancles. Also Drawers of fine Linnen that reach in Folds or Plaits upon their Legs down to their Shoes: above their Drawers their Smock or Shift hangs down, the sleeves of it very large, open & not gathered at

the End: as are also the sleeves of the Men's Shirts. Above their Shift they have a Garment fourteen or fifteen foot long, and about half as broad, which they make fast about them much after the Manner as the Irish Women do their Breckams, tying it about their Middle with a Silken Girdle; and keeping it together over their Shoulders, & on their Breast with broad Silver Buckles: and when they go abroad they wear another such long Garment loose about them, which they bring over their Head; both these under & upper Garments are white: and are of the same sort of stuff that the Mens' Haigs are of: the finer sort they wear in Summer: the thicker in Winter. And generally when they go abroad, they ty a piece of Linnen Cloath, about 4 or 5 Inches broad, cross their Mouth & Nose. Their Shoes are made of Goats Leather, colour'd red, very soft and fine. The poorer sort instead of silk bind a nasty woollen Clout about their Heads. They wear no Linnen at all nor any thing on their Bodys, save their Blankets, which are commonly as their Head clouts, dirty & nasty to an abominable degree.

The Emperor has besides White men that are in his Army (as 'tis said) above fourty thousand Blacks, his slaves, which he arms upon Occasion when his Blacks are not in Camp, he keeps them at Work about building or levelling of Ground. The Guard that attends his Person, every day, are all Boys between twelve and twenty years of age, and almost all of 'em, Blacks & Mulattos, Officers Sons. He rides before, and they follow him close all in a Crowd, most commonly on foot, sometimes on Horseback, especially if he goes any considerable way abroad from his Palace: Each of them has his Firelock, which he must constantly keep upon pain of Death as bright as when it first came out of the Gunsmiths Hands. He gives them all Linnen Shirts and Drawers to wear: short Jackets, some sad colour'd & others light which they ty close about them with a Sash: the great Sleeves of their shirts are ty'd together behind to keep their hands from being muffled & incumber'd. They have also large Cloaks (such as were describ'd before in giving account of the Men's Habit) which they wear when 'tis cold or rains.

Tho[ugh] I call only the Blacks his Slaves, (as being brought with his Money; and the Children of such) yet I think they are all so that are in the Country: for by these same Blacs, he keeps the Whites in aw, and enslaves 'em all. His Government is altogether pro suo Arbitrio. His will is Law, which none dares to controul, or resist, or say a Word against: tho[ugh] he be often guilty of the greatest Acts of Injustice & Cruelty in the Accomplishment of it: for a Trifle, a thing of Nothing, he will take away a Man's Life, being ordinarily Executioner himself: and when his Hand is in, the Innocent often perish with the guilty: and some happen to be kill'd for Company, who perhaps were but accidentally on the Place, and whom he could charge with no Faults at all: his Fury sometimes raging so, that it is not over till his Eye is fill'd with a tragical Sight of the Bodys of Slaughter'd Men.

Once of his Concubines, with his and her Child in her Arms, once requesting some thing of him which he deny'd her. She, as he was going from her, thinking him to be out of hearing, gave him a Curse, which he overheard and thereupon

immediately caus'd his Eunuchs to pluck the Infant; tho[ugh] innocent and his own, from its Mother's Arms; and to tear it Limb from Limb; and afterwards to strangle her.

He has killed many of his People for not paying, when they were not able, the Taxes he had impos'd upon them. One morning he caus'd above fifty of such miserable Creatures to be slughter'd all together: and then, to excuse his Avarice & Cruelty, gave out, that they did not own God, nor his Prophet, (meaning the Imposter Mahomet) neither did they circumcise: but liv'd, Christian-like, incestuous Lives, the Father defiling his own Daughter, and the Brother his Sister; and that they were not worthy to live on the Earth any longer. If he Spares Life to any such Persons, he condemns them with their Children to labour at his Works so long as they live who must be satisfy'd with such allowance as he is pleas'd to give them to live on.

Many have also died by his own Hands for being absent from their Work, or because he has found somewhat amiss from their Work, or that it has not been carry'd on with Expedition, as he has often only pretended: when he has been in his bloody Humour, He has call'd to the Boys that are of his Guard, for Piece after Piece laden with Powder & Ball and has not left off firing till he has laid a dozen on the Ground himself. When he kills with his Launce, he does often after the same manner satiate his inhumane appetite with the Blood of more than One or Two. He is very dextrous in using the Gun, the Launce, and the Sword; the last of which he uses not but when on Foot; as he does the Launce always on Horse-back. Sometimes he has ordered such as have been Officers & overseers to be made fast to a Mules Tail and dragg'd to death.

In the year 1697 as he was one time in the Fields, playing with, and exercising his Boys he ordered some of them to fire at a Dog that was running by them: and at the same time looking about, he perceiv'd a little Boy behind him; cocking his Piece, with the Muzzle of it, through the Boy's Inadvertency, somewhat towards him: upon which he said to the little Boy, What art thou going to kill me? and immediately imagining some Plot to be among them to take away his Life, he caus'd him, and a great many others that were behind him to be disarm'd. About a dozen of them, besides the little Boy, he kill'd immediately upon the Spot: and the next day commanded near fourty more to be strangled; all of them asserting their Innocence as to what he charg'd them with to the very last.

When he deals this cruelly with his own People as you may perceive by the Particulars I have instanc'd in but now, what usage may his Christian Slaves expect from him!

The Food he allows to them is only a Cake of black Bread every Day, that may weigh about a pound and a half. 'Tis black because made of the rottennest Corn in his Magazine. 'Tis commonly of Barley, sometimes of Wheat: many times it has had such a nauseous smell, that a Man could not endure it at his Nose; and has been so bad; that the Beasts have refus'd to eat it: Their Drink is Water the common Drink of the Country.

Such a Coat as I made mention of before pag. 22 of the coursest sort, that

may cost about two shillings, or half a Crown at most (I mean the values of so much in the money of the Country) is all the cloathing that is give[n] to each Captive, for a year.

Their Lodging when I was brought first to Maccaness was under a great Bridge, he had built cross a Valley, between two Hills, strongly archt, the top of it made plain and even with the higher parts of the Hills at each End; along which the Emperor and his Guards us'd to ride in an insulting Manner, as it were trampling on the Christians Heads: but that Place was pull'd down above six years ago, and the Christians were turn'd out in the Winter, to lodge in a great Square Place enclos'd with high Walls: but no Houses provided for them do defend their wearied Bodys in the Night from the violence of the Weather. So that if they had not built little Houses & Hutts for themselves, which they were necessitated to do in the night when they should have slept (for their cruel Master could not allow them Time from his Work to do in the day-time) and had they not also taken Care to get somewhat to lay under them, & to cover them with, they must have lain down on the bare Ground like Beasts without any Cover nearer to them than the Heavens. But the poor Christians joyn & help one another: some that have Supplys from their Friends in Christendom buy what is wanting; and others that have none help build and in time make a shift all to get Holes to creep into. To such a Pass the poor Christians are always brought when their Master is pleas'd to remove them from one Place to another.

There are about 1500 Christians of several Nations now in Slavery under the Emperor of Morocco, wiz. about 700 Spaniards, 300 Portuguese, 260 French, and about 220 English: of all whom, there are not 200, (that is not the seventh part of them) that have greater Allowance from him, than the aforesaid Cake of Bread a Day, and a Coat once a year, whether in Time of Health or Sickness; and those few Christians that are allow'd more are such as Smiths, Carpenters, and some that break Stones and burn Lime: the former two have it to encourage such of the Captives as may be of such useful Trades to declare themselves. The others, by reason that their Work requires strength and greatly impairs a Man's Health: The Burners being oblig'd to stand by the Hill in the Night, as well as in the Day, by Turns at the end of each four Hours: for which reason they are allow'd some the value of two pence & some of a Penny a day, which their covetous Task-masters often wrong them of.

The chief Guardian or Goaler of the Christians, who locks them up every night, counts them out in the Morning, as soon as he can see, to the several Drivers or overseers: who carry them to their respective Works, where they are kept labouring till the Stars appear in the Evening: when they are all brought back, and numbered in again to the chief Guardian, as if they were putting so many Cattle into a Pound. Sometimes they can't have leave to go from their Works to drink or fetch a little Water: at some Work they happen sometimes to be detain'd several Hours in the Night, and sometimes all Night, the Work of the following Day exacted of them to the full notwithstanding.

The Labour in which the Christians are generally employ'd tends to building

of Walls & Houses, & leveling of Ground. Some get stones and make Lime of them: they get the stones after this Manner: The Quarry is commonly on the side of a steep Hill: they dig down in it till they come to the Bottom of the stone which they undermine: when they come near to where the Stone has a Parting from the Bank behind, then it falls, and sometimes surprises both Christians and Moors that be under it, and crushes them to Death. I have seen Stones tumbled down after this Manner so great, that one of them would have made 1000 or 1200 Ton of Lime when broken and burnt. In these large stones they make Holes of a convenient Depth, as the Thickness of the stone may require, by driving down Iron Drills that are 6 or 8 Inches about. The Head of the Drill is capt, and the mouth of it fac'd with steel. One Man holds it, and turns it about at every stroak that a man gives it on the Head with an Iron Sledge. The Hole when made is loaded with Powder, and well ramm'd down; and leaving in the Hole a small Iron Rod, like a thick Wire, that may reach down amongst the Powder, the Mouth of it is stopt close with small Stones and Tarres: Then the Iron Rod is drawn out, and Powder put into its Place for Priming: which when fired bursts the great Stone in Pieces; and these Pieces are again broken with Iron Sledges fac't with Steel till they be so small as that they are fit to be put into the Hill to be burn'd for Lime. Some dig Earth where Ground is to be levell'd, or to mix with Lime for the Walls. Some make Morter. Others carry Earth, Water, Lime, Stones, Morter. Some ramm the Morter into such Boxes or Cases as I mention'd before, & so Build up the Walls. And some drive Wagons that are drawn by Bulls, Six in each Team, and carry Earth Lime Stones etc. I was one of this last Occupation my Self. Sometime all the Christians, Sometimes a part of them are brought to work together at Tweeza, as the Moors call it, which I cannot better explain than by terming it Hurry & Expedition at which Work all are forc't to run with their Baskets full of Earth or Lime on their Heads which when thrown down at the Place appointed, they make what haste they can back for another Load being driven and cruelly beaten, and whipt with thick Cudgels & Whips, forward and backward, by many Drivers that are set over them.

And yet, as the Want of wholesome Food & other Necessarys, Hard Labour, Insultations & Abuses and many bitter & cruel Blows were not Pressures heavy enough to precipitate poor Christians to their untimely Ends, their unreasonable Master will dispatch them out of the World with his own Hands, upon small Occasion. Some he has kill'd for attempting to make their escape and many for a far less Fault for when he pleases he makes the least a Capital Crime: as when their has been some little thing done amiss, or that has not pleas'd him, at the Work. He kill'd seven Christians at one Time for being absent from their Work. He has, without saying a Word, shot a poor man whom he happen'd to surprise asleep at the Work. He has kill'd some of his Waggoners, because that the Waggoners being made when the Timber was green, when it come to be dry they shak't loose and some of the Wheels fell down. He has ordered nine & twenty Christians to be thrown down from the top of a Wall [?] Foot high: because he suspected some of them to have kill'd a Mastif Dog that he had from Spain, and could not find out who did it. Some of them were kill'd outright,

some were sorely bruised; and some had Arms & Legs broken by their Falls: and after that he set his Dogs on one of them that had been thrown down, whom he chiefly suspected to have killed the Dog: and stood by till they tore out his Bowels.

At that Time had there been as many more Christians at Work in that Place, they had been all tossed off the Wall for he ordered his Guards to collar and bring before him all that were there. 'Tis but ordinary with him when perhaps there is but one in the Fault, to knock down or beat all round, with a thick Truncheon; or else to pound them with the But End of his Lance.

His Bashaws and Alcades are ordered by him to oversee, and carry on his Works: Each of them the particular Work that is committed to his Charge: to maintain which, he grants him the Taxes laid upon such a People, or Part of the Country, as he nominates to him; and gives him also such a Number of Christians as he thinks fit to labour at that Work. Now many times when such a Person that is thus ordered by him to furnish and maintain the Work with all necessaries, does either through Covetousness or Negligence prove Tardy, the Christians are beaten because they did not acquaint him therewith: which if any of them should do, the Moor if he comes off with his Life will be sure to repay: if he don't other Moors will.

Now considering the little care he takes to preserve his Christian Slaves alive, and his Proneness upon the least Occasion to kill them, One would think after all, that he does not value a Christian much: but would let him have his Liberty for a small Ransome: and yet a Captive cannot purchase his Redemption for less than Two Hundred & fifty pounds sterling. Some have paid fifty; and some one hundred pounds more to have their Freedom.

As the French Spaniards and other Papists call themselves Roman Catholics, so the Subjects of the Emperor of Morocco do call themselves Moors: though they be of divers Nations and Colours, viz. Moors or Arabians and Barbarians: these are Whites, another sort of Arabians that are Tawny; Blacks; and that smutty Issue of all degrees between White and Black that proceeds from the Mixture of the Whites with the Blacks, and of either of them with the different sorts of Mulattos; and also from the Mixtures of the several Degrees of Mulattos amongst themselves. The Moors conquered the Country and subdued the Barbarians who were the first Inhabitants. The Blacks have been, and are still, brought in by the Moors: being sold to them by their own Country People who border on the Emperor's Territorys to the Southward.

There his People, according to their Power, shew no less barbarity and cruelty than himself to the poor Christians. His Sons kill them as he does himself. His Alcades and overseers do often beat and abuse them, ordering them to be stretched out by four Men that have each of them hold of a Limb and cruel Blows to be given them, sometimes several Hundreds at a Time, with great Cudgels on the Buttocks, as hard as can be laid on: or else with great Whips that lash all round their Bodys. The Blows make their Skin as black as that of a Negro; & the stripes raise Bumps, and cut the Flesh, and the vulgar generally curse the Christians as they pass by them and teach their little Children to do the like.

When they meet the Christians carrying their Dead to the Grave, their Burying Place being about four Miles from the Town, they bawl out, Fuel, Fuel [fue él] for Hell, and stone them that carry the Corps. To avoid which Insultations, with leave had from the chief Guardian, the Christians do often carry out their Dead some Hours before Day: tho[ugh] some Places of the Way be very uneven, and in the Winter time so slippery & dirty after Rain, that, being in the Dark, they often times cannot keep their Feet, but fall with the Corps. And were it not that the Christians belong all peculiarly to the Emperor himself, of whom the People stand more in Awe & Dread than they do of God Almighty; there would be no passing for a Christian to & again amongst them, who are the greatest Bigots of all the Mahometans; and the most bitter and (except of the Jews) the most implacable Enemys to Christians. Indeed in the Town of Sally, and some other Sea Ports, they are not so barbarous.

Note

1. On the Northside of Cape de Non.