

Global Trajectories, Local Origins.

Mapping the journeys of African men from the Soudan in the late to mid-19th century from 1st and 3rd person accounts

Tola Oniyangi

CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	1
II.	Humanization	5
III.	Reconstruction	9
	i. Nicholas Said	12
	ii. El Hadj Mohammed ben Adam	70
	iii. El Hadj Mohammed El-Fellati	88
	iv. Adem Mahamma	132
IV.	Conclusion	148
	References	150

I INTRODUCTION

I approached this project with the question: how does Africa interact with and see the world?

This is unabashedly a project about reasserting the existence and humanity of Africans. It is imperative to reverse the violent and dehumanizing narratives that Africa has been subject to in the West for centuries. As early as the 19th century, Western travelers in Africa were proclaiming that Africans were less developed mentally than Europeans. Far from being erased, these depictions have persisted into the 21st century's dominant depiction of Africa as a needy, failed continent. Commercials portraying impoverished Africans are broadcast on television screens daily, stating that with just 5 cents (or some other low number), anyone can feed an African child.

As a counterpoint to the failed continent narrative, a new wave gaining traction is the story of Africa, the rising continent. Yet, this erases a large part of Africans that are impoverished, suffering and yes, in need. Every rose has its thorns, and Africa is no exception., Africa is measured in relation to the West and not by its own merit or failures alone.

Is it possible to engage with a place when there is no basic understanding of it as a singular entity that is studied by its own merits and failures?

Edward Said's statement, poignant as it is, illustrates that this representational problem is not unique.

"The exteriority of the representation is always governed by some version of the truism that if the Orient could represent itself, it would; since it cannot, the representation does the job, for the West and *faute de mieux*, for the poor Orient."¹

¹ Said, 21

Africa, “the dark continent”, has been interpreted, studied and analyzed in the West under the premise that it was nothing before Europeans colonized it. Western popular culture portrayed it as a blank canvas, a space devoid of human beings with lives and lived experiences, a place isolated from the world and backwards beyond compare. Elephants, lions and wild animals, gold, diamonds and natural resources, and trees and deserts replaced people in the Western imagination of the continent.

Fundamentally, Africa’s representation and imagery remains similar to that of the 19th century. Where the past featured imperialists presenting their incursion into Africa as a civilizing effort to save the Africans from themselves, the under the guise of helping Africans save themselves from disease and poverty. Africa in Western popular representation and imagination was (and remains) a place not worthy of critical or even cursory examination. But that reductionist Western view of Africa is without merit, and needs to be challenged from an African perspective.

II HUMANIZATION

Studying Africa through its people gives them agency into their hands and asserts the importance of their world experiences. It values people in their immediate and broad contexts, and does not attempt to ignore parts of their experiences.

This project explores the journeys of Africans in their immediate, regional and global surroundings in the late 19th century. It asks the questions: where, how and in what capacity did these people experience the world? It broadens the study of Africa to include African voices as the primary source of information. It challenges the notion that Africa in the 19th century (and the centuries before that) was insular and “dark”. On the contrary, well-established trade routes, connections through urban experience, architecture, clothing, money, language, and religion connected the various regions of Africa to the world. Africa was both producer and consumer, and its people were active participants in the world.

Humanism as conceived by Edward Said is “centered upon the agency of human individuality and subjective intuition, rather than on received ideas and approved authority.”¹ This understanding of the world guides my attempt to explore Africa through its people’s lived experiences and voices in multiple dimensions from multiple perspectives. It deliberately challenges the dispossession Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie speaks of by broadening the ways in which African stories are told:

“Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person. The Palestinian poet Mourid Barghouti writes that if you want to dispossess a people, the simplest way to do it is to tell their story and to start with, “secondly.” Start the story with the arrows of the Native Americans, and not with the arrival of the British, and you have an entirely different story. Start the story with the failure of the African state, and not with the colonial creation of the African state, and you have an entirely different story.”²

¹ Said, Edward, xxix
² Adichie, 10:11

The big question here is how Africa conceived of the world, interacted with the world, and inhabited the world. What will explorations of the world through the eyes of Africans uncover? What can perspectives of Africans in the late 19th century contribute to the understanding of Africa and the world? Looking at the general perspective of globalized connections and the more specific perspectives of lived experience, what does the world gain from examining the traces of Africans? What representation of Africa can be gained by examining the personal accounts of the lives of Africans? What happens when you study Africans as actual people and not just backdrops for an imperialist agenda?

III RECONSTRUCTION

Whose story deserves to be told, how much of these stories deserve to be told, and in what manner do these stories deserve to be told?

I studied people from what is now northern Nigeria not because they are the most worthy Africans, but because my Nigerian origins lend a personal dimension to my investigations. As such, my research focuses on accounts of people from the Kanem-Bornu empire (present-day Borno, Nigeria) and the Sokoto caliphate (spans all of northern Nigeria with the exception of Borno).

This reconstruction does not claim to be an all-encompassing depiction of life as a northern Nigerian in the late 19th century. It acknowledges the importance of multiple perspectives, because as Bruno Latour writes, “all the images are partial, of course; all the perspectives are equal...!” To this end, a politically engaged doctor (El Hadj Ahmed El-Fellati), a former slave and nobleman (Nicholas Said), an *Ulama*, that is a learned religious scholar (El Hadj Mohammed ben Adam), and a commoner (Adem Mahamma) are the subjects of this research.

Where they went, what they did, who they interacted with, and what they saw are already pared down into what people, in some cases the interviewer, the people themselves, and me deemed fit for posterity. As an attempt to sum up the experiences of these people would fundamentally diminish the richness of their accounts, it is my intention to situate them in the narrative of the world’s geographic and socio-economic workings.

Studying these people through their travels shows the interconnectedness of Africans on a local, regional and global scale and debunks the idea of an insular continent.

LOCAL ORIGINS

Adem Mahamma

Koukaoua

Nicholas Said

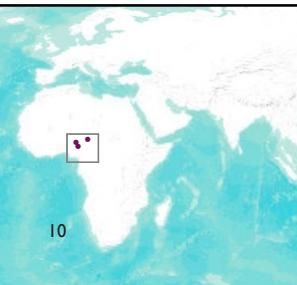
Kouka

El Hadj Ahmed El-Fellati

Kano

El Hadj Mohammed ben Adam

Mourna



0 40 Miles

11

i

NICHOLAS SAID

Nicholas Said (probably 1836-1882) was born **Mohammed Ali ben Said** in Kouka, the capital of the Kingdom of Bornou (in present day north-east Nigeria)¹. His maternal grandfather was a Mandra chief and his paternal grandfather was the ruler of Molgoy, “a small country south of, and tributary to Bornou”². The ruler of Bornou made his father, the elder son, a *Katzallah* (general) as a result of his military prowess³. Nicholas Said’s autobiography details his childhood and travels, minor and major. He speaks of the *jihad* (holy war) that established Islam in much of the region, other wars, slave raiding, and caravans, among other anecdotes of life in Bornou⁴.

Nicholas Said was in Lary, a nearby town, playing with his classmates when he was captured by slave-raiding *Kindills* (Tuaregs)⁵. He describes this ordeal in his autobiography in graphic detail: he and some forty friends had wandered away from the town on a hunting trip and stopped to roast the guinea-fowls and gazelles they had caught⁶. He, and about twelve to fifteen of his companions climbed a large Baobab tree for fun and were throwing fruit at their friends when they shockingly discovered an approaching body of horsemen⁷. He was unable to join friends who ran for their horses as he was too far from the ground, and was captured by the raiding *Kindills*⁸. Nicholas Said fell heavily in his hasty descent from the tree and when he woke up, he was tied with thongs behind a man on horseback⁹. He remembered his mother’s warnings in this moment, and “wished the whole horrid circumstance a dream. But, alas! It was too sternly real!”¹⁰ Nicholas Said writes: “I was in the hands of the dreaded, the cruel *Kindills*, a slave, and I could not form the slightest idea what was going to become of me.”¹¹

His ordeals escalated in terror, as the group was “tied together like wild beasts”, and transported across the Sahara desert¹². Some captives managed to

1 Said, 9-11

2 Ibid, 12-13

3 Ibid, 12-13

4 Ibid, 13-33

5 Ibid, 38-41

6 Ibid, 38-39

7 Ibid, 39-40

8 Ibid, 40

9 Ibid, 40-41

10 Ibid, 41

11 Ibid, 41

12 Ibid, 42

escape and killed five of their captors in the process, and Nicholas and the other remaining captives were severely punished in retaliation for not sounding an alarm on the escapees¹. He describes this torture: “They bastinadoed us upon the soles of our feet with sticks and straps in such a manner that we were unable to walk at all...”² Learning from their mistakes, the *Kindills* left no room for escape and smoked no more hashish³. Nicholas did not get another chance to regain life as he knew it then.

He was sold in Katchna to a ferocious-looking Arab-African man who beat him often and purchased “twenty slaves of both sexes”, they remained there for three months⁴. He survived the arduous journey across the desert to Tripoli via Zinder and Fezzan in a caravan, subsisting on water three times a day, and dates and raw millet⁵.

He went through kind and wicked masters, unwelcoming fellow slaves, places far and near, and eventually converted from Islam to Christianity at the behest of a Russian master, Prince Nicholas Vassilievitch Troubetzkoy⁶. Thus, Mohammed Ali ben Said became Nicholas Said on the 12th of November, 1855⁷.

There were several missed opportunities for Nicholas to return home, some thwarted by him and some thwarted by others. Early on in his servitude in Fezzan, Nicholas complained bitterly about a fellow slave’s treatment of him to his master, AbdelKader, and prefaced that with his noble peerage⁸. AbelKader had known his father and upon learning of Nicholas’s parentage, treated him with more compassion and offered to send him back to Bornou⁹. Nicholas, however, refused, citing an unwillingness to recross the Sahara and instead begged to be sold to the Turks who he heard were good masters¹⁰. In another instance in Tripoli, he saw several of his classmates that were captured with him and learned that they were ransomed by the Pacha to their families after he learned that “they were from the best families in Bornou.”¹¹ Although the Pacha wanted to extend this ransoming to Nicholas, his master, Hadji Daoud, was unwilling to part with him “at any price” and so an opportunity to escape slavery was lost¹². Finally, Nicholas was ready to return home in 1867 and communicated this to his then master, the Prince Troubetzkoy¹³. The Prince tried to convince Nicholas to stay by offering him a pension for the rest of his life if he remained twenty years and arguing that Nicholas was so far removed from African customs and culture that returning would be a culture shock

1 Ibid, 42-43

2 Ibid, 43

3 Ibid, 43

4 Ibid, 46

5 Ibid, 46-47

6 Ibid, 136-144

7 Ibid, 145

8 Ibid, 53

9 Ibid, 54

10 Ibid, 55

11 Ibid, 73

12 Ibid, 43

13 Ibid, 185

of sorts¹⁴. Realizing that Nicholas would not be swayed, the Prince settled for a promise of return to his employ after a year and furnished him with 300 pounds for the journey¹⁵. Nicholas, however, was approached for work by a “gentleman”, Mr Rochussen, who was traveling through the West Indies and the British North American Provinces on a bridal tour for a year, and love of travel won over love of country¹⁶. Unfortunately, this story did not end well as his employer borrowed money from him for an urgent journey to Quebec and never returned¹⁷. It is even more heartbreaking that Mr Rochussen had asked for 100 pounds and Nicholas offered the 300 pounds he had been given to travel to Bourneau¹⁸. He waited three months for his master’s return and lost everything when his and his master’s things were seized to pay for hotel fees and debts¹⁹. With this, he was penniless but he was also free. He left Aylmer and traveled to America, settling there and traveling widely to teach and promote his writing²⁰.

His autobiography describes Bornou and its surrounding areas, the life and travels of a slave, servant and free man, and provides a window into some of the means through which cross-cultural exchange and globalization occurred in the Soudan in the mid 19th century. He was extremely gifted with languages, and spoke Kanuri (mother tongue), English, Russian, French, Arabic, Turkish, German, Italian, and Mandara.²¹ Unfortunately, he never made it back to Bornou. The following maps detail his journey and some of his life experiences.

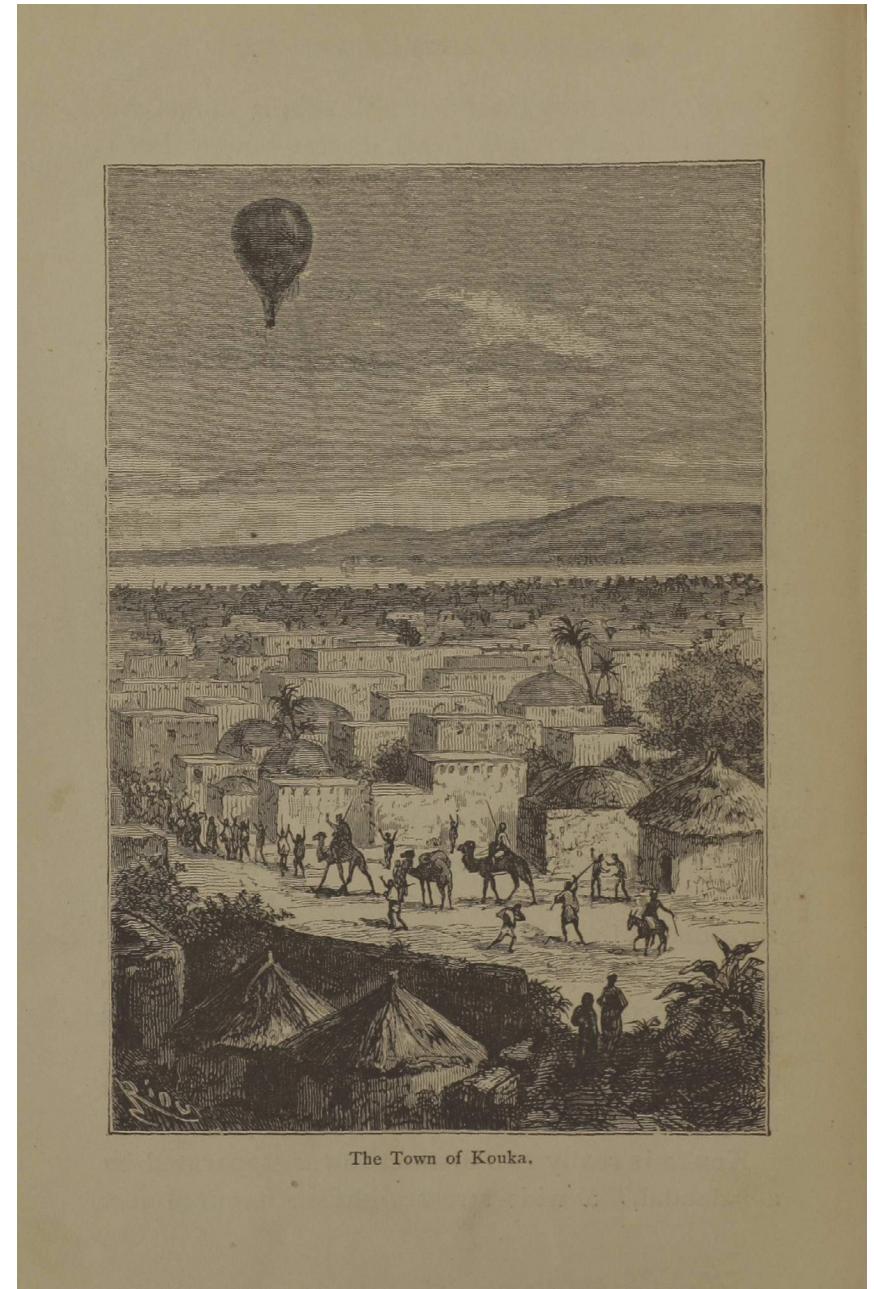
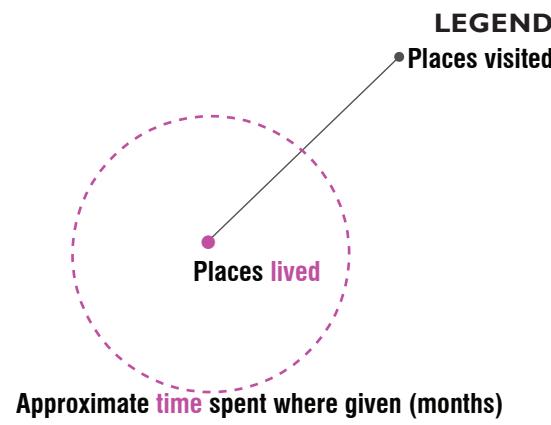


Figure: 1873 Illustration of Kouka showing its main street and architecture¹.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid, 186

¹⁶ Ibid, 187-188

¹⁷ Ibid, 198

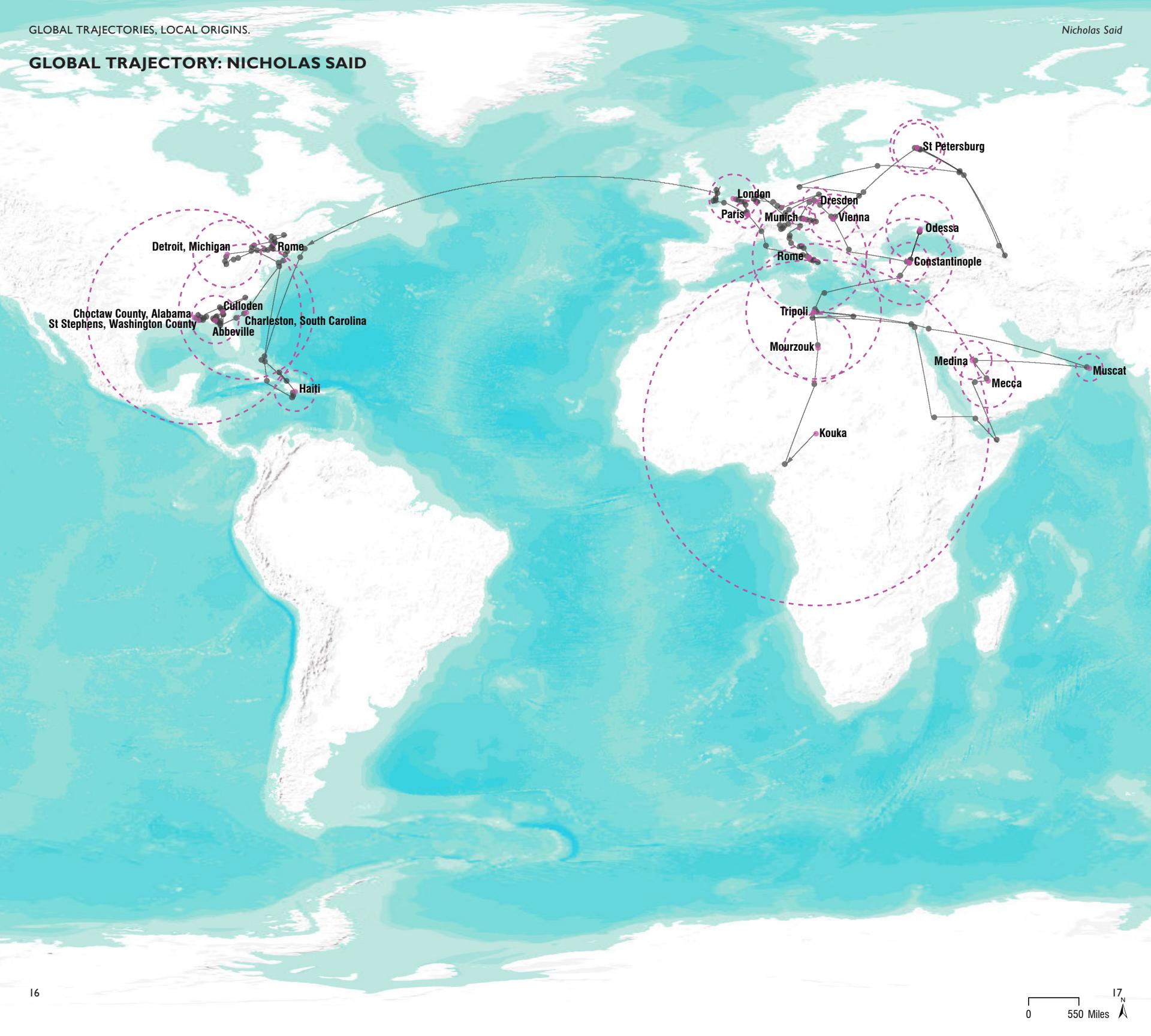
¹⁸ Ibid

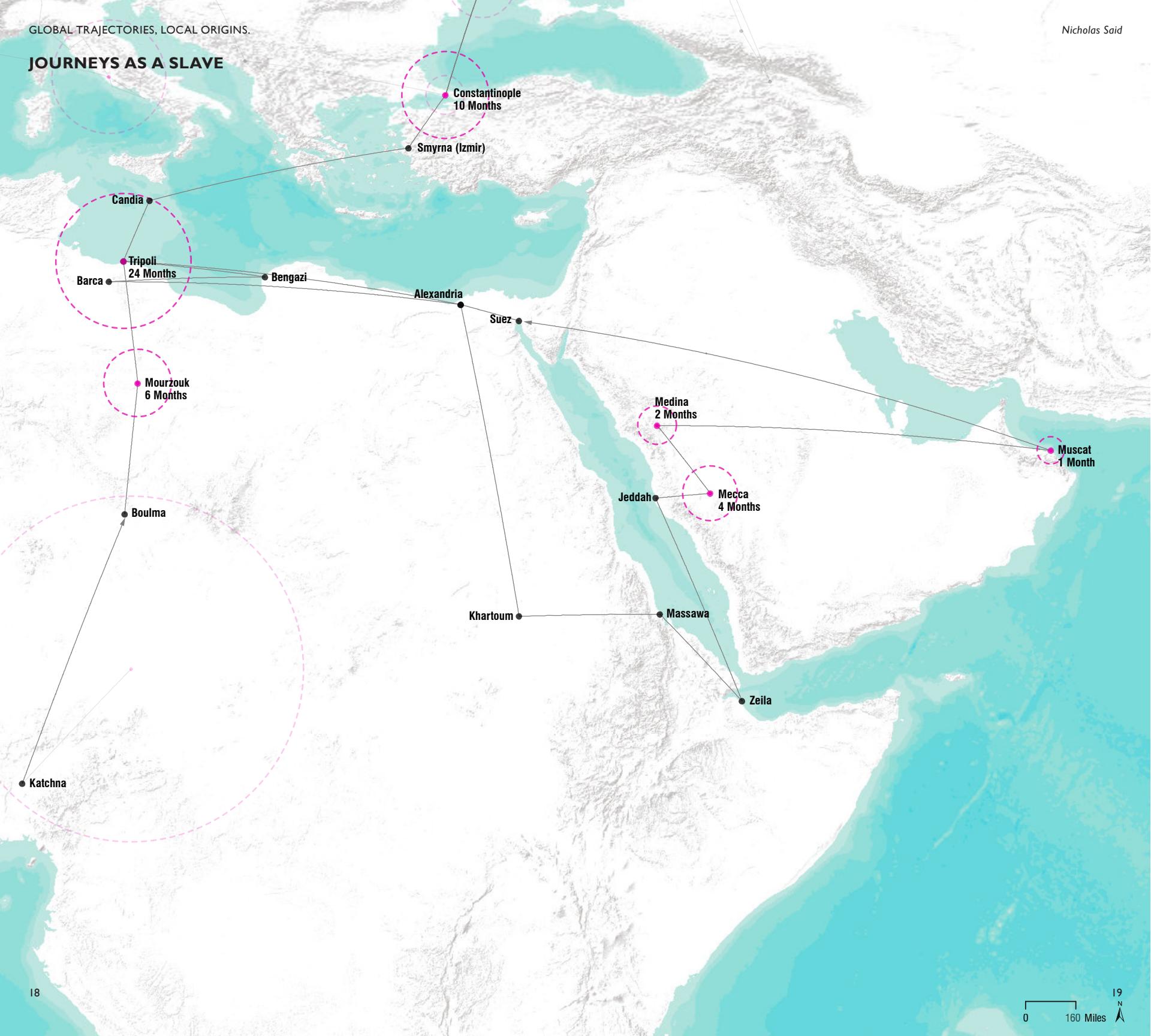
¹⁹ Ibid, 199

²⁰ Ibid, 185, 197

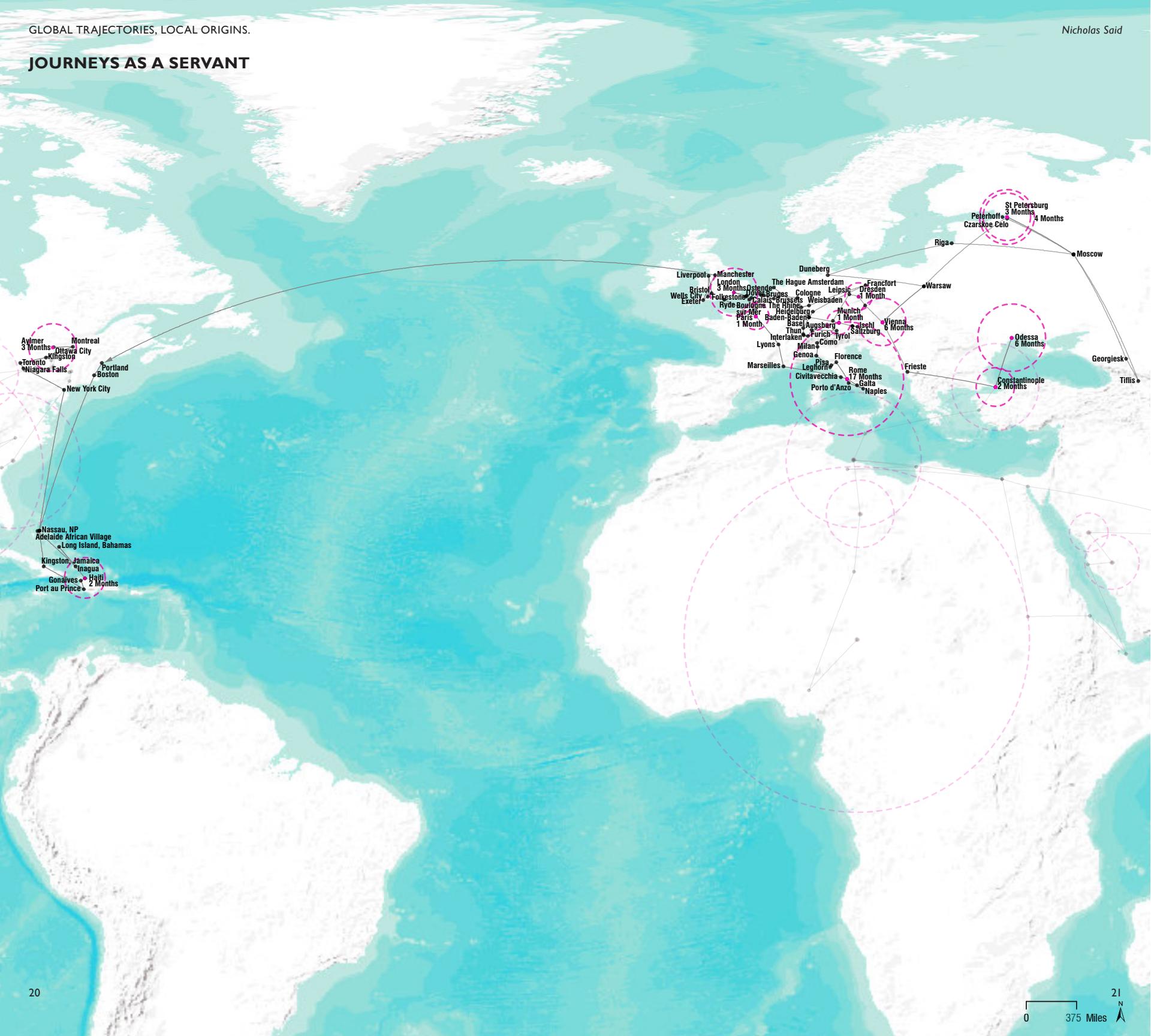
²¹ Ibid, vii

GLOBAL TRAJECTORY: NICHOLAS SAID

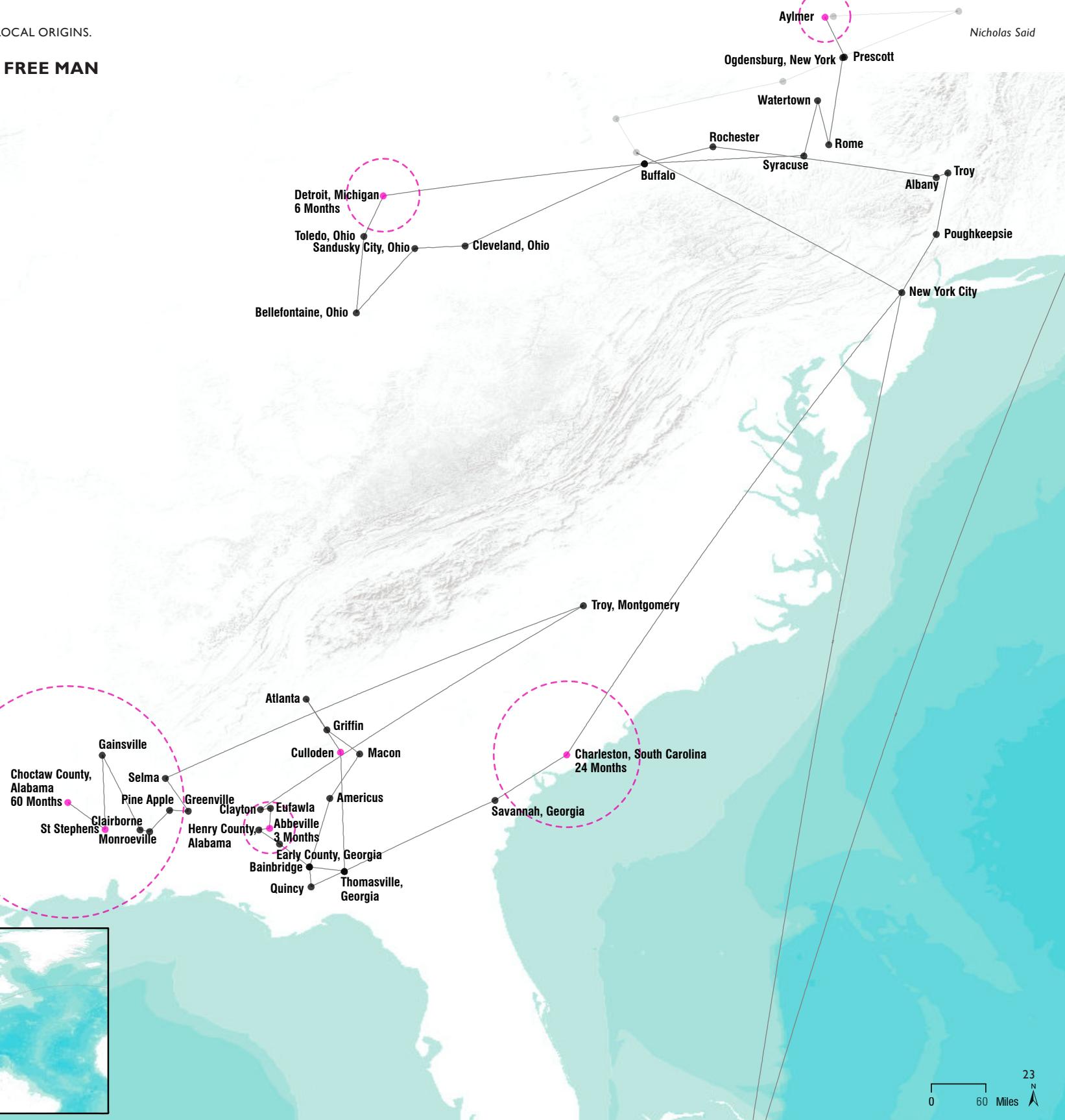


JOURNEYS AS A SLAVE

JOURNEYS AS A SERVANT



JOURNEYS AS A FREE MAN



PLACES LIVED: KOUKA**Origin, about 12 or 13 years**

"Kouka, the capital of our Country, is built on a level plain about thirty miles southward of the great lake Tzad. It is enclosed by a wall of unburnt clay, averaging thirty feet high. The city is separated into two distinct portions, East and West Kouka, the eastern being the largest and the most important. The Wadays, who invaded Bornou about forty years ago, destroyed the city, and consequently, the present capital is much less than that originally built by Mohammed El Kanemy. The population of Kouka cannot be less than forty thousand, and in dry seasons the number is augmented to over one hundred thousand."

There are several other cities in the Kingdom which exceed Kouka in stationary population, and in commercial point of view. All classes in Bornou subsist on mutton, goatflesh, beef, etc. I believe there are more horned cattle in Bornou than in any other country on the face of the earth. The cattle are extraordinarily large, (with horns from five to six feet, and from a foot and a half to two feet in circumference at the base.) Agriculture is also carried *[sic]* on with some skill, though plowing is unknown, the hoe is the only agricultural implement I have ever seen used. But the land brings an exuberant crop of rice doura, cassava millet, corn, tobacco, indigo, etc., etc.

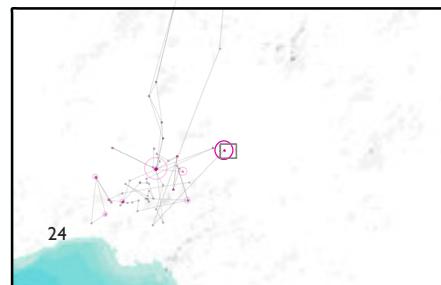
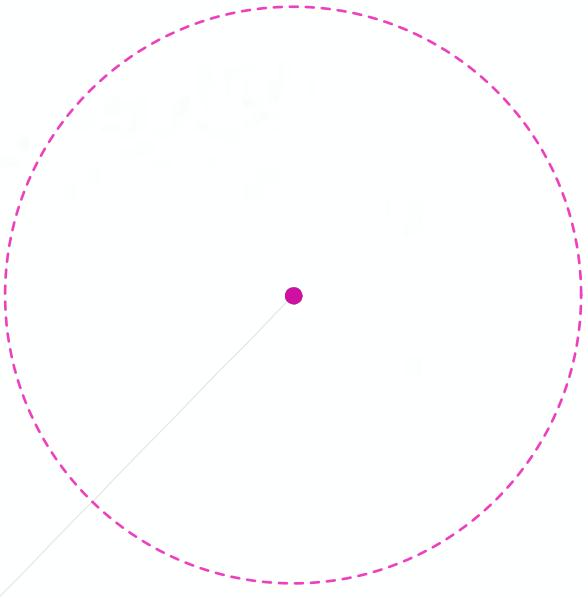
The army of Bornou amounts to about 60,000 warriors two thirds of which force is cavalry. Our cavalry is admirably organized, but the arkerbou or infantry is miserable, they are armed with flintlock guns, and are uniformed in red. The conquered provinces, or tributary tribes, are made to support this army. And if ever they should fail to furnish the necessaries, a Katzalla is sent with several thousand men who plunder them and take cattle, horses, asses, and slaves, until the amount is paid.

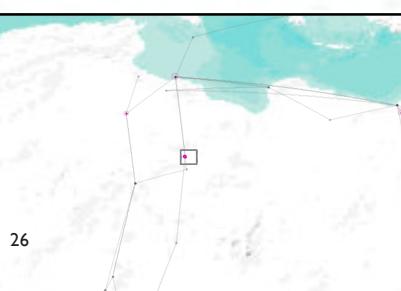
Oppression is a thing of common occurrence in my country, the Kanouri who is, as I have already remarked, the ruling class, often maltreats the Shuah, and the Kanembou, by forcibly taking his goods away without any pretext. In time of war, wherever the army happens to pass, the people of that particular place are made to feed that army. Kanouri, Kanembou, or Shuah are then not discriminated.

Concerning marriage I will say a few words. The Koran or Mohammedan Bible allows us to marry four wives lawfully, in addition to which a man of means may have as many, or even more, concubines. I have seen a great many men having more than twenty in the same house. Hadji Bichio the Grand Vizier of my country has 75 wives and his majesty Shagou Omar boast of 150. The King has thirty sons and a great many daughters. His harem is guarded by eunuchs who are his wives' custodians, and he gives them carte blanche to beat and otherwise maltreat them on the slightest provocation...The principal amusement of the people in my country is wrestling, horseracing, and dancing. Gambling also is carried on to some extent, the game being played like checkers. The gambler sometimes gambles himself away, that is, he sells himself; he becomes a slave to the winner.

The forests of Bornou are full of all kinds of wild beasts, such as lions, panthers, yenas or hyenas, jackals, elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers, and a great many more less harmful, but not less troublesome creatures. In the rainy seasons, a great portion of the lowlands, near the lake, are overflowed, and then the wild beasts are compelled to resort to the highlands. In this juncture, it becomes very dangerous for people or animals to travel. ¹¹

I Said, 26-32



PLACES LIVED: MOURZOUK**6 Months**

"The nights in the Sahara are delightfully cool.

After what seemed to me an interminable space of time, passed in this horrid journeying, the increasing coolness of the night gave notice that we were approaching the shores of this Tophetlike sea, and a few weeks' journey brought us to the borders of Fezzan. The first town we reached in the Pachalic of Fezzan, was, I think, El Kaheni, a small walled place, with about three thousand inhabitants. Here, to my great surprise, almost everybody could speak my vernacular. This is another nut for ethnologists to crack. On our way from Kaheni to Mourzook, we passed a little village called Abou Harish, about two days' journey from Mourzook; and now my anxiety to reach the end of the journey was so intense that I could hardly restrain myself from breaking into a run: for AbdElKader had promised us plenty of mutton, honey, and couscous, when we arrived at Mourzook; and, believing every word he said, I was fairly beside myself with joy, at the prospect of plenty of good food and rest.

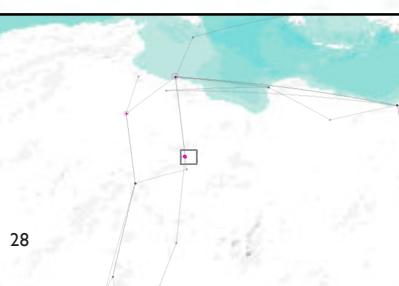
But I was doomed to a bitter disappointment; for, after only two or three days rest, my master sent me to his farm, about three miles from Mourzook, to draw water from a well and pour it into the irrigating trough, which conducted it to all parts of the field.

My companion in this unusual and difficult labor, was an Arab servant of his, a pymee, named Hassan, who beat me, and made me do all the work. Between my limited food of boiled turnip tops and dates, and the abuse of Hassan, I had a miserable time of it, and so told AbdElKader when he came to see us; and also told him that I was the son of Barca Gana. He seemed surprised when I mentioned my father's name, and said he had once been with him upon an expedition. He carried me back to town with him that day, and treated me with more kindness and consideration afterwards, even promising to send me back to Bornou. I was, however, unwilling to recross the inhospitable Sahara, but begged him to sell me to the Turks, who I had heard, were very good masters. Accordingly, after I had stayed with him about four months, he finally sold me to a young officer, an Aga in the Pacha's army, named Abdy... All the slaves who were to be sent to Tripoli, were carried into a large building, in the city of Mourzook, and facing the English Consulate, where their names were registered in a book kept for that purpose. The recorder was an old Turk, who wore green spectacles, and, as I had never seen anything of the kind before, they made me afraid of him at first, but I soon discovered that he was not only harmless, but a very kind and benevolent old man.

Before leaving Mourzook, I had the pleasure of witnessing a grand review of the army by the Pacha in person. The drill, or tactics, was altogether different from that of the Kanouri army, and the infantry were superior in discipline to ours; but the Pacha's cavalry were far inferior to that most important arm of King Omar's force. I was informed that the Pacha's army consisted of fifty thousand men; with which force, it was rumored, he would soon make an expedition into Soudan. I think, however, that the invasion, if contemplated at all, was never carried into execution.

At length the day for our departure arrived; and, on leaving, Abdy-Aga enjoined upon AbdElKader, most strictly, to treat me well, and also furnished him with money, with which to purchase chickens and other delicacies for me on the route.¹

¹ Ibid, 53-55, 58-59

PLACES LIVED: TRIPOLI**24 Months**

28

"As we approached the frontier of Tripoli, there began to appear an evident improvement in the fertility of the soil; and, as soon as we reached the "Black Mountains," a range of considerable magnitude, and the natural boundary between Tripoli and Fezzan, the face of the country underwent a material change.

The "plain" of Tripoli is considerably below the level of the "plateau" of Fezzan, and the soil much more fertile than that east of the Black Mountains. Having received an accession to our numbers at Sookna, we left that place about five hundred strong, fourfifths of which were slaves, and pressed forward eagerly, our imagination all aglow with the description of wonderful Tripoli, its castles and cannon and ships, related to us by a Mandra freedman, named Ali, who had joined our party at Sookna.

Urged forward by our curiosity to witness these wonderful sights, we forgot the troublesome itch, which people traversing this country from Soudan are always afflicted with, (it is said on account of something in the water), and, in due time, arrived at the goal of our journey. The great castle, the mosques, the ships in the harbor, and, above all, the apparently boundless sea, stretching away to the sparkling waterline to the northward, were novel sights to us Soudanians, but nothing to compare with the description given of them by our Mandra friend, Ali. Indeed, he was so much ashamed of the imposition he had practiced upon us, with his marvellous tales about seamonsters, etc., that he would not enter the city with us, but fell behind us, a day or two.

Tripoli consists of a great number of narrow, dirty lanes, flanked by generally mean houses, thrown together without regard to order, and, owing to the absence of front windows, more resembling dead walls than dwellings. We entered the city through the east gate, and proceeded at once to a caravansary, where we lodged for the night in one of the many untenanted houses, so common in this city. On the next day, I was taken to AbdyAga's father, an arnaoud Turk, or Albanian, who owned an extensive tobacco store in the Turkish bazaar. I found him to be a man apparently fiftyfive years of age, with a very kind face, and a long, white, flowing beard. When I was introduced to him, he was reclining upon a *divan*, smoking his *narghiley*. He greeted me kindly, and immediately had me bathed and dressed in a new suit of clothes, after which I was considered presentable and admitted into his household... The principal edifices were, the castle, in which resided the Pacha; the great mosque, a grand structure supported by columns, said to have once belonged to a Christian church; six principal, and many smaller mosques, each surmounted by minarets; two Christian churches, a Franciscan convent, three Jewish synagogues, a number of public baths, each capped with a dome, and extensive bazaars and caravansaries.

My master kept me with him in his shop, which was located in the principal or Turkish bazaar. Each nationality of tradesmen and merchants in the city had a separate bazaar, in which they transacted their business. There was a Jewish, a Christian, and an Arab bazaar, but by far the best was the Turkish...During my stay in Tripoli, I learned to speak the Turkish language tolerably; so much so, indeed, as to surprise every one who was acquainted with me. I have possessed, all my life an extraordinary aptitude for the acquirement of languages, but I have found none so easy to learn as the Turkish!"

I Said, 63-65, 67-68

29

PLACES LIVED: MECCA

4 Months



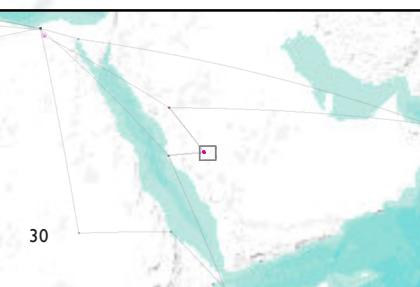
"As soon as our animals had arrived, we set out for Mecca, which we reach in due time, travelling through a perfect desert, without a single oasis. Mecca, the *Bellad el Amin* (head of true believers), *el Mosherefe* (the noble), *Om el Khora* (the mother of towns,) is situated in a narrow, sandy valley, surrounded on all sides by sterile hills of moderate elevation, barren of tree or verdure, and is ill supplied with water.

In its centre is the *Beituh Allah* (house of God), *El Haram*, (the inviolable), the great mosque enclosing the *Kaaba*, (sacred house) and marking the dividing line between upper, (northern), and lower, (southern), town. These two general divisions are subdivided into twenty five quarters, exclusive of a single line of houses extending along the narrow path of the valley. Mecca is a fine looking city, with wide streets and houses of stone, well lighted and often three stories high. During the period of Haj, or general pilgrimage, the city is filled to the suburbs. This Haj, inaugurated by Arabs ages ago, was regularly performed by Mahomed himself, and has been duly observed by untold myriads since his death. This Haj is the only source of the immense wealth of the city, and trading with the pilgrims the chief occupation of its inhabitants. The Meccanee, (citizens), are, with the exception of a few Hejazi Bedouins either strangers, that is, foreigners, or children of strangers. They are extremely proud of their city, wear fine clothing, live sumptuously and, under the protection of the Sublime Porte, exhibit freely the evidences of the immense wealth many of them have accumulated, at the expense of the yearly average visit of one hundred thousand Moslems, whose fanaticism they look upon with the coolest indifference.

On the other hand it is proverbial that Mecca is the beggar's paradise; and probably, the most importunate mendicants in the world, infest this desert-girded city. Mecca has a castle capable of accommodating two thousand persons, and is, by the Mohammedans, deemed impregnable, though with what correctness I am unable to say.

The *Beituh Allah* is an unsymmetrical structure of modern architecture, with nine gates or portals, and is surrounded by seven majestic minarets. Within is the great four-sided court of the temple, surrounded by colonnades of irregular pillars; and nearly in the centre, in a depression, stands the *Kaaba*, or sacred house, between sixty and eighty feet in length, and about forty feet high. The *Kaaba* is entirely covered by the *Kishna*, (black silken veil), which is so arranged as to wave and flutter in the least breath of wind, a movement which is thought by the devotees, who worship there, to be produced by the fanning of angel's wings. In two places, only, is this covering removed, one at the southeast corner to expose a gray stone which it is meritorious to touch, and the other at the northeast angle, where is seen the celebrated black stone, the kissing of which is the chief object of the Haj. This stone is believed to be the angel, whose office it will be in last day to identify those who have duly performed the holy pilgrimage, and can only be kissed by those who visit it of their own accord. Being a slave, it was construed that I did not go there voluntarily, and, consequently, I was debarred the felicity of saluting the petrified angel.

Besides the pulpit of the *Iman*, and the desks assigned to the doctors of the different sects, there are around *El Haram* several irregular and unhandsome buildings..."
I Said, 92-96



PLACES LIVED: MEDINA**2 Months**

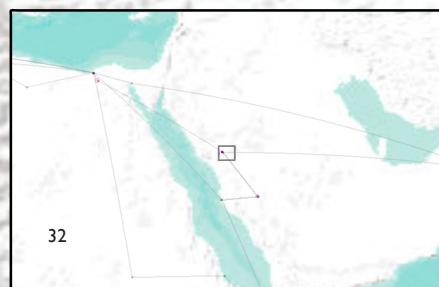
"Medina, about a hundred miles from Mecca, is built upon a high mountain, eastward of the range running parallel with the Red Sea, and is surrounded by a strong stone wall, averaging forty feet high, flanked with towers, while on a high rock in the northwestern portion of the city, stands its castle or citadel.

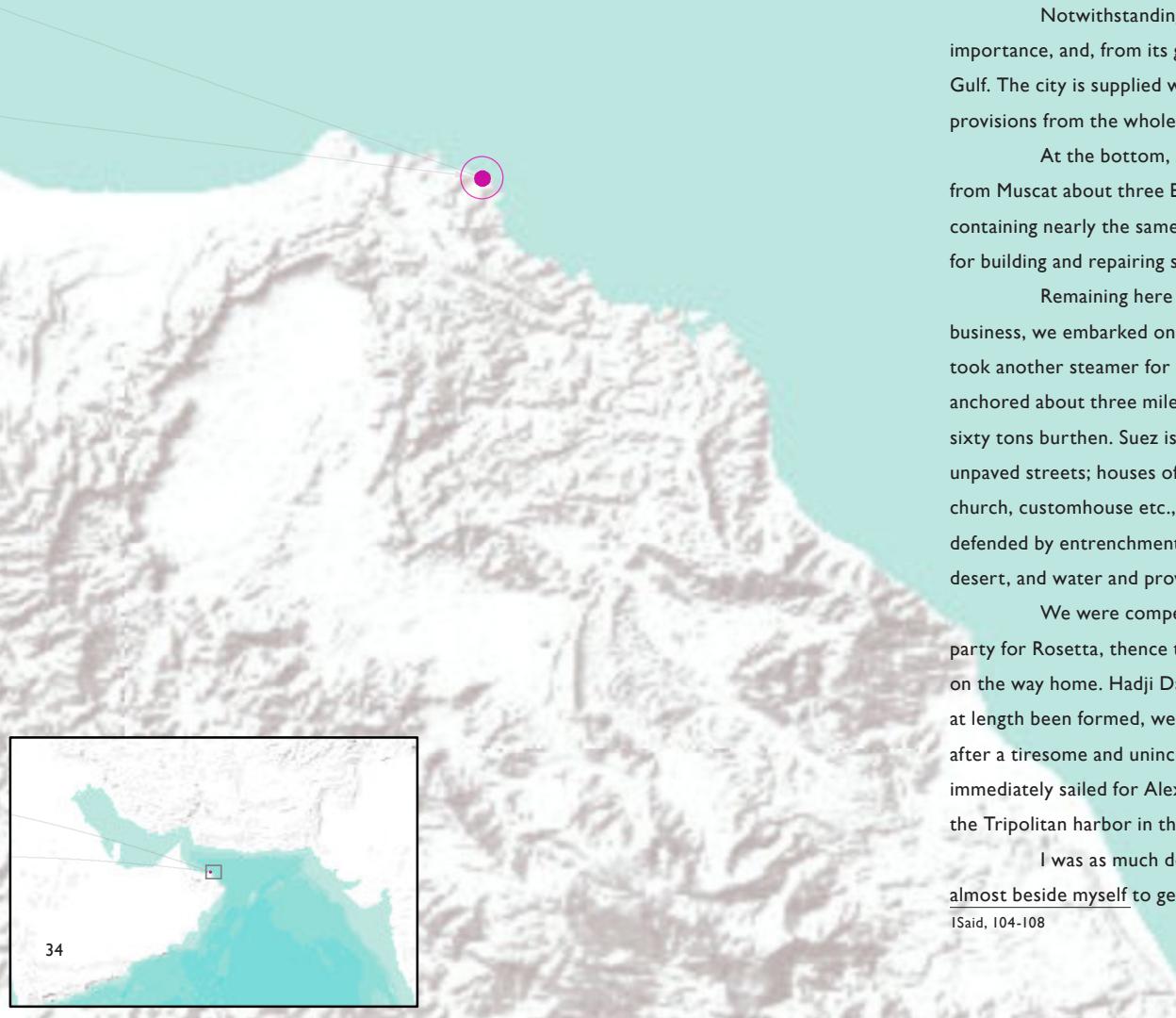
It is entered by three gates, that on the south, called *Bab el-Misri*, (the Egyptian gate), being extremely beautiful. To the southward, as far as the eye can reach, extends an immense plain or desert, while, on every side the view is bounded by ranges of mountains of considerable magnitude, those lying to the southwest presenting a bold and rugged appearance.

Medina is, by far, the handsomest city I ever saw in the East, with ample, smooth streets, neat, stone, houses, generally two stories high; containing a great mosque called the Prophet's, two smaller ones *Béshir* and *Omar*, a large college building and public baths. The Suburbs of the city consist of low houses and gardens, of course artificially irrigated, and also enclosed by a wall, within which the Bedouin encamp. The city is supplied with water by an aqueduct, leading from a valley among the mountains a few miles distant; a noble structure, the finest of the kind probably in Arabia. In some places it is over thirty feet below the surface of the grounds; and it terminates in a basin, from which all may draw water a *libitum*.

The mosque of the Prophet is situated in the eastern portion of the city, and, although smaller, it resembles the *Beituh Allah*, at Mecca, its chief feature being the extreme irregularity of its supporting columns. The tomb of the Prophet is enclosed with iron filagree of excellent workmanship, with four doors, only one of which is kept open regularly, and this guarded by a black Eunuch. At the south side is the place assigned for devotional purposes, to the pilgrims, who are allowed to visit this shrine at any, and all seasons, of the year. Fully one-third of the devotees who visit Mecca, extend their journey to Medina; yet, out of this immense number, only Pachas, leaders of the *Haj*, and other high officials are allowed to enter the sacred pale of the tomb, and, even they, only on the payment of a large fee. There is, however, as I have been told, by those who know, little to be seen within the enclosure, except the embroidered silk curtains, said to conceal a square black stone, supported by two pillars, underneath, and between which, are the graves of Mohammed and his two caliphs, Abu Bekr, and Omar. I have never heard, while in the East, anything concerning the magnet, which, according to some European writers, suspends or poises the coffin of Mohammed in the air. And I am disposed to believe it to be a Christian fiction.

It is somewhat remarkable that the two chief cities of the orthodox Mohammedan world, called *par excellence*, the "holy," should be in the midst of, and inhabited by unbelievers and sectaries. As Mecca is filled with, and surrounded by, the followers of Zaid, so the Bedouins and many of the Sherrifs of Medina are the adherents of Ali.¹¹



PLACES LIVED: MUSCAT**1 Month**

"Accordingly in company with several Meccawee and Jidda merchants, who, also, had business at Muscat, we embarked upon a steamer belonging to the Imam of Muscat, and set sail for that port, arriving in the harbor in ten stormy days.

The harbor of Muscat is an inlet, or arm of the sea, about a mile long, and half a mile wide, opening into] the Arabian sea, to the northwestward, and consequently, completely sheltered from the monsoons. Immediately to the westward of this inlet, is a commodious bay, opening northeastward, which although deep, and a good anchorage, is exposed to the fury of the winter monsoons, but affording a safe shelter to vessels in those conditions of weather which render it difficult and dangerous to enter the inlet. The city is situated on the southern shore of the inlet, in a hollow, under a cliff, and, in appearance, presents few evidences of its actual wealth and real importance.

A few good houses, built in the Persian style, occupy the narrow space by the waterside, but large and handsome buildings are few, the Imam's palace (a plain edifice), the government house and a few mosques alone rising above the common mass of flat roofed structures.

Notwithstanding its appearance, however, Muscat is a point of great commercial importance, and, from its geographical position, is the key to the entrance of the Persian Gulf. The city is supplied with water obtained from wells of considerable depth, and receives provisions from the whole Levant.

At the bottom, or deepest curve, of the bay, is the town of Mustra, distant by land, from Muscat about three English miles, and is, in effect, but a suburb of the latter city, and containing nearly the same number of inhabitants; its chief importance consisting in the docks for building and repairing ships located there.

Remaining here about a month, at the end of which time, master having finished his business, we embarked on board the same steamer which brought us from Jidda, whence we took another steamer for Suez. We made the voyage in seven days, and anchored about three miles off Suez, the harbor being too shallow for vessels of more than sixty tons burthen. Suez is the most miserable place I ever saw, with narrow, sandy and unpaved streets; houses of unburnt brick, containing about a dozen mosques, a christian church, customhouse etc., the whole surrounded by a wall mounting a few guns, and further defended by entrenchments running around the city. The surrounding country is a perfect desert, and water and provisions have to be brought from a long distance.

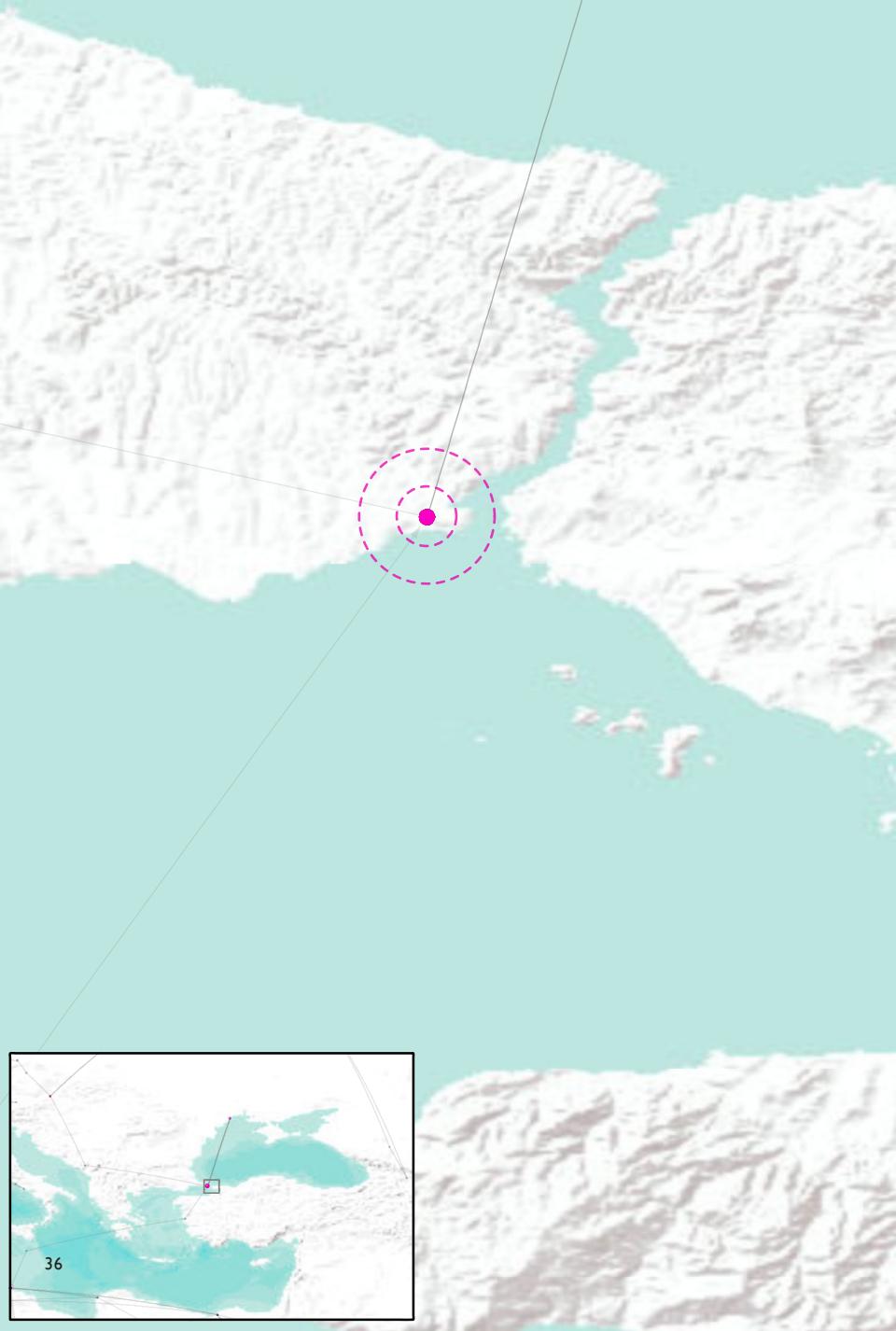
We were compelled to remain here a considerable time, awaiting the formation of a party for Rosetta, thence to Alexandria, whence it was my master's intention to proceed next on the way home. Hadji Daoud purchased a few camels for our use, and, the caravan having at length been formed, we commenced our journey, to my master's and my no small relief, after a tiresome and unincidental tramp, arriving at our destination in four days. Here, we immediately sailed for Alexandria. At Alexandria... having secured a passage in her, we made the Tripolitan harbor in three days.

I was as much delighted at seeing Tripoli again as if it had been Kouka, and was almost beside myself to get ashore."

I Said, 104-108

PLACES LIVED: CONSTANTINOPLE

4 Months, 10 Months



"Here and there, on the shores, may be seen tall and handsome minarets, bespeaking the religious customs of the country, and splendid villas, alternating with gardens, orchards, and vineyards; and when one has emerged from the Dardanelles, and is fairly into the Black Sea, the proud and ancient city of Constantinople may be seen, sparkling like a diamond *tiara*, in the dim blue landline to the northward.

I had previously heard much of this famous city, the Istamboul of the Mohammedans, had been told of its extreme beauty and immense extent, and of the vast numbers of people who dwell within its boundaries; but I was not prepared for what I found it to be in reality. As seen from the sea, it is the handsomest city I ever saw; but an entrance verifies the poetical proverb, that "Tis distance lends enchantment to the view." Its streets are narrow and filthy, and the city crowded with immense numbers of low houses, principally built of wood. The whole city is most densely populated, to what extent I am unable to tell, and its inhabitants comprised people of all races, and from every part of the globe. Istamboul is situated upon a triangular promontory, or rather cape, projecting out into the Bosphorus, and has a seafloor of nine or ten English miles, and the base of the triangle thus formed, is a lofty double wall, reaching from the Sea of Marmora, a distance of about five or six miles, to the Golden Horn.

Within these boundaries lies Constantinople proper, built in general, as I have described, but relieved by the numerous minarets, cupolas, and lofty cypresses, that tower above the common mass of buildings. The drainage of the city is materially aided by the uneven surface of the ground upon which it is built, and the great number of public fountains, supplied by aqueducts leading from large tanks at a distance, and furnishing an ample supply of water for all purposes. At the extreme northeast point of the promontory, called Point Sèraï, is situated the Seraglio, or palace of the Sultan, washed in front by the waters of the Bosphorus, on the left by the Golden Horn, and commanding a magnificent view of the opposite shores of the strait and the Horn, including the beautiful town of Scutary, with its cypresscrowned hills... There are, or were, numerous other public buildings of some note, but as many changes have doubtless taken place in the city since I saw it, I will not consume time by a description of what may not now exist.

Constantinople, like Smyrna, is divided into quarters, in distinct ones of which, different classes or religious castes of people, exclusively, reside and transact their business. The place of my new master, Fuad Pacha, was situated in Kandji Koolook, and was a new and elegant structure of stone, built in the European style, three stories in height, and not excelled in magnificence by any edifice in the city, except the Seraglio of the Sultan. Attached to it was his harem, surrounded by a high stone wall; the whole enclosure comprising about five or six acres. The Golden Horn, the fine harbor that has usurped the name of the Promontory of Byzantium, separates the city proper from its populous suburbs, Galata, Pera, and Tophane. and is crossed by a bridge of boats from the Fanar, or Greek quarter, to Pera. This bridge also places the city in direct communication with the additional suburban cities, Kassim Pacha, and Ferschanna, and the imperial arsenals, on the north shore of the Horn!"

PLACES LIVED: ODESSA**6 Months**

"Not long after my transfer to Prince Menthikoff, he made a visit to Odessa in Russia, and carried me with him. We sailed from Constantinople on board the Russian steamer, manofwar Vladimie, carrying sixtyfour guns, and commanded by Prince Galitzine, and made Odessa in about fortyeight hours of most delightful weather. Odessa is a Russian port of the Black sea, in the government of Kherson, and is a handsome and well appointed city. A magnificent terrace, overlooking the bay, is lined with elegant public edifices; elsewhere, and, in fact everywhere, in the city, may be seen attractive and imposing structures, churches, colleges, libraries, cathedrals, interspersed with palaces and handsome private residences, while Richelieu Oultiza, (Richelieu street) the principal street is lined with attractive shops.

There are, however, few buildings that afford a very striking architectural display, and there are fewer monuments of sculpture than might be expected in such a place. The principal work of art in the city is the statute of Richelieu, a bronze monument of gratitude, erected by the city in honor of his creative genius, in a space formed by a crescent of handsome houses on the summit of the elongated cliff, along which extended at the time I was there, (in 1854), a beautiful avenue of young trees, which were then beginning to unite their boughs, and form a leafy archway along its whole length. From the foot of the stature, were in process of construction, a gigantic flight of stone stairs, intended to make the grand terrace accessible from the lower quay, and so arranged with a series of constantly rising arches, as to allow free passage of vehicles of any size, and height. The whole structure impressed me as a very appropriate, as well as deserved compliment to genius; but, in my humble opinion, not so much so as the ecclesiastical college, which bears his name, and the well appointed Richelieu Lyceum, located in different parts of the city.

A full description of the public buildings in Odessa, its general plan of construction, and defences, and an exhibition of its commercial importance, would doubtless, be interesting and entertaining to many of my readers; but, as numerous and important changes have probably been wrought in it since I saw it, I shall refrain from more than a bird's eye description of its general outline; and shall, moreover, confine myself to this rule in relation to the other European cities I may have occasion to mention in connection with my adventures. Prince Menthikoff owned a fine mansion in Odessa, where, on his return to Constantinople, which occurred in a few days after his arrival in Odessa, he left me in charge of his son, Prince Peter, who procured for me an instructor to teach me the Russian language. Possessing, however, as I have before remarked, a superior aptitude for languages, I was not a long while in mastering it, and was told by those with whom I conversed, that I had only a slight foreign accent. The Russian language, in spite of a few euphonic defects, is, in general, sonorous and flowing, and is eminently adapted, as a vehicle, for almost any kind of literature... When I had been in Odessa six months, Prince Menthikoff wrote to his son to repair with me immediately to Constantinople, which command was at once obeyed... Leaving his son to superintend the removal of his personal goods to Odessa, the Prince proceeded, with the officers of his department, at once to the Muscovite capital. I accompanied this party, embarked on board the Austrian steamer, Egitto, bound to Frieste, an Austrian seaport, on the Adriatic, via Athens and Corfou."

I Said, 125-131



PLACES LIVED: ST PETERSBURG

3 Months, 4 Months



"St. Petersburg is situated at the head of a bight in the Gulf of Finland, at the point where it is entered by the Neva, the stream which flows into it from the lake Ladoga, and the nature of the ground it occupies is such that it is impossible to get anything like a fair view of the city until actually within it. Coming from the Baltic, through the Gulf of Finland, little can be seen until, suddenly, the voyager finds himself surrounded by splendid granite quays, and gazing upon thousands of the most superbly handsome edifices; and thus his admiration is intensified by the sudden surprise which attends it. Sooth to say this city of the Czars, is equalled by few, and certainly surpassed by none in the world, for comfort, strength and magnificence. It would require a large volume to give even a synoptical description of this vast and splendid city, and I shall not even attempt to name its wonders.

While in the service of Prince Troubetzkoy, I enjoyed ample opportunities of visiting every place of interest in the city; the gardens, the monuments, the galleries, the churches, societies, theatres, public building of every description and the mansions of the rich and noble; and in making use of these opportunities, I allowed nothing to escape my eye, but everything I saw is, to this day, stamped on my brain like a picture. On one occasion, as I was strolling along the quay, facing the winter palace, I saw a distinguished looking individual, in full Russian uniform, approaching me, and observed all whom he passed doffed their hats, and many fell upon their knees. As he was passing me, I lifted my fez, and stood in the attitude of soldier, saluting, which action being observed by him, he clapped me on the shoulder and said in Russian: "Malodetz," which is equivalent to the English, "smart boy," and passed on. On inquiring, I learned that he was Nicholas I, Czar of all the Russias. The next day his august Majesty sent me fifty silver roubles as a present. He was an exceedingly fine looking man, considerably over six feet in height, and well proportioned, and considered the handsomest man in Russia. It was said of him, that, in his character, he was extremely unrelenting, and was seldom known to forgive an act of disobedience, however slight.

Prince Nicholas Troubetzkoy, strange to say, entertained an aversion towards the Poles; and it might be thought that he was not fond of the Russians, as he would not allow me to continue to learn their language, and took it upon himself to teach me French, but I fear I was not overdiligent in my efforts to acquire that vivacious tongue. The language, in itself, was not difficult to acquire, but for a long time I had an insurmountable disgust for the nasals. The sounds of *an*, *in*, *on*, *un*, and *en*, were particularly disagreeable to my ear. But the Prince would not abandon his favorite fancy. He used to lock me up, and punished me in divers ways; and, by one means and another, he succeeded, at length, in hammering enough of the language into me to serve as a basis upon which to make further attainments afterwards.

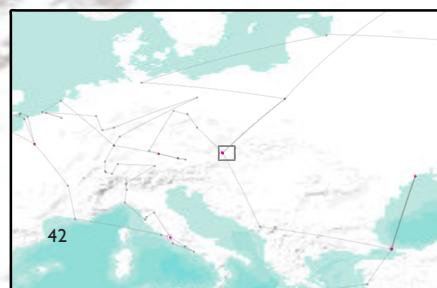
Hitherto, ever since my advent into Christendom, I had remained a consistent Islam, repeating the requisite number of prayers daily, and at the time required, refraining from the use of pork, wine, etc., and rolling my eyes in holy horror at the frequent infractions of the law of the Koran that I constantly had occasion to witness. But His Excellency made up his mind to turn me from the error of my ways, and devoted himself assiduously to the accomplishment of his purpose...Finally, my prejudices gave way, however, and I consented to embrace the Greek faith, the State religion of Russia!"

I Said, 138-145

PLACES LIVED: VIENNA**3 Months**

"On our arrival at Vienna, the Prince procured lodgings at the Hotel du Monarque on the Graben. I shall not weary the reader, however, with an account of all the wonders I saw in this Imperial capital; its Inner Stadt, the streets of which are often traversed by the nobility of both sexes, on foot; the beautiful Esplanade between this walled enclosure and the great outside towns; the twenty magnificent squares and parks that are embraced between the arms of the Danube, and called the Pratter, considered the finest in Europe; its numerous and splendid Churches, institutions of learning, extensive museums and public buildings of every description, not to mention the palaces and superb mansions of the rich. During the three months we remained in Vienna, the Prince went to Pesth in Hungary to pay a visit to his sister Princess Esterhazy, and left me in Vienna to take care of his effects. He instructed me to spend my nights at the Hotel but in the day, to play with and amuse the six years daughter of his sister Countess Aprâix who lodged at the Metzler Hoff.

On his Excellency's return, he informed me that he intended leaving the capital of the Hassburgs for Dresden in Saxony, via Prague (Bohemia). We the domestics, at once packed his numerous effects, and we took the rail for the latter place, which we reached in a very few hours, it being about 57 English miles from Vienna. Hère we tarried only one night, and on the morrow we proceeded to Dresden."¹



PLACES LIVED: DRESDEN**I Month**

"His excellency having taken his quarters at Hotel de Saxe, and after having a good rest, he was soon on the wing, taking me with him, and exploring the renowned galleries, museums and other institutions of this famous city.

My master's brother Vladimie was at that time residing here, and was just getting over a severe spell of illness which had afflicted him several months before our arrival. I found him to be a very kind and intelligent gentleman.

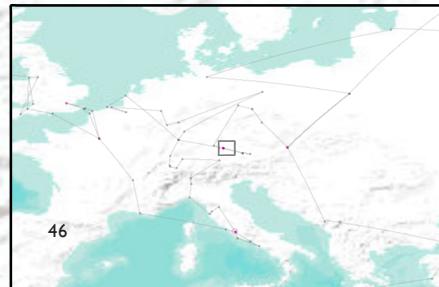
The Prince presented me a few days afterwards with several good French books, among which were: *L'Immitation de Jèsus Christ*, *La vie de Jeannoe d'Arc*, and others.

We remained in Dresden a month, and the Prince, having satisfied his curiosity in respect to this capital, concluded to visit Leipsic, a city also in Saxony, and the centre of learning in Germany. A few hours before our departure, however, the Prince received a letter from several of his Russian friends dated and post marked at Munich in Bavaria. They were then preparing to go to the watering places in the Tyrol called Ischl, and they requested his Excellency to repair to Munich, stating that his company was indispensable; (for it must be remarked that my master was a *bel esprit* in company, consequently his presence was sought with great avidity) accordingly he yielded to their desire..."



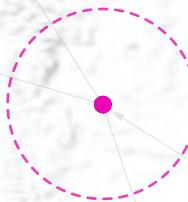
PLACES LIVED: MUNICH**I Month**

"...took rooms at the Hotel de Baviere, (Bavarian Hotel), on the Max-Joseph-Platz. During the three weeks stay in this city, I accompanied His excellency to almost every place of interest, including the celebrated Pinacotheca, and Glyptotheca galleries, (the former containing three hundred thousand paintings and Pngravings,) the University and Royal libraries, (the former containing, at that time two hundred thousand volumes and four thousand manuscripts, and the latter embracing six hundred and fifty thousand volumes and twenty thousand manuscripts), the Bavarian monument of eighty or ninety feet in height, which is ascended by winding stairs within, built by Herr Swauthaler, and other places of note. We found a larger number of Russian gentlemen in Munich than we expected, among them were count Strogonoff in company with his-the grand Duchess Mary, daughter of Czar Nicholas, Prince Bagrathion, Narischkin, Schouralloff, and a host of other Russian personages, who were also on their way to the bathing place in the Tyrol above mentioned. Having satisfied his curiosity with regard to this celebrated place, the Prince drew me, with much reluctance on my part from the many attractive objects to be found!"



PLACES LIVED: ROME

17 Months



"We arrived at Rome in January, and the Prince left the Albergo d' Espagna, and hired a private house in the Strada dei Pontefifici, near the Corso, the Prince intending to remain here till spring, when he proposed to visit Paris and London. Rome has been so often described by writers, better qualified to the task than myself, that I shall forbear to describe it, but shall simply mention some facts relating to my personal adventures.

In his endeavors to educate me, the Prince had neglected to teach me arithmetic, accordingly he hired me a tutor, a Frenchman by nationality, bearing the name of Alphonse Garron to perfect me in the French grammar and to teach me the mysteries of mathematics. Nature has denied me the faculty of acquiring the science of numbers. Mr. Garron made several complaints to the Prince concerning my inaptitude towards that particular branch. But I could not help it. My teacher succeeded at length in teaching me the four principal rules viz: Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division.

During our stay in the Papal States, the Prince became very intimate with Cardinal Antonelli, the Prime minister of Pius IX, and often visited the Vatican. The Romans ascribe all the evils, old and new, under which they suffer, to Cardinal Antonelli: The perfectly illegal condition in which the States of the Church were then, was the handiwork of that minister, for, instead of removing old abuses, he has continually added new and worse. Not only all justice but every liberty, the Romans further complain, has been trodden under foot by Antonelli.

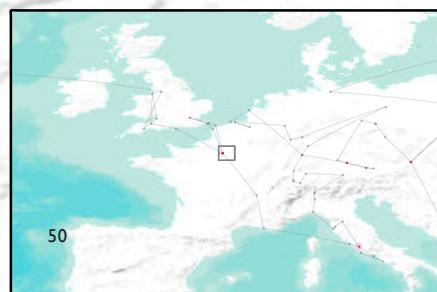
Misery and wretchedness have increased in the nation. Instead of public education, only public ignorance is fostered, and Rome has sunk most shamefully in the arts and sciences which, formerly invested it with a halo. All this Antonelli alone has done, the brown man with wild aquiline nose, and the wolf's teeth, that project menacingly from his mouth. He who is to blame for all this will soon occasion the overthrow of Rome... The state of prisons in Rome is fearful, and the Palazzo at Rome may be even compared unfavorably with the prison at Visiti, where Poerio once languished. The inmates have neither table nor chair, not even the slightest article of furniture that can promote their comfort. Their food consists of a soup made of rancid bacon and oil, two loaves of black bread, each weighing nine ounces, and a disgusting beverage which is honored with the name of wine. They have only a tincup and a pan, in which to wash in the morning and eat at night. The cells, in which several prisoners are placed together, are so narrow that if one of them wished to take exercise the others must lie down. The drinking water is drawn from the neighboring dirty ditches, and filled with all sorts of abominations. Instead of windows there are holes, covered with coarse canvass, which does not keep out cold or draught, however, and hence the prisoners are never free from toothache, rheumatism, and all sorts of maladies. As a refinement of cruelty, Antonelli actually ordered one hundred common criminals to be sent down from fort Urbano, and distributed among the political détenus. Latterly, however, the priest has lost much of his influence over the lower classes of Roman society. The robbers have lost their respect for them, and have quite a fancy for stealing from them. In fact, the banditti who have attained quite a status in society, have now constituted a separate power against the Church and laws!"

PLACES LIVED: PARIS**1 Month**

"Shortly after our arrival in Paris, a grand ball was given at the *Palais du Corps Legislatif*, in honor of the Due de Morney's marriage with one of my master's nieces, a daughter of his brother Sergius, of whom mention has already been made. His Excellency took lodgings at the Hotel Mirabeau, in the Rue de la Paix. The Prince was now very anxious to visit England, and leaving the greater portion of his effects at the Hotel Mirabeau, we left Paris, in June, for Boulogne sur Mer.

I did not rest a moment during our stay in Paris, but was here, and there and everywhere, seeing everything, and learning everything. I believe there is more wealth and more wretchedness, more learning and more vice, more gayety [sic] and less virtue in Paris than in any other city in the world.

It would be pleasant to me to describe the magnificent edifices, boulevards, and parks of the great city, its monuments of sculpture and its galleries of paintings, its churches, colleges, libraries and its world-renowned scientific associations, its operas, theatres and other places of gayety [sic] and fashion; but I must forbear!'"



PLACES LIVED: LONDON**3 Months**

“...we took the rail for London, which we reached late at night. As some said it was unaristocratic to live at the hotels, the Prince had beforehand engaged a private house on Prince street, Hanover square, whither we immediately repaired.

During the sojourn of three months in London, the Prince was repeatedly invited to the residences and country seats of the nobility, and on these occasions, was always permitted to accompany him.

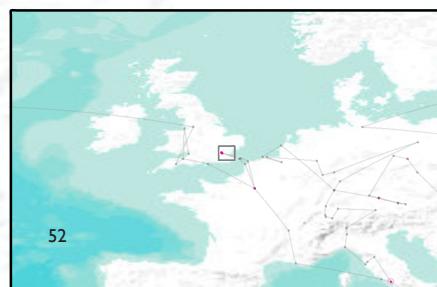
He was also on several occasions invited to the court, both at Buckingham palace and Windsor castle, and was always accepted cordially and cheerfully by Her Britannic Majesty.

At these places, I had excellent opportunities of seeing many of the prominent men of England, among them Lords Palmerston, John Russell, Barrington, Westmoreland, and many others, besides numbers of ambassadors, etc. etc.

During my stay in England, I worked hard to learn the English language; so by the time I left there I had laid a very good foundation upon which to build afterwards.

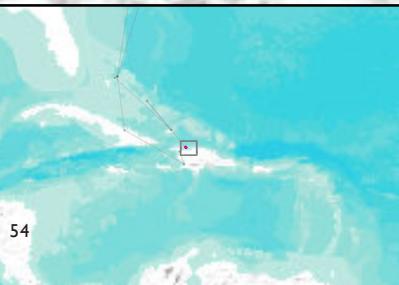
Of all the people I have ever seen in my life, the English nobility are the highest livers, and the most fastidious in their surroundings. Indeed I disgraced myself at the country residence of Lady Waldegrave's by associating with her footmen, and I was forced much to my regret to give over my hitherto pleasant visits to her underhousehold because, being a *valet de chambre*, and having degraded myself by mixing with my inferiors, I would have been compelled to remain with them in all future visits.

At the expiration of the time above stated we returned to Paris, by the way of Dover and Calais. The succeeding seasons from 1858, to 1866, were passed alternately in Italy, Germany, France, and England.”



PLACES LIVED: CAPE HAÏTIEN

2 Months



54

“...After nineteen days of the most wretched sailing, we reach Cape Haïtien. I found myself exceedingly delighted at finding myself in the country where the heroes of the “Haytien Independence” contended with the armies of Napoleon the Great. I had always admired the exploits of Toussaint, L’Ouverture, Dessalines, Christophe, and other negro leaders, whose heroism and military talent are an honor to the African race. Hayti, or Hispaniola, certainly deserves the appellation of the “Queen of the Antilles.” Nothing can excel it in picturesque beauty. It is very mountainous, and viewing it from the sea, it has a grand and magnificent appearance. Cape Haïtien, in the time of the French occupation, must have been a place of considerable importance. It is situated at the terminus of a small bay, and the foot of a mount, which totally hides it from view on all sides. It is defended by several forts and redoubts the greater portion of which are in a dilapidated condition. The language spoken here is French, but only the educated can speak perfectly. They have, however, among them a *patois* which they call *Créole*. It is an admixture of French and several African languages, and is quite unintelligible to a Frenchman. Notwithstanding all the natural advantages which this country possesses, no sign of industry is to be seen in it. This country, when it was a French colony, produced wheat, rice, corn, cotton, indigo, etc. etc. It is now grown up in thick forests of mahogany and other valuable timber, which, with gold and the tropical fruits that grow there spontaneously, constitute the chief articles of export. I understood while there, that the policy of that government is to keep things in that condition, lest England France, the United States or Spain might envy and take possession of it. The government of Hayti, I am sorry to say, is most shamefully managed. It is a perfect image of anarchy; and goes to prove that the pure negro and the mulatto, who considers himself, (by virtue of his caucasian halfbloodedness,) the superior of the former, and who always wants to rule him, cannot possibly live in harmony and prosperity. The fault is, (in nine cases out of ten,) the mulattoes, who, unduly and arrogantly, are presumptuous. The prejudice of color in the West Indies between the negro and the hybrid mulatto is much greater than exists in the United States. I shall truly and fearlessly say that the Southern white has tenfold more humane feeling towards the black man than the West India mulatto, I shall also include the Northern mulatto, though there are noble exceptions in both cases. It is a burning shame that instead of making that country prosperous and its people industrious and happy, the *soidisant*, aristocrats and educated people of Hayti should pay attention to mean and low party dissensions. No wonder the whites of different countries maintain that the negro is incapable of self-government. How is it possible for a community to be prosperous when its population entertain inveterate animosities among themselves? I would prefer that Hayti were one of the English or French colonies rather than in its present condition. The President of the Republic at the time I was there was Giffard, a truly intelligent, able and excellent man, who introduced reform, created a navy, and did a host of other good things for his country, which he loved with genuine patriotism, notwithstanding which the mulattoes undermined and eventually revolted and overthrew him. I have since learned that they have executed Salnavein- in short, should an angel come from heaven to rule that country they would not be pleased with him. We remained at Cape Haïtien seven weeks, after which we left for Gonaiives by land.”
I Said, 191-197

55

PLACES LIVED: AYLMER**3 Months**

"Here M. Rochussen informed me that he had failed to receive his remittance in time, and said he had very urgent business in Quebec, and asked me if I could lend him a hundred pounds. I told him I had three hundred pounds that I could spare; he having told me he would return me my money in a fortnight. He consented to my proposal and I handed him six £50 bills. Next day he left for Ottawa City, leaving his effects and Madame Rochussen. Three days after his departure, Madame received a telegraphic communication stating that M. Rochussen had met with a serious accident, and requesting her to repair to Quebec immediately. I was left to take care of their things, which consisted of five large trunks besides a number of sma [print not legible] ler ones. After Madame Rochussen's departure, I had a strange presentiment that I would never see them again.

I waited at the British Hotel, where we had stopped, for three months expecting the return of my employer, but all in vain. Mr. John McCook, the clerk and business manager, for the proprietress, Mrs. McCormick, told me that M. Rochussen had absconded, and owed the Hotel \$2000, and had borrowed £50 from himself. His and my own things were seized, consequently, I lost all my clothing, consisting of four Turkish costumes, three full suits, of broadcloth, a dozen of linen and fine English flannel shirts, etc. etc., worth more than two hundred and fifty dollars. I was almost penniless, with only one suit of clothes, and that a livery, with M. Rochussen's coat-of-arms on the buttons.

Having no trade, knowing no person to whom I could apply for help,-I was truly in a pitiful situation. But God who never forsakes us came to my relief. During our stay at Aylmer, we had become acquainted with Rev. D. T. Johnston, a pastor of that parish, who loaned me ten dollars, and told me I had better go to Detroit, Michigan, or Buffalo, New York, where there were a great number of colored people; and where I could get into employment easier than to remain in Canada, where the cold was so intense.

I left Aylmer for Prescott, where I crossed the St. Lawrence to Ogdensburg, New York, thence to Rome, Watertown, Syracuse and Buffalo!"

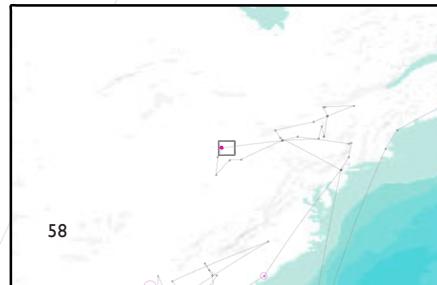
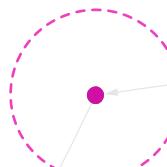


PLACES LIVED: DETROIT**6 Months**

"Here I took passage on the Concord for Detroit, Michigan, as a deck hand. The work was so hard for me that I only managed to make one trip. My will was good, but my strength failed. I informed the captain, who was a good man, of my former occupation, and he told me that he was not surprised at my giving out. He paid me up promptly my \$4.50, which was coming to me on reaching Detroit.

I stayed here six months, during which time I became acquainted with Rev. Geo. Duffield, D. D., who recognized me, having seen me on board the Egitto, on our trip from Constantinople to Trieste, while I was in the service of Prince Mentchikoff. This gentleman helped me a great deal by recommending me to the principal colored people of that city, some of whom gave me employment, to teach their children French.

At the end of six months, I had pretty well recuperated, and had some two hundred dollars in money and good suits of clothes. I then left for Toledo, Ohio, thence to Bellefontaine and Sandusky City, in the same state!"



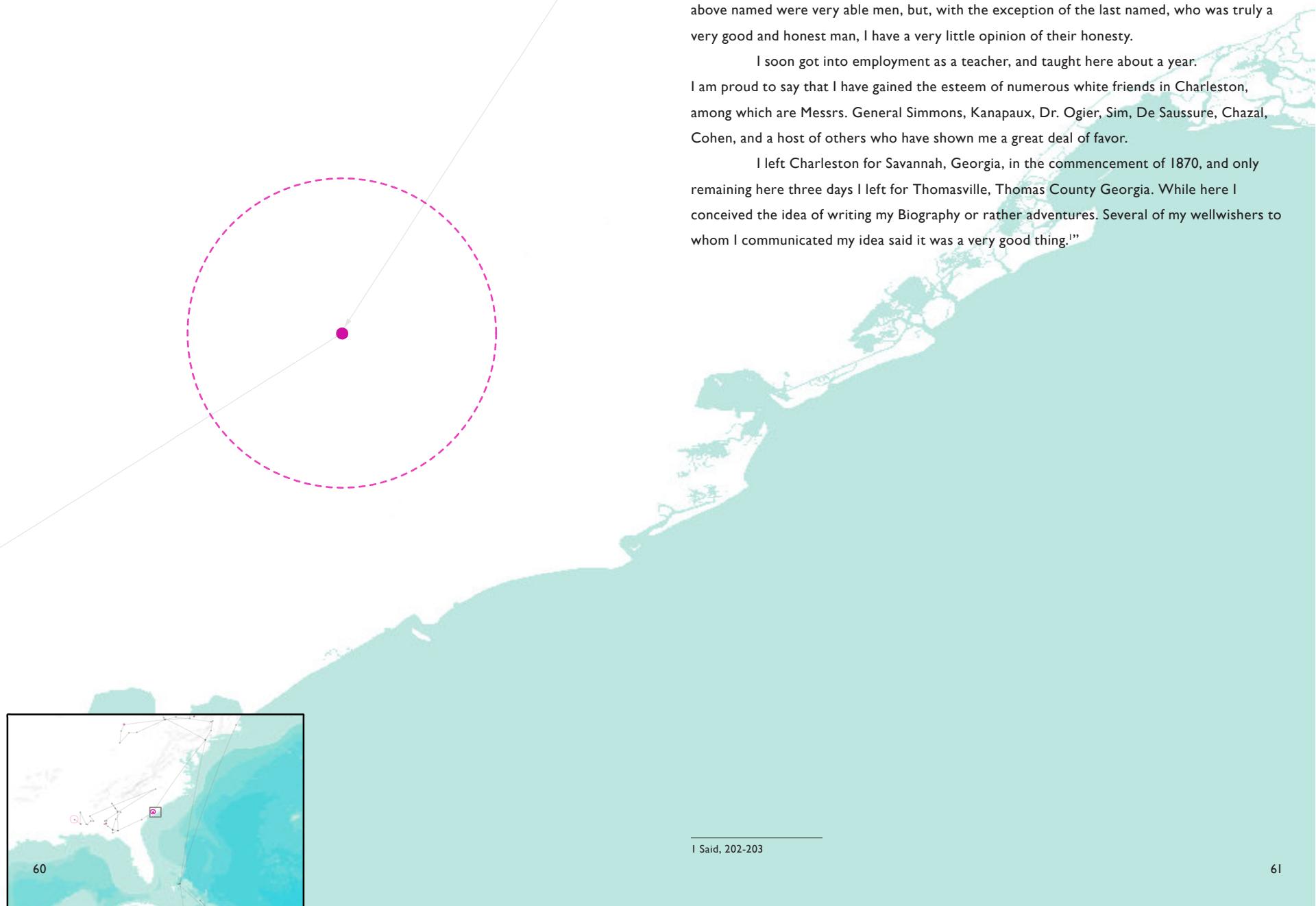
PLACES LIVED: CHARLESTON**12 Months**

"While in Sandusky City, I conceived the idea to go South, where I could be of great use to my benighted people in the capacity of a teacher. I selected Charleston, South Carolina as the basis of my operation. Accordingly I left Sandusky City for Cleveland, Ohio, thence to Buffalo, Rochester, Albany, Troy, Poughkeepsie and New York City, and embarked for the port of my destination.

Having taken up my quarters at Mrs. Cobb's boarding house in Calhoun Street, I soon became acquainted with Wright, Langston, Randolph, Bozeman, Ransier, and a host of other less notable Northern colored men who came there for political purposes. All the above named were very able men, but, with the exception of the last named, who was truly a very good and honest man, I have a very little opinion of their honesty.

I soon got into employment as a teacher, and taught here about a year. I am proud to say that I have gained the esteem of numerous white friends in Charleston, among which are Messrs. General Simmons, Kanapaux, Dr. Ogier, Sim, De Saussure, Chazal, Cohen, and a host of others who have shown me a great deal of favor.

I left Charleston for Savannah, Georgia, in the commencement of 1870, and only remaining here three days I left for Thomasville, Thomas County Georgia. While here I conceived the idea of writing my Biography or rather adventures. Several of my wellwishes to whom I communicated my idea said it was a very good thing."



PLACES LIVED: CULLODEN

"I accordingly set to work and wrote an essay to that effect consisting of about one hundred pages. When I completed that, I proposed to give lectures on "Africa and its resources." I made my début in Thomasville, then at Bainbridge Albany, Americus, Macon, Griffin, and Atlanta. I soon got tired of that business which in fact did not yield me much profit, I left Atlanta, and got down to Forsyth in Monroe, where I took up a school sixteen miles from here in a village called Culloden.

I taught here six months and then retraced my steps to Thomasville where I had left my effects with a colored friend of mine, Solomon Harvey by name. To my no small disappointment he had left for Texas taking my goods with him.

After making arrangements as to the publication of my book, I started on a new plan, that of raising means by which to defray expenses of publication by *voluntary subscriptions*. I have got a great many subscribers from Thomasville, Bainbridge, Quitman, Valdosta, Ga., Monticello, Madison, Tallahassee and Quincy Fla. From Quincy I returned to Bainbridge thence to Early county Georgia, always meeting with success and good treatment from the white and black people.

While in Georgia and Florida, I had heard from the black people that Alabama was a very dangerous State and filled with KuKlux that the freedmen there did not know what freedom was owing to the oppression of the whites under which they were situated. I was advised not to go to that State my life, they said, would be in great danger. My own common sense dictated to me, of course, that it was not possible that such a state of affairs could exist in Alabama, besides that, there were good and bad in all countries.

I shall here say, however, that it was thought by the blacks and a good number of whites I travelled for the purpose of spying through the country. Blacks were sent at times to pick me, but I had nothing to tell them excepting that I travelled for my own amusement and gratification, at the same time, making a little something which I hoped would enable me to publish my Adventures.

Some said I was harmless and quiet, and others that I was a Yankee emissary and a scoundrel. I crossed the Chattahoochee into Henry county, Alabama, and to my great surprise, was received with respect and kindness. I shall truly say, that I have never had such a reception heretofore. !"

PLACES LIVED: ABBEVILLE**4 Months**

"I shall never forget the kindness and attention paid to my humble self by that most intelligent and most gentlemanly Mr. M. Smith, of Columbia. When I left that place, after ten days stay, and was going to Abbeville, the countyseat, that kind man recommended me to Col. Oates, of that town:

COLUMBIA, ALA., July 21, 1871.

Colonel Oates:

The bearer, Nicholas Said, who is without a shadow of a doubt, a native African, and whose ostensible object in travelling through this country, is to obtain subscribers to his Autobiography, lectured here today.

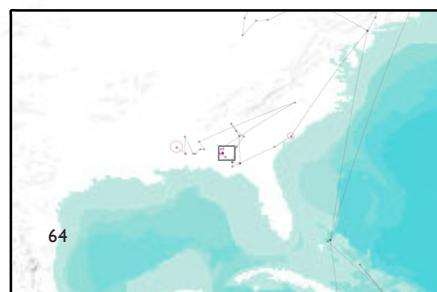
And I am glad to say, gave entire satisfaction to his audience, which was composed of a goodly number of white and black people. He is, by far, the most intelligent, and the best educated man of the African race, with whom I have ever conversed, etc.

Any attention paid to Mr. Said will be thankfully received.

I am, Colonel,
Yours, most truly,

M. SMITH.

This letter did me an immense good in Abbeville, where I remained, and taught school until October of that year. I then went to Eufawla, Clayton, Troy. Montgomery, Selma, Greenville, Pineapple, Monroeville, Claiborne, Gainsville, and, finally to St. Stephens, Washington county, where I conceived the idea of settling myself for life!"



PLACES LIVED: ST. STEPHENS

"On the 20th day of March, 1872, I found myself in St. Stephens, the county-seat of Washington county, Alabama, situated a few miles from the right bank of the Tombigbee river. Here I felt an insurmountable desire to put an end to my peregrinations, that, is at least for a season; for I was perfectly exhausted, and as I had a notion to enlarge my Biography, and as the manuscript had become worn out, by constant handling; I had nothing better to do than to take a school somewhere, in order to accomplish my desired end. Accordingly, on inquiry, I found that I could get one in the neighborhood of St. Stephens, and was suggested by Mr. ---, one of the Trustees, to see one Dr. W. H. Coleman, who, it was said, lived six miles above that place on the road to Bladon Springs, in Choctaw county, Alabama. This gentleman was, it was said, one of the county supervisors, whose duty it was to examine teachers, as to their qualifications. Consequently, having received a note from Mr. Bailey, which ran thus:

"Dr. W. H. Coleman:

"SIR: The bearer, Nicholas Said, desires a situation in our neighborhood as a teacher, please to examine him and oblige,

"Yours,

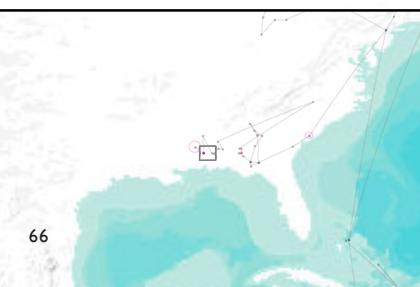
"Most respectfully,

"THOMAS BAILEY."

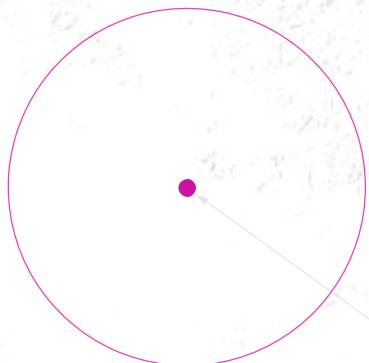
Armed with this document, I proceeded onward to Dr. Coleman's. On entering the paling enclosure, I was informed that the Doctor was in the garden, and would be back in a few minutes. Presently I saw him coming, and I asked him whether he was Dr. Coleman, and on being answered affirmatively, I presented the paper to him. The Doctor appeared to be a man of about fifty years of age, with a kind and gentlemanly looking face and highly polished manners, and in stature something above the medium height. His reception of me was quite flattering, for after my examination, I was asked whether I had been to breakfast; I told him I had not, whereupon 'Bright,' the servant girl, was called and instructed to furnish me with my breakfast. This most kind and hospitable gentleman furthermore promised to protect me during my stay in his neighborhood; and I can truly say did more than he promised. Shortly after I opened my school, the Doctor loaned me \$5.00, thereby showing that he had confidence in my honesty. Through his instrumentality, my name has become popular through Washington and Choctaw counties. I shall, so long as life lasts, remember him with unfailing gratitude, and shall render myself not unworthy of his confidence and good opinion of me. The colored people in this section of the country should certainly be grateful to him for his unwearied zeal in causing a school to be established in their midst. But alas! though painful to say, it is sadly true that my people here appreciate but slightly the benefits of education.

My honest and ardent desire is to render myself useful to my race wherever it may be. I have no aspirations for fame, nor anything of the sort. But I shall always prefer at all times to find myself in the midst of the most ignorant of my race, and endeavor to teach the rising generation the advantages of education."

I Said, 208-212



PLACES LIVED: CHOCTAW COUNTY



"At the request of several gentleman, I take pleasure in giving a description of this interesting place, hoping that suffering humanity may, through the medium of my autobiography, hear of its fame and be benefited thereby. At the expiration of my school session in Washington county, which was January, 1873, I was requested by my most worthy friend, Mr. Nelson Williams, and others of my race, to come and teach a while for them. After a ten days reflection I made up my mind, and accordingly opened a select or private school here, on the 21st of January, 1873. My average attendance is 25 pupils-the most of whom could read in McGuffey's First Eclectic Reader. To my great satisfaction my pupils learned very fast; this, however, is not owing to my skill in teaching, so much as to their capacity for imbibing or receiving instruction. I must here, *en passant*, state, that I always found colored children very apt, in the South. I had, previous to my coming to Bladen, suffered considerably from derangement of the liver, and had from time to time, at comparatively short intervals, resorted to blue-pills, calomel, and I do not know what other remedies in order to regulate that most important organ, but could not get relief beyond a few weeks. I had been told by several individuals, that Bladen waters had a specific action on the liver. I concluded to test its vaunted hygienic property. After a fair trial I am constrained to say that these waters are unquestionably the best I ever used in my life. It is not too much to say that the Bladen waters are certainly superior to any of the mineral springs of Europe, the best of which I have used while in Europe, viz.: Spaa, Ems, Aix la Chapelle, Baden Baden and others. When I first came here I weighed only 137 pounds, but now I weigh 153 pounds-sixteen pounds in favor of Bladen Springs water. Bladen is situated in Choctaw county, South Alabama, about 90 miles north of Mobile, accessible by the Tombigbee river boats, which leave Mobile every Tuesday, and Demopolis every Tuesday and Friday, arriving at the Springs the next morning. Coaches are always at hand, and boarders are conveyed to the Springs and bath houses. Board is very reasonable, I believe \$15 per week, for first class boarders. Cold, thermal and mud baths, at the option of the bather, also vapor and steam baths, are now fitted up which, taken in connection with the medicinal virtues of the water, are fully equal, if not superior, to the vapor baths of the Hot Springs of Arkansas. The Hotel is ample, with the cottages, which are well plastered and comfortable, to accommodate three hundred persons. The invalids receive every attention necessary for comfort and rapid recovery. For those seeking pleasure, a fine Band of Music is provided. Also a fine Billiard room and Tenpin alley. The Bar is stocked with the finest wines and liquors. Bladen has four or five stores Messrs. Hicks & Speir, Turner & Long, Dixon & Co., and Barbour & Son. Three Boot and Shoe shops. The resident physicians are, Drs. M. Turner, L. J. Sherrill, McElrath, Trisbie and Evans, experienced medical men. Bladen Springs boasts of a tanyard, which will eventually attract about fifty laborers to this locality; also, a carpenter and wheelright shop, two blacksmith shops, and three grogshops. The regular boats which run up and down the river are, the "Victoria," Frank Stone, Master Robert Matthews, Clerk; leaving Mobile every Saturday night, and reaching Bladen on Sunday morning; the "Clara," Captain, J. M. Stone; Glover, Clerk; the "Lotus," Captain, Jack Stone, and John Stone. There are other boats which run only on high tides, i.e., in the winter, when business is more active than in summer!"

I Said, 214-220

ii

EL HADJ MOHAMMED BEN ADAM

El Hadj Mohammed Ben Adam was from Nara in the province of Mourna, Baoutchi (present-day Bauchi state, northern Nigeria)¹. His title, El Hadj (called Alhaji in present times), signifies one who has been on the Hajj Pilgrimage to Mecca. His life had a decidedly different trajectory than Nicholas Said's. He was a commoner, not a noble, and undertook the journey outlined in this project on his second pilgrimage to Mecca². He was a Muslim, and was returning to Mourna from the Hajj pilgrimage when he was interviewed by French intelligence agents in Tatahouin, Tunisia³.

El Hadj Mohammed ben Adam left Mourna for Mecca in May 1891, and his journey was divided into five parts: Mourna to Damagram, Damagram to Damerghou, Damerghou to Aïr, Aïr to Ghat, and Ghat to Tripoli via Ghadamès⁴. The first part of his journey was undertaken on foot, while the remaining parts were done in caravans.⁵

His accounts detail the means, route and oftentimes, length of his journey to Mecca and back. He discusses the political, geographic and commercial life of Mourna and several other cities in the Soudan, and even lists their leaders. He speaks of economic livelihood, such as slavery and the import and export of goods, and paints a picture of what life was like in the Soudan in the late 19th century.

Baoutchi covered an area of around 46 kilometers at the time, and was a very mountainous region with the Zaranda mountain only 2100 meters away from it⁶. However, Baoutchi also had regions of plains, of which the most important was Mourna⁷. The Kandara, a river running through Baoutchi's center along with the Bahr-Imbara, a river passing by Mourna's west, fed into the river Benue⁸.

Its political structure consisted of a leader, the *Sultan*, who was tributary to the *Sultan* of Sokoto (a caliphate spanning much of the Soudan at the time)⁹. The

Sultan at the time of El Hadj Mohammed ben Adam's interview was an old man called "Amor ben Salmanou (or Sliman) [Umaru Ibn Salmanu, 1883-1902]"¹⁰. He had a large family and his oldest sons were called Brahim, Sliman, Adam and Garami¹¹. Baoutchi was divided into twenty-two provinces headed by leaders called *caïds* or *Serkis*, and Mourna's leader was Garami, the Serki's son¹². Its capital, Bajouga, was only ten years old, and was well populated and as grand as Tunis¹³. Previously, the Serkis had lived in Bormi and prior to that, Keffi-n-Routa, Teboula and Yacoubou¹⁴. Bormi had around 150,000 inhabitants spanning twenty kilometers, and was constructed at the beginning of the 19th century¹⁵.

In Nara, ben Adam's home town, which was ruled by Fakki-Abdou, there were five principal religious institutions in different areas: Tidjania in the Charaoua area, Bakai in the Samaoua area, Hanafia in the Taouïa area, and Snoussia in Garami's palace¹⁶.

The following pages retrace his journey from Nara to Mecca.



Figure: Life in Mourna, illustration showing the Dendar (main avenue) in April 1851¹⁷.

¹ Kanya-Forstner & Lovejoy, 29

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, 2

⁴ Ibid, 29

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. 29-30

⁷ Ibid, 30

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

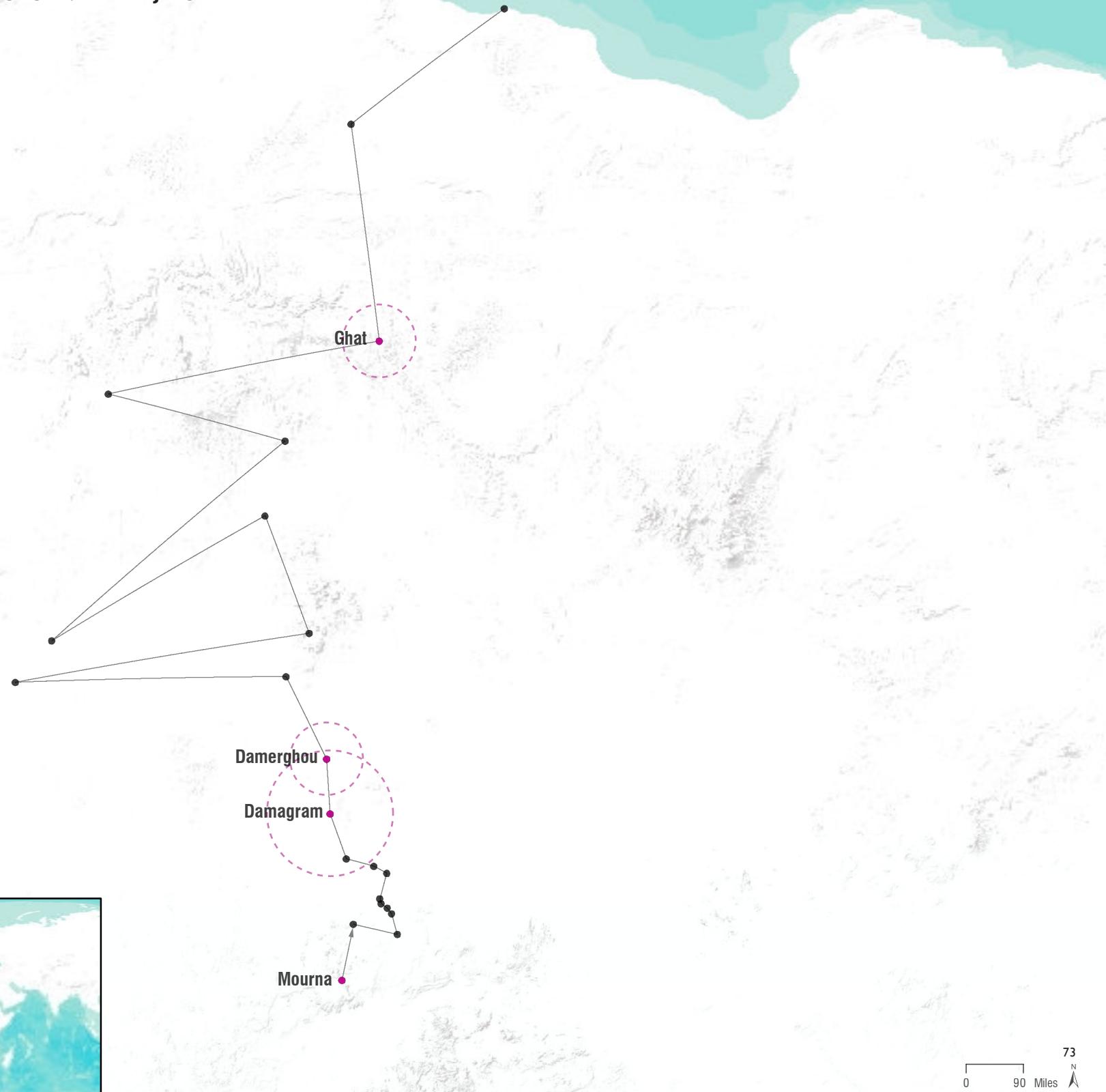
¹³ Ibid, 31

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid, 31-32

REGIONAL TRAJECTORY: EL HADJ MOHAMMED BEN ADAM



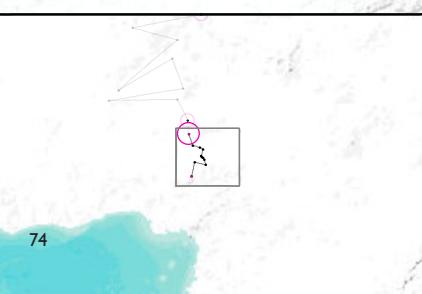
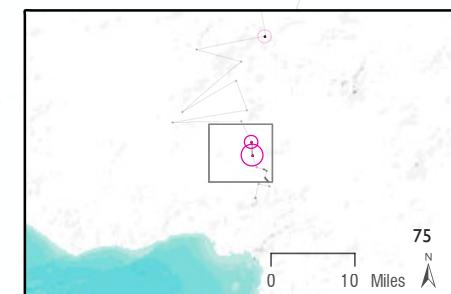
ROUTE: MOURNA TO DAMAGRAM

Damagram
3 Months

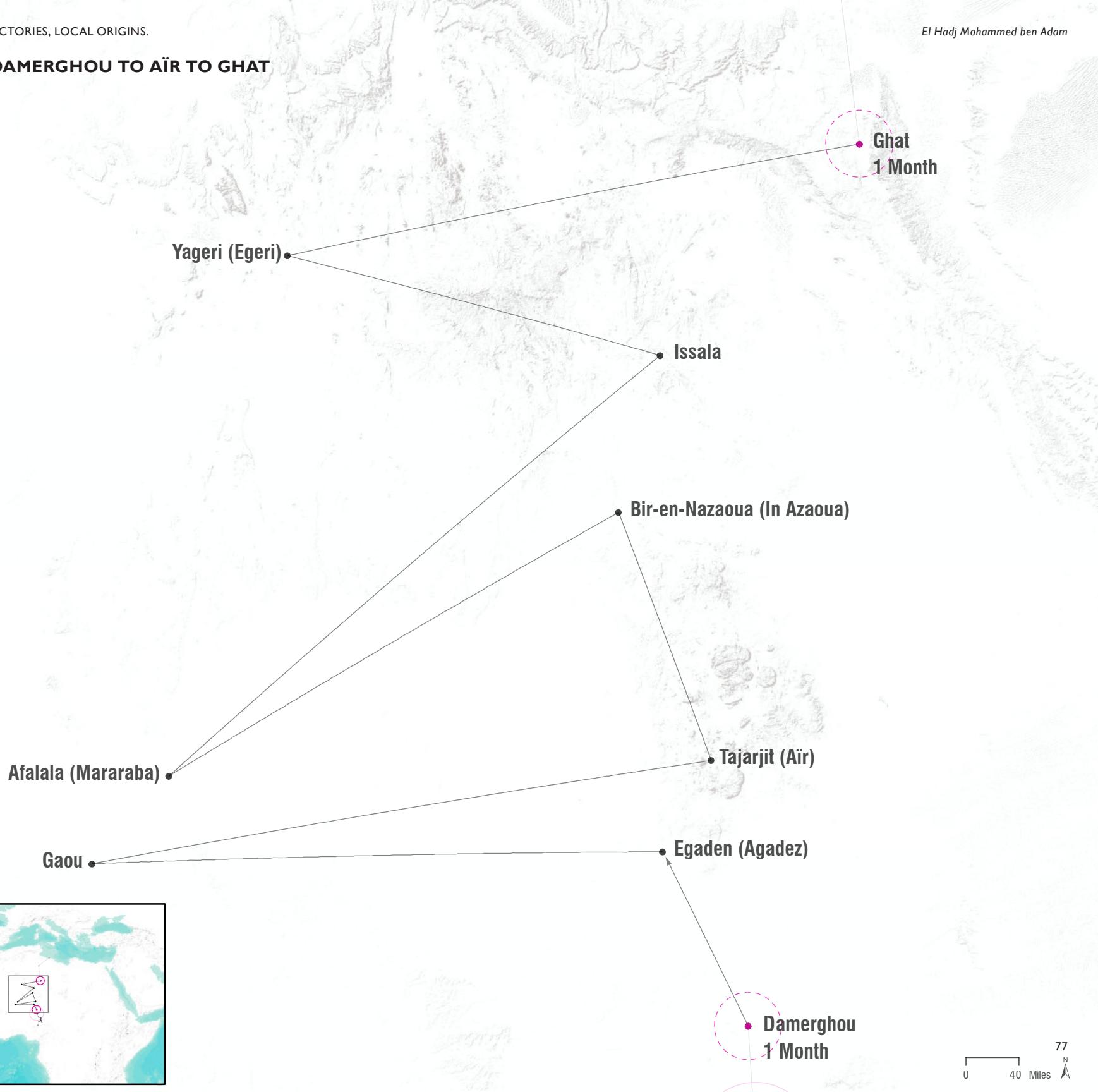
**ROUTE: DAMAGRAM TO DAMERGHOU**

Damerghou
1 Month

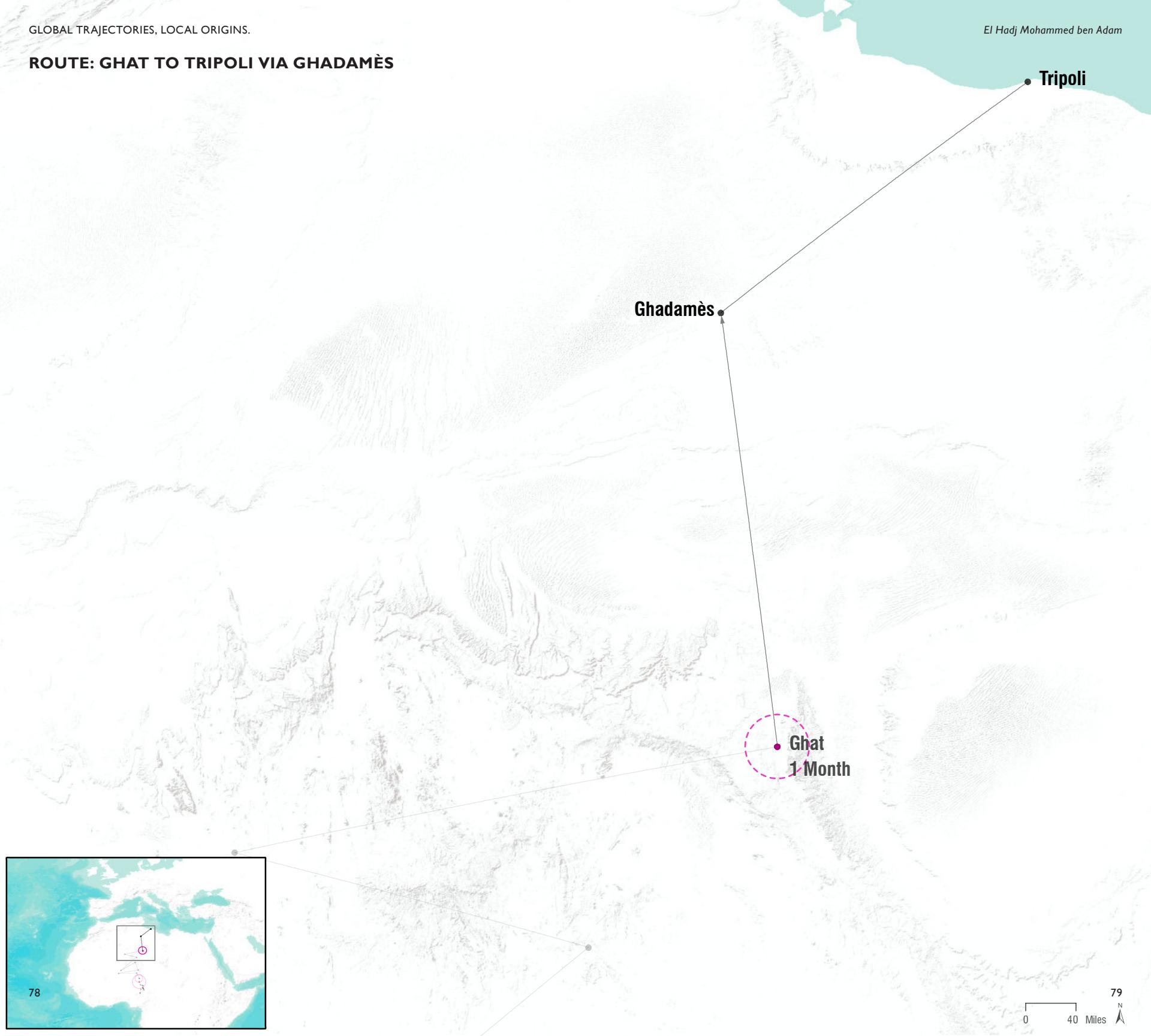
Damagram
3 Months



ROUTE: DAMERGHOU TO AIR TO GHAT



ROUTE: GHAT TO TRIPOLI VIA GHADAMÈS



PLACES LIVED: MOURNA

Origin

"Mourna's principal towns: Mourna's population is very dense, one can walk for five days in a row between the centres of which the principals are: Djada (Mourna's ancient capital), Mbara, Kerfi, Chougo, Garo-n-Fatou [Garin Fato?], Kaltenja [Kaltunga?], Gora, Mendje [Menje?], Papa [sic]. Gora is approximately 35 kilometers north of Mourna.

Tax: The inhabitants of this country pay 10% income tax, the division is as follows:
The Fulani nomads pay tax of 1/10 oxen; the sedentary pay in cowries and slaves.

On the other hand there is the annual tribute paid to the Sultan of Sokoto, composed of 1000 slaves and for rich people who don't have other domestics, the hunt for slaves is done largely among neighboring tribes.

The raids are done in the spring at the detriment of the Tangala - Nyem-Nyem cannibals who live at the East of Baoutchi. Even more, no matter what the Sultan of Zaria serves as intermediary between Sokoto and Baoutchi for the payment of the annual tribute, the Bolo-Bolo do not hesitate to fight these populations to obtain slaves. This is how the Koro, the leskouba, the Kadara, the Mada and the Gwari are involved as cannibals.

Law: The medjelès-charâa is composed of a bach-mufti, Mala Yahta, who lives in Bormi, and a Cadhi, Faki Bello who lives in Gouda

Commerce - Exports: Apart from slaves, Baoutchi exports: gold dust, elephant teeth, ostrich feathers, red shoes of goat or gazelle skin, musk, chives, cattle skin, essence of geranium, natron (in large quantity), melted butter, and clothes.

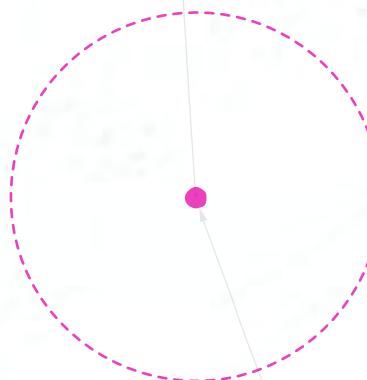
Imports: Sugar, paintings, cotton, coffee, precious stones, red and green silk, handkerchiefs, paper, books (Qur'an), burnous, caps called chéchias (fez).

We should note that El Hadj travelled by foot. According to the probable location of Mourna following the signs...he could not have passed 30 kilometers on foot!"

PLACES LIVED: DAMAGRAM**3 Months**

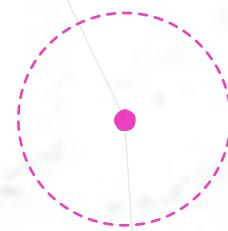
"Damagram, an old city with an ancient origin, actually replaced Zinder as the capital of the Kingdom of the name. It is located about ten hours from it. When a Sultan lives in Zinder, his successor must reside in Damagram and vice versa. Tanémou, father of the current Sultan, resides at Zinder; Yacoudima thus had to leave the city. He did it more willingly than his father who had plotted to succeed another of his younger sons as the king. But, at his death, Yacoudima, supported by a troupe of soldiers, seized power of Zinder and hunted down his brother who had sought refuge in Aïr at Kel Ewey."

Close to Damagram, where El Hadj Mohammed stayed three months, you find the Aouellimiden and Kel Gress (from Sokoto) Tuaregs who live only by plunder and theft!"



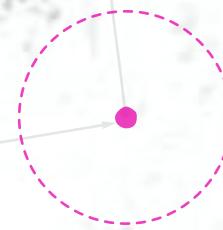
PLACES LIVED: DAMERGHOU**I Month**

"El Hadj Mohammed stayed in Damerghou at Gamouram (or Guilmiram) for a month, a city where the Sultan of the country lived. The other centers of the country are: Taf, Taghelel, Olaoa, Gadouri, Cheroua, and Madja-Djedouna [Jajiduna] where you find the Sheikh Dodo-el-Targui. It is in this city that our traveler rejoins the caravan with which he came to Tripoli."¹¹



PLACES LIVED: GHAT**3 Months**

El Hadj Mohammed traveled to Ghat via Aïr (Tararjit), Bir-en-Nezaoua, Afalala, Issala, Yageri, and three unidentified places. There were wells everywhere on his journey.¹



I Ibid

iii

EL HADJ AHMED EL FELLATI

El Hadj Ahmed El-Fellati was a well educated man. He was born in Kano (the commercial center of the Sokoto Caliphate) around 1867 to a teacher, Diddi ben Mohamed Manga¹. His family was originally from Dilaro in Borno and migrated to Kano with the general movement of the Fulani after Uthman Dan Fodio's *jihad* (holy war)². He went on the Hajj pilgrimage twice. The first time was to fulfill his father's dying wish for him to go on pilgrimage³. The second time, he went for purely personal and religious reasons⁴. French intelligence authorities interviewed him during his stay in Tatahouin in January 1892, on this second Hajj pilgrimage at the time⁵.

His accounts deal with the specifics of various journeys he undertook in his life, describe the Sokoto caliphate and its surroundings' political structure, commercial nature, history and geography.

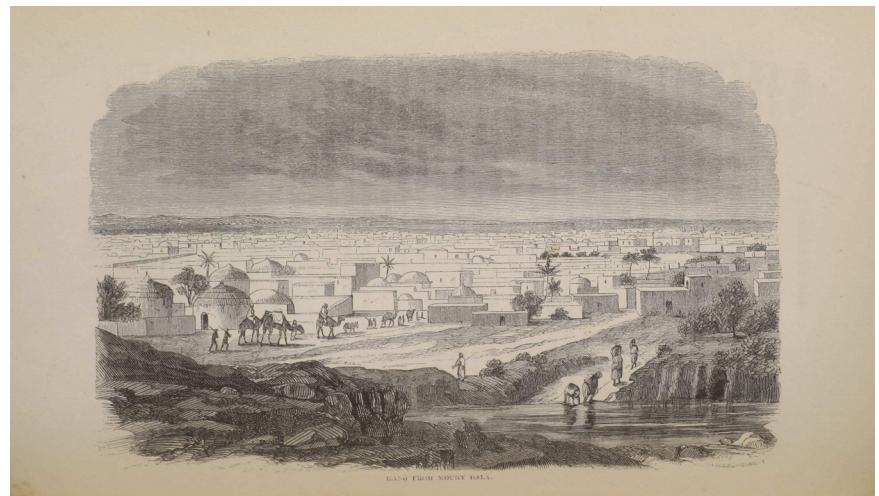
The Sokoto caliphate was composed of several Emirates and many towns, each ruled by its own Emir or Serki. The Sokoto Caliphate was particularly important in the Soudan because of its location between north Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

The types of products circulated and traded within the Soudan were currency, salt, natron, kolanuts, ivory, gold dust, ostrich feathers, slaves, horses and animals, products produced in Kano, Nupe, Ilorin and Gonja, European products imported into the Soudan and Soudani products for the trans-Saharan trade⁶. These products moved through territory and ensured that people across the region were connected via shared trade systems. By the end of the 19th century, there were English settlements in Igga, Rabba and Tchounga in the Sokoto Caliphate, which El Fellati visited⁷.

Within the Caliphate, different types of goods were produced for distribution north and southwards. Male cotton clothing dyed blue indigo,

produced in Kano, was exported to the rest of the Soudan⁸. Leather, and sheep, goat, ox and antelope skin tanned in Kano were also well-regarded and sourced for in the Soudan⁹. Although mainly produced in Kano, these products were also manufactured in Baoutchi, Zezzaou, Katsena, Sokoto and Gando¹⁰. Ilorin, Nouffé and Gonja were also principal centers of production in the area¹¹.

European products were also imported into the Soudan, indicating a relationship between the two. These products include gold, arms, clothes of cotton and other materials, burnous, silk clothes, metals, shawls, raw silk, linens and garments made of cloth, and velvet¹². Similarly, products from the Soudan entering the trans-Saharan trade were chives, ivory, a large quantity of different animal leathers, cotton clothes from Kano, gold dust, ostrich feathers, perfumed resins, and rubber¹³. There was also an established trading system and trade routes, using caravans of people, camels, horses and mules¹⁴.



View to Kano from Mount Dalá¹⁵.

¹ Ibid, 37

² Ibid

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid, 42

⁵ Ibid, 36

⁶ Ibid, 83

⁷ Ibid, 89

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

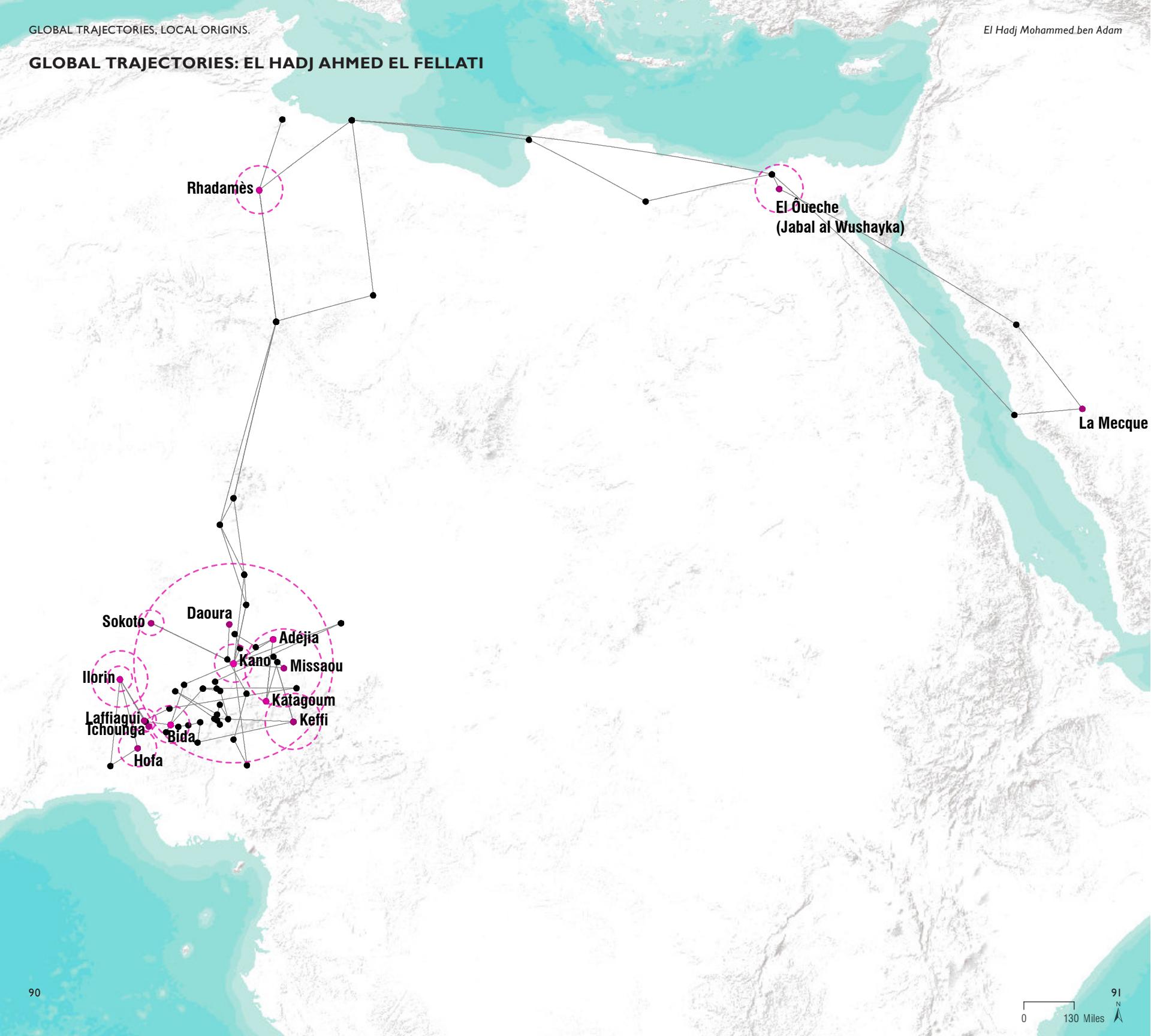
¹² Ibid, 89

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Ibid, 91

¹⁵ Barth, 512

GLOBAL TRAJECTORIES: EL HADJ AHMED EL FELLATI



FIRST HAJJ PILGRIMAGE

Religious

Tripoli

Rhadamès
3 Months

Rhat

Fezzan

Aïr

Aghadès

Damerghou

Zinder

Kano

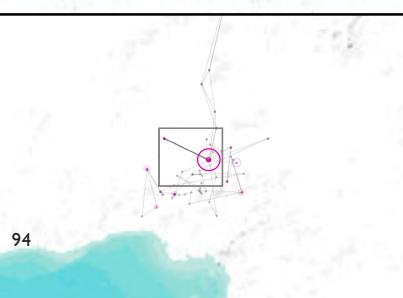
Origin

El Oueche
(Jabal al Wushayka)
3 Months

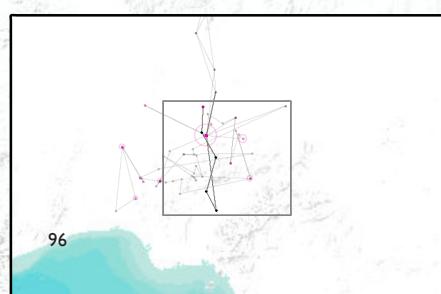
Médine

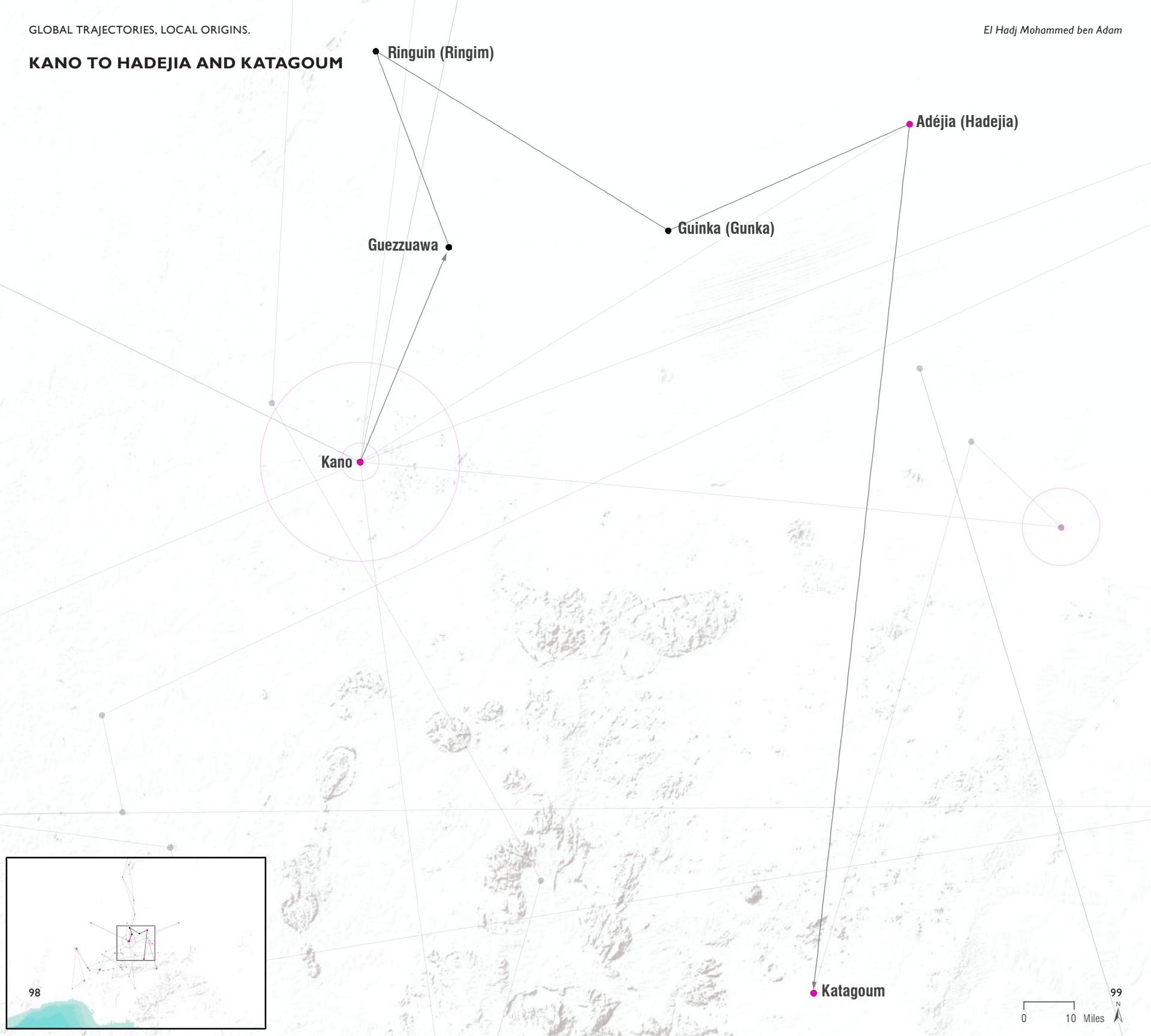
Djedda

La Mecque

SOKOTO TO KANO**Political****Sokoto****1 Month****Kano****3 Months****36 Months**

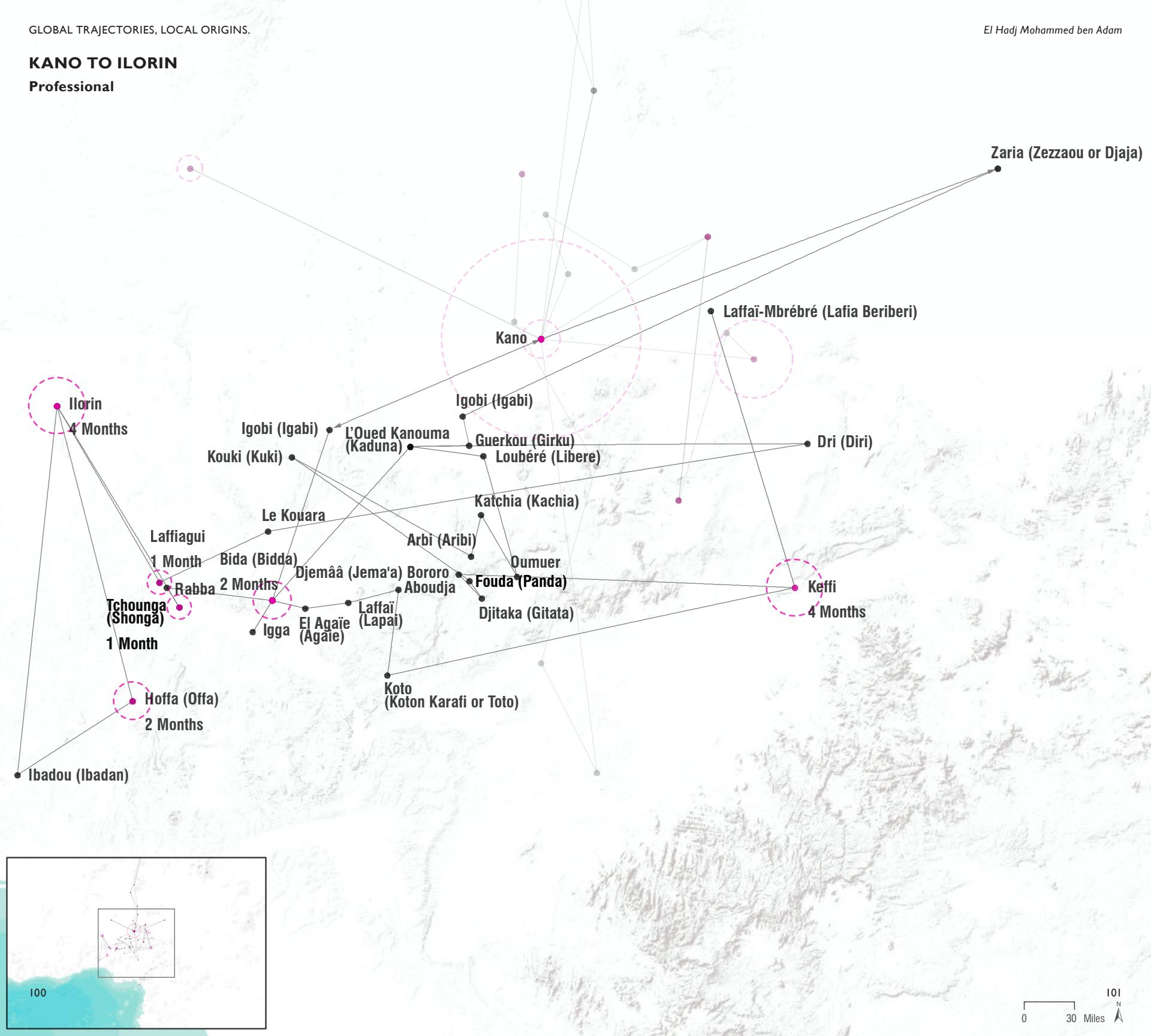
0 10 Miles
N

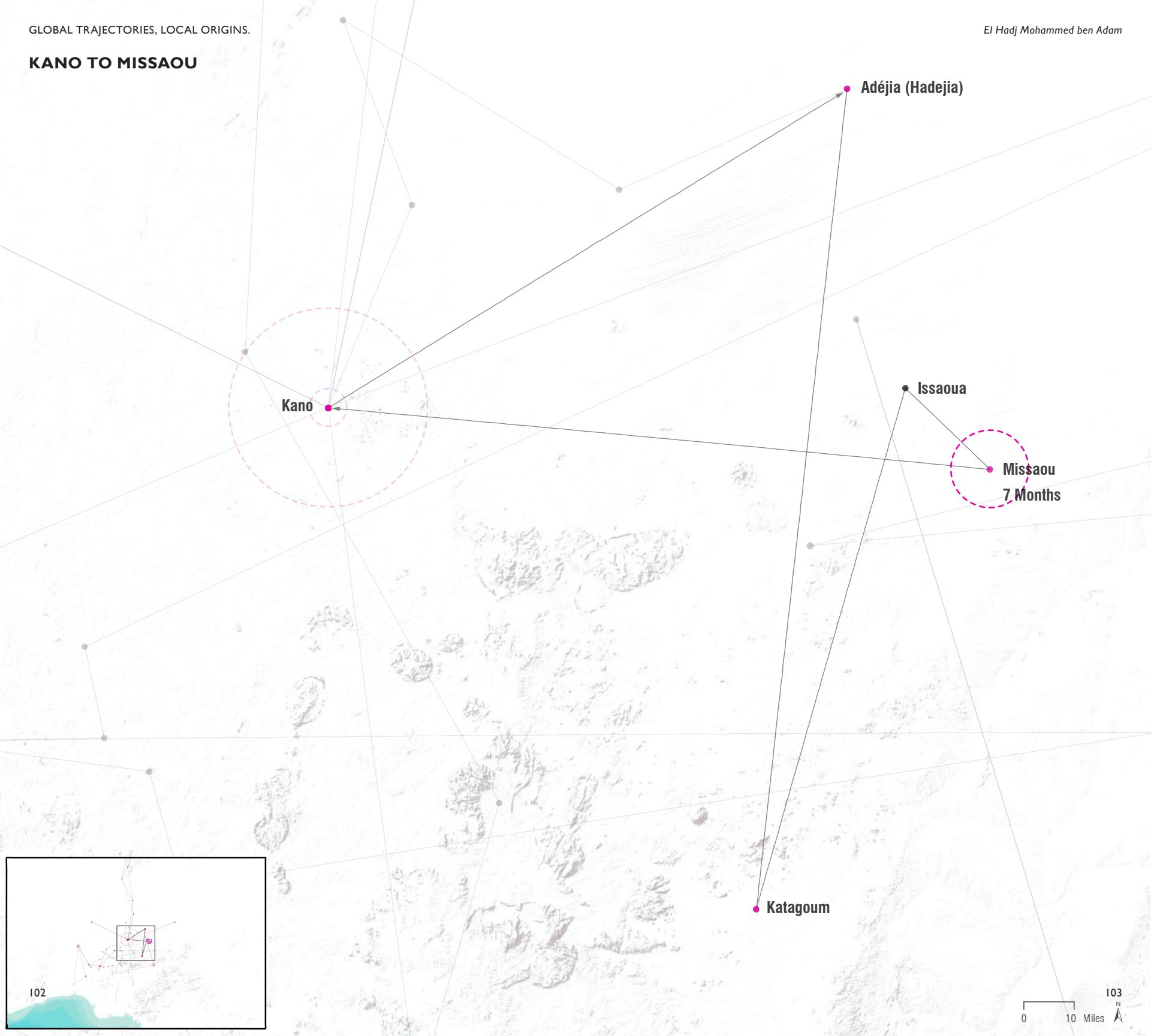
KANO TO DAURA**Daoura (Daura)****Babaé (Bebeyi)****Kano****Tchédia (Chediya)****Yallafia (Talafiya)****Kounia (Kunya)**

KANO TO HADEJIA AND KATAGOUM

KANO TO ILORIN

Professional



KANO TO MISSAOU

SECOND HAJJ PILGRIMAGE

Religious

Tatahouin

Rhadamès

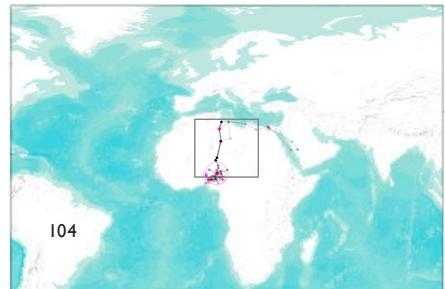
Rhat
1 Month

Agadès

Zinder

Kano

0 80 Miles

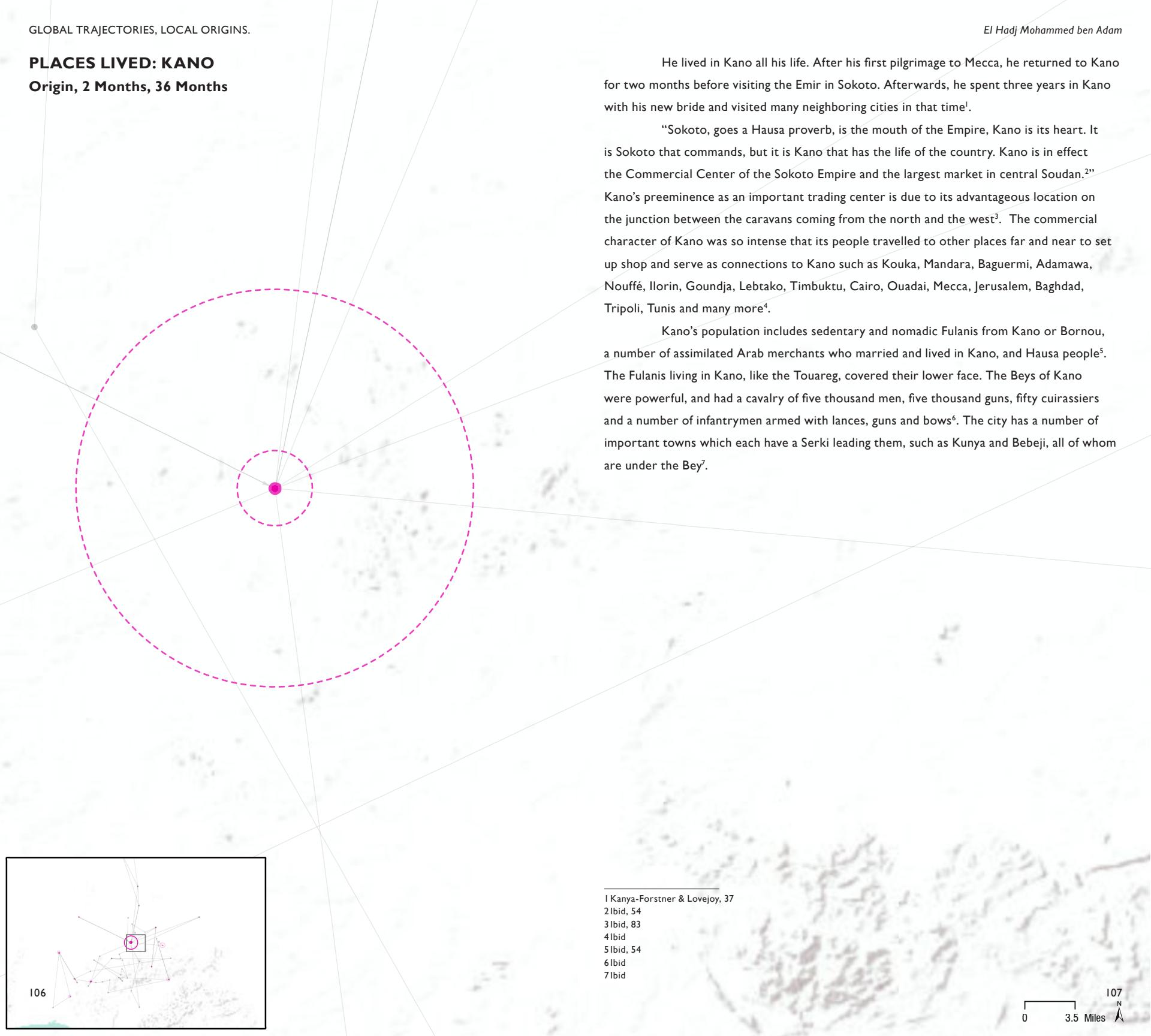


PLACES LIVED: KANO**Origin, 2 Months, 36 Months**

He lived in Kano all his life. After his first pilgrimage to Mecca, he returned to Kano for two months before visiting the Emir in Sokoto. Afterwards, he spent three years in Kano with his new bride and visited many neighboring cities in that time¹.

"Sokoto, goes a Hausa proverb, is the mouth of the Empire, Kano is its heart. It is Sokoto that commands, but it is Kano that has the life of the country. Kano is in effect the Commercial Center of the Sokoto Empire and the largest market in central Soudan.²" Kano's preeminence as an important trading center is due to its advantageous location on the junction between the caravans coming from the north and the west³. The commercial character of Kano was so intense that its people travelled to other places far and near to set up shop and serve as connections to Kano such as Kouka, Mandara, Baguermi, Adamawa, Nouffé, Ilorin, Goundja, Lebtako, Timbuktu, Cairo, Ouadai, Mecca, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Tripoli, Tunis and many more⁴.

Kano's population includes sedentary and nomadic Fulanis from Kano or Bornou, a number of assimilated Arab merchants who married and lived in Kano, and Hausa people⁵. The Fulanis living in Kano, like the Touareg, covered their lower face. The Beys of Kano were powerful, and had a cavalry of five thousand men, five thousand guns, fifty cuirassiers and a number of infantrymen armed with lances, guns and bows⁶. The city has a number of important towns which each have a Serki leading them, such as Kunya and Bebeji, all of whom are under the Bey⁷.



¹ Kanya-Forstner & Lovejoy, 37

² Ibid, 54

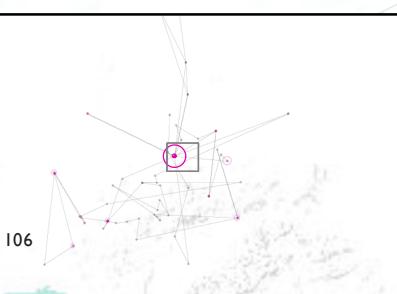
³ Ibid, 83

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid, 54

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

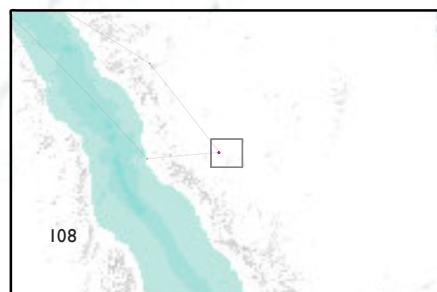


PLACES LIVED: LA MECQUE

"After the death of his father in 1881, El Hadj Ahmed, to fulfill his wishes, left the house where he left his old mother and older brother who had children. He was 23 years old. He went on a route with a caravan of Kel Oui Touaregs who were coming to Kano, to the market, and who were returning to his country. He passed by Damerghou, Aghadès, Aïr, Rhat, where he stayed six days....

"I went to Tripoli with a caravan of pilgrims and I embarked for Alexandria from that city. I traversed Egypt by foot and embarked for Jeddah, from where I went to Mecca."¹

In 1891, Fellati decided to embark on a new pilgrimage... "Deciding to go to Mecca anew, I left Kano on 11 May 1891 with a caravan of Kel Oui Touaregs. I did not carry any money or merchandise with me, counting to survive on the exercise of my profession as a scholar and doctor²."³



¹Ibid, 37
²Ibid, 42

PLACES LIVED: RHADAMÈS**3 Months**

"He moved from there to Rhadamès with a caravan of people from that locale."

He stayed there three months, receiving the hospitality of a principal trader: El Hadj Mohamed Salah bel Hiba, at whose home he awaited the time of the pilgrimage. "At Rhadamès, said El Fellati, I learnt that the French had entered Tunisia a little while ago. As my plan was then to go from Mecca to Tripoli, I took no other concern in this news..."¹

I met a black man El Hadj Magaji at Rhat, belonging to the Rhadamèsien trader El Hadj Mohamed Salah Bel Hiba. I knew him from my last journey. He had come to Rhat with some camels belonging to his master to go shopping, and proposed for me to leave with him. We set out on the road on the first of December, 1291 with a caravan comprised of about twenty men, all Rhadamèsien and a hundred camels loaded with Soudani goods bought in Rhat. The caravan left the adaou, the right of use of the Touaregs, into the hands of the Matoukkou.

Arriving at Rhadamès, I went down to El Hadj Mohammed Dalah Bel Hiba's house, like in my first pilgrimage. I met his home with people from Douïrat who had taken a small caravan to Rhadamès. That evening, as a result, the conversation immediately fell on the French and their manner of entry into Tunisia. What I heard said by these people and the information which El Hadj Mohamed gave me himself thanks to his journey to Tunisia and the manner that he was received gave me the idea to pass by Tunisia to go to the pilgrimage. It was a new country to see. That is what decided for me.

The people of Douïrat left immediately, I did not remain at Rhadamès up to two days, I left with them on the 29th of December and arrived on the 5th of January 1892 at Tatahouïn.

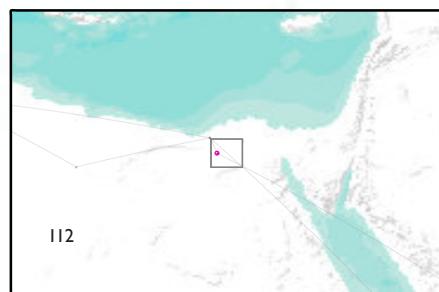
At Tatahouïn Fellati, interrogated by officers by post gave information on his route which was transmitted to the General Commandant of the Tunisian Brigade, on the basis of which the order was given to send Fellati to Tunis.²

¹ Ibid, 37
² Ibid, 41

PLACES LIVED: EL ÔUECHE (JEBEL AL WUSHAYKA)**I Month**

““After my pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, I joined, on the return, a caravan of men from Cairo. Arriving at El Ouêche, we spent a month in quarantine and from there, we proceeded to Suez where I bought a train ticket to go to Cairo. Arriving in that town, we learned that the English had begun to disembark in Alexandria and that disorder reigned in that region (July 1882). We could not embark in this town (a boat), I resolved to go to Tripoli by land. I passed by Jarabub where I stayed a day without seeing any important person of the brotherhood. From there I went to Benghazi and by the sea to Tripoli.

I returned afterwards to Soudan passing by Fezzan, Rhat, Aïr, Damerghou, Zinder and Kano.””



II2

I Ibid, 37

II3

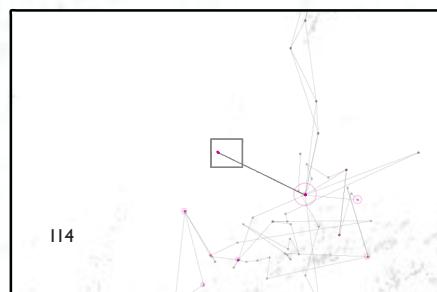
PLACES LIVED: SOKOTO**I Month**

““Two months after my arrival in Kano, I joined the annual expedition that the city's authorities and representatives of the province undertook to visit the Emir, as do the pilgrims every year, who never forget to go on their return to present to their sovereign.

The king El Moumenin Amor Atkou received us at Sokoto and gave us beautiful presents. He gave me twelve slaves, five women and seven men, and a house.

After one month's stay in Sokoto, I returned to Kano with Si Mohamed Billo ben Brahim, leader or governor of the city and province, and at my arrival, I married one of his daughters.

I spent three years in Sokoto, in my house, continuing to study and make small journeys to neighboring towns to see and hear renowned scholars remaining in these cities and to practice medicine among the great figures who supported me.””



Translated from Kanya-Forstner & Lovejoy, 37

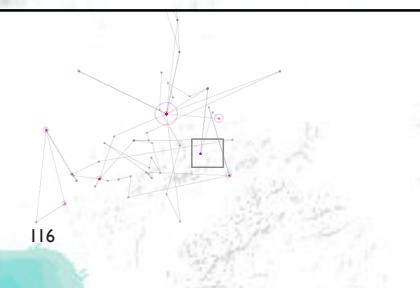
PLACES LIVED: KATAGOUM

““I went to Adégia. One can go from Kano in three days passing through Gezawa, Ringim and Gunka. Adégia is a fairly large city, the capital of a province, residence of a lamino who has a cavalry of three thousand, and headquarters of a fairly important markey, intermediary between Kano and Bornou. The Fulanis of Adégia are the Fulanis of Bornou. The current lamino is called Mohamed ben Arou.

I went up to Katagoum, which was a day's journey from Adégia; it is a poor city, capital of a province; small market outside the ordinary route of Bornou. The lamino, once much more powerful, maintained a cavalry of two thousand. He was currently El Hadj ben Dankaoua.

I had returned from my pilgrimage three years ago. Together with the daughter of Mohamed Billo, I had married two other Fulani women. I did not have any other child than one from the daughter of Billo who had died at a few months old. I divorced her mother.

In doing so, I had nothing to fear from the displeasure of her father, who was the lamino of Kano. Had I not acted in the exercise of my right and my religion, and was I not a Fulani, a liberal man, a well educated man and a pilgrim. Here, the rulers are powerless against three categories of people who completely escape their power: the scholars, pilgrims and sherifs. I met the first two of those qualities.””



PLACES LIVED: ILORI**4 Months**

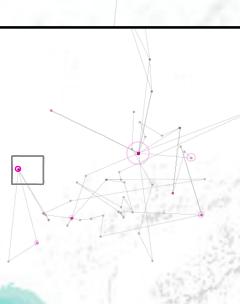
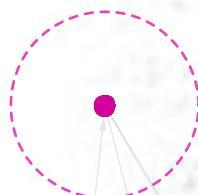
““Around this time, I resolved to travel to Ilorin to take lessons from the illustrious well-learned doctor, Mallam Bigouri. I went from town to town, exercising my occupation as a scholar and doctor, staying long or short times according to the customers that I found, and everywhere well regarded, well received and well paid. I left by horse (May 1885), accompanied by two slaves. It took four days to go from Kano to Zariah or Sezzaou or Djaja (Zariah and Zezzaou are the Haoussa names and Djaja is the Fulani name for this area), a fairly large city, capital of one of the Empire's provinces. The market is sizeable, as a result of the importance of the city and because it is on the path of caravans which circulate between Kano, Nouffé, Ilorin and Gonja.¹

Ilorin is a huge city, bigger than Kano, with seventy ports and seventy well-frequented markets, but the Europeans have not come there, thanks to the aversion the lamino has for them, although different in this respect from that of the Nouffé.

This is a pious man who likes holy war.

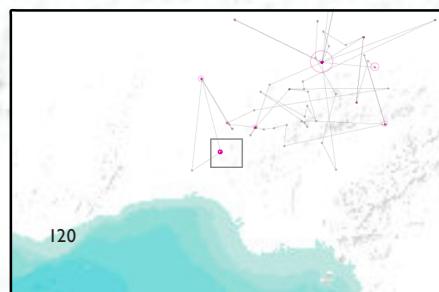
Ilorin's market is considerable. One can find European products and merchandise from Kano, Gonja and Bornou.

The Fulanis of Ilorin, constantly occupied with the holy war recruit, in a continuous manner, Fulani idolaters from neighboring countries. The army is commanded by a man of the Hausa race of the name Boubeker, who has with him, at the moment of this passage, the son of the lamino. Boubeker carries the title Serki Magui (Serki: chief; Magui-Djehed: holy way). I reached his camp (6 June) in three days of traveling...²”



PLACES LIVED: HOFA**2 Months**

“...He was at Hofs (Offa), a town in which he had just taken over the idolaters. I spent two months with him, passing all my time writing talismans for the Ilorin warriors to give them courage and render them invulnerable.””

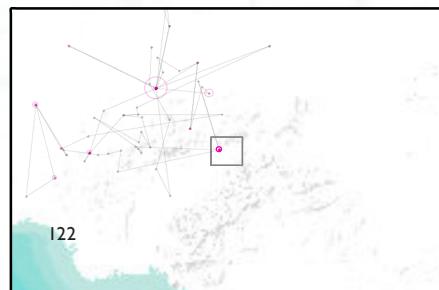
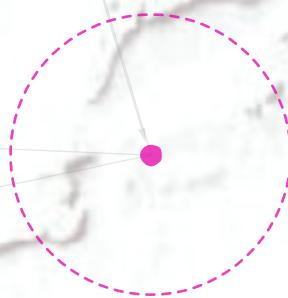


PLACES LIVED: KEFFI**4 Months**

““Keffi (13 May - 13 September) depends on Zezzaou and has a Fulani king, who has a cavalry of three thousand. The city has a very strong market where products from Kano, Adamaoua and Nouffé thrive and which is frequented by the Europeans. They come by the river Benue and disembark at Loko.

During my time in Keffi, I spent three days walking to Lafia Beriberi, a village dependent on the province of Baoutchi, with a king who has some cavalry. This king is Bornouan, as well as the inhabitants of the locality do not understand Fulani, but it is subject to the lamino of Bauchi and pays him tax.

Lafia Beriberi is a small town, without an important market; I only went to visit this settlement of people of my country of origin!””

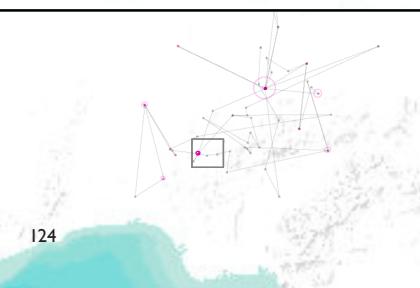


PLACES LIVED: BIDDA**2 Months**

““After spending four days in El Agaïa (24-27 October), I went to Bidda in one day. It is a very big city, the capital of the Fulani and Nouffé, with a big market frequented by Europeans who want an settlement on the Niger at Igga [Eggan]. The market occurs everyday.

In the Nouffé, the Fulani do not exist in large number and have adopted a large part of the manners and language of the Hausa population. The lamino of Nouffé, Maléki ben Othman [Maliki ibn Usman Zaki (1885-1895)] gave me a present of a mare, a female slave and 500,000 cowries which, in the country, represents fifty douros.

During my time at Bidda which lasted two months (28 October - 28 December), I went to Igga on a boat down the river Chanichaga [Gbako], which goes into Igga as well as the Niger. I saw the English settlement and the steamboat which came every week!””



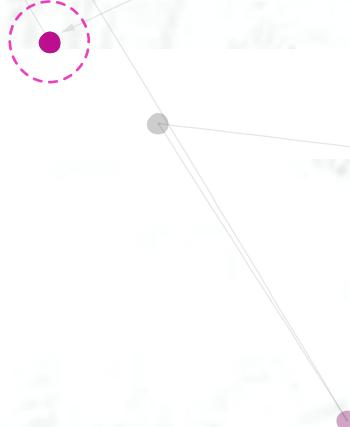
PLACES LIVED: LAFFIAGUI**1 Month**

"Leaving Bidda (29 December), I traveled to a place called Dri [Diri] in Kaduna, then the Kouara [Niger] in a locality called Wushishi which depends on Nouffé, and after five days on the road, I arrived at Laffiagui, the capital of the province of a lamino who had a cavalry of two-fifty men. There are no Fulanis in this town, the rest of the population of this province is of the Hausa race. Laffiagui is a medium sized city, fortified, which has a market of some importance, because it is found on the route of caravans which go from Kano to Ilorin and Gonja.

The country produces a large quantity of chives.

The lamino gave me 300,000 cowries, and his brother 100,000."¹

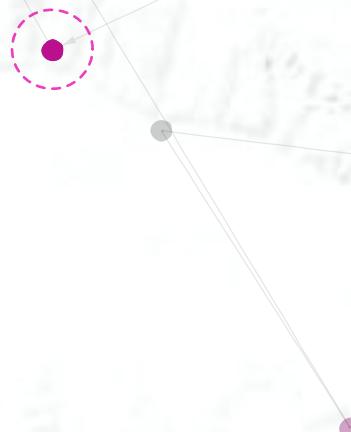
Lafiagi is a small province without contact with idolaters. The capital is a poor icty with a small local market, the entire population is Muslim."²



PLACES LIVED: TCHOUNGA**1 Month**

““Tchounga, which is the capital of a small province, has a small settlement of Fulani who do not live in the city, and can build two-fifty cavalrymen. The rest of the population is Hausa and practices Islam in a very imperfect manner. The lamino was, at the moment of my passing, Kader Ben Soumaïla.

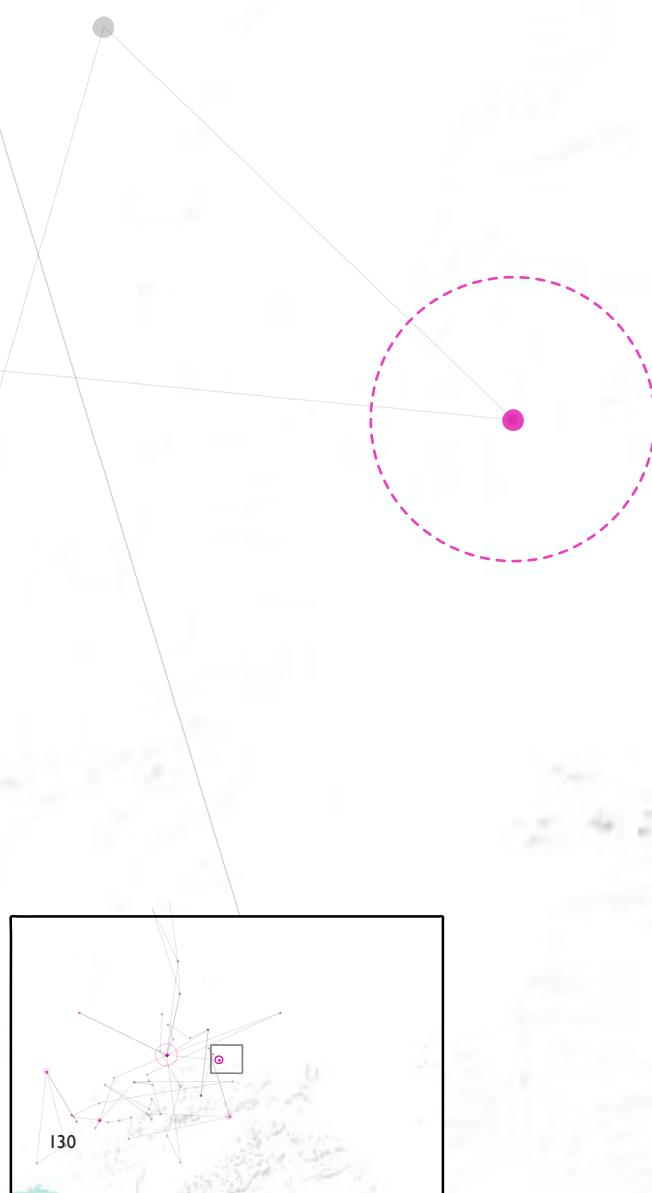
The English have a settlement on the Niger in Tchounga, however the market is not considerable. The lamino is pour. Nevertheless, he gave me a horse and 350,000 cowries!””



128

I Ibid, 40

129

PLACES LIVED: MISSAOU**7 Months**

During this time, he traveled to Missaou where he had been called upon by the lamino of the locality to give him medical attention. He went to Missaou passing through Adégia and Katagoum.

"From Katagoum to Missaou," said Fellati, "there are three days of walking. One passes through Roumiri and Issaoua."

Missaou is the country of Fulani Bornouans who were driven back into the reion by the Sheikh Mohamed El Kanemi at the moment of the big revolution sparked by Othman Dan Fodio.

Missaou is my country, my father was a Fulani Bornouan. The bey of this town is the chief of all the Fulanis of this origin who left the Sokoto Empire.

The father of the current bey, Sahli, was a very intelligent and energetic man; he certainly harbored the project of conquering Bornou, his former country, and if he called, we all rushed to his voice. He was a man inspired from above who only acted by spirit. He died before the moment marked by God for the great implementation arrived. But the time surely came, and the lamino of Missaou is everywhere designated by the name of bey of Bornou.

The son of Sahli, the current lamino Mohamed Manga is sadly very young. He is attached to things of this world and likes riches. But with age he will attain the inspiration for which his father was favored. God does not give direct advice, by intermediaries of spirits, or through men with white beards.

The lamino of Missaou is very powerful. He has one thousand six hundred cavalrymen and three thousand regular infantrymen, always armed with guns and practicing regularly. Nobody has power that can measure to his.

From Missaou, I went to Gombé and Baoutchi."¹³¹

iv
ADEM MAHAMMA

Adem Mahamma was an *Ulama* of about 45 years old¹. He was originally from Katabri in Bornou but was living in Koukaoua, also in Bornou². He was returning from the Hajj pilgrimage when he decided to stop in Tunis to buy goods for sale in his home town and return to Koukaoua via Tripoli and Fezzan³. He was interviewed for the French intelligence gathering operation while on this stop in Tunis, and spoke about the Bornou Empire and its political history and structure, commercial life and military. His route mirrors the typical route of pilgrims travelling from the Soudan to Mecca during this period, and is invaluable as a result. It should be noted that Adem Mahamma's Koukaoua and El Hadj Mohammed ben Adam's Kouka are the same place.

According to him, the entire region spanning from Lake Chad on the east, the Benue and Niger in the south, the Niger in the west and the Sahara in the north comprised one huge empire under the Bornou dynasty (the Dunama) which originated in the 11th century⁴. The region's rulers were from Kanem-Bornou, where the empire emerged from⁵. Alhaji Othman Dan Fodio's *jihad* at the beginning of the 19th century galvanized the Fulani around Islam, and the movement removed the Dunama dynasty from the throne of the Bornou Empire⁶. Gasser Egomo, the Empire's capital, was captured and destroyed, and the Sultan was forced to flee the kingdom into Mohamed Lamino, a Kanembu chief's hands⁷. He asked for Mohamed Lamino's help in repelling the Fulani invaders because of the man's wisdom, piety and courage.⁸ With the help of Mohamed Lamino, the Bornouans were re-energized and beat the Fulani back from Hadejia, Katagoum, Messaou and Gombé⁹. Thus, the Fulani were pushed out of the Kanem-Bornou Empire.

Mohamed el Amin el Kanemi (Mohamed Lamino) put himself in a palace close to that of the Dunama Sultans, and became the true ruler of the Empire¹⁰. His

¹Ibid, 102

²Ibid

³Ibid

⁴Ibid

⁵Ibid

⁶Ibid

⁷Ibid

⁸Ibid

⁹Ibid

¹⁰Ibid

sons succeeded him after his death under the modest title of Sheikh (Shehu) and took the opportunity to get rid of the vestiges of sovereign rule, ending the Dunama dynasty¹¹. After some time, el Kanemi's descendants fashioned Koukaoua the new capital of the Bornou empire, with authority in their name¹².

The political and social structure of the Empire goes as follows in order of importance: The Sultan, his family and his entourage; the Ulamas and the Empire's advisors, the military chiefs and the army, the vassal states and provinces, and finally the Empire's population¹³. The princes, descendants of Mohamed Lamino El Kanemi, lived in a special area of Koukaoua called Garou-n-Guebess, and armed and employed their own personal armies¹⁴. Revolts and succession struggles were common¹⁵. The Ulamas (religious scholars) occupied a special place in the Empire as they were a major part of its grand council¹⁶. Military chiefs commanded the army, and as such were important to the Sultan. They fulfilled missions the Sultan saw fit to undertake, and these military commanders (Kachellat) were compelled to submit to and be dependent on the Sultan¹⁷. The Sultan had 24 principal Kachellat who had other Kachellat under them, and each had special duties such as being in charge of surveillance of the Tébous¹⁸.

The Empire was comprised of Koukaoua, which was situated immediately to the west of Lake Chad and Kanem, separate Sultanates governed by vassal dynasties whose Sultans exercised power below that of Koukaoua's Sultan, and the Bornou and Kanem provinces as well as vassal states¹⁹. Koukaoua provided the soldiers for the army, which the Sultan's power was based on, and was managed directly by the Sultan²⁰. The Bornou province was vastly populated by the Kanuri, a Sudani-Berber ethnic group, who came into the region with the Dunamas and the province had a 4500-strong cavalry as well as a large number of infantry²¹. Kanem, the original country which the Kanem-Bornou empire was founded on, housed the Empire's actual leader²². However, on account of the distance between Kanem and Koukaoua, he delegates majority of the work to a special Oukil²³. In Kanem, power was still derived from the Dunama dynasty²⁴.

Along with the Kanuri who came to Bornou in the 11th century, the Empire's population included the Bâdé, the Goudjba, Shuwa Arabs, Fulanis and the Karé Karé²⁵. Bornou's population mostly practiced a tepid version of Islam which

¹¹Ibid

¹²Ibid

¹³Ibid, 103

¹⁴Ibid

¹⁵Ibid

¹⁶Ibid, 105

¹⁷Ibid, 106

¹⁸Ibid

¹⁹Ibid, 107

²⁰Ibid

²¹Ibid

²²Ibid

²³Ibid

²⁴Ibid

²⁵Ibid, 109

was mixed with traditional religious practices²⁶. Although the Fulani, as well as the Imams and Ulamas, practiced Islam without these outside influences, the general population did so²⁷. Peace reigned between Bornou and Baguermi, Ouadai, Adamaua and Sokoto²⁸.

Bornou's trade with Mediterranean countries, similar to that of Sokoto, involved imports and exports²⁹. There was a direct trade route between Koukaoua and Yola and Keffi through which Bornou managed distribution of European, Kano and Nupe products in the states to its west and south³⁰. Bornou provided all of the horses for central Soudan, and its horses were extremely strong and meaty like those of the Tuaregs and Kano, and performed better than warhorses³¹. It also produced a large quantity of cattle, horned beasts and sheep, and Ouadai transported ivory, leather, feathers, goods principally for horses, and Mediterranean products through an annual caravan to Bornou³². Similarly, Baguermi had an economic partnership with Bornou in which ivory, chives and perfume were the principal products³³.

Although there was no currency indigenous to the Soudan, there was communication between Soudan and the world such that there was exchange of goods with other currencies. This trade and exchange of currency was another way the Soudan interacted with the rest of the world. Bornou's primary means of exchange was used up to regions northwards of Sokoto³⁴. The currency, the Bou-thira, bore the image of Mary-Theresa and was imported into the Soudan, specifically Kano and Kouka, by the caravans carrying goods from Tripoli³⁵. Although cowries were the most widespread currency in central Soudan, they were an unstable currency whose value was neither certain nor its production standardized³⁶. As such, the cowry's value decreased as one moved further away from the English markets, such that cowries were used more generally in Sokoto than Bornou further up north³⁷. The exchange rate was 4000 cowries to one Bou-thira.

Koukaoua, and Bornou, as described by Adem Mahamma illustrate the local, regional and global connections between the Soudan and the world. Trade, religion, travel and currency are just a few of the ways in which the 19th century world was connected to the Soudan.

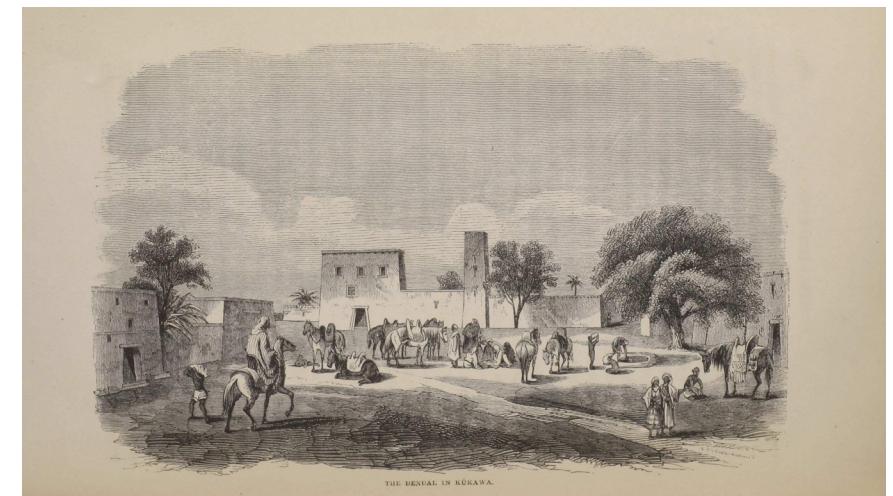


Figure: Dendal (main thoroughfare) in Kukawa¹.

²⁶Ibid, 110

²⁷Ibid

²⁸Ibid, III

²⁹Ibid, 112

³⁰Ibid

³¹Ibid

³²Ibid

³³Ibid

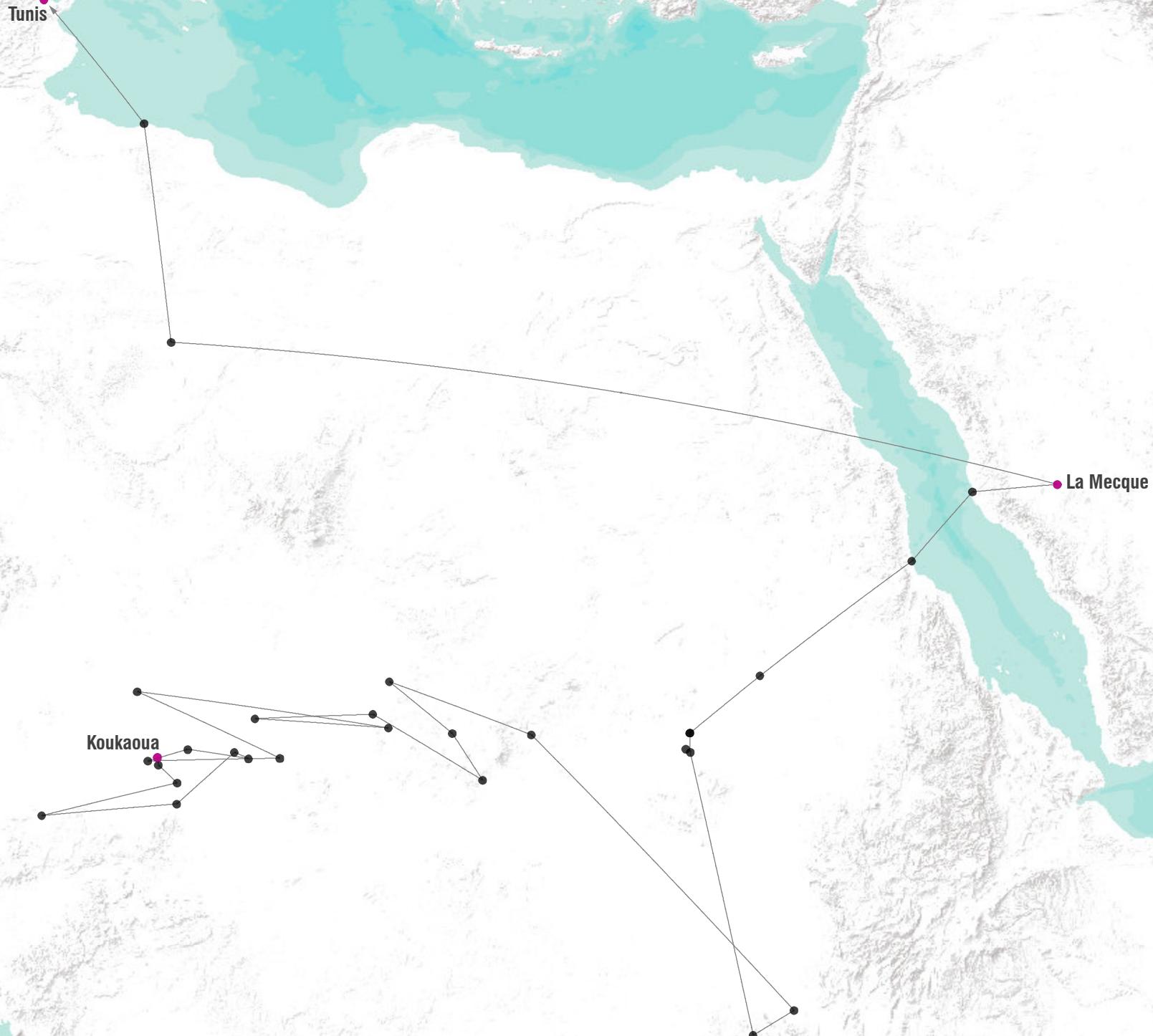
³⁴Ibid, 84

³⁵Ibid

³⁶Ibid

³⁷Ibid 84, 112

¹ Barth, 602

GLOBAL TRAJECTORIES: ADEM MAHAMMA

ROUTE TO MECCA

Tripoli

Kanémer
Koukaoua
Ouadai
Mongono
Le Charri

Bir Touïl
Kouankouka
Dágana
Ngouna
Fittri
Ngala
Baguermi

Kobé
Darfour
Abéché
Koulkoul

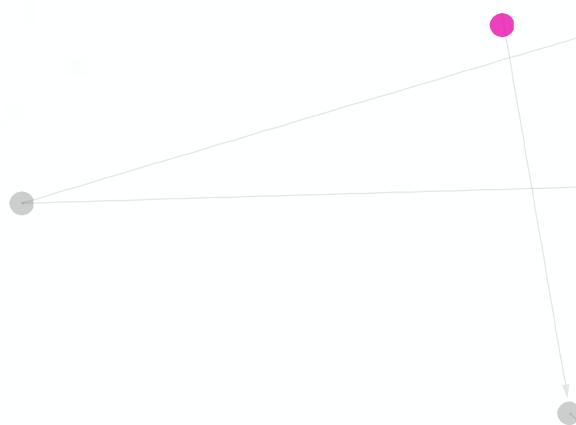
Khartoum
Bara
El Obeïd
Kordofan

Djebel Ila
Chegg el Doud

ROUTE FROM MECCA

PLACES LIVED: KOUKAOUA

Origin



"The caravans of Soudani pilgrims for Mecca meet around Eid-al-Kabir in Kouka to set out a few days after. The pilgrims arrive in Kouka from all the countries of the East. Bornou, Sokoto, Masséna, Ouangara, Mandélé, etc. The largest part of the pilgrims belong to the Fulani race."

The pilgrims, together in Kouka in 1309 began the journey, according to the custom, in several spaced out caravans of several walking days.

The caravans numbered four: the first was composed of three hundred people, Bornouans and Fulani; the second of fifty people of the same origin; the third of twenty people who were all Fulani; the fourth of thirty people, mixed Bornouan and Fulani.

The first caravan, to which El Hadj Adem belonged, which provided information which is the subject of this handbook, left on the eighteenth day after Eid-al-Kabir in 1309, 24 June 1891 and arrived at Souakim on the sixth day of the last Ramadan, 10 March 1892; total duration of the journey: seven months, six days.

The three hundred and sixty people comprising the caravan were from Kouka, of Fulani origin, Sokoto, Gando, Zezzaou, Baoutchi, Gombé, Katagoum, Nouffé and Ilauri, etc.

There was a caravan of women and young children and even breast-feeding children. Everyone walked by foot except for five or six women provided with donkeys which they rode.

The caravan, as is customary, does not carry foodstuffs; the pilgrims were fed throughout their journey and were often rewarded with gifts. One does not carry skins for water, one finds water every day on the route except in the following four paths:

Firstly, from Moussa Daganoui to Goura between Inguelfé and Fittri for four days.

Secondly, between Bir Touil and Messali, in Ouadai, one day without water.

Thirdly, in Darfur, two days without water from Chegg el Doud.

Fourthly, in Kordofan, for two days, from Abéchouk to Abden Nébi.

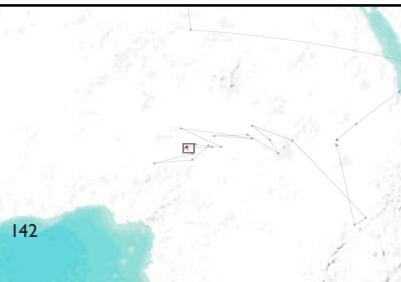
The caravan had a ruler or Madougou. In leaving Kouka, it was El Hadj Mohamed de Djemmaïr, a Fulani who spoke Bornouan. He left the caravan in Berber to go by Dongola, and El Hadj Adem himself became the Madougou.

The itinerary in Bournou:

Kouka, Mongono, Marté Kora, Ngala, Maffalé, Oulégi, Goufféï, Inguelfé, at a half day's walk from Goufféï on the Charri, point of crossing of the river. At this point the pilgrims come from Adamaoua to join the main route of the pilgrimage.

In all of Soudan the words <I am going to Inguelfé> are equivalent to <I am going on Pilgrimage.> The pilgrimage begins at Inguelfé for all the Soudanese at the West of the Lake Chad!"

Translated from Kanya-Forstner & Lovejoy, 112



142

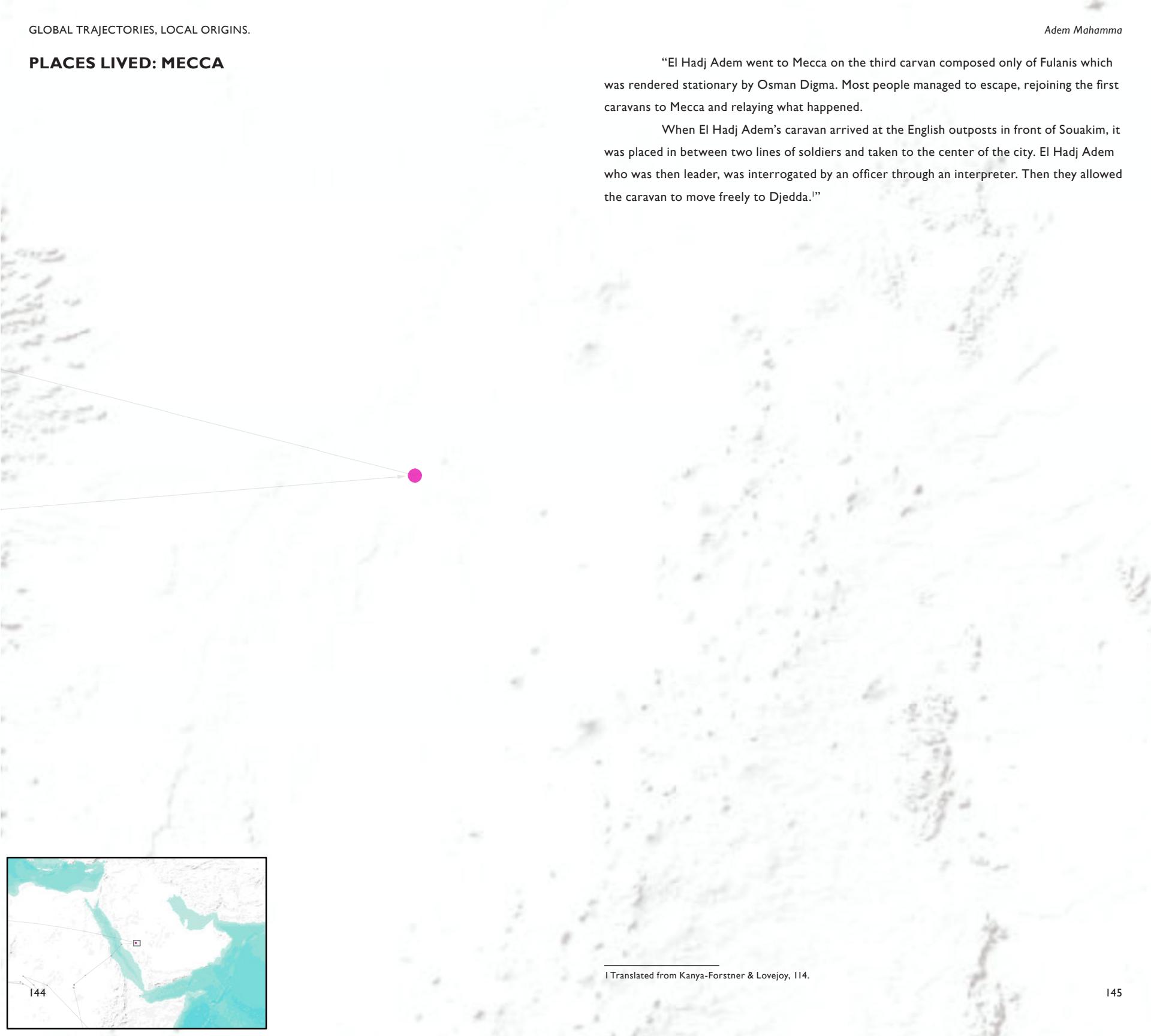
143

0 3.5 Miles

PLACES LIVED: MECCA

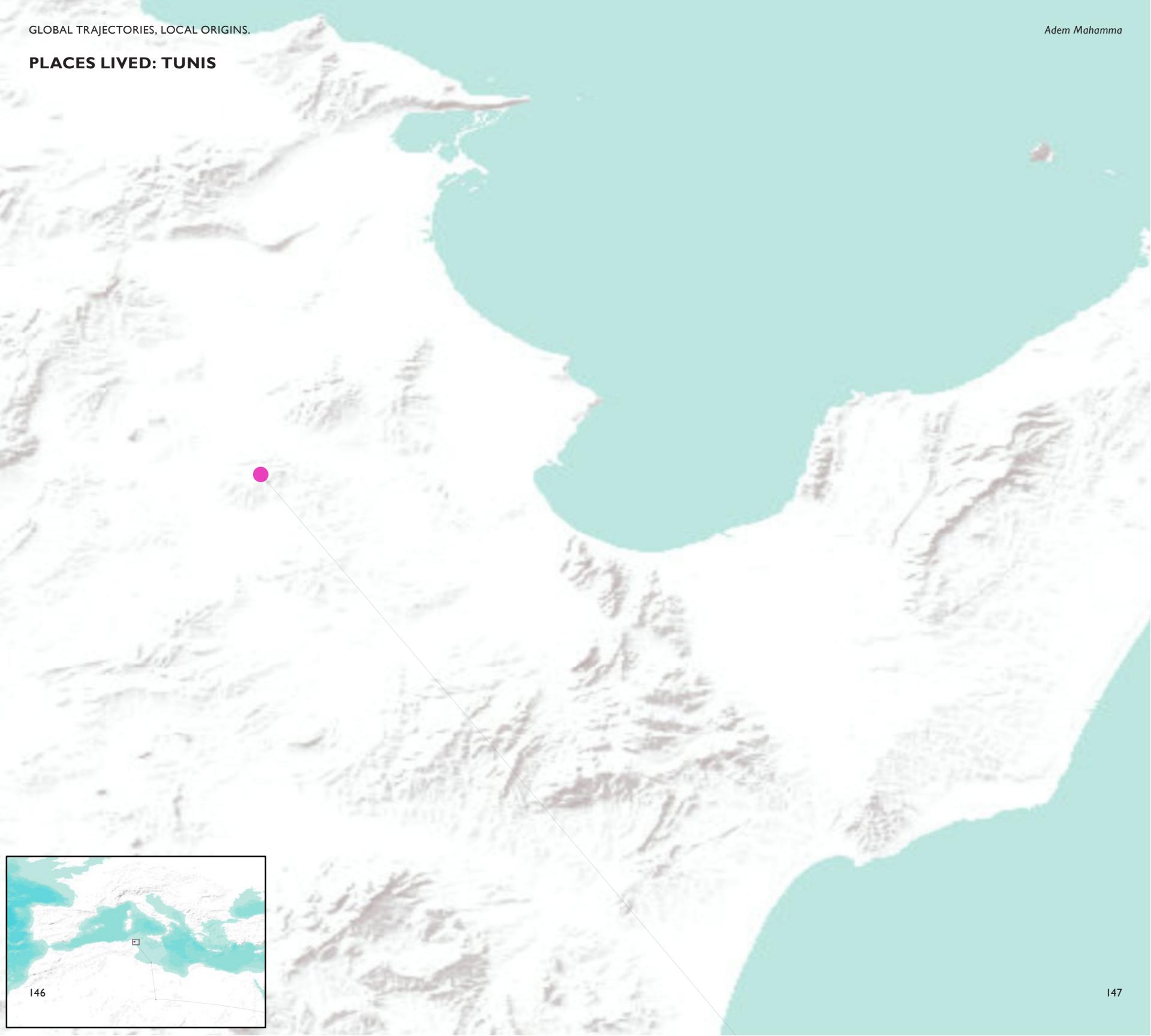
"El Hadj Adem went to Mecca on the third caravan composed only of Fulanis which was rendered stationary by Osman Digma. Most people managed to escape, rejoining the first caravans to Mecca and relaying what happened.

When El Hadj Adem's caravan arrived at the English outposts in front of Souakim, it was placed in between two lines of soldiers and taken to the center of the city. El Hadj Adem who was then leader, was interrogated by an officer through an interpreter. Then they allowed the caravan to move freely to Djedda."¹



¹ Translated from Kanya-Forstner & Lovejoy, 114.

PLACES LIVED: TUNIS



IV CONCLUSION

It would be incredibly short-sighted to conceive of Africa before colonization as an insular, isolated place. On the contrary, regions within and outside of the continent were connected through political, social, economic and religious means.

There was no singular conception of what Africa was and what it meant to be an African, because the continent and its people existed in multiple dimensions.

Interactions and contact between Africans of different ethnicities and from different places occurred primarily through war, trade, travel and marriage. People did not live in silos, closed off from each other. Rather, there was movement of people, culture and language both within and outside of the continent.

Traces of this interconnectedness remain through physical and cultural similarities. By tracing language roots, for instance, we can begin to understand how exactly different cultures were connected. Arabic is one example of a language whose lasting impact on African languages shows the long and strong connection between Arab and African cultures. Many African languages, such as Hausa, were written in Arabic script prior to colonization. Additionally, a wide variety of words are derived from the language. Arabic's *amma* and (*wa*) *lakin* for "but", for example, become *ammo* in Yoruba, *amma* in Hausa and *lakini* in Swahili. From this, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that the connections between Hausa and Yoruba are stronger than that between them and Swahili, especially since Hausa and Yoruba are widely spoken in West Africa while Swahili is spoken in East Africa. Traces of this globalized world can also be seen in food traditions, clothing, decoration, money, among many other things.

The questions we investigate with regards to Africa in the nineteenth century and beyond should look deeper into the workings of that world. They should explore the means through which people interacted with their world, the experiences people had going through the world, and the many ways in which people lived.

This mapping project attempted to scratch the surface of those questions and dig into the conceptions of Africa(ns) by studying Africans. By reproducing the journey of these men outlined in their own words, and sometimes in the words of an interviewer, their experiences of the world began to take shape. Where they went, what they observed and what they were concerned with opens a window into their lives and their preoccupations. They are not representative of all Africans from the Soudan living in this period, but they are representative of themselves. Their journeys hint at their life experiences, and allow us to visually and mentally imagine what their lives may have been like: global, connected and diverse.

References:

1. Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozie. "The Danger of a Single Story." TED. TED Conferences, LLC, Oct. 2009. Web. 8 Nov. 2015.
2. Barth, Heinrich. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: Being a Journal of an Expedition Undertaken under the Auspices of H. B. M.'s Government, in the Years 1849-1855: by Henry Barth. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1857. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Web. 20 Dec. 2015.
3. Bernatz, J. M. *The Dendal (main Avenue) in Kukuwa*. Digital image. *Mega Chad*. Méga-Tchad Association, n.d. Web. 20 Dec. 2015. Drawn by J M Benartz, from Sketches of Dr Barth. M & N Hanhart, lith et Impt. In: Heinrich Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1857.
4. Esri, USGS, NOAA. "World Terrain Base." ArcGIS. Esri, July 2009. Web. 21 Nov. 2015.
5. "Geographical Names, Map, Geographic Coordinates." *Geographic.org*. Information Technology Associates, n.d. Web. 10 Nov. 2015.
6. "GeoNames Search." National Geo-Spatial Intelligence Agency. N.p., n.d. Web. 10 Nov. 2015.
7. Kanya-Forstner, A. S., and Paul E. Lovejoy. Pilgrims, Interpreters, and Agents: French Reconnaissance Reports on the Sokoto Caliphate and Borno, 1891-1895. Madison: African Studies Program, U of Wisconsin--Madison, 1997. Print.
8. Said, Edward W. Orientalism. New York: Vintage, 1979. Print.
9. Said, Nicholas. "Nicholas Said, 1836-1882. The Autobiography of Nicholas Said, A Native of Bourou, Eastern Soudan, Central Africa." Documenting the American South. University Library, The University of North Carolina, 17 Jul. 2003. Web. 08 Nov. 2015.
10. Verne, Jules. Five Weeks in a Balloon: A Voyage of Exploration and Discovery in Central Africa: From the French of Jules Verne. London: Chapman and Hall, 1870. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Web. 20 Dec. 2015.

