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"MEMOIRS OF AN OLD ARMY OFFICER"

Richard A. Wyvill's Visits to Barbados in 1796 and 1806-7

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Major Richard Augustus Wyvill, whose journal entries on Barbados are reproduced here,¹ was born in England in the early 1760s. After schooling in England and Germany he was commissioned in the 38th regiment of the British infantry, and in 1782 joined his regiment in the New York City area where he remained for somewhat over a year. Returning to England, Wyvill stayed with his regiment for the following years and did tours of duty in Ireland and southern England; he also took a few "leaves of absence" for travel in the British Isles. In 1795 he became a captain, and in the following year sailed to join his new regiment, the 79th, which had embarked for the West Indies shortly before. On March 22, 1796, Wyvill arrived at Barbados, but only stayed three days en route to his regiment which was in action at Martinique. After service in Martinique, the regiment, "the youngest corps in the service," was disbanded and its officers, including Wyvill, returned to England. From 1797 to the middle of 1805, Wyvill was stationed in the British Isles, and also saw tours of duty abroad, among them the campaigns against the French in Egypt during 1801.

Promoted to the rank of major in March 1805, Wyvill was assigned to the 1st West India Regiment, then headquartered in Trinidad; arriving there in September 1805, he was appointed to the post of inspector of recruits, "quite a new duty for me, that of approving 80 African Negroes as recruits for the 8th West Indian Regiment" (see note 13). Remaining in Trinidad for only two months, Wyvill accompanied his regiment to St. Kitts from where it was sent to Barbados. He arrived at Barbados on January 1, 1806, and this time was stationed on the island for a little over sixteen months—until May 8, 1807. Toward the end of his tour, learning that he "was to be removed to a veteran battalion and my health getting greatly impaired," Wyvill received permission to return to England. After arrival home, in June 1807, he toured northwest England for several months, and was then appointed to the 3rd Royal Veteran Battalion. Wyvill spent the next six or seven years stationed on the Isle of Jersey. It is not known when he died, although it may have been during 1814, the last year recorded in his "Memoirs", or not long after.

Wyvill's "Memoirs" appear to have been written in 1814, and seem to have been based on, or derived from, a journal or diary he kept over many of the years that are recorded in the "Memoirs." The "Memoirs" largely contain descriptions, of variable quality and detail, of his travels in England and abroad, his military assignments and adventures, and his personal affairs and problems. The entries on Barbados were not recorded daily, and do not form a coordinated, detailed, or flowing narrative; they are a series of brief thoughts and random observations on a variety of topics although the treatment of slaves and behavior of creole whites seem to have interested him the most. Nonetheless these entries offer glimpses into Barbadian society, complementing other first-hand accounts of the island during the same years,² which may be of interest to readers of the Museum Journal.

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In editing the following transcription of Wyvill's "Memoirs," I have occasionally altered the punctuation and spelling to make them more consistent with modern usage; I have also broken the text into more paragraphs than appear in Wyvill's manuscript. All of my insertions are placed within brackets, and for the sake of brevity the number of footnotes has been restricted.

[The First Visit: March 22-24, 1796]

On the 22nd of March we anchored in Carlisle Bay, which was so full of shipping that it was difficult to steer clear of them. Here lay the East Indiaman belonging to Admiral [Sir Hugh] Christian's fleet, with the troops still on board.

The appearance of this island from the bay is beautiful beyond description, particularly to a stranger. As to the foliage of the trees, the variety and beauty of the fruits and flowers are all new objects of admiration to him. But on landing the scene is much changed. The town of Bridgetown has but a poor appearance to a person accustomed to the sight of stone and brick building though there are some substantial well built houses. The heat we found excessive, the thermometer in the shade being a 96 degrees.

We went to the Ironmongers Arms and for a bad dinner were charged five dollars.³ From the gallery of the inn, I was extremely shocked by observing the many miserable looking figures in the streets, many of them with sallow, lean, emaciated countenances, who had come hither from other islands for their health. "Good God," I exclaimed, "What wretched objects must the inhabitants of these other islands be." In the street near the inn many miserable objects present themselves, such as old Negroes passed service, with half a foot or without toes, with a leg swelled as large as a man's body, or wheeled about by others on a wheel barrow. Many of these distressed beings are nearly naked.

We only remained here three days, and then sailed for Martinique, the weather pleasant and a fine breeze carrying us smoothly along. Some French officers and black soldiers came on board at Barbados.....

[The Second Visit: January 1, 1806 - May 8, 1807]

.... it was not until the first of January that we arrived in Carlisle Bay Barbadoes, having been forty days [from Trinidad via the Leewards] on our passage, while the other vessel which had the remainder of the regiment on board was only eleven days coming here. All thought we were lost. On the 6th January I waited on General [Sir George] Beckwith,⁴ whom I had known in America, and also on Brigadier General Maclean. After the men were landed, I got quarters in a very large brick house with sash windows in Bridgetown, which has been much improved since I was here ten years ago. I found in these quarters Major Paxley, of the York Light Infantry, whom I had formerly known at Kendal in Westmoreland when on the recruiting service. He was then captain in the Royals. I rode on little Gaza (my little donkey) to St. Anne's barracks, which is now almost a continuation of a street of wooden houses, all the way from Bridgetown. There I purchased a strong mare, but at a price of 60 Joes and thought cheap here. The general hospital, a little beyond St. Anne's barracks, is a large

handsome building and particularly well adapted to the climate, having airy piazzas all round it, and every conveniency for cleanliness, etc. Indeed both the generals are indefatigable in their visits through all the barracks, hospitals, etc. The garrison parade grounds is a large, open plain sufficiently so for the exercise of two thousand men.

January 20th. We had a full garrison parade consisting of the 15th regiment of the York light infantry, the 7th West India, and Royal Artillery. It was an amusing scene viewing the mulatto ladies and black women, with handsome umbrellas over their heads, walking in the most stately manner up and down, some even with their waiting women. Vast quantities of flying fish are brought to the market; their flesh is rather dry, but the roes are esteemed a luxury. We have had some rain for a few days and the inhabitants are anxiously catching the water.

January 30th. The weather is now cool and pleasant, and the troops are in general healthy.

I was shown a shocking object of a mulatto girl who was once extremely handsome, but now dreadfully disfigured by another girl having thrown aqua fortes at her in a fit of jealousy.⁵ A free mulatto woman who lives in a good looking house has three daughters considered beauties, who she, for a round sum, trafficks away to Europeans as housekeepers; or, as she chooses to call it, by marrying them off for a certain time. And the oftener these unfortunate girls change their masters, the more Joes it brings into the mother's pocket.

March the 16. We had heavy rains for some days. We were much in want of this moisture as the sands were flying about almost as bad as in Egypt.

April 3rd. The sea rose to an uncommon height and set all the vessels in motion — an extraordinary phenomenon here, and generally indicates an approaching hurricane.

April 12th. The heat is encreasing excessively and all our fine cool weather has left us. I saw this morning with surprise the facility with which the people here balance whatever they carry on their heads. Some Negresses were conversing under our balcony. One of them had on her head a quart mug with a saucer on the top of it, and in that saucer another cup of guava jelly; the second woman had a large barrel of spruce beer, and the third woman had on her head a large tray full of china and glass. And yet these three females were dancing, laughing, and talking perfectly unconcerned, and as if they were without any burden.

I have been quite shocked at seeing the numbers of white people begging about the streets here, and even the blacks relieving them.

This island is the most easterly of all the West India islands belonging to Great Britain, and is called “Little Britain.” It is twenty-two miles in length and fifteen in breadth, and supposed to contain 20,000 white inhabitants and 100,000 Negroes.⁶

A funeral of black people passed our windows, the attendants all in black. The corpse was excessively offensive in its effluvia, as we are informed that those Negroes who wish to have a handsome funeral for their dead friends keep the body as long as possible, and until they can raise a sufficient sum of money to pay the expense of hiring clothes, etc. A black boy passes our windows every morning with his master's hot roll on his bare pate. Poultry is sold by the pound and the price of eggs is regulated by that of corn.

The number of Jews in this town is astonishing.⁷ They keep their sabbath very strictly and will not sell an article on any account on that day, but not so with the Christian storekeepers.

I went one day to a sale of Negroes. Here an elderly Negro woman and her four children, all born in the island, were exposed to sale. Two of the boys were purchased by a mulatto woman who had the countenance of a perfect Virago, and she examined the boys with all possible indelicacy. I pitied them greatly; they were to be separated from their mother and sent to Demerara.⁸ The other two children were females and were bought by a decent looking white man to take with him to Berbice, and the mother was sold to a planter of St. Lucia.

June 30th. In the evening I went to a grand mulatto ball, commonly called a Dignity Ball, at Susy Austen's. The ladies were all splendidly dressed and they danced uncommonly well. The ballroom was brilliantly lighted and highly perfumed.⁹

Amongst the great number of Jews here are some quite high bucks, and think nothing of losing forty and fifty Joes of a night at gaming, and the business of the store left to others.

This is now what the Negroes call their fattening time; it being the sugar cane harvest and a time of general merriment.

July 1st. The General has altered the time of relieving the guards, which used to be at day break — at which time the men having nothing in their stomachs were apt to faint in the ranks. We now relieve them at nine o'clock in the morning, which we find a great improvement. General [William] Grinfield, by making the men parade so very early (the dew still on the ground), became a source of great sickness.

The natives always take a dish of strong coffee before they stir out in the morning, and the Dutch soldiers smoke their pipe the first thing in the morning. A fine cargo of American horses have been landed here; great numbers are imported annually, and, in general, they sell as high as 30 Joes apiece.

July 27. A grand marriage took place. The bride was a pretty delicate creole; but custom reconciles everything, for this delicate creature lets out her Negro girls, to anyone who will pay her for their persons, under the denomination of washerwomen, and [she becomes] very angry if they don't come home in the family way.¹⁰

I saw in our yard a curious battle between a land crab and a rat who appeared to be fighting for the inheritance of a hole in the earth. The crab killed his antagonist in a very short time.

Looking over some old West India newspapers I observed some very curious advertisements, among which were the following: "To be sold for £100 next door to the Revd. the rectors, a very handsome mulatto girl just 15, tall and well-shaped, in short a very desirable purchase." "To be sold a mulatto man, a compleat taylor and sadler, understands a butler's place very well, is a capital groom and can drive a carriage; also two healthy young girls, all the same property and sold for no fault whatever."

August 27th. A deluge of rain has fallen, cooling the air and making everything look green — for owing to the dry weather everything was scorched up, neither Guinea grass nor Indian corn to be got for the horses.

Sept. 7. A runaway Negro was brought in with his hands tied behind him; yet such was the strength and activity of this fellow that he leaped over the railing of the bridge and was smothered in the mud.

Sept. 16th. As I was riding up towards St. Annes's barracks I saw a poor Negro laying in the road in the agonies of death. A Barbadian gentleman, passing by, observing how anxious I was to get the poor fellow removed, exclaimed he was a runaway rascal that deserved no pity, and rode on. I got some of the black soldiers to endeavor to take him to the barracks but he died on the way.

Sept. 29th. A Guinea ship has arrived with a cargo of young boys and girls. These sell to much greater advantage than grown up Negroes as there is a great chance of these children growing up tractable and contented.

Two of our sergeants came and informed me that some time ago they had brought in a poor sick Negro whose master had turned him out thinking him passed recovery. However, by their care and attention, the Negro recovered and the moment the unfeeling master heard of it he claimed the man as his property, finding he was able to work again, without so much as thanking those sergeants.

A very affecting interview took place some evenings ago between two black girls who, it appeared, were sisters, and had not seen each other since their separation in their own country. They were scarcely able to express their joy at meeting so unexpectedly. One of them was extremely well dressed, with an umbrella over her head, while the other was in the dress of a field Negro. So different their fate has been. One doomed to labour under the lash of a cruel overseer, whose brutality this poor wretch was relating, with tears in her eyes, to her sister, whose only occupation was to walk about finely dressed, kept by some fool of a store-keeper. The poor slave dared not indulge in longer conversation and the sisters, embracing each other, parted.¹¹

Sept. the 25th. For several days passed, it has blown extremely hard and most melancholy accounts have been received from Dominica. Almost the whole of the town of Roseau has been swept away by the torrents of rain, and a hurricane of wind has blown the river over its banks. This happened in the night when many houses were swept away and upwards of 200 lives lost. The barracks and the hospital at Morne Bruce were blown down and many officers and soldiers severely wounded.

Oct. 11th. The weather has been for some days so cool that in the night we were obliged to cover ourselves with a blanket.

I was remarking to an English merchant how straight and well made both the mulatto and black children were. He showed me his white children which were equally so, and he said he thought it was owing to the manner of carrying infants on the hip instead of the arms— every child here being carried in that manner. But without great attention these childrens' legs are apt to become bow'd.

The streets of Bridgetown are kept in a very dirty state and the police is extremely negligent; and the Negroes riding furiously through these narrow streets occasions many accidents, and yet no notice is taken thereof.

On the 15th [of] October the most tremendous thunder I had ever heard, even in Trinidad, came on and alarmed the oldest inhabitants. At night a violent hurricane blew. The sea rose mountains high, and has done a considerable damage to the shipping in the harbor— one of which was struck by the lightning

and two men on board killed. The roaring of the sea in the middle of the night was dreadful. Since this violent storm the weather has been cool and pleasant.

A large manchineel grove is within half a mile of the town. The apples, something resembling our crab apples, are extremely poisonous, and are extremely dangerous to strangers coming here unacquainted therewith. It is said these apples will keep off cockroaches from your clothes.

A poor miserable starved black woman laid herself down at our door, having been driven away from that of our opposite neighbor. We sent her some nourishment, but she was too weak and feeble to swallow. The effluvia from her was most offensive. In the evening she died and was taken off and thrown into a hole like a dog.

I was some evenings (after the corpse of this miserable wretch had been taken away) witness to the lazy pride of a creole lady, an opposite neighbor. She was seated at her window, in the true style of Barbadian indolence, and I walking in our gallery. When she was wanting some tamarind water, which stood at the farther end of the room, she called out "Judy, Judy," then "Mary, Mary"; again in a louder tone, "Here, somebody." Thus she continued until she got a fit of coughing and I laughed heartily. On her observing me, she shut the window and soon I heard loud screams and the smack of the whip. These lazy creoles, if they drop a pin, will not stoop to pick it up.

As I was walking in the streets, a remarkable fine black boy came up to me and showed me a paper from which I found he was to be sold, and [he] was very anxious that I should be the purchaser. On my declining it, he looked very sorrowfully and said "Me fear, me no get good massa and den me die," the poor fellow sobbing bitterly at the same time.

On setting down to dinner, a paper was brought us to put our names down for part of a turtle that was just going to be killed. Several ladies' names were already down, amongst whom a Miss Williams, for some so many pounds of the calipash and calipee, showing her taste and epicurism.

January 20th, 1807. About fifty black women went this day through the streets in procession, all dressed in gowns of the same large pattern. They had flags with ships painted on them. It appears they were washerwomen to the fleet going to have a dance, and inviting the gentlemen to join them.¹²

Feb. 1st. The grandest funeral that I had yet seen in this country passed our house this evening. Sixty slaves, belonging to the deceased, all dressed in black, preceded the coffin; then followed 30 carriages and a most numerous cavalcade, everyone having scarfs and hat bands. The expenses must be immense in this place.

I have been quite shocked at seeing three English ladies, wives to some of the officers here, who only three months ago had come to this country as fair as lilies, blooming as roses, now palid, sallow, and sickly, with the appearance of being ten years older than they really are.

At a ball lately given at the temple, an affray took place between two Barbadian gentlemen who at last fell to boxing. The mother-in-law of one, and the sister of the other, joined the scuffle and fought manfully.

The rage of a creole is most violent when once excited — owing to the manner in which they are brought up. Often and often have I seen children, of five and six years of age, knocking the poor Negroes about the cheeks with all the passion

and the cruelty possible; and these little imps treatment to dumb animals is truly horrible. They are never checked by their parents, and, of course, these propensities increase with their age and which the poor slaves feel the effects of.

I have been highly amused listening to the conversation of two black women on meeting each other. The word Ma'am passed at every sentence. One enquired of the other how her husband did who lived with her three months ago. She replied “Me no savy ma'am, me had two since him ma'am,” laughing heartily at the same time.

March the 22nd. We have now drills everyday as we expect the regiment to be reviewed by Brigadier General Maclean.

On the arrival of Negroes as recruits for black regiments, a piece of paper is suspended round their necks with the name that has been given them by their captains. This they are taught to understand, also the different words of command as they are drilled. Our Surgeon Allen understands the several languages of the coast these Negroes come from, and on that account, and his humanity, he is adored by them and called their father. Although the black soldiers appear to feel less pain when flogged than the Europeans, yet, from the quivering flesh and the quantity of blood that flows from them on the application of the cat, it must be their fortitude which prevents them from expressing their feelings so loudly as the white soldiers. A black sergeant is as proud of his rank as a general officer could be, particularly among the French Negroes who are civil, obliging, and sober.¹³

Some mornings ago I was so shocked and enraged at the barbarity of the driver of a cart, with a team of lean small bullocks, that I made three of our black soldiers give him a severe flogging.

April the 9th. A Portuguese vessel put in here in distress. She was from the coast of Africa and has on board 700 slaves pent up like sheep in a fold, and in want of water and provisions. Seventy died on the passage and fifteen more since brought on shore.

April 10th. Ten more of these unfortunate slaves have died, and I find by the regulation of the ship that she carries nearly double the number she ought to have taken on board.

Having by the last packet received information that I was to be removed to a veteran batallion, and my health getting greatly impaired, I obtained from General [Henry] Bowyer leave to proceed to Europe, and on the 8th of [May] embarked on board The Chiswick bound to Liverpool.

Notes

1. The 420 page unpublished manuscript, titled "The Memoirs of an Old Army Officer," is located in the Peter Force Collection, series 8-D, in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Wyvill's entries on Barbados are on pp. 129-30 (1796), and 381-94 (1806-7) of the manuscript. I am grateful to Nancy Stasulis of the Smithsonian Institution for her assistance in compiling Wyvill's biographical data, all of which are derived from the manuscript itself.

2. Other persons associated with British military forces who were in Barbados during the same years as Wyvill, and who recorded their observations, were: General William Dyott (February-March 1796); George Pinckard (February-April 1796); Lieutenant Colonel Thomas St. Clair (a few months in late 1806, or sometime in 1807); John Augustine Waller (April 1807-April 1808, June 1808); and William Wright (late 1795-April 1798). The most detailed accounts of Barbadian social life and customs are to be found in the works of Pinckard and Waller both of whom, as well as Wright, were medical doctors. See Reginald W. Jeffery, ed., *Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845*, 2 vols. (London, 1907), 1: 90-95; G. Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, 3 vols. (London, 1806), 1: 192-448, 2: 1-200; Lt. Col. T. St. Clair, *A Soldier's Recollections of the West Indies and America*, 2 vols. (London, 1834), 1: 373-77; J.A. Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies* (London, 1820), *passim*; and *Memoirs of the late William Wright, M.D.* (Edinburgh and London, 1828), pp. 103-9. For other accounts of Barbados during this general time period, see Jerome S. Handler, *A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), *passim*.

3. From the late eighteenth century until well into the nineteenth, the Bridgetown hotel-taverns frequented by British military personnel, foreign travelers, and white creoles, were owned by colored women. For details on these hotel-taverns and their proprietresses, see Neville Connell, "Hotel Keepers and Hotels in Barbados," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, 33 (1970):162-85, and Jerome S. Handler, *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 133-38.

4. Beckwith was governor of Barbados from 1810 to 1814.

5. Thomas St. Clair (see note 2) stayed at an inn owned by Nancy Clarke (see note 9), "a black woman of considerable celebrity, on whom Negroes of this island made the following song: 'If you go to Nancy Clarke/ She will take you in the dark/ When she get you in the dark/ She will give you aquafortis....' I found [these verses] to have originated in the conduct of Nancy Clarke towards a young girl of colour; she having, in a fit of jealousy, taken an opportunity of throwing in her face some aquafortis to destroy her beauty, which she succeeded in doing most completely" (*A Soldier's Recollections*, 1: 373-74).

6. This population estimate is excessive. In 1809 official estimates placed the population of Barbados at round 15,500 whites, close to 3,000 free coloreds (or freedmen), and about 70,000 slaves—a total of 88,500. Allowing for deficiencies in Barbadian statistics at this period, especially with respect to the slave and free colored population, an arbitrary addition of 5,000 to 10,000 persons would still leave the population at under 100,000 persons. For a discussion of the problems relating to early nineteenth century population statistics, see

Handler, *Unappropriated People*, pp. 14-15.

7. In actual fact the number of Jews was probably quite small. In November 1811 the rector of the Jewish community reported that there were “about 100” Jews on the island, all of them white and residents of Bridgetown; thus, in 1811, Jews formed less than one percent of the total white population, although thirty to forty years earlier they may have comprised close to five percent. See William Dickson, *Letters on Slavery, to Which are Added Addresses to the Whites and to the Free Negroes of Barbados* (London, 1789), p. 138; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1814-15, vol. 7, rept. 478.

8. At this period the free colored people of Barbados suffered a variety of social and legal restrictions, but they were permitted to own property, including slaves. Although some of their slaves were kinsmen who they hoped to manumit, many others were not, and free colored persons were often as committed to the principle of slaveownership as the island’s white population. For a discussion of slaveowning by the free colored people, as well as a discussion of the relationship between the free colored and slave groups, see Handler, *Unappropriated People*, pp. 54-59, 146-53, 201-8.

9. Susy, or Betsy, Austin was one of the two free colored women who owned hotel-taverns in Bridgetown at this period; the other proprietress was Nancy Clarke. Although Clarke’s tavern appears to have ceased operations in 1812, Betsy Austin was still in business as late as 1846. During the slave period hotel proprietresses commonly sponsored “Quality” or “Dignity” balls, formally organized supper dances which required an admission fee; these were attended by colored women, and usually only white men were invited. The most detailed description of such a ball is to be found in chapter 31 of Frederick Marryat’s novel *Peter Simple* (London, 1834); Marryat had actually attended a Dignity ball when he was an officer in the British navy and visited Barbados around 1813. See Connell, “Hotel Keepers,” pp. 167-70; Handler, *Unappropriated People* pp. 134-136.

10. There were many slaveowners in Barbados who owned no agricultural land, but whose livelihood depended to a considerable degree on the hiring out of their slaves, usually as skilled tradesmen or domestic servants; female slaves in the latter category were sometimes encouraged or compelled by their owners into prostitution.

11. Concubinage was a common phenomenon in the slave society of Barbados; it involved white males, on the one hand, and slave or free colored women, on the other. Such relationships sometimes endured for many years, but they did not result in church marriages although such marriages were not prohibited by law. Slave concubines of white men could sometimes achieve manumission for themselves and their children, acquire material rewards, and become exempt from the more onerous aspects of slavery, such as plantation field labor. Similarly, free colored women could materially benefit from their sexual alliances with white men. They could be provided with decent clothes, a house and furnishings, and other goods and property, including slaves. These alliances, then, provided material advantages and security for free colored women who wanted to escape from the menial occupations to which women of their class were confined as a result of their racial ancestry. For more details on interracial sexual alliances in Barbados, see Handler, *Unappropriated People*, pp. 199-201

and *passim*.

12. The "procession" Wyvill observed may have been an early form of what was later called the "landship" society. See Frank A. Collymore, *Notes for a Glossary of Words and Phrases of Barbadian Dialect* (Bridgetown, 1970), pp. 67-68.

13. Illness and mortality rates among British soldiers in the West Indies, combined with imperial needs to maintain an effective fighting force in the area, led to the formation of Britain's first colonial army—the West India Regiments. These were composed of black troops and white officers. The 1st West India Regiment was formed in 1795 and by 1800 eleven other regiments had been raised. Most of these regiments were disbanded before 1834, but the 1st, whose troops helped to suppress the Barbadian slave revolt of April 1816, endured until the end of the nineteenth century.

By 1801 or 1802 the headquarters of the regiment was in Barbados (although it occasionally moved to other islands between 1807 and 1834). Initially the black troops, including those at Barbados, were largely purchased or captured slaves who primarily came from French, or former French, islands; after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, Africans who were captured from slavers by British naval vessels were also inducted into the regiments. The status of these slaves, as well as their rights and privileges as soldiers in the British Army, was ambiguous; this ambiguity was not entirely resolved until 1828 when a Colonial Office directive specified that all captured Africans were to serve in the army for seven years, after which they were to be set free. See Aberdein to Skeete, February 14, 1828, CO 28/101, Public Record Office, London; [Benjamin Browne] *The Yarn of a Yankee Privateer*, ed. Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1926), pp. 102-3; Major Alfred B. Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment* (London, 1885), pp. 2-3, 165-68, 347-59; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, 1: 382-83; Sir William Young, *The West-India Common-Place Book* (London, 1807), pp. 213-14, 241-42; and Warde to Bathurst, August 25, 1823, CO 28/92, Public Record Office.