

**Joseph Rachell and Rachael Pringle-Polgreen:
Petty Entrepreneurs**

Jerome S. Handler

Reprinted from
Struggle and Survival in Colonial America, D. G. Sweet and G. B. Nash, eds.
University of California Press, 1981

The position of freedmen in other areas of the Caribbean is explored in essays on the French Antilles, Cuba, Haiti, and Curacao and Surinam in David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore, Md., 1972). In their introduction to this volume, Cohen and Greene offer a useful comparative perspective on various problems relating to freedmen.



Joseph Rachell and Rachael Pringle-Polgreen: Petty Entrepreneurs

JEROME S. HANDLER

Y the end of the seventeenth century, the tiny southeastern Caribbean island of Barbados had become England's richest colony in the New World. Barbados' wealth derived from the production of sugar, which was primarily cultivated on large-scale plantations by African slaves. In addition to slaves, the island contained a minority population of European descent or birth, which included an even smaller plantocratic group that controlled the island's means of production, internal legislative apparatus, and other society-wide institutions. Gradually, over the years, a third group emerged comprised of persons whose racial ancestry was mixed or solely African but who were legally free. Whether free born or r. ^aanumitted from slavery, these free blacks and free "coloreds" were accorded a variety of privileges and

Reprinted from: Struggle and Survival in Colonial America, David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, eds. University of California Press, 1981. - 376

rights not extended to slaves. But because of their racial ancestry they were denied other privileges and rights that white society reserved for itself.

There were very few freedmen during the seventeenth century, but the group increased slowly until there were some two thousand (about half or more being women) at the close of the eighteenth century. At that time freedmen were overshadowed by close to 16,000 whites and over 64,000 slaves.

Despite their small numbers and the fact that they were free subjects of the British crown, by 1721 the Barbadian legislature had legally denied freedmen the right to vote, hold elective office, serve on juries, and testify in court cases or other legal proceedings involving whites. As the years progressed, some other legal constraints were placed on freedmen, but regardless of their legal status at any given time they were always held in a subordinate position and subjected to a variety of discriminatory practices. Some of these practices derived their strength from the legal code, others from social conventions based on the premise of racial supremacy, which permeated all segments of white society. As in other New World slave societies, however, the system allowed some flexibility: although no one in Barbados of known African ancestry could be considered white with respect to social or legal status, some freedmen were able to succeed economically within the occupations to which they were relegated by custom.

Freedmen shunned plantation wage labor. They did not own plantations during the eighteenth century, and few of them were independent small-scale agriculturalists. They were largely an urban group concentrated in Bridgetown, the island's political and commercial center and largest town. There they engaged in a variety of skilled trades and participated actively in the internal marketing system as hawkers or higglers and small shopkeepers. By the end of the eighteenth century, a few women also kept hotels or taverns.

None of these people led dramatic lives in the conventional sense, and most simply coped under very trying circumstances. However, the lives of some of them are worthy of note, because they reveal the possibility of achieving

relative economic success by creatively adapting to and strategically exploiting the limited opportunities that Barbados's circumscribed social order provided.

Two of these economically successful freedmen, a black man and a "colored" woman, are the subjects of this essay. Both were born in slavery, and their combined lives spanned the eighteenth century. Although neither was a typical freedman, their very atypicality testifies to remarkable personal characteristics and also reflects various dimensions of the socioeconomic environment in which they lived.

Joseph Rachell: Shopkeeper

The proceeds that freedmen saved from marketing activities, as well as monies they earned in trades, permitted some to acquire the capital to open small shops that sold foodstuffs and hard goods to other freedmen, poor whites, and slaves. As with white-owned shops of comparable scale, the shops owned by freedmen traded in various types of goods that slaves stole from their masters' or others' properties. With low profit margins, a heavy dependence on credit from merchant suppliers and importers, and the burden of the extension of credit to their often impoverished customers, relatively few of these freedmen were able to develop their businesses into mercantile establishments that could compete with the larger enterprises of wealthier whites. For all intents and purposes, freedmen were excluded from larger businesses, not only because whites consciously strove to maintain their dominance in enterprises that traded abroad and supplied the needs of local planters, but also because freedmen largely lacked the capital and credit, and the internal and overseas business and, social connections within whose framework such large-scale enterprises operated.

Although some freedmen were able to achieve mercantile establishments by the first few decades of the nineteenth century, during the eighteenth century economically successful freedmen were largely relegated to very small businesses. An outstanding early exception was Joseph Rachell.

Born around 1716, Rachell was manumitted before the age of ten, and by the time of his death in October 1766 he had become a Bridgetown merchant with extensive business

interests. Nothing is known of his childhood, the circumstances surrounding his manumission, or his early life, and little information is available on his family and social life. At about the age of twenty-five he married Elizabeth Cleaver, a "free mulatto" woman two years his senior, by whom he had at least three children.

The process by which Rachell established and developed his business interests is also unknown, but by his mature years he was a well-known figure in Bridgetown. A contemporary observed that he

dealt chiefly in the retail way, and was so fair and complaisant in business, that in a town filled with little peddling shops, his doors were thronged with customers ... his character was so fair, his manners so generous, that the best [white] people showed him a regard, which they often deny men of their own colour.¹

Rachell was considered "an ingenious, industrious, and upright tradesman." Younger businessmen solicited his advice, and his opinion was often deferred to when the selling price of imported goods was established, and "whenever . . . vessels arrived with a cargo, J. R. was one of the first persons . . . to whom the cargo was offered."² — —

Rachell's trading activities did not extend to England but were largely confined to British colonies in the Caribbean, including Guiana. He also maintained fishing boats and used a group of his slaves as fishermen. In what was an extremely unusual situation for the period, Rachell employed some whites, and they "always spoke of him in a very respectful manner, and particularly revered him for his humanity and tenderness."³ He was also "extremely kind in lending out money to poor, industrious men" so that they could establish their own businesses or extricate themselves from financial difficulties. Moreover, when a planter or merchant was forced to sell his property for reasons of financial duress or debt, Rachell would often attend the auction, purchase the property at a "fair market price," and then return it to the owner at the same price—frequently having cleared the debt himself before bidding. "By these humane and judicious means," Rachell was able to save "many families from ruin."

Whether the "benevolence of this excellent Negro" was motivated by altruistic sentiments, as the above comments

would have us believe, or by a shrewd perception of white society and a practical understanding of the value of building and maintaining a network of allies within it, Rachell certainly could not have afforded to alienate or threaten whites.

In his relationship with an unnamed white man, a wealthy, propertied person who was a colonel in the Barbados militia and who had the reputation of being a "penurious miser," Rachell might have risked such alienation; presumably, however, he would not have undertaken the actions reported in the following episode unless he felt comfortable in his position and had the support of the wider white community. The colonel "used to call frequently at Joseph's shop, on pretence of cheapening cocoa; he was always sure to carry away as much for a taste as his pocket would hold, but never bought any."⁴ Rachell was in a quandary, for although he objected to his continued losses he knew that, as a black, he could not bring legal charges against a white man. Finally he struck upon the idea of hiring a white clerk. He ordered 'the clerk to weigh out a bag of cocoa and to keep that bag under his particular care; whenever the colonel appeared he was only supplied with cocoa from the bag. When the bag was emptied, Rachell claimed payment for the cocoa, notifying the colonel that if payment was not made charges would be brought by the clerk. Although the colonel "stormed, swore, and threatened," he wanted to avoid the expense of a lawsuit "and suggested that being so fairly taken in, there was nothing to be done . . . but to pay the money peaceably. By this innocent stratagem Joseph got rid of the colonel's tasting visits."

Rachell's "charitable" endeavors extended in various directions, and years after his death poor whites talked about the "blessed man, for no poor thing ever went away hungry from his house; and some, who had seen better days, were shewn into a back room, and had victuals set before them."⁵ In the early 1750s, the vestry of the parish in which Rachell lived even took the unusual step of providing him an annuity to support the illegitimate daughter of a married or widowed white woman who had died, and Rachell also supported a few impoverished elderly whites who received a modest bequest after his death. When Rachell's fishing boats returned with their daily catch, he would take a portion of the fish to the

prisoners in the Bridgetown jail. We are told that he regularly visited the jail, "enquired into the circumstances of the prisoners, and gave them relief, in proportion to their distress and good behavior." Whites often considered freedmen slave-owners as "generally more severe, because [they] are less enlightened owners," but Rachell was viewed as "remarkable [because] he was extremely kind to his Negroes."

Freedmen who were Christians belonged to the Anglican church, the island's official or state church. Rachell was baptized when he was about ten years old and was also married in an Anglican ceremony (a church marriage being an uncommon event among freedmen), as an adult he regularly attended Sunday services at the cathedral in Bridgetown. Although the rector considered him "a very attentive and devout hearer," and although Rachell "was so much esteemed for his honesty that he was commonly admitted to the company and conversation of merchants and planters,"¹ along with other nonwhites he was relegated to a segregated seating area in the cathedral. When he died he was buried in a segregated churchyard in Bridgetown, the social distinctions of Barbadian society being enforced to the last. His funeral was attended by a "prodigious concourse of blacks" and "a large number of white people as well."⁸ A stone was erected over his grave but without any inscription or memorial. In his will Rachell bequeathed all his real and personal property to his widow "and her heirs forever." Although "possessed of a good deal of property" at his death, the extent and nature of this property is unknown.

The few biographical details that are available on Rachell reveal a man enjoying a certain lifestyle, served by domestic slaves with quality wines at a table lit by spermaceti candles, that was comparable to the lifestyle of whites of similar means. Rachell was clearly a success in Barbadian society and had achieved the maximum status allowed to free black men of his generation. One can only speculate on how he viewed his own behavior and on the extent to which circumstances forced him to demean or compromise himself with whites. Certainly in his outward behavior he had to appear to acquiesce in the norms of compliance and accommodation white society considered appropriate to the behavior of nonwhites. Rachell was not perceived as threatening to the

social order and to the maintenance of white supremacy; and he also met certain economic needs of the white community.

Rachael Pringle-Polgreen also met the needs of white society, but in a different way.

Rachael Pringle-Polgreen Tavern Keeper

Women were much less visible than men in the social and political life of the freedman community, but some women nevertheless accumulated property and achieved a standard of living that rivaled or even exceeded that of many of the males. Shopkeeping was the major vehicle by which freedwomen might become economically successful; and as among men they usually acquired shops by saving monies gained through huckstering activities. Freedwomen also established themselves in shopkeeping by profiting from their sexual relationships with whites.

White males in Barbados—creoles, migrants from Britain, and British naval and military personnel—were regularly involved in interracial sexual relations, which, as elsewhere in New World slave societies, were the major social area exempt from a system that was designed to maintain a distance between whites and nonwhites. The social conventions of the colony neither condemned nor inhibited these relations, and although some freedwomen may not have liked them, they were apparently perceived as devices for social mobility and material security. Just as the slave mistress of a white man could sometimes achieve freedom for herself and her children and acquire material rewards or removal from the more onerous aspects of slavery, such as plantation field labor, so a freedwoman could materially benefit from a sexual alliance with a white man. He could provide her with decent clothes, a house and furnishings, and other goods and property, such as land, a horse and carriage, and even slaves. Also she might inherit from him the goods or money with which she could establish some type of business.

Aside from small shops, by the last quarter of the eighteenth century various hotels or taverns in Bridgetown were owned by women who usually had been the favored mistress of a white man from whom they had gained manumission, or who had worked in the taverns as slaves and were then manumitted by their freedwomen owners.

There were apparently no more than two or three hotel-taverns owned by freedwomen at any one period, but these establishments provided important services in the form of meals, lodging, and washing to island visitors and ship passengers in transit. The taverns were also popular rendezvous for white creoles and British military and naval personnel. Their owners sponsored "dignity balls," formally organized supper dances requiring an admission fee, which were largely attended by "colored" females and which only admitted white men. Another major attraction of the taverns was that they were "houses of debauchery, a number of young women of colour being always procurable in them for the purposes of prostitution."⁹

Understandably, given the services they provided, these hotel-taverns were usually successful businesses; their owners became relatively wealthy and frequently amassed a significant amount of property in the form of houses and slaves. Visitors to Barbados often commented on the resourcefulness of the proprietresses in their business dealings, as well as on their independent spirits, assertiveness, and managerial abilities.

Legendary among these women, and immortalized in a 1796 print by Thomas Rowlandson, was Rachael Pringle-Polgreen; in the late 1770s she became one of the earliest, if not the first, freedwomen to own a hotel-tavern.

Born around 1753, Rachael was the daughter and slave of William Lauder, a Scottish schoolmaster, and an African woman whom he had purchased not long after emigrating to Barbados in about 1750. He first took a position in a Bridgetown "grammar school," a job from which he was dismissed for incompetence in 1762. He then opened a small shop in Bridgetown, which he ran with the assistance of Rachael's mother and presumably Rachael herself—an experience that would serve the daughter well in later years.

By her "juvenile days," Rachael "was a remarkably well-made, good-looking girl, possessing altogether charms that . . . awakened the libidinous desires of her [father] who made many . . . unsuccessful attempts on her chastity."¹⁰ Angered by her failure to respond to these advances, one day the father ordered her whipped. But we are told that just as she was being prepared for the whipping, Thomas Pringle, a British naval officer who was witnessing the scene, "seized

the whip . . . and rescuing his panting victim, carried her off in triumph amidst the cheers of a thronging multitude." Lauder was infuriated by Pringle's action; and since his daughter was also his slave, he brought charges against Pringle under a law that prohibited the harboring of a runaway slave. The case was then settled out of court, when Lauder sold Rachael to Pringle "at an extortionate price."

"Not then eighteen," Rachael was established by Pringle in a "small house" in Bridgetown, and soon afterward he manumitted her; she in turn dropped the name of Lauder and adopted that of Pringle. At one point during their relationship, the story goes, Rachael became "anxious to strengthen her influence over her benefactor [and] contrived to deceive him." She feigned pregnancy, and when Pringle returned from a tour of duty presented him with a child "as the offspring of their loves." The child's real mother ruined the deception, however, by demanding that her infant be returned; and when Pringle discovered that he had been fooled he not only returned the child but also severed his ties with Rachael. Soon after, his ship sailed for Jamaica and he left Barbados for good. "Rachael, however, was not long without a 'protector' a gentleman of the name of Polgreen succeeded to the possession of her charms," and she added his name to that of Pringle.

"By her industry" Rachael managed to enlarge the house that Thomas Pringle had obtained for her, and sometime in the late 1770s, when she was in her twenties, she opened her tavern and hotel. Around 1780 her house carried a tax assessment of six pounds per annum, which suggests that it was a modest wooden structure such as many others in Bridgetown. Within a year, however, she also owned a "large house" in another section of the city, which was assessed at fifty pounds. Had she been a white male, the ownership of this house alone would have placed her among the small group of people, probably numbering no more than several hundred, whose lands or houses had the ten-pound minimum taxable value that qualified them to vote, hold elective office, and serve on juries. This large house became her major enterprise—the celebrated Royal Naval Hotel.

The hotel was given its distinctive name after Prince William Henry (later King William IV) visited there in 1786,



20. Rachael Pringle-Polgreen, ca. 1790.

when the naval vessel he commanded docked in Barbados for a week. Half a century later, the editor of a Barbadian newspaper recalled how Rachael walked "with the Prince, actually leaning on the Royal Arm and accompanied by other naval officers and a host of mulatto women as His Highness promenade the crowded streets."¹¹

One legendary episode in the hotel's life took place during the prince's second brief visit to the island. On the night of February 2, 1789, after he and several resident British army officers had dined, they went to the Royal Naval Hotel where, during the course of the evening, the prince "commenced a royal frolic by breaking the furniture, etc." Joined by his fellow officers, they "carried on the sport with such activity,

that in a couple of hours every article was completely demolished." While this drunken spree and wanton destruction was going on, Rachael, by now a heavy-set woman of around thirty-six years, was reported to have "sat quite passive in her great arm chair at the entrance door of the hotel" claiming that, as the king's son, the prince had license to do as he pleased. When the prince left, he bid Rachael good night, but "to crown his sport, upset her and chair together, leaving her unwieldy body sprawling in the street, to the ineffable amusement of the laughing crowd." Rachael, we are told, was calm and displayed no anger; but the following morning she sent the prince an itemized bill for seven hundred pounds sterling in damages, which was duly paid and which allowed "Miss Rachael" to refurbish her hotel with more splendor than before.

During the years between the start of her business and July 23, 1791, when she died at around the age of thirty-eight, Rachael Pringle-Polgreen acquired property that was considerable by Barbadian standards for persons of any sex or racial group. In addition to her hotel, she owned at least ten other properties in the same Bridgetown neighborhood. Freedmen and whites of means commonly owned multiple rental properties, but the number of houses that Rachael owned was unusually high: She also possessed a large amount of movable property, and her hotel was elaborately furnished even before its destruction by Prince William Henry. He and his fellow officers destroyed, for example, beds, feather mattresses, "pier glasses," pictures, chandeliers and lamps, decanters, goblets, wine glasses, porcelain, and crockery. The day after the rampage, Rachael placed a newspaper advertisement offering a reward for other missing property, which presumably had been thrown out of the windows: "a small filigree waiter, scoloped around the edge . . . seven silver table spoons, seven teaspoons, two desert spoons marked R. P. in a cypher."¹²

Like Joseph Rachell and many other freedmen, whether free-born or manumitted, Rachael's property included slaves who were employed in various capacities relating to the running of her business. There is no suggestion that she, or most other members of her group, had any compunction against owning slaves; indeed, she probably shared the view of many other freedmen that slaveownership was a funda-

mental property right that they possessed as free persons. Rachael's last will, made two days before her death, shows that she owned at least nineteen slaves, a substantial number for a person of any racial group living in an urban area. Following a property transmission pattern that was also characteristic of whites, she bequeathed most of her slaves; eleven were inherited by five white legatees, Bridgetown merchants with whom she had close business dealings, and two daughters of one of these merchants; two other slaves were bequeathed to a slave woman who won her freedom under the terms of Rachael's will.

In all, Rachael's will provided for the manumission of six slaves. Although they constituted a minority of the total number of slaves she owned, in terms of islandwide manumission practices for white and nonwhite slaveowners, they represented a disproportionately large percentage of manumissions by one owner at the time of death. Rachael, despite her apparent commitment to and acceptance of slaveownership, seems to have been moved by a sense of loyalty to those who had served her well and with whom she had particularly close ties. Her "charity," however, did not extend to the provision of other property or monies to most of those manumitted; only one manumitted slave received the house and land on which she resided. Rachael ordered her executors, two of the merchant legatees, to use the money raised from the sale of all her other property to pay the required manumission fees as well as her funeral expenses and outstanding debts. All the residual proceeds left from the sale of her property were to be divided equally between two "good friends," the Bridgetown merchants, who between them had also received eight of the slaves Rachael bequeathed, and Thomas Pringle, whose actions had resulted in her freedom many years before.

Aside from the manumitted slaves, all Rachael's legatees were white. She never married and apparently had no children—at least none who were alive at the time of her death; it is not known if she recognized any family connections through her mother. It is one of those anomalies of the slave society that the social relationships to which she attached the greatest importance, as reflected at any rate by the property bequests in her will, were with white people. The greatest

homage that white creole society ever bestowed on her, however, was that she was called "Miss Rachael . . . the prefix being then rarely given to black or coloured women."

In their own ways Joseph Rachell and Rachael Pringle-Polgreen were unique individuals in eighteenth-century Barbados. Both had risen from slavery and had succeeded under extremely difficult conditions because of their industry, resourcefulness, and shrewdness. These attributes enabled them to manipulate a circumscribed system to their own advantage. They learned effectively to conduct, and even to enrich, themselves and were able to fill a niche in the socioeconomic order by meeting various needs of white society. They were able to maintain this niche because of their acumen and because their behavior was acceptable by the white-defined standards for the behavior of nonwhites; moreover, they never openly challenged or defied the racial underpinnings of the slave society that confined all freedmen, regardless of education, wealth, and Westyle, to an inferior and subordinate social status.

We shall never know how Rachell and Pringle-Polgreen really felt about themselves-and-the society-M- which they lived. Inwardly they may have rejected many dimensions of the racist ideology that governed white perceptions of nonwhites. There is every indication, however, that their creative adaptation to Barbadian society was facilitated not only because they shared a general lifestyle with white creoles of comparable economic means but also because they identified with white creole values. These values involved a commitment to the concept of private property and, slaveownership, and an acceptance of a class system with its concomitant ideology of privilege. By identifying with these values Rachell and Pringle-Polgreen found a measure of security for themselves while abetting the exploitative foundations of Barbadian society.

Notes

I am grateful to Clifford Harper and Shellee Colen for their suggestions on an earlier draft of this chapter, and to Jennifer Griffith for having generously provided miscellaneous information derived from records in the Barbados Department of Archives.

1. James Ramsay, *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (London, 1784J, p. 254.

2. William Dickson, *Letters on Slavery* (London, 1789), p. 180.
3. All quotations in this paragraph are from Dickson, *Letters*, pp. 180-18r.
4. Quotations in this paragraph are from Ramsay, *Essay*, pp. 258-259.
5. Dickson, *Letters*, p. 18.
6. Dickson, *Letters*, p. 182.
7. Robert B. Nicholls, testimony in *Parliamentary Papers* (London, 1790), vol. 30, p. 333.
8. Dickson, *Letters*, p. 182.
9. John A. Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies* (London, 1820), p. 6.
10. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations in this section on Pringle-Polgreen are taken from J. W. Orderson, *Creoleana: Or, Social and Domestic Scenes and Incidents in Barbados in Days of Yore* (London, 1842), pp. 94-102.
 - r. "Extracts from the Barbadian Newspaper," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 10 (1943): 143.
12. Quoted in Neville Connell, "Prince William Henry's Visits to Barbados in 1786 and 1789," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 25 (195⁸): 163.

Sources

The principal source on Joseph Rachell is William Dickson's *Letters on Slavery* (London, 1789). Dickson's account is mainly from a "private journal" whose unnamed author resided in Barbados in 1769 and who derived his information on Rachell from hearsay accounts. James Ramsay's *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (London, 1784) has a brief account of Rachell (pp. 254-259) which is based on the oral report of someone who had personally known him. In his testimony before a House of Commons committee investigating the slave trade (*Parliamentary Papers*, London, 1790, vol. 30, pp. 325-360), the Barbadian-born Reverend Robert B. Nicholls provides a few corroborative details which he apparently obtained through hearsay. The dates of Rachell's birth, baptism, marriage, and death, and similar materials on various members of his family, come from the Saint Michael parish registers, located in the Barbados Department of Archives (RL 1/2, p. 270; RL 1/3, pp. 19, 24, 90, 257) RL 1/4, P. 326); the Archives also contain Rachell's will (RB 6/21, pp. 42-43) and that of his wife (RB 6/33, pp. 336-337). The annuity Rachell received from the Saint Michael vestry is reported in "Records of the Vestry of Saint Michael," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, vol. 24 (1957): 145, 196.

The major source on Pringle-Polgreen's life is J. W. Orderson's novel *Creoleana: Or, Social and Domestic Scenes and Incidents in Barbados in Days of Yore* (London, 1842). Written in the late 1830s, when its author, a prominent white Barbadian creole, was in his seventies, the novel is set in the last quarter of the eighteenth

century. The general social conditions and ambience of the period, as depicted by Orderson, are consistent with many other primary sources; moreover, key personages in the sketch of Pringle-Polgreen (PP. 94-102), such as William Lauder (her father), Thomas Pringle, and, of course, Prince William Henry, actually lived. One cannot be certain, however, that various biographical details, such as Lauder's incestuous advances, the circumstances under which Rachael met Thomas Pringle and events in their life together, have not been distorted or even invented.

Information on Pringle-Polgreen's house ownership is contained in the Saint Michael parish levy book, located in the Barbados Department of Archives. This information was published by Warren Alleyne in his "Rachael Pringle Polgreen" (Barbados, 1977), a three-page brochure written to accompany the Barbados Museum and Historical Society's full-scale color reprint of Thomas Rowlandson's 1796 caricature. The Barbados Department of Archives contains Pringle-Polgreen's will (RB 6/19, pp. 435-437) and the Saint Michael parish register (RL 1/5, p. 538), which carries the notice of her burial. Minor sources, all published in the *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, were used to round out various details in Pringle-Polgreen's life: an anonymously authored article, "Rachael of Barbados," *Journal* 9 (1942): 109-111; Neville Connell, "Prince William Henry's Visits to Barbados in 1786 and 1789," *Journal* 25 (1958): 157-164; "Extracts from the Barbadian Newspaper," *Journal* 10 (1943): 139-145; and Neville Connell, "Eighteenth-Century Furniture and Its Background in Barbados," *Journal* 26 (1959): 162-190.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For Barbadian social history during the period of slavery, see Jerome S. Handler, *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados* (Baltimore, Md., 1974); Jerome S. Handler and Frederick W. Lange, *Plantation Slavery in Barbados: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); and Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972).

There is a small body of literature on freedmen (free "colored" and free black) populations in the British West Indies. Aside from my *Unappropriated People*, other useful works include: Arnold A. Sio, "Race, Colour, and Miscegenation: The Free Coloured of Jamaica and Barbados," *Caribbean Studies* 16 (1976): 5-21; Sheila Duncker, "The Free Coloured and Their Fight for Civil Rights in Jamaica, 1800-1830" (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1960); Mavis C. Campbell, *The Dynamics of Change in a Slave Society: A Socio-political History of the Free Colored in Jamaica, 1800-1865* (Rutherford, N.J., 1976); and Edward L. Cox, "Shadow of Freedom: Freedmen in the Slave Societies of Grenada and St. Kitts, 1763-1833" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1977).