

Charles Tudway 3 (1713-1770)

Charles 3's grandfather, Charles 1, was the first Tudway to settle in Wells, Somerset. He came to Wells Cathedral as a chorister around 1678, had a falling out with his superiors and ended up going to Antigua to manage Parham plantation at the request of his brother, Clement 1, leaving behind his wife and son, Charles 2, and to whom he never returned. Charles 2 was not interested in the plantation business, although he was a beneficiary of his father's will, preferring to build his life as a 'Yeoman and Grazier',ⁱ or small landowner and sheep farmer in Wells. He died in 1723 when Charles 3 was 10 years old, the second oldest of his nine children. In 1728, Charles 3, aged 15, was apprenticed as a clothier to Mr Hodges Cookⁱⁱ, who was probably related to his mother Mary, nee Cook, and owned sheep grazing land. Charles 3 then became a 'master wool comber', taking on an apprentice of his own in 1743. This was Will Iles, son of John Iles of Croscombe.ⁱⁱⁱ Charles 3 married Hannah Moore, (1713-1783) eldest daughter of William Moore and they had six children, the eldest of whom was Clement (born 1734), also heir to the Parham, Antigua and Somerset estates. They had three other sons – Charles (born 1739), Robert (born c. 1740) John (born c. 1740, possibly deceased twin), and two daughters, Elizabeth (born 1741) and Mary (born 1747). The family lived in New Street, Wells and resided there until the completion of The Cedars in 1751.

Charles 3 inherited the Parham Plantation in 1749 from his childless cousin, Clement 2. This event was timely as the wool industry was in decline due to the introduction of machinery which affected both the price of goods and labour. The inheritance changed everything for him, Hannah, and their children as well as bringing lasting change to the City of Wells which is still part of its present-day heritage. What can be seen about Charles 3 is that he is an intelligent and competent businessman with an eye for opportunity to grow both primary and secondary businesses in Antigua, Bristol and Wells. His ambition seemed to be that he wanted to become landed gentry and be seen as important and generous. He was a dutiful and loving father who placed importance on his family as the basis for his business model.

Charles 3 Took Over at the Parham Hill Plantations

Charles 3 began his ownership of the Parham plantations by ordering local solicitor Thomas Miller of Wells to find all the deeds and leases for all the properties going back to 1679 when it was first bought by Clement 1. There were written instruction from Charles 3 to Thomas Miller dated 28 March 1749 detailing how he was to proceed to Antigua to take possession of Parham Hill Plantation. These instructions were clearly drawn up by a lawyer with good knowledge of the legal processes and background concerning the ownership of the estate. Miller needed to be appraised of these intricacies in order to take possession of Parham and deal with any difficulties or obstructions. Miller was advised that once he had possession he was not to leave the plantation unattended in case an 'adversary' came to 'steal it'.^{iv} He was instructed to:

- write a 'full account' of all occurrences 'and always send a second copy of every letter',
- send letters to Charles Tudway and James Douglas, merchant in Frann Court, Frannchurch (Fenchurch?) Street, London, to inform of all sugars sent, by which ship and captain,
- to have new plans drawn up of the estate and or send a copy of any existing one,
- find out reason for decrease in sugars of late, checking on overseers and bookkeepers,
- ensure servants were diligent,
- send a yearly plantation account at Christmas,
- ensure Mr Edward Thomas was compliant with instructions,
- deliver accounts, as well as
- be instructed as to how to ship sugars.

Clearly, Mr Miller was expected to be in Antigua for some time to take on the management of the plantation and make sure it could be made profitable. An interesting element of Miller's investigation was to get to the bottom of the estate's ownership according to the wills of Charles 3's predecessors.

'Difficulties may lye upon the Claimants that they should be held to strict proof of every point Mr Freeman's purchase in 1732 of the Reversion (as soone 3rd) from Thomas Tudway as son and heir of Chas Tudway (Old Clement Tudway's Brother) which said in Mr Freeman's purchase Deed is said to have died intestate is plainly false and defective. For that Charles Snr did make a will in 1692 in Antigua and devised away half of his estate to his wife in fear and that Wife was lately and long since that purchase was actually living at Wells in Somersetshire. Note that Will of Chas Tudway containing the aforementioned devise to his wife was proved in Antigua on 7 April 1693.'^v

Thomas Freeman was owner of the North Sound Plantation in St Peter's Parish and may have leased land from the Tudways before his death in 1737. There must have been some mistake made in the legitimacy of any such purchase and Miller's job was to take back the land. The legal matter was complex, requiring views from other solicitors. Mr Paris, solicitor, furnished Charles 3 with some answers from solicitors D. Ryder and W. Murray to questions which included mention of Thomas Tudway and any fee paid to Mr Freeman.^{vi} This is followed by a further document from Mr Paris, 'Some thoughts'^{vii} which refers to issues re the leases and says the estate left to Dr Thos Tudway by his brother Clement 1 was sold on to Edward Byam. This meant it was not Dr Thomas Tudway being referred to as it then transpired that it was Thomas Tudway, the grandson of Charles 1, an older brother to Charles 3, who tried to pass on the moiety (piece of land) to Thomas Freeman on the basis that his grandfather had died intestate. However, this was not true. Charles 1 had in fact made a will proved in 1692^{viii} leaving land to his wife Mary who had also been left a tenement in Parham town by her brother-in-law Richard^{ix}. Whether that had been passed on to her son Charles 2 – who showed no interest in the plantation – or if it reverted to Clement 2 is not known. What all this examination and questioning eventually clarified was the ownership of the land by Charles 3 as legitimate heir of Clement 2. Miller's job was to get to the Parham estate and secure the land before Mr. Freeman could stake a claim and in this he was successful.

Having secured the land and its oversight in the competent hands of Mr Miller, Charles 3 then went about securing and increasing the number of enslaved Africans to work on the plantation. One of the first lists of enslaved people kept by Charles Tudway was in a parchment bound notebook with an illegible title. It spanned entries from 1749, when the plantation came into his hands, until 1767 when different records were kept. The recording used a crude methodology but nevertheless comprised a record of enslaved persons purchased, who from, when and how much was paid.

From this it is possible to identify the merchants based in the Caribbean who involved in this end of the trafficking. These are not people listed in 'Slave Voyages' (website) as investors or ship owners which is why it is safe to say they were local middlemen; some were local plantation owners who perhaps had died or were selling up and so selling their enslaved people onwards. Some of these names recorded were:

- Mr Miller – his first estate manager, letting Charles 3 know, by letter of local purchases made,
- The executor of Mr Edward Thomas who sold on 23 enslaved persons via Mr Crump.
- Mr Farley – another estate manager, purchasing from dealer Mr. Parry - there is a separate indenture document detailing this sale in 1751 recorded in the Registers Office in Antigua.

Some of the dealers of enslaved people were:

- Messrs Livingstone and Furlong
- Messrs Brebnor, Brown, Wilcock and Day

This way of recording purchases went on until 1768 just before Charles 3 died. A total of £4784 was spent on 166 enslaved Africans, of whom 50 were uncategorised as male or female, possibly because they were children. From 1751, records showed that the new enslaved Africans on the plantation comprised 45 men and 27 women, the rest being young people and children – being 90 in total.

The register then went on to categorise these into 'A List of Negro Men on Parham Plantation Old Works that have been purchased by Charles Tudway 3 since 1748'.^x This comprised a list of 'New Negroes' meaning those recently trafficked from Africa. On this page, of 16 men who, between the years 1748 and 1753, seven had died. Separately, those purchased from Mr Thomas's executors comprised 14 men, of whom by 1753, four had died, including one boy and one child. The register of enslaved women was recorded differently with a large gap in between each entry to record birth (and deaths) of their babies. No father's name was recorded. Of the first 23 names recorded before 1753, seven were dead and of 12 babies, three had died, including one mother, presumably in childbirth. Not recording the paternity of children born to enslaved women was the common practice thus denying fatherhood to African men, notwithstanding the fact that marriage between enslaved people was outlawed, a practice which continued until abolition. This was very different from Rachel Tudway's apparent recognition of family and paternity for at least some of the enslaved on Parham when she was remotely managing it.

In these registers it is to be noted that while the common practice was to rename Africans with English and even Latin or Greek names, many kept their Akan names such as Cudjo (Kujo) and Cuffee, (Kofi) Quamy, (Kwame) Accubah, Abba and Affabah. Why this was so is unclear but there was a narrative surrounding the misnamed 'Coromantee' who were not an ethnic group but people who were taken from a Fante settlement Kormantse, site of a Dutch fort called Kormantine. They were often warrior captives of the various Asante wars and known for their strength. On the one hand this earned them prestige and perhaps the reason for being allowed to retain their Akan names, but they were also known to be rebellious, leading some planters to want to ban them from being brought to plantations. Tacky, or Prince Klaas, leader of the Antiguan Tacky's Rebellion in 1736, was possibly descended from such Asante warriors. This story is described in detail by David Barry Gaspar.^{xi}

At some time during the 1750s, Charles 3 started to give each enslaved person a tally number so that he could keep a count of enslaved persons on his plantations, split between Old Works and New Works. He also recorded the name of the ships that the enslaved Africans were bought from well as shipowner's or captain's name. For example, one ships was named The Marshal, whose master was Warren Tempest Esq; also named were Andrew Lesley, an investor, and dealer, and Dominic Lynch of Barbados. This continuous adding to, and replenishing of, the enslaved population continued so, for example, in 1757, Charles 3 purchased 22 men. By 1760, five of these had died and one was sold for Kings of Havana – this being the war ships sent to fight the Spanish where enslaved Africa men were sent if they were deemed unruly or rebellious.

The management model for the plantation, exportation and distribution of sugar, rum, molasses and occasionally cotton or ginger was complex. Remote management depended upon Charles 3 being able to trust those employed to do his bidding and ensure the plantation and the import business were both profitable. Being an absentee owner meant that advantage could be taken if those entrusted were not honest or too interested in drinking rum and having a good time. Similarly on the

import side, there were so many expenses to be paid to commissioning agents and to those involved in loading/unloading and storage of the sugars and other goods. To save money and ensure no opportunity to take advantage Charles 3 relied heavily on involving family members to undertake key roles. Otherwise, absentee owners had to rely on recommendations from the island's residents or from trusted professionals local to home, such as Mr Miller (Tudway's solicitor based in Wells). After Joshua Crump died, who had previously managed for Clement 2, he was replaced for a couple of years by Simon Farley. After he, too, died, Rowland Ash took over. That was in 1756 and his stewardship lasted seven years covering the period of the Seven Years War with France, a prolonged period of drought and an outbreak of smallpox. These factors would have made his job extremely difficult but, nevertheless there were concerns that he was mismanaging and spending unwisely. For this reason, Charles 3 sent his brother-in-law, Robert Holloway to see what was going on. Eventually Ash left and went to St Vincent where he set up on his own.

Attorneys had a vital part to play in managing the estates and acting as a strong link with government quarters. They were well connected with other estate owners and the island's governing body. They oversaw the accounts and ensured the plantation was being run well. According to Mary Gleadall,^{xii} the Attorneys working for Charles 3 were Joshua Crump, Robert Bannister, Stephen Blizard, Francis, then William Farley, and Main Swete Walrond. In addition, there were white overseers, servants and skilled artisans such as smiths and coopers. Mainly these were recruited in England and indentured for a period of time. Of importance to everyone were the doctors and vets, also mainly from England.

Contact was solely via letters which could take weeks to arrive by packet ship and even more for a response to be received. Often, a second copy of a letter would be sent via a different ship just in case the original did not get through. Writers of the letters would keep a handwritten copy of the original sent in letter-books which are the main sources of correspondences remaining. These piece together the stories of life in the plantations.

Letters from managers to Charles Tudway 1759 to 1784 (British Online Archive Reference folder D68)

There are nearly 600 pages of correspondence from Antigua that remain, covering the period of Charles 3's proprietorship and going into that covered by Clement 3 who took over in, or just before, 1770.

Of interest was that a number of the letters dated 1757 were addressed to Charles 3 at Wedhampton, showing he did, in fact, reside there for a while. Copies of letters were also sent to Wells. Letters concerned sugars being imported, their quality, price and any problems encountered. Also mentioned were items going out to Parham, such as beans or oats and building materials. Some examples from the letters' contents are shared below. They give an insight into life on the Parham Plantation, issues between managers and attorneys as well as matters to do with the weather or wars that impacted on business and daily life. They also provide insight into what life was like for enslaved Africans and what they were forced to endure.

Rowland Ash's management was under scrutiny, and he had to account for himself, so his letter of 10th June 1759 saw him exonerating himself for financial losses and giving his account of what was happening, including a report about the deaths of older enslaved people.^{xiii} A month later Charles 3's brother-in-law, Robert Holloway, wrote about the lack of rain and water during a prolonged drought causing chaos to the crop as well as people's lives. He reported that there was an outbreak of Smallpox on the island, but that it was mild and most of those afflicted survived. Managers tried to implement a kind of 'lock down' to contain the spread of the disease but, he complained, it was hard

to contain as *'Negroes will go about at night'*. Nevertheless, he went on to say that he was glad that they had only lost 6 enslaved to the disease and that the rest were healthy, as were whites on the plantation. Holloway then made a request for some Cheddar cheese, rather than that from Mere, to be sent down. He asked favours for his brother John, asking for quick promotion, perhaps, in due course, to lieutenant. He assured Charles 3 that he was chasing Rowland Ash and Chas Porter for the accounts and that he spent time on both plantations daily.^{xiv}

In a number of letters from managers and attorneys, respects were always paid to Charles 3's wife, Hannah, with promises of sweetmeats to be sent on and even a turtle. Turtles were a luxury item in great demand. They were sent live in tanks on the ships, often marked with initials of the intended receiver and on reaching London or Bristol, despatched poste-haste, in this case, to The Cedars in Wells. On arrival the poor creature would be hung by the tail, its head chopped off and then it would hang for the blood to drain. The flesh would be separated from the shell in a way demanding much skilful butchery and the various parts prepared to refined recipes to impress the tastebuds of the diners at the Tudway table. Such was the demand in refined circles for the delicate turtle soup, that the less affluent middle classes created a copy dish called 'mock turtle soup' imitating the flavour to impress their guests likewise. Eventually, and sadly, the turtle population began to decline so hunting it down for the dining tables of the wealthy came to an end and then all had to make do with the substitute 'mock turtle' dish. The popularity of turtle soup gave rise to the famous tureen, some elaborately constructed in turtle shapes or even utilising the shell of the turtle itself. Of course, this would have been the time when ornaments made from the turtle's shell, such as hair combs or brooches, became popular coveted items.

But, back to the weather and the state of the plantation. Holloway wrote on 10th October 1759 reporting the weather was still bad, with no rain to grow food and a shortage of imported beans, substituted with corn. It is not difficult to read into this the plight of the enslaved population. They were starving. He then went on to report *'we have buried since my last Cherry and Maudlin, Negro women, former of consumption who has been in that state for a long time past and not able to work. And the latter by convulsion fit, they are no losses as the latter was subject to Run away and staying two months at a time'*. Such loss of two women's lives in such tragic ways was of no consequence. No wonder Maudlin often tried to run away – perhaps to see a lover or children or just to get away from the brutality for a while. Moreover, with regards to women, the next line in the letter suggests a most cruelly unwholesome practice was being carried out. Holloway reported ***'there are 14 more women ready to lye in and others with child so that I hope your increase of negroes this year will be great'***.^{xv} For 14 women to be pregnant and due to deliver around the same time, during a time of drought, disease and great discomfort to the enslaved population can only suggest one thing. That the plantation was being used to 'breed negroes', that very practice that Rachel Tudway, some thirty years before found so objectionable and forbade. This practice was horrific as it involved the mass rape of African women by African men, set up for the job. The ideas behind it are similar to that of cattle or horse breeding, and in the case of human females involved reducing them, as the men too, to that of animals, bred to order. In order to produce the characteristics of health, and strength required for an enslaved offspring, the strongest black men and women would have been chosen and forced to comply. Those babies that survived would have had to accompany their mothers in the hot sun, strapped to her back while she toiled. Not many babies would have survived this so perhaps older women no longer fit for work might have minded and wet-nursed the infants who would have joined their mothers in the field in their toddlerhood. Children were put to work at the age of five or six years as grass pickers, weeders or water carriers. Perhaps they might also have been bred as assets for the master who could remove them from their mother and sell them off at any time. No further mention was made by Holloway as to the fate of these babies nor of their mothers.

A couple of weeks later Holloway informed Charles 3 that, while the war with France was now making things difficult to export produce, at least they could sell rum to the men-of-war ships. This was followed by a letter from Ash, also complaining that the war was making things difficult and again making excuses for the accounts not being done. By January 1760, the drought continued, now lasting for 15 months, affecting the enslaved, the animal stock as well as the sugar crops. In March 1760, things were no better with Rowland Ash writing *'It is with the utmost Concern that I am forced in this letter to continue the disagreeable repetition of the distress of our Island by the long spell of dry weather. It is now two year since we have had anything that can bear the name of a season, and how much longer it may be God only knows.'*^{xvi} There had been another fire in the north of Island and Smallpox again raged amongst whites and blacks. At least, he wrote, they were more fortunate than their neighbours in sugar production, but one harvest was all that was gained, with no more for the year, the remaining canes being so dry they were only good for fuel. This was backed up by new attorney Frances Farley^{xvii} that same month saying that the situation was still dire and water still scarce with a loss of crop and that Smallpox still prevalent. Provisions to feed enslaved people was scarce, and they had to walk 6-8 miles for water. The war affected ships both leaving the island and arriving so the fleet bringing beans was delayed adding to the dire situation of hunger for enslaved people. The situation was so bad that Ash reported having to cut down a straw mattress to feed stock (cattle and horses).

Picking up the story in July 1767 with a letter from Main Swete Walrond, who had a habit of writing notes on the left margin of the page to denote the main topic covered by the paragraph. In this letter Walrond informed Charles 3 that *'Mr Farley had bought 10 more Negroes for your Estates'*,^{xviii} and informed him of the good news of rain and that sugars would be dispatched shortly. However, in a subsequent letter from Chas Gordon, Charles 3 is informed that these ten 'new' Negroes are not yet fit for 'immediate use', meaning that they have yet to be 'seasoned' and got used to the demands of their new lives. In part this involved a recovery period from the physical and mental traumas of the Atlantic journey where they were chained below deck for most of the day of a period of time often lasting for months. Many were sick on arrival and undernourished so many of the so-called 'New Negroes' died within the first months of their arrival. Other aspects of their acclimatisation involved learning the language spoken on the island, taught by fellow enslaved, as well as getting used to the environment and the work required in the fields. Most of all the newly arrived African was required to accept the drastic change of their status for a proud and free human being to one with the status of chattel. Seasoning – or 'breaking in'- involved dehumanising treatment, with violence meted out for any resistance shown. Many tried to rebel, but the punishments were harsh and extreme to stamp this out. Some committed suicide, but others, began to accept their new station in life, knowing that there was no way out. That acceptance determined that the seasoning was now achieved. So we can probably assume that Parham, like many other plantations, was a place where the new African enslaved experienced the breaking of their will and spirit to ensure the complete subservience and compliance required of them.

In the same letter, Chas Gordon went on to say that one of the enslaved women from Old Works, Coomba, was found dead a few miles away; apparently, she had *'bled at the nose in a very violent manner.'*^{xix} What is shocking is that Gordon goes on to say that her death *'cannot be called a loss as she was old and good for little in the working gang of Negroes'*. And that was it. What is possible to add for Coomba is that her name comes from Liberia where it is a common surname, so perhaps she was brought from the West African coast of what is now Liberia into slavery in Antigua. Her labours created profit during her active life, but as she aged, she was no longer of any productive value and Gordon's testimony of her showed she had no value as a human being.

In September of the same year Mr Walrond wrote to Charles 3 with some home truths. Apparently, the pastureland was overgrown with bushes, making it hard for the grass which cattle needed to

graze on and there were no spare hands to clear it. Moreover, extra help for holing was an expense that was necessary. Both these matters were caused by Charles 3 not having enough enslaved workers to cover all the tasks that needed doing. He told Charles that other plantations were much better 'slaved' than his because despite having a good number of enslaved, many were not productive. Some were superannuated (too old to work), some were infants and then there were the sick and the runaways. Out of those actively able to work, many were allocated jobs such as watchmen, skilled tradesmen and those looking after the sick, plus the those involved in domestic tasks serving the managers. This left only a small proportion who could be employed on the fields, which of course also needed those to carry the crop on carts to the mill, the boiling house (producing sugar) and the still house (distilling rum). To top it all, the cattle and mules employed for taking on the crop were now put to graze, and they had to pay for grazing as Charles 3's own pasture was overgrown. That also meant Charles 3 lost the cow dung used to fertilise the cane fields, so little land could be dunged that year. All these inconveniences, Charles 3 is told, stem from lack of labour. The consequences of not dunging would mean that the land would deteriorate, and the sugar crop would be, and already was, of poor quality. However, later that month Mr Farley purchased 10 more enslaved Africans, being eight young women and two boys; in all, 30 'new Negroes' had been purchased that year, 19 for New Works and 11 for Old Works. Field slaves, doing the hardest labouring work, were often women which explained the higher number brought onto the plantation. Walrond also told Charles 3 of an enslaved woman who had decided to take a husband at Old Work and would not live at New Work. While this was not the practice allowed, Charles 3 is advised that it is not making a huge difference so there being no point in forcing her against her will. However, he commented, '*new Negroes must not be dealt with cautiously*'^{xx} and that they should be sent to the plantation needing them most.

A year later, in July 1768, Chas Gordon wrote to Charles 3 advising him of the amount of money he had to pay out frequently to bring back runaways – or freedom seekers – and the bother that they caused, needing to be fed, housed and taxes paid on them, while they cannot be depended on to work as required. In Gordon's view, once an enslaved person has the habit of running away, they are rarely able to break from it! He referred to these freedom seekers as '*vermin*'^{xxi} needing to be disposed of (sold) and the money used to purchase replacements for them. He went on to seek permission of Charles 3 to do likewise. However, in July 1769, Main Swete Walrond wrote and in reference to Gordon's advice to sell the 'runaways' he proffered the opposite view, saying that Gordon was '*very much mistaken*' in thinking that their sale would cover the cost of their replacements with '*good, able new Negroes*'^{xxii}. He gave an example of an enslaved able female who would fetch £80 but as a 'runaway' not more than £30 or £35. Another 'runaway', he complained, was found boiling a pot in the middle of a cane field and nearly set it on fire, but thankfully that person was now absent. It can be seen that absconding from the plantation not only cost the planter money in lost labour and the price of catching them, but it also reduced the value of that enslaved person as an asset. As a means of resistance this was quite an effective way of the enslaved running rings round the planters and costing them money. Nevertheless, this year was good for sugar production from which the additional yield of rum was also significant and to keep cordiality high, a barrel of oranges was sent to Mrs Tudway, followed, later that month, by another turtle.

On August 23rd that year Walrond wrote that there had been a dreadful fire on the 17th August that started in the North part of St Johns caused by '*a Negro throwing into an oven/when heating/ some staves of a pitch barrel which immediately flamed up the roof of the kitchen and set the same into a blaze; the Fire instantly communicated itself to the neighbouring buildings with the most raging fury. The alarm Bell was rung, and the multitude assembled to extinguish the fire and pulled down several houses to the west in hopes of stopping its destructive progress, but all was in vain. The wind blowing very fresh from the East North East, carried the firey shingles along with it and scattered them on the roofs of several houses. In about 16 minutes the store of Messrs Hay & Kingsley to the North of the*

Parade became an entire flame and set all the other buildings on the Parade and Stores on the Wharfe in the same dreadful conflagration. Having destroyed everything to the West down to the sea it turned its fury to the East and burned all the buildings from the Parade to the Guard House and from the Guard House in a direct South Line to Mr Martin's house near the pasture/ The Guard and Court Houses only excepted/To prevent it further running Eastward it was judged necessary to blow up Mr Martin's and Mr Grice's houses /two very large buildings/ & several others, which happily checked its fury and stopped it progressing in that quarter' yet still it raged in the centre with great violence, threatening the destruction of the remaining buildings to the last. To hinder its progress, the houses belonging to Mr. Geo Dalzele and several others were blown up which with a large stone building on the opposite side of the street through the Mercy of God set bounds to its fury and prevented its further devastation - dreadful was the day and night, The devouring flames, the distraction, confusion, distress and lamentation of the poor destitute and ruined inhabitants was a scene too melancholy to represent. – The Alarm guns were fired at the Forts & the Country Gentlemen exerted their assistance with their personal carts and slaves to carry what could be saved from the Flames whilst the Boats in the Harbour contributed to the same purpose, but the rapidity of the fire would not admit time to get much out of the stores so that the loss was immense. The Custom House, Arsenal, Jail and the Ware houses on the Wharfs were all entirely consumed. The Fire continued with much violence until three the next morning. It is computed that nearly 300 houses and stores are consumed and that the whole loss by the best computation that can at present be made amounts to £400,000. All our provisions, Lumber, which are destroyed, our distress is truly deplorable. Two white man and a Negro were killed and another white man miserable mangled by the explosion.^{xxiii}

Despite this truly horrific incident, subsequent letters a week or so later showed business was back to normal, with reports of sugars being sent to England. Farley wrote continuing the discussion where he sought to justify to Charles 3 the number of enslaved people he has had to purchase over the last two years. The discussion and differences between him and Walrond were very much evident and not resolved, but it would seem that Charles 3 is required to make a decision to settle the matter. As explained above, land near to the plantation ground needed clearing for pasture for the cattle, so that dung could be carried to fertilize the soil. Cattle were still on the scrubland and not faring well, many having died. There were still insufficient numbers of enslaved to fulfil the labour requirements, despite Farley's purchases, on credit, whenever he could, according to the availability and price of 'new Negroes'. Furthermore, Farley went on to say that there was a 'bad' still house at Old Works and poor water supply.^{xxiv} The excuses given by Farley for poor income for sugar and rum and subsequent difficulties in paying bills does rather feel like the wool is being pulled over Charles 3's eyes a bit as he had to rely on their accounts of the matter, which was a disadvantage of being an absentee planter. Clearly, it seems, not all was well on Parham with its debts and managers infighting.

Farley believed that Walrond was getting old with many health problems casing him to leave the estate in the care of Frances Farley. In 1770, Charles 3 was also in a similar condition of poor health resulting in his death in September 1770. It is unclear from the letters exactly when Clement 3 took over as all are addressed with a basic salutation of Sir. However, a letter from Mr Farley on March 1771 mentioned the death of Charles 3 and so it is possible that Clement had taken charge of his father's affairs before then.

To conclude this piece about life under Charles 3 for enslaved people on Parham, like all other plantations, was dire. Starvation, dehydration and extreme levels of immiseration were commonplace, especially during times of drought. We heard about the smallpox because it was so contagious, but other diseases were prevalent too, such as cholera, yellow fever, measles and dysentery. Causing particular discomfort to sufferers were disease such as Yaws (a bacterial skin

infection) and elephantiasis, which caused extreme swelling of the feet and legs. Maternal and infant mortality was high, requiring replacement of the enslaved by new Africans purchased from the slave dealers in order to keep the numbers up. Clearly, the 'breeding' plan was not viable because of the investment in growing an enslaved person from birth. In these letters too we read of the enslaved undergoing fatal accidents, being sold on and the prevalence of freedom seekers and their fate.

The difficult times of drought and war made life rather precarious for planters and their staff. For a plantation owner, the dependence on good weather made the guarantee of a consistent crop unlikely so fortunes could go up as well as down. Credit was the way that many planters did business which could mean ruin for some, but Charles 3 managed to ride the storm using credit but managing to get back on top somehow, and in spite of the backbiting between the plantation managers, attorneys and accountants.

Charles 3's Accounting

The Tudway family banked at the Bank of England in London. A surviving bank book of Clement Tudway 2 showed regular payments were made between 1735-1738 to Susann Clowdesley (Cloudsley) of approximately £5 per annum. This lady was possibly an aunt, sister of his mother or perhaps a cousin. She was also a beneficiary of his will.^{xxv} A further bank book of the Bank of England has survived in Charles 3's name from 1748,^{xxvi} taking over from Clement 2's account after he died that year. This showed a diminished balance from 1749 to 1767 due to this possibly being not his only bank account or due to other factors such as diminished returns from sugars due to difficulties in Antigua, such as droughts. Matt Wildman's name appeared frequently – he seems to be a banker or broker handling Charles' accounts. In 1749 an entry was made by Mr Wildman carrying over a balance of East India Bonds £476.12.2 (£86,000 today) into Charles' account. Such payments continued to 1752 of increasing sums. It is possible these were bonds inherited from his cousin Clement 2 from investments he held and which Charles 3 benefitted from as a further source of income.

Personal accounts records were kept separately for different things. One book had the detailed expenditure, and another kept the totals for the annual accounts. By 1750 Charles 3 began by taking over an accounts book from where his cousin Clement 2 had left off and was mainly a record of cash withdrawals but includes sums for 100 gallons rum at £40! On 23rd April 1752 there was a payment for son Clement 3's education including £12 for books to Mr. Wildman – that is over £3000 in today's money. In 1756 and in 1759 still he was still paying Mr Wildman for his eldest son Clement's education. In November 1762, he paid £21 to a Dr Bentham for a year's tutoring showing how expensive it was to educate the firstborn son at those days – given that Clement was a grown man by this time. On September 24th, 1755, he paid £200 (£55,000 today) for younger son Charles's apprenticeship to Mr. D....(?) and while it does not state what trade his son was becoming an apprentice in, he did later become an Alderman in Wells. Payments to brothers John and Robinson Tudway are in relation to the sugar importing business in London and Bristol. Payments to nephew Robert Holloway, son of brother-in-law Mr. Robert Holloway, are frequent and relate to work done – the latter being manager of Parham from 1757. In 1755 Charles made a note at the end of the account saying expenditure was £1000 more than previous year '*chiefly owing to the education.*' A note on the account for end 1756 saving '*this extraordinary expenses are still owing to the elections & to the expense of improving my estate at Priddy which for future I shall omit charging here.*' There are regular visits to London costing £40-£50, as well as to Tudway and Smith for rum and Madeira wine by the gallon. Allowances were still paid for Charles and Clement in 1763. The account book ended in 1765 with a note '*this is the sum I expended from the 1st January 1764 to ditto 1765 which is it £159.17.4 less than the preceding year's expense which ought to be much more loss considering I*

pay £1000 per annum out of my estate to my son and of my plantation for any year's decrease in the annual proceeds. The future expense is begun in a new book.^{xxvii}

The Antiguan accounts were kept separately and the record for this 1750s^{xxviii} often referred to Mr James Douglas, merchant, who was based in London and who had been a friend and beneficiary of Clement 2. They showed entries of various bills for items sent down on ships to Antigua or received from there. One entry showed '*Parham Plantation's Account of Sale For ten hhd's (hogsheads) sugar received from Antigua, Ship The Three Brothers Captain Peter Sinclair in August 1756.*'^{xxix} This detailed the various expenses including customs duties as well as 'Lighterage and wharfage'; Landing, housing and weighing; Landwaiters; Freight; Primage; Warehouse Rent; Cooperage and Brokerage. The total cost of which was £63, plus commission of 2.5% to Douglas leaving a net profit for Charles Tudway of £146.

A further separate notebook of accounts existed dating from 1740s to 1750s which had details of various people's expenditure, or sums owing, mainly for alcohol and food. Perhaps they were guests at one of Tudway's inns in Wells, such as the Swan Inn. They seemed to be kept by someone other than Charles 3 as the writing was different.^{xxx}

Domestic Letter-book from 1749^{xxxi}

This record of letters sent concerned Charles 3's domestic affairs, and showed that Charles 3 frequently corresponded with Mr Wildman, his broker, where letters regarding money transactions seem to link directly to items in the Bank of England account book and he appeared frequently to discuss the sale of bank stock with Wildman. So not only was Charles Tudway 3 an Antiguan plantation owner and planter, but he also saw himself as a canny investor in the stock market. A far cry from the provincial Master Wool-comber of a few years earlier. There were also regular letters to Jno Tudway – his brother John - in Charing Cross, London. Charles wrote from Wells on 11 Nov 1749 complaining about letters not being received from him in response to those sent and about a punch bowl that '*has no heat arraigned*'. Charles also asks to '*be informed of young savages condition*.' This may be taken to mean that Jno had acquired a young, enslaved child at his home in London and we note the language used has degraded from 'boy' or even 'negro' to 'savage'. There are no further references to this child in other letters.

In a letter to Mr Douglas on 1st May 1750 he recounted to him what he had heard about the weather from Mr Evanston with the bad news of there being drought in Antigua. This was followed by a letter to Mr Smith 9 August 1751 a year later, where he discussed the poor price of sugar and directed him that he should not sell below 35/- per hhd. He also expressed concern over rum that has 'gone astray,' probably at hands of sailors, and suggested how to prevent this. There was also a note of instructions to Rowland Ash, who he sent to Antigua to manage the plantation, warning him to keep away from bad company and '*not drink rum unless in punch*', as well as to take care to avoid being out after sunset '*lest the dew causes a fever*'. According to Mary Gleadall^{xxxii} Rowland Ash was joined by Charles' brother-in-law Robert Holloway in 1757 and the two men shared a managers' house that had two rooms and a hall. Robert was to keep an eye on Rowland and complained that he had not been given sight of the accounts. He also reported not seeing the attorneys - Mr Farley, Mr Bannister nor Mr Blizard.

Charles 3's letter to his son Clement, dated 20th April 1751 revealed that he is sad to hear that the academy he has sent his son to is 'so scanty of Gentlemen' and instead showed the behaviour of '*infamous and wicked rascalls*'.^{xxxiii} He gave a gentle warning to his son reminding him of his many blessings and, basically, to stay out of trouble. Clement 3 (aged 17 at the time) was living with his Uncle (John -Jno) in London and Charles asked him to tell his aunt that to expect him and Charles'

sister-in-law, Polly Holloway, in the coach along with ‘the little family’. Another letter to brother John (Jno) repeats the information that he and Mrs Tudway along with the small family were to be coming to London, due to arrive in Milk Street that Thursday, which was presumably John’s house. Mrs Tudway was charged with carrying out some financial transactions of Charles 3’s behalf with her brother-in-law as well as with his business associates, Mr. Gulliver and Mr James Douglas.

The Cedars

One of the first things that Charles undertook in 1751 was to build himself and family a grand house known as The Cedars, on the Liberty of St Andrew in Wells. He also purchased land and farms in the vicinity which embedded him as landowning gentry which was definitely a step up from his life as a sheep farmer and master wool-comber. According to Mr David Tudway Quilter, the house on the Liberty had belonged to the Evans family since the 17th c. Charles 3 purchased it from the ‘heir in law’ Leticia Hughes, who had inherited it from Mary Evans and John Pine. The transaction for the sale of the old house at the sum of £3,442.4.3d was done via the Bank of England. Then in 1758, an agreement was drawn up wherein Thomas Paty, a Bristol builder and craftsman, undertook to take down the old house and build a new one according to the plans set out by Charles Tudway. The cost of the building came to £4,871.16.8½d which is in excess of £800,000 in today’s money, but allowing for rising costs the actual sum today would greatly exceed that. Then there was the furniture and sumptuous furnishings that made this a most stately of country houses. The agreement was transcribed in full by Tudway Quilter in his account of the Tudway family.^{xxxiv} There are records, now kept in the Somerset Heritage Centre, of the paylists for the men and women who took part in this great building project. These records included everything from cutting down oak trees, so the transporting of especially carved stone to the making of fine furniture and lush furnishings. There were skilled men such as Sawyers, Coopers, Fellers, Thatchers, Smiths, Bricklayers, Plumbers, Masons and cutters of the finest blue stone. With a full list of names it is possible that there are descendants of these skilled artisans still around today. It was Mr Paty’s job to ensure a full and detailed account of every job and every expenditure was kept and he did so diligently.^{xxxv} He also acted as the ‘project manager’ ensuring all the work was done according to plan and to the highest standard.

Charles 3 wished to have an unobstructed view from his drawing room at the front of the house, so In March 1761, a Consent Bill was drawn up to exchange lands from the Archdeacon of Wells to Charles Tudway. The property was described as a

‘capital Messuage or Dwelling House commonly called a Canonical House, situate within the Liberty of St Andrews in Wells aforesaid and lately in the possession of Frances Savire, clerk (... deceased) and also of Two Pieces or Parcels of Ground adjoining and belonging to the said capital Messuage, and contrary, together by Estimation One Acre and a Quarter, or thereabouts, and extending from the Garden Wall of and belonging to the said Messuage of Dwelling House on the South to a Street or Lane known as the Back Liberty, on the North and from a Street or Place known as Close Hall on the West to a Street or Lane called The Liberty otherwise College Lane on the East in which said capital Messuage and Two Pieces of Parcel Ground are subject to a Chief Rent of One Pound Seven Shillings and Eight Pence, payable to the Dean and Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of Wells for the time being ever.’^{xxxvi}

This comprises the land opposite the Cedars on which there are beautiful cedar trees planted by Charles 3. Two more were planted at the end of the 19th century being the *Cedrus libani* and the *Cedrus atlantica*.

In addition to The Cedars, Charles 3 bought other sizeable properties in Wells. One was in New Street and is now known as the Judges House having previously been used as a lodging by the Judges at the Wells Assizes. Bella Vista in Chamberlain Street was the residence of Charles's son Robert. He then went further afield purchasing agricultural land stretching from Wells to Chewton Mendip and up to Dulcote. This also comprised the Combe at Woolcombe, which is boundaried by the A39, as well as Tor Hill. Charles 3 also kept a pack of hounds on the Combe, known as Mr Tudway's Foxhounds.^{xxxvii}

Mrs Hannah Tudway must have been delighted with her state-of-the-art kitchen and dining room at the Cedars where she could entertain her husband's friends, delighting their taste buds with her cook's wonderful turtle soup and other exotic 'sweetmeats' sent up from Antigua. The finest Madeira wine and rum would have been freely available as well as the best alcoholic indulgencies of the day. Despite the trend to have an enslaved boy as a finely dressed house servant, there is no evidence yet found to suggest the Tudways engaged in this extravagance. They did however have the famous English portrait painter, Thomas Gainsborough, create two gracious portraits of Charles 3 and his wife, Hannah that hung in the house for all who came there to admire. These would have cost between 50 – 100 Guineas so were quite a reflection of status and extravagance. They were sold in 1909 for £2000 and copies made which are still hung in the Cedars, the originals being housed in the Courtauld Institute Galleries in London and the Baltimore Museum in the United States of America.

So, by his 40's Charles 3 was well and truly a land-owning country gentleman and set about developing his status accordingly. Taking on civic responsibilities was a way in which to enjoy local standing. In addition to becoming church warden at St Cuthbert's Church as the representative of Wells Corporation. He also became Mayor, Chief Magistrate and Tory MP for Wells. At that time Wells was a two-seat borough, with an electorate of just 250 property owning constituents. By 1754, Charles 3 had obtained control over one seat in the borough, the other being held by Lord Digby, followed by his son, Robert Digby. He was returned second on the poll with a large majority over his opponent. He was regarded as a government supporter and was a follower of Henry Fox. He retired in 1761 to make way for his son, Clement 3, as in those days it was possible to inherit a Parliamentary seat. There was nothing notable about Charles 3's Parliamentary career but at that time this was not as important as having a strong local reputation, standing out as an influential, agreeable and charitable family man.

Charles 3 had strong religious sensibilities and wanting to keep in the Almighty's good books he kept himself educated as to morality and other such matters. He subscribed to William Davies' *'Sermons on Religious and Moral Subjects Calculated for the Use of Families'*. Davies was a Welsh Methodist cleric whose writings seemed to impress Charles 3 in the necessity to be honest and fair and not be too taken up with riches but use them to help others. In his life in Wells there seems to be plenty of evidence that he aimed to live a good life, yet at the same time, these standards of behaviour seemed to not apply to the enslaved on his Antiguan plantations. He also subscribed to the *'Poems of Mr Thomas Blacklock'*, second edition which was printed in 1756.^{xxxviii} Blacklock was a well-connected, devout Scotsman whose poems were of a religious nature, thus demonstrating further the desire of Charles 3 to be a moral and upstanding Christian.

The Tudway Inns in Wells

Despite the upstanding and moral posturing, Charles 3 was not averse to promoting the imbibing of alcohol, especially in the form of rum or Madeira wine. The rum, of course, was a product of the

sugar grown on his plantation on Antigua and was a profitable side-line. Madeira wine was purchased by Tudway's agents sailing back and forth on the packet ships, collecting the wine on the return journey. As Charles 3 was an affable kind of man, places of socialisation where food and alcohol could be partaken, or where travellers could rest, would be an ideal business for him to add to his property and enterprise portfolio. The most famous of Charles 3's inns was the Swan as its still exists today as the Swan Hotel, in Sadler Street, Wells. It dates back to 1422 as a coaching inn and was leased to Charles 3 by the City of Wells' Corporation in 1769 on the undertaking that he repaired and maintained it. It was then bought outright by his son Clement in 1798 and it remained in the Tudway family ownership until 1885. In March 1757 he purchased the Christopher Inn for £480, cash, which according to the payment detail in his account book, also had a garden and a court attached.^{xxxix} This building is still standing in the High Street, now trading as Mountain Warehouse. Originally this had been a lodging for the Vicars Choral opening first in 1404, then in the ownership of Charles 3 as the Christopher Inn and becoming the Somerset Hotel through various owners from 1862 to 1887. Another Inn was the Queen's Arms in High Street/Queen Street, operating from the premises now trading as the St Margaret's Hospice. There are other properties including houses in Chamberlain Street and New Street, as well as Chancellors Farm in Priddy. A pay list for the farm in 1769 showed the average wage paid to labourers George Savidge, John Simons and William Gully was 1/- (5p) per day with a full week of six days grossing 6/- (30p) only. Compared to the luxurious lifestyle of Charles 3 Tudway and his family the vast income differential shows that absolutely no benefits from the profits of slavery 'trickled down' to the agricultural labouring class.

Charles 3 Tudway's Will

When Charles 3 died in 1770 his will made provision for his family. To Hannah, his wife, he left the Cedars, but only for her to reside in for 1 year, after which it was to be made over to his oldest son Clement 3. But he gave to her '5 closes' purchased from Dr Sam Cresswicke, Dean of Wells, in lease from the Bishop of Bath and Wells. This may have referred to properties in the Vicars Close. In addition he gave her messuages (parcels of land) from John Holden (Gent) at Easton and Dursdown in St Cuthberts. He also gave her £400.

To his sons he left cash £12,000 to Charles, who became an Alderman of Wells, £5,000 to Robert who married Mary, daughter of Rev John Paine, Dean of Wells, residing in Chamberlain Street. To his daughter Mary he left £3,000 to be held in trust as she was still a child who, in time, married Rev Rowland Hill; to Elizabeth, wife of Rev Francis Drake, of New Street, Wells, he left £12,000. To his mother, Mary he left £10 and a ring, brother Clement £30, sister-in-law Elizabeth Raynes £20 and unclear sum to widowed sister-in-law Mary. Then an assortment of smaller gifts to servants and friends with everything remaining to his son Clement - and this would have included the Parham Plantations in Antigua and well as the sugar businesses, Inns, property and land. A tidy inheritance indeed.

It can be seen that for Charles Tudway 3, as for many others like him, the lifestyle he enjoyed was founded upon the money and status of being a 'West Indian Planter'. He went from being a Master Wool Comber, with a fairly comfortable income, to being a propertied, wealthy landowner and sugar merchant, enabling him to become a fully-fledged member of the landed gentry with his hand in many spheres of influence, such as the Church, Judiciary and Parliament. This paved the way for his eldest son to follow in his footsteps, enjoying an equally affluent land powerful lifestyle, as well as providing comfortable for his other children. His daughters also enjoyed lives of prosperity 'marrying well' into respectable members of the Church establishment.

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- ⁱ Oliver, V (1895) History of Antigua; Pedigree of Tudway pp 147/8
- ⁱⁱ Ancestry.co.uk UK Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures 1710-1811
- ⁱⁱⁱ Ancestry.co.uk UK Register of Duties Paid for Apprentice Indentures 1710-1811
- ^{iv} Instructions of Mr Clement Tudway to Mr Thomas Miller (March 1749) Box DD/TD/14 11 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^v Ibid Box DD/TD/14 11 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{vi} Letter from Mr Paris 27 July 1749 Box DD/TD/14 11 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{vii} 'Some thoughts' Mr Paris Box DD/TD/14 11 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{viii} Oliver, V L. (1895) Will of Clement Tudway in History of Antigua Vol 3 Mitchell and Hughes. London p 146
- ^x Oliver, V L. (1895) Will of Richard Tudway in History of Antigua Vol 3 Mitchell and Hughes. London p 146
- ^{xi} Gaspar, D.B. (1985) Bondmen and Rebels. A Study of Master-Save Relations in Antigua USA John Hopkins University Press (1st Edition)
- ^{xii} Gleadall, M (2016) The Tudway Letters. Lightning Source pp 34-60
- ^{xiii} Letters from managers to Charles Tudway 1759 to 1784 D68 (BOA) pp1-9 [Antigua, Slavery and Emancipation in the Records of a Sugar Plantation, 1689-1907 - Access | British Online Archives](#)
- ^{xiv} Ibid pp9-11
- ^{xv} Ibid pp 16-17
- ^{xvi} Ibid pp 26-27
- ^{xvii} Ibid pp 27-29
- ^{xviii} Ibid pp190
- ^{xix} Ibid pp191/2
- ^{xx} Ibid p 200
- ^{xxi} Ibid p220
- ^{xxii} Ibid p234
- ^{xxiii} Ibid pp240-241
- ^{xxiv} Ibid p 246
- ^{xxv} Bank of England bank book Clem Tudway DD/TD 1/19 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxvi} Bank of England bank book Charles Tudway DD/TD/1/16 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxvii} Personal Accounts Charles Tudway from 1749-1765 DD/TD/1/28 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxviii} Parham Plantation Accounts Book DD/TD/14 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxix} Parham Plantation Account of Sale August 1756 DD/TD/14 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxx} Record of customer bills for alcohol etc 1740-1750s DD/TD/1/14 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxxi} Letter book of Charles Tudway DD/TD/1/15 Letter to brother Jno Tudway Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxxii} Gleadall, M (2016) The Tudway Letters Lightning Source. PP70/71
- ^{xxxiii} Letterbook DD/TD/1/15 Letter from Charles Tudway to Clement Tudway. 20th April 1751
- ^{xxxiv} Tudway Qulter, D (1985) The Cedars and the Tudways in A History of Wells Cathedral School. Wells, Somerset. Clare, Son &Co Ltd. PP67-68
- ^{xxxv} Bills etc re The Cedars The Tudway Collection DD/TD/1/1 Somerset Heritage Centre
- ^{xxxvi} Consent Bill ibid
- ^{xxxvii} Tudway Quilter, D. (1985) op cit pp 69-69
- ^{xxxviii} Ancestry.co.uk both these works are cited on the page for Charles Tudway, under the section City and Area Directories.
- ^{xxxix} Personal Accounts Charles Tudway from 1748-1765 DD/TD/1/28 Somerset Heritage Centre