

## Clement Tudway 2 (1684-1749)

Clement Tudway 2, born On 21<sup>st</sup> April 1684, London, was the only son of Clement 1 and Rachel Tudway. He was just five years old when his father died in 1688. He inherited his father's Parham Plantation, Antigua on his mother's death in 1730, when he was aged 46. He did not marry so had no direct heirs. His father's will<sup>i</sup> said he should inherit the Parham Plantations when he came of age at 21 (1705), but at that time he was living between London and Lincoln, seemingly receiving education and very much dependant on his mother, Rachel Tudway, for allowances. She also paid his board and lodging bills, his account at his tailor, hatter, wig maker and apothecary as well as for his education. The Tudway records contain a small bundle of papers including letters to his mother asking for money as well as his creditors requesting payment.<sup>ii</sup>

Clement wrote briefly in each of these letters, starting and ending with formal politeness but the content of the letter was always about asking for money or for items he required. For a man in his early 20s it seemed belittling to have to ask his mother in this way so it begs the question of why this might be. Did his mother not trust him or was this just the way things were done? It is also noted that Clement's spelling is rather poor (notwithstanding the varied spelling styles of the day) and he is 20 years old when he is being taught by Mr More, a private tutor. At that time it was not unusual for boys to be educated either at home or at the home of a scholarly man. There is no evidence found of him attending a 'public' school such as Eton or Harrow or attending a university such as Oxford or Cambridge. His father's will showed he was to inherit at age 21, but it appeared that his mother was very much in charge. It would appear that Clement 2 was not receiving an income from the plantation and there is no evidence of him having an independent income at this time in his life.

One thing was clear from the apothecary bills was that he spent some time being very unwell in his late teens. The following bill from Mr John Sheffield, apothecary, of London, in 1703<sup>iii</sup> showed how in August that year Clement 2 consumed an enormous amount of medicinal compounds of one sort or another. Below is a transcript of part of Mr Sheffield's bill. There is an explanation of the strange potions Clement 2 received in the notes section below.

Aug 14 1703	A sudorific potion <sup>iv</sup>	0	1	4
Aug 14	An Emetic Potion <sup>v</sup>	0	2	0
Aug 15	Salt of Wormwood <sup>vi</sup>	0	0	1
"	An Emetic Bolus <sup>vii</sup>	0	1	6
Aug 16	Carminative Glyster <sup>viii</sup>	0	2	0
Aug 17	Spirit of Wine	0	0	0
Aug 17	Camphorated Zinj <sup>ix</sup>	0	0	6
Aug 17	Plaister for feet	0	1	4
Aug 17	Six diuretic (or diaphoretic) powders <sup>x</sup>	0	5	0
Aug 17	Milk Water <sup>xi</sup>	0	1	0
Aug 17	Anodyne Mixture <sup>xii</sup>	0	1	4
Aug 18	A dose of purging pills <sup>xiii</sup>	0	1	0
Aug 18	Purging salt <sup>xiv</sup>	0	0	2
Aug 18	A plaister for stomach <sup>xv</sup>	0	1	6
Aug 19	5 Diaphoretic Powders	0	4	2
Aug 19	Dyott Drink <sup>xvi</sup>	0	4	0
Aug 19	Barley Water	0	1	6
Aug 19	Cordial Julap <sup>xvii</sup>	0	2	8
Aug 19	Spirit of Fosset Nitre <sup>xviii</sup>	0	1	0
Aug 19	An Aperative Bolo or Bolus <sup>xix</sup>	0	1	0

Aug 20	Barleywater again	0	1	6
Aug 20	Plaister for stomach	0	1	6
Aug 20	Carminative Glyster	0	2	0
Aug 20	Cordial Bolus	0	1	0
Aug 20	Cordial Julap again	0	2	8
Aug 21	Cordial Bolus	0	2	0
Aug 22	A restring't Apozem tbl <sup>xx</sup>	0	4	0
Aug 22	A restring't Bolo	0	1	0
Aug 23	Cordial Diuretic Bolo/Bolus	0	1	2
Aug 23	Restring Apozam	0	2	0
Aug 23	Spirit of froset nitre	0	2	0
Aug 24	A dose of Purging Pills	0	1	0

The total for this bill comes to £2.16.7, for one month. In today's money that is in excess of £500. Only a privileged and affluent person could have afforded such a sum of money and of course Rachel paid up to help her 19 year old son recover from what must have been a serious gastric illness. One cannot help sparing a thought for the poor chambermaid or servant who had to take away the pails and chamber pots after the medication had taken effect. With the lack of basic hygiene and an 18th century propensity not to open windows in the sick room, it is no wonder that it took a long time to recover. It was not the only time Clement 2 was ill either, as in August 1707, as the transcript of the letter below shows, he wrote to his mother informing her of his recovery. John Sheffield, the apothecary, and erstwhile barber and surgeon, resided in Wood Street, London, in 1695<sup>xxi</sup> although it appears that he may have been born in Norfolk in 1667, creating a possible connection of the families to that area. Mr. Sheffield was known to have sent medicines down for the plantation, but as these appear to be single dose prescriptions it is unlikely that this was for anything other than Clement 2's personal needs.

Clement 2 was not always living in London. Many letters came from innkeepers or a landlord in Lincoln requesting Mrs Tudway pay Clement 2's bills for board and lodging as well as for the care of his horse. He often mentions cousins – coz Cook and Coz Cloudesly – also Lincoln based, giving a possible indication that he was welcomed by his mother's family. Men such as Richard Disney and Edward Garthwaite, also Norfolk born, are mentioned and seem to be acquainted with Rachel Tudway too,

*Lincoln Aug 18 1707*

*Madam*

*This is to acquaint you of my fever has quite left me thanks be to Almighty God. I am perfectly well and Lincoln----(?) journey I rode on hors back. I design mother to leave of smoking quite and humbly beg forthold(?) men(?) faire drawing nigh you will be pleased to give me a pretty large silver snuff box .let it be over. It is true it will be chargeable it may amount to £1.15.0 but yr silver will sell well for something. Again but pray deare mother let me have one and send it by next weeke yr \_\_\_\_\_ (?) my duty to yr self and love to sisters and service where due. I \_\_\_\_ yr most dutiful and obedient son*

*Clem Tudway*

(NB – the gaps are where the writing is illegible.)

Clement 2 was also asking his mother for an expensive snuff box as it seems this new habit was to replace that of smoking. Later that year he wrote again to his mother with a sense of insistence for her to increase his allowance and it seems he may have had his way with the snuff box as this letter also asked her to send him half a pound of snuff! In the letter below, when he was 23 years old, he was insisting she raised his allowance so that he could maintain his lifestyle, saying that would have been what his father wanted. He gave an impression of being rather manipulative and with a sense of entitlement and, perhaps, anger as it seemed that Rachel was still holding the purse strings and had not handed over the estates to him. Probably for good reason. He mentioned difficulty in selling – sugar perhaps? It would not have been unusual at that time for a parent to have kept a son to the standard he was used to while he was still building his own career so that he might still be part of the social circles he was born to.

*Honored Mother*

*Lincoln Novbr 26 1707*

*Madam*

*I rec'd of you 13<sup>th</sup> and consider you should be against if augmenting my allowance. I have done my endeavour to live within yr compass of it hereto but shall be unwilling any longer so to do considering I have so many things to buy that is necessary without a mean, I cannot live it being my desire to be like my fathers only son and I see you & your account upon which I could say my request would be granted it being no more y' en (even) £100 a yeare & well equipt as to stocking I say no more till I see you my mare<sup>xxii</sup> I cannot sell without great lose att this time ayeare. In a letter dated Jul 15<sup>th</sup> I rec'd an order upon Coz Coock for £3 wch is but halfe of my hors costs All & by yr next post I desire an order, for as much more with answer; prey let my shirts be finer than my last & also my other wearing apparel my sword hilt broke I should be glad of another wth half a pound of snuff my love to sisters and service whare due wth duty to selfe I conclude yr*

*Obedient son C Tudway*

*Mr & Mdame Disney  
gave their service to  
you with Coz Clowdesley*

In the letter below he was very insistent that his mother sent him what he has asked for, regardless of 'whether the fleet has come', referring to the ships from the Caribbean bringing goods for sale – most likely sugar - that will yield the profit due his mother that Clement 2 is itching to spend!

*23<sup>rd</sup> December 1707*

*Honored Madam*

*I need yrs (?) on order on Coz Cooke for £2.10.10. I need this and I am sorry to send an account from Mr Grigg. I hope you will be so kind as to send the things I wrote for by first opportunity with an account whether or not the fleet is come my love to sisters, I shall be glad to hear my sister Denoon<sup>xxiii</sup> is partially recovered. Ys with humble duty yr self concludes your most obedient son C. Tudway*

The other items in the bundle of letters were bills for clothing, wigs, hats and gloves. The cost of the personal items suggested a luxurious standard of living afforded to him by courtesy his mother. In © Stephanie Mathivet for Wells and Transatlantic Slavery Group

1707, there were bills for mourning clothes for himself, his sisters and his mother due to the death of his sister, Elizabeth, known to the family as Denoon, after her husband's surname. It seemed that Clement 2 favoured his clothes being made in London. One particular tailor was Aaron Peters, based in Coleman Street, London, very close to where Rachel Tudway lived with her children. The tailor who made the mourning clothes was Symon Cheyney. There are no records found of where Cheyney was living but records of the surname suggests a Lincoln connection.

Records show that in 1712,<sup>xxiv</sup> there was an inheritance dispute with Mr Denoon. Elizabeth inherited money from her father which according to the normal order of the day, would have gone to her husband but Clement 1's will had stipulated the inheritance should remain with the family should any of his daughters die.

Clement 2 had shares in the South Sea Company which had been formed in 1711 as a British 'joint stock' company to reduce the national debt through making money selling enslaved Africans to islands in the Caribbean and South America. This monopoly was known as the 'Asiento de Negros' but as there were continuing wars between England and Spain, little money was accrued in this way. The company made its money dealing in government debt which after a peak in 1720 collapsed bringing ruin to thousands of its investors. This was known as the South Sea Bubble. With greater regulation the company picked up and for a while continued in trading enslaved persons to the Spanish controlled Americas. It also dabbled in whaling off Greenland, but its main business remained in dealing government stock. It is possible that Clement 2 purchased shares cheaply on the company's downturn which realised him a significant income and capital as his will suggests.<sup>xxv</sup>

After his mother's death he inherited the Parham estate. A number of indentures were made in 1732 between Clement and his mother, just before she died, leasing the land at Parham Hill along with 'slaves and cattle'. This would have assured Clement 2 an income without him needing to be a 'hands on' manager. There were some accounts records of his time managing Parham and it is possible that his management of the plantation did not follow his mother's more liberal leanings towards enslaved people. There were no letters remaining, but items in the show he had a strong preference for the distilling of rum, rather than producing sugars to sell. The accounts also revealed that in June 1730, just before his mother's death he paid Messrs Gamble and Baker for 'surveying and planning the plantation' for the fee of £50<sup>xxvi</sup> which showed that Clement 2 was preparing for his takeover of Parham and was sorting out leases and the messy boundaries that were an inevitable result of forty years of a number of leases of apportioned acreages of the Parham land under Rachel Tudway. The final map of the estate is held in the Wells and Mendip Museum, Wells, Somerset.

Clement 2 banked at the Bank of England and a surviving bank book of his shows regular payments were made between 1735-1738 to Susann Cloudesley (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.<sup>xxvii</sup>

### **The house at Ealing**

In the latter years of his life Clement 2 purchased land and, it is believed, a house in Ealing. This was a portion of land previously owned by Lewis Turnell (or Tufnell). William Wotton, solicitor, had an agreement drawn up between them where it seems that Clement 2 took on a piece of land in the 'Manor of Ealing' on behalf of his mother, Rachel Tudway.<sup>xxviii</sup> Prior to that on November 14, 1734, Clement 2 paid Edward Gwyn for clerical duties attending the premises to meet with lawyers regarding the house<sup>xxix</sup>. There appeared to be some delays with Wotton apologising for the hitches, On 25 October 1746 Thos Wilkins, another solicitor, drew up a 'Bond for quiet enjoyment' of Ealing house by Clement Tudway esq of City of Lincoln who paid £40 for it<sup>xxx</sup>. A final letter to Clement 2

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dated 19th November 1735 from Mr Wotton, of Bedford St Covent Garden, informed him that he was now free to take up the property in full.

Just before he died, Clement Tudway received a bill from Thos Nicholls for grounds and agriculture work carried out from 1748 to 1749 amounting to £23.15.0 In May 1748 the balance was paid off by Clement's executor Charles Tudway. It is not known what happened to the house.

### **Parham Plantation, Antigua**

When Clement 2 took over the management of the Parham Plantation in Antigua he set about business in a very different way from his mother, Rachel. First of all, he ensured a new map of the estate was drawn up, clarifying boundaries according to the original lease from when his father brought the land. As mentioned above, this map is now in the Wells and Mendip Museum. He also had drawn up a register of the enslaved working on the plantation. The list, dated 1736/7, totalled 210 men, women, great girls, great boys, little girls and little boys. Of note is that those children born on the plantation, the names of their mother is recorded. Very few have surnames and many still retain their African given names. Of note in this register is the names of Watty – a carpenter who was executed, Cuffee, a mason, who was transported as well as Attaw, driver, and George who were still in custody. Their punishments were for taking part in a rebellion, known as Takyi's Rebellion.

### **Takyi's rebellion.**

There were many uprisings of enslaved people throughout the Caribbean, but the rebel of most fame in Antigua was that of a young man, a mason, named Tacky - an Anglicised version of Takyi. His real name was Kwaku Takyi, an Akan name, who also named himself King Court or Prince Klaas. We can surmise he was taken from the Asante Kingdom and put on a slave ship somewhere along the Gold Coast bound for the Caribbean. He was said to have been a Coromantee, not an ethnic group but someone who was taken from an Akan settlement, Kormantse, where the Dutch took over a fort called Kormantine. Klaas is Dutch meaning 'Victory to the People', suggesting then a deliberate choice of name. The Dutch were early in the business of trafficking Africans along the West African Coast and at one time held many forts there, including Elmina. It is possible that Klaas met traders, and picked up some of the language, but then bad luck happened and he ended up being captured and sold himself. He came to Antigua at the age of 10 in 1704. Klaas became the property of a plantation owner by the name of Thomas Kerby. He evidently possessed considerable presence and skill as Kerby raised him to the rank of "head slave" and brought him to live in the Antiguan capital, St. John's. However, in October 1736 Klaas led a plot to overthrow and kill the white rulers on Antigua and establish a free African society, like Haiti, but it was discovered by the British. Insurrection was a crime that carried severe punishment so at a tribunal he was sentenced to death by the breaking wheel. His other co-conspirators totalling 32 Africans, including some from Parham, confessed to having some stake in the scheme. In all, 132 were convicted of participating in it. Of this number, five, including Klaas, were broken on the wheel, six were gibbeted (hung in irons until they died of hunger and thirst) and 77 others were burned at the stake. All of these punishments were well known in European society including the immensely painful torture of the breaking wheel and was intended to put fear into the hearts and minds of the populace. The record says that Watty, was executed by being burned at the stake and that Cuffee, who apparently was not transported, was hung alive in an iron cage on a gibbet until dead, when his head was cut off and the body burned. Neither is there a record of what happened to Attaw but there is mention of another man, Cuffy, a driver from Parham, who was deported. George, an enslaved owned by Mr Thomas of Parham was a witness against the rebels. A full account of this can be found in a book called *Bondmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Save Relations in Antigua*, by David Barry Gaspar. (Pub Duke University Press 1993).

After that stiffer laws were brought in to Antigua and security for the whites was stepped up including bringing armed troops from Britain who were all trained in using bayonets and planters, including Clement 2, devised more vigilant systems to restrict the movements of the enslaved people.

### Parham Plantation Accounts

The estate accounts showed that rum was the preferred product for export rather than sugar alone as it yielded a greater income. Export of it increased as sugar export declined to almost nothing. Some sugars were sold to other planters, ('direct sales') rather than being shipped to England, possibly for the same reason, thus saving on shipping costs. After Thomas Fenton died in 1734, Edward Davy prepared the final year's accounts, witnessed by Edward Byam and Nathaniel Crump in June 1735. The latter took over as manager and it was he who then prepared the accounts thereafter. What is noted in these accounts is that every year there are payments being made to catching runaways. In the account for 1741, under 'sundries' is the following entry:

*19 December To Alex Crawford, Marshall, for two new Negroes Run away, taken up and put in the goale house. £2.7.0d (£2.35p)<sup>xxxix</sup>*

Perhaps Rachel's advice on the 'kinde' treatment of enslaved people was now a thing of the past and her theory that they will run away if treated too severely is proving true in this case.

A horrific entry appeared the following year.

*June 8<sup>th</sup> 1742 To Rob't Baker Coroner for calling an inquest on Edward Carter, a servant that shot himself. £4.7.2½d. (approx. £4.37p)*

*To Samuel Harris Constable for summoning the jury and seeing him buried between Three High Roads and drawing a stake into his body. £1.4.0d (£1.20)<sup>xxxix</sup>*

This was traditional practice until 1823 where thereafter a person committing suicide could be buried in a consecrated churchyard but only at night and without a Christian Service. Suicide remained illegal until 1961. Nevertheless, it raises the question of why Edward Carter, presumably and English servant, would have wanted to shoot himself. Records show that Edward Carter was a Servant in Bondage.<sup>xxxix</sup> A barber by trade, Carter came from Exeter to Antigua when he was 12 years old, his mother and father were dead. He was 18, and single, when sentenced and his bondage period was to have been for 5 years from the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1736. He would have been due to return to England in 1741 so it may have been a possibility that he was being prevented from doing so and felt he could go on no longer living in what were most abnormal circumstances of extremes of violence being perpetuated on the enslaved population, well as a licentious lifestyle on the part of many of the planter class.

From 1742 Clement 2's account book showed there was a different accounting style that reflected the changing requirements within the accounting profession and which itemised income and expenditure under headings to give annual totals in these areas as well as an overall annual profit/loss statement.<sup>xxxix</sup> It then became possible to see an annual total for example on 'New Negroes', possibly because around that time a tax was introduced on enslaved people at 7/- per head (35p) which is doubled for 'slaves for being absent from the estate'. That meant the tax at £98 was applied (twice) in Clement 2's case to the whole of his now 280 enslaved workers suggesting the double tax was applied to absentee owners not absentee slaves. Along with this tax was also a levy

on land per acre. Healthy profits from rum were enabling Clement 2 to expand his unpaid and unfree workforce considerably through the purchase of 'New Negroes' meaning those newly trafficked from Africa. In 1742, ten Africans were purchased, at least eight of whom were women. In 1744 this increased to 20, being 15 men and five women. There are no lists of enslaved at this point so it is hard to tell if this is workforce expansion or replacement for those dead, sick or disabled from the toll of relentless hard work and brutality. However, the tax accounts for 1746-1747 show the African enslaved workforce had increased to 308. The accounts showed that rum was yielding considerably more income – at least 6 times as much – than sugar alone. Clement 2 made the most of this opportunity by building up New Works and installing new copper stills to increase rum production. It also meant that in a bad sugar year rum could still be produced from poor crop not fit to export and cane trash.

In 1748 Edward Thomas, estate manager, died and it was passed over to Joshua Crump. The overseer at New works was Alexander McEntire (paid £50 per annum) along with Thomas Swan (Paid £20 per annum) and at Old Works it was William David (paid £40 per annum). However, in that same year Clement 2 died, leaving the Parham Hill plantations and warehouse in Parham Town 'and negroes etc'<sup>xxxv</sup> to his cousin (1<sup>st</sup>, once removed) Charles 3 as he had no immediate heirs. He also left his considerable shares in the South Sea Company to provide annuities for a number of family members his cousin (1<sup>st</sup>, once removed), Richard Clement, and Robert Holloway and William Davis being husbands of his cousins (1<sup>st</sup>, once removed), Elizabeth and Rachel. These amounted to £3000, according to Gleadall's research<sup>xxxvi</sup>, as well as shares in the Bank of England also valued at £3000. A codicil to his will also added three friends as beneficiaries of his largesse. An obituaries in the London Magazine of March 1749 referred to him as a 'gentleman of a large estate in Lincoln'.<sup>xxxvii</sup> However that estate has not been identified.

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Oliver, V (1895) Will of Clement Tudway proved 1748; Pedigree of Tudway in History of Antigua Vol 3 Mitchell and Hughes. London P150

ii Tudway papers. Box DD/TD/6 Somerset Heritage Centre

iii Ibid

iv Sudorifics encourage sweating which was regarded as a means to rid the body of 'poisons' causing the illness. The sudorific potion could be made from a number of different plant materials for a variety of illnesses, such as bilious fevers to clear the bowel, clear the stomach of bile, remit fever and tone the system. (Webster, N. (1758-1843) *A collection of Papers on the subject of bilious fevers etc.* <http://quod.lib.umich.edu>

v To induce vomiting

vi Potassium Carbonate – an impure form of from ashes of wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium*) used for gastric illnesses.

vii An emetic in the form of a ball to be swallowed

viii A preparation to calm the stomach – possibly after intense vomiting or purging. Can contain Camomile flowers, Bay berries, sweet fennel and cumin seeds. Made by boiling, straining, adding Brandy, olive oil and oil of aniseed. *The Pharmacopeia Extemporanea* [www.pascalbonenfant.com](http://www.pascalbonenfant.com)

ix May refer to a medicinal root known as Galangal

x Or diaphoretic powders – to reduce sweating

xi Possibly a light diet drink to help restore the digestion

xii A distillation known as Spirit of Ether possibly used as an anti-spasmodic

xiii Possible Antimony Pills used to purge the bowels,

xiv Possibly Epsom Salts used to clear the bowels

xv A compound containing Tacamahac, Balsam of Tolu, Dagon's Blood, Balsam of Peru, Oil of Nutmeg, Cloves and Aniseed. *The Pharmacopeia Extemporanea* – the website of Pascal Bonenfant [www.pascalbonenfant.com](http://www.pascalbonenfant.com)

xvi Unable to find reference to Dyott in 18<sup>th</sup> c. Reasonable to assume this is another stomachic potion

xvii A digestive carminative recipe given on website [Pharmacopoeia Extemporanea: A Cordial Julep \(pascalbonenfant.com\)](http://Pharmacopoeia Extemporanea: A Cordial Julep (pascalbonenfant.com))

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- <sup>xviii</sup> Spirits of Nitre was used to reduce fever, relieve muscle spasms, reduce belching and abdominal pain and to promote production and excretion of urine.
- <sup>xix</sup> An easily digestible medicinal compound to help stimulate the appetite
- <sup>xx</sup> An Apozem is a tincture or decoction – it is unclear what ‘restring’t’ pertains to or ‘resting or restoring’?
- <sup>xxi</sup> Boyd’s Inhabitants of London & Family Units (1695) 1200-1946 [www.findmypast.co.uk](http://www.findmypast.co.uk)
- <sup>xxii</sup> Probably means mère (mother)
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Denoon is the surname of his married sister, Elizabeth who married David Denoon..
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Find my past [Record Transcription: Inheritance Disputes Index, 15 74-1714 | findmypast.co.uk](#)
- <sup>xxv</sup> Oliver, C (1895) op cit
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Thomas Fenton [Accounts 1730](#) Box DD/TD/8 Somerset Heritage Centre
- <sup>xxvii</sup> [Bank of England bank book Clem Tudway](#) DD/TD 1/19
- <sup>xxviii</sup> [Letter from Wotton to Clement 2 Tudway](#) 19 Nov 1735 Tudway papers. Box DD/TD/1/4 Somerset Heritage Centre
- <sup>xxix</sup> Edward Glyn Receipt from Clement Tudway 14 Nov 1734 Box DD/TD/1/4 Somerset Heritage Centre
- <sup>xxx</sup> Thos Wilkins Bond for ‘quiet enjoyment’ of house at Ealing Box DD/TD/1/4 Somerset Heritage Centre
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Thomas Fenton [Accounts 1741/1744](#) Box DD/TD/8 Somerset Heritage Centre
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Thomas Fenton ibid
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> Ancestry.co.uk [A List of Emigrants from England to America, 1682-1692, 1718-1759 - Ancestry.co.uk](#)
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> Thomas Fenton op cit 1742
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Oliver, Vere (1895) [Will of Clement Tudway](#) Pedigree of Tudway in [History of Antigua Vol 3](#) Mitchell and Hughes. London
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Gleadall, M (2016) [The Tudway Letters](#). Antigua. BWISC . Lightning Source
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> [The London Magazine 1749-03: Vol 18 : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive](#)