

Clement Tudway 3 (1734-1815)

Clement Tudway 3 was born on the 8th October 1734 and was the eldest son of Charles and Hannah Tudway. After him came his brother Charles (b 1739), then Robert (b1740) followed by his sisters Elizabeth (b 1741) and Mary (b 1747). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Rowland Hill; they resided at The Cedars but had no children.

Clement was educated at Oriel College, Oxford where he studied Law from 1751 to 1754. In 1752 he entered Middle Temple and was then called to the Bar in 1759 at the age of 25. In 1760 he succeeded his seat in Parliament from his deceased father, Charles 3.

Clement 3 held his seat in Parliament for 54 years, gaining the title 'Father of the House', reserved for the longest standing members. However, his Parliamentary career was hardly illustrious. He was better known for his absence, particularly at the end of his parliamentary career when he was afflicted by gout. He rarely spoke in the House but was known to be 'adverse' to the abolition of the slave trade.

He served as Mayor 11 times during the period from 1763 to 1809. His brother Robert also served as Mayor three times during the period from 1765 to 1778. Both followed their father, Charles 3 in this civic duty, who was Mayor last in 1757. His uncle, Robert Holloway, also held Mayorship 1754-1755, and, later his nephew John Paine Tudway, showing how influential the whole family was in the City over a period spanning almost 100 years. Other notable positions Clement 3 held were that of Recorder (Senior Circuit Judge) and Church Warden at St Cuthbert's Church in 1756.

In 1779, Wells Town Hall was built. This was partly funded by the Corporation and partly by individual contributions. Clement 3 was a major contributor to the funding of this famous municipal building which also housed the courtroom and holding cells.

Political life in Wells flourished, particularly when it came to convivial get-togethers. The Wells Company of Mercers were, by the middle of the 18th c. a group of influential 'freemen' of the borough. As 'freemen' had the right to vote, it served Clement well to be on good terms with this group, and to serve their interests, as they would be the electorate who voted for him to retain his seat in Parliament. Mathersⁱ notes that the Mercers evolved into 'something akin to a Gentlemen's Club' where weekly meeting involved drinking with a provision of alcohol that was carried over to the next session. Recalling the accounts of Charles Tudway, owner of the Swan Inn where these meets probably took place, it was apparent that copious amounts of rum and Madeira wine were available thanks to him.

Tudway-Quilter gave an account of the political rivalries within Wells in which satirical banter against the local opposition created much lively entertainment for interested parties.ⁱⁱ No doubt the Wells Company of Mercers was a hub where such goading of political rivals went on. In the Tudway Papers that are stored in the Somerset Heritage Centre, a document was found entitled 'The Sap Seal Club' which is reproduced in its entirety in a separate paper with explanatory notes, because it demonstrates both the extent of political satire and how cleverly this was devised by its author, Clement Tudway.

Clement Tudway 3 and the Parham Plantation

Clement 3 inherited The Parham Plantation upon the death of his father Charles 3 in 1770, although it is probable that he was assisting his father before that. The Attorneys who served him were Main Swete Walrond, John Gray, Joseph Lyons Walrond, Samuel Eliot, Rowland Burton, Thomas Norbury Kerby and Samuel Byam Athill. The bookkeepers and clerks were Sherland Swanston who was

Clement 3's family clerk, living in Charterhouse Square, London and Robert Martin, living in Antigua, as the primary but there were others of lesser importance in the records, such as Fortunatus Gibbons, and others. John Freeland was overseer for New Works in 1805 followed by John Turner in 1807 whose wages were £90 for the year. Freeland later became an attorney to Clement 3's successor, his nephew, John Paine Tudway.

Three apprentice boys from England served Parham Plantation being John Baston, William Woodman and Morgan Cox. No information has been found about these young men so far.

There was a piece of land on the Parham estate known as 'Evansons' because it had been lease by Charles 3 to Mr Edward Evanson who mostly lived in Guaina Island. He died in 1760 and his will declared that the land he leased from Charles Tudway should not be sold. It was therefore passed down to his nephew, the Reverend Nathaniel Evanson, also grandson of Nathaniel Evanson Snr, much to the dismay of Robert Bannister, who had wanted the land for himself. Edward had stipulated Nathaniel be 'genteelly educated at Eton.'ⁱⁱⁱ Evanson was £11,000 in debt upon his death mainly due to bad management and poor sugar crops arising from drought. He also granted, in his will, freedom to his infant 'mulatto' child, Cath.

In 1764, Alexander Crawford took over the lease of Evansons and the plantation became known as Crawfords.

Life, profit and loss in Parham during Clement 3's ownership

Right from the early days of Clement 3's ownership he faced problems. In March 1771 Chas Gordon wrote to him offering condolences for the death of his father hoping that *'he is removed to a state of more perfect bliss than Mortals are permitted to enjoy at this time.'*^{iv} The irony in this cannot go unnoticed. He informed Clement of the lack of rain for months and the severe drought being experienced by the plantation. Even more regrettable is the bad news that the ship New Parham (Captain Brown) caught fire at sea which has incurred Clement a considerable loss and considerable hardship to the plantation as it carried food and supplies. He also informed him that his 'Negroes' are well, and that he has only (sic) lost three, one of whom was a baby *'puny from birth.'* So a baby of low birth weight could only be because it was premature or due to the mother's lack of food. Here is an indication often referred to regarding maternal and infant mortality of hunger in the enslaved population that severely affected pregnant women, and poor maternity care.

Steven Blizzard's letter sent in May the same year also offered condolences but in explaining to Clement the virtues of the estate also said his father starved it of slaves and stock, which were greatly needed. He advised him to get a loan as well as to visit to see for himself as the estate, in Blizzard's view, was one of the best on the island and should be invested in, rather than sell off a portion of it, which it seemed to be the plan – no doubt referring to the deal being made with Alex and Frances Crawford.

Main Swete Walrond wrote in August 1771, appearing it seemed, to enjoy name dropping which is convenient for readers now. From the letter it is apparent he has been to London and sat in Lloyds Coffee House, where he conversed with a ship's captain and gained news of rain in Antigua. He also spoke of the total output for the island not being very good, including that of Sir William Codrington's estate as had another planter as well as neighbouring estates. Parham had been doing very badly with 'rather ordinary' sugars produced. He had been able to obtain 200 bushels of corn and 29 barrels of herrings – not nearly enough to feed the enslaved workers on Parham. He spoke of having beans but of needing more as the ones from Bristol were a little damp – he said ones from

London were better. His feedback to Clement 3 on the accounts described errors not corrected and due to the flu' he had not been able to send a list of 'Negroes and stock'. One 'Negro', Hope, broke his thigh some time ago, running after another man, but Walrond is pleased to say he is back to work. This was a serious injury, with many types of fracture that he could have incurred, and in modern times the recommendation is for 4-6 months recovery. It is unlikely that simply running after someone would cause such an injury unless there was a significant fall - could he have fallen down a ghaut in the dark or was there an altercation with another man or overseer? It is highly probable that Hope was under pressure to go back to work in the fields before he was fully healed. Treatment for such an injury in the 18thc would have involved nothing more than a splint and painful manipulation to reset the bone. He would have been left with one leg shorter than the other and a permanent limp.

Walrond's subsequent letter three weeks later informed Clement 3 that the weather was still very dry, the canes looked terrible and that the whole island was in distress. He also informed him that he had lost a 'Negro' child with convulsive cramp. This term was used to describe a seizure associated with high temperature caused by teething – a febrile convulsion. This could also be caused by being exposed to hot sun for a prolonged period with no covering to shade the head in particular. Sometimes women had to tie their child onto their backs to work in the fields in the hot sun and there may not have been a 'superannuated' woman to look after the infant. So it can be safely assumed that this child was in fact a baby or toddler.

Walrond is also worried that he might lose Mary but said that she was of 'very little value'. This probably means she was elderly, sick or disabled, but the fact he mentioned her by name suggests that at some point she had a good reputation with the managers for her diligence.

Farley's letter of 11th August 1771 spoke of accounts and various issues with debts which always seemed to be in hand, but never fully paid. Farley also advised Clement 3 that he needed 20 more negroes at New Works and 10 at Old Works as well as cattle if all went well with the next crop.

Main Swete Walrond's letter of 11th October 1771 was hopeful with reports of some rain, but another child had died. This time a four year old whose cause of death was 'dropsy' - a kind of edema known as nephrotic syndrome in young children where the kidneys leak large amounts of protein into the urine. It is often connected with Sickle Cell Anaemia in black children or can be caused by lupus, diabetes or hepatitis. In those days it is unlikely that Sickle Cell Anaemia would have been recognised, let alone diagnosed, so here was another group of black children who would have suffered so much pain and died untreated. Hepatitis was not well known about but as it had a faecal to oral transmission it is possible that poor hygiene around the latrines, or even through handling the dung used to fertilise the fields or the provision gardens, may have been the cause although normally this would cause bacterial enteric infections. It would seem then highly likely that the cause would have been Sickle Cell Anaemia.

The rest of the 'Negroes' are described as 'pretty well' but it was the cattle who were thin. He was hoping to receive beans from England as these were more nutritious than the corn from America. Mr Blizzard was not well either and Walrond awaited the arrival of a third Attorney.

These letters over the period of the first year describe life on the plantation giving Clement 3 a good idea of what he was now responsible for. The accounts always seemed to be late and inaccurate; the weather was as unpredictable as ever which affected the crop and therefore the Tudways' income.

Moreover, the letters also described the appalling state of health of the enslaved with lack of food and water, particularly for infants and children. According to Christopher K. Waters,^v 'the period of 1775-1785 showed a sharp decline in the enslaved population due to famine', and most likely its attending diseases such as dysentery as people were forced to eat and drink contaminated food and drink. There was no sign of Clement taking up the invitation to visit.

The intention of this invitation was far more than mere cordiality. It was educative. Walrond wanted Clement 3 to see for himself the realities of a managing a plantation and for him to be appraised of the day-to-day challenges. It would seem that this lack of knowledge led to some rankling between the two men as Walrond wrote in August 1774, telling Clement 3 in no uncertain terms that any perceived lack of progress on a 100 acre field of second ratoons was not due to the enslaved labour force not being 'well urged' to work harder. He explained the process of planting and growing ratoons, and the labour required was not as straightforward as it might appear. There were just over 500 enslaved persons across both Old Work and New Work plantations, but it required a lot of labour to prepare the land, plant and nurse the canes. He went on:

'On old settled estates there are a great many superannuated and infant slaves who cannot do anything, which, with the sick, the stock keepers, watches, Tradesmen, attendants at the sick house and upon the white people on the estate, and now and then there are some runaways, reduce the number of Negroes working in the fields very considerably, so much that there are but few old, settled estates on the Island that has more than a third of their whole number of slaves constantly working in the fields. Also, the season for preparing the land and planting is the most sickly time of the year and the days are short.'

'The Negro deaths in the list last sent certainly exceeded the births but you will observe that two of them lost their lives by the Hurricane and two died of smallpox. But few of them were of any value and some an encumbrance. You have a very good sick house, proper Nurse and the Doctor (who) gives good attendance and I assure you, nothing is wanted for the recovery of the sick.'

'We cannot grind any longer than this month as we must stop on account of the hurricane season and to prepare the land for putting in the canes for '76. You would have more canes left than would have made 100 h/heads of sugar if they could have been grown in proper time.'^{vi}

It appeared that Clement 3 had also been questioning the amount of Osnaburg and woollen cloth being sent to the estate to which Walrond replied that they keep extra for the 'poorer sort of Negroes' who have no clothes and rely on charity. He also asked for more cloth plus a list of stores which included '*I pair marking irons with spare irons*'. The purpose of the marking irons was not explained. On the one hand they would have been undoubtedly used for the purpose of marking the barrels of sugar and rum being sent to London, but, on the other hand, they may also have been required for the heinous purpose of branding enslaved people with Clement Tudway's initials to denote ownership as his chattel. There is no evidence thus far to support this kind of use. Something that stood out was that despite asking for cloth to make clothing, shoes were not on order. It may have been acceptable to managers for enslaved to work barefoot, but the impact on their health risking frequent injuries from cutting their feet on the stubble or stones, but worse was from insects that buried into the skin, called chiggers, and even more worrying, those that caused a disease called elephantiasis. This caused huge swelling in the legs and was very painful.

The enslaved population found ways of resisting slavery and getting their own back on the masters. That might have been by working slower, pretending not to hear or understand an instruction, playing sick, or stealing food, rum, stores or the like for their own use or to sell in the market. Short

of instigating rebellion, they might have chosen to run away. On a small island with no mountain forests, they had few places to run to so were invariably caught. A man on the slave list named Kingsail stole and then ran away leading Walrond no option but to sell him for sending to North America for £50 which, added Walrond, was a pretty good price, considering. Walrond offered commendation for another man on the list, named Scipio, who had been purchased from Mr Lynch and proved to be very able and a reasonably good cooper. In the same letter, which was sent in March 1775, Walrond informed Clement 3 that they had been ‘*a good deal unlucky in the loss of several of the New Work Negroes, especially four who died by eating a goat which had died from an infectious disease.*’^{vii}

Two months later another cooper from Old Work died of ‘dropsy - kidney failure leading to oedema. Moreover, letters now start to speak of animals – cattle and oxen- suffering and even dying. Lack of rain meant lack of water and lack of grass meaning no water or food so, in 1775, many were very thin, not recovered from overwork or died of disease or hunger.

The War Years

The period of Clement 3’s ownership of Parham was marked by the upheaval of some major wars affecting transatlantic relations and trade. These were The American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), The French Revolutionary War (1792-1803), The Napoleonic War (1803-1815) and the War of 1812 (1812-1814). It is of interest to explore these political backdrops to these events and the effects on the planters, their livelihoods and the welfare of the enslaved. The letters from the plantation managers to Clement 3 gave unique personal accounts of how these conflicts affected plantation life.

The American Revolutionary War (1775-1783)

The British government needed to increase its revenue as a result of the previous Seven Years War (1756-1763) that had left its coffers depleted. It decided to tax its colonies, firstly through the Stamp Act of 1765, then the Townshend Acts of 1767 followed by the Tea Act of 1773. These led to anger and protests among the colonists who thought they were unfair, leading to the cry of ‘no taxation without representation’. The British Parliament did not agree with this position taken by the colonists as their view was that the colonists, and their interests, were, as subjects of the Crown, sufficiently represented by the British Parliament. The colonists were not convinced and, after talks led nowhere in resolving the dispute, armed conflict ensued. The battles however were not restricted to American soil but were taken to the high seas as well. This is where British island colonies began to be drawn into the war leading to hardship and suffering of their populations.

Britain’s enemies were its European competitors vying for control of the islands and the wealth produced by the sugar trade. The war offered them opportunity to strike while Britain’s defences were engaged fighting the continental war, leaving the islands’ defences weakened. The American rebels took advantage of this, creating disputes and animosity between Britain, France and Holland. The French and Dutch saw an opportunity to supply arms to the Americans, with production of gunpowder in some islands, taking its supply ships through the Caribbean seas, giving military advantage to the American rebels. Furthermore, American privateers attacked Britain’s supply ships both of arms to the colonies for their troops, but also on the ships supplying goods between Britain and the island colonies that were carrying wealth creating goods to the mainland as well as much needed goods to sustain life in the islands. These difficulties for the islanders were further compounded by the weather, with drought, hurricanes and storms.

It was these travails that Clement 3's attorneys and managers wrote about during this time. The effects of the war were so devastating that those plantation owners, who were also members of the British Parliament, might have been minded to speak up and call for an early end to the war. This did not seem to be the case. There is no evidence of Clement 3, or others like him, speaking up in the planters' interests. The position they were in was difficult. The MP's first loyalty was to the Crown and their colonial interests were subordinated to that, so they just had to bear it until the end.

It must have been difficult for Clement 3 to hear how dire things were for his plantation as a result of the conflict. Colonel Blizard's letter of 15th March 1775 put it bluntly:

'If the present Parliament shall adopt the same measures with regards to North America that were advised by the Ministry and were supported by the whole of Parliament, we shall be scarcely able to subsist in the Leeward Islands. We cannot get provisions or lumber from the northern colonies; if a civil war shall break out, be obliged to plant provisions for ourselves and our Negroes, which may keep us alive for a while, but we shall want supplies of every sort of lumber, flower and biscuit, none of which can be had from Europe and consequently our canes may perish on the ground for want of casks and we shall have nothing to eat or drink but what we can raise here. Many people make light of this disagreement between the Mother Country and her colonies. I think it a very serious affair and as such may be of greater consequence than anything that has happened for many years back. I pray God avert the Evil, which, may it happen, Great Britain will not essentially suffer by.'^{viii}

In July, Blizard followed that letter with news of things not going well for Britain in the war, citing a recent battle where 600-700 lost their lives against the American's total of 300. His concern was about food getting through as much of it was imported from America as the journey was easier than from Britain, but the war meant this could not be relied on anymore and shipping from Britain was perilous. He made it clear to Clement 3 that all on the island could be reduced to great distress, especially if there was a long dry spell. He said that they were planting provisions *'but canes are the second priority as the island has 37,000 slaves to feed.'*^{ix}

If that was not bad news enough, subsequent letters reported on poor quality of sugar due to the weather conditions rendering some crops entirely lost. But then the weather improved later in 1775 and a good crop was promised. Letters from Clement 3's attorneys during this period describe in great detail the experiences of the Antiguan planters, and in particular that of Tudway's Parham plantations, and form an interesting account of this period, too long to detail here, suffice to say their fear of ruin was very real. For the enslaved, famine was ever on the doorstep and many died of hunger and were it not for Tudway's managers ensuring some provision was grown so that they were not dependent on imported food, this could have been much worse. In 1781 the island of St Eustatius was captured by the French thus ceasing the supply of food provisions from that island. Make no mistake, 1000's of enslaved Africans in Antigua and elsewhere in the Caribbean died during this period for want of food. There are many letters of this time revealing the extent of the hunger, but nevertheless the work of growing and cutting cane, grinding, boiling, drying and packing was still done and the sugars sent to England.

Despite all of that, Mr Walrond was still able to send exotic treats to Mrs Tudway including a turtle weighing 75lbs, and some yams, with instruction that they were to be boiled and 'dressed' like potatoes. Tamarinds he said were to be used like medicine and better than castor oil, which was also sometimes sent. Green and white sweetmeats (presumably preserves) ginger, pickled mountain cabbage, pickled Indian corn, and pickled wild cucumbers. Sometimes pine (pineapple) jam was sent. Who made these treats? Possibly enslaved women working as domestics and cooks in Walrond's house or from other estates. They are mentioned here to make the work of the domestic workers

visible too as well as to draw attention to the famished enslaved women preparing exotic food stuffs to be sent abroad to grace the tables of the planters and their friends.

The war ended in 1781 and after negotiations, the Treaty Of Paris was signed in 1783 granting independence to the former colony of America. But things were still tough on the island and hunger continued.

The French Revolutionary War

Nine years later, the French Revolutionary War also brought its travails upon Clement Tudway and the other planters. What with ships being captured and the shortage of ships generally getting supplies in and produce out of the island trade was severely hampered. The weather, of course, continued in its unpredictability and impacted on the crop. The chaotic situation continued until the war's end in 1803. But no sooner was that over than the Napoleonic war ensued for the next 12 years, followed by further wars up until 1814. The whole of Clement 3's period of Parham ownership was a nightmare of wars and his annual rate of return decreased significantly as a result. However, Sherland Swanston, and his son, Sherland Hill Swanston, the London agents in charge of receiving and selling on the shipments of sugar, informed him in a letter of September 1804 that his current account for the recent crop held a healthy balance of £6250 – which equates to £778,560 in today's money. So the business of enslaved grown sugar was still profitable some of the time.

The Napoleonic War (1803-1815)

Against the backdrop of the Napoleonic War was the ever-unpredictable weather and sickness across the plantation. In 1803 they endured heavy rainfall but while that brought an end to the problems caused by the drought, such as fires, it created problems of illnesses such as measles. In 1804 an inoculation programme for 73 children against smallpox was carried out

With the war brewing, Samuel Elliot advised Clement 3 to make sure he had adequate insurance for sugars being sent to England.

In 1807 the trafficking of enslaved Africans to be sold on in the Americas to endure enslavement for the benefit of white plantation owners ended, although the state of enslavement continued in the Caribbean for another 27 years. It was possible that better care needed to be taken of the enslaved as they could now only be replaced through births. The arrivals of newly enslaved Africans continued right up until that time.

The accounts for the period 1806-1811^x shows the items bought and monies paid out including taxes on slaves, wages medical care for the enslaved, clothing, shoes, as well as wine, or medicines such as magnesia and peppermint. The account balance over the period showed a healthy increase in profit. The year 1806 yielded £11,726.1.11, in 1807 it was £25,815.12.8 followed by £32,181.10.7 in 1808. Yet these accounts were for the years during the Napoleonic wars and for the immediate years after the abolition of the slave trade.

In 1810 the accounts show the Plantation was in debt by £7160.15.3d. In 1811, sales figures for rum, molasses and sugar show that rum was now king with sales tallying over £5000 while that of sugar was £3500 and Molasses just £100^{xi}.

Sherland Swanston, followed by his son, Sherland Hill Swanston, were Clement Tudway 3's agent in London, responsible for ensuring the sugar, rum and molasses imports were unloaded, duties paid and transportation to refineries whether London or Bristol took place. They were also responsible for securing ships to take food and other requisites for the plantation as well as keeping Clement 3 regularly updated through letters.

The docks were also a place of sharing news of severe weather in the islands or of the fate of ships as well as the fluctuations on the markets for the three commodities of sugar, rum and molasses that he was responsible for.

In a series of letters from Shirland Hill Swanston^{xii} in London, three main topics were covered. The markets for sugar, rum and molasses, the inbound and outbound ships and external factors, such as weather and the war, that impacted both. In August 1812, Swanston was relieved to tell Clement 3 that the convoy of ships from the Leeward Islands was safe after untoward rumours had been circulating. Some months later he wrote to say that the refineries' market had improved and were still buying but so were the grocers and distillers, ensuring competitive prices all round, despite delays in the ships arriving.

On January 13th, 1813, he wrote to Clement 3 saying that the bad hurricane in Jamaica had been '*assisting our improving market*' meaning that the Jamaican planters' losses were the Antiguan planters' gain. Apparently, the grocers were making less purchases than the distilleries and refiners but that he hoped for 'great prices' in the spring. However, later that year in June, ^{xiii}he wrote discouragingly about the markets saying it was hard to find buyers, despite his efforts and that he would continue trying to get the best prices. Worse though, was that the government had refused convoys to the West Indies (to escort the ships) and that meant there were no ships going out to Antigua and presumably this would affect the return ships as they would be no convoy to protect them either. He assured Clement 3 that he would let him know as soon as one was available. We can see how this placed great strain on the plantations if they were unable to receive supplies of food stuff, and other materials necessary to sustain the enslaved, in particular, as well as paid workers while still ensuring supplies of the equipment that maintained the process of growing, cutting and processing sugar cane. From Clement 3's end this severely affected his 'cash flow' and presumably was a headache for him to contend with.

The West India Interest and abolition of the Transatlantic Trafficking in Africans ('slave trade')

During the 18thc the numbers of rich plantation owners of sugar plantations in the Caribbean grew – as did their wealth- in a time when it is said 'Sugar was King'. There was a gradual move from planter residence to absenteeism and those planters that did not wish to taint their hands with the messy business of slavery could leave their plantations in the hands of managers and attorneys while they lived lavish lifestyles in the towns, cities and rural idylls of Britain. Their children could be educated at the best schools and be assured of a wealthy and cultured lifestyle where they could climb the social ladder with ease. These planters, merchants and colonial agents loosely formed what became known as the West India Interest. They became MPs, sometimes through buying votes through the 'rotten boroughs', or sought knighthoods, thus ensuring their interests were represented in both Houses in Parliament. In this company were names such as Sir Edward Codrington, George Hibbert, Edward Colston, John Gladstone, Henry Lascelles (2nd Earl of Harewood). The 'interest' or 'lobby' as it was known was an informal group that could put pressure on the government to ensure laws and regulations went in their favour and promoted their business interests. Out of this, the London Society of West India Planters and Merchants was formed in 1775. They fought against abolition, emancipation and anything, in short, which seemed a threat to their monopoly of the sugar trade including raising of taxes and the profitable trafficking in Africans.

The wealthy planters were not the only 'interest' pressing for their monopolistic way of doing business. Those who had invested in British industries such as banking and insurance, and the heavy industries powered by steam that was beginning to usher in the industrial revolution, grew from the capitalism of the planter class. The enormous profits could not be spent on aggrandisement or land

purchasing alone so investments in new industries proved attractive and lucrative. The cotton industry processing slave grown cotton was to become a huge, and profitable, industry. This led to tensions between two groups – the planter interest that promoted monopolism with its sister mercantilism and the new industrial interest which promoted free trade. Britain was now becoming a world-wide trader where its colonies provided the raw materials, and its own labour force produced the goods in its 'dark satanic mills' and factories that were then exported back to the colonies. Monopolism was too restrictive and the planters came under pressure in trying to keep it. Towards the end of Clement 3's life, the Caribbean export market was shrinking in comparison to that of the wider Americas, Europe and the Far East. So too was the import market for sugar. Other sugar producing foreign colonies were producing high quality sugar for less. One was San Domingue, (French) with its fertile soil and supply of enslaved labour, and the others were Brazil and Cuba (Portugal and Spain) which also grew plentiful sugar grown by enslaved Africans and stood in competition with Britain's sugar trade.

Britain's Prime Minister was William Pitt the Younger. Under his premiership the Transatlantic Trafficking of Africans (TTA) doubled, yet, paradoxically, he had given his support to Wilberforce but showed no zeal in seeing abolition through. What troubled Pitt was that San Domingue was producing more sugar and this was giving the French an advantage in the sugar trade. Moreover, over 50% of the enslaved Africans on the French plantations had come on British ships meaning Britain was supplying the labour for its main rival. Abolishing the slave trade would ruin San Domingue as a competitor in the sugar market as it would take France too long to make good what would be lacking in enslaved labour, so this seemed to be seemed the way forward. Eric Williams, in his seminal work 'Capitalism and Slavery', said of Pitt:

'It can be taken as axiomatic that no man occupying so important a position as Prime Minister of England would have taken so important a step as abolishing the slave trade purely for humanitarian reasons.'^{xiv}

Pitt's first abolition Bill was presented to Parliament in 1778 but it failed to pass. His position on abolition changed especially at the time of the French Revolution in 1787-1789. The San Domingue planters rejected Jacobinism and the new French Republic especially as it promised freedom to the wealthy people of colour on the island. In 1791 led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, the enslaved of that island led a revolution against the planters resulting in partial abolition of slavery in 1792. The British establishment feared Jacobinism and looked upon events in France and San Domingue with horror. Once again abolition became a threat rather than a strategy to maintain monopoly. But then the French declared war on Britain and the royalists of San Domingue looked to Britain for help; Pitt and his secretary of State for War, Henry Dundas, saw this as an opportunity to seize San Domingue to restore the balance so Britain's sugar trade and the TTA could continue unabated. But that was not to be. Under Governor Shirley, and money from Britain, Antigua's defences were fortified in case of French invasion, but that did not happen. Britain lost against Toussaint, to great human and financial cost but the French continued in their brutal, but futile, war against the Haitians for a number of years. In 1804 San Domingue became Haiti, the first black ruled republic in the Caribbean, led by Jean-Jaques Dessalines. This inevitably put fear of slave rebellion among the plantation owners, especially as it showed to their enslaved Africans and Creoles that taking freedom by force was possible. The war was also an example of the cost of maintaining the trade with the question now being asked of whether it was worth it.

Even though events in the French Caribbean could be seen as being pivotal in changing the minds of planters towards the 'slave trade', or Transatlantic Trafficking in Africans (TTA), there were other factors at play. By now the new sugar producing colonies of Cuba and Brazil were flooding the

market with their sugar and British planters were now producing at a loss. To restrict their production, the TTA had to be abolished which would cut off their supply of a new enslaved labour force. Wilberforce, fighting the moral case for abolition, would be supported by those planters who saw stifling competition as their key reason to support it, but it was still opposed by the majority of the West India interest in Parliament. It would take some time before they were convinced.

The Amelioration Act 1797

During this time, partly to try to stave off Wilberforce's campaign for the abolition of the 'slave trade' and keep the planters satisfied, Charles Ellis MP, (Lord Seaford), himself an owner of enslaved people, brought a motion before the House to get the Governors of the West Indian colonies to pass legislation to improve the lives of the enslaved that would also promote 'natural increase', thus reducing the need to purchase newly enslaved Africans. This would, it was hoped, lead to a gradual decrease in the trade and put amelioration in the hands of the colonial governors rather than the British government telling them what they must do. The General Assembly of the Leeward Islands convened and the Amelioration Act was passed in 1797^{xv}. This stated that each plantation owner must ensure the enslaved population were:

- to be given a specified set of provisions per week,
- to be provided with a set amount of clothing per year,
- not made to work more than 14 hours per day (with meal breaks of 2.5 hours),
- not to be imprisoned or flogged without good reason and the use of 'unnecessary severities' such as chains, iron collars and weights would result in fines for the owner,
- to provide each plantation with a 'sick house'/hospital with medical attention
- to provide a lying-in house in the hospital for pregnant women
- to ensure pregnant women were not given heavy work or corporal punishment
- to provide the Governor with an annual return of births and deaths.

In addition:

- attention was to be given to the 'moral' education of the enslaved by encouraging monogamous relationships, falling short of Christian marriage itself, but registering each union as a marriage with cash incentives of £1 for each year of marriage,
- mothers in such relationships would receive cash for each child born and those with more than six children, the youngest being under seven, could only be given light work,
- rape of a married slave woman by a white man was criminalised, and
- enslaved people were to be encouraged to attend church and could be baptised.

Furthermore, the General Assembly had, the year before, criminalised the killing or maiming of an enslaved person in the same way as if they were a free person, resulting in punishment of death or imprisonment. However, the legal mechanism to enforce this was not forthcoming.

This held abolition at arm's length, which suited some of the planters, but this position changed as when the then Prime Minister, Lord Grenville introduced a bill in 1806 for the abolition of the slave trade 283 MPs voted for it. Only 16 voted against and it appears that Clement 3^{xvi} was in that number as it was said he was '*adverse*' to abolition. This seems rather strange as he appeared to have no financial interest in the trade itself, but then again his need for enslaved labour was nonetheless satisfied by it. The market was not doing well for him as his sugar production, along with other planters on Antigua, was down, largely now due to exhausted soil caused by monoculture. Perhaps he did not agree that stopping the TTA would affect his competitors and thus

benefit him on the long term so preferred to take the short term view that would ensure new supplies of enslaved Africans for his plantation.

Britain no longer had the monopoly on sugar cultivation. Cuba, Brazil and even Mauritius with their larger plantations remained severe competition that affected the price of sugar sold by merchants such as Sherland Swanston on behalf of Clement Tudway 3. As the debate of the day shifted from 'monopoly' to 'free trade', and our planters depending on the former, was this a time of seeing an old order passing and a new one emerging? Did Clement 3 cling to the old or embrace the new?

Managing the enslaved workforce after the 'slave trade' ended.

Now that the plantation owners could no longer replace the enslaved workers by new arrivals, it was down to the planters, through the Amelioration Act, to maintain the health and fitness of their existing enslaved populations and promote increase through a healthy birth rate and care of children. The term 'care' here is used advisedly as children from five or six years old were working as grass pickers or weeding in the fields or for jobs such as carrying water and were joining the gangs for heavier work in the fields from the age of ten. By this time enslaved people could grow crops for their own use and did not have to depend entirely on the terrible 'horse beans' (dried broad beans) or other foods from England. This meant improvements to their diet giving better variety and improved nutrition. The main impediments to that would have been a) reluctance of planters to make the required provisions, and b) the extremes of inclement weather, which, as we have seen from the correspondence, was frequent and took its toll on everyone, and lastly, c) the maritime war with the French, hampering the movement of ships carrying goods in and out of Antigua.

Enforcing the Abolition of the Slave Trade

It remains to be said that even after the abolition of the 'slave trade', the Transatlantic Trafficking in Africans still went on. From 1807 no nation could be involved in the buying and selling of enslaved Africans although it was possible that there was some inter- and intra- island trading going on. The law only made it illegal to take part in the trade within the British Empire, and the difficulty now would be convincing other nations to also give up the slave trade. French, Portuguese, Swedish and American ships refused to allow their cargo to be searched so the smugglers and illegal slave traders continued on their business. It soon became evident that diplomacy wasn't working so Britain set up the British West Africa Squadron to police the high seas. At the time when Britain was also engaged in the Napoleonic Wars, the anti-slavery assignments were initially a low priority for the Navy and so for the first few years of its existence, the West Africa Squadron consisted of only two outdated ships that made little impact on the slave trade. But Britain's 1815 victory over the French cemented their place as a global superpower and consequently the Navy was now able to devote more manpower to its anti-slavery efforts. Instead of assigning individual ships to the patrols, the Royal Navy established an entire squadron for the sole purpose of policing the waters off West Africa. In all, they carried on for 60 years, capturing 1,600 slave ships and freeing over 150,000 Africans from enslavement.

However, despite their efforts and loss of sailors' lives, The Spanish and Portuguese maintained high levels of slave trading activity to provide labour to their South American colonies which did not really do down until at least 1860. The website Slave Voyages shows a timelapse clearly indicating the high level of continuance of Transatlantic Trafficking of Enslaved Africans. For the most part those 150,000 liberated Africans were not really free at all. Many were sent to Sierra Leone, to the British colony of Freetown set up ostensibly to be a home for maroons and other Africans seeking repatriation. In 1787, thanks to the work of abolitionists Granville Clarke and Olaudah Equiano, many black Londoners chose to leave for African shores. Three ships, the *Atlantic*, the *Belisarius* and the *Vernon* carried around 400 men women and children; many died en route and even more from the

harsh conditions of Freetown when they arrived. Nevertheless this colony of free Africans chosen to repatriate liberated enslaved did not offer freedom as would have been expected. According to Brooke Newman,^{xvii} these liberated Africans were required to submit to Crown rule and in exchange for their liberation were expected to be of use in the form of military service. There was still a cash value attached to them and as monetised bodies they were the property of the Crown. Britain needed an armed force to assist its continued colonial expansion into Africa where it was thought African troops would be of better service being better acclimatised to the terrain and climate than English troops. So at least 10,000 so-called liberated Africans taken to Freetown, 60% of whom were men, were impressed, with no choice, into what became The Royal Africa Corps as well as the West India Regiment. While the remaining men became 'apprentices' the women and girls were assigned as wives to the men.

For the story of abolition of slavery itself (emancipation) this is covered in the section of Clement 3's successor, John Paine Tudway.

Doctors and health of the enslaved.

The only recorded doctor serving the Parham Plantation during Clement 3's time was Dr Nugent who attended Samuel Eliot in 1805, just before he died. However, there is a mention in a list of expenses dated 1787 that £68.2.0 (£9,400 today's value) was spent on physicians for the 'Negroes'.

There were frequent medicinal supplies sent down from London. One of the Suppliers was a firm called Messrs Mills and Warrington. There is another record of medicines from a London Apothecary dated 1791^{xviii} being sent down to the plantation by Clement 3's agent in London – Sherland Swanston. Items were

Sulphur Procip Antimon - possibly Antimony pentasulphide (red antimony) used as a red pigment, although antimony was also used as a purgative and emetic and in the treatment of the parasitic disease schistosomiasis – a worm found in tropical freshwater ponds or rivers that buries into the skin.

Red Gentian – a digestive aid and tonic.

Vitriol Roman – Copper (II) sulphate pentahydrate, which is a fungicide .

Pule Antim PL – probably an antimony based preparation.

Sal Com Cervi Volat – possibly Sal Volatile known as smelling salts used for treating fainting and dizziness. It could also refer to 'salt of a deer's horn' or Ammonium Carbonate, a volatile spirit used as an emetic, recovery from fainting, or induce sweating, often used by sea surgeons.

Aloes – used as a laxative/purgative in the form of an after-dinner pill.

Gum Myrrh – used for wound healing, and as antiseptic for ulcers, stomach issues and respiratory infections

Camphor – used as an analgesic and expectorant but also to treat storage chests and trunks to keep out insects in tropical climates.

Some of these preparations may have been used to treat common conditions (and often causes of death) by the enslaved and well as the white workers and managers on the plantation. These included:-

Consumption – (Tuberculosis) so named because of how the illness 'consumed' the body.

Small pox – a deadly and highly contagious disease caused by the variola virus, spread by droplet infection. Before Edward Jenner discovered that inoculation with the cow pox virus provided immunity a method of prevention called variolation was used on the plantations to prevent the sickness. This involved taking the scabs or pus from an infected person and rubbing it into a scratch

on the person to be inoculated. It was a method that enslaved people brought the knowledge of from Africa, although it was also practiced in Turkey and other places. There is evidence in the letters from Clement Tudway and Charles 3 before him that this method was used to try to prevent smallpox in the enslaved population as well as the white.

Cholera - a severe diarrheal disease caused by *Vibrio cholera* from contaminated water or food.

Dropsy – known now as edema or fluid retention. It is caused by heart problems, liver and kidney disease, malnutrition, and could be experienced during pregnancy.

Yellow fever – carried by mosquitos, the disease was brought to the Caribbean on the slave ships from Africa and it spread around the islands. Before the mosquito link was discovered it was known as 'putrid fever'.

Flux (dysentery) – caused by bacteria or parasites and spread through contaminated water or food and spread on slave ships and overcrowded accommodation such as military barracks. Also known as the 'bloody flux' due to bloody stools, with severe cramps. Between 1778 and 1780 20% of the enslaved Africans died of this disease.

Measles – known as an 'Old World' disease i.e. a European disease that had devastating effects on populations who had no immunity. Characterised by a rash, high temperature and flu-like symptoms. many children on the plantations died of this disease.

Pleurisy – caused by bacterial or viral infections pleurisy is an inflammation of the lining around the lungs. Lack of treatments for pneumonia or TB exacerbated prevalence of pleurisy which took hold as a symptom of such diseases.

It is possible to match some of the medications with the above diseases, especially as the purgatives were thought to be the cure for the many intestinal diseases. Before 1807, the enslaved who died of these diseases were replaced through the purchase of newly arrived enslaved Africans. As we have seen from other accounts, the factors of severe weather conditions exacerbating poor diets, as well as overcrowding and overwork contributed to the poor health of the enslaved, the only cure for which was a better diet and better living and working conditions. This had been the hope of the Amelioration Act. Clean water would have helped, but Antigua had no aquifers with fresh water wells, so all fresh water was imported or consisted of rain water where the storage for both was open to parasitic and bacterial contamination. It wasn't until the late 19th century that an understanding of pathogens and their role in disease was understood.

Some references were made above the to the health of the enslaved on the Tudway's plantations when Clement 3 first took over ownership in 1771. What follows now is a more detailed overview taken from the letters of the plantation managers and attorney with regard to the state of health of the enslaved people toiling under them.

It was with great alarm that Main Swete Walrond (MSW) wrote, apologetically, in March 1773 saying that:

'smallpox is all over the country.....over one hundred of your Negroes have been inoculated – one pf whom, (a boy of about five years old) we have lost and I fear one or two more children. It is remarkable that many people have died this year after inoculation than ever were known, and particularly children, both whites and blacks.'^{xix}

Then in May 1773, he wrote:

'sorry to inform you that your Negroes have been very bad of pleurisy, which is a disorder now prevalent here, one of whom is not expected to recover.'^{xx}

In July 1773, the letter contains good news – firstly, that there had been rain, so the canes had recovered and that:

'Your Negroes are pretty well again. The wench who was ill with pleurisy when I last wrote to you is recovering.'^{xxi}

Here it is to be understood that the word 'wench' refers to a young woman; it is only later that the term referred to a woman who worked in a tavern and then later it became a euphemism for prostitute. It is in the former sense that MSW uses the term here, not in the pejorative of its later usage.

A month later, Walrond laments the loss of another young woman who died of the 'flux.' He said of her:

'She was a pretty good Negro but the loss is not great as she had but one hand, the other being ground off by the Mill before my having care of the estate. The rest of the Negroes are in good health.'^{xxii}

So here we have a disabled woman who died of a terrible dysenteric disease. Her loss to the Tudway is described as a monetary one as her disability limited the amount of productive (i.e. profit making) work she could do. At least she is remembered as being 'pretty good' (sic). Walrond absolved himself of responsibility for the lack of safety at the Mill by saying this accident was before his time. He then assured Clement 3 that the rest of his 'Negroes' were in good health.

In November the island was described by Walrond as being 'very sickly' but does not say what with. He added, though, that:

'You have lately lost two Negroes, one a valuable man, the other a rather old wench and not of so much value.'^{xxiii}

The dehumanisation of the black, enslaved population by describing then only in monetary terms reflects how deeply this was embedded in the consciousness and therefore attitude of the white masters and their managers. It makes hard reading. Even harder to read that in times of great sickness, Walrond also had to report to Clement 3 on the sugars being produced and that despite high levels of illness on the island, and therefore on the plantation, that the work still went on - relentlessly. Better weather meant that production had to increase due to losses made when weather was bad, even though that periods of drought also affected the health of the enslaved workers.

Manumissions

Clement 3 manumitted (legally released) several enslaved persons on his estate. One was a 'mulatto', Alick Dow, manumitted for the sum of £100 by Deed Poll in 1806.

Thomas Evanson was an elderly enslaved man who wrote to Clement 3 in May 1792 requesting his freedom. He had apparently visited England in 1786 as a letter to Mrs Tudway detailed him arriving as a passenger with Mr Main Swete Walrond, having arrived on the Brig Lioness (Mr Norman, Master of the ship). He had brought her a keg of tamarind and sent this *'by carriage with 'the Ladies'*^{xxiv}. There were many medicinal and culinary uses for this fruit and it is known as an anti-inflammatory so may have helped with her husband's gout or arthritis. Walrond had also written to Clement 3^{xxv} advising him he was bringing his 'mulatto, Tommy as a 'houseboy' to attend on him as he was better suited to that than as an enslaved on the Estate. In 1792, despite his age and ill health he was

still working but not being paid as he was still enslaved. He asked Clement 3 to manumit him so that he could be paid and be able to take care of himself on his latter years. It is unclear who Thomas Evanson was. If he was 'elderly' at the time of 1792, he must have been born in the 1720s/1730s, long before Nathaniel Evanson leased Evanson's plantation, so perhaps his surname did not derive from white paternity, although it is still a possibility. In the 18thc enslaved people were not usually given surnames, so the fact that he carries one suggests that he was afforded privilege by his master. Perhaps a master who saw his abilities and wanted to 'civilise' him by allowing him education, suggesting too that he may have been of mixed heritage, rather than black. He could read and write, at a time when an enslaved black person would not have been allowed to do so, again suggesting the kind of privilege afforded to a person of 'mulatto' heritage. Such a master could have been the 'genteelly' Eton educated Nathaniel Evanson Jnr.

There is a strong possibility that he could have been converted to Methodism. Nathaniel Gabriel and his brother Joseph, Methodist Ministers, assisted by three enslaved women – Bessie, Sophia Campbell and Maria Alley – began converting enslaved people to Christianity from 1760 onwards. It is known that they preached at Parham. Mrs Gilbert and the three ladies mentioned also set up education classes for enslaved people. It is most likely that this is where Thomas Evanson learned to read and write. By the time Clement 3 took over Parham, the Methodists and the Moravians already had a foot-hold in the island. The Moravians arrived in 1732 with their first missionary, Samuel Isles, arriving in 1756 and they built their first chapel in 1761, while the first Methodist Chapel was built in Parham in 1802. They filled a spiritual and educational gap that the Anglicans were not interested in fulfilling. Christianity and literacy were essential to acquire because they enabled further opportunities for advancement especially in the hope for emancipation. Literacy was also desirable as a means of resistance as the enslaved could then read the newspapers and know what was going on in the world or they could even read the masters' letters or other documents and keep a track of their business in addition to listening to conversations at dinner. It is not known if Thomas was granted his manumission, but it is to be hoped that he was.

Interestingly, manager Samuel Eliot in 1801 also requested the manumission of a 'mulatto' seamstress, Luckey, and her two sons, Edward (4) and Samuel (18m) on the grounds of them being so white they could never stand the heat of the sun. Is this because of white paternity or perhaps even albinism as the cause of their very light skins? We have seen allusions to albinism elsewhere in the correspondence of other managers throughout the history of the plantation and it is not inconceivable that albinism existed on the island which would have made it very difficult indeed for those with this condition to have withstood working in the fields in the sun.

The Death of Clement 3

On Clement 3's death he left the estates of Somerset and Antigua to his wife, Elizabeth, who was not interested in managing the estates so the income from sugars declined considerably. This was not all due to her disinterest as there were other mitigating factors such as the decline in West Indian Sugar sales and the war with France. When she died in 1828 the estates were passed to Clement 3's nephew John Paine Tudway, although he took over the management after the death of his uncle. However, the will of Clement Tudway Esquire is more complex than this and deserves noting in greater detail.

The Will of Clement Tudway Esquire

What is of great interest in Clement 3's will is not just to whom he left his estate, but what it comprised. The extent of his Somerset estates was considerable and the will details at least 72 messuages (portions of land), 'closes', allotments, dwelling houses, animal housing, meadows,

pastures, allotments, orchards etc, much of which was leased out to tenants and tenant farmers such as Peter Willcox and John Bellamy. The Cedars House was not bequeathed to his wife Elizabeth but she was granted a term of fifty years, to encompass her remaining life, to live in the house. After which it would pass to his nephew, John Paine Tudway and then on to his sons. He also bequeathed Elizabeth an annual income of £1,300 per annum which at today's value would be over £90,000. If the average wage of an agricultural labourer was £26 per year or just over £1100 per year in today's money, it is easy to see the differential is staggering.

For the joint Trustees of the Alms-houses in Wells founded by Nicholas Bubwith for the support ^{xxvi} of 24 poor men and women he left 'as much money as will purchase £500 stock in South Seas Annuities' in order to pay for their maintenance.

Conclusion

Clement Tudway 3 oversaw the management of Parham Plantation in what was probably the most challenging time in its history. Wars and adverse weather took its toll on the lives of the enslaved but it can be seen that diligent day to day management by those on the ground helped the estate through this period. Clement 3 enjoyed his life in Wells, despite his marriage being childless, and became a prominent civic figure as well as an MP. Unpaid labours of his enslaved on the plantation ensured a steady income that enabled expenses to be met with enough left over to purchase large areas of land around Wells, including farms and other businesses as well as invest money in local building such as the Town Hall, alms houses etc.

His memorial plaque in the family Church of St Cuthbert's, Wells lists his achievements, but makes no mention of the source of his income as an owner of a sugar plantation and around 500 enslaved people.

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