

John Paine Tudway (1775-1835) Sometimes referred to as JPT

John Paine Tudway (JPT) was born on 21st April 1775, son of Clement 3's brother, Robert and his wife, Mary. He married Francis (Fanny) Gould and they had eleven children with nine surviving. They resided at The Cedars where he died in July 1835 aged 60. The first national Census of 1841 showed Fanny was widowed and living at the Cedars with children Robert (30), Emma (25), Mary (17) and Harriet (15). John Paine Tudway was Oxford educated and was a military man, being a Captain in the Wells Yeoman Cavalry by 1818. He later became a JP and MP for Wells from 1815 to 1830. He took official control of the Antigua estates in 1828 when his aunt, Clement 3's wife Elizabeth, died, although he had in effect been managing its affairs since the death of his uncle, Clement, in 1813. The records show that he was keen to establish effective and accountable management to ensure the profitability of the Parham Plantation estate which had been declining in Clement 3's later years.

On the death of John Paine Tudway, according to Tudway-Quilterⁱ, valuable paintings by Poussin, Rembrandt and Baptiste were found in the cellar along with over 1500 bottles of wine and port as well as more than 100 gallons of Brandy and Rum. Seven Rifles and Bayonets were also found, said to have been possibly employed in the Bristol Riots of 1831. In 1851, Fanny along with Emma and Harriet, lived at 40 Chamberlain Street, Wells. John Paine Tudway was buried in St Cuthbert's Church, Wells, where a beautiful stained glass window, gifted by his daughter Emma, commemorated his life and family. The other memorial, an ornate crystal chandelier, hangs in the Town Hall, in what was once the main Court room.

Slavery was abolished at the end of his lifetime and the compensation paid to slave owners was inherited by his son Robert Charles. The letters between John Paine Tudway and his two attorney/managers, George Ottley and John Freeland, provide a contemporaneous account of the build up to abolition and the management of the estate thereafter. These are detailed below.

Parham Plantation

Managing Parham Plantation

When John Paine Tudway inherited the Parham Plantation (and outbuildings in Parham Town) from his uncle Clement Tudway 3, his solicitors were charged with the task of bringing together all of the leases and the wills of respective owners naming their heirs to this land since 1679 when Clement Tudway 1 first bought the land, in partnership with Mr George, from Lady Anne Willoughby.ⁱⁱ Taken together the document comprised 40 pages and served as proof of rightful ownership of the Parham Plantation by John Paine Tudway.

Mapping and surveying the Plantation

Now that the leases had been updated with a clear delineation of the Parham plantation boundaries, JPT hired Mr. J. Baker to survey the estate and produce a map of the plantation, comprising Old Works and New Works, clearly identifying portions of land leased out to others. In 1819 the lease on the land known as Evansons, which had been leased by the Crawford family, expired and it was taken back by JPT, becoming the third plantation known as Parham Lodge.ⁱⁱⁱ A further addition to the mapping concerned the tenement, now a storehouse, and a wharf purchased by Clement 1, which had been lived in by his brothers Charles 1 who passed it on to Richard who, in 1707^{iv}, left it to Mary,

the wife of his deceased brother Charles 2, and their son, his great nephew, Charles 3. It seems strange that he did not leave it to his nephew Clement 2 and his mother Rachel, who had ownership of Parham Plantation at that time. Charles 3 inherited both the plantation and the storehouse, which came down the inheritance line to John Paine Tudway.

A few years later, in 1826, JPT ordered Mr Ottley to carry out a full survey of the buildings just on the Old Work Estate.^v During the preceding ten years of JPT's oversight of Parham there had been a series of hurricanes – the following were listed on the Facebook page for the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda.^{vi}

'1815 Aug.31 - Hurricane at Dominica, Antigua & St. Barts.

1818 Sept.22 - Hurricane at Dominica, Martinique, Antigua.

1819 - Hurricane damaged shipping in St. John's, particularly buildings on Cross St.

1819 - Very severe hurricane in St. Barts. Three people killed in Antigua. Gentlemen 'actors' met at Brown's Tavern to aid victims.

1821 9th - the floating stage in English Harbour was destroyed '

Taking into account the frequent hurricanes on the island prior to these events the damage would have been cumulative since his uncle Clement 3's day. It is hardly surprising to read in the building survey that the main problems with buildings were things like shutters broken off, windows broken, shingles missing from roofs, doors missing etc. There were also defects listed that could only be wear and tear, such as a defective copper in the boiling house and a still in 'bad order'. It would seem that over time there had been ongoing neglect in carrying out repairs, especially to damage caused by adverse weather. The whole workforce would have had to spend time clearing up and the cost in terms of money, materials and labour would have been very high, all eating into the profit sought by the plantation owners. Getting the cane fields, mills and the boiler houses back up and running would have taken priority while other repairs, including on the housing for the enslaved, perhaps took a back seat.

Improvement to the plantation

In 1825, a new trash house was required. These were essential on the sugar plantations as they were used to store the 'trash' or 'bagasse' which was the left over canes after the juice had been squeezed out. The 'trash' was dried out and stored for use as fuel to the boiling houses used to make the cane juice into sugar. There was a contract drawn up, dated 4th December 1825,^{vii} between John Paine Tudway and carpenter Thomas Emerson of the details of the work to be done, the time it was to be done in (one month) and the price. It was agreed that John Paine Tudway would pay for four carpenters to assist Mr Emerson on this project. The contract also included a drawing showing the front, the rear end and floor elevations. Mr Freeland, manager, was to pay Mr Emerson £125 as the first half downpayment, the balance to be paid on completion.

It would appear that Mr Emerson, either senior or junior, was doing good business in Antigua because in the March 1826 the Antigua Free Press,^{viii} (a local newspaper stating its aim as '*a free press in the best barrier against encroachments on the constitutional rights of the people*'.) there was an advertisement placed by a Mr Thomas Emerson regarding his opening of a store – Wheelwright and House Carpenter.

It is not yet apparent what actions JPT took to remedy the dilapidated state of much of Old Works as listed in the 1826 survey.

Updating the management of the plantation to improve efficiency and accountability.

A key development in the growth on plantations worked by enslaved labour as capitalist enterprises was the idea that profit and profitability was something that could be measured and predicted. As profit was the 'raison d'être' it seemed a logical step to ensure this business variable could be controlled for maximisation. The first person to lead on a new rational or scientific means to measure labour inputs : profit outcomes was George Washington, himself a plantation owner at Mount Vernon, Virginia, USA. He started by observing enslaved workers on his estate using his stop watch to measure how much task could be done in an hour thus making 'time' a variable input in a work process which could be managed by standardising the pace of work as a benchmark to which all operatives would be expected to perform. He developed work systems, breaking down tasks so that the plantation production process was run 'like clockwork' because 'time is money.' Clock time became a feature of capitalist production where, especially in agricultural production, it replaced time measured by seasons, sun and moon cycles or germination processes. This way of feeling and understanding time was experienced by humans in tune part of natural life cycles and characterised old agricultural lifestyles. However, as farming became under a capitalist mode of experiencing time almost as a commodity, expressed in its earliest form on the factory like plantations of enslaved labour, led to a work discipline where the overseer had his watch in one hand and the whip in the other. The strongest and ablest set the pace for the planter to expect of the workforce and the whip ensured they kept apace. The rhythms of work-songs sung by field labourers helped set and keep the unified pace of work. The estate bell replaced sunrise or sunset in determining when the working day began as it summoned to workforce to gather to their task..

David McNally explains Washington's approach to calculating the value of the enslaved working day:

'He routinely measured the exchange value of slave output in order to calculate the overseer's share of a crop. In doing so, Washington monetized labor time for accounting purposes.'^{ix}

Washington's 'time and motion' work, along with his scientific and technological developments were all geared towards getting the best crop, of the best quality using the most efficient application of labour to exact the highest profit returns. Planters in the Caribbean began to do likewise.

John Paine Tudway had a modern approach to managing the affairs of the plantation with greater expectations of accountability from his managers and salaried white workers for extracting maximum profit from the labours of his enslaved workforce. For decades most plantation owners simply required an annual account of income and expenditure showing profit or loss. The modern methods adopted in the American South, as well as the Caribbean, were directed towards increasing output of the enslaved workers, and therefore maximising profit, enforced by the overseers, mainly white, and drivers, who were often enslaved men themselves. The modern method supposed that tracking and measuring variable in the production of sugar (or other crops) would show how finite resources, such as food and materials were being used effectively to increase yield. The other variable was, of course, the labour power of the enslaved. As Rosenthal points out:

‘Planters and overseers thought about enslaved people as abstract units of production. This outlook translated as well to standardised reporting, and planters increasingly relied on preprinted forms to help them record and allocate day after day of uninterrupted labour. The forms contain neat columns of numbers that showed how plantations turned people into profitable commodities.’^x

The records helped the planters to control the overseers while the overseers controlled the enslaved. This was essential for the absentee planters to prevent managers and overseers from slacking or taking advantage, perhaps even pilfering goods. The methods underpinned what was emerging in the early 19th c plantations and in the factories of the days of early industrial capitalism. They still form the basis of capitalist management today for organising large labour forces to maximise productivity and therefore generate maximum profit. Here ‘time and motion’ was born – a methodology used to measure how long it took an operative to produce a measured output and how could this then be speeded up. On the plantation this led to the formation of ‘class gangs’ – the ‘first class’ being the strongest put to work on the tasks requiring strength and skill, such as cane cutting and ‘second class’ on lesser skilled jobs such as grass picking or weeding.

The starting point of this methodology for JPT was creating a more accurate and detailed register of the enslaved. This was required by law, but it also served JPT’s new management style. The law had been introduced by the Secretary of State, Earl Bathurst^{xi} in 1817 which required all the West Indian Assemblies to bring in legislation requiring planters to keep registers of all the enslaved on their plantations. The main reason of this was to prevent the illegal importation of other enslaved Africans since the prohibition of the slave trade in 1807 and thus afford a measure of protection for the existing enslaved against abuse. The Act of 1817 required all planters to register details of the enslaved on their plantations and that had to be done every three years thereafter. The registers also had to record any decrease in number and reasons why, as well as increases which now should have been only by birth. The planters had for a long time been required to provide the governors with the numbers of enslaved for tax purposes, but the 1817 legislation went way beyond that.

During his uncle’s command of the Parham Estate the slave trade was abolished in 1807, so where previously enslaved Africans had been regarded by the white planters as expendable and easily replaced, now the only way of maintaining and increasing the enslaved population was through live births and maintaining better health of those living. The bound volume for the ‘Register of Negroes on Parham Plantation’ of 1817 recorded in alphabetical order the name and when born, the name of the plantation (Old Works/New Works) but not where born because that was of no consequence to the owner of an enslaved person. The person’s birth year was in many cases taken from an estimate of the age for those who had been new arrivals prior to 1807, and this would be done at the time of auction through the humiliating checking of the naked African man, woman or child’s height, weight, teeth etc. In the slave register the colour of the enslaved was to be recorded - black, mulatto, mongrel, mustee or coloured^{xii} and their sex. Also recorded was their state of health at the time the register was compiled as well as date and cause of death. A letter (sometimes the letter of their first name but not consistently so, perhaps indicating something else) and a number was assigned to each person as an identifying marker, as well. Registers had been kept for both Old Works and New Works by JPT’s predecessors, but each time the data was refined a little more. Post 1807, surnames were mostly recorded for each individual, but new born babies were still recorded under the first name of the mother and not the father. This was a strong indication of the continuation of the prohibition of a

legal Christian marriage in the state of slavery – despite amelioration measures to encourage it – meaning that all persons belonged to the slave owner and therefore not to their paternal family.

It needs to be remembered that from the prohibiting of the slave trade there was greater pressure from the abolitionists and at the same time a greater resistance from the plantation owners and we know that Clement 3 voted against the abolition of the trade and was set against the abolition of slavery itself and letters show that JPT was of the same mind. To counter the abolitionist argument about the injurious effects of slavery on the enslaved, the plantation owners set about making their case that the enslaved on the plantations were better looked after than the ‘free labourers’ of England because they were fed, housed and received medical care when sick. John Paine Tudway waded in with his ‘evidence’ that supported this claim.

He retrospectively calculated the number of enslaved men, women and children on both Old Work and New Work plantations, accounting for new births (increases) and deaths (decreases). He divided the total number of enslaved (576) by the numbers of deaths in 1810 giving a death rate of 1 in 44. He repeated this calculation in 1813 and took the total decrement for a two year period which lowered it considerably to 1 in 29 or 1 in 58 for an average for one year. This being near to 1 in 60, he pointed out, which was the average for Wales, and more favourable than that of England and Wales at 1 in 50 or that of the County of Somerset which was 1 in 52. ^{xiii} Thus he made his case for the continuation of slavery as a well thought out system that provided adequately for the enslaved.

Rationalising Parham

Between 1791 and the 1820’s Parham’s profitability had declined considerably. Mary Gleadall quotes from figures by J.R.Ward to show how profits decreased from 13.3% to 4.5% between 1783 to 1826. ^{xiv} A letter from JPT’s London broker, Sherland Hill Swanston, in June 1822 described the situation. Finances were not good, insurance was insufficient due to depressed state of ‘West Indian affairs’, high interest rates and high expenses against income were leaving the estates’ finances precarious. He recommended in the immediate term that JPT raised a mortgage on the estate and increased life insurance.

He had taken over from his father, so being young and keen he wanted to use the modern methods of his American counterparts. Four months later in October 1822, he sent JPT a detailed report which made it very clear that management and accounting methods were defective and needed to change. He was critical of the annual accounts system which had been the established way of doing things for decades and recommended they be sent monthly using printed forms which were in much greater detail, as was the growing practice amongst many proprietors. These should comprise:

‘listing the manner in which the estate is cultivated, with the proceedings in its cultivation, the daily occupation of the Negroes and their state of health, increase or decrease, the number of livestock with their increase or decrease also, the quantities of sugar or rum produced, the quantities of stores received and expended during the month and remaining, and the manner in which they have been used.’ ^{xv}

One company in London was printing these forms since the late 18thc, being Leapidge and Bailey. They also sold other merchandise such as shipping insurance tables, pens, desks as well as training clerks for the industry. ^{xvi}

It is not known what company printed the forms used on Parham but it is known that Swanston recommended that these be completed in duplicate, bound into books which were to be kept on the estate with the duplicate copy being sent to England. Old Work and New Works overseers were to compile separately, checked by the managers. He hoped that this might show:

'a mutual restraint upon the consumption of stores and a mutual stimulus to rival exertions and can scarcely fail to give you a better insight into the affairs of your property.'^{xvii}

He went on to advise on how expenditure could be reduced. Firstly by purchasing provisions for the estate locally from the local sales of rum and sugar, thus reducing provisions sent from England. He suggested that consumption of provisions was excessive, often with the excuse of extra needed for sick 'Negroes'. Better day to day recording would give a better view of what was happening. Questioning the increases he asked, 'Why double the number of caps?' and even with widespread sickness, the provision of medicines seemed excessive. Building materials also came under his scrutiny and he called for better explanation of their use. Hiring additional 'Negro' labour he felt was unnecessary when the estate was already well supplied with people. From the questions it can be understood that Swanston was highlighting waste and profligacy and was urging JPT to find ways of reigning it in. The estate managers were clearly not tracking consumption of food and goods and it was impossible to say why this was.

Swanston looked at cheaper and more efficient ways of procuring goods, particularly by buying from America, which was nearer than Britain so the transporting of goods was cheaper and quicker. As for sugar sales in Britain, Swanston said that the Tudway brands had been less favoured for some time, so difficult to sell at a good price. This could only be due to a manufacture fault, such as too much lime, incorrect boiling or not skimming properly. Sugars were becoming more costly to produce, especially with waste and inefficiency, for lower returns. Shipping rum and molasses to Britain did not yield returns so he advised against this.

This report went on for 32 pages. It was both a detailed critique of the way the plantation was being managed and pulled no punches by saying what was wrong and what measures were needed to improved. Soon after, the detailed, printed forms for the new record keep were being produced.

The return of the Account of the Enslaved of September 1829 for New Works^{xviii} showed expenditure on foodstuff was recorded as well as to what use that produce was put – for example, oats to feed horses and mules, locally grown 'Indian corn' (maize) for the managers and overseers, oatmeal or groats for the hospitals, cornmeal and pickled fish (such as salted herrings) for 'general use'. Interestingly, the consumption of alcohol was not mentioned! Food was not the only consumable that was tracked in this way as building materials such as nails and tacks were also sorted by size, counted and the use they were put to recorded.

The records for births and deaths, known as increase and decrease, amongst the enslaved are covered below. That month *'Joan delivered a female child named Phillidy Grant'*^{xix} This brought the total number of female enslaved to 107, males 93, total 200. It is often apparent that females outnumber males leaving questions as to how this might be so. Amelioration and post ending of slave trade put greater importance on female enslaved because of their ability to give birth and thus increase total enslaved as labour as well as chattel assets, so by this time there was greater care (a term used advisedly) taken, especially during pregnancy. Similarly, the 'increase and decrease' of the

livestock was recorded with the resulting impression that enslaved people were seen as being no more than another form of 'livestock'.

Importantly, the total hogsheads of sugar that year was 141, amounting to 2792 pounds. Rum produced totalled 5845 gallons and Molasses amounted to 6212 gallons and 1924 gallons.

Of course the weather was another factor that need to be accounted for as extremes affected both productive labour as well as the crops themselves. Taken over a year, this gave a picture of the cane growing and sugar production cycles against the details of the sugar, rum and molasses produced. To ensure the exporting of the goods was expedited as efficiently as possible, the names of the 'droghers' (small sailing vessels used to carry goods awaiting ships bound for England) and the names of the packet ships and their captains were recorded so that each cargo was 'tracked' as best it could have been for the time.

On some plantations punishments were recorded on the forms, but mainly these were now being carried out by the court, who would have kept the records, so there is little known information about what punishments were meted upon the enslaved on Parham and for what misdemeanours.

There was also a Statement of Works for each period that recorded what work each gang and each of the white servants. The return for New Work September 1829 recorded 40 enslaved on the first class gang whose jobs included clearing grass, manuring, weeding of Guinea corn and ratoon canes. The 21 on the second class gang were mainly weeding the crop fields (Guinea corn and yams) as well as manuring and holing. These jobs would vary according to the growing season cycle, which in this case seemed to be at the early stage. There were also the Stores Stockkeeper, various tradesmen and the watchmen, as well as the sick (8) and invalid (2), making 10 out of the 199 unable to work. In addition there were 56 children under 12 years of whom those over 6 years would also have been working. This recorded also recorded the weather as well as the produce made each week which was 141 Hogsheads of sugar, 5851 gallons rum and 8100 gallons of molasses.

The white servants/overseers were Samuel Gore, William Edwards and William Childs (who had been discharged from his job that month) but it is not recorded what their daily jobs comprised. Then there were the tradesmen. The carpenters were employed repairing carts, cattle pens and working on the Old Work estate. The coopers were making sugar hogshead shells, the masons repairing 'Negro' houses and the blacksmith shoeing horses. All pretty vague descriptions for a month's work as if the clerk was compiling the form for its own sake. Not much quantification, suggesting some reluctance on the part of the form completer and obfuscation to keep some details from JPT. The picture is general and probably fell short of Swanston's expectations. But at least it was better than before.

By December that year William Petrie had replaced William Childs and the mason had been building a chimney for the simmering pans while carpenters had been repairing the rum butts. First class gang had gone on to holing, weeding and planting canes while second class were weeding ratoons, yams and Guinea corn.

An ox was reported killed at Christmas *'for the use of the white staff'*, which sounds like a lot of meat for a handful of men.

What these records told about the lives of the enslaved

Some of the details on the planter's forms threw intermittent light on the lives of the enslaved on plantations in the Caribbean as well as America. This data was used by abolitionists as it provided evidence of the brutality of the system and made their plight visible to wider audiences.^{xx}

One form giving an account of deaths of Negroes from 1st January 1826 to 1st January 1827^{xxi} showed there had been two deaths of enslaved persons. One was Thomas Swain, a 'coloured' aged 17 from New Works plantation who went by the letter T and the number 7. Young Thomas had died from being '*scalded by hot liquor*', most likely a work related injury sustained in the boiler house. For it to have been fatal it must have been a significant scalding, and it is possible that he had to stand on the edge of the vat of boiling sugar in order to stir it, and fell in – or was pushed in by an impatient overseer. This was not uncommon.

Also deceased was Inba Christmas, a black female aged 50, from New Works who had died of consumption (Tuberculosis) . Her identifier was letter I, number 6.

Between Old Works and New Works, there had been eight deaths that year, two males and six females. Bella and Johnny were both 69 and their deaths were recorded as 'old age'. At the other end of the scale, little Elizabeth Byam died at just eight months of 'teething' suggesting a fever that took hold fatally.

Disregarding the two deaths from old age, the records show that work related injuries, illnesses and infant mortality had a high impact on the enslaved. The death of Thomas Swan must have been excruciatingly painful and avoidable if there had been better attention to safety. Tuberculosis may have been prevalent on slave ships, as well as other diseases such as cholera, yaws, elephantiasis or leprosy. Poor diets of enslaved people living in cramped and unsanitary housing and being critically overworked were all factors affecting the health of enslaved people. Measles, diphtheria, typhoid fever and other European diseases were also brought to bear on the population. Right the way through, the letters from managers to the Tudways consistently detail the levels of sickness and epidemics amongst the enslaved population resulting in shortage of labour to be temporarily replaced by hiring in from another owner or newly acquired enslaved Africans.

The doctors serving the plantations were primarily for the white population but as owners also needed to keep their enslaved alive, especially after amelioration and the end of the slave trade. Into this picture of medics and medicines comes that of the African healers with their knowledge of tropical diseases who became trusted not just among the enslaved by the white population too. The Register of Negro Slaves 1817 for Old Work shows there were two Doctor's Assistants. Ralph, a 'mulatto' born 1783 and 'ruptured' at age 34 and Robert, a 'mongrel' born 1805, so just 12 years old but in good health. No more is known about their role or expertise.

According to Waters,^{xxii} the Tudway's Parham plantation had greater capital to maintain the enslaved labour force such as with better provision grounds, a sick house and medical care. Plus they could keep up numbers of their enslaved by taking on those from failed estates. Their death rates therefore were lower than other plantations that were less well placed. This, says Waters then skewed mortality figures downwards for Antigua as a whole. So if these awful accounts of sickness and injuries and deaths are lower than other estates, it can only be imagined how much worse it was elsewhere. It could even be the reason so much clothing and medicines that seemed to be in excess

for the estate were disappearing. Either sold or given out to poorer estates to alleviate suffering not excluding possible pilfering by enslaved to help their fellow sufferers elsewhere.

Birth and death records

Born that year of 1826/7 were seven babies of whom 6 were black and one was 'coloured', four being male and three female.^{xxiii} That was a lower figure than the previous year in which eleven infants were born,^{xxiv} of whom nine were female and two male, ten being black and one 'coloured'.

The more detailed monthly returns from 1829 also covered births and deaths of the enslaved, along with a tally of females, males and the total for each plantation of the estate. This being important as they also carried value as cash assets as well as for the profits their unpaid labours produced.

Retention of African Names and gradual Anglicising.

There is an interesting development as the 18th century progresses into the 19th regarding the retention of African names. The registers of Charles 3 often recorded mis-spelt African names, some of which were easier to trace than others. Most commonly these names stem from an Akan origin, (present day Ghana) and suggest these enslaved were taken from this part of West Africa. The Register of 'Negroes' on Parham Plantation in 1817^{xxv} show that a few of these names remained

The 'branding iron'

The stores list for 1825 showed one very disturbing item - the branding iron.^{xxvi} A new one had been sent although the total remained at one. Branding irons have had a traditional use in many societies for branding livestock to prove ownership and prevent theft. During the 18th c in England as elsewhere in Europe they were also used as a punishment to brand a thief so all would know of the crime committed by that person. Branding was also used on criminal deportees to the colonies to make running away much harder. During the slavery epoch branding of the enslaved African was first carried out by the Portuguese in the 15thc and other European enslaving nations followed suit, each developing their own way of doing things. In Britain, the Royal African Company branded the chest, shoulder or arm of captured Africans with the initials DY for the Duke of York. This would be repeated by the purchaser once in the Caribbean and for subsequent owners. This deeply disturbing and humiliating practice shows how the planters made no differentiation between animal livestock and human livestock nor did they show any sense of acknowledgement of how physically painful the branding was. Each family member has had not only a signature but stylized initials pertinent to the individual as a 'brand' or 'trademark' usually by superimposing their initials over each one in a distinct way. Could it have been possible that as John Paine Tudway's 'Slave Registers' recorded each individual with a letter and a number that these could also have been used as markers for branding so that each enslaved could be identified – especially those who tried to run away? It is highly likely that the branding iron would be wrought in iron, but silver was commonly used as a more malleable material to shape the letters, numbers or symbols used and these would be soldered to the iron. Thus the Tudway brand could have been burnt into the skin of the enslaved man, woman or child as well as onto livestock. No thought would have been given to the pain this would have caused, especially for children, as well as possibility of infection. Such practices gave rise to the racist tropes about people of African descent having higher pain thresholds than white people to the extent that it still affects black people's experience of pain management by the medical profession today.^{xxvii}

The first court was built in St John's, Antigua, in 1750 and the first jail next door was built in 1772 to imprison enslaved 'Negroes or Mulattoes' guilty of misdemeanours. As in Europe, branding was used as a punishment or marker for a crime committed, especially for runaways. From the Amelioration Act of 1798 cruel punishments and practices had to stop so punishments for breaches of the law became to public duty of the courthouse, rather than the plantation owner. It is unlikely then that the branding iron was for the purpose of either punishment or property marking of the enslaved, although it is likely that this could have taken place previously in the 16th or 17th centuries. There is evidence for the purpose of the branding iron in this way.

What has come to light, however, is the most likely use for the branding iron. It is of great relief to learn that the hogsheads of sugar to be shipped to England were branded with JPT's initials and either 'NW', 'OW' or, latterly, 'PL' to show which plantation they had come from. Separation of the sugars provided a means of recording any inferiorities or superiorities in the sugars which could have reflected weather conditions or production methods. Some parts of the whole estate had micro weather conditions, getting more or less rain, so there were variations because of this. The main information, as fed back to JPT by Sherland Hill Swanston, was so that JPT could raise matters with the managers and push for sugar quality improvement.

Mortgaging of enslaved people

It was not uncommon for plantation owners to use their entire population of enslaved as collateral for raising money when in financial straits. JPT was experiencing some difficulties so was advised by Sherland Hill Swanston to take out a mortgage against his property (referred to above) so mortgage no. 3156 was lodged on the 11th of October 1824 in Vol 24th, Folio 50 and it was recorded in Antigua in the island's Register Office, with a copy kept with Lovell Lovell, JPT's solicitors in Wells, with two witnesses present, Henry Hartford and Daniel Burgs, (Bristol solicitors,) and independent witnesses, Andrew Carrick of Clifton and Caroline Carrick (his wife), as well as Joseph Lovell Lovell of Wells. Signing as witnesses for the plantation was William Musgrave and George Weatherell Ottley (manager of Parham Lodge) both of Antigua.

This indenture was between John Paine Tudway, first part, William Mellar, second part, Joseph Lovell Lovell, third part, Shirland Hill Swanston and William Clark, merchants of the City of London and co-partners, fourth part, and James Peachey, (Salisbury), fifth part. It states that

'John Paine Tudway did bargain, sell, ratify, and confirm to Sherland Hill Swanston and William Clark (executors and administrator) that

All and singular Negro and other slavesRegister of Slaves, Office of the register of Slaves (Antigua) in this Kingdom and all other Negroes and other slaves worked or employed or belonging to the plantation and any issue or progeny thereof and all resided over 99 years....' xxviii

This was accompanied by a detailed list of each and every enslaved person encompassed in this mortgage. There seems to be a previous arrangement for JPT to 'demise' the plantation for a period of 99 years in 1820 with Joseph Lovell Lovell. xxix It is unclear what this was for, other than perhaps to ease JPT's immediate finances, or even whether it went through at all, because by the time of abolition, JPT still had ownership of both the enslaved and the plantation.

The Second Slave Amelioration Act 1823

In London the abolitionists were stepping up their campaign to abolish slavery. Thomas Buxton attempted to introduce a bill in the House of Commons in May 1823, but it was unsuccessful. Instead, Secretary of State, Earl Bathurst, wrote to all the island governors, including Sir Benjamin D'Urban of Antigua, to persuade them to adopt greater amelioration measures including religious education, Christian marriage, recognition of a slave's testimony in court and further easements of women's labour if she had children. The Antiguan Assembly were not keen so delayed passing any such bill, but Bathurst was so keen on ensuring the enslaved had religious education that he was prepared to bargain. The chip in this case were the Sunday Markets that took place in Otto Pasture, St. Johns every week. These were occasions when enslaved people could use their Sunday free time to sell produce they had grown and goods they had made, socialise, discuss the world, eat, drink rum, dance and make merry. The plantocracy hated them. They were so used to having total control over every aspect of the lives of the enslaved people that this piece of freedom was seen by the slave owners as a threat and they were met with strong disapproval. The Sunday Markets were spaces delineated by the enslaved, to the exclusion of whites, and that exclusion was at the same time one of physical space, language, behaviour and culture. Black people could be themselves beyond their status of being enslaved. Lightfoot describes the markets as a 'gendered space' where women dominated, reflecting traditional life ways in Africa where women were the main growers and distributors of the produce sold thus affording them a degree of social power and material advantage. Amelioration measures that spared women from hard work in the fields during pregnancy was used to the advantage of enslaved women who:

'used the respite allowed for pregnancy to siphon off time and goods for their own benefit, challenging the sole use of their bodies for the enrichment of their owners.....enslaved women escaped from the continued misuse and confinement on the plantation to a space that was culturally familiar and materially central to their livelihoods.' ^{xxx}

The white population wanted the Sunday Markets stopped so an Act was passed by the Assembly in February 1824 to outlaw the selling of alcohol and forcing the closure of shops on Sundays. Then on the pretext that it was to stop the '*profanation of the Lord's Day*.'^{xxxi} The vending still continued so eventually in 1831 an Act was passed by the assembly to outlaw Sunday Markets altogether. Enslaved people were not happy. Not only did this severely restrict their enjoyment of their one day off but also restricted opportunity to make some money of their own, although most of the trading was done by barter. They agitated and protested. Troops were called in and the protest violently put down. This was followed by further rebellion by setting some cane fields on fire after which Martial Law was imposed and the arsonists rounded up, flogged and one hanged. The markets did not return to Sundays, but what the enslaved people had won was their right to market as planters began to allow a half day each Saturday.

The Free Coloured Community

As has been seen on the Parham slave lists, many of the people recorded as enslaved in the plantations were of mixed heritage one way or another. Many of these mixed race people, known as 'coloured' were able to purchase their freedom through manumission and more were thereby born free. Their numbers grew from 1,300 in 1805 to 4,000 by 1820. They were rising up the social ladder, being employed in positions of trust on the plantations or in the towns, but there were still restrictions and discriminatory practice that favoured whites. There were many petitions sent to the

British Government but the only measure that was passed was to allow Free Coloured and Black inhabitants of Antigua to sit on juries. It didn't seem like a huge gain, but the government was involved in something far bigger.

Manumissions

The number of manumissions increased as abolition grew near, some of which are recorded in letters in the Tudway Papers. In December 1830, JPT wrote to George Ottley saying that he had received a letter from Joseph Henry regarding an exchange of a six year old sickly male child, belonging to Parham Lodge, for a ten year old girl, strong and healthy whom he purchased from a nearby estate whose father lived on Parham. JPT said he would consent to manumitting the boy.^{xxxii} Henry is not a planter so perhaps he is an overseer or a 'free coloured', possibly even the father of the boy.

A letter to Mr Freeland in March 1834 referred to Mr Horsford's letter to him some weeks back regarding manumission of Elizabeth Gibbons and her three children. Freeland was instructed to go along with Horsford's request, providing it was of no inconvenience.^{xxxiii} Horsford was a planter family surname^{xxxiv} and there was an Hon Paul Horsford, his Majesties Attorney General for the Leeward Isles. It is not known what the relationship between Horsford and Gibbons was, or whether he was merely charged with fulfilling the legal requirements.

Of particular interest is Dedda the midwife, born c 1757, living on Old Work Plantation. Her Akan name, nowadays spelled as Dede, means first born daughter. She had a daughter, Anne known as Dedda's Anne, who was black, born in 1795, who worked as a housemaid. Being a midwife was of great value to the plantation owners as safely delivered healthy new borns protected and increased his assets as good midwifery reduced the risk of the mother's death as well as that of the infant. Dedda's position meant that she could get a better deal for her own children, hence Anne being spared the toil of a field slave. In 1822, Dedda's Anne gave birth to a daughter named Maria Eliza who was classified as a 'mongrel', then in 1825, she gave birth to another daughter named Felicia Goddard, a 'coloured' child, meaning the father was either white, or someone who was of mixed heritage and perhaps not the same father as previously.^{xxxv} (Refer to note in References regarding meaning of the colour terminology.) Dedda also had a son, Sam, who was black and was manumitted in exchange for Sam MacKinner, born 1770, classified 'mongrel', a saddler and in good health, who came to Old Works plantation to replace the freed son of Dedda. This must have been great joy for Dedda whose proven value had helped in the manumission of her son.^{xxxvi} It also showed how, like many other enslaved people, she could use her skill and her intelligence to the advantage of herself and her children. Having mixed race children from a white father was also leverage for a black woman as the 'coloured' population were more likely to be able to obtain better positions, hence Dedda's grandchildren being spared from field work. The lighter skinned were more likely to be emancipated, especially with the backing of the white fathers who could often put up the money for their emancipation. Of course this was dependent on the circumstances in which the pregnancy was conceived as it needs to be remembered that the greatest majority of pregnancies of black women by white men would have been conceived through rape, or, at the very least, manipulation, and very few were consensual, involving mutual affection. But Dedda was clever and would also have known about the emancipation movement and would have been able to put the improvements in her position arising from amelioration measures to good use. Like many other enslaved mothers, she was

going to do her best to ensure her children did not have to endure slavery and for her son Sam, she was successful in this.

The Emancipation Act of 1832.

It is helpful in the understanding of the political scene that John Paine Tudway found himself in account for some of the critical moments of the day. In 1830 a new government was elected, led by the Whig Party under Earl Grey as Prime Minister. In that election JPT, a Tory, lost his seat that he had previously held since 1815 when he inherited it from his uncle, Clement 3. His was no more illustrious a parliamentary career than his predecessor, rarely being seen or even speaking in the House of Commons, causing local opposition to him resulting in the loss of his seat in 1830. The Whig government was a new broom that set about sweeping away the corruption of the 'rotten boroughs' with their unfair over-representation by rich Tories that included much of the West India Interest. They brought in the Representation of the People Act of 1832, known as the Reform Act, which extended the franchise to more male voters and redistributed the borough boundaries to ensure a fairer and more even representation. This put the old planter class at a disadvantage, so for JPT and his ilk that meant a new order of things was to follow and that included abolition of slavery. The Whigs largely promoted 'free trade' with its concomitant 'free market' and 'free labour'. They represented the new industrialist capitalists who did not want to be tied to the old order of monopolies and protectionist trade policies, besides, slavery was now becoming expensive and ineffective as a system. Competition in the free market put the West Indian sugar grower at a disadvantage to Brazilian or Cuban growers who still depended on the now illicit slave trade to procure their enslaved labour force, despite legislation to end the trade in 1807. The same applied to cotton, grown by enslaved in America, spun and woven by low paid, often female, factory hands in Britain where it seemed the right hand was doing the opposite to the left hand. Britain was moving away from the idea of slavery as the best way to manage large scale production of raw materials and saw a free labour system as modern, rational and streamlined. For the planters, amelioration meant that the enslaved were living longer, children needed to be raised, the sick, injured and the elderly taken care of, taking productive hands out of the labour force and creating dependence on the master – to master's cost. The new capitalist system needed a flexible, mobile and changeable labour force, moreover, one that was dispensable as it became ineffectual. One that had no ties, moral or otherwise, to its spent workers. This was the idea of freedom of the planter class that was moving it towards acceptance of abolition.

The abolitionists were motivated by the moral and humanitarian arguments against slavery. The very eloquent men that petitioned and represented their cause in Parliament included such names as Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce MP, Thomas Buxton MP, Zachary Macauley, Henry Thornton MP and Henry Braugham MP. They were mostly members of the Clapham Sect, a group of Evangelist Anglicans linked to the Holy Trinity Church Clapham, also known as the Clapham Saints, who led a lengthy campaign against slavery. How they must have irked John Paine Tudway who, in a letter written to his Manager John Freeland in April 1833, in which he referred to them as the '*Rascally Saints*' who he saw as '*doing their utmost by loading the House with Petitions.*'^{xxxvii} He informed Freeland that the slavery emancipation Bill would be before Parliament in the next month and hoped Freeland would 'rejoice' that Goderich was now out of the Colonial Department, superseded by Mr Stanley. Mr Frederick Robinson, 1st Viscount Goderich, Colonial Secretary was strongly opposed to slavery and was indeed replaced by Edward Smith-Stanley in April 1833. JPT would not have had any

hopes that Stanley favoured the planters in wanting to retain slavery as it was his Bill for abolition that was presented to Parliament in 1832, supported all the way by Goderich.

The Tudway records for this period, and post abolition, provides a rich contemporaneous account of both the lead up to abolition and the implementation of it on the Parham plantation. The letters include those from John Paine Tudway and show his hostility towards abolition and the abolitionists, as above. Letters from his two Managers John Freeland and George Ottley show their concerns about the British Government representatives and the Antigua Assembly whose general lack of co-ordination, especially of information, was disconcerting to all, notwithstanding those who were enslaved, waiting to hear their future. This period was so critical that the detail of the letters is required to fully do justice as well as historical context. Although the predominant voices are of those of the white planters the description of the responses to abolition by the enslaved/newly freed people allows that voice to be heard even if only second hand. Nevertheless, a voice it was and it commanded it be heard.

In November 1832 George Ottley (manager of Parham Lodge) wrote to JPT concerning this proposed bill.

'The news by the last packet that Ministers intend to bring forward a measure immediately for the emancipating the slaves may not yet cause much excitement in the island. I confess my anxiety on this is on tiptoe to know what their plan can be which will be safe and satisfactory to all parties.....It is much to be wished that they would adopt some measures to let us go peaceably in the cultivation of the estates and not continually harassing the minds of the Negroes with reports that do not fail to make them dissatisfied with their condition, but I confess on the whole they are behaving very well and it is wonderful such should be the case, considering the inflammatory conduct of the zealots in the Mother Country as well as here.'^{xviii}

By May the following year, John Freeland (manager of Old Works and New Works) opined that

'The Negroes are not generally impressed with the idea that they are going to be emancipated in two or three months and have been anxious. There have been no direct acts of insubordination, they work with alacrity and zeal as they must and should do.'^{xix}

No doubt JPT was relieved to hear this news, but Freeland went on to say that some of the planters are telling their people what they think might happen without any basis in fact and that this could lead to problems, which he thinks is unwise at this time. As for the job of Ministers, he reflected

'I think when Ministers come to the detail they will find very great difficulty, the worst I think will be perplexed – we shall look with the greatest possible anxiety for the development of the plan, whatever measure is adopted by Parliament on this question will be entirely on their own responsibility for I do not believe the Council of Assembly of their plan and will not be in any torment in trying experiments where no guarantee is given if they should fail.'

So while he was contemplating no good coming of the abolition proposals, a change happened and a new Governor, Sir E. MacGregor has stepped in, and given a proclamation warning that

'the Negroes (are) not to be led away by idle and mischievous reports on the subject of emancipation and promises to act with extreme rigour if any disorderly conduct arises.'^{xi}

Freeland hoped this will have the desired effect, to *'quieten their minds, which has been kept in a state of excitement for some time by the expectation of immediate freedom and exemption from labour.'*

Ottley was even more worried. In his letter of July 1833 he wrote on the 'West India Question.'

'The Minds of the Negroes have been unnecessarily worked upon, particularly by the late account to expect emancipation with so much uncertainty that nothing now seems but compensation to proprietors – without them how can it be expected that the planter will be losing investments in supporting any, I hear, as proposed by Government, unless they go hand in hand. I dread the consequences of this could be effected by the Military Force with an efficient Police establishment in the country for the enforcing calm and preserving good order.'^{xli}

Abolition of slavery

On 22nd July 1833 the act to abolish slavery passed its second reading in the House of Commons and its third on 7th August, where it was passed to the House of Lords and passed on 20th August. It received Royal Assent on 28th August 1833 but did not come into force until the 1st August 1834.

It became apparent that there were differences of opinion between Freeland and Ottley, both freely expressed to JPT. The main issues were to do with apprenticeship and compensation to the planters. In August 1833 Freeland wrote to JPT to say that he had looked at the Bill and thought it was

'most unjust for the proprietor – still being asked to maintain negroes for 12 years at a great increase in expense – food, clothing, lodging, medicine and medical care – will receive labour from a limited proportion and half the labour of the able bodied Negroes. Impossible that this Bill can pass.'^{xlii}

Freeland said he would prefer *'unqualified emancipation'* and that he was opposed to a *'needless transition'*.

Freeland's letter of one month later showed some relief that the 'Slave Emancipation Bill' had passed the House of Lords with a few, small amendments. As the legislation would come into force the following August he said this would give the time to take off the next crop and get the new one planted, adding that he was *'glad to say the Negroes are still quiet'*! He further went on to complain that the new laws (amelioration) meant that he was obliged to request more salt herrings.

Mr Ottley's letter of August 1833 referred to the new Governor having been informed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the measure for abolition of slavery had been adopted by the House of Lords. His concern is that the Parliament in Britain and the local colonial legislature might not co-operate.

'Mr Stanley has very dexterously moved it on the shoulders of Ministers and made it an Act of the Country by the preposterous rules he first submitted to the West India body having undergone considerable amendments in the Commons, yet left room for the credit of the measures by Ministers if it succeeds. His dispatch to our Governors is a very able production written in the style and spirit of modernisation.'

'He firstly observed that any collusion between the different classes of society might be pregnant with calamities, The most disadvantageous is impossible for me to judge what plan would shift the other Colonies but from all we have heard (for very few planters visit among the islands), our slaves are at least half a century beyond them in civilisation. I am happy to be able to give you my decided opinion from the local knowledge I have had it in my power to acquire, that the present slave population here

would fear the change of system without any danger to the country, although it might embrace entire and immediate emancipation.

'Indeed I am firmly of the opinion that the plan of apprenticing adults is the worst part of the measure. I anxiously hope that our legislature will not mar the prospect before us by contending for a further amount of compensation. As the matter now stands, if the measures adopted by Parliament should fail, the English Government can never throw it in our teeth that we have had any hand in these which they might, by a stretch of fancy do, provided we send a price upon our slaves beyond what they have named, supposing they ceded to us a point, which is very unlikely they will do..'

He went on to detail his views on how the 'new system' might work.

'Let us point out to them how much the black population must depend for comfort and amelioration upon our future prosperity and our internal regulations – let us pray to have open (to us) free trade for all our productions, let us urge the necessity of stronger military force for a few years to come and let us point out our advantage to the bondsmen and their Masters of making adults and infants altogether free and having bound as apprentices the children to masters chosen by their parents – male from 6-18 and females 6-16... necessary for ensuring, or keeping up in a warmer climate a labouring class of people – at present the most sanguine of expectations of the change of system being attended with no fatal consequences, arrives altogether in the people (conditioned) from their infancy to labour.

Let us pray that the old and infirm slaves unfit for labour sufficient to support themselves may be supplied at the expense of the English Government at the discretion of the Commissioner appointed for the purpose. Let us express our hopes that the king will pass such of our Acts as tend to coerce labour as far as health and strength will admit it while employment may be procured sufficient to exempt them from the necessity of it, having vagrant laws of our own for the purpose of employing on public works vagabonds and idlers.^{xliii}

Ottley then went on to allude to amelioration as a measure from England had prepared the enslaved for emancipation but not worked well for the planters unless coercion to work still existed as 'strictness' rather than 'severity'. Wages must be what the planter can afford taking account of the 'dry years'. Character testimonials should also be sought when employing a labourer from another estate. Moreover, he hoped that the King would approve of the conditions imposed locally such as a worker and his wife and family living on the estate as a family to improve their conditions and also profit the planter. He also made the point that while the British public may resent the £20 million paid to compensate the planters, without this, the colonies would have been lost to Great Britain. Ottley recognised that this was entirely his own view of things and that JPT might have a different perspective, but that he would go along with whatever his employer thought best.

In September 1833, Ottley's letter to JPT continued with his view of the proposed apprenticeship system. This had been proposed as a further means to 'compensate' the Proprietors on the basis that the supposedly freed worker should now toil for nothing as an apprentice so that he or she might learn the 'habits of industry' – as if those habits were not already ingrained. There were disadvantages to this as Ottley explained.

'What will our situation be under such circumstances with adults, many not yet able to perform work bearing any proportion to the food they consume over whom we shall have command or control but

for the authority of another with absence of any of those feelings which necessarily formerly existed on both sides?What interest can we feel connected with it for the infant occupying the time and attention of a mother whose labour is intensified at an expense too pockets. Many females who (breast) feed can hardly be said at the present day to perform labours of one year in three but when in a state of slavery their future here is supposed to compensate the loss. What compensation are we supposed to receive for that loss of time from an apprentice?''^{xliv}

Here Ottley was referring to the amelioration measures that gave nursing mothers time to care for their infants away from plantation work. Under slavery that time was an investment for the planter as the infant would be ensured to grow to labour on the plantation and therefore be an asset to his purse. Under an apprenticeship, the child would no longer be of any consequence to the planter, so this would be disadvantageous. He questioned what would happen to the older enslaved people or the sick when the dependent relationship of master and slave was severed? Ottley felt that those in England were not thinking their proposals through in terms of the detail of how they might work on the ground. He also wondered who would set the rate of pay and hours to be worked, seeing the British Government as a 'third party' intervening in the relationship between master and employer. However, he concluded that the apprenticeship of young people was desirable, but not for adults.

The following month Ottley has heard that the Bill is now awaiting Royal Assent and he was still complaining about the possibility of implementing an apprenticeship system as he felt the '*island's 'Negroes' were more advanced in civilisation than almost any other.*' and wanted to propose that this rule be waived for Antigua, along with the 4% duty paid to Britain, to compensate the cost of implementing a 'free labour' system. However, he did not see that the island's Governors would see fit to make such a suggestion, but that the planters should petition the British Government directly and he wanted to know JPT's opinion. But he did not leave it there but went on as if to worry JPT with a concern that the enslaved would find apprenticeship –

'a disappointment – to be attended with dangers and alarming consequences if it is persisted in.'^{xlv}

Freeland seemed less inclined to opine endlessly on the matter and merely mentioned in his letter to JPT of September 1833 that he had heard the Bill had passed the House of Lords and was on its way towards implementation the following year, giving them time to take the next crop off and begin planting the next. Other than to mention that he was glad that the '*Negroes are still quiet*',^{xlvi} his main concern was the extra salt herrings that amelioration required him to purchase.

The implementation of the Slavery Abolition Act in Antigua on 1st August 1834

The Emancipation Bill was granted Royal Assent by King William IV on 28th August 1833, to come into effect on 1st August 1834, allowing a year to set up all the measures needed for implementation. The Act decreed that all manumitted persons would be required to serve an apprenticeship period of six years for field workers, four years for domestic workers, only allowing children under the age of six years to be immediately free. The viewpoints so freely expressed by George Ottley to John Paine Tudway were shared widely by other Antiguan planters and owners of enslaved so that on September 11th 1833 they protested against abolition outside the court house in St John's. Many were in debt, unable to meet the expenses of their plantations, even as far as being unable to purchase food for their enslaved workers. One man, Samuel Otto Baijer, from a long standing planter family, shocked the crowd when he declared that it would cost him a third less to run his plantation,

at profit, if his workers were free labour, not enslaved. The small size of the island, which was completely taken up with plantations meant that when freed, those people would have no choice but to work for the same planters as before if they wanted food on their tables and a roof over their head. They would be paid the lowest wages with no choice about accepting and that would only benefit the planters. Baijer was persuasive and won over the anti-abolitionists to the effect that a new petition went to the legislature.

This demanded that there would be no apprenticeship on Antigua, that planters would be compensated first, at a fixed price per head and the removal of the 4.5% sugar tax. Just as Ottley had advised JPT would be for the best. He had also said apprenticeship was unnecessary because the black and coloured Antiguan people were more 'civilised', intelligent and with a higher moral disposition. But the real reason was exactly as Baijer said, there was nowhere else for them to go. The planters, as employers, would still have the upper hand in the control of the lives of the workforce. It was accepted by the Governor, Sir Evan McGregor, and immediate emancipation was enshrined in Antiguan law in February 1834, with Friday 1st August heralded as the day in which all enslaved people would achieve immediate emancipation. Despite the practical and economic advantages that played into the hands of the planter class, the Act was still portrayed as a moral and honourable measure to free people from the horrors of slavery as which demonstrated the humanity of the British/Antiguan planter. Nevertheless, they were still concerned that celebrations and jubiliations might get out of hand on the day so extra military force was to be brought in to be on hand to quell anything that was deemed a threat.

It was feared that the newly emancipated Antiguan of African descent might descend into pauperism, even lawlessness, without the steady hand of a master to keep them to becoming productive citizens. The planter class saw them as being inferior in every way, subject to ill-health (which was largely attributable to the conditions on the plantations) or mentally deficient (also attributable to the oppression of the slave system), subject to waywardness or even disorder. As for being regarded as equal citizens Natasha Lightfoot says '...the competing narrative of blacks' inferiority suggests that white elites never viewed freedpeople as deserving of those rights.'

^{xlvii} Maintaining control was seen as essential to maintaining not only law and order but the 'natural' order of the superiority of the white elites. The means the planter class used to legislate control over the now freed black and coloured labourers was the Contract Act passed in December 1834. This required freed men and women to labour only on the plantations where they were born, thus nullifying any hope of free movement over, or even off, the island, for the first year after emancipation. After such time they could work for whom they wanted, but if they wanted to work independently as a porter or market trader they would need a license. Any kind of freewheeling as a lifestyle would be dealt with as idleness or vagrancy which was criminalised with punishments of imprisonment with hard labour. MacGregor explained this at public meetings where the soon to be emancipated gathered to hear their future. It was made very clear that only by their work would they be fed, clothed and housed and that sobriety and industry would be rewarded.

What was clear was that the planter class was going to ensure that this 'new system' as it was often referred to simply meant a new means of managing and controlling a labour force whereby as much profit could be made out of their labours as possible and where they did not have to support those who could not work – children, sick and aged. After the payment of as low a wage as possible, their

contractual responsibilities ended. A poster displayed at a Black Lives Matter demonstration in London in 2020 summed this up very well.

'Slavery hasn't been abolished. It's been redesigned'^{xlviii}

Spoken about in terms of 'systems' it was clear that the times were moving forward where production systems under capitalism were sweeping aside the old, now defunct, system of slavery. In its place they were introducing free market principles of global free trade, made possible by a free labour system. The industrial age was born. Nowhere in this, other than in the now quieter voices of the abolitionist, was the voice of the enslaved to be heard. What emancipation and freedom meant to the enslaved was not mentioned. The hopes and dreams, the ambitions and aspirations of a people who now were freed from the oppressive yoke of slavery did not matter to the planters. On the plantation, the enslaved had learned small acts of resistance to the oppression – working slowly, going to the sick house with feigned (as well as real) illnesses, making mistakes, petty stealing, running away – as all were acts which undermined the power of the master and ate into his profits. Every so often, larger acts of resistance, uprisings and rebellions, took place. How could this resistance be replicated under a 'free labour system'? How would a freed slave define freedom? Surely the greatest thing would be a rejection of the tyranny of the work itself. It was not just the relationship to the master/owner that bound and oppressed the enslaved, but the binding of them to the gruelling and backbreaking work, especially that in the cane fields.

As the day drew near the planters' managers and attorneys shared their good and bad news and their hopes and concerns to the absentee owners. By June 1834, the managers were aware of the Emancipation Bill going before the Assembly but at that time John Freeland wrote that he had not heard the outcome and was a little concerned that the big day was only a month away. The main difficulty was the wages expected by the free labourers as Freeland worries they may want more than the estate could afford. He predicted that they may refuse to work until starvation made them change their mind and was grateful that the Governor's troops and militia would swiftly put down any disturbances that might arise. However, he added with some relief *'the negroes though are behaving well and going on quietly.'*

JT's claim for compensation required the paperwork be drawn up by the plantation managers whose job it was to appraise the enslaved population by valuing them according to health, strength and ability to work. Freeland informed him in June 1834 that he had received the forms from the Commission of the Compensation Fund. He informed him, as did Ottley, that The Council of Assembly was drawing up the Emancipation Bill but at this stage had not included the removal of the 4.5% duty. He said they were currently agreeing rates of pay and other considerations. His letter later that same month outlined his plan for soil improvement which he detailed more the following month. By the end of July his letter focussed on material efficiency saying it would be a better idea to burn coal instead of trash and compost trash instead to use it as fertiliser. By now soil exhaustion was a serious problem so means of boosting its fertility was welcomed by JPT, who agreed to send the coal. He also mentioned the matter of wages to pay the freed labourers saying that the other planters had agreed on 1/- a day for first class and 9d per day for second glass gangs – this would be fixed with a pledge to give no more. Children's wages would be paid to their parents. As for informing the workers of Old and New Work plantations he said:

'I have only fully detailed to the Negroes the great change which will take place in 3 or 4 days and stated to them the new and responsible situation in which they will all be placed by having their families entirely dependent on their own exertions for maintenance and have (enticed?) into all other matters connected with their responsibility with their approaching new condition as well as the proposed rate of wages.'^{xlix}

He did not think that they would be happy with the proposed rates of pay, but as other estates were offering the same, they had little bargaining power, but they were pleased at least not to be paid lower than elsewhere. Nevertheless, the freed labourers were not going to accept without some form of negotiation. They were finding their voice as waged workers and bargain they would. A bit of a worry for Freeland who went on to say:

'I am apprehensive that they will hold out for some time for a higher rate than on offer. There's a stand at present on this count and I hope we shall have no disturbances of consequence'. A note in the margin added *'I am fearful the Negroes will strike for a higher rate of wages.'*

He concluded the letter by saying that as he had a power of attorney over JPT's affairs in Antigua he could make the compensation claim and advised JPT to make the claim as high as possible in the hopes that a better rate could be achieved.

On the 17th August – just two weeks into emancipation – Freeland reported to JPT on how the newly emancipated were going about their work.

'After 1st August the Negroes went to work at field labour very partially and but few of yours came to their duty. The 2nd week we have had on the estate a sufficiency to keep them from weeds. The people go on very slowly and wish to be irregular in turning out to answer the lists. Some of the short handed estates have been enticing people from the other properties and great numbers have left their own residencies during working hours and returned to their domiciles at night. A great (number) may have gone to the Town which is swarming with idlers – we hope to be able to restrain these proceedings or else we must put the law in force, but I wish to use forbearance for a while in the hope they will soon find it to their own advantage to prefer working at home to going a great distance for the same purpose and same wage.'

I am really so far unable to say anything very favourable for our New System. We are proceeding in a feeble manner in our work.'^l

He ended the letter informing JPT about the way he is collating the weekly pay lists, which would also demonstrate the irregular work attendance of some of the labourers. He hoped that when the workers were affected by hunger they might show up more regularly. He was glad to report though that there had been no disturbances.

Another idea Freeland had shared in this letter with JPT was that of the Task Work System (aka piece rate). This would further incentivise not just attendance but productivity because..

'The Negroes have hitherto been impelled to labour by compulsory measures and as that system has suddenly ceased it is to be expected that it will take some time before they will go on steadily under their new system. I hope the next letter will give you some more pleasing information on this subject.'

He concludes with a sweetener to say that he is sending rum and sweetmeats for 'Mrs T' including 32lbs ginger, 40lbs pine jam (pineapple), 40lbs guava jelly, 40lb preserved limes. That would seem quite a large consignment and might raise a question as to whether Mrs Tudway was using all of that for her household, to share even with extended family, or did she have her own business interest in Wells, perhaps to sell such exotic treats to the well-to-do of the City?

Things had improved somewhat by early November but..

'The people do not yet do as much work as when they were slaves , and we still have some absentees but those who had left to work elsewhere have returned and we have some strangers altogether making up a tolerable number.'^{li}

Freeland was happy to hear that JPT had accepted his proposal about using coal to boil sugar and the trash as manure. He was also pleased to report the quality of sugar had improved, that there had been sufficient rain and a request for four new ploughs.

Freeland's final letter of the year sent on 20th November 1834 reported some improvements since his last letter of two weeks ago with considerable improvements in the conduct of the working classes who were now more regular. Manual work was now being done by the job and the results were proving beneficial

Looking at Ottley's letters of the same period it is apparent that there are differences between the two men. Ottley's thinking is broader and takes account of wider issues, as well as smaller details, both ethical and practical, whereas Freeland was more focussed on the practical in the here and now. JPT tended to be of the same mind as Freeland.

Ottley's letter of 7th January 1834^{lii} raised the question of whether 1/- (5p) per day paid to workers who brought in the crop should be the same for those in the boiler house producing the sugar or should they receive a bonus in proportion to the amount of sugar produced and its quality, maybe paid to the Boilermen, Firemen and Millers and divided between them. Should those working late in the evenings receive more pay and how would meal times be organised in the day? He assured JPT he would keep him updated. The next letter found for this period is much later – in July- and Ottley is still sharing his observations. Here he says that selling provisions (to the labourers) may be a great saving and that continuing to grow them on the plantations maybe necessary to keep wages affordable – does this mean that the labourers must now not only grow provisions but purchase them as well from the employer.

In this letter he also shared that he disagrees with Freeland's position on only employing the most able workers. What would happen, he asked, to the:

'....great mass of the population? The Island's Poor Rates if converted to the numbers for the people fed but who do little or much lighter work – their food allowance has equalled or been greater than the work they do. If these persons were thrown off the estate, and only employed the most able, then the cost of supporting on the Parish would exceed providing for them as at present with provisions and clothing when taking account of their loss of labour.'^{liii}

Natasha Lightfoot told the story of a freed African-Antiguan woman, Juncho, who, when enslaved, had a house and garden where she grew produce and raise poultry. After emancipation her former owner expelled her from her home on his estate and now she was too old to be employed profitably she was now facing destitution. Lightfoot looked deeper into what this situation meant to people like Juncho...

'Essentially, these inadequacies meant that freed people similar to Juncho had to imbue freedom with deeper meaning through social, political an ontological struggles'.^{liv}

In other words, a realisation and actualisation of self that was entirely owned by the individual that the white planters, legislators and the like had no control over. This self-hood, or self-ownership, had greater value despite it coming with poverty. It was also a personal and collective territory upon which the white man or woman had no entry pass – much to their chagrin. The white narratives on the nature of black people reflected their frustration at their inability to control the minds of the black enslaved, now freed persons.

Ottley went on to say how he thought that keeping the infirm or aged on the estate and providing them with basic necessities in exchange for light work would be cheaper than throwing them off the estate, destitute, and dependent on the Parish for Poor Relief, thus increasing the rates paid by the planters. He went on to consider the children aged 6-12 in particular who were included in the above number, suggesting they must be apprenticed or trained...

'...in some way to habits of industry', otherwise 'how are we to expect a future labouring population – a point most particularly to be considered in warm climate where indolence is so likely to prevail with youth in the absence of all incentives to employment especially if coercion is not to be resorted to, but the fact of the matter is the novelty of the subject as connected with the sudden transition in our Social State presents a system to our view hearing little as no analogy to others of the same nature elsewhere and it is one of that description that the mind has been unaccustomed to dwell upon so that until it commences to work we can, none of us, lay down any positive rules for our guidance.'^{lv}

It is important to note that once again the white managers are focussing on the control of the black population without considering what freedom might mean to them. Here, children must be shaped, much as the enslaved child before them, into being useful for the planters, trained and socialised into the habits required by exacting employers, having nothing to do with the dreams and ambitions of the child themselves, nor the aspirations of their parents.

Lightfoot explained that many mothers, who themselves worked in the cane fields, would send their children to relatives in the town where they could go to school so that they could grow up escaping the hardship of being a field labourer.^{lvi}

On the 1st August 1834, the enslaved population of African descent on Antigua were freed. There were church services held to give thanks for the day as well as merriment everywhere. The planters worst fears of celebrations getting out of control were not borne out. However, many freed labourers did not turn up for work the next day – as Freeland reported above. Ottley gave his own view on how it was working, one month in and what needed to be addressed. He thought things were going as well as could be expected although they were still having difficulties getting the required number of

workers to turn up for work with regularity, but this was improving. The problem, as he saw it, for the Masters was that he was..

'...deficient in moderation method and has more to correct in his misconduct and treatment of the people than we have just reason to complain. The other point that some of us appear to forget (is) how defective the old system became many years previous to the change^{lvii}.'

In other words, now that violent coercion was not allowed, although no doubt still went on, there was nothing in its place that the 'Masters' could employ and he went on to further elucidate on this point.

' I have formed two sanguine expectations of sudden general reform, we should remember that bad habits contracted are not corrected in a day and that while coercion cannot be resorted to, forbearance joined with firmness and judicious regulation founded before such principles of justice as are apparent to the (...?) capacity are indispensably necessary to conciliate and lead to those beneficial results required for the interest of all concerned, as such I have (arranged?) most in the whole population of our country.'

It seems that on this issue a plantation overseer, Carimor, not long working on Parham Lodge, has left due to a feeling that Ottley was interfering with how Carimor wanted to go about things. He wanted to:

'...establish a proper understanding (with the labourers) to their hours for labour as well as those for rest and recreation and the manner or mode in which they have to be checked for any dereliction of duty by the forfeit of such proportion of their wages as was calculated to correct idleness as well as want of punctuality in their attendance. In these details.....to regulate according to my own judgement.'

Ottley, by way of assurance to JPT and perhaps to avoid any accusation of fault on his part, justified his 'interference' by saying Carimor wasn't much good at his job anyway. Nevertheless it was clear that what Ottley was saying to JPT was that too many of the overseers, and possibly managers, had not adjusted to the task of managing free people, not enslaved, and he was trying to establish forms of regulating behaviour that did not depend on the whip or other violations as was all to present before.

Another of Ottley's lengthy missives was sent to JPT on 4th October 1834. Here he maintained it was still too early to form a 'correct judgement' of the 'New System' as people were still getting used to the new sets of rules and, interestingly, relationships. He had understood that the relationship between master and enslaved was very different to that of an employer to free labour and that this went both ways.

'The parties who are now actors in this new state of things require some time to become accustomed to each other's new condition (for they both are new) and have 'peculiarisation'. The last meeting of the legislature considered a Bill to prevent the undue abstraction of labour from the estate on which they are domiciled of temper (?) which makes the service in one man's employ more agreeable than that of another's will produce much loving and understanding at first, besides which after a sudden change wanting a precedent in any way calculated to guide us in our proceedings it is necessary to see how it works in stages before the laws of the country can be regulated to correct the errors which

may have grown out from a former system so opposite in principle and character.....Sanguine is my expectation of the result but I must assure you we have much hard work in correcting prejudice and error both on the part of the labourers and those who have the superintendence of their duties. Compensation for ignorance of the former prevents the most rational and enlightened member of our society from attempting too rigidly or too suddenly to come into effect those laws we have already made. Where it is attempted, much heartburning and disaffection is produced.' ^{lviii}

So Ottley is optimistic that things will work out as people begin to change and adapt to new relationships. In modern management it is said there are two approaches – the 'affective' or 'people based' one whereby creating good working relationships is key to worker satisfaction and therefore performance on the task. The other being 'effective' or task oriented in which getting the job done is simply about workers knowing what is required of them and what they are paid to do. This seems to describe the difference in the approaches of Ottley and Freeland. Here, Ottley is alluding to the up and coming Contracts Act and it seems he is not wholly in favour of it, believing that workers will, and should be able to, choose their employer, so that employers will adapt in their behaviour towards the workers which will encourage them to want to work for a better employer. Because he understands the relational aspect to the huge social change brought about by the emancipation of enslaved people, he also sees that things will take time to adjust to a new social order and that this cannot be legislated for.

Ottley went on to share his observation that in some parts of Antigua, planters were doing very well with their labour force, but in others, not so good, with hardly anyone to work for them as in those places there have grown opportunities for the freed people to make a living for themselves, especially where their gardens are productive and they can sell produce. However, these were gardens that were provided to them as enslaved people by the estate owner. Here Ottley's liberalism ended as he saw this as problematic and needing to be stopped by removing the gardens from them or by regulating this practice. At the end of the day, the planters needed the labourers to work for them, not for themselves. This being another example of how the concept of 'freedom' in the minds of the freed population of African descent, imbued with personal ambition and aspiration, hopes and dreams, meant nothing to the planter who simply saw 'freedom' in terms of the advantages of 'free labour' for them and their coffers. Even 'affective' managers wanted to ensure the work was done and the profits in the bank. In this respect, this would align Ottley with the more restrictive aspect of the Contract Act due to come before the Antiguan legislature in the coming months. No doubt it was a topic of discussion amongst the planters and the estate managers.

What Ottley wants or hopes for is that relationships between managers or overseers and the labourers should be more amicable and then workers would stay on the plantation. Where the overseers still tried to resort to old measures of coercion to work, this was not going to work and labourers would leave. Rather than force them to stay, his view is that both the worker and the overseer need to adjust so that the workers stay of their own free will, without need for regulation, and the plantation will flourish as a result.

Ottley explained to JPT what happened at the last meeting of the Antiguan legislature where the bill to '*prevent the undue abstraction of labour from the estate on which they are domiciled, our speaker (said) ... "we were not yet masters of sufficient information to enable us to legislate upon the subject, we must rely upon it, the principle was there, namely the employability of the labourers to procure*

support without employment, and we might be satisfied that like the life boat, in a short time the cash side must be uppermost." In other words the labourers would find it difficult to sustain a living without plantation work and this would obviate the need for legislation.

The greater problem as Ottley saw it was the number of people that the estates still supported that was not in proportion to the work they were able to do – namely the sick, elderly, children and pregnant/nursing women. He went on to evidence this from the situation at Parham Lodge, where there were generally:

'65 to 75% at work, including 3 watchmen, 5 cattle keepers, 4 house servants, 4 head people, and a groom, who receive wages. About 25 infants and old people get provisions as formerly – the old consist of such as are considered by a late Act of Legislature pensioners for life and as such are able to perform as much work as the food they get may be equal in value. Included in that number is the Blacksmith who I have permitted to take the work of one or two neighbouring estates on condition that he does the work of this estate for provisions he formerly got, without from us requiring wages in money. (Plus) 2 servants in my house and 2 with the overseers also comprise the list of 25. The field people include those with plough and cart are seldom more than 40 or 50 instead of 80 or 90 which we should be good to employ and which I could easily procure but from want of houses. This deficiency has always been an inconvenience to us and it is now a great disadvantage. I am therefore heavily employed at present in building some which I am sure you will make the necessary allowance for in our expenditure.'^{lix}

An interesting point in this piece is with regard to housing for the labourers, There has always been insufficient he said, so what must that have been like for the previously enslaved workforce, living in cramped overcrowded housing, invariably needing repair, where disease and vermin were prevalent. However, in this letter Ottley seems to be twisting JPT's arm a bit presenting his housing plan as a fait accompli for which he hopes JPT will send the money.

In Mr Freeland's favour, he concludes the letter saying he is glad Freeland had adopted the use of coal to boil sugar as it saves labour and means the *'vegetative waste can be used as a fertiliser for the soil.'* He concluded by advising JPT against leasing any part of the property - which, as mentioned above, is exactly what JPT had been planning.

By the end of the year, Ottley is pleased to report to TPT that things were improving daily and that labourers were *'coming to their senses'*^{lx} and so the plantation is being rewarded by the patience of its managers. He ended the letter by saying that he has prepared the list of (ex) slaves for compensation at Parham Lodge.

Letters surviving from John Paine Tudway during this period are scant but he wrote to both Ottley and Freeland in December 1834.

To Freeland he confirmed that he was sending down furnaces and coal, agreeing that this was labour saving and enabled trash to be used as fertiliser.^{lxi} In addition to that he had agreed to send 4 horse ploughs from Wiers in Oxford Street (London). He also said that he was glad that the 'Negroes' had returned to their work and that he hoped there would be enough labour for the start of the growing season and that they would be 'steady and regular at their work'. Interestingly, he referred to the 'weeding class' being no longer needed as they should be replaced by 'Negroes more qualified for laborious work'. The 'weeding gangs' were previously made up of enslaved children – what might

have happened to them? He asked for the monthly returns to be continued and promised he would have the forms printed. JPT had apparently had the gout quite badly for a few months and had been confined to his room as the cold weather did not favour invalids. His concluding remarks were concerned with how the wage system might work – this being the latest debate across the island's planters and their managers. He was to favour the Task Work method of payment which was similar to what is current known as 'piece work' where the labourer gets paid according to what they produce rather than by the hours worked. He hoped that Freeland would introduce this and asked him to convey the same message to Mr Ottley.

JPT's letter to George Ottley was sent at the end of December and was more impersonal. He was grateful to hear that the 'condition and conduct' of the Negroes meant they 'were going on well under the circumstances' and that there would be enough to take the crop off who would work 'steadily and regularly'. In a businesslike fashion he conformed to Ottley that he had ordered a scarifier and weeding plough from Wiers in Oxford Street (who must have been doing quite well from this business) and that he approved of Freeland's idea for burning coal for sugar boiling and has sent out a good amount to the plantation. Referring to the loss of Mr Carimor a few months back, JPT remarked that he thought Ottley had been unfortunate in his head overseer and that while he was busy with the Slavery Emancipation business (i.e. his interest in what was taking place in the legislature). His opinion was that this had meant Ottley had taken his eye off the ball and not '*paid enough attention to the management of the estate*'.^{lxii} It appeared then that he was not interested in Ottley's philosophical and political opining, like Freeland, JPT was task oriented. He said that he was not going to let Parham Lodge after all, but that it had been unproductive of late, and that he hoped the very recent improvement would continue.

As far as Ottley's plan to build houses for the labourers, he said that he regretted this use of time and resources but hoped that the sales of Molasses and Rum would offset the expenditure. Bearing in mind that he had previously suggested that both products be sold locally and not sent to England, it is not difficult to work out that this was a refusal to send additional money, saying that Ottley would have to fund this from local income. Furthermore, he insisted that the new houses were only to be used for people who worked on the estate.

Both Ottley and Freeland had submitted the data for JPT's compensation claim, his only disappointment being that the appraisal would not be along the lines of the manager's valuations but that being done by a representative of the Compensation Commission, who, of course valued at a lower rate. While JPT expressed his gratitude to Ottley for his data he finished by saying he was disappointed that Ottley had not sent him the accounts for the previous year.

And so ended 1834, the momentous year of abolition, with planters demonstrating that while much had changed, much also remained the same.

1835 and the Task Work debate.

1835 began with a worried Mr Freeland writing to say that he was concerned about the idle and disorderly conduct of some of the free labourers and it was this that had kept him from completing the returns on time. Ottley's letter of 3rd February discussed how hard it was to agree terms with the labourers as they were not happy with the proposed Task Work system. In fact, Ottley himself was not convinced it would work across all tasks. While it was good for cane cutting, it was not suited to

grinding for example as this was done by wind mills, dependent on wind levels which would determine how much juice was produced on any one day, not on the workers speed. On 28th February 1835 Ottley wrote that Mr Jenkins (agent in London) has passed on news that JPT is ill again with gout. The claim for compensation is going ahead, with no counterclaims being made. New return forms now need to include cash wages paid to labourers of each class. He is pleased to report *'on the subject of the conduct of our people – going on much the same as before, certainly not doing worse'*. Jenkins now wished to supply Parham Lodge with coal which was a great improvement to bagasse and the new ploughs and scarifiers were gratefully received. Mr Ottley then began to touch on the issue of the day. The Task Work System. Rather than a flat daily rate, planters wanted to introduce a pay system based on the tasks completed, given that different tasks also carried variations in pay rates. Parham workers seemed agreeable for the cutting cane task but not for the manufacture tasks. This was to be ongoing. Meanwhile, the compensation claims seemed to have run aground where it was feared that proprietors would not get more than a fourth of the value of enslaved people that were on the appraisal.

In his letter of 27th February 1835 Freeland, always less optimistic, complained that the labourers were not working as hard as they did under slavery and that he would be deducting pay for 'idleness.' New Work was going alright but Old Work had not consented to that plan – a statement which suggests that there was a degree of bargaining between managers and labourers to achieve an agreement to what management put forward with some possible room for small concessions. Freeland is in favour of the task system, quoting that cane cutting is suitable for this as the workers were now cutting cane at 30 cart loads in a day earning 1/6d, which he said was more than before emancipation. Making sugar was another matter. The cost of the coal was greater than expected but it was going well. By March, Freeland reported there had been no rains so they could not plant but those that were planted were growing 'tolerably well.' By May, Freeland reported that burning copal was proving helpful after all.

By 1st May, Ottley reported his daughter was ill and that he was bringing her to England for four weeks. And wanted to seek a personal interview with JPT to explain what had been going on with the accounts and the reasons for his viewpoint – probably to gain advantage over Mr Freeland who did not have opportunity for the same audience for his viewpoint. He believed that it was important to understand what had been going on from the perspective of *'those whose lives have been spent in the midst (of) and under the operations of a coercive system and whose reputation and perhaps subsistence depend on the profitable management of the estate under that charge. It cannot be wondered at in many instances the judgement is defective.'*^{lxiii} On many estates work is not progressing well due to laziness and apathy in the labourer – what else could be expected, he asked, after so great a change? *'We must gradually adopt such measures as are likely to correct the evils we complain of and I expect time will hold to the security of West Indian prosperity although it may not leave so large a profit as formerly, but which we all know has been much deteriorated during the last 10 or 15 years of the existence of slavery.'* Later that month he wrote to say was more concerned about the production process saying that machinery was needed to substitute for manual labour and that of oxen.

It wasn't long after that John Paine Tudway died and the ownership of the Parham Plantation passed to his son, Robert. The end of the epoch of slavery passed with this generation of Tudway and while the efforts of George Ottley and John Freeland oversaw the smooth transition from enslaved labour

to free waged labour, the story does not end there. The black working class of Antigua, descendants of enslaved Africans were now beginning their lives of freedom against a backdrop of an exploitative and ruthless free labour system where they would have to fight for their lives – for decent pay and living conditions and, still, their very humanity.

** SHC – Somerset Heritage Centre

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- ⁱⁱⁱ Tudway Papers [Map of plantation and map of the land, wharf and storehouse in Parham town 1819 DD/TD/58/6 SHC](#)
- ^{iv} Oliver, V.L (1895) Will of Richard Tudway Pedigree of Tudway in [History of Antigua Vol 3](#) Mitchell and Hughes. London p147
- ^v Tudway Papers [Survey of Buildings on Old Work Estate, \(1826\) DD/TD/50/5 SHC](#)
- ^{vi} Museum of Antigua and Barbuda Facebook page [List of Hurricanes](#)(June 2020) SHC
- ^{vii} Tudway papers [Contract between JPT and Mr T. Emerson for trash house, DD/TD/10/27 SCH](#)
- ^{viii} Tudway Papers [Antigua Free Press Advertisement by Thomas Emerson. 3rd March 1826. DD/TD/10/27 SHC](#)
- ^{ix} McNally, D. (2025) [Slavery and Capitalism. A New Marxist History](#). University of California Press California p44
- ^x Rosenthal, C. (2018) [Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management](#). Harvard University Press Cambs, Mass. P.83
- ^{xi} Dyde, B. (2000) [A History of Antigua. The Unsuspected Isle](#). Macmillan Education London pp113-114
- ^{xii} Note. Colour terminology meaning. Black - African, mulatto – mixed black/white, mongrel – an uncertain mix, mustee – 1/8th African blood or coloured – similar to ‘mongrel’.
- ^{xiii} Tudway Papers [Register of ‘Negroes’ on Parham Plantation Memoranda to John Paine Tudway DD/TD/12/2 P129 SHC](#)
- ^{xiv} Gleadall, M. (2016) [The Tudway Letters](#) British West Indies Study Circle Lightning Source p24
- ^{xv} Tudway papers [Report from S H Swanston to JPT. October 1822 DD/TD/56/8](#)
- ^{xvi} Rosenthal (2018) op cit p.51
- ^{xvii} Tudway Papers [Report from S H Swanston to JPT. October 1822 DD/TD/56/8](#)
- ^{xviii} Tudway papers [Annual Account for New Works 1829 DD/TD/56/3 SHC](#)
- ^{xix} Op cit
- ^{xx} Rosenthal, C. (2018) Ibid p 79
- ^{xxi} Tudway Papers [Accounts of Deaths of Negroes 1 January 1826 – 1 January 1827 DD/TD/10/27 SHC](#)
- ^{xxii} Waters, C. K. (2020) Re-Contextualising Mortality Rates and Population Trends of Enslaved Africans in Antigua [Journal of Caribbean History](#) 54.1 1-29
- ^{xxiii} Tudway Papers [Account of Negroes Born 1 January 1826-1 January 1827 DD/TD/10/27 SHC](#)
- ^{xxiv} Tudway Papers [Annual Return 1827 DD/TD/10/27 SHC](#)
- ^{xxv} Tudway papers [Register of Negro Slaves 1817 DD/TD/50/1 SHC](#)
- ^{xxvi} Tudway Papers [Stores List 1825 to John Paine Tudway DD/TD/10/27 SHC](#)
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- ^{xxxii} Tudway Papers [Letter from JPT to G. Ottley 15.12.1830 DD/TD/13/3 SHC](#)
- ^{xxxiii} Tudway Papers [Letter from JPT to J Freeland 18.3.1834 DD/TD/56/7](#)
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- ^{xxxvi} Tudway Papers [Register of Negro Slaves 1817 DD/TD/50/1 SHC](#)
- ^{xxxvii} Tudway papers [Letter from JPT to J Freeland 29.4.1833 DD/TD/56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xxxviii} Tudway papers [George Ottley letter to JPT 9.11.1832 DD/TD/56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xxxix} Tudway papers [Letter from J. Freeland to JPT 8.5.1833 DD/TD.56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xl} Tudway Papers [Letter to JPT from J Freeland 25.5.1833 DD/TD/26/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xli} Tudway Papers [Letter from G. Ottley to JPT 3.7.1833 DD/TD/56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xlii} Tudway papers [Letter from J Freeland to JPT 30.8.1833 DD/TD/56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xliii} Tudway Papers [Letter from G Ottley to JPT 5.8.1833 DD/TD/56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xliv} Tudway Papers [Letter from G. Ottley to JPT 1.9.1833 DD/TD/56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xlvi} *ibid*
- ^{xlvi} Tudway Papers [Letter from J Freeland to JPT 29/9/1833 DD/TD/56/6 SHC](#)
- ^{xlvi} Lightfoot, N. (2015) [Op Cit p.92](#)
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- ^l Tudway Papers [John Freeland letter to JPT No 209 DD/TD/56/8 SHC](#)

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- li Tudway Papers John Freeland letter to JPT 4/11/1834 No. 219 DD/TD/56/8 SHC
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- liv Lightfoot, N (2015) Op Cit p 2
- lviv Tudway Papers G Ottley letter to JPT 3.7.1834 DD/TD/56/7 SHC
- lvi Lightfoot, N (2015) Op cit p 104
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- lx Tudway Papers G. Ottley, letter to JPT29.11.1834 DD/TD.13/3 SHC
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- lxii Tudway Papers JPT letter to G. Ottley 30.12.1834 DD.TD.56/8 SHC
- lxiii Tudway Papers George Ottley letter to JPT 1.5.1835 DD/TD/13/3 SHC