

TEACHERS' PACK



Testament to a Trade

A Play to Mark the Bi-Centenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade
with close reference to Oxfordshire

Written by

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of the Writers' Group of Oxford Playhouse

Co-ordinated and directed by

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Produced by Oxford Theatre Guild

in collaboration with Oxfordshire Record Office and the Oxford Playhouse



Testament to a Trade: Devising the Play

The process of devising this production has involved a collaboration of many people – researchers, script-writers, director, actors, singers, composers. This worksheet details the main stages of the process, which could be used as a base for other projects born from research.

Stage 1

The writers worked with information given from the researchers, and undertook significant periods of their own research, to get to grips with the themes to explore in this particular piece. Research topics have included slave ships, West African/Yoruba culture, human trafficking in modern Europe, black slaves brought over to the UK in the 18th century and key influential figures significant in the historical periods in question. The research was carried out through internet and library searches, reading diaries and narratives, interviews and viewing film footage.

From the research, each writer came up with their own scenarios, and then translated scenarios into scenes. The group then came together and agreed with the director which themes and scenarios to pursue, and then further scenes were written.

Over a period of weeks, the play took shape as each writer concentrated on one or two story-lines, which were co-ordinated and developed into a script by the director.

Stage 2

Actors were auditioned and cast, and a series of acting workshops explored the main themes coming out of the research. It was important for the actors to go through their own journey of research, and this was carried out through their own personal study and through creatively exploring scenarios using drama.

We physicalised emotions, explored the slave ship, journeyed into trafficking, explored African song and rhythm and creatively examined each character from the script.

Stage 3

After an extensive period of research, we began to translate the script to the stage. We worked immediately without the script, so that each character was allowed to develop in line with the actor's own research and exploration, not confined by specific lines – the actors knowing the gist of the scene in advance of rehearsals, and ideally having already worked through their lines.

As the scenes have been put together, the musical director has composed songs for specific characters, as an extension of what they see developing on stage.

The script in its final state has not been completed until all the scenes have been rehearsed – giving room to the actors to adapt and change things as they develop and connect with the characters, and with each other.

Stage 4

The stage of performance. Each actor knows their character, knows the background, knows the situations, and is able to answer extensive questions 'in character' at any stage. It is intended that each character will be able to be 'hot-seated' for audience questioning after every performance.



Characters in the play

Noel Guide	Newspaper Seller, Afro-Caribbean background, but equally very British Tour Guide in Oxford
William Ottley	Afro-Caribbean, aged about 16
Aethiopeia Janet	African woman, a maid servant
Mrs Wood	Mistress of above <i>NB -character filmed and on projection</i>
Mr Wood	her husband, an offstage voice
Nancy	White housemaid late c18/early c19 to Mrs Wood
Passers-by	x3
Adhobe	Young African boy
Ghnosi	Adhobe's older sister
Chief	probably overweight and over-indulged
Makuri	African, early 20s, beautiful male body, non-aggressive and gentle
Slavers x2	differentiated from each other; one dominating the other - double act
Captain	off-stage voice: white middle class educated man
Mate	off-stage voice: young English male with regional accent
Tenarka	African female slave showing the ravages of a brutal life
Olga	Moldovan girl seeking a new life
Liliana	Another Moldovan girl, slightly more timid than Olga
Marina	Olga's cousin, originally from Moldova & now living in Oxford
Doru	Shifty young Moldovan man, aloof & impersonal
Ivan	Eastern European, strong intense & aggressive type, runs a brothel
Natalia	European, impersonal, works in Ivan's 'brothel'
Jenny	Official supporting Marina in Oxford
Yana	Mother of Olga; hard older Moldavian woman
Father	Olga's father - an off-stage voice; has become violent due to alcoholism
R B Sheridan	MP/Playwright; Very refined Upper Middle class English male in his 50s
Rev Agutter	Cleric in mid thirties with a slightly effeminate lisping delivery
Sir William Dolben	Intense and dedicated politician and philosopher in early thirties
Bertie	Early 30s, bigoted & full of his own importance
George	Proprietor of Coffee House

NOTE: The characters Aethiopeia Janet and William Ottley represent various slaves' experiences rather than the real people who bore those names. The information given by Noel about them in the final scene is correct.



TESTAMENT TO A TRADE

Sources used by writer Joel Kaye

Book list

General history

- Blackburn, Robin: *The Making of New World Slavery* (1997)
- Walvin, James: *Making the Black Atlantic*

Autobiography/ Biography

- *The History of Mary Prince* (Penguin Classics) (Paperback)
by Mary Prince (Author), Sara Salih (Editor) originally published 1831
- Walvin, James: *The Trader, The Owner, The Slave*

Abolitionist pamphlet

- *The Case of our Fellow-Creatures, the Oppressed Africans etc.* published by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) 1783

Materials from County Archives: Sales Account of Slaves; records of baptism, burial, wills

Websites

- <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery>
- <http://www.all-souls.ox.ac.uk/library/history.php>
- <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/portrait.asp?search=as&grp=1098%3BSoldiers&IDate=&LinkID=mp62950&rNo=0&role=sit> Portrait of Sir Christopher Codrington, benefactor of All Souls' Codrington Library, and Slave Plantation owner
- <http://www.barbudaful.net/historicalnotes.html> Barbuda history
- <http://www.travel-library.com/holidays/caribbean/antigua/antigua/> Antigua tourism material
- http://www.bbc.co.uk/bristol/content/articles/2007/03/16/io_codrington_feature.shtml BBC Bristol March 2007 short feature by BBC presenter, Josie d'Arby, on connections between Gloucester village and West Indies, with revelations about treatment of slaves
- http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/building_britain_gallery_06.shtml on the Codrington Library

Exhibition

- *Black Oxford: Untold Stories*. Museum of Oxford 13th May – 1st July 2007: a display of African and Caribbean graduates from late nineteenth century, through to present day figures such as Stuart Hall and Rex Nettleford.



Sources used by writer Heather Dunmore

Books

Selling Olga: Stories Of Human Trafficking And Resistance by Louise Waugh

Websites

<http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/politics/article2666951.ece>
<http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/>
<http://society.guardian.co.uk/asylumseekers/0,,382055,00.html>
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article1985806.ece>
http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/this_britain/article2682485.ece
http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/this_britain/article2676409.ece

Other

Annual Report (2006-07) of Asylum Welcome

Sources used by writer Gwilym Scourfield

The opportunity to research and write a play commemorating the 200th year of the Abolition of Slavery was incredibly exciting for me. Having read the harrowing auto biography* of Olaudah Equiano published in 1789 and seen the first-hand material from the Oxford archives, I was hooked. Sheridan's wonderful plays and his connections with Parliament and Oxford made the possibility of a meeting with him, Dolben and Agutter a theatrical coup. Whether they did or not, the spirit of their deliberations within our play certainly seem likely to relate to Oxford's laissez faire participation and reflect the strident minority voices who shouted "Not in our name".

*EQUIANO, Olaudah ***The Interesting Narrative*** (Penguin Classics) *Equiano was also known by the name Gustavus Vassa*

SHERIDAN, Richard Brinsley (1751 – 1816), MP from 1780 to 1812, author of plays *The Rivals*, *The School for Scandal* and others.

DOLBEN, Sir William, third baronet (1727–1814), politician and slavery abolitionist

AGUTTER, Rev William, ***The Abolition of the Slave Trade Considered in a Religious Point of View***. A Sermon Preached Before the Corporation of the City of Oxford, at St. Martin's Church, on Sunday, February 3, 1788. By William Agutter, M.A. of St. Mary Magdalen College. Pub London 1788



Some other sources

Booklist prepared by Oxfordshire Libraries of titles available from their collection

AYKROYD W R, *Sweet Malefactor: Sugar, Slavery and Human Society*

DAVIS D B, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*

WOOD D, *Trinidad in Transition: The Years after Slavery*

TIBBLES A, *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity*

COUPLAND Sir R, *British Anti-Slavery Movement*

RANSFORD O, *Slave Trade: The Story of Transatlantic Slavery*

GIFFORD L, *Thomas Clarkson and the Campaign against Slavery*

LITWACK L F, *Been in the Storm so Long: the Aftermath of Slavery*

TINKER H, *New System of Slavery: the Export of Indian Labour*

TOMKINS S, *William Wilberforce*

Websites which give lists of resources:

www.recoveredhistories.org/

www.antislavery.org/breakingthesilence

<http://www.abolition200.org.uk/teachers/ART45210.html>

Films

Amazing Grace

Amistad

OXFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE ARCHIVE MATERIALS



Notes by archivist Talei Rounds on researched documents from the archive.
Reproductions of these documents can be found in the Appendix to this Teachers' Pack.

①

Sales Account of Slaves of Mrs Gascoign(e), c 1687 DY/XXXVIII/22 (Will of Stephen Gascoigne Esq. of Barbados, 1686)

- Stephen Gascoigne was born to Mr Stephen Gascoigne, a Gentleman, of Taynton in Oxon. On 16 Aug 1642. He had an older brother named Walwin and younger sisters Martha, Sarah and Elizabeth, all of whom were also born at Taynton. There is no record of their parents' marriage at Taynton or of their father's baptism. However, the burial register does record Catherine Gascoigne, wife of Stephen, Gent. in 1675. However, there is a possible marriage entry for these two in Northleigh, 1631: Stephen Gascoigne and Katherine Hampson (by licence, which doesn't come up in any Oxfordshire lists).
- Stephen Gascoigne Esq. married Hester Stede (sister to Edwyn Stede, Governor of Barbados), probably in the West Indies or in London. Hester married an Edward Burke after Stephen's death.
- Stephen and Hester had one son called Walwin/Walwyn, who died at Oxford 12 Sep 1695
- Stephen's sister Mary married Robert Croft, Gentleman at Taynton in 1677. His sister Elizabeth married twice; to her second husband William Matthews of Goosey, Berks. in 1686 at Burford. Another sister Dorothy married John Hankes in 1659 at Northleigh, Bampton and had sons Walwyn and Stephen. Their sister Martha first married John Frederick of London and then (1700-1703) to Richard Holt, a merchant of London. She may have had a son called John Frederick also. Stephen's brother Walwyn was a merchant in London.
- Stephen Gascoigne's will of 1686 (PROB/11/391) shows that he was resident in the parish of St Michaels in Barbados. He left money to the poor people of "Taunton" [Taynton], Burford and "Baynton" [Bainton] in Oxon.

3, 4

Peregrine Hector, 8 year old Indian boy from Bengal belonging to Countess of Abingdon - baptism in Wytham, 29 Dec 1700 and burial 1709/10 (Wytham c.1)

7

William Roberts, a black boy belonging to the Earl of Abingdon – baptism in Wytham 31 Aug 1766 (Wytham c.1)

The Earls of Abingdon were the Bertie family:

James Bertie - 1st Earl of Abingdon and Baron Norreys of Rycote (cr. 1682). Lord Lieutenant of Oxon. 1674-1697. **d.1699**

James was 6th son of 2nd Earl of Lindsey, Montague Bertie K.G. P.C. Lord Lieut. Oxon. (eldest son of his 2nd marriage). Some of the subsequent Earls of Lindsey were named Peregrine (5th Earl of L, 1723-1742 and 5th Earl of L, 1742-1778). The Countess's slave was given a contemporary family name.

Going further back, according to the DNB, James' grandfather Robert Bertie 1st Earl of Lindsey had a taste for foreign travel and spoke on plantations and trade (not clear if in relation to home or colonial).

Montagu Bertie Venables – 2nd Earl of A **d.1743**

This Earl's wife owned Peregrine Hector.



Willoughby Bertie – 3rd Earl of A d.1760

Willoughby Bertie – 4th Earl of A b.1740 d.1799

This man was the Earl that owned William Roberts. According to DNB was a politician and campaigner for popular rights and liberty. Sided with French Revolution, opposed war in America, anti-corruption, "one of the most steady and intrepid assertors of liberty in this age".

Dr T. Dorrington's doctor's bills to this Earl of Abingdon 1774-1778:

1778 (c.3/6 p.3)

William Roberts

14 Sep an embrocation [rub/ointment] for his foot	2s	
18 Sep the embrocation ~~~~~	2s	
25 Sep the embrocation ~~~~~	2s	
Digestive ~~~~~	6d	
		6s 6d

1777 (c.3/5 p.7)

Wm Roberts

Jan 25 Several plaisters to his ankle ~~~~~	2s 6d	
Aug 26 Drawing two teeth ~~~~~	2s	
Nov 8 drawing a tooth ~~~~~	1s	
		5s 6d

1776 (c.3/4 p.6)

Wm Roberts

July 17 removing a tooth ~~~~~	1s	
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1774 (c.3/2 p.3)

Wm Roberts

Nov 10 Glander's salt ~~~~~	9d	
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6 **John, a Negro, servant of Sir Chaloner Ogle was baptised at Harpsden, October 2nd 1726 (PAR124/1/R1/2)**

- Sir Chaloner Ogle (1681?-1750) was a Knight, Admiral of the Fleet
- Joined Navy in 1697 and commissioned 1701-2
- Captain of the gun ship Swallow from 1719
- Sent in early 1721 to African coast
- While at Cape Coast Castle in Nov 1721 received message of pirates
- Pirates captured 10 ships, one of which they burned with a full cargo of Negroes on board because ransom was refused.
- 5 Feb 1721/22 he captured the 2 pirate ships at Cape Lopez
- Of 262 prisoners 75 negroes were sold
- Ogle given Knighthood for this in 1723
- His primary seat was in Copeland, Northumberland so he was most likely to have been visiting Harpsden in 1726. It is a mystery why he should have had his servant baptised there; perhaps that is where he acquired him from.
- 1732-1739, 1742-1745 he was posted in Jamaica
- By 1744 he was married to his second wife Isabella.
- Died childless in London 11 April 1750
- His portrait is in The Painted Hall at Greenwich



- In a codicil to his will he names the Captain of his ship, the Cumberland, William Burnaby as his executor in case he does not make it back to England. Gives money to the wife Margaret Burnaby too. Occupation given as Admiral of the Blue Squadron of the Fleet.
- Possibly a connection with Antony Hodges of Bolney Court, Harpsden (but fl. 1778-1784 – too late?).

X **William Caesar, a black belonging to Anthony Hodges Esq. was buried at Harpsden on 13 August 1778**

X **Anthony Hodges Esq. of Bolney buried at Harpsden "brought from St Kitts near three years after his decease" 6 December 1784**

X **William Hodges "of Bolney Court" buried at Harpsden on 5 January 1813 having died at Bath**

Anthony Hodges was a landowner in St Kitts in the Caribbean. I have yet to transcribe a Pedigree I have found for him at Rhodes House and establish his ownership period of Bolney Court, which was his main seat. His will of 27 March 1783 makes no mention of his estates in St Kitts.

5 **Aethiopeia Janet, maid servant to Edward Bradford of Kingston Rowant, baptised at Aston Rowant on 5 March 1703 (Par Aston Rowant d.3)**

Edward Bradford was a wealthy landowner with a house in Kingston Rowant and lands in Stokenchurch. Also had two houses at Tower Hill in London. Did he die in London? Was he a merchant? Married to Elizabeth but apparently childless, left almost everything after wife to his niece Elizabeth Bradford who seems to have been his ward.

Not sure if Edward Bradford was the owner of Kingston Manor or not but his will does not refer to it as a manor.

? X **Draft will of Elizabeth Jones, widow of Adwell 14 October 1806, leaving money and clothes to her black servant Hyder Ally (Bi XI/ii/17)**

? X **Hyder Ally and Elizabeth Jones buried at Adwell on 22 April 1815 and 19 January 1820 respectively (PAR3/1/R5/1).**

- Elizabeth Jones was the widow of James Jones Esq. of Stadhampton, whom she married in 1787
- Neé NEWELL and born 29 July 1743
- Only child and heir of William and Esther Newell of Adwell
- Elizabeth inherited the manors of Adwell, Weston, Postcomb, Swinbrook and Shipton from her mother Esther, who had received it all from Elizabeth's father Rev. William Newell when he died in 1747.
- Rev William was the eldest of the 5 children of William Newell, who was High Sheriff of Oxfordshire and very wealthy and who died in 1729.

VCH Vol. VIII, p.7 says Adwell is a late C18th manor house rebuilt on site of an earlier one. It was owned by the Franklins 1581-1663.

In 1663 Henry Franklin had married Anne Newell of Pophleys, Bucks. (in Stokenchurch), daughter of Christopher and they had 3 daughters: Anne (spinster of London), Mary (married Francis Carter) and Frances, who married William Newell, a yeoman of Pophleys who died in 1698. They had three children John, Thomas and William. The latter probably married a Katherine (Scott? Possibly the sister of Sir John Scott?) and was the father of Rev. William.



The VCH on p.10 surmises that the wealth may have been made on the East India Company because Elizabeth had an Indian servant. Haven't found any evidence of Hyder being Indian as yet but it does sound like an Indian name.

10 **Copy marriage settlement and alteration conveying sugar works of Enfield Plantation and Plantation Garden River plantation in Jamaica with all slaves etc. 1801 and 1814 (Hey V/1)**

William Hervey was marrying Rt. Hon. Lady Dorothea Arabella Primrose, daughter of Neil Primrose, Earl of Rosebery, Viscount of Inner Keithing and Primrose, Lord Dalmeny.

William Hervey's mother Rt. Hon. Lady Elizabeth Hervey owned all the Jamaican estates and they were being used as security for £10,000 loan to purchase bank annuities. These may have been inherited from her husband Thomas (who might have died late 18th cent.) or they were part of her own marriage settlement.

William Hervey had bought Bradwell Grove Estate in the parishes of Broadwell, Filkins and Broughton Poggs in 1804 from Morough, Marquess of Thomand.

Quaker Connections

Arthur Albright of Edgbaston, Warwickshire was a known Quaker and anti-slavery campaigner. Birmingham City Archives have photographs of him and a pedigree. He moved to Birmingham to be apprenticed to the Sturge family's business of Chemist. He married Rachel Stacey of Tottenham and later travelled the world for his own business (namely amorphous phosphorous production).

The Albrights originated in Chicheley, Bucks. but moved to Adderbury, Oxon., where William Albright married Mary King of Adderbury in 1743. They had a son called William:

William Albright (b. ca. 1745, d. 1820 at Charlbury)
Rachel Marshall (b. ca. 1741, d. 1814 at Charlbury)
Married in 1771, both(?) of Alton, Hants.

These two were Elders in the Charlbury Quaker meeting house and very active in the community. They appear frequently in the Charlbury Meeting and Witney Monthly Meeting minutes (BOQM I/v/a/2 1st Feb 1807 refers to father and son representing at Witney Monthly Meeting and BOQM I/ii/5 13 Dec 1779 lists William and Rachel's names). William and Rachel begat:

Hannah b. 1771 (d. 1855 Charlbury)
Mary b. 1774
William b. 1776 (d. 1852 Charlbury, m. Rachel)*
Joseph b. 1783
Nicholas b. 1785 (d. 1856 Charlbury, m. Letitia)
Etc.

*parents of Arthur (b. 1811), William (b. 1805), Hannah, Mary (b. 1797), Lydia (b. 1807), John Marshall (b. 1815). This same "William Albright Jnr" appears in Witney Monthly Meeting minutes.

Arthur's aunts Hannah and Mary are recorded as laying the corner stone to the new Charlbury meeting house in 1779 (BOQM I/v/a/1).

X The following annual epistles from the Yearly Meeting in London are contained within the Banbury Monthly Meeting records and make note of the Quaker campaign against slavery:

BMM V/18 – 1791 Epistle
BMM V/19 – 1792 Epistle



BMM V/22 – 1798 Epistle
BMM V/24 – 1801 Epistle (US abolition)
BMM V/26 – 1805 Epistle
BMM V/27 – 1806 Epistle (restriction in trade)
BMM V/28 – 1807 Epistle (Abolition Act)
BMM V/30 – 1809 Epistle (Abolition Act)
BMM V/31 – 1810 Epistle (black slaves)
BMM V/33 – 1812 Epistle (traffic stopped but not enslavement)
BMM V/54 – 1834 Epistle (Emancipation Act)

BMM V/88 – 1849 is an appeal addressed to the governments of the world to ensure that anti-slavery legislation is carried into effect.

photo
15

The Black's Head pub, Bletchington (constructed 1791)

The Victoria County History of Oxfordshire Vol. VI (pp.56 & 230) surmises that the original name of this inn, The Blackamoor Head, came from Sir Robert Dashwood's black manservant who was buried in nearby Kirtlington St Mary the Virgin's chancel in 1691.

The manservant's tombstone is on the external north wall of the chancel at Kirtlington but the pages of the Kirtlington burial register for the period 1690-1694 are incomplete and undated. The tombstone simply says that his name was "Thomas" and he was buried 23 March 1691. The Dashwood papers do not contain any material that could provide more information on this servant.

However, another author from the 19th century suggests that the inn was named after Richard Annesley, 6th Earl of Anglesey and 7th Viscount Valentia, 1694-1761. Richard's crest featured a moor's head and bust. The crest may have been due to his connections with the West Indies, whence he banished his relation James Annesley to prevent him inheriting the title and lands. There was a trial concerning this in November 1743 before the Irish Court of Exchequer.

11 Baptism entry in Broughton Poggs, 23rd March 1806: "John Baker son of a mulatto woman from St. Vincent, servant to Peter Gurley."

("Mulatto" = child of one Negro parent and one European parent)

At this time Broughton Hall had connections with the Ottley family:

Drewry Ottley of London settled in St Kitts circa 1707-1711. His daughter Grace (d. 1823, Guildford) married Admiral Sir William Burnaby of Broughton Hall, Oxon. (d. 1777). In addition, and his 4th son Richard (1730-1775) left a will in which Anthony Hodges of Bolney Court (see above) is listed as owing him £82. Richard's son (and therefore Grace and Sir William's nephew) was also called Drewry and was President and Chief Justice of St Vincent 1798-1805. The Ottley family also owned plantations in Antigua. The Gurley's were a Scottish family involved in the sugar industry in the West Indies in the 18th century. It may be that Peter Gurley had connections with the Ottleys from the West Indies and was visiting them in England. Or, he was not in England at the time at all and was mentioned here simply as a description of John Baker's origins.

There are no other references in the Broughton registers to either Gurleys or Ottleys. However, "Negro" William Ottley was buried aged 16 at Bampton in 1769. This boy may have got his surname from the Ottley family; perhaps because he or his parents were born on one of their estates or were owned by them at some stage.

14 111 slaves of Olivee's Estate in St Kitts, a schedule of names, ages, colour, origin, occupation etc., 1833 (Mor XX/ix/3).

This is a deed conveying the estate and all its slaves to a cleric, who was an Oxford Don. The other parties include two Anderdons and two Mannings. Manning and Anderdon were West Indies merchants.