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ST. AUGUSTINE UNDER THE BRITISH
FLAG, 1763-1775

by CHARLES L. MOWAT

The city of St. Augustine, in the serenity which comes from nearly four hundred years of existence, inevitably carries the visitor back to the days of the Spanish Empire. Its narrow streets, its low coquina houses with their balconies overhanging the roadway, its shady square running from the old Governor's House down to the bay, and above all the massive yet graceful lines of the fort which should be called as of old Castillo de San Marcos, all bring back the spirit of the Old World to blend with that of the New into something of its original charm and lusty strength. Only a few other North American cities, such as Charleston, Marblehead and Quebec, possess this same happy power of evoking the past. Each has its own character and associations and each its distinctive appeal. That of St. Augustine, so well described by Dr. Chatelaine in a recent issue of the *Quarterly*, is definitely Spanish, and the visitor, unless reminded by one of the flags over the 'oldest house', may well forget that the city was ever in British possession.

And in fact, though St. Augustine was for something over twenty years the capital and sole town of the British province of East Florida, its British masters left upon it an impression quite as slight as that which they left upon the province as a whole. It is true that the British occupation in 1763 came upon the heels of the departure of virtually

1. Wilbur H. Siebert, 'The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1764,' *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX, 145-154 (October, 1940).

the entire Spanish population,¹ and that strenuous efforts were made by the British to encourage the settlement of the land, by the provision of military defense and civil government at the expense of Great Britain, by generous-probably over-generous-grants of land,² and by numerous accounts of the country in magazines and books published in Great Britain itself.³ Dr. Turnbull, Denys Rolle and others made valiant efforts to bring over white settlers to their settlements at New Smyrna, Rolles-town or elsewhere; other planters such as John Moultrie and Richard Oswald began to exploit their lands with negro labor; a considerable number of families in humble circumstances came to East Florida from the British Isles, the continent of Europe, and from the other British colonies in North America. Yet the growth of the province was neither as great nor as rapid as was hoped for by both the local and home authorities, and the first Florida land boom tended mainly to cover the map with the grants of those whom Bernard Romans called the "monopolisers of East Florida", who "planted their baronies in the pine-barrens",⁴ and, as Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie wrote, left their lands in a "state of nature uncultivated and waste."⁵

2. Charles L. Mowat, 'The Land Policy in British East Florida,' *Agricultural History*, XIV, 75-77 (April, 1940).
3. See for instance William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida*, (London, 1763) ; [William Stork], *An Account of East-Florida* (London, [1766] : subsequently enlarged and re-issued) ; [Denys Rolle], *An Extract from the Account of East Florida, Published by Dr. Stork . . .* (London, 1766) ; and references in general works such as Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765). Articles include those in *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVII, 21-22 (January, 1767), and *Scots Magazine*, XXIX, 50 (January, 1767).
4. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), 117.
5. Moultrie to Dartmouth, 16 May 1773, in Great Britain, Colonial Office papers, class 5, volume 553, pp. 45-48 (C.O. 5/553, pp. 45-48) : Library of Congress transcripts.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution the total population of the province, excluding the garrison, seems to have stood at about 3000. This was equal to the size of the previous Spanish population, but since the figures for the latter included the garrison, the British figure does represent a moderate increase over the Spanish. The surveyor general, William Gerrard De Brahm, put the population in 1770 at 144 married men, 145 unmarried men, upwards of 900 negroes, and 1400 persons brought over by Dr. Turnbull. Of the 289 men whom he listed by name, 107, or a little more than one out of three were designated as planters, and of these 32 had died or left the province.⁶ The records of land grants made by the East Florida Council show that between 1764 and 1775 a total of 342 persons had petitioned for land and had received warrants of survey.⁷

It is thus clear that about two-thirds of the province's population, excluding negroes and the New Smyrna colonists, lived in St. Augustine, but that even so the town was very small. The accounts and plans which have come down from the British period—the accounts of Dr. Stork, Bernard Romans and De Brahm, for example, and the plans of De Brahm, James Moncrief of the Engineers, and de Solis⁸ - show that the appearance of the

6. For the Spanish population see Siebert's article cited above, *F. H. Q.*, XIX, 149-150. The British figure is based on those given in the List of Inhabitants of East Florida, their Employments, Business, and Qualifications, from 1763 to 1771, in William Gerrard De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America, 183-190, 294 (manuscript volume in Harvard University Library).

7. Council Minutes, C.O. 5/570, 571, and Audit Office 16/43, *passim*.

8. Stork, 32-34; Romans, 262-264; De Brahm's Report, 293-294 (Harvard copy). For plans see those in the Library of Congress, Division of Maps, including the photostat of Moncrief's plan of 1765 (Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Florida, 8) and of the New and Accurate Plan of the Town of St. Augustine, Engraved from

town was very much as it had been under the Spaniards, and that the ground-plan was the same, with the Bay street and two or three other streets running north and south, intersected by five or six cross lanes, and the whole surrounded by a crumbling rampart. The principal entry to the town was by the "barrier gate", close to the fort. At the southern end, near the water-front, stood the barracks. The principal public buildings, including the Governor's House, and the old Bishop's House and the hospital, stood on the square or Parade in the center of the town. New names were given to some of the streets, and the town was divided into quarters, including those named Key, Moultrie, Main Guard, Halifax, Grenville, Society, Henderson, Keppel and Skinner.⁹ The whole town-site was not much more than 3/4 mile long and 1/4 mile broad. The number of houses standing before 1775 was disputed: Dr. Stork mentioned 900 but admitted that several were constructed of wood and palmetto leaves and were in a state of decay; Romans put the number at only 300.¹⁰

The town owed its importance to at least four things: its harbor, its military garrison, its position as the capital of the province, and the local trade which centered upon it. The harbor suffered from its dangerous bar, which had only nine feet of water at high tide and was narrow and

the Survey of Don John de Solis [1764]. Others are in Archer B. Hulbert (ed.), *The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*, 2nd series, I, numbers 36 and 31; 3rd series, II, plates 79, 81 (Harrow, England, 1909 and Cleveland 1916).

9. Council Minutes, as cited above, n. 7. A different series of names occur in the loyalist claims for compensation after the American Revolution; see Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785* (Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, No. 9; DeLand, Florida, 1929), II, 120, n. 87a.
10. Stork, 33; Romans, 264.

crooked and subject to sudden shifts after storms, only real port, in the province, and was for long years of British rule. Nevertheless it remained the and many ships came to grief on it during the the only port of entry in the Customs service, though in 1770 a customs officer was appointed for the Port of St. Mary's River.¹¹ Thirty two ships entered the port of St. Augustine in 1764, according to the official records. The corresponding figures for the next seven years were 31, 36, 52, 56, 50, 30, 26. This volume of shipping was greater than that at Pensacola, but very small in comparison with that at the larger ports to the north ; for example, 148 ships entered Savannah in 1768, and 448 ships entered Charleston. On the basis of the comparative tonnage of shipping in the different ports, St. Augustine's position was even more humble, as most of the ships entering its harbor were of 30, 25, 20 or even 12 or 10 tons: only one or two of as much as 70, 80 or 100 tons are recorded as being in the port during these years. Most of the vessels came on the short coastal run from Charleston, where most goods to or from East Florida were trans-shipped into larger vessels going to the northern ports or to Europe, or were unloaded from such vessels. Only an occasional ship made the journey to St. Augustine direct from Europe. The value of East Florida's trade was necessarily small. Provisions, wine, rum and beer, powder and shot, leather goods, hardware, furniture, dry goods, shingles and scantling, livestock and negroes were imported; but ships clearing outwards were in ballast as often as not, though sometimes they carried small amounts of hides, timber, naval stores, oranges or orange juice, and the increasingly large and valuable ship-

11. Council Minutes, 26 December 1770, C.O. 5/571, p. 45.

ments of indigo, the province's principal article of export.¹²

More noticeable, perhaps, than the periodic stir in the harbor when a ship was being loaded or unloaded, was the presence of the officers and men of the military garrison. St. Augustine was first designated in 1763 as one of the places in North America where British troops were to be maintained under the reorganized system of imperial defence adopted after the close of the Seven Years War and the Conspiracy of Pontiac. As such it became the headquarters of a regiment, though since this maintained outposts at Apalache, New Providence in the Bahamas, and elsewhere, and was in any ease never kept at full strength, the number of the rank and file in St. Augustine was generally about 200, with the usual proportion of officers and staff. In 1768 a further military reorganization was decided on by the British government, in which St. Augustine was to become the station for three regiments and the headquarters of the Southern Brigade. Owing to difficulties in providing shipping to transport the troops over the treacherous bar, and in finding accommodation for them on arrival, the plan was never carried out, though Brigadier General Haldimand made St. Augustine his headquarters for a year from April 1769, until recalled to West Florida by the fears of a Spanish attack there. Under a revised plan of 1770, St. Augustine was to be the station for two regiments, and for a time this was put into practice, though after 1773 the needs of the service elsewhere again relegated the town to the

12. This information comes from various sources, principally the returns of the Naval Officer at St. Augustine for 1764-67 in C.O. 5/573, and the tables of the vessels entered inwards and cleared outwards at the several ports in North America for 1768-72 in Customs 16/1.

position of headquarters for a single regiment.¹³

Even so, the military character of the town was very marked. At first both officers and men were chiefly quartered in private houses in the town. Later the old Bishop's House was assigned for some of the men; this and the military hospital were right in the center of the town. After much delay the barracks were completed at the southern end where the old Franciscan convent and church were adapted as barracks and a new frame building was also constructed for the purpose. Both these edifices were completed by 1771. In the previous year the hospital was transferred to the old Indian church on the outskirts of town, so that the removal of the soldiers from the center of town was complete. But officers and men must often have passed along the streets, and sentries were stationed at the barrier gate and outside the Governor's House. The firing of a gun at the fort marked the morning and evening of each day. So, for better or worse (as it happened for both) civilian and military life blended together in the little capital.

Its position as the seat of the provincial government also affected the character and appearance of the town. The public buildings of the British regime were all, however, inherited from the Spaniards, though in most cases partially reconstructed and adapted for new purposes. Various minor additions were made to the Governor's

13. Information on the disposition of troops in North America comes chiefly from the papers of General Gage in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (see the author's article in *F. H. Q.*, XVIII, 46-60 [July, 1939]), and from Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage . . . 1763-1775* (New Haven, 1931-33). For the imperial reorganizations, see Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (Cleveland, 1917) I, 128 seq., 248-251, 276-286, 325 seq., II, seq., and *passim*.

House, such as a coach house and stables and a laundry, and the belvedere at the back was raised in height. One of the Spanish churches, standing south of the square on the north side of St. George street, was used as the parish church of the Church of England, and was renamed St. Peters. It was repaired from time to time, and in 1773 a wooden spire was added to the tower and a clock and bells were installed. The courts were at first held in the Franciscan church and later in a hired house, but in 1772 the Spanish hospital, released from military uses was reconstructed as a court house, jail and provost marshal's lodgings. In its turn the Bishop's House was reconstructed as a state house in 1772-1775 as part of a program of public works financed out of the savings which Governor Grant had made over a number of years from the parliamentary grants for the support of the provincial government.¹⁴

Persons connected with the government naturally made up a large part of the town's population. Ninety-four persons were entered as being in government service in De Brahm's list, many of them in more than one capacity; several of them had, of course, private avocations as well. The leaders among these, Governor Grant, Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie, Chief Justice William Drayton, Dr. Turnbull, Reverend John Forbes, the other councillors and chief officials, together with the principal military men such as Colonel Tayler, and Lieutenant Mulcaster of the Engineers, were the *elite* of local society. Principal occasions of festivity were the 'public days' such as the anniversary of the King's

14. Details of work done on public buildings are to be found in the annual accounts of the expenditures from the contingent fund sent home by the Governor (C.O. 5/540, 541 548, etc., *passim*.) and in the declared accounts of John Moultrie, Governor Tonyn, and William Knox, the crown agent, in Audit Office 1, bundle 1261, rolls 147, 148, 150.

coronation, on which it was customary for a salute to be fired by the troops and the guns of the fort in the morning, after which Governor Grant entertained 'the Gentlemen of the Town and Army' at dinner.¹⁵

Grant's bachelor hospitality was, however, continuous, and Denys Rolle, who had a standing invitation to dine at the Governor's when he was in town, wrote that Grant saw "the whole Corps of Officers, and the Gentry of the Town" at his table perhaps once a week.¹⁶ In 1771, when Major Small, a Major of Brigade who had been ordered to join General Haldimand, was in town with his 'Music' (a military band), Grant wrote that it was "the gayest Place in America nothing but Balls, Assemblies and Concerts, we are too inconsiderable to enter into Politicks & Faction, and as People have little to do the Novelty has catched, and they are all at present Mason [?] Musick and dancing Mad ... "¹⁷

But in such a society points of precedence counted for as much as in larger capitals. Writing against the appointment to the Council of Martin Jollie, as one of an inferior station in life, the Governor said "it would be very distressing if he was to take Rank of the others, they would not Submit to that for going in at a Door or dancing first at a little

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15. Grant to Shelburne, 10 October 1767, CO. 5/549, pp. 1-7, writing of his quarrel with Colonel Tayler whom he accused of not showing him proper deference on one of the 'public days.'
 16. [Denys Rolle], *To the Right HONOURABLE the LORDS of His MAJESTY'S Most Honourable Privy Council. The Humble Petition of Denys Rolle, Esq; setting forth the Hardships, Inconveniences, and Grievances, which have attended him in his Attempts to make a Settlement in East Florida . . .* (a printed work, never published, issued in a few copies in 1766 with no title page, but the above title at the head of the first page of text: a copy is in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island). Reference here is on p. 59.
 17. Grant to Gage, 18 February 1771, in Gage papers.

Assembly are points among the Women which I cannot direct, and dare not interfere in . . ." ¹⁸ Yet there were small, intimate gatherings also. Mulcaster, writing to Grant in 1775, regretfully recalled the old days before the latter's departure. In praising a certain Captain Charles Fordice, he wrote "He has been for these two years past one of a cabinet junto, consisting of the *Padre* [Forbes] and myself, where the state of the Province and its welfare has been duly considered . . . had he been here in your time, I am confident [he] would have been a frequent guest in the Print room, and a no small sharer of the wicked bottle." ¹⁹

This select little society produced, for its size, a surprising number of men who later attained eminence in public life. The lieutenant-governor, Dr. John Moultrie, an M.D. of Edinburgh University, had six children by his second wife, Eleanor Austin, daughter of a naval captain who had settled as a merchant in Charleston. The pair had eloped in 1762. Of the children the second son James followed in his father's footsteps in the Edinburgh medical school and returned to practise in Charleston and to continue the medical dynasty which still carries on the family profession if not the name in that city. ²⁰ William Drayton had nine children by his first wife, Mary Motte, of whom William, born in East Florida in 1776, subsequently practised in Charleston as a lawyer, became a judge and a Congressman, and ended his career in Philadelphia as the last president of the Bank of the

18. Grant to Hillsborough, 19 October 1770, C.O. 5/551, p. 184.

19. Mulcaster to Grant, 29 September 1775, in Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives*, 4th series, III (Washington, 1840), 838.

20. Eleanor Winthrop Townsend, 'John Moultrie, Junior, M.D., 1729-1798: Royal Lieutenant-Governor of East Florida,' *Annals of Medical History*, 3rd series, II, 98-109 (March, 1940).

United States.²¹ His friend Dr. Turnbull had nearly as large a family by his Greek wife: four sons and three daughters. One of the sons, Robert James, born at New Smyrna in 1775, became the owner of a large plantation in the South and was well known as a writer and an ardent supporter of states' rights and nullification.²² The dashing Lieutenant Frederick George Mulcaster, reputedly a natural brother of George III, married the only child of the testy Dutchman, De Brahm, the surveyor general, in 1769.²³ She died a few years later, leaving two children, Frederick William and Frances; the boy subsequently entered the Royal Engineers, became its colonel-commandant and inspector-general of fortifications and received a knighthood.²⁴

Perhaps the most interesting family, however, was that of the clergyman of the town, Rev. John Forbes, a graduate of Aberdeen University. He married in 1769 Dorothy (or Dolly) Murray, daughter of Barbara Bennet and James Murray of Boston, a prosperous Scots merchant who was later forced to leave Massachusetts as a loyalist. The marriage took place at Brush Hill in Milton, Massachusetts, the home of the bride's uncle by marriage, James Smith. Mrs. Forbes had three sons, the last born at Brush Hill after she had been persuaded by her father, who visited St. Augustine in 1773, to return to Massachusetts for the sake of her health. The outbreak of the Revolution prevented the reunion of the family. Mrs. Forbes and her sister continued to live at Brush

21. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. William Drayton (1732-1790) and William Drayton (1776-1846).

22. *D.A.B.*, s.v. Andrew Turnbull and Robert James Turnbull (1775-1833).

23. *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, 10 July 1769.

24. Force, *Am. Archives*, 4th ser., III, 834-838; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Sir Frederick William Mulcaster (1772-1846).

Hill, which they had inherited and managed to save from confiscation. Parson Forbes stayed on in St. Augustine with the eldest son until 1783, when he returned to England, hoping that the family might be reunited there. But he died two months after his arrival, and Mrs. Forbes, except for a journey to Florida in a vain attempt to salvage some of the family property there, remained at Brush Hill until her death in 1811. The eldest of the sons was the future historian of East Florida, James Grant Forbes,²⁵ who was presumably the Governor's godson. The second, John Murray Forbes (1771-1831) represented the United States successively at Hamburg, Copenhagen and Buenos Aires, and was one of the most trusted agents of the Department of State. The third, Ralph Bennet Forbes (1773-1824), left two distinguished sons, Robert Bennet Forbes (1804-1889) and John Murray Forbes (1813-1898) : the former was a celebrated sea captain, China merchant, ship owner, and author, the latter a successful business man, railway promoter, and champion of the Northern cause in the Civil War.²⁶

In addition to these persons of eminence, St. Augustine had among its inhabitants, according to De Brahm's list, one schoolmaster, three attorneys, one notary public, Dr. Stork, listed as 'East Florida Historian' and one Cass, listed simply as 'Bactchelor of Arts'. The medical men were John Moultrie and Turnbull, neither of whom practiced, Dr. Catherwood, the surgeon of the garrison who was also a councillor and judge, Mr. Richard

25. James Grant Forbes, *Sketches, Historical and Topographical, of The Floridas; more particularly of East Florida* (New York, 1821).

28. See *D.A.B.*, under Rev. John Forbes and his descendants mentioned above; also Nina Moore Tiffany (ed.), *Letters of James Murray, loyalist* (Boston, 1901: printed, not published), 117, 146-147, 149, 280, 281-283.

Pritchard, the surgeon of the Ordnance branch of the military establishment, and the hospital mates of the military hospital, George Kemp and David Yeats. The latter, who was also the register and deputy clerk of the Council, had a thriving private practice.²⁷ The rest of the populace included twenty-six storekeepers, fifteen innkeepers, fifteen house carpenters, three ship's carpenters, one ship builder, one millwright, two blacksmiths, one bricklayer, three masons, two turners, two joiners, two lime burners, one saw miller, three haberdashers, three tailors, one goldsmith, one watchmaker, one cooper, one shoemaker, one baker, five butchers and two barbers. There were also fourteen persons cryptically referred to as 'livers in town'.²⁸

Of the storekeepers and artizans several had frequent dealings with the government, as is shown by the payments made from the 'contingent fund,' which was included in the annual Parliamentary grant. The two principal storekeepers in 1775 were Robert Payne and James Penman; others were James Henderson, George Rolfes, William Alexander, and the firms of Fraser and Richardson, Rodget and Wilson, and George Laidler and Son. The principal carpenter was John Hewitt, who was really more of a contractor. He built roads, made the additions to the Governor's House, and constructed the steeple of the church. Other carpenters were Godfrey (or Godfried) Humbert, Thomas Tustin, and the firm of Simpson and Gressell. The principal ship's carpenters were the firm of Pool and Cross, and Samuel Grondin. Edward Marlin was the chief mason, and on various occasions he contracted for the supply of coquina from the quarries on Anastasia island. Thomas Hannay, another mason, did much of the work on the court

27. Force, *Am. Archives*, 4th ser., III, 837.

28. De Brahm, Report, 183-190 (Harvard copy).

house and state house. Robert Bonsall was the principal blacksmith, Collin McKenzie the principal butcher.

This population enjoyed few of the things usually associated with a thriving social life. There was no newspaper, nor even a printing press in the province before the Revolution, though the Charleston and Savannah papers had some circulation and sometimes carried items of East Florida news.²⁹ Normal needs of publicity were served by the posting of notices, both official or scurrilous, at 'Payne's Corner.' The only social organization to which reference has been found was 'Grant's East Florida Lodge' of the Masonic Order. Grant was provincial grand master over the lodges in the southern district of North America under the Scottish constitution. John Moultrie was a fellow Mason of his.³⁰

Conviviality, however, was not lacking; in fact there was much too much of it, according to one disgruntled critic, Denys Rolle, who was disappointed in his first hopes of making a settlement in East Florida and returned to England in 1765 to petition the Privy Council for help. His account of his troubles, for which he principally blamed Governor Grant, throws a lurid light on the early condition of the town and province. He described St. Augustine as a garrison town "where Luxury and Debauchery reigned amidst Scarcity," and where "the small Number of Females occasioned much Divisions and Irregularity." He gave several instances of its baneful influence. Two young gentlemen who had come over with him were en-

29. See, for instance, the *South Carolina Gazette*, especially for 25 August 1764.

30. [Alastair Macpherson Grant], *General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 1720-1806* ... (published privately by A. M. Grant, London, in 1930: copy in St. Augustine Historical Society's Library), 77: Townsend in *An. Med. Hist.*, 3rd ser., II, 104.

ticed away by the dissipation it afforded ; one eventually found his way back to a London prison, the other was set up on a plantation and promptly converted his provisions into rum. A young surveyor, Henry Fairchild, ran through the money which his fees brought him and absconded to West Florida, leaving a 50 book debt at Rodget's store. One Bullemore, who had come out, so Rolle alleged, with the promise of the collectorship of the port, was disappointed of this, ruined, and "made a dreadful Exit" not long afterwards.³¹ There was also the case of James Sherdley, a youth who came out as his father's deputy as commissary of stores and provisions on the military establishment. He sold on his own account over 2500 gallons of rum belonging to the government in the course of a few months, and when this was about to be discovered, fled to Georgia, where he died shortly afterwards.³² This picture of St. Augustine as the disorderly refuge of the 'remittance man' is borne out by two other pieces of evidence: the large number of taverns, which was once presented as a grievance by the grand jury ; and the account of the place by a clerical visitor, Mr. Woodmason, in 1766, in which he declared that, the Governor kept a concubine and the other officers followed his example, and charged that there was no face nor appearance of religion to be seen in St. Augustine.³³

Be that as it may, St. Augustine had several of the institutions of normal municipal government, supported, however, with the help of the parliamentary grants to the province. There was a bathing

31. Rolle's petition, 9, 20, 24-26, and *passim*.

32. Grant to Gage, 30 August 1765, Gage Papers.

33. Mr. Woodmason's Account of S.C., N.C., Ga., etc., 1766, Fulham MSS., S.C., numbers 300, 298, 299 (Library of Congress transcripts) : quoted in Edgar L. Pennington, 'The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1763-1892,' *Historical Magazine of Protestant Episcopal Church*, VII, 3-77 (March 1938) at 10.

house, a public slaughtering pen at the barrier gate, and a market with a market bell and a beam scales under the custody of a clerk of the market: a new set of weights and measures was brought out by Governor Tonym, as the standard, in 1774. A fire-engine was purchased in 1772 out of the savings from the parliamentary grants, and a man was paid 10 a year out of the contingent fund for taking care of it.³⁴ A proclamation was issued by the provincial Council in 1773 ordering the inhabitants to store gunpowder in the magazine in the fort in the interest of fire prevention, and another proclamation in 1775 ordered the destruction of weeds on the lots, as they were injurious to health.³⁵ After public protest expressed by the grand jury and by petition, the sea wall was repaired and extended along the water-front, as a charge on the contingent fund.³⁶ There was, of course, no regular provision for poor relief, but the contingent fund occasionally paid for coffins for persons who died destitute, and for provisions for paupers who could not support themselves in jail. In 1767-68 6-3-6 was paid for the maintenance of Jonathan, "a poor distracted man, who having no person to take care of him was put into the hospital."³⁷ In 1772-73 the sum of six shillings was paid for a boat and people to conduct one Mackay to the "Black House, he being delirious."³⁸

Two other institutions, also maintained at the cost of the British government, must be mentioned. The one, the Church of England, cannot, however,

34. Contingent Accounts for various years ; C.O. 5/549, p. 118; C.O. 5/550, pp. 125-127; CO. 5/553, pp. 119-124, etc.: Council Minutes, 9 April 1774, C.O. 5/571, p. 108.

35. Council Minutes, 8 October 1773, 21 August 1775; C.O. 5/571, p. 93, 181.

36. Council Minutes, 9 April 1774, C.O. 5/571, p. 108; Contingent Account, 1774-75, C.O. 5/555, pp. 205-207.

37. Contingent Account, 1767-68, C.O. 5/549, pp. 117-119.

38. Provost Marshal's Account, 1772-73, C.O. 5/553, p. 129.

be dismissed in a paragraph, and has already been well described elsewhere.³⁹ For the other, the school, a schoolmaster was provided at a salary of 25 on the civil establishment of the province; in fact two schoolmasters were provided for, one being for St. Marks (Apalache), though for obvious reasons he never went to that outpost in the wilderness. It is interesting that the British government made provision for the public support of education in the Floridas at a time when at home and in the older colonies it was left to local or charitable initiative. The first schoolmaster, Enoch Hawksworth, who according to De Brahm's list was also a haberdasher, arrived in 1765, as did Jones Reed, the second schoolmaster.⁴⁰ There is no record of their being paid after 1770, and they had both apparently left by then, though they seem to have had successors. One of the clergy, Reverend John Leadbeater, was pressed by Governor Tonyn in 1775 to assume the position and salary of schoolmaster in addition to his clerical work, but he refused and returned to England.⁴¹ His successor, Reverend John Kennedy, who arrived in 1777 with a royal appointment to the Free Schools in East Florida, received 50 a year as schoolmaster up to 1785.⁴² The subjects taught, according to a table of fees fixed by the Council in 1775, included English, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek.⁴³

Thus it can be seen that St. Augustine, in pre-revolutionary days, was a fairly normal self-contained community, though on a diminutive scale, and with many institutions existing only in rudi-

39. See Pennington's article cited above, n. 33.

40. Grant to Board of Trade, 16 July and 9 August 1765, C.O. 5/540, pp. 415, 480.

41. Tonyn to Dartmouth, 15 May 1775, C.O. 5/555, pp. 147-150.

42. Leadbeater to Germain, 30 December 1777, C.O. 5/558, pp. 11-12; Cowan's Declared Account, 1782-87, Audit Office 1, bundle 1261, roll 151.

43. Council Minutes, 21 August 1775, C.O. 5/571, pp. 181-182.

mentary form. It lacked much of the bustle of other colonial capitals, particularly that which came from the meetings of a General Assembly, since none was summoned in East Florida until 1781. Since many of the expenses of the town, no less than of the province, were met out of the contingent fund provided by the annual parliamentary grant, which also carried the salaries of many of the colonial officials, the disputes over taxation which developed elsewhere were also absent. The meetings of the courts four times a year probably provoked the greatest civic interest, and these, through the presentments of the grand jury, sometimes took on a political tone which to some degree compensated for the lack of an Assembly: in fact this lack was one of the grievances which more than once was presented.

During the Revolution there was a much greater stir in the town. Some refugees arrived from Georgia or South Carolina, though not in any great numbers ; on the other hand the military forces were strengthened, the East Florida Rangers organized, and the militia occasionally mustered. There were constant rumors and alarms, and some talk of capitulation, though successive invasions of Florida territory from Georgia, weakly pressed by the Americans, were all repulsed.

After the capture of Savannah and Charleston by the British in 1779 and 1780 fears of attack from the north subsided, though the Spanish conquest of West Florida raised a new menace from the west. Meanwhile Governor Tonyn, scorning conciliatory tactics, fought a long and sordid political duel with Chief Justice Drayton, Dr. Turnbull and others whom he chose to identify as an American faction, though they may merely have been resisting his high-handed methods of gov-

ernment.⁴⁴ Drayton was suspended as chief justice, reinstated by the home government, and then again suspended. After the second suspension he resigned and eventually moved to Charleston. Dr. Turnbull was suspended from the sinecure of the secretaryship, his New Smyrna colony was broken up, and he himself kept in custody for a year until he left the province for South Carolina. In the last phase of its history, East Florida became the principal destination of the mass emigration of loyalists from Savannah and Charleston in 1782 and 1783, on the British evacuation of those cities. Then St. Augustine was at its busiest during the British regime. A mushroom new town of temporary cabins grew up beyond the lines, a press and a gazette were established, plays were given by an amateur troupe in the state house, and the Assembly was in session. Refugees and old settlers, regular soldiers, ill-equipped troops of the provincial regiments, Indians coming in embarrassing numbers to the last British post in the South to seek help against the expected measures of the hated 'Virginians'-all jostled each other on the narrow streets of the crowded capital. Then came the harrowing days of the British evacuation, and the arrival of the Spanish Governor and the Spanish troops and settlers.

As soon as the rule of Spain was reestablished, the marks of the British regime began to disappear, and within a generation there were hardly any traces to be found. The Minorcan colony, moved by the force of circumstance from New Smyrna, added a permanent element to the population of St. Augustine. A few of the British

44. A study of Drayton by the author will appear in a future issue of the *Quarterly*.

inhabitants stayed on under the new rulers.⁴⁵ No new public buildings had been added to the town by the British, save the frame barracks, and this was burnt down, except for the chimney stacks, in 1792.⁴⁶ The Franciscan barracks survived much longer, but they were only an adaptation of Spanish buildings. So was the parish church, which a traveler, Dr. Schoepf, reported in 1784 to be on the point of falling in ; when J. G. Forbes wrote, not a vestige of it remained. The bells and church pews (and also the fire-engine) had been sent with the loyalists to the Bahamas.⁴⁷ As for the state house, Dr. Schoepf described it also as half in ruins; it had never been completed, and the lack of an exterior coat of plaster caused it to crumble to pieces.⁴⁸ Equally transitory was the general impression of twenty years of British rule on the oldest city north of Mexico.

45. See Joseph B. Lockey, 'The St. Augustine Census of 1786,' *F.H.Q.*, XVIII, 11-31 (July, 1939).

46. Forbes, *Sketches* . . . 85; William W. Dewhurst. *History of Saint Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1881), 134.

47. Forbes, 87; Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, tr. Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia; 1911: original published in 1788), II, 230; Tonym to Sydney, 4 April, 1785, C.O. 5/561, pp. 353 *seq.*

48. Schoepf, II, 232; Forbes, 86-87.