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Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr.



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JANAS* IN BRITISH EAST FLORIDA

by Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR in Europe officially ended in Paris on February 10, 1763, with England actively solving the Anglo-French contest for colonial and commercial supremacy in North America. France was in a state of bankruptcy. Spain, a long standing opponent of England, suffered defeat and consequent loss of colonial territory. Spain had entered the war at a rather late hour, and England quickly captured Havana and Manila. At Paris, Spain suffered the loss of Florida, fishing rights in Newfoundland waters, and lumber rights in Honduras. England became the undisputed mistress of the seas; George III became the leading monarch in Europe; and for the first time the English flag flew from Canada to the Florida Keys.¹

England took possession of Florida early in 1763, and the Spaniards withdrew to Cuba and to their new lands in Louisiana. In East Florida only eight Spanish subjects remained, and by early 1764 they had departed. All that remained in the Spanish *presidio* of St. Augustine reminiscent of two hundred years of military activities were a number of small, crude buildings and the Castillo de San Marcos. On August 29, 1764, the military government of East Florida ended, and James Grant, first governor of the new British province, arrived in St. Augustine aboard the sloop *Ferret*. Almost immediately, life in the province assumed a complexion of "business" and experimentation designed to augment business, and St. Augustine was transformed from a Spanish military post into a British endeavor.

Posed with a problem of settling East Florida, Governor Grant, with the aid of his government, launched an advertising

*The word Janas (d₃ ae n ae) among descendants of the Minorcans of New Smyrna, Florida, means "strangers" in present-day usage.

1. The military campaigns and diplomatic arrangements of the Seven Years' War are in R. R. Palmer, *A History of the Modern World* (New York, 1960), 251-58. See also Robert L. Gold, "The Transfer of Florida from Spanish to British Control, 1762-1765" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1963).

program. He placed notices in all the English colonies and provinces, painting a beautiful picture of East Florida, describing the many advantages of settling in this "tropical paradise," and recounting the liberal British land grant policies.² While settlers were slow in coming, there were many speculators with aspirations of obtaining large tracts of land which were surveyed by William Gerrard De Brahm, a Dutch emigrant from Georgia, the controversial surveyor general of East Florida. With several assistants, including Bernard Romans, he completed a survey of the coast of East Florida and divided the land into tracts.³

By the end of 1767, several gentlemen of rank, importance, and wealth had acquired grants in East Florida. By 1766, sixteen of these grants, totaling 222,000 acres were settled;⁴ but only two—the settlement at Rollestown, and the colony of Dr. Andrew Turnbull at Mosquito Inlet — were of major importance.

Andrew Turnbull, in 1776, was a Scottish physician practicing in London.⁵ Earlier he had served as British Consul in Smyrna (Izmir), Turkey, and had traveled extensively throughout the Middle East and the Mediterranean islands.⁶ About 1751, Turnbull married Maria Gracia Dura Bin, daughter of a wealthy merchant of Smyrna,⁷ and their son, Nicholas, was born in Smyrna.⁸

Dr. Turnbull caught the fever of English land speculation early in 1766 and decided to abandon his medical practice in

2. Savannah *Georgia Gazette*, December 27, 1764.

3. Charles L. Mowat, "That Odd Being, De Brahm," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (April 1942), 323-45. For the unpublished part of De Brahm's Report, see Carita Doggett Corse, "De Brahm's Report on East Florida, 1773," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (January 1939), 219-26.

4. See enclosure in the letter of Governor Tonyn to Lord Germain, St. Augustine, November 1776, Public Record Office: Colonial Office 5/557. Cited hereafter as PRO:CO. Documents cited are in the microfilm collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville. The most complete study of the land grant policies of Great Britain pertinent to East Florida is Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943). For Grant's program of advertising East Florida, see 53.

5. Carita Doggett Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Jacksonville, 1919) 16.

6. Edward W. Lawson, "Minorcans of Saint Augustine," a paper read before the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida, December 14, 1948.

7. Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, 16.

8. William H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1929), II, 56.

London. He wanted to establish a colony of Greeks in East Florida; he knew the Greeks well and considered them to be ideal workers.⁹ Turnbull envisaged a profitable colonial enterprise producing raw materials, silk, indigo, and cotton for the factories of England.

In 1767, three township grants of land, consisting of 20,000 acres, were awarded to Dr. Turnbull and two associates. The grants were to be operated jointly for seven years, and the annual expenses of operation were to be kept at a maximum of 9,000 pounds sterling; the British government stipulated that the grants would be awarded "if a certain number of Protestant families" occupied the land.¹⁰

In 1767, the doctor traveled to East Florida, surveyed and claimed his land, and was appointed secretary of the East Florida council, clerk of the crown, and clerk of the court of common plans. After two months, he returned to England to begin the search for colonists.¹¹

Turnbull's first port of call was Leghorn, Italy. In June 1767, he received permission from the governor to enlist volunteer citizens for his colonial scheme. The governor stipulated that no silk manufacturers could join up. Turnbull signed contracts with 110 people who were then shipped to the collecting point at Mahon, Minorca, part of the Balearic Islands, then a British possession. In July, Turnbull left Mahon for the Aegean in search of Greek settlers.¹²

The Ottoman Turks proved troublesome to the doctor in his

9. E. P. Panagopoulos, "The Background of the Greek Settlers in the New Smyrna Colony," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (October 1956), 95-8.

10. An extract from "Return of Grants of land passed in His Majesty's Province of East Florida, from June 20, 1765 to June 22, 1767," PRO:CO 5/541; indenture describing agreement of April 2, 1767 between William Duncan and Turnbull, PRO: Treasury 77/9, March 9, 1781.

11. Turnbull to the Earl of Shelburne, Leghorn, June 15, 1767, Shelburne Papers, LXXXVIII, folio 141. Cited hereafter as Shelburne Papers. The Shelburne Papers are on deposit in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; copies of the manuscripts are located in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida, and in the library of the St. Augustine Historical Society; A. J. Morrison (ed.), *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784*, (Philadelphia, 1911), 223-37.

12. Turnbull to Shelburne, Port Mahon, July 10, 1767, Shelburne Papers, folio 135; Turnbull to Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *ibid.*, folio 147.

search for settlers. The British Levant Company supported Turkish dissidence against Turnbull's scheme of removing their subjects. Some settlers from the Levant did join forces with Turnbull, however, and they were transported to the assembly area in Mahon. Meanwhile, some of the single male enlistees from Leghorn married Minorcan women, and many Minorcans themselves joined the colony, swelling the ranks to some 1,400 persons.¹³

Turnbull, on his return from the Aegean, set the new colonists to work preparing grape cuttings, olives, mulberries, various seeds, agricultural equipment, and silk worms for shipment. Turnbull decided against shipping perishable plants, and instead sent seeds in bottles filled with oil. Roots, vines, and suckers were packed in strong, iron-clasped casks and filled with oil. Silk worm eggs were prepared in a manner similar to the plant seeds, but not quite so much oil was put in the bottles.¹⁴

In the early spring of 1768, Turnbull's colony, aboard eight vessels, sailed from Mahon for St. Augustine. The first four vessels, carrying about seven hundred colonists, reached their destination on June 26, 1768. The other four ships arrived in early August.¹⁵ By August 10, 1768, the largest colony ever transported *en masse* to the North American continent was settled at the plantation site of New Smyrna.

The large size of the colony and poor logistical planning quickly depleted the food stocks. The 80,000 acres of land at New Smyrna had not been cleared for planting, and this created a problem that neither Turnbull nor the colonists had expected. Work began immediately, however. First the seeds were prepared for planting. The wooden shipping casks were drained, and the oil was poured into an empty storage vessel for further use. The seeds and plants were wiped dry of oil and sprinkled with dry ashes until the latter came off freely and easily. Casks were sawed in half and used as buckets, pails, and tubs. Tender care was

13. *Ibid.*; Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, March 12, 1768, PRO:CO 5/549.

14. Grant to Lord Hillsborough, St. Augustine, July 2, 1768, PRO:CO 5/549.

15. Turnbull to Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, Shelburne Papers, folio 147; William De Brahm, *History of the Three Provinces, South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida, 1773*, Kings 211, British Museum. A copy of the portion of this work dealing with East Florida is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.

given the silk worm eggs. After being removed from their oil containers, the eggs were mixed with dry ashes and moved about very carefully on a piece of blotting paper until all the ashes and oil mixture were removed. This process was repeated over and over again until no trace of oil remained in the ashes or on the blotting paper.¹⁶

To satisfy the basic need for food, the colonists depended initially on hominy grits, fish, shell fish, and oysters found in abundance in the lagoon.¹⁷ Their provisions at the best of times were only a quart of corn a day and two ounces of salted pork a week. There was plenty of fish, but settlers were denied the liberty of fishing as often as they pleased. Instead of allowing each family to do with its meager fare as it wanted, they were forced to join others in a common mess. At the beat of a drum, all would gather at a community kettle.¹⁸ By the end of 1768, 300 men and women and 150 children had died from hunger and gangrenous scurvy at New Smyrna.¹⁹

Work began promptly on the building of shelters. The spacious church of San Pedro was soon under construction, as was a brick residence for the two Catholic priests that accompanied the colony.²⁰ Each family lived in a separate hut or temporary shelter awaiting better accommodations. The unmarried members of the colony lived in three individual huts.²¹ Hunger and toil prevailed at New Smyrna during the early months of its existence, and by December 1768, the situation there was grave. While Governor Grant "cried for their [the colonists] poor hungry souls," he was afraid that if the plight of the colonists became known, it could jeopardize plans of inducing more settlers to East Florida.²²

By March 1769, most of the colonists seemed to have regained their health and strength. They had cleared seven miles of riverfront property and planted crops. The governor, still un-

16. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 1, 1768, PRO:CO 5/550.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), 269.

19. Tonym to Lord George Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/550.

20. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 1, 1768, *ibid.*

21. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, March 4, 1769, *ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

easy about the sustenance of the colony, insisted that Turnbull keep on hand at least four month's supply of provisions. But none of the supplies had arrived at New Smyrna on time, and there was only a month's supply of corn in stock. Grant privately dispatched the schooner *East Florida* to Charleston, instructing his agent there to load the vessel with corn. The captain was told to proceed from Charleston directly to New Smyrna. Grant's subterfuge was hidden from his administrative subordinates by an official statement that the vessel was being sent to Savannah to procure lumber and other supplies needed for the province.²³

Monetary aid was granted in March 1769; Thomas Bradshaw, provincial treasurer, presented an affidavit authorizing 2,000 pounds sterling. Instructions from Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for colonial affairs, indicated that the appropriation was an emergency fund. Governor Grant, after negotiating with Turnbull, was authorized to purchase any supplies he thought necessary and accompany his draft with vouchers and accounts as required by parliament.²⁴ In a letter to Lord Hillsborough, Grant stressed the fact that he would not spend anything until it was absolutely necessary. The colony had already cost Turnbull and his associates more than 20,000 pounds sterling, and the governor was certain that they were now without funds. Grant also asked for an annual subsidy of 500 pounds sterling for the colony; the government had given Turnbull that amount when he arrived in East Florida.²⁵

By September 1769, the settlement was transformed from an uncleared wilderness into a symmetrical cluster of farms extending along the banks of the lagoon. Each farm was about 44,100 square feet in area, and was surveyed 210 feet from each other. The physical lay-out of the farms and the proximity of one to the other gave the settlement the appearance of an eighteenth-century Chinese plantation. Grapes, olives, mulberries, rice, corn, indigo, and vegetables were the main crops. Dr. Turnbull was particularly interested in indigo which grew well in East Florida where there was an abundance of water.²⁶ The blue dye

23. *Ibid.*

24. Hillsborough to Grant, London, April 3, 1769, *ibid.*

25. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, July 20, 1769, *ibid.*

26. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 14, 1770, PRO:CO 5/552; Turnbull to Shelburne, New Smyrna, October 3, 1774, Shelburne Papers, folio 157.

was an important commodity in England where the textile industry was growing in importance and where technology was increasing its production.²⁷ Demands for indigo were so large that the government offered subsidies to East Florida planters who marketed their crop.²⁸

Although 155 adults and twenty-two children died in 1769,²⁹ the first half of the following year found a great improvement in the physical and economic status of New Smyrna. The settlers, according to Turnbull, were in much better health and spirits. More land had been cleared, and the productions of Indian corn, peas, potatoes, and greens of all kinds almost doubled over the preceding year. The indigo crop was bountiful, and the settler's first shipment to England was being prepared.³⁰

But while there was no hunger at New Smyrna in 1770, the settlers were vapid and destitute, and they had no hopes for improving their situation. They were ill-clothed, many nearly naked, and they were still living in small, palmetto huts. Dr. Turnbull did not have the finances nor the credit to buy cloth or construction materials, and when the governor asked for a subsidy in the amount of the previous year's emergency relief fund, his request was refused by the lords of the treasury.³¹

Even though production of food crops almost doubled in 1770, victuals continued to be shipped to New Smyrna. The schooner *Live Oak* carried 2,100 bushels of Indian corn when it sailed from Savannah on July 17. The same day the schooner *Sally* cleared Charleston harbor, and her cargo manifest listed 454 bushels of red peas, 332¹/₂ bushels of black-eyed peas, ninety bushels of peas, and twenty barrels of rice for the colony. The schooner *Active* left Charleston on November 10 with 125 barrels

27. For an account of the English textile industry in the eighteenth century, see T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830* (London, 1958).

28. Turnbull to the Crown, Memorial of Turnbull, London, and endorsement of the Lords of Trade, April 9, 1767, PRO:CO 5/548; Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 14, 1770, *ibid.*; Romans, *Natural History of East and West Florida*, 134-39; Wilbur H. Siebert, "Slavery and White Servitude in East Florida, 1726-1776," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, X (July 1931), 21.

29. See enclosure in Tonym to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.

30. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 14, 1770, PRO:CO 5/552.

31. John Robinson to Mr. Pownall, London, March 8, 1771, *ibid.*

of flour, twenty-seven barrels of rice, and seven barrels of rum for New Smyrna.³²

By 1771, the settlement seemed to be on solid footing. Both agricultural production and monetary returns were increasing. Business was so good that Turnbull resigned his seat on the East Florida council, claiming that the settlement now required all his time and efforts. His enterprise seemed to be paying off.³³ Governor Grant left the province in 1771, and Lieutenant Governor John Moultrie became acting governor.³⁴ Pleas from New Smyrna for government financial aid ended about the time that Grant returned to England.

There were 175 families, approximately 500 people, living in New Smyrna in 1772. Most of these were Roman Catholics, parishoners of Father Pedro Campos. Most of the single settlers had married by this time. The Catholic faith was devoutly practiced, and the church of San Pedro, likely the first building completed in its entirety, was the center of activity for the settlers. It was modestly adorned and contained a high altar, a central figure of Christ, and statues of St. John and St. Anthony. The children of the settlement received religious training and processions were held openly and frequently. Fathers Campos and Casanovas were very well respected, even by the English, and Mrs. Turnbull herself was counted as one of the faithful of the parish.³⁵

Crop production continued to flourish and an abundance of sugar, cotton, rice, corn, and manufactured indigo were shipped to England. Cochineal insects for making scarlet dye were also exported.³⁶ A drought severely damaged the crops in East Florida in 1773 and to combat the dry spell, Turnbull utilized an irrigation system then unique in the American colonies. He made his system permanent by constructing irrigation canals and lining the walls with coquina blocks.³⁷ In 1774, Turnbull agreed to fur-

32. See enclosure (duplicate of accounts and vouchers), in Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, February 15, 1771, *ibid.*

33. Lt. Governor Moultrie to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 28, 1771, *ibid.*

34. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 16.

35. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1822* (Washington, 1940), 34.

36. Moultrie to Earl of Dartmouth, St. Augustine, February 19, 1773, PRO:CO 5/553.

37. Turnbull to Shelburne, New Smyrna, October 3, 1774, Shelburne Papers, folio 157.

nish labor, material, and transportation for a sixteen-oar boat, a pilot vessel to guide ships across the St. Augustine bar for the East Florida government. He received 56/10 pounds for the vessel.³⁸

The death rate at New Smyrna since 1770 had remained nearly constant. In 1771, ten adults and six children died; in 1772, eight adults and three children; in 1773, eleven adults and thirteen children; in 1774, five adults and nineteen children.³⁹ The dissatisfaction of the colonists, particularly the Minorcan elements, increased. The overseer system was still in effect, and the supervisors created problems. Even though crop production was high, hunger still prevailed, and many settlers thought of escape to Havana. When their plans became known to the English, the colonists' every move came under constant surveillance.⁴⁰ Suspicion was rife in all the English colonies in America and revolt against the government was feared.

Father Casanovas sided with the Minorcans in their struggle with the overseers. The priest spoke out openly against the commandant and his subordinates and was subsequently deported to Minorca. Father Campos was left to administer the parish alone, and he was warned not to criticize the officials. He asked for another priest to assist him, but his requests were refused. He then attempted to recruit aid through his former assistant, Father Casanovas, but received no answers to his letters. The English refused to allow a priest from Havana to come to New Smyrna.⁴¹

1775 marks the beginning of the American Revolution. Revolutionary activities to the north of Florida caused Patrick Tonyn, who had taken over as governor of East Florida the previous year, to consider the possibility of using Minorcans to assist in the defense of the province. There were then some 200 males between the ages of sixteen and forty at New Smyrna. Military service, however, did not appeal either to the Minorcans or to Dr. Turnbull. His settlers were loyal enough to Britain, but he wanted them to fulfill their contracts with him. The doctor asked

38. See enclosure-General Account of Contingent Expenses incurred for the Service of His Majesty's Province of East Florida from the 25th June 1774 to 24th June 1775-in Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, July 19, 1775, PRO:CO 5/555.

39. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, *ibid.*

40. See testimony of Nichola Demalache, Giosefa Marcatto, Rafel Hernandez, and Pompey Possi, May 7, 1777, enclosures in Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

41. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas*, 35.

that his colonists be allowed to remain at the settlement and to be protected in their activities.

Relief from their misery was now in sight for the settlers, particularly for those nearing the end of their periods of contract. No longer concerned with the culture of indigo or sugar cane, freedom was their only desire. The population of East Florida was increasing daily through the flight of loyalists from the north. Prices soared and placed an additional burden on the province. More crops were needed, and many of the bare necessities of life were again taken away from the Minorcans. In addition, Turnbull left the colony for London to bring complaints against the English authorities in East Florida. He was involved in a heated argument with Governor Tonyn over the handling of a case against Turnbull's friend, Chief Justice Willia mDrayton.⁴² The doctor left his nephew in charge of the settlement, but the young lad could not cope with the settlers or with their grievances against the overseers.⁴³ While the brutality of the overseers continued, agricultural production was maintained, and, in 1777, New Smyrna provided the St. Augustine-St. Johns River area with over 5,000 bushels of corn.⁴⁴

Death claimed thirty adults and twenty-one children in 1775,⁴⁵ and forty-five adults and eight children in 1776.⁴⁶ The settlers were still destitute and despite the economic progress of the colony, most of the people were still living in the same huts they had built on their arrival. The time was approaching, however, when some could look forward to termination of their contracts. Many were under the impression that they would be released at the end of a six-year period,⁴⁷ although seven years had passed since they had harvested their first crops.

Meanwhile, the American Revolution continued. English officials knew Spain wanted to regain Florida, and they had come to fear that the Minorcans from New Smyrna might support the

42. Turnbull to Tonyn, New Smyrna, March 7, 1776, PRO:CO 5/556.

43. Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, 142.

44. Turnbull to Germain, St. Augustine, December 8, 1777, Sackville Papers, 1775-57, no. 100. A typed copy of the letter is in the Turnbull Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Fla.

45. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.

46. *Ibid.*

47. See second enclosure, testimony of Anthony Stephonopoli, in letter of Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, POR:CO 5/557.

Spanish cause if given the chance and thus endanger the East Florida province. Governor Tonyn also wondered if the Minorcans in their present state of unrest and distress, might not turn to the Americans for aid. Information reached his office that the Minorcans had requested Americans in Georgia to come to their "relief and deliverance" and had offered their own services to the Georgians. Plantation owners near New Smyrna advised the governor to take the Minorcans into custody in the event of invasion by Spaniards or rebels.⁴⁸

The death rate increased in 1777; by the end of the year, seventy-two adults and twelve children had died.⁴⁹ Suspicion and fear grew, and the overseers wondered if tempting offers made the settlers by English army officers in a recruiting effort might not cause them to revolt. Some settlers also believed that Dr. Turnbull was trying to cheat them out of their land because they were not Protestant.⁵⁰

In March 1777, a group of New Smyrna settlers came to St. Augustine to complain to Governor Tonyn of the cruelty imposed on them, their extreme hunger, and their miserable living conditions. Their period of service had expired and they were demanding justice. After hearing their pleas, the governor persuaded them to return to New Smyrna.⁵¹

Sometime in April 1777, ninety New Smyrna inhabitants returned to St. Augustine to voice pleas again for aid; they particularly wanted the crops that they had planted and harvested at the colony that year. Most of the group hoped to remain in St. Augustine, but the governor agreed that only a few could stay. He promised, however, that the settlers would receive a greater allowance of provisions in the future and would be guaranteed justice under British law. When the colonists returned to New Smyrna, Anthony Stephonopoli, Nichola Demalache, Giosefa Lurance, Juan Partella, Rafel Hernandes, Michael Alamon, Lewis Cappelli, Juan Serra, Rafaiel Simines, Babpina Patchedebourga, Pietro Musquetto, Christopher Flimming, and Lewis Sauche remained in St. Augustine.⁵²

48. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, *ibid.*

49. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.

50. Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, 147, and Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 54.

51. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

52. *Ibid.*, see also enclosures nos. 1-21.

In the meantime, Tonym had sent for Arthur Gordon, attorney general of the province and Turnbull's attorney, and ordered him to settle the entire affair quickly. An aide advised the governor to take the colonists' complaints to the chief magistrate,⁵³ and on May 7, 1777, Tonym directed the settlers' delegation to present testimony before Justice Henry Yonge. Since there were so many deponents, Yonge thought that a complete examination would be both long and troublesome, and so he ordered the Minorcans to write out their complaints for Spencer Man, clerk of the pleas and justice of the peace. When Yonge read the report of the cruelties and murders allegedly committed by Turnbull's overseers, he turned the testimonies over to Tonym.⁵⁴

The governor was already gravely concerned with the conduct of Turnbull's overseers at New Smyrna. He was also aware that Americans in Georgia had made offers to support the settlers. Moreover, the governor and Turnbull were unfriendly towards one another; the doctor was in London at that very moment lodging personal grievances against Tonym. When the courts ordered the settlers released from their contracts, Turnbull's attorneys immediately set the white population of New Smyrna free. Officials prepared for a Minorcan migration to St. Augustine where the governor made small lots of land available to each family. By July 26, 1777, the settlement of New Smyrna had come to an end.⁵⁵ Over 40,000 pounds sterling⁵⁶ and 964 human lives⁵⁷ had been expended on the settlement in its ten years of existence.

A few remnants of Dr. Turnbull's colony still exist. Some of his irrigation canals remain but most of them have been filled in. Parts of the coquina wharf are still visible, and bits of decaying indigo vats are occasionally found. Indigo continues to grow wild in the environs, though indigo itself has become a casualty of the scientific revolution. The descendants of the Minorcans live in St. Augustine today and play an important role in the political, economic, and social life of the community.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Henry Yonge to Tonym St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

55. Tonym to Germain, St. Augustine, July, 25, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

56. Tonym to Germain, St. Augustine, December 29, 1777, PRO:CO 5/558.

57. Tonym to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.