



James Grant 1720-1806<sup>1</sup>

### A Remarkable Man

James Grant, Laird of Ballindalloch, (Scottish landowner with local authority, not a formal noble title), possessed a lifetime of accomplishments, but it was his ironclad allegiance to the crown that defined his every breath and action.

This story highlights many key moments in James Grant's life, particularly his unwavering support for the Minorcan colony in New Smyrna, East Florida, during his tenure as Royal Governor. While there are volumes of stories about this remarkable man, few accounts focus on his relationship with the largest European colony brought to America during the colonial era by Dr. Andrew Turnbull. Without Governor Grant's steadfast support, this author believes the colony could have failed shortly after the Carlo Forni rebellion, leaving the surviving Minorcans isolated in a harsh and untamed part of the world.

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### A Remarkable Soldier

*"James Grant began his military career by purchasing a commission as captain in the Royal Scots on 24 October 1744."*<sup>2</sup> Another writer asserts that his long military career began in September 1741 when he became "an ensign in the 1<sup>st</sup> Highland Battalion."<sup>3</sup> The cost of a captain's commission would probably have been between £1800 and £4800. One of the reasons listed in a commentary for allowing the wealthy to purchase commissions was, "It ensured that the officer class was largely populated by persons having a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, thereby reducing the possibility of Army units taking part in a revolution or coup."

The regiment was shipped to the Continent and Grant fought with them in the Battle of Fontenoy during the War of the Austrian Succession.<sup>4</sup> Grant would have been twenty-five years old when 52,000 French troops were on the battlefield facing about 50,000 British troops, "composed of English, Hanoverian, Dutch and Austrian units under William Augustus, son of King George II of England."<sup>5</sup>

It was not unusual among the aristocracy to buy a commission.<sup>6</sup> The lowest rank of officer for cavalry and infantry was 'cornet' or 'ensign'. The cost of a commission rose sharply with rank, and only the wealthiest could afford the prestige of a captaincy. James Grant had both the means and the ambition. In those days, promotions in the British Army were commodities to be bought and sold, given free only to those who displayed exceptional bravery or unflinching loyalty to the crown.

The Seven Years War (1756-1763) was a global conflict that Winston Churchill called “the first world war.”<sup>7</sup> In the American colonies it was called the French and Indian War, and like all wars, it was about who would own the land and control the people.

Earlier in his military career, in 1758,<sup>8</sup> he led approximately 800 British soldiers on an expedition to assess the strength of French and Indian forces at Fort Duquesne, the location of present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Instead of only scouting the Fort area, he felt it was not well defended and made a decision, on his own, to take the fort. The specifics of this disastrous engagement, and other battles he fought in, will be recounted later, but here, Major Grant faced a crushing defeat, with over 300 men killed, captured, or wounded. *“He and eighteen other officers were captured and taken to Montreal to await exchange. Two months later, as the main British force approached the fort, the French destroyed the redoubt and fled.”*<sup>9</sup>

This setback—Grant’s ill-fated reconnaissance mission—marked a pivotal moment. Colonel George Washington, then commander of the Virginia militia, was part of General John Forbes’s larger force but did not participate in Grant’s mission. Instead, he led one of the units that captured Fort Duquesne, a victory that shifted the momentum of the war. As General Forbes made their way to the fort, *“The British, including Americans, were appalled as many of the dead Highlanders were decapitated, the heads driven down on spikes lining the wall, their kilts tied beneath, flapping in the wind.”*<sup>10</sup> Major Grant was sent to Montreal prison in September 1758 and was released in November of 1759.<sup>11</sup>

After his release he was placed in charge of an expedition against the Cherokee tribe. While Grant was in prison the Cherokee relationship with the British deteriorated.<sup>12</sup>

The Cherokee Nation had made an agreement with the British on September 9, 1730 to provide mutual protection and support in exchange for trade goods and military assistance. Seven Cherokees traveled to England where they met the King and signed the Whitehall Treaty.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, British settlers continually expanded westward into Cherokee lands, leading to disputes over territory and resources. Initial confrontations escalated when Cherokee warriors, returning from campaigns in support of the British, faced hostilities from British settlers. The Cherokee retaliated with raids on settlements, sparking a series of reprisals by colonial militias.

In 1759, the British imprisoned Cherokee leaders at Fort Prince George. The death of these 16 Cherokee hostages at Fort Prince George led to further Cherokee retaliation,<sup>14</sup> including an attack on Fort Loudoun. In 1760, the Cherokee besieged Fort Loudoun, eventually forcing its surrender. The Cherokee allowed most of the garrison to leave but ambushed them shortly after, killing and capturing many soldiers.

British forces launched several campaigns to suppress the Cherokee. *“The third campaign of the war was led by Colonel James Grant who had been Montgomery’s second in command in the Spring of 1761. He traveled through the lower and middle towns for thirty-three days, burning the Cherokee towns and raising havoc before returning to Charles Town. In September of 1761, the Cherokee sued for peace and treaties were signed.”*<sup>15</sup> The Cherokee were forced to concede significant territory to the British and lost much of their autonomy in their dealings with the British colonies.

Even though Grant had fought viciously, including his burning many Cherokee villages and destroying food supplies, he recognized the value of collaborating with Native Americans. His interactions with the Cherokees and his understanding of the importance of giving the promised gifts to them helped him

develop the skills needed to establish and maintain positive relationships with the tribes he would later encounter as governor of East Florida.

In 1762 he was promoted to temporary rank of colonel, Fortieth Regiment and Appointed lieutenant governor, Havana, Cuba.<sup>16</sup> His experience as Lt. governor for Cuba was helpful in his next assignment.

By the time James Grant was appointed Governor of East Florida, he was both battle-worn and battle-hardened. His unwavering dedication to Great Britain earned him high regard from King George III and Queen Charlotte, who presented him with their portraits as a mark of esteem. These portraits still hang in one of the grand rooms of Ballindalloch Castle, a stunning estate in Moray, Scotland, which remains under the ownership of the Grant family who originally built it. Today, the castle is overseen by the current Laird, Guy Macpherson-Grant. The first tower of Ballindalloch Castle was constructed in 1546, with extensive renovations completed in 1850.

In 1775, with the American War of Independence beginning in earnest, James Grant, who had served the king throughout his career, was back in the British army as a colonel,<sup>17</sup> sailing for America, and soon rose to the rank of Major General.<sup>18</sup> He fought in many major battles including the Battle of Brooklyn where General George Washington was almost captured. "British victory. Shortly after fighting began, the British cornered Washington and 9,000 of his men in Brooklyn Heights. He was surrounded on all sides with the East River to his back and no feasible means of winning the battle. Instead of surrendering, Washington evacuated the army and retreated to Manhattan, a decision that saved the Continental Army and the patriot cause."<sup>19</sup>

James Grant and George Washington fought on the same side in the Battle of Fort Duquesne in 1758. Eighteen years later, on August 26 and 27, 1776, Major General James Grant led an attack on General George Washington's forces defeating "American General William Alexander's division."<sup>20</sup> Grant had almost 7,000 men to Alexander's 1600 and one author noted that he, "was unfairly criticized by some for allowing the escape of most of this force."<sup>21</sup>

James Grant fought successfully in more battles until British General Lord Charles Cornwallis surrendered to General George Washington after the Battle of Yorktown on October 19, 1781. The war did not officially end on that date although the victor was decided. "The end came in 1783 after Washington moved back to New York City, with the Peace of Paris signed by a British government installed largely as a result of Washington's victory. Victory at Yorktown, however, brought Washington the increased political clout needed to avert a potential officers' rebellion at Newburgh, conduct the remainder of the war, and after a short retirement to Mount Vernon was the logical choice to oversee the Constitutional Convention and become the first President of the United States."<sup>22</sup>

Grant was sent to the West Indies in October 1778 and won more battles. His military career was long and successful except for losing the American War of Independence.

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#### Grant's Villa Plantation

In addition to serving as governor, he arranged to increase his wealth by creating a plantation located about seven miles north of St. Augustine which turned into one of the most profitable in the area.<sup>23</sup> His overseer for the plantation and its Enslaved people was Alexander Skinner. "The majority of the laborers

were born in Africa and purchased from merchants involved in the Atlantic Slave Trade.”<sup>24</sup> The planting of indigo seed did not begin until 1768 and there were “eventually sixty-nine enslaved black people.”<sup>25</sup>

Nearly all plantations in British-controlled East Florida depended on the forced labor of enslaved Africans, treating them as mere commodities in a brutal system of exploitation. It is noteworthy that Susan Swartz, in her article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*,<sup>26</sup> wrote how Grant knew successful men throughout the British Empire, she writes Grant made his arrangement to buy the enslaved people through South Carolina’s Henry Lauren and Richard Oswald,<sup>27</sup> one of the largest traffickers in African slaves. Based on Lauren’s advice, “Grant requested “strong new negroes,” not Country-born,” whom he deemed “to be full of trouble.”<sup>28</sup>

Richard Oswald was the son of a Presbyterian minister,<sup>29</sup> yet had no qualms about tearing families apart in Africa and bringing the men, women and children to the colonies to be sold like cattle and owned by their master’s for the rest of their lives. The exceptions of purchasing African slaves to cultivate the land—Denys Rolle and Andrew Turnbull—are notable outliers in a landscape otherwise marked by human suffering. To learn the story of Grant’s Villa Plantation, a detailed account is available on the University of North Florida’s website.<sup>30</sup>

After the American War of Independence, all British citizens, including plantation owners in East Florida, were compelled to leave America within 18 months. James Grant’s former manager, Alexander Skinner, had passed away, and he was replaced by David Yeats. Yeats arranged for Grant’s enslaved families to be sold in the Bahamas, ensuring their forced labor continued under British rule. Sales records show that enslaved individuals were valued between £30 and £50 sterling, yielding Grant a considerable profit from the sale of his slaves.

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#### Royal Governor of East Florida

James Grant was appointed to serve as the first Governor of East Florida by King George III, a critical post in Britain’s colonial ambitions—but one fraught with unrest and untamed wilderness. He replaced Major Francis Ogilvie, 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, who held the post of Acting Governor from July 30, 1763 to August 1764.<sup>31</sup> Major Ogilvie watched as the British forces raised the Union Jack over Castillo de San Marcos, the formidable Spanish fort that had been under Spanish rule since 1565.

At forty-three years old, Grant was not only seasoned in military command and colonial operations from his time in Charles Town, but also pragmatic and determined, fully intending to turn East Florida into a prosperous and sustainable asset for the Crown—no matter the difficulties ahead. He served as Royal Governor of East Florida from 1763 to 1773.<sup>32</sup>

While Grant’s appointment was made in 1763, he was determined to have a stockpile of gifts on hand when he arrived in East Florida that could be used to solidify his Indian relationships. Grant understood from his experience with the Cherokees during the French and Indian War, that gift-giving was very important in developing and keeping a good relationship with the Native Americans. Even though there were cultural differences between the tribes, gift giving from Europeans was something that transcended regions and tribes. *“The amount of time Grant spent obtaining stockpiles of goods also serves as an indicator of his regard for gift-giving. The governor spent over a year in London acquiring supplies and drumming up support for his new colony. He took so much time in preparing for his*

*departure that Crown officials grew concerned and ordered him to set sail as soon as possible. The governor finally left for East Florida in May 1764, arriving at St. Augustine on August 29, 1764.<sup>33</sup> He was greeted with “pomp and circumstance” on his arrival and a few weeks later “took his oaths of office.”<sup>34</sup>*

Governor Grant spent his first few years focused on uniting his people, enacting the Treaty of Picolata, and overseeing the arrival of settlers moving from other colonies and the establishment of new plantations—including his own.

It would be four years before the Minorcans arrived, and his official recognition of them as colonists—which was the consensus of the time—should settle any debate about whether they were colonists and theirs was the largest colony brought to America during the colonial period. Governor Grant noted, *“This, my Lord, is the largest, importation of white inhabitants, that ever was brought into America at a time.”<sup>35</sup>* “With these words, Colonel James Grant, governor of the British province of East Florida, announced on July 2, 1768, in a letter written from Saint Augustine to the Count of Shelburne, the arrival of a group of Mediterranean colonists, the majority of whom were natives of the island of Minorca.”<sup>36</sup>

Governor Grant first met Andrew Turnbull when the Turnbull family arrived in St. Augustine in November 1766. Both men were of Scottish heritage, which helped lay the foundation for their friendship. Grant was anxious to attract immigrants to East Florida, and given Turnbull’s influential connections within the British government, supporting him aligned with the interests of Grant’s own powerful friends.

Governor Grant introduced the Turnbull’s to the St. Augustine society and could have helped find a home for Mrs. Turnbull and the children as Andrew was leaving very soon for what he thought would be a six month trip to the Mediterranean countries to gather his Greek colonists. This short trip turned out to be over eighteen months before the last ship sailed from Gibraltar in convoy and arrived in East Florida.

Governor Grant played a key role in protecting and maintaining the New Smyrna colony, but he grew increasingly concerned about its costs when he learned there would be 1,403<sup>37</sup> colonists arriving, far more than the ‘500 Greeks’ Turnbull had planned for. Grant knew immediately that there would not be enough provisions or houses to accommodate such a large number of colonists.

Preparations for their arrival began early in 1767. Turnbull “purchased and engaged for forty Negroes, and that two overseers are to be the care of these Negroes.”<sup>38</sup> They built dwellings for the managers and storage facilities and also constructed several hundred palmetto huts along a seven-mile stretch of land bordering the Hillsborough River. Governor Grant made sure all the provisions ordered were delivered and that the cattle Turnbull had purchased in Georgia were being driven to the colony.

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One of Governor Grant’s most important accomplishments was the Treaty of Picolata. John Bartram describes his and his son William’s attendance at the First Indian Congress held with Governor Grant and other British officials in November 1765. He describes Fort Picolata in great details and how he dined with Governor Grant on the governor’s schooner. It had been brought from St. Augustine down the St. Johns River with gifts for the Creek and Seminole Indians.<sup>39</sup> After several days of negotiations a treaty was signed that offered the British more than was expected. “The Indians ceded over two million acres of land in northeast Florida to the British, stretching thirty-five miles from the coast westward past the St. Johns, and including all the tidewater land on the rest of the peninsula, extending up to ten miles inland from the coast.”<sup>40</sup>

Despite the land agreements Governor Grant agreed to in the Treaty of Picolata, British settlers from other colonies began moving into territories that the Creek and Seminole tribes considered their own. The settlers often ignored the agreed-upon boundaries, leading to frequent land disputes. Trade imbalances created resentment among the Creek nation, who felt they were not receiving fair value for their deerskins and other goods.

The weakening of British power in the American colonies contributed to a decline in the enforcement of treaties like Picolata, as resources and attention were diverted elsewhere. As hard as Governor Grant tried to keep peace, he felt most of the trouble was caused by arrogant settlers who felt the land belonged to those who could take it and defend it. This kind of settler from the colonies to the north was even more pronounced when Spain returned to East Florida in 1783. They were described by Nicolas Grenier as “men without God or King,”<sup>41</sup>

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The following letters, each one dated and easily found, are from the James Grant Papers found on the Minorcan website. [www.minorcans.com](http://www.minorcans.com).<sup>42</sup> The letters provide a brief glimpse into the people and events occurring in East Florida, but offer a wealth of information illustrating how Governor Grant saved the Minorcan colony.

In the first letter Governor Grant ever received from Andrew Turnbull dated [London], Circa July 1766, he informs Grant that he will be in St. Augustine in November, 1766 for the purpose of, “settling a Greek colony in that Province.” New Smyrna was defined as a colony from the first correspondence.

In Lord Adam Gordon’s letter to James Grant, from Dunkeld, August 1, 1766, he informs the governor that he too has received a 20,000 acre grant and planned to visit East Florida in September 1767. He also paid a strong compliment to Dr. Turnbull writing that, Turnbull, who “with his Grecian wife and family will be one of the most valuable acquisitions you yet have made. I recommend them most particularly to your notice and protection. He is honest and sensible and quite Florida mad...” A month later, Lord Gordon follows through with another letter Turnbull carries to St. Augustine that describes Turnbull as a man with “merit and good intentions. He brings out his lady, a Greek, along with him, all his family, the surest proof of his intention to settle with you.”

While Lord Gordon and others refer to Mrs. Turnbull as Greek, there was no Greek nation at this time, but the Greek culture from past millennia was spread throughout Asia Minor and the Levant. Other historical documents refer to Mrs. Turnbull as French Levantine. Her father was a French merchant not a Greek merchant.<sup>43</sup>

Governor Grant’s letter to the Earl of Shelburne, from St. Augustine, January 20, 1767, announces that Andrew Turnbull has been appointed to the Royal Council and will soon leave for Turkey to gather his Greek colonists. Grant also insures Lord Shelburne that after the colonists have completed their contract they will be entitled to same amount of land as given to “his Majesty’s native born subjects.” Grant affirms that a Greek church, along with adjacent lots, will be available for people who choose to settle in St. Augustine, and that “all possible attention shall be shown to Greek priests, who shall have glebes<sup>44</sup> assigned to them upon their arrival in this province.”

Andrew Turnbull letter to James Grant, from London, April 7, 1767 was one of his longest ones and in it he confides that a 20,000 acre tract of land was for a great statesman who did not want his name used. It

was a former Prime Minister whose name was revealed later. He tells of his plans to bring a thousand Greeks into East Florida each year. He speaks of the politics of the moment and asks that Mrs. Turnbull is given money as it is needed.

Governor Grant's very long letter to Andrew Turnbull, from St. Augustine, April 26, 1767, outlines the many efforts and difficulties involved in developing East Florida through agriculture, settlement, and infrastructure projects. The letter highlights ongoing challenges, including issues with indentured servants, slave labor, and collaboration with Indigenous allies.

Grant expresses hopes for an influx of Greek settlers, emphasizing that they would be warmly welcomed. Overseer John Erle is tasked with producing two thousand pounds of cotton and managing plantations in the Mosquito Inlet region, with the help of enslaved labor, despite supply shortages and the poor condition of some enslaved individuals.

Grant's relationships with Indigenous groups prove essential. He enlisted local Native Americans, led by Grey Eyes, to blaze a trail to nearby plantations, a task completed successfully despite skepticism from his own engineers. This partnership exemplifies the governor's pragmatic approach, which includes negotiating rewards only after work is completed. The completion of the very much need road sat well with Governor Grant when he wrote, "I send you a sketch of the Road from this place to your plantation and Mr. Oswalds which has been blazed by Grey Eyes, an Indian friend of mine, with a number of his attendants, accompanied from here by Davis and Black Sandy, who served for an interpreter. My bargain with the Indians was no purchase, no pay; do the work first and then the reward. He knew the country well, agreed to my terms and did the business, though your friend the Engineer thought it impossible. Your Guide Cracker Johnstone was of the same opinion, and you may recollect that one day at dinner."

The letter also reveals complex social dynamics within the colony. Many settlers and officials, including indentured servants, face harsh conditions, poor treatment, and strained relations. Prominent figures, such as Dr. DeBrahm, play key roles in community building, with marriages and alliances reflecting social aspirations.

One statement shows the sign on the times when it came to slaves. Grant wrote, "Mr. Penman's Negroes and provisions will be carried round at the same time, and Bisset begins with a farm of five hundred acres near town. He has ordered twelve Negroes from Savannah, but there is an embargo upon corn in that province which is an inconvenience." There was an embargo of getting corn in Savannah, but not an embargo on 'ordering' slaves. East Florida, like its neighbors Georgia and South Carolina, could not have developed and prospered without slaves. There are not many things worse than being a slave.

Despite ongoing logistical and financial issues, Grant remains optimistic, seeing promise in East Florida's sugar cane, corn, and vineyard crops. His detailed account underscores the difficulties of colonial administration and the ambition to transform East Florida into a productive British outpost. Grant talks about having good people in Tomoka, an area he refers to as Turnbull's neighborhood when he wrote, "John Moultrie intends coming here in June *en famille*. I have ordered a thousand acres for you near Oswald. Moncrief, John Moultrie, his brother William, and the children of the late chief justice Moultrie are all to have plantations in your neighborhood. I mean Tomoka."

He tells Turnbull the story that nine horses were stolen by Indians from St. Augustine and he sent, "a party of woodsmen to pursue them under the command of [James] Moncrief with orders to not return

without the horses.” Grant meant what he said as the group had to travel one-hundred miles before they found the horses. Moncrief told the Indian leader, “I would hang a white man if he stole one of their horses and that if they attempted such a thing again they should not escape so well.” The Indians said they were sorry but it was the rum that made them take the horses and they “very willingly” gave the horses back.

Grant wrote a lot about the cost of the Negroes telling Turnbull, “Your five Negro lads cost £38 Sterling each.” He also told him that he, “shall draw the bills upon Duncan for your cattle and the ten additional Negroes.” The purchase of slaves was to get Turnbull’s land ready for planting and to build storage buildings and palmetto huts.

Turnbull was still in London when he wrote Grant on April 1767. He was working with Lord Shelburne and others to obtain a bounty of forty shilling premium for the first 500 Greeks plus £100 pounds sterling for a Greek priest. He apologized for not getting Governor Grant’s 20,000 acres through the system and blamed the delay on “lazy clerks.”

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to Governor Grant, from London, May 1, 1767 told him that the process of gathering the 500 Greeks would begin on May 2, 1767 when he left for Dover and then across the English Channel to France. He mentions that Lord Shelburne desires to appoint him Secretary of the Royal Council in East Florida. In a letter a week later he tells that he leaves Paris for Lyons on May 8 and says he heard that Dr. Stork wishes to be Secretary of the Royal Council and with his close relationship with the Prince of Wales it might be possible. He hopes “this suspicion is not well founded.” As it turned out Turnbull was appointed Secretary on the Royal Council.

John Graham’s letter to James Grant, from Savannah, June 13, 1767, tells how enslaved people were handled. Graham says five African (slave) ships will soon be arriving and he must be there. He talks about how ‘unlucky’ Turnbull was with some of this slaves and talks about him losing “six of ten Africans that he picked last July from a ‘choice cargo.’”

This two-paragraph letter to Grant tells quite a bit about the people who were settling East Florida. This letter provides a disturbing, yet valuable, insight into the everyday operations of the slave trade in the southern colonies. It underscores the callousness with which enslaved people were treated and the economic motivations that drove the inhumane system. The focus on losses and replacements, rather than the well-being or lives of the individuals involved, reveals the deep-seated dehumanization inherent in the institution of slavery.

In essence, Graham’s letter is a stark reminder of the human cost of the transatlantic slave trade, where the loss of life was a frequent and largely accepted consequence, as long as it did not excessively disrupt the profits of those involved.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to Grant, from Port Mahon, July 9, 1767 verifies that he was able to get “one hundred and ten working people” in Leghorn and hoped to be home [St. Augustine] by January 1768. He told Grant how much pork he wanted and how to salt the fish and dry the roe in the sun. He is taking advantage of Governor Grant’s promise to help him with his Greek colony.

Governor Grant’s letter to Sir William Duncan, from St. Augustine, November 7, 1767, told him he was able to “locate six tracks to land, four to five thousand acres each, for Dr. Andrew Turnbull’s children and friends, but that they would be south of the two tracts already granted at Mosquito Inlet.” The property



he was searching for that would belong to former prime minister George Grenville would be taken care of when Turnbull returned. Grant also announced that “the Earl of Shelburne had agreed to spend forty shillings of government money for each of the first 500 Greek adult settlers imported.” This bounty was helpful at the time but was a small percentage of the total cost of £40,000 pounds sterling spent on the colony.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant, April 24, 1768, was written when he and the ships were in sight of the Madeira island. Turnbull had written many letters to Sir William Duncan during his search for colonists but this was the first letter to Governor Grant in over five months. A great deal of work took place in New Smyrna in preparation for the arrival of the eight ships bringing the 1403 Minorcans, Italians and Greeks to the plantation.

Turnbull requests Governor Grant to take care of the families with small children on the *Betsey*. The *Betsey* carried 120 passengers, the smallest number of the eight vessels. He notes that one ship is lagging behind but he has over 1400 passengers, primarily families from Minorca (British subjects), described as “sober and industrious people.”

The cost of bringing the Minorcans to America on the *Betsey* was £140 pounds sterling. Turnbull notes the Minorcans would stay on the land for 13 or 14 years in order to cover their settlement costs. It is doubtful any of the Minorcans anticipated being indentured servants for that length of time. Turnbull laments he has not received any letters from his family for over a year and was concerned.

The Earl of Hillsborough’s letter to Governor Grant from Whitehall, May 12, 1768 was very informative. “I had a letter lately from Dr. Turnbull from Gibraltar, by which I find he has upwards of 1000 colonists, Greeks and others. This will be a noble addition to your infant settlement. I shall be glad to hear of their safe arrival.”

The names of the vessels and number of passengers Turnbull was bringing to New Smyrna were: *Charming Betsey* 232 *Henry and Carolina* 142 *Elisabeth* 190 *Friendship* 198 *New Fortune* 226 *Hope* 150 *American Soldier* 145 *Betsey* 120 for a total of 1403 immigrant colonists. The Minorcans were always considered colonists, not settlers, within the highest element of the British government.

In the letter from Governor Grant to Captain Adam Bachop, from St. Augustine, June 22, 1768, he instructed him, “to go to Mosquito Inlet to unload provisions for the Turnbull colony, and to help disembark the settlers shipped on board the *Broughton Island* packet and a small schooner under command of James Warner.”

Governor Grant was taking care of the logistics associated with getting the colonists off the vessels and making sure there were provisions for them. It is likely Governor Grant worked through Turnbull’s managers. Because of the provisions contained in the Treaty of Picolata, there was little threat of Indian raids as all the activity was occurring on land that had been ceded to the Crown. Besides, the Native American tribes were dependent on the British trade which had been developed over decades and worked to maintain that relationship.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to Sir William Duncan from St. Augustine, June 28, 1768 gives a most informative bit of history. Turnbull wrote, “I arrived in St. Augustine the 26th, where I found three of the smallest of our ships with passengers, and a fourth brought me here and three more parted from me the 23rd of this month about thirty leagues from this port, but the winds continuing against them and they

are not yet in sight. The People by the two first ships are at work, these by the Wind are on their passage to the plantation and the 4th ships passengers are to march with me by land as soon as I can get them ashore.”

These two sentences confirm that Turnbull arrived in St. Augustine on June 26th, a date most historians accept, although there are newspaper articles from the time suggesting that Turnbull might have been on one of the boats blown off course to Savannah. He also affirms that three other ships were in St. Augustine when he arrived, and that on June 23rd, three other ships were blown away from him.

He writes that two ships were already in New Smyrna and the people were at work. He tells Sir Duncan that, “the 4th ships passengers are to march with me by land as soon as I can get them ashore.” There is not a report on the 70-mile march of these colonists, but Dr. Turnbull probably rode in a carriage or on horseback. If a boatload of the colonists did walk to New Smyrna, it would have been very difficult as they would still be reeling from the long, difficult voyage across the Atlantic Ocean.

Turnbull disliked the loss of time but felt that, even though it was late June, there was still enough time to grow provisions for the coming year. Sadly, he mentioned the death of many people on one of the boats, though he did not name the vessel. He wrote, “The people on board six of the ships were very healthy, but that had not been the case onboard the 7th ship, on which twenty-three died for want of proper care, the person appointed to be the trust being ill.” Blowers used to sweeten the water on the other ships helped keep the passengers healthy. Reports indicate that a total of 178 colonists died during the voyage. However, this is the only mention of a specific number—twenty-three deaths on one vessel—and the probable cause of those deaths.

John Graham’s letter to James Grant from Savannah, July 2, 1768, affirms the newspaper articles that two of Turnbull’s vessels blown off course did land in Savannah on June 22, 1768<sup>45</sup> but no mention of Dr. Turnbull being on board. Graham decided to put corn and other things on these vessels so they could be taken to the plantation. After returning from a visit to St. Augustine, Graham wrote Grant: “I found two of Dr. Turnbull’s vessels had put in here ten days ago and that they had been supplied by my brother with provisions and other necessaries.”

Over a month later, John Graham wrote to Governor Grant on July 5, 1768, that not only were two of Turnbull’s vessels still in Savannah, but they also could not find a captain to finish the voyage to New Smyrna. He wrote, “I have the honor to inform you that Dr. Turnbull’s two vessels are still here, nor do I know when they will go. This extra expense will be at least 100 guineas.”

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant from Orange Grove [James Penman’s plantation, now present-day Daytona], dated August 22, 1768, gave a report on the outcome of the rebellion and noted that Carlo Forni was captured. He followed up with another letter to Governor Grant the next day, stating that he was sending Forni to St. Augustine to keep him away from the others, and that the fourteen to fifteen Greeks and Italians who had made their escape had no provisions and would be caught.

Many authors agree that no Minorcan participated in the rebellion, which makes sense; the Greeks and Italians had been fighters for generations, while the Minorcans were mostly farmers and tradesmen. The last sentence in the news article says, “These mutineers were mostly Greeks, with a few Italians, but not one Minorcan was concerned with them.”<sup>46</sup>

Three days later (August 25, 1768), he tells Governor Grant that Forni “has been the sole cause of all this disturbance by flattering some of the most unruly of the Greeks and Italians with hopes of great things at the Havannah.” His description of the death of the Greek priest on the day of the rebellion is very significant, verifying that Turnbull brought a Greek priest as well as two Catholic priests from Minorca.

Turnbull writes: “Two of the mutineers were killed—one in retaking the store and another in pilfering from the Mahonese. Several are wounded, but none mortally. The Greek priest was forced onto a boat with some other Greeks, with whom the boat sunk, and the priest was drowned. Some of the Corsican clan of Greeks were persuaded into the plot by their understanding of Italian and were active in the mischief of destroying and plundering, but they had not arrived in this place when this was first thought of.”

This letter indicates that the Minorcans may have killed one of the rebels who tried to enter their hut and steal their goods or violate a woman. Turnbull also confirms that Dr. Stork, evidently a sickly man, also died, “possibly from fright” during the rebellion. He writes: “Poor Stork died yesterday morning, about three hours before I got here. He seemed to be better when we left him, but they tell me that he fell into convulsions when the mutiny began and lost his senses two days afterward.”

In Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant from New Smyrna, dated August 29, 1768, he indicates that his top overseer, Mr. Cutter, was doing better and should be back to work soon. However, Cutter died from his wounds soon afterward. Turnbull said that only twelve of the mutineers were being locked up and guarded on Captain Regal’s schooner, while the “others were punished yesterday morning at the whipping post.”

The agony of returning to work, their backs still raw and bleeding from the whip’s cruel lashes, must have been nothing short of unbearable. During this era, although the number of lashes given to the Italians and Greeks in this instance is not known, 39 lashes was common and that number was based on the Old and New Testaments of the Bible.<sup>47</sup> Although Turnbull’s statement was somewhat subdued, the impact of his words shows clearly that he expected no more rebellions. He writes: “They are all now at work, and I dare say will behave well for the future.”

Governor James Grant’s letter to Sir William Duncan St. Augustine, August 30, 1768, was very informative as to the state of affairs in New Smyrna. Grant opined that, “The Mutiny or Riot which was raised in the settlement by the Italians and Greeks will probably make a noise and get into the newspapers with many additions to what really happened.” Grant blames the Italians and Greeks for the rebellion then worries about fake news in Britain that adds to the rebellion things that did not happen. Grant was worried that the bad publicity would reduce the number of immigrants.

He proposes to build a fort at the colony and was, “vastly happy that I succeeded in bringing him out of distress, in this last unlucky affair, which must have hurt the settlement if the mutineers had succeeded.” He tells Sir Duncan that he was sick when he got the news of the rebellion, but he got up out of bed immediately and has not been sick since.

Following is Grant’s paragraph on Turnbull’s manager, John Cutter. “In the Scuffle at New Smyrna Mr. Cutter, the Doctor’s principal manager, was confined as a prisoner and wounded in three places in the Head, the right hand and the groin, the poor man has lost three of his fingers but is in a fair way of Recovery, he is very clever, very intelligent, and at the same time active, sober and faithful, his Death

would have been an irreparable loss to your affairs, for he speaks all languages, and from the account I have of him from Mr. Turnbull, and from the Carolina planters who were for some days on the spot and admired Cutters management. I do not believe another man could be found to conduct such a number of people collected together from so many different countries and nations.”

The tone of the Governor Grant’s text is admiring and somewhat anxious, underscoring John Cutter's value and unique abilities. Grant highlights Cutter’s critical role and personal qualities, noting his intelligence, activity, sobriety, and loyalty. This is high praise for the only overseer the Italian and Greek rebels sought to kill. It could lead to the conclusion he was admired by the managers, but hated by the colonists. John Cutter soon died from his wounds.

Governor Grant mentions the unforeseen costs facing Turnbull, which is an issue that will be raised from this time on. One important statement Grant makes concerning the ‘Bounty for 500 Greeks’ is that he acknowledges that the bounty is only for Greeks, who he writes were a small percentage of the colonists. His exact words are: “Inhabitants as such an aid should be apply’d for as you are precluded from any Bounty except for Greeks and they are so few in number that it is not worth taking.” Historians have mixed views on the number of Greeks that came from the Peloponnese, but in this instance, the governor of East Florida writes they were ‘so few in number’.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, October 11, 1768 is only two sentences that read, “I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that the Black Captain Cesar of the *Batchelor* schooner brought in here last Thursday seventeen of the runaways with Sir Charles’s [Burdett] boat. I have taken out nine of them and send the other eight to town to take their tryal, as these eight were rather more culpable than those in Town except Carlo Forni.” The reference to Black Captain Cesar is not the legendary African pirate who captured and sunk dozens of vessels off the coast of Florida and elsewhere as he was tried and sentenced to death by hanging in Williamsburg in 1718.<sup>48</sup>

On October 30, 1768, Grant reported in his letter to Lord Hillsborough that those who had escaped from New Smyrna during the rebellion had been captured before they could reach Havana. He added that it would be decided which two or three individuals would suffer as examples to the rest of the colonists in New Smyrna.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, dated November 15, 1768, informs the governor of his intention to build a six-to eight-foot road in front of the farms and huts of the Minorcans so that it would be more convenient for the overseers to visit the people. He mentions confining the "two chief chatterers," and as a result, talk of discontent is not even a whisper.

This account seems too early for Father Casanovas to be one of the discontented “chatterers”, as it was a few years later before Turnbull banned Father Casanovas from the colony. Turnbull also notes that "gangrene in the mouth" was the main health issue among the people. He mentions that Mr. Cutter "presents his respects to your Excellency," which does not align with some historians' accounts, who believed Cutter died not long after sustaining his severe wounds.

In a newspaper article on October 19, 1768, giving a description of the insurrection and Governor Grant putting it down quickly, stated, “that they [rebels] wounded several of the English people who were at the settlement, particularly Mr. Cutter, who has the management in Dr. Turnbull’s absence, whom they

left for dead, having cut off his right ear, three of the fingers on his right hand, and stabbed him in the groin.”<sup>49</sup>

Governor James Grant’s letter to William Knox, from St. Augustine, November 24, 1768, (Knox was Colonial agent for Georgia and East Florida at the time but lost this position when he wrote in favor of the Stamp Act)<sup>50</sup> Grant wrote that “the Greek colonists have been quiet of late, but they have been sickly, suffering from “a virulent scurvy contracted during their long voyage is their only remaining disorder. The settlement has lost by death since landing 300 people, chiefly the old and young children.”

What a difficult time it must have been with so many deaths and burials, which begs the question, Where were they buried? Not one grave has ever been found of the 964 Minorcans who died and were buried in New Smyrna from 1768-1777.

Grant tells Knox that Turnbull has already spent £20,000 sterling, which is more than twice the £9,000 originally allocated for the entire enterprise. The lack of adequate financial support and the constant anxiety of worrying about money must have weighed heavily on Turnbull’s mind. This is the second time Grant mentions the heavy expenses already incurred. It seems Turnbull spent £20,000 sterling in the first year alone. In the remaining eight years that the colony existed, another £20,000 sterling was spent, indicating that there was more income than expenses once the indigo and other products were harvested and brought to market.

James Grant’s letter to the Earl of Hillsborough from St. Augustine, December 1, 1768, was a recap of how sick the Minorcans were and repeats the dread disease of the mouth. This had to be unbearable for all those suffering from scurvy.

He again raises his concern about the extensive costs so far writing, “Twenty thousand pounds sterling at least, my Lord, have already been laid out for the embarkation of provisions and clothing of these people, so large a sum is not to be recovered but by perseverance, and a farther expense.” He realizes that it will take a significant amount of money to put the colony on a solid foundation. Grant is worried about Turnbull’s financial backers, again noting that twice as much has already been spent as £9,000 pounds sterling was the total amount agreed upon for the entire endeavor.

One of the most crucial aspects of what was happening was Grant’s acknowledgement of what would happen if the bills were no longer paid. He wrote, “I have no reason to suspect that Mr. Turnbull’s bills will meet with dishonour, I cannot help considering the dreadful situation which the Doctor and his Greeks would be reduced to if such a misfortune was to happen. A single bill being returned, My Lord, would put a total stop to his credit, and the people in that case must unavoidably perish for want, if I do not support them.” If one bill was not paid, all credit would stop. The debtor would be asked to pay his bills. If he could not, under the law, he could be placed in prison until the bills were paid. This was a harsh penalty, but absolutely necessary to protect the economic operation of all colonies.

Debtors' prisons were common in the American colonies. If a debtor was unable to repay the debt and had no property to seize, they could be jailed until the debt was paid or until they reached an agreement with the creditor. Life in debtors' prison was harsh, and often, families of the imprisoned debtor had to pay for basic provisions. Overall, the system was harsh and punitive, with little protection for the debtor. Financial troubles could easily spiral into lifelong hardship or imprisonment. There is no evidence that

there was a Debtor's Prison in St. Augustine, but Fort Marion could have been a place of detention unless the debtor was granted house arrest.

James Grant's letter to Andrew Turnbull, written from St. Augustine on December 10, 1768, instructs Turnbull on proper procedures for securing supplies from merchants in Charles Town and making arrangements with ship captains. He scolds Turnbull for trusting unreliable individuals in business dealings. The governor highlights a specific incident where bills of exchange drawn by a man named Charles Bernard were returned unpaid ("protested"), indicating that Bernard had no authority to draw funds from a Mr. Lillingston. This reflects the governor's belief that Turnbull's financial decisions were naive, as he had warned him that Bernard was untrustworthy.

The governor explains that Joe Gray, who was involved in the same dubious venture, has taken control of the enslaved individuals that Bernard had rented to Turnbull. He warns that Turnbull's advance payment of £25 to Bernard was a mistake, as it is unlikely to be recovered. Additionally, the sale of an enslaved woman to Turnbull is flagged as illegitimate since Stanhope O'Shannon had no right to transfer her ownership to Bernard, nor did Bernard have the right to sell her. The governor notes that even if Turnbull came to town to try to reclaim his money, it would be futile, as Bernard could not repay him. He says, "Mrs. Turnbull, Mrs. Dames, Moultrie, Box, and Catherwood dine with me tomorrow. I shall have conversation with the Greek [Mrs. Turnbull] about Bernard, she will not approve of the loss of the £25 and will say the Doctor make very bad bargain."

The Earl of Hillsborough's letter to James Grant from Whitehall, December 10, 1768, informs Grant the King is aware of what is happening in New Smyrna. Two sentences show the King's pleasure with Governor Grant. "It has given His Majesty great concern to find that the settlement carrying on under the direction of Doctor Turnbull, which His Majesty considers as an undertaking of great public utility and advantage, has met with obstruction and the proprietor sustained so considerable a loss from the mutineers behavior of a part of those colonists which had been collected at so large an expense and that they should have made so ungrateful a return for the kindness and tenderness with which they appear to have been treated. The assistance you afforded Dr. Turnbull was very reasonable and your conduct upon this occasion has met with His Majesty's approbation."

The king only knows what he has been told and believes the colonists were treated with 'kindness and tenderness.' One man's definition of tenderness might not be the same as another man's definition. Others hopefully will write about this statement from the king relayed by the Earl of Hillsborough, who was a very important person concerning the Minorcans.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, December 26, 1768 tells the governor the cattle he expected has not arrived. He notes that the Indian hunters sometimes mistake a steer for a deer and bring it home for food. He tells Grant that most of his people are well, but does not mention that 300 men and 150 women and children have died during the first six months since the Minorcans disembarked in New Smyrna. However, the governor knew of the deaths as can be seen in his letter to Mr. Knox, a letter written before this one from Turnbull. Not one of these Minorcan graves that lie somewhere in the soil of New Smyrna Beach has ever been found. The graves hidden from time must be found to complete the story of the New Smyrna colony.

James Grant's letter to the Earl of Hillsborough from St. Augustine, January 14, 1769, informs him that Carlo Forni and Guiseppi Massadoli, "have been condemned and suffered as examples to others." Both

men were hanged, with the lever sending them to their deaths pulled by Elia Medici, who was also found guilty at trial. Forni was convicted of piracy and Massadoli for maiming John Cutter. Medici was convicted for killing a cow, which required hanging of the offender.<sup>51</sup> However, under British law, a condemned man could be granted freedom if he agreed to execute his fellow convicts. A brief mention of the hanging appeared in a South Carolina newspaper. "We learn that two of Dr. Turnbull's People, who were Ringleaders in the late Diffurbances at the Murfkeetoos, having been convicted at the Court of Affize, & lately holden at St. Auguftine, were fentenced to be hanged, and executed accordingly."<sup>52</sup> Many other newspapers gave an extended report on the incident.<sup>53</sup> Bernard Romans, who was at the trial, wrote extensively on the Carlo Forni rebellion.<sup>54</sup>

The rebellion seems somewhat of a mystery. Carlo Forni was probably one of the 110 Italians who signed on with Dr. Turnbull in Leghorn and arrived in Minorca on the first ship of colonists. Turnbull was leaving Leghorn for Mahon with Italians onboard in May of 1767.<sup>55</sup> If Forni was on this vessel, it means he would have been in Minorca for almost a year and would have had ample time to make friends with those who would join him in the rebellion. If Forni arrived in New Smyrna June 26, 1768, he would have only had 23 days to plan the rebellion. What could have happened that caused the rebellion? Was the land and overseers so harsh that all he and his followers wanted to do was to escape?

This episode had to have weighed heavily on Governor Grant but he felt that he handled the situation quickly and effectively and was comfortable that no more rebellions would be attempted. He wrote, "Several others were tryed and acquit (sic) for want of proper evidence, which in fact was not material as two examples were quite sufficient." In his closing sentence he offered a note of hope but also once again spoke on the tremendous cost of the colony. He wrote, "If they can only raise provisions for themselves next year, my Lord, everything will be well. Produce must follow, and if Mr. Turnbull can once begin to send Rice, Indigo, Cotton, Silk, Wine or Sugar to market he and his friends may be reimbursed the expence they have been at, which runs very high indeed." Sending products to the mother country is what distinguishes a colony from a settlement, as a settlement primarily focuses on achieving self-sufficiency.

James Grant's letter to the Earl of Hillsborough from St. Augustine, March 4, 1769, tells Hillsborough that he received a letter from Turnbull telling him the people were "healthy, have cleared seven miles in front of the river and work chearfully." Grant also believes Turnbull does not have enough provisions on hand and in fact told Grant he only had enough Indian corn for a month. Grant did not mind that Turnbull was a bit uneasy and did not tell him or anyone that he was arranging for a load of corn from Charles Town.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, May 30, 1769, speaks to the complaints (from whom not mentioned) about the New Smyrna settlers being foreigners and "Catholicks," is interesting. This is the only time that "Catholicks" is mentioned in any of the James Grant Papers this author has been able to find and read. Catholics were not well tolerated by the British after the Reformation and even though that was centuries ago, hatred for Catholics existed then and still exists in the United States. There were 139 anti-Catholic attacks in the United States from May 2020 to May 2022.<sup>56</sup>

Turnbull tells the governor he could make them Turks if that would make them better planters, but, "I do not intend nor to turn apostle nor act a Luther to reform them, Tho' I will answer that this will be very soon a Protestant settlement if a Clergyman is sent among them. A hundred pounds was set aside by the Board of Trade for a Greek Priest for our settlement, I brought a Priest with me but he was drowned by

accident. That amount, yearly, would be a sufficient salary for a clergyman for Smirnea.” That money for a clergyman was never mentioned again in any of the letters read and studied.

Turnbull believes he can convert the Minorcan Catholics, despite the presence of two priests among them. He claims that the Greek priest he brought with him accidentally drowned. Ultimately, he insists on selecting the clergyman himself, arguing that, “An awful person might do much mischief.” Turnbull would have had an impossible task to convert these devout Catholics, who viewed Father Camps as their shepherd and themselves as his flock, in accordance with scripture and tradition.

James Grant’s letter to William Knox from St. Augustine, June 26, 1769, written on the one-year anniversary of the birth of the colony, is revealing. He accuses the provincial surveyor, W.G. DeBrahm, of malfeasance and refers to his son-in-law, Frederick George Mulcaster as a “genteel young man.” He tells Knox that Turnbull’s financiers are tired of the large bills they receive and says, “But in fact ‘tis no wonder if his copartners are sick of the business as they have already expended £28,000.”

This is in the first year and the expenses are already three times the £9,000 pounds sterling budgeted for the total expenses of getting the plantation to export goods. Grant thinks Turnbull does not buy his provisions at the proper time but only when needed and must pay the asking price of the nearby vendors. He notes that had Turnbull not gotten the bounty, “God only knows what would have become of the Mahonese. We could not have fed them and they must have fed upon us.”

Two days later, Grant informs Turnbull that he will provide £2,000 sterling for provisions, contingent on proper vouchers. He also reveals that Sir William Duncan is fed up with the bills, and his partner refuses to pay any further until a new agreement is reached among the partners. This news must have been a huge shock for Turnbull.

James Grant’s letter to the Earl of Hillsborough from St. Augustine, July 21, 1769, assures him that all bills paid using the £2,000 shall be proper. “The money shall be lain out in the manner which is thought best adapted to the circumstances and necessities of the colonists, and when I draw for the amount or any part of the fund upon the Treasury, the accounts and proper vouchers shall be laid before your Lordship.”

The governor expressed alarm again that Turnbull’s partners in London were tired of paying out so much money. Grant mentions that the £2,000 bounty is not sufficient enough, “to maintain and clothe these colonists till they can raise provisions and other produce for their own support.” This is a prelude to what actually happened as there are witnesses who later report that the colonists barely had enough clothes to cover their body. Grant was extremely worried about whether or not the colony could survive and this was in the first year of its existence.

The letter closes listing the three Greeks that were reprieved until His Majesty’s pleasure is known. They are, “George Stephanopoli—found guilty of felony for forcibly taking and carrying away a boat belonging to Sir Charles Burdett, Baronet. Clatha Corona—found guilty of felony, for breaking open the warehouse of Doctor Turnbull and stealing from thence linnen, blankets, flour, etc. Elia Medici—found guilty of felony, for killing a cow, the property of Doctor Turnbull.”

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, August 31, 1769 announced he had planted twenty-five acres of indigo for seed that was coming up. It seems Mrs. Turnbull might have made a trip to New Smyrna but not sure if she and the family moved into their mansion at this time. He remarked about how other plantations were doing as far as growing necessities.



James Grant's letter to Andrew Turnbull from St. Augustine, September 1, 1769 indicates that Mrs. Turnbull, and therefore all the children and help, had arrived at "Mosquitoes." Governor Grant writes that the clergyman destined for St. Marks, Mr. Fraser, had arrived and that his wife had a baby on board the vessel that brought them from Great Britain. Evidently Mr. Fraser was going to be sent to New Smyrna as soon as he could leave St. Augustine and needed a house to live in that would provide for Mrs. Fraser's protection.

Parson Fraser is not mentioned in a very good light during his stay and at one point Governor Grant says the Parson has complaints about his treatment when he had too much grog. In a letter dated August 26, 1772, Frederick George Mulcaster tells Governor Grant, "Poor Parson Fraser, died lately upon St. Marys [River] in his way to Georgia. He had been drunk for several days before so that with the bad rum and the heat he kicked." Whatever religious work was done by Parson Fraser is not mentioned in any of the letters for Grant. In a September 9, 1769 letter from Turnbull to Grant, he says he will build a house ready for the parson as soon as he can and noted his own house had not been completed, even though it seems his family was already living there.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, October 7, 1769, tried to correct what a Mr. Humphrey about the colonists being starved. Turnbull writes extensively about the portions of food the people had been given. He mentions that the Minorcans were not too fond of meat but that single men were given larger portions. He talks about a Mr. Bowman having an argument with worthless fellow who was large. Turnbull mentioned that his financial reports were behind primarily because John Cutter was in charge of that department and he had been killed in the rebellion. Turnbull mentions that the reason the documents his partners were looking for had been delayed because of the slow passage from the colony to London.

Turnbull felt mistreated by his associates and that they seemed to distrust him. Some of the mistrust may have been caused by some unnamed woman suggesting he intended to cheat his partners. He admits his "mistake by bringing so many people into the province" claiming, rightfully so, that it "was more accidental than deliberate." He believes his partners are prepared to take severe action in England if the documents and proposals do not arrive soon. Turnbull speculates the documents will not arrive until late August or early September. That seems like a long time considering this letter was written in October.

This letter reflects a deepening conflict between Turnbull and his partners, rooted in delayed communications, misunderstandings, and growing distrust. Turnbull seems frustrated and defensive, feeling wrongfully accused of bad intentions while he is actively trying to rectify past mistakes. The situation appears to be escalating, with potential legal threats looming if the documents do not arrive soon.

Governor Grant responded to Turnbull from St. Augustine, October 12, 1769. Grant acknowledged the receipt of Turnbull's letter and also wrote, "I am glad to hear that Mrs. Turnbull is well pleased with her house and the prospect of a good garden." He tells Turnbull, "My dear Doctor, please don't be upset by what Mr. Nixon has written to you. Your friends in England have lent you a substantial amount of money—almost twelve thousand pounds each. It's only natural that they would be concerned about such a large investment, especially since the funds were spent quickly at Mahon without their input. However, rather than doubting you, they've shown more trust in you than most people would when it comes to financial matters. You shouldn't fall out with them—you're already deeply involved in this. I

assure you, I have only your best interests in mind. I have no ties to them; my only concern, as it always has been, is for you."

Grant tells Turnbull the success of the colony depends on him. He writes, "We are all mortal my Dear Doctor, and if an accident happened to you there would be an end of the business, nobody would undertake or could conduct it." He closes this letter by telling Turnbull that the colonists are valuable as a group but there is nobody who could take them off your hands. Grant assures Turnbull he would speak on his behalf to the Secretary of State.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, October 27, 1769 speaks mostly about his need for saws and that the new people who are assigned as sawyers would only do half of what an experienced sawyers could do for the first three or four months. He tell Grant he has planted fifty acres of Indigo.

The Earl of Hillsborough's letter to James Grant from Whitehall, November 4, 1769, is King George III's pardon of George Stephanopoli, Clothia Corona, and Elia Medici. Hillsborough states that Grant had the authority to pardon them, but because he did not see fit to do so, His Majesty has granted the pardon.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, November 13, 1769, recounts an incident involving getting a vessel over the bar. He also mentions receiving a letter from Sir William Duncan, who now has a more favorable outlook on the New Smyrna plantation than he previously had based on Mr. Nixon's accounts.

James Grant's letter to Andrew Turnbull from St. Augustine, November 15, 1769, tells him a Pilot Boat was on its way to New Smyrna with provisions for six months and carried a detachment of soldiers to replace those already stationed there.

Grant longed for some turtle meat and told him to contact a Mr. Carey. He told Turnbull he was glad he had heard from Sir Duncan and that he had asked for another allowance from Lord Hillsborough. He told Turnbull not to worry about the problem of finances with his partners but understand, "People will be anxious about property."

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from Smyrnéa, November 18, 1769. Turnbull lays out his thoughts on what is happening with the plantation and financial issues with his partners, especially regarding his decision to bring indigo makers from New Orleans, which he concedes was superfluous. He feels criticized for planting too many vines, noting that less than five acres were planted. He is concerned about misinformation given to Sir William Duncan by Mr. Stork.

He also addresses the allocation of the £2,000 bounty, noting there was a misunderstanding about how the funds were to be used. It seems the bounty was intended solely to provide provisions, not for other expenses like nails or clothing, and he hints at broader financial oversight from his partners. He refers to criticisms he has received, especially from Denys Rolle, whom he describes as malevolent, and says those who criticize should put their complaints in writing so he can respond to what he considers gossip.

Despite all of this, Turnbull expresses his true desire to reimburse his investors rather than seek personal advancement. He shows his fatigue with the ongoing financial problems, stating that he intends to "retire and not venture out into the world again." Turnbull seems weary of having to defend his actions repeatedly. The letter is apologetic to Governor Grant for involving him in these disputes.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant, Smyrnéa, November 20, 1769. He informs the governor that two boats arrived with "saws and liquor bottles," and that he had caught five turtles, which he seems to be sending to the governor, as turtle was one of the main dishes at the time. Catching turtles from a virgin stock must have been quite easy, and turtles are mentioned often in these letters. He thanks the governor for the oranges and seeds, and says Mrs. Turnbull's garden is doing quite well thanks to him. Turnbull tells of the extreme sickness at the colony, including all the soldiers stationed there. However, he writes, during that time of sickness, "I had not one in a hundred of my people sick, and have only lost one man for a month past; he died of consumption of a long standing."

Parson Fraser evidently has not arrived in New Smyrna, and there seems to be hesitancy on Turnbull's part about how to welcome him. Governor Grant must have advised him not to lodge the parson in his own house but instead to put him in a separate residence — advice that Turnbull said he will follow. Turnbull notes that Parson Fraser has been "plaguing me with letters," even assuming that he will be under Turnbull's direction. He asks the governor to inform Fraser that Turnbull is not his superior, and he closes this paragraph emphatically by writing, "If you don't put him right as to that, I shall acquaint him that I am only one of his parishioners, and not the person from whom he is to receive instructions or orders."

Although there is nothing specific indicating that Parson Fraser had a drinking problem, it was mentioned once that he tends to gossip after he has been drinking. Additionally, Mulcaster reports that Parson Fraser was drunk for several days before his sudden death while visiting Georgia.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant, [Smyrnéa], November 24, 1769, notes that the governor's boat was still in New Smyrna. Turnbull stressed the importance of reducing the amount of corn in the colonists' diet and increasing the amount of peas, as there had been a shortage of peas for the past four months. He emphasized the need to procure more peas. The lack of peas and the heavy reliance on Indian meal had caused diarrhea, with Turnbull writing, "Now the quantity of Indian meal being one half more, it gripes and purges them."

One can only imagine how difficult it would have been for the colonists to carry on with their daily lives while dealing with such symptoms. He asked the governor to add more rice to the provisions, as this is what Turnbull used to treat the sick. Rice was a common remedy for diarrhea even before the BRAT (Bananas, Rice, Applesauce, and Toast) diet was introduced. He also informed the governor that he was trying to obtain 80 pounds of indigo seed.

In a follow-up letter to Governor Grant on November 30, 1769, he tells him the bad weather has made it impossible for the pilot boat to leave. He mentions that he hoped to produce Barilla on some of the land. (The barilla plant grows in salt marshes and after being burned in a kiln, the ash from the plant is rich in sodium carbonate which can make soap.)

Governor James Grant's letter to Andrew Turnbull from St. Augustine, December 14, 1769, although not harsh was a strong statement on what was happening. He tells Turnbull in the first sentence that he cannot give Sir William Duncan an account of what is going on at the colony as he is not there. He strongly says that Turnbull resides on the colony and knows what every individual is capable of doing and what can be expected of them in the future. He writes, "Of course information from you to Sir William Duncan must be better found and will be more satisfactory than anything which I could pretend to say

upon the subject.” It appears Turnbull wants the governor to tell Sir Duncan what a good job he is doing and it is not even certain that Governor Grant ever made the 70-mile trip to the colony.

The governor’s first long sentence in his letter sheds light on the financial situation when he writes: “Sir William is probably alarmed and uneasy at the large sums of money which have already been expended by you in forming the Smyrna settlements. You should not be surprised at that, for, tho’ your friends place great confidence in you, ‘tis natural for men to be anxious about property laid out in a remote uncultivated world. But the money is gone, and ‘tis too late for them to choose or expect. You give up the whole of your time to the business and will, no doubt, use your utmost endeavors to make proportional returns for the money which has been advanced, and your constituents must live in hopes and wait in patience for the event.”

Once again, the severe financial strain on Turnbull is evident — a burden that began long before the Minorcans arrived in New Smyrna in June 1768. Both Turnbull and Governor Grant understood the high stakes involved. If the submitted bills went unpaid, the entire colony would collapse overnight. While the immediate threat was Turnbull's potential imprisonment for debt, the greater concern was the fate of the hundreds of Minorcan colonists. Stranded in a remote wilderness thousands of miles from home, they faced a dire situation: without food, clothing, or any realistic chance of returning to Minorca, their survival was in grave jeopardy. The end of the colony would mean abandoning these immigrants to extreme hardship and possible starvation.

Grant was fully aware of the unexpected influx of Minorcans that crowded onto the vessels before they left Mahon and then Gibraltar. He complimented Turnbull on the progress being made, writing, “Major Moultrie, Bisset, Penman and the other Mosquito planters all agree that your people of late have done wonders.” However, he admonished Turnbull to tell Sir William Duncan the unvarnished truth about the situation in New Smyrna. Grant also reiterated the colonists’ lack of intrinsic value, stating, “You can neither transfer them or carry them to market; nobody would either employ or buy them.”

If any of the Minorcans were ever sold, they would have become slaves under existing conditions. Yet Grant pointed out that, as things stood, Turnbull could keep them for as long as he pleased. He closed the paragraph with a harsh statement about the Minorcans, writing, “And they have got so much into your debt, that I consider their servitude according to their term of agreement to be unlimited.” In other words, there was likely no way the colonists would ever be able to repay the £40,000 they collectively owed for their transportation and provisions.

Grant further noted that had the £2,000 bounty been provided, the colonists would have still starved. He closed his letter by informing Turnbull that he had made a second application to Lord Hillsborough for another £2,000 bounty to be granted. However, this request was ultimately denied.

James Grant’s letter to Andrew Turnbull from St. Augustine, December 16, 1769, informed Turnbull that he could submit his letter of the 14th to Sir William Duncan if he thought it proper. He reiterated that the Minorcans had no intrinsic value and noted that Denys Rolle and other detractors did nothing but, “distress and make you uneasy, perhaps hurt your health and of consequence obstruct the business.”

Grant told Turnbull that he was sending eighty barrels of flour, some liquor, shoes, and Mrs. Turnbull’s clothes. He apologized for not being able to send the hogsheads of vinegar, writing, “I was obliged to

help all the other Mosquito crackers.” This is the first recorded instance of settlers in the Mosquito area being referred to as “crackers.”

Grant also mentioned a British man who had lost £70,000 and could not pay it back, so Colonel Clark had covered the amount before leaving America.

Grant further informed Turnbull that he was sending a significant supply of corn and advised him to have his men keep a lookout for the boat to assist her, as a previous boat had been damaged. Since then, the cost of freight had risen significantly.

In this letter, Grant’s support for Turnbull is clear. He was helping Turnbull secure much-needed food and supplies in a major way. Without Governor Grant’s assistance, the New Smyrna colony would not have survived.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant, from Smyrnéa, December 23, 1769, explains that the *East Florida* anchored off the bar, and the launches were bringing in some of the cargo. Because the weather was so bad, it took most of the day for the ship to be able to cross the bar and reach the wharf. For the return trip, Turnbull had several masons gather stones to use as ballast for the journey back to St. Augustine.

Turnbull was well pleased after receiving his supplies. He wrote, “Everything came well and safe. My twenty-five barrels of flour is a comfortable circumstance. I am much obliged to you, Sir, for it, and for the many other things for me by the *East Florida*.”

Turnbull clearly recognized how much Governor Grant had helped him and expressed his deepest gratitude. He wrote another letter asking Governor Grant to pay a Captain Barber “forty pounds Sterling for two voyages of his schooner, the *Industry*.” He closed this letter with, “I wish with all my heart that I could avoid giving your Excellency much trouble in this affair.” This statement by Turnbull expresses a desire to avoid being a burden or creating trouble for Governor Grant. The use of “Your Excellency” and the formal phrasing reflect great respect for the governor by communicating politely and humbly. Turnbull knew that without the assistance of Governor Grant the colony would have failed in the beginning.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to Governor James Grant, dated Smyrnéa, February 15, 1770, thanks him for instructing John Gordon to deliver provisions promptly, though he expresses regret that peas were not available. He mentions losing some equipment in a recent shipment and notes that the insurers refused to compensate for the partial loss. As a result, Turnbull decided to purchase indigo-operating equipment locally rather than wait for a shipment from England. The letter highlights Turnbull's ongoing management of agricultural operations, supply challenges, assistance to others in need, and concerns about meeting production goals. He strikes a balance between optimism and caution, particularly regarding indigo planting and other uncertainties in his work.

In another letter, dated March 5, 1770, from Smyrnéa, Turnbull writes to James Grant to complain about DeBrahm, whom he describes as a peculiar and unpopular individual. Turnbull’s words are direct: “DeBrahm’s refusing of his *Betsey* is of a piece with everything he does, and I think consistent with his character, which is mean, proud, dirty, and disobliging.” Turnbull acknowledges that if he had said these words to DeBrahm in person, it might have provoked a duel—though duels seem rare in the letters retrieved from the Dundee Archives.

Turnbull also reports the high cost of bringing provisions by land and the usual limitations of supplies, which left him with only three weeks' worth of food. He explains that a ship from Savannah carrying provisions sprang a leak and had to abort its trip. The food shortage, he adds, was also affecting the soldiers stationed at the colony as their supply was also low.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant, from Smyrnéa, March 12, 1770, apologizes for troubling the Governor by enclosing bills for provisions and equipment (such as pork, indigo seed, cart wheels, and pumps), explaining his caution in ensuring their safe delivery to Mr. Gordon. He mentions having received and signed deeds from England, sending them to town to be shipped on Mr. Oswald's vessel if it has not already departed. The accompanying letters from his partners were friendly and complimentary.

He updates the Governor on agricultural progress, noting that his corn planting is complete and indigo planting is underway, with Penman, Bisset, and Mack also engaged in the same work. He expects to have materials for six sets of vats delivered this week and plans to build no more than 10–12 vats this year.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, March 19, 1770 requests the use of the pilot boat to transport £260 worth of supplies from St. Augustine, which include indigo, sickles, checks, and other essentials, as he is wary of using Warner's unreliable vessel. If the pilot boat cannot be spared, he has instructed Payne to secure a larger vessel for transport.

On a lighter note, Turnbull shares that Mrs. Turnbull is still enthusiastic about gardening, mentioning her pride in a turnip she grew that measured nineteen inches around, though Bisset playfully remarked on seeing a larger one elsewhere.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, March 19, 1770, shows he is disappointed that Payne failed to send him goods from London. To prevent future delays, Turnbull plans to issue a standing order requiring Payne to send all goods immediately after receiving them. He noted that if Payne encounters difficulties or confusion, Payne should seek guidance from the governor. Overall, the letter reflects Turnbull's concerns about supply chain management and his proactive efforts to streamline future operations. It also hints at his frustrations with inefficiencies and misunderstandings among his associates.

Turnbull explains that he has seed in two hundred acres with corn in every fourth row, reducing the indigo planting to one hundred and fifty acres. He writes a crude statement about an overseer's new wife, saying, "But Ross has been making more leeway by a marriage between his overseer and the coarsest piece of woman I ever saw." He also mentions that Bishop Bisset performed the ceremony. He also told Grant that he would not be able to reach the amount of Indigo the governor had calculated.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, dated April 19, 1770, provides the governor with a report on the progress of other planters. In the letter, Turnbull expresses his distress, stating, "I am almost in distress for my checks and oznaburggs [sic]. Most of my people are without a shirt to their backs."

Working in the fields during April without shirts would have been extremely harsh. This marks one of the first instances where Turnbull openly acknowledges the dire conditions at the colony. He mentions halting the construction of tables and chairs until all the indigo vats are operational. Turnbull also notes that he does not have enough chairs for his family, prompting him to send for some from St. Augustine.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, May 31, 1770, Turnbull reports frustrations with Body Plat over disagreements about freight charges for Mr. Fraser's family and furniture, as Plat denied making a prior agreement and sought additional payment. Turnbull refused to pay more than the agreed eight guineas and notes Plat's intent to bill Dr. Cunningham for soldier provisions. He also critiques the poor quality of Plat's hog lard, describing it as yellow, unprocessed, and unfit for use, which discouraged both Turnbull and Penman from accepting it. Despite these issues, Turnbull mentions that they parted amicably, with pilotage fees waived, though he expresses relief at no longer having to deal with Plat's tedious and distrustful business conduct.

Andrew Turnbull expresses deep concern over the failing indigo crop due to a severe drought. He notes that despite brief rainfall during Captain Dundass's visit, the ground remains dry, with planted indigo struggling to survive. His first planting has almost entirely failed, and while the second initially sprouted, it is now disappearing, with one more week of drought likely to destroy the remaining crops. Other planters, including Bisset, Mack, and Ross, are experiencing similar hardships, with minimal yields and deteriorating fields. Turnbull describes the desperate conditions, including salt deposits in Ross's field, invasive weeds troubling Mack, and his own fields reduced to dry, white sand. Despite these challenges, he plans to let his earliest weeds go to seed and attempt a third planting if necessary. Penman's lowland fields are holding up better, but the excessive heat is even affecting corn crops, which wilt by midday. Rain is urgently needed to salvage the situation.

Andrew Turnbull acknowledges receiving English newspapers via Penman and expresses gratitude to Governor James Grant for them. He is pleased to hear that Major Mackenzie and four companies of the 31st Regiment have returned. Although he has not received letters from England, he is eager to hear news about the potential bounty, offering to cover the cost of an express if it is granted. While he is confident about having enough provisions for the year, the bounty would ensure plenty. Turnbull notes that his current crop will only provide basic sustenance and anticipates poor yields, with no more than a third of a crop from his 400 acres. He is preparing an additional 100 acres, which he will plant with indigo if the bounty is granted or with guinea corn and peas if not. He also mentions accepting an offer of indigo seed from Mr. Drayton, which he plans to use as needed. He still has hopes for another £2,000 pound bounty.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, June 15, 1770, In this letter, Andrew Turnbull provides an update on various logistical, agricultural, and interpersonal matters. He mentions that Platt departed on the first of the month, taking advantage of improved water levels at the bar. Platt suggested arranging a cargo of provisions, offering to bring Indian corn, flour, pork, and rum at competitive prices. Turnbull agreed to contact Platt if a sufficient order arises and notes the convenience of having direct shipments to the colony. Despite previous disputes over freight charges and low-quality lard, Turnbull and Platt parted amicably, with Turnbull waiving pilotage fees and giving him red bay cuttings.

Platt expressed interest in returning with carpenters and cutting ship lumber, but he remained argumentative about unresolved payment issues, including freight charges for soldiers' provisions and an alleged twenty-shillings debt. In this letter, Andrew Turnbull provides an update on various logistical, agricultural, and interpersonal matters. He notes that Platt departed on the first of the month, taking advantage of improved water levels at the bar. Before leaving, Platt suggested arranging a cargo of

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Despite previous disputes over freight charges and low-quality lard, Turnbull and Platt parted amicably. Turnbull waived pilotage fees and gave Platt red bay cuttings as a goodwill gesture. However, Platt caused some friction by demanding the return of the provisions he had delivered to the soldiers, intending to resell them. Turnbull quipped that Platt would have to fight the soldiers to retrieve the supplies, causing Platt to drop the issue.

Turnbull mentions awaiting a letter from John Gordon regarding another shipment of provisions, which he requested to arrive promptly. He appreciates Penman for sending newspapers and expresses the colony's gratitude to the recipient.

On agricultural matters, Turnbull describes recent rain, which brought temporary relief to the indigo crops but notes that much had already been damaged by drought. While some indigo has been produced, many plants remain vulnerable, needing further rain to establish roots. Other planters, including Bisset, Ross, and Mackdougall, are pleased with the weather, though another drought would have forced replanting. He ends on a positive note, observing that the corn crop looks promising.

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Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnea, June 23, 1770, updates the governor on several matters, notably emphasizing the issue of an Indian horse thief. He mentions improved prospects for indigo following recent rains and his plans to attend other planters' indigo vats if his own responsibilities allow.

However, a pressing issue has arisen with a known thief, a lame Indian named Alakalataki, who recently stole three of Turnbull's best cart horses. Despite sending two hunters after him, they were unable to catch him. Alakalataki is described as a notorious horse thief, previously stealing two of Turnbull's horses (later recovered) and one from Penman months earlier. Turnbull expresses frustration and seeks advice on handling this "thieving fellow," known among the Indians as one of their greatest villains. He considers sending Alakalataki to the governor if caught, underlining the severity of the issue.

Turnbull also notes the progress of other planters: Ross has started cutting last year's indigo, while Bisset and Penman are preparing to begin in about ten days. Mack and Turnbull expect to start in two weeks. The mention of Alakalataki's theft dominates this letter, reflecting the challenges of managing resources and maintaining security in the colony.

Lord Adam Gordon's letter to James Grant, dated August 6, 1770, informs him that he will be focusing on developing his lands in Scotland and cannot currently afford to clear and plant his East Florida property.



Gordon mentions that Mrs. Kinloch, after her husband's death, retired the enslaved people from their property and made £500 sterling in two years. He expresses hope for Grant's success, though he doubts it will happen, as would others unfamiliar with Grant or who do not hold him in as high regard as Gordon does. He also notes that Lady Mary Duncan is preoccupied with the significant financial investment and "talks of nothing else all day long."

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant, dated August 8, 1770, includes a list of clothing, tools, and other supplies he requires, leaving it to the governor's discretion to modify or cancel any items as necessary. Turnbull discusses his efforts to achieve the best indigo color and his plan to plant 400 acres of indigo for the following year. He notes that last year's indigo was cut twice and anticipates one more cutting, contrasting this with the current year's thin crop. He concludes by providing updates on his neighbors, mentioning that he had to bring Mackdougall to his house due to his serious illness.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant, dated August 17, 1770, describes the poor health of the colonists due to their inadequate diet. He notes that the food is causing "disorders of the bowels and swellings," resulting in the deaths of two men, though he hopes there will be no further losses. As a doctor, Turnbull likely provided as much aid as he could with the limited medicine available. However, he acknowledges that the lack of sufficient and proper food often led to illness. He appeals to the governor for help, stating, "I am at a loss for a proper diet for my sick, which is the reason of my troubling you, Sir, with this, to beg that part of last year's bounty, if not too late, may be changed from corn into flour and rice."

Turnbull assumes funds from the previous year's bounty might still be available but acknowledges this may not be the case. He also suggests that other planters would be eager to purchase any provisions a ship could provide, as they face similar challenges. Reflecting on the past season, Turnbull laments that better health among his people would have led to much larger crop yields. He details the indigo he is planting and mentions being able to cut last year's weeds five times, indicating a productive effort despite the challenges. In closing, Turnbull apologizes for troubling the governor with his request for provisions.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant, dated August 31, 1770, was almost bubbling with happiness as a great quantity of corn arrived as well as, "fifty two bushels of peas." Only half of the salt arrived but the remainder would come by the next vessel.

John Gordon's letter to Governor James Grant from Charlestown, dated September 1, 1770, reflects his intense frustration and distress over his inability to secure adequate provisions for Dr. Turnbull's colony, which has been a major source of concern over the past three months. He laments the series of setbacks that have thwarted his efforts. Initially, he placed his hopes in Georgia, but an act passed by the Georgia Assembly dashed those plans. He then sought alternatives throughout the province but encountered no success until the crops were beyond the risk of failure.

A promising solution seemed to arise with a purchase of 3,500 bushels of provisions in Georgetown, backed by commitments from two reputable men. However, these plans were sabotaged when a Spanish buyer from Campeche offered a slightly higher price, leaving Captain Tucker able to return with only 800 bushels instead of the full amount. Gordon's exasperation reached its peak and chooses to abandon the topic to avoid losing his temper.

Gordon makes it clear that, without the extensive array of services provided by Governor Grant to Turnbull, the colony would have certainly failed. Governor Grant saved the Turnbull colony is the theme throughout the Dundee Archive letters. Governor Grant has not received the recognition he deserves for saving the largest European colony brought to America during the colonial era.

James Grant's letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated September 1, 1770, devotes significant attention to describing the Minorcan colony as a Greek settlement at Smyrnéa. Notably, in the 325 pages of published James Grant papers, the word "Minorcans" appears only once, and not until May 14, 1774, when it is mentioned by Frederick George Mulcaster. Additionally, the term "Catholic" is not mentioned at all, despite the fact that most of the colonists were Catholics. Turnbull, however, makes a derogatory reference to "Catholics" in a letter dated May 30, 1769, claiming he could make them into anything he wanted.

Grant acknowledges that, "Last year's bounty has been laid out entirely for their subsistence, and has actually saved them from starving, for without that well timed help from Government, there must have been an end of that numerous promising settlement."

This has been acknowledged numerous times: without the bounty and the presence of Governor Grant, the colony would have failed before the first vessel left Port Mahon.

Another of Grant's statements praised Turnbull and at the same time reiterated the great expenses. "Doctor Turnbull is diligent and assiduous, he resides constantly with his Greek colonists, and does as much as a man do to repair the first fault of exceeding the number of people to be imported and of course the funds which his constituents had agreed to advance. In place of six thousand which was the stipulated sum, they have actually my Lord, paid £24,000 pounds sterling, and are determined to go no farther."

It seems that all officials involved with the colony were aware of how much more money the financial backers had paid than originally agreed upon. The £24,000 pounds sterling expended by September 1, 1770, would rise to over £40,000 pounds sterling by the time the Minorcans were freed in 1777.

John Gordon's letter to James Grant from Charlestown, dated October 5, 1770, reiterates that he asked for a sample of North River Indigo, which is where Grant had his plantation. He told the governor that it was still cold enough in Charlestown, "to sit by a fire in the middle of the day."

Mr. Drayton's creditors, possibly motivated by political or personal resentment, took legal action against his estate last Saturday, initiating attachments of significant value. While I acted promptly to secure the situation—not out of doubt in the security of his assets, but to protect Mr. Bull, who may lack counter-security—Mrs. Drayton inadvertently worsened matters by alarming other creditors after learning of Mr. Charles Pinckney Senior's decision to pursue action. Although the creditors initially agreed not to escalate, Miss St. Julien, holding £1,500 pounds sterling of her fortune with Mr. Drayton, refused to relent, prompting the others to follow suit. If creditors push for a court order to sell assets, it will be essential for a representative with full authority to act on behalf of both principal and interest to be present.

(It appears that the estate Gordon is speaking about is that of Thomas Drayton, who died around 1769. William Drayton was appointed as interim Chief Justice of East Florida in 1765 by Governor Grant.)

Gordon also writes about the arrangements he made for more provisions and informs Grant that the vessel should sail to the colony the following week.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant, dated October 22, 1770, from Smyrnéa, addresses financial concerns, again. He reports hearing that a man who had lived with the Indians was forced to leave the tribe, as the Indians had declared war and "had already killed two traders." Turnbull, dismissing the rumor, wrote that he laughed at the news, stating that the governor would have contacted him to be on the lookout and prepared if such a threat were real.

Turnbull makes an important statement concerning the Minorcans. He wrote: "If there are any such apprehensions, I flatter myself your Excellency will send a reinforcement to this port. And if arms can be borrowed from the troops or King's stores, I should be glad of them, that I may militia a hundred of our youngest men as a kind of guard for the rest."

Could Turnbull have created a militia? This statement speaks well of his trust in 100 young Minorcans to possess weapons and defend the other colonists.

Turnbull also stressed his dire need for provisions, noting that he only had one barrel of flour left. He warned that when it was used up, his ailing people would be in poor shape. He described the difficulty in recovering the horses, observing that even the horses brought to the colony were so fatigued that they were of no use. These letters show how difficult it would have been for the Minorcans to work at their best. There was a constant concern about food and even clothing, not to mention the hardship of living in a palmetto hut that was subject to being damaged by heavy rain and strong winds.

He closed his letter by informing Governor Grant that Mr. Oswald had been trying to persuade Sir William Duncan "to abandon indigo and plant sugar."

Richard Oswald's letter to James Grant from Auchincruie, (Scotland) November 7, 1770 is one of the few letters Oswald wrote to the governor. Oswald was one of the largest slave traders in the British Empire and a negotiator "at the 1783 Paris peace conference with the American colonies."<sup>57</sup> The letter portrays Sir William Duncan as a well-meaning and optimistic investor in East Florida, despite the difficulties that have marred the project's reputation. It reveals Oswald's hope that Andrew Turnbull will ultimately succeed in improving the project's outcomes, thus redeeming the reputations of all involved in what is seen as a bold and distinctive colonial enterprise. He hopes that Turnbull would give good reports on the colony to make Sir Duncan feel more assured of the success.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, dated November 10, 1770, is carried by Pastor Fraser, who is unaware that much of the letter concerns him. Turnbull points out that Fraser had not expressed any displeasure directly to him regarding the provisions provided, but writes, "He has not said anything to me, but when he gets his grog aboard, he has murmured a little." What a diplomatic way to say that he runs his mouth when he is drinking.

Turnbull informs the governor that they are producing three or four vats of indigo a day, though the weather is preventing it from being as good as it was six months ago. He closes by letting the governor know that Bisset is sick again, likely due to working in the swamp and staying wet most of the time.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, December 3, 1770, tells the schooner *Active*, captained by John Hawkins, arrived after a twenty-day journey from Charlestown and is being

unloaded today. Originally sent to Winyaw for corn, the vessel returned with coarse Carolina flour, priced at 47 shillings per hundred, as no corn was available. The shipment also included 27 barrels of rice and West India rum, supplemented with six hogsheads of northward rum, fulfilling an earlier order. Turnbull is satisfied with the provisions, which will suffice for at least a year, and expresses gratitude for future supplies.

Separately, John Gordon forwarded a letter from Mr. Arthur Gordon, who seeks support for an attorney general position. However, Turnbull declines to advocate for this without explicit permission, doubting his influence in the matter. Additionally, there are rumors of a Spanish war, but lacking letters from England, the credibility of this news remains uncertain.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from St. Augustine, Tuesday at four o'clock in the afternoon [otherwise undated, probably December 1770], was a very telling letter concerning Turnbull not being selected as Lt. Governor instead of Mr. Moultrie. Turnbull learns from a friend that the governor thought he was hurt by Mr. Moultrie's recommendation.

Turnbull writes, *"I beg, Sir, to assure you that I was hurt only by you having wrote that it was incompatible with the interest of the Smyrna settlement."*

This indicates that his disappointment stems not merely from being passed over but from what he perceives as a misjudgment about the impact on the settlement he is deeply invested in. It seems Turnbull's relationship with Governor Grant was never the same after he was passed over for Lt. Governor. This incident is mentioned many other times in the Dundee Archive letters.

By attributing his hurt feelings to concern for the settlement, he frames his reaction as selfless and aligned with the community's welfare, rather than personal ambition or vanity. Turnbull believes Governor Grant had, at one time, said or indicated he would be a good Lt. Governor. Turnbull does not confront Grant directly but makes it clear he was better qualified than Mr. Moultrie.

Turnbull wants to mend any perceived rift or misunderstanding but, at the same time, hopes to express his perspective in person to the governor. Turnbull rightly values the friendship, for were it not for all the help Governor Grant gave him, the New Smyrna colony would have failed in the first year, and all the Minorcans would have been left in the wilderness with no known way to return to Minorca or even survive.

The Earl of Hillsborough's letter to James Grant from Whitehall, December 11, 1770, shows his pleasure that Governor Grant had *"good hopes that the improvement of the important colony under your government."* At the same time, the Earl of Hillsborough explains in no uncertain terms that the £2,000 bounty His Majesty so graciously provided, based on the governor's letter, was *"by no means intended to encourage any expectation of a further bounty."* There would be no further public funds spent on the colony. However, the Earl of Hillsborough stated that he would transmit Grant's letter to the Lords of the Treasury and would be glad if they approved another bounty, though he did not expect them to do so. They did not approve another bounty.

Lord Hillsborough's letter to James Grant from Whitehall, February 11, 1771, informs Governor Grant about Mr. Moultrie telling him that King George III, *"has been graciously pleased in consequence thereof to confer that office upon that Gentleman, and his Warrant will be made out with all possible Dispatch and delivered to such Person as Mr. Moultrie shall authorize to call for it."* Lt. Governor Moultrie would

be in charge of East Florida when Governor Grant's leave of absence began on May 9, 1771 and he resigned on April 22, 1773. Moultrie would continue as Lt. Governor when Patrick Tonyn became governor in 1774 and would serve until Florida was receded to Spain in 1783.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor James Grant from Smyrnéa, May 10, 1771, appears to have been written during the time Governor Grant was preparing to leave East Florida and return to Scotland, as he was now Laird of Ballindalloch and heir to its wealth following the death of his nephew William Grant.<sup>58</sup> From Turnbull's letter, it seems Grant had previously given a talk to the Indians, who were so pleased with his words that they promised to send warriors to drive off anyone who might molest Turnbull or the colony. Turnbull told the Indians that the Governor was going to see the "great King" but assured them that he would return soon.

Turnbull also informed Grant that John Stewart had told the Indians that Turnbull would be the new governor, a claim they accepted quite well. Turnbull then remarks that, had the lieutenant governorship been given to him, the relationship with the Indians would have been much better. Evidently, Turnbull had learned that Grant had promised Moultrie the lieutenant governorship long before it came to pass. Turnbull acknowledged this in a proper manner, saying, *"Your recommending a gentleman you had given your word to, does you honour, and must be approved of."* Turnbull concludes by apologizing for the letter and expressing hope for the governor's restored health.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from Smyrnea on Hillsborough River, May 27, 1771, is as long as an epistle. This letter begins with an alarming situation. Turnbull describes how the Indians seized some of his people and that the threats were so serious that his family and other women boarded a boat at midnight and might have crossed the river. The Minorcan colonists, along with their children, hid themselves among the mangrove islands. It seems the Indians did not want the men to escape, but Turnbull does not mention that anyone was harmed. This incident was not believed by everyone and whether it happened as Turnbull described will never be known.

After the ordeal, Turnbull worked hard to calm the fears of the women and help them dispel visions of being scalped or roasted over a fire, which was what the Indians did. However, the women remained deeply concerned. During their leisure time, they cut logs to make canoes in case the Indians returned for another attack. They might have planned to escape to the island across from the colony's wharf. Turnbull notes this was the first major incident of warriors attacking the colony. He further notes that nothing like this happened when Governor Grant was in charge because gifts were always given to the Indians at the appropriate time. Turnbull later learned that the Indians may have mistaken the New Smyrna colony for a Spanish and Yamasee settlement farther south on the big Cape. Again, Turnbull takes a swipe at Lt. Governor Moultrie for not preventing the raid.

Turnbull explains that he made several attempts to meet with the Indians, but they were reluctant. He also speculates that, if John Stewart had told the Indians Turnbull had not been appointed governor, they would not have agreed to meet with him at all. Turnbull never got over the fact that Grant did not recommend him for Lieutenant Governor to King George III.

Eventually, after the meeting was finally held, the Indians went away happy. However, Turnbull insists again that had he been appointed Lieutenant Governor, none of this would have happened. He also states that, when Grant was governor, he could expect immediate help for the colony, but under Moultrie, his requests take much longer to be fulfilled. He complains that Grant's preference for Major

Moultrie over him has diminished his influence and hurt his ability to lead. Turnbull laments, *“It has already smote a drawback on my endeavors to get on that it will go right to break my spirit of colonizing and threatens to break the back of this settlement.”*

Turnbull is clearly unhappy he did not receive the appointment of Lieutenant Governor and makes no attempt to hide his frustration from the governor. He reiterates once again that if he had been appointed, instead of Moultrie, everything would have been better.

Finally, Turnbull reflects on how his presence at the colony reassures the people. He notes that his willingness to keep his family there, rather than staying in St. Augustine to conduct business, demonstrated his commitment and showed the people that they had no reason to be afraid.

Governor Grant left America in April 1771.<sup>59</sup> He would not come back to the colonies until called to serve the King during the American War of Independence. This was a turning point throughout East Florida, not only because Governor Grant returned to Scotland, but because of the unrest that was beginning to manifest itself in the thirteen colonies to the north.

Andrew Turnbull’s letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, June 7, 1771 was his resignation as Secretary of East Florida with the understanding that if Mr. David Yeats was not appointed to take his place, his resignation letter would be withdrawn. Governor Grant would hold the position of Royal Governor of East Florida until 1763, when Patrick Tonyn was selected as the Royal Governor. Lt. Governor Moultrie would retain this post and would stay in contact with Governor Grant for the rest of the time he was in America.

Lt. Governor John Moultrie’s letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, June 10, 1771, told him he was glad to learn Grant’s voyage to Charlestown was good and that he hoped, “it has also attended you over the great water and that by this time all intestine tumults in your body corporate are entirely quelled at least and that you are well and happy, if not ten years younger.” He mentioned that his letter from the Earl of Hillsborough’s granting him the appointment of Lt. Governor arrived a few days after Grant left America.

Moultrie writes that a group of citizens—Stone, Bachop, Wilson, Nash, and Kiss—were representing the local inhabitants and wanted to present him with a petition to Grant that they claimed was a gesture of goodwill. However, Moultrie had seen what they had written before they came to him and discerned it was actually a criticism of Governor Grant. Moultrie refused to accept the document, which angered the men. In response, they declared that they would petition the King. The group leaders later had the document published in Charlestown. Moultrie remarks cynically on the involvement of these “ragamuffins” and “poor devils,” suggesting they were duped into believing the address was merely a complimentary gesture to Governor Grant. Moultrie seemed rather amused by this display of public expression.

Moultrie points out that Turnbull is inconsistent regarding the potential hostility from the Indians. Neither Moultrie nor Grant fully believed Turnbull’s story about his family having to escape capture by climbing into a boat at midnight or the claim that the Minorcans had to hide in the shoreline vegetation. Moultrie believed only a tenth of Turnbull’s story and was of the opinion that the Indians posed no threat to the colony. According to Moultrie, the Indians were concerned that the colonists were Spaniards and wanted nothing to do with them. Turnbull assured the Indians that they were not

Spaniards but were, instead, Greeks and Italians. However, Turnbull did not tell them that the majority of the colonists were Minorcan Catholics.

When Turnbull came to St. Augustine on the King's birthday, Moultrie gave him a "very good drink," even though Turnbull continued to talk about the supposed Indian raid. Moultrie's sentences in this letter are long and complex, covering a great deal of what Turnbull claimed was happening. Turnbull presented a statement from black Stewart, his cattle hunter, which Moultrie considered fabricated and intended solely to bolster Stewart's status with Turnbull.

Moultrie told Grant that several of the men were dissatisfied that no Congress had been held, and therefore Turnbull had no platform to express his grievances. Moultrie did call a Royal Council meeting, during which Turnbull was more moderate in his statements. He asked for more troops at the colony and wanted an immediate Congress with the Indians. Moultrie explained that he could not afford to spend anything on presents for the Indians, as the £1,500 pounds sterling, "formerly given for Indian expenses this year is cut off." Chief Justice Drayton strongly backed Turnbull's call for a Congress.

Moultrie asked Major McKenzie for more men to protect the colony, but McKenzie refused, stating that if there was greater danger from the Indians, Moultrie would need to "apply to General Gage, which will take three months to do and get an answer. I may as well let it alone."

Moultrie said Turnbull has talked of "removing with his whole people to some island where they might be in safety if they were not protected by government troops." Moultrie noted his partners had spent thousands of pounds sterling, the colonists had already been through the toughest of times when creating a new colony and that Turnbull could not just carry them off somewhere without their permission as they were British citizens. He wrote, "They must not have less here than in every other British government, taste some of the sweets of a constitution that even to slaves gives some freedom."

Moultrie tells Grant that Turnbull is going to London next winter because one of his partners died. He mentions that Turnbull claims that the whole group of people belongs to him and that, if the division is not done properly, the partners will only receive a proportion of the land and produce. Turnbull talks about shutting the colony down on the one hand, then, on the other, describes plans to gather shingles for the houses. Moultrie senses Turnbull's uneasiness toward him and hopes that, with a little time at home, "he will recover his usual easy and cheerful manner, which will please me greatly."

In closing his letter, Moultrie expresses his belief that there is little to fear from the Indians. As a matter of fact, some hunting Indians "brought in Caudry's and Levett's negroes, whom it was thought they had carried into the nation." He once again references the conflicting stories surrounding the Indian raid that had so greatly upset Turnbull.

Frederick George Mulcaster's letter to James Grant, dated St. Augustine, June 11, 1771, states that Turnbull was in town and "not well pleased, rather disappointed at missing the Lieutenant Governor [appointment]." It is doubtful that losing the appointment of Lieutenant Governor was ever far from Turnbull's mind. He wanted the position very much and felt that the strong endorsement he had received from the Secretary of State was not given proper consideration. Mulcaster reiterated what Moultrie had said—that Turnbull wanted a Congress with the Indians and believed that, if John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District of North America, had not assured the Indians that the colonists were not Spaniards, the colony would have been attacked.

An Indian leader called "The King" came to town and felt that nobody in authority cared about his presence, as all he received was a little rice. Mulcaster tells Grant that Moultrie "did not take notice of the King as I think he should have."

He concludes his letter by describing his visit to Grant's villa, noting that, after some rain, the crop is recovering and that the indigo on Drayton's plantation is currently about a foot high.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant, dated June 13, 1771, from St. Augustine, describes a tense but ultimately defused interaction between a group of Creek Indians and the plantations in his area. Turnbull explains that the arrival of a group of Creek Indians, including prominent leaders like the Cowkeeper and the Long Warrior, was triggered by misinformation. This included reports of a settlement of Spaniards and Yamasees (a group historically hostile to the Creeks) at Cape Florida, as well as a misrepresentation of the local settlers by another Indian. This misinformation brought a group of Creek leaders and 72 warriors into the region.

When the Creek group first arrived, they were described as "sulky, out of humor," and even aggressive, as they beat some members of a boat crew at Turnbull's cowpen. This underscores the tension and the risk of conflict. Turnbull highlights his successful efforts to de-escalate the situation. He invited the Creek leaders and some warriors to dine with him. They got drunk and left in a better mood, which appeared to improve relations. Over the next few days, the Creek group began to disperse, dividing into two parties.

One of the Creek parties, led by their chiefs, returned unexpectedly after realizing they had been misled about the Yamasee settlement. Upon their return, Turnbull hosted them again, providing food and drink, which left them "very happy." This hospitality seems to have played a key role in repairing relations. Turnbull praises the Upper Creek chief for maintaining order among his group. Despite some early aggression at the cowpen (over provisions) and a brief incident involving an attempt to kill Turnbull's calf, the chief enforced discipline, even beating some of his own men for their actions. Turnbull points this out to show that the group's behavior, overall, was controlled and that the leadership of the Creek chief was effective.

Turnbull informed the Creek chief and his group about Governor Grant's departure to meet the King but assured them that Grant would return soon. He also explained that in Grant's absence, there was another governor in St. Augustine who would be happy to meet the Creek headman. This was likely an effort to maintain good relations with the Indigenous group and affirm the continuity of British authority.

Turnbull describes the Upper Creek chief as a "sober manly Indian" who was responsible and disciplined. The chief stayed behind to ensure his group left Turnbull's settlement without causing any trouble, as many of the group had gotten drunk. This highlights the chief's efforts to maintain order and avoid further conflicts. The Long Warrior, another Creek leader, returned to Turnbull's settlement to request a calf for his people. Turnbull willingly gave him one, expressing his preference for offering livestock voluntarily rather than having it taken without permission. This act of hospitality further demonstrates Turnbull's efforts to maintain peaceful relations with the Creeks.

Turnbull notes that the local garrison, consisting of only a sergeant and eight men from the 31st Regiment, is insufficient for meaningful protection. However, his request for reinforcements is not primarily for defense but for the appearance of British governmental authority.



He emphasizes that the Creek Indians initially doubted whether the colonists were under proper government protection, suggesting that a stronger military presence would help affirm colonial stability and deter any potential unrest.

David Yeats's letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, August 31, 1771 speaks about the severe drought and its impact. The region has experienced an "almost continual drought" since July 2, which has significantly harmed the crops. Indigo planters have been especially affected, and rice production has been "nearly destroyed."

Drayton, despite planting double the amount of land compared to the previous year, will not produce as much rice due to the drought. The drought has caused considerable damage to Grant's own plantation. The first cutting of indigo was completed earlier, yielding between six and seven hundred weight according to Mr. Skinner's estimate. However, the second cutting is unlikely to yield much, based on the poor condition of the plants ("appearance of the weed"). Rain delays and the advancing season have forced workers to proceed with the second cutting, and there is little hope for a third cutting.

Yeats noted that the pond in the North Field, which usually supplies water for two vats a day, has barely been able to supply one, even after being deepened by four feet. This highlights the severity of the drought and its impact on irrigation. Despite the drought, indigo production has improved in efficiency. Planters are averaging more per vat than last year due to a new method of steeping the plants longer and adding a larger proportion of lime water. Turnbull was the first to adopt this method, and others have since followed his example, finding it effective.

Yeats tells Grant that Turnbull said his first cutting was better than last year and expected good yield for the old weed. He said the colony had ample provisions and the corn was doing real well. He talks about how adding lime water helps the process to achieve twenty-five pounds a vat, "but then the indigo is poor stuff." The rest of the letter concerns Grant's Villa and, "news of activities of the slaves employed there." The last sentence is "political news and gossip concerning William Collins, William Wilson, William Drayton, Francis Levett, Denys Rolle, and the arrival of Francis P. Fatio<sup>60</sup> from London. Francis Fatio, a Swiss settler, was one of the most successful men to profit from East Florida under both British and Spanish control.

Frederick George Mulcaster's letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, October 2, 1771 reported that Turnbull lost his third cutting of indigo to "the worm" but he did have eight thousand pounds of indigo in his store house.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to James Grant from Smyrna, October 28, 1771 begins by thanking Grant for taking an active interest in the settlement and his personal affairs, calling it another demonstration of Grant's friendship. He acknowledges and appreciates Grant's ongoing support, particularly in light of Grant's departure from the colony. Turnbull refers to a prior letter in which his tone was less civil, likely due to his frustration and anxiety. He expresses regret for the tone of that letter, attributing his anger to the difficult situation he was in at the time—a situation that, he notes, has not yet been resolved.

Turnbull describes his anger and unease stemming from feeling abandoned and unprotected. He, his family, and his settlers felt in danger from the Indians, and his repeated requests for assistance or protection were ignored by Lieutenant Governor Moultrie. This lack of response and action from

Moultrie left Turnbull alarmed and feeling vulnerable, as he perceived there was no official recognition or support for the dangers his settlement faced.

Turnbull criticizes Moultrie, suggesting that Grant's recommendation of him for the governorship of the province may have been a mistake. Turnbull implies that Moultrie's inability or unwillingness to address the situation with the Indians and provide assistance has led to serious consequences or risks. These concerns remain unresolved, leaving Turnbull still apprehensive about the province's leadership under Moultrie. It is clear that Turnbull has not moved past his deep disappointment over Moultrie being appointed Lieutenant Governor instead of himself.

Turnbull is attempting to balance an apology with a continued expression of his grievances. He wants Grant to know that while he appreciates his friendship and efforts, he remains deeply dissatisfied and alarmed by the lack of protection and attention from Moultrie. Turnbull clearly feels that Moultrie's leadership is inadequate and that the province is being poorly managed, leading to risks for settlers like himself. By mentioning that his concerns are "not yet removed," Turnbull is subtly pressing Grant to acknowledge the issue and potentially take action or provide further support.

Turnbull is clearly frustrated and alarmed. His main objective in this paragraph is to express the severity of the challenges his colony is facing—Indian hostility, theft, demoralization, and a lack of governmental support. He is criticizing Moultrie's leadership, signaling his own dissatisfaction, and suggesting that higher authorities like Sir William Duncan or the Minister for America need to intervene. Turnbull is also warning of the potential collapse of the colony if the issues are not addressed promptly, emphasizing the urgency of the situation and his intention to take further action if necessary.

Turnbull's words reveal clear disdain for Lieutenant Governor John Moultrie, both explicitly and implicitly. His lack of respect is evident in the following ways: Turnbull refers to Moultrie as "the man who governs," a phrase that carries a dismissive and impersonal tone. By avoiding Moultrie's title or name, Turnbull conveys a lack of regard for his authority or competence. He notes that only three members of the council delivered the address to Moultrie when he received his commission as Lieutenant Governor, highlighting a lack of enthusiasm or respect for Moultrie from the governing body. Turnbull implies that the government under Moultrie is dysfunctional, mentioning that it is difficult to gather even three or four members of the council to conduct the minimal amount of business required.

Turnbull expresses frustration at the idea of being "under an obligation to a lieutenant governor" for the modest benefit of £50 a year as secretary. This statement underscores how little value Turnbull places on Moultrie's approval or authority, as he is unwilling to endure even a minor dependence on him for such a trivial sum. By openly discussing his intention to resign from the office of secretary, Turnbull signals his desire to disassociate himself from Moultrie and his administration.

While Turnbull openly criticizes Moultrie, he carefully avoids acting in ways that could be seen as overt opposition to the government. He states, "Whatever objections I may have to the man who governs, I shall be cautious not to act against government." This indicates that while he has little respect for Moultrie personally, he remains loyal to the British government as a whole. Turnbull conveys that the political climate in St. Augustine is plagued by factional quarrels and dysfunction. He mentions Drayton's resignation from the council and the difficulty of assembling enough members to conduct even minimal governmental business. This reflects poorly on the administration under Moultrie and highlights the disarray in colonial governance.

Turnbull mentions that Sir William Duncan's arrival in East Florida will allow him to travel to London. He intends to stay there for an extended period to manage and advocate for his business affairs, indicating that he sees London as the best place to resolve his issues. Turnbull is defending himself against "ungenerous" criticism regarding the handling of his financial accounts. He acknowledges the clamor surrounding his bookkeeping but justifies why his accounts may not have been perfectly maintained. He emphasizes that his role as director required him to focus on managing the settlement, ensuring its survival and productivity, rather than dedicating time to detailed bookkeeping. He implies that prioritizing bookkeeping would have left his people starving or unmotivated to raise their own provisions.

Turnbull highlights that, per the terms of their contract, Duncan and his partners were required to hire a clerk at their expense to handle the accounts in the event that Turnbull was unable to do so due to other business, illness, or unforeseen circumstances. He suggests that this provision was not fulfilled on their part, subtly deflecting blame for any financial disorganization back onto them. Turnbull asserts that his accounts are, in fact, in "good order" because he has always been diligent in keeping receipts and working transparently with reputable people. He expresses confidence that any outstanding concerns about his accounts can be easily resolved. He also notes that Cutter, the clerk who was hired for £100 a year to handle accounting, was injured during a mutiny, further complicating the management of financial records.

Turnbull congratulates Grant on his indigo performing better in the market ("yours bore the bell"), acknowledging that it deserved to lead in sales. This conveys respect for Grant's work and success. He reports that he produced 8,000 pounds of indigo by late August and had the potential to produce an additional 4,000 pounds. However, his efforts were severely disrupted by a massive infestation of caterpillars, which devastated his crops. Despite these challenges, Turnbull managed to salvage about 89 vats of indigo, estimating that he will earn around £9,000 sterling in total from this year's production. This indicates that, while not optimal, his output was still financially significant. It also shows that some funds were coming back, with part of the earnings possibly being used to start repaying Sir William Duncan and his other investors.

Turnbull describes the caterpillars as extraordinarily destructive, leaving no green leaves and even stripping the bark from the plants. A second wave of caterpillars destroyed new growth that had begun to recover, causing even more losses. He details the intensive efforts made to combat the infestation—working "night and day," and attempting various methods such as fire, smoke, and physical removal—but none were successful. Turnbull notes that other plantations in the area have now been affected by the caterpillars, even those that were not previously impacted. This signals that the infestation is a broader problem for the region and poses ongoing challenges for future production.

John Moultrie's letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, December 4, 1771 informs him of the dissension in St. Augustine and that after William Drayton resigned his seat on the Royal Council, Turnbull also resigned his seat.

Frederick George Mulcaster's letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, January 2, 1772 took issue with Turnbull's account of the Indian attack by pointing out that Cowkeeper, a leader of the Indians, stopped at a store on his way south and said, "they were going against a settlement formed by the Yamasee Indians and Spaniards from the Havana that their information was from one Soapqui a brother-in-law of his own and therefore could be depended upon." Bryan told Cowkeeper that the settlement was

English, "and subjects of the Great King." Cowkeeper went to the settlement and found that what Bryan said was true and that the "King of Musquito", Andrew Turnbull treated them well and that Cowkeeper's brother-in-law, Soapqui, "was a lying rascal." There was no confrontation between the colonists and the Indians.

The Indians are pleased with both the Lieutenant Governor and James Bryan (the interpreter). The source of this goodwill seems to be Moultrie's generosity, as he "had given them plenty of everything," implying that material gifts or provisions were a significant factor in maintaining favorable relations with Native groups. This reflects a common colonial strategy: offering resources or goods to earn loyalty or maintain peace with Native Americans.

Despite general approval of the Lieutenant Governor, an individual named "Old Sehikai" expresses dissatisfaction. Sehikai compares the current Lieutenant Governor unfavorably to his Governor Grant, suggesting a lack of continuity or personal rapport between him and the new official. This could imply that Sehikai feels undervalued or sidelined, perhaps believing his role or authority has been diminished under the new leadership.

Bryan notes Sehikai's skills in the woods and advises taking him along, particularly since land exploration and acquisition seem to be priorities. This underscores Sehikai's value as someone with deep knowledge of the terrain, even amid interpersonal friction.

Sehikai's past collaboration with Mr. DeBrahm is mentioned, but it was marked by tension. This tension arose because DeBrahm treated Sehikai "like a Negro," refusing to allow him to eat with him. This treatment clearly offended Sehikai, and Bryan sides with him, acknowledging that his displeasure was reasonable. The phrase "treated him like a Negro" highlights the racial and hierarchical attitudes of the time, showing how colonial officials often failed to respect Native Americans as equals or valued collaborators. The fact that Bryan recognizes the validity of Sehikai's grievance suggests that not all colonial agents held the same prejudices, and some understood the importance of treating Native leaders or allies with dignity and respect.

Sehikai's criticism of the Lieutenant Governor and his previous conflict with DeBrahm reveal how personal treatment always influences relationships. While colonial leaders often relied on Native Americans for their knowledge and cooperation, failures to show respect could undermine those relationships. Bryan emerges as a voice of reason and pragmatism. He acknowledges the value of Native American allies like Sehikai and recognizes the need for respect in these relationships. His advice to involve Sehikai in future expeditions reflects his appreciation for practical collaboration over personal grievances.

He closes this letter by telling him Cowkeeper's warriors were going to search the Okofornoquo (Okefenokee) Swamp for another tribe of Indians that might want to hunt on their land.

Frederick George Mulcaster's letter to James Grant from Smyrna, February 13, 1772 tells the governor about tracts of land that had been awarded and that sugar cane was what was creating the most interest at this time.

Mulcaster notes that Dr. Turnbull sailed on the 20th of the previous month for England and he hoped his efforts are successful as there were many issues to resolve, not the least of which was accountability for the funds expended from the start of the multi-cultural Smyrna colony. Turnbull's partners had

reservations about him leaving the colony, but Sir William Duncan would be on hand to welcome Turnbull on his arrival.

Mulcaster notes that Archibald Neilson has arrived in Florida to inspect the accounts of the settlement. He was recommended by Sir William Duncan, suggesting he has a position of trust but is new to the colonial environment. Neilson is described as "a very modest well-meaning man," portraying him positively. This is important because his position as an accountant or auditor could introduce complications or scrutiny into Turnbull's operations.

A Mr. Gordon has advised Neilson to avoid interfering in the settlement's affairs until further instruction. This reflects the role of personal relationships and favors in influencing decisions within the colonial hierarchy.

A key tension in the Mulcaster's letter involves a past dispute between Dr. Turnbull and Governor James Grant. He acknowledges that this conflict had become known in London, where Turnbull was criticized for his actions because "everyone knew the service you had been to the settlement." This indicates that Governor Grant was seen as having made significant contributions to the success of the colony, while Turnbull's actions in the dispute were viewed unfavorably. Mulcaster hopes that the governor will forgive Turnbull and overlook the incident, suggesting that reconciliation is both possible and desirable for the colony's stability.

Turnbull is portrayed as an ambitious but flawed figure whose "hastiness" may have contributed to his conflicts. His ability to repair relationships, particularly with Governor Grant, is presented as critical to the colony's future. This reflects the importance of personal diplomacy in colonial administration. The arrival of Neilson to inspect accounts highlights the growing pressure for financial transparency and accountability in the colony. This may point to underlying concerns about mismanagement or inefficiencies in Turnbull's operations.

In closing he points out most of the weed is dead. He tells that Seacoffi and a dozen other Indians had been hunting and were bringing venison to the colony and an Indian, Sehaiki, caught his wife cheating on him so he cut off her ears and is looking for the man involved to take his scalp.

William Drayton's letter to James Grant on April 10, 1772 is attempting to mediate and repair the strained relationship between the governor and Turnbull. Drayton expresses concern over a perceived breach between the two men and urges reconciliation for the sake of their longstanding amicable relationship and the well-being of the colony.

He references Governor Grant's concerns about a letter from Dr. Turnbull that may have been offensive. Drayton admits that Turnbull wrote this letter freely and candidly, but he frames it as arising from misunderstanding or overreaction rather than intentional disrespect. Drayton suggests that the disagreement could be resolved through a personal conversation, emphasizing the intimacy and goodwill that had previously existed between Grant and Turnbull. He appeals to their past friendship as a foundation for reconciliation.

Drayton explains that Turnbull's letter stemmed from a misunderstanding regarding his potential nomination as Lieutenant Governor. Turnbull suspected that Governor Grant might have opposed this nomination because of Turnbull's other responsibilities, such as managing the Smyrnéa settlement. Drayton frames Turnbull's actions as a defensive reaction to this unfounded suspicion. Drayton also notes

that Turnbull's "warm" personality and recent frustrations contributed to his reaction. For example, Turnbull had applied through Lt. Governor John Moultrie for additional soldiers to protect Smyrnéa from Indian threats, but the request was not sufficiently supported and ultimately failed. This failure, combined with the recent alarm caused by Indian activity near Smyrnéa, likely heightened Turnbull's emotional response.

Drayton flatters Grant by reminding him of his fairness and goodwill, implying that the governor would not hold a grudge over Turnbull's "freedom of style" in the letter. Drayton frames Turnbull's actions as impulsive but not malicious, urging Grant to take the high road. Drayton expresses concern that a rift between Grant and Turnbull could harm the colony.

Drayton appeals to both men's shared history, reminding Grant that they had lived and worked together "upon the best and most amicable terms." Reconciliation would restore this dynamic and prevent a division that might destabilize the colonial administration. Drayton also seeks to avoid the appearance of disunity among the colony's leadership, particularly since Turnbull's letter and the dispute had already become known in London. A public conflict could weaken confidence in the colony's administration and invite external criticism.

The Reverend John Forbes letter to James Grant May 13, 1772 expresses his concern over Dr. Turnbull's behavior, particularly Turnbull's "bad usage" of the governor. He describes Turnbull's actions as stubborn, ungrateful, and ungenerous, particularly in relation to the "demand of the sloop" (possibly a vessel Turnbull requested or expected but did not rightfully deserve).

Forbes reassures Governor Grant that he sympathizes with him, painting Turnbull's actions as offensive and misguided but stemming from personal struggles rather than outright malice. Forbes presents himself as being firmly on the governor's side, stating that he only mentioned the sloop issue reluctantly out of a sense of duty and gratitude for Grant's kindness toward him. While criticizing Turnbull, Forbes also seeks to soften the governor's potential resentment by portraying Turnbull as a man under stress. He suggests that Turnbull's "ruffled temper" and "distracted head" stem from disappointments, private financial difficulties, and perhaps even frustration with the state of his affairs.

By framing Turnbull's behavior as a temporary lapse caused by external pressures, Forbes implies that the governor should be forgiving and magnanimous, as he believes Grant's "good sense" will allow him to overlook these "little sallies of resentment." Forbes emphasizes that Turnbull's poor behavior reflects poorly on Turnbull himself, not on the governor. He notes that Grant's only connection to Turnbull's actions is his earlier unlimited efforts to help him, which makes Turnbull's behavior seem all the more ungrateful.

Forbes provides a positive update on Smyrnéa, describing it as being "in good order" under the management of Turnbull's nephew, whose name was also Andrew Turnbull. This suggests that, despite the personal and political tensions surrounding Turnbull, the colony itself remains stable and functional. Like Chief Justice Drayton's letter, Forbes's letter implicitly advocates for reconciliation between Governor Grant and Dr. Turnbull. By downplaying the severity of Turnbull's actions and emphasizing external factors (such as personal disappointment and financial stress), Forbes is trying to pave the way for the governor to forgive Turnbull and restore their relationship.

This is particularly important for the stability of the colony, as Grant and Turnbull were both prominent figures whose cooperation was essential for the success of East Florida. He seeks to soften Grant's resentment toward Turnbull by portraying Turnbull as a man under stress rather than malicious or deliberately disrespectful.

Frederick George Mulcaster's letter to James Grant from St. Augustine, August 26, 1772 says that while they expect James Penman back to St. Augustine in a few weeks, nobody knows when Turnbull will return. After mentioning the colony will not produce much this season, he closed his letter with, "Poor Parson Fraser, died lately upon St. Marys [River] in his way to Georgia. He had been drunk for several days before so that with the bad rum and the heat he kicked."

Mulcaster follows up with a letter on August 28, 1772, saying daily showers and other issues will reduce the amount of indigo going to market this year but the colonists are healthy and have ample provisions. His letter on January 15, 1773 merely said Turnbull has made the quantity of indigo he made last year, the colonists were quiet and easy and the Indians were bringing him venison.

The Reverend John Forbes letter to James Grant, February 23, 1773, Reverend Forbes reflects on the unusually mild winter in the province, noting the rarity of frost and the successful export of over 31,000 pounds of indigo despite the season. He comments on Dr. Turnbull's optimistic ambitions in agricultural endeavors, which Forbes diplomatically describes as "delusions," suggesting it would be unkind to dispel the doctor's enthusiasm. He also mentions that Turnbull's people are in good health and their numbers are growing, while awaiting updates from Mr. Neilson that may bring changes to the Smyrna colony. Forbes expresses relief that Turnbull has refrained from discussing politics or administrative affairs with him, a topic he prefers to avoid. The letter concludes with a report of a severe snowstorm that blanketed the region for twelve hours, causing concern over lost vessels but sparing the indigo crop, as the snow protected it from frost damage.

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James Grant was appointed Royal Governor of East Florida on November 21, 1763. He arrived in Saint Augustine in August 1764 to begin his tenure. Although he left the colony in 1771, he retained his position as governor. His leave of absence officially began in 1771, and he resigned from the post on April 22, 1773.

The letters to and from Governor James Grant can be read in their entirety, along with all other correspondence included in the James Grant Papers, which have been graciously made available to the public by Scotland's Laird of Ballindalloch. The University of North Florida hosts an extensive website dedicated to these letters, providing both access to the documents and interpretations of many of them. Additionally, the letters can be accessed at [www.minorcans.com](http://www.minorcans.com), allowing everyone to view and read them.

This author selected the Grant letters to highlight the significant support Governor Grant and King George III provided to the New Smyrna colony. While some letters do not explicitly detail the assistance and protection Governor Grant offered during his five years in St. Augustine (1766–1771), they provide valuable context about the events of the time, helping to paint a clearer picture of the challenges and successes of the era. After his tenure in St. Augustine, Governor Grant returned to Scotland to assume his role as the Laird of Ballindalloch.

This short narrative of James Grant aims to showcase the remarkable impact he had during a ten-year period of his life, particularly in ensuring the survival of the New Smyrna colony. The letters demonstrate that without Governor Grant's leadership, the colony would likely have failed, and the Minorcans might have been forced to return to their homeland. How sad that would have been for the Minorcans and for those of us blessed with marrying a Minorcan lady.

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<sup>1</sup> [James Grant, Laird of Ballindalloch \(1720-1806\) | WikiTree FREE Family Tree](https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Grant,_Laird_of_Ballindalloch-1)  
[https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Grant, Laird of Ballindalloch-1](https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Grant,_Laird_of_Ballindalloch-1)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> [Notes on the Life of James Grant Prior and Subsequent to His Governorship of East Florida on JSTOR](https://www.jstor.org/stable/30150783?read-now=1&seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents)  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/30150783?read-now=1&seq=2#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/30150783?read-now=1&seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents)

<sup>4</sup> [James Grant \(British Army officer, born 1720\) - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Grant_(British_Army_officer,_born_1720))  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James Grant \(British Army officer, born 1720\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Grant_(British_Army_officer,_born_1720))

<sup>5</sup> [Battle of Fontenoy | 1745, France-Austria, Battle of Tournai | Britannica](https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Fontenoy)  
<https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Fontenoy>

<sup>6</sup> [Purchase of commissions in the British army | Military Wiki | Fandom](https://military-history.fandom.com/wiki/Purchase_of_commissions_in_the_British_army_e) [https://military-history.fandom.com/wiki/Purchase\\_of\\_commissions\\_in\\_the\\_British\\_army\\_e](https://military-history.fandom.com/wiki/Purchase_of_commissions_in_the_British_army_e)

<sup>7</sup> [Seven Years War: Facts, Definition & Treaties | HISTORY](https://www.history.com/topics/european-history/seven-years-war) <https://www.history.com/topics/european-history/seven-years-war>

<sup>8</sup> [James Grant \(British Army officer, born 1720\) - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Grant_(British_Army_officer,_born_1720))  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James\\_Grant\\_\(British\\_Army\\_officer,\\_born\\_1720\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Grant_(British_Army_officer,_born_1720))

<sup>9</sup> [British General James Grant, Most Hated British Officer of the American Revolution – Revolutionary War Journal](https://revolutionarywarjournal.com/general-james-grant/)  
<https://revolutionarywarjournal.com/general-james-grant/>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

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- <sup>41</sup> *Men without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790* [Susan R. Parker](https://www.jstor.org/stable/30148603)  
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- <sup>43</sup> [Maria Gracia Dura Bin Turnbull \(1736-1798\) - Find a Grave Memorial](https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/12776013/maria_gracia-turnbull)  
[https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/12776013/maria\\_gracia-turnbull](https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/12776013/maria_gracia-turnbull)
- <sup>44</sup> A glebe is a piece of land that was historically allocated to a church or clergyman as part of their benefice (compensation). It was used to generate income for the church or to provide for the needs of the clergy. Glebes often included fields for farming, gardens, or other land that could be leased or cultivated for the financial support of the church.
- <sup>45</sup> *Savannah Georgia Gazette*, June 29, 1768 Pg. 3, Savannah, Georgia, US  
<https://newspaperarchive.com/savannah-georgia-gazette-jun-29-1768-p-3/>
- <sup>46</sup> *The Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland) Wed, Nov 16, 1768, Page 1
- <sup>47</sup> *Deuteronomy 25:1-3* lays out guidelines for corporal punishment. It states that a guilty person may be beaten, but "no more than 40 stripes may be given." Exceeding this limit would be considered degrading to the person. Thus, to be cautious, the Jews often administered only 39 lashes.
- 2 Corinthians 11:24*: In the New Testament, the Apostle Paul mentions the practice when recounting his sufferings: "Five times I received from the Jews the 40 lashes minus one." Here, Paul specifically references receiving 39 lashes as a form of punishment and persecution.
- <sup>48</sup> [Black Pirates and the Tale of Black Caesar | Britannica](https://www.britannica.com/story/black-pirates-and-the-tale-of-black-caesar) <https://www.britannica.com/story/black-pirates-and-the-tale-of-black-caesar>
- <sup>49</sup> *Savannah Georgia Gazette*, October 19, 1768 Pg. 2, Savannah, Georgia, US

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<sup>50</sup> [William Knox - Irish Biography](https://www.libraryireland.com/biography/WilliamKnox.php) <https://www.libraryireland.com/biography/WilliamKnox.php>

<sup>51</sup> Quinn, Jane-*Minorcans in Florida-Their History and heritage*, Pages 34-35

<sup>52</sup> *The South-Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal* (Charleston, South Carolina) · Tue, Feb 7, 1769 · Page 2  
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<sup>54</sup> Bernard Romans-*A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*- Pages 296-298

<sup>55</sup> [The Peopling Plan – Florida History Online](https://history.domains.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/projects-proj-b-p-html/turnbull-index-htm/turnbull-letters-3-htm/) <https://history.domains.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/projects-proj-b-p-html/turnbull-index-htm/turnbull-letters-3-htm/>

<sup>56</sup> [Anti-Catholicism in the United States - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Catholicism_in_the_United_States) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Catholicism\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Catholicism_in_the_United_States)

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<sup>59</sup> Mowat, Charles Loch. "*East Florida as a British Province, 1763–1784*"

<sup>60</sup> [A Swiss Settler in East Florida: A Letter of Francis Philip Fatio on JSTOR](https://www.jstor.org/stable/f895925e-930d-313e-aa34-9ffee6ed5195?read-now=1&seq=1) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/f895925e-930d-313e-aa34-9ffee6ed5195?read-now=1&seq=1>