

MINORCAN LIFE AT TURNBULL'S COLONY IN 1770

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1

By January 1, 1770, there were 627 Minorcans buried in the soil of the Turnbull plantation. During 1770, only 34 men, 6 women, and children died.² Antonio Alzina and Juan Andreu had survived a difficult part of the journey to a new world and new life. They both survived and made the walk to freedom seven years later.

All references to letters in this narrative are from the Dundee Archives and can be read on the University of North Florida's website or at www.minorcans.com.

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Turnbull wrote to Duncan, his main investor, on January 2, 1770, telling him to *"disregard whatever Denys Rolle says."* Turnbull was troubled by what others were saying about him and wanted Governor Grant to tell Duncan what he thought about the plantation. Whatever was being grown—not indigo—was in an amount that led Turnbull to plan sending Duncan *"£2,000 in profits from the produce of the plantation in 1770, perhaps double that amount the following year, and an additional £1,000 every year thereafter."* This was quite a turnaround from what had been happening in the previous eighteen months at the colony.

He told Duncan the Minorcans were working hard in preparation for planting indigo. He said he had bought six horses for around £55 sterling each, which were needed to drag the heavy timbers for constructing the vats. The indigo seed cost 30 shillings each for the fifty bushels he had ordered. He closed this letter by telling Duncan, *"he ordered coarse linnen cloth for shirts for our People, this was absolutely necessary for warmth and cleanness. The Negro cloth, called Plains, bought out of the bounty*

¹ [palmetto huts - Search Images](#) Florida Memory· Palmetto thatched hut houses

² Governor Patrick Tonyn to Lord George Germaine, December 29, 1777 [The-Letters-Of-Dr-Turnbull-pdf-SEARCHABLE.pdf](#) <https://minorcans.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/The-Letters-Of-Dr-Turnbull-pdf-SEARCHABLE.pdf>

will nigh cloath the People in want of cloathing." Turnbull recognized that the colonists needed to be kept warm during the winter. Turnbull does not say if the Negro cloth had arrived, only that it was ordered. The material was widely used for making basic garments, including shirts, trousers, and dresses, for enslaved workers.

The February 8, 1770 letter from Turnbull to Duncan included several bills and £130 pounds sterling for goods he had to buy in St. Augustine as it had been a, "severe and frosty winter."

A frosty winter spent by Turnbull and the overseers in a wooden building, possibly with fireplaces (as there were masons in the colony who could build them), was a far cry from spending a frosty winter in a palmetto hut next to the river, where the stiff, cold breeze was incessant. Even though it was a severe winter, the Minorcans who were still alive were strong enough to bear the cold days and nights.

The February 13, 1770 letter Turnbull wrote to Duncan was full of various messages. He explained that the drought had burned the previous year's plantation grown provisions and defended his position to buy flour saying, "*that it was better to incur this expense than to lose even one man. It was Turnbull's opinion that light food such as fine bread was important for recovery from illness.*" Turnbull recognized that his, "*workers needed medicine and proper diets.*" He was happy that the death rate had decreased noting, "*Our births are double our burials.*" This gives credence to the idea that the Minorcans were buried on the plantation. Their graves have never been found, but they should be. He also felt that, "*Mr. Watson, the foreman of our builders [should be paid] for wages for three years at £24. He well deserves it indeed.*"

Turnbull closed this letter by letting Duncan know that he had been sick in bed for ten days in January. He described the medicine he was taking as, "*pills made of three drams of myrrh and one dram of aloe, and the tincture of the bark ague [that works] best with me.*" He was always worrying about the expenses and noted that if the bills were not paid the settlers would leave. Where would they have gone? How would they have gotten there? It seems they would have had to depend on the goodwill of Governor Grant and King George III to take them back to their native homes.

The pills Turnbull was taking were common in the 18th century. Myrrh³ is a resin from the sap of trees and its anti-inflammatory and antiseptic. The aloe⁴ was widely used as a laxative to cleanse the body encouraging bowel movements. Tincture of bark⁵ had quinine and was used to reduce fever. With access to this medicine, hopefully he also used it to help the Minorcans regain their health.

Turnbull's letter to Governor Grant on February 15, 1770, he writes that he had order six sets of pump borers⁶ last August and that he would not risk planting the indigo seed until the borers arrived. The Minorcans must have been growing a large amount of corn at this time he lent, "*a little corn to Ross's people to prevent their being starved, and shall supply him with more till he gets his five hundred bushels.*" He states he will not be able to produce the amount of indigo the governor estimates as he decided to defer planting of corn and indigo for another month.

³ [MYRRH: Overview, Uses, Side Effects, Precautions, Interactions, Dosing and Reviews](#)

⁴ [Aloe - Mayo Clinic](https://www.mayoclinic.org/drugs-supplements-aloe/art-20362267) <https://www.mayoclinic.org/drugs-supplements-aloe/art-20362267>

⁵ [Pine Bark Extract: Uses, Benefits, and Side Effects](https://www.healthline.com/nutrition/pine-bark-extract) <https://www.healthline.com/nutrition/pine-bark-extract>

⁶ A "pump borer" was a tool used in the process of digging and maintaining wells or boreholes for irrigation during the cultivation of indigo in the 18th century. Each vat needed a water supply.

Turnbull's letter to Grant on March 5, 1770, refers to DeBrahm as "*mean, proud, dirty, and disoblging.*" The comment about DeBrahm's character seems to have stemmed from DeBrahm refusing to allow the use of his vessel, *Betsey*, for Turnbull's purposes. Turnbull complained about the cost of transporting his supplies by land and begged for a favor, asking that the pilot boat be used to bring the supplies to the colony. He mentioned that Mr. Humphreys would have come to St. Augustine to assist with the loading, but he was bedridden with a fever. The shortage of supplies was exacerbated when a vessel from Savannah had to abort its landing in New Smyrna and head to the Keys for repairs. The soldiers were nearly out of food.

Turnbull wrote an extensive letter to Sir Duncan and Lord Grenville on March 6, 1770. He discusses two tracts of land that had become available. One was twenty-seven miles north of his plantation and the other was twelve miles to the south. He discussed how they became available and suggested what it should cost for the m to buy the land. He said if they did not buy it he would.

In another letter written on the same day he affirms that he had signed the new agreements with his partners. He told Duncan and Grenville that he would not import any more settlers without their consent and that he would only plant indigo in 1770, "*as it provided the "quickest returns" and the Smyrnéa "soil is very proper for it, [whereas] cotton does not produce much" here. Silk production would have to wait for a later time of leisure. "Rice is rather too laborious and unhealthy for new settlers, it being cultivated in swamps and wet grounds."* He explained how the olive trees had been planted concluded that, "*Making oil may be more certain income than making wine.*"

Pigs were being bred and he expected enough pork would be available for the colony in the next year. He noted the management of the black cattle did not fare well as the man hired to take care of them during Turnbull's absence ran away and had been arrested although he does not say what he was arrested for. He wrote about his experiences with an American called Earl. His remarks about Earl ends up praising the Minorcans and their work ethic. He wrote, "*As soon as I get our Negroes and other things out of his hands, I will transmit you very exact lists of the numbers of our People, cattle, & [etc]. This Earl is the last American I will ever employ. Even the best of the American-born are in general of little and narrow minds, limit'd in their views and understandings; and as obstinate as self conceit and ignorance can make them. The common People are an idle, lazy, talking crew, neglecting every thing to set down with anybody who will hear them bragg of their great doings as planters. I have suffered much from two of them, I mean this Earl, and the man who had the care of the black cattle, but I am not the only one, everybody who has employed them have been sufferers. I would not give one of our People for a dozen of them.*"

It is a strong statement by Turnbull about the American-born worker. Judging an entire group of people on the action of one man is not very wise in the scheme of things back then or now.

In Turnbull's letter to Duncan on March 7, 1770, he says he has not seen rare birds, but the black crows pull up a tremendous amount of corn seed. He mentioned that the red bay tree would be good for making small furniture, but it was not large enough to make tables. He closes the letter by telling Duncan "*Mrs. Turnbull is raising poultry and gardening, she has raised about 500 head of poultry, which are mostly distributed among the Farmers.*"

Turnbull's March 10, 1770, letter tells of a man who was supposed to take care of his cattle but appeared in court in St. Augustine. Turnbull had to travel there, but the man ran off again, threatening to sue

Turnbull for: *“£50 Sterling for back wages.” Instead of paying him, Turnbull sued the man for damages, claiming more than “£200 Sterling.”*

While in St. Augustine, Turnbull contracted for a stallion and ten mares for breeding, as the horses currently being used at the colony were not trained for farm work. Turnbull wrote again the next month, emphasizing how valuable the horses were, stating, *“Our plan of this settlement is in small farms; we must have every help to lighten labour.”*

Turnbull’s letters seem to have shifted focus away from worrying about expenses. While he still had to explain his actions to his investors, his desire to reduce the harsh labor must have been evident in his treatment of the colonists. The significantly lower death rate must have been satisfying to him.

The colony appeared to function well as long as the colonists had clothing and food. Turnbull had mentioned his intention to build better houses than the palmetto huts, but it is unclear whether any construction had begun by 1770.

Turnbull was a prolific writer of letters. In one to Governor Grant, dated March 12, 1770, he apologized for having to send bills for Mr. Gordon for “pork, indigo seed, cart wheels, pumps, & etc.” He also noted to the governor that the most recent letters from both of his partners were *“friendly and complimentary.”*

There seemed to have been a positive change in attitude from Duncan and Grenville after the new contract was finalized, and the outlook for cash crops appeared promising in the near future. Turnbull informed them of his intention to build six vats that year, noting that plans were in order to make it happen.

He also mentioned that he had significant goods in St. Augustine from London that he wanted sent to New Smyrna, closing the letter by stating that he almost had a cargo ready himself.

Turnbull’s letter to Governor Grant, dated March 19, 1770, complimented the governor for sending the *East Florida* vessel to New Smyrna, though he expressed regret that his goods from London were not aboard the ship. He noted that there were others who would bring his goods eventually. Turnbull also mentioned that a drought had forced him to stop planting. However, prior to the drought, he had planted indigo on two hundred acres, alternating every fourth row with corn, which left only one hundred and fifty acres of indigo actually in the ground.

He used strong language to describe the bride of one of Mr. Ross’s overseers, stating, *“Ross has been making more leeway by a marriage between his overseer and the coarsest piece of woman I ever saw.”* He added that Bishop Bisset performed the marriage ceremony but described the bishop as being lethargic. Turnbull also mentioned that he was expecting a vessel to come to the colony to take some red bay timber but had not heard any updates on its arrival. He closed by noting that the governor had sent orange tree seeds to a lady, who extended her respects to the governor.

In Turnbull’s letter to Duncan on April 18, 1770, he lists the number of people and their ages who are living at the colony. He blames the great number of deaths on the weather and said, *“worst and wettest season ever seen in this Country bore very heavy on us. But even this bad season would not probably have proved so mortal, if a previous poor living in the countries where these People came from had not impoverished their Blood.”* This statement does not seem accurate as he had raved early on about the

health and strength of the people. He did say the long voyage added to that bad state, but this author observes that the 70-day voyage across the Atlantic Ocean was the primary cause of the deaths because of the rampant amount of scurvy and then the living conditions at the colony.

He said the deaths have reduced the colony almost by half and the deaths were most attributable to the “*very youngest and the oldest people.*” The ages and number of people on the 18th of March, 1770, were as follows:

- Under 1 year old: 12
- From 1 to 4 years old: 25
- From 4 to 8 years old: 47
- From 8 to 12 years old: 63
- From 12 to 16 years old: 133
- From 16 to 30 years old: 361
- From 30 to 40 years old: 47
- From 40 to 50 years and upwards: 14

Total:

- Males: 406
- Females: 296
- **Grand Total:** 702

—A.W. Turnbull

Turnbull’s letter to Grant, dated April 19, 1770, mentions that Mr. Penman’s indigo planted in the marsh was doing well. He also noted that his uncle had died and left him two thousand five hundred pounds. Turnbull wrote, “*I am almost in distress for my checks and oznaburggs⁷ (sic). Most of my people are without a shirt to their backs.*” How difficult it must have been for the Minorcans, who had to work in the fields without shirts, enduring mosquitoes and other insects that targeted their exposed skin. He was concerned with the lack of shirts for the colonists, but not too concerned not to worry about having chairs to sit in.

Turnbull’s letter to Duncan on April 30, 1770, is a bit confusing. He mentions that the indigo he planted in 1769 was two feet off the ground, even though, in some of his previous letters, he indicated that he did not yet have the pumps he needed or that any vats had been built. This will be marked down as a historical inconsistency.

He also heard from Sir William Duncan that Duncan wanted to visit the colony. In response, Turnbull invited Duncan and his wife, saying, “*Winter here is agreeable,*” with summer-like temperatures and sea breezes, adding that, “*Mrs. Turnbull and our children [are] having their best health ever.*”

In a second letter of that same day he indicated that Mr. Watson, his head carpenter had a valid claim for back wages and wanted to be paid in “*two Negro boys from Mr. Fairlamb, agent to Mr. Oswald.*” The two Negro boys he wanted must have been very special for him to pay for them with three years of work.

⁷ [osnaburgs definition - Search](https://www.bing.com/search?q=osnaburgs+definition&qs=SC&pq=osnaburggs&sk=SC1&sc=2-10&cvid=12351AB78E124738B2DA28BCF77E417C&FORM=QBRE&sp=3&lq=0)

<https://www.bing.com/search?q=osnaburgs+definition&qs=SC&pq=osnaburggs&sk=SC1&sc=2-10&cvid=12351AB78E124738B2DA28BCF77E417C&FORM=QBRE&sp=3&lq=0>

He said the Minorcans were *“healthy and do good work in indigo production.”* This was another compliment on the work ethic of the Minorcans who were still living in the palmetto huts along the bank of the Hillsborough River and evidently not always with proper clothes. He had eight vats ready for processing the weed and hoped to have twenty-four in the next year and be able to process as much indigo as he could grow.

He closed this letter by admitting anxiety had caused him to be sick but, *“by going on a “milk diet and exercise” he had regained his normal “robust state of health.”*

Turnbull’s letter to Governor Grant on May 6, 1770, mentions some of his important papers were packed in Mrs. Turnbull’s burcan⁸ and he wanted to retrieve his papers. He informed the governor that three vats were set up that week and he hoped to have fourteen in July if they had good weather.

Turnbull’s letter to Grant on May 31, 1770, is full of bad news. First there was the disagreement over the fright bill and then his “hogg lard”⁹ was nasty and only one barrel was acceptable. Mr. Fairlamb took that one. Turnbull double-speaks when he said, *“We parted good friends this morning as the pilotage in [and] out of this place is not to cost him anything. The truth is I was glad to get rid of him, for he is tedious, teasing and suspicious in business.”* Strange that Turnbull says one thing about being good friends and then being glad to get rid of him.

He told the governor that the indigo situation was dire, with the lack of rain being the main culprit. All of the indigo he had planted was gone, *“except a stalk here and there.”* The same was true for Mack and Ross, as well as Bisset and Penman, nearby plantation owners. Both of Turnbull’s plantings were likely to fail, and if they did, he planned to let them go to seed for future use.

Turnbull remarked, *“Our heats have been excessive and even wither and wilt the corn at midday.”* He then asked if there was any news about the bounty, adding that if it was not granted, he would plant the one hundred newly prepared acres with guinea corn and peas. However, if the bounty were granted, he would plant the acreage in indigo instead.

Turnbull’s letter to Grant, dated June 15, 1770, describes how Captain Platt had no trouble crossing the bar and mentioned that the captain planned to bring carpenters with him in the future to cut red bay for shipbuilding. Turnbull gave him a few sprigs of red bay and said, *“I have won his heart.”*

He informed the governor that Captain Platt had presented him with a bill for twenty shillings, claiming it was owed by the governor, but Turnbull did not pay it. Platt also stated that he had not been paid for the provisions he brought for the soldiers and demanded them back if payment was not made. Turnbull tells the governor, *“This was dropped when I told him that he must fight the soldiers for them.”*

He noted they had received some good rain, and although much of the indigo had been ruined, new shoots had begun to appear. Turnbull also reported that he had produced some indigo, though it was not yet dry. This was good news for everyone involved.

⁸ Burcan was likely a bureau or chest of drawers.

⁹ Hogg lard was used for frying, baking and could keep pork from spoiling. It could also be used as a lubricant for tools and machinery.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, June 17, 1770, was short but was important. He reported to Sir William Duncan, *"that he was sending samples of indigo dye, "the first produce of our lands." He was also able to report that provisions crops were growing well and would probably be sufficient to feed the settlers for the coming year. The people at Smyrnéa were in need of clothing, however, and Turnbull was still hoping the Board of Trade would approve a bounty for another year."*

Thankfully, there must have been adequate food for the Minorcans, which helps explain why only 34 men and 6 women and children died during 1770.¹⁰ The main reason for the relatively low number of deaths could be that those suffering from the most severe cases of scurvy or poor health had already succumbed after the grueling 70-day voyage across the ocean. There is also the possibility that many of the Minorcans were living in better homes built by the London carpenters. Records show that construction materials were brought to the colony. Daniel Shafer¹¹ explains that the carpenters brought from London stayed for two years, during which time they taught enslaved men how to build these improved houses. Plantation owners supported this training, as enslaved workers did not receive wages and were considered chattel, bound to their owners for life.

Turnbull reported that the people were in need of clothing, which was understandable, as they worked in the fields every day the weather permitted, wearing the same clothes.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated July 1, 1770, described some major changes about to take place in the colony. He planned to use horses and plows to prepare the fields after *"grubbing up the roots of trees and better clearing the fields."* This marked the first time Turnbull intended to rely on the strength of horses rather than the labor of the Minorcans. Additionally, he planned to relocate half of the families a mile and a half westward, noting the land where the people would live: *"will be on the dry pine barren contiguous to the swamp, which I intend to drain first by opening the water run which is now in it."* This is significant, as it suggests that all the burials took place closer to the river. Most of the Minorcans believe their ancestors were laid to rest near the San Pedro Church, which was not far from the Hillsborough River.

Turnbull felt it would be three years before the drained land could be plowed and planted. He explained in detail where the land was located and further wrote: *"Mr. Delaire, a deputy surveyor, was hired to survey what we cleared and cultivated and it will be sent to you. Mr. Funk promised to traverse the swamp and other of our land."* Turnbull felt this would double the amount of production and that, *"Swamp land in East Florida would not wear out like the hammock lands."*

Turnbull's letter to Duncan on July 14, 1770, tells how is trying to protect the Minorcans from mosquitos and sand fleas. His description of the clothes he provided them and why he had to buy more cloth is, *"The mosquitoes and sand fleas trouble and tease them so much when at work, that they not only hinder the labour from going on, but fret and vex them into disquietude and uneasiness, to remedy this I give each of them a frock buttoned at the neck and wrists with a pair of long trousers that cover the body and are loose, cool, and easy to work in. I can only give them 2 frocks and 2 pair trousers each, one to wash while the other is in use."* He tells Duncan it takes nineteen yards of cloth per outfit.

¹⁰ [The-Letters-Of-Dr-Turnbull-pdf-SEARCHABLE.pdf](https://minorcans.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/The-Letters-Of-Dr-Turnbull-pdf-SEARCHABLE.pdf) <https://minorcans.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/The-Letters-Of-Dr-Turnbull-pdf-SEARCHABLE.pdf>

¹¹ Daniel L. Schafer-St. Augustine's British Years 1763-1784. Page 135

Turnbull spent several nights at Governor Grant's plantation, which was north of St. Augustine. He was pleased with what he learned from the indigo process. He told Duncan it would only take two days to return to New Smyrna, which was over 70 miles from Grant's plantation. The roads must have been built and in good shape to make the ride home in two days. He did remark that he could, "be there tomorrow if the horses can hold out."

Turnbull must have felt the horses were fit, the terrain was flat, and that he could plan for water breaks, as it would have been hot during the middle of July in East Florida.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated July 25, 1770, dispels the narrative that he would not let the Minorcans fish. In this letter, he mentioned purchasing fishing nets and a canoe. He bragged to Sir William Duncan that, although he had paid sixty pounds for the fishing nets, they had saved more than a thousand pounds' worth of provisions he would have otherwise had to buy for them.

What Turnbull wrote about his work schedule, indicates he was doing all he could physically do to make the colony a success. Turnbull said he was in, "*our second year of settling, we are drying samples of indigo. I go out of the house at four in the morning and don't return until the night. Take many pains with the People and indigo manufacturing, and have instructed four overseers in the management of the whole of this culture and work.*"

Turnbull's letter to Governor Grant, dated July 28, 1770, indicates that his investors seemed to be satisfied with the progress in New Smyrna and that the former Prime Minister, George Grenville, was interested in acquiring more land.

He mentioned that his indigo was more purple than blue and stated he was going to ask Mr. Skinner, "how I am to avoid that Episcopal color." He also informed the governor that Mr. Ross had made bad indigo, while Mr. Bisset had produced some very good indigo. Additionally, he noted that John Gordon had not sent the corn, but his own crop was growing fairly quickly.

Turnbull closed the letter by once again complaining about his indigo being purple instead of blue. It is clear that he was still far from producing the fine blue indigo he would eventually export to England.

Lord Adam Gordon's letter to James Grant August 6, 1770 was quite informative. Gordon explained that he could not afford to clear and plant his lands in East Florida. He did mention that if his financial affairs in Scotland improved he would be able to invest "£1000 or £1500 Sterling in Africans and put his lands under a competent agent like Mr. Alexander Gray."

His comment about Turnbull were: "*I shall be very happy if our friend Turnbull brings things to a bearing, but if he does will greatly surprise some people who neither know him as well or esteem him as highly as I have ever done, since our first acquaintance. Lady Mary Duncan dreams of the thousands, nor is it a wonder that she should, seeing she talks of nothing else all day long. I mean to write to the good doctor...*"

Sir William Duncan's wife was very upset about the amount of money invested in the New Smyrna colony.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor Grant, dated August 8, 1770, lists the clothes and tools he will need for the winter. He writes in great detail about the indigo he is making and expresses hope to get more "*into the good purple of Flora.*" The people are planting 400 acres for the next year, and he hopes to

make the third cutting of the indigo planted last year. He anticipates having twenty-four vats in the spring, which would produce a significant amount of indigo, though he notes that this year's crop is thin. Turnbull also mentions that his friend Bisset was sick with a fever, so he brought him back to his house.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor Grant, dated August 17, 1770, speaks about a large sloop that appeared near the inlet, but did not try to cross the bar and it was too far out for any of the boats at Turnbull's disposal to get to it. It left the area and could have been going to St. Augustine, but the inlet there was more treacherous than the one in New Smyrna. He tells the governor that he really needs some food for the colonists. He is so short of corn that he has to pick it before it is ripe. He is feeding them one meal a day of what he has and said, *"Even this small quantity of corn food brought on disorders of the bowels and swellings. I have lost two men by these disorders, but flatter myself of not losing any more."* He built a kiln to dry the corn which made it easier to grind and asked the governor is it was possible to use the last of the bounty funds to provide flour and rice instead of corn.

This must have been a hard time for the Minorcans as they worked diligently making indigo without proper food. Turnbull flatters himself that only two of the people died from an improper diet, but how many were close to death or extremely sick is not known. He writes, *"We are not much troubled with ague¹², nor any kind of fever this year."* He notes that those who are healthy work well, though one of his worries was that the vats were so far from the fields. Despite these problems, he states, *"I intend to have seventeen sets of vats a-going in October."* He ends this letter by mentioning that he cut weed from his field five times, indicating that indigo was a good crop to grow in the East Florida soil.

Andrew Turnbull's letter to Governor Grant, dated August 31, 1770, was almost joyful. He noted that Captain Tucker brought 1,673 and one-half bushels of corn in bulk, fifty-two bushels of peas, and some salt. He mentioned receiving some pump borers from London and remarked on the difficulty of buying corn, as the Spanish were demanding exorbitant prices for La Vera Cruz.

John Gordon to Governor Grant on September 1, 1770, suggests that John Gordon was a merchant in Charles Town, South Carolina. He indicates remorse for not being able to get supplies to the colony when he says to the governor, *"The disappointments and bad success I have met with these three months past have made me so unhappy that I have been almost distracted. The thoughts of Doctor Turnbull's people being in want of provisions until I had a prospect of relieving them now is really intolerable."* He tells the governor that a Spainard offered more money for a shipment that was slated for him and that he had to, *"drop the subject to preserve my temper."* He noted that Mr. DeBrahm prevented his vessel from carrying any letters. DeBrahm is mentioned several times as a cantankerous man.

He gave a lengthy report on the state of several plantation he must have provided goods to by his company. He also opines that the Turnbull plantation would have failed without the support of the governor.

Governor Grant's letter to the Earl of Hillsborough on September 1, 1770, is revealing. His first sentence to Hillsborough says, *"In my letter no. 30 I had the honor to lay before your Lordship, an account of the helpless and distressed state of the Greek Settlement at Smyrnea, and took the liberty to observe to your*

¹² Ague referred to a feverish illness characterized by chills, shivering, and sweating, typically associated with malaria. The term was commonly used to describe periodic fevers or recurring chills and fever cycles caused by diseases like malaria, which were prevalent in warm, swampy areas, such as plantations in the American colonies.

Lordship the necessity there was of continuing His Majesty's most gracious Bounty for the support of those adventurers."

One of the most important statements the governor made was: *"Last year's bounty has been laid out entirely for their subsistence, and has actually saved them from starving."* This report by the governor affirms just how hard it was for the colonists in 1769. Of course, adequate food would remain a problem all the way up to the Minorcans' departure in 1777.

In Grant's first sentence, he refers to Turnbull's colony as *"the Greek Settlement at Smyrnea,"* and, in two paragraphs, to the people as *"Greek colonists."* The governor consistently refers to the mostly Minorcan colonists as Greeks. However, it is uncertain whether Governor Grant ever visited the colony. His lack of firsthand experience might explain why he was reluctant to write a letter attesting to the conditions there.

Governor Grant again references that the first mistake Turnbull made was bringing too many people to the colony. He notes that £6,000 was the sum agreed upon for establishing the colony and writes, *"They have actually, my Lord, paid £24,000 and are determined to go no farther."* While that was what the investors claimed was the total amount they would provide, by the end of the colony they had invested £40,000 sterling.

Grant tells that the colony has done well. Lots of land cleared and all kinds of vegetables are being grown, some in such supply that there might be some to export to Great Britain. After raving about the colony he says just the opposite about the people, *"But at present they are destitute of every convenience, they are ill clothed, many of them almost naked, and are obliged to live in small hutts put up in a hurry to shelter them from the weather upon their first arrival. Doctor Turnbull has neither money nor credit to supply them with clothes, and has not the necessary tools and materials to build houses for them."*

He may be making the case with the Lord for the need for another bounty, but there would be but one and they were fortunate to get that one in so many ways. As one of the leaders said, *"Without the bounty they would probably have starved."*

He concludes this important letter by writing, *"The remaining thousand if your Lordship approves of the method, I shall continue to draw for upon the Treasury for the support of the settlement in the same manner as I drew for the Bounty of last year." "Indent of clothing, tools, etc., wanted for the distressed Greek Settlement under the direction of Andrew Turnbull Esquire at Smyrnea, East Florida. Best blue plains 3000 yards at 1/4 per yard £200 Best white plains 500 yards at 1/4 per yard 33.6.8 Checkt Linnens 3000 yards at 1/4 per yard 150 Stript Linnens 2000 yards at 1/? per yard 100 Stript Cottons 500 yards at 1/3 per yard 31.5 Scots Osnaburggs 4000 yards at 6 per yard 100 Negro Blankets 600 at 5/ each 150 Mens shoes of different sizes 600 pr 3/4 a pair 100 Indigo Sickles 60 Doz. At 8/6 pr. Doz. 25.10 Broad Hoes, Crowley's of a middling size 60 doz at 20/ per dozen 60 Building Nails the greatest part sixpenny 100.dd £1050.1.8."*

The colonists were truly in need of clothes.

John Gordon's letter to Governor James Grant, dated October 5, 1770, mentioned how cold it was in Charlestown, noting, *"The weather is still cold enough to sit by a fire in the middle of the day."* He also requested a sample of indigo from Grant's North River plantation. In the letter, he informed the governor

that Mr. Drayton's creditors had taken legal action (attachments) against his estate by securing claims or liens on Drayton's property due to unpaid debts. This Mr. Drayton was the father of Chief Justice William Drayton. Gordon explained his actions in managing a challenging financial situation involving Mr. Drayton, emphasizing that his actions were taken in good faith and in a position of responsibility, not out of personal interest or distrust.

He writes that he found some inferior flour and rice under market price, and that there was no pork available at this time, but was able to, "*ship six hogsheads¹³ of home spun rum at 10 per hogshead.*" There was still money left in the £2,000 bounty, as the cost of the provisions were charged to that account. He asked the governor to inform Turnbull that the schooner would set sail the following week.

This author believes that the Minorcans were forced to work long hours, typically from sunrise to sunset, in a harsh environment. The main crop cultivated was indigo, which was labor-intensive and involved exposure to toxic substances during processing. The vats attracted swarms of flies, and, according to other narratives, the odor of indigo processing was nauseating. For several years, the Minorcans suffered from malnutrition and hunger. Medical care was rudimentary or nonexistent, and those who became ill from disease or injuries while working in the fields were often left to fend for themselves. Additionally, the colonists were subjected to abuse and harsh discipline, further degrading their quality of life.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated October 22, 1770, began with Turnbull rejoicing that "*1,000 guineas' worth of indigo had been processed and was in a storehouse.*" He judged it to be of excellent quality, "*better than Spanish flora.*"

He was pleased that Duncan had a talk with Richard Oswald, who owned the plantation close to Turnbull's but had never visited it. Oswald was esteemed by his peers and was one of the officials who contributed to the drafting of several treaties. He was also one of the biggest slave traders in British history.

Oswald suggested that Turnbull raise sugarcane. Turnbull had wanted to do so but did not want Duncan to think he was shirking his indigo production. Turnbull discussed a plan to divide the colonists: "*One group [is] to stay on hammock land next to the Hillsborough River to raise indigo; the other to go to the west to raise sugar; and yet others to the lowest [and thus wettest] land to raise rice.*" Indigo provided a quicker return on investment than sugarcane. He had planted sugarcane the year before, and it produced enough cane stock for him to plant perhaps one hundred acres in 1770.

He spoke highly of "*an intelligent sugar planter*" he had met a few months back. The man had been forced to leave Jamaica for health reasons but had managed plantations and sugar works there for some time. He was so capable that Turnbull remarked, "*He is a good worker and should soon be able to become the manager for this settlement if I falter.*" That is high praise.

In his last paragraph, Turnbull gave a concise report on the horses he had purchased, writing: "*Work horses were needed for the corn mills at the settlement. Those purchased before had not done well, and they don't breed well here. Those from Georgia don't tolerate the heat and flies here. We lost seven of nine mill horses this summer.*"

¹³ The size of a hogshead could vary depending on the region and the product being measured, but for rum, a hogshead typically held about 63 U.S. gallons. Six hogsheads would equal about 378 gallons of rum.

Turnbull's letter to Governor Grant, dated October 22, 1770, tells of a Mr. Ross coming to his house and informing him that a Mr. Foster, who was living among the Indians, had been told to leave. Mr. Ross also reported that the Indians were preparing for war and *"had already killed two traders."* Turnbull laughed at the report, noting that the governor would have taken care of such a situation. He believed the governor would send reinforcements if such an event occurred and wrote, *"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 a guard for the rest."* Turnbull had great confidence in the Minorcans, believing he could use a hundred of them to protect all the others in the colony.

In this letter, he again describes having difficulty feeding the people. He only had one barrel of flour left and no rice. He admits there are ailing people, as well as pregnant women, who need proper food. All he had left was corn and peas, and he begged the governor could send some flour. He explained that sending the food by land was not a good idea, as the road was inadequate. He told of the horses being very fatigued from the journey. He said, *"The horses which come from town here, even without loads, are so fatigued that they cannot recover till after a long time; they even die. Of three bought for me in town lately, one is dying, having been bogged in the Matanzas; another is lame; and the third is still in a weakly state."*

He bragged that he had made three hundred and fifty vats of indigo and thought he could get to 500 vats per day. That would be quite an accomplishment. He believed that sugar would do well at the colony, but it would not be as profitable as indigo.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated October 27, 1770, begins: "I am glad to see by your letter that the bounty is to be given this year." He explains to Duncan that, as soon as he receives the warrant for the last 15,000 acres of land, he will go to the St. Johns River to select the best land possible, noting that the good land is snapped up fast and that having land on the St. Johns will provide a good method of shipping their cargos directly onto waiting vessels. He noted that the land on the St. Johns would produce rice and one crop of indigo only, as it could not survive the winter cold.

Duncan wanted to know who would take care of the settlement in case Turnbull died or was incapacitated. He explained that he had brought his brother's son, Andrew, to the colony two years ago. His words to Duncan were: *"He was not of much service to me the first six months, being chiefly employed in learning the languages of the People here, which he easily and soon attained. After that, he was my storekeeper for about five months more, in which time I had frequent opportunities to observe him. His care and abilities were to my Mind."*

Andrew the nephew appears to be a very smart young man to have learned all the languages in a matter of months. However, during the depositions given by some of the Minorcans, who testified to the court about their grievances, Andrew Turnbull is often referred to as harming them.

Several authors believe the Andrew Turnbull those who were harmed referred to was Andrew Turnbull the nephew, not Andrew Turnbull the elder. This interpretation seems reasonable after reading this letter, especially since Andrew Turnbull the elder was away from the colony quite a lot, particularly during its later years.

Andrew Turnbull, the nephew, was 22 years old and was in charge of the colony last summer on two occasions when Turnbull the senior was absent. Turnbull the senior praised him as *"being resolute,*

steady, and judicious, with all the care and foresight of age and experience, though he is not yet twenty-three years of age." Turnbull also told Duncan that Governor Grant, Chief Justice Drayton, and Captain Bisset would help young Andrew manage the colony.

Turnbull explains in great detail he paid his nephew twenty pounds per year, "*which was not much considering that his passages by the way of Liverpool, Virginia and Georgia, cost him above fifty pounds, besides he lost six months on this round.*" Turnbull felt he should receive 50 pounds per year and with the help of Governor Grant paying young Andrew twenty-five pounds as the schoolmaster brought his salary to fifty pounds per year. Turnbull thought he was worth four times that amount and said, "*Even the most sorry overseers have forty and fifty pounds a year in this province.*" Here he affirms that East Florida was a province.

Turnbull tells Duncan that they had to pay for, "*bringing them into the province, but every other expence of settling, & etc., is to be paid from the produce of their labour.*" He explains that after the Minorcans debt is eliminated, the profits of their land will be divided between the owners of the land and the people.

A true expression on how he looked at the colonists was given to Duncan in his statement, "*They, the Farmers, being as much subject to the Proprietor or his agent as a servant to a master, and this both in regard to what is to be cultivated, as to what they are to cultivate, and also in what mode or manner the Proprietor pleases.*" In Turnbull's mind the colonists would operate the same way a slave would to their master.

Another statement that causes pause for this author is when he tells Duncan, "*They wish rather to be a year or two longer in debt than be punished in any thing. The longer we have them before the 11 years partnership comes on the better for us.*" He also says he has the contracts in hand and should have filed them in St. Augustine and will file them the next time he went there. Evidently Duncan sent the papers concerning the new arrangements for dividing the profits and he said he would file them in the Register's office and send a copy back to Duncan. He mentions his health had improved and stated, "*I have now recovered my health so perfectly, that it is equal to me whether I am out in the midday heats, or midnight damps, yet I think my life is a bad one. I am more exposed to the causes of sickness and accidents than any man on the settlement.*" That is quite a statement, and this author believes that the men and women who worked the vats or chopped down large trees were far more exposed than a man who could ride through the colony on horseback and live in a mansion, served by enslaved people and possibly some of the Minorcans.

Near the end of 1770 we learn that there was nine hundred and seventy acres under cultivation according to a Mr. Delaire. It would be so helpful if the map showing the cultivated land could be examined. He told Duncan he was going to add, "*some hundreds to it next spring.*" Turnbull is expressing confidence in the land's potential and the effectiveness of the current strategy, provided the work continues steadily. He acknowledges the existing challenges but believes they can be overcome without extraordinary effort.

His closing paragraph speaks highly of the Minorcans, noting that they are sober, but also states that they are more "under command," meaning the overseers hold sway over them. He writes, "*I forgot to mention in the above that single men, I mean unmarried men, are engaged to us for seven years at five pounds sterling wages a year, one half to be paid to them in necessary clothing, and the other half at the*

Expiration of that term of seven years. My best Tradesmen are engaged at the same price. Thirty pounds a year are given for English tradesmen in this province, I would not give two of our five pound ones for three of them. Ours are sober and more under command."

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated October 29, 1770, it appears Duncan thought because of the war in Turkey, he could get more Greeks to come to America and Turnbull offered a suggestion that hiring a Greek agent, specifically Theodore Alexiano. He would offer the Greeks four pence per day and, "when the number of colonists fills the ship, bring them to Florida."

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated October 30, 1770, reported that his people had made many hundreds of vats of indigo that was very fine, and that, in order to keep the weed from spoiling, was to reduce the steeping process. On November 1, two days later, he said that Governor Grant was leaving, and even though some said it was only for two years, Turnbull rightly remarked, "*I doubt his ever coming back, as the family estate is now fallen to him.*" He opined that there would be two years of a Lieutenant Governor in charge, "*who may trouble us here.*"

His prediction concerning a lieutenant governor and the trouble to follow was 100 percent accurate. As events unfolded in the years following Grant's return to Scotland, Turnbull's relationship with the lieutenant governor became increasingly difficult, as Turnbull sought to be appointed governor. The situation deteriorated even further after Governor Patrick Tonyn arrived.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated November 4,, 1770, was a bit shocking as Governor Grant had congratulated him for the birth of another son he said, "*I return you thanks for your congratulations on Mrs. Turnbull's being brought to bed of a son. That piece of news was so old to me that when I wrote to your Excellency on the 22nd of last month I had quite forgot it.*"¹⁴ William Duncan Turnbull was born at the colony in 1770. During their time in New Smyrna, Maria Gratia du Robin Turnbull gave birth to two more sons: Robert James Turnbull (1774–1833) and John Turnbull (1775–1837).

Turnbull wanted Grant to see, as he felt whoever followed would not be as helpful as he had been, even before the Minorcans arrived in New Smyrna. He was so right, as his relationship with Lieutenant Governor Moultrie, and then Governor Tonyn, would become acrimonious to such a degree that Tonyn would jail Turnbull and remove Chief Justice Drayton twice. He thanked Grant for his help in soliciting another years bounty.

The weather at the colony had turned cold, and the indigo process did not work well in cold weather. The letter from Grant made Turnbull more comfortable about an Indian uprising, and he hoped that the *East Florida* vessel could deliver the produce from the colony straight to Carolina. However, if it was only getting to St. Augustine, Turnbull would like to know.

Richard Oswald's letter to Grant on November 7, 1770, tells the governor that he had talked to Sir William Duncan, who, Oswald said, "*is the mildest, best-natured man in the world.*" During their conversation, Duncan thought everything would work out in the end and encouraged Turnbull to write to him and continue to give good reports on the colony.

Turnbull's letter to Grant on November 10, 1770, reflected the negative opinion he had about Pastor Fraser and said that while Fraser "*has not said anything to me, but when he gets his grog aboard he has*

¹⁴ William Duncan Turnbull (1770-1848) All Our Kin The Genealogy of our Collective Families!

murmured a little.” What a gentlemanly way to say when he drinks too much he runs his mouth. The cold weather has almost stopped the indigo production making only three or four vats per day. In the summer he was making hundreds of vats of indigo per day. Captain Bisset had a fever after clearing land in the swamp. Turnbull says, “*He would fain be young.*”

Turnbull’s letter to Grant on November 10, 1770, reveals that several copies of his land and buildings had been prepared by Mr. Delaire, showing that nine hundred and seventy acres of one section of land had been cleared and cultivated. If those maps could be found, they would show where the church was located and possibly where the burial ground was as well. He describes what he was cultivating and mentions another tract of sixteen hundred acres he planned to cultivate.

Turnbull tells Grant he had cut a canal about a mile from town. The purpose of the canal was to drain the meadows and part of the hammock. After the canal was completed, half of the colonists would be located east of the canal and half to the west, which would provide good pasture for the cattle on both sides of the canal.

Turnbull said the canals had to be wide enough, “for boats of ten tons’ burden.” He described in detail his plan, ending with the observation that the indigo would be on the high ground, sugar on lower ground, and rice in the lowest areas near the swamps. He was very pleased with the soil in the area he was describing. He told Duncan that the people he currently had could accomplish this plan over time, but if it needed to be done sooner, it would require more people. He laid out a plan to set aside a portion of the profits for bringing young people to the colony each year, possibly beginning in 1772. He said the new people would be Greeks or other foreigners, and that if he had to buy goods for them in America, it would cost more—potentially as much as 10% more.

It seems odd that he believed he could bring Greeks, especially when the officials of the Ottoman Empire were so opposed to him taking any Greeks from their territories. During his voyages to gather colonists in 1767–1768, he was fortunate not to be captured by the Muslims, as he acknowledges in his other letters to Duncan. Regardless, this plan to bring more people to the colony never materialized for a variety of reasons.

He explained a plan to ensure that sixty-five percent of the profit would go to him and his investors. He also mentioned a third year’s bounty, although, in the end, only one bounty of £2,000 sterling would be granted. He reassured Duncan that he was not pushing for more people and was content with the ones he already had. However, he noted that if the plan were implemented and additional expenses were incurred, he would pay 8% interest on those expenses, which was the standard rate in the colonies.

In closing, he wrote: “*Delaire measured our cultivated land. Two copies of his survey are enclosed in a box with pieces of indigo. You can see that we have 970 acres cleared and cultivated.*” How valuable it would be to have Delaire’s maps to accurately describe where the cultivation was located!

In a second letter on this date, which could have been part of the first, he explains in great detail how bringing more people to the colony at the right time of the year and with better planning of provisions, could result in the cost of the new people would only be a fourth of what it cost to bring the Minorcans to America. He recognized the harsh and deadly effect of “*a scorbutic habit.*”¹⁵

¹⁵ [Scorbutic Definition & Meaning - Merriam-Webster](https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/scorbutic) https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/scorbutic

Turnbull's letter to Duncan November 13, 1770, said, "*Lord Egmont wanted to establish a port of entry at his plantation on Amelia Island.*" Turnbull was very much against one being established at Mosquito Inlet. He said, "*I wouldn't permit contraband goods, but an idle set of people with nothing to do but meddle with others is something we don't need.*" He was very opposed for a group of people not under his command wandering around the colony when there were no vessels coming to port.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated December 3, 1770, provides fascinating insights into the workings of his colony and the challenges he faced. He informs Duncan that Delaire was creating a detailed map of the farmhouses and plantations, including the trees along the riverfront. Turnbull notes that the timber near the river was unsuitable for construction, requiring him to transport building materials by boat over a twenty-mile distance. In the letter, he thoroughly describes how orange trees would be planted on the land and underscores the importance of fruit, particularly oranges, in their daily lives. He remarks that oranges are, "*not only a wholesome acid to be used with the fish our people eat, but also one of the best remedies we have for the bilious disorder to which this country, with other hot countries, is subject.*"

One cannot help but wonder how different the journey from Minorca to America might have been if oranges had been available during the arduous 70-day voyage. How many lives could have been saved with such a remedy for scurvy and other ailments?

Beyond the orange trees, Turnbull shares his plans to plant magnolia trees to the west of the large middle wharf, which for the first time reveals the existence of at least three wharves for loading and unloading cargo. He also mentions planting mulberry trees, which attract silkworms, asserting that the planting of these trees would be a useful and profitable way to provide laborers with moments of relaxation from their daily work. He writes, "*Moments of leisure and as a profit, useful, also for laborers' relaxation from daily labor.*"

Turnbull ends the letter by commenting on the weather, explaining that it was too cold to produce indigo. However, he adds that if the weather warmed, he still had enough indigo weed to fill another forty vats.

In another letter written on the same day, Turnbull reports that the schooner *Active* had arrived but did not carry any corn. Instead, it brought ample flour and six hogsheads of rum. He writes that he had sufficient corn to last until the next crop and likely would not need additional supplies for at least a year. He also expresses hope of receiving the second bounty.

Turnbull provides a glimpse into his views on the political world of the time when he refers to Arthur Gordon's request for him to solicit Governor Grant for the position of attorney general. In true political fashion, Turnbull tactfully declines, writing, "*I would not solicit for anyone without having your leave and knowing that it was for a person you wished to have. Indeed, I think I could not even ask this question, for I do not think it a fair one.*"

These letters not only highlight the logistical challenges and agricultural strategies of the colony but also reveal Turnbull's careful navigation of the political and social dynamics of the time.

Turnbull's letter to Duncan, dated December 10, 1770, contains both praise for the Minorcans and a disturbing commentary on the treatment of enslaved Africans. He commends the Minorcans, stating that "*European migrants to Florida were inferior to indentured laborers from the Mediterranean.*" Turnbull particularly criticizes Irish and English laborers, noting that they were less desirable compared to the

Minorcans. He writes, *"I wouldn't trade one for ten,"* emphasizing the value he placed on the people he brought over from the Mediterranean.

However, the letter also sheds light on the horrifying conditions endured by enslaved Africans. Turnbull observes the brutality of their treatment, remarking that those who purchased enslaved Africans often *"choose Negroes who are obliged at expense of Skin to learn the language of the overseers."* This chilling statement underscores the violence inflicted on enslaved men and women, who were beaten until they learned the language of their oppressors.

Reflecting on Turnbull's words brings into focus the unimaginable suffering endured by enslaved people. It is hard to fathom the life of an enslaved person who rose before dawn to labor in the fields until dark, likely with little to no food, and who, before returning to a shack for the night, faced the certainty of being whipped—simply to force them to speak the language of their tormentors. The sheer cruelty of such a system is staggering, and it prompts thoughts of the deep moral depravity of those who delighted in this abuse. Surely, there must be a special place in Hell for men who found pleasure in inflicting pain and asserting dominance over those they considered beneath them.

This letter offers a sobering reminder of the inhumanity of slavery and the suffering inflicted upon millions of people, contrasting starkly with the praise Turnbull offers for his chosen laborers.

Turnbull describes the difference in his establishment and the Negro settlements of, *"Lord Egmont, Francis Levett, Patrick Tonym, John Tucker, Richard Oswald, Peter Taylor, and Robert Bissett."* He proudly says, *"At Smyrnéa "we are not only peopling the province with most useful subjects but also farming an Estate...which will...be a solid and permanent establishment, while the Negro plantation neither peoples the country nor can be farmed."*

An undated letter from Turnbull to Governor Grant, found among the Dundee Archive letters near the date of December 10, 1770, holds particular significance. In this letter, Turnbull addresses an important matter—the fact that Governor Grant did not recommend him for the position of lieutenant governor.

This 1770 letter marks the first indication that Andrew Turnbull had sought the position of lieutenant governor for the province of East Florida. However, Governor Grant had recommended John Moultrie for the post, and Moultrie was subsequently appointed by King George III.

The first paragraph of the letter touches on Turnbull's intentions. Instead of not calling on the governor to pay his respects while in St. Augustine, Turnbull explained that he had business to attend to and wished to see his son, who was in the city. Turnbull wrote: *"I am the more solicitous to wait on you as I understand from Mr. Penman, that you think I am hurt by your recommendations of Mr. Moultrie."*

In other words, the governor had spoken with Mr. Penman and suggested that Turnbull's failure to pay his respects was due to resentment over the governor's decision not to recommend him for the position of lieutenant governor. Turnbull addressed this directly, stating: *"I was hurt only by you having wrote that it was incompatible with the interest of the Smyrne settlement, having had good reason to convince me soon after your leaving the province, that it would have been the reverse."*

Turnbull also expressed frustration over logistical difficulties in shipping his indigo to London. He wrote in detail about his inability to secure a vessel for the shipment and the mounting pressure of threatened protested bills if he did not dispatch the indigo immediately. Turning back to the lieutenant governorship

issue, Turnbull added: *“I also meant to let Sir William Duncan see that he ought to have exerted himself in favor of our settlement in regard to the lieutenant governorship.”*

Despite his frustrations, Turnbull assured the governor that he would pay his respects the following morning, but the disappointment of not being appointed lieutenant governor would continue to trouble Turnbull for the remainder of the colony’s existence.

The Earl of Hillsborough’s letter to Governor James Grant, December 11, 1770, was one of the most significant letters pertaining to the success of the colony. His Lordship wrote: *“the £2000 which His Majesty was most graciously pleased to grant for that purpose upon a former application from you, was at the time declared to be in consideration of the then distress of that colony and by no means intended to encourage any expectation of a further bounty.”*

He could not authorize any other expense to the public account, but he would send Governor Grant’s support for another bounty to the Lords of the Treasury. In the end, no further bounty was given to the New Smyrna colony, which would have been so helpful in the difficult years yet to come.

Turnbull’s letter to Duncan in December 1770 was the last letter written for that year. It is only two paragraphs that follow: *“Turnbull informed his partner that the indigo yield was only half of what he had expected for 1770, but that it was of superior quality. “I have been experimenting with steeping, beating, and liming, and now know the right way to make indigo dye. The lack of drying houses hurt us some.”*

“I sent two samples of sugar along with the last letter. Rum here is as good as that made in Jamaica. Mr. Forbes, maker of rum says it is fine. I enclose his letter to you. He is back at Smyrnéa and is still enthused about prospects for sugar and rum in East Florida.”