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THE BACKGROUND OF THE GREEK SETTLERS IN THE NEW SMYRNA COLONY. ¹

by E. P. PANAGOPOULOS

ANDREW TURNBULL, the principal founder of the New Smyrna Colony, was not the first who thought of bringing Greeks to people Florida. Immediately after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which transferred Florida into British hands, William Knox, in a memorial to Whitehall, had already made this suggestion in a very convincing way. Knox, who later was Under-Secretary of State for American Affairs from 1770 to 1782, made, in his memorial, a detailed analysis of conditions and possibilities of the newly acquired Province of Florida. ² Attempting to solve the urgent problem of peopling this area, completely depopulated after the departure of the Spanish, ³ he had formed the opinion that the nature of the soil and climate and the sort of products which were best adapted to both, pointed to a special kind of settlers who ought to be encouraged to establish themselves in Florida.

“These are the Greeks” he elaborated, “or any other of the inhabitants of the Archipelago who profess the Christian Religion. I am well assured that great numbers of these People might be induced to become our Subjects if their Mode of worship was tolerated & the expence of their Transportation defrayed, their Priests who are the proper Persons to employ might be easily brought to persuade them to emigrate & our Island of Minorca would be a convenient Place for them to rendezvous at.” ⁴

Almost at the same time, a Scottish pamphleteer, Archibald Menzies, otherwise unknown, published in October of 1763, a

1. This is a by-product of a major study on the New Smyrna Colony conducted by the author under a grant by the American Philosophical Society.
2. William Knox had some experience as a planter and government official in Georgia, and after his return to England in 1763, he had become Agent in Great Britain for Georgia and East Florida. About his career and controversial character see William P. Courtney, “Knox, William (1732-1810)” in *Dictionary of National Biography*.
3. See Wilbur H. Siebert, “How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763,” in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XI, No. 2 (October 1932), 48-57, and “The Departure of the Spaniards and other Groups from East Florida,” *ibid.*, XIX, No. 2 (October 1940), 145-154.
4. “Hints Respecting the Settlement of Florida,” Knox MSS., IX, 3, in William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

[95]

small pamphlet, in which he expressed the same idea. Menzies had just returned from a trip in the Levant where he had an opportunity "to acquire some knowledge of the characters, the manners, and the present situation of the people" in those areas.⁵ He thought that he had found there the proper kind of settlers for Florida who, because of their religion, would not form connections with the French and Spanish, and who would readily intermarry and mix with the British of the southern colonies.

"The people I mean," he said, "are the Greeks of the Levant, accustomed to a hot climate, and bred to the culture of the vine, olive, cotton, tobacco, madder, &c., &c., as also to the raising of silk; and who could supply our markets with all the commodities which at present we have from Turkey, and other parts. These people are in general sober and industrious; and being reduced, by their severe masters, to the greatest misery, would be easily persuaded to fly from slavery, to the protection of a free government. The Greeks of the islands would be the most useful, and the easiest to bring away, as they are more oppressed than any others, having the same taxes to pay as the Greeks of the Continent; with the addition of an annual visit from the Capitan Pacha, or *Turkish High Admiral*. The sums arising from their exportation of vast quantities of silk, wine, oil, wheat, tobacco, mastick, cotton, hardly suffice to satisfy their greedy tyrants, who fleece them upon all occasions. It may be observed, that they are excellent rowers, and might be of great service in the inland navigation of America."⁶

Menzies suggested further, that Armenians also could be used as settlers; and as if his mercantilistic arguments were not convincing enough on the expediency of bringing Greeks to Florida, he resorted to an even more persuasive argument:

"The *Greek* and *Armenian* women are remarkably handsome. This circumstance would naturally prompt inner-marriages between our people and them, and soon put an end to all distinctions; Most of our merchants in *Turkey* are married to Christian women of that country."⁷

5. Archibald Menzies, *Proposals for Peopling his Majesty's Southern Colonies of the Continent of America* (Megerny Castle, Perthshire, October 23, 1763), 1. An original copy of this small and rare pamphlet is deposited at the John Carter Brown Library. A photostat copy of it can also be found in the Library of the Saint Augustine Historical Society.

6. *Ibid.*, 2

7. *Ibid.*, 3

Menzies, like Knox, suggested the employment of the Greek clergy in order to persuade Greeks to come to America; moreover, having in mind the Greek colony in Port Mahon, Minorca, he thought it expedient to use these Greeks, who lived under British rule, for the same purpose by having them tell their compatriots of the mainland "how happier they would be under his Majesty's government, than under any other whatsoever."⁸

It is not known if Dr. Andrew Turnbull knew of Knox's memorial and Menzies' tract. Perhaps he did, through his friendship with Lord Shelburne, the principal Secretary of State during this time, who could have made these and other proposals concerning the development of Florida available to him. However, what both Knox and Menzies had proposed, was not new to him. He had been in several places of the Levant, especially in Smyrna, where he had served as a British Consul,⁹ and where his son Nicholas was born.¹⁰ He had travelled through the whole area extensively and he knew the Greeks, their industry and skill, and how fit they were for the Florida climate and produce.¹¹ As far as the "remarkably handsome" Greek women were concerned, he probably knew more than Knox and Menzies. He had married one, the elegant Gracia Dura Bin, daughter of a Greek merchant from Smyrna.¹² Thus, when he decided to give up his medical practice in England and establish himself in Florida, he immediately thought of Greeks as the most suitable kind of colonists for his settlement.

Turnbull was a man of volcanic energy, determined to carry

8. *Ibid.*, 4. For the Greek colony of Port Mahon, established in 1745, its life and significance in an era of commercial antagonism between France and England see, Nicholas G. Svoronos, *E. Ellenike Paroikias tes Minorcas* [The Greek Colony of Minorca, A Contribution to the History of the Greek Merchant Marine during the 18th Century], Melanges offers a Octave et Melpo Merlier, (Athens, 1953); F. H. Marshall, A Greek Community in Minorca," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XI (1932-1933), 100-107.
9. Edward W. Lawson, "Minorcans of Saint Augustine," paper read before the Saint Augustine Historical Society, on December 14, 1948.
10. Spanish census of Saint Augustine for the year 1783, in East Florida Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Copies of this, as well as other censuses up to 1814, including the one by Father Hassett, in both Spanish and their English translations, can be found in the Archives of the Saint Augustine Historical Society. (Hereafter these censuses will be designated by the letter "c" followed by the year in which they were taken, i.e. "c. 1783"). On Nicholas Turnbull see, also, Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalist in East Florida, 1774 to 1785* (DeLand, Florida, 1929), II, 56, n. 50.

his plans to a successful conclusion, and from the moment he submitted a petition for a land grant in Florida, he was completely possessed by his scheme. In June 18, 1766, he and his co-adventurer Sir William Duncan, a Baronet, had obtained separate Orders from the King in Council granting each of them 20,000 acres.¹³ Soon afterwards, Turnbull and his family sailed for Saint Augustine.

He arrived there in November, 1766¹⁴ and immediately started preparing his settlement. He met his fellow Scotsman, Governor James Grant,¹⁵ to whom he presented the orders from his Majesty in Council for both his and Sir William Duncan's tracts of land. While his family was comfortably established in Saint Augustine, he selected his land with Governor Grant's help, near Mosquito Inlet, about seventy miles south of Saint Augustine,

11. "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull," in *Lansdowne MSS.*, LXXXVIII, 133.
12. Carita (Doggett) Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Florida, 1919), 16 ff. This significant book was the first study to place the almost legendary story of New Smyrna in an historical frame, and to emphasize the significance of the documents at the British Colonial Office in understanding the New Smyrna affair. It has been used since its publication, by competent scholars such as W. H. Siebert, C. L. Mowat and others as the basis of their respective descriptions. The main purpose of this book was to erase the unsavory reputation created for Dr. Turnbull by various authors and oral tradition; and Dr. Corse was the most natural person to undertake this task, being a direct descendant of Dr. Turnbull. During the last thirty-seven years, however, more collections of British documents pertaining to the subject have been studied; the Spanish Archives in Seville, as well as in Havana and Mexico have been better explored; related documents from Minorca, Corsica, Greece, France and Italy have become available, and a wealth of local material has been discovered, all better illuminating the background, life and significance of this colony, which is the interest of the author of this paper. Another very interesting study by Julian Granberry, of the University of Florida, is now in progress approaching the whole subject from a sociological and anthropological point of view.
13. Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Class 5, vol. 548, 23. (These documents will be hereafter designated as "C.O." followed by the number of class and number of volume, i.e. "C.O. 5/548").
14. Governor Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 20, 1767, C.O. 5/548, 285.
15. For biographical data on Governor James Grant see Alastair MacPherson Grant, *General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 1720-1806* (London, 1930); Philip C. Tucker, "Notes on the Life of James Grant Prior and Subsequent to his Governorship of East Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, VIII, No. 2 (October 1929), 112-119; and "Journal of Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, Commanding an Expedition against the Cherokee Indians, June-July, 1761," *ibid.*, XII, No. 1 (July, 1933), 25-36; also, Siebert, *op. cit.*, II, 309-310; Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784*, (Berkeley, 1943), 12-13; Henry Manners Chishester, "Grant, James," in *D.N.B.*

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 99

which was immediately surveyed for him.¹⁶ He hired a skillful planter, whom he settled on his estate and he started forming a cotton plantation.¹⁷ He purchased Negro slaves, and ordered a number of cattle to be driven from South Carolina and Georgia and placed under the care of an overseer. He also employed a number of "artificers" and Negro slaves to clear the ground and build houses for about five hundred Greeks whom he planned to bring there.¹⁸

In the meantime, Dr. Turnbull had become acquainted with some of the most distinguished officials and planters of East Florida. They were all impressed with his personality, sweeping ideas and enthusiasm and perhaps, also, with his important connections in London. Governor Grant himself was the most impressed of all. He thought that Turnbull's conduct was "encouraging to every inhabitant of the colony;" that his "publick spirited measures have already been of utility to the country," and that "if all the Gentlemen who have obtained Orders from His Majesty for Land in this Province act with the same Spirit, East Florida will soon become an useful plantation to Great Britain."¹⁹ The result was that within a short time Turnbull had been appointed a member of the Council of East Florida in the capacity of the Secretary of the Council, as well as Clerk of the Crown and Clerk of Common Pleas.²⁰ While he retained the first office, Turnbull thought that he could not carry the duties of the second and resigned it.²¹ Within three months he had accomplished many things and by the end of January, 1767, Turnbull left for Europe to bring back his settlers.

He went first to London where his partnership with Sir William Duncan was enlarged by the addition of a new and important partner, the Prime Minister of England himself, Lord Grenville.²² In this way his company acquired not only greater financial backing and possibilities for territorial enlargement, but also great pres-

16. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 20, 1767, *op. cit.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 17, 1767, in Landsowne MSS., LII, 294; C.O. 5/563, 229; Privy Council Register, vol. 112, May 13, 1767.

21. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, London, May 1, 1767, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 139.

22. Treasury 77/7, March 9, 1781.

tige. Then Turnbull presented a memorial to the Board of Trade asking not only the five hundred pounds promised by the British Government as a bounty for the year 1767 to the successful planter of cotton, indigo and other produce in East Florida, but also the unapplied fifteen hundred pounds for the previous three years. He wanted this sum of money to defray some of his expenses for carrying his settlers from Greece to Florida. Moreover, he applied for the continuation of the yearly payment of this bounty to be used in the future for making roads and ferries, opening communication with Georgia, West Florida and the southern parts of the province and "the remaining 100 pounds of the annual Bounty should be given as a Salary or stipend to the Pastor and Schoolmaster who accompanys the first 500 Greek Settlers."²³

Turnbull had expressed his intention of applying for the bounty money while in Florida. He had talked to Governor Grant, who immediately wrote to the British government recommending transfer of the money to Turnbull.²⁴ Now, in London (he wrote an extensive letter to his good angel, Lord Shelburne, soliciting his support. To this letter he attached a long report explaining for the first time in writing the background and objectives of his colonial scheme. This is known as the "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull." In it, along the same lines as Knox and Menzies, he stated:

"During my residence in Turkey and in Travelling thro' Greece I observed that the Christian subjects in that Empire were in General disposed to fly from the calamities which they groaned under in that despotic Government. On which it ocured to me that the Greeks would be a very proper people for settling in his Majesty's Southern Provinces of North America. They being bred to the making of Silk and to the Culture of the Vine, Cotton, Madder &c. And many of them Declared to me that they would Embrace the first Opportunity of Flying from that Country of Slavery and Oppression where their Lives and properties were at the Will of their hard Masters. These repeated Declaration from Thousands of that people Engaged me to Petition his Majesty Order in Council for a Tract of Land in East Florida on which I might Settle a small colony of Greeks."²⁵

Soon the Board of Trade approved his petition and decided to pay "forty shillings per head to the first five hundred Greeks (chil-

23. C.O. 5/541, 211; also in "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull," Lansdowne MSS. LXXXVIII, 133.

24. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 20, 1767, *op. cit.*

25. "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull," *op. cit.*

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 101

dren excepted) that shall be imported and actually settled in that Province.”²⁶ This was a little less than Turnbull had asked, but at the same time the Board gave him the use of one of the sloops of war not in active service for carrying his settlers from Greece to Minorca. When all this has been arranged, Turnbull speeded the remaining preparations for his trip to the Levant, finished the complicated arrangements for the shipping of his settlers, bought tools, seeds and implements for Florida and by June, 1767, when everything was ready, sailed again.

Instead of going directly to the islands of the Archipelago, Turnbull went first to Leghorn, Italy, from where, he had heard, the migration of many Italian husbandmen was possible. He had already made arrangements to take people from there and from southern France.²⁷ With great difficulty and after many troubles with the governor of Leghorn, he managed to take one hundred and ten Italians, most of whom were under deportation orders. He sailed to Port Mahon, Minorca, where he left them to wait for his return.²⁸ He had left his agent, Edward Pumel in Leghorn, to arrange for the dispatch to Mahon of another shipload of settlers in October of 1767.²⁹

On July 11, 1767, Dr. Turnbull left for Greece. What he had expected to be a simple business trip, materialized as an adventure beset with great disappointments. The Levant Company, then active in most of the Greek ports, was jealous of Turnbull's scheme and fearful of conflict with him. Its agents notified the Turkish authorities of his intentions of removing to America useful subjects of the Ottoman Port.³⁰

In every harbor where he anchored, in every place he passed, Dr. Turnbull found the Turks on guard and forbidding him to recruit settlers.³¹ For weeks he travelled the Aegean with very

26. C.O. 5/305, 313, 317.

27. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Leghorn, June 15, 1767, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 141.

28. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, July 10, 1767, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 135; see also Turnbull's answer to Bernard Romans entitled "An Answer to a Publication in the Columbian Magazine for August 1788, in which an attempt is made to calumniate Dr. Turnbull's character," in P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* (DeLand, Florida, 1924), 107.

29. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Port Mahon, July 10, 1767, *op. cit.*

30. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 147.

31. *Ibid.*

little success. In September he was on the island of Melo, from which at least one settler is known to have come, Anastassios Mavromatis by name.³² On September 24, he wrote from there to Governor Grant that he was on his way to a port of Peloponnesos, where he was to embark his Greeks.³³

This trip had not been a part of Turnbull's original plan.³⁴ It seems, however, that he had heard about those few hundred villages of Mani built, like eagle nests, high on the cliffs of a rocky peninsula that starts from the peak of the mountain Taygetus and extends southwards for about fifty miles. He had probably been told of the sufferings of the people there, and how they had managed to defy the strength of the Ottoman Empire; about the heavy price they had paid for freedom, losing great numbers of men and women in their continuous fight with the Turks; and he was probably informed about the frequent migrations from Mani, during the past hundred years, to the Ionian islands, Italy, and Corsica, where they had gone to escape the threat of a life of slavery.

When Turnbull reached the port of Coron, only thirty miles from Mani, he could hardly believe that life was possible on this steep, rocky arm that protruded into the sea, the famed *Brazzo di Maina*. Up there, however, life was going on. It was not a gay life though, and at the time Turnbull arrived, the atmosphere was grave, full of anxiety and despair. Plagues lasting for several years had only recently ended,³⁵ family feuds that had taken a heavy toll of lives,³⁶ and the meagre living available from the bar-

32. Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Program, Work Projects Administration, *Translation and Transcription of Church Archives in Florida, Roman Catholic Records, St. Augustine Parish, White Baptisms, 1784-1792* (Tallahassee, Florida, 1941), I, Entries 20, 117, 306. (This volume as well as its second volume, including White Baptisms from 1792 to 1799, will be hereafter designated as: *White Baptisms*, I or II.)
33. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, March 12, 1768, C.O. 5/549, 77.
34. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*
35. Michael B. Sakellariou, *E Peloponnesos kata ten Defteran Tourkokratian, 1715-1821* [Peloponnesos under the Second Period of Turkish Domination, 1715-1821] (Athens, Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbucher, 1939), 119.
36. Anastasios Goudas, *Bioi Paralleloi ton Andron tes Epanastaseos* [Parallel Lives of the Men of the Revolution] (Athens, 1875), VIII, d, ff.; also Apostolos B. Daskalakis, *E Mane kai e Othomanike Aftokratia, 1453-1821* [Mani and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1821] (Athens, 1923), 157-167.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 103

ren mountains had aggravated the warlike lives of these people.³⁷ They could bear everything as long as they could live with their peculiar local government, their ancient customs some of which came down from Homeric times, and could keep their mountainous villages as an island of freedom in the middle of the Ottoman Empire. However, the recent terrorism of the Turks in Peloponnesos had made their hearts heavy. They knew that this was the beginning of many new calamities, and they had enough already.

The story behind this recent development had started in Russia rather than in Greece. The ambitious Tsarina Katherine the Great had conceived the plan of fostering the revolt of the Greek Orthodox population of the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire. For the Greek part of her plan, she relied heavily on the services of George Papazoles, a Greek artillery captain in the Russian army. Bold and ingenious, tireless and devoted to his Empress, Papazoles established his headquarters in Venice in 1763. After about two years of intensive propaganda conducted by his various agents, he went to Greece in 1765. He visited Mani, where the war against the Turks had never stopped, and promised decisive Russian military and naval aid, if the people would organize a general revolution in the southern part of Greece. The people of Mani, used to such promises, were very reserved. However, meetings had taken place, protocols and agreements had been signed, secret preparations had started and restlessness was in the air.³⁸

The Turks had sensed this atmosphere, and though they could not find out what was happening, they decided to resort to terrorism in order to intimidate the people of Mani. Just before Turnbull's arrival, they had arrested their outstanding leader, the Bishop

37. On customs and life in Mani see the almost contemporary description by Col. William Martin Leake, *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), I, 200, 209, 241-243, 318, 332-339.

38. This revolt took place in 1770, two years after the departure of Turnbull's settlers. A few Russian warships and about one thousand inexperienced Russian soldiers headed by the Russian brothers Alexis and Theodore Orlov, aided the people of Mani, who finally were utterly defeated by superior Turkish forces. About this revolt of 1770 and its preparation by Papazoles see Constantine Papparegopoulos, *Is-toria tou Ellenikou Ethnous* [History of the Greek Nation] (Athens, 1925), V, part 2, 196-206; Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 148 ff.; Daskalakis, *op. cit.*, 168-191.

of Lacedaemon, Ananias Lambardes, and beheaded him in the medieval city of Mystra, in the outskirts of Mani.³⁹

Sorrow and grief filled the hearts of the people. Bishop Ananias had inspired them with a passion for their Christian faith and freedom; he had built powder-mills and had been in contact with all of the armed chieftains preparing the great upheaval. With his death, a great blow had been dealt to the cause of their freedom. It was in the midst of this mourning atmosphere that news came from the port of Coron that an English doctor had arrived who wanted to take people with him far away, to the New World. The doctor talked about a sunny country, with sandy coasts and orange groves; and a new life that everyone could start there, free from tyranny and oppression, where everyone could live in peace, have his own religion, and receive in time a piece of fertile land. The result was that many of the people of Mani decided to follow Dr. Turnbull.

The contemporary French author F.C.H.L. Pouqueville and somewhat later E. d'Eschavannes give us almost identical descriptions of the departure of these people from the port of Coron. They speak about the excitement and the emotional outbursts of the people gathered on the docks, and how sad they were at leaving the land of their forefathers. They mention that Turnbull had obtained permission from the commander of the Turkish garrison at Coron by bribing him with 1200 piastres, and that the Orthodox priests who were present gave the signal for the departure of the immigrants.⁴⁰

39. Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 154; Takes Ch. Kandeloros, *O Armatolismos tes Peloponnesou, 1500-1821* [The "Armatolism" of Peloponnesos, 1500-1821] (Athens, 1924), 56-57, 67.
40. F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grece* (Paris, 1826), 2nd ed. IV, 331333; E.d' Eschavannes, *Histoire de Corinth, relation des principaux evenements de la Moree* (Paris, 1854), 266; Constantine N. Sathas in his *Tourkokratoumene Ellas* [Greece under Turkish Rule, A Historical Essay on the Revolutions made against the Ottoman Yoke, 1453-1821] (Athens, 1869), 474, n. 2; Sathas, also, knew the following statement made earlier by Kyriakos Melirrytos, *Chronologia Istorike* [Historical Chronology] (Odessa, Russia, 1836), 245: "1767: Dr. Turnbull leads a colony of Peloponnesians to Florida of America. The colonists joined by Corsicans cultivate as tenants 60,000 stremmata [about 20,000 acres]. They inhabit New Smyrna, neighbouring to Saint Augustine." See, also, Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 119, n. 6; Kandeloros, *op. cit.*, 68.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 105

Speaking about them, Dr. Turnbull, said:

“Those now with me are from among a people who inhabit a chain of mountains which makes the southmost promontory of the Peloponnese. That people submitted to the Turks when they conquered the Morea in the beginning of this century, but finding themselves hardly used, they shook off their fetters, and continued free to this day. The Turks have often attempted to bring them under subjection, but have always failed from the impracticability of attacking them in their mountains. These Greeks are ruled by Chiefs called captains, to whom they pay a small tribute yearly to enable him to provide warlike ammunition to defend them against the Turks. This, however, is frequently consumed in Civil wars among themselves. Several mountains in the Turkish Empire are inhabited by people who maintain their liberty in this manner, & who rather chuse to work hard in cultivating the little pieces of ground they find among the mountains, than live under tyranny in the fertile and extensive plains under them.”⁴¹

And several years later, mentioning them he added “that it was cruel tyranny and the most pinching poverty that made them wish to fly from such complicated distress; otherwise they would not have emigrated, for there is not a nation on earth more prejudiced in favour of their own country than the Greeks, and indeed with reason.”⁴²

Leaving Coron, Turnbull continued his trip among the Aegean islands. His itinerary is obscure, but judging from the place of origin of some of his settlers, one can form a faint idea of the ports at which he touched. Thus, it seems that he visited the island of Crete, whence came Demetrios Fundulakis, from the town of Candia, twenty years of age at that time.⁴³ Probably

41. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*

42. P. Lee Phillips, *op. cit.*, 107.

43. As happened with most Greek names of the colonists, his name appears in the various records and censuses, hispanized and corrupt, in a great variety of spellings, i.e. Fudelache, Tudelache, Pedulach, etc. All records state that he was “a native of Candia,” or “of the island of Candia in the Levant.” “The Spanish census of 1783 states that “he is of the Greek church,” which constitutes a unique exception among the known compatriots of his who, by that time, had become converted Roman Catholics. The Spanish census of East Florida of 1793 states that in that year Fundulakis was forty-five years of age, implying the year 1748, as the year of his birth. It is probable that George Pataridakis or Pataridaxi came also from Crete. His name is Cretan but, unfortunately, there is only one record in Father *Pedro Camps Register*, Entry 19 of the year 1774. (A copy of the *Pedro*

he stopped also at the volcanic island of Santorin, from which came the only known Greek woman, Maria Parta or Ambross, the latter being her mother's maiden name.⁴⁴ Then Turnbull went to Smyrna, the birth-place of his wife and son Nicholas. His arrival there greatly disturbed the French Consul Peyssonnel who, in this period of great economic rivalry between France and England, followed Turnbull's movements carefully. He reported the recruitment of people from Smyrna in two of his official reports to the French government, one on September 22, 1767, and the other on January 28, 1768.⁴⁵ The only man known to come from Smyrna, however, was Gasper Papi, whose descendants carry his name in Florida into the middle of the twentieth century. He was a lad of seventeen years old when he embarked in Turnbull's ships.⁴⁶

The reaction of the Levant Company to Turnbull's plans continued to cause various troubles, the most disturbing of which occurred at Modon. This is a little town of the Southern Peloponnesos, on the west coast of the same peninsula where Coron lies. Built in a strategic location that controls ships entering or leaving the Aegean sea, and being heavily fortified with castles of many periods, Modon had been since ancient times one of the most important ports of Greece. Turnbull narrated the incident, which evidently happened when he was ready to leave Greek waters and return to Minorca, as follows:

Camps Register, which is known as "The Golden Rule Book of the Minorcans" has been deposited in the archives of the Saint Augustine Historical Society, indexed in English by E. W. Lawson.) Pataridakis there appears as a godfather of Maria, daughter of Peter Drimarakis, a Greek from Corsica.

44. Census of Father Thomas Hassett of 1786, (hereafter cited as "Hassett"). On Hassett's census see Joseph B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV, No. 3 (January 1937), 152-154.
45. *French National Archives of Foreign Affairs* B¹ 1058; see Svoronos, *op. cit.*
46. Smyrna of Asia Minor is given as a birth-place of Gaspar Papi or Pape by every census or other contemporary records; see Hassett, also, c. 1783, c. 1787. In c. 1793, he appears as the son of Miguel [Michael] Papi and Catalina [Kathrin], whose maiden name was Auas; in *French Camps Register, Marriages*, Entry 2 of the year 1781, his mother's name appears as Auguis or Aquas. The same census states also that Gaspar Papi was forty-two years old during that year, pointing to the year 1751 as his birthdate. See, also, *White Baptisms*, I, Entries 171, 285, 443 and II, Entry 12.

Ill grounded Apprehensions of Jealousy had influenced them [the Levant Company] to make it [the purpose of his trip] public in all places, of which I felt the effects at Modon in the Morea, for on being obliged to put in there for refreshments for my people, after keeping at sea as long as I could in the worst weather I ever saw, on sending a boat with ten men ashore for water they were taken into custody, on pretext of my having some of the Grand Signior's subjects on board the ships then with me; but they were released the next day in consideration of a present made privately to the Commanding Officer of the Garrison, who desired me not to permit the people to appear on Deck for fear of complaints against him for letting me carry away Greeks, which he thought he had a right to detain as rebels.⁴⁷

Finally, Turnbull left Greece and on February 3, 1768 he entered the deep water of Port Mahon, where the rest of his settlers were waiting for him.⁴⁸ It was a crowd that had been gathered from many places: from Italy, Greece, Southern France and Corsica, and the majority of them from the island of Minorca itself.

Among those from Corsica there were many who had Greek names, such as Nicholas Stefanopoli,⁴⁹ Georgios Stefanopoli,⁵⁰ Antonios Stefanopoli,⁵¹ Petros Drimarachis,⁵² Petros Cosifach-

47. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. C. 1783; Hassett; c. 1787; c. 1793 states that he was the son of Charles and Martha Stefanopoli, and that he was forty-three years of age, indicating the year 1748 as his birth-date; c. 1813, however, states that he was sixty years old during that year, implying the year 1753 as his birth-date. See, also, *Father Camps Register*, Entry 22 of the year 1775, Entry 1 of the year 1777, Entry 11 of the year 1788, Entry 25 of the year 1780, Entry 14 of the year 1783; also, *White Baptisms*, I, Entries 34, 84, 207, and II, Entry 51. The name Stefanopoli suffered many corruptions and it appears in various spellings such as: Stephanoply, Estefanople, Estepanopoli, Estefanoply, Estefanobili, Estanople.

50. C. 1783; c. 1784.

51. C. 1783; *Father Camps Register*, Entry 19 of the year 1771, Entry 2 of the year 1772, and Entry 7 of the year 1778.

52. C. 1783; Hassett; c. 1787; also, in *Father Camps Register*, Entry 19 of the year 1774, Entry 12 of the year 1776, Entry 7 of the year 1778, Entry 16 of the year 1780. His name appears as: Drimarachi, Drimarari, Drimarere, Madrari, Madraxi.

53. C. 1783; Hassett; c. 1787; c. 1793 states that he was at that year forty-one years of age, implying that he was born in 1752; also, that he was the son of Theodore and Martha whose maiden name was Noxachisa (?). See, also, *Father Camps Register*, Entries 2 and 6 of the year 1779. Entries 9 and 14 of the year 1781, Entry 6 of the

os,⁵³ Michael Costas.⁵⁴ Their unexpected presence among the Corsicans was nothing but another page of the tragic fate of Mani, which had already given Turnbull a few hundred of his settlers.

Their story started during the previous century, when, in 1669, the island of Crete fell into the hands of the Turks, ending a twenty year war between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetians. It was then that the people of Mani found themselves in a very precarious position. During the war they had been allies of their former enemies, the Venetians, who nevertheless were Christians, against the Ottoman Turks. As soon as Crete fell their defeated allies abandoned them, and Mani felt all the pressure of the ferocious Turkish hordes. The latter, using promises and threats, reprisals and campaigns managed to build two castles at the outskirts of Mani making the life of the inhabitants unbearable. Thus, many of them decided to leave their country.

The first migration took place in 1671, when about three hundred families left Mani and established themselves in Tuscany, Italy.⁵⁵ Five years later, in 1675, the second mass migration from Mani took place, when the whole clan of the Stefanopoli decided to go to Corsica.⁵⁶ They were one of the older families of Mani, proud to derive their origin from the imperial Byzantine family of Comneni.

year 1782, Entry 22 of the year 1783; *White Baptisms*, I, Entry 109; also *Father Camps Register, Marriages*, Entry 4 of the year 1778. His name appears as: Cosifacho, Cocifacio, Cosifaxi, Cosifachi.

54. C. 1783; c. 1787. His name appears as: Costa, Acosta, Costas.
55. The Italian documents from the Archives of Florence and Venice concerning this colony in Tuscany were published in their Italian original by the late professor Spyridon P. Lampros, "O kata ton Ebdomon Aiona eis ten Toscanan Exoikismos ton Maniaton," [The Migration of Maniates to Tuscany during the Seventeenth Century], *Neos Ellenomnemon*, II (1905), 396-434.
56. Material concerning this colony has been deposited in the archives of Genoa and Ajaccio. Besides the descriptions of this colony found in almost every history of Corsica, the following monographs are the most significant: Nicholas B. Fardys, *Yle kai Skarifema Istorias tes en Korsike Ellenikes Paroikias* [Material and Draft of a History of the Greek Colony in Corsica] (Athens, 1888); Dr. Fardys had become a teacher of the school of the Greek Community of Cargese, Corsica, between 1786-1787. Using the archives of the Prefecture of Ajaccio, the documents collection of the Stefanopoli family in the same city, the baptismal, marriage and death records of Cargese, he wrote an informative history of that colony G. G. Papadopoulos, *Chronographia peri tes Katagoges ton en Mane Stefanopoulon, tes aftothen eis Korsiken Apoikeseos* Chronography on the Origin of the Stefanopoli of Mani and their Migration from here to Corsica] (Athens, 1865); Papadopoulos included in this study a unique chronicle

They had sent a representative of their family to the courts of various Italian princes to negotiate the terms of their migration. This man, John Koutsikalis, wandered for some time in Italy, and even visited the Roman Pope, but he was unable to find favorable terms. When he finally approached the Genoese Republic, his efforts met with success.⁵⁷

The Genoese were glad to help settlers from Mani and immediately promised land and protection in Corsica, which was dominated by them. Actually, they were the ones who needed the help of these settlers. The whole island of Corsica had been restless for some time. The Corsicans wanted their own independence. Revolutions that had started then destined to continue for more than a century, had disturbed and exhausted the Genoese Republic greatly. The settlers coming from Mani, trained in arms, experienced in war, could very well form a bulwark against the revolutionists. Thus, the Genoese were more than happy to help this colonization.

In 1676 seven hundred and thirty men, women and children of the Stefanopoli family, having with them their bishop Parthenios Kalkandis, and their priests, arrived in Genova. They signed an agreement with the Genoese Republic, on January 18, 1676, providing for the granting of the land of three Corsican villages to the colonists, for their identity as subjects of the Genoese Republic, whom they were obliged to serve on land and on sea, and various other conditions.

In March 14, 1676, the Stefanopoli and the other settlers left Genoa and established in the three Corsican villages of Paomia, Revinda and Salongo. With their industry and determination to make a new life there they soon prospered, introducing new agricultural methods and developing the trade of their area.⁵⁸

written by a priest, Nicholas Stefanopoli, of Corsica, in August 26, 1738, narrating the early adventures of the colony until that year. Nicholaos Stefanopoli, *Histoire de la colonie grecque etablie en Corse* (Paris, 1826); P. Stefanopoli, *Histoire de la colonie grecque etablie en Corse* (Pise, 1836); Demetrius Gr. Kambouroglou, "Peri tes apo tes Manes eis ten Neson Kyrnon Ellenikes Apoikias," [About the Greek Colony from Mani in the Island of Corsica], *Hebdomas*, II, No. 61 (April 1885), 179-192; G. G. Papadopoulos, "Asmata Demotika ton en Korsike Ellenon" [Folk-songs of the Greeks in Corsica], *Pandora*, XV, No. 353 (December 1864), 413-420, including few marriage records since 1724.

57. G. G. Papadopoulos, *Chronography, op. cit.*, 19.

58. Fardys, *op. cit.*, 53-54.

This was the largest Greek migration to Corsica since 560 B.C., when some other Greeks, the Phocaeans of Ionia, had established a large colony, building the city of Aleria. As it happened, however, with the ancient Phocaeans, who continuously had troubles with the native islanders, the same happened with the settlers from Mani this time.

The Corsicans did not like these Greeks. They did not fail to realize why their Genoese oppressors had brought them there. They considered them as intruders who grabbed their land and who were willing to fight against the cause of their freedom. Consequently, they attacked them at every opportunity. When in 1730 the Corsicans started a large scale revolution, protesting against the heavy Genoese taxation, they had made an attempt to solicit the help of the Greeks in their struggle. The latter, however, honoring their agreement with the Genoese, refused to cooperate with the revolutionists and thus became their main target. It was their war experience and boldness that saved the Greeks from complete destruction. In 1737, however, after a bloody battle with the Corsicans, the Greeks, despite their victory, abandoned their villages and came to the capital of the island, Ajaccio. The only thing that they could do there was to join the Genoese gendarmerie and fight for the suppression of the revolution.⁵⁹

What a fate for them! They had left their country to escape bloodshed, war and troubles. They had come to Corsica to find a piece of land and a peaceful life. Instead they found themselves involved in everything they wanted to avoid. Since they had come to Corsica, they had considerably changed their Christian dogma, placing themselves under the auspices of the Roman Pope; they had lost again their lands and homes; and they had been transformed into mercenaries fighting against a patriot like Pasquale Paoli and his revolutionists who strived to gain their independence.

By 1767, the Genoese were convinced that they could not keep the island any longer and they started negotiations to cede Corsica to France. The treaty was signed in 1768 and France took over, but it was just before this treaty's conclusion that Turnbull's scheme came into picture.

The Greeks of Corsica were confused and uncertain by this coming change of masters. They did know what would happen

59. *Ibid.*, 71.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 111

to them under the French. They thought for some time of attempting another mass migration to Spain, but after long negotiations, their plans had been frustrated.⁶⁰ Then, Turnbull's appeal for Florida settlers became known. It is not strange that many of them decided to join him and escape to the New World.

It is improbable that Turnbull himself visited Corsica, since none of the known records mentions such a trip. There is, however, a great possibility that Andrew Turnbull's agent at Leghorn, Edward Pumel, recruited and sent them directly to Minorca with the shiplot of colonists that had been sent in October of 1768.⁶¹

All these Greeks from Mani, the Aegean islands, Smyrna, and Corsica came to Florida as indentured servants. The terms, however, of their service are not known. Turnbull himself has asserted that he had signed contracts with all his settlers in Europe.⁶² There are, however, reasons to doubt the accuracy of his statement. The only known contract signed between him and his settlers, found in the Archives of the city of Mahon, bears the date of February 11, 1768, and concerns only Minorcans.⁶³ However, the bulk of the Minorcan settlers came to him in March and even at the last moment, when he was ready to leave the island and he had already made sail, Turnbull discovered upwards to one hundred Minorcan stowaways, which obliged him to hire a Danish ship as far as Gibraltar and from there on to transfer them in two smaller ships.⁶⁴ It is improbable that he could have signed contracts with them. Also, among twenty-one depositions sworn to before the court in 1777 by settlers, no one speaks about written contracts, but about "agreements."⁶⁵

All the evidence points to the fact that these settlers were brought to Florida as tenants, who should divide the products of their land equally with Turnbull, letting him first withdraw the

60. Daskalakis, *op. cit.*, 143-144.

61. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Port Mahon, July 10, 1767, *op. cit.*

62. P. Lee Phillips, *op. cit.*, 108.

63. A copy of this contract has been deposited in the Archives of the Saint Augustine Historical Society. For its English translation see Edward W. Lawson "Contract Signed by Minorcan Colonists is Translated," in *The St. Augustine Record*, September 2, 1953.

64. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Gibraltar, April 4, 1768, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 145.

65. C.O. 5/557, 429-432, 435-436, 437-438, 439-440, 441-442, 443, 445-447, 449, 453, 457, 461, 463, 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 475, 477, 479.

expenses he had incurred for their maintainance since they had arrived in Florida, but not for their transportation. This system of sharing the crops was highly praised by Governor Grant who explained that:

“Most of them (the settlers) are to be fixed in Familys, and to have half the produce, which is well judged on the Dr’s part, as it is the surest, indeed the only method of making new Adventurers Industrious, for no Man in America can be prevailed upon to work for his Master in order to repay the Expence which the Master may have been put upon his account - on the contrary if a servant has not an immediate Prospect of Profit to himself, he takes care that his Labor shall not pay for his clothes and subsistence.”⁶⁶

As to the time to be served under their indentures there is also uncertainty. Turnbull’s contract with the Minorcans speaks about ten years of service to be counted after the first harvest.⁶⁷ However, all the sworn depositions of the Greeks, Corsicans and Minorcans,⁶⁸ speak of a time between five and a maximum of six years. Other contemporary authors speak about eight years.⁶⁹ It is evident that there was a variety of agreements between Turnbull and his settlers, and that the Greeks had agreed to serve their time as tenants of the above described kind for a period of between five and eight years.⁷⁰

The number of the Greeks that Turnbull brought with him is also unknown. Both Pouqueville and d’Eschavannes speak about Turnbull having “ships” and not one ship at Coron. The French Consul of Smyrna, Asia Minor, Peyssonnel, in his report of January 28, 1768, says that Turnbull stopped in Peloponnesos with two ships.⁷¹ Turnbull, himself, narrating the Modon incident he

66. James Grant to Earl of Hillsborough, Saint Augustine, July 2, 1768, C.O. 5/541, 423-424.

67. Contract between Minorcan colonists and Turnbull, *supra*, n. 63.

68. *Supra*, fn. 65.

69. Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia, 1911), 234; John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), 188, repeating Bernard Romans (in P. Lee Phillips, *op. cit.*, 42), mentions a three year tenure time.

70. Melirrytos, *op. cit.*, states that the Greeks came to Florida as tenants.

71. *Supra*, n. 45. Peyssonnel also added that some of Turnbull’s passengers had changed their minds and escaped, informing the Turkish authorities about his plans, whereupon the Turks detained Turnbull’s ships for some days and released them after they were bribed with 2,000 talers. Peyssonnel, evidently, is reporting the Modon incident.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 113

also speaks about “ships” and he indicates clearly that they were three of them when he says that:

“I arrived in this island (Minorca) the 3rd of this month (February 1768) after a long passage from Turkey. One of my ships with passengers for Florida got in here before me, & I am in daily expectation of a third ship with 200 Greeks These added to the men women and children now with me will make nigh a thousand of them.”⁷²

Shipping during those days, as Turnbull himself admits, was not only expensive but also difficult to find.⁷³ He, being a good Scotsman, would never hire another ship without needing it badly and before exhausting the shipping capacity with him. Thus, it is evident that the ships with him were loaded with people. He stated that the third one was carrying two hundred Greeks; the capacity of the other two is not known, but his own would hardly be the smallest. The minimum number of settlers in each of the ships must have been one hundred. Thus, counting those from Corsica it is safe to say that Turnbull’s Greeks numbered more than four hundred.

In this period of Enlightenment, those Europeans who heard the news applauded Turnbull’s idea of taking Greeks to colonize Florida and Abbe Raynal, with all the enthusiasm and optimism of the French *philosophes*, exclaimed:

“Why should not Athens and Lacedaemon be one day revived in North America? Why should not the city of Turnbull become in a few centuries the residence of politeness, of the fine arts, and of eloquence? The new colony is less distant from this flourishing state than were the barbarous Pelasgians from the fellow citizens of Pericles.”⁷⁴

When the recruiting of his settlers was finished, Turnbull must have been very satisfied. He had with him almost as many

72. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*

73. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Gibraltar, April 4, 1768, *op. cit.*

74. Abbe Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* (London, 1798), VI, 77-78.

Greeks as he wanted, plus almost three times as many colonists from other places. This was a veritable achievement, because no one before had ever managed to bring so many people in one trip to colonize an American area. This task had been accomplished thanks to his own efforts and courage, to the support received from the British government, to the financial backing of his partners, and to the paternal protection offered him by his powerful friend, Lord Shelburne.

Turnbull was not one of those to ignore help, especially the services rendered to him by Lord Shelburne. He searched for an appropriate gift, something that his Lordship would really like. In a period when neo-classicism was so much *en vogue* and Renaissance revivals adorned so many mansions, Turnbull had a brilliant idea. Somewhere in Greece he looted a temple of Venus and sent the marbles directly to the home of Lord Shelburne. Later, after Turnbull arrived in Florida, he was anxious to learn if they had arrived at their destination, and he wrote to his protector:

“My friend Mr. Humphreys has taken them (the marbles) under his care, and promises to see them carried to your House. I left some other Marbles in Mr. Davis’s Hands to be forwarded to your Lordship. I shall be sorry if they have not been forwarded as there was an Alt Relief, of a Venus at her Toilet, among them, not a despicable Piece; others were worth little. I meant them as a Testimony of my Endeavours to execute your Commands.”⁷⁵

When everything was ready, on April 30, 1768, seven crowded ships left the beautiful island of Minorca. They carried more than fourteen hundred people. Some of them like the Minorcans, were escaping to the New World to secure freedom from starvation; some, like the Corsicans, because they longed for freedom from bloodshed and war; some, like the Italians, because they wanted freedom from persecution and uncertainty; and some, like the Greeks, because they desired freedom from tyranny and oppression. Among them were perhaps several who were seeking adventure, but all the ships were loaded with dreams and hopes and plans for a new life. But the story of these settlers was just beginning. The hardships, sickness, adventure, torture and death

75. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Smyrnea in East Florida, September 24, 1769. Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 155.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 115

they found in New Smyrna, constitutes another page of their lives.⁷⁶

76. NOTE. In 1951 a controversy arose in Greece as to whether Modon or Coron was the port of embarkation of the Greek settlers and whether they came from the areas of Mani and Messenia or only from Messenia. N. I. Rozakos in "Unemployment in Mani and Migration," *Nea Estia*, L, No. 578 (August, 1951), supported the thesis that the settlers came from both Mani and Messenia and had embarked at Coron; T. E. Politopoulos in "Maniates in America," *ibid.*, L, No. 580 (September 1951), maintained that the settlers came from Messenia and left for Florida from the port of Modon. It is evident that both authors derived their information from secondary sources.

In connection with the question of the settlers' place of origin, Turnbull had stated explicitly (*supra*, 16) that those with him were "from among a people who inhabit a chain of mountains which makes the southernmost promontory of the Peloponnese," which, of course, excludes the fertile plains of Messenia as a possible place of origin of these colonists. Moreover, the description of the life, customs, and institutions given by Turnbull were unique to Mani. In all records and censuses of East Florida there is not a single case of a settler from Messenia; on the contrary, there are cases of people who came from Mani, like John Giannopoulos or Janopoli, whose native village was Skoutari of Mani, and Kyriakos or Domingo Exarcopoulos or Hedzarcopoly, who came from "Brazzo Mayna di Levante." It is true that both Pouqueville, *op. cit.*, and d' Eschavannes, *op. cit.*, speak about Messenians. It was, however, a custom among eighteenth and nineteenth century historians to refer to the whole southwestern section of Peloponnesos as Messenia, and Col. Leake, *op. cit.*, in his map of Messenia has included, also, Mani.

As for the port of embarkation, Turnbull's letter to the Earl of Shelburne, of February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*, makes clear that when he approached Modon, his settlers were already on his ships and that only ten went ashore to bring refreshments, and were detained by the Turkish authorities, as Turnbull says, "on pretext of my having some of the Grand Signior's subjects on board the ships then with me." Also, both Pouqueville, *op. cit.*, and d' Eschavannes, *op. cit.*, state that Coron was the port of embarkation. Coron, moreover, is closer to Mani than Modon and the logical place of departure of people coming from there. Raynal, *op. cit.*, 76, is the first who gave Modon as the port of embarkation, confusing it with the incident that happened to Turnbull there. His information has been repeated by a few others, i.e. John Lee Williams, *op. cit.*, 188. Turnbull's account, however, leaves no doubt that he approached Modon after having taken his colonists with him.