CROSS Sixth Street facing the shaded lawn of Independence Square in Philadelphia, on the plot now hidden by the pompous facade of The Curtis Publishing Company, once stood a curious little building that could with some justice lay claim to being the birthplace of the classic spirit of early America. Just as the State House across the way symbolizes the birth of independence and revolutionary idealism, the first public home of the Loganian Library could represent (were it still standing) the balanced, serene, inquiring type of mind so largely responsible for nurturing the civilization of the colonies.

The Loganian, the first free public library in America outside of Boston and by some odds the greatest collection for public use in the colonial era, was the creation of James Logan, occasionally reputed to have been the most learned man in the colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century. Logan journeyed to America with William Penn in 1699 as Penn’s secretary, and became in effect the resident head of the province. Two years later, when Penn left his province never to return, Logan was commissioned Secretary of the Province and Commissioner of Property. He was soon installed as Clerk of the Provincial Council and became its most influential member in spite of his youthfulness. Eventually, in 1731, Logan became Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and, five years later, as President of the Provincial Council, he assumed...
the role of acting governor for two years at the urgent request of the Penn heirs.

But the drama of public life had long since failed to appeal to him. Even as early as 1708 Logan thought of "settling" himself out of reach of its entanglements.1 Years later, thanks to his success as the "chief Philadelphia merchant engaged in the Indian

1 Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, and Others, 1700-1750. Notes by Mrs. Deborah Logan and edited by Edward Armstrong. (Philadelphia: Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1870-1872), II, 305. The second volume brings the correspondence only up to the end of 1711, and the original plan for additional volumes was abandoned. (Hereinafter cited as Penn & Logan Correspondence.)
trade” and having a one-fourth share in “the best iron works in the country” at Durham Furnace in upper Bucks County,² Logan at last won the scholarly and philosophic retirement he so long desired. In 1728, having just suffered a broken thigh that crippled him permanently, he busied himself by designing and supervising the construction of his country seat, Stenton, sometimes proclaimed the handsomest mansion in the colonies next to William Byrd’s Westover in Virginia.

At Stenton Logan’s library grew to masterful proportions and became, along with Cotton Mather’s and William Byrd’s, one of the three largest and probably the best balanced and most scholarly private library in the colonies. Reading became his “Disease,” as he called it, and even nine years before his retirement he wrote that books “are soon to be my only amusement.”³ Yet he was by no means a mere bibliophile; he read with aim, purpose, fulfillment. John Smith, his son-in-law, bears witness to Logan’s unceasing devotion to books, even after palsy struck and speech and memory faded. “Understanding that Father Logan wanted me,” Smith confided to his diary, “I rode up there this morning, but though I found that he wanted a letter wrote to his bookseller, I could not at all apprehend about what.”⁴ The love of scholarly inquiry went with him to the grave.

The scarcity of wise booksellers in the colonies presented a problem for one who always insisted on the best editions, but Logan’s indefatigable searches were aided by many learned friends abroad. In addition, he corresponded with a veritable network of booksellers in London, Amsterdam, Hamburg; and the scholarly William Reading, librarian of Sion College, London, served him as a book agent.⁵

One story relates to Logan’s search for Theon’s edition of

²Frederick B. Tolles, Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Philadelphia, 1682-1763 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 86, 99. Tolles’ work is especially valuable on economic aspects of Logan’s career. The author here wishes to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Dr. Tolles for pleasurable evenings of conversation about Logan and many valuable suggestions on this and following articles.
³James Logan to James Steel, December 3, 1729, in Logan Papers, I, 93 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, hereinafter HSP).
⁴The Diary of John Smith, 3d of 10th month (December) 1750, in Albert Cook Myers, ed. Hannah Logan’s Courtship (Philadelphia, 1904), 302. Smith married Logan’s daughter, Hannah.
⁵Tolles, op. cit., 158. Much of the correspondence with booksellers is in Logan Letter Books, 1717-1723 and 1721-1733 (HSP).
Ptolemy’s “Geography and Almagest.” He hunted in vain for years, and finally sought the advice of Johannes Albertus Fabricius. The great European scholar wrapped up his own copy, which once belonged to the eminent Dutch scholar, Gronovius, and sent it to the Philadelphia fur merchant. The volume was so scarce, wrote Fabricius, who received a great buffalo skin in return, that “neither prayers nor price could purchase it.” If this is but one example of the care Logan lavished on his collection, no wonder scholars ever since have regarded the treasures of the Loganian with awe.

Yet in comparison with many less gifted figures of his age, in spite of all he accomplished and all he symbolized, comparatively little has been published about James Logan, and little is known of his life even among American historians. James was born on October 20, 1674, in the village of Lurgan, midway on the trunk road between Belfast and Armagh in Northern Ireland and situated on a rise of land between the great Lough Veagh and the Lagan that flows through Belfast. Ever since the reign of Queen Mary, who first adopted the plan to clear off native tribes from whole districts of the Emerald Isle by a process of extermination, this part of Ireland had been subject to sudden and violent changes. In 1641 the Great Rebellion of the natives against the plantation system and against anti-Catholic measures inflicted by Parliament broke out in full fury. Rebellion was followed by massacre when Oliver Cromwell and his Protestant armies drove the natives to the wild hills. Irish landholders in the north were dispossessed, and the vacated lands were given to Cromwell’s soldiers, many of whom sold them to Protestant dissenters. George Fox’s Publishers of Truth, missionaries of the wide-spreading Quaker movement, came to Ireland in the 1650’s, and William Edmundson, a

Frederick B. Tolles, “Quaker Humanist: James Logan as a Classical Scholar, in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (hereinafter PMHB), LXXIX (1955), 424-426, gives an excellent account of Logan’s relationship with Fabricius, as well as of his scholarly interests as a whole.

former Cromwell soldier and “father of Irish Quakerism,” established the first Meeting on the island at Lurgan.  

The troublous times played an important part in shaping James Logan’s destiny. In the first place, the Logans were “obliged to go to Ireland” because father Patrick, a clergyman in the Established Church of Scotland at Edinburgh and for a time chaplain to the Lord Belhaven, was converted to Quakerism. He had been well educated, with a Master of Arts degree from Edinburgh. James’s mother, the former Isabel Hume, daughter of the manager of the Earl of Murray’s estate, was a lady of distinction by both birth and breeding. The Logans removed to Ireland in 1671 and, attracted by Edmundson’s Quaker settlement at Lurgan, Patrick took charge of a Latin school there. It was in this school that James received his early education, “having,” as his autobiographical fragment records, “learned Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew, before I was 13 years of age.”

Though strongly influenced by the atmosphere of culture and learning which must have pervaded the Logan home at Lurgan, it seems doubtful whether James was fully indoctrinated in the tenets of Quakerism. The few facts we know about Patrick lead us to suspect that his convincement had worn thin. The instability of his subsequent history shrouded him in unhappiness. Nor was Isabel the most faithful of Quakers. After her husband died in 1702, it was not long before she married “out of unity”—that is, to one not a Friend, which in those days was a serious breach of Quaker custom.

Moreover, during James’s most impressionable age the troubles of Ireland started up again as the deposed James II frantically tried to salvage Ireland for the Stuarts. Young Logan had just been apprenticed to a linen draper in Dublin, but before the lad

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*Albert Cook Myers. *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750* (Swarthmore, 1902), 7-12.
*Autobiographical fragment printed in Myers, op. cit., 238-240. See also Logan Papers, II, 104 (HSP), containing Logan’s preliminary notes for the fragment. James was the third of nine children born to Patrick and Isabel, but only James and his younger brother, William, survived childhood. Logan’s autobiographical fragment is silent about father Patrick’s ancestors though detailed about mother Isabel’s. Her mother was the sister of the Laird of Dundas, and James’ maternal ancestry goes back to a William Maul whose brother was created an Earl of Panmure by James I.
*Penn & Logan Correspondence, I, 117. Logan was decidedly troubled by his mother’s second marriage. Isabel finally came to Pennsylvania in 1717 and spent the remainder of her life (died 1722) with her son.*
was bound by contract, though he had served his master six months, "and the wars in Ireland coming on," Patrick sent his wife and the boy back to Edinburgh. The father soon followed but could not find a job. Finally, at Yearly Meeting of Friends in London, Patrick was appointed master of a Latin school in Bristol. Young James could never forget his youth in Ireland, however, and though contrary to Quaker pacifism, years later he could still express the thrill of the stout Protestant resistance to James II and the memory of those "who had so bravely defended Derry and Iniskillen."

At Bristol the Logans apparently continued to feel insecure and unhappy. Indeed, it is not certain whether Isabel came there at all; she stayed for awhile in Edinburgh and then perhaps returned directly to Ireland. In spite of "good and well paid wages" Patrick left the school in 1693 in a fit of petulance over the interference of mothers in the handling of his pupils. James, not yet nineteen, was left in charge. Though ordered by his father to follow him to Ireland later, "our Friends would not give me up," so at Bristol he remained.

Even after his schoolmastering chores, James was not idle at Bristol. He continued his studies in Greek and Hebrew and added French, Italian and some Spanish to his linguistic repertoire. If the Loganian Library catalog's section on philological interests is any fair indication, James's passion for languages must have been a consuming one indeed. Eventually, at least, his studies ranged as far afield as Arabic, Chaldaic and Syriac. He regarded languages as the basic tools of scholarship, in much the same relation as mathematics to the sciences. Once the tools were forged and sharpened, the edifice of the creative mind could then be framed.

It was probably at Bristol also that Logan discovered the world of mathematics and began to explore the spacious and ordered universe that Newton had but recently revealed. As in the languages, he taught himself mathematics without anyone's direction. This pursuit may have begun when he obtained a copy of Leybourn's *Cursus mathematicus*, published 1690. As he explored further he became aware that Leybourn was weak in algebra and astronomy and "totally lacking in any reference to Newton's work".

\[n\] "Letter of Instruction to James Steel on Proprietary Affairs, 1727," *PMHB*, XXIV (1900), 495.
on gravitation." In later years he was able to discover certain apparent shortcomings in Newton's own work, in relation to fluxions in series. Nevertheless, Logan always held "that wonderful man's memory" in reverence, and was ever ready to "acknowledge him the greatest genius, in that way, that has ever been known to this day."

The discovery of higher mathematics and with it the principle of equilibrium, of the eternal balance and counterbalance, determined in large part the peculiar classic quality of Logan's mind. "Reasoning," he later wrote to Penn, "seems to me to be the art of comparing things rightly . . . I am so great an admirer of algebra, which is wholly employed in discovering equations, that I take it to be the best rule to be transferred to the conduct of life."

Bristol provided another advantage for the making of a scholar. The Bristol City Library, one of the earliest institutions of its kind in England, was founded in 1614. James doubtless came to know it well, and his younger brother, William, who became a prominent physician there, was later an enthusiastic supporter of the library as well as a collector in his own right. When William died in 1757, he willed to James's son, William, "a large quantity of valuable books," some 1,300 volumes. These the nephew in turn willed to the trustees of the Loganian Library in 1776; those duplicating copies already in the Loganian were given to the Library Company.

But for a man who loved books and the leisure of learning schoolmastering then as now was but a poor support. James at first dreamed of seeking his fortune in Jamaica where Quakers

\[\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\text{Frederick E. Brasch, "James Logan, A Colonial Mathematical Scholar and the First Copy of Newton's Principia to Arrive in the Colony," in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LXXXVI (1943), 5.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{22}}\text{Logan to William Jones, July 25, 1737, in Correspondence of Scientific Men of the Seventeenth Century, edited by Stephen Rigaud (Oxford, 1841), I, 316.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{14}}\text{Letter to William Penn, July 25, 1706, in Penn & Logan Correspondence, II, 139.}\]


\[\text{\textsuperscript{16}}\text{William Logan's; Register of Wills Office, City of Philadelphia; also Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Loganian Library (Philadelphia, 1837), vi; Samuel Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, I (1828), 133; Keith, op. cit. (II), 738.}\]
had established thriving maritime ventures, but his mother objected so strenuously he decided to stay in Bristol. In 1697 James gave up schoolmastering to strike out for himself in a shipping venture between Bristol and Dublin. The Bristol-Dublin trade venture must have turned out successfully, for how else can we explain the very sizeable library he is said to have accumulated by 1699? It is possible that a large share of this first library, said to have numbered some eight hundred volumes, was sold at Dublin on his way out to America.

Bristol, of course, had been a frequent stopover for the famous William Penn. Penn’s second wife, Hannah Callowhill whom he married in 1696, was the daughter of an eminent Quaker merchant there, and Penn occasionally embarked from Bristol on his way to care for the vast Penn estates in Ireland and to preach to Irish Friends. In 1697-1698 the Penns moved to Bristol; then after three months in Ireland, accompanied by the bright young Quaker minister, Thomas Story, Penn again took up residence in the seaport city.

During this period Penn and Logan became friends. It is altogether probable that their acquaintance first ripened as men of learning rather than as members of a religious society or as men of business. Both men were enormously well read in both classical and Christian, ancient and modern literatures, and both possessed that breadth of mind and interest in the natural world as a mirror of the divine which, to narrower minds, would leave them open to the charge of deism. Penn was desperately in need of a righthand man in Pennsylvania, one who would be guiltless of the fuzzy thinking and psychological instability so dangerous to a radical experiment in government, a practical man with understanding, energy, business acumen, dignity, above all with an unbending integrity and faithfulness.

It probably did not take Logan long to accept Penn’s proposal that he come to America with him as his secretary. Parental au-

37 Logan’s preliminary notes for the autobiographical fragment, supra, records that he gave up the school September 29, 1697: “Then I went to Ireland to see my parents.”
38 Gray, op. cit., 76, claims without citing sources that Logan amassed eight hundred volumes “by the time he was twenty-two”—that is, before he engaged in trade. I have favored the more likely position that the main body of his first library was collected after he engaged in trade.
pennsylvania history

thority this time posed no barrier when so honored a post presented itself. Preparatory to his second visit to Pennsylvania, where he purposed to establish his permanent residence, Penn wrote that last thoughtful collection of maxims, *Fruits of a Father's Love*—advice to his children, which, alas, they regarded too little. Something of the old beauty and ambience of his mind expresses itself here, but hereafter Penn's creative life is to be smothered by the burden of practical affairs, leading eventually to a broken spirit.

James Logan, on the other hand, had not yet reached his twenty-fifth year when on the third of September, 1699, he embarked from Portsmouth with William and Hannah Penn (who was well advanced in her first pregnancy) and William's daughter by his first marriage, the sprightly twenty-one-year-old Letitia. In spite of the tediousness of the voyage, hopes were high. It is unfortunate that none kept a journal of the journey. Did the young secretary brood over the necessity of selling his books? Did he pay special attention to his master's attractive daughter?20

The *Canterbury* docked at Chester, Pennsylvania, the first day of December and then proceeded to Philadelphia, which was just recovering from a siege of yellow fever. Logan and the Penns put up for the first month at Edward Shippen's great house.21 One of the Shippen daughters, the beautiful fifteen-year-old Ann, made Logan's heart beat faster. His New World adventure was off to an exciting start. James was smitten, no doubt about it—but so too was the eloquent, roving Thomas Story, a frequent visitor during the Penn family's stay. Soon a mutual hostility developed between the rivals, and Story publicly leveled some now unknown charge against Logan “both upon his own and Truth's account.”

20 Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania . . . 1688-1748* (Philadelphia, 1917), I, 375, is the only source I can recall that mentions the possibility of an affair between James and Letitia. She was married three years later to the avaricious William Aubrey who caused Penn and Logan no end of trouble. Most Penn biographers aver that the party sailed from Cowes, Isle of Wight, but Logan himself mentions Portsmouth (Logan Papers, II, 104).

21 Edward Shippen, originally of Yorkshire, came to Boston in 1669. New England persecution of Quakers led him to remove to Philadelphia in 1693 where he achieved great success as a merchant. When the city was chartered in 1700, Penn appointed him its first mayor. Shippen's grandson, also named Edward, was virtually brought up by Logan to whom he was joined as partner in the fur trade, removing to Lancaster in 1732. See William J. Buck's *William Penn in America* (Philadelphia, 1888), 219-228, 266; Myers, ed. *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, 262n.
The two agreed at last to place the determination of the case on the collective shoulders of Monthly Meeting, but the matter was settled only after the Meeting decreed that all papers relating to the charge should be burned.\(^2\)

Logan and Story tried to patch things up and gave every appearance of establishing a firm friendship “without any manner of provocation,” according to Logan. But both kept dreaming of the fair Ann. Sometime in 1703 Logan spoke to Edward Shippen for Ann’s hand. The old Logan-Story discord broke out again, and talk of it spread even to government and Quaker circles in England. To make matters worse for James, Ann preferred to listen to the eloquent Thomas. “I am anxiously grieved for thy unhappy love,” Penn wrote to Logan early in 1705, “for thy sake and my own, for T. S. and thy discord has been of no service here, any more than there; and some say . . . that thy amours have so altered or influenced thee that thou art grown touchy and apt to give short and rough answers, which many call haughty. . . .” The hostility glowered for another year. Ann and Thomas were wed in 1706, but their happiness was short-lived for poor Ann died of consumption in 1710. Finally Logan became reconciled to the marriage of Thomas and Ann and convinced himself that “the whole business is not now worth a quarrel.” By August, 1706, Logan was actually defending Story in his communications with Penn, shrewdly adding that “He will be very serviceable to thee . . . and his alliance with Edward Shippen’s family will be particularly useful.”\(^2\)

\(^{22}\) Isaac Sharpless, *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1917), 117. Story’s visits to the Shippen House are noted in Buck, op. cit., 230-231. Interesting speculations about the Logan-Story feud are given in Emily Moore’s *Travelling with Thomas Story* (Hertfordshire, 1947), 106-109. The rivalry for Ann must have reached a crisis before October, 1702, when William Penn, Jr., sent condolences to Logan for being “unsuccessful in your amours.” Story’s accusation against Logan quite possibly related to Logan’s failure to uphold certain Quaker tenets, perhaps his condoning the use of arms. See Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York, 1911), 393.

\(^{23}\) *Penn & Logan Correspondence*, I, 358, 367; II, 72-73, 146-147; see also Logan’s letter to William Penn, Jr., August 12, 1706, II, 158. It is unfortunate that the compiler of the Penn-Logan letters omitted the first part of the latter item containing an account of the marriage of Thomas and Ann. Though the feud ended before the wedding, July 10, 1706, Logan’s name does not appear on the marriage certificate that witnesses of Quaker weddings sign. Story’s journal, reticent about personal affairs, makes no mention of Ann or of Logan during these years and skips the period between August, 1705, and the end of 1708 entirely.
Psychologically the affair had taken its toll. If the habit of hauteur, so much the target of his political enemies, became more marked hereafter in Logan's personality, what more natural point of origin could it have had? The tautness of the defensive mechanism must have been increased by another failure before his marriage to Sarah Read in 1714. As to future relations between Logan and Story, it is significant that in after years the two engaged in a revealing philosophical correspondence.

If the events growing out of the Penn party's first month's residency at Edward Shippen's had a saddening effect on Logan, his next residence was equally filled with fateful and complex consequences. By the end of 1699 James Porteus had just finished building a small, handsome mansion on the east side of Second Street north of Walnut for the wealthy Quaker merchant, Samuel Carpenter. Into this so-called Slate Roof House the Penns and Logan moved in January, 1700. At the end of that month Hannah gave birth to John Penn, the only child of the founder born in this country. Then in late Spring the great Bucks County manorhouse, Pennsburgy, near the completion and the Penns moved to the country. Logan remained until 1704 in the Slate Roof House, which became government headquarters.

Circumstances that cannot be detailed here forced Penn to return to England in November, 1701. The harassed, aging, and financially embarrassed proprietor was never to see Pennsylvania again. For nearly forty years hereafter Logan was chief nursemaid to the province, and at the same time the faithful watchman of the Penn family's fortunes in America. The dual role was not an easy one.

In addition to the political and administrative affairs that involved Logan in an ever-growing web, personality clashes and

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24 Logan was refused by Judith Crowley, a distant relative, in England in 1711 (Penn & Logan Correspondence, II, 437). See M. W. Flinn's article, "The Marriage of Judith Crowley," in The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, XLVII (Autumn, 1955), 71-75, for the background of her refusal. Keith, op. cit., II, 709-710 describes Sarah as a "wife without a fortune" and the daughter of a Keithian Quaker, the schismatic party to which both Penn and Logan strongly objected. Myers, however, describes the father, Charles Read, as a "wealthy merchant" and Assemblyman.

25 A good account of this house is in Joseph Jackson's Encyclopedia of Philadelphia (Harrisburg, 1931), IV, 1092-1094. It is sad indeed that plans of the Independence National Historical Park Project do not include reconstruction of this very remarkable building.
rivalries beset him during the following years. Personal complications developed, for example, when Penn installed John Evans as his lieutenant governor for Pennsylvania in February, 1704. Both Penn and Hannah were notably unsuccessful in their choice of governors, and Evans was no happy exception. He was young, inexperienced, headstrong, and a gay blade into the bargain. Along with him came Penn's only surviving son by his first marriage, William, Jr., who had already shown grievous faults of character. Logan was instructed to watch over him. Unfortunately, Evans and young William, who moved in with Logan, got into a drunken brawl that scandalized the Quakers, and William, in a great huff, sold his manor holdings, repudiated his membership in the Society of Friends, and went home to England, ending his days as a wasted consumptive on the Continent. Governor Evans' conduct was little better. A penurious fellow, Evans drained off Logan's housekeeping money and engaged in an extremely impolitic administrative course of action, besides getting young Susan Harwood with child and conducting himself lewdly on a trip to Conestoga. Logan found himself in the unenviable position of having to defend Evans, whom he despised, against Penn's political enemies.26

The antiproprietary forces, mostly country Quakers led by the shrewd David Lloyd, leaped into the saddle, while in England Penn's affairs went from bad to worse. His entire Pennsylvania domain was threatened by the suit brought by the heirs of Penn's former financial manager, the conniving Philip Ford. For several years Pennsylvania seemed to hover perilously close to political chaos. Logan's burden was almost as heavy as his master's. He wrote to Penn in the Spring of 1706: "As for my own part, my spirits are often ready to fail me. Public calumnies, maladministration among us, no success in thy affairs . . . often give thoughts too heavy to bear up against—deprives me of that vigour that thy business requires."27

Disappointed in love, lacking public favor, financial ease and security,28 and failing to bring order into Pennsylvania's political

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27 Much of the second volume of the Penn & Logan Correspondence relates to the crisis growing out of the Ford suit. See especially J. Francis Fisher's note II, 176-177.
28 "For positively my whole profits out of the Secretary's Office amount to not much above £50 or £60 a year," Logan wrote in 1706 (ibid., II, 115). Because of unrelieved pressure of government duties, he probably had not yet entered into any considerable private ventures.
chaos, Logan was seized with a feeling of Weltschmerz. To an old friend in Bristol he wrote: "When I consider, Edward, the world we are confined to is capable of harbouring so much villainy... I am quite sick of it, and could wish myself transported to any other better sphere. ... 'Tis horrid blackness all, but thou wilt think, I fear, the frenzy of the disease I complained of has entered my brain, and that I am already as unfit for this world as I would fancy it for me. Well I say it soberly, I am sick of the world unless it would mend, which I scarce expect this revolution. But alas, we are chained to the car, and must drag it on." 29 Is it any wonder that he would endeavor to withdraw into the benignant shade of scholarship, or escape for a time of respite to England, or fortify his waning spirit by an aloof conservatism?

The climax to this period of Logan's career came in 1707-1709. Penn at last put Evans out of office, but David Lloyd and the antiproprietary Assembly, still smarting from Evans' impolitic measures, placed the blame on Logan. Charged with illegal activities in an effort to guide and control the legislative process, the embittered Logan was impeached.

Pleading for an immediate trial because he had planned a long-awaited journey to England, Logan was studiously ignored. The affair dragged on until the last days of the session in 1709, when Lloyd in the name of the Assembly issued a warrant for his arrest. In September Logan handed the new governor, Charles Gookin, a brilliant "Justification in Answer to the Assembly's Remonstrance," a large portion of which was laid before the Assembly in October. The Assembly took no notice for another month. Finally, when Lloyd issued his own "Vindication Against James Logan's Invectives," Logan was called to prove his countercharges just as his ship was about to sail. In the nick of time Gookin countermanded the warrant, and Logan caught his ship. In England he was fully vindicated. 30

29 Letter to Edward Hackett, August 13, 1706, ibid., II, 164.
30 Most of the documents relating to the impeachment proceedings and Logan's answers and countercharges are printed in Penn & Logan Correspondence, II, 360-400. Robert Proudf, The History of Pennsylvania... (Philadelphia, 1797-1798), II, 40-41, also prints the Assembly's warrant and Gookin's order of supersedeas, November 28, 1709. The manuscript of Logan's brief travel journal en route to England, 1709, is preserved in the Gulielma M. Howland Collection, Haverford College, but it ends with his stopover in Lisbon. Another journal in the same collection records his return passage from London in 1711.
This untidy affair marked the end of what has been called the trial and error period of the "Holy Experiment." In 1710 an entirely new Assembly was elected, friendly to the proprietor, and Lloyd was out of power. A more even tenor of life is soon to be observed in the province, and continued with only a few breaks until the late 1730's.

The old Logan-Lloyd rivalry, however, broke out afresh during Sir William Keith's administration. The same basic principle was at stake—the right of Council, with approval of the proprietor, to limit the governor's power to pass on legislation. Sir William, who had ideas of grandeur in spite of an almost empty pocketbook, was quick to sense a chance for popular favor by championing Lloyd's party and approving legislation which his instructions from Hannah Penn advised against. The weakness of his character—a willingness to promise too much to gain power—is humorously indicated in Franklin's *Autobiography*.

The pot began to boil when the paper currency issue came to the fore. In the early 1720's Keith and Lloyd and their allies capitalized on the depression that had moved in on Pennsylvania. Trade with the Caribbean, once so great a source of wealth, was now drained by privateers and the tightening of the French imperial system. Metallic currency became extremely scarce, and radical elements began to beat the drums for paper currency. The conservatives feared the inflationary effects of paper issues, and the failure of certain New England experiments taught them extreme caution. Francis Rawle for the radicals and Isaac Norris for the conservative merchants engaged in a duel of pamphlets.\(^2\) Logan, who as we shall see had a larger view of the British mercantile and imperial system than either, probably favored a limited issue of paper. As early as 1706 he had written John Churchman about "great discouragements" to trade due to "exportation of all our money."\(^3\) But he also pleaded for extreme caution, and

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\(^2\) Perhaps the best account of the paper money issue is in Tolles, *op. cit.*, 100-107, though the writer would assume a somewhat different position. The parade of pamphlets started with Francis Rawle's *Some Remedies Proposed for Restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1721) and continued with his less cautious *Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware to Become Rich* (1725). The latter was answered with *A Dialogue Shewing What's Therein to be Found* (1725), formerly attributed to Logan but according to Joseph E. Johnson more likely from the hand of Isaac Norris. Rawle then followed with *A Just Rebuke* ... (1726).

\(^3\) *Penn & Logan Correspondence*, II, 166.
joined with Norris in framing some pointed "Considerations" for the Assembly in January, 1723. A sound paper currency bill finally passed.

That, however, did not settle the basic conflict between Logan and Sir William. Taunted by the governor’s efforts to bypass proprietary instructions, Logan memorialized the Assembly to defend his own views and charge Keith with exceeding his powers. Opposed to parading internal disagreements before the public, Logan regretted publication of the Memorial, "for that gave the Govr and D. Li. a handle to work up to themselves a kind of Merit among the weaker Sort that is the greater number of the People." Keith penned an answer and Lloyd, now Chief Justice of the province as well as Speaker of the Assembly, came to Keith’s assistance with "A Just and Plain Vindication." When Logan refused to publish a reply, Keith and Lloyd, both demagogues of a sort, made political capital of the situation. Logan was at last persuaded to issue The Antidote, a carefully reasoned piece with passages of effective irony. In it Lloyd, whose legal learning was famous in both Pennsylvania and England, is severely taken to task for misapplying his legal references and shamed for his slanders of the Penns.

Keith countered effectively by publishing a letter to Logan, claiming that the lieutenant governor could legally do all that the proprietor himself could if he were on the scene. Though scolding Logan for his strictures against Lloyd, the paper was well phrased and surprisingly respectful. The Keith-Lloyd party came close to carrying the field. But there was one obstacle to complete success—Keith himself. The basic flaw in Sir William’s character led him to overreach himself. Flaunting his power beyond legal limits, he dismissed Logan from the secretaryship of the province in 1724. Logan went to England but significantly remained

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33 The Logan-Norris "Considerations" on paper currency are printed in Proud, op. cit., II, 152-162, along with related documents.
34 Logan to Hannah Penn, February 1, 1726, in PMHB, XXXIII (1909), 348-349. Logan’s “Memorial” of March, 1726, is printed in Proud, op. cit., II, 183-184.
35 The Antidote, In some remarks on a Paper of David Lloyd’s Philadelphia, September 25, 1725. Logan said that only a dozen copies of this eight page folio were printed. The complete text appeared in PMHB, XXXVIII (1914), 463-487.
objective about his dismissal and even urged that Keith be retained. But when Sir William refused to follow the proprietor's instructions, which Logan brought back from England, the ex-secretary had had enough. He wrote Hannah Penn who at last put Keith out of office.

Keith's ego, however, was slow to be deflated. He ran for Assembly, won his seat, and vainly attempted to win the speakership and control of the antiproprietary party. Lloyd, the party's real leader, was now disillusioned and threw his support to the new governor, Patrick Gordon. It was Logan's turn to capitalize on the awkward position of the antiproprietary party. Abandoning the seriousness of earlier years, he put the whole affair happily to rest with a satirical piece that gleefully pretended to defend Sir William against his staunchest supporters, chiefly Lloyd, and in doing so dissected Keith's overweening egotism. It was a rare achievement for a sober colony, and in a sense marked the beginning of Philadelphia's once brilliant tradition for classical satire.\(^{37}\)

Keith suddenly returned to England in 1728, a forgotten hero hopelessly in debt from lavish entertaining and out of favor with everybody. He had found it impossible at last, as Logan wrote, to "hold with the hound and run with the hare."

As to the Logan-Lloyd feud, that too came to an end. Very likely the two men had a deep-seated if secret respect for each other. The well-born Welshman had spent a lifetime battling for self-rule, ever since as a young man he tried to inflame England against the imposition of a foreign prince in the person of William of Orange.\(^{38}\) In America, of course, he became a tenacious Whig, and, after Penn appointed him attorney general in 1686, he molded the backcountry Quakers into an articulate force for legislative power. Like Logan himself, Lloyd was stubborn and on occasions splenetic. But unlike Logan his intellect was essentially narrow, his frame of reference almost entirely legalistic.


Perhaps the best characterization of the man is to be found in Logan's phrases years before their political hostility burst into flame: "a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound Judgment and a good Lawyer, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful..."\(^{39}\) Even as their hostility rose to a climax in 1707, Logan expressed the hope that Lloyd would carry his charges against Penn to England at the same time that Logan planned to go "that we may be taught to know ourselves."\(^{40}\) As Lloyd entered the last years of his life (he died 1731), the two men, it is said, forgot their differences and joined hands in the political peace of Governor Gordon's era.

By now Logan was ready to retire to the life of a scholar and country gentleman. Frankly tired of the pressures of a public career devoted to the Penns, he complained to Hannah Penn in 1726 of the "continued Series of anxiety & trouble on account of your affairs (while my own, by which I principally gett my Living flow'd as smoothly and easily as most other mens)..."

However, a man so integrally a part of the public life of the province cannot easily escape from its web. When Lloyd died, Logan was appointed Chief Justice. Though Logan was untrained in the law, his library bore witness to his extensive learning in the classics of jurisprudence from the Institutes of Justinian to Puffendorf and Grotius. It was during his term as Chief Justice that Logan turned his mind into the golden avenues of philosophy. His superb "Charge to the Grand Jury" of 1736, revealed the ripe wisdom his now more serene life nurtured.

Logan now also turned his mind to the larger problem of colonialism and the British imperial system. Years in advance of his contemporaries, he sensed the coming challenge to the security of that system. In 1732, when peace and prosperity blessed the land, few foresaw the tide of change and frontier terror to come. But in that year Logan sent a copy of a significant paper, "Of the State of the British Plantations in America," to a member of Parliament who laid it before the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole.\(^{41}\) Alas for the British colonial administration, "he, good

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\(^{39}\) Logan to William Penn, Jr., July 25, 1700, in *PMHB*, XLII (1918), 87.

\(^{40}\) Logan to William Penn, March 2, 1707, in *Penn & Logan Correspondence*, II, 196.

man, was too busily employ'd another way to mind such Trifles." However, Logan believed the subject to be of "vast importance to the whole Kingdom of Great Britain," and subsequent events certainly proved it so.

The frankness of his criticism is almost embarrassingly honest. Not many would have dared to say that the British Board of Trade, "knowing nothing of America themselves," merely go through the motions of keeping informed by demanding occasional reports from provincial governors. "But as those Governors come abroad with a view chiefly to mend their own Fortunes," adds Logan, "it seldom happens that they consider anything further than how to sit easy." Many years before Franklin was to propose a union of the colonies, Logan complained of the divisive separation of the colonies under British policy, "each of them . . . pursuing its own Interest and Subject to no General Command." The only extant copy of this paper is in Franklin's hand. Franklin's effort to preserve Logan's essay indicates that he regarded it as a superior statement of colonial problems, and, with his well-developed knack for converting original ideas of other men into a Franklinesque framework, quite possibly assimilated its reasoning into his own plan of union. Logan is equally critical of the slave economy of the British West Indies which through "that fatal Canker Luxury and a Careless Administration . . . have too generally proved the Forerunners of Destruction." The French, he says, "are more frugal, Sober & industrious and incomparably betted disciplin'd," in addition to having a better understanding of the Indians with whom "they very frequently inter-marry."

The remarkable prescience of this essay becomes even more striking in the hints, some forty years before the revolutionary spirit erupted, at the possibility of "a Revolt from the Crown." "America in the succession of Ages may also put on another Face," he warns, but the danger will be missed only if "the Colonies are treated with Tenderness and Humanity and not Considered only as Slavishly Subservient to the Interest of the Country they come from." Had the home government paid some

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42 "Letter inscribed to ————" in Logan Papers, II, 22.
43 Ibid. The other quotations in this and the following paragraph are from Logan's "State of the British Plantations."
attention—and is there any earlier foreshadowing of the Revolution?—history might have been written differently.

When wise old Patrick Gordon died, the Penn brothers pleaded with Logan to accept the governorship. Though he refused to become governor in fact, he did at last serve as acting governor from August, 1736, to August, 1738. His administration was relatively peaceful, except for a back-country feud over the Maryland boundary, locally called the Cresap War, and the beginnings of Indian discontent arising from the despicable Walking Purchase engineered by John and Thomas Penn. No laws were passed, because Logan refused to accept the power to sign them, and the only important issue was that old thorn in the side of Pennsylvania, the Maryland boundary dispute. His official papers on this question are notable examples of his rigid adherence to known facts, complicated as they may be. If his periods are occasionally infelicitous and sometimes too complex, the fault may lie less in stylistic error than in his insistence on penetrating beyond the black-and-white surface to the complexities beyond. The solid geometry of understanding is more complex than the plane geometry of opinion.

Late in the 1730's the problem of frontier defense became paramount as British and French imperialist expansion squeezed the Indian out of his birthright. It was an issue that too many Quaker leaders attempted to sidestep. Logan was finally moved to address Yearly Meeting on the problem. The committee which was to determine whether his paper should be presented to the Meeting at large, decided negatively. Robert Strettell, however, raised the question whether the refusal would not "disgust" Friends in England. Another committee member arose, plucked Strettell by the coat, and said sharply: "Sit thee down, Robert, thou art single in that opinion!" When Logan heard about it, he resolved to have thirty copies printed off, but after they were ready

"A manuscript collection of "Letters of James Logan (while President of the Council) to the Proprietors and Others" (twenty-two letters, 1736-1744) is maintained at the American Philosophical Society's library. Pennsylvania Archives: Fourth Series, edited by George Edward Reed, I (1681-1747), 559-662 (Harrisburg, 1900), contains letters and documents, mostly relating to the Maryland border controversy, by Logan as acting governor, 1736-1738. Logan also wrote "Claims of the Proprietors of Maryland and Pensilvania Stated," printed in Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, V (1830), 405."
either the persuasion of Mrs. Logan or influential Friends led him to suppress it. 45

Starting with the premise that "all Government is founded on Force," Logan insists that there is no basic difference between civil and military government. If this fact is contrary to assumptions at the heart of the Holy Experiment, so too is the divisive, self-righteous factionalism that took root in it: "Our Province is now rent into Parties, and in a most unchristian Manner divided: Love and Charity . . . are in a great Measure banished. . . ." He refers, of course, to the growing hostility between the frontier Scotch-Irish, whom he disliked as disrupters of the kindly Indian policy he inherited from Penn, and the Quaker-dominated eastern settlements, where self-righteous indifference led at last to an unresolved dilemma. Logan does not attack the Quaker position directly, but points instead to a still current weak spot in the Quaker witness: "... Altho' they alledge they cannot for Conscience-sake bear Arms, as being contrary to the peaceable Doctrine of Jesus . . . yet, without regard to others of Christ's precepts, full as express, against laying up Treasures in this World, and not caring for tomorrow, they are as intent as any others whatever in amassing Riches, the great Bait and Temptation of our Enemies. . . ." Under this system of private wealth, says Logan, "it has always appeared to me, to be full as justifiable to use Means to defend it when got, as to acquire it." 46

Some weighty Friends, of course, took offense, but it is worthy of note that one of the "purest" Quakers of the century, Anthony Benezet, said of Logan's paper in 1765: "it is wrote in a good spirit & has some remarks of weight." 47 It is important to note also that Logan did not defend the principle of defensive war by religion or morality, but rather according to expediency and

45 These anecdotes are contained in a letter from Richard Peters to John Penn, October 20, 1741, printed in part in "James Logan on Defensive War . . .," in PMHB, VI (1882), 402-411.
46 Quotations from Logan's letter-essay "To Robert Jordan, and others of the Friends of the Yearly Meeting for Business . . .," printed in PMHB, VI (1882), 402-411. Letter was dated September 22, 1741.
47 Anthony Benezet to John Smith, May 2, 1765, in George S. Brookes, Friend Anthony Benezet (Philadelphia, 1937), 260-261. This letter indicates that the original of Logan's paper turned up among the papers of Josiah Martin, Logan's friend and a prominent English scholar. As to Logan, Smith felt that "Pride was too much that otherwise Good man's weak side" (Myers, op. cit., 261-262).
necessity, in the light of the premise that all social order is based upon force.\textsuperscript{48}

By the end of the 1730's Logan was spending more and more time in his library. He had reached the colonial equivalent of seership. The deeper life of man, below the surface of politics, became his major concern, reflected most perfectly in the ancient classics from which time had winnowed the chaff. He also found the deeper life recorded in the ways of Nature, where the life process was at one with immutable divine laws. And finally, failing perhaps to find ultimate peace in these, he turned to the chaste and golden fields of philosophy. Henceforth his life belonged to the peaceful pastures of the mind.

\textsuperscript{48} Sharpless, \textit{Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania}, 114. Franklin's \textit{Autobiography} describes Logan's help to Franklin's movement to establish a militia and also details the possibly apocryphal story of Logan's helping the captain of the Canterbury prepare for a pirate attack while Penn went below deck to pray.