THE LOCOMOTIVE “PHILADELPHIA”
A print published in 1841 by its manufacturer, William Norris.
SOCIETY CLOSINGS

We regret to announce that, beginning April 12, we must close the Society building on Mondays throughout the year to our members as well as to the public.

The Society building will be closed during the summer from August 9 through September 7.
When William Penn bade farewell to his province for the last time in 1701, he left behind as proprietary agent a young man named James Logan. Penn had made a wise selection, for the twenty-seven-year-old Quaker of Scottish extraction, who had been raised in Ireland, would for many years be the most faithful of all Penn’s servants. It was in his hands that the success or failure of the province as a Penn property lay. It would be his responsibility to sell land and collect rents and to return the proceeds to England. To do this, he would have to engage in mercantile activities, and as three thousand miles of ocean separated the young secretary from his employer, he would of necessity have great freedom of action.

James Logan has been shamefully neglected by history and historians. Very little has been written about this man who was, without exaggeration, a leader in almost every field of endeavor. He was proprietary agent, chief magistrate of the Pennsylvania court, member of the Pennsylvania Council, acting governor, businessman, philosopher, student of navigation and languages, mathematician, and bibliophile. A doctoral dissertation was written on Logan by Irma Jane Cooper at Columbia University, *The Life and Public Services of James Logan* (New York, 1921). The letters of William Penn and Logan were collected by Deborah Logan and edited by Edward Armstrong in the *Memoirs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, IX and X (Philadelphia, 1870–1872), hereafter cited as *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, I and II. Wilson Armistead’s *Memoirs of James Logan* (London, 1851) contains many letters not available in America; *The Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story* has been published by the Friends’ Historical Association (Philadelphia, 1927); Frederick B. Tolles’s *Meeting House and Counting House. The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1763* contains a great deal of authoritative information about Logan and his fellow merchants.
Penn expressed trust in his choice when he counseled Logan: "I know thy ability, doubt not thy Integrity, I desire thy application & health, & above all growth in ye feeling of the powr of truth; for yt fitts & helps us above all other things, even in business of this world—clearing our heads, quickening our spirits & giving us faith & courage to perform." A state of spiritual elevation was admirable, but the business necessary to make Penn's "Holy Experiment" a success was concerned with more mundane affairs, and instructions on this level were also accorded Logan: "use thy utmost diligence in making remittances to me with all my effects by Bills of Exchange, tobacco or other Merchandize, or by any means that in the best of thy judgement or the advice of my friends skilled in those affairs may be to my advantage not only to London, but by the West Indies or by any other prudent method whatever—but take advice especially of Edward Shippen, and Samuel Carpenter and others best experienced in trade."

Logan hastened to carry out the proprietary instructions. Initially, he attempted to buy bills of exchange, whereby he used the proprietary income from land sales and quitrents to purchase drafts on English merchants: the Pennsylvania assets could thus be easily transferred into sterling credits. However, this most simple of expedients proved to be impractical.

In 1702 Logan wrote that "The Country even where willing cannot pay for want of money. . . ." As a result, land was purchased and quitrents paid in produce, usually wheat or tobacco. This being the situation, the solution was to buy bills of exchange with accumulated produce. But Logan found that this method, too, was futile: "Bills I could procure none but with Dollars [Spanish milled dollars]." He described how he had "by Borrowing Begging & some Creditt" contracted for £60 in bills. In the process, however, he had strained his credit to such an extent that he had to part with £30 in its main-

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2 Penn to Logan, Feb. 24, 1702, Penn Manuscripts, Letters of the Penn Family to James Logan, I, 55. All manuscripts quoted are in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Dates are given in the old style, the new year beginning March 25.

3 "Instructions to James Logan my Receiver and Secretary," Nov. 3, 1701, Logan Papers, X, 3.

4 Logan to Penn, May 7, 1702, Logan Letter Book I, 7. Letter books will be designated hereafter as LB: Logan letter books as LLB, Norris letter books as NLB. Logan's Pennsylvania journal (daybook) will be designated as PJ.
tenance. This left but a pittance, little more than £30, to return to England.6

Following his instructions, Logan turned to his only alternative. He dispatched a cargo, "5 Tons of Strong Beer at £10 per Ton . . . in 16 barrels & 12 hogsheads," on the sloop Sarah from Barbados, "Consignd to Edwd Singleton or in absence to John Grove on proprietary's account & Risque." In this cargo he had invested £52 10s. of the Proprietor's Pennsylvania assets, £50 going to Henry Badcock, brewer of Philadelphia, and £2 10s. to Logan as factor.6

This was just the first of an ever-increasing stream of colonial produce that Logan shipped from the Delaware. Later that same spring (1702), he increased his shipments to Edward Singleton in the Windward Islands by sending "4 Tun more of flour and 2 Tun of Bread 1 Tun of Beer & 1 Tun of Pork." Responsibility for turning these into sterling now passed to Penn's Barbados correspondent, Singleton, who would ship sugar to London.7

In order to make returns direct to England, Logan reported that he had purchased "3/8 of Paighton's Brigantine [Hopewell] and have 40 hoggsheds of Tobacco to Load on Board her for England. I have bought between 30 & 40 Tun of Good Logwood cost about 500£ a Bargain I took out of ye hands of all ye English Traders here who much begrutcht it to me because of ye Conveniancy of ffreighting it home."8

The logwood, thirty-seven tons, twelve hundredweight, had been purchased from James Wilkinson, "Master of the Sloop . . . being the sd Sloops whole Cargo bought for Returns at 14£ 9 Ton and 5 lb over with 2 heavy pieces 8/8 [Spanish pieces of eight]." The obli-

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6 Ibid., 8; PJ I, 17. The copies of Logan's letters to Penn, which are preserved in Logan's letter books, contain many abbreviations. For ease in reading, many of these abbreviations have been written out, the use of the mark "£" has been substituted for the commonly used "lbs," a minimum of punctuation has been added, and superscript letters have been lowered to the line.

6 PJ I, 13. Henry Badcock was described as a brewer of Philadelphia in a deed of George Heathcote to Henry Badcock, Nov. 6, 1701. Henry Armitt Brown Collection. The researcher finds himself kept in the dark on details of the final sterling return before 1712, except as far as the correspondence comments on the relative success or disappointment of a particular venture. He has company, however, for Logan found himself too often faced with the same dilemma.

7 PJ I, 14, 18; Logan to Penn, May 7, 1702, LLB I, 8–9.

8 Ibid., 9.
gation for £532 3s. 4d. was settled by Logan in the manner common to that period. He performed a bookkeeping maneuver and credited Wilkinson for that amount less two cash payments of £50 and £62 15s. 8½d., respectively. Then he furnished merchandise or accepted bills against Wilkinson for the remainder. The journal entry appears as follows:

3 Mo. 11 Day 1702
James Wilkinson Dr to Sundry Accot in full for 37.12 Logwood
   To James Miller $ his Bill ........ £71.16. 5
   To Charles Read $ Do .................. 74. 8. 5
   To Pentecost Teague $ Do ............ 29.12.11
   To Henry Badcock $ Do ................... 12.
   To Account of Flour .................... 76.19. 6
   To Cash .................................. 62.15. 8½
   To Samuel Carpenter for Flour
      £152.0.4 and Ballance £2.1.0½ 154.10. 4½ £482.3.4
which with £50 pd before is
in full of £532.3.4

Logan had thus secured merchandise, presumably marketable in England, at a cost to himself of slightly more than £14 per ton. To this would have to be added small charges of 19s. 8d. for porterage and 18s. for weighing. The problem now was to get the logwood to England; charges for loading and freight would increase the final cost of the commodity. The Hopewell was but one of several ships that would carry as ballast part of the Proprietor’s logwood to the mother country.⁹

Along with the wood, Logan had bought “100 hoggsheads of Tobacco more to be sent as Opportunities Afford.” This was the most he could do at the moment. He had extended the proprietary credit to the limit of safety. His immediate obligation, the logwood, he would pay off in two or three weeks, and he had taken the necessary steps to meet all other obligations: “my Creditt I must keep Good or there is no Doing of Business.”¹⁰

In this same letter to Penn Logan elaborated upon the brigantine Hopewell. Three eighths of the ship belonged to the Proprietor, the

⁹ PJ I, 15, 17, 20. The total shipments of logwood from Pennsylvania as recorded by the British Customs were 35 tons between Christmas, 1701, and Christmas, 1702, and 57 tons the following year. Logan’s 37 tons, sent as ballast whenever the opportunity presented, constituted a sizable portion of that amount. Board of Trade Proprieties, VIII (2), Doc. 0:99.

¹⁰ Logan to Penn, May 7, 1702, LLB I, 9.
balance to William Trent of Philadelphia and Alexander Lamplee of Barbados. His three eighths would cost Penn between £200 and £220 and would cover the freight on thirty out of the forty hogsheads of tobacco that Logan was shipping for the proprietary. The freight on the other ten hogsheads was £12 or £14 per ton. Ten tons of logwood also shipped had to pay freight at a rate of £3 per ton. The proprietary secretary explained the saving: Had he not purchased part of the ship, the freight bill on Penn’s cargo would have been about £130 to be paid in London in sterling. Now Logan could meet most of the expenses prior to sailing and pay them with the easily obtained Pennsylvania credits. The investment in the ship could be largely redeemed by her sale in England; such vessels, “70 or 80 Tuns Carpenters measure” were destined for the “Guinea Trade for which they say she is very fitt.”

For cargo and vessel Logan had invested about £480 Pennsylvania and hoped to realize £300 or £400 sterling upon her cargo and nearly £100 more upon the sale of the vessel. She would, he hoped, sail about the beginning of June, 1702. In May, Logan wrote to Penn, advising him to place insurance on the venture, and at the same time revealed his expectations for the voyage.

Hond Governor

I cannot yet Call to mind anything of moment omitted in my pacquets but directions for Insurance the Brigantine I mentioned is the Hopewel of Philadelphia Benj Burman Master burthen about 70 tunns built 1700

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thy part is 3/8 value here</td>
<td>£220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 hhds Tobacco at 3£ 15s or thereabouts</td>
<td>£150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Tunn of Logwood or thereabout</td>
<td>£220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost here</td>
<td>£590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We do not expect for thy share of the vessel above £75 or thereabouts but then all the freight which is saved is to be Counted in (1/8 excepted) so

11 Ibid.; PJ I, 127. Selling American vessels in England upon completion of a voyage was common practice. American-built ships were apparently the tramps of the day and not models of the fine art of marine engineering. Isaac Norris, who had expended effort, care, and the best of materials in the building of the Hope Galley, wrote his London agent, Thomas Lloyd, not to sell her unless “She can be considered not as a common New England or American not patcht up for sale but as a Ship on wch no cost or care is spared to compleat after the best manner [that] is possible here. Season’d plank & choice Timber, no Iron work spared, ye workmanship Extraordinary, the keel a whole piece of 69 foot. . . . If a Chapman offers that understands & will consider this yn sell.” Norris to Lloyd, Dec. 1, 1709, NLB (1709-1716), 111.
that if thou please with S Vaus to Compute the value there of the afore
going you may Judge more exactly than I what 'tis fit to ensure but I com-
pute it thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 hhds of Tobacco freight pd but not Duty at 7£</td>
<td>£280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Tunns Logwood freight pd at 13 or 14£ we compute not counting the Duty</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/8 of the vessel</td>
<td>£75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£555 Sterl

So yt if thou please to ensure 450 or 500£haps it may be sufficient. She sails about the beginning or 10th of ye 4th Month [June] by the Channel directly to Lond.12

The prospects were pleasing. By the venture, Logan would place more than £500 sterling in the hands of the Proprietor at a cost of little more than £500 Pennsylvania. By almost no other method could such a sterling balance be so easily obtained. Had bills of exchange (were they available) been used, it would have taken between £625 and £750 Pennsylvania to have purchased £500 sterling. Moreover, one ran the risk of having the bills refused, and the process of protesting—even though the issuer had to pay a penalty of twenty per cent—was long and tedious. It would thus appear that Logan had found his solution.13

But the young Quaker was still a neophyte in such matters and had much to learn. As unforeseen difficulties gathered beyond the horizon, Logan turned his activities to a new venture intended for the mother country. He had already informed his employer of his interest in another ship. If the plans went through, Penn would be part owner along with Samuel Carpenter, William Trent, Isaac Norris and Joseph Shippen. It was contemplated that she would carry a parcel of goods to the Eastern Shore of Maryland where she would obtain “1/8 of her Loading of Tobacco wch we Design to whitehaven in ye North of England.”14

12 Logan to Penn, May 12, 1702, Logan Papers, I, 39.
13 The rate on bills of exchange when obtainable was fifty per cent. To illustrate how sterling credits were viewed, a letter from Logan to William Penn, Jr., is most appropriate. The Pennsylvanian informed young Penn that Isaac Norris would not want to dispose of sterling credits in England, “for every 20 Shill Sterl he payes there will be 20 shills of this money Lost to him, because yt 20 would Yield him at Least 55 here. Goods being at 175 £Ct advance.” Logan to William Penn, Jr., Aug. 12, 1706, ibid., 62.
14 Logan to Penn, May 7, 1702, LLB I, 9.
The plans materialized, and the ship became known as both the *Industry* and the *Cantico*: "by a Blunder Committed by some of ye owners we know not yet what name she will goe by." Logan at various times owned from 1/8 to 1/4 of the ship, finally holding a 1/8 part, as owners bought and sold their shares. He described her as "built here Last Year, Robt Trowbridge Master, burthen 100 or 120 Tuns, about 40 or 50 hogsheads. . . . She is a Dull Sailor." For this reason, he declared she needed to be insured, especially if the feared war broke out. Logan admitted that his request for insurance had been too high on the *Hopewell*, "it being usuall to under do ye Real Vallue." This time he requested £400 insurance on a vessel that carried, when she sailed, a cargo for the proprietary valued at £362 7s. 3d. Pennsylvania. This plus the investment in Penn's 1/4 of the ship and factorage amounted to £648 3s. 5d.\(^{15}\)

Logan also dispatched three smaller cargoes before the year was out.

**Shipments to London, 1702\(^{16}\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Cargo</th>
<th>Value, Pennsylvania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 11, 1702</td>
<td><em>Rebecca</em></td>
<td>8 tons, logwood</td>
<td>£121 16s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 22, 1702</td>
<td><em>Mary of Barbados</em></td>
<td>10 hogsheads, tobacco</td>
<td>£107 12s. 2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 5, 1702</td>
<td><em>Brigantine</em></td>
<td>25 casks, tobacco</td>
<td>£126 0s. 8d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With some £1,500 on the high seas, Logan could only wait. He wrote letters explaining his moves and his hopes. He desired only that the *Hopewell* would arrive "before ye Virginia ffleet to a hungry Markett & then her tobacco will turn to accot." By necessity, he had included the worst of the tobacco in this cargo because if it were "kept to a full Market it would Sell but poorly." Out of 150 hogsheads of tobacco, he had received fifty in payment of quitrents from the three Lower Counties (Delaware) and was forced, in order to

\(^{15}\) Logan to Penn, June 18, 1702, *ibid.*, 28–29; postscript dated June 25, *ibid.*, 32; PJ I, 32–33.

\(^{16}\) PJ I, 26, 27–28, 42–43. The *Mary* is incorrectly entered in the journal as the *Sarah*. LLB I, 41.
collect the rents at all, to take what he could get. This was of inferior quality. The other 100 hogsheads, which he had purchased, were much better. For them he had paid 15s. per hundredweight, and the freight and necessary prizing and prepacking raised the costs considerably—to what extent, he would not know until the year's accounts were settled. The prizing and prepacking produced a great amount of refuse tobacco that had to be disposed of in the West Indies or cut and shipped to Boston.  

The real threat that Logan had to face was that of war. The question of the Spanish succession had set Europe afame in May, 1702, when the Grand Alliance, welded together by William III of England, declared war on France. The degree to which Logan and Penn would be affected by this declaration was as yet happily unknown by both, although the increased freight and insurance rates that war necessitated were already painfully in evidence. In view of these conditions, Logan speculated in his correspondence as to the best means of dealing with the Hopewell. He reiterated the hope that she could be sold for the Guinea trade, but added that if no buyer appeared who would pay at least £200 or £250 sterling for her, she had best be "sent back wth Expedition hither where she will ffetch with a little Prefitting abot 500£." With the coming of the war, however, it might not be worth while to send her back to Philadelphia because, among other reasons, "ffreight is not to be had this way to any Value. . . ." Logan suggested that Penn have his factor, Samuel Vaus, consult

17 Logan to Penn, June 18, 1702, ibid., 27–28. The tobacco hundredweight was a unit of 112 pounds divided into four quarters of 28 pounds each. The hogsheads shipped by Logan averaged three quarters and 15 pounds. An allowance of from 18 to 22 pounds was figured for tare or the weight of the container. Prizing and prepacking were processes of curing and packing tobacco. Philadelphia had a tobacco industry, and tobacco was cured, cut, and shipped to Boston. Logan shipped to Daniel Zachary of that city in 1703. Ibid. II, 39; PJ I, 64, 80. Isaac Norris wrote the Proprietor in April, 1707: "I shall not presume to say the tobacco of Pennsylvania is of more advantage to England, hogshead for hogshead, than that of Maryland and Virginia. But perhaps 'tis considerably more to the Crown in proportion, it being mostly of a sort that is spent in England, and heavier than that of Maryland." Penn-Logan Correspondence, II, 203–204. A contradictory opinion had been ventured by Col. Robert Quarry a few years earlier in what was apparently a semiofficial report on his duties as judge of the admiralty courts. "The great price that Tobacco yields here encourages the Country to plant more than ever: it hath been Sold here this year for above 30 shillings £C. [hundredweight] wch is far more than the best of Virginia & Maryland hath yielded: tho the Tobacco of this Country is not half so good: the reason is from the advantages of illegal Trade." Col. Robert Quarry to ———, May 18, 1699, photostat in HSP of original in Huntington Library.
with Thomas Coutts, who served William Trent, to determine the future of the Hopewell.\textsuperscript{18}

Logan wrote the Proprietor early in March, 1702/3, about his concern over his ventures and the effects of the war. He asked instructions of his employer: “would ye West Indies answer,” since prices there were low and those in Pennsylvania high? Already he had learned that the Hopewell and her cargo had fared miserably. He expressed his dissatisfaction with both her slow voyage and the inept handling of the cargo. “The Hopewell was unhappy tho well Designed, had She got home before ye fleet as she might a whole month by her departure from hence, She would have turn’d to good accot had ye Vessel been burnt after she was unloaded but she was unfortunate Every way.” Logan later referred to the Hopewell’s cargo as “so barbarously fool’d away.”\textsuperscript{19}

The fooling away was done by Samuel Vaus, who acted as Penn’s factor until 1705 when Logan managed to steer his cargoes to John Askew. Logan had been provoked by Vaus’s failure to inform him as to what dispositions were being made of the cargoes dispatched. Penn apologized for his London factor’s failure as a correspondent, noting, “I hope, S.V.s silence is from his Vast Trade of an hundred thousand pounds a year.” Especially disconcerting was the dearth of information about the Hopewell. In December, 1703, almost a year and a half after the brigantine left the capes of Delaware Bay, Penn promised Logan that he would “enquire about the Hopewells Sale; I know she lay long upon it before S.V. had sold her.” In 1705, Logan was still in the dark and protested to Penn that he had to have information in order to meet law suits and claims that the other owners were making. Penn finally informed his agent on February 18, 1705/6, that the vessel had been sold by Benjamin Burman, her master, for £130.\textsuperscript{20}

The Industry and the Mary were still at sea when Logan wrote Penn in March, 1702/3. The Industry had, he reported, been “un-

\textsuperscript{18}Logan to Penn, June 18, 1702, LLB I, 27-28. Logan added, “Servts I Doubt will be Difficultly procured in time of War,” referring to the possibilities for bringing human cargoes (indentured servants) to the colony.

\textsuperscript{19}Logan to Penn, Mar. 3, 1702/3, ibid., 79; Logan to Penn, Aug. 22, 1705, ibid., 204.

\textsuperscript{20}Penn to Logan, Dec. 4, 1703, Penn Manuscripts, Letters of the Penn Family to James Logan, I, 15; Penn to Logan, Sept. 14, 1705, ibid., 24-25; Logan to Penn, Aug. 22, 1705, LLB I, 204; PJ I, 127, 201; Penn Manuscripts, “William Penn, Founder” box.
happy in staying so long for a Convoy at [New] York to no Purpose.” By April he had hints of the disaster that struck the ship: “in ye paris Gazett . . . there was a Vessel mention’d to be taken into S. Maloes [St. Malo] Loaden wth Logwood & Tobacco wch two Com- odities together no other port in ye Engl: America Sends I doubt but this.”

He then chided Penn about the latter’s “tenderness about insurance,” expressing the hope that some had been placed on the cargo. After lamenting the superior quality of the tobacco on the ship, “really ye best Loading of that Commodity on board her of any Vessell that has sailed from this place” with one exception, he went on to describe the insurance on his part of the ship. He had bought 1/8 from William Trent already insured for £100. He directed Penn to have Vaus call on Thomas Coutts, who had placed the insurance for Trent. The amount was £100, “but ye premium wch is 18 Guineas & 16 $Ct more rebated by Custom wth ye Charges will reduce it to about 63 or 4£ I suppose wch tho but a small part yet is better than Nothing.” Logan noted that two of the owners, Samuel Carpenter and John Jones, had no insurance.

Logan’s fears that the Industry had been taken were verified by Penn in his letter of January 10, 1702/3, and Logan learned that the disaster had not ended there. “We have lost ye best part of 100 saile of merchant ships, & some richly laden, from Russia, Barbados, Jamaica, and other parts, among whom the Cantico and Mary from your river are two, to my great disappointment & streight.”

Although the war was but a few months old, losses had already matched those of the previous conflict (the War of the League of Augsburg, known in its American phase as King William’s War) when but seven vessels from the Delaware had been lost in the West Indies. Logan learned that he had come under heavy censure from the Callowhills (Penn’s relatives by marriage) for having committed so much on the Industry. The young merchant, who was fast learning the problems of conducting business in time of war, proceeded to defend himself. He termed the charges “Somewhat hard,” and de-

21 Logan to Penn, Mar. 3, 1702/3, LLB I, 79; Logan to Penn, Apr. 20, 1703, ibid., 82.
22 Ibid., 82–83.
23 Penn to Edward Shippen, Thomas Story, G. Owens, James Logan, etc., Jan. 10, 1702/3, Gratz Autograph Collection.
scribed the conception of the voyage, its promise, the failure of the navy to provide escort, and his frequent pleadings for adequate insurance.

Saml Carpenter & Wm Trent, men whose Characters in Trade I need not give came wth some others to me at Eleven at night to Engage me in that Voyage tho ye Latter (WT) was no ways Concern'd wth her to that minute and then it was by ye best advice could be taken we Laid ye Voyage. She was a strong new Vessel having been but once at Sea and her Defects in sailing we Effectually Cured in Girdling her so that ye Master having tried her about to York wrote to us that he did not Doubt wronging many others in ye ffleet. We Depended on ye Convoy ye Advice frigott there Capt Callwell Commander to whom she was Carefully Recommended.

The frigate had found reason to desert the fleet, its commander

Excusing himself as Civilly as he could & particularly to us in a Letter for I was acquainted wth him when he accompanyed ye Ld Cornbury hither but I think his neglecting to protect them ought to be resented I gave as good advice & as ffrequent for Insurance as was possible Some of wch by thy answers I know came in good time.24

Either the inexperience or the optimism of the young proprietary secretary was revealed in Penn's letter informing him that neither the Industry nor the "Mary would "have amounted to the vallue thou mentionst." Penn then stated the basic weakness of the kind of business the proprietary had to conduct: only those who shipped English goods to the colonies, for that is where the real profits were to be made, "can spare to loose upon returns of Tobacco and yet gain upon ye whole." This was a normal and ever-present problem, and the war had just complicated it further. Tobacco, Penn added, "is in poor request now ye Zarr has broak his word wth our Merchants especially; and for Logwood, Cales [Cadiz] & Vigo [British naval actions] have so much sunk ye value of it, that ye Lady Bellomont [wife of the governor of 'New York] has lost 9£ out of 15£ yt it cost her ¶ tun." The price of logwood had thus collapsed on the London market; the British had seized so many cargoes that the market was saturated.25

Penn expressed the opinion that "flour & bread & Bear [beer] to Barbados, Virginia, Antigo, Nevis, Jamaica &c" would bring the

24 Logan to Penn, Apr. 20, 1703 (postscript dated Apr. 26), LLB I, 86.
25 Penn to Logan, Feb. 24, 1702/3, Penn Manuscripts, Letters of the Penn Family to James Logan, I, 55.
best returns. Logan agreed, but expressed dissatisfaction with Edward Singleton as factor and desired permission to ship to other factors. "I have never received one Line from him yet tho I have sent him 5 Consignmts." While Singleton was accountable to London and not to Pennsylvania, Logan admonished that "advice . . . is ye very Life of Trade." 26

Logan continued to ship staples to Barbados in varying quantities.

**Shipments to Barbados, 1702-1703** 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Cargo</th>
<th>Value, Pennsylvania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 23, 1702</td>
<td>Sarah of Barbados</td>
<td>5 tons, beer</td>
<td>£ 52 10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 23, 1702</td>
<td>Brigantine Robert and Benjamin</td>
<td>4 hogsheads, bread, 32 half barrels, flour</td>
<td>£ 81 11s. 10d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 12, 1702</td>
<td>Sloop John and Thomas</td>
<td>4 tons, flour, 2 tons, bread, 1 ton, beer, 1 ton, pork</td>
<td>£149 13s. 10d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 5, 1702</td>
<td>Brigantine Margaret</td>
<td>4½ tons, beer</td>
<td>£ 47 5s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 30, 1702</td>
<td>Brigantine Friendship</td>
<td>12 hogsheads, tobacco, 8 half barrels, cut tobacco</td>
<td>£114 0s. 2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6, 1703</td>
<td>Brigantine Abraham Butterworth, master</td>
<td>5 tons, beer</td>
<td>£ 54 1s. 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 28, 1703</td>
<td>Sloop Amity</td>
<td>1½ tons, pork, 1½ tons, flour, 1 ton, bread</td>
<td>£ 91 4s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 25, 1703</td>
<td>Jolly Galley</td>
<td>8 hogsheads, tobacco, 49 barrels, flour, 8 barrels, bread, 37 bushels, Indian corn</td>
<td>£158 1s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 PJ I, 13, 14, 18, 38, 42–43, 56, 60, 65–66, 72, 73; Logan to Penn, June 14, 1703, LLB I, 93; Logan to Penn, May 7, 1702, *ibid.*, 8–9; Logan to Singleton and Groves, Nov. 27, 1703, *ibid*. II, 37. The journal entry mistakenly lists the Penrose Galley as the Pennsbury Galley.
Nov. 25, 1703  Pennsbury Galley  32 barrels, flour  
12 barrels, bread  
6 hogsheads, tobacco  
8 hogsheads, beer  £135 8s. 10d.

Nov. 25, 1703  Penrose Galley  24 half barrels, flour  
10 tierces, 3 barrels, bread  
6 hogsheads, 4 barrels, beer  
5 hogsheads, tobacco  £126 5s. 10d.

He also sought new outlets in the West Indies. His letter to William Haig of Antigua, dated September 30, 1703, describes both a typical transaction and the problems faced.

Upon Recommendation of Isaac Norris & Some others of thy frinds here I Consign to thee 5 Tun of our Goods of wch Inclosed is Invoice & bill of Loading upon ye accot there Mention'd. On wch accot I Desire thee to Dispose of them to ye best Advantage & Shipp off ye Effects in Such Commodities as upon ye best & Most Rational advice thou canst have there, will answer best in London Consigning to Saml Vaus Merch't in Sd Place on ye Same accot as they are Shipt from hence viz Wm Penn's, ye sd Saml being his agent or factor in London.

If Good bills for London can be had they will be more acceptable than any other Commodity I Suppose, but all things of yt kind are Uncertain. Advise therefore wth Jonas Langford Govr Penn's good frriend to whom I was Direct to Consign but knowing his Circumstances Doubt it would prove too troublesome but he Doubtless would be as ready as he is Capable of Directing thee in Respect to ye Owner.

According to Success in this thou may Expect More of ye kind as opportuniies offer from

Thy Real tho unknown frnd

JL

A trial shipment was sent to William Rodgers at Jamaica: pork, bread and flour valued at £53 4s. 1d. Pennsylvania. Both Rodgers and his partner Mills died before the returns were made, and legal action was necessary to protect the Penn interest.  

28 Logan to William Haig, Sept. 30, 1703, *ibid.*, 33. The shipment was valued at £83 11s. 7d. Pennsylvania. PJ I, 69.

29 *Ibid.*, 55; Logan to Penn, May 26, 1704, LLB I, 144.
At the same time shipments continued to the mother country.

Shipments to London, 1703

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Cargo</th>
<th>Value, Pennsylvania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 28, 1703</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
<td>Peltry</td>
<td>£110 2s. 11d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 28, 1703</td>
<td>Philadelphian</td>
<td>Tobacco, Peltry</td>
<td>£167 1s. 5d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logwood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 4, 1703</td>
<td>Brigantine</td>
<td>Madeira wine</td>
<td>£128 2s. 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Messenger</td>
<td>Peltry, Bills of exchange</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These tabulated ventures were minor and routine. A major endeavor was dispatched in November, 1703, in the brigantine Robert and Benjamin, John Guy, master. Logan wrote his employer describing this venture, in which he, William Trent, and Isaac Norris had bought the ship "in Order to Make returns in Rice from Carolina this River now affording nothing that's Encouraging there being Little Tobacco and Wheat." The owners loaded middling bread, brown bread, flour, Madeira wine, beer, apples, cranberries, cheese, and starch. This "country produce" would be exchanged for rice that had a market in England. Before the brigantine departed, each of the partners relinquished 1/24 of the ship to John Guy, leaving each partner a 7/24 share. Plans were further altered before the departure, and instead of loading the whole ship themselves, they decided that since freight was high in Carolina, a cargo taken on at that point "would turne to better advantage." The proprietary investment was more than £500 Pennsylvania, and gave promise of making possibly as much in sterling from cargo and sale of the vessel. To John Askew merchant of London, who was handling the portions of the proprietary and Isaac Norris, Logan had written "four several Wayes . . . to insure 300£." The fate that had worked against all previous major ventures of the proprietary still stood in the way of success. "I know not now

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30 PJ I, 61, 67.
31 Logan to Penn, Dec. 5, 1703, LLB I, 128.
32 PJ I, 73–82; Logan to Penn, May 26, 1704, LLB I, 143–144; Logan to Askew, June 2, 1704, ibid. II, 44; Logan to Penn, July 14, 1704, ibid. I, 151–153.
what to say of that Vessel,” Logan wrote in July, 1704, seven and a half months after the Robert and Benjamin had left Philadelphia. She was to have sailed with the convoy from Virginia early in 1704. However, “In her Return to Carolina she met wth Southerly Winds which kept her long on her Voyage, and the Commandore of the Virgia fleet through an Unaccountable humour sailing much sooner than Expected and by that means leaving many of the Vessels under his Charge behind him. Our Vessel could not sail of the same Unhappiness. We then had hopes the other two Men of War intended to be sent to Joyn and strengthen ye Virgia Convoy missing the other might arive and prove a second for ye Vessels left behind, but meeting the fleet about ten leagues from the Capes at Sea, the Com- modore Obliged them to return without ye Privilege of refresshing them selves wth Wood or Water or landing Any of their Passengers except Eight who bought one of their Pinaces & in that Ventured a Shoar. By this Means there is no probability of any Convoy from these Parts Again this Year.”

The partners’ hopes that their Pennsylvania investment might be turned into sterling, pound for pound, were shattered. The best they could expect was that their sterling return would be near the exchange rate, but they feared it would fall even below the fifty per cent premium that sterling commanded in the currency market. Logan now had on his hands a ship loaded with 150 barrels of rice and 200 barrels of pitch for the partners, plus some freight taken on for other shippers. Since rice was a perishable commodity, as was some of the other cargo, the ship had to be dispatched. She sailed from New York later in the summer. Logan wrote dejectedly: “Thy Success at sea is so very discouraging, that I should never be willing to be concerned more this Way, And Wm Trent who has hitherto been a Partner in most of thy Losses, almost protests against touch- ing with any Vessel again where a Proprietary holds a part. I hope however she will arrive safe at last, and bring some Effectt to hand.”

In the spring of 1704, Logan had written hopefully that Penn would soon receive the fruits of the numerous cargoes shipped to Barbados. They were “something considerable . . . having Shipt thither these last two years to ye Value of about 900£.” The first

33 Ibid.
34 Logan to Penn, Sept. 28, 1704, ibid., 159.
hints of disaster to the Barbados ventures were received in December, 1704, and were confirmed by Penn's letter dated January 16, 1704/5. "The Barbados fleet coming home so late, met both with storms of wind & guns, ye French falling in among them, kept off 120 sail, not above 80 & odd got in, where out of forty odd hogsheads of sugar I have lost 30 & Ed. Singleton carried into France: they freighted upon five vessels, one burnt, which Ed. came out in, had 10 hogsheads & two were taken, yt had 10 hogsheads each, one of 5 & anothr of 6 hogsheads came in: one at Sea, a Brigantine, she has 7. no news of her." And now came the crushing blow: "And as for Guy [master, Robert and Benjamin], no news yet: but my son, who is come safe, tho neer foundring in ye Jersey, says, he believes, she is lost, for after ye Storm they saw her no more. John Askew ensured one hundred pds upon thy Letter, but the Ensurer broke, & the 20 guineas lost; this done upon ye former Intimations. Ensurers fail much."35 In the spring of 1705, Logan wrote John Grove that the ship had been seized by the French after the "Advice Man of War from York who parting from the Vessels under his Charge in a Storm carried but one of four home."36

To Penn, Logan wrote that the melancholy prospects utterly disheartened him, but that misfortunes in trade were not Penn's lot alone: "W Trent & Is: Norris the chief Traders in the place, have lost this last Year, I fear 1/3 of their Estates, for Scarce any thing Returns that hath been sent out." Norris was more specific, as far as his personal losses were concerned. "Our town has had severe Losses this year—Above 7 sail taken going to Barbados & coming thence & we [fear] More now Missing in wch I'm too Considerable a Sharer about 1700 £ since September last." Samuel Carpenter, a third great merchant of the city, had failed the year before.37

35 Logan to Penn, May 26, 1704, ibid., 143-144; Penn to Logan, Jan. 16, 1704/5, Logan Papers, I, 57.
36 Logan to John Grove, May 17, 1705, LLB II, 54.
37 Logan to Penn, May 17, 1705, ibid. I, 180A; Norris to Jonathan Dickinson, May 11, 1705, NLB (1704-1706), 44. On June 14, 1704, Logan wrote that a large sloop "belonging to Is Norris Saml Carpenter &c (the last stick that Samll was concerned in at Sea) was taken in her return hither by a large Privateer of St Maloes coming from the Havanna called the Duke of Orleans and being bought off again for 800£ Sterl came a few days agoe into Maryland." LLB I, 151. Earlier in the same letter Logan had noted that "Samll Carpenter is retired wholly to his Plantation." Ibid., 150. In 1705, Carpenter offered to sell an estate to Jonathan Dickinson, explaining that it had been his lot "to lay out my self much in this country, so that upon
Logan himself had suffered a personal loss for the first time, for he reported to Penn that he had £60 invested along with "79£ on thy acct to Antigua by Nicholas Braddich who is taken into Martinico . . . my first adventure of the Kind." This was the shipment that Logan had so optimistically dispatched to William Haig.  

That the war was putting a real strait jacket on the trade is evidenced by the paucity of entries in the journals of the next few years. In 1705, Logan was concerned in but one shipment, that on the ship Elizabeth, David Robinson, master, valued at just under £50 Pennsylvania. Two months later, in June, bills of exchange were dispatched to John Askew with the notation, "Agreed to be Returned if Protested." It had cost £31 10s. to purchase £21 sterling.  

In late summer, 1705, Logan wrote a long letter to his employer about their varied affairs and took time to look at their own not unimportant business in the larger scene of empire and international conditions.

We have now 'tis true neither Money nor Credit, as they tell us, Yet we live quiet & Easy & want nothing but minds to make us happy. Our Trade is very mean, through ye Prohibition of our Goods in Maryland & their Turning Bankrupts almost besides. Wheat is at 3 Sg & for Tobacco no Market at all. But there is one thing more I should have taken Notice of before wch is the Prospect of a Trade in this place, should We have peace. We have hitherto had no other means for our Returns but Wheat & its product & sometimes a little Tobacco. Last War when We had a free Trade wth Spain, & Provision was at the same time high in Engld this place & York enriched them Selves much, by Supplying all the English Islands, & Selling to ye Spand besides, But while Corn is under 5 Sh in Engld, they will always be able to undersell us considerably, first because of ye Cheapness of Labour there to manufacture it into Bread &c & next through ye great ease of freight, for that to ye Islands costs ye Merchts in a manner nothing, ye Returns being ye Design of their Voyages as ye Exportations on

the falling off of trade and losses and disappointments many ways I have of late, and my endeavors to sell what I can to pay off my debts . . . to disencumber myself before I die.”  

Penn-Logan Correspondence, I, 232 (note).

38 Logan to Penn, May 26, 1704, LLB I, 144.
40 Logan wrote that it was reported in 1703 that Maryland bills were being protested to the extent of “30,000£ which will be 6000£ dead loss to ye Country upon ye Allowance of 20 %Ct given in Such Cases by their Law as well as ours.” Logan to Penn, Dec. 5, 1703, LLB I, 127-128.
ye Contrary are of ours. Yet had we a full open Trade wth ye Span during ye war, when Trade is most hazardous, it would much raise the prices & make Our business Tolerable, but now tho the Queen has given her Subjects leave to Trade wth ym yet their Governrs think not fitt to give them the Same, wch makes all be managed on yeir Side by a Kind of Stealth, & our men are obliged to sail their Vessels almost as strong as Privateers themselves: this makes ye Voyages So chargeable yt a freight of Bread & flower will by no means defray it. they must carry much more & Valuable Goods, for ye whole Price of a Loading of the other, could they have it at home for nothing, would not defray the Charge of carrying and disposing of it wch makes us hitherto scarce feel the Effects of that Liberty granted us. Yet Still if we might have ye same freedom as before, and more People could be brought in to lower the price of Labour, wch is so high that a reaper has very nigh a Busll of wheat for his dayes work, the Country might rub on comfortably enough. . . .

He concluded the letter by adding that he could “not expect to be forgiven for not making Remittances, but I can not help it, if my life lay at Stake.”

“Thou may take it unkindly,” Logan wrote in the autumn of 1705, “that thou receives nothing by a Vessel directly from the River, but as this is the first that has gone hence this Year, So none thought the design much worth their notice at a time when there’s nothing that we have can be expected to turn to any acct in Engld. Tobacco and furs are equally discouraging.”

Conditions did not improve the following spring. A French fleet of “27 great ships besides all their Privateers and small craft” now preyed on shipping and provided a real threat to all of British America. It had “put almost an intire stop to all manner of Trade & intercorse wth ym [the West Indies] wch reduces us into a miserable condition.”

Famine was an additional threat, the proprietary secretary reported. “We have Scarce any trade this Year at all. Our Crops failed at last harvest so yt many are like to want bread before ye next, & we have not had one Vessell from ye West Indies but a small one from Antigua & but one gone all this season thither perhaps into our Enemies’ hands. Rum can not be had under 10 or 12 Shills a Gall,
the sold most of Last Sumer for 2S 6 or 3 Shills. in Short if ye West Indies fall, as we much fear it, we are ruined whether An Enemy come hither or not.

Logan made one transaction in 1706, this time on his own account, and laid plans for another more ambitious proprietary venture. The former was the dispatching of the brigantine *Evans* to Milford, Wales. Logan's share was 1/8 both of ship and cargo, and he ordered John Askew to place £100 or £120 sterling insurance "in Ye gd Bottom upon my Acct. My Outsett [initial cost of the ship and of fitting it out] here is 175£ this Money."

The *Evans* arrived safe after a hectic trip. Isaac Norris, who sailed in the same convoy, wrote the secretary: "Wee have Dayly Sad Accots of ye Loss of Shipping & Scattering of our flleet, but ye Chief Reason of yis to yee now is to advise yt Yor Barkentine Evans is got into Dartmouth." Norris went on to describe the fate of the convoy: "the Hazardous, one of our Convoy wth 17 Sail of Merchtmen were blown A Shoare at a place Calld Nassau near Portsmouth. ye Merchtmen tis thought will be most got off, but ye Man of Warr Lost."

The venture contemplated on Penn's behalf was a shipment to be made to England early in 1707. In late July, 1706, Logan wrote Penn, "I am concerned with Wm Trent in building a ship of 400 hhds to be Laded home in ye Spring, before wch I believe I shall remitt thee nothing." Logan described his intentions in detail to William Penn, Jr., who initially had a 1/8 interest in the ship. "The Way ye Merchts here have to gett Bills is by Trading to Maryland or wth ye West India Goods. This Method I took also, and for a Trial Shipt to B Shurmer in Virginia about One hundred pd Jointly wth Wm Trent who sent as much, but before it arrived & We Knew of it he [Shurmer] had Ordrs to Return sfor England & would not attend it, so that other hands have ye managemt of it on whom I can not so well de-

44 *Ibid.*, 222. The weather played its role in the crop failure: "Our Crops have fail'd Last Year as well as the fformer And We are Reduced Exceeding Low. the Seasons are Strangely Alter'd sfor We have had a Winter almost wholly open and much more mild than I have frequently known in England. We have been very Unhealthy but not many have Died."

Logan to Penn, Mar. 2, 1706/7, *ibid.*, 277.

45 Logan to Askew, August, 1706, *ibid.* II, 76.

46 Isaac Norris to James Logan, Cork, Dec. 6, 1706, NLB (1706–1709), 15.
was at first Shipt off, & doubtless if Benj: had received it would have been to thy advantage.'\textsuperscript{47}

The shipments to Virginia, like the earlier ones to Carolina, were more varied and of a different nature than those sent to the West Indies and England. An examination of Logan's financial records reveals such entries as five casks of sugar and six tierces of rum in July, 1706, and six barrels of rum and four casks of sugar in December of that year. William Trent conducted the operation, and he may have added other commodities to those Logan listed as being shipped on the sloops \textit{Fortune} and \textit{Salamander}. As time went on, the projected venture became more complicated. To understand the manipulations that could take place under such conditions, the entry that Logan's harassed bookkeeper finally recorded is quoted in the footnote below. It should be noted that this does not tell the entire story of the ownership of the \textit{Diligence}, because before the vessel sailed, Logan sold half of his personal one-quarter interest in the Proprietor's 11/32 share of the ship and cargo.\textsuperscript{48}

The \textit{Diligence}, or as it was sometimes called, the \textit{Happy Union} (a salute to the about-to-be-concluded union of England and Scotland), was built in Philadelphia. She was a ship of 150 tons, and Logan wrote his employer that her value was "5 or 600£ Sterl. She is to beSent from hence to Virginia there to Load & thence to Engld with Convoy directly for London, if any offers, if not then North about Scotland. . . ." The northern route which Logan selected in the event that there was no convoy was favored because it

\textsuperscript{47} Logan to Penn, July 25, 1706, LLB I, 231; Logan to William Penn, Jr., Aug. 12, 1706, Logan Papers, I, 62.

\textsuperscript{48} "Ship Diligence (Also Happy Union) Bartholomew Penrose Master Dr to Wm Trent £545.3.7 for the Proprietary 1/2 of the Cargo sent to Virginia & 11/64 (at first Intended 3/16) of said Ship Carried on from the Beginning by Wm Trent, J. Logan & sd Penrose, by Wm Trent half for himself, by J L 3/8 of which half or 3/16 of the whole for the Proprietary, 1/4 of sd 3/8 or 3/32 of the whole for Wm Penn Junr, and the other 3/32 on J L proper Acc. and the remaining 1/8 on sd Penroses own Acco. but afterwards W Trent & J Logan for the good of the Voyage sold to Obadiah Maniott of Virginia 1/8 viz: each of them 1/16, so that of J L 3/8 as at first sett up there remaind only 5/16 in the whole to be divided again into Quarters between the Proprietary 1/2, Wm Penn Junr & himself each 1/4, but at making Up Accounts B. Penrose the Builder & Master being unable to hold 1/8 threw 1/2 of it or 1/16 on sd Trent and Logan so that at making up the Ships Acco. this Day she is owned as follows Viz: by Wm Trent 15/32, by O Maniott 4/32 or 1/8, by B. Penrose 2/32 or 1/16, by the proprietary half of the Remaining 11/32 is 11/64, by Wm Penn Junr 1/4 of sd 11/32 & by J L the other Quarter of 11/32. The Ship fitted out as ^ her Accot now made up by the Owners cost £2269.10.—." PJ I, 140, 146, 154; Logan to Askew, Mar. 12, 1707/8, LLB II, 101.
“had alwayes been tolerably fortunate to us for I think this place among all th’ Losses never had one by any Vessell sent by that passage.”

Soon afterward, as the letter book reveals in an undated letter, Logan wrote the Proprietor to delay placing insurance on the Diligence, for he had heard “an Acct of Strict Ordrs from England not to suffer any vessels to sail till ye ffleet goes . . . therefore it may be Convenient to forbear making any Insurance till I give fflurther Notice.” In April Logan wrote Askew that it was feared there would be no Virginia convoy that year. However, the tobacco that was to constitute the cargo was in Virginia and had to be loaded there. “We fear that should We go in thither We shall be stopt by an Embargoe till the ffleet sails, wch we fear will not be this Year.” An express was sent to Virginia to find out whether or not the Diligence could sail before the convoy. Logan dreaded a long wait in the Chesapeake, as “the Disasters of ye last ffleet occasioned in no small measure by their long lying a prey to ye Worm is sufficient to make us cautious, and for this reason we shall not send her in there to Continue any longer time than what may be Sufficient to load her.”

In June, even though there was no news as to the possibility of a Virginia convoy, the owners decided that the Diligence should sail for Virginia within the month. From Virginia, there were three or four “large ships of Countenance & force that perhaps She may goe in Company with, but if there be no Company and she goes Single, She must North about Scotland.”

The Diligence sailed from Philadelphia for the Chesapeake during the week of August 1, 1707, but it was not until April 5 of the following year that she sailed north from Virginia “in company with honest old Wm Cant in ye Lond Mercht & 2 others & must be I suppose in some British Port if not ffrench before this.” With her sailing a period of waiting for news ensued. Bits of rumor and hearsay were

49 Logan to Askew, Dec. 2, 1706, ibid., 83; Logan to Penn, Mar. 2, 1706/7, ibid. I, 277. The Diligence was launched the day the news of the consummation of union between England and Scotland arrived, but it was too late to call her the Happy Union. The name Diligence had been entered on the Registry and with the insurance brokers, and thus the ship would be known. Logan to Penn, June 6, 1707, ibid., 292; Logan to Askew, June 6, 1707, ibid. II, 89.

50 Logan to Penn, undated letter (January or February, 1706/7), ibid. I, 283; Logan to Askew, Apr. 14, 1707, ibid. II, 88.

51 Logan to Askew, June 6, 1707, ibid., 89; Logan to Penn, June 6, 1707, ibid. I, 291–292.

52 Logan to Askew, Aug. 1, 1707, ibid. II, 91; Logan to Askew, Dec. 22, 1707, ibid., 93; Logan to Penn, June 18, 1708, ibid. I, 307.
snatched at and weighed. The worst was constantly feared. In a letter written during the summer, Logan fretted to the Proprietor, "We hear Capt Cant was taken & ransomed but that the Diligence or Union was not heard of. the Loss of her would be a great blow & among ye rest more than I can spare to my self." September came and the secretary was still in ignorance as to the fate of the ship. He consoled himself by writing to John Askew, "Thou wilt hear by too many hands" bad tidings; "we hear that Capt Cant and the Oxford were both taken but that our ship was not heard of, however it be, the matter is long agoe determined, & therefore 'tis in vain now to pass Judgemts, if lost I hope some good Insurance has been made." Fortunately, his worries had been needless, for in March, 1708/9, Logan wrote William Penn, Jr., that the Diligence had made a safe voyage.

The story of the Diligence illustrates trading difficulties, but additional troubles were now at hand to plague Logan. His employer, William Penn, had been imprisoned for debts in 1707, and Penn's creditors, the wife and son of the late Philip Ford, soon tried to gain control of the province. When their attempts failed in the High Court of Chancery, they were placated by a settlement of £7,600, far short of the £14,000 they had sought. The money for the settlement was raised by friends of the Proprietor who established a trusteeship that was to conduct the affairs of the province for many years. On the consummation of the settlement, Penn left prison, the management of the province out of his hands. In 1712 he suffered the stroke which incapacitated him for active participation in the affairs of the colony.

Logan now prepared to take a step he had contemplated for several years—a return to England. It was a necessary move, for in many ways his powers and privileges were clouded. The new arrangements of the trustees had made "a great Alteration in affairs of Property here, the Commissioners cannot well proceed by any Powers they

53 Logan to Penn, Sept. 3, 1708, *ibid.*, 309.
54 Logan to Askew, Sept. 6, 1708, *ibid.*, II, 107.
55 Logan to William Penn, Jr., Mar. 10, 1708/9, *ibid.*, 124.
56 For more detail on the story of ingratitude and extortion on the one side and of financial ineptitude on the other, see William R. Shepherd, *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1896), Pt. II, Chap. II, 1; other material is available in the Penn, Logan, and Norris manuscripts.
now have." Furthermore, Logan was in doubt as to how many bills of exchange drawn by Penn on Logan stood, now that the control of the province had passed to the trustees. What was the status of the bills that had not yet been presented? Logan wondered whether he personally would be liable for any bills not recognized by the new mortgagees. As Isaac Norris wrote trustee Henry Goldney (Gouldney),

Poor James Logan is very much Down. I having Severall of those bills Govr Penn Drew in Possession [of the province] I must In Justice and Do press his Acceptance. I Perceive he has writ Largly to ye & some Other frds about those bills & say's he will Do anything any frds Can Advise him to.

Norris' fears about the loss of Logan's status as proprietary representative were well founded. Logan had met most of the £2,000 outstanding in bills that Penn had drawn on him, but his authority under the new situation was obscure: "this 2d Mortgage being (as you intended it should) universally known here there is now no Power in the Country to sell or make title to Lands, for our Apprehensions of ye hazard run in disposing of Lands before without any Authority from the then Mortgagees has too deeply affected ye Proprs present Commissionrs of Property to run any such Risque again for the future, besides that till a legal Power appears from you to receive ye Debts & quitrents made over to you, several here scruple to make any further paymts, this now leaving me but very little to doe in affairs of Property."

Despite the fact that trade prospects remained as bad as ever, with French privateers haunting the capes of the Delaware and even plundering the town of Lewes in 1709, Logan still attempted to put the proprietary income to work in an effort to convert it into sterling

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57 Logan to Penn, June 14, 1709, LLB I, 339.
58 Norris to Henry Goldney, undated (about Sept. 6, 1708), NLB (1706–1709), 188.
59 Logan to Henry Goldney & Company, Aug. 26, 1709, LLB II, 127–128; the various bills are entered in PJ I. Logan was also the object of attack and legal charges by an unruly Assembly, and a warrant for his arrest was actually issued. Plagued thus in the political arena, as well as by economic dislocations caused by war and weather, he wrote bitterly: "I resolved to be Patient & sitt quiet till the late threatening Storms blew over, but since I have no prospect of a Security under this Constitution as now modelled, I must endeavour to breath Liberty again & taste freedom once more." Logan to Penn, June 14, 1709, LLB I, 339–340.
60 Penn-Logan Correspondence, II, 275, 359, 420, 434.
credits. At the time the Diligence was on the high seas, and Penn was being imprisoned for debt, Logan wrote John Askew: “I have lately bought a part of a Ship that carries 250 hogsheads bound home from this River in the Spring of wch I hope to gett one halfe Consigned to thee Wm Trent also being Concern’d. My Interest will be I Sup-pose about 300£ of this Money & the voyage promises well for we expect to be loaded without much Difficulty and have the Oppor-tunity of Convoy from New York.” Logan requested Askew to purchase some merchandise for him, confiding, “I designe if it please God to prosper me to launch a little further into Trade than I have done.” As a reminder, he added, “Pray take Spetiall care in the Pur-chase of these Goods, lest my Credit thy way be broke at the first outsett.”

The ship was the Mary Galley, and Logan purchased 1/8 of her for the proprietary. Because of the depressing effects of the war, the owners failed to obtain the cargo they expected for her. Isaac Norris, one of the owners, wrote John Askew that, “here is ye Mary Gally Hen: Young Master now Loading & I fear there will not be Goods Enough for her.” When the ship sailed in late August or early September, she carried, so Logan informed Henry Goldney, a trustee of the Penn estate, “20 hogsheads of Tobacco, I hope as good as any our river has produced this Year.” This cargo had been happily received from Robert French in payment for quitrents. The galley was the only ship likely to sail from the Delaware to the mother country that year, and Logan expressed the hope that the ownership of 1/16 of the vessel would pay the freight charges, for this was the portion that Logan had allotted the trustees. The charges amounted to £80 proclamation money or £92 10s. old money. “I could for my own part have been willing that she should stay for ye Virginia fleet, but they having only one Man of War a fifth rate for their Convoy &

61 Logan to Askew, Jan. 18, 1708/9, LLB II, 118; Logan to Askew, Mar. 2, 1708/9, ibid., 119.
62 Norris to Askew, Mar. 11, 1708/9, NLB (1706-1709), 249.
63 In 1703, Queen Anne issued a proclamation fixing the values of currency in each colony in terms of gold and silver. This caused a deflation of the Pennsylvania currency, the proclamation money being worth about forty per cent more than the “old money.” Logan to Penn, Aug. 22, 1705, LLB I, 191-192; for rates, proclamations, laws and rulings on exchange, see Board of Trade Journals, XVII, 52; Board of Trade Plantations, General, VII, Docs. G:9, G:10, H:20; VIII, I:49; Board of Trade Proprieties, VIII (3), Doc. O:69.
being to make ye Coast in ye latter end of November at soonest, besides the unavoidable hazard of losing ye ships Crew in Virginia if sent thither, the other Owners could by no means be perswaded to it. . . . We at first expected she would have sailed much earlier but having been kept under ye best husbandry at but little Charge we hope her Stay will not prove much for ye worse."  

The expectation of a fast trip was somewhat dampened, at least as far as Isaac Norris was concerned, when on September 27 "ye Mary Gally after having been 2 weeks at Sea Returnd Occasion by very bad weather. She is orderd to reffitt wth all Expedition & proceed."  

The Mary Galley sailed again sometime in October.

Within two months Logan himself was on the high seas. In December, Norris apologized to Governor Penn for a brief letter, but "considering who goes wth it I could not have chose a better oppor-
tunity to say nothing of public affairs."  

In September, Logan had written that there were several vessels loading on the Delaware "and among the rest a very good new ship built by Isaac Norris, in whose Bottom & Cargoe the Trustees will be concerned 1/8 to ye value of about 300£ Sterling here of wch I now acquaint them."  

This ship was the Hope Galley, and the proprietary 1/8 of the ship and cargo cost £513 17s. 9d. Pennsylvania, old money. She carried a cargo of flour to the new and promising market of Lisbon. This was the ship on which Logan sailed. He was, Penn wrote, on his way to England, "wth a 1000 quarters of our wheat to Lisbon, & so hither."  

Before Logan closed his books and boarded the Hope Galley, he started several other shipments on their way. These adventures were those of the sloop Tyger, on which a cargo of flour costing £66 17s. 4d. Pennsylvania was consigned to Maurice Lisle of Jamaica, and the sloop Abraham and Betty, which carried £44 9s. worth of flour to the same factor. Logan also settled his own account for services rendered.

64 Logan to Henry Goldney & Company, Aug. 26, 1709, LLB II, 128, 129.
65 Norris to Thomas Lloyd, Oct. 3, 1709, NLB (1709–1716), 86.
66 Norris to Thomas Lloyd, Oct. 20, 1709, ibid., 95.
67 Norris to Penn, Dec. 2, 1709, Society Miscellaneous Collection; also in NLB (1709–
1716), 112.
68 Logan to Penn, Sept. 17, 1709, Norris of Fairhill Manuscripts, Miscellaneous, 8.
69 PJ I, 206.
70 Penn to "My Deare Childe," Bucks Court, Dec. 15, 1709, Gratz Autograph Collection; Norris to John and Thomas Batts, Nov. 28, 1709, NLB (1709–1716), 110.
The account of "Factorage as enterd in the Leidger which is thus mentioned here only to Ballance that Accot" was £276 18s. 6d. The "Accot of Expences Dr for his Services to the Proprietor since he first engaged with him in April 1699 for which includg all manner of Services whatsoever as Receiver Secretary & he now at his Departure Accots only One Thousand Pounds of the Old Currency (tho the Proprietor ought to make it £100 Stg Annum he Charging no manner of Commissions nor ever Recd any Gratuities besides) Out of which £1000 the £276. being deducted there remains £723. 1. 6."

With Logan's return to England, the first phase of the relationship between Proprietor and loyal servant ends, and the first volume of the journal is ended accordingly. The new trustees proved to be much sharper businessmen than the Founder, as a little account book in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania gives evidence. The twenty-one double pages of this volume constitute a ledger which carefully lists expenses and receipts for the years 1710-1726. It was witnessed by Adam Goldney and was prepared, as the certificate attests, for use in litigation concerning Governor Sir William Keith in 1728. This little book provides a key, unavailable for earlier transactions, to the totals of receipts in sterling. In most cases it is impossible to match the voyage with the returns, but the volume does show how under the trusteeship the obligations were largely wiped out and the province became a paying proposition. It indicates as well, what markets and products produced the returns.

71 PJ I, 201-204, 206, 209-211. While returning to England on the ship Dalmahoy in 1701, Penn had written Logan: "For thy own services, I shall allow thee what is just and reasonable, either by commission or a salary. But my dependence is on thy care and honesty. Serve me faithfully, as thou expects a blessing from God, or my favour, and I shall support thee to the utmost as thy true friend. Wm. Penn." Armistead, 12. In December, 1711, Penn drew up an instrument covering Logan's compensation: "The Proprietor was willing to give me what I would ask for my ten years' service, and, considering his melancholy circumstances in 1711, I set only £100 a year currency, for all manner of services whatever; but told him I could stay in his service no more than two years. But he was seized with an apoplectic fit in less than one year, which tied me down to his business, and vastly, as it proved to my loss." Ibid., 41. In after years, Logan took nothing but four per cent interest on shipments (Norris received the other one per cent). He had received several tracts of land approaching 10,000 acres, which he accepted in lieu of salary and then gave large portions of it away for public purposes. The hundred pounds a year, he stated, was not "sufficient to maintain me with a clerk and one horse." Logan to Thomas Penn, 1747, ibid., 172-173. Earlier he had feared to accept or purchase property for "it might draw Envy. Perhaps to lett it be Seen I Ever gott any thing and for this reason perhaps can not yet be a freeholder in the province." Logan to Penn, May 26, 1704, LLB I, 146-147.

72 Penn Manuscripts, Penn Cash Book.
Among the first entries on the credit side is one for £50 10s. received from John Askew, "the neat [sic] proceeds of Freight and Sale of Mary Gally." The other entries for the year 1710 are all in terms of "Mill rees" (milreis), a Portuguese monetary unit valued variously from 5s. 8½d. to 6s. 7½d. sterling. It is therefore evident that most, if not all, of the returns of the province at that time were coming by way of Portugal. The entries of 200, 500, 400, 100 milreis from John and Thomas Batts, James Baden, Sir Theodore Furness and others were the periodic transfers to London of credits built up with British merchants in Portugal. The "markett of Lisbon hath been of great Advantage to us," Isaac Norris wrote in 1711. "Wee have now going Seven or Eight Vessells and Some of them Large. The Old Crop is near out. . . . Wheat 3/3 and Rising."  

Proprietary receipts for 1710, according to the cash book, were £624 5s. taken in and £425 os. 6d. paid out, mostly in interest. Isaac Norris was responsible for most of the returns made during this period when Logan was in England. On the Hope Galley in 1711, Norris shipped 150 bushels of wheat to John and Thomas Batts on the proprietary account. Other shipments went as well, for there are entries in the Norris journal and ledger of commissions paid the merchant by the trustees, as well as charges for outfitting the various vessels. It is impossible to ascertain the extent of these shipments, since the records are lacking for this period, Logan's correspondence is largely nonexistent, and Norris himself, although an extensive letter writer, was not a very enlightening one.

Logan stayed in England nearly two years, laying the foundation for the new relationship that was to continue for some fifteen years. He returned to Pennsylvania in March, 1712, after a tedious ten weeks' voyage, empowered "to sell & Convey Lands, and to him & I Norris to Receive Rents &c, and Remit the Effects to You [the trustees], pressing us to engage heartily in that Affair for the Interest and Reputation of our worthy frd & Proprietor that he wth the Country may be freed from this Incumbrance &c [the debt of £7,600 held by

73 Ibid., 1.
74 Norris to Joseph Pike, June, 1711, NLB (1709-1716), 265.
75 Penn Cash Book.
76 Norris to John and Thomas Batts, June 19, 1711, NLB (1709-1716), 269; Norris Journal (1709-1716), 171; Norris Ledger (1709-1740), 200.
77 Various entries for the years 1709-1712 in Norris Journal (1709-1716) and Norris Ledger (1709-1740).
the trustees and others]." The Commissioners of Property in the province who wrote this acknowledgment of responsibilities expressed regret that the Lisbon trade had fallen off. They hoped, however, that the forthcoming peace would "open a Trade again with the Spaniard." In matters of returns, they referred the trustees to Logan and Norris, who were responsible for them.78

Logan's new attack on his major problem, that of making returns, was retarded but slightly by his late return. Cargoes for the proprietary again started leaving the Delaware. The briefly important flour market of Lisbon had been saturated and promised little. Yet the Hope Galley was still plying this trade, and in May, Logan could inform Penn that she was loaded and prepared to depart.79 To John and Thomas Batts he wrote that he and the other owners were "dispatching your old visitant the Hope tho am sorry her first after my Return should be to so discouraging a Market." She carried 125 casks of flour and 300 bushels of wheat on the Proprietor's account. The returns on this were to be shipped along with "1/8 of ye freight money . . . to H Gouldney as usual." Another "100 Casks of flour & 70 bushls Wheat" under separate invoice were "loaded by my Self 2/3ds on my own Accot & 1/3d on Jno Askews, the Nett Proceeds of wch are to be remitted to him as I said 1/3d for his Accot & 2/3ds on mine." Logan owned 1/8 of the ship as well, for he further directed that 1/8 of the freight money be sent to Askew with the greatest speed possible to cover a particular debt.80

While in England, Logan had obtained a stock of merchandise and upon his return, he entered the Indian trade in a dabbling way, although the necessity of entrusting the rough backwoodsmen with trade goods for long periods disturbed the fastidious merchant. Logan was able to obtain some deer skins and furs, and on John Askew's ship, the Mary Hope, he dispatched two separate shipments to England. The first consisted of six chests and one tierce of peltry and furs and four small barrels of turpentine. Half of this belonged to

78 Logan to Penn, Mar. 31, 1712, LLB (1712–1715), 1; Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris to Henry Goldney, Joshua Gee, Silvanus Grove, John Woods, John Fields, etc., May 24, 1712, ibid., 7.
79 Logan to Penn, May 25, 1712, ibid., 2.
Isaac Norris, the other half to the Proprietor. The Proprietor's share was valued at £122 7s. 1½d. Pennsylvania. The other shipment consisted of four chests of furs and skins on the joint Logan-Askew account, as well as a half of two other chests. Along with these went pitch, oil, and whalebone, and "one 4th part of 20 hogsheads of Tobacco as Invoice amounting in the whole with Charges to £249...9...0." "The Pitch," Logan continued, "I hope will prove no bad Bargain, especially if the Bounty Money can be had, to facilitate wch if practicable, I have purchased 1/4 of those 20 hogsheads of Tob: after they were on board in hopes that by thy Sedulous Management, that Bounty may be discounted out of the Duties of the Other." The price was high for the tobacco, he admitted, but it was packed and culled and on shipboard, and it was "ye best this River Yields this Year, Robt [French] having engross'd very near ye whole of it into his own hands." 81

The new arrangement to be followed as long as Logan conducted the proprietary business required that Logan and Askew jointly assume half or more of the risk and returns, with the balance allotted to the proprietary. Another feature, not important before, was the establishment of a stock of merchandise to be disposed of by Logan in Philadelphia. Logan purchased the merchandise out of his and Askew's sterling account and generously allowed the Proprietor a portion which was paid for with the less desirable Pennsylvania commodities and credits. From then on, Logan conducted a store or warehouse, and his letters were concerned with specifications and orders for dry goods, iron products, kettles, beads and cutlery. On the advantages of the new system, Logan wrote: "The Skins are generally pretty well bought, if it be considered that most of them are in Truck for our Indians Goods at the rate of very near 150 Cent." It was a story often repeated in the American colonies. The

81 Logan to Askew, July 4, 1712, LLB (1712-1715), 33-34; PJ II, 6; Logan Account Book, 18-19; Penn Cash Book, 2. Naval stores were being encouraged in the new world by subsidies, the idea being that it would be advantageous to have a British source for such products. The Baltic, the navy's source, could be reached only through narrow waterways that might be closed in time of war. See Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period in American History (New Haven, Conn., 1938), IV, 102-104. "The Late Act of Parlmt for encouraging the raising of Naval Stores in America will much befriend Carolina...but it will very little affect us, till Poverty necessitates us to change our Measures & think at least of Hemp & flax." Logan to Penn, Aug. 22, 1705, LLB I, 201.
markup on English goods in America was sufficient to offset insignificant profits or small losses on the colonial products that were received for the merchandise. Thus the sale of English goods put Logan into the most profitable part of the trade.\textsuperscript{82}

The cargo on the \textit{Mary Hope} was the first shipment to fall into the pattern that was to be followed for years to come. Logan himself did not yet realize this, but continued to cast about for profitable ventures. The war was nearing its end, yet instead of stability, instability was the immediate result. The Treaty of Utrecht, which brought hostilities between England and France to an end on April 11, 1713, and ended those between Britain and Spain on the following July 13, produced the dislocations that follow every war. The Lisbon flour market collapsed; the West Indian trade waned; the English market for tobacco was low.\textsuperscript{83}

A crop failure in 1712 further complicated matters, but it was hoped that peace would reopen the Spanish trade. The \textit{Hope Galley} was sent that year to Carolina to take on rice, rather than keep her sealed up in the ice-blocked Delaware. If Carolina offered nothing, she was to go to Jamaica. With whatever she could load in these places, the \textit{Hope Galley} was to proceed to England. Logan turned over half of his share to Askew\textsuperscript{84}; the goods were consigned to Nathaniel Griffits, who went on board as supercargo. The proprietary 1/8 of the vessel and her cargo of flour, bread, strong beer, cider and apples was valued at £159 17s. 7d. Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{85} Logan and Askew also held 1/16 of the cargo. The net receipts in sterling received by the proprietary for its 1/8 share were £100 11s. 4d. sterling.\textsuperscript{86}

Because of the far-flung nature of the enterprises, it was months and sometimes years before Logan and Askew could cast up accounts. In January of 1713/14, their sterling account reflected the promise of their partnership, even though it did not yet reflect the returns from ventures after the 1712/13 voyage of the \textit{Hope Galley}, and numerous

\textsuperscript{82} Logan to Askew, July 4, 1712, LLB (1712–1715), 34.
\textsuperscript{83} Logan and Norris to Henry Goldney, Joshua Gee, Silvanus Grove, etc., July 5, 1712, \textit{ibid.}, 42.
\textsuperscript{84} Logan to Askew, Nov. 25, 1712, \textit{ibid.}, 53; Logan to Goldney, Nov. 27, 1712, \textit{ibid.}, 60–61.
\textsuperscript{85} PJ II, 11; Logan Account Book, 32; Orders to Nathenl Griffitts, Dec. 15, 16, and 18, 1712, LLB (1712–1715), 72–73, 74–75, 77.
\textsuperscript{86} Penn Cash Book, 2; Logan Account Book, 32–33.
obligations were still outstanding. Logan had now become a merchant in his own right. His new pattern of action, that of conducting business for himself as well as for the Proprietor, had given him a different status and perspective. He had numerous ventures at sea, and with greater initiative, vigor, and imagination than he had hitherto shown, planned to send more. In the spring of 1713, for example, the sloop John carried a cargo of Pennsylvania produce to Madeira. Logan owned 1/8 of ship and cargo.87

Other new markets were considered. John Askew suggested that Logan load the Mary Hope in Philadelphia with a cargo fit for Newfoundland. Logan, however, expressed doubts as to his ability to comply, because Trent and Norris had already sent a cargo of rum to Newfoundland and the acceptability of other cargoes was doubtful.88 Instead, he placed flour and bread on board Askew's ship and dispatched it to the West Indies, consigned to "one Adam Leland [Leyland], Supercargoe last Year of ye Edgely from Bristol, a brisk ingenious Young man & well acquainted with business." He was to visit Jamaica and Curacao and, if necessary, Barbados, since the ship was sailing out of season and cargoes would be hard to come by.89

The competition for cargoes was intense. No longer did the shipper lament the difficulty of finding a ship to carry his goods as he had during the war. Now it was the shipowner's turn to vie for cargo, for it was not profitable to sail empty or half-loaded ships, and allowing a wooden ship to lie idle could have results even more tragic. New markets had to be found and new commodities carried. Logan, Norris, and Trent collaborated in 1713 in a most interesting project. They loaded the brigantine Mary with a cargo of "divers sorts of Commodities"—rice, imported from Carolina, bread, flour, tobacco, bacon, pork, tar, pitch and staves. This was to be shipped to Newfoundland where merchant Archibald Cummings of St. Johns, a partner in the venture, was to sell what he could and purchase fish,

87 Logan to David Lovegrove, Mar. 10, 1712/13, LLB (1712-1715), 104; Logan to John and Thomas Batts, Mar. 10, 1712/13, ibid., 105; Logan Account Book, 37, 64.
88 Logan to Askew, May 7, 1713, LLB (1712-1715), 105-106.
89 PJ II, 24; Instructions to Adam Leyland, LLB II (1712-1715), 132-134; Logan to John Annis, Aug. 12, 1713, ibid., 134-135; Logan to Askew, Sept. 4, 1713, ibid., 137-138; Logan to Askew, July 1, 1713, ibid., 120-121; Logan to H. Goldney and S. Grove, July 2, 1713, ibid., 123-125.
which was to be carried with the balance of the cargo to Oporto or Lisbon in Portugal or to Vigo in Spain. The proprietary was involved to the extent of £215, one quarter of a total of more than £800. Logan and Askew held a smaller share jointly. In December, Logan was still waiting to hear how this project fared. The Iberian destination had been decided upon—Jackson and Company in Oporto. Unfortunately, the venture lost money at each stage. Another novel voyage was projected by Logan in 1714 when he planned to send a cargo of logwood to Venice. This plan was later modified, and Leghorn eventually became the destination.

The most successful voyages in the years following Logan’s return from England were neither those to exotic places nor those to new markets, nor did they involve shipments of his old stand-bys, tobacco and flour, as in the past. More and more Logan placed his reliance on the European demand for skins and furs. By 1715, he had actively entered the Indian trade. The method, first observed in the shipment on the Mary Hope in 1712, became increasingly common. Logan and Askew together owned half or more of the shipments, and the proprietary was allotted the balance. By the 1720’s, Logan had become Pennsylvania’s largest dealer in Indian trade goods and in skins and furs. It was primarily with this trade that Logan made himself affluent, and it was through the profits from this trade that the trustees paid off the provincial obligations. At long last, the province had become a fruitful investment.

The evidence at hand indicates distortion in the traditional picture of the province of Pennsylvania as a long-time drain on proprietary resources. Pennsylvania did produce revenue. Logan’s shipments,
each valued at £500 or more, on such ships as the *Industry* and the *Hopewell*, demonstrate the potential fruitfulness of the province to the Penn family. Unfortunately for Penn, he was a victim of the War of the Spanish Succession, which came at a most inopportune time in his career. War dislocated normal channels of trade by its very weight on the economic foundation of empire; in addition, the prevalence of French commerce raiders played havoc with normal expectation in business and made every venture a risk lacking the promise of high reward that would normally rouse the spirit of the gambler. For the individual merchant on the Delaware, the situation created was impossible. Trade was, in Logan's own words, "a Lottery."95

Yet even had the war inflicted no crushing blows upon the Penn fortunes, it appears doubtful that Penn would have profited from the shipments. Philip Ford held Penn in a heavy debt wholly manufactured by Ford and in no way representing value ever received by the Proprietor. So long successful as a swindler, Ford would have seen to it that Penn remained in his web, no matter how much Pennsylvania paid its owner. Only a businesslike settlement, such as was actually reached, could have reduced the debts claimed by Ford and have made the colony a promising source of revenue. Success was finally assured when the English accounts were put upon a proper basis, and when Logan's activities in Pennsylvania turned to the marketing of English goods, the most profitable aspect of colonial enterprise.

It was not until Logan's private means were sufficiently ample that he finally turned from speculations in tobacco and flour to the Indian trade. While the staple commodities had value in England and in the West Indies, they were bulk products, often overproduced and subject to violent market fluctuations. When Logan took them in lieu of obligations due in Pennsylvania and when they had to make profit on their own intrinsic value, his transactions lacked the elasticity enjoyed by those merchants who bought colonial produce with English goods. The Indian trade was to give Logan a stable basis for the management of proprietary affairs.

Peace brought almost as many dislocations as did war, yet Logan found the solution to his problems. His newly granted powers and his new personal business provided him with the necessary implements.

95 Logan to Penn, Dec. 5, 1703, *ibid.*, 128.
to make his own fortune and to correct the Proprietor's financial affairs. Working under the terms agreed upon by Penn's trustees and pursuing the golden opportunities offered by the Indian trade, Logan soon found the road which led not only to a personal fortune, but to a satisfactory flow of funds from the New World to the coffers of the Penn family.

Philadelphia

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