NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

William Penn’s Proprietorship in Danger: The View from James Logan in 1705

James Logan, the underpaid acerbic, sardonic, and voluble colonial secretary of William Penn, served for many years as Penn’s eyes in Pennsylvania. Through Logan’s regular correspondence Penn observed his colony mature—too much so Logan thought—into a province. He depended on Logan for counsel and looked to Logan to convey his interest to the colonists. As Penn’s personal fortunes flagged, Logan became trapped between the proprietor’s increasing demands for money and the colonists’ equally growing resistance to pay. In May 1705 Logan once again put quill to paper to report on the condition of the colony. His letter, newly acquired by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), offers a valuable on-site estimation of Pennsylvania’s politics and personalities. It also hints at the personal cost to Logan of his difficult role in managing the colony.

In June 1987 the Batchelder Catalog, #61, offered for sale this lengthy and important letter, dated May 17, 1705. Upon investigation by Linda Stanley, curator of manuscripts at the HSP, it transpired that no other copy of the letter was known to have survived. Consequently, the HSP purchased the document and has since added it to the substantial Logan Papers collection already in the Society’s possession. The seller was unable to give any provenance for the letter, but we have some clues to its early history.

In 1878 the Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd series, volume 7, printed a letter, without comment, from Logan to Penn, dated May 17, 1705 (pp. 19-27). In volume 10 of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1872), Edward Armstrong printed a letter from Logan to Penn of the same date (pp. 24-27), but while its first paragraph was identical to that in the Pennsylvania Archives, the rest of the letter differed completely. Deborah Norris Logan, in her 1818 letterbook, volume 3, included brief extracts from a Logan to Penn letter, which she stated was undated (pp. 166-68), but which appears to be identical
to corresponding portions of the May 17, 1705, letter in the Pennsylvania Archives. Finally, a letterbook copy by James Logan, torn and incomplete, is extant in his papers at the HSP. It appears, therefore, that at least one copy of the original letter may have been in Logan's papers at his home, Stenton, at the time Deborah Norris Logan copied extracts, but that the sheets became separated and either were lost or became intermixed with other letters of Logan to Penn prior to publication of the version in the Memoirs. At the same time, another copy of the letter was in the hands of the editors of the Pennsylvania Archives, but it subsequently disappeared. The letter recently purchased by the HSP was probably the same as that published in the Pennsylvania Archives. Although the printed copy in the Pennsylvania Archives included a postscript, this newly purchased letter does not, but there is some doubt whether the postscript ever belonged with this letter. Both Logan's letterbook copy and the letter in the Pennsylvania Archives are included in the microfilm edition of The Papers of William Penn (12:053). None of the versions was among the eighteen Logan-Penn letters chosen for publication in The Papers of William Penn, Volume Four: 1701-1718 (1987). In any event, the transcript in the Pennsylvania Archives was unedited and relatively inaccurate. We now can present a fully edited and more accurate transcription of this important letter. Although some of the information provided by Logan also can be found in his letter to Penn of July 4, 1705 (Papers of William Penn, 4:361-69), Logan here adds fresh insights into his often turbulent personal life, into the equally troubling political situation in Pennsylvania, and into Penn's chaotic business affairs in the colony.

Logan's letter was written at a critical juncture in the colony's history. By May 1705 the War of the Spanish Succession involving England, France, and Spain as the main protagonists had been underway for three years. The impact on Pennsylvania's economy was devastating as commerce was seriously disrupted by privateers, specie disappeared from circulation, and land values plummeted with sellers trying anxiously to unload surplus property to raise needed cash and buyers lacking the requisite funds to purchase. For William Penn, the economic crisis came when he was desperately in need of money. His finances had been undermined by the burgeoning costs of defending the colony at court, by the lack of support from the colonists, and by his own extravagance. Perhaps most damaging of all, but as
yet unbeknownst to the colonists, was his immense debt to the family of his late steward, Philip Ford, who technically also were the legal proprietors of Pennsylvania.

Penn's woes were further exacerbated by the mounting opposition within the colony to his proprietorship. The central figure in that opposition was David Lloyd, a Welsh Quaker lawyer, who by 1705 resided in Philadelphia and who had become the colony's most prominent legal authority while also serving in the Assembly virtually every term. Lloyd quite clearly disliked Penn, but the loosely knit faction that coalesced around him had many sound reasons for its anti-proprietary stance. Most notable was Penn's failure to approve the 1701 Charter of Property aimed at clarifying land ownership through resurveys, purchase of overplus land, and issuance of patents; also important was Penn's failure to obtain confirmation by the Privy Council of Pennsylvania's laws. While Penn viewed Lloyd and those disgruntled colonists who supported him as predominantly non-Quakers (particularly Anglicans) anxious to usurp and monopolize political power, he also was bitterly disappointed in the Quakers' behavior. As Penn perceived it, his tireless efforts on their behalf had been met with a steadfast refusal to pay either quitrents or taxes to support him and the government. His frustration led him finally to begin negotiations with the Crown to surrender the government of Pennsylvania for a price. While those negotiations dragged on, David Lloyd provided still one more reason for the proprietor to feel betrayed. In October 1704, ostensibly on behalf of the Assembly but more likely on his own initiative, Lloyd sent a formal remonstrance to Penn. At the same time, he sent a personal letter to three prominent English Quakers. Both documents were sharply critical of Penn's proprietorship. The attack was so blunt and vicious that a political backlash against Lloyd and his supporters appeared possible. It is against this backdrop of financial insolvency and political chaos that James Logan penned the following letter.¹

¹ A brief note on editorial style. In order to provide both an accurate transcription and readability, all superior letters have been brought down to the line and all abbreviations (even where no tilde is given) have been spelled out, the added letters being placed within brackets. Spelling and punctuation have been left as in the original, but to prevent run-on sentences which obscure meaning, a slash (/) is provided where the editor believes a new
Honoured Govern[ou]r

Thy four Lett[e]rs² by Edw[ar]d Lane and Sam[ue]l Hollister³ came safe to hand, as I have already acknowledged 5th 2 mo[nth] last⁴ by way of Barbad[os] in a long Lett[e]r, of w[hi]ch shall not send Copies only excecp⁵ such parts as may be of most importance / Since that I have rec[ei]v[e]d thy other by Burman⁶ dated in the 11th & 12th Mo[n]ths, with those to fr[ien]ds and Ju[dge] Mompesson⁷ / The expressions of thy trouble is what with too much reason I expected but I hope the Author of all strength will give thee sufficient to bear it

Both the Gov[ernou]r⁸ & my self are much at a stand what to think of the Surrender but are inclinable to believe 'tis resolved, / however the Assembly being to meet the very day the Lett[e]rs arrived, the Gov[ernou]r made them a speech⁹ as proper for the occasion as could be thought of, with these two designs in view, first that if the Gov[ern]m[en]t were surrend[e]red, the persons that were

sentence would normally begin. All strikeouts are shown, except where Logan writes one letter over another; in those cases, the original letter(s) is (are) cited in the footnotes. Logan also has inserted words or letters in a number of cases. These insertions are given within (...). The source given as PWP in the footnotes is The Papers of William Penn (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1981-1987), under the general editorship of Richard and Mary Dunn; the source given as Micro. refers to the microfilmed fourteen reels and guide of The Papers of William Penn (1975). A reminder: in 1705 the year began on March 25; consequently, the first month was March and the twelfth month was February.

² Three of these letters are extant—to James Logan, Sept. 16, 1704 (Micro., 11:355) and Nov. 2, 1704 (Micro., 11:409), and to John Evans, Nov. 6, 1704 (PWP, 4:307).
³ Edward Lane (1664-1710) and Samuel Hollister (b. 1679) were Bristol Quakers; Lane later converted to Anglicanism. See PWP, 4:307n, 328.
⁴ For Logan's letter of April 5, 1705, see Micro., 12:005.
⁵ A mistake by Logan for “except.”
⁶ Benjamin Burman, master of the Hopewell. See PWP, 4:351.
⁷ See Penn to Logan, Jan. 16, 1705 (PWP, 4:322-27); Penn to Friends in Pennsylvania, Feb. 26, 1705 (PWP, 4:338-41); and Penn to Roger Mompesson, Feb. 17, 1705 (PWP, 4:335-37). Roger Mompesson (c. 1662-1715), an English barrister who had been judge of the vice-admiralty courts and chief justice of New York, was being wooed by Penn to become chief justice of Pennsylvania. See PWP, 4:46n, 336, 338n.
⁸ John Evans (c. 1678-c. 1743), the young and controversial governor of Pennsylvania. See PWP, 4:227n.
the causes of it might be more plainly pointed out, and the just blame thrown upon them that they deserved, & 2dly, that if not, that they might either effectually be pressed to doe business, or be exposed to the Countrey, w[hi]ch is already much incensed ag[ain]st them. A Copy of this with their Answer and another Sharp Message to them is sent inclosed, / fr[ien]ds are so extreamly dissatisfyed with their Proceedings, that we have very good Assurances, in case they have another Opportunity of an Election on the same foot, there will be a choice according to thy own heart in Chester County & mostly in this, but Bucks is a weak and unsanctified place through W[illiam] Biles means chiefly, & the Town will always, I doubt yield us two Enemies, but the honest of other places fear not overpowering them.

There is also a design to send thee an Address from the principal fr[ien]ds of the place lamenting these unhappy proceedings, and purging themselves from them with a condemnation of that base Lett[e]r from D[avid] Ll[oyd], w[hi]ch, whether the surrender be made, or not will, I know, be of very great Service especially in case any Copies of the Lett[e]r should be published, but if an Acc[oun]t should arrive, before 'tis done, that thou hast parted with all, it will afterw[ar]ds be impracticable. Those troublesome Members have been

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11 These documents are no longer with the letter.
12 William Biles (d. 1710) was a ministering Friend of Falls Monthly Meeting, whom Logan had referred to in Nov. 1704 as "That rediculous Old man." Biles sided increasingly with Penn's opponents. See PWP, 4:184n, 309.
13 The corporation of Philadelphia was permitted two assemblymen.
14 Logan's observations were proven correct, for on Oct. 1, 1705, new elections were held. Out of sixteen Philadelphia and Chester County representatives to the 1704-5 Assembly, only five were re-elected, all of whom had walked out on June 23, 1705, in protest against David Lloyd's attempt to keep the house in session despite its having been dissolved by the governor. In Bucks County, William Biles was not re-elected, and of the four members who were, two had walked out in the June protest. Furthermore, one of the new members for Bucks was Samuel Carpenter, a Penn ally, who had been encouraged to stand for the county to offset Biles's influence. As for the corporation of Philadelphia, Charles Read had died and Thomas Masters was not returned, but ironically David Lloyd, having been ousted for Philadelphia County, was elected for the corporation, along with the wealthy, but erratic, Edward Shippen.
15 This intended address has not been found.
16 For Lloyd's letter or remonstrance, dated Aug. 25, 1704, but not sent until October, see PWP, 4:295-303.
so fully exposed that great part of the Countrey, will now be as careful
to choose Men that will give Money and Support Gov[ern]m[en]t, as at other times they would avoid it. I wish their wiser repentance
may not come too late. I am sorry the Law of Property is reported
blank, for on that only our Resurveys were grounded, & w[i]thout
the Allowance of 10 in the C it will be impossible I fear to recover
any Overplus w[i]thout Suits of Law, nor doe I know how we can, that way itself, goe well about it.

The People will at Length I believe (if their p[re]sent disposition
hold) be willing to settle a Revenue as desired, but at the same time
they must, by as firm a Law, be settled in all things that are their
due, both in Privileges and Property / this I mean after another
Election for from the p[re]sent nothing is to be expected / they talk
indeed of taking it into consideration immediately, but we have reason
to believe that as they are now composed, they will doe more hurt
than good and that the best service at present is to expose them to
the Countrey, / there are however Six or Seven as good Members
as could be wished for, but the rest being made up of K[nave]s &
fools, the latter (as is usual) are made tools to the former

Thy unfortunate Losses by Sea yield so melancholy a prospect that
it utterly disheartens me, but it is not thy Lott alone, / W[illiam] Trent & Is[aac] N[orris] the chief traders in the place have lost
this last year, I fear, ½d of their Estates, for scarce anything returns
that has been sent out. But upon Advice that at Barbad[os] the
Countrey has fitted out 2 or 3 good vessels to defend their Coasts
(seeing the Men of War seem resolved to take no care of them) I
ship't on board Capt[ain] Robinson 2 Tun of flower more on thy

17 Despite agreeing to a charter of property before leaving Pennsylvania in 1701, Penn
had refused to sign it into law. Nor was he willing to countenance efforts by this Assembly
to enact another property act.

18 Those pressing for land reforms desired that after resurvey of their lands, the owners
would be allowed a surplus of 10 acres per 100, of which 4 were for differences between
surveys, and 6 were for roads and barrens. Penn offered 6 acres per 100, prompting a
stalemate. See PWP, 4:93, n.4.

19 William Trent (d. 1724), later chief justice of New Jersey, and Isaac Norris (1671-
1735), later mayor of Philadelphia, were both prominent Philadelphia merchants. See PWP,
4:151n, 171.

20 David Robinson, master of the ship Elizabeth. See Albright G. Zimmerman, “James
Account, before the receipt of thy last Letter, but shall hold my hand that way till further Orders, unless it be in such quantities as I find a necessity to receive in flower. We have not yet found any effects from the Queen's Order for allowing Trade with the Spaniards, they refusing mostly to trade with us. Trade to Madeira is likewise this Summer very discouraging, Wheat being fallen there 1/3 of the price, & wine advanced as much on the other hand.

I am very much troubled that thou was not pleased before, to let me understand thy Design with a Rentroll and the Bonds, / the first I shall dispatch as soon as possible in the best manner I can to answer the end, but 'tis a very tedious work being so very difficult to get the people to meet me, but I cannot promise to finish it before next winter, and then if it please God I live and we have peace thou may I hope depend upon it. I have been very busy last Winter in settling Books & Accounts, & the Spring I have mostly spent in carrying on the Roll, & so shall continue but it had been much more forward, if last Summer had not found me so many diversions, not from what thou mentions my Amours, for the trouble I mett with that way was so sudden, & the person I mentioned in mine of 8br so irretrievably gone all at once, that prudence would advise me to business at that time more than ever, and I assure thee nothing of the kind could pass more easily over, for the treatmen carried its own cure with it. The Diversions I mean were the most perplexing thoughts as well as business arising from thy Concerns here at that

21 Queen Anne had issued orders permitting trade by English privateers with the Spanish West Indies after June 1, 1704, despite the war. See Cecil Headlam, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1704-1705 (London, 1916), 49-50, 113-14.

22 Logan initially began with “disll.”

23 Penn, in his letter of Jan. 16, 1705 (PWP, 4:322-27), informed Logan that he would indeed sell to the crown the right to govern Pennsylvania unless he could satisfy his creditors. To that end, he clearly instructed Logan to send him “most expeditiously” a complete rent roll and a list of “wt has been sold, wt Bonds taken & mony received, Since I arrived in the Country” (p. 322). Penn also hinted that his desperate need for liquidity necessitated reassignment of bonds and the possible farming of quitrents: “I have Sometimes thought, if thou didst change the Property of the Bonds due to me, it might be safer, & pass better in pay. I have a minde also to Sell off 1/3 the quitrents, if could have Bills, or mony there to returne hither”.

24 Logan had unsuccessfully courted Ann Shippen; see below.

25 Although two of Logan's letters, written in Oct. 1704, to Penn are extant, neither mentions his aborted love affair.
time. Some small business of my own I had 'tis true, but that soon came to an end by the fortune of Trade and War\textsuperscript{26} of which thy Self hast been so deep a partaker.

I here send thee a List of the Bonds in my possession w[i]th an acc[oun]t of what is due upon them without reckoning Interest, but few of them will be fitt to be assigned there,\textsuperscript{27} because the paym[en]ts cannot well be refused when tend?red But now I know thy Intention, I shall make it my business this summer with other things to take Obligations for as much as I can, especially for such Debts as may be likely to continue out longer, in which I have been more remiss hitherto having the Lands always for Security, which is much better than personal, and there is no disputing the Interest for as we draw our Warr[an]ts now upon new Sales their not complying with the terms forfeits their Tenure, a method that it had been happy, if it always had been practised. But Sales of Lands are now mostly over, the greatest part that We bargain'd for, being within the first Year after thy Departure, Since which Money being so scarce & Wheat low there is no encouragem[en]t to buy, and but very few look after their Overplus. An account of w[hich] all the Art I can use cannot yet bring to any perfection, notwithstanding 'tis now near 18 Mo[n]ths Since the Resurveys were ended (over). But the Surveyors plead so many difficulties that I cannot have the Returns finished but this Year if we live will end it all.

I doe assure thee I had never the least Notion of thy Mortgaging the Quittrents or assigning Bonds here till the Receipt of thy last a few dayes agoe,\textsuperscript{28} otherwise should have endeavoured to be in a better readiness, and had the less reason to Suspect the former by thy Sons\textsuperscript{29} discourse (to me), on whom I understood they were settled but that being none of my business, I shall obey Ord[e]rs. As for the Bonds, I know not what to think of the Method, for whatever Bonds thou assigns, I must afterw[ar]ds forbear to receive any pay on them notwithstanding many are such as one would be well enough pleased

\textsuperscript{26} Logan had invested £60 to Antigua on board a ship that was subsequently captured by the French and taken into Martinique. See Zimmerman, “James Logan, Proprietary Agent,” 159.

\textsuperscript{27} That is, in London.

\textsuperscript{28} See note 23.

\textsuperscript{29} William Penn, Junior, who had been in Pennsylvania.
to receive at any rate, / But one of the best funds now of Land is
the new Welch Settle[men]t in Newc[astle] County / could the
business between Maryland and us be settled, \(^{30}\) there is £3000 due
there of w[hi]ch we shall not gett 500 I fear, except from one family,
till that business of the Line be adjusted the people demanding positive
Warranties before they pay the Money, and the Claims made by
those of Maryland are so many that it puzzles us extreamly / If
that whole business be not issued in thy life time, I doubt thy heirs
will reap no great benefit from a large part of these Counties, / they
grow more bold now than ever & extend their claims upon old
Surveys up to, & some beyond, our old Settle[men]ts. I must always
press this in every Lett[e]r, as of the greatest Necessity.

I admire I hear nothing by this last Opportunity of new Powers
for Laetitia's Lotts & Land, \(^{31}\) / I have urged it much & sent over
all that is necessary but rec[e]iv[e]d nothing besides two self angry
Lett[e]rs from her self & husband, he threatening to Send over some
person to Look after it at thy Charge &c. I would by no means
disoblige Laet[it]ia having a hearty respect for her and all her Con-
cerns, but 'tis impossible to doe more than the Circumstances of the
thing will allow of. there is £400 out in good hands on Interest
w[hi]ch I cannot receive, & 400 more in thy business w[hi]ch shall
be the first thing I raise except the Interest, / Since the Arrival of
the Powers \(^{32}\) now 15 Mo[n]ths agoe I have bargain'd for £725 more,
but none care to take titles or pay Money upon these we have, nor,
had we all the Money in hand can I find out any way to remitt it,
/ illegible (One half) of the Maryl[an]d Bills are protested, \(^{33}\) which
has made the generality of them of no manner of value. I have p[ai]d

\(^{30}\) Logan is referring to the bitter dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore over the
boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland

\(^{31}\) Logan was endeavoring to sell the Pennsylvania properties of Laetitia Penn as part of
the marriage settlement between William Penn and Laetitia's husband, William Aubrey
But Logan needed the appropriate power of attorney from the trustees in England See
PWP, 4 292, 757, 759 65

\(^{32}\) Logan had been unhappy with the power of attorney he had received, viewing it as
"very Lame. That we can make no Titles by it to Satisfy those that would Purchase"
See PWP, 4 292

\(^{33}\) Bills of exchange drawn on Maryland tobacco merchants were being protested in
England due to the impact of the war on the tobacco trade
R[ichar]d Hill\textsuperscript{34} for him\textsuperscript{35} £225 in Money this Winter & Spring & hope this Summer to clear off all the Interest, so that he shall have no reason to complain on that head, nor is there quite so much as he believes would he please to consider, that I never had any orders about it till the 12th Mo[n]th 1703/4 & the Lett[e]rs that disturbed him so much were wrote in the 8th Mo[n]th following, a space too short, especially at that time, if he knew our circumstances, to doe what was expected. I have no reason to be fond of the business, and were it not upon thy Accoun[t] & L[actitia]'s would never upon any terms meddle with it, / I have hitherto Sold every thing not only to the utmost value but outdone the expectations of all men in prices, except in 2 small Lotts where I was a little overseen / what I have of theirs in hand in thy business shall be honestly paid, with the Interest, & the bargains made & what else is due, shall be very readily given up into any other better hands that they shall please to appoint, for 'tis now impossible to avoid censure, or to make remittances as desired, / We cannot coin Bills\textsuperscript{36} / if the Marylanders have not Credit in Engl[an]d 'tis in vain to expect good Bills from them & this our Merch[an]ts have found this last Year by dear Experience, / I wish thou couldst prevail w[i]th Will[iam]\textsuperscript{37} to take his Money here tho with a better Exchange than usual, / it would be much more for thy Interest, because it would take off that heavy Clog of Use,\textsuperscript{38} and he might direct the Returns to be made as he thought fitt by his own Agents, for by Bills of Exch[ange] till trade mend, tis almost \{if not altogether\} impossible / I request if there be any hopes of prevailing that this may be heartily laboured, for this is the only way thou can be cleared without tedious delays and great Uneasiness unless thou wilt give Ord[e]rs to send some Vessels into Virg[in]ia and Maryl[an]d w[i]th Goods to purchase Bills there, w[hi]ch when obtained p[er]haps may be good for very litle. I again earnestly beseech thee not to lett a thing of this importance & such

\textsuperscript{34} Richard Hill (1673-1729) was a prominent Philadelphia Quaker merchant, who was acting as William Aubrey's attorney in Pennsylvania. \textit{PWP}, 4:35n, 364.

\textsuperscript{35} William Aubrey, who was chronically complaining to Penn about the money owed to him in accordance with the marriage settlement.

\textsuperscript{36} The right to coin, of course, lay with the Crown.

\textsuperscript{37} William Aubrey.

\textsuperscript{38} Presumably the interest that Penn was paying Aubrey.
others as the business of the Lower Counties &c lye unanswered and unregarded, when thy own Interest is so deeply concerned in them.

From the bad Success thou hast had in Returns, I am very sensible my Reputation among some sorts of people will be in much danger, for I well know that the active part of the world is too much composed of Such as having no other hope of Life but self Interest to themselves make success in others the measure of their understanding. I shall be very willing therefore, if thou intends not shortly to come over thy self to make it my sole business for the future to settle all thy Affairs in the Prov[ince] and bring them to a head, to make perfect Draughts & Rolls of all the Lands Survey'd, w[j]th an Acc[oun]t of all Overplus and vacancies, and whatever else thou hast any claim on, and to settle all manner of Acc[oun]ts with every person the I have had to doe with, and then bring all over to Engl[an]d with me to give an Acc[oun]t of my Stewardship, and there receive a discharge or otherwise as there shall be occasion / This I hope to be able to doe against next Fall come 12 Mo[n]ths, and in the mean time please to give me thy Sentim[en]ts, but 'tis now much my Inclination, for I would not willingly suffer my Acc[oun]ts to lie too long un-adjusted nor my Reputation to be martyr'd on both sides, here for too much rigour, and there for its opposite.

I cannot understand that Paragraph in thy Lett[e]r relating to T[homas] S[tory] and my self / thou art pleased to say our Discord has done no more good there than here. I know not who carried the Acc[oun]t of it, for I wrote to none that I know of but thy self in 7br 1703, and I am no more to be blamed than any man is for being assaulted on the highway, / he has a great privilege above me

39 The Lower Counties—Kent, Sussex, and New Castle—had established their own assembly in 1704, although technically remaining under the control of William Penn. The proprietor was hoping to reunite the assemblies and quell the unrest in those counties.

40 In fact, Logan did not sail for Pennsylvania until Dec. 1709.

41 Thomas Story (c. 1670-1742), a prominent Quaker minister, was also keeper of the seal, master of the rolls, and recorder of Philadelphia. His dispute with Logan centered on his intended marriage to Ann Shippen (1684-1712), whom Logan had coveted. She was about fifteen years younger than Story. See Micro., 11:034; PWP, 4:111n, 244n, 329 (note 71), and 333-34. Penn's comment was contained in his letter to Logan, Jan. 16, 1705. See Micro., 11:474.

42 For Logan's letters of Sept. 2, 7, 1703, see Micro., 11:034.
tis true, from the profession he makes, but 'tis too far extended, if one must be beat a 2d time for his hav(hav)ing a mind to doe it the first. Before that, we had lived 18 Mo[n]ths very good friends without any manner of provocation, only that I had about 3 or 4 Mo[n]ths before spoke something to Ed[ward] Sh[ippen] relating to my self (for w[i]th Tho[mas] or his business whatever is represented I never meddled) but at length in the middle of a pleasant familiar discourse he broke out into such a Thunder as if he carried the whole Magazine of Anathemas in his breast, and so for 5 mo[n]ths continued following his blow at the Meetings, till at length he was obliged to desist, how much to his credit, tis fitter for others here to judge, but he managed at such a rate that some fr[ien]ds of the Ministry consulted about denying him a Certificate to N[ew] Engl[and], / however he has sett all fully to rights again by a very good way of preaching he has faln into of late / I have never endeavoured to expose him, / I have generally defended him w[he]n attacked by any of our Enemies, & thy Sons\(^{44}\) resen[tm]en[ts] ag[ain]st him, I always endeavoured to quell & to create a better understanding between them, tho 'tis most certain I had great cause to be very angry, for there is scarce one man, E[ward] Sh[ippen] excepted, that fully knew the business but will acknowledge I had very hard measure intended me, had not the Meeting\(^{45}\) (w[hi]ch was intended to be made use of ag[ain]st me) interposed & turned rather against himself / But the profession that Tho[mas] now makes, is among some sufficient to carry any thing / I am sorry I have spent so much paper on it & therefore shall close the subject when I have added that I wish he had at least some more Hon[ou]r (not to say Hon[es]ty) to season his Religion, / it would keep much the sweeter, but the p[re]sent Composition best suits the ends p[er]haps he drives at. Pray bear with this, for I have some reason to resent when I see what I

\(^{43}\) Edward Shippen (1640-1712), a Quaker merchant, formerly both mayor of Philadelphia and acting governor of Pennsylvania, was one of the richest men in the colony. He was the father of Ann Shippen. Although most sources list his birthdate as 1639, he was actually born early in March 1639/40. See George D. Lunt, ed., The Registers of the Parish Church of Methley . . . 1560-1812 (Thoresby Society, vol. 12; Leeds, 1903), 31.

\(^{44}\) Probably William Penn, Jr., who was angry with Pennsylvania Quakers for their treatment of him when in the colony.

\(^{45}\) Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, to which Logan, Shippen, and Story belonged.
have been so unactive in on my side has spread so far, & it seems to my disadvantage too. The beginning was very hard, when for nothing but my respect to a person, whom he thought (for want of success elsewhere) he should have occasion some time after to love, I was rendered as one of the vilest wretches upon earth, and all under hand without any manner of provocation, only that I might be prevented till such time as he should be ready. I can appeal to thy Daughter for the Truth of this, but I keep not my word, now however I have done. That, of its being insinuated that I complain for my own Interest at thy Damage is what neither my head nor heart can reach the meaning of. As for my Conduct tis honest, I believe, and just to thee and such an one cannot (fully) please here.

Rebecca Shippen the 3d day after her Son's marriage with Joseph Growdon's daughter was seized in a Moment with a dead Palsey, which deprived her of her sight & speech immediately & so she continued till the 6th day after & then expired about a Month (3 weeks) agoe. I found in a bag in the Scrittore a Lease for one Year from Richard Baynam to thee for 300 Acres on Rancocas Creek part of 1600 Acres to be laid out there, dated 19th May 1685 but no Release, 'tis indorsed in my hand and was done I believe at Worminghurst where I suppose the Release might be left, for it is not here. In the same place I found also thy Title for one Propriety in West Jersey purchased from Daniel Wayte, but there

46 That is, he continued to expound on the subject despite having stated in the previous paragraph that he was finished

47 Rebecca Howard Richardson Shippen, widow of a prominent New York Quaker merchant, had married Edward Shippen in 1689 PWP, 4 149, note 44

48 The marriage between Francis Richardson (1681-1729) and Elizabeth Growden (c. 1690-1725) took place in Rhode Island. She was the daughter of Joseph Growden (d. 1730), a prominent Bucks County Quaker assemblyman, who later held a Pennsylvania Supreme Court judgeship. See PWP, 4 62n, Martha G. Fales, Joseph Richardson and Family, Philadelphia Silversmiths (Middletown, 1974), 6, 267

49 Scritto, a large cabinet with drawers and a table upon which to write

50 Richard Beaumont alias Bainham had been a London weaver, who had sold Penn the 300 acres on Rancocas Creek for what Beaumont had assumed was a downpayment. Beaumont's widow was attempting to obtain the remainder of the selling price, but Penn refused until adequate documentation of the transaction was found. See PWP, 4 273, note 20

51 Worminghurst Place, Sussex, Penn's home

52 Daniel Wayte (d. 1728?), a Quaker bodicemaker of Westminster, Middlesex, had sold Penn a West New Jersey propriety in the 1680s PWP, 4 351, note 15
is no appearance of any other, / I never search'd there before, for any, believing all thy Jersey Deeds had been left in the hair trunk together. I wrote immediately to Sa[muel] Jenn[ings] about that of Baynam as well as the other, requesting his Answer forthw[ith], that I might send thee it, but have not rec[eive]d it. The L[or]d Corn[ury] talks very big about the Islands & as it is affirmed has offered them to sale, tho I cannot yet prove it but he certainly threatens to come himself next mowing time & fight us all for those over ag[ain]st the town of w[hi]ch thy Son can very fully inform thee.

The Meeting of this town has applied to the Comm[issione]rs for a Confirmation of the ground where the great house stands first purchased of W[illiam] Markham, which we granted immediately in thy name declaring it was thy Will that the Town should have a Meeting house on Ground of thy Gift (for to that purpose I have heard thee speak) but would take no manner of Notice of Markhams Sale as being ha (ha)ving no title to it / After this the persons employed complained they had forgot part of their business, and were to request also a title for the ground Lion[e]l Brittain's house

53 Samuel Jennings (d. 1708), a Quaker merchant, had held numerous West New Jersey offices, including governor; in 1702 he had been elected to the first royal council of New Jersey. PWP, 4:49n.
54 Edward Hyde (1661-1723), Viscount Cornbury, later earl of Clarendon, was at this time governor of New York and New Jersey. See PWP, 4:149.
55 Presumably islands in the Delaware River between New Jersey and Pennsylvania.
56 The commissioners of property—Logan, Griffith Owen, Edward Shippen, and Thomas Story.
57 The “Great Meeting-House,” as it was known, had been built for the monthly meeting in 1695 at the southwest corner of Second and High Streets. PWP, 3:538n.
58 William Markham (c. 1635-1704), Penn’s cousin, had served as deputy governor of the colony in 1681 and for most of the 1690s. PWP, 3:37n.
59 Lionel Brittain (d. c. 1721), a Philadelphia Quaker merchant, originally of Olney, Buckinghamshire, England, had been one of the early settlers at Crewcorne, Bucks County, and a founder of Falls Monthly Meeting. In 1698 Philadelphia Monthly Meeting had purchased a house and lot from Brittain for the use of the public school, and was now simply attempting to confirm the title. See Philadelphia Will Bk. D, #228 (City Archives, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia); J.H. Battle, History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania (1887; reprint, Spartanburg, 1985), 116, 369; Falls Monthly Meeting Minutes, May 2, 1683 (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College); Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Minutes, April 29, 1698, March 30, 1705 (microfilm) (Quaker Collection, Haverford College).
stands on being the front of that the schoolhouse is built on purchased 3 or 4 years ago for the Use of the School, but this I would not agree to, tho’ my broth[es] Sh[ippens] & Owen were willing but I insisted on it, that We knew thy mind about the other, but not in this as we were to make it thy free and absolute Grant, so it was fitt we should know it was truly design’d so by thy self and tho’ the matter, as it was alledged, was not very great yet as there was no part of it ours, it did not belong to us to make gratuitous Grants of what no way belong’d to us, we might sell but not give &c. They press for a title however, & if it cannot be obtained otherwise offer a Bond to pay thee what thou demands for it, but I shall not willingly agree to that Method either, if it can be well avoided, being desirous rather that it may be all thy own Act tho’ we confirm it, for all our Patents run entirely in thy name & Stile & we sign only as witnesses, a method I thought that would be more honourable to thee than what had formerly been practised. The Ground they desire is about 30 foot on the 2d Street & 40 or 50 foot back, with a good house upon it bought at the full value & the Money paid, they not questioning the Title till lately, but we allow them at our board to have none at all, & will not have the Patent to be a Confirmation but a Gift, / thou knows I suppose, tis part of the great Lott that W[illiam] M[arkham] & Jo[h]n Goodson only, granted to W[illiam] M[arkham], / I request to know thy pleasure about it. The Lott designed for thy youngest son is one half of that joyning on Ed[ward] Shrippens dwelling house, w[hi]ch was accounted Jo[h]n Bellers in right of Marsh. I found 200 foot there instead of uiie C {100} & cannot find he has a right to above the usual dimensions, / we have therefore made bold to

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61 The Quaker school was meeting in the Bank Meetinghouse, Front Street near Arch. PWP, 3:538n.

62 Griffith Owen (1647-1718), a Quaker physician and minister, served many years in the Assembly and Provincial Council. PWP, 3:306.

63 John Goodson (d. 1727), a Quaker surgeon and two-term assemblyman, was extremely active in Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. PWP, 2:373n.

64 Thomas Penn, born March 9, 1702.

65 John Bellers (c. 1654-1725), a prominent Quaker philanthropist, had obtained the rights to some or all of Richard Marsh’s 10,000 acres in Pennsylvania, 2,000 acres of which were surveyed in Philadelphia County. PWP, 3:58n.
cutt it off, & lett him shew his right if he can / the front of it comes
down to the Dock & fronts ⟨faces⟩ the Bridge it self with a point
opposite to the very entry into the Dock w[hi]ch makes it by far the
most convenient of any there. My former Request of a Small bitt
there, and all others of the kind relating to my self, I doe absolutely
retract.

Thou sometimes mentioned that illegible some of the last Bills
indorsed by J[acob] Regnier⁶⁶ were protested. By Ed[ward] Shippen
I recev[e]d one in a blank cover to me of ⟨Hezek⟩ Linthicum⁶⁷
for £32 but no more mention made of that or any others particularly.
this is all I heard of, & I have the Indorsers Note to renew it but
have not yet recev[e]d it. I shall no more p[re]sume to request the
favour of a Lett[e]r from Sam[ue]l Vaus⁶⁸ only beg to know of him
by thy self whether he recev[e]d on thy Accoun[t] a full moiety⁶⁹
of the Effects of the Brigantine Hopewell B[enjamin] Burnam
Mast[e]r. W[illiam] Trent assures me that by Advice from his cor-
respondent T[homas] Coutts⁷⁰ he did, / if so, there is ⅔ to be answered
for to the ot[he]r Owners for thou hadst only ⅔ths in her, & I am
hard pressed & threatened to be sued for that other part belonging to
one in Barbados / I Suppose it is not worth Samuel’s notice, but
T[homas] Coutts I believe fully understands the matter, & therefore
I earnestly begg of thee to inform what was done in it, / If Sam[ue]l
recev[e]d as afores[ai]d I must here pay the Nett proceeds of
that ⅔ but the Unhappiness is that never having recev[e]d one
Syllable about that or anything else I know not what it amounts to,
or whether I am answerable for it or not, tho I have been frequently
threatened to be sued for it by the Owners Attorn[y] of Barbados.

Skuylkill Mill I wrote long agoe by Jo[h]n Marsh’s deserting⁷¹ it
is gone to utter ruine being accounted by all men a most egregious

⁶⁶ Jacob Regnier (c. 1672-1714), a New York lawyer, had married into the family of
Penn’s former deputy governor and cousin, William Markham. PWP, 4:239n.
⁶⁷ Unidentified.
⁶⁸ Samuel Vaus (b. 1648), or Vaux, a London Quaker, was Penn’s agent there at this
time. PWP, 3:479n.
⁶⁹ One-half part.
⁷⁰ Thomas Coutts was a London merchant and brother of James Coutts, a New Castle
merchant and opponent of Penn. PWP, 4:294n.
⁷¹ One of two mills that Penn had built about 1701, Schuylkill Mill was located in what
Folly. this Spring has been very ruinous to many dams & among the rest to ours near the town\textsuperscript{72} / the great soaking raines undermined all the works at the Forebay of the Mill w[hich] cost £30 in repairing & had almost carried all before it. this being repaired, a mighty fresh soon after carried away great part of the dam w[hich] cost near £20 more, / the Same Fresh made Sam[ue]l Carp[ente]r\textsuperscript{73} a Sufferer in above £150 his whole great dam at Bristol being intirely carried off & ruined. This & thy Circumstances has putt me by all thoughts of being concerned in that at Toholokonck.\textsuperscript{74} The Tract there on the great spring is only five hundr[e]d Acres. I once more make bold to press thee about Laetitias Deeds for this reason viz If we cannot raise and clear off the principal so soon as desired, yet could we make titles, we should gett security for enough to pay the whole Interest in a little time without any burthen to thee, thou paying only 6 p[er] C[en]t while we receive 8, So that the Interest of £2250 here will pay for £2000 ster[l]ing] or £3000 this money at Engl[and] Interest. The Qu[een]s Procl[amation]\textsuperscript{75} is not yet observed at York\textsuperscript{76} or here about the Money / I wish thou hadst never stirr'd in it, for should that be (the) established rate of Money (by Ord[e]r) from England, Some troublesome fellows might make it difficult to thee to recover any other for Quittrents upon the Old Deeds signed in Engl[an]d where a shilling only is mentioned. Yesterday arrived an Accoun[t] of a New large sloop belonging to W[illiam] Trent Isaac No[rris] is now West Philadelphia. It had been deserted by John Marsh, the miller, in 1702 when he went to New England. Logan, believing that Marsh had mismanaged the venture, refused to pay his bills. The situation was not helped by the fact that the mill had since fallen into disrepair. \textit{PWP, 4:121}.

\textsuperscript{72} This was Penn's mill on Cohocksink Creek in the Northern Liberties. Called "the Governor's Mill," it proved to be a drain on Penn's resources and was sold to Thomas Masters in 1714. \textit{PWP, 4:121n, 194}.

\textsuperscript{73} Samuel Carpenter (1649-1714), a prominent Quaker merchant of Philadelphia and Bucks Counties, had been one of the richest men in the colony, but the war and overextension of his resources was driving him into bankruptcy. \textit{PWP, 4:89n, 553-57}.

\textsuperscript{74} Presumably Logan had intended to invest in a mill in Toaconinck Township, along the east bank of Frankford Creek.

\textsuperscript{75} On June 15, 1704, Queen Anne issued a proclamation regulating the rates for foreign coins in the colonies. The intent was to prevent the manipulation of rates by some colonies to attract specie from neighboring colonies.

\textsuperscript{76} New York.
& T[omas] Masters, the best in the River being taken. R[ichard] Gove & one John Estes 2 travelling fr[ien]ds going hence in the fall to Barbados in a new large & very fine sloop were taken & sett a shoar on Antigua from whence going again to Barb[ados] they were taken a 2d time. Mary Bannister (in company w[i]th Mary Ellerton) from Lond[on] gives her hearty Love to thee, w[hi]ch she seems very truly to bear to thee / She has rec[ei]v[e]d the Acc[oun]t of her Loss in her husband & carries it tolerably well, / she is this day sett out for Long Island Meeting & 2 days hence hence her companion (M[ary]) Ell[erton]) goes for Barbados. A[nthony] Mor[ris] is much more weak & pragmatical than malicious, / he seems now intirely devoted to the Ministry

I designed but one Sheet when I began this, & tis time now to close being obliged to write a Duplicate in my own hand. Pray at the time of thy Resentm[en]ts be pleased to consider the many

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77 Thomas Masters (d 1723), a carpenter apparently from Bristol via Bermuda, had settled in Philadelphia by 1684, where he became politically active and extremely wealthy, he would later serve as mayor of the city PWP, 2 661, 4 60n, Philadelphia Will Bk D, #302 (City Archives, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia), Patent Bk A, 1 116, Bureau of Land Records (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission), Russell Mortimer, ed., Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol 1667–1686 (Bristol Record Society, vol 26, Bristol, 1971), 174.

78 Richard Gove (d 1710?) was a Quaker joiner and member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Philadelphia Will Bk C, #181 (City Archives, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia), Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Minutes.

79 Probably John Estaugh (1676–1742), of Essex, England, who came to the colonies in 1701 and settled initially in Philadelphia and later in Haddonfield, New Jersey, PWP, 3 171.

80 Probably Mary Hogsflesh Bannister, a member of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting and Mary Ellerton of Yorkshire. Their certificates as traveling ministers were read in Philadelphia Monthly Meeting on Feb 25, 1704.


82 In fact, an epistle from Mary Ellerton in Barbados, dated Sept 8, 1705, was read in Philadelphia Monthly Meeting on Oct 26, 1705.

83 Anthony Morris (1654–1721), a Philadelphia brewer and prominent Quaker minister, was extremely active in both provincial and local politics. In 1703 1704 he had been mayor of Philadelphia PWP, 3 506.
Burthens I have upon me & be assured that while (concerned) in thy unfortunate Affaires, I shall notwithstanding alwayes be Thy very faithful & Obed[ien]t Serv[an]t JAMES LOGAN

Endorsed: 1705 17t 3d Mo[nth] James Logan to Wm Penn

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