

William Logan, Edward Marriott, and Mary Jones

Convict Servants in London Town

London Town, a colonial seaport in Maryland, relied on unfree labor. Nearly 60% of the town was composed of enslaved Africans and African Americans by 1776.¹ Unfree white labor was also present in the form of numerous indentured servants and convict servants.

The world of convict servants is little explored in the history of the colonial Chesapeake, but they were a numerous and fascinating body of labor unlike any other. As early as 1616, men and women convicted of crimes in Britain could be shipped to the Chesapeake to serve out their time. By 1718, this was codified in the Transportation Act, and over the course of the eighteenth century more than fifty-two thousand convicts were sent here. Maryland received most of these convicts, where they were put to work for at least seven years of labor.²

Unlike enslaved people, records relating to the lives of convict servants are abundant, and permit us to trace the stories of their lives throughout the period. In examining these sources, we can reveal a surprising truth about convict servants. Their paths intersected in unexpected ways, forming a small community of servants independent of their masters.

A prime example of this underground network of people brought together in occasionally intersecting lives can be found in the story of William Logan, Edward Marriott, and Mary Jones. All three were convict servants in Annapolis and London Town.

Their story begins with Captain Thomas Johnson. In October 1755, Captain Johnson guided his ship, the *Ruby*, into Plymouth.³ She had just completed a voyage that took most of the year from England to Jamaica and back again.⁴ Johnson had her tied off at Shadwell in East London, and handed over the *Ruby* to two King's officers: John Johnson (apparently unrelated to the captain) and William Logan.⁵

Having full control of the *Ruby* for a month, Logan gave into the temptation to make some quick money. He opened the ship's arms chest and sold muskets and pistols to an Alexander McBean. In devastating testimony delivered in February the following year at the Old Bailey, McBean told the court of the scheme in detail, and swore that Logan had also stolen gallons of rum for his personal use and for sale.

¹ Mechelle Kerns-Nocerito, *The History of London Town, Maryland: A Case Study of an Eighteenth Century Tobacco Port and its Role in the Colonial Maritime Economy*, The University of St. Andrews, Scotland, September 4, 2003, unpublished doctoral dissertation, page 116.

² Emily Jones Salmon, "Convict Labor during the Colonial Period," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, accessed November 1, 2017, <https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Convict_Labor_During_the_Colonial_Period>.

³ *Public Advertiser*, October 18, 1755.

⁴ *Public Advertiser*, February 7, 1755, page 1.

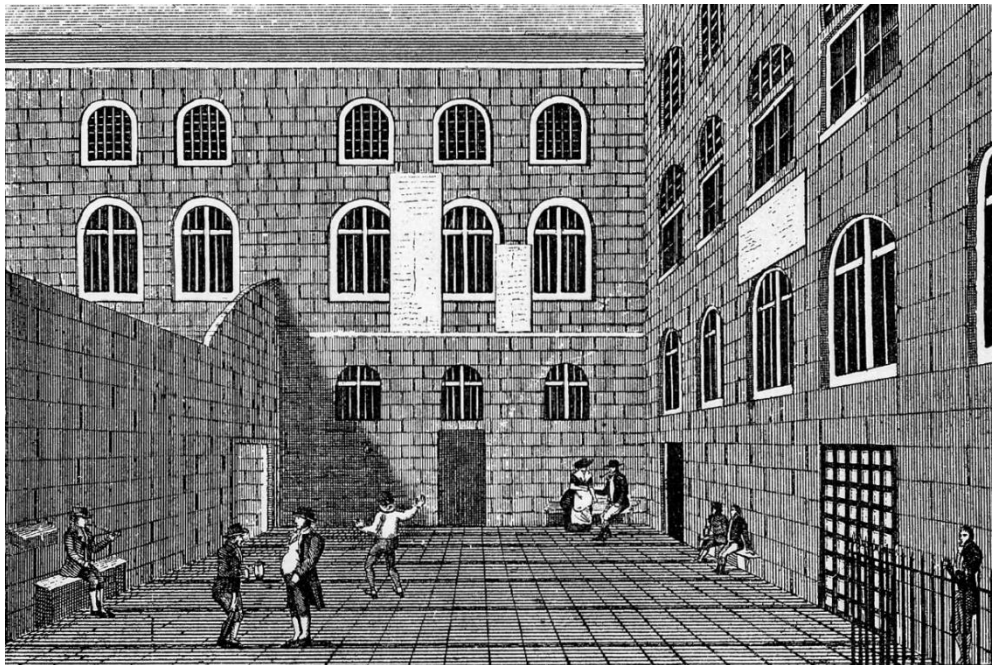
⁵ "William Login, John Johnson, Theft > grand larceny," *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 25th February 1756, page 4, Old Bailey Online, <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t17560225-3>>.

In his early twenties, Logan was a married man who lodged at Elizabeth Walding's in London. He must not have been in London for very long, because when he was later brought to trial, three out of the four witnesses who spoke to his character knew him only a year or less.⁶

John Johnson, the other officer in control of the *Ruby*, might well have been involved in the plot as well, but there was no solid evidence of his guilt. Johnson walked free, and Logan was sentenced to transportation: seven years of unpaid labor in the colonies.⁷ If Logan were to return before his seven-year sentence was up, the court was compelled to sentence him to death.⁸ Until he was loaded onto the ship that would carry him away, Logan was held at Newgate Prison.

Newgate was a terror to the criminal element, and to the doubtless many who were wrongly accused. In the famous Daniel Defoe novel *The Life and Adventures of the Famous Moll Flanders*, the main character decries the conditions of the prison:

'Tis impossible to describe the Terror of my Mind, when I was first brought in, and when I looked round upon all the Horrors of that Place; I looked on myself as lost, and that with the utmost infamy; the hellish Noise, the Roothing, Swearing and Clamour, the Stench and Nastiness and all the dreadful Crowd of afflicting things I saw there, joined together to make the Place seem an Emblem of Hell itself, and a Kind of entrance to it.⁹



Newgate Prison, Inner Court, 18th Century, Wellcome Library.

⁶ "William Login, John Johnson, Theft > grand larceny," *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 25th February 1756, pages 7-8, Old Bailey Online, <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t17560225-3>>.

⁷ "William Login, John Johnson, Theft > grand larceny," *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 25th February 1756, page 6, Old Bailey Online, <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t17560225-3>>.

⁸ The Return of Offenders from Transportation Act 1742 (16 Geo. 2. c 15).

⁹ Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of the Famous Moll Flanders*, London: J. Cook, 1765, page

Not wanting to lose her husband, William Logan's wife devised a scheme for his escape. Donning two dresses, she visited Logan in Newgate Prison. Stepping into his cell, she shed the extra dress and he put it on. Later described as "of a very small Stature, and an effeminate Look,"¹⁰ Logan was so convincing as a woman "that the people of the gaol chuck'd him under the chin as he went out, and call'd him a pretty little girl."¹¹

The deception was not to last. When Logan was discovered missing, his wife was threatened with transportation. Her loyalty did not extend to accompanying her husband to America, and Mrs. Logan instantly turned him over to the authorities.¹²

On Sunday afternoon, about six o'clock, William Logan, under sentence of transportation in Newgate, for stealing goods from on board a ship in the River, found means (through the assistance of his wife, who came to see him with some others) to make his escape in woman's apparel, with his fetters on. His wife had put on two gowns, one of which she put on her husband, and sent him out first with the other company, with so little suspicion, that the people of the gaol chuck'd him under the chin as he went out, and called him a very pretty girl. About an hour after he was gone the keepers missed him, and found only his wife, who had staid behind, not suspecting they would detain her; but in that she was mistaken; for the keepers secured her, and said she must be transported; which frightened the woman so much, that she told them where she lived, whither the keepers went, and after waiting an hour, the man knock'd at the door in the woman's apparel, on which the keepers immediately seized him, and brought him back to his old apartment.

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, April 28, 1756, page 3.

Within a week of Logan's failed escape, he was joined in prison by Edward Marriott. Marriott used a hooked stick to smash the kitchen window of John Reed on Arundel Street in the Strand, a crowded sailor's neighborhood in London. He was spotted by James Cooper. Cooper may have been a Bow Street Runner, one of the first police officers in Britain. Cooper arrested Marriott and dragged him before John Fielding.¹³ The head of the Bow Street Runners and chief magistrate at the time was John Fielding. Blinded by a cannon accident at sea as a teenager, Fielding had replaced his brother, famous novelist Henry Fielding, in the prestigious position. Called the "Blind Beak," it was said that John Fielding could recognize three thousand criminals by the sound of their voice.¹⁴ Fielding committed Marriott to

¹⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, September 22, 1757, page 4.

¹¹ *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, April 28, 1756, page 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ "Edward Merriot, Miscellaneous > returning from transportation," *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 5th April 1758, page 10, Old Bailey Online, <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?ref=t17580405-23>>.

¹⁴ "Sir John Fielding (1721-1780), Magistrate and social reformer," *National Portrait Gallery*, accessed October 5, 2017, <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person.php?LinkID=mp01570>>.

prison, and James Cooper testified against him at Hicks' Hall, ensuring a conviction and sentence of transportation.¹⁵



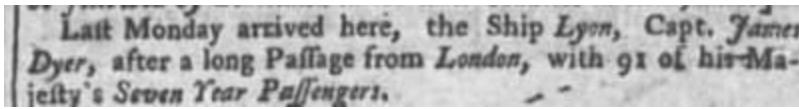
Portrait of Sir John Fielding, Nathaniel Hone, 1762, National Portrait Gallery.

In June of 1756, ninety-one convicts, including Edward Marriott and William Logan, were loaded onto the *Lyon* under Captain James Dyer and shipped across the Atlantic.¹⁶ Perhaps Logan and Marriott got to know each other on this month-long voyage, but there is no written record. What can be said with certainty is that the *Lyon* arrived in Annapolis, Maryland on August 30, 1756, and the convicts were sold into seven years of servitude.¹⁷

¹⁵ "Edward Merriot, Miscellaneous > returning from transportation," *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 5th April 1758, page 10, Old Bailey Online, <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?ref=t17580405-23>>.

¹⁶ Peter Wilson Coldham, *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia*, Family Line Publications: 1997, page 155.

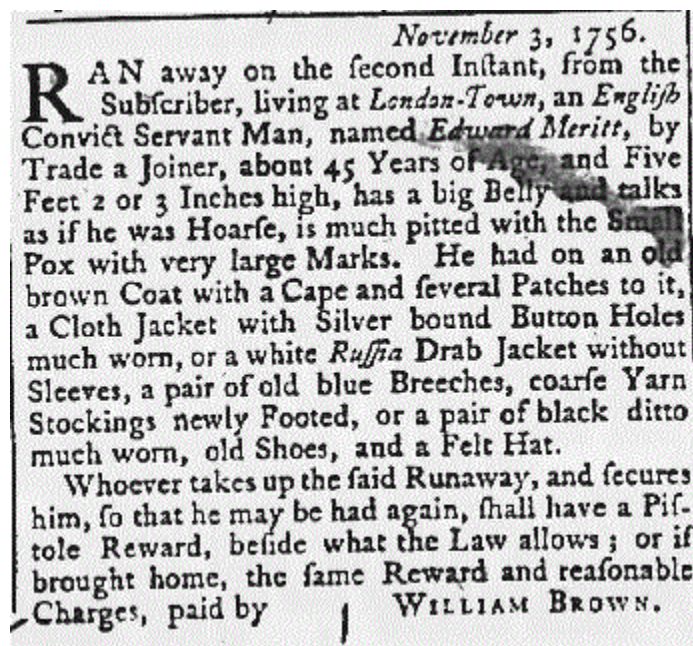
¹⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, September 2, 1756, page 3.



Maryland Gazette, September 2, 1756, page 3.

Among the Marylanders who bought servants from the *Lyon* was the London Town ferry keeper, carpenter, and tavern owner William Brown. Brown owned several convict servants, many of them trained in various forms of woodworking. A later source identified Edward Marriott as a joiner, and so perhaps this profession is what drew Brown to purchasing him.

Marriott, like most of Brown's convicts, did not take to working for him. On November 2, 1756, after only about two months of labor, Marriott ran away. William Brown took out an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* offering a reward for his return.¹⁸ Marriott must have returned of his own accord, or been captured, but when and how this happened does not survive in the known historical record.



Maryland Gazette, November 4, 1756, page 2.

Meanwhile, William Logan was purchased by Archibald Buchanan in Annapolis. Buchanan was a wig maker and barber, and employed Logan in this trade. The first year of Logan's experience in Maryland is not recorded, and so what his life was like during that time is the subject of conjecture.

¹⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, November 4, 1756, page 3.



The Barber's Shop, artist unknown, 18th century, [Christie's](#)

Back in London, a third criminal was about to start her journey toward Maryland. On February 4, 1757, a widow named Mary Jones walked into the tailor's shop of Thomas Law and his sister Elizabeth. Mary asked Thomas "for three quarters of a yard of cheque," but it was a busy day and Thomas had to help another customer. When he returned to help Mary, he found that she was gone, and so too was a bundle of nineteen yards of linen. Thomas spotted Mary on the street and called after her, beginning a foot chase that did not last long. She had tucked all the fabric under her petticoats, which must have made it difficult to flee.¹⁹

A few weeks later, Mary Jones was tried at the Old Bailey. At the end of a very short trial, during which no witnesses came to her defense, Mary was sentenced to transportation.²⁰

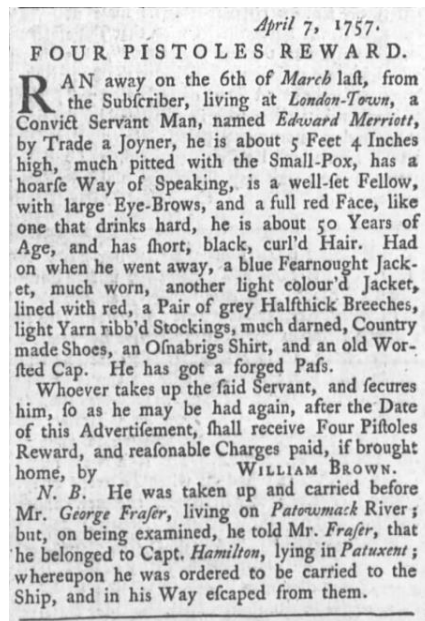


Representation of the transports going from Newgate to take water at Blackfriars.
Representation of the transports going from Newgate to take water at Blackfriars, (c. 1760). Collage, record number 4919. © London Metropolitan Archives

¹⁹ "Mary Jones, Theft > grand larceny," *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 23rd February 1757, page 112, Old Bailey Online, <<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17570223-34-punish197&div=t17570223-34#highlight>>.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

On the other side of the Atlantic, Edward Marriott gave another go at freedom. He escaped from William Brown on March 6, 1757.²¹ Making his way across Maryland from London Town, Marriott was detained by George Fraser on the Potomac River. Wily and clever, Marriott presented a forged pass, and swore that he was a sailor that had run away from the *Anne* galley, under Captain Hamilton. Fraser, thinking he'd got the best of the "sailor" ordered him carried to the *Anne*, unwittingly delivering Marriott from recapture.²²



Maryland Gazette, April 7, 1757, page 3.

William Brown took out additional ads for months trying to recapture the runaway. Marriott (perhaps aboard the *Anne*) managed to escape Maryland and make his way back to England.

For two weeks in June of 1757, the *Anne*, and possibly Edward Marriott, were sailing the Atlantic at the same time as the *Trial*, a transport carrying 84 convicts including Mary Jones under Captain William Mill.²³ Mill replaced Captain Scott, who, along with two sailors, was drowned when his yawl overturned while going ashore in Falmouth.²⁴ Mary Jones arrived in Annapolis on June 12, disappearing from the historical record until 1762. It is quite possible that she was also purchased by William Brown, and entered the same household as Edward Marriott.

Perhaps inspired by the unlikely success of Marriott, his former shipmate William Logan also took to his heels on September 20, 1757.²⁵ Most likely, he was not gone long. Logan was free by 1763,

²¹ *Maryland Gazette*, March 10, 1757, page 3.

²² *Maryland Gazette*, April 7, 1757, page 3.

²³ *Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1757, page 3; Maryland State Archives, *Port of Entry Records*, Annapolis, June 15, 1757; Peter Wilson Coldham, *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia*, Family Line Publications: 1997, page

²⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, June 16, 1757, page 3.

²⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, September 22, 1757, page 4.

and convicts were generally sentenced to an additional ten days of labor for every day they are absent from their masters.²⁶ How he was recaptured, or if he returned himself is unknown.

September 21, 1757.

RAN away from the Subscriber, living in *Annapolis*, on the 20th Instant, a Convict Servant Man named *William Logan*, a Barber by Trade, about 23 or 24 Years of Age, of a very small Stature and effeminate Look, wears his own Hair, which is a dark brown, and curls a little: He is pert and talkative. Had on a grey Bear-skin Coat with white Metal Buttons, a red Waist-coat, brown *German Serge* Breeches, white Stockings, and an old flour'd Hat.

Whoever takes up and brings home the said Servant, if taken within Five Miles of Town, shall have Thirty Shillings Reward, beside what the Law allows; and if further off, Three Pounds, and reasonable Charges, paid by

ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Maryland Gazette, September 22, 1757, page 4.

On March 28, 1758, after a year of freedom, Edward Marriott returned to his old ways. He was committed to New Prison "on suspicion of breaking a house." He was instantly recognized by James Emms, a turnkey for New Prison. Knowing that he could very well hang for returning to London, Marriott tried to hide from Emms, but the game was up.²⁷ John Fielding, the "Blind Beak," charged him with returning from transportation.²⁸

Yesterday Edward Marriott was committed to New Prison by John Fielding, Esq; being charged with returning from Transportation before the Expiration of his Time.

The Public Advertiser, March 29, 1758, page 2.

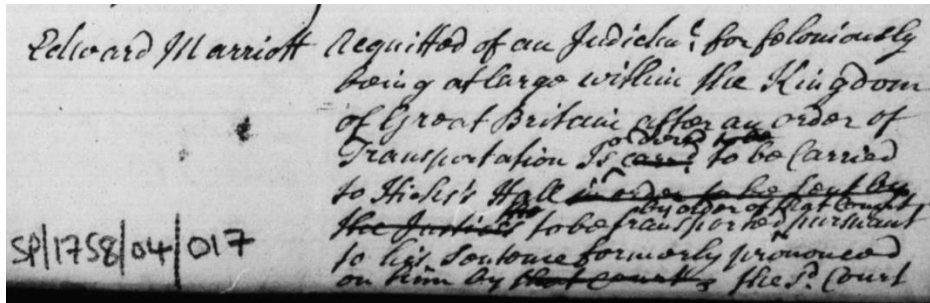
On April 5, 1758, Edward Marriott was tried at the Old Bailey. His only defense was claiming to be a different man named "Thomas Rice," but both James Cooper, who arrested him back in 1756, and James Emms testified that it was Marriott. However, the court found him to not be "at large" and therefore not subject to the death penalty.²⁹

²⁶ C. Ashley Ellefson, "The Private Punishment of Servants and Slaves in Eighteenth Century Maryland," *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 2010, pages 7-8, accessed October 5, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000822/html/index.html>>.

²⁷ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 5th April 1758, page 10, Old Bailey Online <<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t17580405-23>>.

²⁸ *The Public Advertiser*, March 29, 1758, page 2.

²⁹ "Old Bailey Sessions' Papers - Justices' Working Documents," April 5, 1758, *London Lives*, <<http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=LMOBPS45003PS450030049&terms=edward%20marriott#highlight>>; "Edward Merriot, Miscellaneous > returning from transportation," *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 5th April 1758, page 10, Old Bailey Online <<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t17580405-23>>.



April 5, 1758 Old Bailey Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents for the Edward Marriott case.

A few months later, Edward Marriott was loaded onto the *Tryal* under Captain Nicholas Andrew. This was almost certainly the same transport that hauled Mary Jones to Maryland.³⁰ After an unusually arduous passage of 16 weeks, the *Tryal* finally dropped anchor in Maryland, delivering Edward Marriott back into servitude.³¹ Edward Marriott disappears from the known historical record from this point forward.

The Snow Trial, Captain Freebairn, who has brought a Number of Seven Year Passengers, is arrived here, after a Passage of 16 Week.

Maryland Gazette, January 12, 1759, page 2.

Mary Jones and William Logan are similarly obscure for years. They appear together in court records in 1762. In the first, Mary Jones is a co-defendant with a man named John Reresby, who was fined for the maintenance of Mary Jones' "bastard child" Elizabeth.³² By law, a convict like Mary Jones was not allowed to testify in court against anyone other than a fellow convict, and so the judgement record for "Lord Proprietor v. John Reresby, Mary Jones" does not explicitly state that he is the father, but it is the most likely scenario.³³

Little is known about John Reresby. He did keep at least one convict servant, who ran away in early 1762, and who Reresby said was "accustomed to wait in a Tavern" and "brought up a House Painter."³⁴ Whether Reresby ran a tavern, or kept his servant employed as a painter, is unknown. What we do know is that Reresby was a vestryman at St. Ann's Church in Annapolis.³⁵

³⁰ Peter Wilson Coldham, *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia*, Family Line Publications: 1997, page 161.

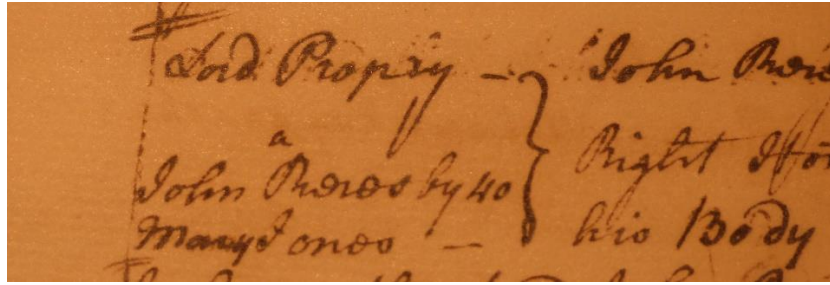
³¹ *Maryland Gazette*, January 12, 1759, page 2.

³² Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Court Judgment Record*, November Court 1762, Liber IMB1, Folio 603.

³³ A. Roger Ekirch, "Exiles in the Promised Land: Convict Labor in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume 82, Summer 1987, page 107, via Maryland State Archives, <http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5800/sc5881/000001/000000/000327/pdf/msa_sc_5881_1_327.pdf>.

³⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, May 20, 1762, page 3.

³⁵ "Vestry Proceedings, Saint Anne's Parish, Annapolis, MD.," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 1, March 1915, pages 38-39.

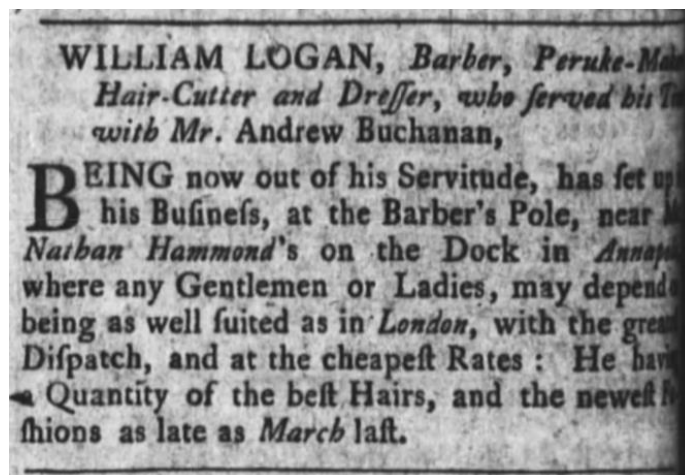


“Lord Proprietor v. John Reresby, Mary Jones,” Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Court Judgment Record, November Court 1762, Liber IMB1, Folio 603.

In that same court session, William Brown sued his convict servant Mary Jones for “having had two Bastard children.” Of the first child, almost certainly Elizabeth, the court said the “Father can’t be proved (she [Jones] being a convict).” Her second child was unnamed, but Jones had “sworn it to William Logan a convict servant man belonging to Andrew Buchanan.” Mary Jones was ordered to pay a fine for both children, and to serve an additional two years of servitude to make up for lost time. She was also ordered to pay an additional fine, or to serve yet another year under William Brown.³⁶

There does not yet appear to be any connection between Andrew Buchanan and William Brown, though they did run in some of the same circles. Perhaps this was how Jones and Logan met. It is also quite possible that they were introduced by Logan’s old shipmate Edward Marriott.

The following year William Logan, who must have been free at this point, opened a barber’s shop in Annapolis. He may have been operating in competition with his former master Andrew Buchanan, and even used Buchanan’s name to advertise his new business “at the barber’s pole.”³⁷



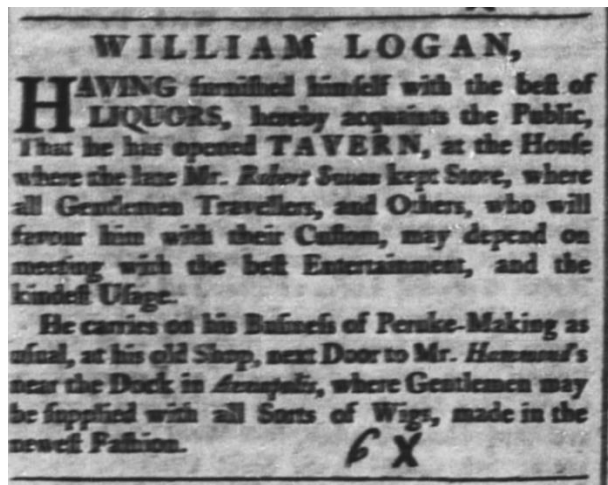
Maryland Gazette, December 15, 1764, page 4.

³⁶ Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Court Judgment Record*, November Court 1762, Liber IMB1, Folio 604.

³⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, October 20, 1763, page 4.

On January 3, 1765, William Logan was married by Reverend David Love at All Hallows Parish, the local Anglican church for London Town and the South River, to "Mary Tool."³⁸ There are currently no known records referring to a Mary Tool in the Annapolis or London Town area. It is possible that this was the maiden name of Mary Jones, who was a widow before she came to America. It might also be that Mary Tool was a resident of the area and simply does not appear in any other records, only coincidentally sharing the same given name as the mother of William Logan's child.

Logan's business expanded rapidly. On April 18, 1765, he announced that he was opening a tavern in the former home of Robert Swan, who had sold various European manufactured goods that were carried on the same ship that hauled Logan to America.³⁹ In August of that same year, a teacher named Samuel Bennet rented space in Logan's tavern, "the Sign of the White Heart on the Dock," to teach math and navigation.⁴⁰ A couple weeks later, the merchant John Mitchell announced he would sell imported goods and enslaved people at William Logan's house "at the Sign of the White Hart."⁴¹ Shortly thereafter, William Logan he advertised that he "will take in" politicians who were in town for the legislative session, providing "Good entertainment for Man and Horse, as usual."⁴²



Maryland Gazette, April 18, 1765, page 4.

³⁸ Maryland Indexes, Marriage References, MSA S 1527, <<http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/stagser/s1500/s1527/html/ssi1527l.html>>. Website notes: ("Marriage Register of Rev. David Love," discovered by Peter Wilson Coldham in the Public Record Office, London: PRO: AO 13/61 (II)/420ff.).

³⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, October 14, 1756, page 4; April 18, 1765, page 4.

⁴⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, August 22, 1765 page 3.

⁴¹ *Maryland Gazette*, September 5, 1765, page 2.

⁴² *Maryland Gazette*, September 19, 1765, page 3.

THE Subscriber, who has been Taught by one of the most capable Masters in England, undertakes to Teach, for Five Pounds Currency, (the Learner understanding as far as the Rule of Three,) Plain Geometry, Plain Trigonometry, and Trigonometry Oblique, Plain Chart, Plain Sailing, and Traverses, Mercator's Chart, Mercator's Sailing, and Middle Latitude, Parallel Sailing, Oblique Sailing, Current Sailing, Amplitudes and Azimuths, how to find the Variation of the Compass, to make a Globular Chart, keep a Journal, and prick off every Day's Work upon the Chart, and to understand the Globe.

(if) SAMUEL BENNET.
He is to be spoke with at Mr. William Logan's,
at the Sign of the White Heart on the Dock, in
Annapolis.

2

Maryland Gazette, August 22, 1765, page 2.

Along with his businesses in Annapolis, Logan also acquired land outside of town. On January 24, 1771, Logan purchased a tract of land in Queen Ann's county called Raresby from William Paca, a future signer of the Declaration of Independence and governor of Maryland.⁴³ It is unclear if Raresby was named for the father of Mary Jones' first child Elizabeth. Paca knew Logan, as he had represented the former convict in court in January of 1766.⁴⁴ Perhaps Logan was only speculating on the land, as he offered it for sale at an auction on April 28, 1772, along with land and buildings he owned on Carroll's Point.⁴⁵

In the early years of the Revolution, William Logan was not a prominent figure. He is largely absent from the historical record except for a single order given in March of 1779 asking the Auditor General to pay Mary Logan twenty-five pounds "for the Use of William Logan due him."⁴⁶ It could be that Logan was serving the Continental cause, and his pay was being given to Mary while he was away. Or perhaps she was just handling the ledgers on his behalf.

In 1780, things took a sharp downward turn for the Logan family. American or French soldiers operating in Annapolis so thoroughly damaged his warehouse and wharf that "the Governor & Council are of Opinion that the State is bound to make good the Damages arising since they were employed by them, and direct an Order to be drawn to the said William Logan for the sum of six thousand Pounds in full for the Damages."⁴⁷ With the economic strife of war, the currency of the new United States was severely depreciated, so even this tremendous sum may have been next to worthless for the Logans.

⁴³ Maryland State Archives, *Provincial Court Land Records, 1770-1774*, Volume 725, page 114, <<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000726/html/am726--114.html>>.

⁴⁴ Maryland State Archives Special Collections <<http://speccol.mdarchives.state.md.us/pages/speccol/unit.aspx?speccol=3663&serno=1&item=66&subitem=-1>>.

⁴⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, April 16, 1772, page 2.

⁴⁶ Maryland State Archives, *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778 through October 26, 1779*, Volume 21, page 325 <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000021/html/am21--325.html>>.

⁴⁷ Maryland State Archives, *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1779-1780*, Volume 43, Page 157, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000043/html/am43--157.html>>; Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, page 388.

Perhaps to raise extra money, William Logan began offering miracle medicines for sale in the *Maryland Gazette* in 1783.⁴⁸ Logan's "American Balsamic Ointment" was said to cure everything from gunshot wounds and tumors to sunburn and pimples. His advertisements were accompanied by quotes from prominent gentlemen across Maryland all testifying to the amazing properties of his concoction.⁴⁹

Even if Logan's snake oil really was a miracle cure, it might not have been enough. In 1788 he appealed for help to the County Court, who called his creditors to meet.⁵⁰ Advertisements were placed on his behalf by the Court, which stated his property would be sold at vendue to offset his debts, and demanding that all his debtors make immediate payment.⁵¹ The last reference to the Logan family came in April 7, 1791, when a tanner named John Adam Bayer advertised that he would run his business out of "the house formerly occupied by Mr. William Logan."⁵²

While every character appears and disappears from the historical record, blinking in and out of existence to the historian, their lives are illustrated for us. From the crowded streets of London to the hellish halls of Newgate prison, aboard the cramped and disease-ridden transports, and into the homes of wealthy Marylanders, these convicts built lives almost in defiance of their masters. They constructed connections and perhaps a family beneath the wealthy society that held them in unfree labor. Opportunities were available to the convicts that were almost unimaginable for the enslaved. Logan, Marriott, and Jones are only three out of the tens of thousands of convicts that lived in Maryland. More awaits the researchers willing to devote themselves to connecting the dots across the Atlantic.

⁴⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, February 13, 1783, page 2

⁴⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, June 25, 1789, page 3.

⁵⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, November 29, 1787, page 3.

⁵¹ *Maryland Gazette*, January 31, 1788, page 3.

⁵² *Maryland Gazette*, April 7, 1791, page 3.