"God Our Friends and Ourselves"

PELLIANA

PELL OF PELHAM

SIR JOHN PELL

Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham

Westchester County, New York

and His Father

DR. JOHN PELL

Mathematician, Scholar and Ambassador

to the

Protestant Swiss Cantons

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, NO. 2

PRIVATELY PRINTED

October 1963

PELLIANA

„God our Father and Observer."

This PELLIANA *No. 2, New Series*
Being the Life of Sir John Pell
Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham
and of his father, Dr. John Pell
Mathematician, Scholar
and
Oliver Cromwell's Ambassador
to the
Protestant Swiss Cantons
is
Dedicated to the Memory of

THE HONORABLE HERBERT CLAIBORNE PELL

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM NEW YORK
MINISTER TO PORTUGAL AND HUNGARY
SCHOLAR, PATRON OF THE ARTS AND LETTERS
AND
FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE
PELL FAMILY ASSOCIATION, INC.

SIR JOHN PELL

Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham

From a Seventeenth Century Portrait
Presented to
The Fort Ticonderoga Association
by
Robert Pell

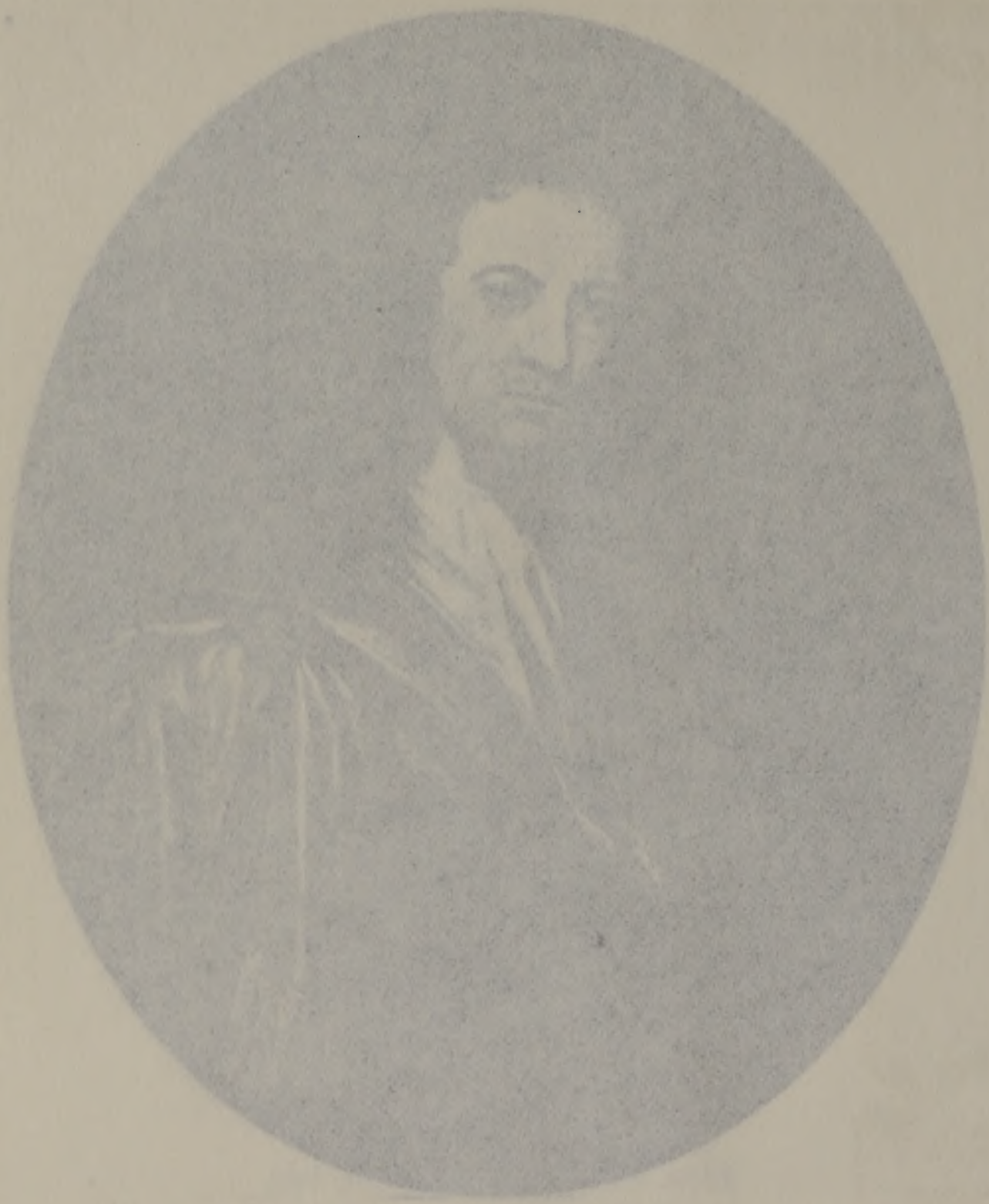

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

FOREWORD

Three hundred years ago a member of the Pell family served his country abroad as Plenipotentiary. This was the Right Honorable John Pell, and the country he served was England and the country where he served was Switzerland. Three hundred years later another member of the Pell family served his country abroad as Plenipotentiary. This was the Honorable Herbert Claiborne Pell, and the country he served was the United States of America and the countries where he served were Portugal and Hungary. It seems particularly appropriate, therefore, that this second *Pelliana,* New Series, which describes the life of the Right Honorable John Pell, should be dedicated to his direct descendent, the late Herbert Claiborne Pell, my cousin and stepfather-in-law. Both Minister Pell of the sixteen forties and fifties and Minister Pell of the nineteen forties and fifties were gentlemen of broad culture in the best Anglo-Saxon tradition. Both had a wide acquaintance among the learned men and women of their time. Both loved books, and both traveled extensively. Both were warriors in the cause of truth and right and both stepped loyally forward in troublesome times, above parties, to battle oppression and promote justice and reason. The Pell family may be justly proud of the Right Honorable John Pell and the Honorable Herbert Pell, and it is truly appropriate that their names should be joined in this monograph.

This is the account also of our first direct ancestor to come to America from England. He was Sir John Pell, Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham, the First Lord, Thomas Pell, the pioneer, leaving no son of his own and in consequence bequeathing the Manor to his nephew, the son of Dr. John. As the namesake of the first American John Pell, I am happy to welcome him once more to these shores through these pages and to urge the members of The Pell Family Association, Inc. to read along with him as he faced the hurdles of his day in a new country. There is much to learn from his story, and perhaps our own problems will seem a little less formidable when we meditate on his.

Next, there is Bathsua Pell Makin, Dr. John Pell's sister. She was evidently a lady of high culture, wide civilization and great refinement. It is a pity that we know so little about her at this writing. Maybe a Pell authoress in the days to come will take it upon herself to search the available records and bring to light further information regarding this notable scholar of the Seventeenth Century, who embellished our name with her learning.

There is a final thought which I should like to leave with the readers of this monograph. Herbert Claiborne Pell was a Founding Member of The Pell Family Association, Inc. and the Chairman of its Board of Directors. All during his life he was passionately interested in family history and in his later years financed the researches by the College of Heralds in London. In the last year of his life he wrote that all members of the family could not be public figures but every member of the family could contribute in his or her way to the pattern of family history which was one skein in the wider fabric of the history of our nation. He urged the Association to record the small accomplishments of this generation of Pells, particularly of the younger members, because a multitude of modest contributions constitute the pattern of our society and are of equal worth with the more sensational achievements of some members and merit a place in the family record. Let us, then, carry on the Pell Family Association in this spirit as a true memorial to Herbert Claiborne Pell.

JOHN H. G. PELL

Fort Ticonderoga
New York
August 1963

INTRODUCTION

On a cold, blustery October morning of 1670/71, a tall, dark young man landed in Boston from the London packet. He paused and looked around, gazing for the first time at the fresh sights of the New World. He was Sir John, Thomas Pell's nephew from "ould England," come to claim his inheritance in Fairfield, in Connecticut, and the Lordship and Manor of Pelham in Westchester County, New York.

Sir John Pell, by inheritance and primogeniture Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham, was the only son of the Reverend and Right Honorable John Pell, D.D., the distinguished mathematician, scientist, and Oliver Cromwell's Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons. His mother was Ithamaria Reginolles, daughter of Henry Reginolles of an ancient family of Norman descent of Belsted in the County of Suffolk, England.

Excited Sir John Pell surely was as he ambled with curiosity and some apprehension through the neatly lined streets of Boston on that October morning of 1670/71 looking for the Governor's mansion. He was the bearer of a letter of introduction from William, Third Lord Brereton, to Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut, and he had been told at the wharf that precisely at that hour Governor Winthrop was on a visit to Governor John Endicott of Massachusetts. Lord William, who had given Sir John his letter at the request of Dr. John, was the brother-in-law of Sir Anthony Pell of Dembleby, in Lincolnshire. After the plague and fire of London Lord William, who had served in the Parliamentary armies, had offered the hospitality of his hall, Brereton, in Cheshire, to Dr. John and appointed him librarian because, as Lord William wrote at that time, he enjoyed discussing with the learned man "scientific matters and other things."

PELLIANA

I

The Story of

DR. JOHN PELL

Dr. John Pell, William Lord Brereton's guest and the father of Sir John, Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham, was born on St. David's Day and was baptized on March 3, 1610/11 in the sea town of Southwyck, in Sussex, the son of that mysterious "schoolmaster of parts," also John, about whom we still know so little. The future Ambassador's mother was Mary Holland.

England in 1610/11, when John Pell was born, was on the threshold of great change. The monarchy, in the person of James I, was already under siege by the city merchants and lawyers of Parliament, supported by some rich country gentlemen and a host of evangelical, and some Anglican, divines. The first rumblings of Presbyterianism and Roundhead Protestantism were announcing social revolution. The political, social and economic crisis which was to last a generation and shake England to its very foundations was even then beginning to cast its gloom.

Doubtless, however, the schoolmaster's house at Southwyck was largely impervious to the omens of trouble on that Seventeenth Century day in March and happy to welcome a son, named John after his father, and build for him confident castles in the air. Everything seemed to point to an enviable future for John and for his brother Thomas, who was to be the First Lord of the Manor of Pelham, born two years later. They were born into the gentry at a time when good lineage was essential to preferment. Through their mother's family, descended from the Holland Earls of Kent, as well as through their father's, an ancient family of Lincolnshire, they had excellent connec-

tions. Their father, then in his twenties, was a man of learning, spoken of as a scholar of note. Their mother was a lady of culture. In a word, the two boys had "background" and "connections," then as now so vital, who could be counted upon to further their fortunes and help them up the ladder to the proverbial fortune and fame.

Yet before John was five years old both parents were dead, the mother first. Orphaned John and Thomas were raised by their stepmother, Joanne Gravett Pell, and their father's executors, notably Pelham Burton of Compton Place, whose sister Susan, baptized at Eastbourne on September 29, 1570, married John's uncle, the Rev. James Pell. Pelham Burton, incidentally, who was baptized at Eastbourne on March 1, 1567, was the third son of John Burton of Eastbourne, who died on August 9, 1586, and Grace, daughter of Sir Edward Capell. John and Grace had six sons and four daughters. The sons were: John, born on November 11 and died on December 20, 1565; Sir Edward, baptized at Eastbourne on December 22, 1566; Pelham; Nicholas, baptized at Eastbourne in 1670; Keith, baptized at Eastbourne in 1576; John, baptized in Eastbourne in 1579. The daughters were: Alice, baptized at Eastbourne on August 14, 1569, who married Edward Selwyn; Judith, baptized at Eastbourne in 1571, who did not marry; Katherine, baptized at Eastbourne on October 4, 1576 and died at an early age; and Susan, baptized at Eastbourne September 29, 1580, who married James Pell. The will of Pelham Burton of Eastbourne, Co. Sussex, gent., is dated November 19, 1639/40. Rev. James Pell, his brother-in-law, was named executor and received forty shillings "for his paines." Pelham Burton's "overseers" were his nephew, Francis Selwyn, and his "cozen," Nicholas Gildredge. The witnesses to the will were Richard Bartholomew and Edward Bennett. The Reverend James Pell filed the will on November 21, 1646, when Pelham Burton died. Pelham Burton's arms, affixed to the will, were quarterly gules et argent, four escallops counterchanged.

Joanne Gravett Pell, John Pell's stepmother, was baptized at Findon, Sussex, (See Findon Register of 1580-1612) on June 30, 1588, the daughter of Richard Gravett, who was buried on October 21, 1591. Her brother, Richard, was baptized on December 27, 1590, and died on May 5, 1629. He married Rebekkah (?) , and she died two days after the birth of her daughter, Rebekkah, on September 13, 1615/16. The other two children survived Rebekkah: Joanne, baptized September 10, 1609/10, and Edward, baptized November 3, 1610/11. (See Steyning and Findon Parish Registers.) It

THE REVEREND AND RIGHT HONORABLE

JOHN PELL, D.D.

From a portrait by Godfrey Kneller
presented to
The Fort Ticonderoga Association
by
Robert Pell

might be added that Joanne Gravett Pell lived until 1641 and her will is dated May 29 of that year.

It was Pelham Burton in any event, who, as guardian, entered John at an early age at the Free School at Steyning, Sussex, which was "endowed" in 1614 by William Holland of Steyning, three times Mayor of Chichester and successful merchant who contributed £100 to Queen Elizabeth for the defeat of the Spanish Armada. William Holland (a relative of Mary Holland, John Pell's mother) was the third son of Thomas Holland of Steyning and prospered in trade in the good days of Elizabeth I. Many of the "trusts" founded by him before his death on July 12, 1614, including the Free School, have continued to this day. In addition, William Holland left extensive properties, both personal and real, to his heir, his great-nephew, William, eldest son of his nephew William Holland, mercer of Steyning, who in turn had only one child, a daughter, Frances. At the time of the settlement of the bequest to Frances, in 1616, there was a dispute in the Holland family, and the disputants were listed as James, Elizabeth, John and Mary Holland on the one hand and George and Thomas Taylor, Jane, Susan and Margaret Holland on the other. In 1629 the heiress, Frances, married John Ashburnham, Groom-in-Waiting to King Charles I.

Most notable, perhaps, of William Holland's "trusts," was the Free School of Steyning, for which he purchased the timbered Fifteenth Century Hall of the Brotherhood which remains to this day much as it did when John was a scholar there, with its carved timber gables, the stout old oak beams and the king post. There was also the Jacobean porch, which was added at the time William Holland founded the school and decreed that it should be headed by "one sufficient learned man to be schoolmaster." The schoolmaster should be in residence, should be paid £20 a year and be "ratified" by the Lord Bishop of Chichester. Moreover, there should be no more than fifty scholars "lest the schoolmaster be oppressed with multitude." Each scholar should pay one shilling if he was a resident of Steyning and two shillings if he was a "foreigner," and thereafter eight pence yearly. The school day was to begin at seven in the morning, when all the scholars assembling, the schoolmaster being present, they should "kneeling on their knees devoutly pray unto God in such form of prayer as by the schoolmaster, for the time being, shall prescribe;" and "so likewise before they depart the School at night." They were to be "allowed to play once in every week, accounting every holiday

a play day." The "play" should be from one in the afternoon to five, when they "would return back to the school and then shall pray together unto God as aforesaid." The scholars "in their speeches should use the Latin tongue" and "none other than the schoolmaster shall license or appoint them to speak English." Any scholar who should be a "picker, stealer, usual swearer or blasphemer" should be expelled, and in a case of "rebellion" against the schoolmaster he should be "amiably" removed. The scholars' families should also provide the brooms, rods and candles for the school in addition to their sons' tuitions. On Saturday evenings the scholars assembled should be "taught principles of religion" by the schoolmaster "that the seeds of religion may be sewn in the hearts of children, there to grow and bring forth fruits in their whole lives following." On Sundays the scholars, led by the schoolmaster, should "resort to Divine Service, their Psalm Books and their Prayer Books in decent order," and every scholar should "take note of the sermon, whereby it may appear that they were diligent and attentive hearers." (See Breach, William Powell, on the Steyning Free School, Sussex Archeological Collections, Vol. 43.)

Such was John Pell's routine at the Steyning Free School, where he amply repaid his guardian's confidence and justified his faith. To this day, John Pell is listed as an outstanding alumnus. Indeed, according to his biographer, à Wood, young John in his Steyning days was something of a prodigy. He led his class, finished the course in record time and, in 1624/25, at the age of thirteen, was ready to enter Trinity College, Cambridge.

Cambridge, 1624/25 to 1630/31

As John packed to go to Cambridge the political tide, which in a few years was to substitute a moneyed oligarchy for monarchy in England, was running fast and deep. The rich merchants of the cities with their allies, the evangelical preachers and the lawyers, were moving into position and awaiting the signal to attack. The old King, James I, was dying. The pale, melancholy, reserved young heir, Charles, was waiting to step into his father's fateful shoes.

Without a doubt these issues were debated and discussed at Trinity College, where John now took his place, being then, according to à Wood "as good a scholar as some Masters of Art." The College at that time was under the direction of Mawe, an extreme advocate of the High Church views of Archbishop Laud. Among the students the High Church was definitely in the ascendancy. A few Presbyterian

scholars were there to make trouble, especially among the junior members of the College, including John Milton. But their intemperate hostility to all the amenities of life and the traditions which enrich collegiate society thoroughly discredited them among their fellows, who took strenuous measures to oblige some of the more fervent among them to withdraw.

On the intellectual side the College, while John Pell was in residence, was breaking new ground in scientific and mathematical fields. Ardent young tutors, fresh from experience on the Continent, were eager to spread the new knowledge. They were straining to launch, parallel to the classics, a school devoted to research along mathematical lines. In a few decades these tutors of Trinity were to provide the intellectual stimulus for Isaac Newton, their outstanding pupil. But John Pell, who throughout his life made constructive contributions to mathematical science, might be considered among their first and earliest mathematicians of note.

As evidence of their success young Pell, before 1628/29 when, at the age of seventeen, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and well before 1630/31, when he received his Master's degree from Cambridge, had begun to correspond with the mathematician, Henry Briggs, about logarithms. Furthermore, he had drawn up original papers, which are preserved to this day at the Royal Society of London, on the use of the quadrant, experimentation with sundials and "A Key to unlock the Meaning of Johannes Inithemius in his Discourse of Steganography."

Oxford, 1630/31 to 1643/44

In 1630/31, John Pell, M.A., "through the influence of his late father's friend," Dr. Juxon, of St. John's College, was "incorporated of the University of Oxford." This means that he became a member of the faculty and was in residence a minimum of four months each year.

By this time the rebellion of the English plutocracy, masking under the cloak of nonconforming Protestantism, was openly smouldering. The merchants and richer squires were advancing their foothold in local administration and increasing their wealth at the expense of the Crown. Greedily, they were grasping at the King's authority, trampling as they did on every tradition, riding roughshod over King and Church. The established Church was in their way. It would have to go. The King was in their way. They would stint his supply until he

was a King only in name. The nation—that is, a nation which had to be protected by an army and fleet and bolstered by an honest and effective administration—was in their way. It would have to be sacrificed.

Oxford, during John Pell's residence there, was in microcosm the image of all England. A few months before Pell was incorporated, Lord Pembroke, the University's beloved Maecenas, had died, and a violent contest was already under way for the Chancellorship when the new scholar was establishing himself in his rooms. Archbishop Laud was the candidate of the High Church Party. Lord Pembroke and Montgomery, Pembroke's brother, was opposing him. Laud, largely through the efforts of Juxon, by then the Bishop of London (Pell's patron to whom one day, when Juxon should become Archbishop of Canterbury, he was to be Domestic Chaplain), soon took the lead and eventually carried the day.

Hardly had the new Chancellor been installed, however, when the chasm between the Traditionalist and Protestant groups at the University yawned wide.

Nathaniel Brent, at Merton, took a stand for the Protestant cause and had with him Dr. Prideaux of Exeter, Kittrell at Trinity, Hood at Lincoln, and Radcliffe at Brasenose. Wilkinson and Rogers led the Puritans at Magdalen and New. Opposed to them, and seemingly with the weight of authority on their side, were Frewen of Magdalen, Jackson of Corpus, Brian Duppa at the Cathedral Church, Baylie who acted for Juxon at St. John's, and a host of others who were Loyalist and High Church and solidly behind Chancellor Laud.

In the spring and summer of 1630/31, about the time John Pell was settling down to academic life and writing his "Letter to Mr. Edmund Wingate on Logarithms," Laud brought matters to a head by ordering a censorship on sermons and decreeing a strict observance of the Anglican ritual. Insubordination followed, and an open revolt at Magdalen, Balliol and Exeter, encouraged by the proctors and fanned by the local preachers. Laud, without hesitation, retaliated by forcing the guilty officers to resign "for countenancing all manner of disobedience." Moreover he expelled the preachers forthwith.

Outbreak after incident followed. But in spite of it all, Laud went calmly ahead with his plans for a greater university. He founded scholarships of all kinds. He gave the stimulus for the creation of new chairs. He introduced in 1632/33 a lectureship in Arabic and oriental civilization and appointed Pococke, the distinguished orientalist, to it. He developed scientific studies, which must have appealed espe-

cially to John Pell. He enriched the library—the Bodley Library—by "many rare and exquisite manuscripts." He directed the appearance from the university press of volume after volume of new books and reprints covering the entire field of contemporary knowledge, with special facilities for the tutors and scholars of Oxford who might have original contributions to make.

Concomitantly Laud, assisted by a commission, from 1631 to 1634 revolutionized the statutes of the university applying to every branch of academic activity and life. He laid down rules which have survived to the present day. Some of the regulations are curious and give an insight into the customs of John Pell's time. Thus, it is laid down that in the clothes to be worn at the university only modest patterns can be used. Alone, sons of barons might break into bright colors. But even they must "eschew the absurd and arrogant custom of walking publicly in boots." In particular, the temptations of the town are singled out for warning. Scholars must avoid places where wine and other drink or the "Nicotian herb tobacco" could be bought. "Night wandering" was a serious offense. Gaming and gambling were strictly forbidden. Sports such as hawks and hounds and even football were outlawed.

Probably John Pell, deeply immersed in the intellectual life of the university, was not seriously disturbed by these rules. He was beginning to make a reputation as a scholar. Wood reports that already he was held in high esteem for his "literary accomplishments which included not only the mastery of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but of Arabic, Italian, French, Spanish, High and Low Dutch." Moreover, he was coming to be widely known and "much talked of" for his skill in mathematics, which he put to practical usage by translating Lansberg's "Everlasting Tables" and writing an "Astronomical History of Heavenly Motions and Appearances" (1633), his "Eclipse Prognosticator" (1634), then "Letters and Remarks on Mr. Gallibrand's Discourse Mathematical" (1635), and on "Variation of the Magnetic Kneedle" (1637) and finally "An Idea of Mathematics" (1639). A copy of this last work he sent by Hartlib to the great French philosopher and mathematician, Descartes, who commented favorably upon it. Indeed, Pell's "Idea of Mathematics" with Descartes' "Comments" is included in Hooke's "Philosophical Collection." Moreover John Pell projected an "extraordinary plan for the further advancement of mathematical learning." In respect of this he engaged in a public controversy with the Jesuit Father Mersenne in Paris.

According to à Wood, John Pell at this time was a dark, "remark-

ably handsome" young man with a good voice and a tendency to bury himself in his books. He worked indefatigably and produced prodigiously. A "strong and good habit of body" enabled him to "dispense with recreation and to ply his studies while others played." Mathematics was his specialty, with astronomy second and philosophy a cherished field. He was proficient in languages, articulate in discussion and coming to be one of the most promising of the younger scholars at Oxford, where he was in residence some months each year.

The rest of the time John spent at Eastbourne, with frequent visits to Cambridge and London. On July 3, 1632/33, he married Ithamaria, daughter of Henry Reginolles of the Parish of St. Margaret's Westminster (London), gentleman and squire of Belsted, Suffolk. A son, Richard, was born in London in 1633/34 but died a year later and was buried on December 5, 1634/35 at Eastbourne. A daughter Mary was born in 1634/35. She was to marry Captain Roger Raven, of King's Lynn, on November 27, 1656/57 at St. Margaret's. A second daughter, Judith, was baptized on January 21, 1635/36 at Eastbourne; a third daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized on January 7, 1639/40 at St. Margaret's; a second son, William, was baptized at St. Margaret's on December 21, 1640/41 and was buried there on February 21, 1642/43; a fourth daughter, Bathsua, was baptized at St. Margaret's on October 26, 1642/43, and finally a third son, John, the future Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham, was baptized at St. Margaret's on February 8, 1643/44. It should be noted that with the record of the infant Richard's burial the Pell name disappears from the Sussex records.

In any event, while John was establishing his reputation as a scholar of notable distinction and beginning to raise a family, the surge of revolution was mounting which was to sweep away the existing order and break down the civilization of England as it had been known up to that time. Already Presbyterian, Puritan and Anabaptist "assemblies" were being held in Oxford town. Meanwhile, subversive meetings were taking place publicly in the university. Laud, the Chancellor and Archbishop, was slipping. Soon he would be in the Tower of London, a prisoner. As a matter of fact, before John Pell left the university Laud would pay the supreme penalty on the scaffold for loyalty to the Church and King.

The revolutionists were growing bolder. Oxford, with vivid memories of the destruction meted out to ornaments and priceless treasures at the Reformation, petitioned the Long Parliament for protection; taking a position of neutrality. But the Parliament replied by ap-

pointing a committee which ordained that images, crucifixes, candlesticks and stained glass should be removed from the chapels and destroyed.

At this point the mutterings of the storm became quite audible. Divines and rebels were spreading revolutionary doctrines openly despite the resistance of the essentially Royalist university, which raised a loan for the King and placed the colleges at the royal disposal. Volunteers began to parade on the quadrangle and go through their "postures." Principals, tutors, undergraduates and even the college cooks were in the ranks. Meanwhile others threw up fortifications around the town and assembled arms.

The country was plunging into civil war. John Hampden, of an old family which had accumulated property for generations, whose mother was a Cromwell, and who had steeped himself in the history of the Huguenot movement in France, had given the signal in 1638 by refusing to pay an assessment on his immense property and then carrying the lawyers with him against the Crown. Prynne, a fanatical lawyer, had joined the attack, leveling his fire against the established Church and incidentally flaying the theatre, dancing, maypoles and the celebration of Christmas! Puritan preachers by droves had followed in his wake, canting their hatred against Archbishop Laud, who to them was guilty of the crime of attempting to unify the Church. In Scotland war was openly declared in March, 1638/39, when Scots in thousands signed a solemn bond—the Covenant—with their warlike Jehovah to oppose the Anglican liturgy, and raised, armed, drilled and put into the field forces against the King.

Thereafter, succeeding the Short Parliament of April, 1640/41, which had been summoned by Charles to vote supplies for resistance to the Covenanters, as the embattled Scots were called, and which had produced a leader in the person of another member of the legal tribe named Pym, came the frankly revolutionary Long Parliament. This Parliament, led by a small and rebellious clique, in turn supported by the money power of the City, had forced the judicial murder of Strafford on the King. Then it threatened the Queen, and the King was forced to send her away to a safe refuge in Holland. Finally, on January 11, 1641/42, it dealt the first overt blow of civil war by seizing the walled town of Kingston-upon-Hull.

In the year that followed, John Pell's last in England until his return in 1652/53, relative order was swallowed up in chaos. In January, Northumberland, Admiral of the Fleet, committed treason and

handed over the navy to Warwick. In July the House of Commons declared the King to have been guilty of the first act of war on the pretext that he had begun the enlistment of troops. The same month the fortified town of Portsmouth was besieged and captured by the Parliamentary force under Essex. In August, Charles summoned the gentry to rally to him at Nottingham. On October 23, at Edgehill, not far from Oxford, the first battle was fought. From December through March 1643/44, negotiations for peace dragged on at Oxford while both sides prepared for war. In April, as John was taking leave of Oxford, by then an armed camp and the court and capital of the Cavaliers, the final crash came. Parliament openly defied the King. Charles took to the field and embarked on the campaign that was to end in his capture, humiliation and death.

In a word, John Pell's world of a scholar, intellectual innovator and mathematical and scientific pioneer at Oxford tumbled about his ears. If he did not wish to be buried in its ruins John had the choice of retiring to the country and giving lessons to the sons of the local gentry and sitting out the civil war if he could, or of going abroad. We know little about John's outlook on the controversy which was to reduce England in flames. But what little we do know would indicate that he was Arminian in his doctrinal beliefs and a practicing Anglican despite his scientific interests. As a mathematician, moreover, he reverenced order. The atomizing tendencies of evangelical Protestantism had no appeal to him. At the same time it is clear that he was not a perfervid disciple of Laud, the Archbishop, who sought a rigid pattern of thought and worship under the aegis of the throne. In a word, like the great mass of plain citizens of his day, John took a position between the extremes of those who stood for unbridled liberty and those who clung to absolute authority. Like most men of the elite of his day, he had an attachment to the Anglican Church, not yet a century old, with an honest royal warrant. He was just as opposed to the Evangelists with their prophetic furors as he was steadfast against the clericalism of Rome. He stood for an Established Church but a Church of "volunteer not of pressed men." He may have had —in fact it is reasonably clear that he did have—leanings toward Puritanism; that is, a wish for simplicity in the Church and a relaxing of Episcopal government. It is doubtful, however, if he went along with the Puritans when they moved, largely as a result of persecution, from their moderate stand to a harsh Calvinism and an intolerant moral code. It was not in his character as a scientific man, as we know it, to wait hungrily for the new revelation which the Puritans ex-

ITHAMARIA REGINOLLES PELL

From an original portrait
Reproduced through the courtesy of
Henry Reginolles, Esq.

pected to go along with them on the road to revolution. Dogmatism of the Right or the Left had no appeal to a man who was a trail breaker in the nascent physical sciences, a diligent searcher after reason and an apostle of equilibrium. As a scientific man, moreover, he detested equally the current myth of the divine right of kings or the convenient notion of some original social compact. He stood for freedom in all departments of thought and inquiry, and a balance of rights and powers in government. He stood for a "law fundamental" to which kings and people alike were subject. John is known to have had a respect for "law, the true sovereign" and the supple mechanism of a Parliament which would evolve it in free debate.

John Pell's first instinct, at all events, may have been to sit out the civil war in Eastbourne or at the Reginolles' Manor at Belsted in Suffolk. But even in a small community there was ferment, and men were taking sides. There was a complexity of moods in a society which was fluid, and no "ruling oligarchy" had crystalized as it would with the Whigs after 1689. There were few whimsies about popular rights or social contracts among John's hard-headed neighbors in Sussex. They were practical and pragmatic men who, to keep their feet on the ladder, had to labor mightily, and as a consequence were attracted to the tenets of Puritanism, of soberness and righteousness, and hostility to idleness and extravagance. "Godliness," said a contemporary preacher in Sussex, "hath the promises of this life as well as of the life to come." This train of Calvinistic thought, that material success is a proof of spiritual health, was deeply ingrained among the Sussex country people, almost as much as the rugged individualism of which they were rightly proud. Fine people though they were, these Suffolk and Sussex neighbors of John Pell's, they had little to offer a scholar of John Pell's eminence, and Cambridge at that point did not open its doors to him. As a consequence he accepted with precipitation an invitation to succeed the celebrated Professor Hortensius in the Chair of Mathematics at Amsterdam. This had been obtained for him by Sir William Boswell, the English Resident, at the urging of Bishop Juxon. Eagerly he took ship to the Continent, sending his wife Ithamaria and his children to stay in London with her father, Henry Reginolles.

Amsterdam and Breda, 1643/44 to 1652/53

Professor Pell in the next decade, which was to witness the shift of power in England from the King to the merchants and lawyers and from their weak hands to the army under a remarkably lucid and

commanding military genius, Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, was far away in a land of books and science, tranquilly weaving his way through the intellectual world of the Continent.

In the middle of the Seventeenth Century the spirit of the age tended to lay emphasis on the mathematical interpretation of science, paving the way for Isaac Newton and his school. In fact it substituted, even in the spoken and written language, for the sententious periods of the earlier scholars, a brief, sharp phrase in which each word was almost a mathematical symbol. In Holland, in France, in all the intellectual centers of the Continent, scholarship was permeated with mathematics. The outstanding university leaders were inclined to think and write in its exacting terms. Even love came to be lyricized in terms of mathematics and geometry, and Madame de Staël-Delauney is said to have told of a lover who used at first to take her for a walk around the sides of a square. Later, however, he cut diagonally across the ground. From this she inferred that his love had diminished in the ratio of the hypotenuse to the sides of the right-angled triangle!

As Professor G. N. Clark writes in his *Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1929): "This was not only one of the greatest periods of progress in mathematics, but it was the period in which mathematical knowledge had the greatest influence in other spheres and consequently, we may say, on life in general." Indeed, mathematics in this mid Seventeenth Century was once more, as it had been in antiquity, the supreme example of the disinterested search for truth. One man of genius after another pursued the several branches of mathematical inquiry, each starting where the other left off. John Pell was in the forefront of this emancipation of thought and in the van of the new revelations based on empiricism; that is, the search for truth, not by the mere use of reason, but by experience, in particular by observation and experiment. In verity, John Pell and his contemporaries not only worked as a company to build up new knowledge. Together they worked in unison to replace the old orthodoxy in all scientific matters. Scornfully they set themselves against superstition in their scientific revival. They refused to compromise with these errors, which they were certain sprang from ignorance and fear.

Now, in the earlier part of the Seventeenth Century the liberty of learning and teaching was greatest in the Dutch universities. This liberty had been created as a direct consequence of the political revolution of the Dutch Netherlands. The universities of the Dutch Prov-

inces gave openings for individuality and this was one of the many reasons for the eminence of Amsterdam and Breda Universities, in both of which John Pell taught. Leyden and Utrecht, Harderwijk and Groningen—all were outstanding centers of learning. Among other things they benefited from the general prosperity of the Republic and their chairs were richly endowed. Indeed, in the Seventeenth Century, as the Dutch universities prospered, universities elsewhere in Europe declined as a result of religious strife which degraded the teaching bodies. For example Heidelberg, the first internationally important university of Germany, was extinguished for a time. Helmstadt and other German schools were starved out of existence. Louvain, the great Jesuit school in what is now Belgium, sank into a decadence from which it took long to recover. In Spain noted universities like Alcalá and Salamanca all but closed their doors, and in Italy only Padua University survived the general paralysis. In France degrees were sold for cash, even by the University of Paris, and in England Oxford and Cambridge were torn nearly out of existence by religious controversy. Holland alone remained as an oasis for learned men, and to be invited to a chair in the Lowlands was the highest reward which could be claimed by a man of intellectual eminence in the middle years of the Seventeenth Century.

In any event, John Pell, in Holland, that scholars' paradise where the air breathed intellectual freedom, was in his element. Nowhere in Europe was there at that time such independence of political and intellectual life. Nowhere were there assembled so many men of learning, headed by René Descartes, the creator of Cartesianism, which was the most important expression of Seventeenth Century philosophy and science. In no other part of the Seventeenth Century world were there greater facilities at the disposal of the scholar and savant.

Pell's aptitude for mathematics brought him great and immediate renown among his contemporaries. Scholars flocked to Amsterdam to attend his lectures. A course on Diophantus was especially applauded, and his colleague, Gerard John Vossius, in his *De Scientiis Mathematicis,* described him, in the early part of his professorship, as "a person of vast erudition and a most acute mathematician."

Moreover he was in touch, either personally or by correspondence, with most of the men who were responsible for the Seventeenth Century revolution in thought; with René Descartes, who has already been mentioned and whose revolutionary works, *Discours de la Meth-*

ode, Meditations and *Principes,* had already appeared while he was an exile in Holland from 1629 to 1649; Peter Fermat, the mathematician and universal scholar, of Toulouse; de Beauregard, a mathematician who wrote on the cyclid; Florimond de Beaune, of Blois, an amateur mathematician and friend of Descartes; Giles de Roberval, Descartes' mathematical opponent; James Gool, more commonly called Gollius, the Dutch orientalist and astronomer; Claude Saumaise, Milton's antagonist, and a vast army of colleagues at Amsterdam and Breda. He also had numerous and outstanding correspondents in England, notably Sir Charles Cavendish, the eldest son of the Duke of Newcastle; Sir William Petty, Hartlib, Montague, etc., etc., with all of whom he exchanged ideas on the scientific discoveries of the age and to whom he made himself the advocate of Cartesian logic.

Bathsua Pell Makin

Moreover, he was in correspondence with his scholarly sister, Bathsua Pell Makin, who was known as the most learned woman of her time. Bathsua, who is known to us largely by the references in Evelyn's *Diary,* was the daughter of John, the schoolmaster of Southwyck, possibly by a first marriage. There is no mention of her in John's will at the time of his death in 1616. At the present time we do not know the date of her birth or death or of her marriage to ? Makin. At all events she was successively tutoress to Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Charles I, and headmistress of her own school at Tottenham-High-Cross. By her contemporaries she is described as one of the most brilliant and scholarly women of her day. She was an accomplished mathematician and linguist like her brother and an innovator in education.

Bathsua was evidently highly successful in her instruction of her royal charge. According to Mary A. Green in her *Lives of the Princesses of England* (London, 1855), Mrs. Pell Makin taught Princess Elizabeth to read and write, before she was eight years old, in French, Italian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well as English. Of course when the monarchy fell Bathsua was out of a job and opened her school at Tottenham, then four miles outside London. According to "An Essay on the Education of Gentlewomen," published in London in 1673, quoted by John H. Jesse in his *Court of England During the Reign of the Stuarts* (Philadelphia, 1840), Mrs. Makin's school was the outstanding institution of its kind in her day. There "gentlewomen may

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of the Circle, that the Prince of Orange, when he founded his new college at Breda in 1646, invited Professor Pell to remove from Amsterdam and accept the Royal Chair of Mathematics at a salary of 1,000 guilders and expenses to boot. Quite naturally, Pell accepted. For the next six years he was one of the stars in the firmament of the faculty of Breda and was coming to be one of the shining lights in the intellectual life of the Continent. He continued to be in constant association with René Descartes, debating with the French philosopher his doctrine of methodical doubt. (Je pense donc je suis). He corresponded with Blaise Pascal and showed much interest in his concept that for every problem there was scientifically a unique solution. Pell furthermore contributed to Pascal's inquiry into the decimal system. Then there were other savants with whom John Pell was in constant contact, notably G. Desarges in the field of analytical geometry; Robert Boyle, whose field was organic chemistry; William Harvey, the physician, and the Italian, Toricelli, who made a cult of experimentation.

Without a doubt Professor Pell might have remained profitably at Breda many more years. But in 1650/51, the year of King Charles I's murder in England, his patron, the Prince of Orange, died. Next, in 1652/53, war broke out between England and Holland, precipitated by a small but resolute minority in the English Parliament who, to quote Scot, one of their number, set out to win the "fairest mistresses in all Christendom's trade." John Pell, to his profound regret, was obliged to resign his Chair at Breda and return to England, sorrowfully.

Reader in Mathematics at Cambridge

We can picture Dr. John Pell, because he was "Dr." by then, saying his farewells to his colleagues at Breda, coaching to Amsterdam for the return to England, with other refugees, aboard a frigate sent out by Oliver Cromwell for that purpose. We can imagine his long ride to London from the port of his arrival and the reunion with Ithamaria Reginolles Pell and his children at her father's house. We can imagine his concern to find work in order to support himself and his family and his petitions and appeals to such friends as he could muster in Commonwealth England, so different from the England which he had left a decade previously.

Apparently John Pell did not receive much encouragement in

BATHSUA PELL MAKIN

From a Seventeenth Century Portrait

by

William Marshall

(By permission of the British Museum)

London. So he went to stay at Belsted, in Suffolk, with the Reginolles, and renewed his petitions to Cambridge University, notably to Chancellor St. John. Evidently his petition received support in the Cambridge faculty because Chancellor St. John soon was writing to Oliver Cromwell, in the latter's capacity as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, recommending favorable action in the case of Dr. John Pell, lately Professor of Mathematics at Breda. The General-Chancellor gave the communication of his colleague at Cambridge favorable consideration, and on October 29, 1652/53, he approved the formal petition of Dr. John Pell to be named Reader in Mathematics at Cambridge at an annual salary of £200. Next, on January 10, 1653/54, as Protector, Cromwell approved an Ordinance formally appointing Dr. John Pell as Assistant in Mathematics at Cambridge.

John Pell was to remain at Cambridge in this capacity for the next year, highly respected by his colleagues and once more in correspondence with leading scholars across Europe.

Dr. John Pell Appointed Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons

Indeed, there was no reason to suppose that Dr. John Pell would give up the good life at Cambridge, which he found congenial, as did Ithamaria, who was close to her parents' home in Suffolk. But, quite unexpectedly, in the spring of 1654/55, Protector Cromwell, through Mr. Secretary (for Foreign Affairs) Thurloe, invited him to come to London. There, after a meeting with Cromwell, the Protector named Dr. Pell his Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons.

How it came about that the professor of mathematics, who had rather studiously refrained from taking part in the political and social wrangles of his country and who was, if anything, a Loyalist, permitted himself to be enlisted by Oliver Cromwell in a highly complex diplomatic enterprise, is difficult to fathom. Any explanation must to a large part be conjectural, but there are several possible reasons.

In the first place, by this time Cromwell, four years after the King's murder, was in desperate need of men for his foreign service, trained in languages and with a knowledge of the Continent and its devious ways. In the ranks of the Roundheads, among the city merchants, the political lawyers, the bellowing preachers, the rich country gentry, diplomats were difficult to flush. As a consequence, then, Cromwell called upon all Englishmen, no matter what their political affiliation,

to put aside partisanship and rally to the service of their country. John Pell may have responded to this call, especially since in the meantime Cromwell, disgusted by the "pride, ambition and self-seeking of the Parliament," had, on April 20, 1653/54, dissolved that body, expelled the members and substituted a nominated Parliament. Moreover, on December 12, 1653/54, on the motion of Sir Charles Wolsley, seconded by William Sydenham, Cromwell had "accepted and become" dictator under the title of Lord Protector.

Another explanation may be that John Pell, noted for his manifold contacts on the Continent, was put forward as a candidate for a diplomatic appointment by Henry Reginolles, his father-in-law, who frequented the circle of Mr. Secretary Thurloe. Moreover, Mr. Reginolles had many contacts in the business community in London which supported Cromwell.

A third possibility is that Professor Pell was recommended by Samuel Morland, who was to become Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Thurloe, and carry on secret intrigue with the exiled Charles II. Morland was on friendly terms with the Cavendishes. Not only was Sir Charles Cavendish then with Charles, the Pretender, in Paris, one of Pell's principal correspondents, but Pell's cousins of Lincolnshire had fought side by side with him on the Cavalier side during the civil war. Moreover we know from letters exchanged between Morland and Pell while the latter was stationed at Zurich that both men frequented the house of Montague, the Admiral, and both had many friends and tastes in common.

Whatever the explanation of his good fortune, Dr. John Pell was just the man Protector Cromwell required for his Swiss mission in the spring of 1654/55. By that time Cromwell was consolidating his authority in England over Roundheads, Presbyterians, Parliamentarians and Royalists alike. Charles, the Pretender, had left Paris by then and was installed with his threadbare Court at Cologne. On the Continent a Protestant League was forming supported by Cromwell, who had made peace with the Dutch. This was confirmed by Cromwell's alliance with Portugal as a counterpoise to Spain, The time had come when Cromwell judged that he could enter into negotiations for a truce with France. Switzerland, divided Canton by Canton, Catholic against Protestant, was a battleground between French and British interests. It was Cromwell's intention to maintain the status quo by keeping the Swiss out of the French alliance, which had lapsed, thereby reducing considerably France's potential force.

As a first step in launching his new policy, Cromwell "condescended to receive" a mission of good will from the Swiss Protestant Cantons headed by an important dignitary of Zurich, Monsieur Stockar. Next he mapped out a scheme for setting up a Protestant barrier to France from the British Isles through the Netherlands by the Rhine through Switzerland, following the frontier of the Protestant Cantons. Thereupon he sent for Dr. John Pell from Cambridge in the latter part of February, 1654/55, and sounded him out with regard to the Swiss mission. Dr. John accepted, and on March 2nd the Protector announced that he had named the distinguished mathematician his Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons. At the same time he announced the appointment of Dr. John Drury, a Scotsman educated at Oxford, Sedan and Leyden, as his Ambassador to the Protestant States of the Rhine. On March 22nd, Oliver Cromwell from Whitehall instructed Mr. Gualter Frost, the Paymaster, to pay John Pell by way of advance for his mission to Switzerland, where his salary would be £600 a year, the sum of £200 and to continue to pay his salary of £200 as Assistant at Oxford during his absence to his wife, Ithamaria Reginolles Pell. On April 6, 1654/55, Pell and Drury set out from Gravesend for Dunkirk aboard the frigate *Merlyn,* which the Protector designated to carry his Ambassadors to the Continent. It took three days, because of adverse winds, to make the crossing.

Swiss Mission, 1654/55

Pell and Drury were received with honors at Dunkirk and took post chaise to The Hague "through Veurn, Nieuport and Bruges," which they reached on April 9 in the evening. On April 10 they continued to Sluys, then to Middleburg (April 11), Rotterdam and Delft, where they spent the night of April 13-14. The next stop was Utrecht, which they reached safely on April 16. There Pell and Drury remained four days, setting out on April 21 to reach Arnheim "before the gates are shut."

From Arnheim, on the 22nd, Pell traveled to Cleves, and from Cleves to Cologne, arriving on April 25. Curiously, considering that Charles II, to whom Pell's friend and pupil, Sir Charles Cavendish was attached, was in residence in Cologne at the time, he tarried there for three full days, leaving only on April 25 for Metz, which he reached on May 3.

From Metz he went to Frankfurt (May 4), Heidelberg (May 9), Strasburg (May 11), Kentzingen, where he drank the waters (May 13),

Tyringen, where he felt very ill but continued to Schleingen (May 14), Basel (May 15), from Basel to Mumf (May 17), lunched at Baden (May 18) and dined that night at Zurich—a journey from London to Zurich of forty-three days.

On his arrival at Zurich, Pell's first thought was to establish himself in a style which would befit his mission. On May 26 he wrote to Ithamaria "at her father's house behind six trees, in Gardiner's Lane, near King Street, Westminster," that he was taking suitable lodgings. On June 7 he notes in his diary that he has bought a sword and, on June 8, a belt.

Appropriately attired and with proper accoutrements, he presented his credentials to the Council of Zurich, which had authority to deal on behalf of all the Protestant Cantons, and set to work.

His problem was fairly simple. The Swiss were bartering and trading with the French, the price of a renewal of an alliance. The French Ambassador, de Labarde, had taken up his residence at Solothurn, in Catholic Switzerland, and was reported to be dealing out subsidies in behalf of his project. Pell had to play the Protestant off against the Catholic Cantons, thereby blocking the French alliance and neutralizing the Swiss.

On June 12, he formally began his negotiations. At Arraw, during a congress of the Protestant Cantons, he, as English Ambassador, delivered an address urging neutrality on the Cantons. During the months of July and August he followed up this initiative in private conversations with the cantonal dignitaries and constantly stressed the Protector Cromwell's interest in the welfare of his Swiss friends.

De Labarde must have got wind of Pell's dealings for, on August 25, he appeared at the General Assembly of the Cantons, accompanied by "150 horse," and promised payment of cash in return for a renewal of the alliance. The Swiss, ever with an eye for a good bargain, raised the price. In addition they injected into the discussion a wholly extraneous issue—the matter of the Queen's jewels.

It appeared that the French Government, at a moment when it was in financial difficulties and unable to pay its Swiss mercenaries, had handed as security to the Colonel commanding, a citizen of Zurich, what were described as the jewels of the Queen of France, with a promise to redeem them in a limited period of time. Some years had passed. The officers of the former Swiss legion were clamoring for their pay. But the French persisted in ignoring the Swiss demands and claimed that the jewels had been removed surreptitiously from

I

Postea quam Serenissimi Celsissimique D. D. Olivarij, Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ Protectoris apud Helvetios Reipublicæ Foederatæ Nobilissimus [illegible]

Vicissim autem Serenissimum et Celsissimum D. Protectorem, Idem Nobilissimus et Amplissimus D. Residens Evangelicorum Helvetiæ Cantonum nomine certiorem reddere non gravetur, quòd erga Serenissimum Suam Celsitudinem, Ipsi quoq; Deo juvante, in constanti et verâ amicitiâ & religiosâ fidaq; correspondentiâ sint omni tempore perseveraturi, et quòd ad Sanctæ vestræ fidei Reformatæ defensionem, summam suscepturi curam, studiumq; Serenissimæ Suæ Celsitudini debitum omnia officia optimâ cum voluntate cordialiq; prorsus amore pro viribus præstandi.

Actum Paterniaci $\frac{3}{13}$ Octobris, Anno 1655.

Collatum cum Protocollo
per Andream Schmidium, Reipub. Tigurinæ
et pro t. Conventus, loco et tempore
supra scriptis habiti Secretarium.

Articuli 9

Posteaquam Serenissimi Celsissimique D. D. Olivarij, Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ Protectoris apud Helvetios Reformatos Residens, Nobilissimus et Amplissimus D. Johannes Pell Paterniacum, ubi Legati illorum Cantonum videlicet Evangelicorum et Confœderatorum omnium exceptis Rhætis, qui per tempus adesse non potuerunt, et Genevensibus, idoneis itidem de causis absentibus, congregati erant, se contulit, de Ejus præsentia dicti Legati summopere lætati sunt, suique officij esse duxerunt, Eundem D. Residentem non solùm honorificâ cum salutatione, debitâq; cum officiorum oblatione, omnique amoris atq; benevolentiæ demonstratione excipere: sed etiam, quia de verè Heroico Serenissimi Celsissimique D. Protectoris, gloriæ Divinæ, et Ecclesiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi promovendæ et propagandæ zelo, bonis omnibus constat, intermittere hac occasione noluerunt, quin prædicto D. Residenti suum veluti cor aperirent, præsentemque adeò valdè ancipitem Ecclesiarum Helvetiæ Reformatarum statum Ipsi et orstenus pluribus detegerent, et summarium sequens scripto comprehensum Ei traderent, diligentissimèque commendarent.

Evangelici Helvetiæ Fœderatæ Cantones per Dei gratiam, purâ Evangelij luce gaudent, et cultum Deo debitum, in omnibus ditionis suæ locis ubi soli imperant, decenti cum harmonia et concordia exercent: proque hoc beneficio divinæ bonitati gratias sine intermissione agunt, et humillimis Deum cordibus venerantur atque obsecrant, ut et Ipsos, et Evangelicos Status omnes in nobili hac animarum libertate conservet. Pars verò illorum, Dominia diversa eaque perampla cum pluribus Catholicis dictis Cantonibus communia habet, quæ per vices, à singulis Cantonibus per biennium, itu administrantur, ut, quod probè notandum, Evangelicis in Turgovia inprimis, vix duobus, quinque ordine Cantones alterius Religionis suc-

DR. JOHN PELL'S COMMISSION FROM OLIVER CROMWELL AS HIS LEGATE TO THE PROTESTANT SWISS CANTONS, DATED OCTOBER, 1655
(COURTESY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

cet, ut si forte Serenissima sua Celsitudo cum Regibus Galliæ et Hispaniæ pacem suo tempore concludet, in illis Tractatibus Ipsos quoq; comprehendere dignetur, partim ut fœdus illud, quod Papistici Cantones cum Hispaniæ Rege habent, quoque maximè confidunt, ut ex articulis supra commemoratis colligitur, nostri respectu irritum reddatur, partim ut Regem etiam Galliæ, cum quo Helvetia universa æternam habet pacem, Reformati, ex Serenissimæ suæ Celsitudinis gratiâ et authoritate, faventiorem habeant.

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Articuli 9

France and that they should be returned first. The amount owing on them was to be discussed afterwards.

Some Cantons believed that this course should be followed. The cash offer of de Labarde should be accepted and the alliance with France renewed. In fact, this view was gaining ground to such an extent that Pell thought it his duty to intervene and suggest a formula whereby the Cantons might renew the Treaty of Perpetual Peace with France but forego the alliance. Zurich rallied to the wisdom of this plan. But other Cantons, still tempted by the cash offer, felt that de Labarde's full proposition was deserving at least of favorable consideration.

Throughout the summer the discussion continued between the cantonal worthies without any appreciable progress being made towards a decision. What was most important to Pell, the talks took place without any commitment to France.

Pell meanwhile organized the information service which he had been instructed in London to create, with agents in Italy, Germany and France, and had a wide field of rumors and intrigues to cover. For instance, during July and August, 1654, he told of French and Spanish intrigues in Alsace, the preparation of the French fleet at Toulon, the death of the King of Rome at Vienna. In spite of all this he had time to write his wife, Ithamaria, such domestic advice as "Let Mary (the first of his four daughters Mary, Judith, Elizabeth and Bathsua) learn to cut and carve with her right hand," or "Take heed that John (his surviving son who was to become Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham) lose not his Roman with learning Secretary, or else get a rambling hand, writing neither of them well."

The autumn ran into the New Year without any material change in the status of Pell's negotiations. In London, the exchange with France for a truce was at a standstill. In Zurich, the Swiss were driving up the price for their neutrality, playing the English against the French and vice versa, demanding that the English should obtain assurances of peace from the Spaniards, declaring that they must have the same status and treatment as the Lowlands; in short, engaging in dilatory tactics in the hope and expectation of driving a better bargain.

Soon the Swiss injected the Queen's jewels into the English as well as the French negotiation. John Pell was shown them---two great rubies, two pearls, one single diamond, jewels made up of many diamonds fairly cut and set, etc., etc., all of which he sketched—and it

was slyly suggested to him that Oliver Cromwell, who was founding a new Royal House, might want them at the price of "six hundred thousand livres," and thus pay a handsome bribe for an alliance with the Swiss or their neutrality. In this connection it was pointed out to Pell that the officer who held the jewels was the "principal opposer of them that would renew the League with France," and that he had been "the first and greatest urger of the Protestant Cantons to offer their mediation between the English and the Low Dutch." This meant, of course, that England would do well to keep the good will of this valuable friend by putting up the agreed sum.

John Pell did not bite. Accordingly, hints were passed to him by the Zurich worthies that the French were about to buy the jewels and apparently the Swiss with them. Furthermore the Emperor in Vienna had manifested a keen interest in these baubles.

Still John Pell refused to bite and his suspicions were confirmed when he picked up word that the good merchants of Zurich had been dickering with the French Ambassador, trying to make him believe that Cromwell was in the market for the jewels. Therefore, to the intimation of his Zurich hosts that the purchase of the jewels would avert a civil war between the Cantons "which might arise amongst them about the sale of them (the jewels) or about the renewing of the League (with France), so that the jewels may be redeemed by the French Ambassador," he replied that "unquiet spirits might as easily fall out about sharing the money as about selling the jewels." Meanwhile, to his home government he suggested that Cromwell, in a conversation with the French Ambassador to England, might drop a hint that he was considering purchase of the jewels through his agent, Pell. This would cause the French Ambassador to inform his Government which in turn would instruct its agent in Switzerland to redeem the jewels and thus eliminate them from the picture completely.

Nothing was done, however, because the Anglo-French negotiations in London broke down about this time. The French Ambassador returned to Paris. Pell was instructed by Thurloe to have nothing further to do with the jewels.

Thereupon the Swiss tried another form of pressure. They showed Pell a letter from Cardinal Mazarin, the French Principal Minister, who promised them fair and equitable treatment and favorable terms if they would return to the alliance with France. The Swiss indicated that they could not ignore this change of front on the part of France. They must study it and respond to it in friendly vein.

Pell could not object. But he did point out that the change of manner by the French, who up to that time had been high-handed and abrupt in the negotiation with the Swiss (when they were not trying to buy them) was probably due, as much as anything, to his presence in Zurich. It could be accounted for, moreover, by the open interest the Protector was taking in the welfare of the Cantons and their political future.

At all events, seeing that he could not be bluffed, Pell's hosts launched a round of entertainments in his honor. They took him for a barge ride on the lake. They had him out to dinner and, on the business side, collaborated closely with him in combatting false news reports spread from Charles' Court at Cologne regarding conditions in England and the policies of the Protector, Cromwell. In a word, although Pell had nothing very concrete to show when the New Year, 1655, came around, he was well established in his post, was in the good graces of the cantonal authorities and had been partly responsible, at least, for the checkmate of the French plans.

Swiss Mission, 1655/56

De Labarde, the French Ambassador, celebrated the New Year with a renewal of activity from his headquarters at Solothurn. First of all, he sent an emissary to each of the Catholic Cantons. Soon after it was reported that several, Fribourg in the van, would renew the French alliance, irrespective of what the Protestant Cantons might do. Then he personally visited Berne and attempted to persuade the Bernese to take unilateral action, independent of Zurich. However, Pell, learning what was afoot, warned his hosts of Zurich, who obtained assurances from Berne that it would not move without the former Canton.

Thereupon, throughout January, de Labarde tried bribery again. He opened the coffers of the French Legation to Uri, Schweiz, Underwald, Zug and Fribourg. He freely promised commissions in France's Swiss Guards to the military minded citizens of these Cantons.

Pell riposted by offering Zurich and the Protestant Cantons a League with England in place of the alliance with France.

To this de Labarde replied that unless Zurich, Basel and the Protestant Cantons came immediately to terms an embargo would be placed on their goods and they would be denied all commercial and trading privileges in France. At the same time, he redoubled his pressure at Berne. Soon Drury, Pell's associate on the Rhine, was report-

ing to him that this Canton was seriously contemplating joint action with the Catholic Cantons involving a rupture with its Protestant friends and a renewal of the league with France.

Seriously alarmed, Zurich, to whom Pell had conveyed his information, decided to convoke a general meeting of the Cantons at Baden to discuss the French alliance and other pressing matters. Unfortunately the Protestants of Zurich named Shrove Tuesday as the date, which gave the Catholic Cantons a pretext to decline.

De Labarde, shrewd diplomat that he was, immediately followed up the advantage caused by the discomfiture of Zurich by distributing further funds to such good effect that John Pell wrote Thurloe, in bitter vein, that "they (the Swiss) have been long used to despise all persuasion that is not adorned with golden eloquence and strengthened with arguments drawn from silver mines."

In March, a new problem arose to cause serious concern to Pell and his Government. Word began to trickle through that the Duke of Savoy had set out to expel, and where they could not be expelled to exterminate, his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois. A decree of expropriation was published on January 25, 1655. The unhappy subjects of the Duke were not willing to abjure their religion and were given three days in which to remove themselves from his territory on pain of death, no exception to be made for infirmity, age or sex.

A wave of horror swept England when Pell's reports were received. The horror flared into indignation when the Duke's armies proceeded to massacre whole villages in cold blood, men, women and children, and to hunt down the few men who managed to escape, like wild beasts. Money was immediately raised in England for the sufferers. The Protector Cromwell announced his intention of taking up the cudgel on behalf of the persecuted. He despatched John Pell's friend, Samuel Morland, to Turin, employed Milton to address letters of protest to the Duke as well as to the Kings of Sweden, Denmark and France, and instructed Pell to convey his, Cromwell's, indignation to the Swiss.

Before the first of April, Morland set out for the Duke of Savoy's court at Turin, carrying with him £9,500, the first instalment of the British fund for the relief of the Vaudois, which was to be distributed from Grenoble. On April 1, Thurloe instructed Pell further in the matter, directing him if possible to obtain from the Vaudois an "address" to the Protector asking for his help, which would justify the intervention of the English Government. Pell, however, did not

think that this was a wise suggestion. In his view it would have a boomerang effect and justify further persecution of his undesirable subjects by the Duke. Instead, Pell proposed to Thurloe that he should enter into relations with a Mr. Rubbati of Piedmont, then in London, on behalf of the Vaudois.

Throughout April the troops of Savoy, generously assisted by some French mercenaries, proceeded undeterred with the work of extermination. Protestant Switzerland was up in arms and in constant touch with its Protestant neighbors, notably Holland and the Palatinate. London, which suspected a French hand in the Royalist insurrection that had taken place with considerable bloodshed in March, was especially anxious to learn of the part played by the French in the Savoy massacres. Thurloe accordingly instructed Pell to "be as inquisitive" as he could in respect to French activity and, in particular, to discover "whether the French Ambassador in Savoy gave any consent thereto."

About March 20, Pell was able to report that, according to his information, Servient, the French Ambassador at Turin, knew beforehand of the plan to massacre the Vaudois, and furthermore had added to their misfortunes by leading them to believe that they would find a refuge in the French Valley of Pragelas. Whey they reached this promised haven they were cut to pieces by the French mercenary horse. The Duc de Lesdiguiéres, the Governor of the Dauphine, did not raise a little finger to save them.

In June the reaction began to set in. First of all, the Swiss informed Pell that positively they would not enter into an alliance with France. They would wait on the outcome of the Anglo-French negotiations which had been proceeding in a desultory fashion in London and had been held up pending the outcome of the Savoy affair. In the second place the infuriated Vaudois, or what was left of them, joined by volunteers from Switzerland, the French Dauphine and Languedoc, attacked the Savoyards and dislodged them from several of their principal strongholds. Thirdly, John Pell was able to elicit from the Senate of Zurich, speaking for the Protestant Cantons, the pledge that they would serve as a counterpoise to the Catholic Cantons. That is to say, if the Catholic Cantons should strike at the Vaudois in conjunction with the Savoyards (as it was rumored they were planning to do) the Protestant Cantons immediately would declare war on them.

In addition, Pell once again proposed that the Protestant Cantons

should "join counsel—that is, enter into an alliance—with England." But the Swiss, bargain hunting even in this time of crisis, adopted their usual dilatory tactics. At first they intimated that they might discuss this matter with the English envoy at Turin, Morland, which caused John Pell to threaten to ask for his recall. At once the Swiss protested that they could think of no one they would prefer to deal with than Pell, and promised to give his proposal their serious consideration. Needless to state, they did nothing.

In June the annual meeting of the Cantons was held at Baden. As usual, the French Ambassador was there, wheedling and intriguing, while Pell kept his oar in from Zurich. The Swiss obviously enjoyed this situation. They alternately blew hot for the French (or the English) and cold (as the case might be). London, which meanwhile had been informed through Pell that the Cantons would send an Embassy to Turin for the purpose of collaborating with the English Ambassador, Morland, and a Dutch Ambassador who was on his way, became highly irritated and annoyed. Thurloe instructed Pell to notify the Swiss that no more of the money which was forwarded for the relief of the Vaudois would be spent in Switzerland unless they would clarify their attitude and make plain without fear of contradiction, on which side they would take a stand.

Pell made his protest. But the Burgomaster of Zurich pointed out in reply that too categorical an attitude on the part of the Protestant Cantons with regard to the alliances or the Savoy affair might provoke civil war in Switzerland. This would be to no one's interest. At the same time the Burgomaster let drop a hint to Pell that the Swiss had reason to believe that Cardinal Mazarin, the French Principal Minister, shortly would offer his good offices in the Savoy affair. In consequence, they were supremely anxious to defer all decisions until it was seen what would come of the French plan.

At this point, London directed Pell to proceed to Geneva and hold a council of war with Morland, who had left Turin in disgust towards the end of July, and Downing (later Ambassador to Holland and, after the Restoration, Sir George Downing, Bart.), who had been sent out from England specifically for the purpose. In compliance with this instruction, Pell set out from Zurich on August 17. He traveled via Baden, Arraw, Wiflisburg, Milden, Lausanne, Rolle and Coppet, arriving on August 19 at Geneva, where he lodged with M. Tronchin at his *campagne* overlooking the city.

The situation meanwhile had undergone a dramatic change. The Swiss, working hand in glove with the French, had carried on secret

negotiations at Turin. In the very last week of August they signed the Treaty of Pignerol, assuring the Vaudois a minimum instead of maximum of security and redress. When Cromwell heard of this compact he denounced it as an act of base treachery. Moreover, he sent word to Morland, Downing and Pell, meeting in Geneva (1) to protest against the Treaty with Savoy; (2) to point out that it was an unfriendly act in consideration of the fact that the Swiss knew that Pell, Morland and Downing were meeting to plan joint action with them; (3) to urge them to disavow the action of their Embassy at Turin; (4) to resume, in collaboration with the English and Dutch Ambassadors, the pourparlers at Turin; (5) to remind the Swiss that many thousands of pounds were being held in England for the relief of the Vaudois which might be spent in Switzerland, and (6) to inform the Swiss that England and France had reached an accord in principle on the terms of a Treaty which was being held up merely pending the settlement of the Savoy affair.

For one week the three English emissaries (all three of whom were to be rewarded for service to the Royal cause at the Restoration) exchanged views. Finally, it was decided that Downing should return to England and report on the unsatisfactory attitude of the Swiss and their unwillingness to listen to reason, that Morland should remain at Geneva pending further instructions, and that Pell should go to Payern for a conference with Van Ommeren, the Dutch Ambassador, who was on his way to Turin. Downing left on September 7. Pell took coach on September 8, traveling by way of Rolle, Morges and Minden to Payern, which he reached on the 9th. Pell carried with him a letter from Oliver Cromwell to the Senate of Berne, in Latin, as follows:

> Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealths of England, Scotland and Ireland, etc.
> To the illustrious Senate of the City of Berne.
> Most Distinguished and Esteemed Gentlemen and very Beloved Friends:
>
> The deplorable condition and their pitiable plight of our very beloved brethren who are suffering all manner of abuse under the harsh regime of Savoy, prompts us to place with you as our Commissioner Extraordinary the bearer, a gentleman of noble and spotless character, our trusted and beloved John Pell, who will set before you the innermost feelings of Our Soul touching all those matters. Since We know that you feel towards the Reformed Religion and its Believers the same zeal and affection as We do Ourselves, We urgently beg you therefore to accord the bearer when

> he lays before you the matters which he has received from Us in his orders, ready, kindly and trustful audience. For which favors we pray all things happy and favorable from Almighty God. Given in our residence at Westminster, July 28th, 1655.
>
> Your good friend
> Oliver Protector

The Dutch Ambassador was already at Payern and, after conferring with Pell, decided not to push on to Turin. Instead, he would wait for instructions at Geneva, where Pell joined him (and Morland) on October 6, after making a formal protest against the precipitate action of the Swiss emissaries at Berne.

In the meantime the English Government, after hearing Downing's report, decided that diplomatic action at Turin would be futile. In consequence, Thurloe instructed Pell and Morland to limit their action to the distribution of the relief fund to the needy Vaudois. Throughout the remaining months of 1655, therefore, Pell alternated between Zurich, Geneva and Berne, conferring with Morland, distributing relief to the Vaudois, and reporting that civil war was brewing between the Cantons. Thus, in October, he told of religious disorder in Appenzel and Schweiz. Later the same month he reported that the Zurich militia had been called to arms, that cannon were rumbling through the streets and that armed barges were on the lake. Then it was Berne which began making military preparations. St. Gall was in hourly fear of attack, while the annual meeting of the Cantons at Baden, despite the exhortations of M. de Labarde to union, degenerated into a brawl.

In December the Spanish Ambassador, Cazerti, came upon the scene (Spain was then at war with England) and urged the Catholic Cantons to open hostilities against the Protestant states. Zurich and Berne riposted with the announcement that they would stand together. Geneva (where Pell and the Dutch Ambassador were shown the weakness of the fortifications) appealed to Cromwell for funds with which to complete its defensive works and, on the eve of the New Year, implored him to warn other European Powers not to make common cause with the Catholic Cantons.

Swiss Mission, 1656/57

In the broad field of English foreign relations, the year 1656/57 was witness to one great change: France and England came to terms

and concluded a Treaty of Amity and Friendship. In the meantime, the war between England and Spain dragged on. Charles, falling in with the plans of the Spaniards, moved his "Court" to Bruges and collected an army of ragged Irishmen and Highlanders, whom he could not pay, around him. There was talk from time to time of another Royalist insurrection in England. But nothing came of it. The New Year 1657 dawned without an appreciable change in the *status quo.*

In the month of January, 1656/57, warlike preparations continued throughout Switzerland. Zurich mobilized its troops. Berne rushed up reinforcements. Even Geneva sent detachments to the support of the Zurichois.

In the second week in January Zurich began operations. The Zurich General, Ulrich, subdued Turgow. General Wardmuller, also of Zurich, began to invest Baden. The Bernese, meanwhile, marched to Lucerne. Curiously, the major Catholic Cantons, Fribourg and Solothurn, probably due to French influence, remained aloof, although John Pell had evidence showing that the Duke of Savoy had offered them large sums of cash if they would take up arms against the Protestants.

Later in the month reports came through that Savoy was preparing to intervene and support the Catholics, if not with arms, at least with money. This precipitated English action. London instructed Pell to inform the Cantons of Zurich and Berne (1) that the English Government was prepared to lend them £10,000 sterling; (2) that in the event any foreign power should intervene in Swiss affairs, England would take steps immediately and actively in their behalf. Mazarin, for his part, extended the good offices of France to mediate between the Cantons.

During the first week in February de Labarde succeeded in negotiating a month's truce. Van Ommeren, the Dutch Ambassador, who had remained in Geneva all this time, joined with him. By the end of that fortnight a meeting of Swiss plenipotentiaries convened at Baden, with the French, Dutch and Savoy Ambassadors also present.

John Pell, who had been at Geneva, thereupon sped for Zurich in order to be nearer the scene of the negotiations. His was an arduous journey, however, under escort all the way, and by back roads and little known mountain paths. Roving bands of soldiery were about and the main roads were not safe. In consequence his journey required a week. By the time he arrived in Zurich a truce had been declared and

an extraordinary Congress called at Baden in March to hear the differences and arrange the terms of peace between the Cantons.

This did not deter the Swiss of Zurich and Berne from asking for the loan from England all the same. Not only that, but they intimated to Pell that the £10,000 was not enough and that they would like to have a further sum to be made available "on deposit," not to be cashed except in the event of dire emergency. London, duly outraged, met this suggestion with the notification conveyed by Pell that the proposed loan was "for their wars, which being now ended, the reason of the loan is taken away."

In April the Peace Conference of the Cantons met at Baden. Pell, on instructions, was present with the Dutch, French and Savoy Ambassadors (Van Ommeren, de Labarde and Baron Greisy). Not satisfied with the war between the Swiss, this diplomatic contingent had its own private war. De Labarde refused to recognize Van Ommeren's credentials and snubbed the Dutchman. Baron Greisy immediately did likewise. In high dudgeon, Van Ommeren withdrew and went back to Holland to complain to his Government.

Pell fared much better. On his arrival at Baden he called on de Labarde, who was the senior Chief of Mission present. The French Ambassador immediately returned the call and proposed that he and Pell should collaborate to promote peace in Switzerland. Similar courtesies were exchanged with Greisy. But another member of the diplomatic coterie, Crivelli, a Secretary to the Spanish Ambassador and a masterful intriguer, Pell, in view of his country's strained relations with Spain, was obliged to ignore.

Throughout May, the negotiations at Baden dragged on without very tangible progress. Pell and de Labarde, whose countries were now on a treaty basis, worked hand in hand to bring about an accord. Finally, as a result of wheedling, salted down with an occasional threat, they succeeded in getting the Swiss to arbitrate their dispute after a month's respite in which they might get their second wind.

During the interim, according to the Anglo-French plan, de Labarde once more sought to persuade the Swiss to come into the alliance with France. The reception accorded his efforts, favorable for the most part, moved John Pell to comment as follows:

> Many here urge the renewing of the League, more out of hope to finger some French money, than for love of France, or of any French interest. The Ambassador knows their mind, and deals with them accordingly. He will not part with a penny till the League be renewed. . . .

July wore on, and August. Still there was no change. The truce was extended. The Swiss dickered with de Labarde over the renewal of the "League." Pell reported each step to Morland, in Geneva, and Lockhart, the English Ambassador in Paris. But no decision was reached. September and October contributed nothing except a legion of rumors, which Pell reported to Whitehall. In November Morland left for London and the Franco-Swiss negotiation took another spurt. In December it seemed to have fallen definitely through because de Labarde insisted that Alsace should be recognized as an integral part of French territory which the Swiss would have to defend in case France were attacked. The Swiss desired to except it from the agreement. Austria backed them to the hilt. With this stalemate all around, 1657/58 opened inauspiciously.

Swiss Mission, 1657/58

January 1657/58 contributed little to the improvement of the situation. The Protestant Deputies met at Arraw to an accompaniment of rumors that the Emperor would defend Alsace by force from the French (rumors which, incidentally, encouraged the Cantons to hold out on the French alliance), since—Pell reported—Alsace was still regarded "as a piece of Germany, and not yet so fully annexed to the French crown as some would make them (the Swiss Cantons) believe, France, having not yet performed all the conditions requisite and therefore the House of Austria not having perfectly quitted all pretensions."

The French, apparently hearing all the rumors too, decided to take no chances. They moved "four Regiments of Horse" into Alsace, strengthened Strasburg and Colmar, made a feint in the direction of Mulhouse (which seriously agitated the Swiss) and quartered ragged foot regiments out of Italy in Gex, the Dauphine, Bresse and the Lyonnaise.

The Swiss, thinking France hard pressed and their resentment against de Labarde increasing, penned a note to the French Government "with some signs of resentment," emphasizing that they were "a free people, and not slaves to France, so as to be awed and overawed by the imperious commands of a French Ambassador." The French replied with a form of ultimatum virtually commanding the Swiss to hand over the Queen of France's jewels in Paris without further delay.

Throughout February the negotiation continued to hang fire. De

Labarde fixed the blame for the complications and delay on the Canton of Zurich. Towards the end of the month he sent his Secretary to discuss terms with the Cantonal authorities and incidentally to inform Pell of the latest developments or lack of them. The Zurichois, however, were adamant. They refused to cede, among other things, on the question of Alsace, with the result that in the last week in February, Pell had to report that the French had clamped down an embargo on exports from the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, in particular Zurich, and already had stopped and seized at Lyons a "great number of bales of merchandise."

At this point, just to complicate matters, the situation between the Protestant and Catholic Cantons once more became acute. Lucerne accused Zurich of making warlike preparations, of holding its Foot and Horse ready, preparing its cannon and ships and leveling its roads for the passage of artillery. Zurich, of course, denied the charges. The Cantonal authorities suspected the French Ambassador—perhaps with some reason—of having a hand in formulating them as part of his Government's campaign of pressure against the Canton. In any event, Zurich merchandise could not proceed beyond Morges on the Lake of Geneva. Some of the minor Protestant Cantons began to suffer from the French embargo and show signs of breaking away from the solid Protestant front. To cap all, Zurich heard that the French were considering the possibility of levying a "loan" from Zurich, by force, should it not be procured otherwise.

In March, the storm showed signs of abating—and the Swiss of receding. The Protestant and Catholic Cantons made their peace. The Deputies, meeting at Arraw, gave in on all points—except Alsace—to the French Ambassador and determined to send one of their number to the French Court to "intercede for their merchants."

In April, the death of the Holy Roman Emperor (Ferdinand III) startled most of Europe. Pell reported echoes from his Swiss listening post. Germany was thrown into a turmoil. Old rivalries broke out anew. Agents of the German princes began to scour Switzerland for mercenaries. The Palatine Elector, hoping for aid, sent some good Rhine wine to the Deputies at Arraw and with it a Colonel Mey, carrying a petition to be allowed to make up a regiment of Swiss Guards for the expected troubles in Germany.

In May, Pell was drawn into the orbit of the German intrigue when this Colonel Mey, still acting for the Palatine Elector at Heidelberg, called at his residence in Zurich and suggested that the Elector would

welcome a secret English agent at his Court (despite the fact that the Elector was Charles I's nephew) who might pretend to follow the lectures at the university or adopt some other ruse.

June and the coming of spring marked the resumption of the Swiss offensive against the French Ambassador, de Labarde, whom the Cantons blamed for their troubles with France. Geneva sent plenipotentiaries to Berne and Zurich to consider the matter. After much discussion, it was decided to seek through John Pell the good offices of Lockhart, the English Ambassador to the French Court, and to ask him to present their case to the King (Louis XIV) over the head of de Labarde. Pell threw cold water on the project. Lockhart later turned it down.

The Swiss then hoped to reach the King and Cardinal Mazarin through the Duc de Longueville who happened to visit Neuechatel at that time. With this end in view they invited him to Berne. The wily de Labarde was on the job, however, and warned the Duc, who slipped out of Neuechatel in the night "with only six post horses," leaving his train (and, incidentally, the Swiss) high and dry.

Thereupon de Labarde took the offensive. He warned the Cantons that he was not prepared to make any further concessions. If they failed to accept the alliance in the form he had proposed, the King of France had instructed him to break off the negotiation. Louis XIV followed this up with an ultimation to the Cantons from Sedan, saying, among other things, that he would not receive a communication through a channel other than his Ambassador, in whom he had full confidence and whom he had designated to remain in Switzerland for an additional two years. Concomitantly, Louis' Government tightened up the tariff embargo and made conditions so difficult for the Swiss that in October, Appenzell reported to Zurich that it could no longer hold out, that the spinners and weavers were ruined, that further hardship was too much to expect, etc., etc. Finally, the French revived the issue of the Queen of France's jewels and informed the Swiss that unless they returned the jewels, Swiss merchandise falling into French hands would be confiscated.

At this, the Swiss turned the tables. They announced that they would trade the jewels for the removal of the embargo on their goods. Moreover, they repeated their attempts to discredit de Labarde, attacking him through their General Werdmuller, whom they sought to bring to trial on the charge of "intelligence" with the French. Werdmuller lent color to the charge by fleeing to Solothurn, where

he conferred with the Ambassador before continuing to the security of Versoix under the protection of the French.

In a word, as the old year 1657/58 passed, Franco-Swiss relations were at their lowest ebb. Pell could do no more than sit on the sidelines, send in the discouraging news and fret, meanwhile, over reports from London that a "student," one H. Ulrich, a son of the Prime Minister of Zurich, was negotiating behind his back with Cromwell. Pell sent word privately to Henry Reginolles reflecting his fears, and Reginolles managed to have Ulrich arrested for debt. Pell graciously paid Ulrich's landlady what was owing and the "student" was shipped back to Zurich.

Swiss Mission, 1658/59

Indeed, Pell never was to see the final outcome of the French negotiations. Before de Labarde brought his negotiation to a successful climax, John Pell had received his letters of recall. This was on May 6.

In the months preceding nothing had transpired which required Pell's special attention. In January he exchanged correspondence with Morland about "a priest hunt" in London and slyly suggested that perhaps the Quakers and other zealots and trouble makers were priests in disguise and bore looking into. In March and April he reported an epidemic of influenza, "short sickness with colds, coughs, etc. and the toothache." In April his correspondence, which was becoming more and more infrequent, told of storms and floods.

On May 6, finally, the Protector Cromwell sent Pell his letters of recall in the following terms:

> Whitehall, May 6, 1658
>
> Sir,—The state of affairs being much altered in those parts, so that your longer abode there seemeth not so necessary and that your return hither may be more serviceable to us, I have thought fit hereby to recall you. Therefore you will do well, having taken your leave there in your best manner, to repair homewards, that we may receive from you the account of your whole negotiation, and you from us the encouragements which you have deserved.
>
> So I rest, your loving friend,
>
> Oliver P.
>
> By His Highness's Command—Jo Thurloe.

Pell received the letter on May 22. Immediately he began to say farewell to his friends. On June 12 he formally presented his recall in an address to the Senate of Zurich.

On June 13 he took his leave in Basel, dining afterwards with "five doctors" who showed him the library and some of their precious texts. On June 15 he traveled from Basel to Strasburg. On June 16 he spent the night at Scheck in the Palatinate; June 20, Cologne; June 23, Arnheim; June 26, en route Arnheim to Utrecht; June 27, Utrecht; June 29, Rotterdam; June 30, Middleburg; August 2, Flushing, where he waited for transportation to England. On August 11, his old friend, Montague, came to port and invited Pell to spend the night on his flagship, the *Drake*. The following day he shifted to the *Naseby*. On August 13 he set foot on English soil.

On landing, John Pell's first concern was to communicate with Morland, who came into the country to meet him on August 17. On the 24th he went up to London and, on August 27, presented himself to Thurloe. He was preparing to make his formal report to Oliver Cromwell when, on September 3, the Protector suddenly died. As a consequence Pell, instead of reporting to the Protector, attended his funeral on November 23 with a suite, having provided for him on that occasion nine yards of 24 shillings-per-yard black cloth and six yards of 15 shillings black cloth.

Apogee, 1658/59-1664/65

The fortunes of John Pell, the ex-Ambassador, in the last twenty-seven years of his life, reached their zenith before 1665. Then they rapidly declined so that, at the time of his death, he was in misery and dire want.

To begin with, he was sorely disappointed on his return to England in 1658/59 that his services in Switzerland were not more substantially recognized. Undoubtedly Cromwell's death, coming before he could reward his Ambassador, had something to do with this neglect. Thurloe never seems to have been especially friendly to Pell. Furthermore, Richard Cromwell, whom Pell saw twice early in 1659/60, took his counsel in questions pertaining to Switzerland merely as a matter of course.

Ignored by the Government, Pell turned back for comfort to his intellectual pursuits. Thus, on the very day of Cromwell's state funeral, Pell attended a meeting in "the Moor-fields" of "mathematical friends," including Wren (later Sir Christopher Wren), who at that time was lecturing on the "science of the stars" at Gresham College; Lord Brouncker, who was to be the first President of the Royal Society; Sir Paul Neale, a famous optician; Dr. Goddard, Professor of

Physics; Dr. Scarborough (afterwards Sir Charles). Later, in 1659, Dr. Pell returned to Cambridge to lecture occasionally on mathematical subjects. Indeed, to the disgust of his wife Ithamaria, who apparently was an ambitious woman, he retired more and more into his scholar's den.

At the same time, he seems to have remained in close and constant touch with the little group of leading men with whom he had dealt intimately in Switzerland: with Samuel Morland, who already was in secret correspondence with the court of Charles; with Downing, Ambassador to The Hague, who in August, even before Cromwell's death, had secretly visited Charles at Hoogstraeten and revealed a plot of the Commonwealth to seize him under a treaty between the English and the Dutch; and with Montague, who was to hand the fleet over to Charles and become Earl of Sandwich.

Apparently John Pell, like so many of his contemporaries, though nowise sympathetic to the Presbyterian revolution, had felt obligated to offer his services in England's interest at Oliver Cromwell's earnest request. Now that Cromwell was gone, Pell felt relieved of the last shred of obligation and supremely anxious for a return of normal conditions and a restoration of the rightful King. Of those who shared his feeling, probably the most important was Major General Monk, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, who had been a Cavalier and, like Montague, Morland, Pell and so many others, had only taken service under the Protector when the royal cause was lost. Now Monk realized that a prolongation of the Parliamentary tyranny would soon lead to chaos. Acting on this conviction, in December, 1659, he marched into England at the head of his troops to "restore the known laws of the land,"—meaning the King and the Established Church.

On January 1, 1660, Monk crossed the Tweed. All Cavalier Yorkshire rose to join him. Old Fairfax, though nearly bedridden with the gout, raised his tenants. On February 11, finally, General Monk marched into London without resistance and ordered the Rump to make way for a free Parliament. On March 16, the General conferred secretly with Sir John Grenville, the King's emissary. On March 30, Grenville was at Charles' side in Brussels. On March 31, Charles slipped through the Spanish lines. On the neutral soil of Breda, he signed a Declaration leaving all to the will of a free Parliament in England.

Now, by a curious coincidence, the records show that John Pell was in Breda precisely at this time, delivering a lecture at his old univer-

sity. Whether he was in contact with Charles during the month that the King was awaiting formal invitation to return to his kingdom is pure conjecture. But it seems likely, especially in view of the fact that his correspondent, Cavendish, was with the King, and his old friend, Montague, was the first high English official to greet Charles with the *Naseby* (re-named the *Royal Charles*) and to convey him to England.

At all events, John Pell was *persona grata* at the Court. His contemporary biographer, à Wood, says that while he was abroad on his official mission, he "had privately rendered no little service to the interests of King Charles and the Church of England." Soon he began to reap rewards for these mysterious services to the royal cause. Immediately after the Restoration he was admitted to orders in the Established Church and named Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was none other than Juxon, the good Bishop of London, Pell's former patron, who at great personal risk had stood by Charles I's side on the scaffold, and after him to Archbishop Sheldon. Some time later Pell's son, John, was appointed a Server-in-Ordinary at the Court. In 1661, the King granted Pell the living of Fobbing in Essex, with Basildon, a rich source of income. Two years later, in 1663, Charles added the living of Laindon in the same county. In the same year, on October 7, Pell, presented by Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, was admitted to the degree of Divinity at Lambeth Palace. In 1666 his brother, Thomas, received a patent for the Manor of Pelham in New York, and it is just possible that Dr. John had something to do with this. Crowning reward of all, Dr. Pell was inscribed as one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society, the highest scientific honor England can bestow. This was on May 20, 1663/1664.

Indeed, as the New Year 1664 came and passed, rumor in London had it—according to à Wood—that Pell would be named to the first vacant bishopric. Everyone agreed that there could not be a more appropriate appointment.

The Plague

Then came the crash.

Before 1665, John Pell lost his wife Ithamaria and his beloved daughter Betty. Then the plague struck London. Poor Ithamaria, who in all the time Pell was in Switzerland had received but few kind words, little praise and much criticism, to a point where, after receiving a particularly severe letter from her absent husband, wrote

that she "liked his letter so ill" that she might "content herself without his letters," might at least have provided him with the home and freedom from petty worries which the scholar requires if he is to do his best work. Her death and that of Elizabeth (Betty) affected him severely. Incidentally a second daughter, Mary, married Captain Roger Raven of King's Lynn, Norfolk, while Dr. John was in Switzerland, and much of his correspondence with Ithamaria at that time is about Mary's marriage; whether she should have more than £200 dot; whether she or the bridegroom should provide the trousseau; whether his friend William, Lord Brereton, should stand as proxy and give the bride away, and so on. Anyway, Ithamaria reported faithfully the details of the marriage to the Ambassador, and William Lord Brereton, did stand as proxy. The marriage took place at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on November 27, 1656. The following year, on December 27, 1657, Judith, a third daughter, was also married at St. Margaret's, to Thomas Kirlee of London.

It appears in any event that Mary Raven was with her husband in Norfolk when the plague hit London. John Pell's son, John, twenty-one years old by then, rode out of London with his grandparents, the Reginolles, to Suffolk. Dr. John remained alone in London. He had his home by then in the Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, which in a sense was "suburban" in the London of 1665 and was, curiously, one of the first points in London which the plague attacked. As a matter of fact the "black death" hit at several points simultaneously, but St. Giles seems to have been the first. As a contemporary wrote: "The plague fell upon several places of the City and the suburbs like rains, even at the first at St. Giles." Two Frenchmen, lodging at Long Acre at the end of the Parish, were stricken in the first or second week of December, 1664. The lodging keeper tried to keep the fact secret, but rumors spread, and Sir Henry Bennett, the Secretary of State, sent two physicians to investigate, and they confirmed the plague. Later in the month another man died in the same house and fear spread through the Parish. On February 14, 1665, the plague had another victim in St. Giles, and by April there were frequent deaths in the Parish. The dreaded round marks, like moles, began to appear with alarming frequency on men, women and children. This was accompanied by swarms of flies which took refuge in the houses because of the exceptionally cold winter, and ants. William Boghurst, an apothecary whose shop was near the White Hart Inn, Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, recalled later: "There was such a

multitude of flyes that they lined the insides of houses, and if any threads or strings did hang downe in any place, it was presently thicke set with flyes like a rope of onions, and swarms of ants covered the highways that you might have taken up a handful at a tyme, both winged and creeping ants." Then there were rats by the thousands. No one knew from where they came. And in the cracked mud of the ditches there was "such a multitude of croaking frogs that you might have heard them before you saw them."

London in 1665 was a city of contrasts. There were the great houses of the nobility and some gentry on the one hand, with small armies of servants and a wave of luxury in the Restoration reaction to Roundhead austerity. On the other hand there were the huts and hovels where thousands crowded together for warmth and creature comfort as they had done since the Middle Ages. Then as now in London the rich and poor lived close together, the hives of the poor crowding the palaces of the rich, and neither had the remotest concept of sanitation. Although water closets had been invented seventy years before, their use was limited to the palace and one or two of the great houses, and then somewhat casually.

The inhabitants of London in 1665 were packed into about 450 acres, with one mile of waterfront running from Blackfriars to the Tower and surrounded by a stout mediaeval wall thirty feet high and nearly as thick. Yet, for all its smallness London was one of the richest cities in northern Europe. Over half a million people lived and worked there. The treasures of Europe, its art, its gold, were drifting there now, under the impulse of a King with Medici blood. Yet this London of riches and splendor was surrounded by mud, and worse, on the roads which were trails of mud and manure; in the ditches, which were sewers, even in the city until the cobblestones began. Moreover the hills around London were swarming with highwaymen, thieves, deserters, desperate fellows of all kinds, who murdered without pity and were hanged for it without mercy. Their bodies rotted on gibbets along the roads.

Within the city, with its tortuous streets the receptacles for every kind of *immondice*, footpads roamed among the timber-framed Tudor houses, from which one could almost touch the neighboring houses across the street. It was unsafe to go abroad at night without an armed guard, quite aside from the probability of slipping into the open drains which trickled down the centers of the alleys, or falling over the garbage. The reek and stench of the city were hard to bear,

and people of fashion who had to leave their homes held perfumed napkins to their faces.

It might be added that the traffic congestion in London City would put the modern snarl to shame. Coaches, carriages and sedan chairs were caught regularly in what the contemporaries called "embarrasses," while coachmen and bearers fought one another, sometimes to the death. The jam on London Bridge, one of the main approaches to the City, had become insoluble. People preferred to go afoot despite the hazards.

Within the City there were churches galore, nearly 120, and over a thousand taverns and "dives" in cellars. Diseases of all sort were rampant, notably the pox, venereal and ill-defined diseases, and there was the stench of death from the open graves, dotted here and there among the houses and especially around the shanty towns in the suburbs where thousands upon thousands of craftsmen who had come to London looking for work sheltered themselves, and starved. One of every fourteen Englishmen lived in London at that time, and a quarter of a million herded in barracks clustered under the city walls. Of the babies born in London, only one in four survived to maturity.

In this mixture of civilization and sewer the plague struck in the spring of 1665 after one of the cruelest winters London had ever known, in which the poor died by the thousands from exposure and starvation. The Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, to which John had moved his family from the Reginolles' house in the heart of London, was the first target, and this roughly centered on what is now known as St. Giles Circus at the present juncture of Oxford Street, Charing Cross and Tottenham Court Road. Previously the plague had killed hundreds of thousands of people across Europe, with ravages in France and in Holland especially bad. It seems to have traveled from the Continent to England in the early winter. Cases were first of all reported in Yarmouth, and by April London was at its mercy. Quacks began to advertise cures and nostrums about that time, and medicines to keep away the plague were numerous. Necromancers promised to keep the plague away, and even some evangelical divines got into the business and conducted public prayers. Nonetheless the plague spread eastward from St. Giles to the City. Alarm followed, then panic. By midsummer Apothecary Boghurst was treating over 60 patients a day in St. Giles, and they and scores of others died in such numbers and so fast that the old women who "established" death for the Corporation of London could not keep up with their work and were accepting

bribes to refrain from reporting cases. The death wagons began to pass through the streets, and the dead were piled in open ditches in lieu of decent burial.

Next, those who could left London and took refuge in the country, The Reginolles fled, taking with them much of their furniture and belongings and some things of John Pell's, with young John riding beside their "conveyance." Country parishes began to erect barriers against travelers and refused to let them pass through or enter the towns. Parliament had to be prorogued because there were not enough members around to hold a session, and the Court, but not the King, fled en masse to Oxford, as in the days of the civil war. To make matters worse, with the spring the weather grew oppressively warm and humid, and then there was a drought.

Pepys, toward the end of June, received a shock on the "hottest day that I ever felt in my life" when, in walking up Drury Lane, he saw the first plague mark ordered by the Mayor, a crude cross daubed on the door of a house. In the next fortnight the plague toll tripled, and in the next fortnight doubled again. Fearful people were now in open flight from London. As Vincent remarked: "The Lords and Gentry retire into their Countries; their remote houses are prepared, goods removed, and London is quickly upon their backs. Few ruffling Gallants walk the streets. Few spotted ladies to be seen at windows. Great forsaking there was of the indecent places where the plague did first rage." Defoe added: "Nothing was to be seen but wagons and carts with goods, women servants, children, coaches filled with people of the better sort and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty wagons and carts appeared and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning or sent from the country to fetch more goods and people, besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants and, generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling." The urge for survival tore away the thin veneer of civilization, and men of substance fought and clawed to get away. It was every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. To stay alive was all that mattered. How, was no man's business. Heroes were few, and among the most cowardly were the clergy, who found it absolutely necessary to follow their rich parishioners to the country. The lawyers were not far behind. They suspended all activities at the Inns of Court. Public officials found pressing business elsewhere, and soon the business of government stopped turning altogether. The College of Surgeons fled to

the country after advising the destruction of stray dogs and cats, so that the rats had things their own way. The Royal Society followed, although individual members elected to stay in the city to watch the phenomenon, including John Pell. Finally about the first of July the King and Queen removed themselves to Hampton Court, and Whitehall was deserted. The economy broke down with this. Shops were closed. The goldsmiths, the bankers of that day, refused to function. The hawkers traveled the streets no more.

By mid August the Corporation of London ordered watchmen with sharpened halberds to stand before houses afflicted with the plague and no one was allowed to go in or out. The people just died without any attention, and householders were instructed to throw their dead from the windows. Pharmacist Boghurst called the practice of sealing up sixty or more people in a house where there was one plague victim "murder," and in many cases the tenants of the houses overpowered the guards and broke out to freedom. All through the summer, in any event, the deaths mounted, and they did not fall off until cool weather broke in October. By then government, central and local, had largely broken down, although George Monk, now the Duke of Albemarle, with a display of courage which was natural to him, sought his level best to keep some mechanism going and keep order, which was becoming increasingly difficult as mobs of desperate men roamed London and broke into deserted shops and boarded up houses looking for food and shelter.

Everywhere there were individual tragedies; families wiped out, or, worse, all wiped out except a child or two whom no one would shelter; husbands jumping into the plague pits with their dead wives and children; babies stricken at their mother's breast; horrors multiplied, and no pity shown. And everywhere there was the cry of the drivers of the death carts shouting: "Bring out your dead! Bring out your dead!" In September over 7,000 people died in one week, and "plague fires" were burning everywhere. Perhaps they did fumigate somewhat. But the last week in September the peak was reached with over 8,000 deaths in a week. By the second week in October the toll had fallen to slightly over 3,000, and the third week to 1,800. Next the weather turned very cold. By the end of November the death list was down to 600. By mid-winter the plague had played itself out in London. The rich and powerful began to return.

What was John Pell's personal history during the plague? It must be largely guessed at. The Reginolles, for their part, left the city as

soon as the deaths became alarming, John Pell Jr. riding with them. John, already bereft of his wife and his darling Betty, seems to have remained in London during the plague period, his scientific mind aroused by the visitation and perhaps performing his priestly functions. We have no record of his role. All that can be said is that he survived—to face the fire of London one year later.

The Fire of London

On September 1, 1666, a fire broke out in Pudding Lane, near London Bridge. Pudding Lane was soon in flames and then Thames Street. With that a heavy wind came up, and the fire spread alarmingly. Churches and warehouses were engulfed. Gables and roofs crashed in showers of sparks. The east wind blew like a bellows. Over 300 houses were burned the first night. Panic followed, and everyone tried to carry away his belongings with the fire on his heels.

Next the fire changed its direction and veered to the north. By noon it had reached the Church of St. Lawrence Poultney, fifty yards from Cannon Street. Coldharbor, a warren of tenements, went, then Dyers' Hall and Watermen's Hall, the seats of the livery companies. On the fire raged, and in four days it destroyed eighty-seven of London's ninety-seven Parish Churches and all but a few of London's principal monuments besides. Parallel to the fire ran rumors that the fire had been set variously by the Jesuits, the French and the Dutch, and men were running through the streets shouting "Arm! Arm!" The Lord Mayor appealed to the King, who sent his Life Guards to restore order. Then the trained bands were called out as the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bludworth, lost his head completely. Rioting became general.

King Charles with this ordered out his royal barge and surveyed the cataclysm from the river. He ordered houses to be demolished in the path of the flames. But the wreckers could not move fast enough, and night brought fresh terrors as the smoke hung low and blinded the firefighters. By that time the streets were choked with fleeing people. Thousands sought refuge in the fields beyond the walls.

By midnight on Monday most of London's main streets and principal buildings were in ruins. Crowds of fleeing people, with their goods on their backs, choked the streets, and there was what today would be called a traffic jam at every gate of London. Fantastic prices

were being asked by porters. Drivers of vehicles had no limit to their demands.

By Tuesday, the King set up check points in all Parishes leading to the City to hold back crowds, and ordered the blowing up of whole streets with gunpowder. Moreover he dismissed Bludworth and put the operation under command of his brother, the Duke of York. Nonetheless Lombard Street, the core of London's banking business, was soon in flames which raced to Cornhill, London's richest shopping center. Threadneedle Street and the Royal Exchange came next with its statues of kings for the previous 600 years. Soon only a shell of stone remained. King Charles was everywhere. Often he dismounted to help laborers pull fire hooks or to direct the bucket brigades. Moreover, personally, he took steps to try and quiet the mob which had begun to lynch anyone with a foreign accent as rumors of a "Popish plot" ran riot.

By Wednesday night the old City of London had been almost wholly burned away, including the Gothic St. Paul's Cathedral, the Guildhall, Newgate Prison. Of the famous old buildings of London only the Tower was saved, and the fire stopped just short of Whitehall. Throughout Wednesday the fire burned, but with diminishing force, and the last assault was on the Temple, which was partially saved. At the end, five-sixths of the area within the walls of London had been laid waste. Ninety per cent of the living accommodations had been destroyed. Nearly a quarter of a million people were homeless, including John Pell. He had moved from St. Giles after the plague to the City, and everything he possessed, including precious manuscripts, was consumed. He was only one of many thousands, and thousands more were ruined including most of the leading merchants of the City. In the ruins masses of people wandered aimlessly. They had nowhere to go.

Dr. John Pell at Brereton Hall

Dr. John Pell was fortunate in that William, the Third Lord Brereton, his lifelong friend, who had been his pupil at Breda as a young man, as soon as he heard of his plight, offered him a refuge at Brereton Hall in Cheshire. In fact he named his old friend "librarian," and he spent much time in his library discussing learned subjects with the famous scholar.

William, the Third Lord Brereton, was baptized on May 4, 1631 at

Brereton, Cheshire, the son of the Second Baron Brereton and Elizabeth Goring, daughter of the First Earl of Norwich. He attended Oxford University, where he was tutored by Dr. John Pell, and later attended Dr. Pell's lectures at the University of Breda. About 1658 he married Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Francis, Fifth Baron Willoughby of Parham. He was a founding member of the Royal Society of London. On March 19, 1679/80 he died in London and was buried at St. Martin in-the-Fields.

Lord William Brereton's contemporaries describe him as a man of great literary and scientific attainment. Samuel Pepys said of him that he was "a very sober and serious able man." In Pepys' *Diary* an entry dated December 12, 1667 describes the relationship between Lord William and Dr. John: "Aubrey wrote of Lord (William) Brereton: 'This virtuous and learned lord, who was my most honored and obliging friend, was educated at Breda by Jno. Pell, D.D., then Math. Professor there of the Prince of Orange's illustrious schools. Sir George Goring, Earl of Norwich, who was my Lord's grandfather, did send him over, where he, the then Mr. J. Pell, tooke great care of him (and) made him a very goode Algebrist.' "

At the meetings of the Royal Society Lord William's "interventions" were largely in the field of agronomy, reading papers on the development of cider fruits in England, on underground firs to be found in marshy or boggy ground in Cheshire, on brine being used to prevent corn being eaten by birds, on the fact that horned sheep lose their horns when being brought down into cornland, that ore and metal are to be found in deep veins in Cheshire, on the fact that yellow water in Cheshire indicated the presence of coal, on a bushel and a half of snakes found under a hogsty in Lambeth, and on the logs which rise in a lake at Brereton "as often as the head of the family approacheth death." He also presented papers on brewing beer, on the value of giving sheep's blood to tired horses, on the discoloration of church glass, on the resemblance of plum to Languedoc wine, and on the curative powers of a spring in Staffordshire.

Lord William Brereton, among other things, was chosen to be a member of the Mechanical Committee of the Society, and later became a member of the Committee for "improving Chelsea College." In addition he proposed many persons for membership in the Society, including John Winthrop in 1661. Very often his lodgings in Channel Row were loaned to the Society for meetings, and his home, Brereton Hall in Cheshire, was visited by almost every distinguished man of

letters and learning of his day, Continental visitors as well as Englishmen. It was recorded at his death that he was one of the most distinguished and devoted members of the Royal Society.

At all events while he was in residence at Brereton Hall from 1666 to 1670, Dr. John Pell prepared an algebra with Thomas Brouncker and gave him help over abstruse mathematical studies. He drew up a "Table of Ten Thousand Square Numbers," namely all of the square numbers between zero and a hundred million, and of their sides. This was published in 1672. During this period, moreover, he invented the several steps of an algebraic calculus in proper order and wrote a demonstration of the Second and Tenth Books of Euclid.

Last Days in London

In 1670 Dr. John Pell left Brereton Hall and returned to London. From then on his affairs drifted from bad to worse. His biographer à Wood testifies that he "was always a shiftless man as to worldly affairs." Apparently the blows he had suffered in 1665 and 1666 accentuated this failing. His savings went. The monies which he received from his livings were eaten up by creditors. He owed money for his lodgings at the house of one John Collins, who respected him as "a very learned man, more knowing in algebra in some respects than any other." Collins urged Pell to publish his "works." But this was to no avail. "To incite him to publish anything," Collins observed to the Judge of the King's Bench, "seems as vain an endeavor as to think of grasping the Italian Alps in order to their removal. He hath been a man accounted incommunicable."

In fact at times, à Wood says, Dr. John "was so indigent that he wanted necessities, even paper and ink to his dying day." Twice, in fact, he was hailed into the King's Bench for debt and bailed out by his friends. By 1682 his condition became so wretched that Dr. Samuel Whistler took pity on him and gave him asylum at the College of Physicians. Age and illness added complications, and he lived on in the hope that his son Sir John in America, who was said to be a great landholder and rich, would come to his rescue. But from America no word came, possibly because Sir John, the Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham, did not know about his father's condition. His daughter Mary Raven and her husband helped, in any event, and her son, young Raven, looked after his grandfather in his last days and had him removed to his house in St. Margaret's, Westminster. During his

last years, Dr. Pell's principal satisfaction was his regular attendance at the sessions of the Royal Society.

John Pell was one of the original members of the Royal Society, which was chartered on July 15, 1662, by King Charles II. William, Lord Brereton, was another of the founder members, and so was Governor John Winthrop Jr. of Connecticut.

The roots of the Society went back to 1645 when several learned men who were interested in the progress of mathematics and natural philosophy met informally in London, sometimes in Dr. Goddard's lodgings in Ward Street, where he ground glasses for telescopes, at other times at lodgings in Cheapside and finally at Gresham College. They continued to meet from time to time and in various places during the Cromwellian period, eventually settling into regular sessions at Gresham College, on Wednesday after the lecture of Sir Christopher Wren on astronomy, and on Thursdays after Mr. Lawrence Rooke's lecture on geometry. In 1659 Gresham College was occupied by the military on the fall of Richard Cromwell, and the Society was suspended. But, with King Charles' encouragement, the members met again on November 28, 1660, and constituted themselves formally into a Society for the promotion of experimental philosophy. They drew up a Constitution and agreed that members should be assessed one shilling a week for membership. Viscount Brouncker was the first President, Dr. Wilkins and Mr. Oldenburg the first Secretaries, and William Bolle the Treasurer.

For a time the Society continued to meet at Gresham College. But in 1667, Henry Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, provided permanent quarters at Arundel House (and incidentally presented the Society with the magnificent Arundel library). Finally, in 1672, the Society purchased quarters of its own in Crane Street, where it remained until the Crown lodged it in Somerset House in 1685, the year John Pell died.

In his last years Dr. John, in a word, found much intellectual stimulation, much solace and the company of men of equal stature in the sciences in the Society, and there was hardly a day that he was not to be seen reading and discussing at Crane Street, opening up with his colleagues new fields of inquiry in a time of expanding knowledge, marvelling at the experiments which were conducted before the Fellows and contributing papers himself. Thus, on one occasion he described the action of the windmills and water mills which he had observed in Holland while he was there. Another time he discoursed

learnedly on the action of the pendulum clock. Again, he reported his observations of the eclipse of the moon on February 12, 1662. A lecture on the boiling of spirits before fermentation was another contribution, and so was a talk on the export of lampreys from England to Holland. Among other subjects on which he discoursed were the behavior of silk worms, the storage of wheat in Zurich, the making of pottery, a book by Jungius, *Doxoscopia,* and finally, an eclipse of the sun.

To the time of his last illness, Dr. John Pell spent most of his waking moments at the Royal Society, and on his death his precious mathematical papers passed to the Society, where they are treasured to this day.

On December 12, 1685, Dr. John Pell died "in the house of one Mr. Cothorne, a reader in the Church" on Dyott Street. He was buried by the kindness of Dr. Richard Busby, Schoolmaster of the Collegiate School, Westminster, to whom he left his papers (which later passed to the Royal Society). Dr. John Sharp, the Rector of his old Parish, offered him his last refuge in the Rector's vault at St. Giles-in-the-Fields. No monument to Dr. John Pell exists there today, and the next Pell to be associated with St. Giles was Anthony Douglas Stephen Mordaunt Pell, my son, who was christened there in September, 1938.

On page 75 of the Appendix to this volume there is reproduced the eulogy to Dr. John Pell which was read before the Royal Society of London by Thomas Birch in 1756. Thomas Birch, historian of the Royal Society, came into possession of many documents, letters and manuscripts of Dr. John Pell which are included among the *Birch Papers* in the British Museum. The Pell documents have been microfilmed and will form part of the family archive.

II

SIR JOHN PELL

Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham

Dr. John Pell's only surviving son, John Pell, to be Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham, was born on February 3, 1643/44, in the London home of his mother Ithamaria's family, the Reginolles. His father was by that time professing in Amsterdam, and he was not to see his son for the first ten years of his life, when young John was brought up by the Reginolles, either in London or at their Manor House in Suffolk. In 1652/53 the Professor returned to England for two years, but nothing changed in young John's life. He continued with the Reginolles, it would seem, being tutored at home. Two years later Dr. John was off to the Continent again for another five years, as Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons, returning, as we have seen, on the eve of the Restoration, to live with the Reginolles until he removed with his family to a house in St. Giles-in-the-Fields. It is not clear if young John "removed" to his father's house. It seems to be improbable because when the plague struck John was among the first to leave London with the Reginolles and go to Suffolk.

From 1665 to 1670, John Pell had a minor perquisite at the Court of King Charles II, the greatest employer of that day, arranged by the Reginolles without a doubt, as Server-in-Ordinary, a patronage appointment which was given to young men with the right connections. Later, in 1669, John was promoted to Groom of the Bedchamber.

Whitehall, when John took up his duties as Server-in-Ordinary, was a curious maze of buildings of various sizes and epochs, with gardens interspersed between the buildings; also tennis courts, bowling greens and walks, while adjoining the Palace was St. James's Park, Charles

II's delight, with a shimmering artificial lake, dug under his direction, and all sorts of birds, deer and wild animals—the King loved animals—wandering about. The "Stone Gallery" was the heart of Whitehall, which housed not only the royal family but all the Ministers of State and their suites, courtiers galore, ladies in favor, chaplains, serving gentlemen, and a host of lackeys, musicians, actors, and in fact the whole "gilded army which encompasses the throne."

The Stone Gallery was the hub not only of the Court but in a sense of the kingdom. Charles II made a notable effort to restore it to its former grandeur and hang on its walls pictures of the greatest artists to replace those stolen when the Roundheads dispersed his father's collection. Into the gallery flocked everyone who thought he was anyone in order to gossip and "be seen" with the King. Politicians and courtiers were there and newsmongers, ladies of the Court, job seekers, petition bearers, religious fanatics, soldiers. From time to time the King strode through, saying "God bless you! God bless you!" to put off any further conversation. "It runs through the gallery" was a ritual phrase, meaning that here a rumor started which quickly sped to the farthest corner of the kingdom, with the next rumor fast on its trail.

Velvet curtains separated the Gallery from the Withdrawing Room after the privileged, and only the privileged, had crossed the Privy Garden. To the Withdrawing Room only the great lords, the principal courtiers and the Ministers of State were admitted, and the gentlemen who had the privilege to serve them. Beyond was the Bedchamber, the heart from which throbbed all the major decisions of the kingdom and to which only the highest in the land were admitted. With its windows looking out on the river and its shipping, the Bedchamber was the scene where was transacted the most secret business of England "between the bed and the wall." Finally, up a tiny flight of stairs was the King's Closet, to which no one was admitted except on the invitation of Charles. Here he collected his treasures, pictures by Raphael, Titian and Holbein, jewels and crystals, rare cabinets of books, his collection of maps and ship models, and an array of clocks and watches of all sorts and sizes which ticked and chimed in unison.

To the world at large Charles was obliged to show himself every noon, when he dined in state, with everyone who could crowd the Gallery gaping at him. Here ritual was observed as it had been down the ages. Servants passed the dishes which had been brought from the kitchen to the Servers-in-Ordinary—John Pell being one of them—who in turn passed them to the great Lords of the Household, who

served the King and Queen on bended knees. Around them were massed the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Court, while musicians played.

On Sunday there was another opportunity for the people to watch the King when he attended services at the Royal Chapel together with his Court. Crowds would gather to watch him enter and leave the Chapel, accompanied by his life guards, and as many as could would crowd into the Chapel to see the rich pageantry of the Church of England, which the King had restored.

Finally, the King had thrown open the Cockpit to all who could obtain tickets. He was a regular attendant at the plays, which were as light and frivolous and French as could meet his taste, which was another phase of the reaction to the long years of drab exile and the mournful living death imposed on England by the Puritans. Beautiful women, led by Lady Castlemaine, who had her private apartment over the Holbein Gate, and witty men abounded, and there were music, dancing, frolics and even "masks."

To have a place at Court, even a humble place, was an open sesame to "advancement" for a young man of good family. Who could tell when he might meet with the King's favor, or the smile of a lady who knew her way to the King's heart? But for John Pell, the fates had reserved another destiny.

In 1670 came the exciting news from America, in a letter from Governor John Winthrop to William, Lord Brereton, that Thomas Pell, First Lord of the Manor of Pelham, had willed to his nephew his extensive land interests in America together with all his property, real and personal. Henry Reginolles, head of the house of Reginolles in this generation, told the author of this monograph that it is still recounted in the family how a messenger from Lord William Brereton brought the news to the Henry Reginolles of that day, then in London, that his grandson had inherited a vast fortune in America and a fabulous number of acres, and how John, then twenty-seven years old, was sped on his way to Boston, the envy of all at Court and in the circle of his friends. Even the King, in the tradition of the Reginolles family, sent for John Pell to hear about his good fortune and knighted him, John kneeling before him to receive the accolade and rising as Sir John Pell. The King also recommended him to his brother, the Duke of York, in whose Province John's property lay.

Two months later Sir John was in Boston and presenting his letter of introduction from William, Lord Brereton, to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut in the presence of Governor Endicott of Massachusetts.

In this letter of introduction to Governor Winthrop, dated at London, the 23rd of June, 1670/71, William, Lord Brereton, presented the "only sonne to Doctor John Pell (whom you know)" as the "True Person to whom Mr. Thomas Pell late of Fairfield in Connecticut hath left an estate." He assured the Governor of Connecticut that John was "no counterfeit" and asked the Governor's assistance "not only in all just cases as a Magistrate but also as a friend who knowing These Parts perfectly well can advise a Stranger both how to demeane himself among those who are to be his neighbors and what use to make of his Estate and Time as to Planning and Trading." Lord William, as was the custom among the Puritans of that time, could not help adding his hope that John would prove a "Sober and Industrious Man, for which the great obligations I have to his Father doe make me the more concerned." He concluded with the further hope that John would "make the right use of what God hath now given him, his lot being fallen in a more peaceable and (I hope) better ordered Part of the world than Europe now is or is likely to be for aught yet appears."

There is every reason to believe that Governors Winthrop and Endicott received Sir John Pell most cordially. Furthermore, they arranged for him to have passage on a coasting sloop, owned by John Bankes of Fairfield, leaving Boston that very evening. To cap all, Governor Winthrop, as he wrote Lord William Brereton on October 11 in acknowledgment of the letter carried by Sir John Pell, armed him with a letter of recommendation to the Fairfield Magistrates, whose reputation the Governor must have known.

There is no account of Sir John Pell's trip down the New England coast, or the ports where the sloop put in. However, a week later he was in Fairfield, as is attested by the first legal document of many which were to signalize his presence in Connecticut. It appeared that Thomas Pell's executors, Daniel Burr and John Bankes, owner of the sloop, probably assuming that the nephew in "ould England" would never in fact put in an appearance in New England, had "rented out" on a long term lease Thomas' house in Fairfield and his farm outside to Thomas' stepsons, Francis and Nathaniel French Brewster. Moreover, they had "disposed" of certain articles of furniture; also Thomas' cattle and "fine hogs."

Evidently Sir John Pell was disturbed by these proceedings, because almost at once he filed suit for the recovery of his real and personal property at the court of New Haven, which doubtless had unwelcome

memories of his haughty uncle Thomas. Crankily, after a hearing or two the New Haven judges, clearly in league with the Fairfield attorneys, found against Sir John and went so far as to hint, despite Governor Winthrop's letter, that they were not certain that he was the person he represented himself to be.

Sir John had no alternative. He took ship to Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, and conferred with Governor John Winthrop, seeking his advice on the course which he should pursue. With no undue delay and with Governor Winthrop's sponsorship, Sir John Pell satisfied the court in Hartford as to his identity. This was on December 9, 1671, and on December 19, Secretary (of State) John Alleyn, of Connecticut, issued to Sir John Pell a certificate stating that he had satisfied the Governor "by journall, letters and testimoniall" that he was who he was, and directing the Magistrates in "Lower Connecticut" to "Surrender the effects bequeathed to him by the said Mr. Thomas Pell, Deceased, with a just account thereof, according to his will."

Armed with this document, Sir John Pell sailed back to Fairfield. There, evidently, the lawyers had thought things over in the meantime. They offered Sir John a "handsome payment" if he would sell his properties in Fairfield, reserving such personal articles belonging to his uncle Thomas as he wished to conserve. Who can tell what went on in Sir John's mind or whom he consulted? Apparently, at all events, he decided to make the best of a bad bargain. He sold all the properties in Fairfield and in the Connecticut countryside and chartered a vessel to take him to Pelham. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that he ever set foot in Fairfield again. From that time on he was a faithful New Yorker.

The Manor House at Pelham, when Sir John landed at Pell's Point in January, 1672, was half finished. Moreover, settlers or Indians had made off with the furnishings assembled by Thomas Pell. Sir John appealed to the Sheriff, for there already was a Sheriff in "Eastchester," to apprehend marauders and recover his property. However, there is no proof to show that he recovered anything. There is evidence, on the other hand, that he engaged the services of masons, carpenters and other workmen in New York City to finish and enlarge the Manor House. Doubtless, too, he furnished it from shops in New York, because in the spring of 1672 he was able to receive in state Governor Lovelace of New York Province who had succeeded Governor Nicolls.

Indeed, Governor Lovelace and Sir John Pell, the Second Lord of

the Manor of Pelham, established a close relationship from the beginning. There are frequent references in the Governor's correspondence to his visits. Furthermore, in this first spring which Sir John Pell spent in America, Governor Lovelace honored him with his presence at Sir John's marriage to Rachel, daughter of Philip Pinckney, one of the "Ten Proprietors" of Eastchester, to whom Thomas Pell had made an original grant. Philip Pinckney, Sir John Pell's father-in-law, was a lineal descendant of the Pinckneys of Tattersall Manor, Norfolk County, England, who were of Norman descent. Philip Pinckney moved to Fairfield in 1650, the same year as Thomas Pell and for the same reason. He and Philip Eustis were the first English settlers in Pelham, along the Hutchinson River, by grant of Thomas Pell. On March 9, 1664, Governor Nicolls confirmed Thomas Pell's grant to Pinckney and Eustis, with whom William Hayden was joined, as original patentees, for themselves and their associates who were: John Huitte (Hewitt), Richard Shute, David Osburn, Samuel Drake, James Embry, John Jacobs and Mason Huitte. They founded the settlement of Eastchester, later absorbed by the City of Mount Vernon.

Philip Pinckney died in 1687. His will was dated January 9, 1687, proved February 14, 1688, recorded March 14, 1688, in the Westchester County Recorder's Office. It mentioned Thomas Pinckney (1662-1732); William; John (died before 1725); Elizabeth; James; Deborah; Anne and Rachel, who married Sir John Pell, with Governor Lovelace present at the wedding.

The following autumn, Governor Lovelace appointed Sir John Pell to be Commissioner to plan the Boston Post Road, which was to link New York with the Massachusetts capital. Furthermore, early in the winter of 1672/73, he named him Commissioner for Indian Affairs.

Governor Lovelace by this time was having his troubles with the Long Island towns. He had ordered them taxed in order to repair Fort James in New York City. But they were in no mood to submit. They claimed that it was contrary to the principle of "taxation by consent" which had been "asserted in England since 1265." These Long Island towns were peopled by immigrants from New England who brought their spirit of revolt with them, and soon Jamaica, Flushing and Hempstead were in open rebellion. Furthermore, they forwarded by armed messengers, "remonstrances" to the Governor, and he adjudged them "false, scandalous, illegal and seditious, tending only to disaffect all the peaceable and well-meaning subjects." He directed that the remonstrances be burned publicly before the Town

Seventeenth Century Portrait
of

LADY RACHEL PINCKNEY PELL

Presented to
The Fort Ticonderoga Association
by
Robert Pell

Hall in the City of New York and ordered criminal proceedings brought against the principal "seditionaries." The Long Islanders remained under arms, however, and the Governor could not press the charges because just at that time panic broke out in New York Province over the French.

It was the spring of 1674, with the fighting season at hand, and it was reported that the French Commandant de Courcelles from Montreal was on his way down Lake Champlain to attack the Colony. The Governor sent out a general call to arms, and Sir John Pell organized and took command, as captain, of the Pelham Horse.

The French, however, soon gave way, as a threat, to the Dutch. War broke out between England and Holland, and Governor Lovelace took prompt measures for the defense of New York. He received from London, in fact, orders to put the whole Province on a war footing and to be on the lookout for an attack by Dutch men-of-war. Once more, Sir John Pell called his cavalrymen to arms, this time with the rank of Major. But as there was no sign of the Dutch, the Province calmed down.

Then, on August 7, 1674, the lightning bolt fell. Governor Lovelace, according to his account, was visiting Sir John Pell at his "manour" of Pelham when a messenger galloped up to say that a Dutch fleet of twenty-three vessels (carrying 1600 men in addition to their arms) had anchored off Staten Island. The Dutch Admiral, Cornelius Evertson, had, moreover, summoned the garrison of Fort James to surrender and had put a large force ashore. Governor Lovelace decided to stay at Pelham to avoid capture, and messengers bustled to him regularly from the city to describe what was happening. First, the Dutch fleet lined up opposite the Battery and began to bombard the fort. Then, troops were landed at several strategic points, giving the Commandant at Fort James no choice but to surrender. On August 9, in the absence of the Governor, the Commandant, Manning, surrendered New York to the Dutch.

Admiral Evertson and a Council of War thereupon appointed Anthony Colve, a Captain of Infantry, to be the Dutch Governor of New Netherland, and his commission claimed for the Dutch all the territories established by the Treaty of Hartford in 1650. The Province, with its preponderantly Dutch population, submitted to the occupation peacefully and, in many instances, with wild enthusiasm. Alone, the eastern Long Island towns, reinforced by volunteers from Connecticut, held out. Governor Lovelace left Pelham hurriedly and sailed across the Sound to Long Island to take command of the resist-

ance. However, he was induced by the Dutch to parley, seized, stripped of his property and imprisoned. Then, after a short while, he was sent by ship to Holland as a prisoner and eventually returned to England at the end of the war.

There is only one small item indicating Sir John Pell's experience under the Dutch occupation. Of course, he had his Horse in the field at once when the alarm had sounded, and joined forces with Militiamen from Connecticut who pushed down into Westchester as soon as Hartford heard that the Dutch had landed. Connecticut sent troops over to Long Island too, to take station at Southampton. Massachusetts, Plymouth and Rhode Island Colonies also mobilized. Dutch Governor Colve hesitated whether to attack in Westchester or on Long Island. Finally he decided to concentrate his forces against the Long Island towns where New Englanders were pouring in to join the local resistance. Concomitantly, on the Westchester front, he established a sort of no-man's-land behind which he proposed to contain the English. Before long his troops were fanning out to occupy as much territory on Long Island as possible and to seize Shelter Island. Major Fitz John Winthrop of Connecticut took command of the English forces and decided to hold at Southold. The Connecticut troops, together with some other New England units and the militiamen from Southampton and Easthampton, established a line of defense before the town, as Colve summoned it to surrender or it would be destroyed "with fire and sword." Winthrop replied that he regarded Colve as a "person that disturbs His Majesty's subjects" and ordered his troops to fire. This was on March 6, 1675. On the following day, seeing that he was vastly outnumbered, Colve retired to Manhattan. Admiral Evertson replaced him as Governor with Joris Andringa, Secretary to the Provincial Fleet. But Andringa merely stood on his positions on Long Island and in Westchester. On the latter front there were some raids and skirmishes in which Sir John Pell's Troop, the Pelham Horse, doubtless participated. But there was no frontal attack. Furthermore, shortly after that the Treaty of Westminster was signed, and the British recovered New York.

Sir John Pell and Governor Edmund Andros

On October 22, 1675, Major Edmund Andros, an officer in Prince Rupert's Regiment of Dragoons, who had been Commander-in-Chief

of the King's forces in the Barbadoes, landed in New York with the Commission of Lieutenant General and Governor. He was a moderate Episcopalian who spoke Dutch and French fluently and had undoubted administrative ability. However, he was tactless and authoritarian, as many old soldiers are, and almost at once was at loggerheads with the colonists. As a matter of fact, the week he arrived, he summoned before him for a bitter tongue lashing, the leading men of the Province, including Sir John Pell for Eastchester. He accused them of behaving like cowards and traitors when the Dutch arrived, cashiered Captain Manning who had surrendered Fort James, broke a lot of minor officials and clapped into prison many of the leading burghers who talked back to him and challenged the form of the oath of allegiance which he tried to administer to them. Sir John Pell, however, was not of this number.

It was not long, however, before Andros was in need of every bit of support which he could muster in the Colony, because the Eastern Long Island towns, Southampton, Easthampton, Southold and the others "seceded" from New York and announced that they would "remain" under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Men flew to arms on both sides of the ill-defined border, and Andros virtually declared war on the neighboring Province. He ordered the mobilization of the New York Militia (Sir John Pell was in the field once more with his Pelham Horse) and laid claim to all of Connecticut west of the Connecticut River. Next, he put to sea with the New York navy and his three sloops-of-war appeared before Saybrooke. There, he landed with a bodyguard and summoned Captain Thomas Bull, Commandant of the Fort, to surrender and turn over to him the territory claimed by New York. Bull, who had a superior force and a battery of guns in the Fort, hereupon read to Andros the Manifesto of the General Court of Connecticut in which the New York Governor was referred to as a disturber of the peace. Moreover, Bull ordered Andros to leave the waters of Connecticut at once or he would open with the guns of heavy calibre in the Fort. Andros, somewhat chastened, sailed off to capture Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and then landed his small force near Southold, where he was joined by a large contingent from New York. Sir John Pell's Troop was not in this force which brought the Eastern Long Island towns to reason. He was, however, in the second force ordered by Andros to cover the frontier of Connecticut and resist a possible attack from that quarter, which never came.

Sir John Pell Renews the Treaty with the Siwanoys

With this, King Philip's Indian War broke out, raging all over Massachusetts and Connecticut, with frightful massacres. Town after town was burned to the ground by the Indians and the inhabitants tortured and killed. Andros called off his war with Connecticut but kept his troops under arms to resist a similar Indian outbreak, if it should come, in New York. Here, moreover, Sir John Pell's experience as Indian Commissioner was brought into play. He sat down with the Siwanoy Chieftains and renewed the Treaty of Alliance originally negotiated with Wampage (John White) by Thomas Pell. Meanwhile Governor Andros travelled as far north as Schenectady and recovered lost ground with the Iroquois to whom King Philip had sent emissaries.

The lawn before the Manor House at Pelham must have been colorful as the Indian Chiefs sat in a circle, puffing on their pipes, to be harangued by Sir John Pell, resplendent in his uniform of Major of Horse. Moreover, he had sent down to New York for a bountiful supply of presents for the Chiefs, which he distributed. The result of this pow-wow, and Andros' in the north, was that there was not a single depradation in New York Province at a time when New England was ravaged from end to end.

1676 to 1679: Sir John Pell Visits England

When things quieted down and peace was finally restored in New England after the total extinction of King Philip's tribes, Sir John Pell resolved on a visit to England, taking with him his wife, Lady Rachel Pinckney Pell, who had never seen London or been abroad. This was in the spring of 1676, and the name of the ship on which they crossed the ocean is unrecorded. Sir John Pell stayed in London with the Reginolles, and there his portrait was painted, and Rachel's. These portraits remained with the Reginolles family until 1938, when Robert Pell bought them, and they are now hanging in the Pavilion at Fort Ticonderoga, Robert Pell having been in London at that time as Vice Director of the Intergovernmental Committee. Presumably Sir John Pell saw his father during his stay in London. The Reverend John Pell was sixty-five years old at the time and in sorry straits, mainly because he was so occupied with his books and his activities at the

Royal Society, of which he was a charter member, that he did not pay attention to his affairs, if he had any. The Reverend John always hoped, the diarists have recorded, that his son would invite him to come to Pelham, but this was never to be.

Major John Pell took return ship for New York in the spring of 1679, and by that time Governor Andros' days were numbered. Complaints against him had poured into London, and in January, 1681, he sailed, leaving Lieutenant Governor Anthony Brockholls in charge. With this, the New York oligarchy of Dutch merchants in the city and prominent Dutch aristocrats along the Hudson River, decided that this was as good a time as any to take things into their own hands. The merchants set the fire going by refusing to pay any duties on imports. Moreover they arrested the Collector of the Port of New York, William Dyer, for "traitorously exercising" undue "regal power and authority," because, they said, he demanded the payment of taxes not legally due. Brockholls, cowed, consented to forward a petition drafted by the oligarchs to the Duke of York demanding a Legislative Assembly. The petition read that the people of New York were "groaning under inexpressible burdens of an arbitrary and absolute power" by which "revenue had been exacted, their trade crippled and their liberties enthralled." To back up their petition, the oligarchs next paralyzed the trade and commerce of New York. James of York was, as usual, desperately in need of money, and bowed to this pressure. He agreed that the New Yorkers might have their Assembly if they would raise sufficient funds to pay the public debts and maintain the Government suitably, meaning that he should receive his share.

There is no evidence that Sir John Pell was a party to this. In fact, all the evidence would show that he was not on familiar terms with what might be called the Hudson River magnates, such as the van Rensselaers, Livingstons, van Cortlandts, Phillipses, Bayards, Beekmans and the others. They were entrenched before he arrived in America, long since intermarried, and they formed a closed clan. Pelham lay well outside their territory, and Sir John Pell was at no time identified with their corporate action. Indeed, somewhat later, he was definitely on the side opposed to them, as we shall see.

1683. Sir John Pell and Governor Thomas Dongan

On the other hand, Sir John Pell was among the gentlemen who greeted the new Governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan, when he arrived

in New York on August 28, 1683, amid universal rejoicing. Governor Dongan was a Roman Catholic, heir to the Irish Earl of Leinster. He had fought in France, served as Governor of Tangiers and, in the Cromwellian period, had commanded the Regiment Irlandais in the army of Louis XIV of France. He returned to England on the Restoration and, because of his loyalty to the House of Stuart during its exile, was named to the personal staff of the Duke of York and finally chosen by James to be his Governor in New York. He was described as "a man of integrity, moderation and genteel manners." His administration was to go down in New York history as the most enlightened of the colonial period.

Governor Dongan brought with him, moreover, good news for the oligarchs and for the Colony as a whole. The Duke of York had consented to an Assembly, not to consist of more than eigtheen members, who were to be chosen by the freeholders, and it was to have "free liberty to consult and debate all laws." The Duke alone, not the Governor, would exercise the right of veto, and a General Assembly to constitute it was to meet at once. The Freeholders then went to the polls and elected the members of the General Assembly, who met in New York City on October 17, 1683. Sir John Pell was elected to represent Eastchester and was present when the General Assembly passed the Fifteen Acts, the most notable of which was the Charter of Liberties and Privileges. It provided that there should be a Council of ten members and a Permanent Assembly elected by the Freeholders "without any manner of restraint or imposition." No tax was to be made without the consent of the Council and the Assembly, and freedom of conscience was assured to all persons who professed "faith in God by Jesus Christ." Governor Dongan approved the Charter at once, and then a further Act was passed dividing New York Province into twelve Counties, namely, New York City, Westchester, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, Albany, Richmond, King's, Queen's, Suffolk, Duke's (for Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and their dependencies) and Cornwall to cover territories claimed by New York Province in the present State of Maine. Sir John Pell was elected by the freeholders of Eastchester to be one of their representatives in the Assembly, and he attended the sessions regularly as long as the Assembly lasted.

As a matter of fact, James, Duke of York, succeeded his brother, Charles II, as King in February, 1685, and one of his first actions was to hold the New York Charter of Liberties in abeyance because it tended too much to abridge the royal power. In this crisis, Governor

Dongan proceeded with great wisdom and moderation. He took the word "abeyance" literally and authorized the Assembly to continue as the Charter of Liberties had provided. This honeymoon between James and the people of New York, through the mediation of Governor Dongan, came to an end in May of the next year, however, when the King vetoed the Charter until he should devise another plan of colonial government. This plan, which was germinating in his brain, was to be the establishment of the Royal County of United New England, including New York.

1687. Governor Dongan Renews the Patent to the Manor of Pelham

Colonel Dongan, meanwhile, set out to negotiate agreements with Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts for the final settlement of New York's boundaries, and he enlisted the help of Sir John Pell in the negotiation of the frontier between Westchester and Connecticut. In fact, Sir John Pell and Governor Dongan became fast friends, a friendship which survived even after Dongan was replaced as Governor and settled on Staten Island. For reasons which are not clear unless it was that the Governor wished to place Sir John's patent beyond question, Governor Dongan reaffirmed Sir John Pell's Patent as Lord of the Manor of Pelham. The new Patent, dated October 25, 1687, reasserted all of Thomas Pell's rights and privileges in the Manor of Pelham and recalled that the Lord of the Manor was required, in token of feudal fealty, to give one "lambe" on the first of every May, to the King of England, or his representative. Moreover, the new Patent ratified the Nicolls Patent to the Manor, together with its "Hereditements and Appurtenances, Privileges, Immunities, Franchises and Advantages." It reaffirmed that the Manor should be known as the "Lordshipp and Manner of Pelham," with the right of "One Court Leete and one Court Barren," to "distrain" rents and the "advowson and right of patronage of all and every of the Churches in said Manner."

Great changes were being prepared at Whitehall, meanwhile. Piece by piece, King James' plan for the unification of all the English Northern Colonies took shape. They were to be under one head, on the pretext of presenting a united front to the French in Canada, and all existing charters were to be annulled. King James' Lord High Executioner for this project was none other than the former Gover-

nor of New York, Edmund Andros, now a Knight, because James knew he was ruthless and would execute orders promptly. On December 29, 1686, he arrived in Boston as Captain General and Governor of United New England, including New York and New Jersey. He was given the authority to make laws and levy taxes, to encourage episcopacy and to maintain authority by force. Personal liberties and the customs of the Provinces were to be disregarded, and no one was to leave the Colony without a special permit. He was given regular soldiers to enforce his orders. Absolute powers were his.

On Saturday, August 11, 1688, Governor Andros reached New York in state, coming by ship from Boston. He was escorted by Colonel Bayard's Regiment of Foot and the New York City Troop of Horse to Fort James, where he read the King's pronunciamento, which was then posted at the City Hall. Next, he sent for the seal of New York Province and broke it in the presence of the members of the Council. In place of it, the Great Seal of United New England was thenceforth to be used. Finally, he selected a Council of "rich men of estate" who were believed to be in harmony with the new Government, and the Hudson River oligarchs formed in line. Finally, he confirmed the minor officials of the Colony and then, with scant courtesy, sailed off to his capital at Boston, leaving Captain Francis Nicholson, of the King's Regulars, as Lieutenant Governor to act in his stead.

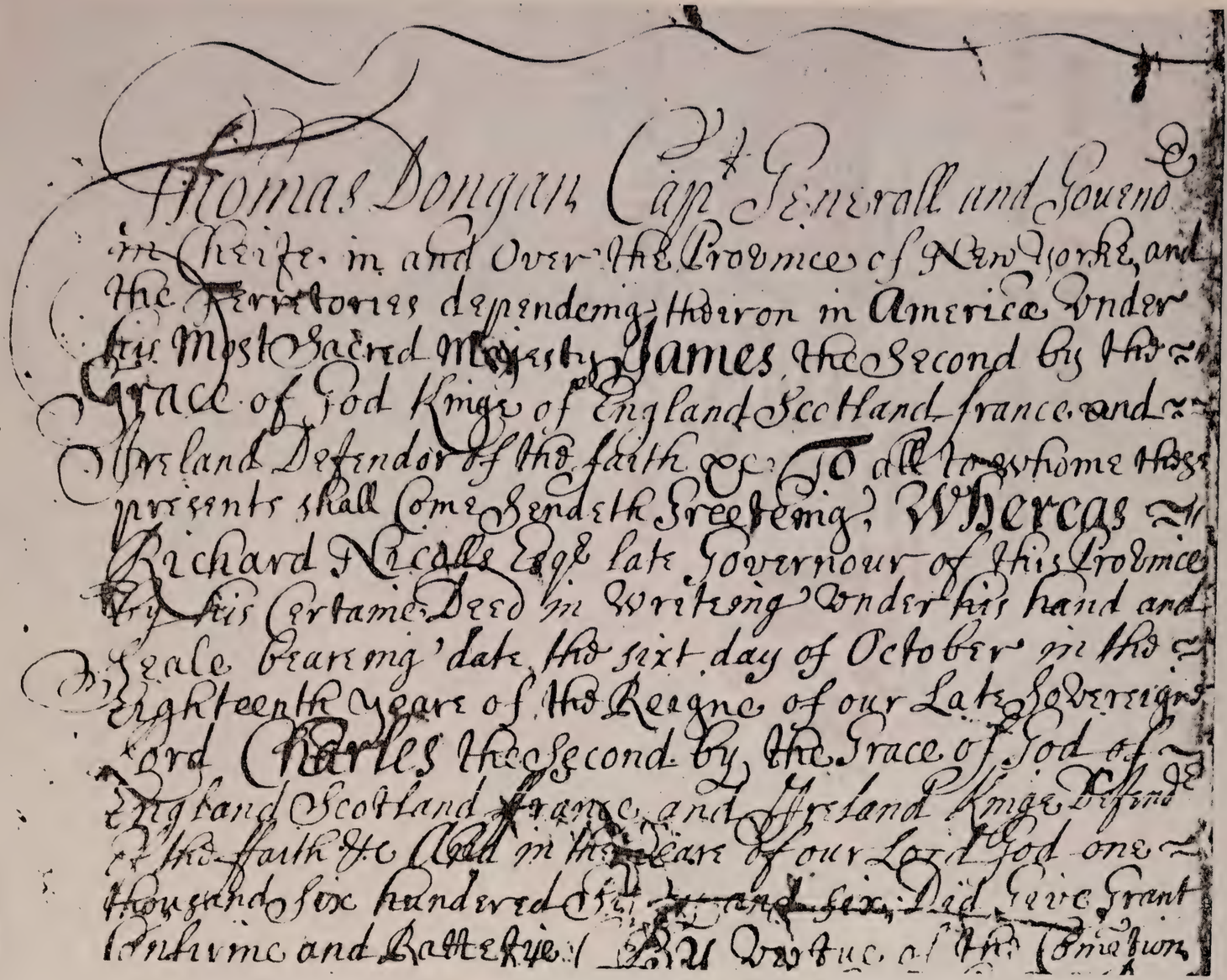
The embers of revolt were lighted in New York almost at once. Men of every class, except the oligarchs who benefitted from the new regime, were vehemently opposed to the annexation of New York by New England. Secret meetings took place up and down the former New York Province, and the Manor House of Pelham, the records show, became one of the centers of revolt. Couriers galloped from place to place, and very soon a network of rebellion was knit.

1689. Sir John Pell and Jacob Leisler

In February, 1689, a coasting vessel from Virginia put into the Port of New York with the news that the "Glorious Revolution" had broken out in England, that King James had fled to France, and that William, Prince of Orange, was the new King. On the heels of the Virginia ship, a courier raced in from Maryland confirming the news. Throughout the winter, New York simmered in incipient revolt. Nicholson, a martinet, did everything he could to provoke the New Yorkers. He issued orders right and left which he was unable to en-

Thomas Dongan Capt Generall and Gouerno
in Cheife in and Over the Province of New Yorke, and
[illegible]
these presents with my hand Written my Caused the Seale
of the Province to be thereunto Affixed and have
Ordained that the same be Entered Upon Record in the
Secretarys Office, the five and twentyeth day of
October in the third Yeare of the Kings Majestyes
Reigne and in the Yeare of our Lord one Thousand
Six hundered Eighty and Seven

Thomas Dongan



Thomas Dongan Capt Generall and Govern
in Cheife in and over the Province of New Yorke and
the Territories depending thereon in America Under
the Most Sacred Majesty James the Second by the
Grace of God King of England Scotland France and
Ireland Defendor of the faith &c To all to whome these
presents shall Come Sendeth Greeting Whereas
Richard Nicolls Esqr late Governour of this Province
by his Certaine Deed in Writeing Under his hand and
Seale bearing date the sixt day of October in the
Eighteenth Yeare of the Reigne of our Late Soveraign
Lord Charles the Second by the Grace of God of
England Scotland France and Ireland King Defend
er of the faith &c Did in the Yeare of our Lord God one
thousand six hundred [illegible] Did Give Grant
Ratifie and Confirme unto [illegible] By Vertue of the Com[illegible]

GOVERNOR DONGAN'S CONFIRMATION OF THE PATENT TO THE LORDSHIP AND MANOR OF PELHAM, DATED OCTOBER 25, 1687

ever Unto his said Majesty his Heires and Successors or
or to such Officer or Officers as shall from time to time
be appointed to receive the same Twenty Shillings good
and Lawfull Money of this province at the Citty of New
Yorke on the five and twentyth day of the Month of
March in Lieu and Stead of all Rents Service & demands
whatsoever In Testimony Whereof I have signed
these presents with my hand Writeing Caused the Seale
of the Province to be thereunto Affixed and have
Ordained that the same be Entered upon Record in the
Secretarys Office, the five and twentyeth day of
October in the third Yeare of the Kings Majestyes
Reigne and in the Yeare of our Lord one Thousand
Six Hundered Eighty and Seven

Thomas Dongan

force. The next minute he hesitated and lost everything. In the meantime, revolution broke out all through New England, and Andros was thrown into jail in Boston. Nicholson, being a typical English official bound by red tape, did not know what to do because he had no orders. Not having instructions from his immediate chief, he refused to act without them. All he could seem to do was to parade his troops and hit blindly right and left.

At long last, the match was touched to the powder keg when a consignment of wine arrived for Jacob Leisler, a well known wine merchant who had emigrated to New York from Frankfort-on-Main. Leisler refused to pay the duty on the ground that since the flight of James there had been no legally constituted government in New York. Leisler was a fanatical Calvinist and hated the local Dutch oligarchy, which he felt had snubbed him. Moreover he was a born demagogue with a command of furious language which he directed indiscriminately against the Stuarts, the Hudson River oligarchs and the Pope.

Of course, Nicholson huffed and puffed and swore great oaths, being quoted as saying that "I should rather see the city on fire than take the impudence of such fellows as you"—this to Leisler. Probably originating with Leisler, rumors spread like wildfire over the city that Nicholson was preparing to burn down New York, deliver it to the French or, alternately, to the Pope. Leisler, who was Captain of one of the Train Bands in the New York City Militia, called his men to arms. Other Militia Companies, first in New York City and then throughout the Province, took up arms. Sir John Pell, with the acting rank of Lieutenant Colonel, mobilized his Troop and other units in Eastchester and posted his forces to command the Boston Post Road.

On May 31, the New York Militia faced the Regulars before Fort James, and Nicholson declared that the Militia was in rebellion. Leisler retorted with a Declaration, which he had posted all over the city, stating that Nicholson's "Popish Government" was at an end because the Lieutenant Governor had threatened to set New York on fire, adding that he was about to seize the Fort and hold it until the existing rulers of England sent properly qualified persons to receive it back in their hands. With that, Leisler, at the head of the New York Train Bands, marched on Fort James, which surrendered without resistance, largely because the Regulars had no stomach for a fight. Nicholson was put on a ship for England. Leisler and four other Captains sent an Address to "Their Majesties, William and Mary," by the

same ship, promising submission to "Their" pleasure and stating that a Committee of Public Safety would be set up in New York to administer the Government in the meantime.

On June 26, delegates to this Committee summoned by Leisler poured into the city from Brooklyn, Flatbush, Newton, Staten Island, Orange, Essex in New Jersey, and Eastchester, which was represented by Sir John Pell. The Convention assembled in the Fort, and ten Delegates were formed into a Permanent Committee of Safety. At this juncture, the radicals in the liberation movement took over. As a consequence, the moderates, including Sir John Pell, declined to serve. Anyway, the following day the Committee signed a Commission appointing Leisler Captain of the "Port of New York," which meant that he held the real power of the Colony. Moreover, he set about enforcing this authority from one end of New York Province to the other and succeeded almost everywhere except at Albany, where Peter Schuyler resisted Leisler's son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, whom the "Captain of the Fort" (no longer Fort James) had sent with an armed force to reduce the northern city.

Thereupon, a letter arrived from London signed by King William. It was addressed to Governor Nicholson, who by this time was on the high seas, or, in his absence, to such person who might be exercising power. It gave multiple instructions on how to proceed, insisting, however, that all officials should be maintained in office until further notice. Leisler seized the letter, which he did not make public, and used it as his authority to assume the title of Acting Governor. Thereafter he ruled with an iron hand. He imprisoned members of the Hudson River oligarchy, calling them "Popish dogs," and actually had Councilor Bayard bound in chains. He then resorted to fines, confiscations, attacks on property, and many of his original supporters among the moderates, who had been opposed to James and Andros, turned away from him with distrust. In fact, they split into two groups: First, those who wished to break completely with Leisler, seeing how things were going; secondly, those who felt that Leisler could best be restrained from extreme action if moderates would remain within his party and serve as counterpoise to the radicals.

Sir John Pell and the Huguenots: New Rochelle

Sir John Pell was in the latter group. He remained in close relationship with Leisler—and for a very practical reason. Somehow, he had

got the idea that French Huguenots might be brought to settle in New York. Apparently he heard from the Reginolles in London of the persecution of the French Protestants and their flight from France. Sir John Pell evidently discussed the project, which was forming in his mind, with Leisler, who was immediately fired with enthusiasm. Moreover, from word to action was a short step with Jacob Leisler. By the next courier, he made the offer of settlement to the agents of the Huguenots who had fled from La Rochelle to seek temporary refuge in the Rhineland, Leisler's homeland. Meanwhile, Sir John and Lady Rachel Pell deeded to Leisler 6100 acres, the first grant, as a place for the settlement of a new Rochelle, for 1675 pounds. In return, the settlement would accord a feudal due of a "fatt calfe" to be presented to the Lord of the Manor of Pelham annually "on every third and twentieth day of June (Feast of St. John Baptist)." Soon, the first shipload of French colonists arrived, and Sir John Pell was with Jacob Leisler on the Battery to receive them and usher them to their new home. Very rapidly, houses were built by these industrious people. Before long a flourishing colony of Huguenots had taken firm root, and others came out in a regular flow to swell the ranks of the original settlement of New Rochelle. Sir John, throughout his life, not only remained on good terms with these Huguenots. He served as their spokesman as well in the Colonial Legislature, and their advocate in many a controversy. Moreover he contributed 100 acres and a substantial sum of money for the erection of the French Church.

The Fall of Leisler

Leisler, meanwhile, had other things to think about. The French were at war with the England of William II, and the Comte de Frontenac's war parties struck into New York. The burning of Schenectady and the massacre of the inhabitants shocked and united the Colony for a time, and Leisler called the Militia to arms. Sir John Pell had many more men under his command this time, including veteran Huguenot officers and soldiers, and Leisler gave him the permanent rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His Troop did not go to the front, however, since Peter Schuyler, and later Major General FitzJohn Winthrop, held above Albany as the representatives of many Colonies met in New York with Leisler in the first Colonial Congress.

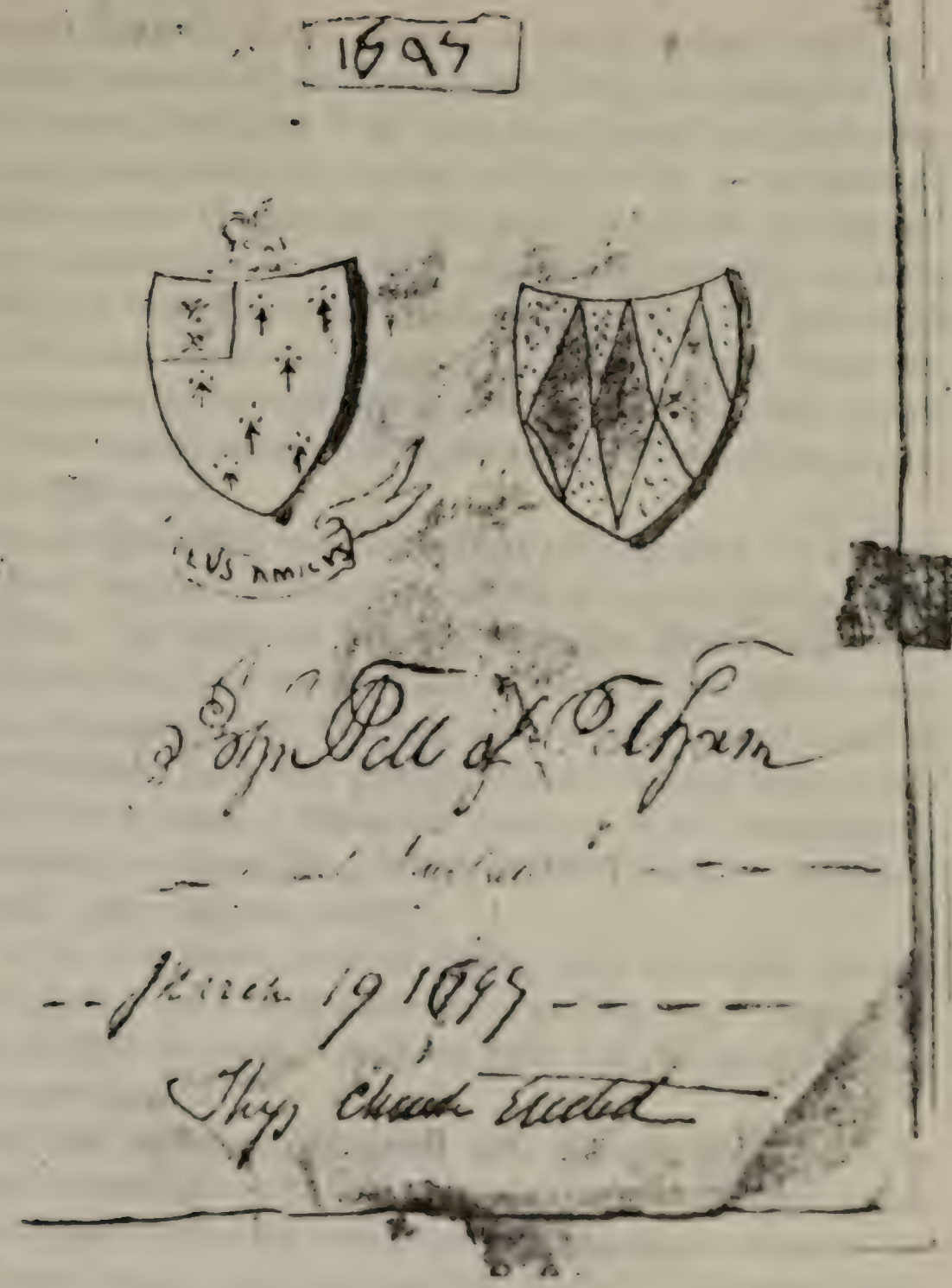
Things went from bad to worse in New York City and Province, in any event, and the New Year 1691 dawned gloomily. Rebellion was

boiling against Leisler, and only the guns of the Fort restrained the people of New York City. Even the Dominies, his strongest partisans, "came in and rebuked him in the name of the Lord," and urchins and old women taunted him in the streets, calling him "Little Cromwell" and "General Hog."

Then, quite unexpectedly, on January 29, 1691, Major Richard Ingoldsby sailed into New York harbor on a King's ship carrying Regular soldiers. He announced that Colonel Henry Slaughter had been named Governor of New York by King William and Queen Mary, and was on the high seas. Hereupon, he demanded that Leisler turn over the Fort to him. Jacob Leisler refused to yield the Fort unless Ingoldsby should produce written letters from the King or the Governor. Ingoldsby did not have papers which would satisfy Leisler, who denounced him as a "Popish conspirator" who aimed to seize the Colony for James. Nonetheless Ingoldsby landed his troops, and they faced the Militia until March 17, when matters came to a head. Leisler, provoked, ordered his men to fire on the King's troops, and several soldiers were wounded and two killed. Two days later Governor Slaughter arrived and hastened immediately to City Hall, where he read his Commission. Next, he sent Ingoldsby to the Fort to demand its surrender. Leisler refused to give it up but sent out Milborne and a Huguenot, de la Noy, to parley. Slaughter imprisoned them, and for the third time demanded the surrender of the Fort. Leisler saw that it was useless to hold out any longer and surrendered on March 20. Therewith, Slaughter summoned the Council and had it declare Leisler and the other prisoners guilty of high treason and murder. They were brought to trial on the spot and Chief Justice Dudley, a strong-arm man of the Hudson River aristocrats' faction, condemned them to death. On May 15, Leisler and Milborne were hanged. Governor Slaughter, staying with Colonel Bayard, who had not forgotten his chains, refused to reprieve them, which was most impolitic.

1692-1702. Declining Years and Death

Sir John Pell had ten years to live after these dramatic events. Naturally his relations with Leisler did not endear him to the oligarchs who, through Slaughter, launched a wave of reaction and revenge. With the French harrying his frontier—this occupied most of the Governor's time and attention—the oligarchs, acting in Council, made their power absolute. The Colony came to be run for the sole



Photograph
of the Arms
of

SIR JOHN PELL
and
LADY RACHEL PINCKNEY PELL

Taken from the Cornerstone
of
Trinity Church, New Rochelle

benefit of a small handful of men, mostly of Dutch descent, who controlled the money power and an inordinately large percentage of the land. Concomitantly, Sir John Pell, who must have been suffering hardships during this period of reaction, sold off more of the land at Pelham, notably to the Huguenots, who were insatiable. Moreover, he was a heavy contributor to the local enterprises, notably the new Church, Trinity, in New Rochelle. On March 19, 1697, Sir John and Lady Rachel Pell laid the corner stone of the Church, and, when the edifice was torn down to be replaced in the last century, their names were found in this cornerstone, written on a piece of wrinkled paper, sealed with the Pell arms.

At all events, Sir John Pell took no part in politics after the Leisler period. Moreover he gave up command of his Troop of Horse to his second son, John. He occupied himself with the Manor, aided by Thomas, his eldest son, and watched his children grow. There were three sons and two daughters: Thomas, who became Third Lord of the Manor of Pelham; John and Philip; Ithamaria and Mary. Ithamaria married a Huguenot, a Monsieur Eustace. Mary was married to Samuel Rodman, to whom John Pell gave City Island as a wedding present. Captain John did not marry.

Sir John, in his late years, took to sailing and was often on the Sound in his "yacht," the Dutch name for a sailing vessel. Sometime in the winter of 1702, he went out in his boat and, a storm blowing up, was never seen again.

As Sir John died intestate his eldest son, Thomas Pell, born in 1675 at Pelham, became invested with the inheritance and legal rights of his deceased father under the rule of primogeniture. A stone in the plot back of what today is the Bartow-Pell Mansion Museum, built on the site of the Pell Manor House, was erected by subscription by the Pell family to the memory of Sir John Pell, Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham.

Robert Pell

"Lady Hill"
Shaftsbury
Vermont
September 1962

APPENDIX

Genealogical "tree" of John Pell of Southwyck

John Pell of Southwyck
(Circa 1685-April 14, 1616/17)
m.

1. ? ——	2. Mary Holland (——Feb. 14, 1614/15)	3. Joan Gravett
Bathsua Makin	Rev. & Rt. Hon. John Pell, D.D. (March 3, 1610/11-Dec. 12, 1685) m. Ithamaria Reginolles (-Sept. 11, 1661)	Thomas Pell, First Lord of the Manor of Pelham (Feb. 28, 1612/13-Sept. 21, 1669/70) m. Lucy French Brewster

1. Richard (1633/34-Dec. 5, 1634/35)	2. Mary (Raven) (1634/35- ?)	3. Judith (Kirlee) (Jan. 21, 1635/36- ?)	4. Elizabeth (Jan. 7, 1639-40-Sept. 29, 1651/52)	5. William (Dec. 21, 1640/41-Feb. 21, 1642/43)	6. Bathsua (Oct. 20, 1642/43- ?)	7. John, Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham (Feb. 8, 1643/44-February, 1702) m. Rachel Pinckney

1. Thomas, Third Lord (1675-1739) m. Anna (Wampage)	2. Capt. John	3. Philip	4. Ithamaria (Eustace)	5. Mary (Rodman)

To the Right Honourable,
the Counsel of State, appointed by
Authority of Parliament,

The humble Petition of John Pell,

Sheweth

that your Petitioner, having beene called nine yeares agoe from London to Amsterdam, there to professe publickly the Mathematicks; and from thence, by the old Prince of Orange, called to his intended University of Breda, there to professe Mathematicks and Philosophie, where he hath resided ever since August 1646; and now of late having perceived an appearance of warre betweene this Common-wealth and the United Provinces; and not being willing to serve any forrain State, longer than it is in amity with this Common-wealth; thought fit in the beginning of June last past to come hither, to see whether or no he might be serviceable to his native Country; but hath in foure months space not beene able to discover any encouragement to carry heere any longer, or to relinquish his Profession there and send for his family hither

Therefore in consideration of the premises, your Petitioner doth humbly pray that a free passe may be given him to goe over into Flanders, where being in his former station at Breda, he shall ever continue a devoted faithfull servant to this his native Country. and shall pray &c

John Pell

PETITION OF DR. JOHN PELL
TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE, 1654

Olivarius Protector Rei: pub:
Angliæ Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ &c. Illustri
Senatui Civitatis Bernensis
Salutem.

Amplissimi Spectatissimiq; Viri Amici charissimi —

Deplorandus charissimorū nostrorum Fratrum Patruj, qui ni ditionibus
Ducis Sabaudiæ tristissima quæq; patrarint, regis crū afflictissima
effecit, et Nobilem Rumo Fratrē nobis fidelem et dilectū Johannem
Pell Comissarium nostrum Extraordinariū ad Vos ablegaremus, qui
interiorem animj nostrj de Vobis ijs longum Vobis, quos ergo ejusdem
Religionem ejusq; Cultores pari Vobiscū Zelo ardere animo nostro
persentimus, exponeret. Voluit igitur quem Vobis in mandatis accesserit
Vobis proponere, uti facilem Audientiam benigne Vobis concedatis
Vos magnopere rogamus. Quibus a Deo Opt. max. Salutem —
omnia precamur. Dab. ex Aula nra Westmonasterij 28 —
July Stilo Novo 1655.

Vestræ bonæ Amicæ
Oliver. P.

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTER

TO THE SENATE OF THE CITY OF BERNE

DATED JULY 28, 1655

For our Trusty and Well beloved
Mr Pell. Our Resident with the
Protestant Cantons of Switzerland.

Sir,

The State of affaires being much altered
in thos: Parts, so that your longer abode
there seemeth not so necessary, and that
your returne hither may be more serviceable
to Us, I have thought fit hereby to recall
you. Therefore you will do well having
taken your leave there in the best manner,
to repaire homewards that We may receive
from you the account of your whole negoti-
ations, and you from Us the encouragements
which you have deserved. So I rest;

Your loving friend.

Whitehall May 6.
1658.

Oliver P

LETTER OF RECALL FROM

OLIVER CROMWELL TO DR. JOHN PELL

DATED MAY 6, 1658

Eulogy to Dr. John Pell read before members of the Royal Society by Thomas Birch in 1756

Soon after the last anniversary election the Society lost by death one of its most considerable members,
John Pell, D.D. who was descended of an antient family in Lincolnshire. His grandfather and father, who were both of his name, lived at Southwyke in Sussex, the latter being minister of that place, and dying when he was but five or six years old; and his mother was of the family of Hollands in Kent. He was born at Southwyke, March 1, 1610, and educated in grammar learning at the free-school, then newly founded at Stenning, a market-town in Sussex, under Mr. John Jefferies. At the age of thirteen he was sent to Trinity-college in Cambridge, being then as good a scholar as most masters of arts in that university; but though he was eminently skilled in the Greek and Hebrew languages, he never offered himself as a candidate at the election of scholars or fellows of his college. His person was handsome, and the habit of his body strong; and therefore scarce ever using recreations, he prosecuted his studies with the more application and intenseness. In 1628 he drew up The Description and Use of the Quadrant; Written for the use of a Friend in two Books; the original manuscript of which is still extant among his papers in the Royal Society; and the same year he held a correspondence with Mr. Henry Briggs on logarithms. In 1630 he wrote Modus Supputandi Ephemerides astronomicas (quantum ad motum solis attinet) paradigmate ad annum 1630 accomodato; and A Key to unlock the meaning of Joannis Trithemius, in his discourse of steganography; which Key Mr. Pell the same year imparted to Mr. Samuel Hartlib and Mr. Jacob Homedae. In the same year, 1630, he took the degree of master of arts at Cambridge; and the year following was incorporated in the university of Oxford, and on the 7th of June he wrote a letter to Mr. Edmund Wingate on logarithms, and on the 5th of October, 1631 he wrote Commentationes in Cosmographiam Alstedii. July 3, 1632, he married Ithamaria, second daughter of Mr. Henry Reginolles of London, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. March 6, 1633/4, he finished his Astronomical History of Observations of heavenly Motions and Appearances; and on the 10th of April following his Eclipticus Prognosta: or the Eclipse-Prognosticator; or Forenower of the Eclipses; teaching how by calculation to foreknow and foretell all sorts of Eclipses of the Heavenly Lights. In 1634 he translated The Everlasting Tables of heavenly Motions grounded upon the Observations of all Times, and agreeing with them all, composed by Philip Lansberg of Ghent in Flanders, and set forth by himself in Latin in the Year of his Age seventy one, and in the Year of our Lord 1632: Now turned out of Latin into English, and from the sexaginal to the decimal Subdivision for the more Ease in Calculation: and on the 12th of June the same year he committed to writing The Manner of deducing his Astronomical Tables out of Tables and Axioms of Philip Lansberg.

March 9, 1634/5, he wrote a letter of remarks on Mr. Gellibrand's Discourse mathematical on the Variation of the Magnetic Needle; and on the 3rd of June following another on the same subject.

His eminence in mathematical knowledge was now so great that he was thought worthy of a professor's chair in that science; and upon the vacancy of one at Amsterdam in 1639 by the death of Hortensius, Sir William Boswell, the English resident with the states general, made use of his interest, that he might succeed in the professorship of mathematics; which was not filled till above four years after, in December, 1643, when Mr. Pell was chosen to it. The year following he published in two pages in quarto, a refutation of Longomontanus's discourse De Vira Circuli mensura, printed at Amsterdam in 1644 in quarto. Mr. Pell's refutation was dated Aug. 1, 1644 and concludes thus: Abunde igitur sufficit haec unica pagella tot Chartis Librisque aliquoties editis refutandis; triumque horularum spatio nostra fremens Vestigia, post panculas multiplicationes et divisiones, tot annorum incredibiles Longomontani Labores prorsus periisse videbis. Ita censeo Joannis Pellius, Coritano-regnus, Anglus, Matheseos in illustri Amstelodamensium Gynasio Professor. Calendid Sextilibus, anno 1644.

In June, 1646, he was invited by the Prince of Orange to be professor of philosophy and mathematics at Breda in the college newly founded there by his highness, with the offer of a salary of 1000 gilders a year; which he accepted of, and upon his removal to Breda was eased of the professorship of philosophy, and discharged only the duties of that of mathematics, which he did, as he had done before at Amsterdam, with great success and reputation.

His Idea Matheseos, which he addressed to Samuel Hartlib, Esq., who in 1639 had sent it to Mons. Des Cartes and Father Mersennus, was printed in 1650 at London in 12mo in English with the title of An Idea of Mathematics at the end of Mr. John Durie's Reformed Library-keeper.

He left Breda and returned to England in 1652; and in 1654 was sent by the protector Cromwell agent to the Protestant cantons in Swisserland, his instructions being dated March 30 of that year. His first speech in Latin to the deputies of Zurich was on the 13th of June following; and he continued in that city during most of his employment in Swisserland, in which he had after the title of resident. Being recalled by the protector, he took his leave of the cantons in a Latin speech at Zurich on the 23rd of June 1658; but returned to England so short a time before the protector's death, that he had no opportunity of an audience of him.

After the restoration he entered into holy orders, being ordained deacon March 31, 1661, and priest in June following by Dr. Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; and on the 16th of that month was instituted to the rectory of Fobbing in Essex, given him by the King. On the 5th of December he brought into the upper house of convocation the calendar reformed by him assisted by Mr. Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1663 he was presented by Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, to the rectory

of Laingdon in Essex, to which he was instituted on the 23rd of July. Upon the promotion of that bishop to the see of Canterbury in the next month, he became one of his grace's domestic chaplains, being then doctor of divinity; "and expected, as Mr. Wood tells us, "to be made a dean; but being not a person of activity as others, who mind not learning are, could never rise higher than a rector. The truth is, he was a shiftless man as to worldly affairs; and his tenants and relations dealt so unkindly by him that they cozened him of the profits of his parsonage, and kept him so indigent that he wanted necessaries, even ink and paper, to his dying day". He was for some time confined to the Kingsbench prison for debt; but in March 1682 was invited by Dr. Whistler to live in the college of physicians, where he continued till June following when he was obliged by his ill state of health to remove to the house of a grand-child of his in St. Margaret's church-yard, Westminster. He died at the house of Mr. Cothorne reader of the church of St. Gile's in the Fields, in Dyot-street in that parish on Saturday 12 December 1685, and was interred by the charity of Dr. Richard Busby, master of Westminster school, and of Dr. John Sharp, rector of St. Gile's church, in the rector's vault under that church.

He was declared a fellow of the Royal Society May 20, 1663, by the council, soon after the granting of the second charter of the Society. He published in 1664 in quarto without his name, an Exercitation concerning Easter. He drew up A Table of ten thousand square Numbers, namely, of all the square Numbers between 0 and an hundred millions, and of their Sides or Roots, which are all the whole numbers betwixt 0 and ten thousand. With an Appendix concerning the Endings or last Figures of all square numbers: printed at London 1672, in folio. He published his Inaugural Oration, made upon entering upon his professorship at Breda. He made great alterations and additions to Rhonius's Algebra printed at London, 1668, in quarto, under the title of An Introduction to Algebra, translated out of the High Dutch into English by Thomas Brancker, M.A. much altered and augmented by D.P. (i.e. Dr. Pell) Also a Table of odd Numbers less than one hundred thousand, shew—those that are incomposit, and resolving the rest into their Factors or Coefficients. Supputated by the same Thomas Brancker. A copy of this book, with many corrections and improvements of Dr. Pell is among his papers in the Royal Society. He demonstrated the second and tenth books of Euclid, which piece was in manuscript in the library of the Lord Brereton at Brereton in Cheshire as likewise Archemedes's $\Psi\alpha\mu\mu\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, and the greatest part of Diophantus's Six books of arithmetic; of which author he was preparing in August 1644 a new edition in which he would have corrected the translation, and made new illustrations. He designed likewise to publish an edition of Apollonius, but laid it aside in May, 1645 at the desire of Golius, who was engaged in an edition of that writer from an Arabic manuscript given him at Aleppo eighteen years before. Besides those of his papers which were left by him at Brereton in Cheshire, where he had resided some years, being

the seat of William Lord Brereton, who had been his pupil at Breda, a great quantity of the rest came after his death into the hands of Dr. Busby, which Mr. Hooke reporting to the Royal Society, February 10, 1685/6 was desired to use his endeavours to obtain those papers for the Society. But they continued buried under dust, and mixed with the papers and pamphlets of Dr. Busby in four large boxes, till June 1755, when the writer of this history procured them for the Society by means of the reverend Richard Widmore, M.A. librarian of the church of St. Peter's Westminster, from the trustees of Dr. Busby. The collection contains not only Dr. Pell's mathematical papers, letters to him, and copies of those from him etc, but likewise several manuscripts of Mr. Walter Warner, the philosopher and mathematician who lived in the reigns of Kings James I and Charles I.

Letters Carried by Sir John Pell to Governor Winthrop from Henry Oldenburg, Sir Robert Moray and Theodore Haak

(Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society)

London, May 9th. 1670.

Sir,—I have lately, viz. March 26, 70, written so large, that I shall doe little else by this opportunity of Dr. Pells son than to referr you to y^t^ letter, and to the Books I sent you together with the same. Only I shall here mention, that, since y^t^. time, here is come abroad a new Hypothesis of the Fluxe and Refluxe of the Sea, devised by one Mr. Hyrne, supposing y^t^ y^e^ Earth, besides y^e^ Diurnal and Annual motion, hath another, directly from North to South, for y^e^ space of 6 hours and some odd minuts, and then again from South to North for y^e^ same time; and y^t^ in this motion y^e^ Earth does not always move to the same points, but farther, when we have Spring-tides, y^n^ at other times; and y^t^ y^e^ motion of y^e^ Earth in each vibration from the Spring-tide to y^e^ neap-tide decreaseth, as that of a Pendulum will doe; and from thence again increases in y^e^ same proportion it decreased, till the Tydes be at y^e^ highest.

From this Hypothesis he pretends to solve all the phaenom[ena] of y^e^ diurnal and menstrual Tydes, adscribing the Annual to meer casualties. Hence he will give a reason, why y^e^ Spring tides are all the world ouer at y^e^ same time, on the same side of theAEquator; and why a place hath the greater tydes, y^e^ farther it is distant from the AEquator, etc.

It would be worth knowing, whether, according to this supposition, it be high water on y^r^ American shore all ouer, at y^e^ same time it is high water all over the European Shore. He affirms particularly, y^t^ in the Bay of Mexico

there is but a very litle or no rise and fall of y^e^ water, and pretends to solve this phaenomenon also by his Theory.

Sir, you will doe us and Philosophy a good piece of service to acquaint us w^th^ what particulars you know of the matter of fact in America, and of what you can learne from observing and credible navigators all ouer that part of the world. This gentleman is very confident of the truth of this Hypothesis, taking the liberty to say in writing, y^t^ he hath been for many years as fully satisfyed in his judgement concerning the Cause of this Phaenomenon, as of any in Nature.

This must be examined by good Observations, and a general and faithfull History of y^e^ Tydes: to w^ch^ that you would contribute your and y^r^ friends symbols, is the errant of this letter from, Sir,

Y.^r^ very afft and faithfull servant,

H. Oldenburg.

The Books sent March 26, were; 1. Mr. Boyles Continuation of Expts concerning y^e^ Spring and Weight of the Air. 2. Dr. Holders Philosophy of Speech. 3. Dr. Thurstons Diatriba de respirationis usu primario. [4.] All the Transactions of A. 1669.

(Addressed) To his honored Friend John Winthrop, Esquire,
Gouernor of Connecticutt in New England.
To be inquired for at Boston. By a friend.

(Indorsed) M^r^. Hen: Oldenburge.

Whitehall, 22 Jun. '70.

My very worthy friend,—The unfrequency of our Correspondence must not in the least detract from our kindness. I usually answer your letters with the first conueniency after I receiue them. I doubt not of your continuing your industrious enquiries, though of a long while wee haue had no account of them from you. The bearer will acquaint you with occurences here & so giues me ground of excuse for the breuity of my letter, but you do not measure my friendship by the number of my lines. I will be glad of any oppertunity to make it appear by the highest kinde of demonstration you can put me to. And to shew you I have a firm confidence of yours, I do most earnestly recommend to your fauor the bearer Mr. John Pell, whose worthy father D^r^. Pell you know we value highly. The Gentleman is a Server in ordinary to the King; & I do firmly expect & certainly promise my self you will use him as you might expect I would a friend of yours vpon your serious recommendation, and indeed I will account your kindness to him as a singular testimony of your friendship to,

My worthy friend, your reall servant,

R. Moray.

(Indorsed) S^r^. Robert Moray to Gov^r^. W. 1670.

HONOURED S^{R},—You might justly blame my backwardnesse of answering your kinde & large letter to me last year, but y^{t} I trust your goodnesse will be ready still to make y^{e} best construction of what admits anie. I have my self undergone a sicknesse which was like to have proov'd y^{e} last, & since the recovery found my self on a sudden plunged in & distracted with a most troublesome tedious controversie & Lawsute, whiles my dear wife fell ill, & after much weaknesse, growing upon her byond recoverie, departed this life, which accid^{t} was followed with a sad traine of many other troubles to me; besides y^{e} losse of many very speciall ffrends in severall parts, & especially of that dear & worthy frend of ours M^{r} Morlaen, whom I had so great a Desire to have seen once more. He & his wife soon deceased one after another, & I am informed that all his goods & those many excell^{t} curiosities & rarities he was master of were suddenly sold, distracted, scattered. After all this, when I recollect what is past, I cannot but admire & adore Gods mercifull & wonderfull dispensation, deliverance, & sustentation, whereby he hath & doth uphold me in all my streights, that I have cause to complain of nothing but my own unthankfullnesse to him for all his goodnesse. S^{r}, from all this I doubt not but you will easily inferre, that it was rather an increase of trouble to me than otherwise that I could not enjoy y^{e} benefit of so acceptable an entercourse as your singular Love & kindnesse invited & engaged me to; & that I was right glad of this good opportunity by y^{e} meanes of Dr. Pell (so worthy & dear a ffrend) his own & onely son, to expectorate my case into yo^{r} Bosome, & to deliver into your own hands this Testimonie of my constant & due Respects to your person & y^{e} high & worthie esteem of yo^{r} vertues & Merits, sorrie onely that for y^{e} present I have not other & better matter to entertain you withall; & to requite the paines you took & y^{e} content you gave me by y^{e} rehearsall of so many signall acts of the Divine Providence, vulgarly call'd casualties. Truly, S^{r}, I esteemed them so much y^{e} more because I am sure you doe not report such matters by common hearsey; & indeed, S^{r}, if we would but be attentive observers of our own personall concerns of this kinde, in thankfull acknowledgem^{t} to God & usefull Providence for our selves, what Treasures would it afforde us, & what incitements, encouragem^{ts}, engagem^{ts}, to fear, love, & serve our great & good God, & to be on all occasions helpfull, comfortable, & beneficiall to ourselves & others, causing us often to rememb^{r}, sing, & practise the 107th Psalm. I could instance passages of my own Experience & Experim^{ts} of this nature, as of y^{e} greatest part of my Life, so especially of y^{e} latter troublesom yeares, but y^{t} y^{e} circumstances are too many & diffuse for Letters. However, we do well to observe all occurrences, & to improove all experiments without & within us to the End of our Creation, Redemtion, & Preservation. I hope, S.^{r}, if God vouchsafes me longer Life and health I shall be at better leasure hereafter to entertain your epistolar visits, & glad of any opportunity to shew, that, how undeserving soever of so meritorious & thrice worthy a friendship as yours, none is more willing and desirous to endeavour all acknowledgem^{t} thereof than,

Most honoured S^r^, Your very humble & much obliged Servant,

THEODORE HAAK.

LONDON, this 22 of June, 1670.

P. S.—Just now I receive a Book from Holland, in Dutch (called Historia Generalis Insectorum, ofte Allgemeene Verhandeling van de Bloedeloose Dierkens) printed at Utrecht, & set forth by one Jo. Swãmerdam, Medic. Doct. in 4^to^ ab^t^ 32 sheets with xiii cutts annexed, & yet but the First part. They tell me, y^e^ author is a rare man, & asserts nothing but what he hath found himself by his own mature & curious observations: therefore I believe I may recomend it to your procurem^t^ as a good book for to be also improoved in yo^r^ parts.

(Addressed) For JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r^, Governor of y^e^ Province of Connecticut in New England, for His Ma^tie^ of Great Brittain residing at ———.

P^r^ Frend whom God Speed.

(Indorsed) Mr. Theodore Haake.

SIR JOHN PELL'S LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FROM WILLIAM, THIRD LORD BRERETON, TO GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP OF CONNECTICUT, JUNE 23, 1670

My Honoured Friend

The Bearer hereof Mr. John Pell onely Sonne to Doctor Pell (whom you know); Judgeing it necessary for him to come into your Parts with Good Testimonialls That so it may be made evident, He is the True Person to whom M^r^ Thomas Pell late of Fairefield in Connecticut hath left an Estate there; I could not denie him a Letter to You, both to assure you, That He is no Counterfeit; And to Desire for him your Assistance not onely in all Just Cases as a Magistrate, but also as a Friend who knowing those Parts perfectly well can advise a Stranger both how to demeane himselfe, among those who are to be His Neighbours & what use to make of his Estate & Time either as to Planting or Trading.

I hope He will prove a Sober & an Industrious Man; for which, the Great Obligations I have to His Father doe make me the more concerned. And I doe hope He will Hearken to so good Advice as Yours will be, So that it will not be Labors lost.

I wish He may make the Right Use of what God hath now Given Him; His

Lot being fallen in a more Peaceable & (I hope) better Ordered Part of the World than Europe now is or is likely to be for ought yt appeares.
I have not time to entertaine my selfe in this way of discoursing with you as I intended & therefore shall onely add the assurance of my being

London
June the 23d 1670

Your very faithfull
& very ready Friend
to serve you
William Brereton

For my Honoured Friend John Winthrope Esquire Governour of Connecticut in New-England.

Governor John Winthrop's Reply to William Lord Brereton

Right Honorable
I was at Boston in the Massachusetts Colony when Mr John Pell arrived there. By whom I had the great favour of your Lordships letter. He came into that Harbour very opportunely for the expedition of his business; For one Mr John Bankes a neighbour of Mr Thomas Pell deceased; and one of those whom he had intrusted with the Estate was in a Vessel of Fairfield (the place where Mr Pell had lived) returning thither; and met the ship coming in; & came back with Mr John Pell to Boston; Where I spake with them both: & upon the reading of your Lordships letter, informed Mr Bankes, that I had full assurance from your Lordship, and divers others, that the person there present, was Mr John Pell, & he to whom Mr Tho: Pell, deceased, had given his Estate. And that very day Mr John Pell imbarqued with Mr Bankes and sailed towards Fairfield, carrying also with him my Letters to the Magistrate and others there, certifying the same to them concerning him, with desires of all good Loving respects to him and their helpfulness as his occasions should require, and that order might be taken forthwith for his quiet possession of that Estate. I have heard since of his safe arrival and welcome there; and that he hath accordingly the possession of the lands and houses and goods to which he had right, both at Fairfield, and Westchester; which is a place neere New York, where his Uncle had also a considerable plantation, with good accommodations belonging to it; My Lord, the relation, which I am now presenting to your Lordship, is of a very strange and prodigious wonder; this last summer, in this part of the world; That the like hath been knowen for the whole manner of it, I doe not remember that I have read or heard.

There was an hill neer Kenebunke River, in the province of Meane (the Eastern part of New England), which is removed out of its place, and the bottom turned upward. The time is not certaine when it was done; But that it is so, is very certaine. And it is concluded by those who live neerest to it, that it was removed eyther the Later end of June, or the beginning of July last. The relation, which I have from credible persons concerning the manner of it, is this. viz: that the Hill, being about eyght rodds from Kenebunke River side, on the west side of the River, about foure miles from the Sea, was removed over the drye Land, about eyght rods or perches, and over the tops of the trees also, which grew between the hill and that River; Leaping, as it were over them into the River: Where it was placed (the upper part being downward) and dammed up the River, till the water did work it selfe a passage thorow it. The length of the hill was about two hundred & fifty foote, one breadth of it about fourscore foot; the depth of it about twenty foot. The Situation of the hill, as to the Length of it, was Norwest & South east. The Earth of it is a blue Clay without Stones. Many round bullets were within it, which seeme to be of the same Clay hardened. I have not yet seene the place my Selfe, but sent purposly to inquire into the truth of what had beene reported concerning it. And had this relation, from Major William Philips, who dwelleth not farr from the place; and Mr. Herlakenden Symons who went to the place, and tooke very good notice, and brought me the same report of the truth & manner of it, which I had before received by a letter from Major Philips, in answer to my letter of inquiry: and told me that the earth of the hill did not lie between the former place of the hill & the river; but was caried together over the tops of the trees into the river; which seemes to be as if it were blowne up by such a force, as caried the whole body of it so farr together. I had from them some few of those round bullets, I think there were but two or three and some pieces of the earth in other formes, which were found upon that new-upper part, which was, before, the Lower, or the inward bowells of that hill: As also a small Shell or two of a kinds of Shell-fish; like some shel-fish commonly found where the sea floweth; but how they should be within that hill, is strange to consider. I have sent all that I had thence with other things to the Royall Society for their repository. I understand also from some of those parts, that there was no notice taken of any Earth-quake about that time, nor did I heare of any in other parts of the Country. I give your Lordship the Relation onely of this Prodigie, as I had it upon the best inquiry I could make; Leaving the Discussion of the natural causes which might concurre; A matter too hard for Man to comprehend. But the power of His Allmighty arm is herein manifest to all, Who weigheth the hills in a Balance and at whose presence the heavens drop, the hills are melted like wax, Sinai it selfe is moved. I hope to have opportunity to see the place, and if any other matter considerable upon my observation or further inquiry shall appeare, I shall be obliged to give your

Lordship further account thereof: and for the present, am bold humbly to subscribe my selfe

Right Hon^ble^
Boston Octob: 11.
1670

Your Lordships most obliged
humble servant
John Winthrop

Subscription:
William. Lord Brereton
at his house in Deans Yard in
Westminster.

From Original in the British Museum (Pell Papers, Sloane Collection, Vol. 427, Folio 313).

Excerpt from a letter of Waite Winthrop to Governor John Winthrop, Boston, December 11, 1671/72

"Here is noe newes from England since you were here (Boston), neither doe I hear anything of Mr. Pell and his wife. . . . I hear nothing of Mr. Pell. I think there is letters for Mr. Pell at York which Mr. Wharton has taken up." (Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. VIII:138, 5 Sec.)

Certificate of Recognition Issued by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut and Assistants to Sir John Pell on December 9, 1670/71

Att a meeting of the Governor and assistants in Hartford, Dec. 9, 1670, upon the desire of Sir John Pell, the Governor and assistants thought good hereby to certify whom it may concern that they are fully satisfied by several letters and testimonials that the Governor hath received from persons of honor in England, that the bearer of them, Sir John Pell, server in ordinary to His Majesty the King, son of Dr. Pell of London, is the undoubted nephew of Dr. Thomas Pell, late of Fairfield, and the person whom he hath made his heir in his last will and testament, of whom the inventory in trust ought to surrender the estate thereof according to his will.
Signed by order of the Governor and assistants, per me.

John Allen
Secretary to His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut

This is a true copy according to the original received the 15th December 1670, per me.

William Hill, Clerke

The above certificate was confirmed by Governor Lovelace of New York.

Sir John Pell's Grant of New Rochelle

TO ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE To whom this present writing shall come John Pell proprietor of the Mannor of Pelham within the County of Westchester in the province of New York within the Domminion of New England Gentleman and Rachell his wife Sendeth Greeting in our Lord God Everlasting. Know Yee that the said John Pell & Rachell his wife for and in consideration of the süme of Sixteens hundred twenty & Five pounds sterling currant silver money of this province to him in hand paid & secured to be paid att & before the ensealing & delivery hereof by Jacob Leisler of the Citty of New York Marchant, the Receipt whereof they the said John Pell & Rachell his Wife doe hereby Acknowledg & themselves to be fully Sattisfied & contented & thereof & of every part & parcell thereof doe hereby freely & cleerly Acquitt exonerate & discharge the said Jacob Leisler his heirs Executors Administrators & every of them by these presents, HAVE Granted bargained & sold & by these Presents Doe grant Bargaind & sell unto the said Jacob Leisler his heirs & Assignes ALL that Tract of Land lyeing & being within the said Mannor of PELHAM containning Six thousand acres of Land And also One hundred Acres of Land more which the said John Pell & Rachell his Wife do freely Give & Grant for the French Church erected or to be erected by the Inhabitants of the said Tract of Land or by their Assignes BEING butted & bounded as herein is After expressed beginning att the west side of A certaine white Oak tree marked on all foure sides standing at high water mark & at the south end of Hog Neck by Shoals harbour & runs north westerly through the great & fresh Meadow lyeing between the Roade & the sound & from the north side of the said Meadow where the said line crosses the said Meadow to run from thence due north to Bronckeses River which is the west divission line between the said John Pell's Land and the aforesaid Tract bounded on the south Easterly by the sound & Salt water & to rün east northerly to A certaine peice of Salt Meadow lyeing att the Salt Creek which Runneth up to Cedar Tree brook, or Gravilley, brook, and is the bounds to the southern. Bounded on the east by a line that runs from said Meadow north-westerly by marked trees to a certaine black Oak tree standing A little below the Roade marked on fouer Sides & from thence to rün due north fouer miles and one halfe more or lesse AND from the north end of the said west line ending att BRONCKESES River, and from thence to rün easterly till it meetes with a North end of the said eastermost bounds, together with all and Singuler the Islands & Isletts before the said tract of Land lyeing & being in the sound & Salt water with all the Harbours creeks Rivers Rivoletts Rüns Waters Lakes Meadows ponds Marshes Salt & fresh swamps Soyles timber trees pastures feedings, Inclosures fields, Quarryes, Mines mineralls, (Silver & gold Mines only excepted,) fishing hunting fowleing hawking AS Also all the Messuages Houses tenements barnes Mills Milldams as they were att the time of the ensealing & delivery of the Articles of

Aggreement of Sale for said Land bearing date the second day of July in the Yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-seaven, AS Relatôn being thereto had doth more fully and att large Appeare, AS allso the Reversion & reversions, Remainder & Remainders of a certaine Lott of Land & Meadow now in the tenure & occupâton of John Jefferd & Olive his wife being parts of the aforesaid six thousand Acres of Land with all the Privilidges belonging thereto or any wise appurtaineing or there with now used occupied & enjoyed; AS allso the Right title interest Reversion, Remainder, property claimed & demand whatsoever of in & to the same & every parte thereof as is hereafter expressed, TO HAVE & TO HOLD the Aforesaid Tract of Land with all other the Above granted premisses unto the said Jacob Leisler his heirs & Assigns for Ever to his & there own sole & proper use benefitt & behoofe for ever *YIELDING & paying unto the said John Pell his heirs & assignes Lords of the said Mannor of PELHAM or to the Assigns of him or them or their or either of them as an Acknowledgmt to the Lord of the said Mannor one fatt calfe on every fouer & twentyth day of June YEARLY & Every Years forever (if demanded)* AND the said John Pell & Rachell his Wife for themselves their heirs Executors & Administrators Respectively doe hereby covenant promisse & grant to and with the said Jacob Leisler his heirs & Assignes in mannor & formd following (that is to say,) that att the time of the ensealing hereof they the said John Pell & Rachell his Wife doe Avouch themselves to be true Sole & lawfull owners of all the afore bargained premises and that they are lawfully seized of & in the same & every part thereof in their owne proper Right of a good & Indefinable estate of Inheritance in fee simple & have in themselves good Right full power & lawful Authority to sell & dispose of the same as Aforesaid AND the said Jacob Leisler his heirs & Assignes shall & may from henceforth & forever hereafter peaceably & Quiettly have hold occupy possesse & enjoye the Above Granted premises & every parte & parcell thereof, free & clear without any charge or Incumbrance caused made Suffered or granted by said John Pell & Rachell his Wife or either of them their or either of their heirs in Estate Right title interest in law or Equity trust charge or other Incumbrance whatsoever, AND the said John Pell & Rachell his Wife for themselves Respectively & for their Respective heires doe covenant promisse & grant to warrant & defend the Above Granted premisses with their appürtenânces & every part & parcel thereof Unto the said Jacob Leisler his heirs & Assigns forever, Against the Lawfull claimes & demands whatsoever, IN WITTNESSE whereof the said John Pell & Rachell his Wife have hereunto Sett their hands & Seales in New York & the twentyth day of September in the First years of the Reigne of our soveragne Lord & Lady William, & Mary, KING & QUEEN of England &c., and, in the Years of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Eighty & Nine.

JOHN PELL.

the mark R
Rachell Pell

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For Sir John Pell, Second Lord

There is no bibliography for Sir John Pell, Second Lord, because no really good historical work has been published on the period of Colonial history in New York and Westchester County in which he lived. The material for the New York sequence of this book was obtained by the author from the extensive document collection of the New York Historical Society. The London section was based upon the personal papers of the Reginolles family in England. For Sir John's experiences in Connecticut, the records in Hartford provided the principal source of basic material.

The author also consulted Bolton's *History of Westchester County,* Vol. I, for historical references.