UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Mobilizing the Metropolis:
Politics, Plots and Propaganda in Civil War London, 1642-1644

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Jordan Swan Downs

December 2015

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Thomas Cogswell, Chairperson
Dr. Jonathan Eacott
Dr. Randolph Head
Dr. J. Sears McGee

The Dissertation of Jordan Swan Downs is approved:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

Acknowledgements

Many librarians have helped me to navigate archives on both sides of the Atlantic. I am especially grateful to those from London's livery companies, the London Metropolitan Archives, the Guildhall Library, the National Archives, and the British Library, the Bodleian, the Huntington and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. Personal debts are due to the many scholars and individuals who tipped me off to the bounty of lesser-known holdings and their contents. Special thanks, however, are owed to Jason Peacey for sharing his unrivaled knowledge of archival materials during the 1640s on numerous occasions. This project has benefitted immensely from his generosity.

This dissertation was aided by a community of scholars who triangulate their professional lives in relation to the British Library, the Institute of Historical Research, and the Skinner's Arms. A lengthy and rotating cast of faces means that many must unfortunately remain unnamed, but numerous seminars, productive conversations, and pints have been enjoyed with Richard Bell, John Collins, Tom Cogswell, Sam Fullerton, Simon Healey, Peter Lake, Edward Legon, Sears McGee, Leanna McLaughlin, Noah Millstone, Jason Peacey, Tim Reinke-Williams, Steve Teske, Eliot Vernon, Tim Wales, and others. Three young scholars have been of particular importance to my time in London. Matt Growhoski, Dave Magliocco, and Isaac Stephens have all helped to sharpen my thinking about this project – and more importantly they have made the modern metropolis feel more like home.

peregrinations and ability to find "what is on in London's art galleries" – has made for the best of times.

Researching and writing this dissertation set the pace for our late twenties and beyond. This one is for her.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Mobilizing the Metropolis:
Politics, Plots and Propaganda in Civil War London, 1642-1644

by

Jordan Swan Downs

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
University of California, Riverside, December 2015
Dr. Thomas Cogswell, Chairperson

This dissertation explores the dynamics of mobilization in London during the first three years of the

English Civil War (1642-1644). Previous scholars have assumed that the City, which was the single most

important source of manpower and resources at the outbreak war, was uniformly "Parliamentarian" in

outlook. I contend that this viewpoint is problematic for a number of reasons. Foremost, it has

misrepresented metropolitan inhabitants by focusing almost exclusively on elite as opposed to popular

narratives. We now recognize that London's mobilization depended upon a wide array of attitudes and

opinions. These could be as clearly expressed as they were on 13 November 1642, when thousands of

inhabitants marched to Turnham Green to stop royalists from marching on London and to protect their

families, religions, and livelihoods. Alternatively, they could be as convoluted as the opinions expressed

during public demonstrations, or as subtle and complex as the many printed reactions to material that dealt

with propagandized plots and newsbooks accounts of military defeats and successes. Next is the matter of

change over time. The persistent burdens of war transformed how Londoners perceived the conflict. Not

only did many Londoners quickly lose their appetites for war, but many, in light of shifting attitudes, also

worked harder than ever to mobilize the City's inhabitants. This dissertation therefore pays particular

attention to London's leading belligerents – especially Lord Mayor Isaac Pennington and his allies. These

radical citizens helped to ensure that the City's Common Council operated as a politically innovative "third

house of parliament," secured desperately needed loans from London's livery companies, and worked

tirelessly to see that "delinquent" ministers were extirpated from City parishes. While never entirely

successful in their aims, London's belligerents nevertheless altered the course of the war. Their efforts to

win over the hearts and minds of Londoners spurred rival campaigns to both militarize and pacify the metropolis. Rival efforts – and especially those of London's leading belligerents – ultimately shaped the terms of the civil war in metropolis and the wider nation.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Section I. London on the Brink

Chapter 1. Preparing for War

Chapter 2. London and the Sinews of War

Chapter 3. The Metropolis and the Outbreak of War

Section II: Metropolitan Mobilizations, November 1642 – May 1643

Chapter 4. The Early War Effort

Chapter 5. London's War and Peace Movements

Chapter 6. The Transformation of the Metropolis

Chapter 7. Maintaining Mobilization

Section III. "Crushing this cockatrices Egg": Waller's Plot and Popular Mobilization

Chapter 8. Militant Ascendancy and Collapse

Chapter 9. The Supersession of the General Rising (August – December 1643)

Section IV: 1644: A Shifting War Effort

Chapter 10. Maintaining Mobilizations

List of Figures

Introduction

The Return of the Five Members

A boat trip up the Thames in the early 1640s would provide sweeping views of a city that had clearly outgrown its medieval footprint. Following the river's silt-rich waters westwards through London, a traveler would be flanked by wooden embankments and moored merchant vessels, pulled either east or west by the prevailing tide. London Bridge, which had been the City's sole crossing since the early thirteenth century, served as both the southern gateway to the bustling metropolis and as a barrier to the large seaward vessels that brought goods to the metropolis from the Continent and the world. Its jutted timber stories, gatehouse, and covered wooden walkway provided homes and a pathway from the southeast to the north of England. Upriver from the bridge would be numerous wherries, slender riverboats that were either docked in clusters or rowed by watermen ferrying passengers who were willing to pay to avoid travel though the City's cramped and often dirty streets. The north embankment of the Thames gave way to Saint Paul's, London's imposing medieval cathedral around which huddled countless half-timbered buildings, brick chimneys, and dozens of parish spires. To the north of St. Paul's sat rows of London's bookseller's shops, and within the Cathedral itself and in its center aisle was the rumor mill and gossip center of "Paul's walk," the place where any eager Londoner could come to pick up the most recent printed newsbook and pamphlet, or hear the latest gossip and rumor. Underdeveloped by comparison, the south bank of the Thames was dominated by St. Mary, its own cathedral that was dedicated in the twelfth century and was better known to contemporaries as "Overie" due to its position over the river. A glance past St. Mary Overie on the river would reveal rows of houses and brothels known as "stews," along with the more prominent bull and bear baiting rings and theatres, large ovoid structures that entertained scores of people throughout the Elizabethan and Stuart period. The latter were closed by ordinance on 6 September 1642, but the baiting rings remained open for years to come. Further up the Bankside were yet more rows of houses, along with fields and trees that followed the curve of the river on towards Lambeth Palace, the London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Looking north, the gradual bend of the river would reveal imposing estates, including Essex House, Arundel House and Somerset House. Dominating the

foreshore, these palatial houses spanned all the way to the meeting point of St. Martin's Lane and Charing

Cross, an area where the river narrowed slightly and made way to the Palace of Westminster, the political

heart of the nation. Here the skyline was defined less by parish spires and timber frames than by an

architectural hodgepodge, including Inigo Jones's neo-classical Banqueting House, the Norman Great Hall,

and Westminster Abbey. Near to these landmarks were two important structures that ran perpendicular to

the river: St. Stephen's Chapel, the meeting place for the House of Commons, and St. Margaret's, the

parish church of the Commons.[1]

A similar view met five members of Parliament, who, on 11 January 1642, boarded a barge in

central London to be rowed up the Thames towards the Westminster. The men – John Hampden, Arthur

Haselrig, Denzil Holles, John Pym, and William Strode were all leading political opponents of the crown

who had narrowly avoided arrest by the king and his soldiers in the House of Commons on 4 January –

disembarked after a triumphant procession that began with their emergence after a week of hiding in the

puritan enclave surrounding St. Stephen's Coleman Street, a notoriously godly parish to the east of St

Paul's. Rumors at the time suggest that the "Five Members" took shelter in the home of Isaac Pennington, a

godly and radical Londoner who would be appointed Lord Mayor later that year. Next they were escorted

west to London's Guildhall by regiments of City Trained Bands, and from there they cut south to embark

on the barge that would see them upriver on their journey towards reentry into the House of Commons.

Their alightment at the wharf in Westminster met with triumphant cheers from onlookers and salute by

cannon fire.

Nehemiah Wallington, a puritan artisan who "taried at home that day" in his parish of St. Leonard

Eastcheap, could hear the cannons firing from over two miles downriver. Wallington was in fact very near

to the location where the five members began their journey earlier in the day, and he at first mistook the

explosions to be sounds from an attack on the City. Wallington, however, was soon relieved to discover

that the commotion was just another part of the widespread celebrations that were being held in honor of

---

[1] This description is based off of Wenceslaus Hollar's "Long View of London" from 1647.

the returning Five Members.[2] Emerging from House of Commons later that same afternoon, Sir Simonds

D'Ewes, a member of the Long Parliament well-known to historians for his extensive and detailed journals,

decided "to walk awhile in Westminster hall" to observe the "many of the citizens of the trained bands of

London" who had come out in support for the Five Members.[3] D'Ewes counted a full "8 companies which

guarded us this day by land being in all 2400 Men." Accompanying London's Trained Bands were

additional "companies of the Cittie of Westminster." D'Ewes made special note of the crowd's prominent

display of "the Protestation" that was "formerlie framed & taken by the members of the howse Commons,

& afterwards by most of the citizens." D'Ewes saw "divers of the Londoners" who had attached copies

"upon the topp of the pikes," while others, he was informed, had fixed the Protestation "like a little square

banner" to their "muskets," or elsewhere such as the one man who "had it fastened upon his breast." Much

more than simply showing up to cheer on the returning members, Londoners had come with a veritable

printed motto of their political reasons for doing so.[4] Attached to their weapons and bodies was the same

document that had been framed the previous May 1641 to defuse tensions between the king and parliament.

But on this occasion – on 11 January 1642 – the document was serving an altogether different

purpose; it was not being presented as a means for alleviating tensions, but was instead a mark of popular

agitation and anger over Charles I's recent disruption of the Long Parliament with an armed guard, an

undeniable breach of parliamentary privilege. It was, then, as Conrad Russell has suggested, a popular

display that served as a means for "defending established authority against its lawful king."[5] The

trainbandsmen and other Londoners who chose to display the Protestation understood that they were,

foremost, showcasing solidarity with the Five Members, but they also knew that they were standing for

their shared interest in "the Power and Privileges of Parliament" and "the Lawfull Rights and Liberties of

---

[2] B[ritish] L[ibrary] Add. Ms. 21935, "A bundel of Marcys," fol. 163v.
[3] For a full and exellent discussion of D'Ewes and his political and private career, see Sears McGee, *An Industrious Mind: The Worlds of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (Stanford, 2015).
[4] BL, Harley Ms. 162, fol. 318r; Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1961), p. 145.
[5] Conrad Russell, *The Fall of British Monarchies, 1637-1641* (Oxford, 1991), p. 299.

the Subject."[6] These ideals, so immediately relevant and pressing in the aftermath of the attempt on the

Five Members, helped to eventually plunge England and its capital into nearly a decade of bloody civil war.

Mobilizing the Metropolis

The present study aims to put London and Londoners back at the center of the English Revolution, and in

particular at the crucial stage of the conflict that lasted from 1642 though to 1644. Contemporaries were of

course well aware of London's significance in terms of wartime mobilization. Indeed, this fact seems to

have been so widely recognized that it scarcely required mentioning. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, for

one, noted that the City's centrality and strategic importance. He looked back to the Wars of the Roses, and

in particular to Edward IV, who, he recalled, had long ago "recovered the city of London, and by that the

kingdom."[7] Clarendon of course hoped that Charles I might do the same in the 1640s. Thomas Hobbes

offered a similar assessment of the capital in his *Behemoth*, a controversial account of the civil war that

remained unpublished under Charles II and claimed that if it were not "for the City the Parliament could

never have made the War," and therefore that "the Rump" would never "have murdered the King."[8]

Clarendon and Hobbes both lived through the wars, and as historians they came to share similar

assessments: both believed that London was of unique and indisputable significance to parliament's war

effort. The capital had always been key to success.

Foremost, London was the nation's economic center. Ben Coates points out that the City enjoyed a

"dominant position" over "England's internal and external trade" since it acted as the nation's "main port"

and the "centre of the transport network."[9] But more than its apparent geographical advantage, London also

served as home to livery companies, "ancient" guilds that had long controlled the nation's major trades and

---

[6] *Protestation* (London, 1641).
[7] Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England* (Oxford, 1849), vol. II, p. 207.
[8] Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth* (London, 1682), p. 334; This is also quoted in Steve Porter (ed.), *London and the Civil War* (London, 1996), p. 1.
[9] Ben Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 6, 15.

manufacturing. Over the centuries, London's corporations had become inextricably interwoven with the political operations of the City. They were, as Keith Lindley has observed, "London's most important social organisations." They provided "aid, discipline and a sense of community and fellowship for their members."[10] Of more than 100 companies, London's "Twelve Great" were dominant in terms of both the political status of their members, their relative wealth, and their historic status. An order of precedence for the companies was agreed upon in 1515 and it was decided that the "Twelve Great worshipful companies" would consist of the Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, and Clothworkers. London's twelve preeminent companies went on to provide many of the City's aldermen and lord mayors.

If noteworthy as an unrivaled economic center, London was also an unparalleled source of manpower. Londoners had long enjoyed traditions of martial display, especially in terms of the fashionable and private companies that met regularly in Artillery Gardens such as the one in Bishopsgate and the Military Garden in St. Martin's Fields. If not participants themselves, Londoners frequently encountered scenes of drilling that included formational marching to the beating of drums and the waving of banners. Regular practice and drilling was sometimes supplemented by private performance. One such meeting took place in October 1638 at the Merchant Tailor's Hall when "fourscore" of the Honourable Artillery Company staged a mock battle between Saracens and Christians. The entire affair was an exercise in precision. The twenty-two Saracens marched into the hall under the command of Captain Thomas Whitley, decked in turbans and to the beat of a "*Turkey Drumme*" along with "a hideous noise making pipe" that was carved from buffalo horn. Next came thirty-two men in "Moderne Armes" – pikes and muskets – led in formation by Captain John Venn. Once in the hall the men took to striking their drums to coordinate "a lofty *English march*." The introduction of the two sides was followed by speeches, music, a display of drilling formations and a play battle that left the Christian Englishmen to defeat the Saracens "in a triumphant manner."[11] As Barabra Donagan has suggested, the "exotic presentation" resembled a masque for its "combined music, drill, and drama," but it was also a display that reinforced the "theme of the

---

[10] Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 158.
[11] William Barriffe, *Mars his Triumph* (London, 1638), pp. 1-2, 6, 40.

solider-citizen."[12] When the entire performance ended the men marched out of the hall to resume their

regular lives as "either *Merchants* or *Shopkeepers* for the most part." Such well-rehearsed performances

reflected the sense that Londoners were "no younglings in the Art *Millitary*," but that they were in fact

among the nation's most capable soldiers. [13] It will come as little surprise that many of the members of the

Artillery Company went on, as David Lawrence reveals, "to lead the regiments of the London trained

bands."[14] Thomas Whitley, for instance, went on to serve as a lieutenant of the City's Green Regiment in

1642, while John Venn was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of Sir John Wollaston's Yellow Regiment.

The trained bands were London's official armed force, and as such they were expected to train

regularly so that they could be relied upon as the City's first line of defense. When war broke out, the vast

majority of the nation's standing forces were organized in local militia regiments comprised of

householders and freeholders who were expected to be prepared to defend their families and livelihoods –

or in many cases the replacements who were outfitted to do the same. The largest and by far best organized

of these forces belonged to the nation's capital. In the years leading up to war, London's trained bands

included some 6,000 men who were organized into four regiments. However, in February 1642 and amidst

tensions surrounding the crisis of an uprising in Ireland, London's Common Council issued orders for a

major reorganization and expansion of their militia. The total forces were increased to 8,000 infantry who

were then divided into six regiments under the command of colonels and named after the colors of their

ensigns, including Blue, White, Orange, Red, Green and Yellow. Nine additional regiments were added in

the following year, including those from Southwark, the Tower Hamlets, Westminster, along with six

"Auxiliaries" who were raised within London and its environs. The combined militia could call upon

upwards of 20,000 men in late 1643, a force that would not be matched in size until the creation of the New

Model Army more than a year later. London's trained bands supplied desperately needed men-at-arms in

the form of brigades that marched further afield to war between 1642 and 1644. It was during the first three

---

[12] Barbara Donagan, *War in England, 1642-1649* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 58-9; See also, G. A. Raikes, *History of the Honourable Artillery Company*, 2 vols. (London, 1878); G. Goold Walker, *The Honourable Artillery Company* (London, 1926).
[13] Barriffe, *Mars his Triumph*, pp. 39, 48.
[14] David Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden, 2009), p. 157.

years of campaigns and sieges that many young City apprentices made the transition from being untried volunteers to armed combatants. Most experienced battle for the first time under command of six colonels and forty respective company captains. But once in the field, the infantry brigades were under the command of parliamentary generals such as Sir William Waller and Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, seasoned veterans who had learned the trials and tribulations of war on the Continent. Tensions often arose when companies of Londoners who found themselves under the authority of parliamentary generals. For many new recruits and trainbandsmen, the march out with these commanders in 1642 and 1643 marked not only their first experiences of war, but also their first time out of the sheltered confines of the capital.

Parliament's Militia Ordinance of 15 March 1642 put the reorganized trained bands under the authority of London's Militia Committee, which was chosen by the Common Council and approved by both Houses on 29 March. The initial committee included some London's important military leaders such as Sergeant-Major Skippon and the colonels Thomas Atkins, John Warner, John Wollaston, and John Towse. Present also were leading "radical" militants such Captain Randall Mainwaring, Captain Owen Rowe, and John Fowke.[15] On 6 September 1642 the Committee replaced Sir John Gayer and Sir Jacob Gerard, two somewhat moderate members who had "wholy deserted the said service," with the recently appointed Lord Mayor, Isaac Pennington, and with the Sheriffs of London, George Garrett and George Clarke.[16] The Militia Committee, which Brenner identified as "the key institutional base of the City radical movement," had in effect become the martial extension of the City Common Council.[17]

The Trained Bands never intended to march out of London as a single parliamentary army, but at the same 6 September Common Council meeting that approved the addition of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to the Militia Committee, it was agreed upon that "one Regiment shall weekly go abroad during the time of this imminent danger."[18] And thus by early September 1642 London's trained bands had in effect become a

---

[15] See *LJ* iv, p. 682 for members from March 1642. These included Sir John Gayer, Sir Jacob Gerard [listed as Garrett in the *LJ*], Thomas Atkins, John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Philip Skippon, Randall Mainwaring, William Gibbs, John Fowke, James Bunce, Francis Peck, Samuel Warner, James Russell, Nathaniel Wright, William Barkley, Alexander Normington, Stephen Estwicke, and Owen Rowe.
[16] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 37v.
[17] Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 513.
[18] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 37v.

supplementary force for parliament's war effort. From that point forward, the Militia Committee readily and repeatedly agreed to send infantry brigades into the field. The initial decision to reorganize London's trained bands reflected a decidedly conservative means for preserving the capital, but within less than a month of the outbreak of war it was clear that London's forces, under the authority of a largely pro-war Militia Committee, would play an important role in parliament's efforts further afield.

Clearly, the interests of the committee did not always reflect those of the individual soldiers who marched out to participate in the war. And even if, as Joyce Lee Malcolm once suggested, London was to remain "Charles I's own particular Rubicon," there is ample evidence to show that the metropolis's inhabitants were not always sympathetic to parliament's cause, or to the idea of fighting against their fellow Englishmen.[19] Indeed, large segments of the population remained loyal to their king, while many in the metropolis wished to see peace for the sake of preservation of trade. Others were either recalcitrant or indifferent. These were decidedly different, albeit not necessarily mutually exclusive, interests. Equally diverse interests motivated those who favored war. The diverse nature of individual interests serves as an important reminder that "London" was never either "parliamentarian" or "royalist," but rather that segments of the population mobilized. Orders from the Milita Committee were an obvious means military mobilization, but support for the war effort was not limited simply to the trailing of pikes or firing of muskets. Indeed, Londoners frequently contributed "the sinews of war" to the respective efforts – they provided the food, money, clothes, and other volunteer efforts that were needed to secure the metropolis and keep soldiers fielded. Understanding the wide range of popular efforts that were behind mobilization is of the utmost importance to the present study. In his valuable study of the civil war, Michael Braddick made the persuasive suggestion that mobilizations can be better understood in terms of "circumstance as well as conviction," as intersections between political developments and active decision-making.[20] This is an important idea when applied to wartime London; it suggests that the popular metropolitan mobilizations of the early 1640s should understood in terms of the juncture between specific political developments and

---

[19] Joyce Lee Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646* (London, 1983), p. 27.
[20] Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2008), p. 226.

the reactions of individuals and groups (such as parochial communities and livery companies). It provides, in short, an important means for connecting political participants with events and ideas.

Londoners of course found plenty of situations to which they could react. They boarded up shops, blockaded streets and build fortifications, just as they gathered into "tumults" and built bonfires. They donated money, beer, cheese, and bread to the baggage trains that would leave the capital to feed London's trained bands, and they cheered on the return of brigades who returned from service. Most of London's men and women of course never saw the push of pike, but this did not stop them from working on behalf of their fellow Londoners, nor did it prevent them from thronging the streets to cry out their hopes or to sign and mark petitions that showcased their plights and desires. Mobilizations depended on conditions that were never entirely fixed; instead, they changed frequently throughout the civil war period and in response to ever-shifting politico-religious developments. Divine intervention permeated the minds and lives of early modern English people, imbuing events and actions with unmistakable signs of the Almighty's approbation and condemnation.[21] Skilled ministers delved deeply into scripture throughout the war in order to find allegorical and metaphorical examples of divine justification for events, to guide popular perception about God's will, and at some times even to ignite fighting spirit amongst their parishioners. Sermons hold an important place in the present study; they reveal divine messages that were crafted for thousands who worshipped daily throughout the City. Whether preached as a means for spiritual instruction, or as a way to inspire the will to fight or contribute, sermons maintained a central and indeed indispensible place in the mobilization of the metropolis.

How, then, did London come to be viewed as a mainstay of the parliamentarian war effort? Answering this question, in even the most rudimentary of ways, requires the investigation of a daunting array of materials relating to the daily affairs of Londoners. Some of these processes have already been well charted. Joseph Birken, for instance, has demonstrated how the Royal College of Physicians went from being "a lukewarm supporter of parliament" to becoming "by the end of 1643," a company that was "firmly committed to the parliamentarian cause." Like many other professional bodies and trade

---

[21] See Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

9

associations within the City, the Royal College of Physicians did not start the war as "parliamentarian," but rather the company gradually developed "commitments" to parliament the war progressed – these commitments, moreover, often owed more to the fact that the college's specific interests aligned with those of parliament, than to any sudden decision to support the cause. As Birken demonstrates, the Royal College owed royal patronage for many of their privileges. And yet, like the majority of London's corporate bodies, they eventually decided to pledge support for the parliamentarian cause, including service in the field to care for troops under the Essex's command. Birken readily admits that some of the company's members refused to assist parliament and remained "clearly associated with royalism," but the company on the whole had transformed from being predominantly royalist to mostly parliamentarian.[22] By this measure, the Royal College of Physicians was, in a sense, a microcosm of wider London; a City that appeared – and to certain extent was – parliamentarian, but which was in fact home to a diverse and politically divided population.

Like Birken's account, the present study will attempt to delineate opposing mobilizations in order to understand how London became – or perhaps *appeared* to become – a mainstay for the parliamentarian war effort. Metropolitan mobilization took place on a range of levels. It depended upon popular agitation and political demonstrations made use of church naves, open courtyards, bustling streets, alehouses, and booksellers' stalls, just as it could take place at closed vestry meetings, in livery company court sessions, in official meetings of the Common Council, or in parliamentary committees. The first civil war was shaped and reshaped in a capital that hosted men and women with myriad and ever-shifting interests; these can, on the one hand, be reduced to polarities between monolithic identities – between "parliamentarians" and "royalists" or later between political "independents" and "presbyterians" – but it is entirely more important to understand motivations as dialectically informed and non-exclusive. Londoners could therefore fall into any number of overlapping categories; they could be both for the rights and authority of parliament and opposed to war against the king, just as they could seek a national church settlement, but also be open to the notion of limited religious toleration. Londoners, in short, maintained nuanced and often contradictory

---

[22] William Joseph Birken, "The Royal College of Physicians of London and Its Supply of the Parliamentary Cause in the English Civil War," *JBS* 23 (1983), pp. 49, 52-8.

religious and political preferences, and their preferences informed how they would interact with the war effort.

Recognizing the complexity – and indeed at times seemingly contradictory nature – of Londoners' varied opinions is of the utmost importance when attempting to tease out the wider currents and complexities of metropolitan mobilization. It also allows for a more accurate appraisal of London's impact on the wider civil war. The City's inhabitants, on the whole, were presented with contradictory terms throughout the civil war period. Given these terms, it should come as little surprise that Londoners consistently sought one thing above all others: self-preservation. Self-preservation was the main reason why Londoners engaged in war during the early 1640s, just as it was ultimately what guided companies like the Royal College of Physicians and many of the City's other corporations; when presented with a threat to their lives and livelihoods, their religion and their families, Londoners acted. They did so on numerous occasions from the time when they marched with high spirits to Turnham Green in early November 1642 through to period of regular desertions that led up to the Second Battle of Newbury in October 1644. If ordered to march by the Militia Committee, and reluctant to leave their homes, Londoners nevertheless exerted themselves and helped to bolster parliament's war effort in the field. The extent to which inhbitants perceived threats was dictated by a wide range of concerted efforts to sway popular opinion through persistent and concerted efforts to propagandize news and political events, to the pervasive tune of pulpits and the systematic printing of proclamations and ordinances.

There remains a problematic tendency to explain parliament's war effort in terms of the efforts of the elite, and in particular a leading faction, or "Junto" of noblemen and leading politicians who waged a rebellion against their king. This is a view that was most recently been elaborated upon by John Adamson, who focused on a central core of leaders who vigorously pursued reforms that led to war with the king.[23] Adamson is on one level correct; there is little reason in denying that men like Saye and Sele and the Earl of Warwick, along with Hampden, Holles, Pym, Oliver St. John and others, consistently pursued policies that put them in conflict with the crown. But this "revolt" was far from "noble" when it came to London.

---

[23] John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London, 2007).

Rather, the metropolitan wing of the effort against Charles I was comprised of a wide range of middling to upper sorts of godly and "radical" merchants and liverymen, headed by participants in London's revolution that can be linked to parliament's "war faction" by only tenuous strands. Indeed, these were the very subject of Valerie Pearl's groundbreaking research on London's "puritan revolution" more than half a century ago.[24] Little has been done to modify Pearl's thesis, which has largely been reiterated and expanded upon in recent works by Robert Brenner and Keith Lindley.[25] Brenner's *Merchants and Revolution* successfully traces the ways in which a band of "colonial-interloping merchants" participated in the radical revolution over 1642-1643, and incidentally provides some of the best narrative coverage of the entire period, while Lindley's exhaustively researched *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* confirms that the same Londoners regularly participated in politics – but in the latter case with little recourse to wider politico-religious ideologies. Both of these works, in the end, take different paths that confirm Pearl's earlier thesis: they show that authority over London's mobilization ended up in the hands of a largely puritan, self-promoting, and distinctly parliamentarian, Common Council and Militia Committee.[26] The leading Londoners who sought to mobilize the metropolis worked alongside their fellow belligerents in the Commons and the Lords, but there are in the end, little firm evidence to prove that they closely coordinated their efforts.

London's militant leaders were also of decidedly less lofty origins than their parliamentary counterparts. Most were, nevertheless, respectable freemen and aldermen of "upper" and "middling" standing in the City. They included energetic opponents of the crown such as John Fowke, a godly man who had lost considerable sums due to seizure of goods by the king, Robert Tichborne, a skinner and lieutenant-colonel in the auxiliaries, Edmund Harvey a draper and colonel of horse, and Randall Mainwaring, a mercer and eager promoter of the war effort who used his company of "redcoats" to police the capital in an unsparing manner. Yet they also included men of prestige who were nevertheless

---

[24] Pearl, *London and the Outbreak*.
[25] Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Chance, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton, 1993), p. 511; Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997).
[26] Pearl described these events as "The Crisis of 1639 and 1640" in *London*, pp. 91-105.

lampooned by royalists for their impecunious or lowly origins. Such men included John Venn, who despite being a successful trader of wools and silks, was later depicted as a poor merchant, and Colonel Richard Browne, who was gleefully and repeatedly mocked in *Mercurius Aulicus* as "the Woodmonger."[27] By far the most important of these men was Isaac Pennington, a godly and genuinely radical member of the Fishmongers who rose to prominence in City politics and was appointed Lord Mayor of the City by parliament on 16 August 1642. Alongside Pennington, the above men made up a core of political support for the parliamentarian war effort in London. There were of course many other important leading militants in London, but the above seven men served the City in a military capacity. Each, moreover, played a major role in their local parishes. All but Pennington and Harvey were members of the Honorable Artillery Company. Pennington, moreover, joined his fellow militants Harvey, Tichborne, and Venn to become regicides in 1649. If these seven men do in fact represent the City portion of a cascading alliance that reached from Westminster the Guildhall, there can be little doubt that they waged war against the crown and sought to mobilize the metropolis strictly according to their own terms. By early 1643, all seven were singled out on charges of high treason by the king.

The charge against the seven helped to escalate London's war effort against the king. From that point forward, the seven worked diligently in the Common Council and the Militia Committee to see the City transformed into a military stronghold for parliament over the course of 1643. Their concerted efforts, alongside with those of political leaders in parliament, and those of a dedicated ministry, helped to win the hearts and minds of Londoners. Their campaigns to gain support and sway opinions depended on a wide range of media that ranged from handwritten petitions to personally addressed letters to livery companies and members of parliament. Not least, they utilized print in the shape of proclamations and orders sent out by Pennington and allies. Their orders could be as straightforward as schedules for popular meetings, or as important as demands for loans and volunteer work for building fortifications. Eventually they would be made the collection of money needed to care for sick and wounded veterans of the war. The work of London's political leaders, as much as those waged by members of parliament's "war party," or by

---

[27] Keith Lindley, "Venn, John, (1586-1650)," *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); for mention of Browne's efforts to raise troops and his status see *Mercurius Aulicus*, 17 February 1643, sig. N4r.

committed segments of the House of Lords, shaped the terms of the metropolitan war effort, and by extension the wider civil war.

London

Although once considered something of a backwater, London grew rapidly over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, steady immigration and regular population growth, coupled with relatively few recent outbreaks of the plague, had allowed London's population to quadruple between 1500 and 1600, and double yet again over the course of the early Stuart period.[28] The City had become home to some 350,000 to 400,000 inhabitants in 1640, making it the largest in Britain by a substantial gap. Norwich, which was by most standards a large market town and the nation's "second city" in the seventeenth century, was estimated to have upwards of 32,000 inhabitants by 1622, a mere fraction of London's total.[29] Smaller yet – but still quite large in relative terms – were Coventry, York, and Bristol, important market cities and hubs of political activity that served thousands of people. But much like Norwich, these latter cities were dwarfed in size by the capital.

London was also impressive by wider European standards. Just to the north, Edinburgh housed anywhere between 25,000 and 36,000 people.[30] Dublin was smaller yet, with somewhere near 20,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 1640s.[31] Looking further afield to the Continent would reveal that London's population was on par with – and even in some cases exceeded – Europe's largest civic centers. Paris had steadily grown over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries so that it provided for

---

[28] Derek Keene, "Material London in Time and Space," in Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.) *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 57.

[29] A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1974), p. 10.

[30] Keith Wrightson notes the lower estimate in *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750*, p. 164. This second, higher estimate is based on James McGrath, "The Medieval and Early Modern Burgh," in Thomas Martin Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds) *Glasgow: Beginnings to 1830*, (Manchester, 1995), p. 45.

[31] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (McGill, 1994), p. 31.

nearly half a million souls by 1645.[32] Naples, meanwhile, was home to some 350,000 inhabitants in 1647, while Amsterdam, despite decades of rapid growth and unprecedented international trade, held just 140,000 people that same year.[33] Only one European city was considerably larger than London by the middle of the seventeenth century and it sat at the meeting point between continents and cultures on the Bosporus; indeed, Istanbul had a diverse and growing population that exceeded some 600,000.[34] Perhaps more staggering than London's rapid growth, was the fact that it contained some "7 per cent of England's population in 1650," a figure that is qualified by the fact that only "some 2.5 per cent of Frenchmen lived in Paris" at the same time.[35] The City, quite simply put, dominated the landscape of Britain both physically and demographically.

London was itself governed by a series of overlapping and often confusing jurisdictions. Three main bodies, or "courts" administered the ancient City: these included the Court Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, and the Common Hall. The greatest authority resided in the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, which, as its name implies, included of the Lord Mayor, a position that had been in place since 1189 and was normally elected annually by members of the aldermanic bench. London's twenty-six aldermen came from pools of four nominees that were selected by wardmotes, which were annual gatherings that required all of London's householders and "non-freeman" males above the age of fifteen to nominate for local offices. Freemen in fact nominated aldermen and common councilmen, and the final selection of any new alderman resided in the hands of existing aldermen. Once chosen, an alderman served for life and could only be removed by vote of their fellow aldermen. If chosen by a form of indirect election, the stocking of aldermen was nevertheless a self-serving process; as Valerie Pearl has

---

[32] Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton, 2007), p. 2.

[33] Jack Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, 1991), p. 167; For the population of Amsterdam in 1647, see Friso Wilenga, *A History of the Netherlands From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London, 2015), p. 66; See E. Anthony Wrigley, "Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period," *JIH*, 15 (1985), pp. 683-728; See Jeremy Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 1.

[34] See Charles Issawi, "Economic CHange and Urbanization in the Middle East," in *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. Ira Marvin Lapidus (Berkeley, 1969), p. 103.

[35] These figures come from Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (Harvard, 1998), p. 131.

pointed out, London's government amounted to an "oligarchic and almost self-perpetuating" court that was dominated by City's "wealthiest citizens."[36]

The Common Council, which issued London's legislation, was comprised of four to eight citizens from each of the City's twenty-five wards. Like the Common Hall, members were to be chosen by freemen and householders during the annual wardmote, but in almost all cases they were members of livery companies who were selected by Aldermen.[37] Although this meant that there were usually upwards of 200 members of the Common Council, the court in fact operated under the control of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who both selected matters for the court's consideration and "exercised a veto over its proceedings."[38] This meant that the Court of Common Council was, in effect, a legislative extension of the Court of Aldermen. As we shall see, this had important implications for metropolitan mobilization. After the outbreak of the war, royalists were quick to point out that the Common Council operated under the aegis of the Lord Mayor and his allies. By August 1643, the royalist Peter Heylyn could claim with confidence in the newspaper *Mercurius Aulicus* that "my Lord *Say*, or *Pym*, or *Isaac Pennington*," were the three main proponents of war against the crown and that they could be found in "any of the three Houses wherein they are leaders."[39] The Common Council had, in short, come to represent London's own "third house" of parliament, a bastion from which parliament's cause had been imposed upon the metropolis.

Commons Halls operated in an entirely different manner, but they were equally bound to the authority of the Lord Mayor. Common Halls were open to all of the City's liverymen and therefore by far the largest general assemblies in London; attendance at the meetings regularly numbered in the thousands during the 1640s. Yet Common Halls were summoned and dismissed by special order of the Lord Mayor. This meant that the assemblies operated in an ad hoc fashion and that they frequently reflected the specific interests of the incumbent Lord Mayor who sought to share politically important information with a wide section of London's population. As we shall see, this also meant that the Common Halls of the early 1640s

---

[36] See Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-1643* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 59-60.
[37] Ibid., pp. 54-5.
[38] Ibid., p. 57.
[39] Peter Heylyn, *Mercurius Aulicus*, 29 August 1643, E. 67[7], p. 475.

were summoned for agenda-specific purposes. In particular, Lord Mayors called the assemblies ad advantageous moments in order to share news of military victories, to manipulate political events, or in some cases to propagandize reports of the City's narrow deliverance from dangerous plots.

London's processes of indirect election made for a strong divide between an elite leadership and the "lower and middling" sorts who comprised the vast majority of the City's population.[40] While meaningful political participation was reserved for the metropolis's many liverymen in Common Halls, and indeed in theory for all freemen at annual wardmotes, control over City government actually resided in the hands of a select few – an oligarchy of no more than twenty-six individuals who were Aldermen and the Lord Mayor. The process by which this body gained control over the metropolis has been explored in detail and expertly elsewhere, and most notably by Valerie Pearl.[41] Rather than return to the subject, the present study will investigate the ways in which London's government became an indispensible part of parliament's effort to mobilize the metropolis. Indeed, the Lord Mayor and Common Council became so important over the course of late 1642 and 1643 that royalists increasingly identified their assemblies as meetings of a "third house" of parliament.[42] Exploring why London's government acquired this disparaging – and indeed equally elevating – epithet, will be of the utmost importance for explaining both civil mobilization and the metropolis's wider importance to the parliamentarian war effort.

The vast majority of Londoners were concerned with matters that were more quotidian than the state of the war. Indeed, their daily interests are revealed in a matrix of overlapping jurisdictions and authorities that made up the early modern metropolis. London was comprised of twenty-five "ancient" wards north of the Thames and of which twenty were contained fully within the square mile of the City's walls. Four wards spilled over the City walls, while one ward, Farringdon Without, was entirely extramural. London's twenty-five wards subdivided into 242 precincts in which regular policing was practiced and where taxes were collected. These areas of administration were impressively small in size.

---

[40] See Ibid., pp. 45-58, for an excellent general introduction to "The Constitution of the City of London."
[41] See in particular, Pearl, *London and the Outbreak*; Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603-1643* (Cambridge, 1979); Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge 1991).
[42] Peter Heylyn, for instance, frequently called London's Common Council the third house of Parliament in *Mercurius Aulicus*.

For instance, Pearl calculated that London's precincts were "on the average under three acres in size," a testament both population density and the close-knit nature of daily administration in the City.[43] The borders of Wards and their precincts almost never corresponded with the single most important borders of the period: the parish. Indeed, The bulk of daily life – which was in most cases guided by basic physical and spiritual needs – took place in any of the City's 110 parishes (ninety-seven of which were contained within the City walls, while thirteen were outside). London's parishes varied considerably in terms of size, wealth, and religious and political outlook, but they were usually not much larger than their overlapping precincts. Pearl found that they were "on average" about "four and a half acres in extent," a relative size that gives new meaning to the term "parochial."[44] London's parishes, no matter how small, existed as largely self-governing, self-interested, and at times competing, communities within the wider metropolis. Within precincts and parishes were thousands of parishioners who paid monthly rates and assessments, maintained vestries, and saw to the basic maintenance of their City lives. Churchwardens oversaw collections and payments to the poor, and to scavengers who cleaned local streets. As Tai Liu suggested, the majority of the City's parishes comprised their own self-interested "small parochial communities." Slightly under half of these communities had more than 100 tithable houses, while the remainder had more than that number. The twenty-one largest parishes were for the most part located outside of the cramped City center. The remaining City parishes ranged in size between nineteen smallest parishes and the twenty-one largest, and these were scattered throughout the boundaries of the metropolis.[45] Each of these communities managed local affairs, and at the time of war their affairs became increasingly interconnected with those of parliament and London's Common Council.

The present study defines "the City" in terms of London's twenty-five wards, 110 parishes and some of the many parishes that were located outside of the jurisdiction of London's Guildhall. These "out-parishes" that fell within the borders of Middlesex and Surrey and those additional parishes that were within nearby Westminster and Southwark. Westminster was of course a royal palace and seat of

---

[43] Valerie Pearl, "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London," *LJ* 5 (1979), p. 15-17.
[44] Ibid.
[45] For a useful breakdown of parishes according to size and wealth, see Tai Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (London, 1986), pp. 21-50.

government, while the latter "pleasure ground" of Southwark remained a borough of London under the jurisdiction of Surrey as it had been "expelled" by the Corporation in 1575.[46] The reason for including these areas is twofold. London's continual growth meant that many important distinctions between London, Westminster, and Southwark had simply vanished over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. London's inhabitants regularly travelled between these three areas for any number of reasons – the trained bands, as we have seen, did as much when they accompanied the Five Members from the City to Westminster in January. Londoners, moreover, would do the same over the course of the civil war in large protesting crowds and to deliver petitions. Second, and most importantly, is the fact that both Westminster and Southwark came to be encircled by the "Lines of Communication," the eleven miles of defensive walls and fortifications that were built in late 1642 and early 1643. With the completion of the Lines, "the City" had, in effect, come to represent the wider metropolitan area that contained all three entities. From 1643 onwards, parliamentary ordinances and orders from London's Common Council increasingly referred to areas "within the Lines of Communication," or to areas contained within the "Bills of Mortality." The latter area in particular represented a much larger area than the square mile of London and included The City of London, the Liberty of Westminster, The Tower and its Liberty, parts of Middlesex, the Borough of Southwark, and some parishes that fell within Surrey. All of these areas were becoming part of what would eventually be called "Greater London," and as Tim Harris has suggested, they were still "increasingly becoming part of the urban metropolis" during the Restoration.[47] While it will at times be useful to distinguish between the areas contained within the Lines – and especially in terms of the livery companies which operated within the square mile of London and indeed to the area strictly under the authority of the Lord Mayor and Common Council – the present study will most often concern itself with the urban metropolis contained within the Lines of Communication, or simply "the City."

---

[46] See "The borough of Southwark: Introduction," in *A History of the County of Surrey* Vol. 4, ed. H. E. Malden (London, 1912), pp. 125-135. See Julia F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court, and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester, 2005); Julia. F. Merritt, *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution* (Manchester, 2013). For an impressive study of Southwark, see Jeremy Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987).
[47] See Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 13.

Historiography

Untangling the historiography of wartime London is no modest task. This is due, in part, to the fact that the metropolis has regularly – and obviously in some cases correctly – been combed over by historians due to its wealth of records. As Peter Lake has shown, revisionist historians had a tendency to draw upon sources that were "rural" as opposed to "urban," or as "provincial" as opposed to "metropolitan." The reliance upon skewed "one or the other" sources helps, on the one hand, to explain why "London has not bulked as large in recent revisionist accounts of the religious and political history of post-reformation England as it might."[48] Elsewhere, the City has been defined in terms of its relationship to the countryside. London has existed as urban center of a parochial nation, or even the outlier – a southern metropolis and dominating center of three contiguous kingdoms that form an "Atlantic Archipelago."[49] London, thus, has often figured as a prominent urban center that was "impacted" by the war, rather than as the center that dictated the course of the conflict. The City has, in other words, been a secondary focus in studies of a war that was both national and international. The present work aims to redress this imbalance by returning the mobilized metropolis to its appropriate place at the center of the English revolution.

Any attempt to unravel London's uniquely circuitous historiography should start with Valerie Pearl's seminal *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*, a work that charts London's alienation from the crown from the start of Charles I's reign, and which explains how a "parliamentary puritan organization and leadership" in the City came to seek the "mobilization of a great mass of the ordinary people."[50] Pearl's work remains by far the single most important study of civil war London. But like most pioneering efforts, it is not free from issues. For one, Pearl's book has left a lasting – and at times

---

[48] Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001), p. 16.
[49] See Conrad Russell, "The British Problem and the English Civil. War," *History* 72, 236 (1987); J. G. A. Pocock, "The Atlantic Archipelago and the War of the Three Kingdoms," in Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 172-91.
[50] Pearl, *London*, pp. 265.

problematic – impression on the shape of London's historiography by generating a chronologically lopsided timeframe for the analysis of wartime London. Since Pearl's book, historians of the capital have focused the majority of their attention on the long-term causes of London's own revolution, rather than on the short-term causes and complexities of London's early mobilization, or indeed on the formation of political rivalries that shaped the later civil war. Historians have put forth considerable effort towards qualifying and challenging Pearl's thesis. Robert Ashton, for instance, dedicated the entirety of *The City and the Court, 1603-1643* to balancing Pearl's earlier assumptions about the existence of a firm alliance between the crown and the City in the years leading up to the war, while Brenner's impressive *Merchants and Revolution* traced more than ninety years of London's mercantile networks in the lead up to war.[51] Far more problematic than their lengthy chronologies is the fact that these works have helped to sustain the misguided notion that "allegiance" was the central reason behind metropolitan mobilization.[52] Pearl's work had left a misleading and surprisingly pervasive sense that, aside from "a small body of supporters in the municipality," London was entirely – and even seemingly inevitably – "parliamentarian."[53] This view has had a lasting impact on the historiography of London, and it has been largely echoed in wider studies of the civil war.[54] Assumptions of allegiance have, for instance, perpetuated existing polarities and categories; this explains, to some extent at least, why notions of "parliamentarian" and "royalist" loyalties remain in place of more nuanced and localized explanations for metropolitan mobilization. Breaking down these large categories reveals a wider landscape of popular idiosyncratic mobilization that seldom had anything to do with "allegiance," but instead depended upon politico-religious convictions and local circumstances.

Definitions were seldom so clearly cut, and as Ian Gentles recently suggested in an important article on peace campaigning in 1642-3, London was also a place in which "people quickly lost their

---

[51] See in particular Ashton, *The City and the Court*; Brenner, *Merchants*.
[52] For an early discussion of "allegiance" see Adamson, "The Baronial Context of the English Civil War," *TRHS* 40, (1990) pp. 93-120; Conrad Russell, "Issues in the House of Commons 1621-1629: Predictors of Civil War Allegiance," *Albion* 23 (1991), pp. 23-39; Wilfrid Prest, "Predicting Civil War Allegiance," *Albion* 24 (1992), pp. 225-236. John Adamson had been the most recent to tow the line, see John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London, 2007).
[53] Pearl, *London*, p. 3 n. 13.
[54] See, for instance, Robert Ashton, "Insurgency, Counter-Insurgency and Inaction: Three Phases in the Role of the City in the Great Rebellion," in Stephen Porter (ed.) *London and the Civil War* (Basingstoke, 1996).

appetite for further conflict." Indeed, the significance of Gentles's observation, which he explored through the lens of popular peace demonstrations in 1642 and 1643, should not be underestimated. Nor, however, should it be taken as a means to replace notions of "parliamentarian" and "royalist" rivalries with discussions of "war and peace" parties, or solely to "illustrate," as Gentles suggests, "the extent to which parliament had become, as never before, a focal point for popular attention."[55] Instead, London's early peace and war campaigns should be explored as a means to reach a more subtle understanding of wartime politics – or again, as a way to replace longstanding and simple polarities with more complicated programs of mobilization. These mobilizations, as we shall see, seldom made parliament the "focal point" of Gentles' attention, so much as they made it one several arenas in which Londoners could agitate for political change. These political points of contact ranged considerably in both form and shape; they could be spaces outside of livery company halls where Londoners gathered to address parliamentary committees, or they could be very courtyards and church steps where petitions were read and signatures were collected. Petitions were of particular importance because they provided several points of mass political participation that extended from drafting to reading, from signing to submitting, and in some cases to copying and printing for distribution. The process of petitioning also left considerable room for political for manipulation. As we shall see, London's political leaders occasionally used petitions to Common Council as a way to inform and shape discussions in parliament.

Clearly, London played host to a wide range of competing interests that could, and indeed often did, shift over time. London's relationship to the war was therefore never entirely fixed in place. Indeed, it could not be settled due to London's very makeup. So long as the metropolis consisted of a complex "community of communities" in which individuals experienced overlapping jurisdictions and made decisions based on preconceptions, experiences and personal circumstances, they would remain divided. This may be an obvious point, but it is nevertheless important: London's nearly 400,000 inhabitants defined their wartime interests in relation to their wards, parochial boundaries and relationship to corporate bodies and charitable organizations as often as they did in terms of wider metropolitan and national politics. Such

---

[55] Ian Gentles, "Parliamentary Politics and the Politics of the Street: The London Peace Campaigns of 1642-3," *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007), pp. 140, 159.

communities fractured along yet smaller religious, personal and interpersonal lines that were as often political as they were idiosyncratic.[56] Where recorded, views regarding the war reveal a capital that was simultaneously "pro-war," "pro-peace," and "lukewarm." London, in short, hosted as many opinions as there were people.

This fact is readily lost in most histories of the English Civil War. A preponderance or wartime narratives still depend upon elite narratives, and in particular the well-thumbed copies of particular parliamentary journals. J. H. Hexter, for instance, provided a seemingly complete narrative of the first two years of the war by examining the ways in which John Pym managed parliamentary and committee politics. Flanked by "firery spirits" in the House of Commons. Hexter's Pym has proven surprisingly resilient in the face scholarly trial and tribulation. The extent to which Pym was in fact the indefatigable leader of parliament and the architect of the "financial and military structures that allowed Parliament to win the Civil War" has been challenged.[57] Yet Pym still stands out in narratives of the war as the essential leader – one part mastermind organizer and the other a builder of coalitions – who waged "an incessant guerilla action" that set out "to prevent the opening of negotiations with the King."[58] The story of Pym and his parliamentary allies has left something of an indelible mark on London's historical narrative. Pym, by Hexter's account, was the leader that drove metropolitan politics as opposed to a politician who worked in concert with civic leadership who shared an equal interest in conducting the war. Hexter's work, which is admittedly a biography, helped to provide the first water to the seed that took root and grew into the notion of a "noble revolt." But such elite narratives juxtapose with yet another important strand of London's historiography.

In recent years, the City has accumulated its own lengthy – and at times problematic – historiography. This historiography has been preoccupied foremost with the question of London's "stability" as a means to weigh in on the protracted debate over whether or not the sixteenth and

[56] See in particular, Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge*.
[57] See Sheila Lambert, "The Opening of the Long Parliament," *HJ* 27 (1984), pp. 265-87; John Morrill, "The unweariableness of Mr Pym: influence and eloquence in the Long parliament," in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown* (eds.) Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (Manchester, 1995), p. 20.
[58] Hexter, p. 57.

seventeenth centuries should be viewed in terms of a "general crisis."[59] Historians have tended to group

around two main views of the City, with Pearl and others arguing against the "doom and gloom" scenario

put forward by historians such as Lee Beier and Peter Clark.[60] This argument has recently – and I should

add thankfully – been superseded by Paul Griffiths, whose work on policing in London has parameters of

the "stability" debate. Griffiths has successfully shifted attention away from the large-scale economic and

social crises that punctuate the period in order to focus on quotidian matters such as the "small

commonplace acts like picking pockets or creeping unseen into the city."[61]

Sitting opposite these works is an impressive array of monographs that fill gaps in the

historiographical record. Scholars can now call upon a veritable patchwork of focused and intensely

researched explorations of early modern London. These works range in theme and scope, covering topics as

varied as economics, gender, policing and the social order, to somewhat more obscure subjects such as

perceptions space and death.[62] Together, these focused studies serve to enrich our collective understanding

of the dense and rich experience of life in the early modern metropolis. Further, they provide invaluable

contextualization for understanding how and why Londoners mobilized.

---

[59] For the beginning of this debate, see Eric Hobsbawm, "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the Seventeenth Century," *P&P* 5 (May, 1954), pp. 33-53; and "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century II," *P&P* 6 (November, 1954), pp. 44-65; see H. R. Trevor-Roper, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," *P&P* 16 (November, 1959), pp. 31-64.

[60] Valerie Pearl, "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London," *LJ* 5 (1979); 3-34; Keith Lindley, "Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London," *TRHS* 33 (1983), pp. 109-26. Although valuable on their own, it is worth noting that these studies succumb to the chronological limits set out by Pearl's initial study, ending abruptly in 1642 or early 1643. The question of "stability" has of course dominated studies of late Elizabethan London. See Lee Beier, "Social Problems in Elizabethan London," *JIH* 9 (1978); Peter Clark, "A Crisis Contained? The Condition of English Towns in the 1590s," in Peter Clark (ed.), *The European Crisis of the 1590s* (London, 1985); Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989); Ian Archer did much to move past these debates in *The Pursuit of Stability*.

[61] Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1600* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 28-35.

[62] See Coates, *The Impact*. For a valuable collection of essays, see Stephen Porter (ed.), *London and the Civil War*. For other valuable focused studies, see Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002); Julia F. Merritt (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions & Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001); Jacob Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham, 2010); Eleanor Hubbard, *City Women: Money, Sex, & the Social Order in Early Modern London* (Oxford, 2012); Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text, and Community* (Basingstoke, 2013).

Rather than contend with high political narratives that surrounded "King Pym" and his fellow revolutionaries, or indeed to recall the broad and sweeping changes that characterize London in the period leading up to the war, the present study will attempt to focus on the intersection between two key aspects of London's mobilization over the period from late 1641 until the end of 1644: First, it will consider London's political leaders and their efforts to maintain, and where possible escalate, London's war effort. Second, it will attempt to recover the experiences of the wide range of the "ordinary," "middling" and "lower sorts" of Londoners who reacted to the efforts of their counterparts who sought mobilization. This latter ground includes some of the many countless individuals who demonstrated, petitioned, partook in iconoclasm, and in some cases resorted to violence in the pursuit of war, peace, and other ends. These were, as Tim Harris has pointed out, the people from "in between" the elite and the "the bottom." They were the same people who "engaged in a huge variety of retail and manufacturing occupations," who joined martial orders like the Honorable Artillery Company, and who also operated as "small shopkeepers, small master craftsmen, journeymen, apprentices, labourers, and servants."[63] Their actions as members of the *mobile vulgus* – the fickle, faceless, and potentially dangerous crowd – or, alternatively, as well-heeled literate petitioners and demonstrators, tell an important side of the story of metropolitan mobilization during the first civil war. There is good reason to suggest, as Ian Munro has recently, that the early years of the civil war provided the first chance for "London crowds" to "assume a national importance."[64] Indeed, many of the participants in London's "crowds" also took up arms to defend their city. William Grant was one such individual. When "suddenly Drumes stock up" on 8 November 1642, Grant put down his woodturning tools and left the shop of his master so that he could march "forth with the rest" of his fellow soldier apprentices.[65] No matter how

---

[63] Tim Harris, *London Crowds*, pp. 12-13. See also Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (London, 2005), particularly pp. 118-23. Laclau's discussion of twentieth-century populism serves as an important influence for the present analysis. In particular, Laclau proposes a useful model in which populist reason can be seen as "imprecise and fluctuating." The proclaimed reasons behind popular (if not anachronistically populist) demonstrations that consumed London during the early 1640s, were often equally "imprecise and fluctuating."

[64] Ian Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (Houndmills, 2005), p. 3.

[65] See Nehemiah Wallington's account of Grant in BL Add. Ms. 40883, "Growth of a Christain," fol. 48v.

faint a place Grant and similar men hold in the historical record, they were important. Their actions shed light on attitudes towards war.

Sources and Methodology

In his important study of early Stuart politics, Alastair Bellany identified what he called a historiographical "crossroads," a point at which his project was uniquely possible due to the accumulations of a broad range of methodologies and his own willingness to employ a wide array of archival – and in particular manuscript – materials.[66] The present study seeks to articulate its relationship to understanding popular mobilization in civil war London in a similar way: it aims, in short, to utilize the emergence of new and important historiographical questions about print and mobilization in combination with an almost unprecedented wealth of manuscript materials. Specifically, this study seeks to apply recently developed discussions of London's "print culture" in relation to questions about the processes of political mobilization. Ann Hughes, for one, has suggested an invaluable template for the systematic contextualization of early modern texts in her study of Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena*, a work that, as she shows, can be used to understand the "dramatic impact on rival parliamentarian mobilizations." A similar, if inherently less robust and systematic, approach can be applied to some of the many texts and sermons that were produced in earlier wartime London as a means to better understand rival mobilizations. Other scholars – most notably Jason Peacey – have shed considerable light on the politics of the period by looking at texts in terms of "particular political functions at specific moments."[67] These observations are of particular importance for to the present work; where possible, it too will attempt to pinpoint and elucidate how particular texts served "political functions" including impetus for popular mobilization.

---

[66] Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 23.
[67] Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), p. 8; Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum*, (Aldershot, 2004), p. 8; Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013).

Of equal importance, and in following with Bellany's identification of a historiographical "crossroads," is the recognition that manuscripts, like print, can provide windows into the London's wider wartime political culture. Much like print, manuscripts can be used in various ways to show how London mobilized. The rhythms of daily life in London are recorded in an extensive collection of journal notes, churchwardens' accounts, minutes, orders of court, account books, petitions, letter collections and diaries. This vast array of materials is scattered throughout archives on both sides of the Atlantic and contains information that will shed light on the ways in which Londoners engaged with, and experienced mobilization. Examples of popular engagement vary significantly; they can be as anodyne as churchwardens' records of annual payments to the sick and wounded and the ringing of church bells, or they can be as charged as reflections on the providential meaning of battles. In some instances they London provide detailed information on the civil war – thus, John Green, Nehemiah Wallington, and Thomas Juxon all retain important places in the present narrative.

In the end, the war effort belonged to thousands of Londoners. Livery companies loaned vast amounts of money and arms, while scores of parishioners contributed towards assessments, emptied their pockets on fast days, or even volunteered their lives. Eager Londoners flooded Finsbury Fields in the weeks leading up to war during the summer of 1642, and they were roused again to defend their families and livelihoods again at Turnham Green in November. They made up regiments of auxiliaries and repeatedly marched into the fields to serve under the Essex and Waller over the course of 1643 and 1644. Their value was tested in some of the most important battles and sieges of the war, including Newbury, Gloucester, and Alton. All the while their families and friends provided the money and goods necessary to maintain their endeavours. Initial and energetic interest in war soon strained and collapsed. Londoners grew exhausted under the weight of endless taxation and the need to care for increasing numbers of sick and wounded soldiers. Repeated news plots and invasions exacerbated the situation. As satisfaction with the war plummeted, belligerents turned their attention to new ways to support the war. Militants began to look past war-wearied London and on to their alliance with Scotland, and to the old alliances of the international protestant cause. In the trajectory of Londoners' collective participation is the story of an early modern city at war, and more specifically of London's centrality to the parliamentarian war effort. It was, as we shall

see, a revolutionary effort that spanned from the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion to the establishment of the New Model Army, England's first professional fighting force. It is, however, to the prior development in Ireland that we must now turn.

Section I. London on the Brink

Chapter 1. Preparing for War

"To your Tents, O Israel"

Charles I experienced one of the more unsettling encounters of his twenty-four year reign on the evening of

5 January 1642, the day after his fateful attempt to arrest the Five Members. He spent the morning at the

London Guildhall, where he demanded that City officials deliver up the five parliamentary men who were,

as he reminded them, "already accused of High Treason," and whom he correctly suspected to be

"shrowded" somewhere nearby.[68] The king's request reached a crowd with mixed sympathies; some at who

were present clearly lacked empathy for his position, while most others were simply not privy to the

location of the Five and therefore could not have helped had they wanted to. Others shouted out various

responses; some called out for parliamentary privilege and others to bless the royal person. Recognizing the

futility of his efforts, Charles departed from the Guildhall to take his midday supper at the nearby house of

Sir George Garrett, a City Sheriff and well-respected member of the Drapers' Company.[69]

Charles left Garrett's residence in the mid afternoon, but his progress was soon disrupted when a

large gathering of Londoners surrounded his coach to see if they might catch a glimpse of their sovereign.

Some of the more vociferous members of the crowd recognized the rare opportunity of being within

shouting distance of the king, and they seized the opportunity to call out for the privileges of the Five

Members. Within this crowd was Henry Walker, an ironmonger and active pamphleteer who had spent the

day distributing copies of his new petition. Walker also did not fail to recognize the opportunity, and he

made his way to deliver a copy of his petition directly to the king. If John Taylor's account is to be

believed, Walker stood ready with a group of drapers as the king's coach passed through Paul's

churchyard. "Having one of his Pamphlets in his hand," but being back some distance from the coach, he

---

[68] John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (London, 1721) pp. 479-80.
[69] The passage regarding the mixed reception of Charles' request can be seen in Sir Robert Slingsby to Sir John Pennington and is quoted in John Forester, *The Arrest of the Five Members by Charles the First* (London, 1860), p. 262.

then decided in his own "most impudently sawcy" way to throw it "over the folks heads and into his Majesties Coach" and on to "the very face of the King."[70]

If delivery by projectile was a frightening prospect, so too were the contents of the petition. For Charles apparently held in his hands a particularly disturbing message perhaps even just a single sheet – that made direct reference to the Old Testament call to arms from 1 Kings 12:16, "*To your Tents, O Israel.*" Walker's purpose may well have been double edged. The timing of his delivery suggests that he was foremost concerned with the king's recent attempt to arrest the Five Members and secondly with the previous decade of "personal rule" when the king and his ministers relied on unpopular forms of taxation such as ship money to fund the government and sustain the royal court. Indeed, even a cursory knowledge of scripture would support this view; few would fail to find parallels between recent affairs and Walker's scriptural reference to the time when the Israelites rallied and rebelled against the oppressive rule of Rehoboam, a king notorious for his harsh and relentless taxation of the people.

Walker's original petition is lost to us; most copies of the tract were confiscated and destroyed. Yet this did not stop Walker from returning to his subject two years later when he printed a "verbatim" copy of *To your Tents, O Israel* in *Perfect Occurences*. The printed version, which must, admittedly, be treated with a degree of caution, reveals that Walker's petition offered much more than an assessment of king's attempt to arrest the Five Members, or of his reliance on dubious precedents. Instead, the contents of the "petition" provide a much clearer explanation for the king's post-supper perturbation.[71] Walker's brief but disconcerting request was "*that your most Excellent Majestie would be pleased to meditate on*" both 1 Kings 12:15 and 12:16, "*Wherefore the King hearkned* [sic] *not unto his people, for the cause was from the Lord.*" Failure to do so, the verse and petition went on, would lead the people to their own battle cry of "*To your tents O Israel.*"[72] Walker's warning could not be more explicit: God had issued an indisputable call to arms to "his people," and as God's people they would be most willing to turn their backs to their monarch

---

[70] John Taylor, *The whole life and progresse of Henry Walker the ironmonger* (London, 1642), Sigs. A2v, A4r.

[71] Thanks are due to Nick Poyntz for a most stimulating and informative discussion of Walker's petition and its later printing in *Perfect Occurences*. Poyntz is working on a forthcoming monograph about Henry Walker.

[72] *Perfect Occurrences of Parliament*, 30 August - 6 September (London, 1644), sig. D1v.

and make their own preparations for war. John Taylor concluded as much in his response to Walker in 1642, claiming that Walker's petition made it appear "as if the King were a Tyrant, bidding as it were every man to take his Sword and Armor; and oppose all authority whatsoever."[73] Walker, for his part, hoped at the very least that the king might "meditate" on the belligerent will of God and His English people. The latter, by implication, owed an allegiance to the Almighty that superseded what was owed to any. There was nothing to suggest that the nation would plunge into a civil war – that conflict would not ignite until eight months later. In January 1642, rather, there was only one war to which Walker could be referring: the Irish Rebellion.

John Adamson has rightly suggested that the days following the attempt on the Five Members amounted to what was, to that point at least, "perhaps the most disastrous week" of King Charles's "reign."[74] London was already on edge at the time of Walker's petition. Tensions in the capital had been mounting for weeks. On the evening of 7 January, the day after Charles "received" the petition, Nehemiah Wallington recalled "a great cry in the streets that the enemy was come and grate knocking & bouncing at all our doores That we should stand on our Gard which made all men weoman & children to geet up."[75] London's militants had been busy whipping up support for two key political objectives: the abolition of episcopacy and the rescue of Irish Protestants facing massacre by Catholics there. Of the two concerns the prior was, by most contemporary accounts, the most pressing. Anti-episcopal demonstrations had been going on in London for some time; popular demonstrations against bishops reached a high-water mark on 11 December when John Fowke, an active reformer, presented a petition against the bishops that contained some 15,000 signatures from Londoners and measured a staggering "twenty-four yards in length."[76] John Venn, a captain of the City forces, member of the Commons, and like-minded supporter of the cause, made note of the apprentices who gathered in Westminster and for three days cried out against "Bishops and Popish Lords." Their meeting was apparently peaceful enough, that is until they left to walk from Charing Cross back to the City and encountered "divers Caviliers" who called "them Ram-headed Rogues," insulted

[73] John Taylor, *The Whole Life and Progresse of Henry Walker the Ironmonger* (London, 1642), Sig. A4r.
[74] Adamnson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 487.
[75] BL, Add. Ms. 40883, Diary of Nehemiah Wallington, "The Growth of a Christian," fol. 12r.
[76] Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 469.

their various "trades," and took some demonstrators into custody. Shortly thereafter things took a turn for the worse: apprentices began to amass "to the number of two thousand with Clubs, Swords, [and] Halberts" and threatened to march on to the White Lion or the Lord Mayor's house. Pandemonium was only narrowly avoided when Venn delivered an impromptu speech in which he asked "everie man" to return to "his owne home in peace" and promised that any apprentices who had recently been arrested by Lord Mayor Gurney would "be released." He provided some additional relief with the claim that "there is yet hope" for plans to supply "aid against the Rebels" in Ireland, which was, he assumed, "the desire of all true Subjects."[77] If the suggestion that relieving Ireland could cool the spirits of a crowd gathered to oppose episcopacy it can be safely assumed that the two matters were largely interchangeable.

Henry Hastings encountered the same demonstrations while in down in London from the Midlands. Writing to his son just days after Venn had mollified the apprentices, Hastings recalled in particular the crowds that had gathered to assault the Archbishop of York, John Williams. Demonstrators were apparently "led by Sir Richard Wiseman and came into the minster" to destroy icons and other superstitious objects and "to pull downe the Toomes and Organs." The crowd proved so unruly that they could only be stopped when Williams's "servants" decided to employ their guns and "shote soe fast as drove them away." Similar popular gatherings continued on the following evening when at least a "thousand prentices" met in the streets "betwixt yorke house and Charinge Crosse with halburds Staffes [staves] and some swords" to prevent bishops from making their way towards Westminster. Charing Cross remained a popular gathering point for Londoners who knew they could catch the carriages of officials travelling from the City to the Houses and vice versa. Hastings recalled with no shortage of terror that on one evening apprentices "stood soe thicke that wee had much a do to passe with our Coaches and thoughe it were a darke night ther inumerable number of links made it as light as day." From within their coaches they saw glowing faces and heard shouts of "now Bishops now Papist Lords" from people who had hoped to

---

[77] John Venn, *A True Relation* (London, 1642), pp. 1-5.

discover Durham and Coventry and Litchfield, the two bishops who remained free from imprisonment in the Tower and were instead under the custody of "the gentleman usher of the Blacke Rod."[78]

Accounts of Ireland's woes only exacerbated popular opposition to episcopacy. Providential warnings did the same by exciting fears over the threat of militant and clandestine papists who were both abroad and at home. Booksellers and printers found little difficulty peddling cheap and often sensational broadsides and pamphlets that depicted the massacre of Protestant planters by barbarous and bloodthirsty Catholics; crude images showed men flayed and quartered, "children upon pikes," the disembowelment of the living, and women fleeing from their "deflowering."[79] Such terrors were revisited and retold in pulpits throughout London and Westminster. Most often ministers linked horrors of the press to the providential obligation found in scripture. On 2 December Stephen Marshall, a minister renowned for his godly sermons, delivered *Meroz Cursed* at St. Sepulcher's Church in London. In the sermon he warned of the dangers that faced all subjects who failed to "help the Lord against the mighty," as told in Judges 5:23. Neuters and the like, he proclaimed, would face divine wrath and certain "ruine" if they refused to aid and "pray for *Ireland*."[80] Marshall broached the topic of Ireland again on 22 December, when he joined Edmund Calamy to preach the monthly fast before the Commons. Although noticeably less explicit than he was in his previous *Meroz Curse* sermon, Marshall was nonetheless quite straightforward about the need to help Ireland in *Reformation and Desolation*. The "turning away of Gods wrath," he warned, was the most important thing that Englishmen could do to help "*England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*."[81] Calamy offered a similar view when he spoke of "a Looking-glasse for *England* and *Ireland*," and the expectation that all would take notice of the pressing need need for "a nationall reformation" that would help England to answer the calls of "distressed *Ireland*."[82] The end of episcopacy would, in short, serve as the first step to alleviate Ireland's affliction.

---

[78] HEHL, HA Correspondence Box 16/5554 Henry Hastings, earl of Huntington to his "Good sonne," 3 January 1642.
[79] James Salmon, *Bloody News from Ireland* (London, 1641).
[80] Stephen Marshall, *Meroz Curse* (London, 1641), pp. 2, 7. See Jordan Downs, "The Curse of Meroz and the English Civil War," *HJ* 57 (2014).
[81] Stephen Marshall, *Reformation and Desolation* (London, 1642), p. 52.
[82] Edmund Calamy, *England's Looking-Glasse* (London, 1642), pp. 1, 51.

Adamson has successfully shown that a group of highly placed men, the so-called Junto, actively pursued both the ejection of bishops and military intervention in Ireland. Yet his account explains just one – albeit obviously important – aspect of the political milieu that preceded the outbreak of the Civil War, one that was decidedly "above" the reach of the many hundreds of protesters who tormented bishops in their London residences and startled Hastings on his journey to and from Westminster. Even if, as Adamson asserts, Robert Rich, earl of Warwick's "political tentacles" reached from Westminster into the City and "extended to almost every other part of the new war-effort," much took place outside of the scope of his leadership and that of his fellow Junto leaders.[83] Warwick and the rest of the Junto, for all of their shared interests and interconnections, amount, in the end, to a single component of a vast political landscape, a "high-political core" of officials who would prove indispensable to the shaping of the war effort in the metropolis, but nevertheless were often separate from the very people that they hoped to incite.

Although the king reserved particular scorn for a core group of opponents, he was most fearful that their actions would lead to the wider disaffection of the population. This was especially true in London, where Walker confirmed his own misgivings about his personal safety by "delivering" his petition. Although the contents his message and the means by which he shared them were unconventional, Walker was in the end one of many thousands of Londoners who took to the streets during the winter of 1641 and 1642 to share their frustrations over episcopacy and express their interest in relieving Ireland. He had, however, fulfilled his own perceived role as a providential harbinger; he had successfully delivered to the king the warning that "the people" were collectively prepared to turn their backs to their terrestrial sovereign in light of a divinely sanctioned war for the relief of their brethren. Ministers, for their part, helped to reinforce this view by presenting scriptural evidence to show that they might come to expect a native uprising modeled on the alarming violence that was rumored in Ireland. Walker, thus, was not alone in his expectations when he hurled a copy of *To your Tents, O Israel* into the king's carriage. God's providence, he was certain, had guided his hand from production to delivery. He was, then, for that moment

---

[83] Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 455.

the *vox populi*, a voice that would within a few months confirm the king's fears when thousands exchanged the metaphorical tents of Israel to enter those that were set up in Finsbury Fields.

Ireland's Cause in London

From the moment that news of the Irish Rebellion reached the capital, refugees began, as one historian has put it, "broadcasting their terrible tales."[84] Many of their "broadcasted" tales – both truthful and embellished – served to corroborate already widespread and engrained sentiments of antipopery.[85] London provided a natural gathering point for many of the ministers and poor people who fled across the channel to save their lives. Once in the metropolis refugees could, even if only temporarily, find respite in the shape of charity and care given by London's many parishes and parishioners. Indeed, the extent to which refugees benefitted from the densely populated metropolis is clearly illustrated in the City's many parish records. Churchwardens' accounts and minutes often reveal precise figures in terms of charitable donations, and they sometimes reveal wider parochial attitudes regarding the maintenance of refugees from across the Irish Sea.

  Nearly eighty extant parish records tell important and varied stories about the lives of those who fled Ireland, but most share some common elements. The first of several waves of refugees arrived almost immediately after the first reports of Ireland's woes, and it was not long after their arrival that accounts reveal their benefit from parochial aid. The churchwardens from Allhallows the Less, for instance, made note on 24 April 1642 of the 8s. 6d. distributed "amongst divers and severall Protestants of Ireland being driven away from all they had by the rebellious Irish and being in great want and misery."[86] £2 was given around the same time at St. Lawrence Jewry "towards the releife of poore ministers and poore ministers wives, and maimed Souldiers and other poore distressed people" from Ireland.[87] Meanwhile, "divers poore

---

[84] Malcolm, *Caesar's Due*, p. 16.

[85] See Peter Lake, "Antipopery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds.) *Conflict in Early Stuart England* (London, 1989); see also Caroline Hibbard, *The Popish Plot and Charles I* (Chapel Hill, 1993).

[86] LMA Ms. P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/001, All Hallows the Less, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1630-51, unpaginated.

[87] LMA Ms. P69/LAW1/B/008/MS02593/002, St. Lawrence Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1698,

35

Irish" were counted amongst those who received 7s. 8d. at St. Olave Old Jewry.[88] Such small payments

quickly added up. The churchwardens at St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street offered up £3 to "poore Ministers

Lame Souldiers widdowes and other poore Irishe" and an additional £9 specifically "for poor ministers in

Ireland."[89] £5 9s. was given at St. John Zachary on Gresham Street to "poore ministers and ministers

widdowes Souldiers and other poore people that cam out of Ireland severall times."[90]

But single acts of charity accounted for just one of the many ways that parishioners could help.

Larger sums were given directly towards a loan of £50,000 for "the reliefe of his Majesties distressed

Subjects in the Kingdome of Ireland" that was set in early November 1641. St. Stephen Coleman Street,

where Goodwin preached on Meroz, recorded the names of fifty-two inhabitants who were quick to act and

brought in an impressive total of £1171 to the Guildhall on 15 November.[91] Large sums of money were

delivered from other parishes where ministers had successfully "stirred up" their flocks. In some cases it

took longer to raise money. It was not until 22 April that John Downham, the godly rector of All Hallows

the Great, was able to transport £66 18s. 2 ½d. along with a list of the names of the parishioners who had

given the money as "gifts and charitable benevolences."[92] Similarly it took until at least until Easter for the

churchwardens at St John Zachary to collect £65 12s. for the "reliefe of Ireland."[93] These are obviously just

a few of many examples, and a wider view reveals an impressive and sometimes sustained patchwork of

charitable acts that were intended to ameliorate the plight of refugees – ones that would, as it turns out,

pave the way for charitable acts towards the civil war maimed.

Irish denizens and refugees added pressure to the already overpopulated metropolis. Fueling

tensions was the fact that many who arrived in London brought stories and news – both fabricated and real

fol. 29.

[88] LMA Ms. P69/OLA2/B/004/MS04409/001, St. Olave Old Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1586-1643, fol. 274v.

[89] LMA Ms. P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/002, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1606/7-1666/7, fol, 86r.

[90] LMA Ms. P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001, St. John Zachary, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1591-1682, fol. 186r.

[91] LMA Ms. P69/STE1/B/001/MS04458/001/001, St. Stephen Coleman Street, Minutes, 1622-1726. fols. 143-5.

[92] LMA Ms. P69/ALH7/B/001/MS00819/001, All Hallows the Great, Minutes, 1574-1684, fol. 145r.

[93] LMA Ms. P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001, St. John Zachary, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1591-1682, fol.184v.

– of their recent miseries. Their tales provided additional evidence for many Londoners who were already worried about the state of Ireland, and they reaffirmed that London might be next to suffer. Reactions to new arrivals varied considerably, from the charitable to the paranoid. Concern over recent crowd disturbances and "the troubles and rumors of the tymes" led the wardens of the Fishmongers to order on 17 December 1641 that "a barrell of Gunpowder to be kept att the hall" and that a guard wait "in the greate chamber to be ready" so that they might "prevent any sudden dangers to this hall." Things seemed little better by the beginning of January and it was therefore agreed that the company should prepare "this Companyes Armes for the defence of this Cyttie and hall" and further that they would gather "armes enough for a whole company under one Capteyne if now thought fitt."[94] Similar fears over an uprising drove clothworkers to order on 19 January that "the armes of this Company" would be strategically placed in "severall housis belonging to this Company where it shall seeme needfull unto them in and about the citty of London."[95] An uprising seemed imminent.

Ireland remained a central point of interest amongst Londoners as winter wore to spring. As Keith Lindley has shown in his valuable survey of the Thomason Tracts, printed materials suggest that, rather than dissipating, concern over the state of affairs in Ireland steadily increased over the early months of 1642. Lindley has shown, moreover, that a preponderance of the tracts obtained by Thomason over the early months of the year dealt explicitly with the issue of Ireland. In February of 1642 a staggering 32% of all the material that Thomason acquired made reference to Ireland, while in April the figure increased further yet to 37%. Thus more than a third of the printed objects obtained by Thomason – which represent the best sample that we have from the period – dealt directly with the issue of Ireland. Londoners were not simply interested; they were positively enthralled. By July the figures had again changed dramatically; the number of tracts that made explicit reference the rebellion dropped significantly to just 4.4%. Mention of the Irish rebellion in newsbooks, pamphlets, and the other forms of print represented in the Thomason

---

[94] London Guildhall Library, Ms. 5570/3, Fishmongers' Court Minute Book, fols. 565-67.
[95] Clothworkers' Company Archives, London, Orders of Court, 1639-1649, fol. 53r.

collection never again increased above 10% of the total collected.[96] This was not a result of unqualified

English success on the other side of the Irish Sea, where tragedies were still unfolding daily. Rather, the

decreased representation of the Irish Rebellion was a direct result of a marked increase in concern over

domestic matters, a preoccupation that quickly subsumed the attention of London's printers and readers.[97]

       If only a distant possibility at the beginning of the year, civil war had, by the start of summer,

become a very real possibility. And although the rapid change of the material represented in the Thomason

Tracts suggests a decreased concern over the state of Ireland, it does little to suggest abatement in popular

anxiety over the threat of an uprising in London. Indeed, popular fear over war mixed with notions of

divine reprisal. Rather than fade with news of the rebellion in Ireland, evidence of divine wrath remained

fixed in the minds of the public; Judges 5:23 and 1 Kings 12:16 stood as stark reminders of the dangers that

awaited "neuters" at a time of imminent conflict on the eve of civil war.

       The reasons for going to war were evident by the summer of 1642. As England's domestic

situation rapidly deteriorated, it soon became apparent that divine sanction for war in Ireland also applied

directly to conflict in England. Charles's issue of the commission of array in early June – a direct counter to

Parliament's Militia Ordinance from March – deepened anxieties over the threat of war. As Calamy and

Marshall had warned the previous December, the reasons for war in Ireland would ultimately be same as

they were in England. It is to their warnings and to London's reception that we must now turn.

Popular Providentialism and War

Historians have commented widely on the impact of providentialism on the English Civil War. Yet studies

of the subject were, until somewhat recently, limited in purview and drew almost exclusively from

examples made by "godly" and well-known ministers who aligned their interests with the parliament's

cause. Having expanded their perspective, more recent scholarship now readily agrees

---

[96] Keith Lindley, "The Impact of the 1641 Rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5," *IHS* 18 (1972), p. 144.

[97] See Ethan Shagan, "Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641," *JBS* 36 (1997), pp. 4-34. Shagan's article delves into the genres of print, investigating the long range of meaning that stretched well back to Foxe's martyrs, the Spanish Armada, Guy Fawkes, and the creation of a rhetorical genre that was capable of polarizing opinions.

that providentialism played an important – and indeed largely similar – role in the day-to-day lives of most contemporaries, regardless of their leanings towards the causes of parliament or the king. Blair Worden's pioneering work on political providentialism paved the way for the more systematic analysis provided by G. C. Browell, who, in an unpublished PhD thesis, provided important and convincing examples of the ways in which both royalists and parliamentarians interpreted and used political providentialism.[98] Other scholars have focused their attention specifically on the political importance of wartime scripture and sermons. Stephen Baskerville and Glen Burgess, for instance, dedicated entire studies to delineating the relationships between scripture, military mobilization and violence.[99] Well before this, Hugh Trevor-Roper and John F. Wilson both sought to explain the timing and political importance of the monthly fast-day sermons that were given to members of the Long Parliament in Westminster throughout the war.[100] Shared between Trevor-Roper's seminal study of the subject and Wilson's more systematic interpretation of political providentialism, was the important recognition that scriptural interpretation, sermons, and providential warnings served as key sources of motivation for war during the 1640s.

The eagerness with which Londoners enlisted to intervene in Ireland – and later in the summer against the king's forces – owed much to their understanding of providentialism. Further, scriptural interpretations and providential warnings remained important well beyond the outbreak of troubles in Ireland and the start of war in England. Ministers influenced the actions of Londoners on a daily basis. Rival preaching campaigns sounded throughout the City's pulpits following the first arrival of news of the Irish Rebellion; inhabitants were called upon to eschew the use of arms, just as they were expected to fight for "God's cause." The nascent "cause" remained poorly defined to the advantage of the preacher; he might

---

[98] Blair Worden, "Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England," *P&P* 109 (1985), p. 59; Blair Worden, *God's Instruments: Political Conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 33-62; G. C. Browell, "The Politics of Providentialism in England, c. 1640-1660" (Ph.D thesis, University of Kent, 2000). For a recent example of the uses of providentialism by royalists, see Richard Cust, "Charles I and Providence" in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 194-5.
[99] See Stephen Baskerville, *Not Peace But a Sword: the Political Theology of the English Revolution* (London, 1993); Glenn Burgess, "Was the English Civil War a War of Religion? Evidence of Political Propaganda," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 61 (1998), pp. 173-201.
[100] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament," in *Essays in British History* (London, 1965); John F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars, 1640-1648* (Princeton, 1969).

use it to advocate the relief of Ireland, the end of episcopal rule, or any number of related issues that could be seen to fall within the rather expansive realm of actions or matters that were displeasing to the Almighty. Given this, a particular point must be reemphasized: news of the Irish Rebellion exacerbated an already fraught environment of opposition to episcopacy in London. The combustible state of London's political environment, moreover, did not abate as the year progressed. Rather, it was, as we have seen, maintained over the late winter and spring of 1642 and into the summer months when attention turned from Ireland to England, and when the actions of the king confirmed fears over the damaging issues of episcopal rule, failed intervention on the behalf of Ireland, and a frightening sense that the royal person was willing to continue consulting with "evil councilors" and acting without the advice of parliament.

Since November 1641, London's many pulpits had resounded with providential warnings about the need to support England's ailing brethren in Ireland, either by means of financial contribution or military force. Importantly, the providential warnings that applied to war in Ireland were in many cases the exact same ones that would be deployed by ministers who later argued in support of the open war against the king. The single most important – and indeed by many accounts most memorable – providential warning for the war effort came from Stephen Marshall, the minister who, as we have seen, had already preached on the Curse of Meroz in a sermon at St. Sepulcher's Church in London as a means to promote English intervention in Ireland in late 1641. By February, Marshall had entirely reworked his sermon on Judges 5:23 to address the Commons at their monthly solemn fast at St. Margaret's Church in Westminster. His new sermon, *Meroz Cursed*, went on to be the most popular of his career, earning him praise from allies and scorn from opponents who had come to see him as "the Augustine, the truly polemicall Divine of our times."[101] Doubtless Marshall's time in the pulpit helped to cement his place as a cornerstone of the parliamentarian war effort; more important for our purposes is the fact that his message left a lasting impression well beyond Westminster. More than simply repeating the curse against people who had failed "to help the Lord against the mighty," Marshall purportedly went on to preach on Judges 5:23 frequently –

---

[101] Henry Hammond, *Of Resisting the Lawful Magistrate Under Colour of Religion* (Oxford, 1644), pp. 57-8.

perhaps, as some accounts claim, "no less than sixty times."[102] Londoners were apparently the first to hear

his sermon, and it seems very likely that some of his many repeated performances of *Meroz Cursed* were

delivered in the City. Indeed, the sermon went into three editions that were printed in London over the

course of 1642.[103]

Moreover, even if Marshall did not return to the theme of Meroz in London, it soon became clear

that other ministers would be more than happy to incorporate the curse into their own repertoires. William

Laud, for instance, recalled a "strangely Evil" sermon given in London on 15 May 1642 by one "Mr

Joclin." Laud revealed to his journal that the theme of Joclin's preaching was "*Curse ye Meroz*," and that

the sermon contained "personal Abuse of me that was so foul and so palpable, that Women and Boys stood

up in the Church, to see how I could bear it."[104] As late as June the committee for Irish Adventurers

ordered that all who had enlisted their services to travel across the Irish Sea to fight were to meet at the

London Guildhall to "heare a sermon to bee preached by Mr Stephen Marshall, and take the protestation att

St Lawrence Church."[105] The curse became a powerful call to arms and a firm reminder of God's own

investment in the cause.

There can be little doubt that Meroz remained a popular theme in godly pulpits as the matter of

Ireland's relief was subsumed by the pressing threat of war at home. Indeed, the repeated use of the sermon

helps to explain how providential concepts were used to bind together the notion of relieving Ireland – part

of a long-standing popular design to aid brethren and of England's lasting concern over the international

"Protestant cause" – and the need to turn efforts towards domestic war that would soon become a

revolution. Indeed, the curse was being cited explicitly as a reason for defense in England by the summer of

1642. Although not originating in London, a printed copy of the "humble Petition of many thousands of

Inhabitants of *Norwich*" was printed and made available in the metropolis. Dated 16 July, the petition

---

[102] Alexandra Walsham mentions the figure "sixty" twice. See Walsham, *Providence*, p. 316; idem., *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester, 2006), p. 138. For a less specific but nonetheless telling estimate, see Trevor-Roper, "Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament," p. 99.
[103] Stephen Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1642): ESTC R180387, ESTC R19516, ESTC R204373.
[104] William Laud, *The History of the Troubles* (London, 1695), p. 196.
[105] TNA SP 63/260/230, "The Proposition of the Com[missione]rs for Ireland," 17 June 1642.

claimed to address the many "desperate diseases which have overspread this whole body of this Kingdome, both in Church and State." Dangers lurked in the forms of "the Jesuited Papists the Bishops" in England, evidence of whose evil designs could already be seen in the "bloudy cruelty of the Papists in Ireland." As if Ireland's example was not enough, the petitioners revealed their fear that the rebels were beginning "to thinke for transporting themselves hither, and make this Kingdome the seat of their war, for which neglect we may justly feare the curse of *Merous* to befall us." The reasonable way to "redress of these present evills" was the further arming and fortifying of the nation, "placing the Castles, Forts, and Magazines of this Kingdome into such hands as the King and Parliament may confide in" and the agreement that all should be "bound by the Protestation by us lately taken."[106] The Protestation was originally printed on 5 May 1641, but it was made compulsory for all adults on the 20 January 1642, just days after the king had attempted to arrest the five members. Historians have suggested that the return of the Protestation in 1642 was crucial to the establishment of "a partisan political position" between the king and parliament and that would serve as the basis for civil war.[107] Conrad Russell, for instance, argued that "many Parliamentarians" came to believe that the Protestation had supplied them with their own "title to be in arms" against the king in 1642.[108] The curse, then, served as motivation to prepare for war at home based on the feat of a threat from abroad, both divine and real.

Ministers did little to differentiate between a war to relieve Ireland and one to defend England – God's cause was, after all, a levy to fight against all of His opponents, be they foreign "papists" in Ireland, or the evil counselors who had so recently and persistently blinded the king from taking notice of the interests of his people. Ministers went on, as Hugh Trevor-Roper noted, to "explicitly" repeat Marshall's message in "numerous fast sermons" that made direct appeals for spiritual, monetary, and legal support for the war effort against Charles I.[109] Thomas Wilson, Thomas Case, Charles Herle, John Ley, Herbert Palmer and Thomas Hill all preached on the curse in fast-day sermons that went to print over 1642 and 1643. On

---

[106] *To the Right Honourable the Lords* [. . .] *The humble Petition of many thousands of the Inhabitants of* Norwich (London, 1642).

[107] David Cressy, "The Protestation Protested, 1641 and 1642," *Historical Journal*, 44 (2002), pp. 251-79, at pp. 267-68. See Downs, "The Curse of Meroz and the English Civil War," pp. 343-368.

[108] Conrad Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 294-5.

[109] Trevor-Roper, "Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament," p. 100.

28 September 1642, more than a month after Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, Wilson warned members of the Commons who had gathered for the solemn fast that they should beware "neuters" and the "luke-warme" as "most loathed persons . . . as cursed Meroz." Case, a close associate of Isaac Pennington, the City's new radical Lord Mayor, preached *God's Rising, His Enemies Scattering* on 26 October 1642, a charged sermon dedicated to the parliamentarian commander Sir William Brereton in which he sought the metaphorical and literal "preparing of artillery, and weapons of death" and warned "rich *covetous Mammonists*" that they would face "the *curse* with *Meroz*" for withholding their monetary support for the war effort. Meanwhile in November, Herle told parliament that Meroz, "one of the fearfullest curses in all Scripture," should be avoided at all costs. Ley's *The Fury of Warre*, preached to the Commons in April 1643, proclaimed the present "warre not only lawfull, but so necessary," adding "that to forbeare it is unlawfull, and so he that can and will not assist in it (to his power) commeth under the *curse of* Meroz."[110] The terrible fate described in detail by Marshall in application to war in Ireland had morphed to become a mainstay of parliamentary polemics against the king and a warning of the anger that the Almighty had for those who failed to uphold his will.[111]

Meroz was not the only providential warning that served to bridge the ideological gap between intervention in Ireland and war in England. Indeed, many other concepts that were initially applied to the Irish Rebellion ended up providing reason to go to war against the king. Edmund Calamy, for instance, carefully selected a number of verses that likened England to ancient Israel, a conceptual framework that focused more on a shared obligation to God rather than the explicit identification of an enemy. On 22 December, Calamy addressed the Commons with *England's Looking-Glasse*, which included reflection on God's "two sorts of judgements" and his dealings with nations "as a Physitian with his Parient." Thus England's "lesser potion" of "small-pox, unseasonable weather, [and] the Plague" might be seen as simple

[110] Thomas Wilson, *Jerichoes Downfall* (London, 1643), 31-2; Thomas Case, *God's Rising, His Enemies Scattering* (London, 1644), pp. 21, 42; Charles Herle, *A Payre of Compasses* (London, 1642), 35; John Ley, *The Fury of War and Folly of Sin* (London, 1643), 16.
[111] The above paragraph is reproduced in Downs, "The Curse of Meroz and the English Civil War," pp. 352-53.

precursors to the "greater" punishments that He had in store.[112] Calamy's next major appearance was on 23 February, when he joined Stephen Marshall to give one of the day's two inaugural fast sermons. Calamy's time in the pulpit was spent reflecting on Ezekiel 26:32: "*Not for your sakes doe I this, saith the Lord God, be it known unto you: be ashamed and confounded for your owne waies O house of Israel*." Naturally, his sermon addressed "the warres of *Ireland*," but it also reflected on "the unsetled condition of *England*" and his hope that the monthly fast might prove "an England-and-Ireland-healing Fast." If decidedly less belligerent in tone than Marshall, Calamy nevertheless addressed important political issues such as the "*Protestation against all Popery and Popish Innovations*," which he took to be very "good" for England, and the view that England required further "*reformation of the Church and State*." Above all, Calamy made clear his view that the answer to both nations' problems was to be found in England.[113]

As the spring progressed, it became increasingly clear that efforts to relieve Ireland and remove the king's evil advisers were one and the same. Corroborating this view was the sense that the king's advisers were in fact responsible for preventing the transfer of control over the City Trained bands to parliament, and subsequently that they were also to blame for the slow progress made towards relieving Ireland. Sermons delivered throughout Westminster and London emphasized the monumental task at hand and directed praise towards those in parliament and London who had taken control over military affairs after Charles had fled London. Preaching at the fast-day sermon in April, Thomas Goodwin offered his vote of confidence by recalling Zechariah 4, "the*re is no moutaine of opposition so great, that can stand before Zerubbabel, (or Gods people) especially when he goes about to finish the Temple*."[114] Simeon Ashe preached a stirring sermon "before the Commanders of the Military Forces" of London on the following month. In it he praised City Aldermen and members of the Common Council for pursuing "Martiall *affairs religiously*," and further for putting the metropolis "into a posture of defence."[115] Moreover, Ashe lauded

---

[112] Edmund Calamy, *England's Looking-Glasse* (London, 1642), p. 14.
[113] Edmund Calamy, *God's Free Mercy to England* (London, 1642), sig, A2r; pp. 1, 5, 7, 21-23.
[114] Thomas Goodwin, *Zerubbabels Encouragement* (London, 1642), p. 24.
[115] Simeon Ashe, *Good Covrage Discovered and Encouraged* (London, 1642), sig. F2r.

the bravery of the soldiers who were about to venture to Ireland and risk their lives, citing Psalm 31:24: "*Be of good Courage, and hee shall strengthen your heart*."[116] For God stood firmly on the side of the brave.

The impact that these fiery sermons had on Londoners was often recorded privately, or revealed later in their lives of participants. After hearing "Mr Dyke" preach a fiery sermon on Romans 8:10 at St. Martin Ludgate in late 1642, Walter Yonge was compelled to make a special note of "5 Judges Curs you Merosh." "If," he asked, "a man be on his death-bedd & it [Meroz] comes in his mind" would "not it grieve him" and in turn cause him to "promise better obedience" towards God?[117] Obedience was, as we have seen, to a Creator who desired that all Englishmen take up arms "against the mighty." Convicted alongside the regicides in 1661 and preparing to be hanged at Tyburn, Colonel Daniell Axtell recalled "that he went out to the Warrs, at the beginning thereof, by the Instigation and Encouragement of a Minister in *Ironmonger-lane*, who stirred him with many motives, to shew him it was the Cause of God."[118] Ministers recalled similar notions about the impact of their own sermons during the war. When accused for participating in the promotion of the revolt against the king in 1660, Hugh Peter claimed that he had done no more than his fellow ministers who had been busy "preaching was Curse ye Meroz, from Scotland to England." His brethren's infectious reliance on providential reason had been "forc[ed] upon" him at a time when "the best Ministers" were marching "into the field" to drum up support for the fight.[119]

Daily encounters with refugees from Ireland served to underscore this fact; indeed, most in London had to look no further than their own streets and doorsteps to find the miserable spectacle of begging men, women and children who stood as warnings of their own potential fate. Refugees from Ireland thus helped to spur the recalcitrant with direct evidence of God's punishments. If such spectacles

---

[116] Ibid., p. 18.
[117] BL Add. Ms. 18781, Walter Yonge [Jr], "Reports of sermons in London, 1642–4," fol. 110r. This is almost certainly Daniel Dyke, the godly and active minister whom Tai Liu has identified with the lectureship at St. Martin Ludgate in 1643-4. Yet even Liu cautions that Dyke's identity is "tentative" in *Puritan London*, pp. 108-9, 121. Dyke's name is not recorded in the vestry minutes for St. Martin Ludgate, 1579-1649: London Metropolitan Archives, MS P69/MTN1/B/001/MS01311/001/001. See Downs, "The Curse of Meroz and the English Civil War," p. 354.
[118] *A Compleat Collection of the Lives* (London 1661), p. 158. Thanks are due to Tom Cogswell for bringing this valuable source to my attention.
[119] Hugh Peter, *The Case of Mr. Hugh Peters* (London, 1660), p.3.

were important indicators of the need to help Ireland, they also served as ideological primers for the time when war would come to England.

Popular Recalcitrance and the Belligerent Response

Yet all were not convinced that Ireland's miseries presaged the fate of London. Nor did all Londoners concur that the providential reasons for supporting war in Ireland were interchangeable with the need to prepare domestic defenses. Countering popular providential reasons for war were the voices of a number of ministers who sought to uphold royal authority and stave off the potential for conflict at home. William Hall was one of these men. Preaching at St. Bartholomews-the-Less on 27 March 1642, "the day of inaguration of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles," he choose Exodus 22:28: "*Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy people.*" Hall's message was direct and his sermon apparently "found such approbation" amongst local parishioners that Nathaniel, his father, moved that it be put in print "so as not to be confined within those narrow limits of a small parish." Once printed it bore a dedication to Sir John Banks, a knight of the shire who would go on to join the king at Oxford and have his estates sequestered by parliament in 1644. The view that all "must honor the King, and consequently all who derive power from him" clearly still resonated with some Londoners in the months prior to the outbreak of war.[120]

Despite mounting pressure from his belligerent opponents, Mayor Richard Gurney retained the ability to appoint preachers who sided with the king. Thus on 19 June Thomas Morton, the former bishop of Durham, was provided with an opportunity to deliver a sermon at St. Paul's entitled *The Presentation of a Schismaticke*. The aged Morton used his time in the pulpit to identify the greatest danger to the body politic, which he took to be the very preachers who "*delightfully loveth Contentions.*" He lamented that London – and indeed all England – had recently experiences a wave of seditious "printed books" and sermons that hurled "invective against Church Government and Service." The "auditors," Morton conceived, had employed "such Texts of Scripture as speake directly of massacring" such as Jeremiah 48:10, "*Cursed is he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently*" and "*cursed be he that keepeth back his*

---

[120] William Hall, *A Sermon Preached* (London, 1642), sig. A2r, pp. 1, 32.

sword from Bloud." Doubtless other chapters and verses came to mind when he thought of the ways that they had fulfilled their purposes, not Judges 5:23. Much less than the vengeful God of war, Morton emphasized "the God of Peace" who might be found in Romans 15:13, 2 Corinthians 13:11, and 2 Thessalonians 3:16, all of which, he believed, showed in unassailable terms that "peace is a Jewell."[121] Morton's sermon most certainly did not fall on deaf ears, but there is little in the record to suggest that his denunciation of "schismatic" preachers slowed promotion of the war effort. He was, moreover, the last peace-seeking man to rise to the pulpit by Gurney's appointment. Soon after the royalist Lord Mayor would be imprisoned in the Tower of London and succeeded by Pennington.

If anything, Hall's and Morton's respective efforts exemplified the sense amongst belligerents that London's pulpits required additional "tuning." By the early summer of 1642, belligerents in the metropolis began their campaign against "malignant" preachers. "Malignants" were systematically targeted and arrested with the hope that silencing their voices might bring uniformity and clarity to the City's push toward war. Historians have offered various takes on the series of arrests that took place in London in 1642, with most settling on the idea that the purges were the result of a combination of interests that ranged from localized efforts described by Ian Green to a rising tide of anti-clerical sentiment mapped out by Tai Liu.[122] Keith Lindley, meanwhile, in his summary of the extent of clerical purges in London, observed that efforts increased under the encouragement and support of "central figures like Isaac Penington [sic] and the sympathetic committee for scandalous ministers."[123] Each of their claims carries merit; efforts could, in short, be locally driven by parishioners or directed from parishioners who shared connections with likeminded reformers from throughout London and from positions of political authority. In truth the purges were a combination of efforts that might best be identified as acts that ran from "above" and "below," both "vertical" and "horizontal" – the end result of which was the arrest and imprisonment of several prominent royalist supporters.

---

[121] Thomas Morton, *The Presentation of a Schismaticke* (London, 1642), pp. 2, 4, 24.
[122] Ian Green, "The Persecution of 'Scandalous' and 'Malignant' Parish Clergy During the English Civil War," *EHR* 94 (1979), 507-531.
[123] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 55, 265-7.

Parishioners regularly found themselves embattled over the fate of their ministers, but there is also clear evidence that the rise of Pennington and other radical members of the City government coincided with increased efforts to silence those deemed malignant. In 1641, for instance, the parishioners of St. Leonard Shoreditch became embroiled in petitioning campaigns for and against their vicar, John Squire. The six men who signed the petition for Squire's removal raised fourteen complaints against his "corrupt and dangerous" conduct, including his approval of "the pictures of Christ and his Twelve Apostles to be sett up in the glass window over the table," for claiming that "Baptisme doth waste away Originall Sinn," and further for suggesting that time would be better spent in an "Ale house drinking in a Bed sleeping" than going out for "hearing of an other Minister."[124] It was not until the arrival of a mayor who was sympathetic to the parishioners' cause that Squire could be dealt with. Squire's answer to the petition included "Testimonie from the best of my Parish, 200" and the claim that the information exhibited against him included misinformation given "unto Alderman Pennington against me which againe I denie."[125] Their debates spilled over from written petitions to print with the articles against Squire, followed Squire's answer and a printed list of signatures from his 228 supporters, assuring that the contentious matter would not escape the attention of the wider public.[126] Charged with malignancy and imprisoned at Gresham College, Squire was finally ejected from his living in early 1643, by which time Pennington and his allies in the Committee for Scandalous Ministers had obtained carte blanche over clerical ejections.[127]

Organized efforts by parishioners to prevent the removal of "malignants" had largely come to an end by the middle of 1643. Several reasons explain the change. The most obvious and important of these is that the purges were largely successful; in short, Pennington and his associates had tightened their control over City pulpits, leaving in place few ministers who were willing to preach or incite opposition to the parliamentarian war effort. Pennington's personal role in the move against malignants is well recorded for the summer months before the outbreak of open hostilities.

---

[124] Lambeth Palace Library Ms. 4247, fols. 1r-v.
[125] Ibid., fol. 3r.
[126] *Articles in Exhibited in Parliament against John Squire* (London, 1641); John Squire, *An Answer to a printed paper entitled Articles exhibited in Parliament* (London, 1642). See also Lindely, p. 54.
[127] For a useful discussion of Squire's misery, see Isaac Stephens forthcoming "A Public Sphere of the Parish? The Case of St. Leonard Shoreditch in Seventeenth-Century London."

Robert Chestlin of St. Matthew's Friday Street was among the first to face the pressures exerted by organized and zealous parishioners in 1642.[128] Henry Burton had served as minister in the parish from 1621 until 1636, when he was arrested for preaching a sermon in which he attacked episcopacy and compared English bishops to their Roman counterparts.[129] Chestlin took Burton's place at Friday Street in 1640, and held the position until March 1642, when Leonard Tilley delivered in a petition from the parish in which it was claimed that Burton "had been unjustly deprived" and that it was therefore hoped that he would "be restored to his said living with the mesne profits taken from him since his said deprivation."[130] Burton was very near the apogee of his popularity at the time, having returned to the City more than a year earlier to a triumphant reception by thousands of inhabitants who lit bonfires and rang bells as he and his fellow martyr William Prynne processed into London. It was eventually decided that the matter of Burton's return to Friday Street should be presented to the City's Common Council which in turn delivered the information to the Committee for Scandalous Ministers. Pennington led the effort to acquire evidence for Chestlin's removal and subsequently obtained the warrant for a sermon that led to his arrest. Evidence furnished against Chestlin included the claim that he had used "divers scandalous Words" in "several Sermons against the Proceedings of Parliament" and which were qualified by Chestlin's "own Interpretations."[131] Pennington was clearly committed to punishing Chestlin; the Lord Mayor personally attended a hearing in which Chestlin attempted to regain the payment of his tithes. Pennington had no real authority over the proceedings, so he turned to verbal mockery, at one point calling Chestlin a "saucy Jock."[132] Chestlin's own assessment of his treatment in *Persecutio Undecima*, while succinct, left little to the imagination. He recalled being "violently assaulted in his house, imprisoned in the Comter, thence send to Colchester Gaole in Essex, sequestered, and plundered." He was, as he pointed out, just one of long list

---

[128] A brief note is made in the churchwardens' accounts regarding 8s. 6d. paid for "charges aboute mr Cheslin." See LMA Ms. P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/001, fol. 191r.

[129] Tai Liu suggests that his time at Friday Street came to an end in 1634 in *Puritan London*, p. 114. This, however, seems to miss Burton's inflammatory sermon at the parish from 5 November 1636.

[130] *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament* ii, p. 95. [D'Ewes on 28 March 1642].

[131] *CJ* ii, p. 826; Lindley, *Popular*, pp. 53-4, 265; See Bodleian Library Tanner Ms. 63, fol. 6.

[132] C. M. Clode, *London during the Great Rebellion: being a memoir of Sir Abraham Reynardson* (London, 1892), p. 15. Liu briefly discusses Pennington's role in *Puritan London*, p. 127, yet he failed to provide a citation. Similarly, Lindley noted "Pennington's support," but oddly cited Bruno Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, pp. 147-53, a passage that makes no mention of the mayor.

of ministers from London's ninety-seven "parishes within the walls" who had been "*imprisoned,*

plundered, [and] *barbarously used*" for maintaining "*loyalty to their Soveraigne*."[133]

The full extent of purges and arrests was not hidden from public view. Rather, quite the opposite

was the case; printed on 2 November, *A Catalogue of sundrie Knights, aldermen, Doctors: Minister and*

Citizens, made public the names of some fifty-six individuals, including eleven ministers, who had refused

to "contribute any thing for the generall good of the Kingdome" and thus were arrested by members of the

Trained Bands and imprisoned in Gresham College, Crosby House and other locations throughout London.

The eleven ministers arrested came from prominent parishes throughout London and included Richard

Holdsworth, rector of St. Peter the Poor; John Hackett, the rector of St. Andrew Holborn; one "Dr Shelly"

from an unidentified parish; Josias Shute, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth; Ephraim Udall, rector of St.

Augustine; Thomas Swadlin, curate of St. Botolph Aldgate; Benjamin Stone, rector of St. Mary Abchurch

and St. Clement Eastcheap; Matthew Griffith, rector of St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street; one "Mr

Grosse" along with "Edward Dobson, alias cod-pice-Ned [sic], Bookseller neer Newgate" who was also

imprisoned.[134] William Stampe, the vicar at St. Dunstan's in Stepney, was identified as a member of the

"malignant party" for failing to contribute towards parliament's war effort in June. By the following month

he was considerably more active in the cause. He joined Timothy Stampe, his brother and a local JP, in

order to prevent apprentices from enlisting as volunteers under the earl of Essex. He later spent nearly nine

months in prison for his actions and upon release he fled the capital to join with the king in Oxford.[135]

Failure to contribute and obstructing recruitments were just two of several charges that could be

laid against ministers deemed "malignant." Others were charged as delinquents for reading the king's

declarations from parish pulpits. On 4 July five men were sent for as delinquents including Richard

Dukeson, rector of St. Clement Danes and Mr. Smith, his curate, along with William Fuller, vicar of St

Giles Cripplegate and Mr. Hutton, his curate. One Mr. White, the Minister at Westminster Abbey, was also

---

[133] Robert Chestlin, *Persecutio undecima* (London, 1648), pp. 44, 47-8.
[134] *A Catalogue of sundry Knights, Aldermen* [. . .] (London, 1642). See also, Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 266 n. 52.
[135] Bodleian Library Tanner Ms. 62, fol. 211v; This is quoted by Jason Peacey in "Stampe, William (*b.* 1610/11, *d.* in or after 1654)," *DNB* (Oxford, 2004). See Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 266.

sent for as delinquent. On the following day, moreover, one Mr. Hall, the curate of St. Paul in Covent Garden, was sent for "for publishing in that Church his Majesty's Declaration concerning Levies."[136] Upon questioning on 13 July, Duckeson and his curate were committed to the Gatehouse as prisoners. Fuller was released after it was determined that he did not read the king's declaration, but his curate, Mr. Hutton did read it and was therefore committed as a prisoner to King's Bench. Further questioning revealed that Mr. Hall had in fact read the king's declaration under duress and threat from an unknown messenger named "Woodruff." Rather than being jailed, he was reprehended.[137] Stifling the king's declarations – especially those that called for financial support – was of the utmost importance for those who sought to advance for the parliamentary cause.

Questioning did not always lead to arrests and some ministers were, moreover, released soon after they faced charges. Dukeson, for instance, petitioned against his imprisonment and was successful. Both he and his curate were released 21 July, just eight days after they had been locked away.[138] Dukeson would, moreover, go on to formally seek accommodation in January when they attempted to deliver a petition to the king in Oxford on the behalf of Westminster, St. Clement Danes and St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Along with several other ministers, Dukeson hoped to leave London and present to Charles their request that his "royall wisdome take some speedy course for an Accomodation of peace."[139] They were stopped at the edge of the City before they could leave.

The Common Council also came to play an increased role in the matter of ejections, particularly as a body to gather evidence against ministers that would be passed on to the Lord Mayor, who was in turn to deliver evidence to parliament. By November, the Common Council had appointed a group of thirteen men who were to meet "and inform themselves of all malignant scandalous and seditious Ministers in and about this Cittye aswell those absent" and further deliver names on to "the Lord Maior."[140] Counted amongst their ranks were Theophilus Riley, the City's scoutmaster general, Captain Edward Hooker of the City

---

[136] *CJ* ii, pp. 650, 652.
[137] Ibid., p. 669.
[138] Ibid., p. 683.
[139] *A Petition of the City of Westminster and the Parishes of Saint Clement Danes and St Martins in the Fields* (London, 1643), p. 5.
[140] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 42r.

regiments, and William Greenhill, who would go on the following year to preach a fast-day sermon to the Commons in which he likened the "godly" to "Forts and Magazines" and further called for "a through Reformation of all evils in the Kingdome."[141] Lindley has identified all thirteen of the appointed men as either "radical" or "zealous" in their support for the parliamentarian cause.[142] Their efforts were to prove indispensible in the process of targeting ministers and furnishing evidence in the pursuit of sequestration. Godly Londoners continued to play a pivotal role in the purges; any evidence of malignancy was to be submitted to Pennington's review and then passed on to parliament. Nine preaching opponents of the cause were soon thereafter taken in custody. This amounted to a relatively small portion of the total number of sequestered ministers, which, according to Chestlin, amounted 115 individuals "within the Bills of Mortality, (besides Pauls and Westminster)."[143] But it was nonetheless significant. Some of the released such as Dukeson continued their efforts to end the war effort in London and would eventually be sequestered and flee, while others such as Stampe would take the first opportunity to depart from the capital and join with the king at Oxford.

Attempts to tune London's pulpits had, as we have seen, been in place since well before the outbreak of the war, but it was impossible to suppress all opposition to the war effort. Anti-war sentiment was still readily available in print, even if it had to be secretly printed in London, or smuggled into through clandestine networks. The royalist newsbook *Mercurius Rusticus*, for instance, employed a fair measure of hyperbolic language when attempting to explain the political and religious landscape of the City. The "heads of this Rebellion" in London, *Rusticus* explained, had dealt with "malignants" in the same manner "as unjust Stepmothers do with their poor Children, *Whip them till they cry, and then whip them again for crying*."[144] London's belligerents apparently had good reason to move aggressively against such men because they were generating considerable support against the war effort. Some royalist sympathizers pressed on regardless of the dangers. Thomas Morton, for instance, managed to escape censure for his June sermon at St Paul's and so continued to promote the cause of peace. In August he printed an important anti-

[141] William Greenhill, *The Axe at the Root* (London, 1643), pp. 40, 42.
[142] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 68, 139, 191, 208.
[143] Robert Chestlin, *Persecutio Undecima* (London, 1648), p. 50.
[144] Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus* (London, 1685), p. 147.

war tract titled *England's Warning-Piece* in which he outlined "the Nature, Danger, and ill Effects of Civill-Warre" by comparing England's "blessed condition" to the war-torn Continent and the "lamentable estate" of Germany and the "grievous calamities" of Ireland, or even Spain, where "whole Countries revolt against their King." To avoid such a fate, England's "true subjects" should seek "concord" and "happily avoid" the dangers of a "much feared Civill dissention."[145] Morton was of course not the only one to express fears that England might end up ravished by the likes of the Thirty Years' War or the provincial revolts in the Iberian Peninsula.

The program to purge London of its "ill-affected" continued well into the following year. As Lindley points out, by late October "the way was finally cleared for a wholesale purge of the pulpits on 2 December with the appointment of a City committee to receive information about 'all malignant, scandalous and seditious ministers' in the capital."[146] London's new godly leadership – and especially Pennington – would continue in their pivotal role in the purges: any evidence of malignancy was to be submitted for Pennington's review and then passed on to parliament. Although several ministers had already been incarcerated on account of their actions or words, most would have to wait until the following year to be formally dismissed from their livings. Their ejections, thus, did not take place until well after Pennington rose to the mayoralty. Despite delays, the mere silencing of "malignants" from the summer of 1642 onwards marked an important consolidation of parliamentarian authority over London's pulpits – and subsequently over the ideological topography of the City's war effort.

Chapter 2. London and the Sinews of War

Livery Company Loans (ostensibly) for Ireland

Although considerable sums of money had already been raised in London's parishes for the relief of Ireland, it became apparent over the course of early 1642 that more money would be needed to secure a

---

[145] Thomas Morton, *England's Warning Piece* (London, 1642), pp. title page, 1, 3, 5-6.
[146] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 266.

lasting peace. The City's livery companies were an obvious source for loans since they had long served the needs of the crown. £50,000 had been successfully borrowed from livery companies to supply the king in 1640, and thus they stood out again in the metropolis as potential lenders of the £100,000 deemed necessary for the relief of Ireland in early June. Common Hall issued a proposal for the loan on 2 June, and two days later parliament, with the approval of Mayor Gurney, issued orders for the City's twelve principal livery companies to meet at their respective halls on the following Tuesday at two o'clock in the afternoon.[147] Once gathered, the companies were presented with orders and instructions for the collection of the £100,000 levy. Each company was assessed a sum according to their stores of grain and they were promised repayment for their contributions at the standard rate of eight percent per annum, which was to be guaranteed by "public faith." Nearly all companies paid forward what they could out of their own resources, but many could not immediately forward cash, and thus they sought to borrow additional sums from company members at various rates of interest. Individual lenders were, in turn, to wait for repayment by guarantee according to rates and terms that varied and were agreed upon by the leader of the respective companies. The "Great Twelve" livery companies, so named according to their finances, long histories, and preeminent positions in London, were expected to collect and lend the largest share of the £100,000, while the City's other companies would contribute the remaining sums proportionately.[148]

Some companies revealed their political affiliations, which can be indicated by various aspects of their reactions to the levy, in terms of both professed commitment to the cause, or recalcitrance over payment. Generalizing about the political leanings of entire companies, which were comprised of multiple members who each had their own political, financial, and religious concerns, however, is difficult and must be carefully considered. It is often best to assume that company actions regarding the loan for Ireland should not be taken as a definitive means for estimating political affiliations and interests, but rather might suggest wider political sentiments regarding mobilization. Willingness to cooperate with parliamentary authority or the expression of genuine interest in the relief of Ireland can in some cases be correlated to

[147] See Mercers' Company Archives, Acts of Court, fol. 38r.
[148] See Coates, *Impact*, pp. 70-74.

later company reactions towards respective processes of mobilization – but again such assessments must be made with caution.

Like London's many parishes, livery companies were heterogeneous in terms of their composition and political outlooks; hence they reacted differently to the request for £100,000. Political discrepancies amongst members were often the rule rather than the exception; sorting out political motivations in such convoluted situations can be problematic given the sparse nature of records and the nature of payments. The Clothworkers' Company, for instance, counted a number of leading royalists as members, including Mayor Richard Gurney, but they also regularly made loans to parliament. Adding to the confusion is the fact that a number of company halls were appointed as meeting places for parliamentary and City committees. The Salters' Company, a preeminent organization within London's "great twelve," was designated as a meeting place for the City's radical Committee for the General Rising in 1643. But again this cannot be said to reflect the company's political leanings, for earlier in the year one of the company's prominent members, Sir Nicholas Crispe, had had his estates sequestered for supporting the king. There is in the end no evidence to suggest that the meeting places appointed for parliamentary committees had any bearing on wider company politics.

Most companies eventually acquiesced to the request to loan money for the relief of Ireland, but several did so grudgingly. A handful of corporations took issue with parliament's position on the matter, and others pointed out that the loan's approval by order of a common hall broke with precedent. Of course the fate of Ireland and the health of international Protestantism mattered deeply to many Londoners, even if they went on to take diametrically opposed views on the war against the king. Doubtless few relished the idea of coming up with cash or being brought to heel by order of parliament.

The speed with which companies responded to the orders for money varied significantly. The Grocers' Company, for instance, immediately agreed that the "summe of 9000^l should be lent by this company for and towards the defence and relief of that distracted kingdome of Ireland."[149] Meanwhile the Fishmongers' Company "assented unto" the precept "from the right honorable Lord Maior of this Citty"

---

[149] Grocers' Court Minutes, fol. 51.

that called for the "raysinge" of £6,200 and was "assented unto by the Liverey of the Severall Companyes of this Citty att the Common hall on Thursday the Second day of June."[150] Lindley has suggested that the Fishmongers were one of several City companies that raised "objections" to the loan, but they can nevertheless be counted amongst the first to pay.[151] A complaint in this case should most likely not be taken as an indication of recalcitrance regarding the cause, but might as soon be seen as a reflection of genuine logistical issues.

Other companies were less eager to raise their assessments. The Drapers, for instance, were assessed £7,500, and on 10 June they recorded that "divers . . . members of the howse of Commons came in person to this Company for the furthering and effecting of the said business of the loan." The company made note that "It was thought fitt for this time by this assembly not to deny but to condescend to the perfomance of the furnishing of the foresaid" loan, but they made note that "they doe utterly protest and disavowe" to "the manner of the grant made by the Com[mon]hall."[152] Further, the drapers clearly lacked the resources to pay for the entire loan and instead sought contributions from their own members. George Garrett was promised £432 by 20 June 1643, suggesting that the company agreed to extend the same interest requested in the loan at eight percent. Other loans were made at far less favorable rates for the company. Alderman Thomas Adams was to be paid £1500 for his loan of £1080, while other members such as Thomas Arthur was promised £400 for his contribution of £270. Like many other companies, the drapers were forced to take loans from their own members at rates that ranged anywhere from eight percent to more than thirty-two percent. These figures suggest that they may have been forced to offer large returns simply to manage their loan. Their accounts show that they intended to return a total of £9730 for loans of £6902 made by forty-seven members, an impressive figure that suggests that they hoped simply to use the eight percent interest offered on the loan to parliament to repay their own obligations to members. Concern over the debt led the drapers to follow the lead of other companies and forego "their lardge Feasting upon" the

---

[150] GL Ms. 5570/03, Fishmongers' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 592.
[151] Keith Lindley has suggested that the salters, drapers, fishmongers and goldsmiths were the main companies who raised "objections" to the loan. I have found little direct evidence to support his claim and he does not furnish direct evidence for this assertion in *Popular Politics*, p. 166 fn. 39. See also, Valerie Pearl, *London*, pp. 208-9.
[152] Drapers' Company Archives, Court Minutes and Records, 1640-1667, fol. 17r.

"election of new M[ayo]r and wardens," which was normally a time of considerable celebration.[153] The Merchant Taylors were assessed the largest contribution of the twelve. Despite their considerable wealth they faced some difficulty raising the money. Nigel Sleigh-Johnson's study of the company reveals that they had initially given £7,000 for the loans, but that they only "scraped together" £600 during the five weeks that followed. It was not until August when Alderman Abraham Reynardson pledged £2,400 that the company could finally claim to have paid their £10,000 assessment in full.[154]

Assessed £3,400, the Ironmongers took a similar tack to the Drapers. "Upon reading" of the Mayor's "letter and ordinance," they fell to "debate" and concluded that they and other "Companies of London ought not for matter of loane for mony to be bound to obye the order and direction of the Common Hall which hath not bin the custome of antcient tymes." However, they, like the Drapers, concurred that they would be "willing to furnish and lend such monye as they Can rayse" for the sake of providing "aide and assistance" to "the Parliament."[155] Six members of the company agreed immediately to lend £1100 pounds towards the relief of Ireland, but by the middle of the month their records show that they had raised a total of only £1700. Parliament issued an additional order in July asking that funds be paid forward due to the "generall and urgent necessitie of Ireland" and to see "the Rebells subdued." A terse entry in their accounts shows that the Drapers acquiesced to the orders on 29 July, agreeing that "the some of £2,400" would be paid into the Guildhall "according to the said order for the service of Ireland only."[156] Their stipulation that the funds be limited to campaigns in Ireland suggests that they were concerned that the money would be directed towards the conflict with the king – for which, as we shall see, they had good reason to worry.

By 22 July, the Goldsmiths had paid £5,700 towards their assessment of £7,000. Members of the company entered into debate about the remaining £1,300 and whether or not they "should paye in the rest & accomplish their full com[mitment]e or deferr the payement longer." Once again they considered the

---

[153] Ibid., fols. 18v-19v.
[154] Nigel Victor Sleigh-Johnson, "The Mechant Taylors Company of London, 1580-1645" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1989), pp. 220-21.
[155] GL Ms. 16967/4, Ironmongers' Court Minute Book, fol. 371.
[156] Ibid., fol. 311v.

state of their fellow livery companies, noting that neither "the Mercers Ironmongers nor Clothworkers" had

"paid any parte of their allottment towards the Loane." In the end they determined that it would be best to

pay the remaining £1,300 in order "protect the leave of the said 7000l."[157] The request for money for

Ireland was, as it turns out, not the only pressure being placed on the company. Around the same time that

they were debating what to do with the final portion of their loan, they agreed to admit "Captaine John

Bradley of the Citty of London" to consider whether or not their granary at Bridewell might provide a

fitting place to store gunpowder for parliament. Several other companies had already agreed to store

powder for the parliament, but rather than allowing their hall to be used, being a location "more dangerous

for the Citty to dispose of such a quantity of powder," the Goldsmiths decided to offer their granary "gratis

w[i]thout any rent or reward."[158] Lending money was just one of several compounding pressures

surrounding the effort to relieve Ireland.

Indeed, several of the companies that agreed to the loan had already contributed towards the relief

of Ireland by other means. On 3 May, the Haberdashers were ordered to loan a supply 770 quarters of

wheat for the expedition to Ireland. The wheat would have to suffice for the time being as the company was

"not furnished with mony."[159] They were eventually assessed a proportion of £7,700 in June, which the

company agreed to raise "at interest" by borrowing from "severall members of the Company and such

others as wilbe willing to lend the same."[160] The Mercers were called upon to loan £6,500 for the cause.

Earlier in the year they had sent off "two peeces of Iron Ordinance" that were to be used "for the relief of

London Derry."[161] Their apparent enthusiasm for the cause could do little to help their finances, however,

as they were one of the companies that recorded the second order from parliament to "forthwith" pay their

proportion of the loan or watch as parliament's "great army" for Ireland "be disbanded, & the kingdone

indangered."[162] The order was apparently obeyed as their account made no further mention of the matter.

The Salters Company, one of the four companies that took issue with the loan according to Lindley,

---

[157] Goldsmiths' Company Library, London, Court Minute Book W, fol. 10r.
[158] Ibid., fols. 11v-12r.
[159] GL Ms. 15842/1, Haberdashers' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 311r.
[160] Ibid., fol. 311v.
[161] Mercers' Company Archives, London, Acts of Court, fols. 25r-v.
[162] Mercers' Company Archives, London, Acts of Court, fols. 40v-41r.

recorded that they had already been "pleased to furnish & bestow a peece of Ordnance to bee sent for the Irish service." When ordered to pay the loan they "unanimously conceived and consented" that £4,800 "was fitt to bee lent."[163] Members of the Skinners' Company, meanwhile, paid their "proportion of 4200l" with no record of opposition.[164] If reluctant they nevertheless acquiesced.

The Vintners were certain to stipulate that their loan be made under their own conditions, "given not as bound thereto by that generall consent or com hall at the guild-hall but of the freewill of the company for relefe of a supply of the urgent necessities of the kingdome of Ireland." By 9 July they had delivered in £2,500 from loans made by twenty-nine company members, which amounted to only half of their requested total of £5,000.[165] Parliament's second request was sufficient to elicit a response, and on 23 July they agreed to pay the remaining £2,500; raising the additional funds was slow, however, as the funds were still in arrears in November.[166]

The Clothworkers openly shared their views regarding their £5,500 assessment. After failing to respond to requests for money, parliament issued a direct order that the company "attend with the Clarke" and "forthwith" go on "to attend the Commons in Parliament" so that they might "retorne this answere." Marmaduke Rawdon, a leading merchant and later royalist colonel, was sent on behalf of the company to answer for their apparent refusal to pay. His reply left uncertainty about their sentiments: "That the Company did never yett Inscribe to lend the said proporcion of 5500l neither doth this Company Conceive that they are bound to lend the same." They would, he went on, "nevertheless" stand "ready to yeild all possible assistance for the raisinge of the same with all Convenient speede." Their acquiescence, as it turned out, was little more than lip service. It was not until 24 August that orders were passed that "the Beadle of the Livary of this Company shall repaire to their severall houses and request them forthwith to bring their moneyes to the Hall where the Renter Warden of this Company wilbe ready to receave the

[163] Salters' Company Archives, London, Minute Book, 1627-1684, fols. 237, 239. Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 166, fn. 39.
[164] GL Ms. 30708/3, Skinners' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 197r.
[165] GL Ms. 15201/1, Vintners' Company Court Minute Book, fols. 84-6.
[166] Ibid., fols. 89, 96.

same."[167] This still did little to move the company as their payments – along with those of the Vintners – were only partially completed in December.[168]

Despite occasional noncompliance, the majority of London's livery companies agreed to raise their assessed loans. The Grocers and other prominent companies offered up large sums of money immediately. Others were slower to comply, but most did eventually pay. The Drapers and Ironmongers, for instance, expressed dissatisfaction over the means by which the loans had been requested and approved by common hall, but they eventually delivered in cash with the express understanding that it would be used for Ireland's pressing need. All said, the twelve primary livery companies paid a total of £76,800, well over three fourths of the sum that was to be collected.

London's smaller but more numerous livery companies were expected to raise the remaining £23,200 of the £100,000 loan. Although their records are less complete than those of the "Great Twelve," they did often retain records of their contributions – both in terms of payments and shortcomings. The smaller sums that they owed, moreover, often meant that they could raise and loan money more quickly than the twelve, often by borrowing from fewer individuals. A loan of £100 was "consented unto" by the Cordwainers, while £170 was "assented unto by all of the livery" of the turners company on 10 June.[169] The Blacksmiths were assessed the small sum of £200, which they "paid unto the chamber of London" by 20 June. Four members contributed £50 each to make up the total loan.[170] Similarly, three members of the Painters-Stainers were sufficient to raise the £150 that the company was assessed.[171] The Saddlers had already donated £20 "to the poore protestants in Ireland" in March and were ordered to loan £1200 in June. The liverymen agreed to raise £1000 and ordered immediately that £100 "worth of plate" was to be sold cover a portion of the loan. The remaining £900 was to be borrowed from members, and once again the money was raised with relative ease. One Edward Cropley loaned £500, while Thomas Potter gave £200

[167] Clothworkers' Hall, London, Orders of Court, 1639-1649, fols. 63r, 68v, 69r.
[168] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 166.
[169] GL Ms. 7353/1, Cordwainers' Court Minute Book, 1622-1654, unfoliated; GL Ms. 3297/1, Turners' Company Account Book, unfoliated.
[170] GL Ms. 2881/5, Blacksmiths' Company Minute Book, 1639-1648, fols. 102-3.
[171] GL Ms. 5667/1, Painters-Stainers' Company Court Minutes, 1623-49, fol. 168.

and William Pease and Josua Sheppard provided £100 each to complete the loan.[172] Likewise, it took four

members of the Plumbers' Company to pay £50 each to cover £200 of the £250 that they were assessed.[173]

As with the twelve, some of London's smaller companies experienced difficulties raising money

to pay their assessments. The tallow chandlers agreed to pay "the whole 1300l imposed upon this

Companie by the Lord Maiors precept," but in actuality could not pay the total sum owing to difficulty

finding lenders. £700 was raised immediately from one John Woods upon the mortgage of property in

Bankside, but the company found it difficult to raise the remainder, with only "small summes of money" so

that they could deliver only £1000 "into the Chamber of London" on the afternoon of 21 June. Orders were

made to for the entire company to gather at the hall in July to hear parliament's ordinance read aloud in the

hopes that it might precipitate further contributions. The precept was read on 20 July, but there was only "a

verie small appearance of the livere vizt but five in nomber" and so no further mention of the loan was

made.[174] The Tilers and Bricklayers appear to have avoided their assessment of £250 entirely by agreeing

to appear at a "generall Court soe to bee called" at a later unspecified date.[175] The court, it would appear,

was never called.

As it turns out, the recalcitrance shown by companies such as the Clothworkers and Vintners can

be explained by way of a letter contained in the Main Papers. On 28 July, the Committee for the Defense of

the Kingdom, which had been appointed earlier in the month, sent a letter to the Committee for the Irish

Adventurers to request that they consider "publick necessity" and therefore that, "if it may bee spared from

the present and urgent affayres of Ireland," that they would be willing to "Loane One hundred thousand

pounds for the defence of ye King Parliament and Kingdome upon the publick faiyh." The letter contained

the signatures of several high-profile committee members who would play significant parts in the Civil

War, such as Bedford, Essex, Saye and Seale, Sir Philip Stapleton, John Hampden, William Waller, Denzil

Holles, and Holland. Listed at the bottom of the letter, moreover, in what appears to be Saye's own hand, is

---

[172] GL Ms. 5385, Saddlers' Company Minute Book, 1605-1665, fols. 228v, 229v, 230r. The plate sold did
in fact exceed the £100 expected and totaled £109 15s 8d.. 132 spoons brought in a total of £62 3s. alone.
[173] GL Ms. 2208/1, Plumbers' Company Court Minutes, 1621-47, unfoliated.
[174] GL Ms. 6153/1, Tallow Chandlers' Court Book, 1607-1648, fols. 206r, 208r-v, 212r.
[175] GL Ms. 3043/2, Tylers' and Bricklayers' Company Court Minute Book, 1620-63, fol. 145v.

the simple note: "read 31 July 1642 & assented."[176] . Conveniently the £100,000 for Ireland was ready to go for England.

As Robert Brenner has pointed out, "no list has been discovered of the original London backers of the Irish adventure." But we do know that Saye was one. It seems safe to assume that Say's membership in both the Committee for the Irish Adventurers and the recently formed Committee for the Defense of the Kingdom was at least of some help in the process of transferring the funds. Further, it raises a number of important questions about the original purposes of the loan for Ireland. Was the proposal for the money made with the knowledge that it would be diverted? The letter in the Main Papers suggests – albeit inconclusively – that it may have been. It certainly helps to explain *how* parliament managed to redirect "the very large sum of £100,000 from the London committee of adventurers to support its domestic efforts against the king."[177] The transfer does reveal another important point of linkage between the treatment of the Irish rebellion in London and the ways in which London's finances were used to help launch the parliamentary war effort.

Further, it helps to explain the recalcitrance shown by the Clothworkers and the Vintners. Most companies were willing – even if begrudgingly – to support the relief of Ireland, but many were far less happy to support the budding war effort against the king. This latter fact complicates the notion that London simply "aligned" with the parliamentary cause, and it bolsters the notion that there were indeed "rival mobilizations," as Michael Braddick, Ann Hughes, Jason Peacey, and others have suggested. By late July it was clear to many – including the clothworkers Gurney and Rawdon – that the money requested for Ireland would be appropriated for parliament's cause. Otherwise speedy contributions began to slow, and new terms began to be applied to the money that was being paid to Guildhall. Thus the Ironmongers were certain to stipulate that the money that they forwarded on 29 July would be used "for the service of Ireland

---

[176] HLRO Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/1/130 #268.
[177] Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 401-2.

only" and the Vintners likewise stipulated that their money be used for the "supply of the urgent necessities of the kingdome of Ireland."[178]

More loans would be requested the following year and the issue of the payment of the first loan would push several livery companies, including many who had paid outright, towards insolvency. For the time being, a handful of companies had been forced to contribute towards a cause that they did not support. The Vintners' payment of the remaining £2,500, which they had finally agreed to on 29 July, was still in arrears in December.[179]

There is yet further evidence to suggest that London's livery companies were genuinely concerned over the state of Ireland, and that any reluctance to pay towards the £100,000 was based on the issue that the funds might be redirected to pay for the war effort against the king. Aside from evidence of earlier contributions of money, arms, corn, and ordinance, the companies had organized to pay for their own martial representatives who would serve in Ireland. Captain Thomas Church, who acted as the twelve Companies' "agent in Ireland," petitioned in August that all twelve companies might "worke with ye Parliament" so that he might "receive the arreres due unto him for service done in Ireland in the raysing arming & mainteyning 200 foote & 50 horse, or els to leave him quite [sic] of 167. 16. 2 1/2 which he oweth the Company & their Accociates."[180] After some consideration it was readily agreed that he should receive the arrears that were due; on 19 August the "the Associate Companies" ended up paying the money to clear his debt.[181] Companies that were opposed to the loan were then also willing to spend money for the war effort in Ireland – an inconsistency that is made more understandable when the appropriation of the loan by the Committee for the Defence of the Kingdom is taken into account.

London's livery companies did in the end manage to raise money for the relief of Ireland. The City's government, however, was undergoing a radical transformation even as the money was being raised and delivered to the City Guildhall. Within a short span of time, the king had issued the commission of

---

[178] GL Ms. 15201/1, Vintners' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 84; GL Ms. 16967/4, Ironmongers' Court Minute Book, fol. 377.
[179] GL Ms. 15201/1, Vintners' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 96.
[180] Mercers' Company Archives, Acts of Court, fol. 44r.
[181] Ibid., fol. 46r.

array in response to Parliament's militia ordinance, and Parliament had established a new committee filled with some of the most active supporters of the war effort. Isaac Pennington's replacement of Sir Richard Gurney as Lord Mayor marked another important component of this transition since he was fully prepared to use his new authority in the City to direct requests for money and supplies, as was the case with the loan that was requested to further the campaign in Ireland. On 22 August, just eleven days after Pennington had been officially appointed, the king raised his royal standard at Nottingham, a date that has traditionally been assumed to be the start of the war. By then much had already been done to see that the sinews of war were already firmly in the hands of Parliament. As we have seen, a central component of this was the transfer of money raised ostensibly for the relief of Ireland to the new and pressing need to protect England.

The Propositions

Individual Londoners proved more receptive than corporations when it came to parliament's request for loans for the relief of Ireland and for the "defense of the kingdom." In fact, there is extensive evidence to suggest that contemporaries saw the conflict in Ireland and the threat of "imminent danger" in London as one and the same: as aspects of a similar, if also largely nebulous, threat posed by enemies who were both inside and outside of the kingdom. This is not to say that contemporaries could not differentiate between the causes to which they pledged financial and military support. They most certainly could and did contribute towards specific causes. But it is worth noting that Londoners increasingly saw rebellion in Ireland and the threat to London and the entire kingdom in polarized terms – as components of a larger conflict that was defined by long-standing notions of a pan-national Protestant cause. Ergo, the same Catholics who attacked Protestants in Ireland were not necessarily to be differentiated from the many plotters who threatened to seize the capital, or, by extension, the very bishops who upheld English episcopacy. The melding of such concerns would, as war approached, become apparent in terms of the actions of the many thousands who contributed towards war.

On 15 June 1642, Thomas Tyrrell wrote to Richard Grenville, his son-in-law, to inform him about the rapid changes that were taking place around him. Residing in London, he noted the general sentiment around him was that "some suddayne storme will falle upon ye kingdome." Fear of divine reprisal was

behind all unforeseen disasters, but he added note that "Citizens breing in theire mony & Plate roundly according to ye propositions" that were recently made by parliament.[182] The *Propositions* to which Tyrrell referred had in fact been printed and distributed on 10 June, and they called for the "bringing of Mony or Plate" that would go towards the maintenance of "Horse, Horse-men, and Arms for the preservation of the publike peace." Similar to the loans requested from livery companies on 4 June, private contributions were to be repaid "with the Interest according to 8 pound *per cent*," and guaranteed by the public faith. Yet, unlike the loan requested from livery companies, which was specifically requested for the purpose of relieving Ireland, the cash and plate that was to be loaned by citizens was to be used to raise an army to defend against the "king" who had been "seduced by wicked counsel" and who had every intention "to make warre against his Parliament" and divide the "whole Kingdome." The purpose of the new contribution was remarkably different from that made to the livery companies; there was, in short, no mistaking the fact that it would be used towards the coming "civill War."[183]

London again served as the base for the collection. Four prominent aldermen – John Wollaston, John Towse, John Warner, and Thomas Andrews – were selected as treasurers "to receive all such Mony and Plate as shall be brought in." Wollaston, a well-respected goldsmith who would take up the mayoralty at the end of 1643, served as colonel of the City Yellow Regiment; Towse went on to be colonel of the Orange Regiment; Warner was made colonel of the Green Regiment; Andrews, meanwhile, went on to be an important financier of parliament's war effort. The City Guildhall was the center for the collection and recording of contributions with the order made that all within eighty miles of its location were to deliver what money or goods they could within a fortnight, while those who lived further out were expected to respond within three weeks. More than simply a storehouse for cash, the Guildhall was to serve as a practical central location – a place where contributors could deliver in arms and horses that would in turn be recorded and stockpiled with the assumption that they would be used to maintain men-at-arms and soldiers on horseback at a rate of two shillings and sixpence a day.[184] Further, it was to serve as a hub from

---

[182] HEHL, STG Box 67/9.
[183] *Propositions and Orders by the Lords and Commons* (London, 1642), pp. 1-3.
[184] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

which London's war effort would be directed and where likeminded inhabitants could meet to display their support for the cause.

Colonels were not the only military men who would participate in the collection of loans based on the Propositions. Indeed, the link to the City forces extended much further down to the ground. Collectors were appointed by ward, and many served prominent and active roles as captains in the London Trained Bands. There can be little doubt that the presence of military men, from assessment to collection and treasury, added pressure on residents who were expected to contribute. Some wards in central London had as many as three captains serving as collectors. Captains George Langham, Matthew Sheppard, and Richard Hacker, for instance, made up a third of the collectors from Vintry Ward. Three of the seven collectors in Cheap Ward were captains, including William Underwood, Edmund Harvie and the known radical and agitator Randal Mainwaring.[185] Meanwhile three of the thirteen collectors in Farrington Without were captains in the Trained Bands. These were Captains Browne, Cuthbert, and Camfield. Captain Robert Mannering was counted amongst the seven collectors in the small ward of Cripplegate Without, while Captain Caleb Cockroft served in the same role in Coleman Street. All said, at least twenty-one of the collectors in London's central wards were captains in the City Trained Bands.[186] The presence of military officials in the collection process was, thus, pronounced; their numbers, as we shall see, were to increase in November.[187]

Wards outside of the central London contained markedly fewer trainbandsmen. No captains, for instance, were listed for parishes in Westminster and the Savoy, or in those that fell under the authority of Middlesex, including St. Giles in the Fields, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Clement Danes, St. Sepulchers Without, Cripplegate, St. Andrew Holborn, St. James Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, and White Chappell. Of 118 assessors listed outside of central London, only two were officers with the City forces, and these were Captain Francis West in Stepney and William Willoughby, captain of the Tower Trained Bands in

---

[185] I take this to be Randal Mainwaring although the name in HLRO Main Papers HL/PO/JO/10/1/132 #378 is recorded as "Mannering."
[186] HLRO, Main Papers HL/PO/JO/10/1/132 #378.
[187] TNA E 179/147/577 Assessment book for non-contributors in London and Southwark, 26 November 1642.

Wapping.[188] The preponderance of military men among collectors in central London reflects both a high

level of support for the fighting cause and added pressure to inhabitants who lived centrally.

Members of parliament were expected to set the pace of contributions by giving towards the war

effort before the Propositions were issued. Nearly all seem to have been willing and eager to take what they

could from their estates in the shape of money, horses, weapons, and some cases fully outfitted and

maintained horses and men-at-arms. On 10 June, for instance, John Pym pledged to pay for two horses and

give £100 in plate or coin; William Waller offered to bring in four horses and £100; Arthur Goodwin

pledged four horses and £100; Sir Robert Harley pledged two horses; Henry Marten agreed to bring in and

maintain six horses.[189] All said, 150 members pledged nearly 200 horses and more than £8,000 – a

considerable sum that was intended to serve as an example for inhabitants nearby and further afield.[190]

The quality of the horses and arms given towards parliament's war effort varied considerably.

Members of Parliament matched or exceeded their original pledges. Further, as one might expect, members

of the upper house gave considerably more than their counterparts from the lower chamber. Accounts from

the State Papers exchequer series record the "three thousand seaven hundred Fifty seaven horses geldings

and mares" which were loaned to the cause and amounted to some £54,724 18s. 4d. Listed among the

contributors were members from both houses, including several impressive sums from the Lords. The earl

of Holland, for instance, "registered thirty faire horses" worth £1200, while the earl of Essex gave "twenty

horses" and "riders" worth a total £560. Viscount Mandeville provided "tenn horses" and "their Riders"

worth some £380. Viscount Saye and Sele, meanwhile, pledged horses with a value of £147. Details are

also revealed regarding specific amounts and values for the pledges made by members of the Commons. Sir

Arthur Heselrig, a wealthy landowner who went on to raise and outfit his own troop of soldiers in London,

provided sixteen horses valued at £200. Other prominent parliamentarians were as active, even if their

---

[188] HLRO, Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/1/132 #378
[189] *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament: 2 June to 17 September 1642*, pp. 466- 480; see also
Bodleian Library Tanner Ms vol. 66 fols. 61v.
[190] F. Kyffin Lenthall, "List of the Names of the Members of the House of Commons that Advances Horse,
Money and Plate" *Notes and Queries*, XII (1855), pp. 358-60. These are approximate numbers as some
members offered to keep horses "in readiness" or pledge money or maintain horses at rates of £50 or £100.
If horses are valued the total was worth approximately £15,000 more, bringing the total value of
contributions to approximately £23,000.

contributions proved more modest. Sir Robert Harley gave the two horses that he had pledged: "one bay

geldinge with a bald face and one fleabitten gelding" that were together valued at £18 5s. Sir Philip

Skippon, who enjoyed a considerable annuity of £300 from the City, gave "one grai gelding with a hackney

sadle and bridle" worth £8. John Pym, meanwhile, apparently gave at least one of the two horses that he

pledged, "one bright bay horse" which was valued at £15.[191]

     Parliament's cause was not the only one to receive support. Indeed, at least eighteen members of

the Lords "voluntarily" provided subscriptions to the king to match those given towards Parliament's effort

in June. Counted among the men were the king's two sons and other supporters who went on to play

important parts in the royalist war effort such as Richmond, Southampton, Northumberland and Montague.

All together eighteen men did "severallie ingage" themselves "to assist his Majestie in defence of his royall

person, the two houses of Parliament the protestant religion, the laws of the Land, the liberties and

properties of the subject and privileges of his Majestie" with a total of £940. This was a fraction of the total

that was raised during the same month for the war effort, but it amounted to a strong show of support for

the developing royalist position – one that was, given the vast outpouring of donations for Parliament's

cause, far more important as an example of political support than as a means for raising cash.[192]

     Like their counterparts in Westminster, City grandees were to prove active patrons of the war

effort. The vast majority of their contributions, however, came after the outbreak of the war. Alderman

Thomas Andrews provided a horse and a fully equipped rider, Francis Snape, who were together valued at

£26.[193] Mayor Pennington, for his part, agreed to give £200.[194] Further evidence from exchequer series

provides detailed accounts of the "horse and Armes listed under severall Captaines of the Cittye of London,

cheifely for the defence of the said Cittye." Records extend from October 1642 until July of the following

year, but the months from October to December are particularly well documented and reveal the extent to

which citizens of means actively pledged horses, arms, and money towards the war effort. On 11 October

---

[191] TNA SP 28/131/3 fols. 7v, 46v, 70v, 75v, 102r, 117r, 121r-v. Skippon was awarded £300 for life for his service as Major General of London's forces. This sum increased to £600 by Act of Common Council on 2 May 1648. See LMA Ms. COL/CHD/MV.03/003.
[192] TNA SP 16/491/29.
[193] TNA SP 28/131/3, fol. 100v.
[194] *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament: 2 June to 17 September 1642*, p. 469.

the pewterer Edward Heath "listed one gray gelding furnished with a Carbine, a Case of pistols, a buffe Coate a sword" that were together valued at £24 and was sent on to serve in Captain Washborne's regiment. On the following day, James Melcott, a dyer, met with commissioners "att the blackbow nere Paulswharfe in Thamestreet" to contribute "one gray trotting gelding furnished with a Carbine pistols, buffe Coate & sword" which were also valued at £24. One "Rushwroth, Esq." – likely the parliamentarian lawyer and historian John Rushworth – met with commissioners "att the goldenbale in Sheerelane" to offer up his contribution of a "bright bay horse with a starr" that was valued at £14. The horses from both Rushworth and Melcott were destined to serve under Captain Browne. Thomas Andrews provided for the cause when he outfitted Captain Randal Mainwaring's regiment with an "able white and gray pied gelding" that was fully equipped with a rider, Thomas Jones, and "armed with a sadle and furniture, a Carbine a case of pistols, a buffe Coate & a sword," all worth the impressive sum of £27.[195] Andrew Kendrick, a mercer from Coleman Street, furnished a "dapple gray gelding" with pistols and arms for Skippon that were valued at £22, while the skinner Richard Bateman provided the same with two horses and arms valued at an impressive £60.[196]

Men were not the only wealthy contributors. On 22 October, Ann Sacheverill of Aldergate Street "listed two bay horses" and riders "armed with Carbines, pistols, buffecoates, and swords" and valued at £60. Three days later, Elizabeth Fant, Sacheverill's neighbor, gave horses on two separate occasions; she gave one bay gelding and equipment worth £25 and an additional two bay horses and goods worth £65. Both Sacheverill and Fant returned to give more on 28 October; Sacheverill gave two more horses worth £50 and Fant gave two more with equipment worth an additional £60. Sacheverill gave another £74 worth of horses and equipment on 31 October and another £60 on 3 November; her total individual contributions thus reached £244. On 7 November the commissioners recorded a contribution from both Sacheverill and Font together, who as "widdowes listed two black browne geldings, one bay baled gelding and one gray gelding their riders Armes compleate" worth £108. Fant returned yet again to give horses worth £48 on 8

---

[195] TNA SP 28/131/5, fol. 1.
[196] Ibid., fol. 2.

November. Both women had given more towards parliament's cause than Pym or many of the other men noted for their leadership and commitment towards the war effort.

Countless other inhabitants made modest but nevertheless important contributions on single occasions. The Presbyterian preacher "Doctor [Cornelius] Burges of Watford," managed to provide "one brown bay gelding" valued at £18 on 31 October.[197] Women, moreover, were among the most generous and active supporters when it came to outfitting horses and riders. On 28 October Mary Coxe of Coleman Street gave a white gelding and equipment worth £12, while on 22 November one Sara Bridges gave "one white fleabitten gelding" valued at £18.[198] All said, one account book reveals 323 pledges of horses and arms worth a total of £7,576 16s between October and December 1642.[199] Londoners of substantial means were highly active in their support of the cause, and it can certainly be assumed that numerous other account books might reveal similar levels of commitment.

The large sums that were contributed by prominent parliamentarians and wealthy citizens amounted to only a fraction of what was raised in the metropolis. As early as June, money was being loaned and contributed at a sometimes overwhelming rate by numerous members of London's "lower and middling sorts." William Dugdale, writing some years after the event, recalled that the extent of contributions "can hardly be imagined" with "people of all sorts pouring out their Treasure, as if it had been for the most advantageous purchase in the world; throwing in with their Plate and Rings; and not sparing their very Thimbles and Bodkins."[200] Clarendon describes a scene in which the treasurers at Guildhall could not keep up with the "vast proportion of plate that was brought in to their treasurers." So much arrived within a span of ten days, Clarendon recalled, that there were "hardly enough men to receive it, or room to lay it in."[201] Bulstrode Whitelocke, moreover, believed that parliament's very victory depended as much on

---

[197] Ibid., fol. 12.
[198] Ibid., fols. 6,7, 9, 11, 12, 16, 20, 21, 26.
[199] Ibid., fols. 1-26.
[200] William Dugdale, *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (London, 1681), p. 99.
[201] Clarendon, *History*, vol. II, pp. 226-7; Coates, p. 55; Lindley, p. 218.

"the indeavours of sundry Ministers and others," as it did on the many "poore women" who gave up their "their wedding rings and bodkins."[202]

Saint Pancras Soper Lane was home to a godly and active community that regularly provided support for parliament's war. Iconoclasts from the parish set about reforming their church in October 1641 by stripping their church of "Inscriptions on grave stones," along with "all the Crosses left upon the walls and on the Candlestick by the pulpit," all "images over the Church porch" and even their "Silver flagon for the marke on it being superstitious and Jesuiticall." At the same meeting the vestry nominated Christopher Goade to lecture and "to preach on Sundays in the afternoone for the yeare ensueing and to give him fifty pounds a yeare to be collected of the perishoners for the same."[203] The eagerness for reform carried over to the following October when parishioners contributed freely to the new war effort. Several inhabitants paid out considerable sums to raise and equip a total of thirty-eight men at arms, while more money was provided to support an additional seventeen soldiers for eight weeks. Among the thirty-three contributors was the common councilor and "godly zealot" Joseph Parker, who gave money to equip seven men, and three widows whose respective contributions totaled £4 12s.[204] Parishioners, moreover, offered unflagging support as evinced by their reactions to "a printed precept under the Lord Maiors hand dated the 29th of November 1642" and which called for additional contributions towards an assessment of £30,000 levied on the City to maintain the war effort. Twenty-three loaned money, with Joseph Parker giving an additional £50. One '"Mrs Highlord Widdow" gave more than anyone else in the parish when she pledged £100. All said, the twenty-three members contributed a total of £568.[205]

It was impossible that voluntary contributions such as those from St. Pancras Soper Lane were sustainable over the long haul, or indeed according to the levels accounted around the outbreak of war. It soon became clear that additional contributions would be needed, and further that those who had not pledged would also need to be persuaded. On 13 September, for instance, Essex sent a letter from

---

[202] BL Add. Ms 37343, Whitelocke's Annals vol. III, fol. 253r.
[203] LMA Ms. P69/PAN/B/001/MS05019/001, St. Pancras Soper Lane Vestry Minutes, 1626-1699, fol. 76.
[204] Ibid., fol. 83. For the description of Joseph Parker as a "godly zealot," see Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 207.
[205] Ibid., fol. 84.

Northampton to Parliament and to the City Common Council to request "the speedy Loane of one hundred Thousand pounds." The letter was read two days later, and after "serious Consdieracion" of the "Iminent [sic] danger" posed to the kingdom and City, the Council decided to submit to Parliament a request for orders printed by "the Lords and Commons in Parliament for money and Plate," in order to encourage the "stirring upp" of those who had "not allreadye contributed" to the cause.[206] Four days later, on 19 September, *Certain Propositions of Both Houses of Parliament, concerning the raising of Horse, Horsmen, and Arms* were printed along with "instructions concerning the same."[207] In this case, then, it took just a week for Essex's request from Northampton to travel through the City and the Parliament and become a printed order for contributions, a process that serves as testament to both the efficiency of print and the extent to which it was expected that resources could still be expected from the City. Ben Coates has noted that the money "was collected in just four days," an impressive figure that suggests that it took less than two full weeks for Essex to receive money from the people of London.[208] It is telling that Essex first requested the money by writing to the Common Council. Before leaving London as the head of the Parliamentary army on September 9, he had as a member of the House of Lords ample opportunity to observe the high level of enthusiasm for the war effort that existed in London at this early stage.

As personal finances armories depleted, Londoners turned to other means for finding ways to contribute towards the defense of the City. Bishops' estates proved particularly enticing targets for pillaging. William Laud recalled the arrival of "Captain Royden and his company" at Lambeth on the evening of 19 August. The men "stayed there all Night, and searched every Room, and where any Key was not ready, brake open Doors." Their efforts proved fruitful as "the next Morning they carried my Arms away in Carts to *Guild-Hall*, *London*." Laud recalled that the stores of arms at Lambeth were "not enough for Two Hundred" out of the impressive "Arms for Ten Thousand Men" that were passed out to new

---

[206] LMA COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 38r-v.
[207] HLRO Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/1/133 #116.
[208] Coates, *Impact*, p. 55.

recruits "in *London*."[209] If not by way of horses, plate or cash, Londoners were determined to find other ways that they could help promote what was increasingly being referred to as the "good old cause."

Livery Companies and the Search for Arms

Thankful as Laud may have been about Lambeth's modest store of arms, the fact remained that metropolis held numerous other caches from which equipment could be obtained. On 25 August, Lord Say, Lord Philip Wharton, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and John Glyn travelled from the Committee of Safety to the Common Council of London to deliver a new message regarding the "sineiews of Warr." They praised "the forwardnesse and assencion of the Cittye of London" for following the request made in the Propositions, but they also made a new request. Waiting for "6000 Musketts daily from parts beyond the Seas" meant that parliament's armies could not yet march out of the capital and take to the field against the king. It was, they went on, therefore their hope "that the Citty would lend unto them 6000 Musketts and 4000 Pikes to furnish the forces who are Presently to march with the Lord Generall." All that could be raised, they assured, would be assessed so that the "vallew thereof should be returned unto the owners as they shall think fitt." The Common Council agreed immediately, and authority was granted to the Lord Mayor to issue precepts that might help the process of collection. Precepts bearing Pennington's name were then printed and delivered to the City wards.[210]

Livery companies were once again called upon to play their part. The political climate in the capital had, of course, changed significantly from two months earlier when parliament requested the loan for Ireland to be made by orders of a Common Hall. Once again companies recorded their responses in detail. The Drapers, for instance, copied out Mayor Pennington's precept in full, revealing that companies were expected to gather and furnish what "may be spared towards ye making upp of ten thousand armes whereof there to be six thowsand musketts and fower thowsand Cosletts."[211] As with the earlier cash loans, companies looked to the actions of their peers as precedent for their own actions. Having considered

[209] William Laud, *The history of the troubles* (London, 1695), p. 196.
[210] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 35r.
[211] Drapers' Court Minutes and Records, 1640-1667, fol. 22r

that their fellow company the "Fishmongers had allready condescended unto the furnishing & delivering in of one hundred and fifty armes," the drapers agreed on 30 August to offer from their own armory "forty Cosletts & pikes and Threescore Musketts furnished out of the Companies armes."[212] The Haberdashers, likewise, joined the chorus: having observed "many of the Companies of this Citty have already out of their store furnished good quantities," and their "Court being unwilling to be behind," they decided to loan "one hundred armes." Their desire to remain in step with the other companies was evident, so that on 3 September they agreed to have "the said M[aste]r and wardens" inspect and "make up the said number." The Haberdashers were prepared to extend their reach into private stores in order to meet the request made by the Lord Mayor and the Common Council.[213]

Other companies followed suit. After they reviewed the mayor's precept and took stock of the actions of their peers, the Grocers agreed on 30 August to lend "twenty muskets and forty pikes and Corslets" under agreement of "the sure returne of the same againe indeminished or the like in kind of ye value thereof in money if any shalbee lost or endamaged."[214] Despite their earlier obstinacy regarding the £100,000 loan, members of the Clothworkers agreed that it was "thought fitt and so ordered that there shalbe lent unto the Parlaiment for their present use Forty Musquetts and Twenty Pykes with Twenty Corsletts and Threescore Swords, Forty payre of Bandiliers and Forty Rests."[215] Like their counterparts, it was stipulated that receipts should be made out to be sure that arms and armor of equal value would be returned. Apparently no more than the "reading of a Copy" of the precept from Pennington and the aldermen from "the ward of Cheape" was enough to convince the Mercers to loan "forty musketts and Twenty Corslets furnished towards arming of the forces wch are speedily to march away with the r[ight] ho[nora]ble the Earle of Essex Lord Generall hereof for the defence & safetie of this Kingdome."[216] Although reluctant to loan cash for Ireland months earlier, members of the livery companies apparently did not hesitate to deliver deadly weapons for use against their fellow countrymen.

[212] Drapers' Court Minutes and Records, 1640-1667, fol. 22r
[213] GL Ms. 15842/1 Haberdashers' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 313r.
[214] GL Ms. 11588/4, Grocers' Company Minutes, fol. 56.
[215] Clothworkers' Company Library, Orders of Courts, 1639-1649, fol. 70r.
[216] Mercers' Company Library, Acts of Court, fol. 49r.

The Fishmongers had already provided sixty men with pikes, helmets, and chest pieces, and another 140 men with muskets, belts and bandoliers in April. Pennington was personally in attendance on 30 August when the company read his precept and agreed to loan "fifty Pikes Corsetts and headpeeces and one hundred Musketts Belts and Bandeleeres" that were accompanied by "wormes and Scowrers" for cleaning. The mayor's presence may have helped again when on the following Thursday the company's leaders agreed to deliver an additional 150 arms – fourteen pikes and breastplates, thirty-six muskets, fifty helms, and fifty swords – to the Guildhall "for the service aforesaid." Indeed, all but one member of the company, one "Mr. Andrewes," readily agreed that the extra arms should be sent in.[217] All said the company leaders had agreed to loan seven hundred items to help equip the City's forces.

Smaller companies were once again expected to contribute according to their means. Modest contributions came from the Brewers, who on 6 September brought "5 Corsletts, 5 Pikes, 5 Swords and 2 Belts, and also 5 Musketts, 5 rests, 5 bandeleers and 5 swords" to the Guildhall for use by "the Earle of Essex Lord Generall of the Parliaments Forces."[218] The Weavers provided a similar share towards the ten thousand arms that were needed when they delivered in "two new Cosletts with headpeeces and pikes" to outfit two men and "one old Coslet & headpeece with a new pike" to ready another. Also given were three pairs of bandoliers, three muskets and rests and six swords. Although modest in comparison to the loans made by the twelve principal livery companies, the Turners gave twenty-four pieces of armor and arms – enough to outfit and send six men into the field.[219]

Loans were not necessarily delivered immediately, and it would then be almost impossible to trace the exact figures of arms and armor given towards the effort. Two months after arms were collected and loaned, members of the Turners "ordered that the money which should be spent on the fifth of November next shall not be spent but shall be imployed to the buying of arms for the use of the Commonwealth." The company was willing to forego their annual celebration in order to pledge more weapons for Parliament's

---

[217] GL Ms. 5570/3, Fishmongers' Company Court Minute Book, fols. 585, 625,
[218] GL Ms. 5445/17, Brewers' Company Court Minute Book, unfoliated.
[219] GL Ms. 4655, Weavers' Company Minutes, fol. 116r.

war effort. The raising of arms would serve as a sufficient praise to the Almighty and fittingly commemorate England's delivery from the Gunpowder plot.[220]

If the sheer volume and variety of the objects being loaned means that calculating precise totals is difficult, we can nonetheless be confident that the vast majority of London's livery companies complied with the precept for the collection of arms to outfit parliament's army. The speed with which companies loaned arms, moreover, raises a number of questions about the nature of their commitment to the war effort. Whereas they had previously expressed concern over their portion of the loan for the relief of Ireland, members of the Clothworkers did little to impede the delivery of weapons that would be used in parliament's war effort. Does this indicate, on the one hand, that their issue with the loan for Ireland was based primarily on the fact that it would place financial strain on their company, whereas the loaning of arms posed little inconvenience? Their cash loan was, as we have seen, still in arrears in December. Or does it suggest, on the other hand, that Pennington's election as mayor and his zeal persuaded the company to act? In either case, the Clothworkers and their fellow livery companies provided an overwhelmingly positive response to the precept for raising arms to outfit Essex's troops. Parliament – and indeed the City – were one step closer to fielding an army in the war effort against the king.

Chapter 3. The Metropolis and the Outbreak of War

Enlistments, Military Culture and News

The other, and indeed most important aspect of London's early war effort was its manpower. The securing of the London Trained Bands for parliament in early 1642 has been well documented.[221] Between January and April, the parliament managed not only to wrest authority over the City forces from the royalist Lord Mayor Richard Gurney, and indeed from the king himself, but they also increased the troops from 6000 to

---

[220] GL Ms. 3297/1, Turners' Company Account Books, unfoliated.
[221] See in particular Lawson Nagel, "'A Great Bouncing at Every Man's Door': The Struggle for London's Militia in 1642," in Stephen Porter (ed.) *London and the Civil War* (London, 1996), pp. 65-88.

8000 men.[222] The addition of new men-at-arms allowed for the redrawing of the organization of the

trainbands from four to six regiments, so that by April a precept could be issued to call upon aldermen and

common councilmen to seek out captains from the City's wards. Valerie Pearl has suggested that there

were at this time at least ten thousand men enlisted in the City forces, while Wilfrid Emberton has settled

on the very precise figures of 4716 men from without the metropolis and 5077 in the London trained bands.

Ben Coates has taken these figures to suggest that "there was one trained bandsman for every forty

inhabitants." Nearly all of London's inhabitants must have had regular contact with soldiers.[223]

On 10 May orders were issued for the first muster of the expanded forces under the command of

Sergeant Major General Phillip Skippon. Lawson Nagel pointed out in his important but unpublished PhD

dissertation that the occasion was to be of significance because it demonstrated the effectiveness of the

Militia ordinance and expressed "the City's wholehearted support for the parliamentarian cause and its

willingness to take up arms in the defence of that cause."[224] The theatrics of the day were impressive by any

standards. The City's troops met in Finsbury Fields to drill, skirmish, and discharge their weapons.

Thousands of Londoners gathered to observe their practice. More than a show of strength, the occasion was

an important moment for unifying efforts. The diarist Framlingham Gawdy noted in his parliamentary

journal that the Commons "rose about ten of the clock in the forenoon" so that they could go to observe

"the general muster or training of the citizens of London." All told "there met about 12,000 soldiers with

their officers, and most of the members of both houses were present."[225] Members who traveled from

---

[222] On 16 February, Mayor Gurney and several other Londoners actively petitioned the "Aldermen of the City of London" in Common Council in an attempt to retain authority. See HLRO Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/1/115; LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 26v-27r, in mentions a petition that "concerned not only the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermn, but also this Court of Common Councell," and which was taken into consideration but "forborne to bee read" by order of a vote of ninety against sixty-nine [which included Mayor Gurney], on account of that fact that it was intended for the Court of Aldermen *and* the Common Council.
[223] Pearl, *London*, p. 251; Wilfrid Emberton, *Skippon's Brave Boys: The Origins, Development, and Civil War Service of London's Trained Bands* (Bukingham, 1984), p.33; Coates, *The Impact*, p. 46.
[224] Nagel, "The Struggle for London's Militia in 1642," p. 78,
[225] *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament: 7 March to 1 June 1642*, eds. W. H. Coates, A. S. Young, and V. F. Snow (New Haven, 1987), p. 303.

Westminster to Finsbury were entertained in a large tent that was set up by the City, which Clarendon estimated – perhaps with some exaggeration – to cost the City "near a thousand pound."[226]

The voluntary enlistments that followed throughout the year cannot be explained simply in terms of a desire to emulate such performances, although they probably helped encourage some honor-seeking or adventurous new recruits. Rather, enlistments must be explained through recourse to a number of motivating factors, some of which were long-standing and others more immediate. The initial enthusiasm for war shown by many Londoners can, on the one hand, be understood as part a long history of civil participation in the drilling and pageantry of war, and a popular fascination and familiarity with military culture. David R. Lawrence has shown that London served as a center for the printing of manuals on military instruction and further that the City's Honorable Artillery Company and other military clubs acted as "incubators of military ideas" and places "where the gentlemen and merchants of London trained, talked, and eventually wrote about the martial arts."[227] Such military clubs were, moreover, widespread throughout the metropolis. Barbara Donagan has outlined aspects of Londoners' fascination with their military culture in the martial displays that regularly occurred in London.[228] Many of the prominent citizens who gained both honor and recognition for their involvement with military fraternities were also members of livery companies and participated in City government as aldermen or in other capacities. Martin Bond was one such man. He served as one time deputy alderman, as master of the Haberdashers, and also as president of the Honorable Artillery Company from 1616-18. He remains immortalized in a funeral monument for having served as a captain of London's militia when the Spanish Armada sailed in 1588. Bond's funeral monument reflected clearly the linkage between civic duty and military leadership that exemplified what was expected of City grandees. Many whose names appeared on the militia's training lists were also members of livery companies and prominent figures in London's parliamentary and radical leadership, a fact that helped to further solidify the connections between military and civilian life at the outset of the Civil War.

---

[226] Clarendon, *History,* vol. II, p. 91.
[227] David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*, pp.156, 376-92.
[228] Barbara Donagan, *War in England*, pp. 59-60.
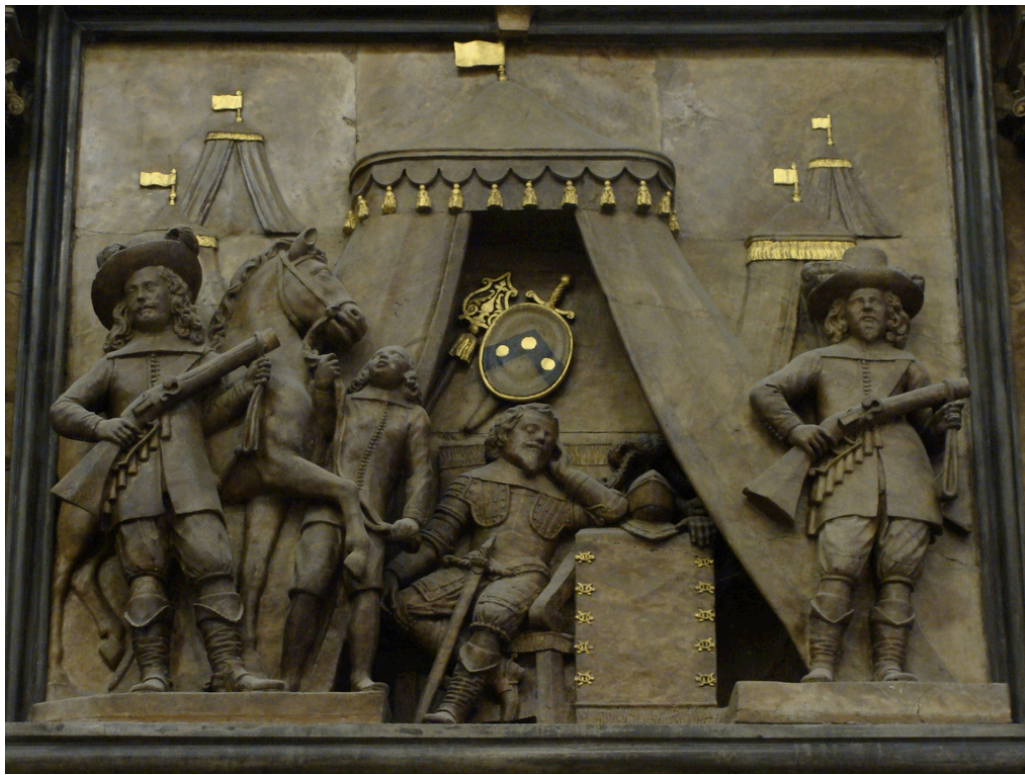
Figure i. Martin Bond's Funeral Monument, d. 1643, from St. Helen's Bishopsgate, London.

The Honorable Artillery Company had long served as a point of contact for London's radical leadership. John Venn, a Merchant Tailor and member of the Honorable Artillery Company, was a highly active supporter of the war effort in London and went on to serve as colonel of a parliamentarian regiment. Randall Mainwaring, also a member of the Honorable Artillery Company, was admitted to the Fishmongers' Company in January 1642 and served as a lieutenant colonel in the City regiment. Both Venn and Mainwaring were central in shaping London's war effort – so much so, in fact, that both would be charged with treason by the king in January 1643.[229] Such radicalism existed well before the outbreak of war, as evinced by Dr. Calybute Downing's *A Sermon Preached to the Renowned Company of the Artillery*. Preached in front of the company on 1 September 1640 and later printed by order of the Commons, Downing's sermon broached the topic of armed resistance against the king and the view that "*salus populi*

---

[229] For Mainwaring admittance to the fishmongers' company, see GL Ms. 5570/3, Fishmongers' Court Minutes, 1641-1646, fols. 643-4. See also, Section II, "corporate participation."

should be *sola, & suprema lex*."[230] Although widely celebrated, Downing's sentiments did not resonate

with the entire company. Counted amongst their membership were also a number of individuals who would

go on to support the king such as Sir Nicholas Crispe, the salter, who later fled the capital to join the king

in Oxford, and Marmaduke Rawdon, the clothworker who, as we have seen, openly opposed the loan for

Ireland and who would later raise a regiment of foot to fight against parliament. A propensity to serve in a

military function could not be taken as an indicator of wartime allegiance.

As we have seen, the 10 June Propositions for plate and goods led to an overwhelming support for

the parliamentary cause. Similar expectations accompanied plans for raising an army of volunteers so that

Henry Marten could claim "we have the City and we have the hearts of the people who are ready

whensoever we shall hold up our finger."[231] If based on the responses to the Propositions, Marten was soon

to be proved correct with regards to City volunteers. On the afternoon of Monday, 2 July the Commons

adjourned until Monday so that they could travel the short distance to Tothill Fields to view more than 800

mounted men who were "very well appointed with Pistolls and Carbines" and had been "voluntarily raised

neere and about London" and were "to be at an houres warning for the good and safety of the

Kingdome."[232] A week later, on Saturday 9 July, Pym moved the Commons to consider raising 10,000

volunteers "in London and the liberties" who would then be arranged into regiments and paid 8d. per day.

The proposal passed by eighty votes, a substantial margin. Two days later, on 11 July, Robert Devereux,

the earl of Essex, was appointed to serve as Chief Commander of the Army.[233]

Londoners proved eager to play their part. According to *A Perfect Dirunall*, "neere upon 3000"

men had gathered at the Artillery Garden by the afternoon of Thursday, 28 July, to serve under Essex.[234]

Many more apparently arrived between Thursday and the end of the weekend. On 26 July Arthur Goodwin,

commander of the militia in Buckinghamshire, wrote from Covent Garden to Richard Grenville, High

---

[230] Calybute Downing, *A Sermon Preached to the Renowned Company of the Artillery* (London, 1641), p. 37.

[231] Quoted in Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (New York, 1981), p. 338; BL Add. Ms. 14827, fol. 169v.

[232] *Some Speciall Passages from London* 3-10 July (London, 1642), sigs. G4r-v.

[233] *Private Journals of the Long Parliament*, 2 June – 17 September 1642, p. 193; Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 215; Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 338-9.

[234] *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament*, 25 July – 1 August (London, 1642), p. 6.

Sheriff of the same county, to inform him about the droves of men who had gathered to enlist for parliament's cause, noting that "My L[ord] Generall this day was upon the City and in moore field was attended with a multitude of Volunteers, who will they say live and dye with him: the City they say will raise 5000 men for him, and will maintaine them for 3 months at their owne charges."[235] Goodwin, as it turns out, had sound reason to keep a close eye on the enlistments and to gauge popular excitement in London; he was entrusted with sixty-three horse just two weeks after he wrote about the successful raising of troops and supplies in the City.[236] William Dugdale told a similar story years later, when he recalled "how forward and active the *Londoners* were to promote this Rebellion," with many willing to "adventure their lives." Dugdale estimated that there were some "five thousand of them listing themselves under the Earl of Essex" at Moore Fields on 26 July, and that by the first of the following month there were "voluntiers, then in readiness" that "amounted to near ten thousand men, being forthwith committed to Officers and distributed into Regiments."[237] The volunteer army, then, had been raised in a matter of weeks. Together with the trained bands, London had raised a fighting force of nearly 20,000 men.

Other factors must be taken into account when explaining how and why London's "multitude" remained interested in the war effort. One largely obvious – albeit convincing – explanation, is that "self-defence was the key factor in the City's decision." As Keith Roberts has argued, the role of preservation was almost certainly important for a "divided" society in which "each member was influenced by his own business interests and religious or political views."[238] Thus we should not dismiss the language employed in the many proclamations and orders that were issued in wartime London. Many of these explained the need to fight in terms of self-defense. Orders from the Common Council and Lord Mayor frequently raised the point that action was needed on a "defensive" basis, or indeed due to the threat of "imminent danger." Such points would be repeated and used to great effect throughout the first three years of the war.

---

[235] HEHL, STG Box 65/43.
[236] TNA SP 28/131/3, fol. 46r.
[237] William Dugdale, *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (London, 1681), p. 99.
[238] Keith Roberts, "Citizen Soldiers: the Military Power of the City of London," in *London and the Civil War*, (ed.) Stephen Porter (London, 1996), pp. 101, 104.

It can be assumed that financial gain offered only limited incentive for new volunteers. Clearly,

this does not mean that the prospect of pay should be entirely discredited as a motivation for enlistment.

The undeniably bad economy of the early Stuart period must have made the guarantee of coat and conduct

money and the prospect of pay enticing for some poor young men, and in some cases a military career

would have made for an appealing alternative to apprenticeship.[239] Yet the fact remains that military

expeditions were seldom a means for getting ahead financially. Some soldiers of fortune had taken to the

fields over previous years to march north to meet with the Scottish forces. But even they were hard pressed

to find their pay after disbanding. As a rule, then, soldiers in the early modern period were seldom paid

well, or even regularly. Money for soldiers was notoriously inconsistent and almost always fell into arrears.

Further, if England's most recent military operations were to serve as any reminder, campaigns and

expeditions were also notoriously dangerous. Soldiers who participated in the wars of the 1620s suffered

appalling conditions. England's track record, however short, was little to boast about. One need not look far

to find examples of the terrible conditions that took the lives of English soldiers. Lord Thomas Cromwell,

the unfortunate commander of a regiment sent to join up with Count Mansfelt's expedition to relieve the

Palatinate in early 1625, sent pleading letters home to beg for supplies while he watched his men "die licke

dogs." Ravaged by winter, he was one of only 4,000 men – from an original force three times that size –

who persisted through the starving and frostbitten winter.[240] Little better could be said of the drunken

debacle at Cadiz later in the year, or for Buckingham's disastrous failure at the Île de Ré. The prospect of

little and inconsistent pay must have done little to offset the risk of death.

If the call to defense was key, what could parliament do to sustain the pace of enlistment seen

during the spring and summer? Other incentives would be needed to convince young Londoners to join up

and fight. Bulstrode Whitelock identified at least one of these in the September order declaring that "all

Apprentices who wil list themselves in this Army shall have their time of that service for their freedome

which brought many of them into their Army." This would indeed prove an important motivational factor

---

[239] See Angela McShane, "Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads,"
JEMH 15 (2011), pp. 105-37.
[240] TNA SP 84/126/3, Lord Cromwell to Dudley Carleton.

for some who wished to quickly obtain their freedom and move on from apprenticeship to trade, a

decidedly more lucrative enterprise.[241] Despite this important development, little in the historical record

suggests a later surge of enlistments to match those seen in July and early August.

Far more important, I argue, were incessant and consistent rumors of plots, along with reports on

the war effort that began to circulate more frequently after the outbreak of hostilities. Rumors in particular

were seen by Londoners as confirmation of preexisting notions and prejudices – forerunners of divine

wrath could be seen in outbreaks of the plague, or threats of a native Catholic uprising. And so Robert

White's popular tune *The Prentices Resolution* could proclaim that the fight was to do away with enemies

of the gospel:

> Breve London lads I understand,
> I pray marke well my story,
> Protest to let their helpe in hand,
> and fight for Englands glory,
> O we will march courageously,
> Against the Gospels enemy,
> Then hey for Essex,
> The Earle of Essex,
> Wee'le march with Essex,
> downe with the Cavalleers now boyes.[242]

News, likewise, served to feed popular interest in victories and successes. The latter were important

motivational components that likely convinced many wound Londoners to volunteer. The City provided an

ideal environment for the incubation and cross-pollination of such news and rumor. Crowded streets and

packed shops aided the transfer; crowded alehouses served as hubs for discussion, while known and

clandestine printing presses produced news that could be quickly sold and disseminated.[243]

Several concentrations of booksellers' shops circulated fresh news daily. The corner northeast of

Paul's Cross served, as Peter Blayney has shown, as "the unrivalled center of retail bookselling in London,"

---

[241] BL Add Ms. 37343, Whitelock's Annals vol. III, fol. 259r.
[242] *The Prentices Resolution* (London, 1650).
[243] See Richard Cust, "News and politics in early seventeenth century England," *P&P* 112 (1986), pp. 60-90.; Peacey, *Politicans and Pamphleteers*; Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*; David Como, "Secret Printing, the Ciris of 1640, and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism," *P&P* 196 (2007), pp. 37-82.

where well over a dozen densely packed booksellers' shops butted up against ecclesiastical facilities.[244] But pedestrians eager for news and gossip were not limited to the abundance of material that could be had around Paul's Cross. As Barnaby Rich attested, there were a number of hotspots where one could make the rounds to gather or share in juicy tidbits of gossip or news: "about ten of the clock in the forenoon, you may hit upon" a newsmonger "in the middle walk in Paul's [Cathedral]: but from eleven to twelve, he will not miss the Exchange."[245] Easily produced, copied, and regularly shared, letters and manuscript separates further aided the rapid exchange of information. Contemporaries could expect to find separates in places that ranged from the regular to the peculiar; one might find the latest whisper of news or scrawled libel in the aisles of St. Paul's or in a secret meeting place in Swan Alley off Coleman Street.[246] Thus, when one contemporary wrote to say that the following "lines" were taken "in Extract of my Letter, written with his oune hand," he was doing little more than confirming the credibility of his sources. The news on the occasion required little verification as it was widely reported on, but the writer nonetheless recalled that on 25 October 1641 "a Porter delivered a letter which hee had receved from an unnamed Gentleman on Horsebak to Mr Pym" and which he opened in the House to find "a filthy Blister in it taken from a Plague Sore."[247] This attempt at biological terrorism, even if elevated by Pym's own theatrics, was soon made available to the public in print as *A Damnable Treason By a Contagious Plaster of a Plague Sore*.[248] No matter the format, Londoners could expect to stay informed about the capital's latest political developments. The result of such widely produced and readily available news and rumor was a surprisingly informed population which, as Jason Peacey has shown, could display a wide and "transforming awareness about 'current affairs', methods for engaging with the political elite and ideas about the political system."[249]

---

[244] Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London, 1990), p. 5.
[245] As quoted in Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 81.
[246] Thomas Cogswell, "Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture" in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (Manchester, 1995), pp. 277-300; Alastair Bellany, "'Rayline rymes and vaunting verse'" in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London, 1994), pp. 285-310.
[247] BL Sloane Ms. 1467, fol, 152r.
[248] *A Damnable Treason By a Contagious Plaster of a Plague Sore* (London, 1641).
[249] Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*, p. 20.

As the war effort pressed forward, this increased "awareness" would play an escalated role in sustaining

mobilization, both in terms of troop enlistments and contributions in the form of money and equipment.

The First Campaigns

Popular perceptions of war changed dramatically as Londoners marched out into the provinces. Early

accounts of their progress reflected widespread optimism that included zealous affirmations of the

righteousness of parliament's cause and the pervasive sense that the king's forces would be swiftly

defeated. Such optimism waned as the days shortened. Notions that the war would come to a swift

conclusion began to give way to more realistic expectations that the conflict would be protracted – a

transformation that is borne out in the letters and accounts of those who had marched from the shelter of the

metropolis into the open fields of the west, and who were unaccustomed to life on campaign.

On Monday, 15 August 1642, a troop identifying themselves only as "London prentices" entered

the parish church in the small town of Marsworth in Buckinghamshire. While there they "broke the rayles

at the upper end of the Chancill where formerly the Communion Table stood, and beat downe all the

painted glass in the windowes." Their acts of iconoclasm did not end at the church; they soon made their

way on to the minister's house, where they demanded that he hand over the "service booke and surpliss,

withall threatning that if he did not deliver them to them, they would pull down his house over his head."

Finding that the objects were not in his possession, they returned to the church "and finding them there,

first tore the two service bookes all to peices, scattring some of the leaves about the streets, and carrying the

rest away upon the pointes of their swords." Having finally located the surplice, one Londoner put it on and

"marcht away to Alisbury triumphing in contempt and derision." Such iconoclasm and mockery are well

documented among the soldiers who made their way out of the metropolis; many of these soldiers, it can be

safely assumed, had observed or taken part in similar behavior in London's parishes over the previous two

years.[250] Nehemiah Wharton, an officer who marched out with Essex in the autumn campaigns of 1642,

repeatedly wrote home to George Willingham to share his similar experiences with acts iconoclasm. "Holy

---

[250] HEHL EL 194/7765, "1642 Mr Roger Wilford minister his testif concerning the Souldiers (London
Apprentices) carriage at Marsworth in their going towards Aylesbury 15 August 1642."

railes" were an important form of kindling used by Wharton and his troop, after being removed from churches in Chiswick and Uxbridge. Where altar rails had already been destroyed, such as at Hillingdon, the troop could rely on other means of entertainment such as surplices, which they cut up and made into "handecherchers."[251] Other experiences were new and exciting for fresh Londoners on the march. In Coventry, Wharton wrote home to tell of the "great store of venison, which is as good as ever I tasted" and "almost as common with us as beefe with you"; and in Worcestershire he enjoyed pears and "that pleasant drinke called perry, which they sell for a penny a quart, though better then ever you tasted in London."[252] Troops from the City brought empty stomachs and thirsty throats to match their zealous religious sensibilities.

Accompanying the soldiers who marched into the fields were a number of famous and capable ministers. Amongst the best known was Obadiah Sedgwick, who, as Wharton recalled, delivered "two heavenly sermons" on a Sabbath in early September. Wharton added that his own "company in particular marched to hear him rank and file." Also at camp with the Londoners was "Mr. Marshall, that worthy champion of Christ" and "Mr. [Simeon] Ash." Wharton had not yet found an opportunity to hear Ashe preach, but he assured Willingham in his letter that he was eager to find a time when he might take in one of the minister's sermons.[253] The same godly men who had preached stirring providential warnings in London's pulpits joined soldiers in the field. Among those who marched out was also Calybute Downing, who served as "Chaplaine to that Regiment of Foote whereof the right honorable John Lord Robert is Colonell." Paid £25 4d. in December for his expenses on campaign, Downing was most certainly valuable as a firebrand and promoter of the fight, just as he had been two years earlier when delivering his belligerent sermon to the Honorable Artillery Company.[254] Like his fellow godly ministers, Downing offered stirring sermons that would keep ablaze the fighting spirit of men who had marched far from the familiarity of their homes.

---

[251] "Letters from a Subaltern Officer of the Earl of Essex's Army, Written in the Summer and Autumn of 1642," from *Archæologia* vol. 35 (ed.) Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1854), pp. 5-6.
[252] Ibid., pp. 10, 21.
[253] Ibid., pp. 15-17.
[254] TNA SP 28/4/176. See above for Downing's sermon to the artillery company from 1640.

Yet the journey from London into the countryside was not all jovial iconoclasm and celebrity preaching. The horrors of war were also readily apparent. Pitched battles and frequent skirmishes revealed the physical and mental costs of war, just as venison filled stomachs and cider quenched thirst. Wharton recalled a brief engagement with the enemy near Coventry that left fifty men dead. In addition to the number of the slain was the memory of horses with "their guts beaten out of both sides" along with the "corps wee found in the corne fields" and the drummer "with his arme shot of."[255] Appalling as these encounters may have been, they served an important purpose. Many young recruits from London witnessed fighting and death for the first time while on campaign in the autumn of 1642. Terrible scenes like the one relayed by Wharton served as necessary experiences that hardened and taught inexperienced soldiers what to expect on the field of battle. Others observed and learned through their close proximity to seasoned soldiers better equipped mentally and physically for the difficulties of campaigning. Wharton again recalled the trying conditions one night when it "rained hard" and no shelter could be found. His response, after more than a month of marching and fighting, revealed a poetic sympathy for the difficulties of bivouacking in unfamiliar lands where "our food was fruit, for those who could get it; our drink water; our beds, the earth; out canopy, the clouds; but we pulled up the hedges, pales, and gates, and made good fires."[256]

A longstanding commitment to martial practice in London – especially owing to the Honorable Artillery Company and other military clubs – meant that the capital was also home to some of the nation's best trained officers and soldiers. The capital thus provided a well from which expertise could be drawn and transported to the provinces. Writing to the Committee of Accounts in April 1649, Sir Thomas Tyrrill recalled one "Mr Cottefore" who had been "sent for from London to discipline ye foote who was severall tymes att our muster at Aylesbury in [the] Springe and Sumer [of] 1642."[257] Who Mr. Cottefore was, exactly, remains to be discovered, but it was clear that his experience was a welcome asset when the lieutenants in Buckinghamshire mustered and drilled their troops for Ireland. His training provided some men with their first experience of contemporary drilling techniques. Indeed, the metropolis abounded with

---

[255] "Letters from a Subaltern," p. 9.
[256] "Letters from a Subaltern," p. 19.
[257] HEHL STG 67/17, Sir Thomas Tyrrill to the Committee of Accounts.

martial knowledge when compared to other corners of the nation, in which mustering had been irregular and in some cases nonexistent for decades. As the London regiments headed west in August, they used days without battle to "march into the fielde and practise."[258] The abilities of provincial troops ranged, as Charles Carlton has shown, from being "of value" to "worse than useless."[259] Although military companies were present in larger provincial towns and "scattered through England," London was unmatched for its number of military companies and for their ability to pass on an "advanced education" in martial affairs.[260] As we have seen, this military culture was as important for troop enlistment as it was for training. Printed in early September and brought forth from the metropolis with Essex's troops were important *Lawes and Ordinances of War*, which set down in writing transgressions and punishments that aimed to force untuly and poorly trained soldiers to obey the rules of war.[261] These and other advantages may have proven advantageous for soldiers marching out of the metropolis.

Certainly, Londoners demonstrated their value on the battlefield from the outset. Many joined the ranks to engage with the king's forces at Edgehill, the first pitched battle of the war. As Anthony Fletcher has noted, the battle was fought primarily by "a citizen army led by Puritan gentry and an army of tenantry led by conservative squires."[262] Although an indecisive struggle, with each side losing approximately 1,500 men, the battle was widely interpreted and discussed.[263] The first report of the battle was hastily printed "with ink smudges and typos" in London on 25 October, just two days after the battle had ended, and mistook the day for a parliamentarian victory that included the capture of Prince Rupert.[264] A letter written at two o'clock in the morning "sent from a worthy Divine [perhaps Thomas Case] to the Right Honourable Lord Ma[yor] of the City of London" arrived two days later and told of parliamentary "valiantnesse, as may

---

[258] "Letters from a Subaltern," p. 10.
[259] Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, p. 24.
[260] Donagan, *War in England*, pp. 55-7.
[261] *Laws and Ordinances of Warre* (London, 1642). The same laws were reprinted for Warwick on 19 November. See Donagan, *War in England*, pp. 148-9.
[262] Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 346.
[263] Ian Gentles, "The Civil Wars in England," in *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland, and Ireland 1638-1660*, (eds.) John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer (Oxford, 1998), p. 133.
[264] Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, p. 231.

crowne every common soldier with the honour of Commander."[265] In less than a week, a credible letter addressed to Pym from Denzil Holles, John Meldrum and four other parliamentarian officers was available in print. Offering a more detailed account still allowed the authors to remark on the trophy of a George that was bought for twenty shillings from a "common Souldier" who found the piece on the field.[266]

As time wore on, Edgehill came to represent an eerie providential significance for both sides. By December, reports told of a haunted field, where after midnight "apparitions of two jarring and contrary armies" met to wage battle and where "still many unburied karkassas were littered on the ground."[267] The London diarist John Greene revealed something of popular rumor and his own views when he wrote that "there are now divers reports of strange sights" and the "strange noyses" heard near the battlefield. The outcome of the battle, he went on, might be guessed at, for "in the place wher the Kings army stood terrible outcries" could be heard, while "where the Parliaments" had formed there could be heard "music and singing [of] Psalms."[268] The field clearly retained a trace of the intentions of the day's participants. Thomas Case weighed in on the meaning of the battle with a sermon presented to the Commons on the 26 October fast day. As Laura Knoppers has suggested, Case's decision to draw from Psalm 68: 1-2 was charged with obvious allegorical meaning.[269] Although *Gods Rising His Enemies Scattering* was not printed until 1644, those who heard the sermon at St. Margaret's Church in Westminster would have little trouble gathering that the flight of the king's forces after Edgehill was the result of God's great metaphorical awakening – the retreat of the king's forces *was* the scattering of God's enemies. When the royalist foot broke rank and retreated, they were pursued by "the Armies of *God*" who set to "slaying and beating them down with great destruction."[270] Case's sermon reinforced rumors of parliament's recent "victory" in Warwickshire, reminding contemporaries that they would be on the right side of God's providential wrath.

---

[265] *A True Relation* (London, 1642), sigs. A3r-v.
[266] *An Exact and True Relation of the Dangerous and Bloody Fight* (London, 1642), p. 7.
[267] These apparitions have been cited often. See Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 32; see also Frances Verney (ed.), *Memoirs of the Verney Family During the Civil War*, 2 vols. (London, 1892), vol. 2, p. 124.
[268] "The Diary of John Greene (1635-59)," (ed.) E. M. Symonds, *EHR* 43 (1928), p. 391.
[269] Laura Knoppers (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2012), p. 12.
[270] Thomas Case, *Gods Rising His Enemies Scattering* (London, 1644), p. 32.

Writing home and returning from campaign, soldiers relayed accounts of war that were widely printed, read and interpreted either to promote or to condemn the war effort. In many cases, news was simply used to reinforce preexisting notions of providential favor, even if the justification for claiming victory was tenuous. Londoners had played significant roles in the conflict, from the first campaigns into the west under Essex and up to the first pitched battle of the war at Edgehill. Their early participation and relations of their wartime encounters were received, discussed, interpreted and ultimately shared with a population clamoring for information; their experiences would help shape London's war effort for months to come.

Their counterparts who remained at home in the metropolis were far from idle. By September it was claimed that the king had "furnished himselfe with store of money, by melting in his new mint in Wales" and that he was preparing to march on London out of the west with a great army. The threat led to orders for "the trayned bands to be in readiness" and to the first establishment of fortifications that would take shape the following year as the Lines of Communication. Observing preparations in London, Bulstrode Whitelocke opined that "it was wonderfull to see how the women and children & vast numbers of people would come to do worke about digging & carrying of earth, to make their new fortifications."[271] Unknown to them at the time, they were laying foundations for walls that would soon stretch eleven miles to encompass London, Southwark and Westminster, a deterrent to the king's forces that would keep the metropolis defended throughout the remainder of the war.

Revolutionaries Revisited

There can be little doubt that City's revolution in government shaped the respective parliamentary and royalist war efforts. Indeed, following after the initial wave of contributions and volunteer enlistments, leading City revolutionaries played crucial roles cultivating and maintaining support for the parliamentary war effort in London. Pearl's study of London's revolution in government remains the most comprehensive account of the subject. Her narrative of the events from August 1642 through to the early months of 1643

---

[271] BL Add. Ms. 37343, Whitelock's Annals vol. III, fol. 257r.

provides an invaluable source for tracing the rise of aldermen and other City officials who pursued the ejection of the royalist Lord Mayor Richard Gurney and his replacement by the radical puritan Isaac Pennington. The significance of Pearl's work notwithstanding, much more remains to be said about the men who stood as crucial links between belligerents in Parliament, the purse strings of the City, and the mobilization of the populace. London's new radical leadership was, in short, central to moving the war effort forward: they printed orders, engineered the promotion of like-minded belligerents, and aided in the arrest of non-contributors and others deemed to be neutral or opposed to parliament's cause. Their efforts helped to clear the path from Westminster to livery company coffers, grain houses, and armories, but they were also crucial to the promotion of the war effort among the residents of the metropolis. Further, and importantly for the sake of Pearl's narrative, their efforts extended well beyond the introduction of a radical program in 1642 and 1643.

Although the majority in parliament remained in favor of the war effort, it also remained a deeply divided body comprising members who sought to both advance and stifle parliament's war. As we know, knights of the shire regularly disagreed with the shape of the war effort and many members spoke frequently about their desire to see the king returned to Westminster. London's Common Council and Common Hall contained similar divisions; both were home to many who sought a negotiated peace. But it was also clear by the outbreak of hostilities that some were setting their hearts on a decisive military defeat of their opponents. Some on both sides were raising the bar. The horribly complex situation was beginning to boil down to a simple question: Would it be resolved via compromise or victory for one side or the other?

Even if City grandees held different opinions about the desirability of war, it remains the case that the handful of belligerents who rose to positions of prominence in City politics in late 1642 were the same men who stayed in power during 1643 and shaped how Londoners experienced the war. Several of these men stood out for their indefatigable commitment to the parliamentary cause and for their respective roles in shaping London's war effort. Counted first were the City MPs Isaac Pennington and John Venn. Both men proved integral to the vitality of London's war effort, and both garnered considerable attention for their efforts. One anonymous libeler, for instance, identified them as "two banquerot" worth little more

than "a paire of 10 groates Petty foggers." If impecunious and dubious by the standards of their critic, their status as leading "citizens" was beyond question; thus they were counted alongside fellow "incendiaryes" and conspirators "Pym, Hambden, Fynes Hollis Strode Clotworthy Haselrigg Martine [and] Vayne ye Younger."[272] Pennington and Venn enjoyed close ties with the like-minded City radicals Randall Mainwaring and John Fowke, and the four would soon make up a core around which other belligerents and godly reformers would gather. Indeed, each of the four would go on to help to transform the parliamentary war effort by producing proclamations, organizing demonstrations, petitioning, and working to silence opposition. Further testament to their influence would arrive just months later when they were named traitors by the king.

Pennington came to play a leading role as propagandist and director of the Common Council after his assumption of the mayoralty by order of parliament on 11 August. A prominent member of the Fishmongers' Company, he had gone on to serve as sheriff in the City and was elected to represent London for both the Short and Long Parliaments (from 1640 until 1653). Sir Simonds D'Ewes made frequent note of Pennington's political activity in his parliamentary journal, writing that he had been responsible for presenting the Root and Branch petition against episcopacy on 11 December 1640, and noting a few months later that he was active in the introduction of the bill against altar rails. The latter bill was widely supported as a means for "purifying" England's churches. As Sears McGee has pointed out, D'Ewes was pleased enough to call it "an excellent act."[273] D'Ewes's favorable reaction to Pennington's work on religious issues must be sharply contrasted with his later opinion of Pennington's mayoralty and his promotion of numerous efforts to mobilize London against the king.

Pennington started his term amidst a mixture of optimism and open opposition. Marcus Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, complained that Pennington's appointment on Thursday, 18 August had taken place while he and his "Brethren the Barons" were "out of Towne." Pennington's new position as Lord Mayor, Dungannon went on, therefore must be illegitimate.[274] The king and other royalists were quick to point out

---

[272] BL Sloane Ms. 1467, "Petitions and Speeches in Parliament." fol 130r.
[273] Sears McGee, *An Industrious Mind: The Worlds of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (Stanford, 2015), p. 339.
[274] *M. Deputy Recorders Speech at the Chequer Barr* (London, 1642).

that Pennington's ascendancy did not follow regular procedure, and they labeled him accordingly as "the pretend Lord Mayor" or "usurper Major."[275] Pennington was, of course, outspoken in his support for parliament's cause, but the highly suspect circumstances under which he had been selected to replace Mayor Richard Gurney did little to promote him in the eyes of those who supported the king. Gurney was himself impeached for the quintessentially royalist act of ordering that "the illegall Proclamacion for the Comission of Array to be Published" in London. Gurney was then "imprisoned in the Tower of London" and kept from "any office in the city of London." He remained imprisoned until his death in 1645, despite having petitioned for his release on numerous occasions.[276] On 17 August his house was ransacked, so that all of the mayoral effects, including swords, a "capp of maintenance," the "Collar of Esses" and the "greate mace belonging to the Citty" were passed on to Pennington, who signed his receipt for the goods as "mayor elect."[277]

Despite the misgivings of royalists, there was also considerable praise for the Lord Mayor. Not least amongst his supporters was a cadre of eminent puritan ministers enjoying close connections to belligerents in parliament, and who preached regularly in parishes throughout the City. Thomas Case, for instance, remained one of Pennington's closest allies and was paid for giving a sermon "in the Guildhall Chaple on the Feast day of St Michael the Archangell," the very day "before the eleccion of Mr Isaac Penington."[278] Further Thomas Gage's zealous sermon, *The Tyranny of Satan*, which was preached at Paul's Cross on 28 August, was eventually printed in October and bore an epistle dedicated to the mayor.[279] Opponents were quick to point out that Pennington enjoyed close connections to leaders of parliament's war effort. Not least, a number of royalists satirized his significance to the war effort in verse and expressed the hope that he might flee across the Atlantic where

New-England is preparing a pace

---

[275] BL Harley Ms. 987, fol. 7v.
[276] HLRO Main Papers Ms. HL/PO/JO/10/1/131 #112.
[277] HLRO Main Papers Ms. HL/PO/JO/10/1/131 #337.
[278] LMA Ms. COL/CHD/CT/01/004, City Cash Accounts, 1641-1643, fol. 215r.
[279] Thomas Gage, *The Tyranny of Satan* (London, 1642). See also, Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011), p. 225.

>   To entertaine King Pym, and his grace,
>   And Isaac before him shall carry ye Mace
>   For Roundheads old Nick stand up now[280]

Another popular royalist song shifted seamlessly between mockery of Essex's petulance and an assessment

of Pennington's leadership:

>   Then prithee good Essex forbeare
>   and leave these valiant fitts,
>   And warne Isaack Pennington Mayor
>   To tie up his warlick Citts.[281]

Pennington's frequent depiction alongside figures such as Pym and Essex suggests a widespread awareness

of his significance to the rebellion. But he was much more than the bearer of the City's ceremonial mace, or

a parliamentarian agent who took care to look after his "warlick Citts." He was, as one libel illustrates, a

keystone of the war effort, so that upon the end of his mayoral term all could sing

>   Farewell little *Isaack*, with hey, with hey
>   Farewell little *Isaack*, with hoe,
>   Thou hast made us all like Asses,
>   Part with our Plate, and drink in Glasses,
>   Whilst thou growst rich with 2s. Passes,
>   With hey trolly, lolly loe.[282]

If enjoyable, these popular songs and verses also touched on a more troubling reality: Pennington became a

maintstay and symbolic champion of the fighting cause – a zealous leader who convinced Londoners and

their corporations to "part with" their "plate." More than this, he spent the next year pursuing

"malignants," promoting the construction of City defenses, and backing a number of radical schemes to

raise and supply soldiers in the field. All of these facts are too often passed over by historians of the period.

The "usurpur major" shared close connections with other Londoners who proved integral to the

mobilization of the metropolis. Not least among his allies was John Venn, a Merchant Taylor and member

of the Honorable Artillery Company who, as Keith Lindley has explained, was "exceptionally active in

---

[280] HEHL Hastings Ms. 16522, "Poems and Ballads," p. 73; This poem is also listed in Alexander Brome, *Rump or an exact collection* (London, 1662), p. 95.
[281] HEHL Hastings Ms.16522, p. 140.
[282] Brome, *Rump*, p. 94. Also cited in Pearl, *London*, p. 262

radical politics" and enjoyed "a highly effective political partnership with Isaac Pennington" as City MP.[283]

Venn remained, in the king's eyes, one of a few select architects who were behind London's rebellion. The

king was, in this case at least, not far off the mark, since Venn played an active role in City politics

throughout the decade. A lively resident and churchwarden in the puritanical parish at All Hallows, Bread

Street, Venn also enjoyed connections with the Massachusetts Bay Company and the puritan John

Winthrop. Robert Brenner has rightly suggested that Venn was "instrumental in organizing the citizens'

petition" from September 1640 that opposed the king's dubiously legal mulcts from the previous decade.

Further, Venn warned about "the great concourse of Papists" in London and sought to end the "suddain

dissolutions of Parliaments, without the redress of your Subjects Grievances."[284] Clarendon perhaps

captured the partnership between Pennington and Venn most clearly – and with typical pith – when he

recalled that the two men could sway opinion in Westminster. At one point Clarendon recalled that

"alderman Pennington and captain Venn brought down their myrmidons to assault and terrify the members

of both houses, whose faces or whose opinions they liked not."[285]

More than a political activist, Venn served as lieutenant colonel of foot in John Wollaston's

Yellow Regiment. His exploits in the field brought scorn from royalists, who satirized his efforts to

encourage flighty recruits from the City who were unprepared for the hunger that so frequently

accompanied campaigning.

> Ven had 5000. Calves-heads all in Carts,
> To nourish his men, and chear up their Hearts.
> This made them so valiant that that very day,
> They had taken the Town but for running away.
> 'Twas ordered this day, that thanksgiving be made,
> To the Roundheads in Sermon, for their Beef and their Bread[286]

Venn was, in the end, one of only a handful of men who went on to sign Charles's death warrant in 1649.

---

[283] Keith Lindley, "Venn, John," *ODNB* (2004).
[284] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. III (London, 1680), p. 1263. See Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 313-14.
[285] Clarendon, *History*, Appendix 2, n. 375; See also, Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 370; Brian Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649* (London, 1979), pp. 91-92.
[286] Brome, *Rump*, p. 182.

John Fowke must also be counted as an active pursuant of war against the king. Fowke had been embroiled in financial controversy with the king's government over customs payments, which landed him in jail briefly in the late 1620s. Fowke also angered the king by being one of the presenters of the root and branch petition and went on to become an active member of the City's militia committee in 1642. Much like Pennington's partnership with Venn, Fowke had notable ties to Randall Mainwaring. Both, apparently, were identified for their organizing the tumults and popular demonstrations against bishops prior to the outbreak of war. While Fowke remained an active figure in City politics throughout the 1640s, Mainwaring earned an unmatched reputation for zeal and militancy. His troops, which were often named in contemporary accounts as the "redcoats," policed the City over the winter of 1642 and 1643; they questioned, coerced, and arrested key figures suspected of royalist sympathies, and broke up popular peace gatherings. Considerable resources were directed towards the creation of Mainwaring's redcoats, and evidence suggests that they enjoyed substantial backing from belligerents in parliament. On 30 October, orders came from the Committee of Safety signed by Pym and Northumberland requiring Stephen Eastwick to "deliver unto Colonell Randall Manwaring 1200 Coates, caps, shirts and other necessarys usually allowed to ye armye for ye supply of his Regiment"[287] Further, as we have seen, many of the horses and riders loaned in the metropolis were designated for Mainwaring's regiment.[288] The redcoats became an easily recognizable fixture in wartime London, a colorful troop that marched in the streets to promote a radical program, thus helping to transform the capital into a parliamentarian stronghold.

Many other prominent Londoners worked tirelessly to promote the war effort. A handful of individuals can be counted amongst the City's war party leaders, owing to their frequent appearance in the historical record. Among the most important were those who worked alongside Pennington, Venn, Fowke and Mainwaring and enjoyed the advantages that came with membership in livery companies, parish administration, and other roles in London's governance. John Towse, for example, a leading Grocer and alderman, demonstrated his "radical bias" as a treasurer for the collection of loans and voluntary contributions at the Guildhall. A similar commitment to militancy can be traced to various other "radicals"

---

[287] TNA SP 28/261/3, fol. 261.
[288] See above, p. 78.

throughout the City. Lindley claims that this "radical" base "may have been no larger than 100 activists," but that it certainly included "citizens of wealth and standing" such as Richard Shute, Sir David Watkins, Edmund Harvey and Robert Tichborne.[289] Watkins and Shute would join with Randall Mainwaring to petition against reconciliation with the king in December, while Harvey and Tichborne would back the war financially, serve as leaders of City forces, and play roles in the king's trial and execution in 1649. Together these men fulfilled an important role in London's mobilization from "above."

If Lindley's estimate of "100 activists" is correct, we must still return to the primacy of Pennington, Venn, Fowke, and Mainwaring, four men who stood out as indefatigable promoters of war, but also as popular symbols of the revolution against the king. Indeed, Pennington and his fellow "belligerents" would be long remembered after the 1640s, not just as agitators and fomenters of conflict, but as leaders who saw to it that Londoners did

> trace the Streets with terror, as if *Ven*
> With *Fulk* and *Mannwaring*, were the only Men
> Whom you did owe *Allegiance* to; as if *They*
> Could give you priviledge to disobey
> The *Royal Mandate*, which does them proclaim
> Guilty of *Treason*, and you of the *same*[290]

Conclusion

On 1 September 1642, popular demonstrations once again engulfed the streets of London when news arrived that "*the Bishops* were Voted down in the *House of Commons*." Celebrations included the typical "great Ringing" of bells and the lighting "bonfires in the City." Some refrained from joining in the festivities, while others remained skeptical of the reason for celebration. William Laud, for one, refused to believe that the crowds were so uniformly opposed to episcopacy; he wrote in his journal that the ringing must have been "cunningly ordered to be done by Alderman *Pennington*, the new *Lord Mayor*," who had recently been "chosen in the room of Sir *Richard Gurney*, who was then in *the Tower*, and put out of his

---

[289] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 166, 218, 308-9.
[290] Brome, *Rump*, p. 117.

Office *by the Parliament*."[291] Like the former mayor and indeed the king himself, Laud could not accept that the evening's demonstrations reflected popular opinion – they were, he remained certain, stage-managed from above by a select few traitorous revolutionaries.

Laud's opinion that anti-episcopal feeling was not unanimous is sound, but there is ample evidence that many Londoners genuinely believed that the removal of bishops was a triumph; the early war effort in London was marked by unprecedented mobilization, in terms both of raw contributions of the sinews of war and the recruitment of new troops to fight against the king's forces. Moreover, the king's authority was obviously closely tied to episcopacy. Much of the support for "parliament's cause" came from the cross-pollination of providential concerns that spilled over from the relief of Ireland to the outbreak of war in England. Not least among those who contributed to both the relief of Ireland and the war at home were the City's livery companies, each of which was called upon to loan cash, arms, gunpowder and other goods needed for the defense of the City. Men flocked to Finsbury fields to serve under Essex, while individuals such as Lord Brooke had built stockpiles of weapons to outfit soldiers.

If anything, the early campaigns of 1642 alerted Londoners to the harsh realities of war. Reported in newsbooks and discussed on the streets of the metropolis, the first skirmishes and pitched battles of the war galvanized the energies of some, while placing in others seeds of doubt – two outlooks that would continue to polarize as the conflict escalated. Londoners who opposed and promoted the war effort against the king readily recognized these conflicting views – views not yet fleshed out into the ideological structures that would give birth to defined "peace" and "war" movements that have been the focus of numerous histories.

As ever, preachers revealed the contours of the war effort by casting their perceptions of the conflict into distinctly scriptural and providential terms. Nehemiah Wallington was still affected by "many distempered thoughts" on the October fast day due to "the sad newes" from two days earlier "that there was twenty thousand slaine" at the battle of Edgehill.[292] The 26 October fast day, as we have seen, included both Thomas Case's *Gods Rising and his enemies scattering* and Thomas Temple's decidedly less caustic

---

[291] Laud, *The History of Troubles*, p. 196.
[292] BL Add. Ms. 40883, fol. 47v.

sermon, *Christ's government in and over his people*. Preaching on the same day, however, was John

Goodwin, who addressed "the Right Honourable the Lord Major, the Sheriffes," and "the worthy

Inhabitants of this great and famous City" with *The Butchers Blessing*, a bloodthirsty sermon and prologue.

In this he laid out five arguments for continuing the fight against "*Romish Cavaliers*" who had scourged the

kingdom and intended to destroy London. Goodwin's purpose was "to engage you all as one man, to rise

up at once in your might, for the preservation and defence of your selves, as of your City, against that

whirlewind of cruelty and blood" that had been produced on the king's behalf. He warned that Londoners

might expect that if "other parts of the Land have bin punished seven-fold," it was clear that "*London*

(doubtless) shall be punished seventy times seven fold."[293] Warning of the ruin of the metropolis, he set

about producing his five reasons why inhabitants should maintain the fight. The City was, foremost, "the

great Bulwark" and "sanctuary" that had served to protect the kingdom from "Prelaticall invasions" that

had extended well into the past, but could be seen recently with Ireland. Second, London provided "the

chiefe protection and safeguard of that Honourable Assembly and Court of Parliament." Third, it embodied

an obvious relationship as a parent to the nation that looked to the capital for inspiration, "inward principle"

and for "animating others." Fourthly, the City acted as a defense against the rise of prelacy, a holdout that

made it so that those in the provinces who professed "the sweet bread of Romish superstitions and

Doctrines" could not use London as "their footstoole" as they attempted to ascend to their "thrones" and

carry out their "rage and crueltys." Finally it was clear that the City acted as the nation's "great Magazine

of wealth, riches, & treasure," a metaphorical "garden of the *Hesperides*" from which grew "golden

apples" and from which a war effort could be perpetuated or derailed.[294]

       With militancy and godly zeal, Goodwin offered five reasons why his hearers should fight for the

parliamentary cause. For a broad audience, he provided a precise and powerful argument as to why

Londoners should participate enthusiastically in the war effort. If they failed to do so, he warned, they

would suffer a divine punishment that would be "seventy times seven fold" greater than the troubles

---

[293] John Goodwin, *The Butchers Blessing* (London, 1642), p. 1.
[294] Ibid., pp. 2-5; See John Coffey, *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in 17th Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 91-3.

already undergone in Cheshire and Shropshire. Londoners, "more than all the Kingdome besides," were to consider the consequences of failing "to do or give for the advancement of the great service that hath been recommended unto you."[295] Goodwin thus outlined the guiding principles that would see the war effort into the following year.

The stage for revolution was set with the purge of London's government and the ascension of Mayor Pennington and his fellow belligerents. Yet their "control" over London was far from complete. Livery companies were already financially exhausted from the burden of loans made ostensibly for Ireland; purges had removed only a fraction of the City's extensive network of pro-royalist "malignants"; and large and clamorous gatherings were just beginning to rally in the streets to express disillusionment with the war effort. Opposition to parliament's course would continue to mount as Londoners encountered more of the terrible realities of war. Faced with these challenges, London's pro-war leadership servedas the single most important link between parliament's war effort and the mobilization of the metropolis. It is to their management and engagement with the growing call for peace that we must now turn.

---

[295] Ibid., p. 6.

Section II: Metropolitan Mobilizations from November 1642 – May 1643

Chapter 4. The Early War Effort

The "Third House of Parliament"

The outbreak of war made it clear that many Londoners would remain recalcitrant in the face of popular mobilization against the king. Rival campaigns took shape in the metropolis as physical, ideological, and rhetorical components of the respective war efforts escalated and popular opinion polarized. Edgehill on 23 October and Turnham Green on 13 November helped to accelerate the rival peace and war campaigns that were gaining traction; meanwhile, Londoners sought, by the thousands, to convince their peers as to why they should contribute towards the war against the king, or, conversely, seek peace. As we have seen, London's support was the keystone of parliament's early war effort. The City provided a robust support system that made conflict possible; unprecedented financial contributions and the widespread enthusiasm of new recruits made an otherwise unfeasible war a reality. In the months following the outbreak of fighting, London continued to play a pivotal role as the supplier of resources and manpower, but, as we shall see, it would soon take on additional strategic importance as it became a walled bastion and a testing ground for new ideological parameters for conflict.

Indeed, London's rival war and peace movements reshaped the political and religious terms of the Civil War. Support for opposing causes came in the shape of ideas that were proclaimed and decried from pulpits and by clamorous crowds chanting in the streets. This cacophony of voices could then be transferred to pen and parchment – or to the press and print – and disseminated widely. Such avenues of communication spurred participation. For their diligent participation in promoting the war effort over the course of the first year, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London earned for their City Common Council the disparaging epithet of a "third house of parliament," a title that reveals popular perceptions about London's significance for the war effort and also demonstrates how important the City government had in fact become. The royalist Peter Heylyn, for instance, wrote with confidence in late August 1643 that "my Lord *Say*, or *Pym*, or *Isaac Pennington*" could be identified with the parliamentary cause and "any of the

three Houses wherein they are leaders."[296] Doubtless, contemporaries knew that the City's continued war effort depended upon the commitment of London's political leadership; what was a largely defensive war at the time of Turnham Green had, by the following autumn, become more ideologically polarized and geographically expanded.

The present section will explore dimensions of London's mobilization from November 1642 until late May 1643, a time when, as we have noted, rival war and peace parties gained strength, and when the City rapidly transformed from an open and sprawling metropolis to a walled fortress. Particular attention will be paid to the City's political leadership and the ways in which belligerents used their positions of authority to promote the war effort. Of equal importance will be the voices of the "multitude" of Londoners who put thousands of signatures on petitions, contributed money and goods, gathered for popular demonstrations, and worked to physically transform London's wartime topography. Meetings of this "multitude," I will argue, drove politics in a complex manner, and not simply from the "top down." Rather, the process was one that traveled both from the "top down" and the "bottom up," and to some extent through processes of cooperation. It should therefore be acknowledged that London's many common people and "middling sorts" were *as important* to the shape of the war effort as were the leading few who produced the myriad proclamations and ordinances that were issued from the Common Council and the Houses of Parliament.[297] Reclaiming the full dimensions of wartime mobilizations means what we must look well beyond the political arenas of Oxford and Westminster, and the concomitant notion that a "peace party" in parliament gained dominance at the expense of a "war party" in late 1642. Moreover, these rival parties subsequently set in motion the protracted Treaty of Oxford that ran from January until April 1643.

---

[296] Peter Heylyn frequently refered to London's Common Council as the third house of Parliament. See *Mercurius Aulicus*, 29 August 1643, E. 67[7], p. 475.

[297] This interpretation draws heavily from David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985); and important discussion of the range of political "actors" can be seen in Ian Gentles, "Parliamentary Politics and the Politics of the Street: The London Peace Campaigns of 1642-3," *PH* 26 (2007), pp. 141-6.

This narrative – long a focal point for scholars concerned with the Civil War – has circumscribed our understanding of the complexities of London politics and their importance for the wider nation.[298]

The following discussion seeks to shift attention away from the "old dichotomy" between Westminster and Oxford. In place of this dichotomy, it will focus attention on the ways in which Londoners asserted their political agency during the winter of 1642-1643, and how, in turn, their efforts shaped the wider war. Although sometimes mirrored by parliamentary politics – especially in terms of the development of rival war and peace campaigns – City politics of the early war period often diverged in significant ways. For instance, more than a month before parliamentarian commissioners reached the king to begin the Treaty of Oxford negotiations, an important urban delegation had already met with the king and returned to the metropolis. In this case it was a small party of Londoners who had been appointed by the Common Council to deliver peace petitions to the king on behalf of the City. As we shall see, their mission, from its inception to its aftermath, is crucial for explaining the wider politics in the winter and spring of 1643, a period when London managed, despite ongoing "official" peace negotiations, to rapidly transform from an open, sprawling and largely prone metropolis to a fortified and defensible stronghold for parliament's war effort. In this case the high political narrative belies developments in London that would secure the metropolis as a reliable financial, political and religious mainstay of parliament's war effort. To understand these developments we must first turn our attention to the outbreak of war and its impact on inhabitants of the metropolis.

Turnham Green

On 13 November, many Londoners closed shops and boarded up windows before marching east to stop the king from seizing on the capital. By the morning they reached Turnham Green, a small town eight miles east of the metropolis. Reports that the king was planning to take back the capital had sent a current

---

[298] The lasting preoccupation with the Treaty of Oxford has been a staple for historians since S. R. Gardiner's *The History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*. See in particular vol. I (London, 1886), pp. 103-126. Historians of London obviously focus on this period, but little has been done to emphasize the fact that political developments in London ultimately dictated larger wartime politics.

through London's political filaments, convincing many of the immediate threat so that they would arm and prepare to defend themselves. After suffering a defeat at Brentford the previous day, Essex had arrived at Turnham Green with nearly 12,000 men, hoping to block the king from marching his force of 13,000 on the capital. Reinforcements soon arrived in the shape of volunteers and trainbandsmen from London, Essex, Herefordshire, and Surrey. The reinforcements bolstered Essex's force into a wall of 24,000 men, the largest army to oppose the royalists until Cromwell led the New Model at the Battle of Worcester in September 1651.[299] Few failed to comprehend the banners and mottos that were hoisted up and carried out, such as that of the commander of the City-trained bands, Philip Skippon, whose motto was *ora et pugna*, "pray and fight." Bulstrode Whitelocke, who trailed a pike with Sir John Hampden on the march out of London, recalled firsthand the speech Skippon gave to his soldiers:

> Come my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you; remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives and children: come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us.

These were doubtless stirring words, cast in recognition of fraternity, providential favor and the preservation of family, and intended to instill courage in the trainbandsmen and volunteers who lined up to defend the City against their king and fellow countrymen. Inspiring as Skippon's words were, however, they could do little to prepare the men for the terror that accompanied their first views of the enemy. Even if the royalist army was half the size of the forced that had gathered to defend London, there was plenty of reason to assume that an engagement with the king would prove brutal and bloody. Many of the Londoners who had marched out were untrained, armed with little more than farming and household implements, and therefore quite easily startled by martial posturing. Whitelocke recalled some "two or 300 horsemen who came from London to be spectators," but eventually lost their nerve when the king's forces began shouting; loud cries were enough to cause them to dig in their spurs and "gallop away towards London, as fast as they could ride." The entire scene proved an unwelcome "discouragement" to "the Army & divers of the soldiers" who remained on the field.

---

[299] Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, pp. 248-9.

But the spirits of the thousands of remaining Londoners changed when it became clear that there would be no battle. Their hope was confirmed when carts of ale and food arrived from London for soldiers and volunteers to "be refreshed & made merry." Outnumbered by nearly two to one and faced with the prospect of attacking the trained bands and their fellow "misguided" inhabitants, the king decided to forego an engagement and instead ordered his forces to withdraw to Reading. The "olde soldiers of fortune" amongst the Londoners decided that pursuit of the enemy was ultimately "too hazardous," and hence that it would be best for all to return to their homes. Whitelocke's account is telling, but it remains hard not to speculate about the reluctance that many Londoners must have felt the prospect of slaying their fellow countrymen. Be it a matter of hesitancy or genuine strategic assessment, the king's decision to abandon the field left parliamentarians to enjoy a limited victory; many, Whitelock would recall, walked the six miles back to London under the belief that they had preserved their "honor" and provided "safety enough to the Parlement."[300]

If bloodless, Turnham Green was nonetheless shocking. The encounter provided many Londoners with their first real view of war: an exhausting day of marching and standing could in the end do little to advance notions of honor and victory. Nor would many take comfort from the fact that the closest either side came to an engagement was in a few aimless shots fired by some of Essex's men.[301] One point, however, was clarified to those who marched out: war with the king would not end quickly, and it almost certainly would not resemble one of the legendary battles of the past. Far from a Tewkesbury or Flodden Field, Londoners were presented with a long day of posturing and stalemate, with the lingering expectation that more combat lay ahead. The king, however, had fared wore in the encounter. Most historians agree that the king's decision to abandon the field was a decisive moment in the history of the English Civil War. Gardiner concluded that Turnham Green was "the Valmy of the English Civil War," and Charles Carlton explains that the king's decision to depart meant that he "lost his best chance of capturing the capital and seizing the rebel's heartland."[302] Carlton's is an astute, if perhaps obvious, observation; in retrospect we can

---

[300] BL Add. Ms. 37343, Whitelocke's Annals vol. III, fols. 261v.-262r.
[301] Michael Braddick, *God's Fury*, p. 249.
[302] S. R. Gardiner, *History*, vol. I, p. 69; Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, p. 118.

see that the stalemate at Turnham Green ended up being the king's best opportunity to take the capital.

More important at the time was the fact that the king's decision to leave the field of battle showed

Londoners – and indeed the king himself – that the metropolis could quickly mobilize a force that was

larger than the king's entire army. All the belligerents thus recognized that the king's "defeat" at Turnham

Green was as important strategically as it was psychologically (or perhaps providentially). Those who

sought peace, meanwhile, would be aware that Charles's departure assured a clash at a later date – a

prospect that many were beginning to dread.

"By wisdom peace by peace plenty"[303]

Even if Londoners did not experience the lessons of pitched battle at Turnham Green, many had become

acutely aware of the horrors of war. Edgehill had demonstrated some of the stark lesson of pitched battle

just three weeks prior. Printers in London were still busy turning out news of the terrors that accompanied

the conflict as the king's forces marched towards London. Denzil Holles's account of Edgehill, printed as

An Exact and True Relation of the Dangerous and Bloody Fight, was available for sale at shops in the

Middle Temple, and on Fleet Street on 28 October, just five days after both the parliamentarians and

royalists had cleared the field of battle. Holles recalled in particular the miserable conditions of the "bitter

night," the "extreme want of Victualls," and terrors of the "push of Pike" – elements of early modern

warfare that would have been familiar to seasoned fighters, but seemed daunting to the uninitiated.[304] War

was made yet more tangible to Londoners due to the frequent arrival of maimed soldiers who required

immediate and long-term care. One such man, Richard Andercon, petitioned the Court of Aldermen and

received a pension in January 1644 since he "lost the use of both his hands in the Battaile att Edgehill."

Similarly one Thomas Robins, "a poore man that was wounded at Edgehill," survived the battle until at

---

[303] HEHL Ms. 55603, "William Drake's Journal," fol. 41v.
[304] Denzil Holles, *An Exact and True Relation of the Dangerous and Bloody Fight* (London, 1642), pp. 6-7.
Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, p. 146.

least July of 1644, at which time he received sixpence from the churchwardens of St. Ethelburga Bishopsgate.[305]

Reports of Edgehill fueled fears and further polarized affairs in the metropolis. Indeed, news of the war was so widely available that it led one pamphleteer to claim "each hour is a herald of homicides, each day a messenger of mischiefs, each week a Diurnall of dangers, each month a Motto of misery."[306] Many in London adamantly opposed conflict. William Drake, for instance, recorded his disillusionment with the prospect of a sustained war in a private parliamentary journal. "Consider the Unexpresable calamities," he asked, "that the most plentifull and flourishing Countries have bin brought unto by an Intestine war." Composed under the heading "for speech in Parlement," he outlined his plan to lead fellow parliament men through several serious threats and disastrous outcomes that would stem from a protracted conflict. Among the more obvious reasons to avoid such a fate, he wrote, was the fact that it would cause an immediate "lack of trade." An economic slump was predictable and furthermore problematic, he went on, as it would trigger the start of a chain reaction in which the outcome of each problem was noticeably more terrible than the last. Economic hardship would in turn "breed a manner and mislike among the kings sort" and "have a dangerous influence uppon the poorer sort." Disenchantment with monarchical authority and the threat of open insurrection by "the poorer sort," could, moreover, serve as "an invitation . . . to a Forainer, to attempt uppon us when they shall find us throughly weak[e]ned." Civil war, then, might lead to foreign invasion. Frightening as Drake's causal chain seemed, he also worried about the long-term impact of a "stupendious debt" that would "lay a Foundation of misery for the child unborne."[307] Even if he was "not a prominent member of the Long Parliament," as several scholars have pointed out, Drake's sense of the issues of civil war presaged the coming conflict between City factions that would strive to establish peace or intensify

---

[305] LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/061, Court of Aldermen Repertory 57, fol. 34r; LMA Ms. P69/ETH/B/006/MS04241/001, St. Ethelburga Bishopsgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1569-1681, p. 389.
[306] *Englands Division, and Irelands Distraction* (London, 1642), sig A2r-v. see also, Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, p. 230, in which the same passage is quoted.
[307] HEH Ms. HM 55603, "William Drake's Journal," fols. 41v-42v.

belligerent activity.[308] He had outlined at least five prominent reasons that London peaceniks would adopt against parliament's war effort.

Drake, moreover, was far from alone in his assessment. The diarist Sir Simonds D'Ewes returned to the political fray shortly after Turnham Green in hope that he might promote the pursuit of a peace settlement against the actions of the "fiery spirits" who actively supported war.[309] Modern scholars have largely painted a picture of a "peace party" ascendancy that stemmed from the initial shocks of war.[310] The high political narrative is, of course, well known to us; little has changed over the long term in this regard. David Wootton, who looked at the politics of the winter of 1642 to 1643 two decades ago has largely supported Jack Hexter's analysis of fifty years prior, claiming that "the peace party held the upper hand in the House of Commons from 21 November 1642 until 11 February 1643." This "peace party" majority, according to this narrative, only collapsed in February once it became apparent that Charles would be unwilling to accept terms for settlement put forward by parliament in the Treaty of Oxford.[311] Although it is of course important, focus on the extended role and dominance of the peace party has obscured the complex and increasingly acrimonious political developments that were taking place on the doorstep of the House of Commons and throughout the wider metropolis.[312] Focus on high parliamentary politics, in other words, has distracted us from the extent to which widespread popular movements were beginning to mobilize and demonstrate for both war and peace in London – a subject to which we now must turn.

---

[308] Michael Mendle, "A Machiavellian in the Long Parliament before the Civil War," *Parliamentary History* 8 (1989), p. 116. For an extensive discussion of Drake's journal and notebooks, see See Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 2000), especially pp. 121-63. As Sharpe points out, Drake departed England apparently "'for his health'" on 4 February 1643. See p. 71.

[309] For a valuable discussion of D'Ewes's political hiatus and return, see McGee, *An Industrious Mind*, pp. 382-5.

[310] See, for instance, Braddick, *God's Fury*, pp. 247-8.

[311] David Wootton, "From Rebellion to Revolution: The Crisis of Winter 1642/5 and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism" *EHR* 105 (1990), p. 659. op. cit Hexter, *Reign of King Pym*, pp. 49-51, 67-72. For a more recent example of this view, see Braddick, *God's Fury*, pp. 247-8.

[312] This historiographical trajectory has long been in place. See S. R. Gardiner's *History*. See in particular, David L. Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640-1649* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 112-114.

The Committee for the Advance of Money

Countering popular outcries for peace were intensified calls for war. Amidst this landscape, few

developments proved more divisive than parliament's order to establish the Committee for the Advance of

Money, a body established to investigate the wealth of individuals and press them for loans for the war.

Prior to the Committee's establishment, parliament had already printed a list of fifty-six "Knights,

Aldermen, Doctors" and "Ministers and Citizens" who had refused "to contribute Money for the publicke

safety" and who were being held in custody in various placed throughout the City. The listed covered the

social gamut from the known royalist and Catholic Sir Kenelm Digby to the more obscure bookseller "cod-

pice-Ned."[313] Appointed on 26 of November, the Committee wasted little time seeking out money "to raise

some soldiers, and maintain them for several months during these times of danger." The "loans with

interest" obtained by the Committee were set to rates selected by the Lord Mayor and sheriffs. There was

little confusion over the political leanings of individual committee members, who included prominent

parliamentarians and supporters of the war such as Lord Brooke, Viscount Saye and Sele, John Pym, and

William Strode. [314] The Committee was assigned to meet at Haberdashers' Hall, a short distance from the

London Guildhall. As we shall see, the Hall's proximity to the political core of the metropolis meant that it

would soon become a favorite venue for popular demonstrations.

Evidence of the extent to which the mayor and other subcommittee members took advantage of

parliament's ordinance can be found in an "Assessment book for non-contributors in London and

Southwark," which lists **"**the names of the assessors by virtue of the Ordinance of Parliament of 26

November 1642 to assess the 20th part of the Estates of the persons as have not Contributed or not in

---

[313] *A Catalogue of Sundry Knights, Aldermen* (London, 1642). For Ned's arrest, see above, p. 59.
[314] C. H. Firth, R. S. Rait (eds), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* [*A&O*] (London,
1911), p. 163. The Members included, Sir William Brereton, Lork Brooke, Baron Howard of Escrick,
Walter Long, the Earl of Manchester, Sir Thomas Middleton, Edmond Prideaux, William Purefor, John
Pym, Lord Say and Sele, Sit Thomas Soame, William Spurstowe, William Strode, Sir Henry Vane junior,
Samuel Vassall, and Lord Wharton. M. A. E. Green, *Calendar of the Proceedings for Advance of Money,
1642-1656*, 3 vols. (London, 1888), I, p. 1.

proportion."[315] The book offers an unparalleled record of the Twentieth Part that was assessed and paid in London's wards between late November 1642 and early 1643, and which amounted to a total collection of £72,007. The account book thus serves as an important means for assessing areas of popular support and recalcitrance for Parliament's war effort.[316] Further, when percentages of contributions are mapped by ward, the book reveals an important distribution of the financial support given by Londoners.

Sixty-nine new collectors were added to the original 176 in November (an increase of 39%). This was probably done because someone recognized that more manpower would be needed to increase the yield of the ordinance. Entries made between November 1642 and the early months of 1643 include dated contributions made in cash and in kind and reveal disparities in payments as portions of assessments that range significantly from just 26% in Portsoken Ward to the much more impressive total of 72% in Bread Street Ward. Several trends appear when these figures are transferred to a map of London's wards.

The highest returns as percentages were made by a core group of wards in the City center and along the Thames; meanwhile, wards further away from central London often returned significantly less than their counterparts. Farringdon Within, for instance, paid an impressive 65% of their assessment, while Farringdon Without paid only 32%. The largest contributions, moreover, came from the area in and around Bread Street Ward, southeast of St. Paul's Cathedral. Wards adjacent to Bread Street (which, as noted, paid 72%) also paid relatively large sums; Candlewick Ward payed 60%; Castle Beynard retuned 58%, and Queenhithe an impressive 68%. A second concentration of payments can be found downriver alongside the Thames where Dowgate returned 69%, Candlewick some 60%, and Billingsgate 63%. These figures stand in sharp contrast the capital's average collection of just 47%.

---

[315] TNA E 179/147/577, "Assessment book for non-contributors in London and Southwark, 26 November 1642," fol. 2r.
[316] TNA E 179/147/577, fol. 86r, which shows a total of "£72006-12-11." See also Coates, *Impact*, pp. 51-2.
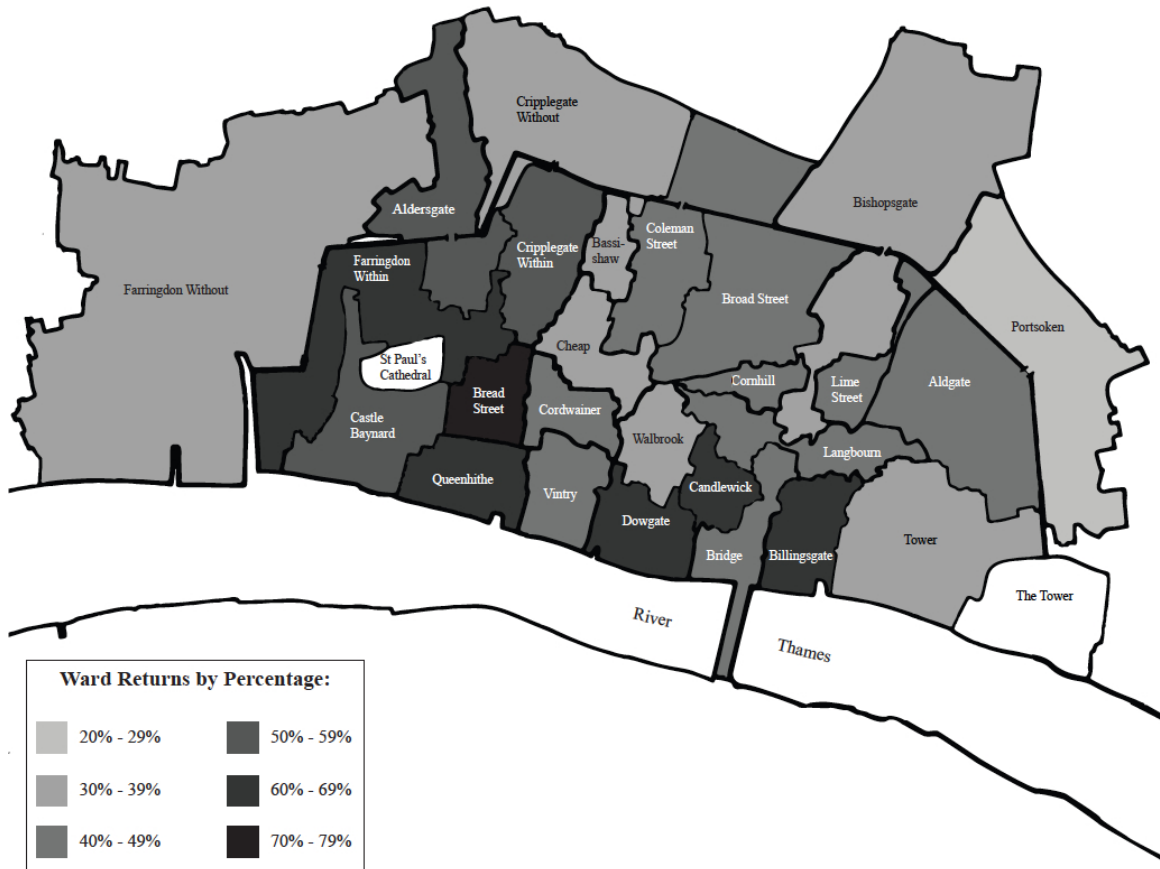
Figure ii. The London Assessment of November 1642 and Payments by Ward

As one might suspect, wards with high return rates often correlated with parochial populations and church

leaderships that were largely supportive of the war effort. Breadstreet Ward, for instance, contained the

godly parishes of All Hallows Bread Street and the connected St. John the Evangelist, Margaret Moses, and

St. Mildred, Bread Street. Further, bordering to the north of the ward was St. Mathew Friday Street, the

parish where Henry Burton served as rector. All four of the above Breadstreet parishes maintained close

connections with puritans who supported the war effort and in some cases were home to leading wartime

activists. Parishioners from All Hallows, including John Venn and Tempest Milner, had petitioned Laud in

September 1642 to have the puritan Lazarus Seaman replace their deceased minister, John Lawson. Laud,

who was at the time imprisoned, was slow to respond to their request, and so on 6 January 1643 the Lords

appointed Seaman directly. Seaman remained minister at the parish from 1643 until his ejection in 1662.[317]

Adjacent to All Hallows was Margaret Moses of Friday Street, where the puritan Richard Culverwell held

the parsonage. Moreover, Obadiah Sedgwick had served as curate and lecturer at St. Mildred since 1630,

while George Walker, who Laud considered "the greatest troubler in London," held the parsonage of St.

John the Evangelist.[318] Together, these men made up an impressive hard line of City puritans. Each was a

known supporter of the war. As noted in the previous section, Sedgwick spent considerable time preaching

to the army while they were on campaign. It can be safely assumed that he sought to instill a similar zeal in

his parishioners, a zeal that may have translated to their high rates of contribution. Finally it should be

noted that the ward contained a large portion of St Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, the parish where Thomas

Case regularly preached. One would be hard pressed to find a more stalwart supporter of the war than

Pennington's own chaplain.[319]

Dowgate Ward and Queenhithe returned the second and third largest sums of cash towards the

November Assessment respectively. Like Bread Street, both wards contained parishes that provided livings

for puritan ministers and inhabitants who were sympathetic to parliament's cause. But this did not mean

that they were entirely parliamentarian in outlook. Parishes in Dowgate included All Hallows the Great, All

Hallows the Less, St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael Paternoster Royal. John Downham served as rector

at All Hallows the Great, which was a known enclave for fifth monarchist preachers including Christopher

Feake and John Simpson;[320] All Hallows the Less was, as Tai Liu has pointed out, home to a number of

civic wartime leaders including William Colson, "a captain of the London militia," along with "an

Alderman's deputy, a number of Common Councilmen, and a future Lord Mayor of London."[321] Thus far

the ward looks to be overwhelmingly parliamentarian. But then we must consider St. Michael Paternoster

---

[317] See Tai Liu, "Seaman, Lazarus," *ODNB* (2004); Liu, *Puritan London*, p. 157.
[318] TNA SP 16/500/6, fols. 35-8; See David Como, "Walker, George," *ODNB* (2004).
[319] St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street fell between Cripplegate Ward and Bread Street Ward. Thomas Case was apparently first to sign the Protestation of 5 May 1641, and on 8 May 1643 he received £20 to serve the parish over the course of 1643-1644. See LMA Ms. P69/MRY9/B/001/MS02597/001, St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street Vestry Minutes, fols. 59-59; LMA Ms. P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/002, St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street Churchwardens' Accounts, fol. 88r.
[320] See LMA, Ms. P69/ALH7/B001/MS00819/001, All Hallows the Great Vestry Minutes, fol. 145r.
[321] LMA Ms. P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00824/001, All Hallows the Less, Vestry Minutes, 1644-1831, unfoliated; Liu, *Puritan London*, p. 31.

Royal, a parish that was apparently well out of step with its neighbors. At least one indicator of their

leanings comes from 1647, when parishioners from the church appointed the Laudian and chaplain-in-

ordinary to the king, Samuel Baker, only to have his appointment vetoed by the Committee for Plundered

Ministers.[322] Even if predominantly parliamentarian in outlook, then, Dowgate retained echoes of royalist

allegiance that lasted well after the end of the first civil war. St. Michael Paternoster Royal stood in stark

contrast to neighboring parishes.

Queenhithe Ward, on the other hand, contained parishes in an "overchurched area of the old City,"

with poor and godly populations that included St. Mary Somerset, St. Mary Mounthaw, St. Nicholas Olave

and St. Michael Queenhithe. Liu observed that St. Nicholas Olave contained "many poor people in it but

few substantial or well-to-do tradesmen."[323] But Liu also points out St. Mary Somerset and St Michael

Queenhithe had similar demographics that included "an overwhelming number of poor and a very low

proportion of well-to-do inhabitants." Even if relatively poor, the inhabitants of St. Michael Queenhithe

managed to contribute £214 towards the November Assessment.[324] Further, sixty-nine parishioners

contributed £72 5s. 6d. towards "the monethlie payment for the mayntayninge of soaldiers" on 31

December, while forty-nine gave an additional £58 12s. 4d. on 1 March 1643.[325] In the case of Queenhithe,

some of the City's poorest inhabitants were paying the largest proportions of their assessments, an example

of monetary support that is not reflected in other metropolitan parochial records.

Ward returns for the November Assessment were rarely clear-cut. The politico-religious outlooks

of London's ministers and parishioners varied significantly from parish to parish, making it extremely

difficult to make generalizations about the characteristics of wards. Take, for instance, St. Stephen's

Coleman Street of Coleman Street Ward. Contemporaries widely understood St. Stephen's to have been a

hotbed of puritanism in London, a parish that the historian Adrian Johns has rightly identified as the City's

---

[322] Liu, *Puritan London*, p. 135 See BL. Add. Ms. 1571 fols. 74v, 76v.
[323] Liu, *Puritan London*, p. 118.
[324] Liu, *Puritan London*, pp. 37, 136. See TNA SP 19/78 fol. 91.
[325] LMA Ms. P69/MIC6/B/005/MS04825/001, St. Michael Queenhithe Churchwardens' Accounts, 1625-1706, fols. 61r-v.

"most notorious" and active "hive of religious radicalism."[326] St. Stephen's pulpit was occupied by John Goodwin, a firebrand who preached the Curse of Meroz and exhorted his auditors to "consider the cause" and "engage yourselves to the utmost" against the king.[327] But no matter how "radical" or forward in their support for parliament's cause, St. Stephen's was, in the end, just one of several parishes in Coleman Street Ward. As a whole the ward returned only 44% of the November Assessment – a figure that fell slightly below the capital's average of 47% returned per ward.[328]

The relatively low returns provided by Coleman Street Ward are easily accounted for. The ward was the largest in the metropolis, expanding from the wealthy area around Guildhall to the much poorer segments of Moorfields to the east. Any "forwardness" shown by the parishioners of St. Stephen's was thus offset by recalcitrance of the myriad other parishes and parishioners who lived within the ward. The parishioners of St. Olave, for instance, were decidedly less enthusiastic about the war effort than some of their neighbors. St. Olave was home to a number of known royalists including Oliver Neve, Moses Tryon, and the aldermen Richard Gurney and Edmund Right.[329] As we have seen, Gurney was ejected the previous year and replaced by Pennington. Although the parishioners of St. Olave gave readily towards Ireland in early 1642, and despite their appointment of the lecturer Ralph Robinson in October of the same year, there is in nothing in their account books to suggest that they contributed on the same level towards the November Assessment.[330] The heterogeneity of Coleman Street Ward's occupants offers an obvious explanation for the relatively low return rate of 44%, and thus helps to explain why the home to Mayor Pennington and Richard Overton's printing press returned less than the neighboring wards of Dowgate, Bread Street, and Queenhithe.

Return rates were not always associated with the presence of committed parliamentarian ministers. Such was the case with St. Margaret's Lothbury, which fell partially in the wards of Coleman Street and

---

[326] Adrian Johns, "Coleman Street," *HLQ* 71 (1998), pp. 33-4.
[327] John Goodwin, *Anti-Cavalierism* (London, 1642), sig A3r. See also Section I: Ireland's Cause.
[328] TNA E 179/147/577.
[329] See Tai Liu, *Puritan London*, pp. 76-7.
[330] LMA Ms. P69/OLA2/B/001/MS04415/001, St. Olave, Old Jewry Vestry Minutes, fols. 106r, 107v.

Broad Street.[331] Lothbury's minister, Humphrey Tabor, had "absented himself from his said Cure

sometimes Six Months together," and further was outspoken "against such as take up Arms for the Defence

of the Parliament."[332] It was not, then, the minister, but rather the parishioners who led in the effort to raise

money for parliament's cause. "Att a generall meeting att the parish" on 27 November 1642, "parishioners"

came together and "did there agre[e] and lend for a p[re]sent supply for the use of the kinge and parlyment

uppon the parlyments proposytion."[333] Sixty-five individuals pledged sums ranging from 10s. given by

"widdow Thompson" to £25 given by one Peter Pheasant. These figures once again belie the relatively low

returns made by Broad Street and Coleman Street wards, and further they suggest that it would be unwise

to assume that parishioners always adopted the political and religious outlooks of their ministers.[334] Clearly

returns from the parishes in Coleman Street Ward varied significantly. A lingering recalcitrance amongst

the parishioners from St. Olave, along with the curate's vacancy at Lothbury's, might then be taken into

account when explaining the low returns from a ward that contained St. Stephen's. But no matter the

specific reasons for their poor returns, the figures help to underscore an important aspect of the political

and religious topography of London's mobilization: aside from Bread Street, Dowgate and Queenhithe, the

capital's wards were largely heterogeneous in terms of their political and religious outlooks, and indeed in

terms of their relationship with the war effort. Support for the parliamentarian war effort could not, in other

words, be reliably predicted by ward; instead, it is most fruitful to look towards smaller units for assessing

mobilization – parishes and parishioners, specifically.

While it is clearly useful to map out wards and parishes in terms of the percentages contributed

towards the war, in the end the "Assessment book for non-contributors" provides just one relatively limited

source of insight into how London was able to mobilize its financial resources. But this is important: the

November Assessment suggests that the majority of the financial support given towards the parliamentarian

war effort was done so fromt the core of the City, and especially in wards and parishes clustered on the

---

[331] Broad Street returned only 48% of their assessment.
[332] *LJ* v, p. 616. See below section: "Maintaining the Move against Malignants."
[333] LMA Ms. P69/MGT1/B/001/MS04352/001, St. Margaret Lothbury, Vestry Minutes, 1571/2-1677, fol. 150v.
[334] Ibid., fol. 149v. Six men loaned £20, including Edward Chard, Anthony Beninfield, Robert Lowther, William Librey, Edward Hop[goode, and William Downall. Richard Cox gave £15, while eight gave £10.

north side of the Thames, the London Guildhall and the densely populated area to the east of St. Paul's.

These were central metropolitan localities where ministers regularly preached before their godly auditors,

and indeed points from which inhabitants could quickly reach both the City guildhall and the surrounding

livery halls on foot. The higher return rates in these sections of London suggest – even if only tentatively –

that there was a connection between politicization and proximity to the City center. This connection

obviously depended on many factors, not least on an intersection between religious propensities, ministerial

appointments, access to information, and demographics. This brief look at returns for the November

Assessment must therefore conclude by reiterating the simple but important fact that the highest rates of

monetary support for the war effort came from wards that shared a geographical propinquity to each other

and to London's political core. Given this, it is worth turning attention to rapidly diverging politics that

soon gave Londoners sound reason to mobilize for their interests.

Chapter 5. London's War and Peace Movements

The December Petitions

On 1 December 1642, an ominous petition claiming to represent "many of the Citizens of London,"

reached the House of Commons. Delivered by Sir David Watkins, Richard Shute, and the godly ministers

Jeremiah Burroughs, Hugh Peter, and John Goodwin, the petition made ten specific requests that revolved

around the hope that accommodation with the king would be avoided and that the parliament might pursue

"a more speedy and effectuall prosecution of the Warres." Direct appeal, moreover, was made so "that life

may be given to such Ordiances" that would allow for the "seazing and securing of malignant persons and

estates" as a means for raising "six thousand Horse" and ensuring "that his Excellency [the Earl of Essex]

may instantly goe forth" to fight against the king. Funding for the war was to come from sequestered

estates and the pocketbooks of Londoners who had shown themselves disaffected towards parliament's

cause – requests that, as we will recall, aligned closely with the ordinance from 26 November and the

establishment of the Committee for the Advance of Money.

116

Upon presentation of the petition, the Commons promptly notified the deliverers that they could not take their requests into consideration without direct support from the Lord Mayor and the Common Council. Thus, Watkins, Shute and their godly attendants made the short journey back to the Guildhall to gain the approbation of the City fathers. The Journal of Common Council makes no direct reference to the petition, but according to the contemporaneously printed *The True and Originall Copy*, Pennington was eager to have the petition put forward. But its first reading by the Common Council led to many arguments both "*pro & contra*." Ultimately the "said petition was rejected and throwne out of the Court." Even if supported by Pennington, the petition's content was too radical to be tenable.[335] Londoners, meanwhile, remained on edge. As of 3 December orders were made for City regiments to be ready "repair to their Colours" upon the sound "the Beating of Drums in the City." Failure to act promptly would lead to punishment set by "the law of Arms."[336] Many in the metropolis still feared an outright attack by the king.

Although dismissed, the radical petition spurred a frenzy of action in the capital. Violence soon broke out in the streets when a group of 300 inhabitants gathered "with Torches, and Linkes" at Haberdashers' Hall to demand that members of the Committee for the Advance of Money consider their demands for a peace petition that might counter the radical terms of the petition put forward by Watkins and Shute. Calling out "A Petition, A Petition," the crowd was eventually greeted by Philip Wharton, who suggested that they might instead proceed to the House of Commons, where they "should receive sufficient satisfaction concerning their desires." Well aware that their petition, like that of Watkins and Shute, would require the approval of the Common Council, they immediately set out for the Lord Mayor's residence. Once there they were again diverted by a troop of the trained bands who had heard word of the clamorous gathering. Next in their sights was the nearby Guildhall, which they entered soon after in order to read aloud their requisition, which purportedly met with "great Humme, and applause" and further signings.

---

[335] *The True and Originall Copy of the first Petition* (London, 1642), sigs. A1r-A4r. Thomason acquired a copy on 15 December.
[336] *CJ* ii, p. 875.

Two companies of trained bands and a troop of horse soon arrived to see that the crowds would disperse for the evening.[337]

Officials were understandably concerned. As it turned out, they had more than disgruntled and potentially violent petitioners to contend with. On 9 December Lawrence Whitaker read a report to the Commons in which he noted that a dangerous number of soldiers refused to march with Essex and were subsequently idle in the capital. His figures, "from 4 parishes" alone, included "100 horsemen & above 300 foot." More alarming yet was the report that they "were here lurking and lying up and downe in Alehowses Taverns & other byplaces." Many soldiers may have enlisted but refused to march and fight, while others were almost certainly troops who were still awaiting pay for their service during the Bishops' Wars, and others were likely soldiers of fortune who were waiting for the same after returning out of Ireland. Frightened by what he found in the few parishes that he had visited, Whitaker noted "it might [only] be guessed [at] what the number would bee when a Generall certificate should be returned in."[338] Parochial records corroborate Whitaker's concern. Accompanying soldiers were droves of Irish refugees. The Churchwardens of Allhallows the Less distributed 8s. 6d. in April 1642 to help "severall Protestants of Ireland" who showed "great want and misery." The godly community of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, managed to distribute £3 for "poore Ministers Lame Souldiers widdowes and other poore Irishe," while those as St John Zachary, Gresham Street, gave £5 9s. to "poore ministers and ministers widdowes Souldiers and other poore people that cam out of Ireland severall times."[339] Similar accounts can be found in most extant parish churchwardens' accounts, suggesting that refugees further encumbered the City's parishes.

If the presence of countless refugees and recalcitrant, armed, and drunk soldiers in the capital was not worrying enough, City officials soon found additional reason for alarm. On 11 December the Common

[337] *The True and Originall Copy of the first Petition* (London, 1642); *The Lord Whartons Speech to the Petitioners for Peace* (London, 1642); Pearl, *London*, p. 255; Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 439-443.
[338] BL Harley Ms. 164, fol. 245. 9 December 1642.
[339] LMA Ms. P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/001, All Hallows the Less Churchwardens' Accounts, 1630-51, unpaginated; LMA Ms. P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/002, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Churchwardens' Accounts, 1606/7-1666/7, fol. 86r; LMA Ms. P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001, St. John Zachary Churchwardens' Accounts, 1591-1682, fol. 186r.

Council took into consideration yet another petition for peace presented by "divers" Londoners. The "humble" petition first warned that "stronge and violent parties" were gaining ground in the metropolis and that they might "prove of very dangerous consequence if not speedily prevented by the wisdom and care of the magestacye of this Cittye." The means by which magistrates might hope to "quench this Flame" was obvious to the petitioners: The Court of Aldermen and Common Council should draw up their own City petition to present to "his Majestie and both howses of Parlyament," which would make "such a peace as may give unto Ceasar the things that are Ceasars and to God the thinges that are Gods."[340] While the council sat and considered the petitioners' appeal to uphold the respective spheres of monarchical and spiritual authority, the Haberdasher Robert Osboldston delivered yet another copy to the Court of Aldermen. Even it if was the same peace petition, Osboldston's copy nevertheless added to the sense of urgency felt in the Common Council. Osboldston's copy of the petition makes clear that the petitioners wanted London's Alderman to "consider the effects of a Civill warr, as the destrucc[i]on of Christians, the unnaturall effusion of bloud, fathers against Sonns, brothers by brothers, friends by friends slaine then famine and sicknesse the followrs." In order to avoid the further bloodshed, diminished trade, and a reduction of the population, the Aldermen should agree to seek out "a speedy peace and happy Accomodac[i]on." Taken together, the various peace petitions articulated a message that was strikingly similar to that recorded by William Drake: they expressed a clear sense that war would do prolonged and irreparable damage to England's people and economy. These shared views would go on to be core ideas of the so called "peace party" that gained ground in London and Westminster in following months.[341]

While the Common Council deliberated, "a great multitude of people" arrived outside of the Guildhall to "promote" the peace petition "and to understand what successe it should receave."[342] Conflicting reports tell of what happened next, but on several points most seem to agree. According to *The Image of the Malignants Peace*, an anonymous news account, the gathering turned violent abruptly after some of the peace petitioners called a man "Round-head Rogue, and then beat him." But the brawl, as the

---

[340] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 43r.
[341] Ibid., fol. 43r-v.
[342] Ibid.

account continues, was just the beginning of the day's trouble. When Captain Edmund Harvey arrived with a troop of City horse he found "a great multitude in the Porch and yard of the said Hall with their swords drawn fighting." Upon noticing that the trained bands had arrived, a group of the petitioners stormed the Guildhall, barricaded themselves in, and set about banging on the door of the chamber where the Common Council had sat to discuss their petition. Refusing to leave the hall, the petitioners remained barricaded in until members of the trained bands wheeled up two cannons and threatened to blow down the doors to the Guildhall.[343] Faced with the prospect of being fired upon, the men finally relented and agreed to unbar the door. The "tumult" began to disperse, while a few men deemed to be ringleaders were taken into custody. Two days later, the Commons ordered that Pennington and the two sheriffs of London were to work diligently to "prevent any [further] tumultuous Gatherings" and inquire into the causes of the recent disturbance. Within a week, Pennington had delivered the names of thirty-one Londoners who were suspected of plotting with the peace petitioners to free prisoners and take over the Tower of London.[344]

On 17 December, six days after the unsettling affair at the Guildhall, the Common Council returned to the matter of drawing up petitions that would be suitable for presentation to both the king and parliament. One was to reflect the call for peace, while the other would frame the reasons for war. Two days later, their petitions were brought up to the Commons for their consideration. When D'Ewes arrived to the House around eleven o'clock in the morning he noted "the two Sheriffs of London" were present, including "Alderman [John] Fowke" along with "divers of the Cittizens." Also present in the chamber was "the Lord Mayor of London" whom D'Ewes made special note of as he "came this morning into the howse (being a member thereof) and sate there before the delivery of the said petition and sate there during the reading of it."[345] Fowke and his companions received "hearty thanks" for delivering their petitions. But Londoners soon brought in their own peace petitions. According to *Mercurius Aulicus*, a crowd of 5000

---

[343] *Image of the Malignants Peace* (London, 1642), A4r. George Thomason's Ms note shows that he acquired a copy on 17 December 1642.
[344] *CJ* ii, p. 884, 894; Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 246.
[345] BL Harley Ms. 164, fol. 265r. *CJ* ii, p. 894.

arrived in Westminster to present their request for peace.[346] Extant copies of their petitions remain in the Main Papers of the Parliamentary Archives and contain at least 1,380 signatures.[347]

Apparently not all of the peace petitioners' signatures were gathered peaceably. When informed that the Lord Mayor had refused to add his own signature to a peace petition, one Mr "Banks" from Cheapside claimed "My Lord Maior, my Lord Fart: I know no Lord Major there is; for the King said there was none, and he did believe the king." One unnamed minister had decided to use his time in the pulpit on Sunday to "make a Speech, inciting Parishoners to subscribe the same." Further, one Mr "Clay," also a resident of Cheapside, signed under duress; when asked if the petition would please the parliament, he was threatened with having his ear sliced off if he refused to pen his name.[348] Coercive means for gaining signatures were commonplace, but make estimating the actual number of "peace" petitioners problematic. Regardless of this fact, the extant collection of nearly 1400 signatures that remains in the Main Papers does, in the end, suggest widespread interest in the terms of the petition for peace.

When it came time to discuss the petition in the Commons, Sir Henry Vane the Younger proposed an outright rejection. D'Ewes and others who preferred the prospect of a settlement opposed Vane in their speeches. After some debate it was finally agreed on 26 December that the petitioners' proposals should be taken forward. So began the protracted discussions that would eventually produce the Treaty of Oxford, a series of formal negotiations to end hostilities between parliament and the king that lasted from early February until they officially collapsed by the middle of April, and which, as we have noted, have prompted most schoalars to focus on high political developments during the winter of 1642-1643.[349] It would appear that many members of parliament moved forward with the peace petitions while fearing that the king would reject their terms. They were correct; a cessation of arms was too much to ask of the king, and Charles himself claimed that the men who "penned" the propositions must have "had no thoughts of

---

[346] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 16 January; *CJ* ii, p. 894.
[347] HLRO Main Papers Ms. HL/PO/JO/10/1/139, "Peace Petitions from 22 December 1642." See Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 340-42.
[348] Ibid., A3r-v.
[349] BL Harley Ms. 164, fol. 270v. See above, end of section "by wisdom peace." One recent exception is rule is Ian Gentles, whose "Parliamentary Politics and the Politics of the Street: The London Peace Campaigns of 1642-3" *PH* 26 (2007), pp. 139-159, does consider the social status of some of London's demonstrators.

peace in their hearts, but wanted to make things worse and worse."[350] After only a few months of discussions the commissioners were recalled and the negotiations formally ended. The Treaty of Oxford proved, in a sense, to be stillborn from its inception.

A longstanding interest in the Treaty of Oxford has diverted attention away from two critically important developments that resulted from London's December petitions.[351] The first of these is that the decision to move forward with peace proposals was the direct result of a vigorous action by urban petitioners who desired accommodation. Metropolitan petitioners, in other words, were responsible for prompting members of parliament – despite vociferous opposition – to extend an olive branch to the king. The claim that the peace party was in the ascendancy should therefore be qualified; even if the majority of the members of parliament wished to end the war and decided to move forward with peace propositions, their reason for doing so came from politically motivated Londoners. Petitioners had, in the end, made a concerted and successful effort to assert their political interests with parliament.

Secondly, and more importantly for our immediate purposes, was the fact that the petitioners' actions led to decisive action by the Common Council. Well aware of the dangers that might come from a peace settlement between parliament and the king, the Common Council decided to deliver their own petition on to Oxford, which might "give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars and to God the thinges that are Gods."[352] While both Houses were busy discussing whether or not to draft propositions based on the peace petitions, the Common Council had already nominated a party of Londoners to travel to Oxford to present their own petition to the king. Their decision was to have wide-ranging implications not only for London politics, but also for the greater Civil War. Their "affections," as we shall see, led Charles I to make a fateful political mistake.

The Attempt on the Seven Londoners

---

[350] Gardiner quotes this passage in his *History*, p. 103; See Bodleian Library Clarendon Ms. 1654, Charles I to Ormond.
[351] Again, see above section, "by wisdom peace'; For an exception, see Pearl, *London*, pp. 256-257.
[352] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 43r.

Six prominent citizens were selected for the journey to Oxford: Sir George Garrett, Sir George Clark and the Alderman Peter Jones, George Henley, Richard Bateman, and Barnard Reames.[353] The king knew Garrett personally as he had dined at his residence the previous January before he received Walker's projectile petition. The other five men had varied backgrounds. Clark and Henley were both involved with the second Root and Branch Petition from December 1641. Lindley counted Henley amongst a number of "radical" activists due to his participation with the Lunsford petitioners. Jones sat as a "lone conservative" on the Council in 1642, while Bateman, later Lord Mayor, was described as a political "trimmer." Lastly, Reames was one of a number of "well-heeled parish zealots" from Saint Martin Orgar.[354] Taken together, then, the group was politically heterogeneous, an important point that should not be overlooked when considering their nomination as delegates for delivering the City petition. This may mean that the Common Council genuinely intended their petition to assuage and not exacerbate the tensions that had arisen between their leadership and the king. Equally, their decision to intervene outside of the parliament reflects their awareness of their political significance.

All six men reached Oxford on Monday, 2 January, and received an audience with the king shortly after five o'clock in the evening. Charles provided the travelers with a written answer to their petition on the following Wednesday and requested that they might be accompanied back to London by Henry Herne, a messenger who was to read the king's response to their petitions at a Common Hall, an assembly that included all City liverymen and which could include upwards of 4,000 attendees.[355] Calling such an assembly, Charles hoped, would ensure that his message could reach beyond the confines of the Common Council and ensure "that there might be faire play above Board."[356] The king, in other words, hoped that his message would reach a much larger, and indeed far more receptive, audience.

Charles, however, underestimated the impact of his reply. Printed in Oxford on 5 January, the king's reply had immediate and far-reaching ramifications. If not simply obtuse, Charles's letter was

---

[353] These six men are recorded in LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 45v as "S[i]r Georg Garrett and Sir Georg Clark knights and Aldr'm]en Mr Peter Jones Mr Georg Henley Mr Richard Bateman and Mr Barny Reames."
[354] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 67, 138-9, 188, 191.
[355] Pearl, *London*, p. 50.
[356] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 46r.

positively alienating. In it he made several accusations and one particularly troubling request. After

pointing out that London's "Brownists, Anabaptists, and all manner of Sectaries" had all been busy

preaching "seditious Sermons against his Majestie," and moreover that contributors to the parliamentarian

war effort "must expect the severest punishment the Law can inflict," he demanded that three citizen

soldiers and four prominent City leaders should be arrested on charges of high treason. The four leaders

were none other than Mayor Isaac Pennington, Alderman John Fowke, Captain John Venn, and Colonel

Randal Mainwaring, while the three others were military men: Richard Browne, a commander of the

trained bands, and Edmund Harvey and Robert Tichborne. Of the four leaders accused of treason,

Pennington was singled out in the king's letter as the "pretended Lord Major" and "the principall author of

those Calamities which so nearly threaten the ruine of that famous City." "Ven, Foulke, and Mainwaring"

faired little better; they were lumped together as "persons notoriously guilty of Schisme and high

Treason."[357] Charles had thus singled out the very men who had reached out to him with an offer of peace.

More perplexing yet, he had done so in a manner that closely resembled his attempt on the Five Members

the previous year.

Admittedly, Charles may not have been entirely mistaken in his assessment of the accused

Londoners. Amerigo Salvetti, the Tuscan agent in London, recalled that the king had suspected "l'artifice"

on the part of Pennington and his allies, and that it was his intention that his letter should be read at a

Common Hall in order to reach a wider and potentially more sympathetic audience.[358] Like the king,

Salvetti had sound reason to be suspicious of the accused Londoners. As we have seen, each of the four had

played a pivotal role in the City's recent "radical revolution." Venn had been a prominent activist over the

previous two years, and since late October he had served as the parliamentarian governor of Windsor where

he held out firmly against royalist attacks. Fowke was an outspoken member of the Militia Committee and

was among "the crown's most persistent opponents." Mainwaring, the sergeant-general of the City and

Deputy to the Lord Mayor, had recently become better known as "the crazed Mercer" for his policing

---

[357] *The Humble Petition of the Major, Aldermen, and Commons of the Citie of London and His Majesties Gracious Answer the fourth of January 1642* (London, 1643), pp. 7-8, 10.
[358] BL Add. Ms. 27962 K(I), Salvetti correspondence, 9 January 1643, fol. 40v.

tactics. His regiment of Redcoats spent the better part of the winter and spring raiding houses and seizing goods from Londoners who failed to contribute towards parliament's war effort.[359]

Four days after the king's letter was made available in print, the Common Council reported to the Commons that "a printed book now lately published as a pretended answere to the aforesaid Peticion" had also been made available.[360] George Thomason acquired the self-proclaimed "true Copie" of *His Majesty's gracious Answer* on 11 January.[361] The next day, "Richard Hearne confessed at the Bar that he had printed *His Majesty's gracious Answer*" and that he received his copy from Henry Glapthorne, a playwright "who lived in Fetter Lane."[362] Hearne, who was no stranger to censors, landed himself in the Fleet for his part in the printing the "pretended answere," but there is no evidence for punishment of Glapthorne, who was purportedly the author.[363] If *His Majesty's gracious Answer* was not the king's official response to the City petition, why did it cause such uproar? The answer, perhaps unsurprisingly, is to be found in the pamphlet's claim that the king was "verie willing and concurrent to any propositions," that "subjects are a Kings best inheritance, the flower of his Crowne, and glorie of his Scepter," and further that Charles's "Person" was at no point "in more or better security, then when guarded with the faithfull hearts and valiant hands of those courageous and well-experienced Citizens" of London.[364] These were all highly conciliatory remarks; at no point did the "pretended answer" mention seditious ministers, play above board, threat to the king's person, or any of the seven Londoners recently accused of treason. Glapthorne knew that any mention of the king's accusations of treason might threaten peace negotiations, and thus he chose to completely remove them.

---

[359] Pearl, *London*, pp. 187-9, 316-20, 323. For mention of "the crazed Mercer" see *An Honest Letter to a Doubtful Friend* (1643), sig. A3r.
[360] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 46v.
[361] Henry Glapthorne, *His Majesties Gracious Ansvver*, title page. S. R. Gardiner recognized that this copy was in fact a fake.
[362] Donald McKenzie and Maurine Bell (eds.) *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade* vol. I (Oxford, 2005), p. 80. Another short example of the king's message was printed at the end of *A Most Joyfull eclaration Made by Colonell Skipon* (London, 1643), sig. A4v.
[363] Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion,* p. 40.
[364] Glapthorne, *His Majesties Gracious Ansvver*, pp. 4-5, 7.

Glapthone and Herne had of course broken censorship laws by printing on a subject dealing with parliamentary affairs without a license.[365] But this alone does not explain the urgency and speed with which the Common Council delivered the "pretended answere" to the House of Commons for censorship. One plausible explanation for their urgency is that the City leadership, like Glapthorne, recognized that the pacific version of the king's letter might derail their interests. This was unacceptable for members of the City's "war party" because it could be used to promote a wider peace – a message decidedly opposite to the charge leveled against the traitorous Londoners. If ostensibly less dangerous to the accused, the City's radical leadership nevertheless recognized that allowing the "pretended answere" to circulate might also do irreparable damage to belligerent interests; its presence could lend credit to the notion that the king might be willing to fulfill the hopes of the December peace petitioners. Mayor Pennington and his colleagues therefore promptly censored the "pretended answer" while acting to ensure that the king's first response remained available. This reading of the affair is supported by the fact that eight unexpurgated editions of the king's hostile response were made available over the course of the month, and that at least one edition claiming to be printed in Oxford had in fact been printed in London.[366] Ironically, then, Pennington and his fellow zealots preferred to heighten public awareness of the king's treason charges against them in order to bolster support for their cause.

On the same day that the Commons ordered Glapthorne's book to be censured, they also agreed that king's "answer to the City Petition should be read in Common Hall, to see if it was the same that was printed which contained 'Matter very scandalous to the Parliament, dangerous to the City and whole Kingdome.'"[367] That afternoon the Lords and Commons set up the aptly named "Committee for the Vindication of the Parliament from the Aspersions thrown on them in the King's Answer to the London

---

[365] See Jason McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 121-2; Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645* (London, 1997), p. 41.
[366] These figures are based on data from the ESTC.
[367] Donald McKenzie and Maurine Bell (eds.) *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade* (Oxford, 2005), vol. I, p. 80.

Petition," which was to meet in the Painted Chamber at eight o'clock the following morning, 13 January, in

order to determine what answers would be made to the king's letter.[368]

On 12 January, Pennington ordered extra precautions for London by setting up a "substanc[i]all

double watch" and requesting that special care be taken to guard the City's "gates & landing places."[369] On

the afternoon of the following day Colonel Mainwaring and his Redcoats stood ready to guard the

Guildhall while a meeting of Common Hall commenced. The king's letter, read according to plan by his

messenger Henry Herne, proved to be the same as that which was circulating in London, and not

Glapthorne's conciliatory "pretended answer" that was censored days earlier. According to one chronicler,

Herne's reading was uninterrupted aside from a single cry of "No Lord Major" which came from a royalist

who had sneaked into the meeting disguised under an alderman's robes. More telling to the affect of the

reading were the declarations of those gathered that "they would all live and dye with" the four accused

Londoners.[370]

When Herne finished, it came time to hear from the men chosen by the parliamentary Committee

for the Vindication. They were none other than Manchester and Pym, both of whom were obviously

stalwart supporters of war. But this was not the only reason they had been selected; they were also two of

the six members who Charles had infamously attempted to arrest the previous January; both men stood as

stark reminders of the king's willingness to transgress the law and impinge on parliamentary privileges, and

of one of the original reasons that had originally precipitated war. If relatively brief, their speeches left little

to be guessed about the dire state of affairs in London, and especially the dangers of the personal injustice

that threatened the Londoners who were accused of treason. Manchester spoke first, acknowledging the

"many wounding Aspersions [that had been] cast upon Persons of very eminent Authority in your City, and

---

[368] The ten Committee Members form the Lords included Northumberland, Pembroke, Sarum, Holland, Warwick, Manchester, Saye and Sele, Baron Howard of Escrick, Baron Grey of Warke and Denbigh. See *LJ* v, p. 551. The twenty-one Commons included: Sir John Hampden, Henry Marten, John Pym, Sir Philip Stapilton, Sir William Strickland, William Strode, Sir Peter Temple, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Peter Wentworth, John Ashe, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Henry Ludlow, Walter Erle, Robert Long, Thomas Jervoise, Richard Knightley, John Corbett, John Glynne, John Francklyn, Edward Dunch, Anthony Nicoll. See *CJ* ii, p. 925.
[369] LMA Ms. COL/CN/01/01/001, Corporation of London Common Hall Minutes, Nov 1642 - Oct 1646, fol. 27r.
[370] John Vicars, *Jehovah-jireh, or God on the Mount* (London, 1644), p. 248.

upon others of very great Fidelity and Trust among you." He then made the promise that members of both

Houses "will never desert you, but will stand by you with their Lives and Fortunes for the Preservation of

the City in general, and those Persons in particular who have been faithful."[371]

Pym then followed with a longer speech in which he made particular note of the "great aspersion

upon the Proceedings of Parliament, and very scandalous and injurious to many particular Members of this

City."[372] Rather than simply allude to the four City leaders, Pym named them directly, claiming "*That the*

King demands the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Fowke, *Col.* Ven*, and Col.* Manwarin*g, to be delivered up*

as guilty of Schism and High Treason." "Concerning which," he went on

> I am commanded to tell you, as the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, That this Demand is
> against the Priviledge of Parliament (two of them being Members of the Commons House) most
> dishonourable to the City, That the Lord Mayor of *London* should be subjected to the Violence of
> every base Fellow, be assaulted, seized on, without due Process or Warrant, which the Law doth
> afford every private Man.[373]

These terms bore striking resemblance to those that accompanied the king's attempt to arrest Pym and his

fellow members exactly a year earlier. The fact that Pym had been selected to deliver the parliament's

message of support amounted to a significant and readily apparent display of political solidarity.

Concluding, Pym reminded those who had gathered at Guildhall

> that Religion, the whole Kingdom, this glorious City, and the Parliament, are all in great Danger,
> and that this Danger cannot be kept off, in all likelihood, but by the Army that is now on Foot; and
> that the Lords and Commons are so far from being freighted by any Thing that is in this Answer,
> that they have for themselves, and the Members of both Houses, declared, a further contribution
> towards the Maintenance of this Army, and cannot but hope and desire, That you who have
> shewed so much good Affection in the former Necessities of the States, will be sensible of your
> own, and of the Condition of the whole Kingdom, and add to that which you have already done,
> some further Contribution, whereby this Army may be maintained for all your Safeties.[374]

It was time to pledge financial support. The two speeches thus bound together the fate of the City and the

Parliament: the legal rights of both Londoners and the parliament were inextricably tied to the financial

support for the City forces. "A further contribution," Pym went on, would, underscore solidarity, but it

---

[371] *Two Speeches Delivered* (London, 1642), p. 14.
[372] Vicars, *Jehovah-jireh*, p. 248.
[373] *Two Speeches Delivered*, p. 18.
[374] Ibid., pp. 21-2.

would also serve the much more practical purpose of maintaining the war effort by keeping parliament's armies in the field.

The very next day Alderman Fowke came the House with a message from Mayor Pennington to give thanks for Pym's speech and to request that his words "might be printed for satisfying the people."[375] D'Ewes noted soon thereafter that the speeches were available "in print with that which was spoken against it in the Guild hall by Edward Earle of Manchester and Mr Pym."[376] The interests of the parliamentary "traitors" from January 1642 and the newly accused Londoners from a year later in 1643 were essentially indistinguishable.

If the request to have the speeches printed was telling, so too was the passing of an ordinance on the same day that allowed "the Lo[rd] Mayor & Comittee for the Militia in London" to disarm anyone in London who had refused to provide money according to the assessments of the previous November.[377] On 15 January, Mainwaring and his Redcoats began to raid the houses of any who had failed to contribute according to assessments. A second ordinance passed both Houses just two days later and called "for stopping all carraiges waggons, and other conveyances going to or from Oxford without leave of Parliament or of the Earl of Essex." The king's attempt on the Londoners had clearly helped to polarize popular opinion, and in turn increase the war party's ability to extract resources from the City.

Polemicists and pamphleteers also wasted little time before shared their views regarding the attempt on the seven Londoners. Edward Bowles, chaplain to Sir John Meldrum's regiment, offered his personal assessment of the political significance of the attempt on the Londoners in print with the pamphlet *Plaine English*. Bowles expressed bewilderment at the king's recent order to arrest Londoners, observing, "we now see instead of those 6. at least 26 accused of treason for the same cause that they were, that is,

---

[375] *CJ* ii, 14 January 1643, p. 927.

[376] BL Harley Ms. 164, fol. 276r. It is worth noting that Ian Gentles, in his *ODNB* entry for Manchester, misdated this speech to the prior year after the attempt on the "Five Members." This error gives some sense as to how little is known about City politics in early 1643.

[377] HLRO Main Papers Ms. HL/PO/JO/10/1/142 [fol. 115?] 14 January 1643. "all such in the Cittie of Westm[inste]r and the Liberties & the Counties of Midd[lesex] as refuse to Contribute upon the propositc[i]ons and that the Lo[rd] Mayor & Comittee for the Militia in London doe forthwith disarme such in the Cittie of London & Suburbes & Liberties as refuse to Contribute uppon the proposic[i]ons according to the foremer order."

being forward and active for the preservation of the Kingdome from the Kings *Guard*." Further Bowles

censured his readers, asking why they should not be as forward in their support as they had been during

January 1642, when Charles had attempted to arrest the five members:

> It is the same season of the yeare, a more unquestionable cause, where are your pikes and protestations? Your courage and resolution? Do you coceive your danger more, your enemies more formidable, should not your valour encrease with your danger, if it were so, when the cause remains the same?[378]

Bowles was clearly anxious. As if the king's attempt on the five parliamentary members had not been

troubling enough, it was now apparent that he had learned little from his mistake and was attempting to

extend his misguided reach to include leading citizens of London.[379] The king's order to arrest Pennington

and his allies was, then, not only a clear repeat of the actions of the previous January, but a bold assertion

of his continued assumption that the war was being waged and managed by a select few opponents.

Within days of the issue of orders to disarm non-contributors, the failed December petition from

Watkins, Shute, Burroughs, Peter, and Goodwin, which called for the use of sequestered estates to fund the

City's war effort, was revived, altered, and resubmitted to the Commons.[380] The petition dispelled any

question about the political significance of recent political developments in London, claiming that there

were indeed "pressing dangers upon this City and Kingdome" and that the "conditions" were obvious to all

as they had "been sundry times presented by both Houses, and expressed by Master Pym at *Guild Hall* in

the City of *London*."[381] Unlike the previous attempt to submit their petition, which, as we have seen, led to

a prompt dismissal by the Commons, the new petition made considerable headway. On 26 January John

Blackiston – a radical who was to become a regicide – raised the matter of the petitioners' request in the

---

[378] Edward Bowles, *Plaine English: Or, A Discourse concerning the Accommodation, The Armie, The Association* (London, 1643), p. 26.

[379] Pennington and Fowke were members of parliament, while Mainwaring and Venn were citizens of London.

[380] *The True and Originall Copy of the first Petition.*

[381] *To the Right Honourable The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of divers of the best affected Ministers of the Citie of London* [. . .] *Also the humble Petition of many grave Citizens of London; Being both delivered the 21. day of this instant January, being Saturday* (London, 1643), sig. A2r. The earlier petition from December 1642, *The True and Originall Copy*, includes the phrase "expressed by Master *Pym* in Guild-hall," yet this does not refer to his speech with Manchester from 13 January, but instead referred to his speech from November, 1642 recorded in *Two Speeches Delivered by the Earl of Manchester and Mr Jo*[hn] *Pym* (London, 1642).

Commons and suggested that the Committee for the Advance of Money should produce new "instructions for raisinge and conductine [sic] of an army of voluntiers for suppression of ill affected parties." Further, he proposed that the Commons should nominate members for a "Committee of Association" that would oversee the direction of men at arms from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and who would "leade their forces where they seeme fitte." Alexander Rigby, a known "war party man," was nominated to appoint a committee that would "treate with some of the citie for some course for raisinge of a constante army of 20000 men."[382]

There is, in the end, no evidence to suggest that additional discussions were held regarding the proposals for raising a new fighting association and City army. But the fact remains that the failed petition from the previous December had made considerable headway in the wake of the king's charge against the seven Londoners. Although discussions of the "humble petition" apparently ended abruptly, an important and radical proposal for a new fighting force had reached the point of discussion in the House of Commons. Londoners, from the petitioners who followed Watkins and Shute, to pamphleteers such as Bowles, had facilitated a move to create a new fighting force to oppose the king. Taken together, their interests had altered the course of parliamentary politics; as we shall see, they would also redefine the terms of the wider civil war.

Copies of the "humble petition" soon reached the provinces.[383] On 10 February, Sir Edward Nicholas wrote to Henry Hastings, earl of Huntington, in the hope that he might assuage his friend's

---

[382] BL Add. Ms. 18777, "Diary of Walter Yonge," fols. 133r-133v. Yonge pointed out that the following men were to sit on the committee: Alexander Rigby, John Rolle, Sir Peter Wentworth, William Cage, Sir Henry Mildmay, "Mr [Michael?] Noble," "Mr [Roger?] Hill," John Blackiston, Sir Henry Vane and Sir Thomas Barrington. An alternative list of eighteen men is provided in *CJ* ii, p. 943: Alexander Rigby, John Rolle, John Blackiston, Sir Peter Wentworth, Sir Henry Heyman, Sir William Strickland, William Cage, Edmund Prideux, William Heveningham, Sir Henry Mildmay, William Strode, Cornelius Holland, Godfrey Bosevile, William Purefoy, Henry Marten, John Gurdon, Sir Thomas Barrington, and Sergeant John Wilde. See also, Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 443-4; Hexter, *King Pym*, p. 110. For Rigby, see Malcolm Gratton, "Rigby, Alexander," *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). Brenner notes that seven of the above committee members were considered "revolutionaries" by David Underdown in *Pride's Purge* (Oxford, 1971), p. 210 and appendix. For this note on Underdown, see Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 444, fn. 95.
[383] The anonymous author of *The Bloody Game at Cards* (1643), "Shuffled at London, Cut at Westminster, Delt at Yorke, and Plain in the open field," offers an interesting view of the recent struggle between the king and the City, casting the King as the king of hearts and the City members as the "Citty-clubs." Thomason acquired a copy on 10 February 1643.

anxiety over rumors that a powerful army of 20,000 was being raised in the metropolis with the intention that they could then march out to fight against the king. "In London," Nicholas assured, "the prentises will not suffer ye Parliam[en]t Drums to beate for Recreuts, but say that they will have peace."[384] Writing eleven days later, Nicholas clarified his meaning, adding that Huntingdon "neede not to apprehend ye Lo[rd] Brookes Comming to Staffordshire or out of London." Brooke's hands were, he claimed, still tied in the capital where he was "very earnesrlty labouring there against any Treaty for an Accomodac[i]on." Further, Nicholas assured Hastings, "the truth is they in London owe soe much to their Souldiers as they are reddyer to mutyeny, then to march." Should it not be Brooke, he went on, but another commander, such as Philip "Skippon (the Roundheads God of warre)," then there was still little reason to worry; Skippon sat "sick at Windsor" while the City waited in limbo for "want money to rayse or send any considerable forces."[385]

The popular recalcitrance shown by Londoners was not the result of flagging efforts of belligerents in the City and Westminster. Indeed, quite the opposite was true. City militants had recently hardened their resolve in light of the king's charge of treason against the seven Londoners. Well aware of the fact that there would be little "hope for pardon," and further that "a Cessac[i]on and Treaty for an Accomodation" would almost certainly lead to the need "to make upp their Trunks & be gonne," zealous Londoners pushed harder than ever to succeed.[386] As a number of historians have suggested, such fears likely motivated Pym, Brooke, and Saye and Sele to commit to a more robust and bellicose position at the outset of the previous year.[387] Similar fears – and indeed motivations – were extended to the City on 5 January 1643 when the king accused Pennington, Fowke, Mainwaring, Venn and the three City captains of treason. Even if, as Nicholas's intelligence suggested, there would be no immediate march of 20,000, and even if Londoners proved slow to offer up money for the war effort, it would soon become crystal clear that the City's pro-war leaders could find alternative means to promote their cause in the metropolis. Not least was the transformation of London itself.

---

[384] HEHL, Hastings Correspondence, Box 16/9681.
[385] HEHL, Hastings Correspondence, Box 16/9682.
[386] Ibid.
[387] See most notably Adamnson, *The Noble Revolt*.

Chapter 6. The Transformation of the Metropolis

Twelve New Propositions

The political reverberations of the king's charges against the seven Londoners were still felt weeks after the event. On 22 January, *Mercurius Aulicus* recorded news of the order that "none of His Majesties Subjects of that City are to submit to any Orders, Directions, or Commands" from the Lord Mayor, and further that the king was "once more requiring, as well the Sheriffes as other the Magistrates thereof, to cause the said *Pennington*, *Foulke*, *Ven*, and *Manwaring*, to be apprehended and committed to safe custody, that so He might proceed against them as in case of Treason." Included with the four traitors once again were the names "*Browne*, *Tichborne*, and *Harvey*."[388] Repeated discussion of the arrest orders guaranteed that the king's actions would remain at the forefront of public concern. But it did more than this. Repeated assertions of the king's demands led some Londoners to question the legitimacy of Pennington's appointment to the mayoralty. Further, popular concern over the entire affair provoked yet more pamphleteers and propagandists to produce new pamphlets that claimed to be the king's answer. The problem of discerning the king's original message from fabricated responses became so widespread that the Committee of Safety ordered on 23 January that all companies within the City were "directed to forbeare to publish" any material relating to the printed versions of the king's answer, and further that they were "required to bring the said lettres with the messengers thereof to this Committee." The delivery of any such material would be received by the Committee and taken as "an argument of their good affection to the Parliament." Signed by Pym, Manchester, and Saye and Sele, the precept reveals that "war party" members in parliament remained eager to retain control over the original verson of the king's message. Again, this was surely because they wanted to continue exploiting the political damage caused by the king's charge against the seven Londoners accused of treason.[389]

---

[388] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 22-28 January 1643, p. 1.
[389] GL Ms. 16967/4, Ironmongers' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 386. The letter was signed "Pembroke, Montgomerie, Say and Seale, Jo: Pym, Manchester, Edwᵃ: Howard, Auck: Nicoll,

Belligerents in London and Westminster clearly benefitted by highlighting the king's original message. Support for the war effort was, if at times strained, forthcoming. A number of tracts displayed sympathy for Pennington's efforts in particular. *A Briefe Answer to a Book Intitled His Majesties Letter*, an anonymously written tract that Thomason acquired on 30 January, questioned the king's own "power over His Rationall Faculties" and challenged his claim that Pennington was "pretended Lord Major." *A Brief Answer* not only assured that the City would remain "as zealous for the Parliament as ever they were," but also that Pennington's appointment as Lord Mayor was legitimate due to the fact that he was "chosen by the *major* part" in parliament.[390] Pennington and his allies doubtless welcomed – if not actively promoted – the vote of support, though the fact that *A Brief Answer* was printed reveals that the accused Londoners faced considerable pressure from London's pacifists. The most obvious means for countering such opposition was to redouble their efforts to mobilize and reform the metropolis. In early 1642 they did precisely this by embarking on unprecedented programs of iconoclasm that included the toppling of monuments, the smashing of windows, the melting of lead crosses, and the construction of eleven miles of new City walls and fortifications.

Accompanying these defensive and iconoclastic transformations were fresh sequestration orders and the introduction of novel financial programs designed to better support the war effort against the king. Londoners genuinely feared the threat of royalist attack on London in the aftermath of Turnham Green, but there was also an ever-present matter of "suspitious dangerous and idle p[er]sons" who resided in the "out p[er]ishes" and of lurking "malignants" in the metropolis.[391] Fear of divine reprisal further exacerbated popular anxieties; providential curses and warnings continued to be hurled at the lukewarm, the sinful, and the "neuter." Rumors spread throughout the densely packed streets of the metropolis, telling of mysterious and dangerous figures who sneaked about the City at night. Popular legend told of demonic spirits such as Boy, Prince Rupert's poodle that could transform "into many shapes" and would slip past the City's

---

Bolingbrooke, J: Evelin." A copy of the same letter is recorded in GL Ms. 15201/1, Vintners' Company Court Minute Book, fols. 100-101, and request that any of the "pretended" letters which had set "the whole citty in a combustion" would be confiscated and delivered in to the Committee of Safety.

[390] *A Briefe Answer to a Book Intitled His Majesties Letter* (London, 1643), pp. 2,5.

[391] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, 48v.

"vigilant Sentinells" under the cover of night in order to "heare the common votes of the vulgar." It was

Boy, John Taylor claimed, who had hired Arthur Shutle to go "into Long-lane and procure an Aldermans

gowne" and sneak into the Common Hall from January in order to "beget a faction, and so a tumult."[392] So

went just a few of the many threats – both real and fabricated – that stirred the people of London.

Countless authors and printers were behind such threats. Standing to benefit from popular

anxieties were, of course, the accused zealous citizens who utilized their positions of authority to coerce

inhabitants to further fortify and reform their metropolis. Few could claim to be more involved in London's

transformation over the winter and spring of 1643 than the mayor; Pennington proved indefatigable in his

promotion of proposals that ranged from requests for corporate loans to the raising of auxiliary forces and

orders for the construction of London's fortifications. Given that peace with the king would lead to trial for

treason, Pennington had little option but to act. Poets recognized this fact with pithy and memorable style:

> New-England is preparing a place
> To entertaine King Pym, and his grace,
> And Isaac before him shall carry ye Mace
> For Roundheads old Nick stand up now[393]

Indeed, most recognized that any peace settlement would lead to death or exile for both Pym and

Pennington. Other targeted Londoners knew that they would fare little better, and thus they also worked

diligently to protect themselves. Mainwaring and his Redcoats remained conspicuous throughout the year

by actively searching and arresting suspected royalist sympathizers. Joined by Captain Edmund Harvey, his

fellow accused traitor, on 21 January, Mainwaring seized funds that belonged to the Sir Nicholas Crispe.[394]

One month later, *Mercurius Aulicus* could claim that Mainwaring and his men had disrupted a meeting of

the vestry at St. Giles Cripplegate after their Sunday sermon, so that they could "demand to have the

Church stock delivered to them for the use of the Parliament." When it became clear that they had no

money, the troop decided to relieve them of their "*poores money*." Clearly, *Aulicus* went on, the

---

[392] John Taylor, *A Dialogue* (London, 1643), A3r-v.
[393] HEHL, HM Ms. 16522, "A Collection of Poems & Ballads," p. 73.
[394] *CJ* ii, p. 938. John Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England* (London, 1861), p. 141. See also, Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 442-3.

"*Redcoates*" had "in effect become Masters of the Citie."[395] Alderman Fowke was meanwhile busy writing his own response to the king's accusation of the seven. Printed on 11 February, *The Declaration and Vindication* defined the purpose of the accused men to be nothing more than "the true service of his Majestie, the good of the Common-wealth, and the securitie of the Citie of *London*."[396] On 17 February, *Aulicus* made note of Ricahrd Browne's feverish efforts to post "up tickets every where to signifie that he will give four shillings six pence *per diem* to such as will bring Horse and Armes of their owne to serve under him as Dragoneers."[397] The seven accused Londoners who stood to lose the most if peace was established showed themselves to be among the most active promoters of war. Their participation ranged from the gamut from the promotion of new defenses to the policing of the metropolis, the drafting of polemical defenses of their struggle, to outright efforts to raise men to fight the king. Their range of efforts encapsulated the metropolitan war effort.

Even if the Guildhall's coffers remained stacked with plate and silver bodkins, Parliament still required large lump sums of spendable cash. On 18 February 1643, members of both Houses travelled the short distance to the Guildhall to request £60,000 from the City for a loan to "keep ye Army from disbanding." Obviously sympathetic to their cause, Common Councilors immediately offered up £6,000 and set about drawing up orders for raising the remaining £54,000. Among their instructions was the request that the "minister of every parish church" throughout London should both "publish" their request and take pains to preach sermons that would "stirr" parishioners "upp effectually to advance freely" money towards the loan. Common Councilors and churchwardens were, moreover, ordered "to repaire to every Inhabitant and Lodger within their severall parishes and earnestly to perswade them unto the good work."[398] According to the corporation's cashbooks, Richard Coates was to print "300 orders for the Speedie raising of 60000ˡ." These were then to be distributed throughout the City's parishes.[399]

---

[395] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 19 February 1643, sigs. P3r-v. E.246[41]
[396] John Fowke, *The Declaration and Vindication of Issack Pennington now Lord Mayor of the Citie of London of Colonell Ven, Captain Mainwaring, and Mr Fowke* (London, 1643), p. 3.
[397] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 17 February 1643, sig N4r. E.246[39].
[398] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 48r.
[399] LMA Ms. COL/CHD/CT/01/004, City Cash Accounts, 1641-1643, fol. 223v. I have been unable to find a printed copy of this order.

As is so often the case, assessing the total contributions towards this loan remains difficult. Records provide a varied and in some cases detailed picture of individual contributions; some parishioners contributed freely and eagerly, while others remained disinterested and recalcitrant. Fifteen parishioners from poor parish St. Katherine Coleman, Fenchurch Street, for instance, paid sums that ranged from a modest 10s. to the very large sum of £50.[400] Further, returns from the parish make specific note of fourteen individuals who were "able, but would lend nothing." Meanwhile parishioners from St. Stephen Walbrook gave an impressive £901, while those from John the Evangelist gave the somewhat more modest sum of £113.[401] Other parishes recorded their contributions with painstaking detail. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, for instance, produced a list of fourteen contributors who gave a total of £55.[402] At St. Lawrence Jewry, the vestry agreed to pay "4s. 8d. for 12 weeks" to help pay arrears and keep an army in the field.[403] The churchwardens at St. Mary Abchurch paid 18s. 1d. to deal with the "busines of subscription, collection, and payment of money towards the 60000^l advanced to the Parliament." This cost was not a contribution, but simply a payment for the logistics of collection, which involved the purchase of "candles waights, money bags, acquittance [and] change of light gold, & counterfait silver."[404] Producing a £60,000 loan was no mean feat.

On the same day that the request for the loan arrived from Westminster, City officials delivered a collection of propositions to the Common Council "to be considered on for the reforming right ordring and contracting of the Army." [405] Alderman Fowke vetted their proposal and further was appointed to make a final decision about whether or not their request was fit to be delivered on to parliament. On 20 February, Fowke travelled to Westminster with Alderman Gibbs, Abraham Chamberlin, Theophilius Riley, James Russell, and John Kendrick to express the "cheerfulness and alacrity" with which they agreed to the loan of

---

[400] For an account of the financial status of the parish, see Liu, *Puritan London*, p. 38.
[401] See Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of the proceedings of the committee for advance of money, 1642-1656*, 3 vols. (London, 1888), part I, p. 15.
[402] LMA Ms. P69/AND1/B/009/MS02088/001, St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1570-1688, illegible pagination. One Luke Lee, a common councilor, gave the largest single sum of £20.
[403] LMA Ms. P69/LAW1/B/001/MS02590/001, St. Lawrence Jewry, Vestry Minutes, 1556-1670, fol. 334.
[404] LMA Ms. P69/MRY1/B/006/MS03891/001, St. Mary Abchurch, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1629-1692, unpaginated.
[405] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 47v- 48r.

£60,000. They immediately offered support in the shape of declarations of the amounts that the "Lord Maior Aldermen and Comons" of the Council would lend "respectively," along with a set of nine requests that would accompany the raising of the loan. Following brief stipulations about the loan was a suggestion that parliament might agree to reduce the total weekly assessments on the City, and further that Members of Parliament might themselves pay a surety into the Guildhall as a means "to incourage others" to loan money. Beyond these issues, they requested that parliament agree to give no "credit" to the "private persons" who were responsible for spreading "misinfomacions" about the City, that the assessments "may not wholy lie uppon the willing," and finally that if a peace be settled that the king's forces would "goe to their severall habitacions" rather than to London where they might cause a "disturbance of the peace safety and welfare of the said Citty." Their initial request seemed reasonable enough, and there is little to suggest that parliament would not have agreed to the terms as an expression of goodwill for the City's continued cooperation.

Yet there were "further humble desires" that Alderman Fowke considered fit to pass on for consideration in the Houses.[406] Appended to the nine initial requests regarding the loan were three additional points drawn directly from the propositions regarding parliament's army. Each of these went well beyond matters of financial sureties and rates of assessment; instead, they revealed a desire to weigh in on the "preservacion of our Religion Lawes and Liberties, and to a reformacion of what is amisse in Church and Comonwealth." The final three propositions sought to broach the topics of military reform, indemnity for the City officials, and the establishment of a religious and political fighting association – issues which had, as we might recall, been at the center of the radical petitions from December and January, and which had made considerable headway the previous month, but went suddenly silent. The final three propositions, of which the first contains six separate points, are worth relaying in their entirety:

    1.That his Excellencie the Earle of Essex be desired to take order

        1 That the broken Regiments and Troops in his Army may be reduced & made 1200 m[en] each Regiment and 80 m[en] each Troope, to the end that the excessive charg of

---

[406] Ibid., fol. 49v.

paying more Officers then are necessary may be avoyded and the Conties which want Officers may be supplied and such as are most Scandalous may be Casheered.

2 That speciall care be taken that the Comon Soldiers be only paid from tyme to tyme, wi[t]hout w[hi[ch they cannot subsist, and that for the better effecting thereof (a greate part of them being raised out of the Citty) that an honest able man be there chosen for each Regiment of horse and foot respectively to muster & pay the said soldiers and view their Armes causing them to be made good according to the rules of warr, and that fitt allowance be given to the said paymasters for their service.

3 That in regard this unhappie and unnaturall warr is Lengthened out beyond expectac[i]on, and the Officers of the said Army have already received great pay and are ingaged in the publique cause aswell as others who hauve lent great sum[m]s of mony to pay them that therefore they will soe farr expresse their good affecc[i]ons to the king and parliam[en]t as to forbeare One half of their arrears and pay upon the publique fayth.

4 That the said Officers and soldiers may take such an oath as is used tymes of warr in other Counties to be faithfull to those that ymploy them and from whom they receive their pay.

5 That such persons as already are or hereafter shalbe taken by any of the said Army, if they cannot be enterchannged, may be used as they shalbe used which are of shalbe taken by those who are called the Kings Army.

6 That all unnecessary charges about the trayne of Artillery and otherwise be taken away and that honest and able paymasters be there to appointed who may carefully inquire and represent what charged are sup[er]fluous.

2. That in the intended treaty such care be taken for the indempnity of the Citty and Citizens of London and of the priviledges thereof as may secure them, and be a witnes to the present and future generac[i]ons of their fidelity to the King and Parliament.

3. That our dangers being great and our sinnes greater (whereof we haue bin seasonably put in minde by a late ordinance of both houses of Parliament) there may be a religious Governm[en]t and firme associac[i]on forthwith entered in to by the Lords and Comons, Citty Army and all well affected in the Kingdom according to a promise publiquely made at a Comon hall in the name of both the said houses, inexpectac[i]on whereof the Citty then freely lent one hundred thowsand pounds And that the rents Revenues goods monies and estates of such as shall refuse to enter into that Covenant and associac[i]on be impoyed in such maner & proporc[i]on as both the said houses shall think fitt their p[er]sons secured for the good and safety of the kingdome.[407]

The City expected that important reforms would be made to Essex's army, but their most pressing interest was that Parliament might consider how to establish "a religious Governm[en]t and firme associac[i]on" that would bind the Commons and the City together. Such a "Covenant," they proclaimed, was the original purpose behind their willingness to loan £100,000. Parliament was in no position to ignore the City's requests. On 23 February both Houses responded with a letter that addressed three key points of the twelve propositions: the reform in the Army, indemnity for adhering to parliament, and the proposal for a religious and political association. The matter of indemnity was readily agreed upon, while "the other two

---

[407] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 49v-50r.

proposicions being matters of great importance and consequence," were put aside with the promise that they would be "into a speedy and serious consideracion."[408] The Council's decision to weigh in on matters of such "great importance" suggests, on one hand, that they were aware of the political authority that came with this role as the primary lenders to parliament, a point that lends some credence to the popular view that they had come to see themselves as a "third house of parliament."[409] Further, the detailed "order" to Essex revealed an element of disillusionment with the military organization that would intensify and become more widespread as the year progressed. London's political leaders had, in the end, demonstrated their own anxieties over the dangers that might accompany a peace settlement – and in terms that proved surprisingly similar to those expressed in Bowles's *Plaine English* and to the requests laid out by belligerent petitioners from the early December and late January.

The Lines of Communication

Work on the City's new and extensive fortifications began in late February, immediately after parliament issued their lukewarm response to the twelve propositions. Once completed, the fortifications, referred to collectively as the "Lines of Communication," stretched eleven miles around London, Westminster, and Southwark. Plans to improve London's defenses had been under discussion since the previous year, and some progress had been made during the autumn and winter of 1642/43, but efforts were redoubled in the aftermath of the attempt on the seven, and particularly during the four months that stretched from late February to June.[410] More impressive than the sheer size of the Lines of Communication was the fact that they were devised, constructed, and maintained entirely by London's soldiers and volunteers. Pennington, Venn, Fowke and Mainwaring all played crucial roles in the design and implementation of the Lines; they

---

[408] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 51r.
[409] Hexter claims that the Common Council was "a body so powerful in its influence that jesting Royalists called it the third House of Parliament" in *King Pym*, p. 107.
[410] See Victor Smith and Peter Kelsey, "The Lines of Communication: The Civil War Defences of London" in *London and the Civil War* (ed.) Stephen Porter (London, 1996), pp. 117-148.

thus stood as an impressive testament not only to the collective manpower, shared identity, and interest of Londoners, but also of the sheer might of the mobilized metropolis.

On the same day that Alderman Fowke reported to the Common Council about his delivery of the twelve propositions, Colonel Mainwaring recounted on his own meeting with "some skilfull Engeneers" who had assessed the state of London's defenses. Mainwaring's report of their meeting reveals detailed information about plans for protecting the metropolis, and especially of the many strategically positioned earthworks. Gravel Lane was to be built up with "one Bulwark and halfe a battery"; at Whitechapel Windmills there was to be "A horne worke with two flancks"; the area between Whitechapel Church and Shoreditch was to have "one Redoubt with flankes." More batteries were to be set in Islington, "a battery and breastwork on the hill neere Clarkenwell towards Hampsteed way," a "redoubt and two flanks" for St-Giles-in-the-Fields. Further fortifications were set for "Tyborne highway and the second turning that goeth towards West[minster]," ending with what was to be "a large forte with flankes on all sides" set for "hide park corner," and earthworks set to defend Westminster at "Tuttlefields." Finally, it was recommended that "at the end of every street" there should be an open space that could be set with "defensible breastworks" that would be "muskett proofe" and allow for turnpikes. When put to vote, the Council approved of all of the proposed fortifications and further appointed a committee of twenty, headed by Mainwaring, which would see to the "speedy proceeding" of the construction.[411] Members of the committee were permitted to demolish any "shedds and buildings as they shall thinke necessary" and dig up fields – a sort of eminent domain without the financial remuneration – and that their actions would be fully "defended by [the] authority" of the Common Council. Mainwaring and his fellow nineteen committeemen had, in short, been granted carte blanche to transform London's landscape.

---

[411] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 52r-v. Committee members are listed as "Colonell Manwaring, Peter Mills, Christopher Nicholson, John Harley, Thomas Foot, Richard Bateman, Alexander Jones, Thomas Noell, Christopher Pack, Tobias Dixon, George Willingham, John Bellamy, Thomas Arnold, John Kendrick, Samuell Langham, Richard Hurst [Hunt?], William Beck, Richard Young, James Storey, William Wyborne and Joseph Parker."
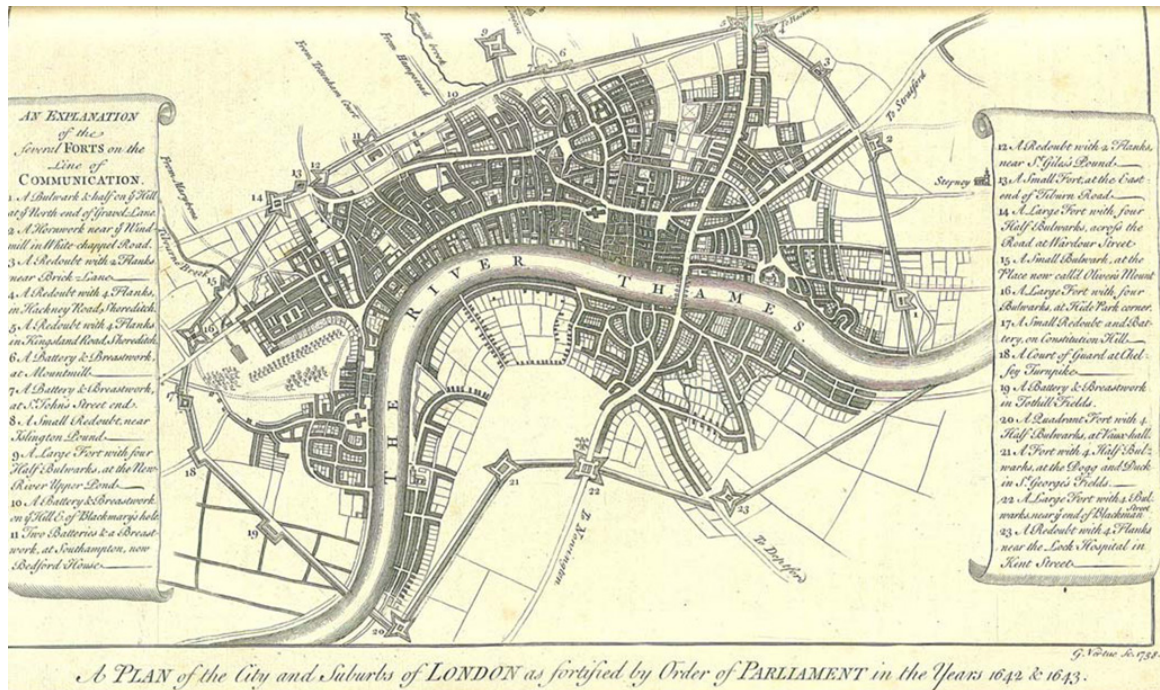
Figure iii. "A Plan of the City and Suburbs of London as Fortified by Order of Parliament in the Years 1642 & 1643," form 1758 and based off of earlier etchings.

The Lord Mayor and Common Council provided additional and indispensible support for the construction of the Lines. *A True Declaration* praised the Lord Mayor for being "courageously bold" in his promotion of the "workes," an undertaking that extended from "Gods Spirit in your heart, from your piety and constant resolution to defend the Protestant Religion, and your constancie in opposing those malignants that would destroy the King."[412] The Council had in fact produced a number of orders to City livery companies and parishes, including the demand for a tax of "eight whole fifteenths," and requests that they purchase tools that could be used to build the Lines.[413] City expenditure accounts reveal that "200 ticketts" were to be printed and distributed as a means "to perswade Citizens to send their Children and servants to

---

[412] *A True Declaration* (London, 1643), pp. 4-5.
[413] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, 53r.

worke about the outworks or fortifications."[414] All capable inhabitants were expected to take pride in the

building of the fortifications. If ephemeral, tickets would help to alert them and organize their efforts.[415]

On 1 March, Colonel John Venn delivered the Common Council's request regarding the

committee for fortifying the City to the House of Commons. Parliament subsequently issued orders for

"Intrenching and fortifying the City of London" on 7 March, and these were printed the following day.[416]

Four of the accused Londoners played an important part in the establishment the Lines. Alderman Fowke

delivered the propositions to parliament that precipitated the decision to build new fortifications in

February. Mainwaring had, with the aid of engineers, surveyed and determined the shape of the Lines, and

he was to stand at the head of the committee of twenty that would see them built. Colonel Venn delivered

the request to parliament and Mayor Pennington, for his part, had issued direct orders to London's wards,

livery companies, and parishes for the collection of money to fund the works. Although Fowke,

Mainwaring, Venn and Pennington envisioned the design, financing and implementation of a shared vision

of a fortified London "from above," it was, in the end, the thousands of volunteers "from below" who

marched out to dig, fortify and entrench the City.

Liveries and the Lines

William Lithgow, a Scottish traveler who was in London during the four months when the Lines were

being constructed, and who walked the entire length of the fortifications, reported in unmatched detail on

"the daily musters and showes of allsorts of *Londoners*" who marched out

> to the fields and outworks, (as Merchants, Silk-men, Macers, Shopkeepers, &c.) with great
> alacritie, carrying on their shoulders yron Mattocks, and wooden shovels, with roaring Drummes,
> flying collours, and guilded swords; most companied being also interlarded with Ladies, women,
> and girles: two and two carrying baskets for to advance the labour.

---

[414] LMA Ms. COL/CHD/CT/01/004, City Cash Accounts, 1641-1643, fol. 223v.
[415] For a valuable discussion of the political significance of printed tickets, see Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*, pp. 337-8.
[416] *CJ* v, pp. 641-642. 7 March 1643. *An Ordinance and Declaration Of the Lords and Commons* (London, 1643).

The sheer scale of participation was staggering; Lithgow was astonished by the pride and competition that drove Londoners to their daily work. "Divers wrought till they fell sick of their pains" and "all the trades and whole inhabitants (the Insey Courts excepted) . . . went day about to all quarters for the erection of their Forts and Trenches." Of the companies, none was more active than the Merchant Taylors, who "Carrying fourtiesix collours, and seconded with eight thousant lusty men" marched out to work daily. Trailing them were the London Watermen who numbered "seven thousand Tuggers, carrying thirty seven collours." Other companies followed closely behind and included some 5,000 Shoemakers and the Oysterwives who "advanced from Billingsgate through Cheapside to Crabtree field all alone, with drummes and flying collours."[417] The City liveries were rife with a sense of purpose and competition.

Corporate records support Lithgow's vivid accounts, illustrating the bonds and acts that tied liveries to the defense of their homes. Fishmongers clearly supported the efforts to build the Lines. Pennington was an active member of the company, and on 30 January their wardens recorded the arrival of "Capteyne Robert Maunewaringe," who came to their hall to present the company with a "silver flagon pott" as a "token of his respect and thankfullnes to this Company for their favor in admitting him." Mainwaring was obviously quite pleased with his new association, as he had the flaggon inscribed with "his owne Armes" and the company arms "marked on the Topp of the Lidd."[418] The decision to admit Mainwaring amounted to a clear vote of confidence in the war effort, a point confirmed on 17 May when the Fishmongers marched out to build the Lines, and reaffirmed later when the company delved into their armory to loan arms and armor for auxiliary forces.[419]

---

[417] William Lithgow, *The Present Surveigh of London and Englands State* (London, 1643), sigs A4v-Bv. Further companies included the "Feltmakers, Fishmongers and Coupers" who marched out on May 17, and many other trades, including the "Goldsmiths, Ferriers, Bakers, Bruers, Butchers, Cooks, Candlemakers, Smiths, Cutlers, Carpenters, Shipwrights, Joyners, Boxmakers, Wheelwrights, Turners, Carmers, and foure thousand Weavers, Braizers, Dyers, Imbrouderers, Horologiers, Watchmakers, Engravers, Tinkers, Haberdashers, Feathermakers, Clothiers, Tanners, Curriers, Glovers, Spurriers, Painters, Printers, Stationers, Bookbinders, Gunmakers, Glaziers, Masons, Tecturers, Brickmakers, Plumbers, Vpholsters, Combemakers, Girdlers, Coblers, Chimney-sweepers, Jackfarmers, with many more that I can not recollect." Smith and Kelsey suggest that "a degree of exaggeration and superficial observation may have crept in" to Lithgow's account, but there is no real way to test their claim. "The Lines of Communication," in Stephen Porter (ed.) *London and the Civil War*, p. 123.

[418] GL Ms. 5570/3, Fishmongers' Court Minutes, 1641-1646, fols. 643-4.

[419] Lithgow, *The Present Surveigh*, sig. B1r.

Other companies noted the specific sums spent on tools that were purchased for quenching fires in the City, but that were almost certainly used for digging and entrenching the Lines. Orders for purchasing the tools once again came directly from Mayor Pennington. On 1 March, the Mercers ordered the purchase of "fower dozen of buckets one dozen of pickaxes, three hookes, fower dozen of great birching broomes, one dozen of shovels shod, & halfe a dozen of shovels unshod, should be provided at the Companies charge to be used upon a suddeine occasion for the quenching of fire, if any should happen within this Citty and the liberties of the same."[420] Similarly, the Goldsmiths recorded the collection of three dozen leather buckets, ladders and hooks, which were purchased to "fullfill the contents of the precept" that was issued by the mayor. Five days later they added that they had in "readines" within their "Comon Hall 3 dozen of buckett 2. ladders 2 great Hookes wth Chaines 6 Pickaxes 12 Spades & shovells an engine for the quenching of fier."[421] Smaller corporations contributed likewise, providing what they could to further secure the City according to the Pennington's orders. The Turners purchased a dozen spades, shovels and buckets, along with "six pickaxes" that they could use "for the provision of this City" and for the "quenching of fire" on 24 February.[422] Three days later, the Plumbers invested in "twelve buckets six shovels one ladder & one hooke the ladder" what would extend thirty feet.[423] Brewers refrained from purchasing "bucketss ladders hookes and other instruments" until 16 May, well after they had received "the Lord Maiors precept dated the xxth day of February last." Despite the delay in their response, they had finally agreed to the order for supplies; it was perhaps not a coincidence that their order for the supplies was finally made on the same day that thirty six company members "dyned with Isack Pennington the Lord Maior."[424] Whether to appease Pennington, or in response to a renewed request, the Brewers' Company had, in the end, found the means to support the original precept. All said, hundreds of buckets and shovels were purchased under the order to defend the City against the threat of fire – these would eventually prove crucial for the building of the Lines of Communication.

---

[420] Mercers' Acts of Court, 1641-1645, fol. 69v.
[421] Goldsmiths' Court Minute Book W, fols 44r, 49v.
[422] GL Ms. 3295/2, Turners' Company Court Minutes, 1633-1688, unfoliated.
[423] GL Ms. 2208/1, Plumbers' Company Court Minutes, 1621-47, unfoliated.
[424] GL Ms. 5445/17, Brewers' Company Minutes, 1642-1652, unpaginated.

Parishioners and the Lines

Parishioners offered a range of responses to Pennington's orders to buy tools. Some churchwardens' accounts suggest that money was being spent on tools to build fortifications, but little evidence suggests mass participation on the scale undertaken by the City livery companies. For example, on 15 November 1642 the churchwardens at St. Magnus the Martyr spent 5s. 10d. on "three shovels and Two baskets for the Churches use." These tools may have been used for the earliest building of fortifications.[425] Churchwardens at St. Mary Aldermanbury, where Edmund Calamy served as curate and where parishioners maintained unquestionable parliamentarian sympathies, noted the expense of 10s. 4d. for "for Broomes Shovels and Spades." Such routine expenses would remain nondescript if not for the accompanying entry that makes light of a further 28s. paid "for hyring of Carte at 3 severall tymes by order for the carrying of victualls to the Army and for baskets and other charges," and an additional 6s. paid "for baskets for the parrish which they when they went out to dig."[426] In the equally godly parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, Thomas Case led parishioners and spent £1 8s. 3d. "for twenty shovells and Spades and six baskits and markeing Iron" that could be used by any who wished to help build the Lines.[427] It is noteworthy that the two parishes where the most money was spent on tools were led by Calamy and Case; the former had been indicted for high treason by Charles earlier in the year and apparently held meetings in his house to promote "the godly cause in Parliament and among the citizens," while the latter was, as we have seen, Pennington's chaplain.[428] Both men were to remain active in City politics as the year progressed; and they once again serve as important examples of the linkages that connected the war effort from London's belligerent leadership to its more humble inhabitants.

---

[425] LMA Ms. P69/MAG/B/018/MS01179/001, St. Magnus the Martyr Churchwardens' Accounts, 1638-1734, fol. 35.
[426] LMA Ms. P69/MRY2/B/005/MS03556/002, St. Mary Aldermanbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1631-1677, unpaginated.
[427] LMA Ms. P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/002, St Mary Magdalen Milk Street Churchwardens' Accounts, 1606/7-1666/7, unpaginated.
[428] Pearl, *Outbreak*, p. 232; LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/060, Repertory 56, fol. 25r makes note of Calamy as Pennington's chaplain.

Parihioners found other means to contribute towards the construction of defenses. St. Michael Bassishaw, on the north end of London, was given £15 by the Committee of the Militia to contribute "towards the building of a court of guarde and erecting Poaste and makeing chaines for the safeguard of our Warde." The total cost for building defenses, which included "Watchhouse poaste and chaines sett upp" ended up being £23 15s 7d.[429] St. Bride Fleetstreet paid £1 16s. in August 1643 to "Mr Jones in Goate Court for two hoggsheads of beere carried into the fields when Captayne Wilson and his Company went to diggin." £1 8s. 2d. was paid in October to "Mr Bellamy for bread wyne and Cheese per bill that daie Captayne Wilson and his Company went out to the trench work." The said "captayne Wilson" was most certainly Rowland Wilson, who continued to support the war effort and went on to command the City's Orange regiment at the first battle of Newbury in September.[430]

Once completed, the Lines of Communication required maintenance and manning. The churchwardens at St. Olave Jewry made note of the "assessment to be leveyed of every Inhabitant" by the Common Council on 8 July 1643 and which called "for the finishing of divers Forts and workes for the better defence and safety of the Citty as by the Lord Maiors warrant." Both the collection of the fifteenth and of the eighteenth are recorded together for St Olave Jewry, and the total assessment for sixty-four individuals and households was £22 12s. 3d. (of which £19 7s. 4d. was apparently collected immediately).[431] As the war continued, Londoners were repeatedly asked to contribute funds in order to maintain the City's defenses – to protect inhabitants, as orders often claimed, from any surprise attack by the "malignant party." Although such work proved burdensome, the Lines remained the single most important means for defending the metropolis. Maintaining the lines was key to the survival of London, and, by extension, Westminster and parliament. None, in the end, could be said to be more active in the promotion of the Lines than Lord Mayor Pennington; when "the daily voice and imagination of the people"

[429] LMA Ms. P69/MIC1/B/008/MS02601/001/001, St. Michael Bassishaw Churchwardens' Accounts, 1617/18-1715/16, fols. 170v, 173v.
[430] LMA Ms. P69/BRI/B/016/MS06552/001, St. Bride Fleet Street Churchwardens' Accounts, 1639-1678, pp. 123, 125. Lawson Chase Nagel, "The Militia of London, 1641-1649," PhD Thesis King's College London 1982. See pp. 57-8, 316 on Rowland Wilson and pp. 125-34 for the role of London regiments at Newbury.
[431] LMA Ms. P69/OLA2/B/001/MS04415/001, St. Olave Old Jewry Vestry Minutes, 1574-1680, fol. 117r.

led many to believe that "the King and his Cavaliers are coming," it was "the Maior" who set about to make sure that London's own defenses would stand like "the walls of Jerusalem."[432]

Chapter 7. Maintaining Mobilization

"The Falcon and the Eagle": Popular Providentialism Revisited

City ordinances were an essential component of the effort to mobilize citizens to work towards the construction of the Lines, but so too were the many providential warnings that issued from pulpits. Godly ministers continued to furnish parishioners with examples of God's frequent intervention in daily events that proved his support of the parliamentary cause. Official fast-day sermons had been preached to parliament since 1640 and, despite a break after the end of the Short Parliament, both MPs and citizens could regularly gather and listen to preaching that offered thanksgiving for parliament's successes and humiliation for its setbacks. Throughout the war, St. Margaret's and Westminster Abbey played host monthly to some of the nation's most reputable and capable preachers. Nearly all of the ministers who delivered sermons on official fast days were ordered to print their words – a policy that was intended to help disseminate their explicitly providential, and often coded parliamentarian, messages to Londoners and the wider nation. Such "tuning," Hugh Trevor-Roper claimed, allows modern scholars to uncover contemporary political aims, but as J. F. Wilson later showed, it also proved essential for delineating aspects of a shared "religious language" in which preachers stood as "bearer[s] of meaning through symbolism."[433] Wilson, in short, saw the monthly fast as a vehicle for the expression of religious culture that was widely understood *and* implicitly political. Both Trevor-Roper's and Wilson's assertions remain convincing, but we might also benefit from considering their sermons in the context of preaching in London as a whole during this period: Prominent though they were, the Westminster pulpits were only two

---

[432] *A True Declaration* (London, 1643), p. 6.
[433] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament"; John F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, pp. 15-16.

of the numerous places where political and providential messages were being "tuned" in order to support the war effort. In London as a whole, a large number of preachers were using City pulpits to present their own "meaning through symbolism" – and in early 1643, this meaning often made reference to the war between parliament and the king.

Further, it is worth noting that Westminster's providential sermons were not being delivered in a vacuum. Parishioners observed solemn fast days the same as their fellow Members of Parliament, and made contributions just the same. Churchwardens from St. Michael Le Quere made note of the £2 1s. 2d. "collected at the fast in July 1642" and of other collections made "upon the fast dayes" over the nine additional months from September to April of the following year. Rather than record the specific amounts collected, they recorded that the money was put to "several uses and accordingly disposed of" by parliament.[434] Ministers, moreover, often tested their material in London before ascending the pulpits at St. Margaret's or Westminster Abbey. As we have seen, Stephen Marshall preached on the memorable theme of Meroz in London before he addressed the Commons at St. Margaret's on the same text in February 1642. And further, as we have noted, Marshall purportedly went on to preach on Meroz upwards of sixty times.[435] Although few were as prolific as Marshall, other ministers did the same; many repeated their more potent ideas and incorporated the effective scriptural explications of their allies. Parishioners who missed the first preaching of a sermon might hope to hear it repeated, or they might find copies in print. Such was the case with John Arrowsmith's contentious sermon from 25 January 1643, *The Covenant-Avenging Sword Brandished*. Arrowsmith took Leviticus 26:25 as his theme: "I will bring a Sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my Covenant." Like *Meroz Cursed*, Arrowsmith's sermon was almost certainly repeated; George Thomason, for one, inscribed his personal copy with the note: "this sermon I heard preached." The incendiary sermon drew considerable attention. "Justice," Arrowsmith proclaimed, "requires that the crie of sin should be answered with an echo of wrath," and divine wrath should be understood by three propositions. First, "warre is a judgement of Gods own bringing"; secondly, "the

---

[434] LMA Ms. P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/002, St. Michael le Querne Churchwardens' Accounts, 1605-1717, unpaginated.
[435] See above, p. 50.

sword is an instrument of vengeance"; and third, "what which the sword comes to avenge, is some quarrel of Gods Covenant."[436] War, then, for Arrowsmith, was not simply sanctioned by God, but it was decreed as a response to a broken covenant; thus it followed that the Civil War was incontrovertible evidence that Englishmen were guilty of sins that broke their covenant with the Almighty.

Thomason may have walked the short distance from London to St. Margaret's on 25 January, as he also "heard preached" *Ejrenopojos*, Jeremiah Whittaker's afternoon fast-day sermon.[437] Known for preaching up to "four times a week" in London, Whittaker had composed a very different discussion for the afternoon. He first asked his audience to consider the recent addition of "*England*" to the famous revolutions of the age: "the *Palatinate, Bohemia, Germanie, Catalonia, Portugall,* [and] *Ireland*." Recent developments in these nations were, he warned, little more than a preview for the time when "God will shake all Nations Collectively" as a warning of the end of days when "*elements shall melt with fervent heate*." If less explicit than Arrowsmith about the causes of war, Whittaker expressed confidence that its eventual outcome could well be apocalyptic and that people should contemplate England's recent "shaking" accordingly.[438]

Arrowsmith and Whittaker provide just two examples of the many sermons that were heard, read, and discussed in wartime London. Countless other sermons and religious tracts originated outside of Westminster. London's Corporation, for instance, also paid for regular sermons throughout the metropolis. The diarist John Greene made note that "there be sermons every sunday in the afternoon from the first sunday in Michaelmas terme till Easter in Mercer's Chappell."[439] City cash accounts corroborate Greene's claim, revealing that the Corporation often paid to have prominent ministers deliver sermons. London's

---

[436] John Arrowsmith, The *Covenant Avenging Sword Brandished* (London, 1643), title page and pp. 1, 2, 4. Hugh Trevor-Roper noted that Arrowsmith was nominated to preach his 25 January fast-day sermon by Francis Rous, John Pym's kinsman. See Trevor-Roper "The Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament," p. 287.
[437] Jeremiah Whittaker, *Ejrenopojos* (London, 1643), title page. For the note regarding his preaching in London, see Joseph Hirst Lupton, "Whitaker, Jeremiah" *DNB* (Oxford, 1885-1900), vol. 61, p. 17.
[438] Whittaker, *Ejrenopojos*, pp. 1, 9, 21.
[439] E. M. Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-59)," *EHR* (1928), p. 391.

Corporation paid to have both Thomas Goodwin and Edmund Calamy peach sermons on Whitsunday, the 21 May 1643.[440]

Access to preaching was, then, less a matter of "if," than it was of "who" and "where." Joseph Caryl, for instance, preached in front of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and other liverymen on 27 March. His sermon, *Davids* [sic] *Prayer for Solomon*, was ostensibly given to commemorate the king's inauguration, but when "embolden'd" in print, it contained an additional dedication to the Lord Mayor who "act[ed] (on the Stage of this Ancient City) the part of a Great King."[441] Looking to the "the distinct callings" of City magistrates and to their corresponding "abilities," Caryl concluded that London resembled Israel with "Judges" rather than "a King" – "a new Title, but the worke was still the same." Caryl's argument, given his audience and later dedication, could not be clearer: "in that one word (*Iudge*) by a Synechdoche, all the duty and business of a King is comprehended." Pennington knew well enough what Caryl meant. Sitting to hear the sermon amongst many "*representative kings*," he was fit to maintain his own jurisdiction; the City was undoubtedly the Mayor's "kingdome," his own "sphere of judgement and righteousnesse." But this message was emboldening for more than the Lord Mayor. Caryl continued his comparison, proclaiming that the "Senate of *London*" stood like "the Senate of *Rome*." Thus London's aldermen were to be as "*an assembly of Kings*," who would each *judge with the righteousnesse of God*" within their own jurisdictions.[442] This was nothing short of an extension of divine authority to London's Corporation.

Not all ministers, however, sought to promote or justify the acts of the City's new godly leadership. Rather, many were outspoken opponents of Pennington's agenda. Matthew Griffith, for instance, sought to cool down the war effort with a number of highly controversial sermons framed against parliament's war effort. Griffith had been arrested by members of the Trained Bands on the previous Guy Fawkes's Day and had already suffered the sequestration of his livings at St. Mary Magdalen and St. Benet Sherehog in late February and early March. But little, apparently, could be done to prevent him from

---

[440] LMA Ms. COL/CHD/CT/01/004, City Cash Accounts, 1641-1643, fol. 215v. Marry Morrissey notes that these sermons were not in fact given at Paul's Cross, but were instead given at the Mercers' Chapel "on 11 June and 18 June 1643" in *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons*, p. 225.
[441] Joseph Caryl, *Davids Prayer for Solomon* (London, 1643), Sig A2r-v,
[442] Ibid., pp. 7-10.

getting his words into print. Printed in May, his *A Sermon Preached in the Citie of London* took as its theme Ecclesiastes 8:4: "where the word of a King is there is power, And who may say unto him what doest thou." Taking the opposite tack to Caryl, Griffith proclaimed that "kings are not the offspring of man but the generation of God." Griffith lamented over the behavior of his bellicose colleagues, wondering what might happen if "our popular Clergie either would or could looke beyond *Luther*" and "learn more manners towards Kings." Griffith could in the end do little more than pray that his message might convince Londoners to recognize that the authority of magistrates – and particularly that of the Lord Mayor – was as unnatural as when "the Falcon" set out "to seize upon the Eagle."[443] Faced with imprisonment and sequestration, he soon fled from the City to join the king.

Contemporaries were obviously well aware of the fact that sermons served as a means for disseminating ideas and instigating popular action. City officials readily acknowledged this point, and on 4 May the Court of Aldermen asked the Lords and Commons "that power may bee granted to the Lord Maior and Aldermen to nominate and appoint such ministers as shall hereafter preach upon the Lords day weekly att the place to be appointed in Paules Churchyard." Further, in the "interim" they were to retain the authority to appoint and pay ministers to preach at a "convenient place as by them shall bee thought meete."[444] London's fathers had asserted their authority over another important means for communication in the metropolis; like Westminster, they too aimed to control their preaching ministry, and like falcons they hoped to "seize upon the eagle."

Popular Iconoclasm

Acts of popular iconoclasm were nothing new by the winter and spring of 1643. Troopers like Nehemiah Wharton marched out of the City and gleefully destroyed objects that they deemed "popish" or otherwise superstitious. Londoners on campaign in the countryside regularly cut up surplices and smashed altar rails. Many of the soldiers who committed acts of iconoclasm on campaign had already done so in London,

---

[443] Matthew Griffith, *A Sermon Preached in the Citie of London* (London, 1643), pp, 1-2, 11, 13.
[444] LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/060, Court of Aldermen Repertory 56, fol. 168v.

where the order to destroy Laudian innovations had come from parliament in 1641. In an illuminating study, Julie Spraggon reveals the extent of popular iconoclasm in London. She demonstrats in particular that "the mayor and aldermen of the City of London worked closely with the Harley Committee in reforming London" to promote a cohesive and consistent campaign against superstitious items and full array of allegedly "idolatrous" objects located in the metropolis. The culmination of the relationship between parliamentarian iconoclasts and City belligerents coincided with the wider effort to establish the Lines, and resulted in the establishment of the Committee for the Demolition of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry in April 1643, a committee of fifteen members headed by the staunch puritan Robert Harley. It included radicals such as Francis Rous, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and John Blakiston.[445] From that point forward, both the Committee members in parliament and proactive London iconoclasts worked together closely to destroy monuments and relics deemed to be offensive to divine order (and thus, by extension, to the war).

On 30 March 1643, Henry Marten returned from the Queen's Chapel at Somerset House where he had assisted in the arrest of five Capuchin servants from Henrietta Maria's household. All five were given over "to the custodie of the sherifs of London." Before leaving, Marten and his fellow iconoclasts set about "pulling downe & defacing the Idols in the saied chappell." Next they "laied the Idols together with the copes" and other "alter-clothes & other vestments," which they then lit on fire.[446] Among the more valuable objects destroyed by Marten and the other commissioners was the *Crucifixion*, an original painting by Peter Paul Rubens. John Clotworthy, whose religious fanaticism has been well documented, "climbed on top of the altar table and looked at the very valuable painting in its gild frame by the hand of the late Rubens, which earlier, due to its rare quality, had been presented by the Duke of Buckingham to the king, who then bestowed it on the queen." Clotworthy then took up a halberd which he used to strike "Christ's face in contempt" and then to take a "second blow" to the "Virgin's face, with more hateful blasphemies, and then,

---

[445] Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 84, 108, 144.
[446] BL Harley Ms. 164, fol. 349r.

thrusting the hook of his halberd under the feet of the Crucified Christ, he ripped the painting to pieces."[447] Other paintings, even if less noteworthy, were destroyed, along with numerous books and other objects.

London's churches had long been targets for puritans of tender conscience; after 1640, ministers and parishioners finally found an opportunity to dismantle detested Laudian "innovations" of the previous decade. Altar tables began to be replaced in 1641. As Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke have shown, by September 1641 the Commons had issued their "own, more radical, order" to see that "Comunion tables were to be moved from the east end of chancels, and to stand without candles, candlesticks, or basins." Accompanying these orders were further instructions that "rails were to be taken away, chancels leveled, imagery of crucifixes, the Trinity, and the Virgin Mary removed, and bowing at the name of Jesus or towards the altar forbidden." If "widely obeyed," such orders also met with resistance. Fincham and Tyacke have identified "at least ten London parishes" in which the "laity as well as clergy opposed the removal of rails in 1641-2."[448] Their figure of ten seems to have come directly from Keith Lindley, who found extensive evidence to suggest that parishioners were driven into "rival factions" over the removal of rails in the parishes of St. Olave and St. Saviour, Southwark, St. Thomas Apostle and St. Magnus the Martyr. "Some other resistance" can be accounted for in the parishes of St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Martin Orgar, St. Olave Jewry, and even St. Paul's Cathedral.[449] Doubtless some Londoners hoped to stop their fellow Englishmen from whitewashing over the previous decade's beautification. But estimating popular opposition to iconoclasm remains extremely difficult, and as Fincham and Tyacke's research suggests, records of opposition are often sparse at best.

What evidence remains suggests that calls for iconoclasm were widespread. Further, some parishioners who had initially shown reluctance in response to orders for iconoclasm in 1641, had – perhaps due to the pressures generated by open civil war – come to embrace the new parliamentary programs of iconoclasm over the course of 1642 to 1643. Progressives within London's wartime

---

[447] Translated and quoted in Albert J. Loomie, "The Destruction of Rubens's 'Crucifixion' in the Queen's Chapel, Somerset House," *Burlington Magazine* CXL (1998), pp. 680-682.
[448] Kenneth Fincham & Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 276-8.
[449] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 39-44.

leadership set an early example for the destruction when on 23 March they "thought fitt" and ordered that a private party consisting of "Goodge Mr Callomy Mr Case and Mr Seamen ministers shall viewe the pictures and figures in the glass windows within Guildhall and in the Chappall belonging there unto and what they they [sic] shall finde or conceive to bee superstitious and Idoletrous the same to bee forthwith pulled downe."[450] The Queen's Chapel at Somerset House was destroyed just a week later. Further efforts to stamp out Laudian religious innovations followed in April and May. Orders of the Committee for the Demolition of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry, printed on 17 May, required that stone altars be destroyed and that communion tables be removed from the positions of altars at the east ends of churches. Further, orders stipulated that "all Crucifixes, Crosses, Images or pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary upon the outside of your said Church or Chappel, or in any open place within your parish" were to be promptly reported by "an account" to the committee prior to 20 May.[451]

The extent to which parishes responded to these orders can be seen, and in some cases precisely dated, in extant churchwardens' accounts. Spraggon has traced detailed examples of responses to orders for iconoclasm throughout London's parishes, and her analysis provides an exact tally of the parishes that took action to remove "popish" or Laudian innovations. According to her research, there were some twenty-nine individual parishes where various acts of iconoclasm were carried out. Many of the churches that partook in the destruction are familiar for their involvement in the war effort, such as St. Olave Jewry, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Margaret's New Fish Street, St. Martin Orgar, St. Michael Cornhill, and St. Leonard Eastcheap.[452] And many of these, as we might recall, were positioned in wards that contributed significantly towards assessments for parliament's war effort. Although less detailed, these records can be used to establish the degree to which City and parliamentary orders for reforms were observed over the course of 1643 and 1644, and therefore can be used to suggest the extent of reluctance or enthusiasm with which churchwardens and parishioners sought to further reform their places of worship. Few periods of radical reform in London can be better accounted for than that of March to May 1643, the time when

---

[450] LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/060, Court of Aldermen Repertory 56, Aug. 1642-Oct 1643, fol. 140r.
[451] Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, p. 258.
[452] Ibid., p. 144.

Harley's Committee issued directions for the destruction of images. As Spragon has shown, these led to an extensive "campaign against crosses."[453]

If support for iconoclasm was indeed widespread, orders for the destruction of images were also regularly ignored for extended periods. This was likely because, in some cases at least, the removal of monuments and other objects was all to be undertaken at the expense of the parish, and further that the removal of such objects required discussion and planning amongst churchwardens who did not meet regularly. Churchwardens at St. Peter Cornhill waited until August to approve of payment for "the charges of taking away of superstitious pictures out of the Church and of repayring and adorning the same."[454]

Some parishes did manage to cover their expenses by selling lead and other raw materials that were being scrapped. The churchwardens at All Hallows the Great, for instance, paid 18s. to a "carpenter for scaffolding and takeing downe the Crosses from the steeple according to an order of Parliament," but they were able to recover £1 8s. 4d. from "Charles lawe the Plumer for the lead of the Crosses when they were taken of the steeple."[455] Similar cases are recorded throughout churchwardens' accounts. At Holy Trinity the Less, the cost for removing lead crosses was 4s. 6d., but the sale of lead provided a return of at least 4s..[456] All Hallows the Less did not record an expense for the removal of their crosses, but they did mention the receipt of 6s. "for the lead of the Crosse which stood upon the Church steeple." Their gratitude for the opportunity to remove idolatrous trappings led them to pay 1s. to the official who "brought the Order of the Parliament for demolishing superstitious and Idolatrous Monuments," a sign of their good faith towards the deliverer and his purpose.[457]

It is of course impossible to say, given the sparse nature of most records, whether delays in removing icons resulted from recalcitrance or logistical constraints. Some parishes, such as St. Margaret Pattens, did not record specific dates, but instead only made note of sums received and paid, such as the £2

---

[453] Ibid., pp. 86, 149.
[454] LMA Ms. P69/PET1/B/001/MS04165/001, St. Peter Cornhill Vestry Minutes, 1574-1717, fol. 268.
[455] LMA Ms. P69/ALH7/B/013/MS00818/001, All Hallows the Great Churchwardens' Accounts, 1616-1708, fols. 153r, 154r.
[456] LMA Ms. P69/TRI3/B/004/MS04835/001, Holy Trinity the Less Churchwardens' Accounts, 1582-1662, unfoliated.
[457] LMA Ms. P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/001, All Hallows the Less Curchwardens' Accounts, 1630-51, unfoliated.

8d. that was "paid for taking downe the Crosse from the Steeple."[458] Similarly, expense accounts from St.

Laurence Pountney reveal that masons were afforded 2s. 6d. for "cutting the stones where the crosses

stood."[459] Complicating matters further is the fact that some parishes expressed preferences for particular

forms of iconoclasm. The churchwardens from St. Lawrence Jewry, a parish adjacent to the Guildhall,

nominated one "Mr Sutton" to assess the idolatrous elements in their church windows. Members of the

parish eventually agreed to pay £1 to have two men pull "downe the greate East Windowe." Their efforts to

destroy glass came shortly after Parliament's orders were received, but it took several more months for

them to pay 1s. to the messenger who brought the "Order of Parliament sent for the pulling downe of

Crucifixes and other thinges."[460] Stained glass may well have piqued the consciences of some iconophobes

more than lead crosses, thus causing the removal of widows to take precedence over the mending of the

steeple. Other parishes displayed similar idiosyncratic approaches to iconoclasm, which suggest some of

the religious preferences and anxieties of their parishioners. The churchwardens at St. Mary Woolchurch

Haw, for their part, recorded nothing about the mending of crosses, but did take down detailed notes about

the seventy-seven pounds of "of old brass taken out of superstitious monuments in the Church."[461] St. Mary

Abcurch paid 3s. "for Cutting down the Crosses" and an additional 2s. 6d. for "taking up the Superstitious

monum[en]ts."[462] Like other parishes, their records can be read to suggest their priorities, but these cannot

in the end be taken as confirmation of their attitudes towards the wider programs of iconoclasm.

Some records reveal unmistakable enthusiasm for the removal of offensive images. Perhaps

unsurprisingly, one such parish was St. Botolph Without, Bishopsgate, home to active and godly

parishioners who had sought reforms since well before the outbreak of war. Churchwardens from the parish

were more than happy to pay one "Mr Pennington and his Assistantes" 12s. 6d. for the "taking downe the

---

[458] LMA Ms. P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/002, St. Margaret Pattens, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1558-1653, p. 143.

[459] LMA Ms. P69/LAW2/B/010/MS03907/001, St. Laurence Pountney Churchwardens' Accounts, 1530-1681, unpaginated.

[460] LMA Ms. P69/LAW1/B/008/MS02593/002, St. Lawrence Jewry Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1698, fols. 30, 68. Anthony Burgess would later replace Thomas Crane as vicar of the church in January 1645.

[461] LMA Ms. P69/MRY14/B/006/MS01013/001, St. Mary Woolchurch Haw Churchwardens' Accounts, 1560-1672, fol. 184r.

[462] LMA Ms. P69/MRY1/B/006/MS03891/001, St. Mary Abcurch Churchwardens' Accounts, 1629-1692, unfoliated.

Crosse" more than a fortnight prior to the printing of the official order by parliament. They had, moreover, paid 1s. 6d. the previous year for "takeing downe the rayles and carying them away" and they offered up an additional one shilling and six pence to "ringers when the Bishops were rooted out of the house of Lords."[463] The inhabitants of St. Michael Bassishaw were also quick to respond to orders for removing icons, having "paid the Plumber the 10th of Maie 1643 for leade and workemanshipp donne upon the topp of the Steeple att the taking downe the Cross there." If their commitment to the war was under any doubt, it was resolved the following day when they paid 5s. 6d. to have meat delivered to the army.[464] Such accounts should obviously be treated with caution; while they often include small sums of money and cannot be used to perfectly gauge the extent of parochial interest in iconoclasm, they do reveal that parishioners were often quite happy to heed orders for reform.

London's skyline had was dramatically altered by the iconoclasm of early 1643. This fact is made readily apparent by a handful of surviving journals and contemporary etchings of the City. John Greene made note of several alterations to the physical shape of the metropolis, including the removal of "the crosses" that once stood "upon Paul's and the tops of other churches."[465] This detail was not lost on Wenceslaus Hollar, the Czech-born etcher who was made every effort to accurately represent his subjects, including his many views of London. Hollar's view from 1647 contrasts sharply with Claes Visscher's view of the City from three decades earlier, and which prominently displayed lead crosses and weathervanes. In no place was this absence more apparent than Old St. Paul's Cathedral, which gave up four massive lead crosses that adorned the ends of the transept and nave.

---

[463] LMA Ms. P69/BOT4/B/008/MS04524/002, St. Botolph-without-Bishopgate Churchwardens' Accounts, 1632-62, fols. 61r, 63r, 78v.
[464] LMA Ms. P69/MIC1/B/008/MS02601/001/001, St. Michael Bassishaw Churchwardens' Accounts, 1617/18-1715/16, fol. 178v. See also, Saint Michael Cornhill, which paid thirty shillings to "Mr Robinson for takeing downe the Fowre crosses on the steeple." LMA Ms. P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/002, St. Michael Cornhill Churchwardens' Accounts, 1608-1702, fol. 143r. Nineteen shillings were "paid for taking downe the crosse upon the steeple and mending the vayne" at Saint Pancras Soper Lane, LMA Ms. P69/PAN/B/014/MS05018/001, St. Pancras Soper Lane Churchwardens Accounts, 1616-1740, fol. 41v.
[465] Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-59)," p. 392.
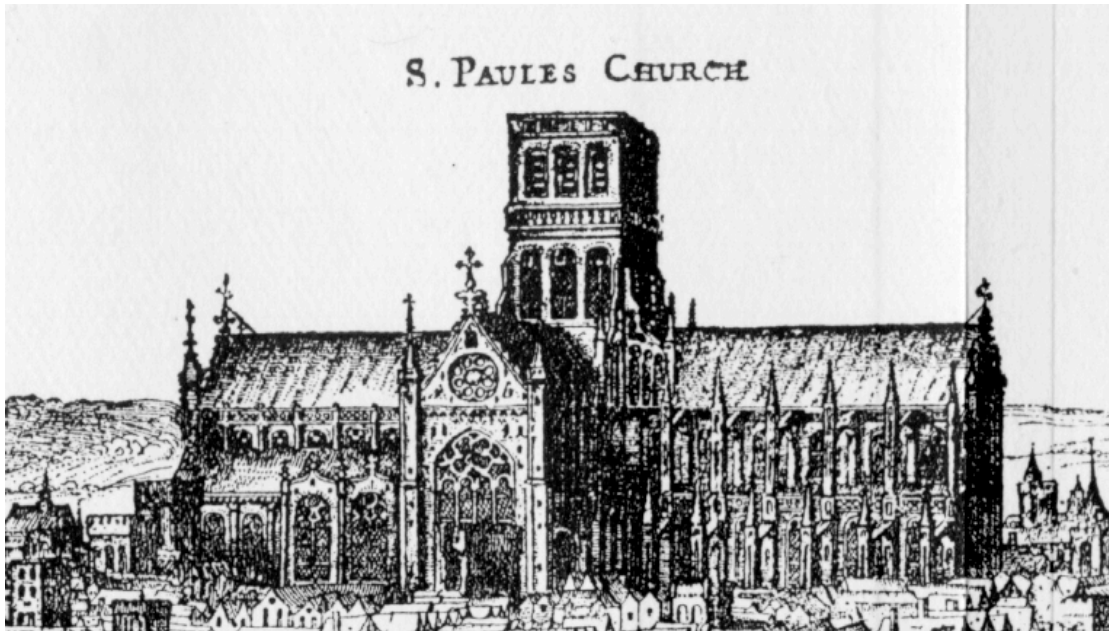
Figure iv. Claes Visscher, The Visscher Panorama of London, etching from 1616.
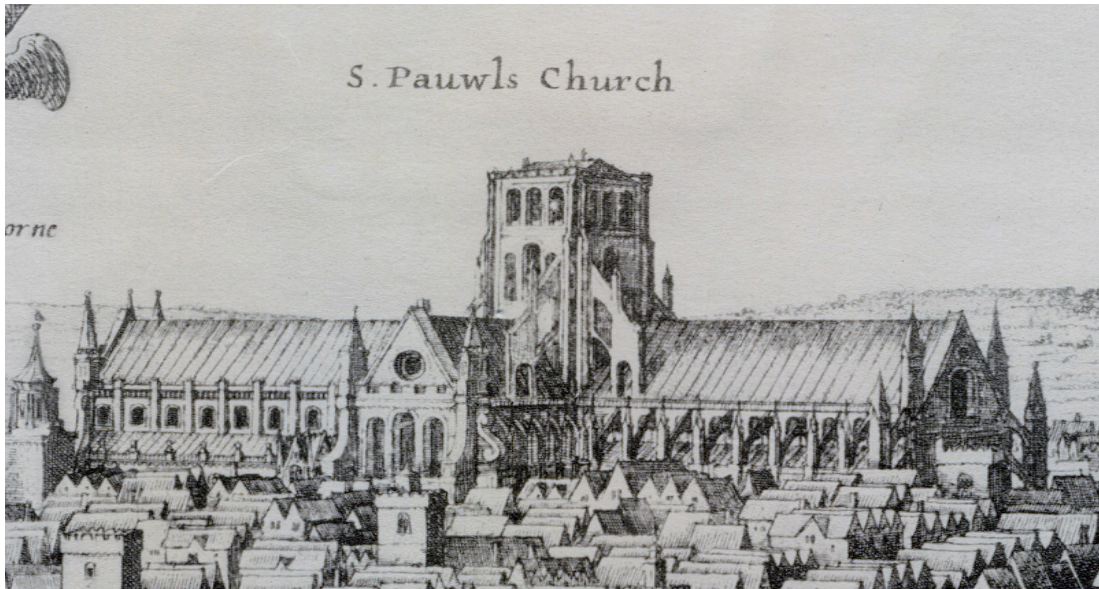
Figure v. Wenceslaus Hollar, Long View of London from Bankside, etching from 1647.

Like so many metropolitan churches, St. Paul's had been altered by express orders form the Common

Council. Although important, the removal of crosses was just a single part of a wider program aimed at the

demolition of any public structures deemed to be "superstitious," "idolatrous," or in any ways "popish" in nature. In May 1643, at the behest of the "*Lord Major* of *London* with the Aldermn and Citizens," Cheapside Cross was toppled and its images thrown to a fire while "brave Bands of Souldiers" set to "sounding their Trumpets, and shooting off their peeces, as well as shouting-out with their voices."[466] Julie Spraggon has rightly noted that the entire frenzied event played out like a well rehearsed "exercise in propaganda, with parliamentarian authorities aiming to stir up anti-Catholicism and to promote the godly cause."[467] Cheapside Cross had long earned the ire of puritans for its adornment with statues of "idolatrous and superstitious figures" including apostles, saints and bishops. But it was also an important rallying point for discontents. Londoners had met to destroy the "Dagon" cross the previous February, but an equally large gathering came out to defend the monument. Richard Overton famously blamed the Cross for seducing "his Majesties liege Subjects from the true Protestant Religion, to the Romish Caholike faith, to the utter subversion and ruine of the Kingdome by civill warre."[468] Even if, as some apparently believed, the Cross caused the war, it remained in situ until May when Pennington and his fellow Aldermen delivered an ordinance for its destruction on the behalf of Harley's aptly named "Committee for the Demolition of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry."

The toppling of Cheapside Cross led to several days of popular iconoclasm. Londoners gathered in the streets to burn copies of the king's dreaded Book of Sports and their enthusiasm spread to include "the destruction of crosses and figures." Agostini witnessed with horror as a group of ambitious Londoners constructed "a great concourse to pull to pieces the royal monuments in the church of Westminster." He ruefully reported that they had destroyed "one of the finest ornaments of this city, admired by all foreigners for its antiquity and the perfection of the beautiful marble carving."[469] Although disgusted by their actions, Agostini knew well that he could not intervene.

---

[466] Vicars, pp. 326-327.
[467] Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, p. 119.
[468] Richard Overton, *Articles of High Treason Exhibited against Cheap-Side Crosse* (London, 1642), p. 3.
[469] 29 May 1643. Gerolamo Agostini, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice: Volume 26, 1642-1643* (1925), p. 266.

London's preaching ministry played a central role promoting the iconoclasm. Preaching at the solemn fast in June, Herbert Palmer expressed his concern over enemies abroad and at home, from "*By-standers, and Neuters*" to the new "*Army raised . . .* by *Papist-counsels*." These frightening physical threats were direct manifestations of the "nations sins," which were, he assured his auditors and readers, "the provoking Cause of all these Judgements." If men wished to stem divine judgements, they should seek to follow the example of 2 Kings 18, and Hezekiah who set about to "pul down all the high-places, even superstitious, as well as idolatrous." Godly Englishmen were expected to follow Hezekiah's lead if they hoped to avoid "Gods *heavy wrath*." What better place to start than the City, where "*Idolatry*" stood out as "the sinne that is most *formall high treason against God*." Palmer had long been an active supporter of the war effort, having published *Scripture and Reason Pleases for Defensive Armes* at the behest of the House Committee for Printing in April. His sermon against sin and idolatry fit closely with his hopes for the war. Eschewing the sins of forefathers would, Palmer hoped, stand as an "active endeavour of reformation" that might please God and prevent providential punishment.[470]

Men like Overton and Palmer had good reason to attack idolatrous images, garments, relics and practices. Overton believed such things to be central to the conflict with the king, as dangerously powerful monuments that had the power to corrupt men from their true Protestant roots. Meanwhile Palmer believed that idolatrous objects had brought about God's wrath in the shape of civil war. Both were pleased with the progress made in early 1643, but they knew that more was needed. Cheapside Cross had toppled; crosses were being hacked from steeples; the Queen's Chapel had been destroyed and her Friars sent to France. Glass windows were pulled to the ground and trampled. Standing behind these acts – both official and unsanctioned – were the shared interests of City belligerents and members of the Committee for the Demolition of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry. Spraggon rightly concluded that both aligned to find common ground in the further purification of the metropolis. If leaders, they were accompanied by countless numbers of soldiers and inhabitants who wanted the same. Together they sought to destroy the

---

[470] Herbert Palmer, *The Necessity and Encouragement* (London, 1643), pp. 10-11, 13, 17-18, 36-7; Herbert Palmer, *Scripture and Reason Pleases for Defensive Armes* (London, 1643).

very objects and monuments that threatened spiritual salvation and providential favor. As they well knew, their war would falter if either was lost.

The Move Against Malignants

The efforts to remove "malignant" ministers that began in 1641 reached an apex with the clerical ejections of early 1643.[471] Some of the charges laid against ministers had, as we have seen, originated from parishioners, but additional support for their efforts came from none other than Lord Mayor Pennington and his fellow officials who had joined in committee in early December to help furnish and review charges laid again ministers deemed to be "malignant," "seditious," or "scandalous." Accusations and complaints made again ministers varied significantly, but most included allegations of misbehavior and negligence or of more serious charges of corruption, incompetence and absence.

Several early sequestrations from February, including those of St. Margaret's Lothbury, St. Martin's Vintry, and St. Nicholas Olaves seem to have been largely matters of formality as opposed to necessity; charges were made and the cases passed quickly through the Lords. This was due to the fact that the cases were mostly matters of absence in which the sequestered had been absent or had fled to join with the king. The parishioners at St. Margaret's Lothbury were, as noted before, key contributors towards London's November Assessment. By 21 February there was little to stop parishioners from moving against Humphrey Tabor, their "double-beneficed" parson who had been absent "sometimes Six Months together." Tabor, moreover, had apparently spent the little time that he was present advancing his personal royalist convictions; his charges included his refusal to read orders from Parliament and his inveighing "against such as take up Arms for the Defence of Parliament, declaiming against them as Rebels, and as led therein by the evil Spirit that works in the Sons of Disobedience." An order of parliament chose Leonard Cooke to replace tardy Tabor. The sequestration order at St. Martin's Vintry proved similar, as little needed to be done to remove one Dr. Bevin Reeve, who had "deserted and forsaken his Cure" the previous June, having

---

[471] See Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 266-9

"betaken himself to the Army of Cavaliers" where he eventually joined Charles's Council of War.[472] Arthur Sallwey was appointed to take his place. Finally, the removal of Oliver Whitby from St. Nicholas Olave's was simple enough; Whitby had already deserted his cure on 23 October of the previous year. Sequestering parsons who were notoriously absent or had fled from their livings was notably easier than dealing with those who remained in London.

Pennington remained a decisive figure in the sequestrations of early 1643. His role in the removal of malignants is evidenced by way of a letter that he sent to the Speaker of the House in late March, and which contains a report about his apprehension of three men suspected of being malignants. One was "a dangerous fellow" named Cheshire who preached "twise or thrice at Pauls very seditiouslye" but who had fled London and "newly returned from the kings army" and was thus captured. Also apprehended was one Matthew Griffith who was beneficed at St. Paul's Wharf, was Rector of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Benet Sherehog, and had been busy "inveighing against ye parliament." Third was Mr. Tuke, the vicar from "old Jury." Pennington had both Griffith and Tuke put in Newgate prison, but, much to his chagrin, both men managed to make bail. Their freedom compelled Pennington to end his letter with a warning: "if not some course be taken to make some of them examples I know not what it may come to."[473] Pennington's sentiments regarding Tuke and Griffith were not altogether surprising given their opposition to parliament's war effort; Griffith had already preached *A Patheticall Perswasion to Pray for Publick Peace* at St. Paul's on 2 October 1642, and would go on to preach an inflammatory sermon outlining "the power of a King."[474] Griffith's parsonage at St. Mary Magdalen was sequestered at the end of February and given to Ithiel Smart, whom the Commons regarded as "a godly, learned, and orthodox Divine."[475] Days later, Griffith's second parsonage at St. Bennett's Sherehog was filled by Edward Roode, a puritan minister from Abingdon-on-Thames.[476] Pennington warned of Tuke's "more insolent" mode following his release from Newgate. Indeed, he was right to; Tuke was an vocal royalist supporter who had been with the St. Olave's

---

[472] *LJ* v, pp. 616-18.
[473] HLRO, Main Papers HL/PO/JO/10/1/146, #233.
[474] See above; Matthew Griffith, *A Sermon Preached in the Citie of London*.
[475] *CJ* ii, p. 983.
[476] Ibid., p. 997.

Old Jewry since 1617, and had regularly refused to read out parliamentary orders, at one point shouting

from the pulpit that he hoped that "the Devil confound all Traitors, Rebels and turbulent Spirits."[477] Tuke's

sequestration and replacement led to a brief note by John Greene, who mentioned "this month our new

minister Mr Hignell pracht, who was put in by order of Parliament and Mr Tuke put out."[478]

It must be emphasized that Pennington was not alone in the effort to eject clergymen with royalist

sympathies. Zealous members of the London Common Council's committee concerning malignant,

scandalous and seditious ministers, along with key parliamentary activists, continued to sequester livings

and fill vacant parsonages over the course of February and March. The parishioners of St. Mary Abchurch

proved instrumental in the removal of Benjamin Stone, their parson. On 9 March the Commons agreed that

Stone was "a Person very scandalous," and hence that he should lose both the parsonages of Abchurch and

St. Clement's Eastcheap.[479] Walter Taylor replaced Stone at St. Clement's in Eastcheap, while his position

at Abchurch was taken over by John Rawlinson, a man who could be trusted to toe the parliamentarian line

because he had recently been "driven from the City of York by the Cavaliers."[480]

Other parishes followed suit. The inhabitants at St. Michael Cornhill were delighted by the

opportunity to present charges against William Brough, their own "doctor in divinity." The prestigious Dr.,

who had once flourished under Laud and even served as a chaplain to Protestants in Henrietta Maria's

household, had by the time of sequestration accrued a considerable number of complaints from

parishioners. These ranged from the somewhat innocuous and ambiguous "publique preaching" to the

promotion of "Popish and superstitious doctrines" such as "bowing to or before the Alter worshipping

toward the East, Washing away of originall Sinne by Baptisme, Children dying without Baptisme to be

damned, and the error of Arminianisme of universall Grace, and Freewill in man fallen, and the Apostacy

of the Saints." Replacing Brough was Thomas Mall, a man who was, like his many of his fellow godly

---

[477] Tai Liu makes note of Tuke's actions on p. 129, quoting G. A. Walker, *Walker Revised* (Oxford 1948), p. 60; see also, J. F. Merritt, "Tuke, Thomas (1580/81-1657)," *ODNB*.
[478] Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-59)," p. 392.
[479] *CJ* iii, pp. 6, 12. Orders for the sequestration of Abchurch were taken up to the Lords by Robert Harley on 17 March, while official sequestration ordinance for St. Clement's Eastcheap passed on 22 March.
[480] *CJ* ii, p. 996; *CJ* iii, p. 3.

appointments, recorded simply as "a godly, learned, and orthodox Divine." [481] On the following day, orders

were passed for sequestering the parsonage at St. Giles in the Fields and the vicarage at St. Olave's Old

Jewry. Dr. Heywood's parsonage at the former was taken up by Henry Cornish, while, as we have seen,

Thomas Tuke's position was presented to William Hignell. [482]

On 17 March Thomas Squire, having long been the subject of controversy and royalist

sympathies, was removed from St. Leonard Shoreditch and replaced by Matthew Clarke. Later that same

day, orders were made so that profits from St. Margaret's New Fishstreet were to be paid to Thomas

Froysell, another "godly and learned Divine." [483] The concerted effort to purge London's parishes of

royalist sympathizers was not completed in March, but the end of the month marked a noticeable decrease

in efforts to remove "malignant" City clergymen. The next great task for belligerents was not the purging

of parochial holdings, but instead the removal of Queen's Capuchin friars from Somerset House. The move

to eject the Capuchins preoccupied officials in Westminster from March until the middle of April, when a

new sequestration ordinance passed to replace the parson of St. Thomas Apostle, William Cooper, with

James Moore. [484] The next sequestration order arrived just two weeks later when Nehemiah Rogers was

ordered to give up the rectorship at St. Botolph's Without, Bishopsgate, in order to make way for John

Vincent. [485] Further, on 12 May Richard Wollaston and George Henly of St. Peter's Cornhill were granted

authority by the Commons to "appoint such orthodox Divines, as they shall think fit, to preach and

officiate" due to the removal of their own "Dr. Fairfax." [486]

On 26 May the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were granted authority to appoint weekly

preachers at Paul's Church Yard. With this new authority, City belligerents gained yet another important

platform from which they could promote the war effort. On 20 June the parsonage of Ethelborough was

---

[481] LMA Ms. P69/MIC2/B/001/MS04072/001, St. Michael Cornhill Vestry Minutes, 1563-1697, unpaginated. See also, *CJ* iii, p. 3.
[482] The *Commons' Journal* claims that the sequestration was for Thomas Tuke of St Olave's Southwarke. Tuke held the parsonage of St. Olave's Old Jewry, but I have been unable to find any records to confirm that he also held the position in St. Olave's Southwarke. See *CJ* iii, p. 4.
[483] *CJ* iii, pp. 6-7. For an excellent discussion of the local and political background to this affair, see Isaac Stephens' forthcoming work on Thomas Squire.
[484] *CJ* iii, p. 51.
[485] Ibid., p. 67.
[486] Ibid., p. 83.

taken from John Clerke and given to Edward Archer, while Bryan Walton was stripped of his position as rector of St. Martin's Orgar and replaced by Richard Lee.[487] The next parochial ejection was not made until nine days later when Ephraim Udall of St. Augustine by St. Paul was "branded" as "*Popishly affected*." Officials quickly carted Udall off to jail, but they ran into trouble when attempting to remove his wife, Philippa, who, despite being "infirm" and "lame" was carried out of her house on a chair and left "to the mercy of the Wind and Weather."[488] Udall had produced a number of sermons in which he proposed peace, but none proved more damaging to his livelihood than *Noli me tangere*, a tract from 1642 in which he proposed that cathedral lands and tithes should be maintained indefinitely and further warned that rule by a national assembly would exacerbate divine wrath against England.[489] Udall's assertions against parliament provided reason enough for his sequestration in the summer of 1643. Udall's fall marked the end of the coordinated effort to remove "malignants" that began earlier in the year and led to at least eleven parochial ejections.

The ejections of 1643 marked the second major round in a concerted effort to "tune" London's pulpits, with at least ten positions had been replaced in a period of slightly over three weeks from the end of February to the middle of March. Sequestrations continued after this period, but they were far less frequent; just three men were forced to leave their positions in London parishes over the course of June. Silencing parochial opposition was an integral component of the larger effort to promote parliament's war effort in London. Although the reasons for sequestering ministers varied considerably, the end result was often the same: the removal of ministerial opposition allowed parliament to silence its critics. But it also served another important purpose. Weeding out remaining royalist sympathizers helped to stifle communication between the king and his supporters in the City. As Lindley observed, efforts to counter royalist support from London's pulpits "peaked in 1643," a time when parliament's war effort faced new strains and uncertainties. Londoners feared what repercussions might come from an early peace settlement. Many

---

[487] Ibid., p. 136.
[488] *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 154.
[489] Ephraim Udall, *Noli me tangere* (London, 1642), pp. 10-11, 25. See also, Udall, *The Good of Peace and Ill of Warre* (London, 1642); Ephraim Udall, *Directions Propounded, and Humble Presented to the High Court of Parliament* (London, 1642). See also, Arnold Hunt, "Udall, Ephraim (*bap.* 1587, *d.* 1647)," *ODNB*.

wondered how the king's return might impact their daily lives and worship, while others knew that the loss of City would almost certainly result in their persecution, or perhaps even their accusation of treason.[490] Sequestrations helped to alleviate such anxieties by ensuring that parliament's cause would continue in the capital.

Continuing the Search for Armies and Arms

Renewed calls for troops and arms soon added to London's heady and anxious climate. Militants had high expectations for the City, especially after the previous year and the overwhelming support shown by volunteers and lenders. Achieving such lofty goals would, in reality, be extremely difficult. In May 1643, Parliament looked first to the City and its adjacent counties in order to raise new auxiliary regiments, horses, money, arms and armor. Livery companies and City parishes were targeted first. This was done despite the fact that assessments from the first half of 1643 were still being collected. Outstanding collections such as the 15 November request for "a thousand light Horse, and three thowsand dragoons" could do little to keep up with demand.[491] Despite these inadequcies, a number of parliament men and wealthy citizens took it upon themselves to outfit and equip new recruits.

One such regiment belonged to Sir Arthur Hasilrig, who was second in command to Waller and whose cuirassiers became known as "lobsters" due to their unusually complete outfitting of polished plate armor. The regiment, raised entirely the London, proved to be mixed blessing. The "London lobsters" exhibited equal characteristics of valor and inexperience. Valor won out in April when nearly fifty of Haselrig's men perished as they stood their ground at the Battle of Ripple. But inexperience took its toll months later at Roundway Down in July, when the better part of the regiment's lines moved backwards, broke, and fled to be run down and captured. Their retreat earned scornful and lasting remarks from royalists. Samuel Butler recalled their action years later in *Hudibras*, a poem which provides a memorable

---

[490] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 265.
[491] HLRO Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/1/137, fol. 96.

account of the time when Hopton took "crabs and oysters prisoners, And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers."[492]

Despite heavy losses during the campaigns of summer 1643, the regiment's ranks were eventually

replenished by new recruits who would go on to play decisive roles in later battles. "London's lobsters"

were instrumental at the siege of Arundel Castle in December and they demonstrated their value yet again

at the battles of Cheriton and the second battle of Newbury in 1644. Indeed, Clarendon recalled that their

appearance alone was "so formidable" in December 1643 "that the king's naked and unarmed troops,

amongst which few were better armed than with swords, could not bear their impression."[493] Hasilrig's

efforts provided a success story for Londoners in the field.

Other commanders were decidedly less successful. Henry Marten had high hopes that he might

find glory on the field of battle. On 19 May, the Commons agreed that "money Plate and Jewells seised

[sic]" by Marten and his officers from the royalist Earl of Holland could be used "towards the raising of his

Regiments."[494] Seized royalist treasure provided what must have seemed an auspicious start to Marten's

plans, but other problems soon derailed them. Marten seems to have spent most of his time wandering

around London in search of horses – a quest that apparently agitated both his friends and allies. On one

occasion, he seized six coach horses belonging to Countess Rivers, an act that would have been

unacceptable under normal circumstances given her status as the widow of Viscount Savage. According to

Lawrence Whitaker, who made detailed note of the event, Marten took the horses with the knowledge that

they belonged to "a knowne Papist through the Wife of a peer" and further that he would be willing to

return the horses if the Commons deemed it necessary.[495] Marten never did find a chance to try his newly

conscripted men on the field of battle; he was still busy rounding up horses until his ejection from the

Commons on 16 August 1643. It remains difficult to say if any of his horses or men would see the field of

---

[492] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, (London, 1678), p. 215.
[493] Clarendon, *History*, vol. III, p. 347.
[494] TNA SP 28/7, fol. 159v.
[495] BL Add. Ms. 31116, fol. 48v.

battle, although it is likely that members of his regiment were eventually transferred to serve with some

other parliamentary commander upon his dismissal.[496]

The thirst for military glory shown by some parliamentary leaders led to a heavy burden on

Londoners and their neighbors. A single account from the State Papers, for instance, reveals that some 459

horses were gathered from in the City between the months of October 1642 and July 1643. These came

from all walks of London life and, once equipped, had an assessed value of £9309.[497] As we have seen with

accounts from the previous year, some wealthy citizens were more than happy to contribute horses, riders

and equipment, which ranged in value from £14 to £32 each. Indeed, totals from the previous year

amounted to staggering 3757 "horses geldings and mares, with what Armes was listed with them" valued at

an impressive £54,772 18s. 4d.[498] The same spirit persisted into the early summer of 1643 when horses

were readily pledged and divided amongst London regiments, but fewer horses were given than at the

outset of the war in 1642. Edmund Harvey raised twelve horses and armor worth a total of £393 in Cornhill

Ward. Ninety-nine horses, for instance, the single largest allocation from London, went to Captain Heriott

Washborne, while just one horse was provided to Captain Ireton and one to Captain Langerish.[499]

The wealthy could afford to pledge so much, but the loss of just a few horses could spell disaster

for the less fortunate. Destitution sometimes accompanied the loss of horses, particularly when people

needed them to pursue their livelihoods. George Searle of Middlesex petitioned parliament after the Lord

General's men seized his four horses and cart. He requested the repayment of their value so that he could

care for "himself his wife and seaven small children."[500] Some others, meanwhile, profited from using their

horses. Thomas Pittman, for example, found employment when he was asked to attend on parliament's

artillery train for forty-nine days from early November to December 1642. On 3 January Essex wrote to

---

[496] See Sarah Barber, *A Revolutionary Rogue: Henry Marten and the Immoral English Republic*, (Stroud, 2000), pp. 8-9. Although it must be pointed out that Barber does not speculate about what happened to the horses and troops that Marten raised.
[497] TNA SP 28/131/5, p. 34.
[498] See above account and NA SP 28/131/3, fol. 131v: a book of London horse conscriptions.
[499] TNA SP 28/131/5, p. 35. Horses raised in London were assigned to commanders as follows: Skippon, 88; Browne, 47; Harvye, 95; Manwaringe, 66; Washborne, 98; Willett, 54; Ireton, 1; Clarke, 2; Langerish, 1; "to severall others by warrant," 3.
[500] TNA SP 28/6/110-111.

Gilbert Gerrard, Treasurer for the Army, to request that he be paid a total of £17 17s. Pittman received

payment in full by 8 February.[501] The constant demand for horses could apparently spell either hardship or

opportunity.

All were certain of one thing: more horses would be needed to maintain parliament's war effort.

None were more aware of this fact than the Lord Mayor and his fellow militants. On 22 June, Pennington

and the Common Council stepped in to petition the Lords and Commons for the passing of "an ordinance

of Parliament" that would allow "for the lifting and fitting for service all horses in and about the Citty of

London, and Twelve Miles Compasse." The collections of the previous year had been substantial, but

belligerents were convinced that decisive victory would require the service of all the horses in and about

London and its environs. London's supply of the animals had, in short, become depleted by the beginning

of the summer. The militants' push was part of a coordinated effort to see through a mass mobilization of

the metropolis that would ensure a parliamentary victory. Thus Pennington and his fellow petitioners did in

urgency "pray that the said Ordinance" would be "forthwith passed."[502]

Raising Auxiliaries and the Livery Companies

Belligerents continued to bank on their belief that popular interest in the war effort would lead to the

establishment and outfitting of a new fighting force. According to the royalist newspaper *Mercurius*

Aulicus from 19 March, they planned to charge "every Housekeeper in the Citie to maintaine one of his

Apprentices with Armes" so that they might be "ready on all occasions to defend the Citie, or to go forth

against the enemie." It was hoped, moreover, that such a plan might lead to the establishment of "an Army

of 10,000 men, maintained and armed without their charge." The plan for equipping the new recruits again

rested on the notion that Londoners remained eager to give towards the cause. On 10 April *Mercurius*

Aulicus reported on the fanciful hopes of belligerents who were busy trying "to perswade their fellowes, not

only to contribute money, but to give away their shirts, shooes, and stockings for maintaining and clothing

---

[501] TNA SP 28/5/23.
[502] HLRO Main Papers Ms. HL/PO/JO/10/1/152.

of their Souldiers" and even going to far as to extend the hope to "some zealous sisters on the affections of their neighbout women to do so also."[503] If ambitious for City belligerents, and perhaps equally laughable to their royalist opponents, the possibility of raising a new fighting force free of charge seemed an irresistible option to parliament men sitting at Westminster.

On 12 April 1643, Parliament passed an ordinance that granted authority to the Militia Committee's radical Salters' Hall Subcommittee to raise seven auxiliary infantry regiments in London. The reasoning behind the appointments remains uncertain, but five of the seven colonels were also members of the Trained Bands, including the Robert Tichborne, one of the seven Londoners accused of treason in January.[504] As Lawson Nagel points out in an important but hitherto unpublished dissertation on the City Militia, a number of conflicting accounts speak of the size and ability of the new regiments, and it remains unclear "how quickly the ranks of Auxiliaries were filled." The new forces were comprised mostly of volunteer apprentices and non-householders. Once raised, the regiments were divided into ten companies of "about 40 up to a maximum of 66 soldiers." Our best surviving account of the men recruited for the 1643 Auxiliaries comes from Moses Meare's muster roll, a surviving list of the names of volunteers, their masters, and the location of their living. The list includes entries such as "Thomas Gilforde" who was "Mr Andrewes man in Love Lane" and "Samson Haris Mr Terones man in Holborne." The recruits came almost exclusively from the north and the east ends of London, and most, as Nagel has determined by enquiring with local registries, were young apprentices. They were carpenters, shoemakers, and chandlers, and some were likely long-time residents who had adopted the names of their masters, or perhaps even sons, such as "Arter Johnson Thomas Johnsons man" and "Frances Ballye Mr Ballyes man at the Brig." [505]

The speed with which the men were recruited remains unknown. Nagel once again provides a useful estimate: at least "three Regiments of stout men" were reported as early as 13 April. Later evidence suggests that three of six incomplete regiments marched out with William Waller at the end of August, and

---

[503] *Mercurius Aulicus* 29 March and 10 April 1643.
[504] The other known four include Thomas Gower, Edward Hooker, Christopher Whichcott, and William Willoughby of the Tower Hamlets.
[505] TNA SP 28/121A Part 5, fol. 620; Lawson Chase Nagel, "The Militia of London, 1641-1649," pp. 83-4.

that the forces were raised in full and, as Nagel estimates, "all complete" by October.[506] The total number of auxiliaries fluctuated and thus cannot be determined with certainty, but Coates and others have concluded that the total may have reached upwards of 8,000 men.[507] Equipping the new recruits, however, proved to be more difficult than the Militia Committee expected. If, as *Mercurius Aulicus* claimed, shirts and stockings might be donated by the generosity of "their fellowes," more expensive equipment was harder to come by. Indeed, new requests for arms and armor were soon made to the City's already strained livery companies. On 27 April, the Common Council requested that the "Lord Maior be deisred by the Court to write to all the sev[er]all companies of this Citty to lend their Armes to be used and ymployed at present for the necessary use defence & safety of this Citty." Pennington himself addressed letters containing this request to each company. Collected arms were to be reviewed and appraised by prominent members of the City forces including Major Turner and Captains Hooke, Player, Tichborne, Francis Rowe, Whichcote, Hunt and Thompson.[508]

Several corporations were quick to respond to the mayor's letter. The Goldsmiths, for example, took Pennington's request into consideration on 3 May. As with previous requests, they proved more than willing to supply what they could. Their account books reveal the contents of Pennington's letter, which made specific reference to London's "imminent danger" and the need "for the better securinge & safety of this Cittye." Pennington's letter also spoke of his personal "desire [that] you forthw[i]th to lend for the Armeinge of the Auxillyary forces rased by this Cittye all the Armes of ye Companye."[509] Soon thereafter the Goldsmiths agreed that it "is thought fitt agreed & soe ordered to deliver such Armes." Within two days they had assessed the value of their inventory for a loan of arms and armor worth £38 16s..[510] The Clothworkers followed their lead soon thereafter, giving arms and armor worth a total of £64 12s..[511]

---

[506] Nagel, p. 83. Nagel quoted "three regiments of stout men" from *A Perfect Diurnall*, 10-17 April (London, 1643).
[507] Coates, *Impact*, p. 48.
[508] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 58v.
[509] Goldsmiths' Court Minute Book W, fol. 56r.
[510] Ibid., fols 58v-59r.
[511] Clothworkers' Orders of Courts, 1639-1649, fol. 80v.

Even if many corporations obliged Pennington's requests, the orders for new arms amounted to an unwelcome burden. Several livery companies made clear that they considered the new requests to be excessive. The Grocers, for instance, protested about the backlog of money owed to them on 12 April, recalling the £4500 "paid at the beginning" of the Long Parliament for "removing" Scottish forces, along with the £9000 given "towards the charges of reducing the kingdome of Ireland into obedience." All of the money for their previous loans to parliament had been "borrowed by this Company upon the security & seale thereof." The extent of their outstanding debts, which amounted to "£4000 more at the least," proved deeply disconcerting and led the court to "deliberately & sadly" take into consideration what means might be used to remedy their situation. "Being forced to borrow money at interest to pay interest for the summes formerly lent to the Parliament" led them to the difficult conclusion that they should sell £1000 worth of plate on 8 May so that they might continue to pay their debts and avoid insolvency.[512] A request for arms to outfit auxiliary forces thus added insult to injury.

Although they did not record specific figures in terms of the weapons loaned, the Drapers mentioned that the equipment had a value of £77 5s. This figure is all the more astonishing given that they had ordered that the company agreed that their "plate shalbe sold" to cover debts, save for "spoones for the Companies use."[513] The Mercers fared little better, having loaned "forty muskets and Twenty Corselets wth pikes for the arming of the auxiliary forces raysed by this Citty." Around the same time they decided to sell plate worth £699 7¾d. "for the payment of the Companies debts."[514] Following suit on 3 March, the Haberdashers' Company agreed to lend an additional 150 swords, 149 belts, 100 muskets, ninety-eight bandoliers six corsets, worth a total of £178 14s. 4d.[515]

Few could claim to have been more forward with the lending of arms than the Skinners' Company. They read Pennington's request "that all Companyes shall send all their Armes to furnish the auxillarye forces" and agreed "accordingly." The complete emptying of their armory, however, left Robert Thurlebye, their resident armorer, with little to do since "there bee not soe many Armes for him to looke

[512] Guildhall Library Ms 11588/4, Grocers' Company Court Minute Book, fols. 72, 74.
[513] Drapers' Court Minutes and Records, 1640-1667, fols. 26v, 27v, 57r. Order from 8 May.
[514] Mercers' Company Acts of Court, 1641-1645, fols. 74r, 79r.
[515] GL Ms. 15842/1, Haberdashers' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 314v.

unto as formerly." Upon reading his "humble peticion," the court agreed that he should be given 5s. 8d. of

pay and dismissed with a pension of the same value, seeing as he was "an ould man and hath bine an

ancient servant to the companye."[516] The Vintners' Company agreed to "deliver onely 30 muskets and 20

pykes furnished."[517] Even if modest at "onely" fifty pieces, their contribution was significant; like their

counterparts, little could be done to escape direct orders from the Lord Mayor and Common Council. The

Skinners would, moreover, be called to court later in the year for failing to provide the total payments from

their earlier financial assessment. Like some of their fellow corporations, they strained to the breaking point

owing to the pressures of war.

Company accounts thus offer at least a partial view of the total contributions that were being made

towards arming auxiliary City forces in 1643. Companies ranked well below the "Great Twelve" also gave

what they could. The Carpenters, for example, agreed to give "2 of the best coslettes" along with "twoe

pikes and five swords."[518] Although other livery company records do not reveal the amounts loaned, it can

be safely assumed that many followed the precedents set by their peers.[519]

The request for arms amounted to yet another unpleasant strain at a time when many companies

were already under considerable financial pressure. As we have seen, many liveries were busy seeking

means to fulfill previous obligations for parliament's assessments when they were asked to make new

loans. Several leading companies were forced to sell plate while concurrently emptying their armories.

Smaller liveries suffered similar fates. At a court held in May, members of the Innholders' Company

determined that they would need to sell £100 worth of plate to cover their debts on account of the interest

and loans made to parliament.[520] That same month, members of the Painters-Stainers agreed, "after longe

debate" that they would sell plate to cover a debt of £42 5s. 7d.[521] Reduced to utensils and heavily indebted,

some companies had simply run short of options. In the end, however, corporations loaned nearly a

---

[516] GL Ms. 30708/3, Skinners' Company Court Minute Book, fols. 204v-205r.
[517] GL Ms. 15201/1, Vintners' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 110.
[518] GL Ms. 5204/5 Carpenters' Company Court Book, fol. 7v.
[519] A payment of £1 and 14s "for 4 swords & 4 belts" may have been intended for the loan, although there is no way to verify this claim. See GL Ms. 3297/1, Turners' Company Account Book, unfoliated.
[520] GL Ms. 6649, Inholders' Court Minutes, p. 13.
[521] GL Ms. 5667, Painters-Stainers Company Minutes, p. 176.

thousand pieces of arms and armour to London's auxiliary forces. This was of course only a small fraction of what was needed to outfit the new recruits – perhaps as little as an eighth – and an even smaller portion of the estimated "30,000 pikes, 102,000 swords and 111,000 firearms" that were contracted between parliament and London producers "between August 1642 and September 1641."[522] But to consider the company loans as part of the entire wartime collection is to miss the point entirely. The Lord Mayor had once again called upon companies to loan arms in April 1643, and whether it be with alacrity or recalcitrance, livery members had given accordingly. Corporate loans of arms and armour came at a time of strain, but nevertheless made up an important fraction of the larger volunteer contribution of arms that was expected by members of the radical Subcommittee of the Militia that sat at Salters' Hall. Well-affected Londoners would, they expected, give the remaining weapons and armor needed to outfit warriors who shared their godly cause. Belligerents therefore remained sanguine about their plans for a new volunteer army.

Continuing the Search for Money

Maintaining the war effort in London required much more than the removal of malignants and the plans for newly outfitted soldiers. Sequestrations, as Coates's s study of London's wartime economy reveals, served as another important means for financing the war. Authorization for sequestrations of estates was again extended to the City's leadership – namely "the lord mayor, aldermen and common councillors" – who were, in turn, to appoint a committee of six members, chosen to identify offenders and carry out sequestration orders. Lindley has identified the group as "worrying examples of newly risen militants." They met at Gresham College and included William Rowell, Richard Willet, Henry Cole, Richard Everet, Robert Dawlman, Thomas Stock, Thomas Vincent, and John Brett. Energetic for the cause, they managed,

---

[522] Peter Edwards, *Dealing in Death*, p. 71.

according to Coates, to raise "£33,268" from sequestrations – a sum that was lager than any other part of the country save Suffolk.[523]

Other stratagems for financial support included a new taxation of fifteenths and twentieth parts. Predictably enough, this proposal met with little enthusiasm. Although Pym's first attempt to introduce a tax on "superfluous commodities" – an excise – was voted down on 28 March 1643, his proposal was eventually approved on 22 July, and established by September of the same year. The excise was widely discussed and debated during the four months between Pym's proposal and its eventual "approval." A version of the tax had already been implemented on 17 May when the house debated and agreed that a tax of one shilling per barrel would be paid for beer, ale, cider or perry to "the first buyer," and further that the same amount would be charged to home brewers selling for personal profit. By 24 May a tax of one farthing per pound was imposed on raisins, figs and currants. Taxes on sugars and cloths were implemented three days later. [524] Londoners eagerly exchanged news regarding any proposals relating to taxation on "superfluous commodities." Sir Edward Nicholas, for instance, noted in a letter from early April that "they are setting upp ye exacting of excises upon all provisions at London, yf they can prevail, but they will ther find great opposic[i]on." Parliament's need for cash was, as always, apparent, and Nicholas went on to reveal that "the truth is that they are in London in great distrac[i]on for want of money & cannot hold out long unlesse excises be paid."[525] Once implemented later in the year, the excise would provide a five percent charge on imported goods including "groceries, drugs, silks and other fine fabrics, linen textiles, haberdasheries, paper, glass and earthenware, leather and upholstered goods." The Butchers' Company and the Brewers' Company at first opposed the tax with popular demonstrations in London, but, as Coates demonstrates, they could do little to stop what would become the "most important new form of taxation of the Civil War." Indeed, some estimates suggest that half of the money collected for the excise came from

---

[523] Coates, *Impact,* p. 40; See NA SP 28/216, "The Account of the Sequestrations Treasurers." For the note regarding the committee members, see Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 331, n. 134.
[524] *CJ* iii, pp. 89-90, 101, 107-8.
[525] HEHL, HA Correspondence Box 17/9686, Sir Edward Nicholas [Oxon] to Henry Hastings, 5 April 1643.

Londoners; the tax, more than any other source during the course of the war, became the lifeblood of the parliamentary war effort.[526]

In the meantime, City belligerents worked diligently to maintain the collection of taxes that were already in place. On Saturday 18 March *Mercurius Aulicus* reported that "Captain *Mainwaring* (he whom His Majesty hath branded for his seditious courses, both in his Proclamations, and other writings)" broke up a group of nearly 1000 apprentices who had gathered in Southwark to protest the assessment of a twentieth part.[527] On 29 March, the day after Pym's proposal for the excise failed, an ordinance passed to extend assessments to non-contributors in London. John Fowke was then selected as one of the members appointed to nominate collectors in the City wards. Days later, on 7 April, an Act of Common Council called for the collection of an additional tax of fifteenths, and shortly thereafter 300 copies of the ordinance were printed with the stipulation "that it shall be lawfull to and for the Right honourable Lord Mayor to make a Warrant or Precept unto any Collector (requiring the same) to Distraine the Goods and Chattels of every person or persons refusing to pay the said fifteenths."[528] Popular demonstrations against war and taxation, although widespread, did not prevent the imposition of new taxes. Belligerents knew that the future of the war effort depended on the wealth of the metropolis and the money that could be obtained through sequestrations, the excise, and the collection of fifteenths. What remained to be won were the hearts and minds of London's 400,000 inhabitants.

Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto

Rather than dissipate, the tensions during the winter were exacerbated over the course of late spring and early summer of 1643. The metropolis continued to polarize between groups of Londoners who favored

---

[526] Coates, *Impact*, pp. 30, 32, 35. As Coates points out, there are no excise records for the early years of the war. The approximation of half is based on his figures for the period from 1647-1650, when London provided £487,6565 of the total £853,345 collected, a figure that amounted to "fifty seven per cent."

[527] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 19-25 March 1643 p. 146.

[528] *An Act of Common-Councell concerning the Collecting of the Fifteenes Granted for the necessary Defence of the City of London* (London, 1643); LMA M.s COL/CHD/CT/01/004, City Cash Accounts, 1641-1643, fol. 223v.

war or peace – and who in many cases enlisted to join the City's auxiliary regiments or rallied to oppose

taxation. As popular demonstrations continued, tensions between mobilized groups escalated and made

way for the production and consumption of more radically charged ideas. The metropolis, with its

unmatched population and crowded streets, provided fertile ground for the exchange, promotion, and

implementation of new ideas. Indeed it was perhaps in its capacity as a testing ground – perhaps more than

anything else – that London became crucial to the continuation of parliament's war effort, a place in which

the ideological parameters of the war effort could change and develop. As we have seen, Watkins and

Shute's petition, which was dismissed upon its first consideration in 1642, made considerable headway

after the debacle of the king's fateful attempt on London's belligerent leaders in early 1643. The episode

stood as an example of the way in which a single political event could polarize – and to a certain extent

"radicalize" – popular opinion. Similarly, the tensions of the early months meant that other "progressive" or

"radical" belligerents in the City found new opportunities to promulgate their ideas. This, in short, led to an

upswing in the number of "radical" – or at least clearly belligerent – tracts that appeared in the late spring

and early summer of 1643.

The issue of "radicalization" and the English Revolution has an extensive historiography; it is one

that started well before Christopher Hill's popular study *The World Turned Upside Down*, and has in recent

years led to a number of detailed – and at times, it must be admitted, idiosyncratic – examinations of the

ways in which radical ideas took root or became matters of public discourse. One such work is Quentin

Skinner's brief but valuable consideration of *salus populi suprema lex esto* as an aspect of republican

thought and the outbreak of war in 1642.[529] More recently, Michael Braddick has made the very useful

observation that 1643 was itself a crucial year in terms of ideological escalation, a period that should be

---

[529] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London, 1972); Penry Williams, "Rebellion and Revolution in Early Modern England," in M. R. D. Foote (ed.) *War and Society* (London, 1973), pp. 225-40; Quentin Skinner in "Classical Liberty and the Coming of the English Civil War" in *Republicanism: Volume 2, The Values of Republicanism in Early Modern Europe: A Shared European Heritage*, (eds.) Quentin Skinner and Martin van Gelderen (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 9-28. For a thought provoking, if at times contradictory consideration of the utility of "radicalism" as a category of inquiry, see Glenn Burgess, "Radicalism and the English Revolution," in *English Radicalism, 1550-1850*, (eds.) Glenn Burgess and Matthew Festenstein (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 62-86 and especially p. 65, where Burgess speculates that future approaches to the topic of radicalism might "be *pointillist*, extensively multi-causal, explicitly anti-deterministic and non-hierarchical."

considered more closely by scholars as it can help them to move past the haphazard, episodic, and

potentially even anachronistic structures of "radicalism" to more fruitful analysis of religious and political

ideologies and actions.[530] Braddick's suggestion should be heeded. Regardless of the terminology, the

aforementioned scholars have all emphasized the rapid changes that took place during the early years of the

period of revolution, and their studies (whether couched under the concept of "radicalism" or not) have

proven immensely useful for establishing important and missing political developments that stand as

markers between the outbreak of the Civil War and the establishment of the Protectorate.

The period of heightened tensions that followed the king's failed demand to arrest the seven

Londoners in January 1643 stands as an important and largely overlooked episode of ideological escalation

that punctuated the English Revolution. Indeed, looking more closely at the ideas that surrounded the

episode enables and even requires us to rethink a number of historiographical issues. The attempt helps, on

the one hand, to qualify Skinner's emphasis on the "republican moment" of 1642, and meanwhile it

bolsters Braddick's argument about the wider significance of 1643 as a period of ideological escalation.

Further, the period of hightened tension helps to extend political contextualization to Pearl's

chronologically restricted understanding of London's revolution, which ends all too abruptly in 1643 and

leaves readers to ponder the long-term significance of the political developments that followed after

London's revolutionary year.

David Wootton has suggested that the winter of 1642-3 was of central importance to the war

effort, and was a period when later "Levellers' views" were clearly "foreshadowed" in political and

religious writings. Yet Wootton's argument rests on the notion that the popular cause for the establishment

of new revolutionary ideas was the threat posed by the aftermath of Edgehill, Brentford and Turnham

Green and the very real "danger of defeat" by the king's forces. What he and others have missed is the fact

that the king's targeting of prominent Londoners mirrored his attempt on the five from the previous

January, and thus that many of the popular revolutionary tracts that were produced over the winter of 1642-

---

[530] Braddick, "History, Liberty, Reformation and the Cause: Parliamentarian Military and Ideological
Escalation in 1643," pp. 117–34.

43 were in fact made in response to *immediate* as well as *long-term* political developments.[531] Jeremiah

Burroughs, William Prynne, and Edward Bowles eagerly promoted parliamentary authority and popular

sovereignty, and thus can be called upon to support this point.[532] Bowles's *Plaine English* stands out as one

the most important tracts from the period in light of its call for the establishment of a fighting association

that would maintain a war effort regardless of a peace settlement. In short, it placed the matter of war into

the hands of the people. Bowles's radical message spurred a number of polemical responses, as Wootton

points out, but he has ignored the connection between the tract and its immediate political context – the

charge to arrest seven Londoners accused of treason.[533] Bowles did, after all, insist on the apparent and

urgent state of affairs that he and his fellow countrymen faced: "instead of those 6" from January 1642,

there were "at least 26 accused of treason" in January 1643.[534] The political threat faced by the "godly

party" in parliament and by their belligerent allies in the City, had come to look like the culmination of

long-term and immediate threats. Charles had continued to accuse men of treason outside of the bounds of

law, and his most recent move was to extend his reach to include seven prominent citizens of London.

> *Plaine English* was one of several important printed polemics that made specific reference to the

pressing need to bind the king according "to the Laws" of the nation. By the end of March 1643, a new

petition, *Remonstrans Redivivus*, was making the rounds in London. The petition's author framed ten

requests according to the familiar theme of *salus populi suprema lex esto*, the popular notion that the

"safety of the people is the Supreme Law." Concerned foremost with the source of authority, the petition

repeatedly drew attention to the legal basis for the rule of parliaments and their ability to sit annually

according to statue of Edward III (and not every three years as The Triennial Act had established), and their

right to check the authority of magistrates (including the king), and pass laws to preserve "the safety and

---

[531] David Wootton, "From Rebellion to Revolution," pp. 657, 659; Edward Bowles, *Plaine English,* ESTC numbers: R9421, R206059, R212039, R176540, and R175569.
[532] Wootton, pp. 660-64.
[533] See also, *An Answer To A Seditious Pamphet, Inituled, Plain-English* (Oxford [London], 1643); *A Second Plain-English* (London,1643); *A Plain Fault in Plain English* (London, 1643). See also, David Wootton, "From Rebellion to Revolution," pp. 655, 663-4.
[534] Bowles, *Plaine English*, p. 26.

freedom of the people."[535] Although reportedly available in March, the petition was not in fact printed until July, when political tensions in the capital reached a new fever pitch.

The king's attempt on the seven remained a topic of discussion and debate months after January, with polemicists and pamphleteers offering up tracts that both supported and condemned the affair. As we have seen, *A True Declaration* aimed to demonstrate unflagging support for Pennington's "cause" by a group of unnamed but self-identified "well affected Patriots."[536] Some, meanwhile, were happy to make more specific accusations. Reflecting on the state of war in May, Henry Parker concluded that it was "only on the Kings side, where the Pen and the Launce are both brandished in the same hand." Further, he suggested that the production of a "multitude of writings" that were both "invective and satyricall" had piled up to the rather large "advantage of the Kings party." The impact of such advantages were made apparent in debates that issued after *An Answer to the London Petition* was printed in response to the peace petitioners from December 1642.[537] Royalists spawned myriad accusations against their opponents, while reserving unmistakable disdain for "*Pennington*, *Ven*, *Foulk*, and *Mannering*, as notoriously guilty of Schisme [sic]," but it was clear that their chief target was "the Lord Major," who had "*stiled the stifling of peace in the womb*" with the decision to send the an envoy from London to Oxford. Damnable alongside the ringleaders were their minions, "the City Preachers" who put forth their best efforts to rally Londoners to "*fight against the King in the feare of God, and to turn the spirituall Milita into weapons of the flesh*."[538]

---

[535] *Remonstans Redivivus: An Account of the Remonstrance and Petition Foormerly presented by divers Citizens of London* (London, 1643) pp. 4-5. Valerie Pearl claims that a printed copy of the petition and remonstrance was presented to the Common Council on 30 March 1643. LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 57, however, does not indicate that this was the case. *An Account of the Remonstrance* only briefly mentions a "Petition of Lords and Commons, 14 *Dec*. 1641." William Walwyn was involved with the "Remonstrance presented ot the Common Council" during the time "when Alderman Pennington was Lord Mayor." See William Walwyn, *Walwyns Just Defence* (London, 1649), p. 8. David Como notes this connection in "Print, Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War," *JBS* vol. 51 (2012), p. 838.
[536] *A True Declaration*, sig. A3r.
[537] Henry Parker, *Accommodation Cordially Desired* (London, 1643), pp. 1-2. See also, *An Answer to the London Petition* (London, 1642). Thomason includes the interesting note that the petition was "frivolous" on p. 1.
[538] Parker, *Accommodation Cordially Desired*, pp. 11, 14, 30-31. Parker makes clear that his writing is intended as a response to "a late Pamphlet, pretended to be Printed at Oxford; a Reply to the Answer of the London Petition for Peace." Further, he makes frequent references to the author of the pamphlet as "the Replicant."

In attempting to sort out the efforts of royalist counter-polemics, Parker managed to distill and encapsulate an important strand of polemical rhetoric had taken shape since the outbreak of war: royalist polemicists believed that the seven Londoners were indeed ringleaders who were responsible for derailing any prospects for a peaceful accommodation. Lumped alongside them were leading belligerent parliamentarians and "seditious" ministers such as Stephen Marshall, John Arrowsmith, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Case, and Joseph Caryl, all of whom offered persuasive providential sermons to promote London's leading role in the war effort. Together, and in some cases by order, they sought, as we have seen, to "stirr" inhabitants to take up their cause. Royalists had come to believe that a select few "radicals" were responsible for the war against the king, just as parliamentarians toed the rhetorical line that the king had been seduced by a handful of corrupt ministers.

Royalist fears – namely those identified by Parker – were not unfounded. Thomason acquired *An Humble Proposal Of Safety to the Parliament* and inscribed the tract with the note that it was "presented to ye howse yt day my L[or]d maior & Cittizens went to oppose ye Accomodation yt ye Lords would have made on 25 May." Fowke and his allies had attempted to derail peace themselves the previous month when they delivered their twelve propositions in response to the request for £60,000 from the City. Their failure did not serve as a deterrent. Amongst several points contained in their new "humble proposal," was the suggestion that the City should be transformed into a *Campus Martius*, a Roman-style "Camp of Mars" in which the entire population of able-bodied citizens were expected to enlist for war or contribute equal monetary support for the war effort. This was clearly a point tied closely to the raising of the City's auxiliary forces and the assumption by members of the belligerent Militia Committee's Subcommittee, which had confidently claimed to parliament that they would raise a new force in London of 10,000 volunteers. In each successive attempt, London's petitioners put forward more radical requests. *An Humble Proposal* found precedent in petitions from and propositions from December, January and February. Newly presented, however, its terms had escalated to include explicitly republican elements of *salus populi suprema lex esto* and now *Campus Martius*. The ideological parameters of the City war effort had escalated dramatically. This process owed much to the king's fateful decision to charge seven leading

citizens of high treason, but it depended in equal part upon the willingness of Londoners to empathize with the accused, and further to mobilize on behalf of their increasingly radical cause.

A Complete Transformation?

Despite their best efforts, belligerents never wholly secured the metropolis for their cause. Although remarkable, London's transformation was by no means complete. Eleven miles of fortifications, the systematic destruction of idolatrous images, and the sequestration of malignants was not, in the end, enough to silence all opposition to the war effort, or to entirely obscure the mounting terrors or war. Contrasting sharply with six months of remarkable transformation to City was the popular recalcitrance shown by Londoners. Many were still convinced that their homes and livelihoods depended on the health of parliament's war effort, but few rejoiced at the prospect of mounting debt and new burdensome taxes.

Indeed, an aggravated populace tempered belligerent efforts to secure the City. The push to raise auxiliary forces was still underway at the beginning of the summer and the outfitting of these new men, as we have seen, led to additional requests for arms on livery companies that were already threatened with bankruptcy due to previous loans made to fund the war effort. These pressures were exacerbated by the presence of soldiers and the daily increase of maimed soldiers. The inhabitants of Lambeth had good reason to complained to the Commons on 20 February about a group of soldiers from Captain Andrewes's company who entered their church on the Sabbath "with their hatts on, & takeing Tobacco, & disturbing the minister." When they were finally "reproved" for disrupting the service, the men drew out their swords, "slaying one of our parishioners, & sorely wounding an other."[539] The presence of maimed soldiers had become so pressing by April that parliament issued a request that "all those parishes that are mentioned within the weekly Bill of *London*" along with the counties of Middlesex and Surrey were to collect money on the following fast day and deliver it to the Committee for Maimed Soldiers.[540]

---

[539] HLRO Main Papers Ms HL/PO/JO/10/1/114, fol. 188r.
[540] *Another Order for Contibutions for Maymed and diseased soldiers, who have been employed under the Command of his Excellencie the Earl of Essex* (London, 1643), p. 5.

News from the field could be equally discouraging. Exaggerated accounts of battles were routine, and sometimes reports contained dazzling accounts of valiance of battlefield heroics. But little could be done to conceal the miserable state of parliamentarian campaigns over the spring and summer of 1643.[541] Lord Brooke, a spiritual and symbolic champion of the parliamentary cause, fell in a moment of providential affirmation for royalists and despondency for parliamentarians, when "Dumb Dyott," a deaf and dumb royalist sniper, shot him through the eye as he was leaving a house. Sir Ralph Hopton's forces, moreover, had managed a demoralizing victory over the parliamentarian army at the Battle of Stratton on 16 May that led not only to clear control over Wales by royalist forces but to the defection of Major-General James Chudleigh. Shortages of cash and bitter rivalries had arisen between parliament's commanders in the field, so that the few victories that could be claimed were overshadowed by tensions. Sir Edward Nicholas happily noted that Essex faced immense difficulties on the field at Reading in April, having lost "700 of their men, & broken thereby their 2 best Regim[en]ts of Blew, & Red coates." Far from a laudable and unqualified victory, Nicholas assured his friend that if the royalist forces had been together "it is conceived wee might have a very fine opportunity to destroy their Army."[542] News of this nature got much worse before it got better. The Lord General's popularity, which was a matter of concern at the best of times, was daily sinking to new lows. It was widely rumored that Essex had been more busy dealing with soldiers who "run away dayly by great numbers," than he was in pursuing the enemy. William Waller could claim only slightly better results for his spring campaigning: he secured Hereford in April, but was repelled when trying to take Worcester the following month. London may have transformed, but there was little that could be done to alter the state of affairs on battlefields in the west.

"Mony," Edward Nicholas noted, remained a primary reason for parliamentarian discontentment. Despite countless donations, heavy taxation, and massive borrowing, the Parliament's income was still inadequate; the money that did come in was "very hardly gotten & slowly at London by ye 2 houses." Supply would remain a matter "which troubled" belligerents in the capital and all of parliament's

---

[541] John Greene made note of the "very cold Spring" that frequently saw "dry northerly winds." Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-59)," p. 392.

[542] HEH, Hastings Correspondence Box 17/9687 Sir Edward Nicholas to Henry Hastings 19 April 1643.

commanders in the west.[543] These and other pressures assured that London would remain divided over the

war effort. Ideological escalation, moreover, heightened divisions and served to further polarize residents

who sought to promote war or peace, making way for a number of radical proposals. One of these included

an ordinance passed by both Houses on 7 May that called for "the speedy raising & levying of Money

throughout the whole kingdome of England & domynion of Wales for the reliefe of the Common Wealth

by taxing such as have not at all contributed or lent or not according to their estates & abilities." Further, on

16 May both Houses ordered: "the Committee at Haberdashers hall shall have power within the City of

London and Twenty Miles Compasse, to call such persons before them that have not contributed

proporconably [sic] upon the propositions."[544] Over the following months the committee, headed by

Manchester, Saye and Sele, Wharton, Strode, Pym and Bond, would do all in its power to see that money

collected for weekly assessments and arrears made its way to the treasurers at Guildhall. As damaging news

of losses continued to pour into London, belligerents devised new means for promoting the war. London

had ostensibly transformed; the City was purified of idolatrous images and surrounded by Europe's largest

manned fortifications. But winning the hearts and minds of a politically heterogeneous and often fickle

population required more; in the weeks that followed, Londoners were introduced to new and terrifying

threats to their safety. As with the manipulation of the king's response to the London envoy in January,

belligerents found a way to hone in on the anxieties that would help to encourage popular mobilization. It is

therefore to one development in particular – the arrest of Edmund Waller and his fellow plotters – that we

must now turn.

---

[543] HEH, Hastings Correspondence Box 17/9688 Sir Edward Nicholas to Henry Hastings, 3 May 1643.
[544] TNA SP 19/2 fol. 1r contains a copy of the ordinance that was printed on 11 May 1643.

Section III. "Crushing this cockatrices Egg"

Chapter 8. Militant Ascendancy and Collapse

A Low Tide

Scholars have achieved various degrees of success when attempting to reconstruct the events that took place in London during the late summer and autumn of 1643. Most have at least touched on parliament's attempt to establish a "general rising," an anticipated *levée en masse* that would see all able-bodied male Londoners enlisted to create a new army to fight against the king. Several monographs stand out above the rest when dealing with this matter. Keith Lindley and Valerie Pearl both offer valuable narratives of the petitioning and political events that led up to the general rising.[545] The single best analysis to date, however, can be found in Robert Brenner's *Merchants and Revolution*, a monograph of impressive scope that charts how two major "polar political groups—one essentially royalist and dominated by company merchants as well as other wealthy citizens, the other politically radical and conspicuously including colonial-interloping traders as well as nonmerchant shopkeepers, ship captains, and artisans," operated in London during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Brenner's decision to focus on more than a century of interaction between these loosely defined elites means that he also illuminates several important political and religious developments that took place in London during the 1640s. Not least, he provides a valuable introduction to the roles played by a handful of leading London radicals who shaped "the terms of political conflict in the City" in 1642 and 1643. [546] Doubtless many participants in the City's peace and war movements came from the "polar political groups" mentioned by Brenner, but his analysis ultimately relies on the accounts of a select few leading committeemen and their elite allies. Thus Brenner's discussion – no matter how indispensible it is for explaining long-term political developments – also largely skips over the "general" part of London's general

---

[545] See Pearl, *London*, p. 270; Lindley, *Popular Politic*s, pp. 314-19.
[546] Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 452.

rising. In this sense, then, Brenner tells only half of the story. He dismisses – or at the very least fails to note – that mobilization in the metropolis was driven by popular support and at no point guaranteed.

Most scholars have maintained the general rising failed due to a combination of factors.[547] Brenner, whose reconstruction of events remains the best do date, concluded that the general rising collapses "for reasons that remain unclear," but that "radicals fell to quarreling among themselves," and that there was at some point "a competition between the militia committee and the committee of volunteers over recruits." It was, it would seem, again the actions of elite committeemen that resulted in an "inability to construct an army of volunteers" and that ultimately led to its collapse.[548] Although sound in principle, this interpretation ultimately fails to acknowledge two important aspects of the *general* rising. First, it strips away the agency and importance of the very "lowly" Londoners who were to serve as the basis for the general rising. And second, it fails to recognize that the majority of the population was capable of making politically informed decisions. It seems only reasonable, then, that Londoners should be returned to the center of the equation that depended entirely on their actions. Contemporaries estimated that some 20,000 citizens signed petitions supporting a general rising; yet the proposal failed to come to fruition. No matter how interested Londoners claimed to be in *the idea* of fighting, they were, in truth, simply unprepared to fight. Yet their recalcitrance – no matter how widespread – was also temporary. London's trained bands took to the field to relieve Gloucester in early August, only weeks after it became apparent that there would be no general rising of the population. Their motivation for marching out of the City was the same as it had been at Turnham Green in November 1642 and on the many mornings in early 1643 when they marched out to build the Lines of Communication. Londoners once again hoped to prevent the king from marching east towards their City; they hoped, in short, to preserve their lives, liberties, and ways of life.

Although important, the general rising was just one of several opportunities for Londoners to mobilize that spanned from the "low tide" in the war effort at the beginning of summer 1643 and on through campaigning that ended at the Battle of Alton on 13 December. Attention should be shifted away from

---

[547] Pearl, for instance, suggested that "the Committee for the General Rising soon faded out from lack of recruits and lack of compulsive powers." See *London*, p. 272.
[548] Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 458-9.

Brenner's merchant elites and the other leaders who expected a general rising – although they of course remain important – so that focus can be directed towards the participation of the citizenry and wider population. This is, in a sense, to do what Tim Harris has suggested in his study of London crowds, and "argue that the ordinary people had a more important political role than is normally conceded." In order to carry this argument to the general rising, we must turn to a number of previously under considered sources that reveal the opinions of London's "ordinary people." These include propaganda, oath taking, petitioning, and the corporate lending that defined London's involvement in the war. But they also include the persistent threat of plots and plotting, which became regular aspects of London's wartime political culture.[549] Considering these avenues reveals how rival mobilizations flourished and collapsed, and how the ideological parameters of the war effort were rearticulated over the latter half of 1643.[550]

A string of royalist victories in the west in early 1643 widened the political divisions that beset parliamentarians in late 1642. Londoners fared poorly in light of parliament's peril; the metropolis remained an obvious source of supplies and inhabitants were easily influenced by divisions that arose between parliamentary commanders. Indeed, few if any citizens of the metropolis could claim that they were unaffected by the year of "civill and intestine" fighting. Parishioners noticed a steady increase in the number of maimed and injured soldiers who required care, while eager readers could find daily newsbooks and pamphlets that offered reports of parliament's "lamentable" defeats and "miraculous" victories.[551] Like many of his fellow godly, Nehemiah Wallington brooded upon the meaning of such events, concluding that they were justified under the scope of divine providence – all events, both good and bad, were direct and unmistakable signs of God's judgment. Early July proved particularly trying for Wallington, who could not help but reflect on recent events involving six prominent parliamentary leaders. First was the matter of the "trust in ye Earle of Essex with his greate Army and how littel hath he done." Second was the "that worthy

---

[549] Plots had become a regular aspect politics in early modern London. I intend to explore the extent of the City's "plots and plotting" in a later study.

[550] See in particular Braddick, "History, liberty, reformation and the cause: Parliamentarian military and ideological escalation in 1643", in Michal Braddick and David L. Smith (eds.) *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 117-134.

[551] BL Harley Ms. 165, fol. 124r; BL Add. Ms. 40883, Diary of Nehemiah Wallington, "The Growth of a Christian," fol. 188v.; See *A Miraculous Victory* 27 May (London, 1643); *Mercurius Civicus*; *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*.

Lord Brooke" who had recently and shockingly been shot through the eye while in Lichfield, "slaine in battil like good King Josia." Third were the Scots, who failed "to come to helpe us in this our greate nessissyty." Fourth was "the Lord Fairfaxe" who was recently "overthrowen by the enemie" on 30 June at the Battle of Adwalton Moor. Fifth were Sir John Hotham and his son, both of whom were captured and shown to be "perfidious & Treacherous" traitors for their plan to deliver up Hull to the Earl of Newcastle. Last, and indeed most troubling of all to Wallington, was the matter of "worthy Sir William Waller whom our God bath prospered to wine so many greate victories," but who had been dealt a crushing defeat by Ralph Hopton's forces at Lansdown Hill on 5 July.[552] Although recorded privately as a means to check his personal "vaine outward hopes," Wallington's anxieties reflected wider metropolitan concerns over the state of parliament's war effort, which was "probably," as Brenner has pointed out, at "the very lowest point in the war."[553]

Politicians and pamphleteers played no small part in shaping Wallington's sentiments. Leading belligerents were particularly aware of the fact that the recent string of defeats had added an unwelcome strain to their cause; in no place was this pressure more apparent than London, where troubling news coupled with a seemingly endless barrage of demands for financial support. The latter ranged from weekly assessments to the deeply unpopular suggestion that residents might forego a weekly meal in order to donate the equivalent value towards the war. Worse yet for Londoners was the suggestion in June that an excise should be made "upon divers Commodities, for ye raising of mony to maintain the Parliaments Army."[554] In response to these cumulative pressures, many Londoners began to question whether the war was necessary.

Belligerents needed to address the issue of low morale. The pulpit provided one important avenue for reminding auditors why they should stay the course, but something else would be needed to counter Londoners' new sense of despondency. Londoners needed a common threat – a strong reminder as to why they should be willing to offer up their lives and open up their pocketbooks to support so strenuous a war effort. But news soon reached London to explain that such a threat did exist. And in a moment that seemed

---

[552] BL Add. Ms. 40883, Diary of Nehemiah Wallington, "The Growth of a Christian," fols. 128v-129r.
[553] Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 457.
[554] *A Declaration and Motive of the Persons Trusted* (London, 1643); BL Add. Ms. 31116, Lawrence Whitacre's Diary, fol. 58r. This particular passage relates to 23 June 1643.

as skillfully crafted and propagandized as Mark Antony's speech "disposed to stir" the "hearts and minds" of the people in *Julius Caesar*, Londoners learned precisely why they would be willing to fight on, why they had been made to suffer such hardships, and why they should tighten their belts and see that their fellow soldiers remain in the field.[555]

Waller's Plot

On the afternoon of 8 June 1643, John Pym and his four fellow members of the parliamentary Committee of Safety, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Oliver St. John, Sir Henry Vane Junior, and John Glynne, arrived at the guildhall to speak in front of a packed Common Hall. Pym had once again been appointed with the task of relaying parliament's sentiments of good will and unity, but he was also bearing pressing and dangerous news. Similar to the previous January when parliament sent Pym to address the City, attendees at the assembly were well aware of the subject of his impending speech – even if, that is, they were not fully sure of the details. Londoners had spent the first week of June clamoring for any and all information regarding what had transpired on the last Wednesday of May, a fast-day when Andrew Perne's morning sermon at St. Margaret's was interrupted when the "Speaker of the House of Commons, sent his Macebearer into the Church, to desire some of the Members to come speake with him" regarding "some intercepted letters" that were brought in and "declared a horrible plot against the Parliament, and the City of London."[556] According to the royalist *Mercurius Aulicus*, the disruption had allowed "some 50 of" the House to delegate "the whole power of the House to Master Pym" and his fellow committeemen. Since then, London had been "filled" with "noyse and clamour before remembred." The trained bands had been ordered to "seize upon such persons as they thought were likely to crosse their purposes," and City's "well affected ministers" were "plundered of ther Sermon-notes, under pretence of looking for suspected Papers." On 2 June, John Glynne reported to the Commons on the behalf of the Committee, revealing that their efforts had revealved "a

---

[555] See *Julius Caesar*, 3.2 lines 133-4.
[556] William Ingler, *Certaine Informations*, 31 May (London, 1643) E.105[2], p. 158.

Treason of such dangerous consequence that the Powder-plot, the *Sicilian Vespers*, [and] the massacre at *Paris*, were not to be compared unto it."[557]

Londoners had to wait another six days before learning the full details of the "mischievous Design" that threatened "the ruine and destruction of the City and of the Kingdom."[558] Renditions of the plot, including Pym's official speech at the Common Hall, were ready for purchase on 9 June.[559] According to one account, the conspirators intended to use a commission from the king in to order royalists in London to rise up on "a night where most part of the Trained Bands that kept the Courts of guard should be their frinds." Their first move would be to "seize upon the Magazine in London" and then to take "the workes." With the Lines of Communication taken, the plotters were then to signal 3000 of the king's men who would be waiting "within 15 miles of London" and would then ride into take the City and arrest "the L. Major and all the Committee of the Militia of London" along with "Members of both Houses, viz the L[ord] Say L[ord] Wharton Mr Pym, Sir Philip Stapleton, Col[onel] Hampten and Col[onel] Strod." Most terrifying was the "Regiment of 100 desperate rogues from Oxford" who would next be let in to the City so that they could be "imployed in cutting the throates of the chief Round heads." Distinguished by white ribbons and equipped with clubs and halberds, the uprising would then meet at London Guildhall in order to retake the City. The total size of the force could only be guessed at, but the expectation was for 20,000 men. Estimates were that one in four were loyalists within the City walls, while three of four were the same "in the out parts."[560]

Spearheading these terrifying plans was Edmund Waller, a member of the Commons who found eager help from like-minded conspirators within London. Those implicated came from every walk of City life and, alarmingly, included members of the House of Lords such as Jerome Weston, earl of Portland. Outside of the Houses, conspirators apparently ran the gamut from the peerage to respected merchants and liverymen. The plot itself revealed a shocking plan to deliver a commission of array from the king to

---

[557] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 7 June 1643, pp. 300-301.
[558] John Pym, *A Discovery of the great Plot for the utter Ruine of the City of London* (London, 1643), sig. A2r.
[559] Thomason's copy of *A Discovery of the great Plot for the utter Ruine of the City of London* was marked "June 9th 1643"
[560] *A True Discoverie of the Late Intended Plot To ruine the Citie of London and the Parliament as it was informed by Mr. Pym, young Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Solicitor, and Mr. Glyn* (London, 1643), sigs. A3r-A4r. Thomason marked this copy "June 13."

discontented Londoners. It was purported that Katherine Stuart, Lady d'Aubigny, brought papers to the City while ostensibly on business for her late husband, that she had in fact delivered a commission from the king to Sir Nicholas Crispe, a wealthy member of the Merchant Taylors who, if his later biographers are to be believed, spent some of the earlier days of war delivering gold and supplies to the king in Oxford while "disguised as a butter-woman on horseback."[561] Crispe then brought the commission on to Edmund Waller, the mastermind who would see to it that a royalist force would be raised in London. The circuitous plot, which became known as Waller's plot, shocked and convinced inhabitants that their worst fears would soon come true: lurking royalists and malignants would join forces to topple the City. The severity of the plot led to a court-martial trial and public execution of two accused plotters in early July, Nathaniel Tompkins and Richard Chaloner, while Waller was imprisoned and later banished.

Modern scholars have discussed Waller's plot at length, but most have considered the "murky" or "muddled" event in relation to Pym's political leadership. For Hexter, who was admittedly concerned foremost with Pym's "reign," Waller stood out as one of two extremes: a man who represented one end of a political spectrum, a devout royalist who could be juxtaposed conveniently with the outspoken "fiery sprits" in the Commons such as Strode and Marten.[562] But more than this, Waller provided Hexter's Pym with an opportunity that he "took advantage of" – in order to "impose a vow and covenant" on the City.[563] For Pearl, the plot, no matter how influential, had been "unearthed" long "before it had time to mature."[564] Although useful, these analyses have a tendency to view the plot within a political vacuum, as a free-floating event set outside of its wider political context. The plot, I contend, was not "unearthed" too early, nor did it simply provide Pym with a germane opportunity to live up to his reputation as parliament's "elegant English Cicero, or sweet-tongued Seneca."[565] Instead, it was an important moment in a wider political process, a threat that was widely manipulated as a means to shock Londoners to participate in a waning war effort, and an event that ultimately spurred belligerents to pursue the general rising. Given this, it is certainly worth

---

[561] Ward, Lock and co. *Ward and Lock's Pictorial Guide to the Environs of London* (London, 1878), p. 29.
[562] Hexter, *The Reign of King Pym*, pp. 9-10.
[563] Ibid., p. 32.
[564] Pearl, *London*, p. 265.
[565] John Vicars, *God on the mount* (London, 1643), p. 248.

heeding Conrad Russell's warning that "wariness is an entirely justified reaction with any Long Parliament plot, but wariness may stop short of incredulity." "Belief that plots should not be taken on trust," Russell goes on, "is no substitute for an examination of the sources."[566] Indeed, Russell makes a valuable point. A wider analysis of the sources surrounding Waller's plot reveals a political culture in which parliamentary leaders sought desperately to maintain mobilization, and in turn how Londoners responded to their efforts.

Contemporaries had their own opinions regarding the plot. Bulstrode Whitelocke, for instance, recalled observing Waller from the previous February when they had travelled together to Oxford as peace commissioners for parliament. Reflecting on their initial meeting with the king, Whitelocke recalled that Charles spoke to Waller, who was the final commissioner to kiss the royal signet on their arrival, and said "though you are last, yett you are not the worst, not the least in my favour." Whitelocke and his fellow commissioners were at the time puzzled and "wondered att the meaning of these words, till afterwards the discovery of a plot then in hand in London to betray the Parliament."[567] If Whitelocke's memory is to be trusted, the plot had been in the works for some time. Others were more pessimistic about Waller's culpability. Agostini reported that the entire "conspiracy rests upon nothing but the report of an ordinary individual sent to some members of parliament while they were at church on the fast day."[568] Royalists took similar if decidedly more cynical views of the plot and its propagandization. Writing from Oxford, John Berkenhead and Peter Heylyn repeatedly made clear their doubts in *Mercurius Aulicus*, claiming that the plot was in fact instigated by those "who were both the authors and discoverers." The "pourpose of the distraction," they went on, was as "any understanding man may see," simply "to affright the poore people with an apprehension of horrible danger, on purpose to make them lend some present money to be eased of this imaginary destruction." Berkenhead and Heylyn at first believed that "Master *Pym* and his accomplices" were the sole fabricators of the plot, but a month later they claimed it was the doing of "*Kimbolton*, *Mainwaring*, *Ven*, the *Devill*, and a few others."[569] Amerigo Salvetti, the Tuscan ambassador in London,

---

[566] Conrad Russell, "The First Army Plot of 1641," *TRHS* 38 (1988), p. 85.
[567] BL Add. Ms, 37343, Whitelocke's Annals Vol. III, fol. 263v.
[568] *Calendar of State Papers Venice: Volume 26, 1642-1643* (1925), p. 277.
[569] *Mercurius Aulicus,* Monday, 1 June 1643, p. 291; *Mercurius Aulicus*, Wednesday, 7 June 1643, p. 301; *Mercurius Aulicus*, Thursday, 6 July 1643, p. 355.

found much the same, but wrote home at length about the "uno commissione militare ad uno de deputati della camera inferiore," and the rampant rumors that plotters planned to open up the City and capture the Tower.[570] If contrived or real, the plot had become the *cause célèbre* amongst Londoners of all stations and sorts.

This latter point is without doubt the most important aspect of Waller's plot. For even if Pym's initial revealing of the plot was important, his extended role in the propagandization of the affair remains unclear. Most contemporaries later conceded that the plot was a sham, but this fact should not discredit the fact that the plot served a very important purpose of mobilizing during a low tide in parliament's war effort. And given the wide range of opinions – both past and present – it seems best to move past questions of Pym's continued orchestration of the plot, or indeed of its "murky" origins. Doutbless the origin of the plot is far less important than its impact. A study of the aftermath of the plot sheds light on the extent to which popular rumors and concerns about the plot helped to shape London's mobilization over the following summer and autumn. Geoffrey Smith has recently claimed that the plot "successfully if temporarily demoralised and rendered ineffective two potentially powerful and overlapping movements in London: popular royalism and the peace campaign."[571] I would like to contend that Smith is correct on both accounts, but more should be added to his assessment. As we shall see, Waller's plot not only served as a central catalyst behind a series of well-timed efforts to mobilize residents to contribute towards the war, but also to potentially subscribe to the Vow and Covenant, a binding oath that stood as a stepping stone to Londoners' later participation in the general rising and beyond. In order to understand these connections, we must first turn to the plot's propagandization.

Propagandizing the Plot

---

[570] BL Add. Ms. 27962 K(i), Salvetti Correspondence, 19 June 1643, fols .109r-v. Salvetti referred to the "the military commission provided to a member of the Lower House."

[571] Geoffrey Smith, *Royalist Agents, Conspirators and Spies: Their Role in the British Civil Wars, 1640-1660* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 53-4.

Initial doubts over the legitimacy of Waller's plot, like those expressed in *Mercurius Aulicus*, were

countered by an outpouring of support for parliament's cause. On 3 June – five days before the Common

Hall in which Pym would reveal the full scope of the plot – the London bookseller and avid collector

George Thomason, got his hands on a copy of *A Declaration of the Loyalty of the Citizens of London*.

Printed anonymously, the short pamphlet provided an unmistakable expression of loyalty to the

parliamentarian cause. Cast in the familiar language of mixed constitutionalism, the tract supported

parliament as a third of a Gordian Knot, the legislative strand of a "triple object" that depended "upon their

Prince, upon religion, and upon law."[572] More than simply suggesting the importance of the unbreakable

"threefold Cord," the tract also offered praise for London's "heroick Companies of trained souldiers, [who]

daily exercised for the security both of Parliament and City" and "the fortifications, bulwarks and trenches"

that they had helped to build "for the strengthening and security thereof." "Thousands," claimed the author,

had rallied "in a warlike manner with their Commanders Colours, Drums and weapons of war in one hand,

and instruments of labour in the other" to see that the City was both secured and defended. To see that their

efforts were not it vain, the time had come for the "searching out and rejection of the disloyall hearted

amongst them" and for "exemplary punishment for the same." Londoners had, in short, come to express

their loyalty to parliament's cause and their desire to see the City purged of any disaffected segments.

Conveniently, such "disloyall hearted" enemies were about to be revealed to the City. The most efficient

means for trying such men would be a court martial – and this, unsurprisingly, was obtained with ease due

to Pym's good standing with the Lord General.[573]

Although important in its own right, *A Declaration* was just one of several tracts that tied Waller's

plot to Londoners' wider commitment to the war effort. On 6 June 1643, Pym reported to the Commons on

behalf of the parliamentary Committee of Safety and their findings regarding Waller's plot. Lawrence

Whitacre, who was present in the House, noted the unusual uproar that followed the Committee's report,

---

[572] *A Declaration of the Loyalty of the Citizens of London to the King and Parliament Wherein Their Fidelity and true Affection to the Publicke good is clearly manifested, by their Voluntary Contributions, Personall Actions, and Strong Fortifications, for the safety of the King, Parliament and Kingdome* (London, 1643), sig. A2r.
[573] For a discussion of this matter, see John Collins, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Martial Law and the Making of the High Courts of Justice, 1642-60" *JBS* 53 (2014), esp. p. 865.

and in particular the plan "to seize the Lord Say, and Lord Wharton and 5 of the house of Commons, viz, the

Lord Mayor, Mr Pym, Sir Phillip Stapleton Coll Hamden, and Mr Stroed."[574] The intended arrests seemed

like little more than a recurring nightmare; everyone in the House recalled the similar attempts on

Pennington and his allies in the City months earlier, and none could forget the king's attempt to arrest

members from 5 January 1642.[575] Following Pym's report, "divers notes were passed in the house" and

several important proposals were put forward.[576] Among these were two key developments that solidified

the plot's importance: plans were put in place for a day for public thanksgiving on 15 June, and it was

agreed upon that parliament should seek to establish "a more firm Bond and Union" that would serve "for

Uniting all together" in support of parliament's war effort.[577]

Drawn up and agreed upon the same day, the new "Bond and Union," thereafter known as the

"Vow and Covenant," proved to be a profound step towards escalating the war effort. The new Vow and

Covenant was from its inception to serve as a means "to distinguish the good Party from the bad: and to

unite faster together the good Party."[578] More than this, it called upon each subscriber to show "sorrow for

my own Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have sererv'd the Calamities and Judgements that now lie

upon it." Expressing repentance for national sin and the discovery of the plot could be expected, but two

additional parts of the oath were clearly designed to alter the course of the war. New subscribers were

expected to declare: "I will not consent to the laying down of Arms, so long as the Papists, now in open War

against the Parliament, shall, by Force of Arms, be protected from the Justice thereof" and finally that "I

will, according to my Power and Vocation, assist the Forces raised and continued by both Houses of

Parliament, against the Forces raised by the King without their Consent." These amounted, in unmistakable

---

[574] BL Add. Ms. 31116, Lawrence Whitacre's Diary, fol. 55r.

[575] This development is discussed in greater detail above. See "The Attempt on the Seven Londoners."

[576] BL Add. Ms. 31116, Lawrence Whitacre's Diary, fol. 55r.

[577] This is a reference to the 1641 Protestation, which had set members in line with a nascent parliamentary cause. The new Vow and Covenant, sprung directly out of the threat of a royalist plot against London, had pushed members of the Commons to swear to a new, and clearly more radical articulation of the cause against the king.

[578] The normal monthly fast-day sermons were to be preached by Herbert Palmer, Thomas Hill, and Thomas Carter. See *CJ* iii, p. 110.

terms, to a pledge of martial support for the parliamentarian war effort that went beyond the terms of the 1641 Protestation.

Remarkably, the Vow and Covenant was "forthwith taken by the Speaker, and all the Members, wherein only 15 Dessented" under the hope that they might be "desired only some time to Consider of it, so they had time given them till Friday morning."[579] Finally, it was on the same day ordered that "the same Committee" of Safety should meet "to prepare this Covenant in a fit Manner to be taken by the whole Kingdom." On 9 June, three days after the Commons had subscribed, sixteen remaining peers agreed to take the Covenant.[580]

Word of the Vow and Covenant's success quickly reached Oxford. On 13 June 1643, Sir Edward Nicholas wrote to Hastings to inform him about the state of the nation's military affairs, and concluded his news with his typical synopsis of rumors and news regarding the capital. "Att London they can levy noe money not men considerable," Nicholas claimed. But this was far less important than the fact that Londoners had "lately made a rebellious Covenant against the King."[581] Between the time when the Lords took the oath and the day of public thanksgiving set for 15 June, a flood of pamphlets with information on the plot became available. Clamorous and eager, Londoners sought any shreds of news that they could regarding their recent "delivery" from the plot. The first available source was Pym's speech from the Guildhall from 6 June. Printed as *A Discoverie of the Great Plot,* the tract quickly went into three editions to meet popular demand.[582] More sources became available and can be dated due to Thomason's precise system of dating new acquisitions. On 13 June, Thomason acquired *A True Discoverie Of the late intended*

---

[579] BL Add. Ms. 31116, Lawrence Whitacre's Diary, fol. 55r. According the *Commons Journal*, 152 members took the "New Oath and covenant" on the afternoon of the 6th, while sixteen requested more time to consider specific aspects of the document: 152 members took the "New Oath and covenant" on the afternoon of the 6th, while sixteen requested more time to consider specific aspects of the document.

[580] These included Lord Howard of Escrick, Lord Lovelace, Phillipp Lord Wharton. Viscount Conway, Viscount Say and Seale, the earls of Portland, Bollingbrooke, Clare, Holland, Denbigh, Salisbury, Pembroke, Montgomery, Bedford, Rutland, Northumberland, and Manchester. See *LJ* vi, p.

[581] HEHL, Hastings Correspondence Box 17/9692.

[582] *A Discoverie of the Great Plot* (London, 1643): ESTC R22271; ESTC R230621; ESTC R235655 and *A True Discoverie of the Late Intended Plot To ruine the Citie of London and the Parliament as it was informed by Mr. Pym, young Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Solicitor, and Mr. Glyn* (London, 1643): ESTC R6095.

Plot,[583] and on the same day picked up *A Copie of the Commission sent from his Majestie to The Conspirators of the Citie* of London.[584] The contents of these tracts were, admittedly, similar to those contained in *A Discoverie*, but their availability corroborates the notion that there was significant demand for information relating to the plot. On 14 June, the day prior to the public humiliation, Pym reported to the Commons that "divers Preachers about London had Enformed us that the People were not sufficiently satisfyed of the Truth of ye Plott" and that it was therefore necessary that a "declaration to be made to be published to morrow in all Churches in and about London" which explained the threat posed by the plot.[585] On same day that appointed for public thanksgiving, Thomason acquired a copy of the "Truth of the Plott," *A Brief Narrative of The late Treacherous and Horrid Designe*, a copy of Pym's speech from Guildhall that was printed with the king's commission.[586] It was not until the first issue of the newly licensed *Parliament Scout* that an official parliamentarian newspaper provided a relation of "the late plot."[587] Clearly, Londoners had no trouble getting their hands on news regarding Waller's plot.

On 15 June, the same day that the "brief narrative" was "read in all Churches and Chappels, in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Suburbs thereof," four prominent ministers climbed the pulpits in Westminster to preach fast-day sermons.[588] Stephen Marshall and Obadiah Sedgewick were appointed to preach to the Commons at St. Margaret's, while Charles Herle and Edmund Calamy were selected to give sermons to the Lords in Westminster Abbey. Each of these ministers was widely known and respected, and each used the opportunity to take special pains to point towards the importance of humility in light of God's providential delivery of London. Stephen Marshall left his audience with no shortage of vivid imagery,

---

[583] *A True Discoverie*.
[584] *A Copie of the Commission sent from his Majestie to The Conspirators of the Citie of London* (London, 1643).
[585] BL Add. Ms. 31116, Lawrence Whitacre's Diary, fol. 57r.
[586] *A Brief Narrative of The late Treacherous and Horrid Designe* [. . .] *Together with a true Copie of the Commission under the great Seal, sent from Oxford, to severall persons in the Citie of London* (London, 1643). These were Printed for Edward Husbands, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Middle Temple. June 15. A second edition was printed on 12 July, ESTC R23812. See BL Harley Ms. 165 fol. 112r, Wednesday 14 June 1643.
[587] John Dillingham, *The Parliament Scout* (London, 1643), p. 4.
[588] *A Brief Narrative of The late Treacherous and Horrid Designe*. This passage is taken from the orders on the title page: "Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, That this Narration and Commission be read in all Churches and Chappels, in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Suburbs thereof, on the day abovesaid."

praising "the good hand of God in Crushing this cockatrices egge, before it brake out to be a fiery flying serpent." More than merely offering thanks to the Almighty for delivering Londoners from the plot, he warned that the nation would be "brought under the curse of God, if you perform not this solemn Covenant."[589] Similarly, there was no mistaking the "tune" that eminated from Obadiah Sedgewick. Sedgewick beseeched his audience to never fall "*flatt*," but rather "*raise* and *quicken*" to be vigilant and take action.[590] Sermons in the Abbey were largely the same in tone. Charles Here offered thanks to God for "blasting the Plots of traiterous enemies," while Edmund Calamy gave a lengthy sermon to warn of "the great breach of *Oaths and Covenants*." "One great reason why the Sword is now drawne in *England*," Calamy went on, was that the "Nation" was already "deeply guilty of" breaking past oaths and covenants. It was, then, he claimed, his job "to remind you, that in this Covenant you have also vowed, *in order to the preservation of them, to assist the forces raised by the Parlaiment, according to your power and vocation, and not to assist the forces raised by the King, neither directly nor indirectly*."[591] Members of both houses left Westminster with little doubt of the spiritual and contractually binding nature of the Vow and Covenant. The unity of purpose in the fast-day sermons suggests, moreover, that all four ministers had spent early June coordinating their tune; Marshall, Sedgewick, Herele and Calamy uniformly condemned the plot while promoting the covenant.

Contemporaries responded to the crisis in a number of ways, but the primary result was to escalate the terms of the war and establish a more firm commitment to parliament's cause amongst godly Londoners. Nehemiah Wallington had been distraught over plots and plotting for most of the month. He awoke early on the morning of 5 June to find himself "walkeing alone to & froe in the Kiching meditating of God grat mercy in discovering of that devilish plot." The next day he went on to St. Mathew's Friday Street to hear Henry Burton preach "a day of Thanksgiving" to commemorate the recent discovery and "great deliverance from that hellish ploot (of fiering of the City)." Following the sermon, Wallington could not help but to wonder "what the Spainyards in 88 would have done and the hellish gunpowder plott and a thousand plots

---

[589] Stephen Marshall, *The Song of Moses the Servant of God* (London, 1643), p. 39.
[590] Obadiah Sedgewick, *Haman's Vanity* (London, 1643), p. 31.
[591] Charles Herle, *Davids Song of Three Parts* (London, 1643), p. 22; Edmund Calamy, *The Noble-Mans Patterne* (London, 1643), p. 45.

more sence." He concluded with certainty that the "grat plot of fiering of the City" was "prevented" so that Londoners "may know the righteousnesse of the Lord." On 15 June, the "day of Thankesgiving over the whole City," he was again pondering "the grat deliverance from that hellish plot (of fiering the City and to put to death all the people of God)."[592] After engaging in some "privat thoughts" relating to Esther Chapter 9, he went to his parish church of St. Leonard Eastcheap to hear Henry Roborough preach on Psalm 121:5 and why "the Lord is the keeper & protecter of his children." London's ministers were busy expounding similar themes to those covered by parliament's official fast-day preachers. Four days later, on 19 June, the Venetian ambassador observed that "all these things" had exacted "confusion and alarm among the people" and thereby "irritate[d] them more against the king and to encroach upon his authority."[593]

Royalists could scarcely afford to leave these matters unchecked. Newsbooks had already thrown into question whether the plot was genuine, but a more official response from the crown finally came on 24 June with the printing of *A Sacred Oath or Covenant*, a single sheet and counter to the Vow and Covenant that instructed subscribers to maintain "His Majesties just Rights" and duly to resist "the Forces, under the conduct of the Earl of *Essex*."[594] Thus, by the end of June the parliament and the king had issued competing and binding oaths with the intent that they might better secure commitment to their respective causes. These competing platforms served to rearticulate and escalate the ideological terms of both war efforts. Parliamentarians once again benefitted their proximity to the metropolis. The "brief narrative" of Waller's plot had been introduced throughout London on a special day appointed for public fasting. And unlike *A Sacred Oath or Covenant*, which was apparently only printed in Oxford, parliament's Vow and Covenant was soon to be printed in City, ensuring that it would immediately reach London's readers.

---

[592] BL Add. Ms. 40883, Diary of Nehemiah Wallington, "The Growth of a Christian," fols. 105v-106r, 108v. As David Booy has pointed out, Wallington's troubled morning and reflection had to do with another "royalist plot to regain governmental power under cover of petitioning for peace." See *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 193 n. 267. It seems entirely possible that both plots had become convoluted in Wallington's mind.
[593] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice: Volume 26, 1642-1643* (1925), p. 277.
[594] *A Sacred Oath or Covenant* (Oxford, 1643).

The Vow and Covenant in the City

On 27 June**,** the Commons announced that the Waller conspirators would be tried at the London Guildhall. Their trial was to commence under the authority of martial law by order of the Lord General and with judges chosen by Manchester. Nathaniel Tompkins and Richard Chaloner were, after a series of short prearranged proceedings, pronounced guilty of treason. Both men were sentenced to hang on Wednesday 5 July on a gibbet erected outside of the bustling Royall Exchange. The occasion drew large crowds and prior to their deaths, both men delivered short speeches of contrition that were promptly set in print and released for public consumption.[595] Waller was himself put on trial shortly after the public hangings, but he did not suffer the same fate as his guilty co-conspirators. After appearing in the house on 4 July, "clothed in mourning as if he had been going to execution" and with a "dejected spirit," he was fined £10,000, imprisoned, and ordered to depart the kingdom. He remained in jail for more than a year prior to his exile in November 1644.[596]

More important than the popular public trials of the Waller Plot conspirators were parliament's orders that Vow and Covenant should be taken "in all fortified Cities, Towns, Castles, and Forts, or other Garrisons." Direct orders for taking the Vow and Covenant came just days after the printing of the 24 June printing of *A Sacred Oath or Covenant* in Oxford, and included detailed instructions. The Vow and Covenant was to be distributed "unto every Parish Church or Chapel" throughout the nation "within Six Dayes." All parishioners were then expected to hear the oath read aloud, so that they could then sign their names in agreement. Those who refused to sign or were absent from the reading were to have their names recorded and passed on to parliament "within Twenty Days." Decliners were to be immediately "disarmed" under the suspicion that they were active and dangerous opponents of parliament.[597] Parliament had, in short, necessitated that inhabitants commit to one of two sides of the conflict; they were either to swear to uphold "His Majesties command" that was "against the Forces" serving "under the conduct of the Earl of

---

[595] *The Whole Confession and Speech of Mr. Nathaniel Tompkins* (London, 1643); *Mr Challenor His Confession and Speech* (London, 1643).
[596] BL Harley Ms. 165, fols. 115v, 144r-5r; *Mr Wallers Speech in the House of Commons* (London, 1643).
[597] *CJ* iii, pp. 147-8.

Essex" outlined in A Sacred Oath, or they were to "binde themselves" to fight "against the Forces raised by the King" set down in the new Vow and Covenant.[598] The parameters of the conflict were thus set in crystal clear terms and in direct response to the "treacherous and horrid Designe" of Waller's plot. The new ideological basis for parliament's war effort, was, in other words, constructed entirely on the threat of a "surprise" attack on "the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and which had only narrowly been averted by the "especiall Providence of God."[599]

It remains nearly impossible to measure the extent to which Londoners subscribed to either the Sacred Oath or the Vow and Covenant. All copies of lists relating to the Sacred Oath – a clandestine matter at best in London – are gone. Matters are, however, somewhat better with regards to the Vow and Covenant. In his study of covenants from the Civil War period, Edward Vallance has claimed that, "as a political test the Vow and Covenant's life was short-lived" and that it was simply "too divisive" to be widely accepted.[600] This assessment is corroborated by contemporary reports such as that of Agostini, who wrote home to Venice on 12 of July that the "oath of the covenant," which had been appointed for "the day of general fast" on June 28 "was not done, as they are somewhat afraid of proposing it since many leaders of the army have refused to take it." And "yet," Agostini went on, "they have printed the order to be observed by every parish, and say that it will take place on Sunday next." "Meanwhile," Agostini went on, "many are trying to escape to avoid being forced against their wills and consciences."[601] The hesitancy shown by army leaders supports the view that many saw the Vow and Covenant as novel and divisive. This divisiveness most likely centered around a number of points in the oath, such as the fact that the Vow and Covenant bound takers to belligerent action, or perhaps that it contained contradictions to earlier oaths and covenants sworn to by soldiers, and most notably the Protestation of 1641 and 1642. In either case, Vallance would have us believe that widespread refusal should be taken as an indication of the fact that the terms of the Vow and Covenant

---

[598] *A Sacred Oath or Covenant* (Oxford, 1643); *A Sacred Vow and Covenant* (London, 1643), pp. 5-6.
[599] *A Sacred Vow and Covenant*, p. 5.
[600] Edward Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant: State Oaths, Protestantism and the Political Nation* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 57.
[601] Allen Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venice* vol. 27, 1643-1647 (London, 1926), pp. 291-307.

were at odds with popular opinion, not just in terms of taking the oath, but also in terms of willingness to subscribe to binding terms or war against the king.

Yet Vallance provides a relatively narrow basis for his claim that the Vow and Covenant was a "failure." Vallance's assessment stems from the assumption that the army uniformly rejected the Vow and Covenant. This view is problematic for a number of reasons: foremost, it reveals a general issue in terms of a wider tendency among historians to consider the Vow and Covenant as "the Protestation's successor," or simply as a rough first draft for the later Solemn League and Covenant.[602] Second, it fails to consider the fact that most soldiers already held commissions under the terms of the 1642 Protestation and therefore had no reason – less yet, the ability – to swear to the terms set down in the Vow and Covenant. The Vow and Covenant's terms were, thus, likely understood to be redundant by most soldiers. Worse yet, swearing to the new oath could dangerous. The Protestation already served as the basis for the formation of the parliamentary army in 1643; swearing to the new Vow and Covenant – a second oath – would be tantamount to breaking the first oath to the Protestation. The popular recalcitrance shown towards the Vow and Covenant by the army does not, in the end, suggest a wider "failure" on the part of the Vow and Covenant.

However, a number of practical conditions surrounding the oath are important, and should at least be taken into consideration. First, there is at least some reason to assume that, aside from the regular loss of paper ephemera, a number of returns may have been intentionally destroyed as a means to avoid culpability and involvement with the bellicose oath. Second, and more important, is the matter of the political context under which the Vow and Covenant was drawn up. The Vow and Covenant was drawn up at the same time that parliament's armies were campaigning and clashing with the king's forces in the west. Why, in other words, bother swearing soldiers to fight in a conflict in which they were already participating. Losing sight of this simple but defining aspect of the Vow and Covenant's context detracts from its novelty, and indeed from its significance in terms of London's war effort. For the Vow and Covenant was not *only* addressed to members of army, but it was distributed to inhabitants with the intention that it would serve as both a litmus test for allegiance and as a means to generate new conscripts. A number of men were being held under

---

[602] See Edward Vallance, "Religious Justifications for the English Civil War," in the *HLQ* 65 (2003), p. 402.

suspicion of conspiracy in the wake of Waller's plot. Holles, for one, concurred that the plot was devised primarily as a means for gauging the allegiance of Londoners.[603] His concerns were certainly founded. The administering of the Vow and Covenant would serve as an excellent means to test and "weed out" potential threats in Parliament, but it also could serve another purpose: if taken, the oath could also be used as a springboard for creating a new fighting force out of the entire able-bodied male population of London – an attempt to establish the "general rising." Those who refused the oath could simply "escape" from the capital, as Agostini pointed out.

The tendency, then, to see the Vow and Covenant as a minor blip – one that was largely dismissed or abandoned in favor of the later adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant – obscures the extent to which belligerents used the oath to escalate the war effort in London. Setting the Vow and Covenant within its proper context reveals a much wider landscape of political manipulation and engagement in London. Militants had long sought to implement the specific terms laid out in the Vow and Covenant; earlier petitions such as the one promoted by Watkins and Shute in December 1642 bore a striking resemblance to the covenant, as did Bowle's *Plaine English* from January 1643 and the *Remonstrans Redivivus* petition from March of the same year. Seen within the context of these earlier proposals – and especially in light of the summer "low tide" in the war effort – the Vow and Covenant changes completely. It ceases to appear as a short-lived piece of the covenanting tradition, or as a mere draft for the Solemn League and Covenant, and instead stands out as a specific articulation of the belligerent agenda, an articulation of militant expectations that both reflected the concerns raised by Waller's plot and the hopes articulated by promoters of the general rising.

Contemporaries took the Vow and Covenant seriously. Editions printed in London in early June contained the names of 190 Commons who had themselves taken the oath, a sort of guidance by example and guarantee of the oath's acceptance in parliament.[604] More than this, Londoners were in truth widely

---

[603] See David Martin Jones, *Conscience and Allegiance in Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 120; Vallance, *Revolutionary England*, p. 56. For Holles's role in the affair, see Patricia Crawford, *Denzil Holles, 1598-1680* (London, 1979), pp. 90-91. The suspected men included John Evelyn, Sir John Holland, Sir John Maynard, and William Pierrepont.

[604] *A Sacred Vow and Covenant*, pp. 3-4.

receptive to the oath.[605] As Vallance points out, "only six out of one hundred and two" parishes retain records of the covenant. This, he concluded, makes it particularly difficult to corroborate the Venetian ambassador's claim that the "Covenant was 'refused by the majority of people, who know that it is improper and directly contrary to others taken.'"[606] But the relative paucity of sources should not obscure the significance of the oath, and nor should it be used as reason to look past the Venetian ambassador's assessment. On balance, then, it would be wise to take a second look at the extant records relating to the Vow and Covenant. Doing so reveals valuable insights about the diversity of political participation in London and the degree to which wartime mobilization depended on unique intersections between the City's preaching ministry and its godly parishioners.

The vestry minutes from St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, for example, contain a printed and pasted down copy of the Vow and Covenant followed by 120 signatures. The first of these is marked by the parish's godly rector and chaplain to Pennington, "Tho[mas] Case Lecturer," and is followed by "Anne his wife."[607] In St. Margaret's Lothbury, the petition was copied out by hand "fair written" as the orders from parliament stipulated, and 251 signatures of men and women from the parish are recorded. The first signature is that of Leonard Cooke, the "Godly, Learned, and Orthodox Divine" who was appointed to the parsonage of the parish according to a sequestration order from February.[608] The first three pages include the signatures of men only, while the last two pages consist of the names of nearly 100 women and a handful of men.[609] The "Names of such of the Parishioners" from "Clements East Chepe as tooke the Covenant According to an Ordiance & Command of both Houses" remains in the back portion of a volume of churchwardens' accounts. The single folio contains some 120 signatures, including those of Walter Taylor, their rector, Edmond Brome, minister, and their two churchwardens. If 120 signatures is a relatively small

[605] Vallance largely dismisses the Vow and Covenant, jumping instead to discuss the contested relevance of the Solemn League and Covenant in "Religious Justifications for the English Civil War," pp. 413-414. See also, *Revolutionary England*, pp. 115-119.

[606] Vallance, *Revolutionary England*, p. 118.

[607] LMA, Ms. P69/MRY9/B/001/MS02597/001, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street Vestry Minutes, 1619-1668, fols. 66-7.

[608] *A&O*, pp. 82-3.

[609] LMA Ms. P69/MGT1/B/001/MS04352/001, St. Margaret Lothbury Vestry Minutes, 1571/2-1677, fols. 156r-157v. It should be noted that fol. 157 is in fact a duplicate in the pencil notation. This should be 158v.

number, it is nevertheless more than the 105 that were recorded on 8 October for the Solemn League and Covenant.[610] At St. Martin Orgar the entire Vow and Covenant was copied out along with the names of 175 male parishioners.[611] Orders in the vestry book at St. Stephen's Coleman Street state clearly that the "oath and covenant" was to be taken "in the Afternoone after Sermon in all the Parishes Churches and Chappells" within London, and that "oath and Covenant shalbee tendred to every man within the parishes within the Bill of Mortality." Those who were unable to swear immediately to the Vow and Covenant were expected to swear to it "the next Fast day." Following from the orders is an impressive list of signatures beginning with John Goodwin and totaled some 780 signatures, and of which just under half – some 372 – belonged to women. These impressive figures from one particularly godly, active and belligerent parish serve to remind us that the Vow and Covenant was not only meant to motivate men to mobilize for war; it was meant as meant to bind the entire community – women and men – to join parliament's cause.

Further evidence of signatures can be found in the churchwarden's accounts from St. Benet Fink, where the names of some 131 signatures are recorded, but represent only male parishioners.[612] St. Stephen's, meanwhile, provides the only evidence of a parishioner adding a qualification to their signature. John Wells subscribed with the caveat that he intended the "savinge my alegants to my kinge and the only just Suepreme majesty and the laste prottistacion."[613]

Extant accounts from just six parishes therefore reveal that some 1577 Londoners agreed to the terms of the Vow and Covenant, and that just one parishioner, John Wells, sought to qualify his subscription. And while this number cannot be extrapolated with confidence as a means to estimate the total number of signatures that may have existed, it does suggest that a significant proportion of London's

---

[610] LMA Ms. P69/CLE/B/007/MS00977/001, St. Clement Eastcheap Churchwardens' Accounts, 1636-1740, unfoliated, but the list is pasted in the back of the book.
[611] LMA Ms. P69/MTN2/B/001/MS00959/001, St. Martin Orgar Vestry Minutes, 1469-1707, fols. 381v-2; See Vallance, *Revolutionary England*, p. 116.
[612] LMA Ms. P69/BEN1/B/005/MS01303/001, St. Benet Fink Churchwardens' Accounts, 1610-99, unfoliated. No other information accompanies the list, but the location of the chronology of the list in relation to other accounts suggests that it is in fact from the Vow and Covenant.
[613] LMA Ms. P69/STE1/B/001/MS04458/001/002, St. Stephen Coleman Street Vestry Minutes, 1622-1726, "undated return placed down at back of the vestry book"; See also, Vallance, *Revolutionary England*, p. 118.

population agreed to the terms of the Vow and Covenant, which was, as we have seen, drawn up with specific references to Waller's plot and "the said wicked and treacherous designe lately discovered."

Further insights can be gleaned from the remaining Vow and Covenant lists. The number of signatures put down in the parishes, for instance, can be compared with the numbers of signatures collected for the later Solemn League and Covenant, which Vallance has correctly identified as another entirely "divisive" affair in London.[614] As we have seen, lists of signatures from St. Clement's Eastcheap reveal that fifteen fewer parishioners signed the Solemn League and Covenant than put their signatures to the earlier Vow and Covenant. Similarly, at St. Margaret Lothbury, some seventy-six fewer parishioners signed the Solemn League and Covenant than signed the Vow and Covenant.[615] This once again suggests that the Vow and Covenant may in fact have been less contentious than the later Solemn League and Covenant. Precisely why this was the case must remain a matter of speculation, but there is some evidence to support this view. Nathaniel Symonds, for instance, took particular issue with the idea of taking the Solemn League and Covenant. On 22 February 1644, he agreed to give a "hearty" apology in his native St. Clement's Eastcheap for speaking "rashly and wickedly against the parliament" and their new covenant. At the same time Walter Taylor, St. Clement's rector, signed a written statement to confirm that Symonds had in fact "taken the league and covenant." Whereas Symonds' signature was clearly written clearly on the return for the Vow and Covenant, it was harshly crossed out on the later Solemn League and Covenant list.[616] Symonds, like others, may have found the notion of fighting for parliament less troubling than the notion of an English church bound to the Scottish Kirk.

Rather than seeing the Vow and Covenant as a fleeting occasion between the Protestation and the Solemn League and Covenant, it should be considered on its own terms. Certainly, contemporaries perceived the Vow and Covenant as more than an "embodiment" or a "renewal" of a single "national covenant," as Vallance has suggested. At the time of their signing there was no guarantee that it would be

---

[614] Vallance, *Revolutionary England*, p. 57.

[615] LMA Ms. P69/MGT1/B/001/MS04352/001, St. Margaret Lothbury Vestry Minutes, 1571/2-1677, fols. 156r-160r. [174 as opposed to 251].

[616] LMA Ms. P69/CLE/B/007/MS00977/001, St. Clement Eastcheap Churchwardens' Accounts, 1636 - 1740, unfoliated.

followed up by an alliance and covenant with the Scots.[617] And while it may still in fact be difficult to "corroborate the Venetian Ambassador's claims" regarding popular recalcitrance and the Vow and Covenant, as Vallance has suggested, there is still good reason to reestablish the novelty and political context of the association. Doing so shows that the Vow and Covenant helped to reframe – and indeed intensify – the political and ideological parameters of the war effort sought by militants. It also helps to establish a clearer picture of popular mobilization in the metropolis. Beyond the impressive insights that can be garnered from analyzing the extant signatures from the six parishes, there is compelling evidence to suggest that a number of parishes did in fact intentionally remove – and perhaps even destroy – lists of signatures. This point may lend at least tenuous credibility to the claims of the Venetian ambassador, just as it might also be used to suggest that the Vow and Covenant remained a deeply controversial well after it was first proposed. Several of the returns that were removed from parish vestry books leave behind clear traces in the shape of crudely torn out lists and remaining fragments. One rather straightforward explanation for the removal of lists could be the need to submit responses to parliament within the brief twenty-day window that was specified in the covenants instructions. The vestry minutes of St. Mary Colechurch, for instance, contain a pasted down copy of the Vow and Covenant, but the opposite page of signatures was torn from the book.[618] Again, this raises a number of questions. Was the list torn out as a return to parliament, as stipulated in the Vow and Covenants instructions, or was it intentionally destroyed later to prevent culpability? Both explanations are possible, but the latter explanation seems more likely. But in the end evidence suggests at the very least that many more than the recorded 1577 parishioners signed and agreed to the terms of the covenant.[619]

Parishes that retained signatures – or at least evidence of the Vow and Covenant, as was the case in St. Mary Colechurch, – shared several factors in common. First, they were often home to established godly

---

[617] Vallance, *Revolutionary England*, p. 59.
[618] LMA, Ms. P69/MRY8/B/001/MS00064, St. Mary Colechurch Poultry Vestry Minutes, 1612-1701, fols. 34v-35r. Signatures were also removed for the 1641 Protestation and the Solemn League and Covenant. I could not find evidence of these lists in the Parliamentary Archives in the House of Lords Record Office.
[619] Vallance notes that "there is much evidence that after 1660 the records of the more politically sensitive oaths of the civil war period were destroyed, either in belated acts of vengeance or in an attempt to cover up any collaboration with the Parliamentarian regimes," in *Revolutionary England*, p. 108.

and militant ministers and parishioners. One need look no further than St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street and St. Stephen Coleman Street to find links between a godly ministry and participation with the Vow and Covenant. Thomas Case and John Goodwin played instrumental and at times celebrity roles "stirring up" support for the war effort with their sermons, just as they did when it came time to promote the Vow and Covenant. St. Stephen's in particular acted as a hub in which local religio-political preferences dictated political participation and mobilization. Coleman Street was not only the base for Richard Overton's clandestine printing in 1643, but it was Mayor Pennington's home parish, where John Goodwin preached to his conventicle, and home to some 780 men and women who subscribed to the Vow and Covenant.[620]

But what of the remaining parishes of St. Mary Colechurch, St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Martin Orgar, and St. Clement's Eastcheap? Each parish, as it turns out, contained parishioners and political leaders who actively supported parliament's war effort. St. Mary Colechurch was home to a number of leading belligerents, including, most notably, John Towse and Randall Mainwaring.[621] St. Margaret Lothbury harboured Mikes Corbet, an MP and later regicide and his fellow MP Anthony Bedingfield. More than this, sixty-five of St. Margaret's parishioners loaned £389 towards parliament's cause on 27 November 1642.[622] The parishioners of St. Martin Orgar regularly heard sermons from the independent minister Thomas Brooks in 1643, and their receptiveness to wartime rhetoric might be guessed at since they had already played an active and enthusiastic part in the removal of their previous rector, the Laudian Brian Walton.[623] Last but not least, St. Clement's Eastcheap was, as Tai Liu has pointed out, home to "a number of well-to-do tradesmen and relatively well-known civic leaders" and "undoubtedly Puritan in the earlier years of the revolutionary era."[624] Twenty-nine of St. Clement's leading parishioners loaned £301 to parliament on 26 November 1642, and many of the same parishioners had actively petitioned parliament in February 1642 in order to replace

[620] See Adrian Johns, "Coleman Street," *HLQ* 71 (2008), pp. 33-54.
[621] When not occupied with preaching or the vestry, Thomas Horton, Colechurch's rector, was busy serving as Professor of Divinity at London's Gresham College.
[622] LMA Ms. P69/MGT1/B/001/MS04352/001, St. Margaret Lothbury Vestry Minutes, 1571/2-1677, fol. 149v.
[623] See *The Articles and Charges Prov'd in Parliament Against Dr Walton* (London, 1641). Walton was finally sequestered in June 1643, just prior to the administering of the Vow and Covenant.
[624] Liu, *Puritan London*, pp. 27, 139.

Ben Stone, their incumbent minister, with one Walter Taylor.[625] Parishes that retained evidence of their

participation in the Vow and Covenant were, on the whole, also home to some of London's most active

proponents of war. These were not only points of origin for some of London's most recognizable wartime

leaders and ministers, but they were also home to some of the City's most important and politically engaged

parishioners; these were communities within the wider community, places in which Londoners participated

in politics, contributed cash towards the war, and eventually subscribed to the radical terms of the Vow and

Covenant.[626]

There is in the end overwhelming evidence that Londoners took the terms of the Vow and

Covenant seriously. The City's Cash Accounts, for instnance, make note of a payment for printing "200

Copies of the Oath" that were "to be taken by the Captaines and Shouldiers of this Citty."[627] Meanwhile,

there is evidence that no fewer than 1577 parishioners subscribed to the Vow and Covenant, and that many

more likely did the same. Whether others subscribed or not, the survival of printing orders for the oath

reaffirms the view that the Vow and Covenant was much more than an insignificant oath administered

between the Protestation and the Solemn League and Covenant. It can and indeed should be assumed that

Londoners were as a whole well aware of the oath's terms – terms which required that they not only

"distinguish the good and well-affected party from the bad," but that they also pledged their willingness to

take up arms to defend the capital that had so recently avoided the terrible fate that was purportedly

designed by the perpetrators of Waller's Plot.[628] The City's inhabitants, moreover, would have been keenly

aware of the extent to which the Vow and Covenant had escalated the terms of war. They not only found

themselves presented with orders to subscribe to the oath, but they could also seek an alternative to the

parliamentary covenant in *A Sacred Oath or Covenant*. Within weeks they could also acquire a wide range

of royalist tracts condemning the new Vow and Covenant. They could consult *The Anti-Covenant* to help

---

[625] LMA Ms. P69/CLE/B/001/MS00978/001, St. Clement Eastcheap, Vestry Minutes, 1640-1759. fols. 7-8, 11.
[626] Julia F. Merritt notes that some London vestries has come to see themselves as "mini-commonwealths" in "Contested Legitimacy and the Ambiguous Rise of the Vestries in Early Modern London," *HJ* 54 (2011), p. 28.
[627] LMA Ms. COL/CHD/CT/01/004, City Cash Accounts, 1641-1643, fol. 223v.
[628] *A Sacred Vow and Covenant* (London, 1643). It is worth noting that Giorgio Agamben's *The State of Exception* (Chicago, 2005) has helped my thinking about the purpose and implications of Waller's plot.

dispel myths "that there is a popish army raised" by the king "for the subversion of the true Protestatn Religion," or they could read *A Letter to A Noble Lord at London from a Friend at Oxford* to understand that the "*Sacred Vow and Covenant*" that could be read "with Mr. *Pym*'s Speech at the Common-hall of the discovery of the great Plot" might replace any "possibility of hope or Peace" with "blood and desolation."[629] Royalists in Oxford, like their counterparts in London, had good reason to take the Vow and Covenant seriously.

London's Levee en Masse

London's militants quickly recognized that the Vow and Covenant could be used to advance their own agendas. Efforts to establish an army culminated in late July with the push to establish a committee for a "general rising," a group tasked with overseeing the funding and recruitment of a new volunteer army. Several historians have recognized the "radical" foundations of the general rising, but only a handful have attempted to delineate the process by which a core group of Londoners attempted to establish their new committee and volunteer army.[630] Keith Lindley has established a useful introduction to the event, but Robert Brenner has provided the best narrative in what he calls the "Radical Offensive," analyzing the radical proposals that metropolitan militants put forward from the autumn of 1642 through to September 1643.[631] Yet most scholars – aside from a handful who deal with London or mobilization specifically – seem to have either completely ignored or been uninterested in the details of the general rising.[632] One reason for this seems to be the continual overreliance on narratives derived from parliamentary journals. Such

---

[629] *The Anti-Covenant, Or a sad Complaint Concerning The new Oath or Covenant* (Oxford, 1643), p. 10; *A Letter to a Noble Lord at London from A Friend at Oxford* (Oxford, 1643), p. 1
[630] See for instance, Yves-Marie Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester, 1987), p. 98.
[631] See Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 314-19; Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 452-59.
[632] Pearl, *London*, pp. 269-71; Braddick hints at the general rising in "Histoy, liberty, reformation and the cause: Parliamentarian military and ideological escalation in 1643," p. 128, and mentions the proposal directly in *God's Fury*, p. 292.

narratives have reinforced longstanding Whig and revisionist interpretations, including the tendency to find long-term structural, rather than multifaceted and immediate causes of the Revolution.[633]

Looking past the skeletal narrative afforded by parliamentary journals reveals the extent to which the radical agenda of the late summer and autumn of 1643 extended well outside the confined political interests of a handful of militant leaders. Rather, a wider analysis reveals that the push for a general rising depended on the convergence of the interests of a belligerent leadership and the *popular response* to three central developments: Waller's plot, the Vow and Covenant, and widespread disapproval of Essex's leadership. The present analysis will therefore attempt to shift focus in order to reveal the push for the general rising was as much the result of decidedly high political "radical offensive" action as it was "popular," and depended on the very petitioners who gathered in the thousands to put their names to paper and demand the creation of a new popular army.

Most explanations for the general rising revolve around the waning effectiveness of Essex's military leadership, and especially in terms of his 10 July letter in which the earl recommended the pursuit of a peace settlement. The occasion led to some rather memorable debates and displays of disaffection in the House of Commons. D'Ewes, for instance, recounted that "Mr Strode, Sr Peter Wentworth and some other violent spirits" were so offended by the Lord General's letter that they could be "observed to pluck ther hatts over ther eyes."[634] While by no means representative of the sentiments of the entire House, the actions of the "fiery" MPs speaks to wider disillusion with the Lord General, an issue that would dominate parliamentary politics over the coming months and serve as the basis for radical efforts to establish the general rising.

Yet disenchantment with the earl extended well beyond the confines of St. Stephen's Chapel. His incompetence in the field had recently become a popular point of discussion among army officers and Londoners alike. A short anonymous note from 1 July 1643, for instance, reveals an unforgiving view of a Lord General more inclined towards sloth and gluttony than valiance and enterprise. "If I am not mistaken in Physognomie," claimed the author, "he loves to have noe harme, but to be quiet if he might, for haveinge

---

[633] This overreliance seems to stem from Hexter's study, *King Pym*. Both Valeie Pearl's *London and the Outbreak* and Robert Ashton's *The City and the Court* follow this trend by concluding prematurely in 1643.
[634] BL Harley 165, fol. 122v. Jason Peacey made note of this and many other important scenes in "Disorderly Debates: Noise and Gesture in the 17th-Century House of Commons," *PH* 32 (2013).

well received his noble person I iudge he layes sleepe [and has] good diett."[635] If not for laziness, others found time to sneer at Essex's lasting reputation as "the great Cuckold" by posing with bawdy questions, such as one who asked whether his "prick" would ever be "as long as thy pipe."[636] Reports of Essex's personal conduct and prevarication did little to help his reputation. Rather, they stirred fears and served to galvanize popular opinion and that the earl might even defect to join with the king. Essex's letter therefore served as a breaking point for many Londoners who maintained even a shred of hope for the war effort. Not least among them was Nehemiah Wallington, who believed that the Lord General's call for peace was, as we have seen, nothing short of punishment from a "Lord" who "hath unlosed and unbuttoned us of from our vaine hopes."[637] Divine retribution seemed as reasonable an explanation as any for Essex's about-face. Why else might parliament's leading military commander so suddenly propose that parliamentarians should lay down their arms and give up their cause?

Matters worsened for the Lord General before they got better. Naturally, copies of his letter were soon available for all to read in print. Thomason acquired a copy of *The Earle of Essex His Letter to Master Speaker* on 9 August. Most historians agree that the letter marked a low point for the earl, but they have also recognized that it signaled a turning point in parliament's war effort. Lindley noted that the letter led to "some criticism of his generalship in radical quarters," while Brenner concluded that it was a trigger that incentivized radicals to initiate their "offensive." Indeed, it is hard to see past the galvanizing effect of the Lord General's letter. Hexter claimed that the letter "spread through London" and made it so that "all the voices that had been sporadically raised against him" could finally join "in one magnificent chorus."[638] Pearl explains that the letter was just the end point of a several months period in which "radicals" had been "campaigning against the inefficiency and over-cautiousness of Essex and his army."[639] Contemporary accounts corroborate this view. Pym made a first conciliatory attempt to end the discussion over the peace proposals in the Commons that stemmed from Essex's letter, claiming that "wee could not safely intertaine

---

[635] Museum of London, Ms. 46.78/673 "An unsigned note relating to Lord Essex," 1 July 1643.
[636] HEHL, Huntington Ms. 16522, "Poems and Ballads," p. 140. See Donagan, *War in England*, p. 252.
[637] BL Add. Ms. 40883, Diary of Nehemiah Wallington, "Growth of a Christian," fol. 128v.
[638] Hexter, *The Reign of King Pym*, p. 118.
[639] Pearl, *Outbreak*, p. 269; Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 305. Most parliamentary journals account for this episode and the debate that it generated in the Commons.

the motion because wee had seen that all out offers of peace had been reiected by his Majesty and our safety been also indangered by them." Henry Vane Junior seconded Pym and offered the more direct complaint that Essex had "done well to stirre us upp." Debate over the matter continued through Thursday when the Lord General sent a "scoffing" letter in which he suggested that Vane should come out personally to advise him about the best way to conduct war and see to "the great affairs of the kingdome." As D'Ewes recalled, Essex's mocking letter left Vane Junior's father, Henry Vane Senior, looking "very blancke." [640] More than this, it seemed to put an end to all debate over the matter.

Concern over Essex's letter extended well beyond parliament's "fiery spirits." And there can be little doubt that his rather shocking suggestion motivated some in parliament to explore alternate proposals for the war effort. Indeed, the importance of the entire episode should not be underestimated. But neither should it be granted a disproportionate explanatory significance when trying to explain the push to establish the committee for the general rising. Although important, Essex's political bungle stands out as just one of several important developments that convinced belligerents to move forward with their proposal for a *levée en masse*. Londoners certainly had more to worry about than the earl's letter. In fact, disapproval of the earl, as we have seen, peaked only *after* Waller's plot was revealed at Common Hall on 8 June and *while* the Vow and Covenant was being administered and subscribed in London. To assume that Essex's letter was the sole driving force behind the radical ascendancy and the push for a general rising serves to obscure the fact that that belligerents had long advocated for the formation of a new army.[641] Essex's unpopularity was, in the end, just one reason why radicals hoped to see a new independent army in London.

Waller's plot, for instance, affected popular opinion for months after it was revealed. If anything, accounts of the plot became more sensational with time. On 18 August, Thomason picked up a new broadside that included eighteen step-by-step illustrations and explanations of conspirators' plans to carry out the plot. Plainly such images helped to perpetuate anxieties about the safety of the City and the pressing need to aid parliament's war effort. The depictions of the plot contained in *The Malignants Treacherous and Bloody Plot* made the story of Waller's plot far more accessible to Londoners. The use of detailed images

---

[640] BL Harley 165, fol. 123v, 125v.
[641] Again, for a detailed discussion of these"long-term"developments, see Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 435-59.

alongside text not only provided a visual warning to those who were aware of the details of the plot, but it

assured that illerate segments of City would also understand the extent of the conspirators' plans.
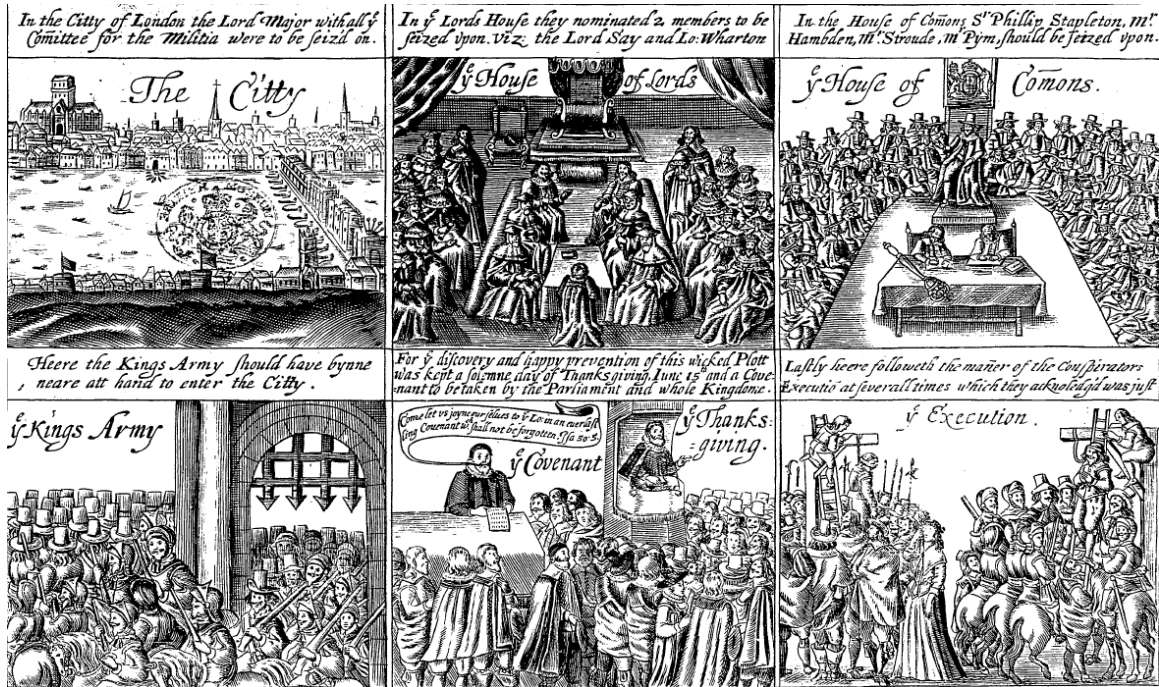
Figure vi. A section from "The Maligants Treacherous and Bloody Plot," dated 18 August 1643.

Further, *The Malignants Treacherous and Bloody Plot* could incorporate a number of aspects of the plot that

had developed since the Common Hall meeting on 8 June. These included the public day of thanksgiving on

15 June, the signing of the Vow and Covenant, and the public execution of plotters. These were all

important aspects of the political milieu that made the general rising possible.

Hexter's "King Pym" has long since been dismantled by historians, but most seem to readily agree

that Pym played an important role with a political "middle party" that had, as Clive Holmes put it, "carefully

held the balance" between parliament's war and peace parties over the course of 1643.[642] Why, then, would

---

[642] See Clive Holmes, *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 111. Pym's management of a "middle group" seems to be beyond question for most historians. William Palmer, for instance, suggests "that Pym never actually formed or organized a middle group," but that "he simply

Pym go to efforts to propagandize a plot that would disadvantage the a parliamentary political "middle party"? And further, why would be continue to propagandize a plot that ultimately helped radicals to raise a volunteer army outside of the control of his ally, Essex? The Lord General had, after all, remained a close ally to Pym throughout the period when the committee for a general rising was most active. There is in the end no direct evidence to suggest that Pym deliberately propagandized the plot. Rather, it seems clear that the plot, once exposed to the public, generated a groundswell of popular support for the establishment of the general rising.

Proposals for establishing a new fighting force were by no means novel by the summer of 1643. Schute and Watkins had proposed a similar belligerent scheme when they delivered their petition to parliament in November 1642. Edward Bowles had put forward yet another plan for such a force in January with *Plaine English*. More "radical" yet was *An Humble Proposal of the Safety of Parliament and Citie*. According to Thomason, the proposal was "presented to the house that day my Lord Maior and Cittizens went to London [to] oppose the Accomodation of the Lords" on 25 May 1643. *An Humble Proposal* contained ten individual steps that would help to preserve London and win the war. Nearly all were breathtakingly radical in scope. First, London was to "secure Horse" and "victuall the Citie" and "clear the Prisons." Next, it was expected that all members of the Commons and Lords would "go forth personally into the Field, for foure or sixe dayes time" so that they might "enourage" or even "lead" residents who wished "to discover their affections." If this was not enough, the proposal went on to suggest that London remodel itself after Rome and establish a *Campus Martius*, a "Camp of Mars" where sixteen or eighteen "tents or boarded houses be raised in *Finsberry* Field, or else-where." Twelve tents were to be allocated for "the listing of Souldiers" and "the other six to receive Moneys and Subscriptions." Each of the tents would be organized to accommodate "five or six trades" each so that tradesmen might "encourage each other more cheerfully" to enlist. Meanwhile, "shops in London and the Suburbs" were to be "kept shut" so that "men

---

steered a middle course that attracted majority support." See William Palmer, *The Political Career of Oliver St. John, 1637-1649* (London, 1993), p. 80. John Morrill opposes this interpretation in "The unweariableness of Mr Pym: influence and eloquence in the Long Parliament," in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds.) *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern Europe: Essays Presented to David Underdown* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 19-54.

may have nothing to hinder them from appearing." More than this, ministers would be called upon to preach and "move them affectionaly with the deep consideration" of the "Protestation" and the "Covenant." Achieving these ends would, the author argued, ensure that London would "be put in a gallant posture" that would ensure victory, but failure would prove equally "ominous and dreadful" Readers of the petition were thus asked to "remember the curse, Jer. 48.10 *Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he that withholds the Sword from blood*."[643] It comes as little surprise that these radical proposals for recruitment made little headway in May 1643. But abysmal news of losses in the field and the mounting threat of an attack on the capital meant that the proposals gained more traction in over the course of June and July.

Several developments reveal that the general rising was the result of a convergence of long-term political interests and immediate opportunities. Leading proponents of the plan for a general rising had been active in Westminster and London since the outbreak of the war and included leading "fiery spirits" in parliament such as Henry Vane, Henry Marten, William Strode, and a wide cross-section of counterparts in London who were working to establish a "subsidiary Army" in the City, and could be collectively identified under as "*Isaac* [Pennington] and his faction." This "faction" of course included John Venn, Randall Mainwaring and a number of petitioners and ministers such as David Watkins, Richard Shute and Jeremiah Burroughs.[644] These men and their allies – which Lindley estimated to be in a network that was "no larger than 100 activists," and in truth likely depended upon the actions of a much smaller core – had long promoted a more robust war effort against the king both in writing and conversation.[645] Marten, who chaired the committee for the general rising, was an outspoken and unequivocal promoter of the war and republicanism. He had already drafted *The Rights of the People of England*, in which he argued that supreme authority rested with "inhabitants gathered into a body In the masse."[646] Burroughs bore equally radical views. In 1638 he revealed his view that "supreme power is in the supreme magistrate," which was the "people's power." The collective authority of magistrates and other temporal rulers, he went on, could

---

[643] *An Humble Proposal* (London, 1643). See the title page for Thomason's note.
[644] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Sunday, 16 July (1643), p. 370.
[645] Lindley, *Popular Poltiics*, p. 308.
[646] BL Add. Ms. 7532, fol. 5r.

be understood by referencing cases of elective power such as Poland and Venice where "they did originally choose their kings and prescribe them conditions and limited their power by laws."[647] The "radical" credentials of leading proponents of the general rising are beyond question.

On 7 July, just two days after the public executions of Tompkins and Chaloner, *Instructions and Propositions* were available in print, calling upon "all good men, to subscribe accordingly to their ability, for the raising of an Army of ten thousand men of godly conversation." These forces were ostensibly tasked with the protection of London, and they were expected to be "additionall to the Army raised by both houses of Parliament, under the command of *Robert* Earle of *Essex*."[648] On the following day, the Common Council agreed to petition both houses to approve of their desire to add seven members to the Committee for the Militia which was meeting at Salters' Hall, and which was concerned with the raising of "auxiliary forces" in London. Of twenty-one names considered, a group of "seven freemen of this City" were finally agreed upon, including Edward Cooke, Sergeant Major Turner, Lieutenant Colonel Tichborne, Tempest Milner, William Andrews, Captaine Thomas Player, and Sergeant Major Harsnett. Supplementing the presence of military men was a further request from the Common Council for the addition of "the right honorable [Mayor] Isaack Pennington" and leading Common Councilmen and representatives from livery companies, including John Kenderick, Alderman Richard Turner the "senior merchantailor," William Hobson the "haberd[asher]," Theophilius Riley the "draper," and Richard Bateman the "skinner." The addition of freemen and civic leaders ensured that the committee would not only be able to manage military affairs, but that they would also maintain vitally important ties to London's livery companies. The lofty expectations for their designs can be seen in the fact that Pennington's request to join the committee came with the caveat that although he "was Lord Maior for the time being," he also expected to "take and contynue of the said

---

[647] Burroughs purportedly made this comment in conversation with John Michaelson. See ERO T/B, 211/1, #39. Brenner makes note of this in *Merchants,* p. 440.

[648] *Instructions and Propositions Drawne up and agreed on by divers well affected persons in the City of London [. . .] for the raising of an Army of ten thousand men of godly conversation* (London, 1643).

~~Militia~~ Committee after his Maioralty shalbe ended" in October 1643.[649] Pennington and his allies expected that the general rising, once established, would remain in place for the foreseeable future.

But the Common Council sought more than the addition of thirteen leading citizens to the militia committee. They also expected that "an ordiance may be granted that all the forces raised and to be raised aswell within the said Citie and Liberties thereof, as alsoe within the parishes and places adiacent mencioned in the weekly bill of mortality maybe under the sole Comannd of the Committee for the Militia of this Citie." London's Common Council expected that they would have complete authority over a new volunteer army, and London was thus to wage its own war effort that would not be tied to the questionable tactics of the Lord General. The petition, which was a matter for "serious consideracion" and of "great consequence" to all concerned parties, was once again considered and drafted at the council meeting on 14 July.[650]

Militants achieved a second major victory the following week. On 18 July "intelligence received from the House of Commons" reached the Common Council and warned that "the Kings forces were come neere unto this City" and further that "people ill affected" to Parliament's cause had risen "in Armes in severall palces in Kent and Surrey." The City was thus in a state of "imminent danger" that could be accompanied by a call to arms. The "insurrection" provided the ideal catalyst for the petitioners in the Common Council. A remarkable moment of mobilization took place that night as orders were drawn up and issued as a single sheet calling upon "All sorts of well-affected Persons" to gather at the Merchant Taylors' Hall on Wednesday 19 July between "4 of the clock in the morning till 8. in the Evening" and there "to heare, and subscribe a Petiiton to the Parliament, (to which Thousands have already subscribed) for raising the whole *People* of the *Land* as one *Man*, against those Popish-blood-thirsty Forces raised, to Enslave, and Destroy *Us*, and our *Posterity*."[651] A second round of orders were printed the next day so that "those who did not appear on Tuesday last" might come to Grocers' Hall "between the hores of eight in the morning, and eight at night." Ending the order was the simple addition that participants might "*shew this to your*

---

[649] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 67r; The petition can be seen in PA Ms. HA/PO/JO/10/1/153, fol. 83v.
[650] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 17v.
[651] *All sorts of well-affected Persons* (London, 1643). E.61[3].

Friends," and that "*If it be stuck up, let none presume to take it downe*."[652] The full extent of the petitioning

for signatures was made clear on the following day, 20 July, when some 20,000 names were brought to the

Commons with the purpose that they might "make use of some more powerfull meanes (then as yet hath

beene applyed to raise the whole people both in the City of *London*, and all other parts of the Kingdome."[653]

It would appear that a twentieth of London's 400,000 people had put down their names in support of the

proposal to create a new volunteer army.

The petition for the general rising was presented in a manner "contrary to the Proceedings and

Privilige of Parliament," but given the "urgency of the Necessities at this time," the Houses agreed to

consider the requests. Thus a committee was drawn up to include the leading militants including "My Lord

Mayor, Mr. *Morley*, Mr. *Blackiston*, Mr. *Bainton*, Mr. *Ashurst*, Mr. *Strode*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Gourdon*, Mr.

Marten, Mr. *Hoile*, Mr. *Rigbie*, Sir *Henry Heyman*, and Sir *William Masham*." Remarkably, Pennington had

navigated into a position in which he would preside over a committee that was tasked with the consideration

of his own petition. The newly appointed militants were quick to oblige requests to seek recruits and include

all "as are willing, and all others of the like Affections to the Cause, in a warlike manner, into Companies

and Regiments" and to find "a fit Person to command those Forces in chief."[654] As Brenner notes, the

petitioners' success and the subsequent establishment of the committee stood out as "the culminating effort

of that same City radical group that had been aiming to create an autonomous army since the previous

autumn."[655]

20,000 signatures may in fact be an overestimate. Salvetti claimed that the petition had "la

sottoscrizione di circa quindici mila persone, la maggior parte di gente ordinaria."[656] His note is of

considerable importance as it suggests that estimates may have been exaggerated by as many as 5000, but

even this might be an underestimate as signatures for the petition were collected over two day at both the

Merchant Taylors' Hall and the Grocers' Hall. We can however rest assured that the petitioning at multiple

---

[652] *All that wish well to the safesty of this Kingdome* (London, 1643).[E.61[10]; See Also Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*, pp. 353-4.
[653] *CJ* iii, pp. 175-6.
[654] Ibid., p. 176.
[655] Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 457.
[656] BL Add. MS 27962 K(i), Salvetti Correspondence, fol. 130r or 136r.

locations resulted, as Jason Peacey has suggested, in the collection of signatures from "thousands of judicious well-minded men."[657] Of greater importance than the total number of signatures, however, is Salvetti's point that the majority of the subscriptions had in fact come from "di gente ordinaria," or from "the ordinary people." The effort to mobilize and establish the general rising – a true *levée en masse* – was not solely the effort of City elites. Rather, ordinary people had taken heed of the printed orders to gather and put their names to the petition "for raising the whole *People* of the *Land* as one *Man*."

There also exists more than a tentative link between the push to establish the general rising and the terms laid out in the Vow and Covenant. Indeed, the Committee's claimed right "to compell all sorts of men that shall by them be thought fit, (though unwilling) to contribute Monies, Horses, Armes, and other necessaries as shall to them seeme just and reasonable" drew authority from "the true intent of the late Covenant." Thus the terms of the Vow and Covenant were not simply analogous to those outlined by the committee for the general rising; rather, the Vow and Covenant provided a fundamental *basis* for the general rising – it created a compulsory terms that could be used to compel signatories to enlist and fight.

On Tuesday, 25 July, just five days after the petition for a general rising was delivered to parliament, "the truly valiant" Sir William Waller rode into the capital on a train of 100 horses. He "was with much joy received by the whole City" who fired off ordnance "from the workes as hee made his entrance" and gathered in "multitudes" to follow him as he processed towards his house in the City and then went on to be "bravely feasted" by the Lord Mayor.[658] On that same day, belligerents reprinted their *Petition and Remonstrance to Common Council and to Parliament* from 30 March, as *Remonstrans Redivius*. They "returned remonstrance" reiterated their issue with "the usuall misconstruing and perverting" of law that claimed "*that kings can doe no wrong*" and reasserted the fundamental point of *salus populi suprema lex esto*, "that the safety of the people is the Supreme Law."[659] Two days later, the newly formed committee for

---

[657] Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*, pp. 353-4.

[658] *Mercurius Civicus*, July 20-28, p. 1; *Mercurius Aulicus*, 31 July, p. 411; *A Perfect Dirurnall*, July 24-31, sig. E2r.

[659] *Remonstrans Redivivus*, p. 3. Pennington may have been involved in the production of both the *Petition and Remonstrance* and *Remonstrans Redivius*. See Baillie, *L&J* I p.274-75. Pennington had played a key role in the petition from 11 December 1640. See Pearl, *London*, pp. 210-216. See also, Anthony Fletcher, "Power, Myths and Realities," *HJ,* 36:1 (1993), pp. 211-216.

the general rising appointed "William the Conqueror" to command as general of the new forces that were to be raised in London.[660] Parliament approved their selection on the same day and that afternoon, promising that Waller would receive his commission. Waller then travelled from Westminster to the Merchant Taylors' Hall where he met with the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants who had gathered to enlist and to subscribe "money, horse, and arms, in a very free manner." He then gave a brief speech that echoed Skippon's words at Turnham Green the previous year, and in which he swore that enlistees' willingness "to hazard their lives in this cause" meant that "he [too] would go along, and spend his blood with them."[661] These high hopes, which had so recently come to fruition, would disintegrate in a matter of few days.

The ultimate failure of the general rising has, since Hexter's assessment in *King Pym*, been explained in terms of confusion and political infighting that led to "squabble" between parliament's militia committee and the committee for the general rising.[662] Others, including Brenner, have taken the reason for the general rising's collapse shall remain "unclear."[663] But there may be a more satisfactory explanation if we consider the complex convergence of political developments. Indeed, doing so reveals that the same combination of events that gave rise to the general rising also presaged its collapse, and that these causes ranged from immediate and circumstantial political developments to miscalculations of popular opinion regarding metropolitan support for the war effort. Agostini's singling out of one of the latter causes is illuminating. Writing on 31 July, he noted that the hopes of belligerents were simply out of check with reality and that "*the violence shown in administering the oath,*" the Vow and Covenant, had in fact done "*great harm to the parliamentarians*" and their war effort.[664] Agostini provides at least one explanation that speaks to a wider issue surrounding the collapse of the general rising: despite their best efforts, militants overestimated popular support.

---

[660] Henry Marten confirmed the appointment in a speech at Guildhall the next day. *Three Speeches Delivered at a Common Hall*, (London, 1643), pp. 17-18. Essex spent considerable time prevaricating over Waller's commission.

[661] *A Perfect Dirurnall*, July 24-31, sig. E3r; *A declaration of the Proceedings of the Honourable Committee of the House of Commons at Merchant-Taylors Hall* (London, 1643); See also, John Adair, *Roundhead General: The Campaigns of Sir William Waller* (Gloucestershire, 1997), pp. 104-107.

[662] Hexter, *King Pym*, p. 127; Brenner, *Merchants*, pp. 458-459. it is worth noting that Brenner cites Hexter here.

[663] Brenner claims that the failure is "unclear," p. 458.

[664] Allen Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venice* vol. 27, 1643-1647 (London, 1926), pp. 305-6.

This issue was compounded by the fact that Essex refused to grant Waller a commission for his new "flying army." Rather than relinquish control to Waller, Essex appeared before the Lords on Friday 28 July to complain about "remedies" for issues in his own army that included arrears, the loss of recruits to "other Employment," the "Scandals laid upon his Excellency," and a request for "an inquest into the causes of the loss of the West."[665] John Adair has made the convincing suggestion that Essex likely "hoped that its findings would prove to be the political ruin of Sir William Waller and his new-found friends" who included "Isaac and his faction."[666] If hopeful for peace, the Lord General was nevertheless unwilling to relinquish his control over parliament's forces.

The terms for recruitment and pressing sought by the committee for the general rising were, despite the apparent and immediate success of London's petitioners, the approval of the Commons, and the approbation of the Common Council, out of step with the interests of Londoners and out of check with the interests of the Lord General.[667] Londoners remained polarized over the prospect of mobilization; only a handful of firebrand ministers managed to "stirr up" their local parishioners to both sign the Vow and Covenant and subscribe their names to the call for a committee to establish a general rising. And even if extensive lists of signatures followed the names of leading parliamentarian preachers such as Thomas Case and John Goodwin, a direct link ultimately cannot be established between signatures on Vow and Covenant returns and commitment to fight in the general rising. In the end there was no guarantee that the terms of the Vow and Covenant and the hope for the general rising would materialize into a new army of 10,000 that the City Militia hoped to raise. Thus, we must once again trust in contemporary reports such as Agostini's claim that the Vow and Covenant was largely untenable. The mass petitioning that took place three weeks into July did not, as it turns out, translate directly into a willingness to fight. Thus the royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* could claim by mid August "that of 5000 men which would have no peace, no fewer than fifteen

---

[665] *CJ* iii, pp. 187-189. Pym relayed these points to the Commons the following day.
[666] Adair, *Roundhead General*, p. 105.
[667] The legal dimensions of the Covenant remained a central topic of debate over the remainder of July and August: See Samuel Clarke, *Englands Covenant Proved Lawfull & Necessary also at this time, both by Scripture and Reason. Together Wit hsundry Answers to the usuall Objections made against it.* (London, 1643); *Observations upon the Instructions for the taking the Vow and Covenant* (Oxford, 1643); *A Vindication of the Late Vow and Covenant* (London, 1643). For approval of the proposal by the Commons, see BL Add. Ms. 31116, fol. 66.

sturdy fellowes (in words at lengeth and not in figures)" actually "listed their names upon the *Roll* to pursue the *Warre*."[668] D'Ewes made a similar note of the abysmal turnout of new recruits and the fact that "there were not yet in near upon a weeks space about 300" who were prepared to march alongside Waller.[669] In would appear that most Londoners were far more fickle than leading militants had anticipated; the lack of a direct and palpable threat proved that the populace was far more willing to take up pens than swords.

But all was not lost. News of a royalist advance arrived in the City just one day after Waller gave his rousing speech at Merchant Taylors' Hall. Rupert's capture of Bristol's on 26 July served to once again realign and polarize political sentiment throughout the metropolis and rouse populace to do more than pledge their support for a fight. Londoners readily agreed that the relief of Gloucester, which was the last parliamentarian stronghold that stood in the way of a royalist advance on London, required immediate action. Although a clear boon for parliament's cause, Waller's speech did little to help his own efforts to head a new volunteer army. Indeed, the pressing need to relieve Gloucester led the House to decide that Essex, and not Waller, should march west with fresh recruits from London's Trained Bands. Parliament's decision ensured that both commanders would soon enter the field with armies, but that these armies would remain under Essex's leadership as Lord General. More than this, it spelled the end for hopes that Waller might head a new volunteer army independent from Essex. The Council of War next decided that Waller's efforts would be best used in London, where he was ordered to oversee "the speedy raising and arming" of 6500 horse that would be used towards the relief of Gloucester.[670] The course of the general rising had taken an unexpected turn.

Despite the apparent setback, Waller remained active in his pursuit of the army that was promised. On 1 August he traveled to the City's artillery yard with the expectation that he might meet and "[en]list those multitudes of men which had long expected him." Upon arrival he found that the vast numbers of recruits were in fact "so thinne and small," that he soon left "ashamed of the disappointment."[671] Tensions remained high within the City. Rumor reached Wallington that members of the Common Council "did sit up

---

[668] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 12 August 1643, pp. 434-5.
[669] BL Harley 165, fols. 135r-v; Hexter, *King Pym*, p. 126.
[670] *CJ* iii, p. 192 [2 August 1643].
[671] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Tuesday, 8 August 1643 but in reference to "the first of this present *August*," p. 428.

all night in framing a petition for the parliament" to oppose any plans for surrendering forts and delivering the City's magazine to the king.[672] On 5 August Pennington once again stepped in to assist the cause by issuing a precept to the Merchant Taylors, Clothworkers, Dyers, Butchers, and Showmakers, calling upon members to "appear with their Sons, Apprentices, and Journeymen" on the following Tuesday morning at nine o'clock.[673] That same day, Henry Marten complained to the Commons that the slow progress raising a new army owed primarily want of a commission from Essex. After considerable effort by the Commons, which included the sending of letters and eventually the formation of a delegation to meet with Essex, a commission was finally granted. The new commission reached London on Monday 7 August, but it was still fraught with issues as it conferred upon Waller the right to command London's militia, a title that had already been granted to Major-General Philip Skippon the previous year. The ambiguity of Waller's new "joint appointment" prompted the Lower House to seek a new commission the very next day. Their request was far more specific this time and it called for "a Commission to Sir William Waller to levy Ten Regiments of Foot, and Ten Regiments of Horse; and to be Serjeant Major General, and Commander in chief of those Forces." To this was added a further note that Waller should have "such further Power as is *usually* given in Commission of the like Nature."[674] Parliament made clear that they would no longer tolerate the Lord General's stalling.

Even with his new commission and the Commons' support, Waller's new army proved to be far less substantial than anticipated. By 8 August, *Mercurius Aulicus* reported that the Committee for the General Rising had not yet managed to enlist "above 600" men.[675] More favorable towards parliament's cause, *Mercurius Civicus* reported that "the truly valliant" Waller had at least spent the day searching high and low throughout London for his army. It would appear that Pennington's precept had at least some impact, for when Waller went personally to the "Butchers Hall neere New-gate-market" he encountered

---

[672] BL Add, Ms 40883, fol. 138r.
[673] *CJ* iii, p. 197.
[674] Ibid., p. 198. Italics are my own.
[675] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Tuesday, 8 August 1643, p. 428.

"divers able and lusty Butchers" who "voluntarily listed themselves."[676] If not exactly what Waller had been promised, the "lusty" new enlistees amounted to a move in the right direction.

Chapter IX. The Supersession of the General Rising (August – December, 1643)

The Popular Response

The threat of a royalist advance on London sparked new rounds of popular demonstrations and revitalized the debate over a peace settlement. The Lords seized the opportunity to move forward with plans for peace by drafting propositions. These "Propositions for Peace" were then passed on to the Commons who decided to hold a vote on 5 August to determine whether or not they might even take them into consideration. Denzil Holles and John Evelyn acted as tellers and they counted 94 vote of "yea" against 65 "noes" that were recorded by Henry Marten and William Strode.

Desperate to prevent the peace proposals from moving forward, City militants met on Saturday evening and devised a means by which to force the Commons to reconsider their position. According to D'Ewes, the unnamed opponents of the propositions had used the evening to "contrive a Libellous and scandalous writing," which they then "dispersed up and downe in the Citty of London" the next day and which was then "indiscreetly read in some pulpitts." The "scandalous writing" claimed that the "the wel affected party had been overvoted in the Howse of Commons and that 20000 Irish were to come over." The best solution, they went on, was for all of the City's "wel affected" to gather together and march on Westminster the following day. If the show of support for war did not prove to be enough to convince the Houses, then the mob would commit themselves to use "violence" and seize the leading promoters of the propositions for peace from both Houses including the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Holland and Denzil Holles and John Evelyn. [677] Although it remains unclear who wrote the "scandalous" proposal, and

---

[676] *Mercurius Civicus*, 8 August 1643, p. 87.
[677] Harley Ms. 165, fol. 145v. Jason Peacey has noted that "printed 'tickets'" were used to communicate this message from pulpits, *Print and Public Politics*, p. 354.

whether or not they would in fact seize the leading proponents of peace, the threat of such an action did buy time for militants.

On the following day, Monday 7 August, Alderman Thomas Atkins arrived at the door of the Commons to deliver a petition from the Common Council regarding the safety of the City and "the Safety of the Commonwealth." [678] In this petition, Pennington and his allies expressed their crystal clear preference for war and their shared "feare" and concern that peace proposals would alienate and harm the "spiritts of the well affected party in this Citie and Counties adjacent," and might prove disastrous to an alliance with their "Brotherly" friends "from Scotland."[679] Later that same day, the Commons once again took up the issue of whether or not they should consider the propositions for peace. The first round proved indecisive with the "yeas" totaling 81 and the "noes" at 79. The next provided a slightly clearer division: there were 88 "noes" against 81 "yeas." The decision to reject new peace discussions marked an obvious – if narrowly gained – victory for militants.[680] The vote, however, seemed to owe as much to practical concerns over safety as it did to a a sudden "change of heart." Leading peace proponents had apparently taken the previous threats seriously and therefore avoided Westminster. They had good reason to do so. A "tumultuary assembly" responded to the previous day's "libel" by filling the Old Palace Yard. Attendance in the Commons had, as D'Ewes observed, been reduced to a mere "a quarter of an house."

The timing of the anonymous "libel" and the Common Council's petition suggests that London's leaders had a vested interest in preventing peace. This view is corroborated by the fact that Mayor Pennington, despite having been absent from the Commons "for some monethes past," decided to come "downe to vote" against the consideration of the propositions. Aside from the threat of violence, the change in the vote may also have owed to the contents of City petition – and more specifically to its suggestion that the pursuit of peace might harm ongoing negotiations with the Scots. Regardless of the specific reasons for the change in the vote, there is in the end good reason to believe D'Ewes, who suspected that Pennington was the "raiser and contriver of all this plot and tumult." His efforts, along with those of "certaine seditious

---

[678] *CJ* iii, p. 96-98.
[679] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 69v.
[680] *CJ* iii, pp. 96-98.

and scismaticall persons in the Citty of London," left moderates to opine that 7 August would be remembered as "one of the saddest daies that happened since the beginning of this Parliament."[681] The Lord Mayor and his supporters not only altered the course of parliamentary politics, but they had prevented peace proposals and ensured a continuation of the war.

Popular concerns over peace did not end with the Commons' decision to dismiss peace propositions. Rather, tensions over the issue continued to escalate on the streets of London. Even if the City's "well affected" inhabitants had responded to the threat of an invasion by the king and his 20,000 Irishmen, there were plenty of peaceniks who wished to express their growing frustration over continuation of war and the heavy burdens that it imposed on the populace.

On Tuesday, 8 August a new group of protesters descended upon Westminster. This time the gathering was composed almost entirely of women who stood together with white ribbons in their hats and demanded much different outcomes than the "tumultuous gathering" that had filled the Old Palace Yard the previous day. The new crowd had apparently taken their cue from their counterparts, but this time they marched "to the very doore of the house of Commons, and there cryed as in divers other places Peace, Peace." Like their opponents from previous day, the peace protesters, who were purportedly "Irish" or "came out of Southwark Westminster and other places without the cittie," once again targeted individuals; they threatened to "plucke outcertaine members of either house," but in this case it would be for their failure to be "forward for Peace."[682] According to Lawrence Whitacre, they "pressed up" to the doors of the House and shouted the names of specific members, including "the persons of the Lord Say and Mr Pym for being Enemyes to peace." The crowds eventually dispersed for the day after some of their numbers were arrested, and promises were made that their concerns would be taken into consideration, but not before they had threatened to toss leading militants into the Thames.[683]

Eager to be heard, the protesters returned to Westminster the following morning and once again took to rattling the doors of Commons. Matters deteriorated in the afternoon when their shouts became

---

[681] BL Harley Ms. 165, fols. 145r-147r; See Adair, *Roundhead General*, p. 113.
[682] BL Harley Ms. 165, fol. 149v; BL Add. Ms. 18778, Waler Yonge's diary, fol. 13v.
[683] BL Add. Ms. 31116, Lawrence Whitacre's Diary, fol. 69r-v.

louder and it appeared as if they might break down the doors to the House. Orders were then given to reinforce the palace guards with a troop of City horse. Waller's troopers arrived and broke up the gathering, but not without incidents of violence, which varied according to different sources. According to one report, three people were left dead, including one woman "who was Slayne casually by a Pistoll shot off" by the trooper Humphrey Taylor.[684] The Venetian ambassador wrote that 5,000 "lower inhabitants" showed up, and especially "women" who were "with their children in arms." After being "fomented by soldiers," the "rascals" were attacked, which left ten dead and "more than 100 injured."[685] Yet another account claims that many of the "women" who had arrived were in fact men dressed in women's clothing.[686] No matter the details, which clearly varied, news and rumor of the occasion shocked the metropolis. Not only had a trooper killed a female peace protester unnecessarily, but he had apparently done so without any indication of violence. This matter was made worse by the fact that the trooper was one of Waller's own horse – one of the very soldiers recently enlisted for the protection of London.

Several days of popular protest left the inhabitants of London and its surrounding environs to reconsider their relationship to parliament's cause. The "casual" slaying threatened to do considerable harm to popular opinion regarding the war effort, especially in terms of militant efforts to establish a general rising. The authors of newsbooks were well aware of this fact, and the output of their weekly print once again provides a valuable gauge for the popular prejudices and sentiments that followed the attack. Further, they reveal important ways in which political factions hoped to spin the event. According to the newsbook *Certaine Informations*, the protesters were in the end only "two or three hundred Oyster wives" and their company who were little more than "dirty and tattered sluts."[687] The vastly more credible, if only slightly

---

[684] Ibid., fol. 69r.

[685] Allen Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venice* vol. 26, 1643-1647 (London, 1926), p. 8; Lindley claims that these were these were "mostly women whose husbands were serving in one army of the other." p. 352. His account is based on TNA SP 24/1/39, 45.

[686] BL Add. Ms 18778, fols. 13-15.

[687] *Certaine Informations*, 7 – 14 August, p. 231. See Patricia Crawford, "'The poorest she': women and citizenship in early modern England" in *The Putney Debates of 1647*, (ed.) Michael Mendle (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 209-10. See also Ann Hughes on female agency political awareness in demonstrations in "Gender and politics in Leveller literature" in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in England: Essays presented to David Underdown* (Manchester, 1995), 179-222.

less hostile, *Mercurius Civicus* noted that, "some two or three thousand," but that "most of them were of the inferior sort" and that they came from "about the City of London and the Suburbs thereof."[688] Rather than assess the damage done to life and limb, *Mercurius Aulicus* chose to report on quantity the quality of those who participated in the protest, noting that "three [were] killed directly" Waller's troopers and some "thirteene or fourteene" were left injured.[689] Papers that expressed a clear sympathy with the parliamentarian cause either lowered the total number of participants, or simply discredited their motivation by questioning their quality and suggesting that they came from outside of the City. Meanwhile *Mercurius Aulicus*, the royalist paper, did neither of these things, but instead sought to emphasize the degree to which the protesters were victims of violence. The truth, as so often seems to be the case, can likely be estimated to fall somewhere between both assessments. And yet, important as the occasion proved to be in terms of popular opinion, it did little to nothing to deter the efforts of officials in parliament and the City who pushed forward with their militant agendas. This fact is borne out by the other important developments from the same day that the peace protesters were attacked and killed: the approval of a new round of loans to be levied on London's livery companies.

Parliament's Request for £50,000

Even if the violence of 9 August had put a damper on efforts to establish a general rising, the day ultimately did little to alter expectations of London's wider involvement in the war effort. Indeed, an ordinance was passed the very next for paying £10,000 to William Waller out of money raised from a tax of the twentieth part on London, Westminster, and "adjacent areas." With the near disaster of peace proposals diverted, London's mobilization seemed to move ahead without issue. On 11 August the Common Council issued another request for a corporate loan of £50,000. Once again orders were printed under Pennington's name and with the familiar themes such as "the greate and imminent danger this Citty is in by the neere

---

[688] *Mercurius Civicus*, 3-11 August, p. 87.
[689] *Mercurius Aulicus*, 6-12 August, p. 434.

approaching of the kings forces" and the "greate and weighty cause" of the need for money.[690] As with previous loans, corporations were assessed payments as percentages of their wealth in corn at the standard rate of eight percent per annum.

The extent to which Londoners fulfilled the requests was nothing short of remarkable, especially given the financial state of most livery companies. Outstanding company loans – not least for the £100,000 from the previous year – had yet to be paid back, and, as we have seen, a number of companies faced considerable financial strains. In some cases, corporations faced outright insolvency. Individual liveries responded to the loan requests in various ways; once again, the majority of the burden fell on the prestigious "twelve great" companies. Although they were deeply indebted to their own members, the Grocers, for instance, acquiesced to the City's request for £4,500 – a staggering sum, which amounted to nearly one tenth of the entire £50,000 loan.[691] The Haberdashers were assessed just slightly less at £3,850, which they apparently paid.[692] Likewise, £3,000 – 6 percent of the £50,000 loan – was requested from the Fishmongers, who rushed to summon their members to attend a meeting in which they "unanimously consented" to pay.[693] The Mercers, who had already sold plate in excess of £699 to pay off debts, were assessed £3,250. In spite of their hardships, they consented to pay their portion of the loan by 25 August.[694]

Finding money to cover the loan proved burdensome for many companies. The Goldsmiths, for instance, agreed to pay the loan immediately, and they made their willingness clear by returning their written "assent unto the raysinge of the sum[m]e of money by this Company according to the Contents of the lord maiors letter." Yet the alacrity of their response belied the reality of their situation; returning the entire £3,500 loan meant that they would have to sell plate and "all or soe much as they have in a readiness." Some of the company plate was saved from the fire in the nick of time as John Wollaston, a member of the company who was "lately elected Lord Major for the yeare ensewinge," decided that "itt is not thought fitt to sell or melt downe any of the said plate" as he would "borrow the said plate" for his use as the Mayor.

[690] Drapers' Court Minutes and Records, 1640-1667, fol. 31r; See also, LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 70r.
[691] GL Ms. 11588/4 Grocer's Company Court Minute Book, fol. 83.
[692] GL Ms. 15842/1 Haberdashers' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 318r.
[693] GL Ms. 5570/3, Fishmongers' Court Minutes, 1641-1646, fols. 688, 692.
[694] Mercers' Acts of Court, 1641-1645, fols 84v-r, 79r.

The new mayor had a chance to prevent some of the company's best plate from being disposed of, and he used his authority to do so. [695]

Clearly exasperated, the drapers responded to Pennington's request for £3,750 by claiming that their "wardens shall take the best care they can" to obtain the sum.[696] The Clothworkers, meanwhile, in view of "greate pressinge and urgent occasions" of their need "for money aswell for the payment of their debts" ordered that "all the Stock of plate which this Company hath shall be forthwith sold at the best rate" in early September. They sunk further into debt and forced to borrow £1000 to pay the August assessment of £2750, which amounted to 5.5 percent of the total assessment.[697] If a strain, they nevertheless managed to forward their proportion in due course. The Salters were assessed to forward £2,400, which they soon realized would be too much "to lend & pay w[it]hout taking the same upp att interest upon the Companies Seale." Like most of their peers, they succumbed to the need to liquidate what silver they could and therefore "ordered That there shalbee 200^l worth of the Companies Plate or more sold att the discreon of the Mr & wardens for the necessary occasions of this Company."[698] The Skinners agreed likewise to pay their proportion of the "loane of 2100," which they could "rayse" by selling off "parte of the Comanyes plate."[699] Where stores of plate did not suffice, loans were regularly passed on liverymen and freemen. But other avenues were also pursued. Some evidence of the pressure that assessments caused can be seen outside of company records. A vestry held by the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry on 7 September, for instance, revealed that both the Salters and the Grocers were in desperate need of money and therefore turned to the parish for a loan. Together the companies borrowed "tewe hundred poundes upon Consideration they will give there Companyes seall" and under the condition "that it maybe be payd in within six wekes after nottis given unto them when it shall growe dew."[700] Parliament's new request for a loan impacted those who operated well outside of the esteemed livery halls.

[695] Goldsmiths' Court Minute Book W, fols. 84r-v, 85v, 91r.
[696] Drapers' Court Minutes and Records, 1640-1667, fol. 32v.
[697] Clothworkers' Orders of Courts, 1639-1649, fols. 83r, 94v.
[698] Salters' Minute Book, 1627-1684, fol. [or p#?] 246.
[699] GL Ms. 30708/3, Skinners' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 205v.
[700] LMA Ms. P69/LAW1/B/001/MS02590/001, St. Lawrence Jewry Vestry Minutes, 1556-1670, fol. 340.

Three companies fared worse yet due to their particular loan assessments. The Merchant Taylors – where John Venn served as a warden – had experienced "the ascendancy of eminent royalist citizens in the court" over the course of 1643, nevertheless agreed immediately that they should pay in the £5,000 requested by Mayor Pennington. According to Nigel Victor Sleigh-Johnson's unpublished thesis on the Merchant Taylors, the company's decision to pay owed to the fact that their "assembly proved more enthusiastic than the Company governors." Payment of the loan proved more difficult than they had anticipated; like other companies, the Merchant Taylors were forced to seek loans from members and freemen alike, and further they turned to the sale of plate. Rather than pay a lump sum, moreover, the company made several installments, the first of which reached the Guildhall the following January. £4,000 of their £5,000 had been paid by May 1644, and after which time no further mention of the loan was made aside from the selling of plate at a company dinner.[701]

The Vintners – who were reluctant to pay previous loans – petitioned the Committee for the Advance of Money with a "humble" list of seven reasons why they were unable to advance the £2500 that they were assessed. Among the reasons was the fact that they were already "idebted at interest for £7000" worth of rent, that they were "long since" owed £624 from previous loans, and due to the fact that they had already "delivered armes out of their store to divers Captaines for the Parliaments service."[702] The Vintners finally agreed, despite few granting their "absolute consents" that they should have £500 worth of plate "pawned."[703] But they were still unable to cover the entirety of their loan and thus faced a sequestration ordinance that allowed for the seizure of their lands and goods.

The mere threat led the Vintners to deliver a petition warning that a sequestration order would have unintended but terrible consequences. Nearly all companies were involved in charitable works, and Vintners were no exception. Their collapse, they cautioned, might leave no one to execute wills or care for the poor. Further problems would arise due to the management of outstanding debts that would not only bring

---

[701] Nigel Victory Sleigh-Johnson, "The Merchant Taylors Company of London 1580-1645: with special reference to politics and government" unpublished PhD, University College, London, 1989, pp. 222, 224-26. See
[702] GL Ms. 15201/1, Vintners' Court Minute Book, fol. 125.
[703] Ibid., fol. 127.

"disgrace" upon the company, but upon the parliament as well. Who, they asked, would be left to care for "the stocks of orphans and other trustees?"[704] The petition was enough for the time being to content members of the Committee for the Advance of Money at Weavers' Hall, who in turn passed the petition on to Westminster. More persuasive than their petition, however, seems to have been the fact that the Vintners also agreed to "humbly take notice of the ordinance" passed on 11 September that secured the "payment of £5 per ton excise on all wynes wee hereafter buy and the halfe excise for all wynes on our handes." The disgrace of turning out orphans was no match to the potential financial gain that stood to come from the implementation of an excise on imported wines, and thus parliament "seemed to rest satisfied" under the notion that the company would go on working to collect the remained of their loan "to their utmost abilities."[705] The issue of the loan thus remained silent until June of the following year when the company agreed to pay in two lump sums of £2,000 towards parliament's maintenance of "the garrison of Gloucester."[706]

The Vintners were not the only company to face legal pressure in light of insolvency and indebtedness. The £1,700 requested Ironmongers proved to be excessively burdensome. After some consideration and debate, the company responded to the Pennington's letter with the truth of the matter, which was that they simply could not pay the £1,700 because of the fact that they "formerly lent to divers Lords and to the Parliament for reliefe." The loans that they had already given towards the cause left them completely "disabled and impvereshed." They were so concerned with their state, and with the Pennington's response, that they invited the Mayor and Court of Aldermen to review their books in order to see for themselves their "disability to performe the said Loane." Their dedication to the cause was beyond question as their records included £500 spent to cover impressed men for Ireland, along with the £3,400 that they previously "lent for reliefe of Ireland." Their total debt, however, amounted to £6,994.[707] Their "answare" was "not satisfying" and they were again ordered to immediately raise the £1700, "or soe much thereof as could bee provided." The matter carried on until the Committee for the Advance of Money finally

---

[704] Ibid., fol. 129.
[705] Ibid., fols. 130, 136.
[706] Ibid., fol. 151.
[707] GL Ms. 16967/4, Ironmongers' Company Court Minute Book, fol. 398.

summoned the Ironmongers to explain themselves on 19 September. Once again they claimed that their previous loans, including £5,100 to the parliament, had not received "satisfaction," and that they would not, in turn, be able to loan the £1,700. The Committee demanded that they pay at least £300 within a two-week period ending on 7 October. The matter of the remaining £1300 carried on through February of the following year, when the company was threatened in new terms: if they failed to deliver £1,300 to the Guildhall they would be forced, "or els," to forward "the names of the Livery of the Company." The threat of punishment for individual members was temporarily diffused as the calling of a Common Hall provided the company with a legitimate reason for missing the meeting. But this was by no means the end of the matter. Subsequent meetings in April, October, November, and December 1644 failed to resolve the matter of their "default of payment."[708] The Ironmongers remained in the same position more than a year later. Simply put, they were rendered insolvent due the to pressure of previous loans and obligations to the City and the war parliamentarian war effort.

If extreme cases, those of the Merchant Taylors, Vintners and Ironmongers nevertheless offer important examples of the cumulative burden that wartime lending had on London's livery companies. While the majority of the City's great corporations managed to raise and pay their assessed portions of the £50,000 loan, they often did so under duress. The combined pressures of outstanding debts and economic strain that came from wartime taxation, left companies to consider the loan in rather stark terms: raise funds or face sequestration. The robust records of the twelve preeminent liveries reveal that most companies, despite their internal politics, were well aware of the need to pay their assessments. Failure to do so – either due to recalcitrance or the risk of insolvency – would result in pressure from the Committee for the Advance of Money and the eventual risk of sequestration. In total, then, London's twelve preeminent companies were expected to raise £38,300 – more than three fourths of the total loan. Although their proportion of the loan was considerably larger than that of the City's other livery companies, the remaining amounts owed by London's other liveries should not be ignored, or treated as inconsequential; rather, the payments requested of the City's other corporations were equally important in terms of the wider political and economic

---

[708] Ibid., fols. 400-432.

landscape of corporate lending towards the parliamentarian war effort. Indeed, London's smaller liveries shouldered an equal – although obviously proportionally smaller – burden. And like their counterparts the "great twelve," London's other liveries would offer various and idiosyncratic responses to the new request for money.

Although relatively sparse, company records outside of the "twelve preeminent" reveal that the burden of the £50,000 loan was felt by across the board.[709] It is telling that the issue of payment was taken up in parliament on 29 September when parliament ordered that "special care" be taken "to negotiate with the City" for collecting £20,000 that were in arrears. Liveries, both large and small, left forty percent of the loan outstanding.[710] Again, company responses to the loan ran the gamut. Most worked diligently to collect and forward the money requested to fund parliament's forces and keep the metropolis safe, but some again expressed concern that the loan would impact their financial stability. Some companies paid their assessments outright. The Cordwainers, for instance, delivered in their £400 without delay.[711] The Turners, likewise, who had a history of support for parliaments cause and had even paid £1 13s 4d to dine with Mayor Pennington on two occasions, immediately brought their entire £85, which they simply noted as a payment which they were "allotted to lend towards the 50000l."[712]

Other corporations offered a range of responses to the Pennington's letter. Some were clearly strained by the loan, while others expressed frustration over the figures they were assessed. In most cases loans were passed on to wealthy company members. Pennington required £690 from the Brewers, which prompted five liverymen to immediately promise £165 towards the total on 16 August. Although generous, their loans covered less than a third of the total assessment, and the company therefore needed to find means to cover the remaining £525 that they owed. On 22 August, members of the company met and agreed to sell plate "to the utmost value thereof." This allowed the Brewers to raise an additional £298 9s. 8d, which was still less than the total loan, but must have been an adequate sum for settling the matter as the company

---

[709] Ben Coates explores this matter briefly in *Impact*, pp. 70-71.
[710] *CJ* iii, 29 September 1643, p. 258-9.
[711] GL Ms. 7352/1 Cordwainers' Company Court Minutes, fol. 262.
[712] GL Ms. 3297/1 Turners' Company Wardens' Account Book, unfoliated.

records make no further mention of arrears.[713] The Saddlers simply recorded that they were "altogether unwillinge" to pay their £600 portion "in regard of the greate sums they owe already." They would, however, be willing to pay the reduced "sum of five hundred pounds," which they believed to be a more accurate assessment since it was based on "old proportion of one hundred quarters of wheate." The full £500 was forwarded to the Guildhall on 22 August, with £300 of the sum coming from the wealthy member John Burt, £100 from the Grocer John Bardwell, and £100 from the company treasury.[714] The Tallow Chandlers agreed to pay the requested £650 outright, but they soon found that they were only able to collect £500. £300 of the money came from Andrew Walker, their own member who expected that he would be repaid no less than £312 by 21 February 1644. The issue of their reduced payment led to considerable trouble with the Committee for Advance of Money, which demanded that they pay their full assessment well into the following year. The company responded to requests for money in February by claiming that they could "by noe meanes raise any further or other summe of money towards the payment of the said 650l." The Tallow Chandlers were finally ordered to forward the names of the livery's members. As of July 1644 Walker had only been paid back half of his principal investment and £15 of interest.[715] Similar issues arose with the Painters and Stainers who seemed more than happy to defer the issue of their £75 loan at meeting on 18 August due to "the smallness of appearance" on their members. But the issue came back to haunt them when the Committee demanded their payment so that they were forced to draft a petition regarding "the takeing of £60 imposed on the Company" in February.[716] Their minutes contain no further mention of their arrears.

Parliament seemed altogether willing to overlook smaller shortcomings in the payment of loan assessments, or some temporary delays in payment. The Blacksmiths, for instance, managed to pull together £50 of their total £80 by 29 September, and it appears as if no further mention is made of their outstanding £30 debt.[717] Similarly, the Inholders paid £150 of their £300 assessment immediately and decided to keep

---

[713] GL Ms. 5445/17 Brewers' Company Minutes, unfoliated.
[714] GL Ms. 5385, Saddlers' Company Minute Book, fol. 242r-v.
[715] GL Ms. 6153/1 Tallow Chandlers Court Book, fols. 220r-223v, 226r, 230r.
[716] GL Ms. 5667/1 Painters-Stainers' Company Court Minutes, fols. 179, 186.
[717] GL Ms. 2881/5 Blacksmiths' Company Minutes, pp. 138, 141. No further mention of the remaining £20 it made in the account.

the other £150 "in the Companies cheast until farther order bee taken."[718] The Tillers and Bricklayers readily

agreed to "speedilie" raise £125 and thus ordered without delay that plate be sold to cover the loan. They

apparently did not raise the full amount, however, as it took until 7 February for them to take the last £25

"out of the house stock."[719] The Plumbers were requested to pay in £125, but they agreed to raise £100

"where it cann bee had." This also appears to have been an adequate sum as their records made no further

mention of the loan or arrears.[720]

As with any opportunity that promised returns on investment, the August loan provided some space

for enterprising lenders. Robert Campion paid the entire £250 assessed to the Cordwainers outright.

Campion's terms for the loan were brief; he stipulated that the loan had to be repaid in full and with interest

no later than 23 February of the following year.[721] Campion's willingness to front the money owed less to

his direct interest in parliament's fighting cause than it did to his hope that he might return a profit. Some of

the £250 likely came from a £1,000 investment that he withdrew from the East India Company. He simply

hoped, in the end, to reinvest his money at a higher rate.[722] Campion's case may have been unusual, but his

hopes by no means unique. Many of the lenders who offered up large sums for the loan expected to see

interest returned at the standard rate of eight percent. As a rule, however, London's liveries usually faced

more difficulty than the Cordwainers when it came time to raise their proportions of loan for parliament's

war effort.

£50,000 was of course a substantial amount of money to shoulder, and especially in light of the

outstanding debts and other wartime expenses. Yet the size of the loan should not be overestimated in light

of parliament's other sources of income. The Merchant Adventurers, for instance, singlehandedly loaned

some £90,000 over the course of 1641-42 to parliament. And they were called upon again to raise an

additional £30,000 to support the navy in October 1643. More important than the total size of the loan from

August, was its cumulative effect on company coffers, members, and the wider metropolitan communities

---

[718] GL Ms. 6649/1 Inholders' Court Minutes, fol. 12r.
[719] GL Ms. 3043/2 Tylers and Bricklayers Company Court Minue Book, 1620-63, fols. 153r-154v.
[720] GL Ms. 2208/1 Plumbers' Company Court Minutes, 1621-47, unfoliated.
[721] GL Ms. 5204/003 Carpenters' Company Court Book, unfoliated.
[722] For a note on this matter, see Coates, *Impact*, pp. 79-80.

that they serviced. This reveals that the loan exerted financial pressures that extended well beyond the liverymen who were expected to provide loan money. Residents from throughout London were forced to shoulder the burden of financing the mobilization of the metropolis.

In the end, corporate records reveal that metropolitan finances by late 1643 had strained to the breaking point. Repayment of loans did not begin until May 1645, when only a handful of companies received a third of their principal and the interest owed on the third. All potential for earlier repayment had, as Ben Coates points out, been diverted by the need to fund London's trained bands.[723] Although some companies managed to pay the loan and continue with day-to-day operations, the vast majority of companies were left severely strained. Naturally, most had to cover their assessments by liquidating their assets, and most readily by pawning or selling plate *and* by borrowing sums from wealthy citizens. Other funds may even have been taken – perhaps even extorted – directly from properties and renters. As much may have been the case with the £200 loan "borrowed" on 7 September by the Salters and Grocers from St. Lawrence Jewry. Meanwhile some corporations, as we have seen, were pushed to the brink of insolvency and collapse. If feigned as a matter of political recalcitrance, or due to real financial strain, many companies simply failed to meet the demands of the loan. Some liveries that could not pay remained embattled over the issue of the loan well into 1644 and 1645. The prospect of sequestration, which the Vintners and Tallow Chandlers dealt with directly, threatened to completely undo ancient companies. In light of such a threat, the burden of raising funds was extended well beyond livery halls and on to the entire population of the metropolis. The August 1643 loan marked the last successful attempt by the parliament to raise money for the war effort from London's livery companies.

The Relief of Gloucester

Securing loans from impecunious corporations was one matter, but Londoners still had to contend with Gloucester and the threat that the king might still march east. Anxiety over the collapse of the prior, and fear

---

[723] Coates, *Impact*, p. 71.

that this would lead to an open assault on the latter, led members of the Parliament and the Common

Council to continue their efforts to raise funds and bolster London's fighting forces. On 18 August,

Parliament issued orders for Essex's troops to repair to their colors. Those who failed would be rounded up

and put to death, "proceeded against according to the Law of War." Next, Parliament authorized the

impressing of two thousand new soldiers from London, Westminster, Southwark, and the Bills of

Mortality.[724] Little is known about the men who were impressed. According to rumor mill of *Mercurius*

Aulicus, the forces had come to include pressed men made up of "popish Walloones" who were "lately

quartered at Putney," and others from Greenwich and Kingston upon Thames.[725] Remaining troops came

from London's Trained Bands. On 21 August, the Committee for the Militia of the City of London issued

printed orders for citizens to "shut up their shops" and "continue them so shut untill *Glocester* be relieved."

Meanwhile, Trained Band and Auxiliary forces were to gather in order to be selected for service "by lot." [726]

Six London Regiments marched out in total, including the Red Regiment, the Blue Regiment, the Red

Auxiliaries, the Blue Auxiliaries, the Orange Auxiliaries and the personal regiment of Sergeant-Major-

General Randall Mainwaring. If rag-tag, the earl's army was nevertheless substantial: it included his original

forces, newly impressed men, and City militia. All told, Essex's relief forces included some 15,000 men,

many of whom were Londoners.

Parishioners throughout the metropolis took care to see that their troops were well supplied with

food and refreshments. Several parishes made arrangements for carting cheese, bread and beer to soldiers

who mustered in the artillery garden as they prepared to depart. St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, for

instance, paid two shillings and six pence to "'Mr Fox for Cart to Carry the bread and chees to the

artillery."[727] Similar actions were taken by the parishes of St. Mary Abchurch, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St.

Mary Woolchurch, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Botolph Without, St. Botolph Billingsgate, and St. Lawrence

---

[724] *CJ* iii, 18 August 1643, pp. 209-11. An additional 2,000 were ordered to be impressed "out of the
Counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire."
[725] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Monday, 28 August 1643, p. 474.
[726] *Whereas the Committee for the Militia* (London, 1643).
[727] LMA Ms. P69/BAT1/B/006/MS04383/001, St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, Churchwardens'
Accounts, 1598-1698, fol. 432r.

Jewry.[728] The parishioners at St. Bride's were among the most active supporters in terms of victuals. They collected bread and cheese from "about the parish," and paid for baskets to cart food all the way to Windsor. Meanwhile, they were sure to support Rowland Wilson and the Orange Regiment as they performed "trench work" on the Lines of Communication. St. Bride's pulled together £1 16s to pay for "two hogsheads of beere" that were "carried into the fields when Captayne Wilson and his Company went to diggin" in August and an additional eight shillings "for bread wyne and Cheese" for similar work done on the lines in October.[729] There can be little doubt that other parishes did likewise to support their parishioners who mustered to march out against the enemy.

26 August proved to be an important date for London's war effort. The first and most important development of the day was Essex's departure from London to Gloucester. The second development was the Common Council's approval for raising an additional fifty subsidies in London. Both events were crucial in terms of the wider civil war, and both served to further divide Londoners over their own relationship to the conflict. It was the new subsidy, however, that proved most divisive. The matter was serious enough to prompt the Common Council to report on 9 September that "divers freemen" of London had "of late absented and withdrawn themselves and their families" out of the City and "into the Country" so that they might "avoid payment of the monies imposed uppon them by ordinance of Parliament and Acts of Common Council." Most Londoners seemed confident that Essex's forces would successfully raise the siege of Gloucester, but many also recognized that there was still pressing need to defend London in light of the threat of a royalist attack. Belligerents, meanwhile, had pushed vigorously for additional military action. Thus, on the very same day that the Council reported fleeing freemen and an order to send Trained Bands

---

[728] LMA Ms. P69/MRY1/B/006/MS03891/001, St. Mary Abchurch, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1629-1692, unfoliated; LMA Ms. P69/MRY2/B/005/MS03556/002, St. Mary Aldermanbury, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1631-1677, unfoliated; LMA Ms. P69/MRY14/B/006/MS01013/001, St. Mary Woolchurch Haw, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1560-1672, fol. 187r.; LMA Ms. P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/002, St. Michael Cornhill, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1608-1702, fol. 143r; LMA Ms. P69/BOT4/B/008/MS04524/002, St. Botolph-without-Bishopgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1632-62, fol. 79r; LMA Ms. P69/BOT3/B/007/MS00942/001, St. Botolph Billingsgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1603-74, fol. 165v; LMA Ms. P69/LAW1/B/008/MS02593/002, St. Lawrence Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1698, fol. 67.

[729] LMA, Ms. P69/BRI/B/016/MS06552/001, St. Bride Fleet Street Churchwardens' Accounts, 1639-1678, fols. 123r, 124v, 125r, 126v.

and Auxiliary forces out under Essex for "the defence of this Citty and relievinge of Gloucester," they also approved another proposition so that the Committee of the Militia "shall use their best indeavours" to raise "aswell auxiliaries" who would be "under the comand of Sir William Waller on this present Expedicion for the safety of this City."[730] Waller – despite his lack of a commission from Essex – would spend the next month busily seeking new recruits in London while Essex marched towards the relief of Gloucester.

If less speedy than Essex, Waller nevertheless did manage to cobble together a reasonably large army through the impressment of men from the metropolis. Agostini looked upon the entire process with disgust. On 4 September he reported that the matter of raising men was entirely in the hands of "the city of London," who had "usurped practically absolute power" and thereby "formed a council for the militia composed of citizens with the supreme authority to do what is considered necessary for self defence." Refusal to enlist could be met by "court martial" or "even with death." Agostini lamented that the course of actions had led to "an oath worse than the first" and which was imposed on Londoners "one by one." The actual "pressing" of men was done "with so much inhumanity that many of the objectors have been injured and five killed."[731] The City Green Auxiliaries and the Yellow Regiment were chosen to join Waller's force by lot on 7 September.[732]

Five days later, on 12 September, the Commons issued orders for impressing yet another 5,000 soldiers. 2,000 of these were to be found within the Lines of Communication and the parishes contained within the Bills of Mortality. The remaining 3,000 were to come from the surrounding counties of Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Hertfordshire, and Sussex. The deplorable conditions from earlier in the month had apparently convinced some that new measures would need to be taken. Extra incentive to join Waller was therefore granted in the shape of an "Ordinance for Indemnity" for watermen and the guarantee "that the Time of such Apprentices" spent under Waller would count towards their indentured apprenticeships.[733] The next day, the House appointed a Committee of Accounts for Waller's Army, which was headed by the Dorset MP John Trenchard and owed its establishment to the need to raise money quickly in case of an

---

[730] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 73v.
[731] *CSP Venetian 1643-7*, p. 13.
[732] See the Draft Ordinance from 6 September 1643 in HLRO Main Papers HL/PO/JO/10/1/156, fol. 20r-v.
[733] *CJ* iii, 12 September 1643, p. 238.

emergency. The promise made to watermen and apprentices did little to attract volunteers, but the slowness of gaining recruits owed to a number of factors. For one, Essex had "not yet been pleased to issue a Commission" to Waller until late August, and "not withstanding" as *Mercurius Aulicus* could taunt, "the readinesse of the *three Houses* (the House of *three Lords*, the *Lower House*, and the *Common-Counsell*) to recruit his Forces."[734] John Adair points to another important reason for the slowness of recruitment: "Trenchard's committee at Grocers' Hall tended to pick and choose among warrants which they received from Waller, favouring captains of their own political persuasion."[735] Adair's observation is corroborated by Agostini's letter to Venice from 18 September, in which revealed that Waller had "more officers than soldiers" and faced extreme "difficulty" when "obtaining volunteers and the unsatisfactory service to be expected from pressed men."[736] Even if pressed men were slow to enlist, London stood at the head of an impressive force. Willian Levett, a royalist who observed the forces mustering in Finsbury Fields on 26 September, made note of some 13,000 men who were present and these did not include the five regiments of who were presently in the field with Essex.[737] London could call upon 18,000 souls in the autumn of 1643, a formidable force.

Londoners may well have found better reason to enlist after reading reports of their fellow citizen-soldiers who had fought bravely and Newbury and thus became "the Subject of some pens." The City Brigade proved their merit on a number of occasions while marching out with Essex, but their single greatest achievement came from two regiments of the trained bands, who "though they were often charged by the horse and foot, stood to it with undaunted resolution." [738] The City brigade played a crucial part throughout the day, either by guarding the baggage train or coming to the relief of their allies. Henry Foster, a sergeant under Captain George Mosse, offered an alternative and particularly detailed account of the

---

[734] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Sunday, 27 August 1643, p. 472.
[735] Adair, *Roundhead General*, p. 120.
[736] *CSP Venetian, 1643-7*, p. 18.
[737] National Army Museum, Ms. 6807-53, William Levett, "The Enseigns of the Regiments in the rebellious Citty of London both of Trayned Bands and Auxiliaries"; See Richard Symonds's copy of Levett in BL Add. Ms. 986, "The Ensignes of the Regiments in the Citty of London: Both of Trayned Bands and Auxiliaries," fols. 1r-72v. Both Levett's original and Symonds's copy are included in Harold Arthur Dillon, "On a MS. List of Officers of the London Trained Bands in 1643" in *Archaeologia* 52 (London, 1890), pp 130-144. See also, Nagel, "The Militia of London, 1641-1649," p. 131.
[738] *A True Relation of the late Expedition of His Excellency* (London, 1643), pp. 1, 13.

march from London that was made available in print on 2 October. Foster acknowledged that the approximately 5,000 Londoners who marched out from the metropolis were unaccustomed to the conditions in the field, and in particular autumnal nights like the one when they had to "lay all in the open field upon plowd-land, without straw, having neither bread nor water." But cold evenings passed and hunger subsided; according to Foster, a shared sense of God's favor "enabled our Souldiers to undergoe it cheerfully." Far more terrible for the new soldiers, however, were the scenes that unraveled on the field of battle. Newbury proved a particularly grueling affair for almost all participants, but the men of London's Red and Blue Regiments shouldered some of the most "dreadful" moments; both regiments withstood repeat charges by royalist horse and cannon fire while "mens bowels and brains flew in our faces." But God once again "gave unto them" the "courage and valour" needed to fight on, and so that by the end of the day it could be reported that Londoners were "fighting like Lions in every place." The day of hard fighting led to a number of noteworthy deaths, including Captain Richard Hunt from St. Mary Woolchurch, Captain Mosse from St. Mary Aldermanbury, Captain John Juxon of the City Horse, and Lieutenant Colonel William Tucker.[739] Few, in the end, could deny that Londoners had served well at the battle. Clarendon later recalled that the Trained Band and Auxiliary Regiments "were in truth the preservation of that Army that day."[740]

After some rest and light skirmishing the troops marched on towards home. The men reached the Lines of Communication on Thursday 28 September, where they were greeted and cheered on by thousands, including the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen and Members of the Common Council who rode out on horseback to testify "their great affection unto them" and follow them on to Temple Bar where they were "entertained."[741] The troops were well aware of their achievement, and "most of them (imitating the ancient Romans) went through the City with greene boughs in their hats in signall of victory, and also with all their Colours and Ensignes, which (to their perpetuall honour) they brought away triumphantly."[742] St. Bride,

---

[739] See Nagel, "The Militia of London, 1641-1649,"pp. 127-8
[740] Ibid., 128; Clarendon, *History*, vol. II, p. 268.
[741] *The True Informer*, 30 September 1643, p. 11; Henry Foster, *A True and Exact Relation* (London, 1643), sigs. A4r, B3r-v, B4v.
[742] *The True Informer*, 30 September 1643, p. 11.

Fleet Street paid an extra two shillings to see that bells pealed throughout the day to celebrate their return.[743] The fanfare and news surrounding the victory at Newbury allowed Londoners to issue a collective sigh of relief, but many were still concerned over London's continued security. This latter point is evidenced by the fact that the Common Council used most of October to consider how they might best use the City's night's watch. On 9 October, the Council passed an act stipulating that the nightly watch should consist of no fewer than 1097 individuals – all of whom would be provided by City wards. Later that month, Pennington presided over his penultimate Common Council session in which it was agreed upon that inspections should be conducted in order to assess the City's total stores of grain and devise a means for establishing new secured granaries. Doing so would help to ensure that metropolitan residents could be provided for in the case of a siege by royalist forces.[744]

The victory at Newbury proved a decisive moment for London's mobilization, but it also spelled death to the future of the general rising. For one, the battle did much to revive the popularity of the Lord General, who used his moment to return to the matter of Waller's commission. On 3 October, Essex informed the Lords of his opinion that Waller should once again be under his command. He brought the same question to the Commons on 7 October, but on this occasion he pressed the issue forward with the threat that he would "resign and go beyond the seas" if Waller was allowed to retain his commission.[745] The Lord General's petulance had the desired effect. Waller proved "ready to receive and obey his Excellency's Commission" and he returned his original commission from 25 August on 9 October.[746] This single act served, in turn, to realign interests between a hard core of City belligerents who had intended to see the general rising come to fruition under the command of Sir William Waller and a wider base of parliamentarians who remained committed to London's preservation and a more moderate mobilization. This "alignment" – even if only temporary – was significant; it assuaged tensions between London's parliamentarian "factions" and helped to spur parliament's war effort forward through winter. In reality, the

---

[743] The ringers at St. Bride were paid two shillings "when the Trayned bands came home from Gloucester." See LMA, Ms P69/BRI/B/016/MS06552/001 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1639-1678, fol. 124v.
[744] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 78r-79r; See also, *Mercurius Civicus*, 12-19 October 1643, p. 166.
[745] Adair, *Roundhead*, p. 121.
[746] *CJ* iii, 7 October 1643, pp. 265-8.

reconciliation was a papering over of deepening cracks between parliament's military leaders and their backers – cracks that would eventually reappear and help to convince parliamentarians of the need to remodel their army in late 1644 and early 1645. By that time, however, the familiar titles of "Independents" and "Presbyterians" were already in place.

From Basing House to Reading: A Waning Effort

The elation that accompanied the London Brigade's return proved short lived. The king's forces managed to retake Redding on 3 October and in the process reminded Londoners that they were still in peril. Alerted to the danger, the Militia Committee urged the Common Council to mobilize the City forces; six days later, seven regiments of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries were ordered to "march according to the discipline of warr with the forces under command of his Excellency to regayne the Towne of Redding."[747] On Tuesday, 17 October, the Committee for the Militia followed up the City orders with a declaration "that was published in severall places about *London*" and required all "appointed to goe forth" that they should "randevuos completely armed, and fit for service by seven of the Clock" the following day in St. James's Fields. Tardiness up to an hour would result in a fine of five shillings; two hours would produce a fine of ten shillings. Failure to show up by noon would result in the closure of their shops and liability for "expulsion out of the lines of Communication." All parishes were further ordered to prepare tables that would stand "fixed within the respective Churches wherein shall be inscribed the Names of all such Soldiers" who would enlist and which would stand "as a Testimony of their good affections and a perpetuall memorial to the honour of them and their Posterity."[748]

Honor was without doubt an important motivator, but marching away from their families and shops required more solid motivation. Bulstrode Whitelocke, for one, was baffled by the commitment shown by the trained bands and indeed of new soldiers and their willingness to enlist. He reflected on the "gallant" regiments from London and the "strange affection" the bore for war. How, he asked, could men be

---

[747] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 78v.
[748] *Mercurius Civicus*, 12-19 October 1643, p. 166-7.

convinced to trade "a soft bed, close courtains and a warm chamber" for "the hard and cold earth?" What could possibly drive them "to leave the choicest and most delicate fare of meates and wines for a little course bread, and durty water, with a foule pipe of tobacco?" Who, finally, could depart from "the pleasing discourse and conversation of friends, wives and children" and instead endure "the dreadfull whistling of bullets, and the shriekes and cryes of dying bodyes dropping dead att ones feet?" Joining the fight, by Whitelock's estimation, had more to do with commitment to "religion and to the rights and liberties of the countrey" than it did with avoiding fines imposed by the Militia Committee or the Common Coincil.[749] Whitelock, like many of his contemporaries, had come to associate Londoners' commitment to the cause with religious and political idealism.

Lieutenant Elias Archer provides a detailed account of three of the seven regiments of trained bands that marched out with Waller on Monday, 16 October. These included the Westminster Liberty Regiment,[750] the Green Auxiliaries, and Archer's own Yellow Auxiliaries. The remaining four troops finally met with William Waller's horse as they marched through Windsor Forrest on 30 October. Archer made particular note of the "very cold night" of 5 November when the brigade "quartered in the fields neere a Villiage" on what proved to be "tedious to many of our men which never were accustomed to such lodging."[751] The soldiers' first engagements with the enemy did little to improve their spirits. The Westminster Liberty Regiment suffered badly on the third day of the siege at Basing House; their first line fired outside of range of the enemy and prompted their later ranks to open fire upon "their own front," which broke the entire formation so that they "slew and wounded many of their own men."[752] The siege proved an utter loss for all involved, and the blow to morale further discouraged the new London troops. As Waller attempted to rally his men the Londoners turned to their familiar cry of "'Home, Home,'" so that he "was forced to threaten to pistol any of them that should use that base language." Writing to Speaker Lenthall on 16 November, Waller explained that their recalcitrance was so problematic that it had forced him to stay extra time at Farnham. Soon thereafter a full "mutiny broke out" in which the Londoners refused to "march

---

[749] BL Add. Ms. 37343, Whitelocke's Annals vol. III, fol. 280r.
[750] The Westminster Liberty Regiment were also known as the Red Regiment due to their red flags.
[751] Elias Archer, *A True Relation* (London, 1643), p. 3.
[752] Archer, *A True Relation*, p. 6.

one foot further."[753] The short days, cold weather, and losses at Basing House left the unaccustomed soldiers eager to return home, but they were ultimately waylaid by reports that Ralph Hopton's royalist troops were only seven miles away.

Although downbeat and homesick, the London regiments were soon presented with at least one more opportunity to prove their honor before the end of the campaigning season. On 12 December, Waller rallied the London Brigade for one last service. Most men were under the expectation that they would be "discharged" and allowed to "march homewards on the morrow." But Waller had other plans. Archer recalled Waller riding to "the head of every Regiment" where he "gave us many thanks, for out service past, and told us that according to his promise and our expectation we were to be discharged" the following day. Waller, he went on, "would not detaine us," but he did raise the important point that reputation was at stake, and that the London brigade "could not returne" home to London "with much honour in respect of the bad success we had in out chiefest service." The only correction was obvious; the troops should stay a brief while longer and provide "assistance til Monday following." The Londoners, claims Archer, readily agreed and gave their "full consent to stay." The entire brigade – and in particular the Westminster Liberty Regiment and the Green Auxiliaries – went on to play a central role at Alton. In the days that followed, several hundred royalists were captured and forced to enlist with parliament's own forces.[754] London's trained bands did, in the end, fulfill their desire to preserve their honor. And so Waller kept his promise; he granted their discharge on 16 December so that they could begin their march from Hampshire back to their homes in London. They arrived in time for Christmas.

Two Brigades had, in the end, marched out of London during the autumn of 1643. Their efforts helped to turn the tide for the parliamentarian war effort. More than 10,000 Londoners marched with Essex to relieve Gloucester on 26 August; nearly a month later, on 20 September, the trained bands played a pivotal role in the widely celebrated but pyrrhic battle of Newbury. A London brigade of seven regiments rode out yet again in early October, and even if they were unhappy to fight they nevertheless stood their

---

[753] Historical Manuscript Commission, Portland MSS, vol. 1: William Waller to Speaker Lenthall, 16 November 1643, pp. 154-5.
[754] Archer, *A True Relation*, pp. 10-13. Archer puts the total number of prisoners at 1100.

ground and helped to win a decisive victory at Alton on 13 December. The performance of the trained

bands was mixed at best; unaccustomed to campaigning, many threatened to mutiny. But their actions were

decisive. Their willingness to mobilize – even if reluctantly – not only helped to stop the kings' march east,

but it also served to place Gloucester in the hands of parliament, a strategic advantage that they enjoyed for

the remainder of the war. Londoners had thus altered the course of the civil war. The "low point" of the

summer ended on a high – with the backing of the City, parliament had weathered the most difficult and

critical year of their war effort. More than this, the repeated mobilization of the metropolis helped to secure

precious time, time that was necessary for forging an alliance between parliament and their formidable

allies to the north in Scotland.

The Turn from London to Scotland

The royalist threat, spurred on by Waller's plot and reports of a royalist invasion of London, helped to

cement the notion that parliament should seek an alliance with Scotland. Parliament had sent commissioners

to "persuade" the Scots "to join with us in the common Cause" in July. Their efforts paid off almost

immediately with the first official reading of the Solemn League and Covenant on 26 August – incidentally,

the same day that Essex departed to Gloucester with London's trained bands and the same day that the City

Common Council approved the payment of an additional fifty subsidies for parliament's army.[755] A copy of

the Covenant was then sent on to the Assembly of Divines who set about considering the "lawfulness of

taking it."[756] The Assembly approved of the oath, which administered in both Houses in September, was

given first to London in October, and then ordered for the entire nation in January 1644.[757] John Pym had

long desired the adoption of an alliance with the Scots, but the fashioning of the covenant was, as Hexter has

rightly acknowledged, "the work of young Sir Henry Vane and the Scot, Archibald Johnston of

---

[755] *A&O*, pp. 197-202.
[756] *CJ* iii, pp. 219-20. See also, Vallance, who also quotes this in *Revolutionary England*, p. 59.
[757] See, for instance, St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, Vestry Minute Book, 1567-1643: P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/001, fol. 12, which includes forty-two signatures including the lecturer, John Lightfoote. See above for a brief discussion of the relationship between the Solemn League and Covenant and the earlier Vow and Covenant.

Warriston."[758] Vane and Johnston's roles in drafting the architecture of the Covenant, as we shall see, laid the foundation for their later importance in the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the successor to the Committee of Safety. The approval of the Solemn League and Covenant and the entry of Scottish forces dramatically altered the wider dynamics of the civil war by providing parliament with seasoned military allies. Further, it inalterably shifted London's responsibility in terms of mobilization; London's trained bands would no longer be needed to tip the scales as they had throughout the autumn of 1643. Instead, the City would be looked to for other forms of support. Foremost this meant funding and supply; as the pressure for troop mobilization decreased, the call for funding increased.

Paying for parliament's new allies was the first order of the day. Prior to marching south, the Scottish forces required funds to cover outstanding arrears for their service in Ireland and to march south. Previous loans levied on corporations, including the £50,000 requested in August, meant that most livery companies were simply incapable of raising cash. Yet the opportunity to bring the Scottish forces south was too significant to pass up, and therefore a new ordinance was drafted and passed in October that called for a £200,000 loan that was to be guaranteed according to sequestered estates and the sale of "delinquents' coals."[759] As Ben Coates points out, the loan, which was overseen by the newly formed Committee at Goldsmith's Hall for Scottish Affairs, would amount to "the largest voluntary subscription after the propositions." Londoners responded positively to the ordinance by paying approximately eighty-five percent of their £80,000 portion of the loan.[760] Be it for an eagerness to see the burden of mobilization taken off of the capital, or due to newfound confidence in the loan's security by backing from sequestrations and coal, Londoners had proven overwhelmingly supportive. Money poured in from throughout the City. Collectors from St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, where John Lightfoote served as lecturer, managed to raise just under £268 36s. 8d. with several parishioners promising an additional £74. The parish recorded the names of only seven individuals who refused to lend money towards "our brethren of Scotland towards payment of ther Army raised for our defence" and those of six others who did not pay because they were "out of towne"

---

[758] Hexter, *King Pym*, p. 151.
[759] *A&O*, pp. 311-15.
[760] Ben Coates, *Impact*, pp. 57-8.

including "Dr Zouche" who was "att Oxford."[761] The City had thus taken an inexorable step towards fulfilling its other vital purpose in the parliamentarian war effort: that of a financial sinecure, a source of readily available revenue that could be borrowed and repaid with confidence to support the war effort. This point is underscored further by the fact that all future loans in London would be guaranteed on funds from sequestrations and taxes – primarily the excise – and not, as we have seen, on grounds of "the public faith." The adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant and the decision to fund Scottish forces did not, in the end, completely nullify London's need to mobilize men-at-arms, but it did in the end reform the way in which London would be mobilized for the remainder of the war.

The success of the new loan signaled a fundamental change in London's relationship to the civil war. The anticipation of a foreign professional fighting force took considerable pressure off City which had until that point been *the* obvious supply of men-at-arms. The relatively quick collection of the loan led ot the ratification of the treaty on 29 November. It was agreed upon that the Scots would send an impressive force south. These forces were to march under the command of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, and included some "18000 foote 3000 horse and between 4 and 500 Dragoneer" along with an impressive "120 great guns, and other train of Ammunition, very full and large."[762] The new Scottish forces could not be more unlike London's trainbandsmen. The prior were for the most part seasoned veterans, many of whom had seen service in the Bishops' Wars or further afield on the Continent during the Thirty Years' War.[763] It is almost certainly not a coincidence that the treaty of 29 November called for exactly 18,000 foot, a force equal in size to London's trained bands. The entry of the new Scottish force would, in short, assure that London no longer needed to serve as the primary pool from which men would be plucked for service – a topic that we must return to in due course.

---

[761] LMA Ms. P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/001, St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, Vestry Minute Book, 1567-1643, fols. 13-14. Coates cites the total raised from St. Bartholomew as £276, *Impact*, pp. 57-8.
[762] *A Full Relation of the Scots martch from Barwicke to Newcastle* (London, 1644), A2v.
[763] See in particular Matthew Glazier, "Scots in the French and Dutch armies during the Thirty Years' War," in *Scotland and the Thirty Years War: 1618-1648*, (ed.) Steve Murdoch (Leiden, 2001), pp. 117-142.

A Change in Leadership

1643 saw several important changes to parliament's leadership. Parliament had of course already lost a number of high-status and symbolic leaders in the first half of the year. Lord Brooke died in March as he was leaving a house in Lichfield, shot through the eye by the royalist sniper John Dyott; equally shocking news came months later when reports revealed that John Hampton died after a skirmish at Chalgrove Field. Both deaths served symbolic and logistical blows to the cause. As Ann Hughes has shown, Brooke's death was followed by "the disintigration of his army" and widespread confusion over who would "pay Brooke's bills."[764] Hampden had been a stalwart of the parliamentarian cause and leading lieutenant under Essex. His loss, like that of Brooke earlier in the year, added to the factionalization that was a characteristic of the summer low point in parliament's war effort.

If the first half of 1643 was marked by the loss of military men, the second was defined by the removal of political leaders. Parliament saw the loss of two men who had hitherto helped to shape the tone of politics in Westminster and the war effort in London. Militants were dealt a first damaging blow when Henry Marten, formerly the chair for the committee for the general rising, was ejected from the Commons on 16 August. Marten's biggest crime was to share his opinion in the Commons; he claimed "it were better one family be destroyed than many." His logic seems within reason, but not when the family in question was the king's. The notion that the monarch, queen, and heirs might be all be destroyed to end the war proved terribly shocking to nearly all present.[765] Marten was subsequently ejected from the house and sent to the Tower. D'Ewes, who did little to hide his disdain for Marten and his "fiery" associates, heard reports of the event and noted in his diary that Marten had seconded his fellow puritan John Saltmarsh's suggestion for "extripating the royal race and the utter subverting of the monarchical government."[766] Up until that point, Marten had served as a tremendous proponent of the war effort, an aggressive and tireless leader who served the militant cause in Westminster and London.

---

[764] Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 181.
[765] See *Mercurius Aulicus*, 13-19 August 1643.
[766] BL Harley Ms. 165 fol. 97r-v. See McGee, *An Industrious Mind*, p. 395.

The wider parliamentarian war effort received an altogether greater blow with the death of John Pym on 8 December. Although he had long been in decline – likely owing to bowel cancer – his death in early December marked another significant change to parliament's leadership and management of the war effort. Sir Edward Nicholas received word that Pym was "either dead or past remedy" on 14 October.[767] Nicholas received a chilling update one month later; it seemed that Pym was "ready to dye being full of lice which breed in his flesh."[768] Pym had been an indefatigable proponent of the war effort in the Commons and on several occasions when he spoke at London's Guildhall. Most notably, his speech after the attempt on the seven Londoners helped to merge efforts between Parliament and the Common Council in January 1643. He had also been instrumental in promoting and propagandizing Waller's Plot, which, as we have seen, was a central instrument in the subsequent Vow and Covenant and the attempt to establish the general rising. But he was also instrumental for the introduction of a number of policies that would later shape the war effort, including his initial suggestions for an excise and his hope for forging an alliance with Scottish forces. Hexter's claim that he had "forged and beaten Parliament into a well-tempered weapon" may be something of an exaggeration – he was far from alone in his efforts – but it would be unreasonable to discredit his wider leadership and importance in shaping parliament's war effort and simplify his role to that of the "Commons go-between with the Lords," as John Morrill has asserted.[769] As much can be seen by the fact that his death created a vacuum in leadership that made room for a new wave of political leaders in parliament such as Henry Vane Junior. Pym's death, in short, severed important link between belligerents in Westminster and their allies in London.

The City lost its equivalent to Pym when Isaac Pennington retired from the mayoralty in October. No single change to London's political leadership proved more decisive for mobilization. Pennington oversaw the most radical phase of London's participation in the war effort. The "pretend" Lord Mayor promoted – and in many cases forced – the transformation of the metropolis over the course of late 1642 and

---

[767] Sir Edward Nicholas [Oxon] to Henry Hastings. 14 October 1643. HEHL, HA Correspondence Box 17 #9695.
[768] Sir Edward Nicholas [Oxon] to Lord Loughborough. HEHL, HA Correspondence Box 17 #9698.
[769] Hexter, *King Pym*, p. 199; Morrill, "The unweariableness of Mr Pym: influence and eloquence in the Long Parliament," pp. 35-6.

1643. These included, but were by no means limited to, the ejection of Gurnsey in 1642, the derailment of

peace proposals in January 1643, and the creation of the Lines of Communication. His demagoguery was

instrumental for raising money through arrests for sequestrations and through loans from London's

corporations. He was, moreover, at the forefront the ideological escalation that characterized 1643. Most

rightly acknowledged that "Isaac and his faction" were behind both the City remonstrance from Easter and

the later general rising of July and August. As Lord Mayor, he presided over the Common Council that

many came to regard as a "third house of parliament," a body capable of asserting its belligerent agenda for

the nation's largest economic base and population.

As with Pym's death, Pennington's departure from the mayoralty signaled a shift in London's

relationship to the war effort. Valerie Pearl assessed the entire episode with valuable and characteristic pith,

claiming that Pennington's loss of the mayoralty marked a wider "shift in the power of the City

government."[770] His departure from office was celebrated by royalists and mourned by belligerents.

Pennington's successor, John Wollaston, was a decidedly more moderate leader. Wollaston had become

familiar with both sides of war; he was colonel of the Yellow Regiment and president of Bethlem and

Bridewell. The latter service doubtless introduced him to an understanding of the human costs of war that his

predecessor lacked; the hospital hosted droves of wounded soldiers who began to arrive in the metropolis.

This may have helped to temper his vehemence and belligerence. As we shall see, Wollaston's replacement

of Pennington coincided with a new and less fervent phase in metropolitan mobilization – an integral part of

the City's wider transformation from serving as an active and indispensible provider of men and arms to a

more clearly defined supplier of money and supplies. Pennington and his belligerent allies did not vanish

from politics completely. As Pearl has also shown, Pennington made sure that he would have "a new

position of strength" as Lieutenant of the Tower of London, a position that he held from July 1643 "until

1645, when he surrendered it under the terms of the self-denying Ordinance."[771] Isaac Pennington would

therefore remain an important player in London's war effort, but his loss of the mayoralty marked an end to

his dominating role in politics. For all of his efforts, Pennington had, however, earned the most precious

---

[770] Pearl, *London*, p. 274.
[771] Ibid.

commodity in any war: time – time necessary for Pym and his parliamentary allies to forge lasting bonds and a wartime machinery that would eventually overthrow Charles I.

Conclusion

London's proposed *levee en masse* did not collapse in vain. The pamphleteer and leveler William Walwyn, who had been "right alongside" the "many others" who "petitioned the Parliament for the generall raising and arming of all the well affected," recognized as much. For although the general rising never "took its proper effect, and came not to perfection," it had nevertheless "mated the common enemy, and set all wheels at work at home." The entire effort, then, became "the spring to more powerfull motions and good successes."[772] The general rising did not collapse due to any one particular event, but rather was the resuly of a mixture of unreasonable expextations and political developments that were outside the scope of any single political acter. Foremorst was the shared and mistaken belief amongst many militants that Waller's Plot and the subsequent Vow and Covenant would translate into widespread volunteer enlistment for a new army to fight against the king. Clearly they did not. But other important factors were at play, and two political events in particular must also be acknowledged when accounting for the effort's collapse. First was the matter of the violence Waller's troops used against female peace protesters. The killing of at least one Londoner did little to support the notion that Waller should be invested with a new volunteer army raised in the metropolis. The second matter – although somewhat ironic – stemmed from reports of Londoners and their successes while campaigning. The deeds of the London Brigade at Newbury – and in particular the reports of the Red and Blue Regiments – helped return some degree of popular support to Essex. The Lord General's newly found popularity, in turn, allowed for a limited reconciliation with Waller. Essex granted Waller a new military commission in October, which allowed for a cooperative military effort in the field

---

[772] William Walwyn, *A Whisper in the eare of Mr. Thomas Edwards* (London, 1646), p. 4. Keith Lindley suggests that this passage refers specifically to the formation of the New Model Army, but I believe that it is *also* a direct reference to Newbury and Alton. See Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 319.

over the course of the autumn and up until December, when Waller's men took Alton. Indeed, "all wheels" were "at work at home" as Walwyn suggested.

There can be little doubt that London's militants altered the shape of metropolitan mobilization. In doing so, they also escalated the war effort and reshaped the ways in which civilians participated in popular politics. [773] Metropolitan militants saw through a number of novel proposals to support the war effort in 1643. Orders from above helped the City to transform from below. Widespread iconoclasm transformed church interiors and monuments, while citizens marched daily to construct the Lines of Communication. The once sprawling and open metropolis transformed into a fortified stronghold, a closed City guarded by volunteers who wished to protect their families, livelihoods and religion. Over the course of the year, parliament managed to recruit, outfit and supply new regiments of auxiliary forces. Several of these went on to serve in the autumn campaigns. But as Lawson Chase Nagel has correctly observed, the year also signaled an exhaustion of London's supply of men-at-arms, so that "after the existing Auxiliary regiments had been re-recruited, there were no more able-bodied potential soldiers available."[774] Evidence to support this point can be seen from 1 December 1643, when the Common Council considered a petition for raising 3,600 additional auxiliary soldiers. The numbers recruited were in the end so small that they could only be used to thinly reinforce existing companies of the City Trained Bands and Auxiliaries.[775] So it was that the most intense and continuous effort to mobilize Londoners came to an end. Newbury – and to a letter extent Alton in December – would ultimately prove the finest hour for the London's Trained Bands and Auxiliaries who served in the civil wars.

But there is also evidence to suggest that the political tensions that accompanied the push for the general rising spurred leaders in Westminster and the City to look beyond London for more reliable means for conducting their war effort. In October, Edward Nicholas noted with characteristic pessimism that the people of London had for the most part become "much dejected" due to "great divisions amongst them."

---

[773] See Michael Braddick, "History, liberty, reformation and the cause: Parliamentarian military and ideological escalation in 1643", in Michal Braddick and David L. Smith (eds.) *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 117-134.
[774] Nagel, "The Militia of London, 1641-1649," p. 167.
[775] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 80v.

Londoners, he went on, had "noe hope left them but in the Scots invading this kingdom."[776] Efforts to bring in a Scottish alliance had of course been in place since the summer, but Nicholas was quite right: the "great divisions" helped to signal yet another change to the war. Belligerents began to look much further afield for supply and support needed to conduct the war effort in the wake of the "great divisions" of autumn. Orders had in fact already been made on 12 September calling for dispatching agents to the Netherlands with the intention that they should "endeavour for the borrowing of Monies upon Occasions." Attention was increasingly turning from London to the international stage; Scotland and the Netherlands were just a few of the places from which parliament might hope to secure new means for conducting their war.

The fortified metropolis would remain a stronghold for parliament's war against the king in 1644. London's continued role in the war effort was in a sense secured. Yet London would no longer serve as a center for recruiting new men-at-arms in 1644; 18,000 trainbandsmen would soon make way for an equal number of seasoned and hardened allies from the north. But Londoners did not simply pass on their baton to the Scots. The City was to remain the beating heart of the effort: the secure and financially robust metropolis would continue to rely on its troops for self defense, just as it would rely on the wealth of its residents to pay taxes and give supplies to parliament's war effort. With these structures in place – and particularly the excise – the militants of 1643 had in a sense succeeded; "Isaac and his faction" had secured London's finances for the wider parliamentarian war effort. The City would, however, encounter new leadership in 1644, leadership capable of fine-tuning the metropolis for new campaigns and challenges. It is to new leaders, and indeed to the metropolitan inhabitants with whom they interacted, that we must now turn.

---

[776] HEHL HA Correspondence Box 17 #9695 Sir Edward Nicholas [Oxon] to Henry Hastings; see also HEHL HA Correspondence Box 17 #9700, in which Nicholas informs Lord Loughborough on 10 December 1643 that Londoners "are foold wth a beleef that the Scots will come in & assist them in their rebellion."

Section IV. 1644: A Shifting War Effort

Chapter X. Maintaining Mobilizations

Seeking Support Outside of London

On 2 July 1644, William Waller wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms to complain that he was "extremely plagued with the mutinies of the Cittie Brigade, who are growne to that height of disorder, that I have no helpe to retayne them." They had, he went on, "come to their old song of home, home." Waller's experience in the summer differed little from the previous year when he had struggled to convince London's Trained Bands to join him for Alton. If they had achieved some degree of glory in the previous December, Waller still found it necessary to offer his general assessment of the Trained Bands and their usefulness: "An Army compounded of these men" he opined, "will never goe through with their service." Rather than prolong their service and depend upon them, parliament should seek "an Army meerly your owne" and "that you may command." Until that time arrived, Waller warned, it would be "impossible to doe any thing of importance."[777] In these words, Waller presaged the formation of the New Model Army.

Waller's letter arrived after several months of campaigning in which Londoners had played only a minor role. The Yellow and White regiments, which were made up mostly of young apprentices, marched out from London for the first time in early January 1644. More experienced troops, such as Captain Robert Harley, could not help but to take note of their inexperience as they marched into the countryside for the first time. Some of the new men, Harley scoffed, would "run to see what manner of things cows were."[778] If green by the account of more seasoned soldiers, the young members of the London brigade nevertheless found opportunities to test the skills that they had acquired while drilling in the capital's artillery gardens. The greatest of these chances came at the end of March at Cheriton, Hampshire, when Waller's combined parliamentarian forces managed to win an important victory over Lord Hopton's royalists. The London

---

[777] SP 21/16 fols. 87v-88r.
[778] Quoted in Adair, *Roundhead General*, p. 159.

brigade proved instrumental to parliament's success; Sir Arthur Haselrig's Lobsters received most of the credit for the day since they apparently held the left flank of the field. Meanwhile portions of the City White Regiment fought hard and managed to advance and occupy ground on the right flank. As with previous victories, London's press made the most of the occasion. Captain John Jones wrote a letter on the day of the battle that was printed in the capital days later to reveal that "our London Regiments, but above any, our Major General [Richard] Brown[e], hath bin a prime means for our present welfare."[779] Another account printed in the capital suggested that Browne was indeed "a special instrument" in the victory for having led a charge with 100 men who managed to "thorow the Enemies body and put them to a rout."[780] News of London's pivotal role in the conflict led to typical celebrations in the shape of ringing bells and a thanksgiving sermons preached to the Lord Mayor and aldermen at St. Paul's. Cornelius Burgess and Henry Wilkinson used the occasion to provide encouraging words and praise to the Almighty "for the victory obteyned by gods mercy against the forces under the Comand of the Lord Hopton."[781] Reports of Haselrig's sturdy Lobsters and Browne's decisive leadership afforded Londoners with yet another example of their "brave boys" upholding the cause.

But the high hopes that accompanied such good news were all too soon tempered by reports of trouble in the field. In the aftermath of the battle, Waller wrote to Westminster yet again to complain about the mutinous and resolutely unreliable London troops. If a thorn in Waller's side, the troops were not entirely finished with the battlefield; their next performance came three months after Cheriton on 29 June, when forces from the Tower Hamlets "very honourably and stoutly" held "back the enemy" at Cropredy Bridge.[782] Parliament ultimately suffered a defeat on the day, but this did not owe to a shortage of bravery on the part of the Londoners who held the bridge to prevent a full rout and even managed to recover a few pieces of lost artillery. Yet Cropredy was far from a victory; it was, as Peter Gaunt has a suggested, much more of "a disorganized and fragmented encounter" that left "700 dead or captured" and worse yet delivered

---

[779] *A Letter from Captain Jones* (London, 1644), lacks pagination and signatures.
[780] *A Fuller Relation* (London, 1644), lacks pagination and signatures; For the royalist mockery of Browne, see Keith Lindley, "Sir Richard Browne, first baronet (*c*. 1602-1669)", *ODNB* (2004).
[781] LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/061, Repertory 57, 31 Oct 1643 - 28 Oct 1645, fol. 106v.
[782] Thomas Ellis, *An Exact and Full Relation of the Last Fight* (London, 1644), p. 5.

yet another blow to morale.[783] If unreliable at the best of times, Londoners were even worse in the days after Cropredy, as Waller wrote on 2 July. Poor conditions and widespread recalcitrance drove them to crying out "their old song of 'home, home'."[784] Rather than march on, many simply deserted to march back to the City. 400 soldiers from the Southwark White Auxiliaries decided to march back to London carrying their dead commanders, Colonel James Houblon and Captain Francis Grove. The sick and tired men had long hoped to find a way home, but they finally took matters into their own hands when Major-General Browne arrived in Northampton to reinforce Waller with fresh troops, including those raised in London. Their decision to abandon the cause once again left Waller distraught. "About 2,000 Londoners" had simply picked up, and set out for the metropolis "withough wanting for further orders." Browne's reinforcements were of unquestionable importance, but Waller could not help feeling "very much weekened" due to the loss of the other segments of the City brigade.[785]

Waller's complaints were symptomatic of a wider shift in terms of London's role in the parliamentarian war effort. The City Trained Bands were perhaps their least reliable in the wake of Marston Moor, a turning point in the war that took full advantage of the combined efforts of the Eastern Association and Scottish Covenanters but did not involve any of the City's trainbandsmen. Londoners had, in a sense, defined their own obsoletion with thier absence; the City had long ceased to be a reliable source for the recruitment and fielding of soldiers for campaigns, and the victory at Marston Moor made it clear that parliament could win a decisive victory without their help. This is not to say that they were completely finished fighting – indeed, "the London boyes" under Browne would win praise again as "most heroicke spirits and trusty Tojeans" for taking Greenland House in Oxfordshire on 9 July – but they had repeatedly proven themselves to be unreliable, and in the case of Marston Moor, unneeded. The once stalwart supporters of parliament's war had come to play second fiddle to the professional Covenanters and the forces of the rising Eastern Association.[786]

---

[783] Peter Gaunt, *The English Civil War: A Military History* (London, 2014), pp. 182-3.
[784] Cited in Nagel, "The Militia of London, 1641-1649," p. 197.
[785] Ibid.
[786] *Mercurius Civicus*, 11-17 July (London, 1644).

The waning efforts of Londoners over the course of 1644 should not detract from a wider assessment of their significance to the civil war. Rather, a new set of circumstances had steadily unfolded since the autumn of 1643, the time when the threat of a royalist march towards the capital had outweighed the political divisions and hostilities between parliamentary factions and made for a unified push to fight against the king. These developments led to the celebrated military victories under Essex at Gloucester and under Waller at Alton. But Londoners proved increasingly resistant to the idea of campaigning after the winter of 1643/4. If unready to see the end of the war, they were nevertheless eager to have others continue to fight in the field.

London's role in the war effort had fundamentally shifted by the start of 1644. There were two main reasons for this change: first off, the march south of Scottish forces meant that London no longer needed to be so concerned with the task of sending out reinforcements. Secondly, the Eastern Association, which had been under the command of the Earl of Manchester since August 1643, was swiftly gaining strength and taking on increased military responsibilities. And as Clive Holmes suggests, the legislation that passed in January 1644 "enabled the Earl to build the powerful army victorious at Marston Moor," which was free "from the interference both of the Lord General . . . and of the authorities in the constituent counties."[787] The entry of the Scots and the increased role of the Eastern Association meant that London no longer serve as the *primary* well from which parliament could raise fresh troops and arms. Yet there was no wholesale process of demilitarization in the metropolis. Indeed, London's White and Yellow Regiments were fielded in January and, as we have seen, the London brigade proved decisive to the parliamentarian victory at Cheriton on 29 March. Their final military action would not come until later in the year at the second battle of Newbery in late October. Yet even if London remained the *de facto* heart of parliament's war effort, it had become increasingly apparent over the course of the year that Londoners would not play any part in the war effort outside of the west and the south, areas where they had repeatedly served as reinforcements over the previous two years.

---

[787] Clive Holmes, *The Eastern Association*, p. 183.

A reduction in the number of fielded Londoners led, in turn, to a decrease in attention to matters of local mobilization by the metropolitan press. Instead, and as the present section will explore, citizens increasingly directed their energies towards the interest that had dominated their efforts since they initially marched out to Turnham Green on 13 November 1642 – self preservation. Rather than hotly pursuing the king, Londoners increasingly turned their attention towards caring for the sick and wounded and paying the heavy taxes that steadily came to serve as the lifeblood of parliament's war effort. Any new mobilizations of the trained bands in 1644 came in response to a palpable threat to the capital, and not as part of a wider commitment to any "parliamentary cause."

The start of the year therefore signaled a new phase in London's relationship to the Civil War. Citizens were no longer expected to enlist and fight on the same scale as they had in 1642 and 1643; instead they were expected to shoulder the responsibility of funding and supplying the sinews of war – the money, goods and supplies needed by parliament to sustain the fight against the king. As we have seen, this "new role" developed gradually over the course of 1643 with the implementation of new forms of taxation such as the weekly assessments, the forgoing of a weekly meal for raising new troops, and the crucially important excise. The gradual implementation of these and other taxes meant that the City's responsibility towards maintaining parliament's war effort had become firmly entrenched by 1644. In particular, revenue from the excise gradually superseded all other forms of wartime taxation, not only in terms of the large revenue that it generated, but also in terms of its status as an official guarantee for loans requested from the City. The tax had, in short, become the lifeblood of the parliamentarian war effort. When parliament sought new loans in the wake of the exhaustion of the City liveries, they did so under the promise of repayment backed by the excise, as opposed to the previous means of recourse to "the public faith." As we shall see, new backing by excise made for a significantly faster turnaround when it came time to raise capital for the war effort.

Money and effort was also turned towards another of London's systemic issues: caring for sick and wounded soldiers. The problem of maimed soldiers compounded on a daily basis; injured and ill men from all sides required care. Unable to return to their trades, many of these men turned to the capital. The financial burden of caring for these men – and in many cases their families – fell upon the institutions of London, ranging from the City's large hospitals that oversaw pensions, to the livery companies and parishes

that could provide temporary respite through charity. The urgent need to care for the sick and injured is reflected in shifting rhetoric of war, from printed orders and requests to the language of sermons.

These developments coincided with important shifts in the political leadership of London and Westminster. London's relationship to the war effort changed notably with the arrival of Lord Mayor John Wollaston. Wollaston's assumption of the mayoralty signaled a turn away from the belligerent policies that marked Pennington's term. This shift is most apparent in the records of the City Common Council, which reveal that additional attention was paid to issues of preserving the metropolis, as opposed to new military mobilizations. Parliament's political leadership also changed. The removal of Hampden, Pym, and to a lesser extent Marten, made way for new leaders who approached parliament's war effort in different ways. Particular attention must therefore be paid to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the successor to the Committee of Safety that began when the Scottish forces marched south in January 1644. This new committee, which was tasked to "order and direct" and oversee "the carrying on and managing of the war," largely inherited the political authority of its predecessor, but its leadership signaled a new and decidedly multi-national approach to the parliamentarian war effort.[788] Increasingly, the Committee's efforts turned attention away from the confines of London and on to an international stage from which they could secure new means for supporting their war effort.

London meanwhile maintained and manned its fortifications, cared for the sick and wounded, and saw that its citizens paid the taxes. The City was dependable in these regards. Yet the City's relationship to the war effort had fundamentally changed. Over the course of 1644, London would recruit fewer soldiers and it would send out fewer reinforcements. The metropolis did not cease to be *the center* of the war effort – it most certainly remained the single greatest reason for parliament's success – but it had settled into a more mature and consistent role. Among shifting political alliances and growing debates over the outcome of the war, the metropolis became an arena for conflicts between the new political groups who would later dominate the political landscape of the war.

---

[788] *LJ* iii, p. 430.

The New Political Leadership and Basil Brooke's Plot

Two political bodies could claim to have the greatest influence on London's war effort in 1644. These were the new Committee of Both Kingdoms and the extant City Common Council. The political interests of the prior body, which was tasked with managing the joint Parliamentarian and Scottish war effort, can be largely gleaned based on the committee's composition. The new committee retained several peers who had previously sat on the Committee of Safety, including Essex, Northumberland, and Saye and Sele. New members included the grandees Manchester and Wharton, along with John Robartes, a veteran of Edgehill and Newbury. New members from the Commons were decidedly committed to "the cause," and included William Armyne, Samuel Browne, John Crewe, Oliver Cromwell, Oliver St. John, Robert Wallop and both Vane Junior and Vane Senior. Each of these men, save perhaps for the more moderate Crewe, can be counted amongst the most godly and committed proponents of the war effort. Henry Vane brought with him a particular vehemence and eagerness to manage the new committee. Previous members who attended both committees included William Waller, William Pierrepoint, and the militants John Glynn and Sir Philip Stapleton. Scottish members included the Earl of Loudon, Viscount Maitland, Jonston of Wariston, and Robert Barclay.

Henry Vane's commitment was of particular importance for wartime London, as it soon became clear that he intended to inherit Pym's mantle of leadership. In her study of Vane's political career, Violet Rowe suggested that "the period 1640-3 shows Vane co-operating with Pym and St John, and to a much lesser extent and only on occasions for specific purposes, with Marten and Glyn." This balancing act obviously changed by early 1644; Pym's death and Marten's ejection from the House left far more space for Vane to assert his own political will. The extent to which he succeeded is revealed in part by the fact that "the king himself" took to "referring to Vane as the leader of a party in the House."[789] But Vane was by no means the same grade of politician that his predecessor had been. There can be little doubt that Vane brought an energy and commitment to the war that matched Pym's, yet he displayed decidedly less political

---

[789] Violet Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane the Younger: A Study in Political and Administrative History* (London, 1970), pp. 32-33.

acumen than did his predecessor. And even if he was no longer preoccupied with placating Marten and Glyn, Vane did come to spend considerable energy over the course of the year dealing with political opponents, who steadily increased in importance throughout 1644. Wallace Notestein suggested long ago that the policies of the Committee of Both Kingdoms "furnishes" historians with "foot-notes on the involved and subterranean policy of Sir Henry Vane and his friends." Yet there is, on balance, little to suggest that Vane managed the affairs of the Committee of Both Kingdoms to the same extent that Pym had managed those of the Committee of Safety.[790]

Thus, little evidence shows that Vane Junior was the successor to "King Pym." Rather, no single leader surfaced in 1644 on the scale of Pym in 1643, and the void created by Pym's absence was apparently filled by new fragmented alliances. The new political groups centered, on the one hand, around the growing leadership of Denzil Holles, who became closely allied with Essex and the leading proponent of presbyterianism and peace in the Commons, and Vane Junior and his allies such as Oliver St. John. Meanwhile the new Lord Mayor and Common Council continued to exert their voice and authority over London's finances and involvement with the war effort. Importantly, they did so while largely in step with the interests of Vane's group.

The extent to which disunity plagued the parliamentarian political camp is perhaps best illustrated by the political aftermath of Basil Brooke's plot to divide parliament and the City. The plot, which grabbed Londoners' attention from December 1643 until January 1644, provided a new and important opportunity to articulate and propagandize the designs of the parliamentarian war effort, or better yet to spur on the mobilization of the metropolis. Several historians have noticed that the plot afforded an important but underutilized opportunity for parliamentarians. Indeed, news of Brooke's plan was narrowly disseminated when compared to Waller's Plot. Andrew Hopper, for one, noted that it was at best "a supposed plot," while

---

[790] Wallace Notestein, "The Establishment of the Committee of Both Kingdoms," *AHR* 17 (1912), p. 477.

Geoffrey Smith found it to be little more than "an insignificant and obscure conspiracy."[791] While not entirely off the mark, these assessments require qualification.

If largely "insignificant and obscure," Brooke's plot was nevertheless clearly harnessed as a means to establish a unity of purpose that would benefit the parliamentarian war effort. According the newspaper *A Perfect Diurnall*, the revelation of the plot came by an act of "great providence" and due to "the great care and industry of the L[ord Philip] *Wharton*." Information regarding the plot was almost certainly conveyed to Wharton by way of the militant Londoner David Watkins. The plot unfolded over a relatively brief period beginning in late December 1643 and ending with the seizure of Brooke's correspondence on 6 January 1644. Brooke, who was a Catholic, had managed to facilitate communications between a number of participants, including the king and queen and figures in London such as Theophilus Riley, the City's scout-master general, Thomas Violett, a goldsmith, and Colonel Reade, the "grand Jesuitied Papist" who was a prime mover in the Irish Rebellion. The conspirators regularly met at "at the three Craines in Vintree and at the man in the Moone," where they framed their plans around Benyon's peace petition from early 1642. Their primary aim was to divide parliament and the City by persuading London's Common Council and their new Lord Mayor to issue peace proposals to the king. At the very least, the conspirators hoped to foment divisions that would help to "impede the proceedings of Parliament" and prevent "the Scots coming into this kingdome."[792] Brooke, Riley and Violett landed themselves in the Tower. Brooke remained there until May 1646, when he was transferred to the King's Bench Prison. Violett remained in the Tower until 1652.

Although decidedly less dramatic than Waller's plot, Brooke's plot did generate some important demonstrations of unity between London and the Long Parliament. A Common Hall was called on 8 January so that members of parliament could relate the detail of the plot to the City, and members of a special delegation travelled from the Guildhall to Westminster to invite both houses to come to the City for a special

[791] Andrew Hopper, *Turncoats and Renegadoes: Chagning Sides During the English Civil Wars* (Oxford, 2012), p. 51; Geoffrey Smith, *Royalist Agents, Conspirators and Spies*, p. 54, fn. 58; See also, Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp. 353-355.

[792] *A Perfect Diurnall*, 1-8 January 1644, sig. A4r; *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, 2-9 January 1644, Sig. P2r. For the implication of Watkins, see Lindley, p. 354 and B. M. Gardiner, *A Secret Negociation with Charles I*, 1643-1644 (1883), v.

day of feasting and unity. On the same day a committee left from the Commons to determine "a proportionable number of the Lord, to go to the common Hall." The committee included Henry Vane, Arthur Haselrig, Alderman Pennington, and others who would see that the affair would provide an appropriate face to parliament's war effort.[793] Moreover, a special day of "solemn feasting" was arranged for on 18 January, and the Council selected John Fowke to deliver their official invitation to members of both houses along with the Lord General and the Scottish Commissioners. The day's events began with a sermon given by Stephen Marshall at Christ Church, London. Later printed as *A Sacred Panegyrick*, Marshall's words set the tone for the day; he began by reminding all attendants that it was their duty to "feast *your soules with the fat things of Gods house*" prior to the afternoon when they planned "to feast your *bodies*." Marshall set about covering 1 Chronicles 12: 38, 39, 40, and the view that the divine hand guided all present "from so many treacherous desines, secret treasons, and open violences." Marshall at one point instructed his auditors take note of the quality of their peers, which he introduced in order to underscore the significance of their meeting and the importance of unity. Essex and Warwick were in attendance, and by their sides an "abundance of noble and resolute Commanders all of them with their faces like unto Lions." Also present was the entire "*Representative body of the City of London*" and the "*Militia*" who had together earned "the honour of" preserving London, which stood as "the greatest meanes of the salvation of the whole kingdome." Next were the Scottish Commissioners, who stood by as vessels of "the wisdome and affection of their whole Church and Nation." All were there together on the day because they shared in a "unity of hearts, and concurrence of spirit."[794] The historian Michael Walzer believed that Marshall's sermon "described the transition from just war to revolution," an important justification for ideological escalation that was anything but "insignificant."[795]

Thomas Juxon, a Londoner and captain in the green regiment, recalled the eventful day in a journal entry in which he made special note of the parties present, including "the Houses of Parliament, the Scots commissioners and assembly, with his excellency and many commanders." After Marshall's sermon, the

---

[793] *CJ* iii, p. 360.
[794] Stephen Marshall, *A Sacred Panegyrick* (London, 1644), sigs. B1r-v, p. 24.
[795] Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 295.

group travelled on towards the Merchant Tailor's hall while "the trained bands, on each side, made them a guard." The Lord Mayor proceeded on foot and was followed closely by the sheriffs and aldermen who rode on horseback.[796] Beyond the stream of City leaders and parliamentary officials were soldiers and throngs of citizen onlookers.

The day provided numerous occasions for underscoring political unification. The feasting – which purportedly cost around £4000 and came only days after the Common Council had proposed raising funds by a controversial weekly meal – provided an opportunity for the City to express their "great happiness" for the "contynuall vigilance" shown by the Parliament towards "the Safety and Preservacion not only of the Kingdome in generall but of this City in particular."[797] After dinner, the gathering enjoyed the signing of a psalm before scraps were cleared form tables and carried off to be distributed to refugees from Bristol and amongst "several prisons." As Juxon recalled, the plot backfired on the conspirators; the "design which was intended for division," he went on, did in fact provide an "occasion for a brotherly meeting" and a chance to "counter-mine" the conspirators' "design."[798] Indeed, the occasion served to renew commitments between the Common Council and parliament, so that days later the Commons were happy to send on "their hearty and cheerefull thanks" to the court for "their great expressions of Love in their Late enterteynment at marchant tailors hall."[799] More shocking than the bill for the day's feasting was the fact that the king had been implicated in yet another political mishap, damaging his cause for the third January in a row. His supposed attempt to raise support in London ended with Brooke and his co-conspirators in jail and served as a sharp reminder of the fact that royalists remained as eager as ever to take the capital. A botched plot thus reminded Londoners of the importance of the "cause," even if in less explicit terms than Waller's plot from the previous summer.

The symbolic renewal of bonds and ties of friendships from 18 January suggests that parliamentarians were still well aware of the need to maintain a close working relationship with the City

---

[796] *The Journal of Thomas Juxon, 1644-1647*, eds. Keith Lindley and David Scott (London, 1999), p. 40.
[797] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 84v. See fol. 83v for the discussion of a weekly meal. Lindley cites *The Letters and Journals of Robert Ballie*, ii, 134-5 for the figure £4000 in *Popular Politics*, p. 355.
[798] *The Journal of Thomas Juxon*, p. 40.
[799] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 86r.

Common Council. As with previous years, the appointment of the new Lord Mayor was of particular significance. While there can be little doubt that John Wollaston remained a godly and committed proponent of the parliamentarian cause – as could be seen in the aftermath of Brooke's plot – he was by no means an outright "radical" like his predecessor, Isaac Pennington. Wollaston served as one of the treasurers for the intake of plate and cash as guildhall in 1642, and he was colonel of the City Yellow Regiment. But he was also president of Bethlem and Bridewell, a position that put him in close proximity to London's ever-increasing number of maimed and injured soldiers. Wollaston would ultimately forge his own path as Lord Mayor – and this proved to be markedly less militant than that of his radical predecessor. He did not, for instance, attend trials, taunt malignants, or strong-arm the liveries for money and arms. He did, however, most certainly remain a leading advocate of the cause.[800]

A January petition for reforming of the Lord General's Army offers an important indicator of the new Lord Mayor's political leanings. Alderman Fowke and his fellow messengers reached the House with their petition on 29 January and well aware of the "spirit of divison which hath walked in the darke betwixt the parliament and the Citie" and which "hath ben alike active betwixt his Excelencie his Army and Citie." The petitioners made two specific requests: First, they wanted to see that all troops serving within Essex's army were placed under commanders proven to be "well affected to the cause." This was, in effect, an attempt to purge the army of any "disaffected," or potentially traitorous leaders. Second, the petitioners brought to light the issue of London's "exhausted" treasuries and the "great summes which the army hath received" from loans and other taxes. Next was the demand that "there may be such a new establishment such as a Councell of warr" tasked with bringing about "disciplyne in the said Army."[801] The great show of unity from the feasting at Merchant Tailor's Hall may have helped to establish a consonancy of interests, but it could do little to eliminate the political tensions of the previous year. Wollaston's involvement in the new City petition signaled that divisions were still very much alive, and moreover that his government remained

---

[800] See LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 86v for his promotion of the controversial weekly mean.
[801] See *CJ* iii, p. 380; LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 88r-v.

invested in the outcome of the war. If less belligerent than his predecessor, Wollaston was nevertheless committed to maintaining the political authority of London's Common Council.

More than simply weighing in on the shape of the army, Wollaston and the Common Council had produced a petition that firmly established their political interests. Even if the City fathers had dined with the Lord General in a display of unity no less than two weeks prior, they remained firmly committed to a vision of parliament's cause that would be shaped by the shared oversight of the Committee of Both Kingdoms and the City Common Council. London's leaders may have been willing to give "their blessing to the Scottish alliance," as Brenner had noticed, but they did so under the assurance that they would also retain a degree of control over the conduct of war.[802] London's political leaders were, on the one hand, interested in putting to rest any notions of disunity that may have come up as a result of Basil Brooke's plot. Yet, on the other hand, they were eager to reassert their political voices regarding the management a war effort that relied so heavily upon their money and men, but was ultimately under Essex's control. The best means for achieving their ends was not to target Essex directly, but instead to be certain that the commanders under his authority remained loyal to the City's interests. The new Lord Mayor, it would appear, had every intention to see that the Common Council continued to operate as a "third house of parliament."

The New Sinews of War

As the London petition also suggested, large segments of the metropolis were financially exhausted from the previous year and a half of contributing towards the war. Londoners were eager to point out that they had shouldered a disproportionately large burden in terms of parliament's war effort. D'Maris Coffman has shown that Londoners did in fact pay more on average more than their suburban counterparts, even if only slightly. The main issue in 1644, however, was the addition of new goods to the list of excised commodities. On 9 January parliament "imposed new excises on flesh and salt," followed in July by "additional excise

---

[802] Brenner, *Merchants*, p. 466.

duties on imported hemp, flax, tow, pitch, tar, resin, and tallow" along with "cotton wools."[803] Although a

full third of the money raised by the excise was to be used to repay those who had contributed goods and

services towards the war effort, such as food, carts, and supplies, the extra burden nevertheless fell hard

upon Londoners. This was especially true for those who dealt in meat. London's butchers, Coffman

explains, "were not allowed to slaughter animals without the excise ticket" and "all cattle were to have the

excise paid upon being brought into the city." Failure to pay the tax would result in a charge of malignancy

status for the transgressor.[804] The excise, then, provided that new burdens would be regularly added to an

already long list of grievances.

Contemporaries at no point lost sight of this fact, and royalists happily reminded Londoners of their

suffering at the hands of parliamentarian oppressors, and their interest in discrediting Westminster's

leadership only increased when the "anti-parliament at Oxford" began to sit on 22 January.[805] One could

easily hear taunting tunes or read satirical poems that spelled out Londoners' woes. One royalist song, for

instance, gleefully pointed out that the Londoner was little more than the result of a liaison in which

> a horse got Pym
> and Pim begot a Roundhead.
> This Roundhead got a Cittizen
> that great tax-bearing Mule[806]

Another mock petition belittled parliamentarians for their ability to "fight on" as "valiant heroes." Their

ability to do so, it went on, had more to do with their scrapping up the "scummings of the Citty" and their

odd ability to "turne their Franticke wealth, and squeeze their purse proud spunge till the publique faith

cannot passe for a private pott of ale."[807] Similar, if less bawdy, satires and songs pointed out that the burden

was felt across the table; successful liverymen and common Londoners suffered alike. The prior, as we have

seen, were in some cases approaching insolvency due to repeated demands for loans from the Common

---

[803] D'Maris Coffman, *Excise Taxation and the Origins of Public Debt* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 38. See p. 102 for a table that compares the excise paid by London and the counties; *A&O*, vol. I, pp. 394-395.
[804] Coffman, *Excise Taxation*, p. 39.
[805] Juxon, p. 43.
[806] HEHL, MS 16522, "A Collection of Poems & Ballads in ridicule of the Parliam[en]ty Party during the Quarrel with Ch. I',", Thomas Weaver's song "set to the tune of ye Pedigree," p. 7.
[807] HEHL, MS Ellesmere 7802.

Council. Some companies were still under pressure to pay outstanding loans from 1643 in early 1644. The

Fishmongers, for instance, who had "unanimously consented" to pay their portion of the £50,000 August

loan, were still "very much prest" by the "Lord Maior and the Courte of Aldermn to pay in" their remaining

balance of £2100 in February.[808] Royalists were not entirely off target when they targeted diminished trade

in the metropolis and the many Londoners who had

> growne poore,
> as any Common whore,
> That hath been long a fadeing
> ther's no body will buy
> you may leave to sweare and lye,
> as you were wont to do in your trading.[809]

London's financial pains were certainly not limited to the pressures of outstanding corporate loans and a

lack of trade due to the excise, important as these two things were. Other long-standing programs continued

to take a toll. Customs fees through the port of London continued to generate vast sums of money for

parliament at the expense of merchants and traders, while weekly collections for Ireland persisted

throughout 1643 and well into 1644. Ben Coates has estimated that "a total of £1,414,726 was received by

Parliament's customs' commissioners from 2 July 1642 to June 1650," a figure which made "customs the

largest source of taxation from London in the 1640s."[810] The controversial "meale weekly," which called

upon citizens to forego one meal per week under the expectation that they would forward the money saved

towards the raising of new City troops and was first introduced by the committee at Salters' Hall in May

1643, was once again presented by the Salters' Hall subcommittee to the Common Council in January 1644.

Debated over the course of January and February, the proposal was finally submitted to parliament by

Wollaston as an ordinance for "one meale in the week towards the charge of Arming and forming into

Regiments the Auxiliary forces now in raysing within the Lynes of Communication."[811] The previous years'

plan had simply been repackaged to fit the new recruitment expectations of both the Common Council and

---

[808] GL Ms. 5570/3, Fishmongers' Court Minutes, 1641-1646, fol. 714.
[809] HEHL, MS 16522, p. 62.
[810] Coates, *Impact*, p. 39. See also TNA E 179/252/14, fol. 1, which reveals that St. Botolph Aldersgate contributed £75 18s. on 2 June 1643.
[811] *A Declaration and Motive of the Persons Trusted* (London, 1643); LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols. 86v, 88v-90v.

the Salters' Hall subcommittee. Their expectations were finalized in the shape of an ordinance that called for the collection of a weekly meal that would not be used to raise new troops, but instead would be implemented to "ease and relieve" the exhausted trained bands.[812] As if these large-scale matters of parliamentary finance did not already place a great burden of the people of the City, there were other important matters that needed to be addressed by politicians and citizens. None of these, as we shall see, proved more serious than the need to care for the sick and wounded.

Maintaining the Maimed

When visiting the Savoy hospital with his wife on a cold day in December 1643, Nehemiah Wallington noted the "very sad specticls of misery of our Souldiers" which caused him to "pety and to pray for them as also my heart was much stered up to praise God for the presarving of me and mine ."[813] Having walked the short distance from his home in Eastcheap, Wallington found himself face-to-face with suffering that left him acutely aware of the horrors of war. Other Londoners had come to view similar sights in their own parishes; since the outbreak of war, maimed, sick, and injured soldiers had streamed into London; their steady gathering had caused many to pause and reconsider their reasons for supporting such a lengthy war. Caring for the maimed became more burdensome as the war progressed, and especially after the conflicts of autumn 1643. Wives and children lost husbands with each engagement, but in many cases husbands returned to their homes with injuries that left them incapable of taking up their trades and thus unable to provide for their families. Many turned to the Court of Aldermen for pensions; most found themselves at the mercy of their parishes.

Wallington and his fellow Londoners had grown all too aware of the human cost of war. The "sad specticls" of overflowing hospitals and limbless beggars had become quotidian matters by the beginning of 1644. Historians have made note of the conditions surrounding the sick and maimed in London. Charles

---

[812] *A&O*, pp. 405-9.
[813] BL Add. Ms. 40883, Diary of Nehemiah Wallington, "The Growth of a Christian," fol. 188v.

Carlton has calculated that Britain's civil wars led to the loss of approximately eleven percent of the population, a staggering figure when one takes into account that the ravages of war and influenza killed just three percent of the British population during the Great War.[814] Recent work by Eric Gruber von Arni corroborates Carlton's findings. Gruber von Arni has conducted the first full and systematic investigation of the differences between the ways that parliamentarians and royalists cared for their sick and maimed soldiers. According to his results, the two sides managed nearly opposite systems; Parliament managed its commitment as a "full centralized responsibility fot those killed or incapacitated in service," whereas the royalist system was managed by "regimental commanders" and lacked central oversight.[815] One result of these discrepancies is that Londoners saw a disproportionate number of injured soldiers. Not only were parliament's sick and wounded concentrated in and around London, which "remained the only Parliamentary base sufficiently secure and equipped to provide stable and permanent hospital facilities," but the City almost certainly attracted wounded royalists, as well, who either originated from the capital or sought to disguise their previous service in the hope that they might find temporary respite.[816]

Parliament recognized the importance of caring for the maimed at the outset of the war; early attempts were made to assure that those who lost life or limb in parliament's service would receive pensions to care for their care and for their families. A parliamentary ordinance from 24 October 1642, designed "for better Encouragement in the Service," declared that an "allowance" would be provided "for such of them as shall be maimed, and thereby disabled by their Labour to provide for themselves, their Wives, their Children, as formerly they did." Initially, funds for "allowances and Rewards" came from collections overseen by the committee for maimed soldiers in parishes in London, Southwark and Westminster, but these areas were eventually expanded to all of the areas within the Bills of Mortality in 1643.

Early care for the sick and wounded was overseen by the MPs Robert Jenner and Cornelius Holland, whose receipts totaled, according to Gruber von Arni's account, "just over £1,690" between the

---

[814] Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, p. 214.
[815] Eric Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier: Nursing, Medical Care and Welfare for Sick and Wounded Soldiers and their Families duing the English Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 21, 34.
[816] Ibid., p. 49.

dates of 14 November 1642 and 31 May 1643.[817] The first comprehensive effort to establish a fund for the

maimed did not occur until October 1643, when Richard Hutchinson, William Greenhill, John Pocock and

John Randall were given the unenviable jobs of overseeing the disbursement of £3980 to sick and maimed

soldiers. As Geoffrey Hudson has shown, the "fund, which was supposed to operate for six months" and

which was to be distributed in sums of no more than 4s per week, ended up operating for seventeen years.

Supply for the fund was later replaced by revenue generated by the excise.[818] Further assistance came that

same month in the form of a parliamentary ordinance that called for increased collections for the sick and

injured: it "levied upon the Citty of London and Westminster the some of 1200."[1] Most parishes appear to

have paid their proportions of the levy accordingly. Officials from St. Mary Alermanbury – one of the few

parishes that kept record of their payments from October – "agreed that eaighteen pounds" would be

"gathered for maimed Soulders" over the course of the year. After the levy they increased their sum to £20,

which was again to be "payd in acording as the Ordinance doth require."[819] Scheduled payments for the

maimed had therefore increased by ten percent between March and October 1643. Gruber von Arni points

out that parliament issued new orders on 1 November 1643 "to raise £4,475 to cover the costs of

maintaining financial provision for the wounded over the next six months." This money was to be collected

from London and several other counties under parliamentary control.[820]

The "allowances and Rewards" that were distributed by parliament's committee for the maimed

seldom provided enough money to maintain the injured and their families, who turned to other means to

obtain money. Some of the sick and injured were fortunate enough to receive money from bequests left to

London's corporations. Philip Strelley, a goldsmith who died in September 1603, left one such bequest.

Strelley's will stipulated that £10 be distributed to the sick and maimed on an annual basis for a full ninety-

nine years. Naturally, some of the money that Strelley left behind benefitted soldiers who returned to

London during the wars of the 1640s. The charity, for instance, provided for thirty-eight soldiers at 5s. each

---

[817] Ibid., pp. 65, 68.
[818] *A&O* vol. I, pp. 36-7; Geoffrey L. Hudson . "The Relief of English Disabled Ex-Sailors, c. 1590-1680" in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, (ed.) Cheryl A Fury (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 236-7.
[819] LMA Ms. P69/MRY2/B/001/MS03570/002, St. Mary Aldermanbury Vestry Minutes, 1610 – 1763, unfoliated.
[820] Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed*, p. 50.

in 1642, while just six men were fortunate enough to receive 6s. 8d. each in 1643.[821] The amounts that were

given varied by year and according to internal circumstances in the company, so that in some good years, up

to forty soldiers were granted funds out of Strelley's charity. As can be expected, members of the

Goldsmiths were often given preference, such as the "6 maymed souldiers members of this Company" who

were given 9s. each on 22 December 1643. Distribution of the remaining "parte" of the £10 had to wait until

the company received "the rest of the rents" before it could "bee ditstributed to maymed Souldiers." The

company may have tapped into Strelley's fund in order to cover some of their outstanding debts, so that the

money was simply not available to distribute all at once.[822]

Most apprentices and tradesmen returned to find less propitious circumstances. Few companies

could afford to distribute charity on the level of the Goldsmiths, especially in light of the pressure caused by

outstanding debts brought about by loans to parliament. Many maimed and desperate soldiers who were

turned away from the parishes therefore looked to the City with the expectation that they would be eligible

to receive soldiers' pensions that were promised in 1642. But the funds that were collected could not keep

up with the needs of those who arrived in London. According to the annual accounts kept by Clement

Underhill, the City collected their usual assessment of £175 16d. in 1643, along with £162 4d. for pensions,

but these sums could hardly be expected to cover the needs of all the sick and wounded who had

accumulated in the City.[823] A shortage of money corresponded to a shortage of pensions; most of the

maimed had to wait a considerable amount of time for the "next available" pension, a process which almost

always required that a previous pensioner give up their right due to death. There existed, then, a

considerable backlog of maimed men who waited to receive pay from the state. A list of fifty-six new

pensioners from 1643 reveals that twenty-nine pensions were given to soldiers who had entered service in

1635, and that only four new pensions were made available for men who began service in 1641. There were,

in other words, no new pensions available for men who had actually served since the outbreak of war in

---

[821] Goldsmiths' Company Library, M.s 223, "Strelley's Charity Book, 1603-1790."

[822] Ibid.; Goldsmiths' Company Library, Goldsmiths' Court Minute Book W, 1642-1645, fol. 108v.

[823] LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/061, Repertory 57, 31 Oct 1643 - 28 Oct 1645, fol. 61r. The total assessments for the maimed collected between 1635-1643 was £1435 15s.,while the total collected for pensions for the same period was £1337 4d.

1642. Less than £165 was divided up between the fifty-six injured soldiers who were fortunate enough to hold pensions, meaning that individuals received payments that ranged between £2 and £4.[824]

Numerous petitions to the Court of Aldermen provide detailed records of the injuries and hardships that returning soldiers suffered. Only the most fortunate received news that they would be granted a soldiers' pension once it became available. Robert Gulson, a Haberdasher and resident of "Broaken wharfe" was fortunate to receive the promise of a "souldiers pention" in November after he petitioned the court due to his being "lately maimed in the Battell att Newbery." Such promises offered little relief to those who had lost the ability to care for themselves. Richard Anderton may have found some comfort in January 1644 when he found out that he would be granted the next "souldiers pention which shall happen to fall voyd." This came somewhat late given that he had "lost the use of both his hands in the Battaile att Edgehill" fourteen months earlier. Henry Dawes of the Blue Regiment who was "shott in his Arme & shoulder att the fight att Newbery" did, due to his sad state as "a very poore man," manage to stir up "compassion" in the court who agreed in February to grant him "the next Souldiers pencion." New petitioners arrived daily to reveal their sad circumstances in the hope that they might find their way to secure pensions. Examples of their misery abound, such as that of Rowland Swinarton, who "lost the use of his left hand" at Alton, and Richard Lacon, who "lost the use of his right hand in the parliament service." The sheer number of injured soldiers continued to overwhelm the courts. In July one Valentine Hamilton of the Blue Trained Bands petitioned for relief as he "had his backbone broken" at Newbery and was as a result left "utterly disabled to doe any thing." Hamilton's petition seems to have been the last straw for the court, which immediately decided that a several men should be appointed to investigate "under whose Command such souldiers went forth in the publique service and from what place and where they received their hurte and maymed."[825]

London's parishes had maintained annual charitable payments for the sick and wounded since long before the outbreak of the war. The first payments were made according to an Act of Parliament passed during the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign, but little could prepare them for the volume of misery that

---

[824] LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/061, Repertory 57, 31 Oct 1643 - 28 Oct 1645, fols. 62v-63r.
[825] LMA Ms. COL/CA/01/01/061, Repertory 57, 31 Oct 1643 - 28 Oct 1645, fols. 15r, 34r, 59r, 65v, 70v-71r, 174r-v.

accompanied a year and a half of "intestine" warfare. Payments to the maimed and injured were determined

by the size of the parish and the most common annual assessments was £1 14s 8d., but rates varied so that

some parishes paid as little as £1 6s per annum, while others could take on the larger burden of £2 3s 4d.

Parishes did, however, also make regular charitable donations on an *ad hoc* basis, which makes it difficult to

determine the total amounts that parishes paid out to care for sick and injured soldiers. Parochial records

rarely account for the payments made to individual maimed and sick soldiers, and where payments can be

found they are often lumped together with generalized payments to the poor and needy. For example, the

parishioners of St. Swithin London Stone paid out £6 1s 6d. from Easter 1642 until Easter 1643 to help care

for needy "lame Souldiers and other poore people."[826] St. Bartholomew by the Exchange made record of

payment of two shillings and six pence over the course of 1643 to 1644 "to sundry maim[e]d souldiers and

other distres sad people in the perishes behalf."[827] Similar records abound in churchwardens' accounts

throughout the City. But there were some parishes that made note of money given out specifically to

soldiers, and sometimes multiple occasions. The churchwardens at St. Mary Somerset on Upper Thames

Street, for instance, recorded three payments; 8 pence was "given to three Souldiers" between May 1642 and

April 1643, while 6 pence "given to a poore sicke and lame Soldier" and an additional 8 pence given to

another a "poore sicke and lame Soldier" sometime between 1643 and 1644.[828]

      The Irish Rebellion of 1641 produced a sudden surge in the number of maimed and injured in the

streets of London. From that point forward, the metropolis acted as a beacon for the needy, not only for

discharged and injured soldiers, but also for immigrants and refugees who sought better lives in the capital.

"Poore and disressed" refugees from Ireland had flooded into London for months preceding the outbreak

war, and their presence often added unwelcome strain on parochial resources. Although they could not be

blamed for their need, the "want and misery" of new arrivals spurred charitable responses that drained

---

[826] LMA Ms. P69/SWI/B/004/MS00559/001, St. Swithin London Stone, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1602-1725, fol. 44r.

[827] LMA Ms. P69/BAT1/B/006/MS04383/001, St. Bartholomew by the Exchange Churchwardens' Accounts, 1598-1698, fol 430r.

[828] LMA Ms. P69/MRY12/B/002/MS05714/001, St. Mary Somerset Upper Thames Street Churchwardens' Accounts, 1614-1701: fols. 133v, 139r, 143v.

coffers and ultimately depleted sums that would otherwise be set aside for sick and needy soldiers.[829] The first sizable wave of maimed soldiers returned to London shortly after Edgehill in late October 1642. From Edgehill forward, the number of maimed soldiers steadily increased; each skirmish and pitched battle added to the total number of sick and wounded men who required care.

The sums levied on parishes were sent on to treasurers for the maimed, who in turn distributed funds to hospitals where sick and injured soldiers received care. Many were at first admitted to the City's large hospitals such as St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's Southwark, or the Savoy, where Wallington solemnly walked in December 1643. Some less fortunate soldiers ended up alongside criminals in Bridewell. Only the most fortunate were able to obtain pensions after their recovery; most were discharged and left to fend for themselves. The latter sought any form of help that they could find; some were fortunate enough to return to home parishes and local communities where they received care from family members or neighbors. In some cases, soldiers would heal and become capable of returning to their trades. Many, however, returned with injuries that left them disabled, or in worst-case scenarios in need of constant care.

London's perennial shortage of pensions left many of the injured begging and at the mercy of their fellow parishioners, but there is also evidence that the sick and wounded had to contend with local governernors who regularly provided preferential treatment to some soldiers, while others were forced to wait. Such was the case when soldiers met together in March 1644 and drafted a petition to present to the common council. Their petition pointed out some of the most pressing issues that the "wounded and maimed" suffered after serving "in theis Warre in the Parliament service." Their main issue was with the management of Sutton's Hospital of the London Charterhouse in Smithfield, which they claimed was being run by governors who were not only negligent, but "in Armes against the parliament." These "royalist" governors had apparently tampered with the pensions system by seeing that all new "places void" were in fact given to men "in noe necessity." The petitioners hoped that the common council might rectify the issue by petitioning the Commons to remove all soldiers who had previously been "preelected" to pensions so that

---

[829] LMA Ms. P69/LAW1/B/008/MS02593/002, St. Lawrence Jewry Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1698, fol. 29; LMA Ms. P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/001, All Hallows the Less Churchwardens' Accounts, 1630-51, unfoliated.

those more needy "may be placed in their roomes."[830] The petition was eventually sent on, and on 16 April the Commons ordered the creation of a Committee for Sutton's Hospital which met that afternoon in thr Star Chamber to look into the allegations and make sure that no "reversioners be admitted" and that those who were previously admitted should be have their positions voided.[831] Sutton Hospital offers a rare glimpse into an active system of care in which the needs of parishioners moved quickly from petition through to common council and on to parliamentary committee. The end result was the reformation of a corrupted system of care.

What might best be called "state-care," such as that provided at Sutton's and the other large hospitals overseen by parliament, accounted for just one side of London's equation for caring for the sick and injured. There were many instances when the burden of caring for the maimed fell outside of hospitals and squarely on the shoulders of family members or to the charitable acts of others. Although usually far less detailed than the records retained by of the Court of Aldermen, and certainly only representative of a fraction of the instances in which care for the sick fell upon individuals, parish records offer glimpses into the lives of some of the many Londoners who responded to the needs of their sick and wounded fellows.

Most soldiers continued to depend upon the charity of their families and fellow parishioners. A handful of parish records make note of scenarios in which local inhabitants cared for the maimed, and provide rare glimpses into the human cost of war, the personal and dynamics of parish life, and the wider impact that caring for the sick and maimed had on the rhythms of metropolitan life. Such was the case with one "Maudlin Gowler" of St. Boltoph Without, Bishopsgate, who received one shilling per month in May and June 1643 for "keepeinge two sicke souldiors."[832] 3s. 6d. was "given to the sicke Souldier that lay at Lewes his house" in the parish of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate in 1644.[833] Two soldiers, one Thomas Lee and another known simply as "Steeuven," were cared for over the course of sixteen weeks in St. Stephen

---

[830] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 91v. For information on Sutton Hospital, see Gruber von Arni, *Justice*, p. 145.
[831] *CJ*, vol. 3, p. 460.
[832] LMA Ms. P69/BOT4/B/008/MS04524/002, Saint Botolph Without Bishopsgate Churchwardens' Account Book, fols. 78v, 79r.
[833] LMA Ms. P69/ETH/B/006/MS04241/001, St. Ethelburga Bishopsgate Churchwardens' Accounts, 1569-1681, p. 384.

Walbrook at a total cost of £3 4s.[834] Other parishes, meanwhile, agreed to raise their own pensions for soldiers. Officials at St. Martin Ludgate, for instance, decided in 1643 that one "George Emery a Maymed Soldier shold have allowed him a pentcion of Two shillins a weeke."[835] Caring for the sick and wounded was doubtless costly and time consuming, but in the case of some parishes it was necessary as metropolitan hospitals were filled to capacity. Local care provided a last-ditch solution to the familiar problem of the limbless, the paralyzed, and the disfigured begging outside of churches and on street corners.

Parishes could apparently raise and distribute funds at their own discression. The churchwardens' from St. Giles in the Fields, Westminster, for example, provide an unparalleled account of the "monies disbursed to sick and Maymed Souldiers Commanded by Ordinance of Parliament" over the calendar year from April 1643 until April 1644.[836] Although the churchwardens' accounts appear to be idiosyncratic -- which may in the end be due to their location outside of London proper – and therefore cannot be taken to establish any general rule about parochial care for the maimed, they do nevertheless offer an unusually complete picture of the ways in which one parish managed what had become a systemic issue. Officials from St. Giles in the Fields raised £21 to care for sick and maimed soldiers in the year between April 1643 and April 1644. However, unlike their fellow parishioners who "payed in" their collection, the churchwardens from St. Giles in the Fields kept their money and oversaw distribution themselves. The £21 was subsequently distributed to benefit maimed soldiers and widows alike. More than 181 monthly payments were made in the parish, and most of these were usually well under £1 in total. Money was not simply distributed, but instead could be used for a range of needs. One John Harris, for example, required the parish "to buy him shooes," while his fellow maimed pensioners, Peter Frotheringham and Robert Parker each received multiple monthly cash payments.[837] Aside from the regular annual collection for the maimed and injured, parishes apparently had some leeway in terms of their management of funds. Although

[834] LMA Ms. P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/004, St. Stephen Walbrook, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1637-1748, unfoliated.

[835] LMA Ms. P69/MTN2/B/001/MS00959/001, St. Martin Orgar Vestry Minutes, 1469-1707, fol. 137v.

[836] Camden Local Studies and Archives Center, Ms. VOL P/GF/M/4, St. Giles in the Fields Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1694, unfoliated.

[837] Camden Local Studies and Archives Center Ms. VOL P/GF/M/4, St. Giles in the Fields Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1694, unfoliated.

St. Giles in the Fields provides just one example of a parish overseeing the collection and distribution of care for the sick and wounded, one might easily assume that other parishes outside of the jurisdiction of London did the same. Doing so of course had obvious benefit: it allowed parishioners to preserve their local interests – to "care for their own" – rather than forwarding funds to be distributed outside of their control.

Obviously, the loss of limb affected more than the individual. Indeed, many of the terrible situations involving the maimed were compounded by the damage done to families whose livelihoods depended on the health of husbands who worked as apprentices and practiced skilled trades. War widows "were given preference as nurses" in metropolitan hospitals, which was fortunate as it not only provided care for the wounded, but also could provide a livelihood for those who had lost contributing family members.[838] Others were forced to join in line with the sick and wounded. Thus, the churchwardens from St. Giles in the Fields paid 1s. to "Mary Manning a Souldiers wife" in September 1643, and 1s. 6d. "to a poore woman in bloomsbery that lost her husband at Turnbridge" in October 1643. The churchwardens categorized payments to war widows under their lists of payments to the "sick and Maymed."[839] Countless similar examples can be found in the parochial records, revealing the extent to which wartime deaths and injuries interrupted – or worse yet irreparably damaged – family structures. St. Olave Jewry, for instance, provided charity for numerous war widows. 1s. went to a "widowe" who suffered for "her husband beinge slayne" in 1643, while in 1644 another 5s. was given to five other women, including one "whose husband lost his legge in the Army," another who lost "her husband beinge slayne," and another "poore woman" who "lost her sonne in the Army."[840] These brief records stand as a sharp reminder that the harm done to soldiers' bodies often impacted the lives of others. Indeed, orders for "maintayning of maymed soldiers widdowes and fatherles children" remained a common occurrence in churchwardens' accounts throughout London and well after the war.[841]

---

[838] Hudson "The Relief of English Disabled Ex-Sailors, c. 1590-1680," pp. 236-7.
[839] Ibid.
[840] LMA Ms. P69/OLA2/B/004/MS04409/002, St. Olave Jewry Churchwardens' Accounts, 1643-1705, unfoliated.
[841] LMA Ms. P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001, St. John Zachary Gresham Street, Churchwardens Accounts, 1591-1682, fol. 190v.

Officials became aware of the fact that new measures were needed to account for the steady increase of maimed soldiers and the corresponding depletion of metropolitan coffers. Fast days provided one solution. Aside from promoting the welfare of those who fought for parliament's cause, monthly fasts became increasingly important as occasions for collecting money that would go towards caring for the sick and wounded. Parliament regularly issued orders for collections, such as the one from 22 March that ordered money to be paid "upon the next Fast Day, to be employed for the Relief of the poor maimed Soldiers and Soldiers Widows."[842] Fast days provided ideal opportunities for collecting money, not only because they were mandatory and guaranteed attendance, but also because parishioners genuinely felt compelled to open their pocketbooks after listening to sermons in which ministers extolled the virtue of charity and the damnable sins of negligence. The themes that applied to godly sermons were, in short, the same that stirred Londoners to donate to help their neighbors.

Officials from St. Saviour Southwark kept a nearly complete collection of printed orders and receipts of payments made for the maimed on fast days. Their records reveal a regimented system of collections on fast days that began in March 1644 and continued on until January 1645. Perhaps more remarkable than the extent of their record keeping is the fact that their receipts – small printed tickets with blank spaces for dates, names, and amounts collected – have remained intact. When printed receipts were not made available, parish officials recorded the amounts of their collections by hand. All collections "for and towards the reliefe of sick and maimed Souldiers" were then to be passed on to any of the four officials who sat at Tallow-Chandlers' Hall.[843] Thus we can see that orders for collections made on several months were followed by regular payments. William Greenhill, one of the treasurers for the maimed, signed receipts following fast in March when £4 15s. was collected, and again after the November fast day when parishioners raised £3 18s.[844] Thomas Underhill signed for the £4 collected on January 1644, while Richard Hutchinson signed for the £3 that was raised in February 1645.[845] Orders were not made solely for the

---

[842] *CJ* iii, p. 435.
[843] LMA P92/SAV/1944, Printed Proclamation from 31 March 1644.
[844] LMA P92/SAV/1940; P92/SAV/1942.
[845] LMA P92/SAV/1949; LMA P92/SAV/1949.

collection of money, but also for "necessity of Linen and Woollen Cloathes" which were needed to help

dress wounds and keep men warm so that they could "cure of their wounds and sickness."[846]

Printed orders, moreover, reveal precisely what was expected of the preaching ministry on fast

days. "All ministers" who preached throughout the City's "severall parishes and Chappels," were expected

to "earnestly perswade the people freely to contribute to this so pious charitable, and honourable a work,"

with the goal of helping men to recover from their injuries and "be ready againe (when God shall enable

them) to venture their lives for the defence of all out Lives, Liberties, and Religion."[847] The degree to which

ministers throughout the City followed these orders can only be guessed at, but the regular fast-day sermons

given in Westminster at St. Margaret's and in the Abbey provide examples of what was expected in parishes

throughout the metropolis.[848] Although they never explicitly called for financial contributions for the

maimed, fast-day sermons such as Joseph Caryl's from 23 April made clear that action was desperately

needed, and that all auditors should help to "raise your hearts yet to more activitie of endeavours."[849] Most

auditors, likewise, would conclude with Thomas Hill's suggestion during his August fast-day sermon that

they should "act" their "Prayers" and "worke and do good according" to their "Petitions" to God.[850] In

calling for godly conduct and actions, ministers suggested – even if only implicitly – the importance of

contributing towards, and caring for the maimed.

In the end, the issues that surrounded sick and wounded soldiers fell particularly hard upon

Londoners; the City attracted a disproportionate number of sick and wounded who wished to take up too

few pensions or simply find care. Meanwhile, parliamentary and metropolitan officials worked diligently to

establish systems whereby overburdened hospitals and parishioners might run more soundly. On 22 May

1645, for instance, more than a year after petitioners had requested that changes be made at Sutton's

Hospital, two hundred soldiers from the Savoy Hospital petitioned the Commons on "the Behalf of Fifteen

---

[846] LMA P92/SAV/1945, Parliamentary Proclamation for Collecting Wool and Clothes from 13 June 1644.
[847] LMA P92/SAV/1944, Printed Proclamation from 31 March 1644.
[848] For an initial consideration of the discussion of the discrepancy between politicized fast-day sermons and more regular preaching practices, see Ann Hughes, "Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons," *TRHS* 24 (December 2014), pp. 57-77. I have yet to locate any explicit requests to donate money within fast-day sermons from 1644.
[849] Joseph Caryl, *The Saints Thankfull Acclamation* (London, 1644), p. 48.
[850] Thomas Hill, *The Season for Englands Self-reflection* (London, 1644), p. 12.

hundred Soldiers, and the Widows of Soldiers" who benefitted from weekly distribution of money at Christ Church and Parsons Green. Their petition spurred parliament to agree to raise their weekly payment from £200 to £250 pounds with money collected out of the excise. More than this, parliament issued orders so that collections made at the next three monthly fast-days (except for St. Martin in the Fields and St. Margaret, Westminster) would "be employed for the relief of maimed Soldiers." An additional £1000 was to be collected from the estates of delinquents in order to pay for the arrears owed to surgeons and apothecaries who cared for the sick and injured.[851] If remarkable in scope, the solutions put forward by parliament could only offset what had become a systemic issue; by October the Common Council had again heard word of overcrowding at Bridewell, which was in "detryment" due to the burden of "Soldiers" who had arrived "from time to tyme."[852] The issue of caring for the sick and maimed did not simply go away over the course of the war. It was, instead, an issue that required constant assessment and adaptation; seeking new means to account for the needs of the sick and maimed began well before the outbreak of the civil war and continued long after the war ended. If not fatal, many of the injuries suffered on the battlefield lasted a lifetime.

The Continental Turn

Waller's defeat of Hopton in late March gave both politicians and citizens new hope and reason to see that their "tears were wiped away."[853] But the boost to morale that followed the success, no matter how important, once again gave way to pessimism and recalcitrance. London's trained bands had made one thing starkly clear to members of parliament and their military commanders: they were undependable. This lack of reliability meant that attention gradually shifted away from the members of the trained bands and turned towards the relatively new but nevertheless tested forces of the Eastern Association. The Eastern Association came into formation in December 1642, and originally included parliamentarian militias from Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire. Soon thereafter the Association expanded by

---

[851] *CJ*, vol. IV, p. 153.
[852] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 146r.
[853] Juxon, p. 49.

incorporating Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire. The six counties spent much of their early existence

dealing with royalists in the north, but they gradually assumed a larger role in parliament's war effort after

they secured the entirety of East Anglia for parliament. Their importance to the wider parliamentarian war

effort became much more apparent in August 1643, when their commander, Lord Grey, was replaced by the

Earl of Manchester. From that time forward, the Association proved indispensible to parliament's war effort,

functioning, according to Clive Holmes, as "the largest and most effective Parliamentary army then in

service."[854] The Association's forces were central to the siege of York in May 1644, but their first real test

came at the start of the following month, on 2 July, when they helped to secure a decisive victory for

parliament at Marston Moor.

The battle at Marston Moor was significant for a number of reasons. Foremost was the fact that it

led to a decisive defeat of Rupert's forces. The engagement also effectively marked the end of royalist

control in the north. The success was both tactical and symbolic, as it came from close cooperation between

parliamentarians and some 16,000 Scottish Covenanters – "the bulk of the parliamentary forces" – under the

command of the earl of Leven.[855] Lastly, it must be noted that few if any Londoners were present at the

battle; parliament's victory, then, owed entirely to forces that were drawn from outside the capital. The

conspicuous absence of London's trained bands at a decisive battle speaks volumes about the shifting state

of parliament's wider war effort and a diminishing reliance upon metropolitan mobilization. If parliament's

successes from 1643 depended on the efforts of London's Trained Bands, the same could not be said about

the forces that fought at Marston Moore in 1644; the latter forces would shape the war effort until the

establishment of the New Model Army in early 1645.

On 6 July, official letters reached London and confirmed that the combined Covenanter and

Association armies had defeated Rupert and the Marquess of Newcastle.[856] Just six days later, on 12 July, a

truly remarkable meeting of diplomats took place in Westminster. Walter Strickland, who had served as

parliament's Ambassador-General to the Netherlands since 1642, helped to arrange the reception of a small

---

[854] Clive Holmes, *The Eastern Association*, p. 1.
[855] Braddick, *God's Fury*, p. 330.
[856] BL Harley Ms. 483, fols. 92r-94r. I would like to thank Professor Sears McGee for providing me with a transcript of this journal.

group of Dutch ambassadors by both Houses. The Netherlands had taken a neutral stance with regards to the civil war, but the importance of their diplomatic assembly, and the opportunity that it presented for furthering parliament's interests in the war against the king, was lost on few. The Dutch ambassadors were first "solemnly received in the Lords house," and from there they were "carried into the inner Court of Wardes chamber" which had been "prepared for them as a withdrawing roome." Next, they were escorted to their main reception, which took place in the "Commons, where chayres were sett for them," and where they came upon a truly spectacular scene. As the doors of the House opened " the Speaker and all the members stood up in their places uncovered," with their hats in their hands, so that they could salute the ambassadors "as they passed by." The ambassadors then made brief speech in which they offered "the affection of their Masters to these Kingdomes and their desire to mediate an accord between the King and his Parliament." Throughout their speech they could look upon the center table and see "in their view" the "48 colours taken from the Kings forces in the Battle of Marston Moore."[857]

The placement of so many hard-won banners, doubtless dirty, tattered and perhaps even bloodstained, was easy to interpret.[858] Parliament had, by the look of the tabletop, won a decisive victory over the king. The entire reception was designed to honor the ambassadors, but much more than their opinions was as stake. Their invitation to observe proceedings in parliament was part of a wider political effort – a strategic display of strength – that was intended to forge new bonds between England's ruling parliament and the Low Countries. The near exhaustion of London and its environs meant that Parliament had come to depend increasingly on outside sources for supplies. The Continent, despite being plagued by more than twenty years of war, offered an obvious answer when looking for the sinews of war; in particular, the Low Countries provided a vast majority of what could be purchased in terms of arms and armor. As Peter Edwards has shown in his exhaustive study of the origins of the arms and armor used during the civil wars, the Low Countries supplied "Royalists and Parliamentarians alike" with "the bulk of their imports."

---

[857]BL Add. Ms. 37343, Whitelocke's Annals vol. III, fols. 308v-309r.
[858] For a valuable discussion of these banners and their meanings see Ian Gentles, "The iconography of revolution," in, *Soldiers, writers and statesmen of the English Revolution*, (eds.) Ian Gentles, John Morrill, and Blair Worden (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 91-113. For more examples of banners, see Alan R. Young, *The English Emblem Tradition vol. 3: Emblematic Flag Devices of the English Civil Wars, 1642-1660* (Toronto, 1995).

Both sides drew upon their respective links with the region; Henrietta Maria attempted to find favor for the royalist cause through potential marriage alliance, and she did in fact manage to procure implements of war that were sent on to arm royalists early in the conflict. Parliamentarians, meanwhile, relied upon their shared links with Dutch merchants who shared in common their Protestantism and in some cases a preference for republicanism.[859] The United Provinces had in fact provided parliament with the bulk of their wartime supplies – save gunpowder – over the course of 1642 and 1643.[860] Parliament thus had very good reason to go to great efforts to display their military prowess. Even if arms production at home was gradually increasing over the course of 1644, parliamentarians still needed to continue the importation of supplies. Further, a table littered with war banners might suggest the larger direction of the war – perhaps even convince the Low Countries to reconsider the extent to which they could support parliamnet.[861] Londoners – and in particular livery companies – provided an important and immediate contributions with the arms and armor that they loaned to outfit the trained bands and auxiliary forces in 1642 and 1643. But as the war progressed, it became increasingly apparent that the scale of parliamentarian operations required larger manufacturing productions, which, as Edwards has shown, for the most part came from "outside London," and also depended on relationships with international suppliers.[862] The importance of such relationships is clearly illustrated by the reception offered to the Dutch Ambassadors on 12 July 1644.

Further evidence suggests that belligerents had begun to look outside the metropolis for support. In November 1643, William Boswell, Parliament's diplomat to the States General since 1632, noted the arrival of the "Notorious Bloe coale" Hugh "Peters." Peter's "precipitate" arrival agitated Boswell, and the latter made special note of the fact that Peter had "allreadie begunne to open his packe at Amsterdam in two sermons."[863] Hugh Peter had of course been a leading proponent of the war effort and he had to date preached a number of rousing and incendiary sermons for the war effort in London and "into the field."[864] Peter's arrival in Amsterdam provides yet another clue in terms of the shifting dynamic of the metropolitan

---

[859] Edwards, *Dealing in Death*, pp. 196-97.
[860] Ibid., see in particular Table 8, which is a compiled from PRO SP 28/261-4.
[861] Ibid., pp. 149-50, 211.
[862] Ibid., p. 153.
[863] SP 84/157 fol 221r. Many thanks to Professor Jason Peacey for bringing this letter to my attention.
[864] Hugh Peter, *The case of Mr. Hugh Peters* (London, 1660), p. 3.

war effort. His order to travel had in fact come from the Committee of Safety on 27 September 1643, and it was made in response to an early "Ordinance of Both Houses" for sening "over Mr Samuel Hoover into Holland with instructions to make triall amongst the well affected Persons of the United Provinces for the borrowing of divers sumes of Monye for sypplye of the great pressing nexessityes of this Kingdome." Peter received particularly detailed instructions, including the order that he should "be carefull to give the People in those parts notice of the Covenant and strict union betwixt the two Kingdomes of England and Scotland for defence of the Religion and Libertyes in both" and further to see that "the true Lovers of Religion may bee more effectually provoked to give us their ayde" and become acquainted "with the justice of out Cause in the present unhappy differences and Civil warr" and the "micheivous principles and deignes of the Papists which doe equally threated all other States professing the Protestatnt Reformed Religion."[865] Rather than continue to trumpet support for the cause in London's parishes, or as a champion of God's word in the field, Peter moved on to the Continent in the hopes that he might employ his oratorical gifts to secure much needed cash. The newly formed alliance with Scotland presented a new bargaining chip in these efforts. After Amsterdam, Peter was to take his message on the road and travel on to meet with sympathetic audiences in several cities including "Rotterdam, Bergen-op-Zoom, Goes, Flushing, and Middelburg."[866] The Committee of Safety recognized that Peter's time might be best spent promoting a cause that looked increasingly like a revival of the international Protestant Cause.[867]

Similarly, sometime in late 1643 or early 1644, a set of "additional instructions" were sent to Richard Jenks and William Barker, parliament's ambassadors to Sweden and Denmark. These included the expectation that the men might attempt to "rectifie" the "misconceipts" on the part of the king of Denmark, Christian IV, and in particular that the men might take special care to curry favor. Both men were ordered to be careful not to offend the sensibilities of their fellow protestants who were "of the Lutheran Religion" and

[865] Bodleian Library, Clarendon Ms. 22, fol. 128r-v. Walter Strickland served as Peter's contact in the Netherlands. The order from September was signed by Say and Seale, Sir Gilbert Gerard, John Pym, and Anthony Nicoll.
[866] Keith Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A history of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982), p. 384.
[867] For an important discussion of the earlier Protestant Cause, see S. L. Adams, "The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the West European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630," (PhD dissertation, Oxford, 1972).

might have "some obiections" to parliament's recent "proceedings against Prelacie or Episcopacy." The sensitive task of gaining support for parliament's war effort was of the utmost importance, and Jenks and Barker were expected to further relate "how much their Bishops doe differ from those we doe here reject," and further how parliament has discovered "dangerous & bloodie plots made against Our lives, Religion, & Libertie" by members of "the Prelatical and Papisticall partie." Jenks and Barker carried copies of "our last Covenant taken by both kingdoms of England & Scotland (translated in Latin, French & german)" and which they were expected to display as tokens of parliament's earnest desire "to stand, as brethren, together for so just & great a cause in mutual defence."[868] Their intended purpose was again the formation of an international alliance to support parliament's war.

Attempts to find support in the Low Countries and the Baltic States, both in an official capacity from diplomatic orders and the reception of the Dutch ambassadors in July, and in a somewhat clandestine manner with the attempts of Hugh Peter, again suggest wider shifts in London's relation to the war effort. Parishioners and corporations were exhausted after well over a year of civil war; some, as we have seen, were pushed to the brink of collapse by "Isaac and his faction" during the previous year. Repeated calls to field the trained bands and the implementation of a robust infrastructure for taxation left little to be gained from the metropolis; parliamentarian leaders were well aware of this fact, and their efforts to promote the cause reflected as much. Most companies were stripped of plate and deeply indebted to both their members and outside lenders; this meant that they simply could no longer be used for loans in 1644 as they had over the course of 1642 and 1643.[869] As we have seen, maintaining maimed soldiers placed further unwelcome burdens on the metropolis. Maintaining the war effort required, in short, that parliament look to new avenues for supply. Londoners, as one royalist observer noted, were well aware of their own burdens and had come to place a disproportionate amount of their "hopes" on "their blessed brethren the Scotts."[870]

---

[868] BL Add. Ms. 72436, fol. 36r. My thanks are due to Sam Fullerton for providing me with a full transcript of these instructions.

[869] Merchant Adventurers seem to provide at least one important exception to this generalization. The Adventurers loaned £30,000 to the parliament in July 1643 to pay for the Scottish army in Ireland and again loaned £10,000 to pay for Waller's army in 1644. I plan to investigate these payments and their political implications elsewhere.

[870] HEHL Ms. HA Correspondence Box 17 #9695, Edward Nichols to Henry Hastings, October 1643.

But there were plenty of Londoners who were decidedly less receptive to the idea of foreign intervention. The London diarist John Green, for instance, was averse to the idea of bringing in foreign support; in 1643 he did "beseech God that I might never see this our unhappy Warre made a Warre merely for religion, and that neither side might make use of foreign auxiliaries." If well sounded, his hopes were dashed by the outset of 1644; it was clear by the start of the year that "the King hath already brought over the protestant forces" out of Ireland and that "the parliament" was "in dayly expectation of the Scots."[871] Green's qualms with the use of foreign soldiers represented just one of many issues that were beginning to appear in London. But in his concerns reflected the seeds of deeper political issues, issues that would soon come to fruition in new political divisions between political presbyterians and independents.

There was still of course the matter of the single most important "sinew" of war, the one that allowed for both the hiring of Scottish troops and the importation of foreign supplies – money. The search for money remained a constant and central focus for nearly all Londoners. None, no matter their outlook, could escape the implementation of new excises and assessments. The City remained the single largest center from which money would be collected in 1644, and there was little to suggest that this would change in the coming years. Taxes – and in particular the excise – provided a consistent and readily available source of income for parliament's war effort. And there were still other means for greasing the wheels. Short of Pennington's bullying ordinances, parliament and the Common Council could look to other reliable sources for stirring up support. The most obvious means were the time-tested pulpit and the press. Regularly printed orders and ordinances continued to call for collections to support the maimed, but other sides of the press were becoming increasingly preoccupied with other pressing political powers. The pulpit and the press – and indeed the people – were increasingly preoccupied by new conflicts that were all too evident in Westminster and London.

"As there Preachers and Pamphletts loudly crye": New Alignments and Divisions

---

[871] "The Diary of John Greene (1635-59)," (ed.) E. M. Symonds, *EHR* 43 (1928), p. 528.

Unlike Hugh Peter, the vast majority of London's preaching ministry remained in place. But the dynamics of preaching and administering to parishioners had changed significantly by the outset of 1644. The divisions between peace and war factions that emerged over the previous fifteen months had largely dissolved in the wake of the military crisis of autumn 1643. But new rivalries began to take their place in early 1644; in particular incipient "party divisions" began to take shape over the need to establish a new religious and political settlement. The primary debate on the table was not over the desire to see through the dismantling of episcopacy, but rather over the new shape of the national church and its structure. The administering of the Solemn League and Covenant and the entry of Scottish forces, along with long-standing preferences that were rooted in puritanism in London and throughout the nation, helped to align the interests of groups that hoped to see the establishment of Presbyterianism. Scottish proponents of Presbyterianism sought to establish a church settlement that would align the structures and interests of the Scottish Kirk and a new English presbytery. Opposing the nascent interests of these "presbyterians" were the widely diffuse independents – individuals and groups who cooperated owing to their shared desire to see that a church settlement would eschew both episcopacy and Presbyterianism in favor of local congregational authority. The primary objectives of parliamentarians remained ostensibly the same in 1644, but the ways in which they hoped to win the war, and their hopes for what would follow, changed significantly due to the new political divisions between presbyterians and independents.

The blurred divisions between presbyterians and independents gradually shifted into focus as 1644 progressed, and would become sharply pronounced by the following year with the establishment of the New Model Army. As a number of scholars have pointed out, the process of political "polarization" that came to define presbyterian and independent "parties" was rarely clear-cut, but rather shifted on a regular basis over the course of the 1640s.[872] This amorphousness means that both presbyterians and independents might best be understood as "heterogeneous groups" as Austin Woolrych suggested, or in terms of groupings that each

---

[872] This issue draws from a lengthy and at times contentious historiography. See, for instance, J. H. Hexter, "The problem of the Presbyterian Independents," *AHR* 44 (1938), 29-49; David Underdown, "The Independents Reconsidered," *JBS* 3 (1964), pp. 57-84; Valerie Pearl, "'The Royal Independents' in the English Civil War," *TRHS*, 5th series, 18 (1968), pp. 69-86.

formed a "broad coalition," as Whitney Jones observed.[873] More recent scholarship has identified earlier links to presbyterian and independent interests that came to define political discourse throughout the latter years of civil war. David Como, for instance, has teased out central conflicts between presbyterians and independents around matters of print that date to the early months of 1644, while Elliot Vernon has completed an impressive survey of the long-term development and lasting heterogeneity of a religious and political presbyterianism that began well before the outbreak of war.[874]

These works aside, there has been painfully little written about the divisions between London's presbyterians and independents. Lindley's treatment of the subject starts rather abruptly with a consideration of "Presbyterians and Independents" that seems to take its cue from S. R. Gardiner's chapter XIII of the same title from more than a century earlier.[875] Lindley focuses on "the Presbyterian campaign" to at first establish "a strict Presbyterian church" in 1645 and then to a "reluctant acceptance" in 1646 of a "conservative political settlement and the suppression of religious diversity." Only passing mention is made of the "radical activists from 1641-2" who were critical to these later campaigns.[876] Fuller treatment of the subject once again comes from Brenner, who has identified the importance of earlier developments from 1643 and 1644, and the ways in which they impacted later political divisions. In particular, Brenner identified that "the peace-party and moderate factions" that later made up "the core of political presbyterianism" were in fact the same groups that had at first "opposed Parliament's alliance with the Scots" due to the fact that it would intensify "military conflict" and "political instability."[877] Brenner thus identified an important aspect of the political developments of the period by linking earlier "coalitions" from 1643 and 1644 with their later "presbyterian" and "independent" factions, and thereby established a degree of continuity in terms of the popular political interests that were present throughout the first civil war.

---

[873] Austin Woolryth, *Soldiers and Statesmen: The General Council of the Army and its Debates, 1647-1648* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 5-8; Whitney Jones, *Thomas Rainborowe (c. 1619-1648): Civil War Seaman, Siegemaster and Radical* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 45.
[874] David Como, "Print, Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War," *JBS*, 4 (2012), pp. 820-857 and pp. 832-33 in particular; See Dr. Elliot Vernon's forthcoming study of civil war Presbyterianism.
[875] Gardiner, *History*, vol. I, pp. 299-323.
[876] Lindley, *Popular Politics*, pp 356-403.
[877] Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 464.

Brenner's recognition of continuity provides an important alternative to Lindley's largely disjointed interpretation of London's politics in 1644.

It should once again come as little surprise that an embroiled metropolis was at the center of these conflicts; the landscape of division that later defined conflicts between presbyterians and independents was defined on the streets of London. London's parishioners, for instance, were ordered to take the Solemn League and Covenant months prior to its introduction to the wider nation in 1643.[878] Similarly, political lines were drawn when Ogle's plot was revealed on 26 January 1644. The plot, which was concocted while the royalist Captain Thomas Ogle was imprisoned in London at Winchester House in late 1643, depended upon Ogle's proposition to the king that London's Congregationalists would be willing to take up arms on his behalf in both London and Aylesbury since their "jelosy of the Pressbytery remains greater then their displesur against the Einglish prelat." Ogle had also contacted the London independents John Goodwin and Philip Nye, who had recently been involved in the production of the *Apologeticall Narration* with their fellow dissenting brethren, and who might be willing to stir "the cyttysons" of London to take up arms for the king.[879] Little did Ogle know, but his entire correspondence was being recorded as part of a trap. When Lord Wharton revealed the plot to the Lords, he made clear that both Goodwin and Nye were free from complicity, and informed the House that both ministers had in fact served as double agents. They ostensibly aided the purposes of the plot with the intention that they could further implicate the king in yet another duplicitous act; Charles's credibility would therefore receive yet another damning blow. But their refusal to conspire with Ogle to bring about an insurgence of independents in London did more than simply discredit the king; it revealed a crucial point of contention that would later manifest in the political divisions between presbyterians and independents. Indeed, the historian Robert Paul argues that Wharton's exposure of the plot was particularly important, not because it discredited the king, but rather because it came at the "opportune" time and served as a means to sway popular opinion about the reliability of London's existing

---

[878] Parish records provide ample evidence of the reception of the Solemn League and Covenant.
[879] This account draws heavily from John Coffey, *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 107-8; See also, Ballie, *Letters and Journals*, vol. II, p. 111; "A Secret Negotiation with Charles the First, 1643-44," (ed.) B. M. Gardiner, *Camden Miscellany*, 8 (1839).

congregations.[880] Rather than earnestly giving their support to a plot against the City, Goodwin and Nye had

demonstrated their loyalty parliament's rule and cause. Their involvement in the production and publication

of the *Apologeticall Narration*, which presented the Dissenting Brethren's preference for congregational

rule, led to increased divisions between the two politico-religious camps; indeed, Como has argued that the

tract's publication "rendered public a series of discussions that had hitherto been carried out largely outside

the realm of print" and resulted in "rancorous debate, conducted in pamphlet, pulpit, and private

conversation."[881] But so too did the plot; even if Goodwin and Nye had established their loyalty to the cause

by refusing to engage with Ogle's invitations, they had also revealed that London's congregationalists were

capable of forging powerful political alliances outside of the authority of parliament and the Westminster

Assembly. Both events, then, presaged the conflicts that would develop over the course 1644 and come to

shape the political divisions that defined the remainder of the civil war.

Added to the myriad printed newsbooks that spoke favorably of parliament's victories, and

approved monthly fast-day sermons, were a number of tracts that would appear over the course of 1644 in

London and serve to define the differences that shaped later presbyterian and independent coalitions.

Londoners had grew increasingly wary of the many printed works that extolled their successes, so that

royalists could mock reports claiming that their armies

> Th'ave gott many a glorious victory,
> As there Preachers and Pamphletts loudly crye,
> But most men beginne to know truth from a lye[882]

Indeed, if not outright jaded, citizens who had observed the better part of two years of war had at the very

least become better at discerning "truth from a lye." But the realignment of politics in 1644 and the arrival

---

[880] Robert S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord: Politics and Religion in the Westminster Assembly and the 'Grand Debate'* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 235. I would like to thank Dr. Elliot Vernon for bringing this matter to my attention.

[881] David Como, "Print, Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War," *JBS* 4 (2012), p. 826; Murray Tolmie suggests that the *Apologeticall Narration* was toned down on purpose as a way to maintain parliamentary support for independents. *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London, 1616-1649* (Cambridge, 1977)), pp. 94-9.

[882] HEHL, HM Ms. 16522, "A Collection of Poems & Ballads in ridicule of the Parliam[en]ty Party during the Quarrel with Ch. I'," p. 11.

of new ideologically charged works such as the *Apologeticall Narration* assured that new political divisions

would become more pronounced as the year progressed, and indeed, nearly impossible to breach by the start

of 1645. Among the more obvious examples of these "new ideologies" that would later come to define

independent – and later leveller – political thought was John Milton's *Areopagitica*, a charged polemic that

promoted freedom of the press, which was printed in London on 23 November. But other "less memorable"

works had already come to signal the new lines of division. Some of these were preached from London's

pulpits, but many more were printed and made readily available for consumption by a literate and engaged

citizenry.

Once again, sermons and lectureships provided an important arena for sharing ideas that would

later come to define divisions, but as Ann Hughes has suggested in her deeply compelling study of Thomas

Edwards's *Gangraena*, it is important not to place too much attention on the divisiveness and influence of

specific ministers or their sermons or lectures. Thus we see "from one angle – Edwards's angle," that there

were "bitter religious divisions" in London, while "from another we can see a broader unity of purpose

amongst the orthodox godly."[883] This is certainly true, to an extent; ministers of both independent and

presbyterian leanings were active throughout London, and the divisions that may have separated such men

were often blurry at best. Thomas Goodwin, for example, gave a series of lectures at St. Christopher-le-

Stocks in 1644 and 1645, despirte the fact that the parish "was to become," Liu reminds us, "one of the

strongly Presbyterian parishes in London."[884] No matter their specific successes and failures that ministers

used their time in the pulpit to prime their auditors with both subtle and explicit promotions of their

ideologies. It would be unreasonable to assume that Goodwin completely separated the themes covered in

his lectures at St. Christopher-le-Stocks from those of the lengthy text that he was writing concurrently and

which would be published decades later as *Of the Constitution, Right, Order, and Government of the

Churches*. In this, Goodwin set out to trace the "three eminently differing Opinions" regarding church

governments and find "one of which will certainly prove to the Truth of God." God's "Truth" was neither

Presbyterian nor Universal, but instead based on the fact that he "hath appointed and ordained the visible

---

[883] Ann Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 328-9.
[884] Liu, *Puritan London*, p. 121 n. 38.

Saints on Earth, being diffused all the World," and that such saints were "knit together in particular bodies."[885] Goodwin made obvious his preference for rule of congregations over that of a central presbytery.

Other Independent ministers did the same throughout the metropolis. Liu has concluded that there were "no less than forty-five parishes in the City of London" where Independent ministers maintained "a presence." These included important congregations such as the one overseen by John Burton at St. Stephen Coleman Street. Lectureships were often held concurrently so that it can be readily assumed that ministers could reach wide audiences. Jeremiah Burroughs had positions at St. Mildred Breadstreet, St. Michael Cornhill, and St. Giles Cripplegate, while William Bridge was active at both St. Magnus and St. Margaret New Fish Street. If he was not busy searching for money on the Continent, as he was in early 1644, Hugh Peter could be found giving lectures in Allhallows Lombard Street, St. Magnus, or even at the Three Cranes tavern in the Vintry. Liu concludes that the actions of Peter and his fellow Independents should be noted as "one of the fundamental reasons for the failure of the Presbyterian experiment in Puritan London."[886] Their indefatigable effort to prevent the establishment of a presbytery did not go unnoticed.

Presbyterians were equally active in the promotion of their form of church government. Aggessive print spurred equally vociferous responses. While polemical tracts might preoccupy London's dedicated readers, sermons could reach both auditors and readers. Thomas Case provided a series of three sermons that he delivered at St. Mary Magdalen in 1643 and printed in 1644 and entitled *The Quarrell of the Covenant, with the Pacification of the Quarrell*.[887] Dr. Cornelius Burges found preferment and was appointed lecturer at St. Pauls in December 1643, despite having preached fiery and outspoken promotions of prebyterianism.[888] Even if there existed in London a "broader unity of purpose" with regards to the war effort, there can be little doubt that ministers were often preoccupied sharing and teaching their religious preferences. Those ministers who hoped to establish Presbyterianism engaged with largely sympathetic or

---

[885] Thomas Goodwin, *Of the Constitution, Right, Order, and Government of the Churches* (London, 1696), pp. 1, 3.

[886] This account of Independent lectureships is based on Liu, *Puritan London* pp. 106-7, 120 n. 22, but they can be verified in Thomas Edwards's *Antapologia* (London, 1644) and *Gangraena* (London, 1646).

[887] Thomas Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant, with the Pacification of the Quarrell, Delivered in Three Sermons* (London, 1644).

[888] See Cornelius Burges, *Two Sermons* (London, 1645); Tai Liu, "Burges, Cornelius (d. 1665)," *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

receptive audiences, but the same can be assumed of the auditors overseen by independents. It is in the end useful to consider Arnold Hunt's general sense of the matter, and in particular the view that sermons were "preached on particular occasions, and reflect particular concerns that preachers felt it appropriate to bring to the attention of their listeners."[889] Sermons, in other words, provided a platform for preachers to share their particular views – if didactic in purpose, as obviously was the purpose of lectures and so often the case with sermons, they were also implicitly political in nature. Rather than extol the importance of war, the sermons preached in London in 1644 increasingly portrayed the politico-religious sympathies of their composers.

Printed tracts obviously occupy another important place in terms of the dissemination of political opinions. In particular, it is worth paying attention to the early years of the war, which, as Rosemary Bradley pointed out, remained "surprisingly neglected" for many years.[890] Of these early years, 1644 was particularly important in terms of the later divisions between independents and presbyterians. The year began with lively debate that followed the printing of just after the dissenting brethrens' *Apologeticall Narration* in December 1643. Prominent amongst these debaters was Adam Steuart [sic], a Scottish covenanter and energetic polemicist who was living at the time in London and wrote a number of attacks on the *Narration* beginning with *Some Observations and Annotation upon the Apologeticall Narration*.[891] Not least, the *Narration* prompted Thomas Edwards to enter the public arena of print with his *Antapologia*, a

---

[889] Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 341.

[890] See Rosemary D. Bradley, "The Failure of Accommodation: Religious Conflicts between Presbyterians and Independents in the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1646," *JRH* 12 (1982), p. 23.

[891] For examples of the subsequent polemical exchanges, see *Reformation of Church-Government in Scotland, Cleered from some Mistakes and Prejudices* (London, 1644). Thomason dates this "January 24 1643"; Thomas Goodwin, *A Coole Conference Between the Scottish Commissioners Cleared Reformation, and the Holland Ministers Apologeticall Narration* (London, 1644); Adam Steuart, *An Answer to a Libell* (London, 1644) dated "Apr 16"; *C. C. the Covenanter Vindicated from Perjurie* (London, 1644), by a "Friend to the Coole Conference"; Thomas Goodwin*, A Short Answer to A. S. Alias Adam Stewards Second part of his overgrown Duply ot the two Brethren* (London, 1644). Thomason dated this "London. Feb 3d"; See also *A Reply of Two Brethren to A.S.* (London, 1644), which Thomason dated "July 11th [1644]." These exchanged diverged into a number of texts, including, notably, an attempt at reconciliation with *A Letter from a Person of Honour Reconciling The Dissenting Brethren, (commonly called Independents) and the Presbyterians* (London, 1644), Thomason dated this work "November 30th".

direct attack against the five dissenting brethren that was published in July 1644.[892] Debate over the

Narration continued throughout the year, but it was largely overshadowed on 18 September when group of

"divers Ministers of the City of London" petitioned the Commons in the hope that they might hasten the

establishment of a church settlement. The petitioners requested that twenty-three individuals – all of whom

were presbyterians – should be ordained as "Ministers *pro tempore.*"[893] Their proposal came just days

before the Commons began to debate terms of peace that would result in a set of twenty-seven propositions

for peace in November 1644. News of the petiton spread quickly. Walter Strickland reported in October that

a copy of the "petition made by certaine ministers in London" and which showed "the daunger religion was

in respect of divisions" was being discussed in the Low Countries and considered as "a thinge more

preiudicall to our affaires then any thing whatsoever in respect of mens apprehensions."[894] The terms of

these proposals – and especially their terms relating to a presbyterian settlement – would hasten in a new

period of adversarial politics that engulfed national and international politics.

Parliament's propositions were delivered to the king as the *Uxbridge Propositions* in early 1645. If

agreed upon, the propositions would have effectively ended the civil war. London's Common Council made

sure that any propositions that might reach the king would take their interests into consideration. The

Common Council therefore sent their own petition to parliament on 26 October; this called for six

provisions that were designed to preserve and protect London's jurisdiction over legal and military affairs.

These included the request that the City militia would remain under the command "of the Lord Maior

Aldermen and Comons in Comon Councell assembled" and further "that the Militia of the parishes without

London and the Liberties within the weekly bills of mortality may be under the Command of the" same.

Further, they sought assurance that all of their laws passed since the beginning of the war would remain in

place, and "that the Citizens or forces of London shall not be drawne out of the City into any parted of the

---

[892] Edwards, *Antapologia*.
[893] *CJ* iii, p. 630; BL Thomason Ms. 669, fol. 10.
[894] BL Trumbull Ms. 72435, fol. 35r.

kingdome without their owne consent."[895] Rather than completely derail peace proposals, as they had in the

past, London's leaders wanted to make sure that a peace settlement would not cause them to lose any

political ground. This change marked an important development in London's relationship with the war effort

and their wider purposes of securing for themselves a greater degree of political authority. Both Houses

agreed to the terms of their petition and on 10 they issued an order so that the Duke of Richmond and the

Earl of Southampton would have safe passage to travel through London "without any Lett, Hindrance, or

Molestation."[896]

Unlike the London Common Council, which sought simply to qualify any peace propositions, the

dissenting brethren rejected the proposals outright. They also made their reasons for doing so crystal clear:

the propositions stipulated that the English church would be modeled on that of Scotland, and further that

the king himself would be forced to subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant. The dissenting brethren

spent considerable energy explaining their position over the course of November and December and their

aptly titled *The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the Third Proposition Concerning Prebyterial*

Government was ordered to be printed in December alongside Westminster Assembly's *The Answer and*

Solution of the Assembly to the said Reasons.[897] The appearance of both works together did little more than

encapsulate and refine the differences between the two groups.

Both the dissenting brethren and their presbyterian opponents worked diligently to ensure that their

respective religious beliefs would be preserved. Their efforts from 1644 onwards were waged primarily

through the use of London's pulpits and press. Although it would be problematic, as Ann Hughes has

suggested, to fit individuals within "hard and fast categories" that do much to oversimplify – or worse yet,

misconstrue – their words and meaning, there are ample opportunities to discern individual political

leanings. In particular, the polemical exchanges that followed the printing of the *Apologeticall Narration* in

January, and the divisions that followed the formation of peace propositions in September, helped to outline

---

[895] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols 115r-v. The six provisions appear to be a finalized version of the 28 that they initially considered at the beginning of the month. See fols. 108r-110v.

[896] *CJ* iii, p. 720.

[897] See *The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the Third Proposition Concerning Prebyterial Government* (London, 1645), title page.

some of the divisions that would shape later metropolitan and national mobilizations.[898] At the very least, it is then important to note that these specific examples of rival ideologies were being printed and made available to a large reading populace over the course of 1644, and further that the availability of such material helped to equip and empower individuals to make political choices as the war went forward. As much can be seen by the fact that Denzil Holles and a "middle group" of political presbyterians rallied to support Essex and asserted their preferred peace settlement throughout 1644. The roots of this "middle group" and their presbyterian identities lay in the political divisions that arose in London in 1644 around the *Apologeticall Narration* and the nascent peace *Propositions of Uxbridge*. The extent to which these ideologies gained currency with metropolitan parishioners and politicians defined the later years of civil war.

The Second Battle of Newbury

Marston Moor – by most accounts the single bloodiest day of the civil war – proved that Parliament could win a decisive battle without the support of London's trained bands. Meanwhile, members of London's trained bands who were campaigning in the south and west had repeatedly demonstrated their recalcitrance and unreliability. As William Waller lamented, their foremost concern was their own preservation, and not the wider military cause at hand. Issues of low morale and widespread desertion reveal an important fact about the metropolitan war effort in 1644. Since the outbreak of war, Londoners had developed a lightning-fast reflex with regards to their ability to mobilize for the sake of self-defense, and repeatedly proved their willingness to mobilize in the face of any threat to their families or livelihoods. They had done as much since they marched out with Skippon at Turnham Green, and they did the same during the autumn and winter of 1643, when news of the fall of Gloucester suggested that the king might march on to London. Members of the City brigade stood their ground when Waller urged them to remain steadfast to their cause

---

[898] Hughes notes three basic "approaches" for analyzing political developments in this period, and these are "based on boxes, linear developments, or factions," *Gangraena*, p. 330.

and fight. Their decision to stay helped to win the day at Alton, so that they could return home "heroes" and meet a triumphant reception in the City. Alton looked to be their finest moment.

London's trained bands found little to celebrate over the course of 1644, however, which on balance proved to be a far quieter that 1643 in terms of military mobilization. Unlike 1643, when an entire regiment of auxiliaries was raised, and at least 5,000 soldiers were called out to march with Waller, 1644 saw the production of just one ordinance for pressing 1,000 soldiers that were needed to reinforce Major-General Browne's London brigade – and this came only after the widespread desertions of early July. It would appear that London's trained bands were to play a decidedly smaller role in the military actions of the year – that is, until the autumn when Charles's forces once again threatened to march on the metropolis.

Prompted by the new threat, the Commons acted. On 13 September the House requested that Wollaston and Common Council might take into account "what strength" they could "supply" at part of an effort to "repell the Enimy which is marching towards us from the west." On 20 September the Council made note of the decision made jointly between the City Militia Committee and the Committee of Both Kingdoms for "the raising and sending out" of a combined brigade made up of the "Trayned bands of Wesminster, one of the trained bands of Southwarke, and the Auxiliaries of the Hamletts." Joining them from the core of London were the "Redd and Blew Regiments."[899] Some delay regarding their funding followed, with one proposition that the money needed to pay them might come from a fine of £10,000 imposed on Edmund Waller for his part in the plot of the previous year. Ultimately it was determined that the City would be responsible for raising £20,000 to fund the new regiments.[900] On 15 October, the new City brigade of 3,000 troops marched out of London for the west under the command of John Harrington. Nine days later, on 26 October, they camped opposite royalist forces at the field of Newbury in Berkshire.

The subsequent battle, which could hardly be counted as a success for either side, afforded only a limited role for the London brigade. They did perform well enough to help capture some royalist ordinance at Speen, the small town outside of Newbury, but the overall performance of both armies left little to celebrate. Thereafter, the brigade was divided up to perform various actions from reinforcing garrisons to

---

[899] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fol. 106v; *CJ* iii, p. 624.
[900] LMA Ms. COL/CC/01/01/041, Journal of Common Council 40, fols 107r-v.

aiding the siege at Basing House. Some of the regiments returned to London on 14 December while others went on to reinforce Abingdon, a small but strategically important town to the south of the king's headquarters at Oxford. Those trainbandsmen who remained encamped there for the winter suffered inhospitable conditions that included "scarce" provisions and "near 10 men in a room." Major-General Browne, who was at the time Governor, sent a series of letters to the Committee of Both Kingdoms in which he requested supplies and complained about the "pressing necessities in the soldiers, whose bare feet and hollow cheeks plead aloud."[901] The final months of 1644 saw the Londoners at Abingdon succumb to both starvation and desertion. In the early months of 1645, the remaining troops of the garrison managed to hold off a series of royalist attacks mounted from Oxford.

Abingdon stood as a testament to Londoners commitment and exhaustion. While trainbandsmen held the town in February 1645, motions passed for the establishment of the New Model Army. Finding conscripts for the new army proved particularly difficult. It was expected that the areas within the Bills of Mortality would provide some 2,500 of the 7,000 volunteers initially needed to complete recruitment for an estimated army of "21000 horse and foot."[902] The base of the new army was made up of some 7226 troops that had been cannibalized from the standing armies of Essex, Manchester, and Waller. It is impossible to say how many of these men remained from the recruitments that took place a year and a half prior at Finsbury fields. None of the troops were to come from the City's Trained Bands.

Ian Gentles has suggested that "the parliamentary authorities" expected that London and its environs "would be the most fertile soil from which to harvest pressed men." They were, he has also observed, in the end "strangely disappointed" to find that conscripts from the City of London came in "more slowly" than in neighboring counties.[903] This strange disappointment becomes somewhat more understandable given what we now know about metropolitan mobilization. Londoners had fought on numerous occasions since the outbreak of war in 1642; brigades repeatedly marched into the west where they stormed enemy lines, participated in sieges and held their ground in some of the most difficult battles

---

[901] Cited in Nagel, "The Militia of London, 1641-1649," pp. 221-2; See *CSPD* 1644, p. 429.
[902] BL Add. Ms. 37343, Whitelocke's Annals Vol. III, fol. 354v.
[903] Ian Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645-1653* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 32, 35; the ordinance was for impressing troops was first read on 25 Febraury 1645. See *CJ* iv, p. 62.

of the war. In nearly all of these cases they were motivated by a desire to preserve their livlihoods, families, and religion. Their express interest in preserving their ways of life stood as a guiding principle that mobilized men and allowed the metropolis to remain unbreached since the outset of the war. Unlike the droves of young recruits who had gathered at Finsbury to enlist with Essex in 1642, the Londoners of early 1645 were by and large uninterested in the prospect of enlisting in Parliament's first professional army. Recruitment mostly took place in the City's "poor and suburban parishes," and in the end London did not even raise the total number of troops that were expected.[904] Nineteen months of continuous war had bred a palpable distaste – if not outright nausea – over the prospect of sending more men to war. With this realization, and indeed in light of widespread recalcitrance throughout the metropolis, Londoners had effectively ended the most active phase of their participation in the English Revolution.

Conclusion

A Monument of Mercies

From the vantage point of 1646, Londoners could look back and assess the previous five years of disrupted plots and close encounters with enemy forces. Divine providence was, for many, the only explanation for England's survival. What, aside from God's will, could contemporaries look to in order to explain their unlikely preservation? How else could the nation, and in particular the capital, have escaped from so many narrowly averted crises? Printed in late 1646 as a single broadsheet, *Englands Monument of Mercies in her Miraculous Preservation* urged all readers to acknowledge the nation's great fortune through the showing of "thankfulnesse unto God." The anonymous author of the broadsheet made note of no fewer than eighty-six specific "plots, Conspiracies, Contrivances and attempts of forraigne and home-bred treacherous Enemies," which ranged from the Army Plot of 1641 to "the peace with Irish Rebels" in 1645. Between these years lay several familiar and important events that have long defined the historicized narrative of the First Civil War,

---

[904] Gentles, *The New Model Army*, p. 35.

such as "the breaking forth of Rebellion in Ireland" from November 1641 and "the taxing and demanding of the five Members by the King" from 4 January 1642. But *Englands Monument of Mercies* showcased a number of other significant events that were, if decidedly less known by scholars, of equal importance in the minds of contemporaries who sought to understand their "civil and intestine war." It was no mere coincidence that most of these events took place in London and reveal the central importance of Londoners.

First was the "design against the City of London" from January 1643 that resulted in the calling of "a speciall Common-hall" in which the king's messenger "*Herne* read his message" that called for the arrest of the seven Londoners accused of treason by the king. Next was the terrible but familiar design of Waller's Plot in May 1643, when members from "the Court and the City" plotted "to surprise the City and to let in the Kings Army" so that they could seize leading belligerents including Saye, Wharton, Pym, Strode and "the L[ord] Mayor." These pivotal moments were followed by several other important occasions such as the time in August 1643 when "rewd women about London" put their hands to a "petition for a peace" and "came in an abusive way to the House of Parliament." 1644 saw its own fair share of troubling plots and conspirarcies. The most disconcerting by far was the time when "Sir *Bazill Brooke*" teamed up with "*Vilet* a Gold-smith and *Riley*" to foment "another divillish design to divide the Parliament and Cite." Later came "a wicked plot endeavoured by the instigation of the E. of *Bristoll*, and Serjeand-Major *Ogell*, to betray the Citie of London, by causing a division between the Presbyterians and Independents."[905]

While these are, admittedly, just a handful of the many plots and conspiracies that shook London over the early years of the war, they were chosen with good reason. Each "design" or "plot" could be counted among the most propagandized, discussed, and memorable events of the day. In most cases, the plots and designs depended upon intricate schemes to divide Londoners and in the process elevate the king's military status. Nearly all of the plots, moreover, were narrowly averted, a fact which reinforced notions of providential favor for the London's support of the parliamentarian war effort. By this light, plots galvanized popular support and reaffirmed political bonds between London and Westminster. Thus the king's "evil design" of January 1643 left London's Common Councilors "crying out" pledges of support and affirming

---

[905] *Englands Monument of Mercies in her Miraculous Preservation* (London, 1646).

that "they would live and die with the Parliament." Likewise, Waller's plot could be said to reveal "Gods providence" and desire to see England's adoption of a new national covenant. The narrow margins by which dangerous events had been averted helped, in other words, to legitimize a shared sense of commitment to parliament's war effort – to mobilize the metropolis.

The propangandization of plots and other occasions such as military victories became increasingly important in the face of growing disenchantment with the war. Edgehill and Turnham Green revealed to many that the war would be a protracted affair, and the abysmal campaigns of spring 1643 convinced most others that a swift military victory would be best the option. Aside from the mass volunteering that took place prior to the outbreak of war during the summer of 1642, most Londoners seem to have mobilized out of a simple but genuine desire to preserve their ways of life, or in response to official orders from parliament of the City corporation. Thousands joined with the trained bands to make the relatively short march from London to Turnham Green in November 1642, but finding Londoners who would be willing to march off to war became increasingly difficult at the war progressed. Auxiliary regiments were successfully created by order in May 1643, but circumstances became far later in the year. Londoners apparently resorted to violence when impressing men for Waller's army in August and early September, and last-ditch efforts to recruit from London ended with an abysmal turnout in response to a December petition proposing the recruitment of 3,600 auxiliaries. If crucial to parliament's overall success, London's military mobilization was nevertheless a story of diminishing returns.

Livery companies, meanwhile, provided the lifeblood of the war effort through a series of loans that were most issued directly by the Lord Mayor. The first of these loans, which was ostensibly made to fund relief efforts for Protestants in Ireland, was soon redirected to pay for the early war effort against the king. Later loans of money and arms were made expressly for London and parliament and in the name of Mayor Pennington. The repeated pressures of these forced loans left many companies with their coffers depleted, their plate pawned, and their armories empty. The ancient and once sturdy foundations of the City's wealth and trade steadily decayed in the face of such consistent and burdensome demands.

As we have seen, some companies reached the point of insolvency. Cash and arms were almost always slow to return to livery armories and coffers, but compliance with parliament's demands seems to

have paid off in some cases. Although most loaned weapons seem to have remained in the hands of combatants, some did begin to make their way back into company armories. Steadfast support for the cause seems to have been rewarded in some cases. The Fishmongers, for instance, could always be relied upon to loan what they had, and company wardens made orders for new hooks in their armory on 19 May 1645 so that they could hang up the new corsets that were delivered from Salters' Hall "in lieu of" twenty-three "Corssetts and headpeeces lent to the Citty the Tenth of May 1643."[906] But records reveal that most other livery companies were decidedly less fortunate than the fishmongers when it came to the return of their loaned cash and arms. Indeed, most were still waiting for repayments well after the war ended. Coates rightly points out that demands for loans amounted to "a major blow to the finances of the livery companies"; the pressures of Pennington's loans from 1642 and 1643 not only "diminished the role they played in London society," but they also "contributed to their declining importance in the second half of the seventeenth century."[907] There can in the end be little doubt that their sacrifice was of crucial importance to parliament's success, but their willingness to help came at a great cost.

Outside of the liveries, Londoners proved willing to mobilize in response to numerous internal and external threats. Inhabitants demonstrated their willingness to take up arms in the summer 1642 when countless young men enthusiastically enlisted for service. Far more took up what weapons they could find to stop the king's march at Turnham Green in November. Skippon's famous speech to his "brave boys," which affected so many towards the cause, remained as relevant in the autumn of 1644 as it was it had been in 1642: Londoners repeatedly proved willing to contribute money and send out their trained bands when the cause was "for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives and children." From the relief of Gloucester in autumn 1643, to the campaign for the Second Battle of Newbury in autumn 1644, London's "brave boys" of the trained bands mobilized for largely the same reason: a perceived and pressing need to preserve their ways of life.

However, in the months following Turnham Green, rival campaigns set out on the streets of the metropolis to urge citizens to commit to peace or conflict; the agitation generated by their encounters raised

[906] Guildhall Library Ms. 5570/3, Fishmongers' Court Minutes, 1641-1646, fols. 833, 835-6.
[907] Coates, *The Impact*, p. 72.

new questions and provided new avenues for the pursuit of a peace settlement, or in some cases a more committed and radical militarization. It must be acknowledged that many simply grew tired of the endless burdens of war in terms of decreased trade, disruptions to daily life, and increased taxation. Thus opposing views materialized in popular print, petitions, and in popular demonstrations throughout the streets of the metropolis. Over time, divisions became more pronounced and the ideological foundations of the war escalated. The City underwent a breathtaking transformation in the aftermath of the king's ill-designed attempt on the seven Londoners. With the help of Mayor Pennington, propaganda was generated and orders printed to spur citizens to action. Pennington's efforts, along with a genuine and widespread interest in self-preservation, drove Londoners to transform their capital; by the end of spring, London had become the largest fortified City in Europe – a metropolitan center further purged of idolatrous images and guarded by eleven miles of manned fortifications known as the Lines of Communication.

When not threatened directly from the outside by the king's army, London's inhabitants were busy contending with the many internal plots and conspiracies described in *Englands Monument of Mercies*. These plots and conspiracies – so often propagandized in print and sermons – provided critically important reasons for mobilizing. There can be no doubt that the unprecedented efforts by volunteers to build the Lines of Communication in early 1643 owed in part to the threats and tumults of January, just as it did to the printed arguments that were made for a more vigorous pursuit of war in the wake of king's attempt on the seven Londoners. It was in a similar sense that efforts to purge the metropolis of all idolatrous images came in response not only to orders from Mayor Pennington, but also out of a shared sense that doing so would actually please God. Clearly, Ministers played no small part in assessing and supporting such efforts, just as they would remain crucial throughout London's many parishes for their ability to "stir up" support for parliament's cause, or promote specific interests such as political unification or donations for the sick and wounded. Their place in parliament's effort, and indeed in conveying the need to wage war the City's inhabitants, was of paramount importance.

By summer 1643, repeated military defeats and the burdensome expenses of war caused the effort to wane to the breaking point. The parliamentary cause, however, found new life when Pym and his allies turned popular attention to Waller's plot. The plot served as an important motivator; the threat of an internal

uprising and the entry of the king's armies helped to convince many Londoners that they should enter into a binding agreement to defend their lives and their religion – this of course means protecting their City and Parliament, which were both contained in the Lines of Communication. The subsequent Vow and Covenant, which circulated throughout London in late July and August 1643, served not only to redefine and escalate the ideological parameters of the war effort, but it also triggered radical efforts to see through the establishment of London's first *levée en masse*, the ultimately failed but politically significant general rising. The entire affair, which was directed by no single group or individual, led to the single greatest effort to mobilize the population. Out of the ashes of the general rising came yet another display of unity and the mobilization of trained band brigades that would sustain parliament's war effort through winter.

London's significance for the war effort has never been in question. Likewise, there can be no doubt that Londoners' lasting sense of self-preservation proved to be a cornerstone of parliament's eventual success. Scholars have to date taken these facts as reason to preclude a thorough investigation of the dynamics of metropolitan mobilization. The City, they would have it, was parliamentarian from the start and remained so throughout the course of the English Revolution. Ascertaining their reasoning is simple enough; London appeared entirely parliamentarian to royalist polemicists and their later historians who depended upon their interpretations when writing the narratives of the war. It is, however, now abundantly clear that this position requires reassessment. The assumption that London was parliamentarian melts away once *popular* mobilization is taken into account. It soon becomes apparent that London and its nearly 400,000 inhabitants never maintained a fully fixed relationship to the conflict. Rather, their relationship to the war shifted dramatically over time. This should come as little surprise given the frequency with which Londoners contended with the rhetoric of propagandized plots and news, and indeed with the extend to which their daily lives depended upon the leadership in the Common Council, or at times on parliament's specific needs.

Incidentally, London's war effort of 1644 bore little resemblance to that of two years earlier. The City had changed physically; what had started as a sprawling metropolis with wards that spilled over open medieval walls became a fortress. Lead crosses had been hacked off of church steeples and melted down, while colorful stained windows were smashed and replaced with clear glass. The streets, which were

crowded on the best of days, saw the addition of thousands of wartime refugees and maimed soldiers who required care, inspired sympathy, and ultimately reminded Londoners of the physical and spiritual costs of civil war. The maimed soldier who wrote *Idolaters Ruine, and Englands Triumph* urged his fellow soldiers in early 1645 to continue to "shew their love and affection to the cause of Christ; and fear not to venture their lives, limbes or estates." Failure to do so, he warned, could bring about the old Curse of Meroz, which had inspired Stephen Marshall to preach about the need to aid Ireland in 1642 and had since become a motivator for the common English soldier in 1645. Meroz "was not cursed for any evill that he did," the author reminded his fellow combatants, but rather "was cursed by the Angel of the Lord because he did no good." There was, then, still good reason to maintain support for the protracted war effort in 1645. Faith in God's "Cause" would "bring confusion upon all such cursed Rebels."[908] For many – even the sick and wounded – parliament's war effort cause had become synonymous with God's will.

From the outbreak of conflict, it was clear that nascent "royalist" and "parliamentarian" factions would struggle to win the hearts and minds of Londoners. The City was, if anything, a springboard from which men and money could be collected in order to wage war. This simple fact was not lost on the king, who turned to the City for loans to fund war with Scotland in 1640, and it was certainly understood when parliament looked to the City to cover the cost of expeditions for the Irish rebellion in 1642.[909] Both parliamentarians and royalists were aware of the fact that the City's inhabitants would have an overwhelming impact on the war effort, no matter which side they chose to support. London's men at arms were at first ready to serve their brethren in Ireland, but as tensions escalated between the parliament and the king, it soon seemed more likely that war might be fought at home. The shift in arenas did surprisingly little to dull their spirits, and the war that was intended to protect Protestants abroad soon became a war to protect Protestants at home. The Assessment of November 1642 provides one early and important means to gauge metropolitan dedication to the war. As we have seen, Londoners – and particularly those who inhabited

---

[908] *Idolaters Ruine and Englands Triumph; or the Meditations of a Maimed Souldier* (London, 1645), pp. 35-6. Thomason dated this work to 17 January 1645. Interestingly, the author assumes that Meroz was a man and not a city.

[909] See Mark Charles Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns Against Scotland, 1638-1640* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 122-137.

parishes within the wards that were grouped around the Guildhall and to the east of St. Paul's – paid disproportionately more to fund the war than inhabitants of other City wards. These areas of London were home to some of the metropolis's most dedicated and militant parishioners and ministers. Their eagerness to pay towards the cause was due in no little part to the providential threats issued by ministers who convinced the population that the conflict in England and Ireland were one in the same. The Cure of Meroz, as Stephen Marshall reminded his auditors on numerous occasions, knew no national boundaries, but could fall upon any Englishman unwise enough to refuse aid to his brethren. Thus Finsbury Field, which had been the drilling grounds for the Honourable Artillery Company for decades, transformed almost overnight into center for recruitment, and inhabitants of the City's most radical parishes provided money in abundance for the cause. Many of these same inhabitants would see to the building of the Lines of Communication over the following months.

Financial exhaustion and the daily arrival of sick and maimed soldiers eventually made even the most committed Londoners question the need to fight. But as the author of the *Idolaters Ruine* could attest, the war effort remained a deeply spiritual matter – the effort was not simply for parliament's cause, or the preservation of families and livelihoods. Rather it was for God. God's mercy and divine favor would be needed to win the war; London's spiritual leaders made certain that the City's inhabitants were aware of this fact, and in particular that they would strive tirelessly to stamp out their own sins, give praise for parliament's military successes, and offer grief for its defeats. These were sure ways to please the Almighty. In this sense, the providential expectations of the capital became the motivation for a successful war. Spiritual steadfastness would, by most godly accounts, translate into real military victory.

Yet it had also become apparent that the war effort relied upon concerted and consistent production of printed propaganda that could, as Jason Peacey has suggested, serve "as a tactical device."[910] Over the course of 1642 and 1643, print played an increasingly important – and indeed apparent – role in metropolitan mobilizations. Print provided an obvious and convenient way for the Lord Mayor and the Common Council to communicate with Londoners, but it also became a more subtle and sophisticated

---

[910] Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*, p. 332.

means for influencing popular opinion regarding the war. Careful control over print helped to sculpt the image of the king's decision to accuse seven Londoners of treason in January 1642. Printed accounts revealed the details of Waller's plot in terrifying detail, from the confessions of Nathaniel Tompkins and Richard Chaloner to later broadside accounts that included images of the plotters plans. Mass petitioning, which was both orchestrated and organic, spurred events such as the general rising and countering peace protests. Similarly, the distribution of print could at times allow the nameless masses to influence the course of national politics. D'Ewes recalled how print led to "one of the saddest daies" of his political career in early August 1643. It was the time when Mayor Pennington and other militants spread a "scandalous writing" that mobilized citizens to march on Westminster and prevent the Commons from voting on peace propositions.[911] The subsequent derailing of peace protests in August 1643 provides an important glimpse of the ways in which the interests of militants and the political mobilization of London's masses could determine the course of national politics. Print, in short, was central to mobilization.

Yet, as time progressed, it also became apparent that parliament's war effort could not continue to rely disproportionately on the good will of Londoners. Wearied inhabitants were doubtless relieved to see the pressures of metropolitan mobilization assuaged by the ascendancy of the Eastern Association and the entry of Scottish Covenanters in early 1644. There can be no question that the external military aid helped to alleviate burdens on the City's trained bands, and in turn the populace. Yet the new assistance – and especially that of the Covenanters – exacted a high price on the political stability of the parliamentarian effort; the military alliances injected new concerns into an already fraught political and religious climate. While the military alliance with Scotland certainly breathed much needed life into parliament's war effort, it also underscored and exacerbated religious and political tensions that made way for the rise of the "presbyterian" and "independent" coalitions that would dominate metropolitan and national politics for years to come. The entry of the Scots depended upon London's mobilization over the first year and a half of war, but it had also unalterably reshaped the City's relationship to the war effort. Meanwhile, both royalists and parliamentarians turned further afield to seek out support from the alliances that shaped Europe's wars

---

[911] See above, pp. 236-8.

of religion, with parliament in particular turning to find help from states who remained committed to the Protestant Cause.

This all suggests a decidedly different, and indeed less fixed, narrative of events from those put forward by historians who have maintained that London was "parliamentarian." Assumptions of this nature, and in particular of those that focus on elite narratives such as Adamson's *Noble Revolt*, and to a lesser extent Pearl's *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*, have relied too heavily upon notions of allegiance. In doing so, they have lost sight of the wide range of voices that exist below the upper vaulting of parliamentary politics and official negotiations. Beneath these narratives is London's own story, a story of the many thousands who used their various means to either support or disrupt the war.

The diverse and focused nature of London's historiography should not be so surprising; it has in recent years become standard historical procedure to consult wide-ranging materials in order to correct previous more limited narratives. This is, of course, nothing new. Keith Lindley's *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* did a superb job in this regard, revealing that 1640s London was home to a cacophony of rival voices agendas that seldom aligned to create anything remotely resembling a "parliamentarian" consensus. His findings, both in terms of scope and approach, are indeed worthy of admiration. They help to redress the decidedly elite angle taken up by Pearl in *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*, showing that Londoners seldom agreed on anything. Yet for all of its wide-ranging analysis and archival depth, Lindley's work ultimately failed to identify the social forces behind London's relationship to war. *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* is, then, something of a masterfully mixed cake devoid of a leavening agent; Lindley's Londoners, no matter how divided or antagonistic, lack supporting religio-political ideologies that gave meaning and narrative to their actions. Yet it should not be forgotten that Lindley moved well beyond most other scholars who set out to interpret civil war London. Rather than obscuring the complexities of metropolitan mobilization under the guise of allegiance, he supported the notion that London's relationship to the war was never a neat or fixed business. In this sense he was absolutely correct: London's war effort depended as much upon the interests of political elites in London's corporation as it did upon the City's many other politically engaged "common" inhabitants. Thus, Mayor Pennington's radical efforts must be counted alongside those of the thousands of petitioners who put

their names to paper, or the many nameless Londoners who protested in the City or marched to have their voices heard in Westminster. Each side of the equation must be taken into account when attempting to tell the story of London's mobilization during the first three years of the war.

Scholars have largely maintained the notion that London became parliamentarian. In doing so, they have been left free to offer up a dizzying array of studies dealing with the social history of the metropolis. Thus we now have focused research on topics ranging from Paul Griffiths's study of policing and crime to Eleanor Hubbard's tracing of the otherwise neglected social lives of female Londoners.[912] Certainly, these and many other works shed valuable light on interesting and important aspects of London's social history, and in some instances provide valuable insights regarding earlier historical debates. Once integrated and considered alongside a vast array of archival materials, they reveal a fuller picture of a metropolitan war effort that was simultaneously elite, popular, mercantile, and indeed, as Adamson would have us believe, at times even "noble."[913] They show, in other words, that the war was a multiform effort. Yet amidst the recent efflorescence of social histories, shockingly little has been done to weigh in on the complex dynamics of metropolitan mobilization. This is, on the one hand, a lasting result of assumptions about allegiance. On the other hand, it is an outcome of the revisionist belief that the majority of Londoners, like others who lived through the wars, were predisposed towards neutrality. Neither of these conclusions allows for an adequate – or indeed accurate – interpretation of the metropolis's relationship to war. Doing so has instead required the work of historians such as Ann Hughes, Michael Braddick, and others who have sought to reintegrate mobilization into the equation.[914] Once applied, the question of mobilization reveals that London's relationship to the war depended upon a dizzying array of opposing interests that included popular religious and political concerns and the production and reception of propaganda.

In the end, maintaining the first three years of civil war imposed a high cost on London and its inhabitants. But the City had transformed over the course of those years. Volunteers built the Lines of

---

[912] Griffiths, *Lost Londons*; Hubbard, *City Women*; see also, Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*; Merritt (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London*; Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*.
[913] Adamson, *The Noble Revolt*.
[914] Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*; Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*. See also, Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*.

Communication, making the London the single largest fortified city in Europe. All the while, the City's inhabitants endured a barrage of printed propaganda and official rhetoric. They listened to sermons and proclamations, heeded ordinances, and paid the taxes and assessments needed to support the parliamentarian effort. No matter how divided or recalcitrant, Londoners acted when it came time to defend their lives, livelihoods, and religion. This, one might argue, proved to be the single most important and lasting element behind parliament's success. For all their efforts defending themselves "from Contrivances and attempts forraigne and home-bred," Londoners remained eager "to raise up the hearts of all the faithfull in the Kingdome" and continue to give "Thankfulnesse unto God."[915] By fighting and contributing over early years of war, London's inhabitants had, in effect, purchased the time needed for the rise and maturation of the Eastern Alliance and the establishment of an alliance with the Scottish Covenanters. With this, Londoners had in a sense secured the future of the war; they saw through the most delicate and important phase of the war against the king. In doing so they paved the way for the New Model Army, parliament's professional fighting force that would go on to defeat the king and win the war.

---

[915] *Englands Monument of Mercies*.

Archival Materials

Bodlein Library, Oxford

Add MS D/114   "Oxford Siege Book"
Ash MS 826   "War Accounts"
Clarendon MS 22   March 1643 - November 1643
Clarendon MS 23   November 1643 - January 1644
MS English History C 53   "Diary, 1642-1644"
MS Rawlinson B 48   "London in Arms Displayed"

British Library

Additional MS 968   London Regiments by Symonds
Additional MS 5494   "Accounts and Papers Relating to Sequestered Estates, 1642-1648
Additional MS 7532   "The Rights of the People of England"
Additional MS 10114   Papers of John Harington
Additional MS 27962   Salvetti Correspondence
Additional MS 31116   Diary of Lawrence Whitacre
Additional MS 34315   Committee of Safety Receipts
Additional MS 18777-18779   Diary of Walter Yonge
Additional MS 18781-2   "Reports of sermons in London, 1642–4"
Additional MS 34253   Correspondence Relating to the Civil War
Additional MS 71534   Henry Marten Papers
Additional MS 72435   Trumbull Papers [Walter Strickland's correspondence]
Additional MS 37343   Whitelocke's Annals, vol. iii
Additional MSS 39940-39942   Notes on Sermons
Additional MS 40630   Cassiobury Papers
Additional MS 40883   Diary of Nehemiah Wallington
Additional MS 22619   Collection of original papers
BL Egerton MS 1048   London Petitions from December 1642
BL Egerton MS 2643, 2654, 2647 Barrington Papers
BL Harleian MS 162-166   Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes
BL Harley MS 479   Diary of John More
BL Sloane MS 654   Letter correspondence
BL Sloane MS 922   Letter book of Nehemiah Wallington
BL Sloane MS 1465   Petitions and letters
BL Sloane MS 1457   Nehemiah Wallington's "A Memoriall of Gods Judgment"
BL Sloane MS 1467   Petitions and Speeches in Parliament
BL Stowe MS 142   Miscellaneous historical letters

Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre

VOL P/GF/M/1   St Giles in the Fields, Vestry Minutes, 1618-1719
VOL P/GF/M/4   St Giles in the Fields, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1694

Clothworkers' Company Archives

Orders of Courts, 1639-1649

Drapers' Company Archives

Court Minutes and Records, 1640-1667

Essex Record Office

T/B, 211/1, #39   Bramston Documents

Goldsmiths' Company Archives

Book 02-W   Company Minutes, 1642-1645
MS 223   "Strelley's Charity Book," 1603-1790

Holborn Central Library, London

P/GF/CW/1

Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino

Ellesmere MSS   Papers of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater
Hastings MSS
Huntington MSS
Stowe MSS

Lambeth Palace Library

MS 679
MS 703
MS 930
MS 932

Leathersellers' Company Archives

Court Minues, 1608-

London Guildhall Library

MS 5570/3   Court Minute Book of the Fishmongers' Company
MS 11588/4   Court Minute Book of the Grocers' Company
MS 30708/3   Court Minute Book of the Skinners' Company
MS 15842/1   Court Minute Book of the Haberdashers' Company
MS 16967/4   Court Minute Book of the Ironmongers' Company
MS 15201/1   Court Minute Book of the Vintners' Company
MS 34017/5   Court Minute Book of the Merchant Taylors' Company
MS 1207/3-4   Court Minute Books Armourers and Braisers' Company
MS 5177/4   Court Minute Book of the Bakers' Company
MS 5257/5-6   Court Minute Books of the Barber-Surgeons' Company
MS 2881/6-7   Court Minute Books of the Blacksmiths' Company
MS 2883/1   Wardens' Account Book of the Blacksmiths' Company

MS 5445/3-7	Court Minute Books of the Brewers' Company
MS 5204/3	Court Minute Book of the Brown-Bakers' Company
MS 4329/4-5	Court Minute Books of the Carpenters' Company
MS 5603/1	Court Minute Book of the Coopers' Company
MS 5606/1	Wardens' Account Book of the Coopers' Company
MS 7353/14-15	Court Minute Books of the Cordwainers' Company
MS 6112/1	Court Minute Book of the Curriers' Company
MS 14346/2	Wardens' Account Book of the Curriers' Company
MS 7151/1	Court Minute Book of the Cutlers' Company
MS 7158/1	Wardens' Account Book of the Cutlers' Company
MS 5220/2	Court Minute Book of the Gunmakers' Company
MS 6649/1	Court Minute Book of the Inholders' Company
MS 8041/1	Wardens' Account Book of the Joiners and Ceilers' Company
MS 5667	Court Minute Book of the Painter-Stainers' Company
MS 182/2	Court Minute Book of the Paviors' Company
MS 7090/4-5	Court Minute Books of the Pewterers' Company
MS 6122/2	Court Minute Book of the Plaisterers' Company
MS 2208/1	Court Minute Book of the Plumbers' Company
MS 5385	Court Minute Book of the Saddlers' Company
MS 913	Court Minute Book of the Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters
MS 6153/1-2	Court Minute Books of the Tallow Chandlers' Company
MS 6152/2	Wardens' Account Book of the Tallow Chandlers' Company
MS 3293/1-2	Court Minute Books of the Turners' Company
MS 3297/1	Wardens' Account Book of the Turners' Company
MS 3043/1	Court Minute Book of the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Company
MS 4655/5-6	Court Minute Books of the Weavers' Company
MS 9485/1	Court Minute Book of the Wax Chandlers' Company

London Metropolitan Archives

CLC/180/MS07415/001	Dutch Church at Austin Friars, Afkondingen [Proclamation] book, 1643-1752
CLC/180/MS07399	Copy out-letter book, comprising copies of letters from the Consistory, mainly to other Dutch reformed congregations
CLC/270/MS03342	"London in armes displayed"
COL/CA/01/01/059	Court of Aldermen Repertory 55, 03 Nov 1640 - 13 Aug 1642
COL/CA/01/01/060	Court of Aldermen Repertory 56, 18 Aug 1642 - 24 Oct 1643
COL/CA/01/01/061	Court of Aldermen Repertory 57, 31 Oct 1643 - 28 Oct 1645
COL/CC/01/01/041	Journal of Common Council 40, 1640-1649
COL/CN/01/01/001	Common Hall, Corporation of London Minutes, Nov 1642 - Oct 1646
COL/CHD/CT/01/004	City Cash Accounts, 1641 - 1643
COL/CHD/CT/01/005	City Cash Accounts, 1644 - 1646
COL/CHD/MN/03/005	Warrant of the Militia Committee of the City of London to the Committee of Arrears, 24 Apr 1646
COL/CHD/MN/01/004	Maimed soldiers and sailors: Account book, 1665 - 1679
COL/CHD/MN/01/006	Military and Naval Pensions, 1661 - 1679
COL/CHD/MN/02/015	Miscellaneous papers, 1643 - 1690
P69/ALH1/G/01/001	All Hallows Barking by the Tower, Vestry Minutes, 1629-69
P69/ALH1/H/05/001	All Hallows Barking by the Tower, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1628-66
P69/ALH4/B/001/MS04049/001	All Hallows Lombard Street, Vestry Minutes, 1618-53

P69/ALH6/B/001/MS04957/001	All Hallows Staining Mark Lane, Vestry Minutes, 1574-1655
P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/003/001	All Hallows Staining Mark Lane, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1645-79
P69/ALH7/B/001/MS00819/001	All Hallows the Great, Vestry Minutes, 1574-1684
P69/ALH7/B/013/MS00818/001	All Hallows the Great, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1616-1708
P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00824/001	All Hallows the Less, Vestry Minutes, 1644-1831
P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/001	All Hallows the Less, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1630-51
P69/TRI3/B/004/MS04835/001	Holy Trinity the Less, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1582-1662
P69/ALB/B/001/MS01264/001	St Alban Wood Street, Vestry Minutes, 1583-1676
P69/ALB/B/003/MS07673/002	St Alban Wood Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1637-75
P69/ALP/B/001/MS01431/002	St Alphage London Wall, Vestry Minutes, 1608-1711
P69/ALP/B/006/MS01432/004	St Alphage London Wall, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1631-77
P82/AND/B/001/MS04251/001	St Andrew Holborn Circus, Vestry Minutes, 1642-1714
P69/AND3/B/001/MS01278/001	St Andrew Hubbard, Vestry Minutes, 1600-1678
P69/AND3/B/003/MS01279/003	St Andrew Hubbard, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1621-1712
P69/AND1/B/009/MS02088/001	St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1570-1688
P69/ANA/B/010/MS00587/001	St Anne and Saint Agnes, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1636-1663
P69/ANL/B/004/MS01046/001	St Antholin Budge Row, Churchwardens' Accounts, 157-1708
P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/001	St Bartholomew by the Exchange, Vestry Minutes, 1567-1643
P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/002	St Bartholomew by the Exchange, Vestry Minutes, 1643-1676
P69/BAT1/B/006/MS04383/001	St Bartholomew by the Exchange, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1598-1698
P69/BEN1/B/005/MS01303/001	St Benet Fink, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1610-99
P69/BEN2/B/001/MS04214/001 pt.2	St Benet Gracechurch Vestry Minutes, 1607-1758
P69/BEN3/B/007/MS00878/001	St Benet Paul's Wharf, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1605-57
P69/BEN3/B/001/MS00877/001	St Benet Paul's Wharf Vestry Minutes, 1579-1674
P69/BOT1/B/001/MS01453/001	St Botolph Aldersgate, Vestry Minutes, 1601-1652
P69/BOT2/B/001/MS09236	St Botolph Aldgate, Vestry Minutes, 1583?-1708
P69/BOT2/B/012/MS09235/002/002	St Botolph Aldgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1586-1691
P69/BOT3/B/007/MS00942/001	St Botolph Billingsgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1603-74
P69/BOT4/B/001/MS04526/001	St Botolph-without-Bishopgate, Vestry Minutes, 1616-90
P69/BOT4/B/008/MS04524/002	St Botolph-without-Bishopgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1632-62
P69/BRI/B/016/MS06552/001	St Bride Fleet Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1639-1678
P69/CRI/B/007/MS04423/001	St Christopher le Stocks, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1575-1660
P69/CRI/B/001/MS04425/001	St Christopher le Stocks, Vestry Minutes, 1593-1731
P69/CLE/B/007/MS00977/001	St Clement Eastcheap, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1636-1740
P69/CLE/B/001/MS00978/001	St Clement Eastcheap, Vestry Minutes, 1640-1759
P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003	St Dunstan-in-the-West Churchwardens' Accounts, 1628-1644
P69/DUN2/B/001/MS03016/001	St Dunstan-in-the-West Vestry Minutes, 1588-1663
P69/ETH/B/006/MS04241/001	St Ethelburga Bishopsgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1569-1681
P69/GEO/B/001/MS00952/001	St George Botolph Lane and St Botolph Billingsgate Vestry Minutes, 1600-85
P69/GEO/B/005/MS00951/001	St George Botolph Lane Churchwardens Accounts, 1590-1676
P69/GRE/B/001/MS01336/001	St Gregory by St Paul, Vestry Minutes, 1642-1701
P69/HEL/B/004/MS06836	St Helen Bishopsgate Churchwardens' Accounts, 1565-1654
P69/JS2/B/001/MS04813/001	St James Garlickhithe, Vestry Minutes, 1615-1693
P69/JS2/B/005/MS04810/002	St James Garlickhithe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1627-99

P69/JNB/B/006/MS00577/001	St John the Baptist Walbrook, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1595-1679
P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001	St John Zachary, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1591-1682
P69/KAT1/B/011/MS01124/001	St Katherine Coleman Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1610-1671
P69/KAT2/B/001/MS01196/001	St Katherine Cree, Vestry Minutes, 1639-1718
P69/LAW1/B/001/MS02590/001	St Lawrence Jewry, Vestry Minutes, 1556-1670
P69/LAW1/B/008/MS02593/002	St Lawrence Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-1698
P69/LAW2/B/010/MS03907/001	St Laurence Pountney, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1530-1681
P69/LAW2/B/001/MS03908/001	St Laurence Pountney, Vestry Minutes, 1614-1673
P69/MAG/B/018/MS01179/001	St Magnus the Martyr, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1638-1734
P69/MGT1/B/001/MS04352/001	St Margaret Lothbury, Vestry Minutes, 1571/2-1677
P69/MGT3/B/001/MS01175/001	St Margaret New Fish Street, Vestry Minutes, 1583-1675
P69/MGT3/B/014/MS01176/001	St Margaret New Fish Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1576-1678
P69/MGT4/B/001/MS04571/001	St Margaret Pattens, Vestry Minutes and Memoranda Book, 1640-1683
P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/002	St Margaret Pattens, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1558-1653
P69/MTN1/B/001/MS01311/001/001	St Martin Ludgate, Vestry Minutes, 1576-1715
P69/MTN2/B/001/MS00959/001	St Martin Orgar, Vestry Minutes, 1469-1707
P69/MTN3/B/005/MS11394/001	St Martin Outwich, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1632-1743
P69/MRY1/B/006/MS03891/001	St Mary Abchurch, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1629-1692
P69/MRY2/B/001/MS03570/002	St Mary Aldermanbury, Vestry Minutes, 1610-1763
P69/MRY2/B/005/MS03556/002	St Mary Aldermanbury, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1631-1677
P69/MRY3/B/010/MS06574	St Mary Aldermary, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1597-1665
P69/MRY4/B/001/MS01240/001	St Mary-at-the-Hill, Vestry Minutes, 1609-1752
P69/MRY8/B/001/MS00064	St Mary Colechurch, Vestry Minutes, 1612-1701
P69/MRY8/B/005/MS00066	St Mary Colechurch, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1612-1700
P69/MRY9/B/001/MS02597/001	St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, Vestry Minutes, 1619-68
P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/002	St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1606/7-1666/7
P69/MRY12/B/002/MS05714/001	St Mary Somerset, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1614-1701
P69/MRY13/B/001/MS01542/002	St Mary Staining, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1644-1836
P69/MRY14/B/006/MS01013/001	St Mary Woolchurch Haw, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1560-1672
P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/001	St Matthew Friday Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1547-1678
P69/MIC1/B/008/MS02601/001/001	St Michael Bassishaw, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1617/18-1715/16
P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/002	St Michael Cornhill, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1608-1702
P69/MIC2/B/001/MS04072/001	St Michael Cornhill, Vestry Minutes, 1563-1697
P69/MIC3/B/009/MS01188/001	St Michael Crooked Lane, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1617-93
P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/002	St Michael le Querne, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1605-1717
P69/MIC6/B/005/MS04825/001	St Michael Queenhithe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1625-1706
P69/MIC7/B/003/MS00524	St Michael Wood Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619-1871
P69/MIL2/B/001/MS00062/001	St Mildred Poultry, Vestry Minutes, 1641-1713
P69/NIC1/B/001/MS04060/001	St Nicholas Acons, Vestry Minutes, 1619-1738
P69/OLA2/B/004/MS04409/001	St Olave Old Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1586-1643
P69/OLA2/B/004/MS04409/002	St Olave Old Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1643-1705
P69/OLA2/B/001/MS04415/001	St Olave Old Jewry, Vestry Minutes, 1574-1680

P69/OLA3/B/002/MS01257/001	St Olave Silver Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1630-1682
P69/PAN/B/014/MS05018/001	St Pancras Soper Lane, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1616-1740
P69/PAN/B/001/MS05019/001	St Pancras Soper Lane, Vestry Minutes, 1626-1699
P69/PET1/B/001/MS04165/001	St Peter Cornhill, Vestry Minutes, 1574-1717
P69/STE1/B/030/MS04456	St Stephen Coleman Street, Vellum Book
P69/STE1/B/012/MS04457/002	St Stephen Coleman Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1586-1640
P69/STE1/B/001/MS04458/001/001	St Stephen Coleman Street, Vestry Minutes, 1622-1726
P69/STE1/B/001/MS04458/001/002	St Stephen Coleman Street, Vestry Minutes, 1622-1726
P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/004	St Stephen Walbrook, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1637-1748
P69/SWI/B/004/MS00559/001	St Swithin London Stone, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1602-1725
P69/TMS1/B/008A/MS00662/001	St Thomas Apostle, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1612-1729

Mercers' Company Archives

Acts of Court, 1641 to 1645

Museum of London

MS 46.78/709	"Contracts for the supplying of the Army of Sir Thomas Fairfax in the year 1645"
MS 46.78/673	"An unsigned note relating to Lord Essex"

National Army Museum

MSS 6807-53	William Levett, "The Enseigns of the Regiments in the rebellious Citty of London both of Trayned Bands and Auxiliaries," 26 Sept 1643

The National Archives, Kew

E 179	Records of the Exchequer
SP 16	State Papers Domestic, Charles I
SP 19	Committee for the Advance on Money
SP 20	Sequestration Committee
SP 21	Committee of Both Kingdoms
SP 22	Committee for Plundered Ministers
SP 23	Committee for Compounding with Delinquents
SP 28	Commonwealth Exchequer Papers
SP 84	State Papers Holland

Parliamentary Archives, Westminster

HL/PO/JO/10/1/115	Main Papers, 1 Feb 1642 - 18 Feb 1642
HL/PO/JO/10/1/117-119	Main Papers, 28 Feb 1642 - 14 April 1642
HL/PO/JO/10/1/119-121	Main Papers, 2 May 1642 - 5 May 1642
HL/PO/JO/10/1/124-139	Main Papers, 4 Jun 1642 - 31 Dec 1642
HL/PO/JO/10/1/141-148	Main Papers, 2 Jan 1643 - 29 Apr 1643

HL/PO/JO/10/1/150-158	Main Papers, 16 May 1643 - 24 Oct 1643
HL/PO/JO/10/1/161-163	Main Papers, 2 Dec 1643 - 24 Jan 1644
HL/PO/JO/10/1/165	Main Papers, 26 Jan 1644 - 21 Feb 1644
HL/PO/JO/10/1/167-171	Main Papers, 13 Mar 1644 - 27 Jul 1644
BRY/10, BRY/45, BRY/57, BRY/96	"Parliamentary Records"
WIL/2	"Papers of the Earls of Manchester"
MAN/21	"Warrant of the Committee of Lords and Commons"

Salters' Company Archives

Minute Book, 1627 - 1684

University College Library

Ogden MS 7

Westminster Archives Center

E23	St Margaret Westminster, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-41
E24	St Margaret Westminster, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1642-43
E25	St Margaret Westminster, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1644-45
E2413	St Margaret Westminster, Vestry Minutes, 1591-1662
F2002	St Martin-in-the-Fields, Vestry Minute Book, 1624-52
E2269	St Clement Danes Churchwardens' Accounts, 1627-1650

William Andrewes Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles

Clark MS 1951.011	Notes from Sermons given by Richard Culverwell in St Margaret Moyses

Printed Primary Material

Newspapers

Certaine Informations

Mercurius Aulicus

Mercurius Civicus

The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer

The Parliament Scout

A Perfect Diurnall

Perfect Occurrences of Parliament

The True Informer

Other Printed Sources

All sorts of well-affected Persons (London, 1643)

All that wish well to the safesty of this Kingdome (London, 1643)

An Act of Common-Councell concerning the Collecting of the Fifteenes Granted for the necessary Defence of the City of London (London, 1643)

An Answer To A Seditious Pamphet, Inituled, Plain-English (Oxford [London], 1643)

An Answer to the London Petition (London, 1642)

Another Order for Contibutions for Maymed and diseased soldiers, who have been employed under the Command of his Excellencie the Earl of Essex (London, 1643)

The Anti-Covenant, Or a sad Complaint Concerning The new Oath or Covenant (Oxford, 1643)

Archer, Elias. *A True Relation* (London, 1643)

Articles in Exhibited in Parliament against John Squire (London, 1641)

Arrowsmith, John. The *Covenant Avenging Sword Brandished* (London, 1643)

The Articles and Charges Prov'd in Parliament Against Dr Walton (London, 1641)

Ashe, Simeon. *Good Covrage Discovered and Encouraged* (London, 1642)

Barriffe, William. *Mars his Triumph* (London, 1638)

The Bloody Game at Cards (1643)

Bowles, Edward. *Plaine English: Or, A Discourse concerning the Accommodation, The Armie, The Association* (London, 1643)

A Brief Narrative of The late Treacherous and Horrid Designe [. . .] *Together with a true Copie of the Commission under the great Seal, sent from Oxford, to severall persons in the Citie of London* (London, 1643)

A Briefe Answer to a Book Intitled His Majesties Letter (London, 1643)

Brome, Alexander. *Rump or an exact collection* (London, 1662)

Burges, Cornelius. *Two Sermons* (London, 1645)

Butler, Samuel. *Hudibras*, (London, 1678)

Calamy, Edmund. *England's Looking-Glasse* (London, 1642)

Calamy, Edmund. *God's Free Mercy to England* (London, 1642)

Calamy, Edmund. *The Noble-Mans Patterne* (London, 1643)

Caryl, Joseph. *Davids Prayer for Solomon* (London, 1643)

Case, Thomas. *Gods Rising His Enemies Scattering* (London, 1644)

Case, Thomas. *The Quarrell of the Covenant, with the Pacification of the Quarrell, Delivered in Three Sermons* (London, 1644)

A Catalogue of sundry Knights, Aldermen [. . .] (London, 1642)

C. C. the Covenanter Vindicated from Perjurie (London, 1644)

Chestlin, Robert. *Persecutio undecima* (London, 1648)

Clarke, Samuel. *Englands Covenant Proved Lawfull & Necessary also at this time, both by Scripture and Reason. Together Wit hsundry Answers to the usuall Objections made against it.* (London, 1643)

A Copie of the Commission sent from his Majestie to The Conspirators of the Citie of London (London, 1643)

A Compleat Collection of the Lives (London 1661)

A Damnable Treason By a Contagious Plaster of a Plague Sore (London, 1641)

A Declaration of the Loyalty of the Citizens of London to the King and Parliament Wherein Their Fidelity and true Affection to the Publicke good is clearly manifested, by their Voluntary Contributions, Personall Actions, and Strong Fortifications, for the safety of the King, Parliament and Kingdome (London, 1643)

A Declaration and Motive of the Persons Trusted (London, 1643)

A declaration of the Proceedings of the Honourable Committee of the House of Commons at Merchant-Taylors Hall (London, 1643)

A Declaration and Motive of the Persons Trusted (London, 1643)

"The Diary of John Greene (1635-59)," (ed.) E. M. Symonds, *English Historical Review* 43 (1928)

Downing, Calybute. *A Sermon Preached to the Renowned Company of the Artillery* (London, 1641)

Dugdale, William. *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (London, 1681)

Edwards, Thomas. *Antapologia* (London, 1644)

Edwards, Thomas. *Gangraena* (London, 1646)

Ellis, Thomas. *An Exact and Full Relation of the Last Fight* (London, 1644)

Englands Division, and Irelands Distraction (London, 1642)

Englands Monument of Mercies in her Miraculous Preservation (London, 1646)

An Exact and True Relation of the Dangerous and Bloody Fight (London, 1642)

Fowke, John. *The Declaration and Vindication of Issack Pennington now Lord Mayor of the Citie of London of Colonell Ven, Captain Mainwaring, and Mr Fowke* (London, 1643)

A Full Relation of the Scots martch from Barwicke to Newcastle (London, 1644)

A Fuller Relation (London, 1644)

Gage, Thomas. *The Tyranny of Satan* (London, 1642)

Glapthorne, Henry. *His Majesties Gracious Ansvver to the Message sent from the Honourable Citie of London Concerning Peace* (London, 1643)

Goodwin, John. *Anti-Cavalierism* (London, 1642)

Goodwin, John. *The Butchers Blessing* (London, 1642)

Goodwin, Thomas. *A Coole Conference Between the Scottish Commissioners Cleared Reformation, and the Holland Ministers Apologeticall Narration* (London, 1644)

Goodwin, Thomas. *Of the Constitution, Right, Order, and Government of the Churches* (London, 1696)

Goodwin, Thomas. *A Short Answer to A. S. Alias Adam Stewards Second part of his overgrown Duply ot the two Brethren* (London, 1644)

Goodwin, Thomas. *Zerubbabels Encouragement* (London, 1642)

Greenhill, William. *The Axe at the Root* (London, 1643)

Griffith, Matthew. *A Sermon Preached in the Citie of London* (London, 1643)

Hall, William. *A Sermon Preached* (London, 1642)

Hammond, Henry. *Of Resisting the Lawful Magistrate Under Colour of Religion* (Oxford, 1644)

Herle, Charles. *Davids Song of Three Parts* (London, 1643)

Herle, Charles. *A Payre of Compasses* (London, 1642)

Holles, Denzil. *An Exact and True Relation of the Dangerous and Bloody Fight* (London, 1642)

The Humble Petition of the Major, Aldermen, and Commons of the Citie of London and His Majesties Gracious Answer the fourth of January 1642 (London, 1643)

An Humble Proposal (London, 1643)

Hyde, Edward., earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (7 volumes, Oxford, 1849)

Idolaters Ruine and Englands Triumph; or the Meditations of a Maimed Souldier (London, 1645)
Image of the Malignants Peace (London, 1642)

Instructions and Propositions Drawne up and agreed on by divers well affected persons in the City of London [. . .] for the raising of an Army of ten thousand men of godly conversation (London, 1643)

Laud, William. *The History of the Troubles* (London, 1695)

Laws and Ordinances of Warre (London, 1642)

Ley, John. *The Fury of War and Folly of Sin* (London, 1643)

A Letter to a Noble Lord at London from A Friend at Oxford (Oxford, 1643)

A Letter from a Person of Honour Reconciling The Dissenting Brethren, (commonly called Independents) and the Presbyterians (London, 1644)

"Letters from a Subaltern Officer of the Earl of Essex's Army, Written in the Summer and Autumn of 1642," from *Archæologia* vol. 35 (ed.) Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1854)

A Letter from Captain Jones (London, 1644)

Lithgow, William. *The Present Surveigh of London and Englands State* (London, 1643)

The Lord Whartons Speech to the Petitioners for Peace (London, 1642)

The Maligants Treacherous and Bloody Plot (London, 1643)

Marshall, Stephen. *Meroz Curse* (London, 1641)

Marshall, Stephen. *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1642)

Marshall, Stephen. *Reformation and Desolation* (London, 1642)

Marshall, Stephen. *A Sacred Panegyrick* (London, 1644)

Marshall, Stephen. *The Song of Moses the Servant of God* (London, 1643)

M. Deputy Recorders Speech at the Chequer Barr (London, 1642)

A Miraculous Victory 27 May (London, 1643)

Morton, Thomas. *England's Warning Piece* (London, 1642)

Morton, Thomas. *The Presentation of a Schismaticke* (London, 1642)

A Most Joyfull eclaration Made by Colonell Skipon (London, 1643)

Mr Challenor His Confession and Speech (London, 1643)

Mr Wallers Speech in the House of Commons (London, 1643)

Observations upon the Instructions for the taking the Vow and Covenant (Oxford, 1643)

An Ordinance and Declaration Of the Lords and Commons (London, 1643)

Overton, Richard. *Articles of High Treason Exhibited against Cheap-Side Crosse* (London, 1642)

Palmer, Herbert. *The Necessity and Encouragement* (London, 1643)

Palmer, Herbert. *Scripture and Reason Pleases for Defensive Armes* (London, 1643)

Parker, Henry. *Accommodation Cordially Desired* (London, 1643)

Peter, Hugh. *The Case of Mr. Hugh Peters* (London, 1660)

A Petition of the City of Westminster and the Parishes of Saint Clement Danes and St Martins in the Fields (London, 1643)

A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament (London, 1642)

A Plain Fault in Plain English (London, 1643)

The Prentices Resolution (London, 1650)

The Private Journals of the Long Parliament: 7 March to 1 June 1642, eds. W. H. Coates, A. S. Young, and V. F. Snow (New Haven, 1987)

Propositions and Orders by the Lords and Commons (London, 1642)

Pym, John. *A Discovery of the great Plot for the utter Ruine of the City of London* (London, 1643)

The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the Third Proposition Concerning Prebyterial Government (London, 1645)

Reformation of Church-Government in Scotland, Cleered from some Mistakes and Prejudices (London, 1644)

Remonstans Redivivus: An Account of the Remonstrance and Petition Foormerly presented by divers Citizens of London (London, 1643)

A Reply of Two Brethren to A.S. (London, 1644)

Rushworth, John. *Historical Collections* (London, 1721)

Ryves, Bruno. *Mercurius Rusticus* (Oxford, 1643)

Ryves, Bruno. *Mercurius Rusticus* (London, 1685)

A Sacred Oath or Covenant (Oxford, 1643)

A Sacred Vow or Covenant (London, 1643)

Salmon, James. *Bloody News from Ireland* (London, 1641)

A Second Plain-English (London, 1643)

Sedgewick, Obadiah. *Haman's Vanity* (London, 1643)

Some Speciall Passages from London (London, 1642)

Adam Steuart, *An Answer to a Libell* (London, 1644)

Squire, John. *An Answer to a printed paper entitled Articles exhibited in Parliament* (London, 1642)

Taylor, John. *A Dialogue* (London, 1643)

Taylor, John. *The Whole Life and Progresse of Henry Walker the Ironmonger* (London, 1642)

Three Speeches Delivered at a Common Hall, (London, 1643)

To the Right Honourable The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of divers of the best affected Ministers of the Citie of London [. . .] *Also the humble Petition of many grave Citizens of London; Being both delivered the 21. day of this instant January, being Saturday* (London, 1643)

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of many thousands of the Inhabitants of Norwich (London, 1642)

A True and Exact Relation (London, 1643)

The True and Originall Copy of the first Petition (London, 1642)

A True Declaration (London, 1643)

A True Discoverie of the Late Intended Plot To ruine the Citie of London and the Parliament as it was informed by Mr. Pym, young Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Solicitor, and Mr. Glyn (London, 1643)

A True Relation (London, 1642)

A True Relation of the late Expedition of His Excellency (London, 1643)

Two Speeches Delivered by the Earl of Manchester and Mr Jo[hn] *Pym* (London, 1642)

Udall, Ephraim. *Directions Propounded, and Humble Presented to the High Court of Parliament* (London, 1642)

Udall, Ephtaim. *The Good of Peace and Ill of Warre* (London, 1642)

Udall, Ephraim. *Noli me tangere* (London, 1642)

Venn, John. *A True Relation* (London, 1642)

Vicars, John. *God on the mount* (London, 1643)

Vicars, John. *Jehovah-jireh, or God on the Mount* (London, 1644)

A Vindication of the Late Vow and Covenant (London, 1643)

Walwyn, William. *Walwyns Just Defence* (London, 1649)

Walwyn, William. *A Whisper in the eare of Mr. Thomas Edwards* (London, 1646)

Whereas the Committee for the Militia (London, 1643)

Whittaker, Jeremiah. *Ejrenopojos* (London, 1643)

The Whole Confession and Speech of Mr. Nathaniel Tompkins (London, 1643)

Wilson, Thomas. *Jerichoes Downfall* (London, 1643)

Secondary Materials

Adair, John. *Roundhead General: The Campaigns of Sir William Waller* (Stroud, 1997)

Adamson, "The Baronial Context of the English Civil War," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 40, (1990)

Adamson, John. *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (2007)

Archer, Ian. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991)

Ashton, Robert. *The City and the Court, 1603-1643* (Cambridge, 1979)

Ashton, Robert. "Insurgency, Counter-Insurgency and Inaction: Three Phases in the Role of the City in the Great Rebellion," *London and the Civil War*, (ed.) Stephen Porter (London, 1996)

Barber, Sarah. *A Revolutionary Rogue: Henry Marten and the Immoral English Republic* (Stroud, 2000)

Baskerville, Stephen. *Not Peace but a Sword: The political theology of the English Revolution* (London, 1993)

Beier, Lee. "Social Problems in Elizabethan London," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9 (1978)

Bellany, Alastair. "'Rayline rymes and vaunting verse'" in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, (eds.) Peter Lake and Kevin Sharpe (London, 1994)

Bellany, Alastair. *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002)

Bercé, Yves-Marie. *Revolt and revolution in early modern Europe* (Manchester, 1987)

Birken, William Joseph. "The Royal College of Physicians of London and Its Supply of the Parliamentary Cause in the English Civil War," *Journal of British Studies* 23 (1983)

Blayney, Peter W. M. *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London, 1990)

Boulton, Jeremy. *Neighborhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987)

Braddick, Michael J. *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2008)

Braddick, Michael J. "History, Liberty, Reformation and the Cause: Parliamentarian Military and Ideological Escalation in 1643," in *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland*, ed. Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (Cambridge, 2011)

Bradley, Rosemary D. "The Failure of Accommodation: Religious Conflicts between Presbyterians and Independents in the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1646," *Journal of Religious History* 12 (1982)

Brenner, Robert. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton, 2003)

Brown, H. F. and Hinds, A. B. (eds.) *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian Series*, vols 26-7 (London, 1926-7)

Burgess, Glenn. "Radicalism and the English Revolution," in *English Radicalism, 1550-1850*, (eds.) Glenn Burgess and Matthew Festenstein (Cambridge, 2007)

Burgess, Glenn. "Was the English Civil War a War of Religion? Evidence of Political Propaganda," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 61 (1998)

Carlton, Charles. *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651* (London, 1994). Clark, Peter. "A Crisis Contained? The Condition of English Towns in the 1590s," in Peter Clark (ed.), *The European Crisis of the 1590s* (London, 1985)

Coates, Ben. *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-1650* (Aldershot, 2004)

W. H. Coates, A. S. Young, and V. F. Snow (eds.) *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament: 7 March to 1 June 1642* (New Haven, 1987)

Coffey, John. *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in 17th Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006)

Coffman, D'Maris. *Excise Taxation and the Origins of Public Debt* (Basingstoke, 2013)

Cogswell, Thomas. *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989)

Cogswell, Thomas. *Home Divisions: Aristocracy, the State, and Provincial Conflict* (Stanford, 1998)

Cogswell, Thomas. "Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture" in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*, (eds.) Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (Manchester, 1995)

Collins, John. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Martial Law and the Making of the High Courts of Justice, 1642-60" *Journal of British Studies* 53 (2014)

Como, David. "Print, Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War" *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012)

Como, David. "Secret Printing, the Crisis of 1640, and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism," *Past & Present* 196 (2007)

Como, David. "Walker, George," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Crawford, Patricia. *Denzil Holles, 1598-1680: A study of his political career* (London, 1979)

Crawford, Patricia. "'The poorest she': women and citizenship in early modern England" in *The Putney Debates of 1647*, (ed.) Michael Mendle (Cambridge, 2001)

Cressy, David. *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640-1642* (Oxford, 2006)

Cressy, David. "The Protestation Protested, 1641 and 1642," *Historical Journal* 44 (2002)

Cust, Richard. *Charles I and the Aristocracy* (Cambridge, 2013)

Cust, Richard. "Charles I and Providence" in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, (eds.) Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge, 2006)

Cust, Richard. *The Forced Loan and English Politics 1626-1628* (Oxford, 1987)

Cust, Richard. "News and politics in early seventeenth century England," *Past & Present* 112 (1986)

Cust, Richard. and Ann Hughes, (eds.) *The English Civil War*. (New York, 1997)

Donagan, Barbara. *War in England, 1642-1649* (Oxford, 2008)

Downs, Jordan. "The Curse of Meroz and the English Civil War," *Historical Journal* 57 (2014)

Eales, Jacqueline. *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the outbreak of the English Civil War* (Glasgow, 2002)

Edwards, Peter. *Dealing in Death: The Arms Trade and the British Civil Wars, 1638-52* (Sparkford, 2000)

Emberton, Wilfrid. *Skippon's Brave Boys: The Origins, Development, and Civil War Service of London's Trained Bands* (Bukingham, 1984)

Farnell James E., "The Social and Intellectual Basis of London's Role in the English Civil Wars," *Journal of Modern History* 49 (1977)

Fincham, Kenneth. *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (London, 1993)

Fincham, Kenneth and Tyacke, Nicholas. *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2008)

Fissel, Mark Charles. *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns Against Scotland, 1638-1640* (Cambridge, 1994)

Fissel, Mark Charles. *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London, 2001)

Fletcher, Anthony. *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (New York, 1981)

Fletcher, Anthony. "Power, Myths and Realities," *The Historical Journal,* 36:1 (1993)

Fletcher, Anthony. *Sussex, 1600-1660: A County Community in Peace and War* (Chichester, 1980)

Forester, John. *The Arrest of the Five Members by Charles the First* (London, 1860)

Freist, Dagmar. *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645* (London, 1997)

Gardiner, S. R. *The History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, 3 vols. (London, 1886)

Gentles, Ian. "The Civil Wars in England," in *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland, and Ireland 1638-1660*, (eds.) John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer (Oxford, 1998)

Gentles, Ian. *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638-1652* (Harlow, 2007)

Gentles, Ian. "The Iconography of Revolution," in, *Soldiers, writers and statesmen of the English Revolution*, (eds.) Ian Gentles, John Morrill, and Blair Worden (Cambridge, 1998)

Gentles, Ian. "Montagu, Edward, second earl of Manchester (1602-1671)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Gentles, Ian. *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland* (Cambridge, 1994)

Gentles, Ian. "Parliamentary Politics and the Politics of the Street: The London Peace Campaigns of 1642-3," *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007)

Glazier, Matthew. "Scots in the French and Dutch armies during the Thirty Years' War," in *Scotland and the Thirty Years War: 1618-1648*, (ed.) Steve Murdoch (Leiden, 2001)

Goldstone, Jack. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, 1991)

Gordon, Andrew. *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text, and Community* (Basingstoke, 2013)

Gratton, Malcolm. "Rigby, Alexander," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Green, Ian "The Persecution of 'Scandalous' and 'Malignant' Parish Clergy During the English Civil War," *English Historical Review* 94 (1979)

Green, Mary Anne Everett (ed.), *Calendar of the proceedings of the committee for advance of money, 1642-1656*, 3 vols. (London, 1888)

Griffiths, Paul, and Jenner, Mark S. R. (eds), *Londinopolis: Essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London* (Manchester, 2000)

Griffiths, Paul. *Lost Londons: Change, Crime and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660* (Cambridge, 2008)

Gruber von Arni, Eric. *Justice to the maimed soldier: nursing, medical care, and welfare for sick and wounded soldiers and their families during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Aldershot, 2001)

Hammer, Paul E. J., *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

Hammer, Paul E. J., *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* (Cambridge, 1999)

Harding, Vanessa. *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002)

Harris, Tim. *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis* (Cambridge, 1987)

Hexter, J. H. "The problem of the Presbyterian Independents," *American Historical Review* 44 (1938)

Hexter, J. H. *The Reign of King Pym* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941)

Hibbard, Caroline. *The Popish Plot and Charles I* (Chapel Hill, 1993)

Hill, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London,

1972)

Hill, Tracey. *Pageantry and power: A cultural history of the early modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585-1639* (Manchester, 2011)

Hobsbawm, Eric. "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century II," *Past & Present* 6 (1954)

Hobsbawm, Eric. "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the Seventeenth Century," *Past & Present* 5 (1954)

Holmes, Clive. *The Eastern Association in the English civil war* (Cambridge, 1974)

Hopper, Andrew. *Turncoats and Renegadoes: Chagning Sides During the English Civil Wars* (Oxford, 2012)

Hubbard, Eleanor. *City Women: Money, Sex, & the Social Order in Early Modern London* (Oxford, 2012)

Hudson, Geoffrey L. "The Relief of English Disabled Ex-Sailors, c. 1590-1680" in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, (ed.) Cheryl A Fury (Woodbridge, 2012)

Hughes, Anne. *Gangraena and the struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Hughes, Ann. *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Hughes, Ann. "Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (2014)

Hunt, Arnold. *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010)

Hunt, Arnold. "Udall, Ephraim (*bap.* 1587, *d.* 1647)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Hutton, Ronald, *The Royalist War Effort: 1642-1646* 2nd edition (London, 1999)

Issawi, Charles. "Economic Change and Urbanization in the Middle East," in *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. Ira Marvin Lapidus (Berkeley, 1969)

Johns, Adrian, "Coleman Street," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71 (2008)

Jones, David Martin. *Conscience and Allegiance in Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 1999)

Jones, Whitney R. D. *Thomas Rainborowe (c. 1619-1648): Civil War Seaman, Siegemaster and Radical* (Woodbridge, 2005)

Keene, Derek. "Material London in Time and Space," in Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.) *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia, 2000)

Kyle, Chris R. *Parliaments, Politics and Elections, 1604-1648* (Cambridge, 2001)

Knoppers, Laura (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2012). Laclau, Ernesto. *On Populist Reason* (London, 2005)

Lake, Peter. "Antipopery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, (eds.) (Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London, 1989)

Lake, Peter. *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (Yale, 2002)

Lake, Peter. *The Boxmaker's Revenge: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001)

Lambert, Sheila. "The Opening of the Long Parliament," *Historical Journal* 27 (1984)

Laurence, Ann. *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-51* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990)

Lawrence, David. *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden, 2009)

Lindley, Keith. "Sir Richard Browne, first baronet (*c*. 1602-1669)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Lindley, Keith. "The Impact of the 1641 Rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5," *Irish Historical Studies* 29 (1972)

Lindley, Keith. *Popular Politics in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997)

Lindley, Keith. "Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983)

Lindley, Keith. "Venn, John, (1586-1650)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Liu, Tai. "Burges, Cornelius (d. 1665)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Liu, Tai. *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (London, 1986)

Liu, Tai. "Seaman, Lazarus," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Maiden, H. E. (ed.) "The borough of Southwark: Introduction," in *A History of the County of Surrey* vol. 4, (London, 1912)

Malcolm, Joyce Lee, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646* (London, 1983)

Manning, Brian. *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649* (London, 1979)

Manning, Roger. *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585-1702* (Oxford, 2006)

Manning, Roger. *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003)

McElligott, Jason. *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, 2007)

McKenzie, Donald and Bell, Maurine (eds.) *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade* vol. 1 (Oxford, 2005)

McGee, Sears. *The Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans, and the Two Tables* (New Haven, 1976)

McGee, Sears. *An Industrious Mind: The Worlds of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (Stanford, 2015)

McGrath, James. "The Medieval and Early Modern Burgh," in Thomas Martin Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds.) *Glasgow: Beginnings to 1830*, (Manchester, 1995)

McKenzie, Donald and Bell, Maurine (eds.) *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade* vol. 1 (Oxford, 2005)

McShane, Angela. "Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15 (2011)

Merritt, Julia F. "Contested Legitimacy and the Ambiguous Rise of the Vestries in Early Modern London," *Historical Journal* 54 (2011)

Merritt, Julia F. (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions & Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001)

Merritt, Julia F. *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court, and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester, 2005)

Merritt, Julia F. "Tuke, Thomas (1580/81-1657)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Merritt, Julia. F. *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution* (Manchester, 2013)

Morrill, John. *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630-1648*, (Longman, 1998)

Morrill, John. "The unweariableness of Mr Pym: influence and eloquence in the Long parliament," in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown* (eds.) Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (Manchester, 1995)

Morrissey, Mary. *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011)

Munro, Ian. *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (Houndmills, 2005)

Nagel, Lawson. "'A Great Bouncing at Every Man's Door': The Struggle for London's Militia in 1642," in *London and the Civil War*, (ed.) Stephen Porter (London, 1996)

Newman, Karen. *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton, 2007)

Notestein, Wallace. "The Establishment of the Committee of Both Kingdoms," *American Historical Review* 17 (1912)

Palmer, William. *The Political Career of Oliver St. John, 1637-1649* (London, 1993)

Paul, Robert S. *The Assembly of the Lord: Politics and Religion in the Westminster Assembly and the 'Grand Debate'* (Edinburgh, 1985)

Peacey, Jason. "Disorderly Debates: Noise and Gesture in the 17th-Century House of Commons," *Parliamentary History* 32 (2013)

Peacey, Jason. *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004)

Peacey, Jason. *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013)

Pearl, Valerie. "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London," *London Journal* 5 (1979)

Pearl, Valerie. *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-43* (Oxford, 1961)

Valerie Pearl, "'The Royal Independents' in the English Civil War," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 18 (1968)

Perceval-Maxwell, M. *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (McGill, 1994)

Pocock, J. G. A. "The Atlantic Archipelago and the War of the Three Kingdoms," in *The British Problem c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, (eds.) Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke, 1996)

Porter, Roy. *London: A Social History* (Harvard, 1998)

Porter, Stephen (ed.). *London and the Civil War* (London, 1996)

Prest, Wilfrid. "Predicting Civil War Allegiance," *Albion* 24 (1992)

Purkiss, Diane. *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 2005)

Raikes, G. A. *History of the Honourable Artillery Company* 2 vols. (London, 1878)

Rappaport, Steve. *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989)

Raymond, Joad. *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford, 1996)

Roberts, Keith. "Citizen Soldiers: the Military Power of the City of London," in *London and the Civil War*, (ed.) Stephen Porter (London, 1996)

Rowe, Violet. *Sir Henry Vane the Younger: A Study in Political and Administrative History* (London, 1970)

Russell, Conrad. "The British Problem and the English Civil. War," *History* 72 (1987)

Russell, Conrad. *The Causes of the English Civil War: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1987-1988* (Oxford, 1990)

Russell, Conrad. *The Fall of British Monarchies, 1637-1641* (Oxford, 1991)

Russell, Conrad. "The First Army Plot of 1641," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 38 (1988)

Russell, Conrad. "Issues in the House of Commons 1621-1629: Predictors of Civil War Allegiance," *Albion* 23 (1991)

Russell, Conrad. *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629* (Oxford, 1979)

Seaver, Paul. *Wallington's World: Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, 1985)

Selwood, Jacob. *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham, 2010)

Shagan, Ethan. "Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641," *Journal of British Studies* 36 (1997)

Sharpe, Kevin. *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992)

Skinner, Quentin. "Classical Liberty and the Coming of the English Civil War," in *Republicanism: Volume 2, The Values of Republicanism in Early Modern Europe: A Shared European Heritage* (eds.) Quentin Skinner and Martin van Gelderen (Cambridge, 2002)

Smith, A. Hassell. *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1974)

Smith, Geoffrey. *Royalist Agents, Conspirators and Spies: Their Role in the British Civil Wars, 1640-1660* (Farnham, 2011)

Smith, Victor and Kelsey, Peter (eds.) "The Lines of Communication: The Civil War Defences of London" in *London and the Civil War* (ed.) Stephen Porter (London, 1996)

Spraggon, Julie. *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003)

Sprunger, Keith. *Dutch Puritanism: A history of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982)

Stoyle, Mark. "Memories of the Maimed: The Testimony of Charles I's Former Soldiers, 1660-1730," *History* 88 (2003)

Tolmie, Murray. *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London, 1616-1649* (Cambridge, 1977)

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. "Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament," in *Essays in British History* (ed.) Hugh Trevor-Roper (London, 1965)

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," *Past & Present* 16 (1959)

Underdown, David. "The Independents Reconsidered," *Journal of British Studies* 3 (1964)

Underdown, David. *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1971)

Underdown, David. *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985)

Vallance, Edward. "Religious Justifications for the English Civil War," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 65 (2003)

Vallance, Edward. *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant: State Oaths, Protestantism and the Political Nation* (Woodbridge, 2005)

Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991)

Walker, G. Goold. *The Honourable Artillery Company* (London, 1926)
Walsham, Alexandra. *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester, 2006)

Walsham, Alexandra. *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999)

Walzer, Michael. *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965)

Wilenga, Friso. *A History of the Netherlands From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London, 2015)

Williams, C. W. "Extremist tactics in the long Parliament, 1642–1643," *Historical Studies* 15:57 (October 1971)

Williams, Penry. "Rebellion and Revolution in Early Modern England," in *War and Society*, (ed.) M. R. D. Foote (London, 1973)

Wilson, John F. *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars, 1640-48* (Princeton, 1969)

Woolryth, Austin. *Soldiers and Statesmen: The General Council of the Army and its Debates, 1647-1648* (Oxford, 1987)

Wootton, David. "From Rebellion to Revolution: The Crisis of Winter 1642/3 and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism" *The English Historical Review* 105 (1990)

Worden, Blair. *God's Instruments: Political Conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford, 2012)

Worden, Blair "Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England," *Past & Present* 109 (1985)

Wrightson, Keith. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (London, 2002)

Wrigley, E. Anthony. "Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 15 (1985)

Young, Alan R. *The English Emblem Tradition,* III*, Emblematic Flag Devices of the English Civil Wars 1642-1660* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995)

Unpublished Theses

Adams, S. L. "The Protestant cause: religious alliance with the West European Calvinist communities as a political issue in England, 1585-1603," D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1973

Argent, Alan, "Aspects of the Ecclesiatical History of Parishes of the City of London, 1640-49," PhD thesis, University of London, 1983

Browell, G. C. "The Politics of Providentialism in England, c. 1640-1660," PhD thesis, University of Kent, 2000

Nagel, Lawson Chase. "The militia of London, 1641-1649," PhD thesis, University of London, 1982

Vernon, E. C., "The Sion College conclave and London Presbyterianism during the English Revolution," PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1999

Victor Sleigh-Johnson, Nigel. "The Mechant Taylors Company of London, 1580-1645" PhD thesis, University of London, 1989