

The Guild of Scholars of the City of London



Newsletter No 15 October 2003

An * after a heading indicates that, if you are reading this on the Internet, you can click on the heading to go to a fuller version of the article. Mailed (paper) copies of the Newsletter will not, for reasons of cost, have these fuller versions but you can see them now by logging on to the John Carpenter site (<http://www.jcc.org.uk/GoS/index.htm>).

View from the Chair Alan Willis (alan@willis.uk.com)

Way back in 1998, when the Guild was first established, we set out to encourage pupils and former pupils of the three 'City Schools' to develop and maintain an active interest in the City, its past, its present and its future. We aimed to do this by:

- assisting former pupils & staff to become Freemen
- advising and helping Freemen become Liverymen
- encouraging pupils to become Apprentice Freemen
- raising the profile of the City among the pupils
- organising visits to places of interest in the City

Five years on, we seem to be doing reasonably well in these areas. Our predecessor, OC Liverymen, had already helped many Old Citizens to become Freemen - including me. About a decade ago we started helping Old Girls become Freemen, and a large number have done so. That led indirectly to the setting up of the Guild, and the widening of our remit to include Old Pupils (Old Freemen) of CLFS.

We have not yet seen such large numbers from that source, but I guess we shouldn't be too surprised that people who went to school in Ashted find less of interest in the City than people who commuted there every day for several years. Nevertheless interest is growing, so perhaps I should be a little more patient!

We were initially very successful in binding Apprentices, but the flow has slowed of late because we've more or less 'run out' of Freemen prepared to be their Masters. John Hazel, our Apprenticeship Warden, is doing sterling work organising this side of our activities. If you'd like to know more about taking an Apprentice, please email him at jnohazel@btopenworld.com He's especially keen to hear from some of our newer Freemen.

Even though they may not be Apprenticed, several pupils have been attending talks we've organised from eminent people in the City. We hope their interest will continue after they've left school, and that they'll seek our help to become Freemen as soon as they reach their 21st birthday.

Our programme of visits continues, but sadly we currently don't seem to be getting the support we'd become accustomed to. For some reason, numbers have been down over the last couple of years. We've tried to counteract this by emailing details of our events as well as posting them, but that's made little difference. Perhaps we're not organising the right things? If you've any comment or suggestion, please contact me .

In addition we have set up a charity, the Guild of Scholars Trust, through which we aim to raise money to put back into the Schools. Thanks to the generosity of our members, we are already giving two prizes to each School. Please let me know if you'd like to help - perhaps by making a lump sum or regular donation, or by arranging a legacy.

For the future - I think our aims are still valid, but there is room for improvement in how we achieve them - as always!

We need to build on our contacts with CLFS, and particularly with the Old Freemen. We need to find a number of Freemen who are prepared to take an Apprentice, and we need to improve the interest in our programme of visits.

Above all, we need to get our members - that's you - involved in the activities of the Guild. So I hope to see you at one of our events, and perhaps even attend the Ceremony at Guildhall where you take an Apprentice.

Come to the Whitechapel Bell Foundry*

A Special G of S event - Whether a campanologist or old bell ringer (or just a bon-vivant) you are sure to enjoy the wine, buffet & convivial company guaranteed at 5.30 on **Thursday 19th February**. As an aperitif, a tour of London's oldest (1570) Bell Foundry - 32 Whitechapel Road. This is a rare opportunity to visit one of London's hidden jewels and comes highly recommended by Alan Willis. Get your cheque in by 31st November to secure your place(s) ahead of applicants from JCC & CLOGA.

If there is no application form with this Newsletter then drag it off the Web or 'phone Ann Read **020 7351 2855**

Act Now !

Concert on 11 November*

Whatever your school why not join the G of S when, at the invitation of the Headmaster of the City of London School for Boys, we join Governors, Friends and Senior Staff for a 'VIP Reception' followed by the School's autumn concert.

If there is no application form with this Newsletter then print it from the Web or contact Alan Willis **020 7237 6563**.

New Link

Ladies, there is now a link to this Newsletter on the bottom right of opening page of the City of London School for Girls Website www.cls.org.uk (don't forget the uk or you get the Christian Literary Studies Group !)

The Court

My apologies to Edward Andrews, Court Assistant, who I inadvertently omitted from the list in the last newsletter. Also omitted were all Honorary Assistants (who may attend meetings at the invitation of the Master) they are:

Kenneth Mostyn - Father of the Guild
Robert Millett - Former Chairman of OC Liverymen
Terry Morris - Former Clerk of the Chamberlain's Court
Stephen Hilsum - Awfully nice chap

Shortly to join the Court as Assistants we welcome Mira Chatterjee, Valerie Parker and Peter Mather.

Paul Hind - Lower Warden

It has been decided to re-introduce brief notes in the newsletter on Court Members so that you may know us better. As Editor, I drew the short straw!

CLS 1960 to '66, Royal Navy 1966 to Now. At school a proficient but unexceptional sportsman (Captain of the 2nd XV gives you the idea) which led on to much social - rather than representational - sport later (unless you count white water slalom canoeing at which I was Combined Services Champion). I still enjoy most sports on and in the water. I flew an aircraft solo for the first time on my 18th birthday thanks to a Royal Navy Flying Scholarship. At the time I thought this far more fun than any other form of scholarship so, having been enthused in the CCF by the excitement which the RN offered, I joined. Flying was fun, but the camaraderie of the submariners was what really appealed to me, so I have spent almost my entire career in the Submarine Service. I now work - desk-bound - at the Fleet Headquarters at Northwood (near Pinner). My wife, Nikki, teaches in a local school & I have 2 teenage children.

I became a Freeman in 1981 when, as Captain of the submarine HMS OLYMPUS, we visited the Pool of London. We entertained, amongst others, Major 'Pat' Whitmore and a group of boys from the CLS CCF.

I joined the Court 2 years ago having earlier discovered that the social activities of the Guild were varied and entertaining and did not require any deep knowledge of the City itself to enjoy them.

I hope you will agree when you come to the next one!

Congratulations

Congratulations to Fiona Porter, who is now the Executive Chairman of CLOGA and to Robert Millett who has become Upper Warden of the Scriveners' Company.

We are particularly pleased to welcome, as Candidates, Jeremy Moss & Alexandra Boag who are former Head Boy and Head Girl of the CLFS.

Annual Assembly*

Last year a convivial evening was had by all (see the report on the website). Come along and enjoy meeting old & new - friends next year - watch this space for provisional date.

Report on Our Visit to HM Bark ENDEAVOUR*

By Valerie Parker

We could not have hoped for a more interesting and informative visit. This replica of the ship in which Captain Cook charted New Zealand and Eastern Australia in 1769 is a working vessel and we were told to keep a look out for the ship's crew as they prepared ENDEAVOUR for her departure to Harwich the following week.

Such was the enthusiasm and authority with which our guide, Paul Hind, spoke, we gathered "hangers on" each time we stopped! We looked at the masts on the foredeck and imagined the majestic sails billowing above us. We smiled as Paul told us about the "seats of ease" (lavatories) at either side of the bow sprit. We marvelled at the compactness of the galley. Even though Captain Cook's Scottish cook had lost a hand, he managed to cook for 94 people on board! Cook was ahead of his time in that he cared greatly about the health of his crew.

We learnt the meaning of "letting the cat out of the bag", the cat being a Naval whip, used for disobedience, mutinous talk or being drunk on duty. We popped our heads round the doors of the gentlemen's cabins, occupied by Dr. Daniel Solander, a Swedish naturalist, Charles Green, astronomer, Herman Spöring, secretary to the naturalist Joseph Banks, and two artists, copies of whose intricate and detailed drawings of flora and fauna are displayed in their cabins. We sat in the Great Cabin and imagined Cook poring over charts and coastal drawings on the large table that dominated the cabin.

Every time we stopped, Paul told us stories and anecdotes about life on board ENDEAVOUR, both in the past and in the present time, and brought the whole ship to life for us. A great visit, you shouldn't have missed it.

Report on St Ethelburga's Event 10 June 2003*

By Ann Reed (Past Master)

We had a talk from the Director of the Centre for Reconciliation, a former Foreign Office official, who described the history of the building and what is known about St Ethelburga who lived in the first century. We were then informed how the Centre came into being and the work it hopes to undertake with particular reference to Northern Ireland. This was followed by a good meal in Balls Brothers where we were able to sit altogether, which made for a very friendly evening.

London Apprentices Riot*

On 26 July, the London Apprentices rioted, calling for the King to be brought to London, the army to be disbanded and a Presbyterian Church to be imposed on England. This and London's influence on other events of 1647 are told in our Apprentice **Henry Midgley's** fascinating 'Masterpiece' essay on the Civil War. Read it on the WEBSITE.

Membership Records

Has your e-mail address changed? In order to maintain the Membership List in a good state, will you please notify changes of address, E-mail address, telephone numbers, membership of a Livery Company, and other personal details to Fiona Porter (preferably by e-mail). She should also be informed if you wish to have your name included on the list of members to be notified of social events. She will also be happy to supply an up to date membership list to you. Apply to: fionaporter@lineone.net or 17 Selwyn Road, New Malden, Surrey KT3 5AU. Telephone: 0208 942 1742.

Other Correspondence: The Clerk of The Guild of Scholars: Ivor Bennett, 39 Brancaster Lane, Purley, Surrey, CR8 1HJ ('Phone: 020 8660 3546) e-mail to: ivor@ijandpb.f9.co.uk

[Ed: Any members who do not have access to the Internet but would like to see the expanded versions of the articles placed on the JCC site are welcome to write to me for paper versions: Paul Hind, 48 Grove Farm Park, Northwood, Middlesex, HA6 2BQ - a stamped, addressed envelope would be appreciated].

The Guild of Scholars of the City of London



Whitechapel Bell Foundry

Thursday 19 February 2004
5.30 for 6 pm

Another fascinating corner of London which you would have missed without the Guild of Scholars:

We invite you to a visit to The Whitechapel Bell Foundry described in the Guinness Book of Records as Britain's oldest manufacturing company having been established in 1570 and in continuous business since that date.

Whitechapel's famous bells include the original Liberty Bell (1750) the Great Bell of Montreal and Big Ben at the Palace of Westminster. This is the world's most famous bell foundry manufacturing many types of bell (including clock and hand bells) and their associated fittings and fixings.

We are advised there are a number of steep steps to climb and we are limited to 40 persons.

The buffet meal with wine will be preceded by a tour of the Bell Foundry. Arrive at 32-34 Whitechapel Road London E1 from 5.30pm. (Tour 6 pm until 7.30 pm approx.)

It would be appreciated if you could complete and return the slip overleaf.

Act Now to get your form in by 31st November to ensure your priority booking over JCC & CLOGA members who may be invited to join us.



Concert at the City of London School for Boys

Tuesday 11 November 2003

Reception 5.45pm. Concert 6.30pm

The Headmaster David Levin has kindly invited members of the Guild to the 'VIP Reception' in the Asquith Room prior to the School's Autumn Concert on Tuesday 11 November. There we will enjoy a glass of wine and finger buffet in the company of Governors, Friends and Senior Members of School Staff, before being escorted up to the balcony of the Great Hall to enjoy the Concert. Wine and soft drinks will again be served in the Concourse during the interval, where there will also be an opportunity to meet parents and performers.

City of London School Concerts are always notable for their interesting programmes and the high quality of performance from musicians of all ages. Do come and enjoy the evening.

The Guild will be making a donation to School funds, to which all members of the Guild are invited to contribute - whether or not they will be attending the Concert.

Please use the form overleaf to let us know that you intend to attend this event and/or to accompany your donation.

For the visit to the Whitechapel Bell Foundry

Please send this form to: Ann Reed, Flat 3, 71-72 Oakley Street London SW3 5HF

I am able/unable to attend the visit to Whitechapel Bell Foundry on Thurs 19 February 2004:

I enclose my cheque (£25 pp) made payable to **Guild of Scholars** for £ _____ for _____ places.

Guests' name(s) : _____

I am unable to attend but enclose a donation made payable to the **Charitable Trust of the Guild of Scholars**.
Please send me a Gift Aid declaration so that the Guild can reclaim tax paid on my donation : Yes / No*

*Applications will only be accepted if accompanied by your remittance.
Applications will be acknowledged by e-mail, so please remember to supply contact details.*

Name :		(block capitals please)
Address :		
		Postcode :
E-mail :		
Telephone (home) :	Telephone (work) :	
Occupation :	Employer :	

**If you have any questions about the event please call Ann on 020 7351 2855
or e-mail on ann.reed@fastnet.co.uk**



For The Concert at CLS:

Please send this form to: Alan Willis, 6 Angel Wharf, Bermondsey Wall East, London SE16 4TT

I would like to attend the visit to the City of London School Concert on Tuesday 11th November 2003:

I enclose my cheque towards the donation to the School (made payable to **Guild of Scholars**) for
£ _____ (suggested minimum £5 per person) for _____ places.

Guests' name(s): _____

OR

I am unable to attend but enclose a cheque for £ _____ made payable to the **Guild of Scholars** towards the donation to the School.

*Applications will only be accepted if accompanied by your remittance.
Applications will be acknowledged by e-mail, so please remember to supply contact details.*

Name :		(block capitals please)
Address :		
		Postcode :
E-mail :		
Telephone (home) :	Telephone (work) :	
Occupation :	Employer :	

**If you have any questions about the event please call Alan on 020 7237 6563
or e-mail on: alan@willis.uk.com**

Our Visit to HM Bark ENDEAVOUR

By Valerie Parker (CLSG & Freeman)

Saturday 19th July was special for three reasons. Firstly, Cédric, a Swiss boy whom we were looking after, celebrated his 17th birthday, secondly it was our Wedding Anniversary and thirdly we visited the HMBark "Endeavour", a replica of Captain Cook's ship, built some ten years ago. Today Endeavour offers a unique sailing experience for young or old either as crew or passengers. The original Endeavour was an 18th Century Whitby coal Bark, bought and commissioned by the Royal Navy as Captain Cook's ship of exploration.

The day dawned fine and sunny though, fortunately, not as hot as the subsequent heat wave! We drove to Woolwich Arsenal and parked close to the entry to the Barracks. A festive air prevailed as a concert was due to take place in the evening and pre-festival music came from the loud speakers.

We met Paul Hind, GoS Lower Warden and Royal Navy, who was to be our guide for the afternoon. We were a select group, eager to see what life was like on board ship in the 18th Century.

We could not have hoped for a more interesting and informative visit. ENDEAVOUR is a working ship and during our visit, we were told to keep a look out for the ship's crew as they prepared ENDEAVOUR for her departure to Harwich the following week. Crew members come first!

Such was the enthusiasm and authority with which Paul spoke, we gathered "hangers on" each time we stopped! We looked at the masts on the foredeck and imagined the majestic sails billowing above us. We smiled as Paul told us about the "seats of ease" (lavatories) at either side of the bow sprit. We marvelled at the compactness of the galley. Even though Captain Cook's Scottish cook had lost a hand, he managed to cook for 94 people on board! Captain Cook was ahead of his time in that he cared greatly about the health of his crew. As well as the usual food ration (including a gallon of beer a day per sailor!), Cook tried to ensure that fresh fruit and vegetables were available.



Coming Alongside at Woolwich Arsenal

We learnt the meaning of "letting the cat out of the bag", the cat being a Naval whip, used for disobedience, mutinous talk or being drunk on duty. We popped our heads round the doors of the gentlemen's cabins, occupied by Dr. Daniel Solander, a Swedish naturalist, Charles Green, astronomer, Herman Spöring, secretary to the naturalist Joseph Banks, and two artists, copies of whose intricate and detailed drawings of flora and fauna are displayed in their cabins. We sat in the Great Cabin and imagined Cook poring over charts and coastal drawings on the large table that dominated the cabin. We looked at a brass ring surrounding the last wooden nail (trunnel) hammered into ENDEAVOUR. The nail was carried into space by N.A.S.A.'s ENDEAVOUR space shuttle on her maiden flight in 1992, thus providing a link between the 18th century sailing ship and the 20th century space ship.

Every time we stopped, Paul told us stories and anecdotes about life on board ENDEAVOUR, both in the past and in the present time. He brought ENDEAVOUR to life for us and we were all grateful that he was able to spend time with us – thank you, Paul.

REPORT on St Ethelburga's Event 10 June 2003

By Ann Reed (Past Master)

Although 15 people said initially they would attend in the end only 12 were able to come. We had a talk from the Director of the Centre for Reconciliation, a former Foreign Office official, who described the history of the building and what is known about St Ethelburga who lived in the first century. We were then informed how the Centre came into being and the work it hopes to undertake with particular reference to Northern Ireland. This was followed by a good meal in Balls Brothers where we were able to sit altogether, which made for a very friendly evening.

The Annual Assembly Dinner

By Chaslav Frim (University of Leeds)

According to the tradition, the Annual Assembly Dinner followed the Annual Meeting of the Guild of Scholars. This is always a very special occasion for members to socialize, hear about the activities and events in the previous year and to find out what the future holds for the Guild.

This year the dinner took place in the Bakers Hall, which preserves an impressive collection of documents and objects from the time of foundation of the Bakers Company many centuries ago till the recent past. We had an opportunity to learn briefly about the history of the Company and the Hall as well as to socialize before the dinner.

The meal was delicious and, as appropriate to the place of the venue, accompanied with the very best rolls and excellent cakes. After the dinner we gave a toast to the Queen and to the Lord Mayor of the City. Then we had a small ceremony of changing the Master of the Guild and Mrs Ann Reed gave the "throne" to Mr Alan Willis, the present Master. Both of them gave short speeches after which the formal part of the dinner ended and the real socializing began in a pleasant atmosphere. If the meal was feast for the body then the circulating around the tables was a feast for the mind. Among the older members of the Guild one can meet the top professionals in their fields and conversation with them could be not only interesting and inspiring but very useful too. The same applies to meeting the younger generations because it is always good to learn more about universities, different studies and aspects of students' life.

It is important to add that Ms Jill Cardy proved again that beside her financial skills she has other talents and she perfectly organized this event.

This was an enjoyable evening because in spite of the different ages of the members there was a common bond, the City of London Schools. So please mark the date* in your diary for the next Annual Dinner and I am looking forward to meeting you there.

*[*Ed: See the next Newsletter]*

The Influence of London on the English Politics from 1647 until 1649

By Henry Midgley (Apprentice)

London in the English civil war supplied money, soldiers and advocacy to Parliament. Leading pamphleteers on the parliamentary side were associated with debates within London as well as those without the city. Henry Parker was not merely the author of major treatises against the king on the theme of popular sovereignty; also he wrote about the abuse of monopolies within the City and defended both the Vintners and the Stationers against their accusers. He is but one example though of a general trend. Londoners fought for Parliament successfully at Gloucester and at one point, after Essex's army had been out manoeuvred, formed the last line of resistance against Charles's forces. Money raised at Goldsmith's Hall was the key instrument by which the Parliament kept together its forces during the first civil war. Unlike the King, Parliament had little foreign support (only the Scottish and intermittent support from the Dutch) and few allies amongst the high nobility. Therefore, it relied upon its capacity to raise money in the London markets. Furthermore fleets of mainly London owned ships kept England isolated from foreign intrusion. Foreign intrusion would have been mainly in favour of the royalists. London's influence on the First Civil War was decisive: it led to parliamentary victory in the war and royalist defeat.

The period from 1647 to 1649 represented a period where the victorious Parliament decided its view of what should happen to the Kingdom. In 1641, when war had first been declared, Parliament had been unsure of its war aims. Any settlement would have to involve the King's return. It would also have to involve the payment of a crippling national debt to London bankers, and furthermore of the arrears of pay owed to the New Model Army (some 6 million pounds). These questions divided the Parliament into factions. From 1645 it is generally acknowledged that Parliament had split into two factions: the Independents and the Presbyterians. The names came from ecclesiastical factions. An Independent believed in a church whose government came from the magistrate, a Presbyterian believed in an independent church whose decrees carried the force of divine law. Generally the terms had been expanded to include other areas of politics. Independents were inclined for a swift victory in the war. They believed that the New Model Army had to be supported. Presbyterians were keener on negotiation and supported the Scottish Army. They were keener on disbanding the New Model in order to return swiftly to normality and reduced taxation. After the Scots left in February 1647, surrendering the King to Parliamentary custody, the Presbyterians were largely in control.

As one might expect, London performed an important role in the contest between Independent and Presbyterian and therefore in the settlement of the English Civil War. London was as split as the country was. Many Londoners supported John Lilburn, a Colonel within the New Model, who had been imprisoned by the Presbyterians in the Tower since 1645. The London Government though had put pressure on Parliament to disband the Army and make a peace. As early as the autumn of 1646, it petitioned Parliament to return the country to normality and pay off the debts, which Parliament had incurred throughout the war. In early 1647, the Presbyterians, led by Denzil Holles, decided to pay off the Scottish Army (as it reduced their popularity in the northern counties). This was done using a special loan from Londoners secured on the excise duty. Holles and his allies had a plan to pay off all the armies of Parliament, leaving small forces to occupy Ireland (where the war continued) and to defend the country. In early 1647, he disbanded the armies in the West under General Massey and the armies in the north, commanded by General Poyntz. He offered the New Model the opportunity to fight in Ireland or disband. Most of the New Model rejected the terms offered by Holles and forced him to negotiate. Over the summer of 1647 Holles made concessions to the New Model Army. These irritated his London supporters. The Presbyterian clergy stirred up their congregations. On 26 July, the London Apprentices rioted, calling for the King to be brought to London, the army to be disbanded and a Presbyterian Church to be imposed on England. They marched on Parliament and leading Independents fled. The speakers of both houses and 80 MPs and Lords fled to the army. The Apprentices imposed a speaker, Pelham, on Parliament. Parliament then voted to revoke all the concessions that had been made and also to ready the London militia to resist the Army's advance.

The initiative for this stroke against the army probably came from the Londoners themselves. Holles had just passed a bill reorganising the London militia, to centralise its command. The Presbyterians controlled the Common Council but they did not control individual wards where independents might be strong. A rebellion though in August 1647 did not suit Holles's plans. The reorganisation had not yet been implemented in full and therefore the London militia, when confronted by the army advance, behaved in a decentralised manner. Boroughs such as Southwark surrendered to the army without a battle. Colonel Rainborough was able to seize London Bridge with little difficulty when the gates were opened before his forces. It is therefore likely that the London clergy had overestimated the power of the militia and the success of the reforms.

Following the events of August 1647 the army took control of London as a city. Colonel Robert Tichborne was given command of the Tower of London. The new Lord Mayor, elected later in the year, was also an Army nominee. Marchamont Nedham, the royalist pamphleteer, ridiculed London's independence, arguing that both Lord Mayor and Common Council were ciphers for the council of the Army. Power had shifted in England towards the army. This did not necessarily mean that London's influence upon events was reduced. The formal structures of London government, like all formal structures of government in the period, were in trouble. In 1648, army dispatches tell of riots in the streets of the capital, which threatened the peace and required the New Model to suppress them. The City authorities were not in control of events within the capital. The dispersal of authority meant that individuals within wards or within small groups (mainly religious groups) were highly influential. In 1650, the Army, worried by London's attitude to war with Scotland, arrested not members of the Corporation but Presbyterian clergy like Christopher Love.

By late 1647, the most significant of these groups were the religious sectaries and London radicals. As early as July 1647, members of these groups had been consulted about the basis upon which the Army should negotiate with the King. A leading London merchant, William Walwyn, was summoned to a conference at Reading to discuss proposals and advise the army leadership. Walwyn tells us this in his account of 1647. He was not the only Londoner present. John Wildman was also advising the army during the early months of 1647. During October documents with a possible London provenance were found in the Army. The Army leadership called for a debate at which many Londoners were present, including Wildman. These Londoners, who negotiated with the army, were mostly members of the sects or authors of pamphlets, which supported them. It is during the October and November debates that some of these Londoners were referred to (by a royalist pamphlet) as Levellers. There is little or no evidence that the army command thought that they were a separate group until 1648 at the earliest. The October and November debates between the 'Levellers'¹ and the Army Command are rightly famous. The Levellers argued for two points: first they argued for universal suffrage, and secondly they argued that negotiation with the king was impossible. The first discussion ended when all participants accepted a compromise proposal. The second discussion ended with the Levellers convincing Cromwell that they were right about the King. They did not convince many of the other army leaders.

These exchanges were only the first debates between the Levellers and the Army. In 1648 after the second civil war there were further discussions about a new constitution for England - the Second Agreement of the People. A group that included Parliamentary MPs, delegates from the army, delegates from the gathered churches of London and the Levellers discussed this. What is evident from these discussions and their result (the isolation of the Levellers) was that the gathered churches could jettison the Levellers. The churches were interested in toleration, the Levellers in political reform. The Levellers had no strength without the support of the radicals amongst the godly. Splits are evident even in their early discussions. John Price, a London clergyman, objected to the presence of those he deemed atheists on the Leveller delegation. Leveller spokesmen, such as John Lillburne, responded in wrath. By the beginning of 1649 the Levellers, having lost their support from the godly and from the army, were isolated and their influence ended. One should not dismiss the movement as a failure. In their debates with the army, the Levellers managed to influence army leaders like Cromwell and his son-in-law Henry Ireton. They possibly pushed both away from the king and towards the regicide.

¹ I use the word as a matter of convenience. It is used with the proviso above but it does describe an inclination towards politics over religion and a priority to political programs over toleration.

The years 1647 to 1649 were years when London enjoyed unprecedented power in the political sphere. Both in 1647 with the Presbyterians and later with the Levellers, the London factions overreached themselves. Both factions realised that they could not attain their aims without forcing the Parliament and population to agree to them. The Presbyterians by staging the coup of late July forced the army to intervene in the capitol and were destroyed. The Levellers called for the army to impose their system of democratic constitutionalism and were also undone by their lack of serious military force. Neither group, therefore, should be seen as successful at persuading contemporaries. What both sets of individuals did was work from within a political tradition. The last section of this essay will suggest the nature of that political tradition within London and seek to explain why extremists were so prevalent within the capitol.

Political Debate in the English Civil War focused on the idea of necessity. This idea, that government might take all necessary steps to secure the preservation of itself and its people, was accepted by all. What nobody could agree on was who could judge when the government stood in a case of necessity. The royalists argued that the King could decide this. Parliamentarians, led by Henry Parker, argued that Parliament could decide on such matters. The Levellers developed Parker's ideas and argued that Parliament as it was not popular had become corrupt. Opposing a monopoly on salt made it easy to oppose a monopoly on voting or on deciding over necessity. The Presbyterians, like many, feared radical Protestantism. Even the Army, when later faced by the Quakers, would be prompted by this fear. London was the largest centre for such Protestant ideas. It nurtured men like the Diggers who believed that with the fall of Charles all Norman tyranny must go, including property and class. Such ideas horrified many, leading them into such doctrines as the Presbyterians. Both Levellers and Presbyterians within London moved out of longstanding traditions.

Both groups were extremists who were related to more moderate politicians. Their importance derived from the fact that they could express ideologies in a clear, coherent and pugnacious manner. The Levellers owed their pre-eminence amongst the radical factions of the war to their skill as writers. All of them published through London agents, using the complexity of the city's law on publication to enable them to escape with treason. Royalist Pamphleteers in 1649-50 were particularly adept at this. They moved through the City, moving through the jurisdictions of various wards, and thus confusing their opponents. A pamphlet might be published in one ward, yet printed in another, and the law of both wards might apply. The separate jurisdiction was not the only factor in London's importance within the pamphlet wars. The size of the City made its population a crucial audience within the war. Lilburn was able to muster huge petitions, through his writing, to support his release in 1647 and in 1648. Moreover the rhetoric and ideas of the civil war were couched in terms familiar to those experienced in the politics of London. Most historians agree that the Levellers were primarily a City movement. They seem to have had no appeal to the countryside at all.² One comical instance of this ignorance is the behaviour of Gerald Winstanley. Confident that he (a London merchant) would be seen as an agent of the toiling masses, occupied common land at St George's Hill, Surrey. The Villagers however considered that common land was not common to all men (Winstanley's naive position) but common merely to the village near it. Leveller demands, therefore, flowed from something else.

Civil War debate was largely about the "public interest". The public interest was contrasted to private interest., Leveller pamphleteers made much of this distinction. Recent scholarship has begun to see a link between the argument about public interest and an argument about monopoly. Monopolies were a classic case of the sovereign acting against the public good. Parliamentary theorists like Henry Parker picked up on this. It is no accident that we find Parker preoccupied with the issue of monopoly in the City as well as with the opposition to the king. Men who had argued against City monopolies and agonised over the privileges of companies, were just the men who would be most suited to argue about the public interest. London's domination of the debate in the mid-17th Century, in terms of publications and audience, was reflected in the terms of civil war debate. On this level the influence of London was long lasting and successful. (I plan further research which will seek to show a connection between public interest theory and later dominant

² The only exception in the Leveller corpus, a pamphlet called a Light shining from Buckinghamshire, is very different from the rest. It advocated measures such as a redistribution of land to the peasantry that the Levellers never advocated.

political philosophies like Republicanism). The point though was that London pamphleteers dominated discussion and dominated the terms of discussion. It was amongst the London groups then that political leaders recruited their extremists and their ideologues.

If we sum up London's involvement in these crucial years of English history, what we find is that the City had a great influence. Because of its disproportionate size it was able to politically influence Parliament. Its power to force Parliament to make decisions, so obvious in late July 1647, was less than many feared. The presence of the New Model eroded the powers of the apprentice mob. If we look to the structures of the City, once again, we find little influence. By 1648 the mayoralty was according to contemporaries the plaything of more powerful forces. William Walwyn in his autobiographical account, noted angrily that he could not persuade his friends in the army to surrender the tower to friendly citizens. The symbol of the power of London, the Tower, was to be garrisoned by Colonel Tichborne and the New Model. However, despite the weakness of London as a military factor, despite the erosion of its formal powers, London's influence was key. Thomas Hobbes in *Behemoth* attributed to its turbulence the beginning of the English Civil War. The Corporation's weakness meant that free thought was a characteristic of the city. The anarchy of laws on publication opened the market to a series of thinkers who could exploit arguments about jurisdiction between wards. These thinkers gave the English Civil War a metropolitan flavour. The issues of the City, toleration and monopoly, were more important politically than the issues of the countryside - land reform. Within debate the arguments were conducted about a public interest whose first birth was from arguments against monopoly. Whilst therefore it was a man from Cambridgeshire leading an army from East Anglia who eventually executed Charles I in 1649, both his army and his own council had been affected by arguments whose provenance and concerns were profoundly metropolitan.