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General Ludlow's Baptist Comrades.

EDMUND LUDLOW was of good Wiltshire family, his father being a knight of the shire in 1640. Trained at Oxford and the Inner Temple, he responded to Charles waging war, by enlisting in the hundred Life-Guards of the Earl of Essex, along with Thomas Harrison and six others who rose to high rank. After Edge Hill, he was detached to defend Wardour Castle, then was commissioned to raise a regiment to serve under Waller in the West, which was disbanded when the New Model was created.

Meanwhile he had been chosen Sheriff of Wilts before he was thirty; then in 1646 succeeded his father as M.P. and owner of Maiden Bradley, seven miles south of Frome, on the borders of Wilts. The governing principle of his life henceforth was loyalty to this Parliament; first as he found it without any Royalist members, then to the Rump after it was purged by Colonel Pride. When he wrote his memoirs, they closed with its disappearance in March, 1660.

The interest of his two volumes is twofold, apart from occasional glances at public events in which he had no share. First, his campaigns in Ireland and his subsequent administration; for he rose to be Commander-in-Chief there, and after the death of Deputy Ireton, succeeded to his civil powers. Second, his efforts from 1658 till 1660 to uphold Parliament against the violence and intrigues of the troops near London.

While these are the real themes on which he dwells, it seems strange that no study has ever been made of the great part played by his Baptist friends. He was not primarily a Baptist; indeed, only one page ever mentions religious matters. Perhaps it is all the more important to see how Baptists did take a very full share in the matters under his own eyes; whence it may be argued that in other parts also they were by no means negligible in these years. At least we can read their doings in both military operations and civil affairs; (and a few notes may be interpolated).

During the first war, Ludlow left Lieutenant-Colonel Read at Salisbury to hold the belfry, whence he was burnt out and had to surrender. (This man afterwards distinguished himself in Scotland, retired to his home at Idmiston, and was a mainstay of Baptists near for many years.) After the second war, Ludlow and two others were sent by Parliament to Windsor with orders to the Army to discharge the "Levellers," but he does not mention Cornet Denne. When he sat, with Harrison, Hutchinson, etc., to judge Charles, one of the Counsel appointed to prosecute was Serjeant Steel, whom he met later as Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, "a Man of great Prudence and uncorrupted Integrity," upholding the Parliament just as Ludlow did. When Charles was sentenced, Adjutant-General

Allen was sent to tell Bishop Juxon that the King desired his ministrations. Ludlow knew about Allen's rise from the ranks, as Adjutant for his regiment at Saffron Walden; and he was glad to have his help in Ireland. Colonel Richard Deane, who had been in charge of Charles, was now promoted General-at-Sea, to guard the English and Irish Channels. After being commissioned to bring about the Union of Scotland with England for one Parliament, he and his regiment of horse fought at Lochaber. Then in 1653 he was Admiral, and defeated Van Tromp, Lawson being Rear-Admiral; he was killed in action off Solebay (and was given a State funeral in Henry VII's chapel). Captain Richard Deane was Treasurer-of-War in Ireland under Ludlow, handling over a million in seven years. (He is known in later life as paying bail for Ewins at Bristol, as visiting Collier at Trowbridge in 1676, and as writing a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, used by Crosby).

Ludlow came into the front rank with January, 1650-1, when he sailed from Milford to Waterford, as Lieutenant-General of the Horse in Ireland, with large civil powers. To regulate taxes, customs, excise, commissioners were appointed in the Precincts, including Colonels Axtell for Kilkenny, Zanchev for Clonmel, Lawrence for Waterford.

Axtell, "than whom no man was better acquainted with the country of Ireland," had commanded the soldiers at the trial of Charles, was soon captured by pirates at Scilley, was on a small committee to draw all smiths, armourers and saddlers into the Parliamentary garrisons. (Deane had paid his regiment £51,712, and abundant information as to his governing Kilkenny is in Dunlop's *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, which also has many more details as to Baptists in Ireland then. Deane was executed for his share in the trial of Charles.)

Hierome Zanchev, or Jerome Sankey, waxed more and more important. After vigorous campaigns, he, with Lawrence and Axtell, received the surrender of Colonel Odowyer in Waterford, of Colonel Grace in Galway, and so really ended the war. We shall meet him again in the troubles of 1659.

(Richard Lawrence, whose regiment drew £81,041, was greatly concerned in executing the last Act to which Charles assented, by the transplantation of the Irish west of the Shannon—an exact precedent for modern transportation of Poles and Jews! He valued properties in Galway, and after the Restoration was a member of the Council of Trades. His brother Henry Lawrence, as President of the Council in England, was constantly writing to Ludlow; after the Restoration he published on baptism. Ludlow hardly mentions him yet.)

The ejection of the Rump of the Long Parliament in 1653 greatly hurt Ludlow, who records that Overton proposed to lead the Army in Scotland to restore it; he does not mention that Harrison

was foremost in the actual handing the Speaker from the chair. An Army petition in its favour was sent over to Ludlow, who employed Walcot to circulate it for signatures; but Auditor-General Roberts opposed. Overton was seized, and when it was proposed to sue out Habeas Corpus for him, he was sent to Jersey. Ludlow's own regiment was paid off in full, and settled on lands in Wexford. Henry Cromwell was sent over to be his father's personal agent; he failed to win Zanchey, Adjutant-General Allen or Quartermaster-General Vernon, who openly opposed.

Ludlow refused to support Cromwell, so after some hesitation he was superseded in 1656. Colonel Lawrence came asking him to stay in Ireland, and he found that an order to that effect had been issued. On the ground of the illness of his father-in-law, he sailed, but was arrested at Beaumaris by an order from "the Usurper, whose jealousies increased with his Guilt"; then was released to go on parole to Cromwell. At an interview, he spoke plainly: "If Providence open a way and gives an Opportunity of appearing on behalf of the People, I cannot consent to tie my own Hand beforehand." He saw Harrison at Highgate, newly released, and they had a discussion on Harrison supporting the Fifth Monarchy against usurpers. Cromwell then decided on a Parliament, and summoned Ludlow with others to see where they stood. He taxed Cromwell with breaking the law as to Habeas Corpus; so in the end, President Henry Lawrence signed an order for his arrest. It was compromised that he might go to his father-in-law in Essex, but must keep out of Wilts. Yet in his absence he was elected again, but was excluded from sitting.

Plans were laid for declaring Cromwell King, against which Lieutenant-Colonel John Mason (a Baptist worshipping at the Chequer without Aldgate) presented a petition by most of the officers near London, which caused him to decline. He was therefore installed as Protector (the title used in the minority of Edward VI). At the first opportunity he dismissed his Parliament, then purged the neighbouring troops of many officers, including his own Major Packer and Captain Gladman.

In 1657 there was a rising of the Fifth-Monarchists, among whom was Cornet Wentworth Day (who was perhaps a Baptist). At this stage Harrison and Carew were baptized. As the Western Association was due to meet at Dorchester with Deane, Carew, Vernon, Allen, spies were sent, who reported that while there was some speech against Cromwell, yet Kiffin exerted himself to prevent any declaration in favour of the Fifth Monarchy. Family affairs about this time brought Ludlow to London, when Cromwell was alarmed and sent to ask whether he had come "with a Design to raise some disturbance in the Army." The reply was, "I should be glad of the Prolongation of his Life, if he would employ it to the Publick Good, which ought to be more dear to us than Life itself."

But Cromwell's death within a few days completely altered the situation; and the Memoirs henceforth are most valuable for following the complicated intrigues, as Ludlow presented them afterwards, having been intimately concerned at the time.

Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Protector, and it was agreed to call a Parliament on the ancient lines. Ludlow, however, took his place as duly elected in 1646, that Parliament never having ceased constitutionally; his action was challenged, but was never brought to a decision, and he continued to sit. On the question about admitting members for Scotland and Ireland, which was desired by most, but clearly novel, he argued successfully that the words "By the Law of the Land" could not possibly be used. Then he argued that the "Assembly," including members for Scotland and Ireland, was not a legal Parliament, by its own confession. The House shirked the question, which was the more awkward as there was the "Other House" as constituted by Cromwell, and when the Assembly thought of recognizing it, Ludlow showed the absurdity of the position; yet "the Cavaleerish Party who were very numerous" voted for it, hoping soon to recall the ancient House of Lords.

By this time the officers of the regiments near London were divided into three parties, nearly equal. Those well-affected towards the Commonwealth included Lieutenant-Colonel Mason; the Wallingford House group under Fleetwood had no Baptist; Richard Cromwell's party included Colonel Gough. Fleetwood approached Ludlow, who tried to fuse the second with the first. Gough's regiment mutinied and joined Fleetwood; the House restored Packer and Gladman. Fleetwood thought of recalling the Long Parliament, and Ludlow gave him a list of 160 men who had sat since 1648 (that is, The Rump); a conference took place between four officers and four Parliament men, including Ludlow; Richard Cromwell being quite ignored. Overton and Alured were with difficulty received into the service, while Ludlow accepted command of Gough's regiment. Parliament appointed a Council of State, Ludlow being the only Baptist on it; but the Wallingford House officers were loath to admit its authority; Ludlow accepted a commission signed by the Speaker, as did others. As to military appointments, Zanche, Lawrence, Roberts and others recommended men for Ireland, including that Ludlow be Commander-in-Chief there; all this was done. But the Presbyterian party thereupon passed over Gough's regiment to another, while Alured was put in charge of the Guards to the House.

As Ludlow went through Holyhead to Ireland, he heard of a rising threatened under Sir George Booth; he sent Deane to secure Ulster, and strengthened the garrisons of North Wales. As the London Council asked for troops, he sent 1,500 in an Irish Brigade, Zanche as chief, Axtell next in command. The rising was, however, put down by Lambert (no Baptist), who then took the lead for a new revolution, in favour of which Zanche sent over papers. Ludlow

opposed this, and felt his place was really at Westminster, as Lawrence wrote to urge; while his confidence in Zanchez was shaken. So appointing a substitute in command within Ireland, he sailed back.

At Beaumaris he heard that the Army had again offered violence to Parliament, and decided to try for a reconciliation. At Conway he was met by Colonel Robert Barrow (a Baptist who had done good service under him, and was now a Commissioner for Irish appointments) with letters for him from Fleetwood and his party. At Chester the Irish Brigade professed fidelity to Parliament, and he had news that the London regiments had set up a Council of twenty-one, including himself and Serjeant Steel (no other Baptists). Further on, he heard that the Army in Scotland under Monk opposed this revolution.

In Town he found the Parliament sitting; it voided all the proceedings of Wallingford House, and appointed a Board of Seven as Commander-in-Chief (much as the modern Board of Admiralty), which Board included Overton and Ludlow; the London regiments were hopelessly divided. Fleetwood's party sent Barrow to Ireland to win the forces there, and dismissed Alured. Monk was highly indignant (dismissed most of the Baptists in his forces as he) remodelled his forces and marched for London. Ludlow's deputy in Dublin was greatly confused, and yielded to threats from Wallingford House that if the Irish troops would not support them their pay would be stopped; whereupon Lord-Chancellor Steel thought he could do more good in London supporting Ludlow, and sailed. The Irish Brigade under Zanchez was ordered to occupy Newcastle and resist the march of Monk; Zanchez failed to get from Monk any explanation of his intentions. Meantime the Fleet, under Vice-Admiral Lawson, grew very angry at the Wallingford House proceedings, and Barrow, "A Man of Probity," failed to conciliate him, for he demanded "the absolute Submission of the Army to the Authority of the Parliament." Ludlow went to a Council of Officers "and was much surprised to find them debating whether a New Parliament should be called, and ready to go to the Question." He told them "That at least one third part of the Officers present were against their Design; and that it seemed to me an unaccountable Presumption for two thirds of about a fourth part of the Army to undertake to put a Period to the Civil Authority." And he was strengthened by a message from the Irish Brigade that he and three others were to speak for them at such meetings. He continued efforts to bring both officers and Parliament to reason, but presently felt that with a Cavalier rising in the city, and the obstinacy of all parties, his duty lay "in Ireland, which was my peculiar Province."

Though worse news overtook him on the journey, it was still worse to find that he could not land at Dublin. He went to Duncannon, and found that Colonel Leigh, Governor of Waterford, "though being an Anabaptist"—(the only time he ever alluded to

such a topic) was beginning to side with the Grandees at Dublin. Here he was overtaken by order of Parliament to return to London; on the way he heard that he was formally accused of High Treason. He found that Fleetwood was deserted by most, that Alured was in practical control and had restored Parliament, that Monk had written asking that Parliament would send all soldiers away from London to make room for his troops to come and guard them; they reluctantly did so. Ludlow took his seat in Parliament, ignoring the presentment for treason, and with Lawson visited Monk, who so far satisfied them that Lawson said, "Since the Levite and the Priest had passed by and would not help us, he hoped we had found a Samaritan that would do it."

Ludlow was surprised at the attitude of Hutchinson, who wanted Sir Henry Vane sent into the country; and he found that the members secluded in December, 1648, by Pride's Purge, were considering resuming their seats (much as he had done in a Protectorate Parliament). The Rump then appointed five commissioners to govern the Army; and the trial of strength came over the fifth; Alured was put in, against Sir Ashley Cooper. Ludlow had no satisfaction from a call on Monk, who soon took advantage of a temporary absence of Alured and admitted all the Secluded Members. From that moment Ludlow refused to sit with men who in his opinion had been constitutionally expelled; and ostentatiously walked about Westminster Hall while the full Long Parliament was sitting. He soon heard that Walcot had been prevented reaching the Irish Brigade, though Monk gave him a passport to his estates in Ireland. A new Council showed how complete was the revolution; Ludlow refused to garrison the Tower with three regiments loyal to the Good Old Cause; Lawson gave his adhesion to the new Council and full Parliament. The last three weeks were hectic.

Alured was sent by Parliament to try and persuade Overton, Governor of Hull, to quit that place; both saw that his garrison was divided, and the Cavaliers had increased, so he resigned and left Alured in charge. An Act was passed for ordering the militia, Monk was made sole Commander-in-Chief, then the Long Parliament dissolved itself, after ordering a new election on the ancient lines.

Ludlow was chosen by the electors of the borough of Hindon, whom he had never approached. This he heard as he was travelling to his home in Wilts, which he had not seen for years. He refused an invitation to join Lambert in raising forces against Monk, but never took his seat in the "Convention calling themselves a Parliament." Monk asked such Lords as had sat till 1648 to assemble, added those who had gone with Charles to Oxford, and those whom Charles II had recently ennobled. Ludlow closed his Memoirs with the result: "The Nominal House of Commons" voted "that Charles Stuart should be proclaimed King of England."

It may be added that when the judges of Charles I were called

on to surrender, he did so, then gave sureties to stand trial; but when he found that no pardon was possible for those who justified their action, like Harrison, he withdrew to Switzerland. He took up his residence at Vevay, in a house identified by Professor Firth with 49 Rue du Lac, though a plaque is placed elsewhere to his memory by the town. He died in 1692, and the Latin inscription on the tablet erected in the church by his widow may be seen in the works of Addison. A monument more lasting than bronze is his *Memoirs*, whose first edition appeared six years later, in a form shortened by an anonymous editor. The next trip of the British and Continental Touring Club in happier times ought to arrange for a stroll from Montreux to the home of this constitutional stalwart.

Since his *Memoirs* show what a great part was played by Baptists for nine years, it may be said afresh that they were all displaced promptly from every position; persecution rapidly set in; the Test Act shut them out of Parliament, except on terms that few would accept, while the Corporation Act similarly excluded them from local administration. This narrowing of life endured till last century, and greatly dulled the very idea of public service or citizenship. Overseas, indeed, there were opportunities, as when Sir Ashley Cooper considered Captain Walcot a fit Governor for the Carolinas (how very ironical that would have been!), and Joseph Collet did prove a fine Governor at Madras. The positions attained by Baptists in America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, have shown Britons this century where some duty lies, and can now be discharged.

W. T. WHITLEY.

CAPTAIN VANCOUVER in 1792 dropped anchor in the Pacific, twenty miles west of the site where a city now bears his name. To the island close by he gave the name of his admiral, Keats. That end of the island was bought in 1926 by a company of Baptists, who presented fifteen acres to their Convention. A fine summer camp was built, where glaciers, mountains, land and sea mingle their charms. Within ten years, it was housing five hundred people for two months, and now such camps are popular in other provinces.