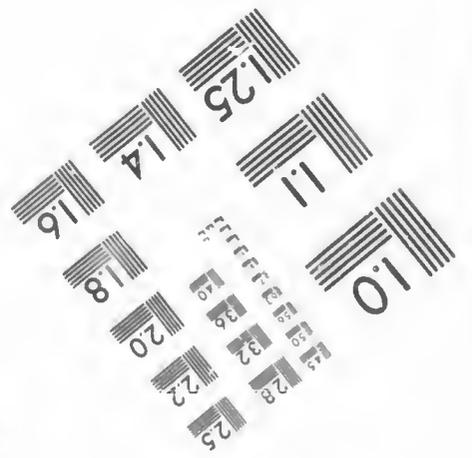
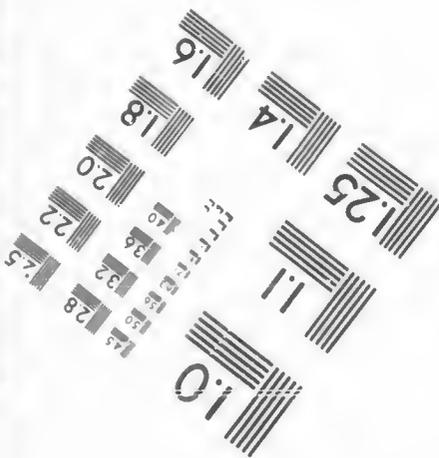
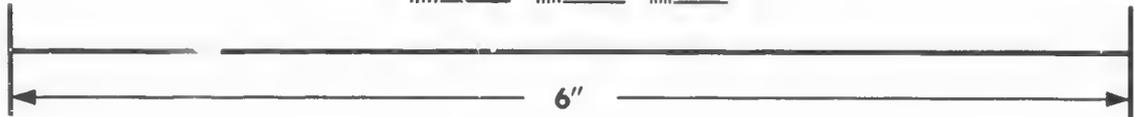
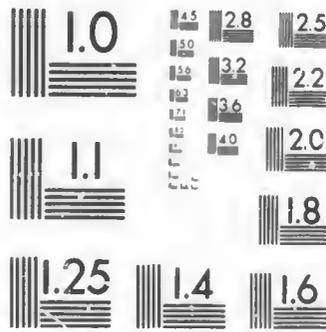


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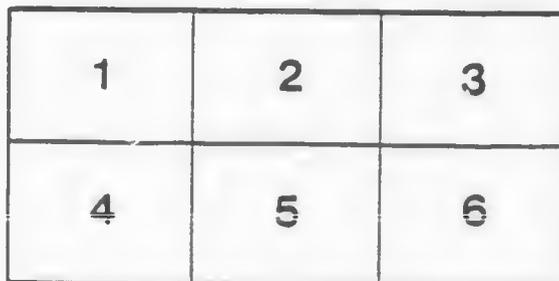
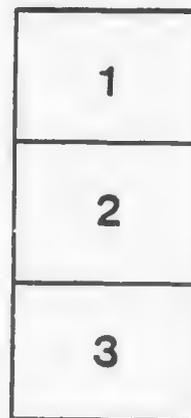
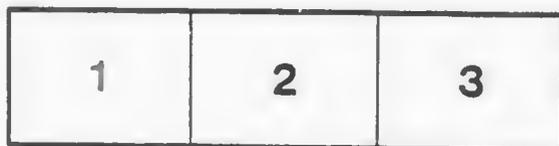
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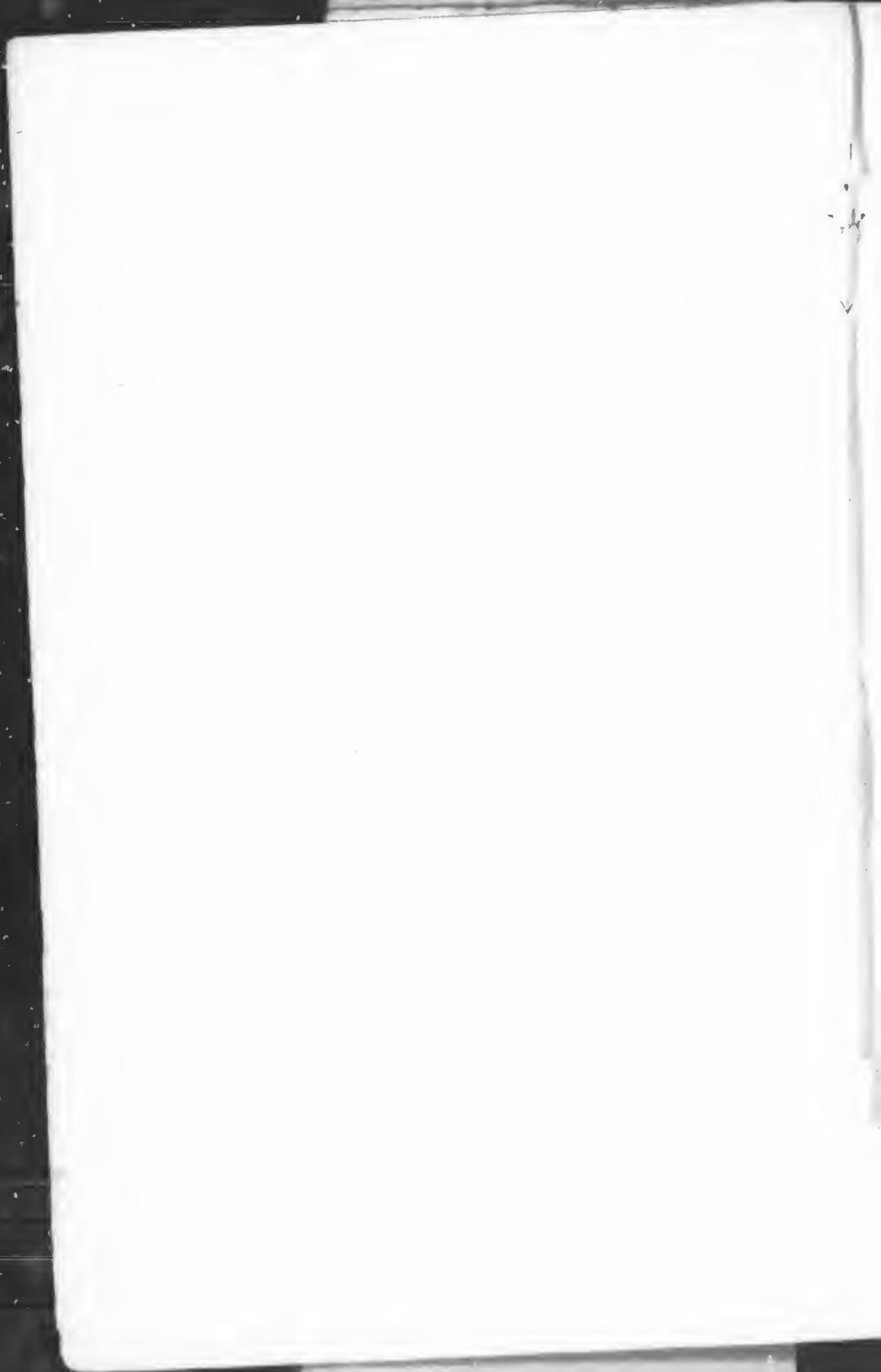
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DISCOURSE
ON
The Life and Character of
GEORGE CALVERT,
THE FIRST LORD BALTIMORE:

MADE BY
JOHN P. KENNEDY,
BEFORE
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
DECEMBER 9, 1845,
BEING THE SECOND ANNUAL ADDRESS TO THAT ASSOCIATION.



BALTIMORE
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. MURPHY, 178 BALTIMORE STREET.
MDCCLXV

ENTERED according to the Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-five,
By JOHN MURPHY,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Maryland.

DISCOURSE.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

Looking to the objects contemplated by this Society and its ability to attain them, and to the earnestness with which it has undertaken its office, I would venture to foretell that Maryland will find frequent occasion to applaud its labors, and to acknowledge much good service done in a good cause.

Its establishment is a timely and most appropriate tribute rendered by the City of Baltimore to the State. The munificence of our City will never find a more honorable object for its outlay, its intelligence a more dignified subject for its application, the patriotism of our City a more dutiful employment than that which is presented to its regard in the purpose and proceeding of this association. Baltimore indeed owed it to that community of which she is the social centre, to the intellectual accomplishment which dwells within her own halls, and owed, too, I think, to the name she bears—a name which has not yet been illustrated as fully as its historic value deserves—to set herself diligently to the task of exploring and preserving, as far as means exist, the past and present materials which belong to the long neglected history of Maryland.

We have now addressed ourselves to this task: taken the lead in it, as it was proper Baltimore should. For two years past this Society has very intelligently,

and not without some good fruits, pursued the intent of its organization. We mean to persevere; and we now invoke our townsmen to stand by us, to give us countenance and aid, substantial contribution, to help us to rear a monument which shall tell to our own people, to our sister cities in the Union, and to all the world, that in the cause of letters and the elegant arts—the truest witnesses of high civilization and refinement,—we fully understand and perform the obligation which our position has cast upon us. I think I do the citizens of Baltimore no more than justice when I express my conviction that, for the promoting of a purpose so commended to their approbation, appealing so directly to their proper pride in the adornment of this their own homestead, and, above all, so grateful to that sense of duty which finds its gratification in exalting the glory of our country, by making known the virtues of its ancestry—I think I do them no more than justice in believing that their co-operation, support and encouragement will be administered to the objects of this Society with that lavish hand and honorable good will which become the men of an enlightened City, whose estimate of liberal art and science keeps pace with its well-deserved prosperity.

Our State has most worthy and urgent motive to call upon her children that they do not suffer her story to perish. A good story it is, and an honest. Much of it is, to this day, untold: unfortunately, may never be told; the material is beyond our reach. Much is still within our reach, though fast dissolving into dust. This society has come into existence just in time to rescue some of the fragments of our youthful annals from irrecoverable oblivion; too late to save

the whole. Would that some earlier generation had conceived the happy thought of addressing itself to the same task, when full stores of the treasures of our young Antiquity might have been garnered into a magazine safe enough to deliver them unmutilated into our hands! Once secure upon the threshold of this age, so noted for its zeal of inquiry, its love of illustration, and for its multitudinous press, we might have promised these annals of the past a safe transmission to all posterity. Whatsoever relics may now come to us, we may hope to speed them towards that farthest futurity to which the ambition of history aspires: no jot diminished in what they bring to our hands,—enlarged rather, and made more veritable by careful collation and exposition.

This charge, then, these older, maturer days prefer against that unskilled, neglectful Former Time, which had not the wit to see, nor the heart to value the riches of our Maryland birth-day, and of its simple-minded days of infancy: this charge we make against that Former Time, that it suffered precious chronicles to moulder in damp and forgotten crypts, and not less precious legends to die with the brains that nursed them.

Let this arraignment of our thoughtless and scant Antiquity go to the heart of this present time, by way of exhortation to incite it to the labor still of redeeming what is not yet utterly gone.

The history of our American settlement has an interest of a different character from that of all other history. It is not the interest of narrative nor of personal fortune, in any great degree, nor of important or striking combinations of events. It is chiefly, almost exclusively, that which belongs to the study of the development of moral power, the contemplation of great results springing from obscure and apparently feeble causes. It shows us men deliberately planning the foundations of free government; men self-dependent, endowed with the energy of homely good sense, and educated to their task, if not by a wise experience in the arts of good government, at least by a painful knowledge of the evils which flow from the neglect of them; men springing from the lap of a high civilization, and called to their labor at a period when the mind of the nation to which they belonged was stirred by an extraordinary impulse to forward this achievement, and which was able to communicate the loftiest spirit to those who undertook it.

The annals of this settlement are generally clear and authentic. They are, in greater part, preserved in official State papers, or in memoirs scarcely less to be respected. The deeds of the actors are often written in full detail. There is little room for legendary exaggeration. The men who engaged to lead these enterprises were as brave, as wise, as capable as any builders of empire in any past time. More capable, more wise, we may say, than the founders of older dynasties,—being enlightened men of an enlightened age, taught in all that Christianity could teach,—and not less brave and hardy than the hardest and bravest of antiquity.

Still their history supplies no great attraction by its incidents. It falls too much into the character of meagre individual memoir, has too little of that pomp of scenery, decoration, prestige, and grouping which charm in the history of the old nations of the world. The fortunes of a handful of adventurers tempting, for the first time, the vast desert of waters, and flying upon the wings of stormy winds to the unknown haven of an inhospitable coast, and finally planting a home in the wilderness, where no foot-print was seen that was not hostile, may furnish pictures for the painter's study, and warm the poet's fancy,—but they will be found to want the breadth, variety, and significance necessary to render them the most engaging theme for the historian. I confess I weary somewhat over these details of Indian strategy and cunning; these sad shifts to supply the wants of a ship's company seeking for food; these mutinies and miserable dissensions bred by meaner spirits incapable of enduring the griefs of their solitude; these stealthy ambuscades; these murders and treasons which make up so much of the staple of early colonial story. He must be gifted with a happy skill who, with such materials only, can weave a tale which shall make men fond of coming back to its perusal.

Nevertheless, there is a peculiar philosophical interest in the observation of this course of empire; an interest abiding more in the theme than in the particulars of its illustration. Amongst many speculations, we read in it the solution of a problem of high import:—What are the tendencies, longings, instincts of the human family, when committed to the destiny of a new world, and challenged to the task of constructing government:—especially what are these

instincts in some certain races of that family? Marvellously has that problem been solved over this wide Western Continent;—is now continually solving. Marvellously do we still go on demonstrating that problem, and are yet very far from the end of it. Survey that wide field, bounded north and south by Labrador and Terra del Fuego; and of all the millions that there inhabit, how surely shall you recognise them by their several social politics, not less express and notable than their individual temperament, complexion, and outward form! We hear much of late of the Anglo-Saxon—Norman-Saxon, or Dano-Saxon, rather should we call him—marching to fulfil a destiny. He was the last man who entered this broad field: he is now, in less than three centuries, master of all. By his sufferance, only, does the descendant of the Goth, the Frank, or native man of America cultivate a nook of land. Imperious lord of the continent, he waits but upon his own pleasure to circumvent or conquer all.

Time had rolled through fifty recorded centuries numbered in human annals, and along that track History had duly set up monuments to mark the progression of the sons of men from the Genesis to the Flood,—from the Flood to the Dispersion,—from the Dispersion to the Birth of the Saviour,—and thence right onward, through many a lesser epoch, to the Discovery of the New World.

This last era, far from being the least noteworthy in the series, was, in fact, the opening of one of the most momentous chapters in the book of Human Destiny. It was the revealing of a second creation, full of young lustihood, to an overwrought and strife-tormented old one. It contained surface and sup-

ply for tribes more numerous than all that dwelt upon the Eastern Hemisphere. It gave to man a fresh nursing mother, into whose lap he might fling his exhausted children with full security that there they should find the aliment to rear them to a mighty manhood. It offered him another starting point in the career of civilization; laid open to him new and genial labors; awakened new impulses in his heart; filled his mind with new conceptions of duty, policy, self-advancement.

We are somewhat struck in the history of this great event, that it did not at once agitate the public mind with such emotions. Looking to the inherent grandeur of the Discovery, and its obvious relation to the condition of mankind, we have reason to be surprised at the tardiness of men to avail themselves of it. One would suppose that amongst the multitudes cribbed within the confines of Europe, chafed with the harness of ever-flagrant war, and sadly experienced in its desolation and its hopeless poverty, thousands would have been found at once to supply a steady stream of population to these trans-atlantic solitudes, —most happy to accept the invitation of Providence to exchange hunger and strife for peace and plenty.

Nearly a century, however, passed away before colonization and settlement began to make an effective movement. The most significant influences over the fate of mankind are not the most visible to agitate the surface of human affairs. As great strength is often marked by repose, so great events often work out their effects unnoted in a silent lapse of time. It has been said, "Though our clock strikes when there is a change from hour to hour, no hammer in the Horologe of Time peals through the universe to pro-

claim that there is a change from Era to Era." In comparative silence did this great era unfold itself—slowly through a hundred years. A hundred years, after the voyages of Columbus and Cabot, were given to enterprises, with but few exceptions, of mere exploration:—blind struggles to get deeper insight into this world of wonders. The Frenchman, the Spaniard, the Florentine, and the Portuguese, were the navigators. Until the voyage of Frobisher, in 1576, England—even then a predominant power on the ocean—had but little share in this great work. North of the Gulf of Mexico, no colony had been planted during all this century, except the small settlement of Jacques Cartier in Canada. Ribault had made an unsuccessful effort in Florida; and Sir Walter Raleigh a still more unfortunate one to plant Virginia. This was all that the sixteenth century contributed in the way of settlement to make the Discovery useful to mankind. It is quite remarkable that England should have done so little.

But the seventeenth century came with a fresh and sudden ardor of adventure, and was distinguished by a steady, systematic pursuit of the policy of colonization. During that and the succeeding age, America became incorporated into the political relations of Europe, became a well recognised power in the adjustment of the interests of States, supplied the commerce, even partook of the wars of the Old World, and finally matured those plans of social polity, which have since had such visible and authoritative influence in giving to mankind new perceptions of their own rights, and new views of the purposes and obligations of government.

The general scheme and progress of our coloniza-

tion exhibits to us a great historical Epic. It had its age of adventure,—its age of commerce,—and its age of religious impulse: and there predominated throughout its entire action—linking the whole together, and imparting to it what we may call its mystical and predestined completeness—a very visible conspiracy of means to afford mankind the experience and enjoyment of a peculiar trans-atlantic system of empire, differing in its essential features from all established polities. We may discern in it the dawning of a new consciousness of higher temporal destiny for man; the first movement towards the establishment of social organization on a plan to diffuse power and the faculty of self-advancement amongst the great masses of the people, to a degree never before thought of, that plan not altogether defined in the conceptions of those first engaged in the exploit, but gradually transpiring with the course of events, and finally taking its appointed shape under the resistless control of circumstances which Providence seems to have made the guide to this grand and beneficent end.

In the first of these periods,—that age of adventure,—men seem to have been impelled by the spirit of an excited knight errantry. Before them lay a world of novelties. The path that led to it was beset by dangers to allure the pride of the daring. The field of their labor was full of marvels to captivate the heart of the credulous. Renown awaited the explorer who could bring new contributions to the stock of foreign miracles which so charmed that wonder-loving time. Many courageous spirits enlisted in this quest of fame. They brought home tidings of nations gorgeous in gold and silver, and precious

stones. Riches fineless, in their report, lay open to the brave hand that should be first stretched forth to win them. The ear of Christendom was enthralled by tales, which we should think now too light even for the credulity of childhood, of an imaginary city, sparkling with more than Arabian magnificence; of mysterious fountains, capable of renewing youth in the pulse of decrepit age;* of relics of ancient generations, whose abodes rivalled the glories of Heliopolis or Thebes. Inflamed by such visions, the cavaliers of the sixteenth century launched their barks upon the rough Atlantic and sped to its farther shore, with resolve to carve their crests upon this magnificent continent:—Knights errant of the sea,—a romantic, wave-tempting chivalry, bred to the courtesies which the fanciful gallantry of the Court of Elizabeth held up to admiration in Raleigh and Essex, Effingham and Howard, yet brave as the old Norse Sea Kings, and credulous as children.

Such is the argument and these the personages of the first book of this wonderful Epic. Illusions like

* "It was not," says Irving, in a note to his Narrative of the Adventures of Juan Ponce de Leon, in quest of the Miraculous Fountain, "the credulous minds of voyagers and adventurers alone that were heated by these Indian traditions and romantic fables. Men of learning and eminence were likewise beguiled by them: witness the following extract from the second decade of Peter Martyr, addressed to Leo X, then bishop of Rome:

"Among the islands on the north side of Hispaniola, there is one about 325 leagues' distance, as they say which have searched the same, in which is a continual spring of running water, of such marvellous virtue, that the water thereof being drunk, perhaps with some diet, maketh old men young again. And here I must make protestation to your holiness not to think this to be said lightly or rashly, for they have so spread this rumor for a truth throughout all the court, that not only all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune hath divided from the common sort, think it to be true: but, if you will ask my opinion herein, I will answer that I will not attribute so great power to nature, but that God hath no less reserved this prerogative to himself than to search the hearts of men." *Voyages of the Companions of Columbus*, p. 314.

these could not long endure. The age of commercial action came, with its practical sense and sober judgment of realities, to measure and gauge the new continent by the most unromantic of all standards. The astute London merchant followed in the wake of the soldier enthusiast, and set himself to the task of computing what America was capable of yielding to the enlargement of trade. This computation of the practicable, ever, in the end, the most effective friend of civilization, soon began, though not without many drawbacks, to produce its good fruits in the enterprise which it fostered and controlled. The search of El Dorado was abandoned: the fountain of Bimini was forgotten: the emigrant was provided with axe and plough, and after some severe trial and disappointment, was taught the lesson that competence, and, in the end, affluence were to be won by diligent cultivation of the soil;—were, in no wise, to be hoped for in rambling on the search of mines of gold and precious stones, in sacking cities or laying waste the territory of weak barbarians.

Religion, as I have said, also had its share in the progress of colonization. Fanaticism had reared a bloody ensign over the fields of Europe. The Thirty Years' War, the civil broils of England, the murderous dissensions of Ireland, the universal intolerance of jarring sectaries, wrought such distraction, that thousands, in despair of peace at home, gathering their wives and children, their friends and servants together, sought this new sky and these rough shades, with scarce other hope or purpose but to enjoy that unmolested worship which was denied them in the temples of their native land.

This is a bare outline of the history of American

settlement. I have sketched it off in this rapid form of review, by way of introduction to a topic which it was my design to present to your attention this evening. My purpose is to offer some views of the original settlement of Maryland, connected with the character of the founder of the State. The theme is not unfamiliar either to this society or to this auditory. It has recently, more than once, invoked the labor of accomplished minds amongst us. I trust, however, that in recurring to it, I shall not be found to weary your patience, as I venture to hope in what I have to say, I shall not be led to repeat after those who have better said, what it fell in their way to discuss, than I could hope to do were my reflections conducted into the same channel.

Maryland was originally planted and grew up into importance as a colony under the genial impulses proper to the best days of that commercial era of which I have spoken. The original settlement partook, in no degree, of the illusions of romantic adventure. Nor did it owe its conception, either to religious persecution, or to that desire which is supposed to have influenced other colonies to form a society dedicated to the promotion of a particular worship. This, I am aware, is contrary to a very generally received opinion. It is my purpose, in what I am about to offer, to produce some proofs of the assertions I have just made.

This province, I think I shall show, was founded, chiefly, in accordance with a liberal plan to erect a community on this continent, which, while it should afford a happy home to those who might make it their abode, securing to them all the privileges of the most favored subjects of the British Crown, aimed, at the

same time, to promote the objects of a wise and beneficent commercial speculation. The merit of this plantation is due to Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. There is no man distinguished by so large and active a participation in the colonial history of this Country of whom so few memorials remain in published records. It is, in part, the reproach of our State, that so little is known of him. For there is good reason to believe that manuscripts and other relics of his history exist, which have not been brought to our notice on this side of the Atlantic.* We may

* Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, refers to the following writings of Calvert:—

Carmen Furebre in D. Hen. Untonum, ad Gallos bis legatum, Printed 1596: *Parliamentary Speeches: Various Letters of State: The Answer of Thomas Tell Troth: The Practice of Princes, and Lamentations of the Kirk*, Printed London, 1642.

He also, says Wood, wrote something concerning Maryland.

The Sir Henry Unton above referred to, is better known as Sir Henry Ump-ton, who, being sent by Elizabeth as Ambassador to France, was somewhat celebrated for his chivalrous bearing, according to the fashion of that time, 1592, in resenting a supposed insult offered by the Duke of Guise to the Queen. He sent the Duke the following challenge:

“For as much as lately, in the lodging of my Lord Du Mayne, and in public elsewhere, impudently, indiscreetly, and over boldly, you spoke badly of my sovereign, whose sacred person here, in this country, I represent: to maintain both by word and weapon her honor, (which never was called in question amongst people of honesty and virtue;) I say you have wickedly lied, in speaking so basely of my sovereign; and you shall do nothing else but lie whenever you shall dare to tax her honor. Moreover, that her sacred person, (being one of the most complete and virtuous princesses that live in the world,) ought not to be evil spoken of by the tongue of such a perfidious traitor to her law and country as you are. And, hereupon, I do defy you, and challenge your person to mine, with such manner of arms as you shall like or choose, be it either on horseback or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a race and noble house (every way) as yourself. So, assigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words and the lie which I gave you, and which you should not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you consent not to meet me hereupon, I will hold you, and cause you generally to be held, for the arrantest coward and most slanderous slave that lives in France. I expect your answer.”

Sir Henry died in the French camp in 1596, and his body being brought to London, was removed to Farringdon, and hurried there on the 8th day of July of

hope that to the research of this Society; our State may hereafter become indebted for their production and publication.

According to Anthony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Calvert was born in 1582, at Kipling, in the Chapelry of Bolton, in Yorkshire, and was the son of Leonard Calvert and Alice, daughter of John Crossland. Fuller with more probability, I think, dates his birth in the year 1580. The author of the *Worthies of England* was his contemporary, though thirty years his junior, and, it is of some moment to my argument to remark, was obviously not personally acquainted with him. Both from Wood and Fuller we learn that in 1597, Calvert took a bachelor's degree at Oxford, and then visited the continent of Europe to complete his studies, and procure the advantages of travel, as was customary to young men of birth and fortune at that period.

It is said that he attracted the regard of Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, afterwards Earl of Salisbury:—a fact that we may suppose he designed to acknowledge in the name given to his eldest son. This son, Cecil, was born in 1606, as I find from an original portrait engraving of him in my possession—for which I am indebted to a friend, a valuable member of this Society. This engraving enables us to fix

that year. The elegy or *Carmen Funebre* above referred to, was written by Calvert, at a very early age, and was most probably a college exercise. See *Fuller's Worthies*, 1 vol. p. 131.

It is said by Belknap, that Calvert “left something respecting America in writing, but it does not appear that it was ever printed.” I find also a reference by Bozman, 1 vol. 240, to the *Bibliotheca Americana*, published in London, 1789, which mentions a MS., entitled “Account of the Settlement of Newfoundland, by Sir George Calvert.”

Some insight may perhaps be obtained to a portion of these writings, by an examination of the Maryland Papers, in the office of the Plantations in London. referred to frequently by Chalmers.—See also the *Strafford Papers*.

the marriage of Calvert about the year 1604-5,—his twenty-third or twenty-fifth year, as we compute it according to the different dates of Wood and Fuller. He married Anne, the daughter of George Mynne of Hertfordshire, and grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Wroth of Durance in Enfield, Middlesex,—a gentleman of some distinction in his time.

About the year 1606, he experienced a substantial proof of the prime minister's friendship, in the gift of an appointment to the office of under or private secretary to the minister himself, which he held for several years.

Three years afterwards—1609—his name appears as one of the patentees in the new charter, which was then given to the company for planting Virginia; and I find it again enumerated in Captain Smith's list of the members of that company in 1620, showing that during all this interval he was interested in the settlement of that colony.

The Earl of Salisbury died in 1612, after which event Calvert seems to have enjoyed a liberal share of the favor and regard of King James, who, in 1617, promoted him to the post of clerk of the Privy Council, and invested him with the honor of knighthood. Two years later, 1619, the king appointed him principal Secretary of State as the successor to Sir Thomas Lake; which place he held until 1624, when he resigned it, according to Fuller, for the following reason:—"He freely confessed himself to the king that he was then become a Roman Catholic, so that he must be wanting to his trust or violate his conscience in discharging his office. This, his ingenuity"—adds Fuller—"so highly affected king James that he continued him privy counsellor all his reign,

as appeareth in the council books, and soon after created him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore in Ireland."

As a further testimony of the bounty of his sovereign, it is recorded of him that James gave him a grant of lands in Ireland,* and also a pension of one thousand pounds. "During his being Secretary,"—says Fuller,—“he had a patent to him and his heirs, to be *Absolutus Dominus et Proprietarius*, with the royalties of a Count Palatine, of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland. Here he built a fair house in Ferryland, and spent five and twenty thousand pounds in advancing the plantation thereof. Indeed, his public spirit”—the biographer continues—“consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Christianity and the king’s dominions.”†

The settlement in Newfoundland, alluded to in this extract, was made in 1621; in which year, according to the account of Oldmixon, in his *British Empire in America*,‡ Sir George Calvert sent Captain Wynn thither with a small colony. In 1622, Captain Wynn was reinforced with an additional number of colonists. The charter or grant, however, for this plantation, it

* “The King being given to understand that divers towns and lands within the late plantation of Longford, amounting to about two thousand three hundred and four acres, remained in his hands undisposed of, he conferred the same on Sir George Calvert, his principal Secretary, as a person worthy of his royal bounty, and one that would plant and build the same according to his late instructions for the better furtherance and strengthening of the said plantation.” The grant was accordingly made 18th February, 1621. This patent Calvert “surrendered to the King 12th February, 1624 (1625 according to the present calendar), and had a re-grant thereof in fee-simple, dated at Westminster, 11th March following, to hold as the Castle of Dublin in free and common soccage, by fealty only for all other rents, with the erection of the premises in the Barony of Longford into the manor of Baltimore, and those in the Barony of Rathyne into the manor of Ulford, with the usual privileges of Courts, Parks, free warren, &c.” *London Magazine*, June, 1768.

† *Worthies of England*, vol. 3, p. 418.

‡ *Bozman’s Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 210, note.

is said, upon some doubtful and rather obscure testimony, bears date of the twenty-first year of the King, which would assign it to the year 1623. After the death of James, which was in 1625, Lord Baltimore went twice to Avalon. "Here,"—says Fuller again—"when Monsieur de L'Arade, with three men of war, sent from the King of France, had reduced our English fishermen to great extremity, this lord, with two ships, manned at his own charge, chased away the Frenchman, relieved the English, and took sixty of the French prisoners." It is related by Oldmixon and others, that Lord Baltimore removed his family to Ferryland, and resided there some few years. This establishment being found to be ungenial, both in climate and soil, being subject to great annoyance from the French, and withal exceedingly expensive, Lord Baltimore finally abandoned it, and turned his thoughts upon settlement in a milder latitude, and on a more kindly soil.

He was a member, as we have seen, of the Virginia Company,—had been a member for eleven years, and, perhaps, longer: besides this, as Secretary of State,—Chalmerc tells us—he was officially one of the Committee of Council for the affairs of the plantations. We may presume, therefore, that he was fully acquainted with the proceedings of the Virginia company, and well versed in all that belonged to the subject of colonization. Thus qualified for his enterprise, he turned his attention towards Virginia, with an undivulged purpose, as we may suppose from what afterwards occurred, to examine the regions within the charter of that plantation, which had not yet been settled. Accordingly, in 1628, he visited Virginia in person. It has been said that he was

received very ungraciously by the assembly of that colony, who directed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to him and his followers. This incident would seem to show that the assembly did not look upon Lord Baltimore in the light of a mere casual visiter; that they suspected his intentions in regard to settlement, and were jealous of them: that, actuated by this sentiment, they subjected him to what amounted almost to an indignity, in requiring him to take the oaths;—requiring him, who had been a Secretary of State, who was one of their own patentees in the London Company, and who was a public spirited nobleman, somewhat distinguished for his enterprise in the cause of colonization; who, in addition to all this, was on the best terms with the reigning sovereign at home. With a proper sense of self-respect, Lord Baltimore refused to take the oaths, or to allow his servants to take them, and very soon afterwards departed from the James River, to pursue a much more agreeable voyage up the Chesapeake, in quest of the unoccupied territory, to which his thoughts had most probably been directed from the first. Under these circumstances, he entered the Potomac, examined the country upon its left bank, and projected his settlement of the province of Maryland.

I need not relate by what steps he contrived to secure the grant for this province. It was clearly within the limits of the Virginia charter; parts of it were actually settled—Kent Island especially;—yet he had influence and address to obtain the grant from Charles the First. I need not relate either what great dissatisfaction this grant gave to the colonists of Virginia—to those very persons who had so un-

civilly exacted the oaths of allegiance. We of Maryland, at least, have no reason to regret that this pristine and most incompatible breach of hospitality in Virginia, should have been followed by such a retribution—one in which we perceive almost a poetical justice. It concerns my purpose merely to advert to the fact that, in 1632, King Charles gave his permission to Lord Baltimore to prepare the Charter of Maryland. That instrument was, in pursuance of this permission, drawn up, it is said, by Calvert's own hand, or under his personal dictation. Before it passed the seals, he died—25th of April, 1632—leaving Cecil heir, not only to his title and fortune, but also to his enterprise and his hopes. The charter was executed on the 20th of June following, with no other change than the substitution of Cecil for his father; and was signed by the King, who, himself, gave the province the name of Maryland, in honor of his Queen Henrietta Maria, instead of "Crescentia," as Lord Baltimore had originally designed.

This Charter is said to be a transcript, with no other alteration than the localities required, from that which had before been granted by James, for the province of Avalon.* Fuller's brief description of the Newfoundland patent, which I have already quoted, would seem to confirm this fact.

In addition to what I have brought into this summary of Calvert's history, it is proper to notice that in 1620 he was first elected to Parliament to represent Yorkshire, through the influence of the celebrated Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford: he was subsequently elected by the University

* Chalmers, in his *History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, says it was "literally copied from the prior patent of Avalon." *Book the Second*, ch. 3.

of Oxford. His parliamentary career, which lasted four or five years, seems to have been, as far as the scant records of it disclose its character, at least worthy of the praise of a diligent and upright performance of the duties which it required of him. We may suppose that these duties, as a minister of state in the House of Commons, were by no means light, and that they demanded the frequent exhibition of a high order of knowledge, tact and judgment. There can be no doubt that his services in this theatre were entirely acceptable to the king.

In politics, he was of the Court Party of that reign, opposed to the Country Party—designations which subsequently slid into those of Tory and Whig. As one of this party, he was the advocate of the high kingly Prerogative, as contradistinguished from the Privilege of the Legislative body; a champion of Executive power, against the power of parliament. Not only his interest, but we must presume, his inclinations lay in that way. Grahame says of him, what would seem almost sarcastically said, that “he was a strenuous asserter of the supremacy of that authority from the exercise of which he expected to derive his own enrichment.” I will not do him the wrong, in the absence of better proof than we have, to believe that he was not entirely honest in maintaining the prerogative against the popular privilege. In parliament, we find him asserting the doctrine, “that the American territory, having been acquired by conquest, was subject exclusively to the control of the royal prerogative:” in other words, that the King, and not parliament, had the entire regulation and government of the colonies. This, with many other ultra-monarchical doctrines of that day, we can have

no doubt James would expect his ministers to defend; and, though highly flattering to a monarch of his character, they were not, however, without a strong party opposed to them, even in the parliament of which Sir George Calvert was a member.

The facts I have now brought to view demonstrate that Lord Baltimore was of a family of rank and influence in England;* that he was wealthy, as the expenditure of £25,000 on the settlement of Avalon, a very large sum in those days, would show: that having married early in life, he was brought into the way of preferment and favor through the friendship of the prime minister; that his personal deportment, political opinions, habits of business and usefulness secured him the regard of king James, a pedantic and hypercritical asserter of the broadest pretensions of kingly government,—a prince whose service exacted an earnest defence of the highest claims of prerogative: that, being for a long time a member of a company concerned in the colonization of Virginia, and, moreover, one of the Committee of Council for the plantations, he had ample opportunities to become acquainted with the character of these enterprises, and to embark in them with advantages which very few possessed. There is indeed abundant evidence that these schemes of colonization were a favorite speculation of his. He was engaged in them from the date of his early manhood until the close of his life. It was his prevailing passion, if we may so speak, and was indulged with great assiduity, personal devotion, and at heavy pecuniary charge.

*The family of Calvert is said to be descended from an ancient and noble house of that name in the Earldom of Flanders, whence they were transplanted into the northern parts of England.

There is no evidence that his ardor in these undertakings was stimulated by any motive having reference to particular religious opinions. We are, on the contrary, bound to presume that his purpose was in part the advancement of his own reputation, the increase of the wealth of his family, and, as the Maryland charter expresses it, "a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion, and also the territories of our (the British) empire." We may commend him for all these motives as in their nature honorable, just and useful.

He obtained from James the charter for the province of Avalon; from Charles that for Maryland,—the one about ten years before the other. As these charters are claimed to be the production of Lord Baltimore's own hand, an examination of that to which we have access, our own, may serve to give us further insight into the history of the author.

Turning to this instrument, then, we may remark that it embodies a scheme of the strongest government known throughout all the American colonies.

The Proprietary was made the absolute lord of the province, saving only the allegiance due by him to the crown. He was invested with prerogatives and royal rights, not inferior to those of the king himself. He was empowered to make laws, with the advice of the freemen, and to withhold his assent from such as he did not approve. The Proprietary even claimed and practised in the course of the government of the province, the right to dispense with the laws, in accordance with a principle asserted by king James, as a branch of the royal prerogative, and which we may conclude was consonant with Lord Baltimore's own opinions. He

was authorized to create manors with manorial rights and lordships; to reward well born and deserving subjects with titles and dignities; to summon, by writ, as we find by early practice under the Charter, whatsoever freemen he chose, to take a seat in the Legislative Assembly, without election by the people,* thus enabling him to control the majority of that body. He was empowered to make ordinances, in certain emergencies, of equal force with laws, and without the aid or confirmation of the Assembly. He had the absolute control of the military and naval force of the colony, and might declare and exercise martial law, at his own pleasure, whenever he should conceive rebellion or sudden tumult to demand it. He possessed the patronage and advowsons of all churches, and had the sole authority to license the building or founding of churches and chapels, and to cause them to be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England.

In regard to these last two subjects, I beg to observe that they apply strictly and exclusively to the Church of England, the Protestant Episcopal Church. The advowson, or right of presentation of a minister to a parish or ecclesiastical benefice, being only a right, in the sense of this Charter, connected with the organization of that church; whilst the right to license the consecration of churches and chapels is, in terms, confined to such as were to be consecrated "according to the ecclesiastical laws of England."

* The language of the Charter, regarding the summoning of delegates, is:—
"Whom we will shall be called together for the framing of Laws, when and as often as need shall require, by the aforesaid Baron of Baltimore and his heirs, and in the form which shall seem the best to him or them."

These were the powers, rights and prerogatives conferred upon the Proprietary. On the other hand, the concessions or grants to the colonists are equally worthy of notice. The colonists were guaranteed all the privileges, liberties and franchises of Englishmen born within the Realm. They were protected against all laws repugnant to the laws, statutes and customs of England; and, what is particularly deserving of observation, they were for ever exempted, by express covenant in the Charter, from all royal taxation by the crown—from all “impositions, customs or other taxations, quotas or contributions whatever,” to be levied by the King or his successors. There is also a clause which provides that no interpretation shall be made of the Charter, “whereby God’s holy and true Christian religion, or the allegiance due to us (the King), our heirs and successors, may, *in any wise, suffer by change, prejudice or diminution.*”

No provision was made for submitting the laws, ordinances or proceedings of the province, either to the King or Parliament, by which omission the security against infractions of the Charter was very materially diminished,—perhaps in a great many cases rendered altogether unavailing. It has been intimated that this omission was not accidental, but, rather, intentionally made to strengthen the hand of the Proprietary against a supervision which he chose to have as little exercised as possible. This defect in the Charter was complained of and represented by the Commissioners of Plantations, in 1633, to the House of Commons. It seems, however, to have been passed by without a remedy. “Nothing,” says Chalmers, “can afford more decisive proof than these material omissions, that Sir George Calvert was the

chief penman of the grant. For the rights of the Proprietary were carefully attended to, but the prerogatives of the crown, the rights of the nation, were in a great measure overlooked or forgotten." This is a sketch of the Charter.

Certainly we may affirm of it, that, however beneficent it might be under the ministration of a liberal and wise Proprietary, it contains many features which but little coincide with our notions of free or safe government. Considering it as the work of Lord Baltimore himself, it is a very striking exponent of his political opinions. The colonial history of that period, 1632, furnished abundant examples in the New England settlements, of government on a much more popular basis, and we can not suppose that these were not well understood by Calvert. We must infer, therefore, that he was no great admirer of those forms which diffused power amongst the people, and restricted the exercise of it in the magistrate—that he was; in fact, here, as well as in England, the friend of Prerogative against Privilege.

The review of this Charter impresses me strongly with the conviction that its author was an adroit manager of public affairs, skilful in business, sufficiently awake to his own interest, and intent on obtaining as much from the crown as his position enabled him to procure; that he was remarkably calm and unobtrusive—even compromising and politic—in his religious opinions; and that he enjoyed, to a very extraordinary degree, the favor, esteem and confidence of his sovereign.

That proviso which prohibits any interpretation of the Charter which might "change, prejudice, or diminish" the true Christian religion, or the allegiance

due to the crown, was undoubtedly intended to guard the rights of those persons attached to the English Church who might emigrate to the province,* and also to preserve unimpaired the allegiance of all British subjects, as that allegiance was then understood. It was a very natural condition for a Protestant monarch, of that period, to require in a grant to any subject, when the grant gave such powers as those contained in the Maryland Charter; much more when that subject was of a different religious faith from the monarch himself. The mind of Great Britain was, at that date, intensely agitated with the fears, jealousies and hatreds of a fierce religious quarrel. The question of the supremacy, which was involved in that of allegiance, constituted a large ingredient in this quarrel.

The oath of allegiance, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, and then in force, declared the King governor of all his dominions and countries, "as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal."

It was held by the highest authorities of the Romish Church, that this oath could not be taken by those who professed that faith, without incurring the censure of the church:—though it is known that many Catholics in England did not so interpret it. Upon the detection of the Gun Powder plot, a new oath was exacted by Parliament, which was particularly aimed at the Catholic party. All persons who were suspected to belong to that party were required to take it upon the demand of the Bishop of the Diocese, or of the Justices of the Peace. It contained a denial of the power of the Pope to depose the King,

* See 1 vol. Hazard's State Papers, pp. 621 and 624

or to dispose of his dominions, or to absolve his subjects from their allegiance; and it abjured, as impious, the doctrine that excommunication of a prince authorized his being put to death or deposed by his subjects.

This oath, like the former, furnished matter of discontent to the Roman Pontiff. Paul the Fifth addressed a brief to the English Catholics, commanding them to abstain from taking it, holding that it could not be taken "without hurting of the Catholic faith."

Upon this arose that celebrated dispute, which makes no small figure in the history of the time, between King James on one side, and Paul the Fifth, with Cardinal Bellarmine, on the other. Whatever may have been the intrinsic merits of this dispute, it is very certain that it greatly irritated the public mind, and produced a large store of ill-will between the friends and followers of the two parties. King James himself had written and spoken, argued and scolded in this quarrel, in the sharpest temper of that vain pedantry for which he was renowned. There is something amusing, as well as characteristic, in the quaint and solemn anger of the following outbreak, which I find in a speech delivered by him in the Star Chamber in 1616:—

"I confess," he says, "I am loth to hang a priest only for religion's sake and saying mass; but if he refuse the oath of allegiance, which, (let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will,) yet, as you find by my book and divers others, is merely civil,—those that so refuse the oath, and are poly-pragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law; it is no persecution, but good justice."

It is not to be supposed that a despotic monarch, in such a *polypragmatic* temper as this, would be likely

to make a grant of power to govern a state, without a vigilant eye to this question of allegiance, and some such reservation as this of our Charter,—first inserted in that of Avalon, and exacted, no doubt, by Charles in the copy of that which was granted for Maryland.

I stop here to remark that Sir George Calvert, at the date of the Avalon Charter, is generally reputed to have been of the Protestant faith. In 1624, when he resigned the post of Secretary of State, "he freely confessed to the King," says Fuller, "that he was *then* become a Roman Catholic."

Upon this question of the supposed conversion of Calvert, there seems to be room for great doubt. I do not believe in it at all. I think there is proof extant to show that he had always been attached to the Church of Rome, or, at least, from an early period of his life.

The chief authority for his conversion is Fuller, in the passage to which I have referred. That account assigns it to the year 1624, when it occasioned, according to the author, his resignation. Now Calvert settled his colony in Newfoundland in 1621; and Oldmixon and others, amongst whom I find our own historian Bozman,* have ascribed this settlement to his wish to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics. Although I cannot discover any warrant for this statement, either in the history of the times or in what is known of Calvert, yet the assertion of it by Oldmixon and those who have preceded or followed him, demonstrates that they did not credit the story of the conversion as given by Fuller: for the author of the *Worthies of England* dates the conversion three years later than the settlement of Avalon, and

* History of Maryland, vol. 1, p. 232.

affirms it to be the motive to Calvert's resignation of a high trust, which, he informs us, the Secretary supposed he could not conscientiously hold as a Catholic.

If the conversion had taken place so early in the life of George Calvert as to have opened to him the scheme of planning a settlement for his persecuted fellow Catholics in Newfoundland, it must have happened before 1621. Indeed, as such a scheme was not of a character to be matured without long consideration, and preparing for the enterprise, it is not too much to presume that he had been of the faith which he was so anxious to protect, even in 1619, when he accepted the office of Secretary of State. We might then ask; why did he accept that office, with the scruples imputed to him by Fuller? At all events, why did he not resign it in 1621, if he had such scruples?

Even in 1624, the King, if Fuller's story be true, did not recognise the necessity of Calvert's resignation, for he was so affected "by this his ingenuity," says Fuller, "that he continued him privy councillor all his reign, and soon after created him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore in Ireland."

Why should he resign? The only motive that could impel him to it, as a question of conscience, was the necessity of taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. These he had already taken when he accepted office, and this being done, his continuance in office threw no new obligations upon him. Calvert was not averse from taking these oaths, we may fairly infer—first, because he had, in fact, taken them on assuming office; and second, because his Avalon Charter, already granted, and his Maryland

Charter, which was conferred but a few years afterwards, both placed him under obligations, on this point of supremacy and allegiance, which, as an honorable man, he could not have incurred if he entertained the scruples imputed to him. It is only to read the Charter, and to observe the import of the clause relating to the consecration of churches, the security of the religion of the Church of England, and the allegiance due to the crown, which I have already noticed, to see the force of this conclusion.

I cannot, therefore, perceive with Fuller that there was any special reason connected with Calvert's official relation to James, which rendered it a point of conscience that he should give up his office. Nor can I believe, if he had surrendered his post for that reason, he could have retained the favor of the King; much less that he could have attracted such renewed manifestations of it as he experienced. I discredit the story altogether. There were several Catholic noblemen who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of James, and received high dignities from him: there were, for example, the two Howards, Lords Thomas and Henry, one the son and the other the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, who were both brought into the ministry, the first being created Earl of Norfolk, and made Lord Treasurer, the second Earl of Northampton. There was no great asperity in the feelings of James against such Catholics as had been bred and nurtured in that faith. Towards such he was in the habit of expressing the most tolerant opinions. But he was noted for the avowal of particular hostility against such as had been converts from the Protestant Church. In a speech delivered at Whitehall, in 1609, on the occasion of the opening of Parliament,

he said, "I divide all my subjects that are papists into two ranks; either old papists that were so brought up in times of popery, and those that be younger in years, yet have never drunk in other milk, —or else such as do become apostates, having once been of our profession, and have forsaken the truth, either upon discontent or practice, or else upon a light, vain humor of novelty.—For the former sort I pity them, but if they be good and quiet subjects, I hate not their persons; and if I were a private man, I could well keep a civil friendship and conversation with some of them. But as for these apostates, who I know must be the greatest haters of their own sect, I confess I can never show any favorable countenance toward them; and they may all be sure, without exception, that they shall never find any more favor of me than I must needs, in justice, afford them, and these would I have the law to strike severeliest upon, and you carefulest to discover." Eight years after this, we find him expressing the same feeling, in language equally strong. He says, in 1616, in his Star Chamber speech, "I can love the person of a papist, being otherwise a good man and honestly bred, never having known any other religion; but the person of an apostate papist I hate."

It is not to be believed that James, thus openly avowing and reiterating such sentiments, would consent openly to reward, with distinguished marks of favor, a subject who stood precisely in the category he so strongly denounced. It is against all rational deduction of human conduct to believe, in the face of James' known aversion against converts to the Catholic from the Protestant faith, and his continued manifestation of kindness to Calvert, that

the story told by Fuller, of Calvert's conversion, can be true.

I refer to these facts, and especially to these extracts from the writings and speeches of King James, in no sectarian spirit. I am incapable of being enlisted as a partisan in such a cause. My respect for all who honestly profess the faith of either of the churches to which this controversy refers, and, above all, my reverence for the rights of conscience, forbid me to allude to these incidents with any other purpose than to use the facts which they supply to the illustration of a very interesting point in the history of this State. They furnish an almost conclusive argument to prove that Sir George Calvert was, if not actually nursed in the faith of Rome, no convert to that faith in his period of manhood: that if he ever was a Protestant, there is no record of it within our knowledge.

There were many in those days who did not choose to incur the vexations and perpetual annoyances of the prescription which the law denounced against Catholics; and to avoid these, they chose to conceal their opinions. The better part of the community,—I mean the more considerate and liberal—connived at these concealments, and gave the parties all the aid in their power. We find constant references to this fact in the history of the time. James himself secretly sustained many of these, especially when the persons concerned were friendly and serviceable to himself. In addition to the names I have already given, I find proof of this in a fact recorded by Burnet. I quote from his History of his Own Times:—"He (the King) fearing an opposition to his succeeding to the crown of England from the papist party, which, though it

had little strength in the House of Commons, yet was very great in the House of Lords, and was very considerable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed several persons who were known to be papists, though they complied outwardly. The chief of these were Elphinston, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord Balmerinoch, and Seaton, afterwards Chancellor and Earl of Dunfermline."

I much rather incline to the belief, without, in any degree, derogating from Lord Baltimore's integrity, that he was one of those who did not choose to make any very public exhibition of his faith; preferring the peace and security of private worship to the hazard and contention which a too open manifestation of it might bring. That being a man of moderate opinions, tolerant, and unassuming,—a sensible and discreet man, enjoying the confidence, and diligently employed in the service of the King,—he thought it the part of prudence and wisdom to keep his religion as much as possible confined to the privacy of his own chamber. We may believe that James was not too curious to inquire into the private opinions of a useful and faithful servant; and that when, in the last year of that monarch's life, Calvert made some open avowal to him of his attachment to the proscribed faith,—which most probably the King had known or surmised long before,—the disclosure produced no more unfriendly answer than an assurance of unabated confidence, and the promise of further preferment. This, to my mind, is the most rational explanation of the varying facts that are brought to us, and may have been at the foundation of the story told by Fuller. It is much the most probable surmise that the

Secretaryship was resigned, not on a scruple of conscience but from a desire on the part of Calvert to visit his colony in Newfoundland, which he did very soon after that event.*

There are other circumstances to raise a doubt of the story of the conversion. All the children of Lord Baltimore, of whom we know any thing, were Roman Catholics. We can hardly suppose their conversion to have followed that of their father. In 1624, Cecil, the eldest, was in his eighteenth year. Leonard, who took charge of the first colony in 1633, must have been but one or two years younger. Philip, who, in 1656, was made Secretary of the Province, and subsequently Chancellor, and then Governor, was probably very young at the period of his father's death.† These three sons we know were Catholics.

* *Vide note, page 38,* showing that Lord Baltimore visited Newfoundland very soon after his resignation.

† In the *Memoirs of the Baltimore Family*, published in the *London Magazine*, June, 1768, it is said that George Lord Baltimore had eleven children:—Cecil, Leonard, George, Francis, Henry, John, Anne, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Grace, and Helen. John and Francis died before their father. Anne married William Peaseley, Esq.; Grace married Sir George Talbot, of Cartoun in the county of Kildare, Bart.

No mention is made in this list of Philip, who resided for many years in the Province of Maryland, and filled some of the highest offices in it. In the Appendix to the second volume of *Bozman's Maryland*, p. 699, may be seen the commission of Cecil, to "our very loving brother Philip Calvert, Esq.," creating him one of the Council. A tablet erected to the memory of Lady Baltimore, in Hertingsfordbury Church, has the following inscription,—as well as I am able to decipher it in the wretched Latin which I copy from an obscure MS., of the origin of which I am ignorant:

Obiit die August, Anno Salutis, 1622.

D. O. M. S.

ET

JUCUNDISS. MEMORIÆ

ANNÆ GEOR. F. JOAN. N. MINNÆ

Ad omnia quæcunoue egregia natæ, ad meliora regressæ,

Pietate, pudicitia, prudentia incomparabilis feminæ,

Georgius Leon. F. Joan. N. Calvertus Eques Aur. Invictiss. Jacobo Regi

When did they become so? It is assuming too much to suppose that the mere influence of the parent's example would be sufficient with the two elder, Cecil and Leonard, at their time of life, to induce them to abandon the church in which they were bred, for another, against which all the prejudices of their youth and all the influences of their education must have been arrayed. It is much more probable that these sons were privately nurtured in the faith to which their parents had been attached before the children were born.

Amongst the proofs to be brought against the conversion, there is a strong passage in Rapin, which seems almost to settle the question.

Referring to the intrigues of the Spanish minister, Gondomar, in 1620, to manage King James, through his eagerness for the Spanish match—the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Infanta—and, by the pretext of promoting that marriage, to prevent the king from taking up the cause of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, Rapin remarks:—"He (the king) was so possessed with the project of ending the war by means of this match, that nothing was capable of altering this belief. Count Gondomar had bribed with presents and pensions all those who had the

Mag. Britanic. Franc. Hiberniæ, pio felici, semper augusto, secret. prim.
Et a conciliis sanctoribus, quæ cum vixit annos 18, sine offensa, liberosque
pari sexus discrimine decem

Reliquit Cecilium, Leonardum, Georgium, Franciscum, Henricum, Annam,
Dorotheam, Elizabetham, Graciam, Helenam, Sextem autem filium Johan-
nem, mortis,

Heu, suæ luctusque paterni prodromum ediderat,
Tam suavis contubernii memor maritus, tantoque
Dolore et desiderio impar, conjugii sanctissimæ hoc
Monumentum manibus geminis gemens posuit,
Sibique et suis posteris eorum.

Vixit An. XLII. M. IX. D. XVIII

king's ear, and who took care to cherish him in this vain project. Particularly—the author adds, in a note upon the authority of Arthur Wilson,—“the Earls of Worcester and Arundel, the Lord Digby, Sir George Calvert, Sir Richard Weston and others *popishly affected.*”*

I produce this passage not to give credit or currency to the bribery—which, in deference to Calvert's high character, integrity and honor, I utterly disbelieve,—but to show that, in 1620, he was regarded as a gentleman well affected to the Church of Rome, and was associated, in the public estimation, with that party who were favorable to the Spanish match,—a project which was particularly repugnant to the great body of the Protestants of that day, and no less particularly sought and desired by the Catholics.†

* This story of the bribery was very current at that time, as one may see in the first volume of Rushworth, who gives a copy of the instructions of the King of Spain to his minister in reference to it, exhibiting a very curious feature of diplomacy. It may amuse us to learn how broadly Gondomar practised on these instructions, as we may see from another of Rapin's notes, which immediately follows that I have just quoted. It is in these words:—“Wilson says he bribed the very ladies, especially those who talked much, and to whom much company resorted, that they might alloy such as were too sour in their expressions, and stop them if they run on too fast. But it seems he had neglected the Lady Jacobs, who, upon his passing by her window in his chair, instead of answering his salutation as usual, only gaped with her mouth, which, repeating again next day, he sent to know the reason. She replied, ‘she had a mouth to be stopped as well as other ladies.’”

† It is worthy of notice, as an item of testimony in this argument, that Anthony Wood, in his account of Calvert, says nothing about his conversion, but remarks, at the time of his being made Lord Baltimore he was supposed to be well affected to Popery. Wood makes no reference to Fuller, who, as far as I can learn, is the sole authority for the story of the conversion.

My view of Calvert's private adhesion to the Church of Rome at a date so much earlier than is ascribed to him by Fuller, is greatly strengthened by the following extract from a letter written by Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury to Sir T. Roe, just before Lord Baltimore's visit to Newfoundland, and which is quoted from *Roe's Letters*, p. 372, by Horace Walpole, in his list of Noble Authors, under the title of “George Calvert, Lord Baltimore.” It is as follows: “Mr. Secretary Calvert”—saith the prelate—“hath never looked merrily since the prince his coming out of Spain: it was thought he was much interested

I have now set forth the principal facts which have been accessible to my search, to disprove the current opinion concerning Lord Baltimore's religion.

This point is of great importance as an index to the character of Calvert, and of his conduct in the settlement of Maryland. If it be true, as I have endeavored to show, that Calvert, during the period of his official service in the government and at the date of his settlements in Newfoundland and in Maryland, was a Roman Catholic—this fact presents him to us in a new light, from which we may gather some very striking views of our early colonial history, and much also to increase our good opinion of the founder of the State.

Regarding him in this character of a Catholic gentleman, and scanning his history in that relation, we

in the Spanish affairs: a course was taken to rid him of all employments and negotiations. This made him discontented; and, as the saying is, *Desperatio facit monachum*, so he apparently did turn papist, which he now professeth, *this being the third time that he hath been to blame that way*. His majesty, to dismiss him, suffered him to resign his secretary's place to Sir Albertus Morton, who paid him £3000 for the same: and the King hath made him Baron of Baltimore in Ireland: so he is withdrawn from us: and having bought a ship of 400 tons, he is going to New England or Newfoundland, where he hath a colony."

This is testimony from an enemy, who might be inclined to put the worst construction on Calvert's acts, and to say as much to his prejudice as he could. Whilst, therefore, we may disregard the motives he imputes to Calvert, we may still find useful illustration in the facts to which he refers. This account certainly proves that Calvert was believed by his contemporaries to be secretly attached to the Church of Rome, and we may infer from it a very cogent support of the view I have endeavored to present of his character.

I am led also to believe that the family of Lady Calvert—she was the daughter of George Minne, Esq.—were Catholics; as I find in *Rushworth*, vol. 1, p. 395, in the year 1626, that Sir Henry Minne is presented by the House of Commons to the King, as a suspected popish recusant. This, though a fact of doubtful import, would seem to contribute some aid to the argument I have offered Calvert's marriage into a Catholic family might either indicate his original attachment to the faith of Rome, or explain his early adhesion to it, and the fact also, of his children being educated in its tenets.

The evidence thus accumulated upon this point leaves us no room to doubt the inaccuracy of Fuller's statement.

shall find strong motive to admire him for some excellent and rare qualities of character.

The times through which he lived were peculiarly trying to men of rank and consideration attached to the Church of Rome. The religious wars of the Reformation had kept Europe, during almost a century, in a state of ferocious exasperation. The Protestants had gained the ascendancy in England during the reign of Elizabeth, but were not so confident in the security of their position as to relax either the rigor or the vigilance of their jealousy of the adverse party. Unfortunately, the heady zeal of fanatics, on the other side, aided by the ancient hatreds which centuries had nursed, had perpetrated many excesses that gave too much cause to this jealousy. I will not allude to them more particularly, because I take no pleasure in reviving passages of history which had much better, on occasions like this, be forgotten. It is sufficient to say that the Parliament of England, stimulated both by real and imaginary fears of the Roman Catholic party, and, doubtless, something moved by the characteristic temper of the theological warfare that still raged, passed several severe disabling statutes, which suspended over the Catholic subjects of the realm the vexations, if not the terrors, of a very keen proscription. The Puritans somewhat famed at that day for their intolerance of all sects, but especially of the Roman Catholics, were gaining the ascendancy in Parliament, and were infusing into that body a large admixture of their own dislikes.

In such a time, the prudence of Calvert conducted him not only safely through the perils of his career, but enabled him, in addition, to secure the protection

and favor of the King. In such a time, Calvert became a member of the Virginia Company, and lent his aid, of course, to the scheme of colonization, which it fostered. In such a time, he obtained the charters of Avalon and Maryland, and devoted himself with a generous zeal to the project of settlement which these charters contemplated.

What shall we say of that clause in these charters which secured to all emigrants, who chose to demand it, the free exercise of the religion of the Church of England? What of that grant which gave to the Proprietary the patronage and advowsons of the English Church, as well as the right to found all the churches and chapels of that faith? What shall we say of such grants as these to a Catholic nobleman by a Protestant Prince? Certainly we may say that the Prince who made such a grant had great faith in the religious tolerance, the wisdom and integrity of the subject to whom the grant was made. Certainly we may say that the man who attracted such confidence, was neither a fanatic nor a bigot, but one whose character gave the highest assurance that his trust would not be abused.

I find no reason, whatever, to suppose, as I have already intimated, that in the planting of either Avalon or Maryland, Lord Baltimore was moved by a special desire to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics, as many have alleged. The Charter of Maryland does not indicate such a purpose, nor do the proceedings under it. Quite the reverse. I gather from that Charter, and from all I read concerning what was done under it, that it was planned by Lord Baltimore, and carried into execution by him and his sons, in a spirit of the broadest and most

liberal toleration towards, at least, all Christian sects. The wisdom of that age had not risen to the acknowledgment of that universal freedom of conscience—the glory of the present time—which limits not to Christendom only the privilege that belongs to mankind.

The glory of Maryland toleration, which has been so fruitful a theme of panegyric to American historians, is truly in the Charter, not in the celebrated act of 1649. There is more freedom of conscience, more real toleration, an hundred-fold, in this Charter of a Protestant prince to a Catholic nobleman, than in that act so often recalled to our remembrance, in reference to which I propose to take some other opportunity to review its history and its supposed claims to our admiration. The glory of Maryland toleration is in the Charter—not in the act of 1649. In settling the colony under this charter, it is true that Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, gathered the colonists chiefly from the Roman Catholics. It was quite natural that, in making up his first adventure, the Proprietary should have gone amongst his friends and kinsmen, and solicited their aid to his enterprise. It is to their credit that they joined him in it. And much more to their credit that they faithfully administered the Charter, by opening the door of emigration to all Christians, with an assurance of equal rights and privilege. Where have we such a spectacle in that age? All the world was intolerant of religious opinion but this little band of adventurers, who, under the guidance of young Leonard Calvert, committed their fortunes and their hopes to the Ark and the Dove, and entered Maryland between St. Michael and St. Joseph,—as they denominated the two head-

lands of the Potomac,—the portals to that little wilderness which was to become the home of their posterity. All the world outside of these portals was intolerant, proscriptive, vengeful against the children of a dissenting faith.—Here, only, in Maryland, throughout all this wide world of Christendom, was there an altar erected, and truly dedicated to the freedom of Christian worship. Let those who first reared it enjoy the renown to which it has entitled them!

This happy enterprise could not have succeeded under any other circumstances than those which existed. If Charles had been a Catholic Prince, a Catholic Proprietary would have procured a Charter for the establishment of a Catholic province. If Calvert had been a Protestant nobleman, a Protestant Prince would have granted him a Charter for a Protestant province. In either case it would have been proscriptive. Both of these predicaments were abundantly exemplified in the history of that period. Exclusiveness, intolerance, persecution of opposing sects, were the invariable characteristics of early American colonization. It was to the rare and happy coincidence of a wise, moderate and energetic Catholic statesman, asking and receiving a Charter from a Protestant monarch, jealous of the faith, but full of honorable confidence in the integrity of his servant, that we owe this luminous and beautiful exception of Maryland to the spirit of the colonization of the seventeenth century.

Before this enterprise was consummated, Lord Baltimore died. His son Cecil was now twenty-eight years of age. To him was committed the fulfilment of his father's design. He was faithful to the trust;

and in the same beneficent, liberal and sagacious spirit in which the colony was first projected, he devoted himself to the ministration of its affairs. He was wealthy, and in the first two years expended forty thousand pounds upon the plantation.

It is not my purpose now to comment upon the history or the character of Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore. I reserve that for another time. I wish, however, before I close this discourse, to note some facts connected with Cecil's administration of the province, to show how admirably and how justly the father had conceived the plan of a benignant government, and how faithfully the son had carried it into execution. The incident to which I am about to call your attention, is an index to the purpose of Lord Baltimore, more comprehensive and pertinent than a volume of dissertation. Maryland may be called **THE LAND OF THE SANCTUARY**. All Christians were invited freely within its borders. They found there a written covenant of security against all encroachment on their rights of conscience by the Lord Proprietary or his government. The following story, copied by Bozman from the records at Annapolis, will illustrate not only how tenderly these rights of conscience were respected, but—what would be quite remarkable in any government—what delicate concern was manifested in the early administration of the province, for the sensibilities of those who might feel aggrieved by any attempt to insult their religious opinions.

A proclamation had been issued by Leonard Calvert, the Governor, in 1638, to prohibit "all unseasonable disputations in point of religion, tending to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet of the colony, and to *the opening of faction in religion.*"—Captain

Cornwaleys, a Catholic gentleman, one of the most distinguished and authoritative persons in the province, had two Protestant servants by the name of Gray and Sedgrave. These two chanced to be reading aloud together Smith's Sermons,—a Protestant book, and were overheard by William Lewis, an overseer in the employment of Cornwaleys. Lewis was a zealous Catholic, and it happened that the servants, when overheard by him, were reading a passage to which he took great exception: it charged the Pope to be Antichrist, and the Jesuits to be antichristian ministers. Lewis, it seems, supposed this was read aloud to vex him;—whereupon, getting into a passion, he told them "that it was a falsehood, and came from the devil as all lies did: and that he that writ it was an instrument of the devil, and he would prove it: and that all Protestant ministers were the ministers of the devil,"—and he forbade them from reading more.

Without going further into the particulars, it will be sufficient to relate that the two servants prepared a formal complaint against the overseer, to be submitted to the Governor and Council; that Captain Cornwaleys himself gave the case another direction, by sending it into court, of which Governor Calvert, Cornwaleys, and Mr. Lewger, the Secretary of the Province, were the members; that this court summoned all the parties before it, heard the whole case, and fined Lewis five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ordered him to remain in prison until he should find sureties for his good behaviour in future.

This proceeding needs no comment. It certainly was a curious matter to be made a State affair:—but it very strikingly displays the patriarchal character

of the government and its extreme solicitude to keep all religious bickerings and discontents out of the province. It is curious, not only as an evidence of the tolerant spirit of a Catholic administration, engaged in defending Protestant subjects from insult, but also as an evidence of the care of that government to protect the humblest persons within its jurisdiction from the slightest invasion of their rights of conscience.--We might ask if a parallel to this incident can be produced in the history of colonization on this continent.

I am admonished by the time I have occupied, of the necessity of drawing this discourse to a close. I shall do this, in presenting the character of Calvert, as it strikes me in the review I have made of his life.

Belknap, writing from the biographies of Collier and Kippis, says of him :*—"Though he was a Roman Catholic, he kept himself disengaged from all interests, behaving with such moderation and propriety, that all parties were pleased with him. He was a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others, as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he examined all letters, and carried to the King every night, an exact and well digested account of affairs. He agreed with Sir John Popham, in the design of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of executing it. Popham was for extirpating the original inhabitants; Calvert was for civilizing and converting them. The former was for present profit; the latter for reasonable expectation, and for employing governors who were not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen: he

* American Biography, vol. 2, p. 367. Title *Calvert*.

was for granting liberties with caution, leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not to depend on a common interest."

This sketch of Calvert is, doubtless, just. We may say, in addition, that he was characterized not less by the politic management than by the vigor with which he prosecuted his designs. Considering the difficulties in his way, nothing but the greatest tact and judgment could have conducted his plan of the Maryland settlement to a prosperous conclusion. His address in the contest with Virginia, evidenced by his complete success, gives us a high opinion of his fitness for public affairs. The enterprise shown by him in the defence of Avalon; his perseverance and promptness in bringing his Maryland scheme into action; his personal labors in both of these colonies, impress us most favorably with a respect for his courage, his energy, and his skill in the management of war. The posts which he filled, his position and conduct in parliament, the favor and esteem he seems always to have inspired, demonstrate his ability, as well as his prudence, and give us reason to infer an amiable, well bred and affable disposition: the character of the government he established in Maryland, and the just sentiments with which he seems to have inspired his son, and the lavish expenditure which he, doubtless, both authorized and provided before his death, attest his liberal views of the rights of conscience, his generosity, and his zeal in the cause of colonization.

He was eminently fitted for his undertaking, by the circumstances in which he lived. Although we have no reason to believe that he was a very ardent or zealous follower of his faith, but, on the contrary,

moderate in that as in all other matters of opinion or conduct, yet, to a certain extent, he had been schooled in adversity:—not the adversity of want, or of disfavor,—but in that adversity which a lofty spirit equally feels,—the proscription, namely, of himself, his kindred and friends, for maintaining a faith to which his judgment and conscience attached him. Persecution and intolerance of his own particular religious opinions taught him, what they always teach upright minds, the practice of the opposite virtues; and they brought him to a true appreciation of that nobleness of character which cherishes freedom of opinion as one of the highest prerogatives of a rational being. In this respect Calvert was in advance of his age. There was ever before him a daily admonition of the necessity of reserve, prudence and humility, from which he drew a wise man's profit. The bitter intolerance which was, in his time, more or less the characteristic of every religious sect,—almost the universal fashion of opinion,—spent itself with peculiar acrimony in England against those of his creed. It furnished him a daily topic of meditation, and so chastened his feelings towards mankind. "It is the method of charity,"—says Sir Thomas Brown,—“to suffer without reaction.” This affords us the key to those virtues which appear so conspicuous in the frame and administration of the Maryland Colony, and which have drawn forth so much commendation from historians.

“Sweet are the uses of adversity.”—Happy is he who, experienced in these uses, comes to authority amongst his fellow men; whose temper, tuned to the humility of suffering, brings a heart warm with that memory, brings a mind skilled, by old sympathies

springing from the knowledge of human wrongs, to some station of control wherein he may somewhat direct and shape the lot of his fellow men. Blessed is such a man in his generation, if, wisely and humbly, with due weighing of his own trials, with due reverence for that holy light these trials have thrown upon the pathway of justice and mercy along which he is commissioned to walk,—he remembers, heeds and practises the duty of guidance and instruction to his subordinates.

When I go forth to seek a leader of men in whatsoever enterprise, let me find him of a generous nature, of a manly, brave spirit, of clear insight of what he is and what he has to do, of sturdy intelligence improved by all good studies, of honest soul,—and then to all these rare perfections, let me add that richest grace which comes from a successful encounter with adversity—not broken by it, but taught; not hardened in heart, but mellowed and filled with pity,—such a man would be one, above all men, to follow, cherish, for ever remember. Of such are heroes made: by them is our race adorned, exalted, made worthy of history. Truly, I believe no hero ever became veritable but through this high road of suffering! Mock heroes we have enough: the world is full of them, who strut before the footlights in all manner of tinsel; who flaunt on many sign-posts; who fill the throats of a whole senseless generation with huzzas:—such mock heroes, with their “mad jumble of hypocrisies,” we have in all times to a surfeit. But no true hero, who has not stood, in many a dark day, erect and manful, trusting to his manhood, and confident to carve his way either to proud destruction, or to the prosperous light. This world’s vicissitudes, which

men somewhat impiously call Fortune, are the tests by which God has signified the true man from the false;—which, checkering the progress of mortals with more or less of pain and privation, in greater or smaller degree, render them heroic;—prepare Hercules for his twelve labors;—prepare Jason for his long circumnavigation;—prepare Columbus for his abyss of waters, and his miraculous Epic of a New World;—prepare Washington to render that New World for ever unchainable,—for ever proud, and disdainful of tyranny.

Is not George Calvert, in some honorable degree, entitled to a portion of this praise?



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