time, he might even have made the idea of imperial regulation more acceptable. But his time ran out in April 1689. Immediately on receipt of the news that William of Orange had replaced James II, the people of Boston arrested and imprisoned the governor and other Dominion officials. Recalled in disgrace for the second time, Andros appeared to have reached the end of his career. But William III, a good judge of men, recognized Andros as the most experienced colonial servant available, and a man who stood ready to serve the king of England rather than the House of Stuart. Andros made his final journey to North America in 1692. He came as governor of Virginia, an honorable and on the whole easy appointment after the tumult of New York and New England.

In Virginia, Andros's conduct seemed to belie the reputation for tyranny he had earned in New England. He encountered little overt hostility from the House of Burgesses and dealt with it in a spirit of compromise. While pressing for measures he thought he must have, he was ready to relent when the house stubbornly opposed him. The fact that his instructions—to promote the Virginia tobacco economy—harmonized with the interests of the people he governed aided him. But Andros was unhappy in Virginia, and he resigned in 1697 amid a bitter dispute with the Anglican commissary, James Blair. Scheming to increase his power and influence, Blair had unjustly charged the governor with failing to support the Anglican Church and being indifferent to the fate of the College of William and Mary. The commissary was the kind of man Edmund Andros neither understood nor knew how to combat. An aristocrat trying to do the best job he could, Andros would not stoop to refute absurd charges, confident that the people who mattered would assess the situation correctly without his help. Defenseless against this unscrupulous liar, he left office a frustrated man.

Andros became lieutenant governor of Guernsey in 1704. He had inherited the office of bailiff from his father thirty years before, and he now joined in his person the entire civil and military authority of the island. Needless to say, the inhabitants thought that this put too much power in the hands of one man, and they made life difficult for him until 1706, when he resigned both offices. He retired to London, where he died in February 1714.

Andros married three times but had no children. He married Mary Craven in Febrary 1671; she died at Boston on January 22, 1688. He married Elizabeth Cripse in August 1692; she died in August 1703. Andros's third wife was Elizabeth Fitz Herbert, whom he married April 21, 1707. She survived him.

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EDWARD BYLLYNGE (d. 1687), born of an old small-gentry family of Hengar, was a Cornishman. While serving as a cornet of cavalry with General Christopher Monk in Scotland, he was converted to Quakerism by George Fox. In 1661, after the civil

war had ended, he worked as a brewer in London. As a Foxian Friend he constantly courted trouble with the authorities. On one occasion he was "roughly used by soldiers." On another, he refused to remove his hat in court until ordered to do so; he lifted his hat, and a pile of ashes he had concealed under it covered the floor. But more than a radical demonstrator, Byllynge was an idealist seeking relief for the persecuted Friends. He wrote several well-known tracts espousing the political and social liberties that Parliament should guarantee to free-born Englishmen.

By 1675 Byllynge had gone bankrupt and had been charged with making off with Friends' funds and bringing the Society into disrepute. Fearing to involve the Friends, Byllynge apologized publicly for his misdeeds. In later years his reputation became still more tarnished, but Fox and the other Quaker leaders, despite the doubts of William Penn, never lost confidence in him.

John, Lord Berkeley, coproprietor with Sir George Carteret of all New Jersey since 1664, lacked interest in the province and suggested that Byllynge might reinstate his shattered fortune by purchasing Berkeley's portion of the property. Berkeley and Byllynge completed the sale in March 1674, and Major John Fenwick, also a Friend, as assignee for the legally bankrupt Byllynge, put up part of the purchase price. Then Fenwick and Byllynge quarreled about the portion to which each was entitled, and they had to call on William Penn, a leading Quaker, to arbitrate the dispute. This was Penn's initial venture in the New World, and during the negotiations, he found the stubbornness of both men highly irritating. Finally he persuaded Byllynge to agree to a trusteeship of three Quakers—Penn and two of Byllynge's creditors—to straighten out his finances. The trusteeship continued from February 1675 to September 1683, when Byllynge became solvent, and it divided the province into one hundred shares or proprieties, giving Fenwick ten and Byllynge's creditors twenty-odd. The remaining shares were put up for sale among interested Friends, many of them prospective settlers. Dissatisfied with his share, Fenwick took off on his own to found Salem County in November 1675.

The trustees, with Byllynge's consent, proceeded to found a Quaker colony on the east bank of the Delaware. They effected a division of New Jersey with the proprietor George Carteret; issued the famous Concessions and Agreements of West New Jersey, which spelled out a frame of governance and land purchase for prospective settlers; and undertook negotiations to obtain a recognition of the right of government. The boundary of Byllynge's proprietorship, named West New Jersey, ran from Little Egg Harbor diagonally to 41° 40′ on the upper Delaware. The Concessions and Agreements, prepared in 1676 by Byllynge with the knowledge and assent of William Penn, bore the date March 3, 1677. Finally, through Penn's influence, an acknowledgement of the right of government was obtained from the duke of York, the original proprietor, in August 1680. Since the duke turned out to have no authority to assign the right of government to a third party, the crown later repudiated it.

The chief proprietor, Byllynge, the trustees, and eventually over one hundred purchasers of shares or fractions of shares, including many prospective settlers, signed the Concessions and Agreements. Burlington, the first of several Quaker settlements, was founded in August 1677. The Concessions provided for an elected assembly of council and lower house, thus promising self-government. The document spelled out other privileges in keeping with the convictions of the Society of Friends: trial by jury, religious liberty, and freedom from imprisonment for debt. The Concessions is famous for its guarantees of individual liberty; however, its system of land ownership and land distribution, with its fractioned shares and sporadic land dividends, proved cumbersome.

During the years 1677–83 four of the

projected tenths or districts were settled, mainly by Quakers from England and Ireland. Fenwick, the self-styled lord proprietor of Salem Tenth, at first stood aloof. As chief proprietor and governor, Byllynge appointed a recent settler, Samuel Jennings, deputy-governor, in violation of the Concessions. Penn, believing Jennings a worthy man, advised the inhabitants to accept him. But in May 1683, when Byllynge intimated that he was coming out as governor, the assembly adopted strong resolves: the governor, council and representatives would meet together as the general assembly; the governor would read and explain his proposed laws; and the assembly would either adopt or reject them. The assembly then elected Jennings—who had agreed to accept the Concessions—governor, thus repudiating Byllynge. On the last day Fenwick and Penn joined in the deliberations. The legislature was unanimously resolved that since the land and government together had been purchased from the trustees, the Concessions alone constituted the fundamentals of government. In a special session of March 1684 the assembly voted to send Jennings and Thomas Budd, a councilor, to England to deal directly with Byllynge.

The emissaries arrived in London in the early summer and first interviewed Byllynge. But when he threatened them with imprisonment for usurpation, they informed him that they would seek a remedy from Whitehall or Westminster (the crown or the courts). At this juncture the Society of Friends, disapproving actions in court, persuaded Jennings to submit the dispute to the arbitration of leading Quakers. The arbitration, with George Fox present, lasted from July 31 to October 11. Though six of the fourteen arbiters refused to sign the award, the complainants lost. The decision went in Byllynge's favor because the Concessions could not grant the right of government, which had not been obtained from the duke until 1680. Byllynge, therefore, could not be divested of it without his own consent. Moreover, the award stated that the government should be vested in one person or one corporation; patently, it could not be divided into one hundred parts or shares. The decision also pointed out that since the assembly had accepted Jennings as deputy-governor it could not legally elect him governor. The award concluded that Byllynge, insofar as possible, should fulfill his commitments to the resident shareholders and settlers and made a strong plea for peace "in the name of Jesus Christ."

By virtue of the award Byllynge was undisputed chief proprietor and governor. Though Jennings and Budd remained in London for ten months appealing to the crown for a remedy, their efforts were ignored. Jennings never recovered from the repudiation and, for the rest of his long life, he remained an unyielding foe of arbitrary authority. In November 1685 Byllynge appointed John Skene, a supporter, his deputy. Skene's first act was to clear the court bench of Byllynge's opponents. The assembly met in November 1685 with representatives from the five settled tenths. "Reserving their just rights and privileges," though recognizing Skene, they appointed a committee to examine the new charter and laws proposed by Byllynge. One of these laws would enable the English shareholders to vote by proxy, thus assuring Byllynge of control of the assembly.

In May 1686 the assembly voted to reject Byllynge's charter and his proposed laws on the ground that an absentee governor was incapable of making laws for the province. They also objected that Byllynge's appointments of officials in the government and in the courts violated the Concessions. The session of 1686 was the last during Byllynge's regime. His health had been deteriorating since 1684; consequently he designated his son-in-law, Benjamin Bartlet, as his successor. He died of tuberculosis in January 1687, and in the fall Bartlet and the two Byllynge daughters sold the twenty-odd Byllynge shares, with the right of government, to Dr. Daniel Coxe, one of early America's great land speculators.

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ROBERT BARCLAY (December 23, 1648–October 3, 1690), a man of uncommon versatility, was one of the principal leaders of seventeenth-century Quakerism. By the age of thirty he was considered the greatest Quaker apologist of his day, and by the time of his death, eleven years later, he had excelled in four disparate occupations—scholarship, the ministry, court politics, and colonial government.

Barclay was born at Gordonstown, Murrayshire, Scotland, on December 23, 1648, the first son of David Barclay (1610–86) and Katharine Gordon. His father was a professional soldier who supported the royalist cause during the Civil War, his mother the daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, second cousin to England's King James I. In 1659 young Barclay was sent to Paris to study with his uncle, rector of the Scot's College, an institution for training missionary priests to reconvert Scotland to Roman Catholicism. He returned to Scotland on his mother's death in 1663 and pursued the study of Greek, Hebrew and ecclesiastical history. Shortly after, a set of confusing political circumstances led to his father's imprisonment, during which he met the persuasive Quaker John Swinton. Profoundly moved by Swinton's sincerity and enthusiasm, the elder Barclay publicly acknowledged himself a Friend in 1666, and Robert followed suit a year later. Robert's marriage in 1670 to Christian Molleson, daughter of a pioneer Scottish Quaker family, cemented the Barclay commitment. The couple had nine children, seven of whom lived to become vigorous and influential Friends.

During the succeeding decade, Barclay devoted his intellect and energy to the propagation of his new faith. Between 1670 and 1678 he published more than a dozen religious treatises, including *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1676), a seventeenth-century religious classic. So great was the impact of these works that D. Elton Trueblood, Barclay's biographer, credits him with saving Quakerism from extinction. Between treatises Barclay spent considerable time traveling, speaking, and corresponding in the Friends' behalf, and these activities assumed even greater importance during the last dozen years of his life.

As his literary production waned, Barclay concentrated his energies on politics. Familial and social connections most profoundly affected his career. Like many Scottish Quakers, he suffered persecution and imprisonment. His relentless efforts to win over the king's brother and heir,