



EDMUND ANDROS (December 6, 1637–February 1714) played a central role in implementing England's colonial policy during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. From 1674 to 1681 he managed the duke of York's proprietary interests in New York. In 1686, James II commissioned him to consolidate and administer the northern colonies as the Dominion of New England. This attempt to tighten imperial control was defeated in 1689. Between 1692 and 1697 Andros reached the summit of his career as governor of Virginia, England's most valuable North American colony.

During his tenure at New York and for his final year as governor of the Dominion, Andros was vested with nominal control over New Jersey's affairs. He exercised his authority actively for ten months in 1680–81 and never extended his rule beyond East Jersey. His impact on the development of New Jersey was short but significant, for the policies he was ordered to enforce there and in New England showed that the mother country viewed her colonies as exploitable dependencies rather than as potential equals with rights of their own. When Andros acted on his instructions, he inevitably aroused bitter colonial opposition and earned himself a reputation as an implacable foe of colonial liberties and self-government. To his American antagonists he was a tyrant bent on reducing them to the will of a distant and arbitrary power. But to his employers he was a trusted public servant charged with ensuring proper submission to duly constituted authority. Andros never questioned the right of his masters in England to govern the North American colonies; it was his misfortune to rule people who did.

Edmund Andros was born into a family which had for generations ranked among the wealthiest and most aristocratic in-

habitants of the Isle of Guernsey. His ancestors had spelled the name "Andrewes," and, though the French-speaking islanders had corrupted the spelling, the name apparently retained its original pronunciation. Though Andros never said so, it is evident that his family's position on Guernsey influenced his character profoundly. His father Amias was a staunch Anglican who strongly supported Charles I's claims to supremacy over Parliament. Unfortunately for Amias and his family, the predominantly Puritan inhabitants of Guernsey favored the parliamentary cause. The sense of religious and political isolation which the young man shared with his father undoubtedly contributed to his reserved, austere demeanor and left him with a cold insensitivity to popular opinions. With no desire for employment in Puritan England, in 1656 Edmund turned to the continent and a career as a professional soldier. He served for three years under Prince Henry of Nassau and apparently distinguished himself in a campaign against Sweden.

The restoration of Charles II in 1660 retrieved the fortunes of the Andros family and opened the door to preferment for Edmund. The king rewarded his loyalty with a place at court and two years later, on June 4, 1662, commissioned him an ensign in the Regiment of Guards. England's bitter trade rivalry with Holland soon afforded Andros the opportunity to serve his king in a more responsible position. Early in 1667, he was appointed major of the Barbados Regiment, and he went with his men to garrison that tiny but fertile Caribbean outpost. After serving two tours of duty on Barbados, from February 1667 to February 1669 and again from September 1672 to May 1674, he came home with a reputation for expertise in the management of a colony far removed from the center of power and authority.

Andros's experience eventually came to the attention of James, duke of York and brother of Charles II, a man in need of someone with ability in colonial affairs. In 1664, the king had given James a vast

tract of land centered around the Dutch settlements on Manhattan Island. Charles had drawn the boundary of the patent generously, east to the Connecticut River and west to the Delaware River, including half of Connecticut and all of New Jersey in his gift to his brother. Once the Dutch were conquered, James was free to rule in a manner "not contrary to the laws of England" and to do so without the consent of any representative assembly. But the duke had insufficient resources to develop his entire patent, and he sold the land between the Hudson and the Delaware to Sir George Carteret and John, Lord Berkeley. Since James had no legal right to sell or share the powers of government conferred by his charter, the New Jersey proprietors purchased the right to the profits of the land with no authority to collect taxes, levy customs duties, or establish a separate government. James, however, raised no objection when Berkeley and Carteret proceeded to rule their proprietary as though they possessed a valid royal charter.

The Dutch recapture of Manhattan Island for a few months in 1673-74 voided the duke's original patent. When the king issued him a duplicate in 1674, James did not reconfirm the sale of New Jersey. He regarded his colony as a commercial venture and took this opportunity to introduce a new scheme for raising enough money to pay the costs of government and provide him a profit. New Jersey and Connecticut were the key elements in his plans to impose a customs duty in addition to the rate already levied by the Navigation Acts. He had to bring both areas under his control to prevent New York merchants from evading the tax simply by moving across the Hudson River or into Connecticut.

On July 1, 1674, James commissioned Edmund Andros governor of New York and issued him a set of instructions certain to displease the settlers he had to rule. The Dutch Calvinists on Manhattan Island and in the Hudson Valley, already fearful that an English Anglican governor

might alter their forms of worship, disliked paying increased taxes on their trade. The English Puritans on Long Island bitterly resented the ban on representative assemblies and sought to annex themselves to the neighboring, self-governing colony of Connecticut. Connecticut, for her part, had no intention of relinquishing her western half and stood ready to defend her charter rights. Oddly enough the inhabitants of New Jersey had the least to fear from the new governor. Though New Jersey was vital to the duke's commercial schemes, for the moment friends in high places protected her government. Andros had to step carefully because Sir George Carteret was a favorite of Charles II. For five and a half years, Andros soft-pedaled James's claims in the Jerseys and found himself powerless to realize the revenues his master expected.

Despite this failure, Andros showed commendable ability in reconciling the Dutch to English rule and in keeping the Indians of New York at peace while their brothers ravaged New England in King Philip's War (1675-76). Both situations encouraged the aristocratic governor to act with a paternalistic concern for his inferiors, a style of government he found quite congenial. At the same time, he was shrewd enough to realize that a representative assembly with limited powers was a small price to pay for making the English settlers more amenable to the duke's government. Andros communicated this suggestion to James, but nothing came of it during Andros's tenure at New York. Andros was intelligent, though insensitive; nevertheless, at no point in his career did he have any say in formulating the policies he was charged with enforcing.

Andros's principal shortcoming as a colonial governor was his lack of tact and imagination in dealing with people who resented his rule. Ordered to annex half of Connecticut, he pressed the issue to the point of armed confrontation at the very time southern New England was fighting for its life against King Philip. When the death of Sir George Carteret in January 1680 freed Andros to move against East

Jersey, he acted with a studied ruthlessness which did him little credit. In March he placed Governor Philip Carteret under arrest and then brought him to trial for infringing on the duke's rights. When the jury persisted in finding Carteret innocent, Andros browbeat the jurors, and though they declined to change the verdict they encouraged Carteret to retire. Andros consistently ignored the need to work subtly and flexibly to attain his ends and preferred to stick as closely as possible to the letter of his instructions.

Having ousted Carteret, Andros for the first time exercised his authority over East Jersey. But he had little time to enjoy his triumph or to implement the duke's system. He was recalled in January 1681, ostensibly to answer charges of financial corruption laid against his administration but actually because he had become a liability to James. His heavy-handed tactics in East Jersey had antagonized the Carteret family, and the threat of similar treatment had alienated the Quaker proprietors of West Jersey. Since James could not afford to lose the support of either group, he removed the offending governor and finally, after seven years, released his claims to the Jerseys.

Though temporarily unemployed, Andros was not out of favor. Knighted in about 1681, he received a post at court in 1683 and became lieutenant colonel of the Princess of Denmark's Regiment of Horse in 1685. During these years Charles II laid plans to combine the colonies from Maine to Connecticut into a single royal province. When the duke of York came to the throne as James II in February 1685, he knew at first hand the wisdom of his brother's plans. The multiplicity of colonies had thwarted his commercial schemes in New York, and now, with the rise of French power in Canada, James believed that both the prosperity and the survival of England's colonies were at stake. He realized that Andros was his ablest and most conscientious colonial official and, on August 1, 1686, appointed him royal governor of the Dominion of New England.

Immediately on his arrival at Boston on December 20, 1686, Andros offended the Massachusetts Puritans by demanding a place to conduct Anglican services. The following spring he once more demonstrated his lack of diplomatic skill by raucously celebrating the king's coronation on a sabbath and by sanctioning the erection of a maypole in Charlestown, Massachusetts. His actions convinced the suspicious Puritans that James II, a covert Roman Catholic, was planning to suppress their forms of worship. The governor's needlessly antagonistic behavior hurt his mission, but he quickly proved himself an able administrator by introducing new taxes to put the government on its feet. Though the land tax distributed a lighter burden more equitably across the society, it provoked the most heated opposition, particularly in Essex County north of Boston. Andros moved rapidly to put down this unrest, acting with the severity of a professional soldier accustomed to seeing authority obeyed. He so rigorously enforced the Navigation Acts that in a short time New England's flourishing commerce was brought to a standstill. He reorganized both the judiciary and the system of land tenure to conform to English practice. He gave the justices of the peace added responsibilities which he had stripped from town control and made them administer justice in the king's name. He regularized ownership by regranteeing land to its occupants and by instituting quitrents. Ironically, his greatest service did little to win over the New Englanders. He shored up the defenses against French aggression by overseeing the construction of frontier forts, by overhauling the militia, and by dealing fairly with the Indians. But his concern for the Indians annoyed the colonists, who were bent on exterminating the savage menace.

Andros had undertaken an impossible task, for James demanded nothing short of a radical restructuring of New England society. Andros managed to impose the maximum degree of centralized government which that recalcitrant region would endure before 1775 and, given

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 February 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