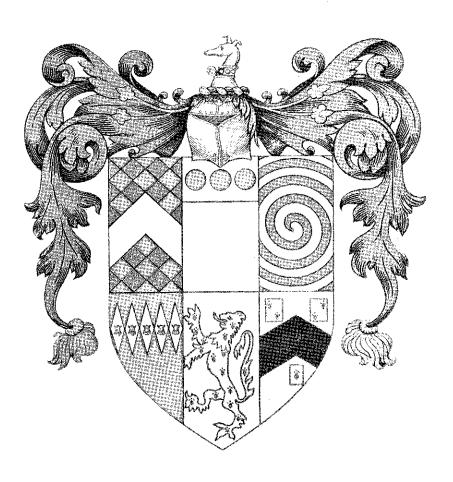
YORK AS AGAMENTICUS, BRISTOL, AND GORGEANA



BY: JAMIE REYNOLDS APRIL, 1968

BULLETIN NO. 2 HISTORIC LANDMARKS AWARD PROGRAM

Historic Landmarks, Inc. is a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation of our colonial heritage. The society maintains Jefferds Tavern, the Marshall Store, the John Hancock Warehouse, the Elizabeth Perkins House, and the Old Schoolhouse as historical museums. Landmarks such as the Old Burying Ground, Maude Muller Spring and Snowshoe Rock are cared for by the Society. Funds are used to purchase books for the York Public Library, to arrange lectures on historical subjects, and to place markers in areas of historical significance.

The Award Program was planned to serve the student, the society, the school and the community by encouraging high school students to do research on problems relating to the colonial heritage of York, Maine. This paper, a product of such research, was submitted on April 24, 1968.

John D. Bardwell, Vice-President Society for the Preservation of Historic Landmarks in York County, Inc.

PUBLISHED BY

Society for the Preservation of Historic Landmarks in York, County, Inc.

1969

COVER: ARMS OF SIR FERDINANDO GORGES

YORK AS AGAMENTICUS, BRISTOL, AND GORGEANA

Introduction

In the early sixteen hundreds, the area now known as York was a verdant wilderness, inhabited by Indians, when it was first viewed by explorers such as John Cabot, Bartholomew Gosnold, and Christopher Levett. These noble adventurers uncovered the hidden wealth of the land and parleyed with the savages. In their reports and maps sent back to England, they employed the use of established Indian names for identification of the topographical features. Therefore, it is reasonable that when, in 1630, settlers from Bristol, England, came across the ocean to settle York as a possible trading village, they adopted a regional, i.e. Indian, name for their settlement. The sparse collection of crude buildings became "Accomenticus," after the river on whose banks they built their settlement. It was not until eight years later that it was brought to the attention of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Lord Proprietor of the borough of Agamenticus, that his plantation in Maine was without a legalized corporate name.² That same year, 1638, Gorges obtained a charter of incorporation for Agamenticus, and its inhabitants elected to rename the town after that city in England that had been most influential in the discovery and subsequent settlement of Agamenticus - Bristol.³ The town of Bristol in New England was in existence a mere three years when growing concern over England's increasing lack of control in the colonies caused Gorges to look once more to his own colony in the New World. In hopes that one day his town would become the capitol of New England, Gorges drew up another charter raising Bristol to the status of a city. In 1641, Bristol became Gorgeana, the first incorporated city in America.4

These three names — Agamenticus, Bristol, and Gorgeana — mark the growth of one of the first towns to cut its way into the rich but uncivilized forests of New England to reap its abundant wealth of natural resources. Each appellation serves as a milestone, denoting the various phases of the pioneer town that had the foresight to take advantage of the opulence of Maine.

^{1.} Historic York, Maine, p. 5.

^{2.} In various documents "Agamenticus" has been referred to as: Accomenticus, 1614; Aquamenticus, 1623; Aquamentiquos, 1631; Acamenticus, 1633; Augumeaticus, 1636; Agomentico, 1640.

^{3.} Charles Edward Banks, History of York Maine, vol. I, p. 78.

^{4.} Facts About Maine, p. 34.

Agamenticus (1630 to 1638)

The first milestone, Agamenticus, was conceived in a time when the Old World was just beginning to wake from a peculiar apathy that had marked its former relations with the vast expanse of unexplored land across the Atlantic Ocean. The settlers that first came to York from England were eager to start a new life, to cultivate the productive land that was now theirs. They chose for their settlement a regional name; one that would upon its utterance suggest the whole idea of the New World — its endless wealth of forests and rich soil, its air of freedom and pride. They chose the Indian name of the river upon whose banks they had built their colony — Agamenticus.

It is interesting to note the meaning of Agamenticus in our own terms of verbal expression, for although its exact significance is uncertain, it serves as an appropriate example of how the Indian went about forming the words that are an integral part of the language of New England to the present day. In order to analyze the noun, certain components of it are isolated and considered individually. "Tic" is one generic syllable common to many New England names of Indian origin and when situated at, or near, the end of a word, as in Agamenticus, signifies "river" or, more accurately, "tidal river," 1 Other Abenaki forms of the same syllable – tik, tek, tuk, teg-carry the same meaning. The prefix letters and syllables are descriptive adjectives, giving more specific characteristics of the "tidal river." The word can legitimately be written as "Agwu-wom-n-tic-us," making the English derivation more easily understood. The component parts of the prefix now are: "Agwu," meaning "under," "wom," meaning "a going." If the two are combined, the result equals "a going under place." A literal translation of the word would be: "overflowed-marsh-tidal-stream-place" or, more simply, "where the tidal river overflows the marshes."3 The Indians, who so appropriately labeled the river that was to become the site of the shire town of Maine, were soon uprooted by the same Europeans that casually adopted most of their place names.

The first actual visitation of York was by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602.⁴ His expedition was under the patronage of Robert Salterne, Mayor of Bristol, and its purpose was one of exploration, not colonization. A year later, in 1603, Captain Martin Pring, again out of Bristol, but this time under the patronage of Mayor John Whitson, reached Savage Rock, our Nubble, in Cape Neddic.⁵ It is assumed he visited York at the same time. About this time Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, learned of the untapped resources of the land across the ocean from vessels returning to Bristol following expeditions to the New World. They realized the advantage of establishing English colonies there, and together sponsored two colonizing expeditions to Maine. Although both of these attempts failed, Gorges and Popham continued to send fishing and trading

ships across the ocean every year until 1614. Again, it is not certain, but, it is assumed some landed near or even explored York. From 1614 to 1618, Captain John Smith charted the entire coast of Northern New England. It is certain he visited York, or at least explored its harbor for he refers to "Accomenticus a convenient Harbor for small barks" in one of his reports. There is no doubt whatsoever that Captain Christoper Levett in 1623 devoted extensive study to York, for in 1628 he published a book about his earlier voyage. A passage in the book particularly reflects his enthusiasm:

"About two leagues further East is another great river called Aguamenticus. There I think a good plantation may be settled for there is good harbour for ships, good ground and much already cleared, fit for planting of come and other fruits, having heretofore been planted by the Salvages who are all dead. There is good timber, and likely to be good fishing, but as yet there hath been no tryall made that I can heare of." (Levett, *Voyage into N. Eng.*, 1623-4, London, 1628)³

It is obvious from Levett's report that the time was ripe for colonization. The conditions were ideal: the Indians had gone leaving the land partially cleared, and there was plenty of timber for building. Levett's report substantiated Gorges' supposition that the natural resources of New England were unlimited. With this written encouragement and the increasing interest in colonization to support him, Gorges was ready to take positive action. In 1622 he and Captain John Mason obtained a grant for land in New Hampshire and Maine. John Mason elected New Hampshire over which to govern, while Gorges chose Maine, serving in the capacity of Lord Proprietor of that Region. The Piscataqua River was the boundary dividing the provinces. Six years later, in 1628, Levett's book, "A Voyage made into New England begun in 1623 and ended in 1624" was published in London. Two years after that, in 1630, Edward Godfrey built the first house at Agamenticus.

Edward Godfrey, because of his early settlement in York, is recognized as its founder. For an undetermined period, Godfrey was the sole inhabitant of Agamenticus, living there under "squatter's rights," as no patent has been formally issued to him by Gorges. It is assumed that Godfrey had obtained the Lord Proprietor's verbal permission, however, for in 1631, after other settlers from Bristol had taken up residence in Agamenticus and a patent was issued to the grantees of the Agamenticus charter, Godfrey's right to maintain his original place of habitation was not challenged. Having little or no difficulty in establishing itself, the little community on the banks of the Agamenticus was firmly implanted by 1631. The borough had enjoyed mild

^{1.} Charles Edward Banks, History of York Maine, vol. II, p. 364.

^{2.} *Ibid.*, p. 368.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Banks, I, "op.cit.", p. 30.

^{5.} George Ernst, New England Miniature: A History of York, Maine, p. 1.

^{1.} Banks, I, "op.cit.", p. 36.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 5.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 39.

^{4.} George Alexander Emery, Town of York, p. 30.

^{5.} Banks, I, "op.cit.", p. 43.

weather and few Indian attacks; they had been able to devote their energies to the business of colonizing the wilderness.

The plantation of Agamenticus grew in size as well as commerical value between the years 1634 and 1637. Then suddenly the colony became deeply entwined in religious struggles, particularly with the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The settlers at Agamenticus were loyalists; they did not come to America to escape from the yoke of the Church of England nor to seek religious freedom of any sort, as did the Puritans of the Bay Colony. To the people at Agamenticus religion constituted an important part of their life, but it was not the sole purpose of their existence. The Puritans in the Bay Colony were wont to persecute the loyalists, and because of the close association between the Province of Maine and the Bay Colony, the loyalists in Maine who came in contact with the Puritans often suffered at their hands. In 1638 the loyalists' complaints of Puritan fanaticism reached the ears the king's advisors, and a proposal to vacate the Massachusetts Bay Colony charter was immediately entertained by the outraged officials in England, Edward Godfrey traveled to England to plead in behalf of the Bay Colony, and it was primarily because of the support of this respected gentleman that the Bay Colony charter was not suspended. Godfrey set aside his own personal prejudices to further the all-important cause of colonizing the New World, an act for which he was never thanked. Godfrey had another reason for his trip to England. "By oppression of Sir Ferdinando Gorges (I) was forced to goe to England to provide a patten from the Counsell of New England for myself and partners, the south side (of the river) to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and onely the North side to myself and divers others associates." In other words, after over seven years of living in Agamenticus, the borough was without a legalized corporate name or charter of incorporation. If such a name or charter existed there is no record of it, for the patent of 1631, under which the borough operated, contained only property divisions.² The inhabitants of Agamenticus probably constructed a government referred to as a "combination" whereupon the citizens entered into a compact which had no legal basis.3 This "homemade" government was not strong enough to withstand the attacks of the Massachusetts Bay Colony or the boundary disputes that arose when land granted by the king "overlapped." According to Godfrey's own words, Gorges had decided that the situation should be remedied.

Bristol (1638 to 1641)

Godfrey's visit to England resulted in the award of a corporate charter which provided the necessary authority to equip the plantation with a firm, legal government. The document is no longer in evidence, but its existence is unquestioned for allusion has been made to it in several documents that have survived the centuries. One such reference was made by Samuel Maverick, one

of the original patentees of 1631, in his "Description of New England" written in 1665: "A patent was (nere 30 years since) granted unto Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Mr. Godfrey, Alderman Hooke of Bristoll, myselfe and some others, on the northside of this River... which was then called Bristoll and according to the Patent the government was conformable to that of the Corporation of Bristoll."

This charter of 1638 made Agamenticus a town, and its residents decided to select another name more befitting to its new station — Bristol.² Agamenticus had been chosen by a group of uncertain emigrants whose main concern was to adapt to their new home and carve the mark of civilization so deeply into the strong oaks of Maine that it would never be erased. Now in 1638 these same people were firmly rooted in their adopted home, and they could devote more time to the material, worldly aspects of establishing their settlement. They thought of England and the city of Bristol that had done the most to advance colonization in their particular region of New England. They expressed their gratitude by naming their most prized possession — their town — after it.

It cannot be denied that Bristol had played a very active role in the discovery and colonization of York. The merchants of Bristol recognized the value of establishing trade with the uncharted land almost a century before those of London, and John Cabot's voyage to the New World in 1497 was the result of this realization.³ It was the Bristol merchants who gave Sir Ferdinando Gorges financial support in 1630 when he ventured to start a colony at Agamenticus, but it was not the first such gamble on their part; they had been interested in land speculation in Maine for a number of years before 1630 and had obtained patents of territory which were already being actively exploited. The industrious town on the banks of the Agamenticus River had well-founded reasons for adopting the name of the great English port of Bristol.

Even though it is certain that Bristol cast off the name of Agamenticus when it became the first incorporated town in Maine, there is still allusion to "Agamenticus" in documents drawn up after the transition took place. In 1638 another patent was issued in the name of "Accomenticus" in documents drawn up after the transition records of Maine state that several patents were granted to the inhabitants and ordered "that the Government now established in Agamenticus shall soe remaine." (Winthrop Journal, i, 55)4 Even if the date of the last reference were not known, it would be clear from the spelling of Agamenticus that it could not have been written prior to 1638 and the renaming of Agamenticus to Bristol, for up until that time, that particular form of spelling had been persistently avoided. The only reasonable explanation for this continued reference to Agamenticus is that there already was a settlement on the Piscataqua called Bristol and another such name on

^{1.} Ibid., p. 78.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{1.} Ibid., p. 79.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} *Ibid*.

^{4.} Ibid., p. 76.

the records could only add confusion. The possibility of creating confusion was soon eliminated, however, for Bristol was only in existence three short years before Gorges intervened once more in his unending drive to advance the fortunes of his colony. Gorges intervention was the result of growing uneasiness in England about the increasing independence of the New England colonies. Around 1638 it suddenly became evident that most of the settlers leaving England were doing so with the intention of breaking all ties with their Mother country. They were leaving primarily to get out from under English control, to seek religious and personal freedom. The threat to English control over the colonies was only too real. Something had to be done, and Gorges, always loyal to England, was ready with an answer. Why not create a capitol city in America from which all royal laws and policies could emanate? Gorges was sure he could persuade King Charles the First to see the benefit of this plan as soon as internal troubles in England permitted the King to turn his full attention to the colonies in America.

Gorgeana (1641 to 1652)

In 1639 Gorges was given a second charter, endowing him, as Lord Proprietor of Bristol, with almost absolute power of government. 2 Now Gorges had the power to carry out the incipient stage of his plan to increase England's control in America by the formation of a capitol city. In order to make his own colony eligible for consideration as the capitol when such a time came, Gorges endeavored to attract more emigrants by advertising the advantages and growth of his territory. In 1640 he enlarged its status to that of the highest municipal corporation of kingdom and bestowed upon it all the powers of a city. He then conferred the ethereal name of Gorgeana upon it, after himself. His work was for nothing, however, because he, with loyalty to the crown always his first concern, built his entire plan upon the faulty concept that everyone felt as he did. Gorges was unaware that English settlers did not seek a model of what they had left behind them in England. They were looking to escape lifelong tenancy and religious persecution that was characteristic of English government and had no desire to walk with open eyes into the same entanglements that they had just left behind. The appeal of a model city would attract only loyal subjects of the Crown, and they had no reason to leave England. Therefore, Gorges' plan to increase the population of the plantation at Agamenticus failed.

Another charter, supplementing the one of 1639, was drawn up under Gorges' own sponsorship in 1641.³ In 1642 still another charter was issued, this time with the king's sponsorship.⁴ The purpose of all three charters was to give Gorgeana all the powers of government that the cities of England had, with a mayor, board of aldermen, and other necessary officials. Gorgeana, in spite of the numerous criticisms of skeptics, operated successfully as a city

until Gorges' death in 1647. With the death of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Colony lost its most steadfast supporter in the Old Country.

The settlers at Gorgeana continued to govern themselves, without aid from England, under the city charter for two years, but in 1649, when they still had not heard from the heirs of Gorges, the townspeople formed a new government by electing new officials.² The newly formed Court at Gorgeana proclaimed freedom of religion in that city as one of its first acts. Although the Church of England still remained the official church, all religions were sanctioned by the government. This liberal act fanned the smoldering fire of religious controversy in New England which led to the eventual reclassification of the city of Gorgeana to the status of a town.

The citizens of Gorgeana could not foretell the devastating effects of their declaration of religious freedom. Perhaps if their action had been declared a few years earlier or a few years later, it would have gone unnoticed by the rest of New England. But 1649 was the year of the culmination of religious altercation in the Old World, as well as the New. It was this same year that the Civil War in England, between the Roundheads or Puritans, and the Royalists, came to a violent end with the execution of King Charles the First. Gorgeana found itself on the wrong side of the dispute, for it was essentially a Royalist colony and without representation in court. On the other hand, the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony enjoyed almost unlimited freedom, and their first act was to commence plans for the seizure of the Province of Maine. The Bay Colony officials were fearful of the influence that the religious tolerance practiced in Gorgeana might have on the Massahcusetts Puritans; therefore, they were determined to gain control of the city. In 1652 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an order extending the Bay Colony's northern boundary. It was unquestionably illegal, but the Puritan regime that had taken over in England would do nothing for a Royalist province. In that same year commissioners from Massachusetts came to Gorgeana with an illegal show of arms and forced the citizens to vote in favor of Massachusetts control of the area. Godfrey, the last to cast a favorable vote, later wrote of the occasion: "Whatever my Boddy was inforsed unto Heaven knowes my soule did not cansent unto." (P.R.O., Col. Papers xiii, 70)⁴ The next move of the Bay Colony was to take away the city charter of Gorgeana and reclassify it as the town of York.⁵

Summary

Agamenticus, indeed, was the first milestone, roughly cut and crude, but durable. The settlers who came there were not running away from England because of religious or political infringements; they came to Agamenticus because of their need of a new and more productive life. They came prepared

^{1.} *Ibid*.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 59.

^{3.} Three Hundredth Anniversary, Town of York, Maine (Pamphlet) p. 4.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{1.} Herbert Milton Sylvester, Old York, p. 104.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 184.

^{4.} *Ibid*.

^{5.} Three Hundredth Anniversary, "op.cit.", p. 5.

to lay the foundation for a future trading center. They had no official charter to give them an authoritative government, so they formed the cooperative "combination." This improvised government served them adequately until 1638 when Godfrey returned from England with the Bristol patent. This document is no longer in evidence, but from certain references to a corporate organization prior to 1641, it is known that such a charter did exist. There is also evidence of an organized political corporation provided by the Bristol Charter of 1638 in the reference to William Hooke, son of the Mayor of Bristol, England, and resident of Bristol, Maine, as "now Governor of Accamenticus." The actual provisions of the charter cannot be ascertained, however

There is no doubt that by 1640 there were provisions for a government in Bristol, for Thomas Gorges, a relative of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, arrived as the representative of the Lord Proprietor and the first mayor of Bristol.³ This is verified by the following excerpt from Winthrop's Journal:

"This summer here arrived one Mr. Thomas Gorge...a kinsman of Sir Ferdinand Gorge, and sent by him with commission for the government of his province... When he came to Acomenticus now called Bristol, he found all out of order..."4

In addition to local improvements, Thomas Gorges re-established the suspended Provincial Courts.

If the exact provisions of the governments of Agamenticus and Bristol were unclear, the two charters drawn up for the city of Gorgeana were only too explicit. The charter issued in 1641 enlarged the borough boundaries to twenty-one square miles and provided for a mayor, 12 aldermen, and 24 councilmen. The mayor was chosen annually by the councilmen, and the councilmen were elected annually by the inhabitants. The mayor was given the power to select annually the other city officials, such as Recorder and Town Clerk.⁵ The mayor and aldermen were jointly given the power to make such laws, orders, and ordinances as were "accustomed to be made in towns corporate in England."6 A Court Leet was established to be held semiannually, and "one town hall" was to be constructed for usage as a courthouse in civil cases. The Charter of 1642 was more elaborate than the one of the previous year. It provided for a more intricate judicial system and stated again the privileges of the town, some of which were: to erect wharves and quays and fortifications for local and provincial defense, to hold weekly market on Wednesday, to enjoy "priviledges, liberties and freedom" granted to the city of Bristol, England, under its charter. The townspeople, in return for the freedoms granted to them in the charter, were required to make certain material and loyal acknowledgments: officials were required to take an oath of loyalty to the king before they were able to take office, and the townspeople were required to pay a quit rent annually to the Lord Proprietor. 1

The formation of a government was essential to the survival of the colony at Agamenticus, but it was always the patrons of the town who took care of this responsibility. The inhabitants were primarily concerned with the business of everyday living. When the settlers first arrived in 1630 there were no utilities to facilitate the job of converting wilderness into civilization. In fact, it was not until 1634 that Sir Ferdinando Gorges thought to send a saw-mill, which was immediately set up on a tidal inlet now known as Old Mill Creek.² The oaks, pines, and furs fed the mill endlessly, and some even became masts for ships in His Majesty's Navy. In 1647 this mill was suspended, and in 1652 Governor Godfrey entered into negotiations to build a new mill at Gorges Creek.³ In spite of the tardy arrival of the first sawmill, sawmills were always of primary consideration to the settlers and in time became a large source of income for the colony. The even later arrival of the gristmill testifies to its lesser importance compared with that of the sawmill. As late as 1639 there was no gristmill operated by wind or water power in this town or in any other plantation on the Maine coast. 4 The settlers either transported their corn to Boston for grinding, did it with small hand mills, or used a mortar and pestle. In 1647 Gorges, in his "Brief Relation," spoke of a corn mill in the Province, but its location and date of erection is unknown.⁵

Because York grew up in a time of intense religious strife, with the Civil War being heatedly waged in England, it would seem that religion would have had to play a leading role in its development, but this was not the case, as previously noted. There is reason to believe by means of references in various papers that a church for the people was constructed in Agamenticus before 1636, which indicates the relative importance of ecclesiastical affairs in the colony.6 The religion in the colony was essentially of episcopal orientation, as was the Church of England. Evidence of this is given in the 1639 charter granted to Gorges by the king, which dictated "that the religion now professed in the Church of England and Ecclesiastical government now used in the same, shall be ever hereafter professed, and with as much convenient speed as bee settled and established in and throughout the Province." Also in 1639, after the charter of Bristol had given the town a more stable government, plans to erect a Courthouse in the settlement were initiated. Gorges sent a letter of "Instructions" to the town in which he directed "that there may be a place appointed for a hearing and determining of causes." (Court

^{1.} Banks, I, "op.cit." p. 76.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 81.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Ibid., p. 124.

^{6.} Henry S. Burrage, Beginning of Colonial Maine, p. 319.

^{7.} Ibid., p. 318.

^{1.} Banks, I, "op.cit.", p. 126.

^{2.} Ernst, "op.cit.", p. 9.

^{3.} Banks, II, "op.cit.", p. 245.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} Ibid., p. 111.

^{7.} Ibid.

Records, i, 38)¹ Later, in 1640, it was ordered that three sessions of the Quarterly Courts should sit at Bristol.² From this direction, the conclusion can be drawn that a court house was already constructed at Bristol by that year.

From the register of deeds and wills of the community, which specify the occupations of the inhabitants, the date of the arrival of the first craftsmen in Agamenticus can be set at 1636. In this year William Dixon, cooper, Roger Garde, draper, and Ralph Blaisdell, tailer, began plying their trades. In 1640 the first carpenter, Bartholomew Barnard, and the first blacksmith, Joseph Jenks, came to Bristol.³ After Bristol had become the city of Gorgeana, the first mason, Robert Knight, joined the community in 1642.⁴ The first introduction of a legitimate merchant was not until 1651, however, when John Davis took up shopkeeping, which he combined with his previous occupation of innkeeper.⁵ The lack of such artisans when the colony was in its infancy serves to emphasize the versatility of the early settlers.

Because of the steady economic and political advancements in the settlement on the Agamenticus River, the early 1640's found the colony firmly established. The town was well-governed, had provided itself with a meeting house or church, and a courthouse, was carrying on lucrative fishing and lumber trading with England, and had specialized craftsmen. Two important institutions were lacking: a school and a jail. Apparently, there were no specific provisions for educating the young at the time, but there must have been some form of schooling during these early years of development, for later, in 1675, when the Grand Jury indicted four towns in the Province of Maine for neglecting to teach their children the catechism and to educate them according to law, York was not among these towns. Evidently the schooling of the children in the colony complied with the law. A jail for confining lawbreakers was provided for in 1651 by the General Court of the Province which ordered "that the towns of Gorgeana and Kittery are to build each of them a prison,"6 This followed closely behind the invasion of Gorgeana by the Bay Colony and the consequent changes in government. There is no evidence that this order became effective, but records show that a "gaol" was erected two years later, in 1953 – over 20 years after the founding of Agamenticus. After the establishment of a school and a jail, York was well on its way to being considered a well-rounded community - a community that had overcome the almost insurmountable odds of building in a wilderness while trying to establish a stable government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Banks, Charles Edward, *History of York Maine*, volume I, Cambridge, The Murray Printing Co., 1935, 2 vols.
- Burrage, Henry S., Beginning of Colonial Maine, Portland, Marks Printing House, 1914.
- Emery, George Alexander, *Town of York*, York, Courant Steam Job Print, 1894.
- Ernst, George, New England Miniature: A History of York, Maine, Freeport, Bond Wheelwright Co., 1961.
- Facts About Maine, Augusta, Department of Economic Development, 1964.
- Historic York, Maine, York, Chamber of Commerce, 1957.
- Sylvester, Herbert Milton, Old York, Boston, W. B. Clarke Co., 1909.
- Three Hundredth Anniversary, Town of York, Maine, York Tercentenary Committee, York, 1952, 48 pp.

^{1.} Ibid., p. 228.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 207.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Ibid., p. 276.

^{6.} Ibid., p. 231.