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PREFACE

Ten years ago I began research on what I envisioned as a comprehensive documentary history of the area that now comprises Ewing Township in Mercer County, New Jersey. After only a few years it became apparent that the scope of the project was far too broad to be accomplished in the time I had allotted to it. For this reason I decided to confine my work to specific topics and time periods and to publish the results in separate, smaller volumes. The first of these, *Land Transactions in Ewing Township, Mercer County, New Jersey, 1687-1760*, was published in 1984.

The present work is a documentary history—an attempt to present chronologically every extant document or reference to the Ewing area prior to 1701. Sources for it were few, consisting largely of land and court records. Yet when pieced together, these fragments present a surprisingly clear picture of the settlement of Ewing and of the arrival of the first emigrants from Long Island.

The researcher should be aware that, although this study isolates present-day Ewing, the early history of most of Mercer County west of the Province Line can perhaps best be studied as a single entity. The city of Trenton and the townships of Ewing, Lawrence, and Hopewell share a common settlement and development; the civil boundaries are an eighteenth and nineteenth century superimposition.

The Ewing Township area still is largely unstudied by scholars; it is fertile ground for research on migratory patterns, land ownership and use, and demographic analysis. I hope that this small documentary effort may serve as a reference tool for local historians and genealogists and provide a basis for the interpretive work of future scholars.

Joseph J. Felcone

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From 1609, when Henry Hudson and the *Half Moon* entered Delaware Bay, to 1675, when John Fenwick founded a Quaker colony at Salem, the Delaware River basin played an important role in the competition for trade advantages in the New World. Holland, Sweden, and England vied with each other for permanent footholds here, in the hope of monopolizing the Indian trade along the eastern seaboard of North America. A study of these early attempts at settlement reveals a series of ill-fated ventures and short-lived outposts.

As early as 1620 Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May, of Hoorn, sailed up the Delaware, and in 1624 erected Fort Nassau at the mouth of Timmerkil (Timber Creek), near present-day Gloucester. Fort Nassau, which the Dutch would occupy at intervals until 1664, represented the first real attempt at colonization in New Netherland.¹

Under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company, other forts were erected along the lower Delaware, but innumerable difficulties plagued the tiny settlements. Not the least of these difficulties was the vague but ever-persistent claim of England to all of New Netherland, although during this early period when both countries were trying to establish themselves in North America, England chose not to enforce her claims against Holland for fear of straining relations; both nations were committed to opposing the commercial growth of Spain. However in 1638 a third party appeared, and almost immediately the stand-off ceased and a three-way struggle for control of the lower Delaware began.

In March of 1638 two Swedish ships sailed into Delaware Bay. The expedition was under the command of Peter Minuit, a Hollander and former director of New Netherland, now in the service of Queen Christina of Sweden. He immediately erected Fort Christina, near the present site of Wilmington, Delaware, and began a fur trade with the Indians. He also purchased from the Indian chiefs lands up and down both sides of the river for "good and proper merchandise." A second Swedish expedition reached the Delaware in April of 1640. Accompanying this expedition was the new governor of New Sweden, Peter Ridder, who shortly after his arrival purchased additional land on both sides of the river.

About this time a group of English traders from New Haven established the Delaware Company and purchased from the Indian chiefs two

large tracts of land on both sides of the Delaware. During the summer of 1641, land in the vicinity of Varkens Kill (Salem Creek) was cleared and by the end of the summer about twenty English families were living in this first settlement in what was later to become West New Jersey. In the face of this potential English threat, the Dutch and the Swedes were, for the moment, drawn closer together.

New Sweden's period of pre-eminence on the Delaware began in 1643 with the arrival of Johan Printz. As a newly-appointed governor, Printz had been instructed to assert Swedish authority over the English at Varkens Kill and to strive for eventual control of the lower Delaware, or South River, as it was often called. He began building two forts, Elfsborg, several miles south of Varkens Kill, and New Gothenborg, near the mouth of Darby Creek. As the small group of Englishmen could do little harm, the Varkens Kill settlement was left largely undisturbed by Printz. In the spring of 1650 it was abandoned, and New Haven's interest in the Delaware lapsed for a time.

However, Printz's uneasy peace with the Dutch was soon to end. In May 1647 the zealous and autocratic Peter Stuyvesant was named director-general of New Netherland, and the two leaders quarreled from the beginning. After several minor attacks and retaliations, in the spring of 1651 Stuyvesant led an expedition southward to Fort Nassau. Printz, with only a handful of men, dared not attack. The Dutch set up a new fort, Casimir (near present-day New Castle), but after finding the trade with the Indians on the South River unpromising, many of them soon left. Affairs between the two colonies again settled down for a brief interval.

Meanwhile, the Swedes were unable to increase their numbers on the Delaware, and support from the home government was diminishing. In October 1653 Printz left New Sweden. He was replaced by Johan Rising, who was aware of the weakened condition of Fort Casimir and summarily notified the Dutch there of his intention to take it. The garrison, which had no ammunition, surrendered to Rising on May 21, 1654. A number of the inhabitants swore allegiance to the Swedes, and the rest were permitted to return to Manhattan.

Stuyvesant was furious, and the directors of the Dutch West India Company ordered him "to do his utmost to revenge this misfortune not only by restoring matters to their former condition, but also by driving the Swedes at the same time from the river." With a fleet of seven ships and 317 soldiers, Stuyvesant set sail for the Delaware in August of 1655. When the expedition reached Fort Casimir, which the Swedes had renamed Fort Trefaldighet, the Swedish commander realized that it would be impossible to repulse an attack. On September 15, 1655, the Swedish garrison surrendered, the Dutch flag was raised, and New Sweden's existence on the Delaware came to an end. Some of the Swedes returned home, but most

chose to remain and accept Dutch authority.

From this day until 1664, the banks of the Delaware were ruled by the Dutch; even so, until the influx of English Quakers several years later, the population consisted largely of Swedes, with some Finns. Practically all of these inhabitants lived on the west bank of the river. According to Israel Acrelius, whose *A History of New Sweden* was first published in Stockholm in 1759, ". . . There were as yet no residents upon the east side of the river . . . which was a poor, sandy and abominable country. . . ."²²

However the Dutch were far from secure in their control of the Delaware. The New England Confederation was pushing southward into New Netherland, and the English in Maryland were beginning to challenge the Dutch on the Delaware. In July 1663 the Council for Foreign Plantations in London appointed a committee to inquire into the feasibility of taking New Netherland, and the following January it reported that the seizure could be effected at small cost. Encouraged by this report, Charles II granted £4000 to finance the expedition. More important, in March 1664 the king granted a royal charter to his brother James, Duke of York, for large tracts of land in America, chief among them the disputed territory between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers.

James appointed Colonel Richard Nicolls, a loyal follower, to be his deputy-governor, and shortly thereafter the king commissioned Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Carteret, and Samuel Maverick to proceed to America, ostensibly to settle disputes pertaining to New England but with secret instructions to take New Netherland. In July four frigates carrying a military force of 400 men arrived in Boston harbor to prepare for the descent upon New Amsterdam. On August 29, 1664, Fort New Amsterdam, under the command of Peter Stuyvesant, summarily surrendered. Sir Robert Carr then proceeded to the Delaware where he obtained oaths of allegiance from the Swedes "who have seated themselves at Delaware Bay, on his Majesty of Great Britain's territories, without his knowledge and consent."²³

On June 24, before the Nicolls expedition had reached America, the duke presented to John, lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret a valuable portion of his new acquisition. This territory was situated east of the Delaware and south of a line connecting 41° 40' on the Delaware with the latitude 41° on the Hudson. The newly-created province was given the name Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey, in honor of Carteret's defense of the Isle of Jersey in the English Channel.

New Jersey remained under the joint proprietorship of Berkeley and Carteret from 1664 to 1674. During this decade no Englishmen settled on the eastern side of the Delaware. In passing through New Jersey in 1672, George Fox, the Quaker leader, commented upon the sparse population on this side of the Delaware. Crossing over at New Castle, "a Dutch Towne,"

on the way to the East Jersey settlements, he noted, "Then we had that wilderneck country to pass through, and wild woods where it was said it was never known before any man to ride, since called West Jersey, not then inhabited by English; so that we have travelled whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling place."⁴

The joint but undivided proprietorship of Berkeley and Carteret ended on March 18, 1674, when Berkeley sold his interest in New Jersey to John Fenwick, a former soldier under Cromwell and a member of the Society of Friends. Associated with Fenwick in the transaction was Edward Byllynge, another member of the Society of Friends and a London brewer. Byllynge at the time was deeply in debt and was unable to purchase the land in his own name. For this reason the conveyance was made to Fenwick in trust for Byllynge and his assigns. By purchasing New Jersey, Byllynge hoped eventually to be able to recoup his shattered fortunes.

What Fenwick and Byllynge had obtained from Berkeley was a half interest in the undivided province of New Jersey. They believed that, in addition to the proprietorship of the soil, they also had acquired the right of government. However, the specific grant of governance that the king had vested in James was not repeated in the duke's grant to Berkeley and Carteret, nor in Berkeley's conveyance to Fenwick. Further, the duke had not obtained for Berkeley and Carteret royal confirmation under the great seal, and because of a Dutch reconquest of New Netherland in July 1673 none of these instruments were valid unless renewed by the king and the duke.

When the Treaty of Westminster was concluded with the Dutch on February 9, 1674, once again England assumed control over New York and New Jersey. On June 29 Charles II issued a confirmatory grant to James, but the duke, learning of Berkeley's sale to Fenwick, issued indentures of lease and release dated June 28-29 confirming only Carteret's title. This instrument vested Carteret with the ownership of the territory lying north of a line connecting Barnegat Bay on the Atlantic Ocean with the mouth of Pennsauken Creek on the Delaware, but with no specific power of government. Thus what Fenwick and Byllynge held in July 1674 was merely a claim to southern New Jersey that the duke had yet to recognize.⁵

Meanwhile, Fenwick and Byllynge had begun to quarrel over respective rights of ownership in their half of New Jersey. While the Society of Friends traditionally condemned the use of courts, Fenwick repeatedly threatened to take the matter to the chancery court. Eventually they were prevailed upon to submit their differences to the arbitration of William Penn. Fenwick was awarded £900 and two of one hundred shares. Still he was not satisfied and demanded a total of ten shares from Byllynge, who reluctantly agreed to let him have eight additional shares.

Byllynge was now bankrupt, and his creditors had become impatient. In a plan to untangle his finances and ultimately realize a profit, Byllynge

and his creditors persuaded Penn, along with Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, two of the creditors, to become trustees of Byllynge's interests. By an instrument known as the "Tripartite Deed," executed by Fenwick, Byllynge, and the trustees, "the whole undivided half" of New Jersey (reserving to Fenwick "ten equal parts" of one hundred) was conveyed to the trustees. Before a colony could be planted and a profit made, certain obstacles had to be removed. First, their very title needed validating, for without a confirmation from the duke, the Berkeley patent stood annulled by the Dutch reconquest; second, the Barnegat-to-Pennsauken boundary was unsatisfactory, not because Carteret had obtained the larger share, but because the trustees wanted control of the entire east bank of the Delaware; and third, unless a clear-cut acknowledgment of the right of government was secured, they would have, at most, only the proprietorship of the soil.⁶

The trustees were determined to resolve these important matters before they encouraged fellow Friends to emigrate to the New World. Fenwick, however, was not concerned with these details, and immediately made plans to use his tenth to develop a colony of his own. After signing various agreements with prospective "adventurers," many of whom were skilled workers and tradesmen from London and the surrounding areas, Fenwick and about 150 settlers set sail on the *Griffin* for America. On November 25, 1675, the ship reached Salem, where Fenwick had chosen to lay out his tenth. Salem, or New Salem, as it was originally called, was the first Quaker settlement in West Jersey.

In London, the trustees were incensed over Fenwick's unilateral actions. Nonetheless, their major concern was to formulate plans for their own colony in New Jersey. On July 1, 1676, "after no little labour, trouble and cost," as Penn wrote, an agreement was reached with Sir George Carteret redressing the former boundary. This noted document, referred to as the Quintipartite Deed, was signed by Penn, Lawrie, Lucas, Byllynge, and Carteret. By its terms, New Jersey was formally divided into East New Jersey and West New Jersey, with the diagonal boundary line extending from Little Egg Harbor to a point on the upper Delaware River at latitude 40° 40'. The trustees had thereby secured to their province of West Jersey the entire east bank of the Delaware. In addition, Carteret's signature constituted an acknowledgment of the Berkeley patent.

As soon as the Quintipartite Deed was executed, the trustees began formulating plans for their colony. Penn, having managed his father's estates in Ireland for several years, had by 1676 amassed considerable business experience, although only thirty-two years old. Similarly, Lawrie and Lucas were well acquainted with colonial ventures. In an attempt to stimulate interest in their colony and straighten out Byllynge's affairs, the trustees formed a joint stock company of one hundred shares valued at £350 each. Thus, if all the shares were disposed of, what Fenwick and Byllynge

had purchased for £1000 would be worth £35,000. The purchaser of a share would obtain as equity 1/100 of the lands of West New Jersey. As Fenwick had already been given ten shares, ninety shares now remained for the trustees to sell, although some shares had to be assigned to Byllynge's creditors. By the time the first ship arrived on the Delaware, in the summer of 1677, as many as forty shares (including the ten assigned to Fenwick) had been disposed of. Nearly all of the shareholders were merchants or craftsmen. Only four were yeomen. Some purchased whole shares by themselves, while others joined together to purchase a single share, each owning a fraction of a share. All of the purchasers or assignees, with the exception of Doctor Daniel Coxe of London, were Quakers.⁷

The largest single block, ten shares, was conveyed to five Yorkshiremen: Thomas Hutchinson, Mahlon Stacy, George Hutcheson, Joseph Helmsley, and Thomas Pearson. These men were creditors of Byllynge who received the shares in cancellation of debts amounting to £3500, with each individual receiving two shares. Their goal was to found a settlement in America for Yorkshire Friends, and by an agreement dated March 2, 1676/77, the trustees permitted them to choose whatever part of the province they wished for their settlement.⁸ As will be brought out below, these men chose the upper or first tenth. Both Hutchinson and Stacy would later become landowners in Ewing.

In the summer of 1677 the *Kent*, Gregory Marlow master, left England with 230 passengers aboard and arrived at New Castle on August 16, 1677. The *Kent* carried two groups of Friends, one from the "north country" of Yorkshire and the adjacent counties, the other from the "south country" of London and the surrounding districts. The expedition was under the charge of nine commissioners appointed by the trustees. The Yorkshire Friends were represented by three of the commissioners: Joseph Helmsley, a proprietor; Robert Stacy, the brother of Mahlon; and Thomas ffoulke. One of the duties of the commissioners was to purchase from the Indians such land as was thought necessary for settlement. Initially, the size of a proprietor's dividend was fixed at 5200 acres per proprietary share. In September and October the commissioners were instructed to purchase from the Indians three large tracts of land. The third and northernmost of these tracts extended from the Rancocas to the Assanpink, at the Falls of the Delaware. The date of this purchase was October 10, 1677.⁹

As already noted, the Yorkshire Friends had chosen the uppermost lands for their settlement. However, since the combined number of settlers was still relatively small, it seemed prudent for the two groups to unite in a common locale, at least until their numbers increased. The site chosen was a high meadowland known as Chygoes Island. Here a main street was laid out and lots surveyed on either side; the Yorkshiremen were to build on one side, and the Londoners on the other. The infant town was given the name

Burlington, after the English town of Bridlington, in Yorkshire.

During the fall of 1677 other ships arrived bringing settlers to Burlington. Still more settlers came in 1678. In December of that year the *Shield*, out of Hull, England, sailed up the Delaware. According to Samuel Smith, the province's earliest historian, this was the first ship that came directly to Burlington.¹⁰ Aboard the *Shield* were several additional Yorkshire settlers, including Mahlon Stacy and his wife, children, and servants, and Thomas Lambert (who would also eventually own land in Ewing), accompanied by his wife, children, and servants. Other ships came over during the next several years, and by 1681 nearly 1400 Quakers had settled in West New Jersey.

It must be remembered that the Burlington settlers still did not have the right of self-government. Although empowered by the trustees' Concessions and Agreements to govern the province, the commissioners were denied this right by Edmund Andros, Governor of New York. However Andros did permit five of the settlers, one of whom was Mahlon Stacy, to act as local magistrates, with power to hold court. On August 6, 1680, in the face of political upheavals in England and pressure from Penn's friends, James issued a deed of confirmation to Byllynge releasing "his right to anything which heretofore may have been doubtful, whether as to government, or public duties."¹¹ With this conveyance, the power of government was vested in Byllynge alone.

Even before the first shipload of settlers arrived at Burlington, the original proprietors had begun to sell portions of their holdings. These early sales were almost always for fractions of proprietary shares. For example, on May 10, 1677, Hutchinson, Stacy, Hutcheson, Helmsley, and Pearson sold to Thomas Wright 1/4 of one share.¹² On July 16 of the same year they sold to Joshua Wright 1/6 of a share.¹³ Over the next several years these five proprietors, both individually and as a body, sold off a large percentage of their initial ten shares. Often these shares would be expressed in fractions of fractions, such as the sale in July 1681 from George Hutcheson to Anthony Woodhouse of 1/32 of 3/90 of 90/100. This is merely 1/32 of three shares out of the total of ninety shares originally belonging to the trustees (exclusive of Fenwick's ten shares). It is important to understand the meaning of these fractional expressions, for they occasionally appear in recitals in some of the very early Ewing deeds.

Sometime in the year 1679 Mahlon Stacy and his family erected a house and grist mill on the Assanpink Creek near the "Falls of Delaware." The exact date of Stacy's arrival at the Falls is not known, but very possibly it was in the spring of the year, for he had arrived at Burlington in December, 1678, and it is not likely he would have begun to erect a home and a mill until after the spring thaw.¹⁴ Stacy was the first man to settle as far north as the Falls of the Delaware at what would later become the town of Trenton.

The grist mill and undoubtedly the house, was located on the south side of the Assanpink creek. This creek, as already noted, was the northern boundary of the land purchased from the Indians. As yet no white man lived north of the Assanpink, "above the Falls."

The earliest description of the settlement at the Falls is provided by a November 17, 1679, entry in the journal of Jasper Danckaerts and Peter Sluyter, Labadist agents on a tour of observation through New York and the adjoining provinces:

Resuming our route, we arrived at the falls of the South river about sundown, passing a creek where a new grist-mill was erected by the Quakers, who live hereabouts in great numbers, and daily increase. But it seemed to us as if this mill could not stand long, especially if the flow of water were heavy, because the work was not well arranged. We rode over here, and went directly to the house of the person who had constructed it, who was a Quaker, where we dismounted, and willingly dismissed our horses. The house was very small, and from the incivility of the inmates and the unfitness of the place, we expected poor lodgings. As it was still daylight, and we had heard so much of the falls of the South river, or, at least, we ourselves had imagined it, that we went back to the river, in order to look at them; but we discovered we had deceived ourselves in our ideas. We had supposed it was a place, where the water came tumbling down in great quantity and force from a great height above, over a rock into an abyss, as the word *falls* would seem to imply, and as we had heard and read of the falls of the North river, and other rivers. But these falls of the South river are nothing more than a place of about two English miles in length, or not so much, where the river is full of stones, almost across it, which are not very large, but in consequence of the shallowness, the water runs rapidly and breaks against them, causing some noise, but not very much, which place, if it were necessary, could be made navigable on one side. As no Europeans live above the falls, they may so remain. This miller's house is the highest up the river, hitherto inhabited. Here we had to lodge; and although we were too tired to eat, we had to remain sitting upright the whole night, not being able to find room enough to be upon the ground. We had a fire, however, but the dwellings are so wretchedly constructed, that if you are not so close to the fire as almost to burn yourself, you cannot keep warm, for the wind blows through them everywhere. Most of the English, and many others, have their houses made of nothing but clapboards, as they call them there, in this manner: they first make a wooden frame, the same as they do in Westphalia, and at Altona, but not so strong; they then split the board of clapwood, so that they are like cooper's pipe staves, except they are not bent. These are made very thin, with a large knife, so that the thickest end is about a *pinck* [little finger] thick, and the other is made sharp, like the edge of a knife. They are about five or six feet long, and are nailed on the outside of the frame, with the ends lapped over each other. They are not usually laid so close together, as to prevent you from sticking a finger between them, in consequence either

of their not being well joined, or the boards being crooked. When it is cold and windy the best people plaster them with clay. Such are most of the English houses in the country, except those they have which were built by people of other nations. Now this house was new and airy; and as the night was very windy from the north, and extremely cold with clear moonshine, I will not readily forget it. Ephraim and his wife obtained a bed; but we passed through the night without sleeping much.¹⁵

On January 20, 1680/81, the first recorded transactions took place involving land north of the Assanpink. On this date 100 acres "beyond St. Pinck at ye ffalls of Dellaware" were surveyed to Peter Fretwell.¹⁶ This tract of land was located just above the mouth of the Assanpink, along the Delaware, in what is now the city of Trenton. Several important issues are raised by this survey. It will be recalled that the northern boundary of the land purchased from the Indians in October of 1677 was the Assanpink. Between that date and the Fretwell survey no Indian deeds are recorded for land above the creek, and the question of whether title to this land was originally acquired from the Indians cannot be answered. In addition, it is important to realize that this transaction was merely a survey to Fretwell, not a deed, and thus Fretwell did not own the land at the time it was surveyed to him. However on September 5, 1683, "in consideration of love and affection," Mahlon Stacy conveyed to Fretwell this same 100 acre tract "formerly laid forth & surveyed for ye said Peter & now in ye possession of ye sayd Peter ffretwell."¹⁷ Thus we now see that Stacy, at least by 1683, was the owner of this land, but by what means he acquired title, and how much land above the Assanpink he did own, cannot be determined.

The practice of surveying a piece of land to an individual prior to deeding the land was not uncommon in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In most cases the tenant would remain in possession of the land under a lease, and after a certain period of time title to the land would be conveyed by deed, as was the case with Fretwell. On the same day as the Fretwell survey, January 20, 1680/81, 200 acres adjoining Fretwell "at ye ffalls of Dellaware" were surveyed to Andrew Smith.¹⁸ Both Fretwell and Smith appear frequently in the early West Jersey records, but neither would have any direct connection with Ewing.

In 1683 a large tract of 2000 acres above the Assanpink was surveyed for Mahlon Stacy, Joshua Wright, Jonathan Lambert, Thomas Lambert, and William Emley. This tract was also along the river; the survey began at Peter Fretwell's corner at a point about 20 chains¹⁹ above the mouth of the Assanpink. Of the 2000 acres, 580 acres were specifically surveyed to Stacy and his servant, Hugh Staniland.²⁰ Staniland was an indentured servant, and after his term of indenture was up, he was given a portion of this land. His name appears frequently in the early records. In November 1684 200 acres adjoining Andrew Smith were conveyed to Mahlon Stacy. At the time

of the survey this tract was in the possession of Joshua Ely, to whom it was later sold.²¹ On January 21, 1685/86, the 100 acres formerly surveyed to Peter Fretwell were sold by "Mahlon Stacy of Ballifield neare the ffalls of Delaware River . . . yeoman and Peter ffretwell neare the ffalls aforesd Husbandman" to John Wilsford, a miller, who had formerly lived on Crosswicks Creek in Chesterfield.²²

Thus by 1686 we see that a few individuals were living north of the Assanpink, but these few almost certainly lived in the immediate area of the creek and the Delaware. No one as yet lived on land that is now part of Ewing. In a deed dated May 24, 1686, from Jonathan Eldridge, cordwainer, to Thomas Lambert, tanner, for land in Burlington, Eldridge is described as "of Hopewell".²³ This is the earliest recorded use of the name "Hopewell." Although it cannot be determined precisely where Eldridge was living at the date of this conveyance, it is doubtful that he lived very far from the Falls.

At this time the province of West Jersey was in debt, and the indebtedness was increasing each year. Attempts at taxation were fruitless, largely because of the difficulty of collecting from the absentee proprietors in England. By 1687 the debt had risen to £1250.²⁴ The assembly, at its session of May 12th of that year,²⁵ approved the assumption of the entire debt by Thomas Budd, one of the proprietors, in exchange for 15,000 acres of land contributed by all of the resident proprietors in proportion to their individual holdings. Pursuant to this resolution of the assembly, on May 25, 1687, fifty-nine proprietors authorized Thomas Budd to purchase 15,000 acres from the Indian natives.²⁶ The land purchased was above the Falls and was frequently referred to as "the 15000 acre tract" or, later, as "the Maidenhead tract." Very roughly, it comprised the land that is now Lawrence township.

In July 1687 1000 acres were surveyed to Mahlon Stacy above the Falls, adjoining the Assanpink, the Little Shabbacunk, and a "great & Hideous Swamp." Though located in what is now the city of Trenton and the township of Lawrence, this was the first individual tract to be surveyed along the Shabbacunk Creek.

While Ewing was as yet uninhabited, individuals were beginning to settle "above the Falls," on the lands adjacent to Ewing. Unfortunately, other than recorded land transactions, few records have survived from this early period. However, beginning in March 1681, the proceedings of the court at Burlington were regularly recorded in "The Court Booke Containig the Orders and proceedings of the Court at Burlington, and Liberties, Jurisdictions, and precincts thereof 1681." Though sadly deficient in detail, this record provides the best available account of the early settlers of the upper tenths of West New Jersey.²⁷

The earliest elected officials with jurisdiction over the settlers at the Falls (as recorded by the court on March 25, 1681) were: William Emley,

"Sheriffe for that parte of the Province of West New Jersey from St. Pinck to the Creek called Oldmans Creek"; Thomas Wood, "Constable for the Falls and the Liberties thereof"; Thomas Revell, "Register for that part of the Province of West Jersey from St. Pinck to Oldmans Creek"; and Daniel Leeds, "Surveyor for that part of the Province of West Jersey from St. Pinck to the Creeke called Oldmans Creek."²⁸ These officials were elected "by the Common Vote of the People" and were to serve for one year. Most remained in office for several years. In May of 1683 the first overseers for the highways were chosen. The overseers for the first tenth were John Woolston and John Shinn. At this same session of court other officials were chosen, including "Overseers for lookeing after the Size of Bricks" and "Officers for searching and Sealing Leather, for Regulateing waights and measures and Ale Tasters."

The overseers for the highways for 1684 in the first tenth were Godfrey Hancock and John Woolston, the assessors (whose duty it was to levy the taxes) "from the Falls to Crosswicks Creek" were William Emley and Joshua Wright.²⁹ At a special court in December 1684 convened to consider the matter of the sloop *Beaverwick* which had recently run aground, one of the witnesses was a John Peake, "owner of the sloop called the Hopewell"; however, there are no other references to Peake or to his ship.³⁰ By 1685 the Falls had its own constable, Joshua Ely; the overseers for the highways for the first tenth were Robert Stacy, Robert Young, and John Daye.³¹ Joshua Ely was succeeded by John Carter in 1686.³²

At a session of court begun May 12, 1687, the following appears:

Upon the Information of the Justices from Nottingham, concerning a Bastard Child being Borne of the body of Joan Heath and found dead at the house of Hugh Staniland; The Bill or Information by the Grand Jury found presentable. Hugh Staniland and Mathew Clayton bound for the appearance of the said Joan Heathe next session.

[Session of Court August 8, 1687] Joan Heath according to the Recognizance given 12th 3d Mo. last appears upon Indictment And by the Grand Jury the Indictment found. Joan Heath Arraigned and to the Indictment pleads that Shee is guilty of beareing a bastard child, but not guilty of murdering it: And refers the Tryall to God and the Country.

The Traverse Jury haveing the Judgment and verdict of the Inquest taken upon the same by the Magistrates at the Falls: Bring in their Verdict, that the said Joan Heath they finde her guilty of bearing a bastard child contrary to the Lawe, but not Guilty of Murdering it.

. . . And for Joane Heath the Court order that shee shall be whipt at the tyme above said on the bare back betweene the places aforesaid And to have thirty nyne lashes or stripes severely laid on. or that shee shall serve five yeares service or pay Tenne pounds.³³

Nothing is known of Joan Heath or her relation, if any, to Andrew

Heath, an early Ewing landowner. However, this case contains the first use of the name "Nottingham" to designate the area around the Falls. In 1688, as will be seen below, this area was officially named "Nottingham," a name that continued as a township in Burlington County and, later, Mercer County until the middle of the nineteenth century.

On July 29, 1687, 2500 acres of land, nearly all of which lay within what is now Ewing Township, were surveyed by Symon Charles to Thomas Hutchinson. This survey, like most early recorded surveys, was exceedingly vague in its description of the boundaries. The tract was described as "lying upon ye River Delaware above the ffalls" and the beginning point was a black oak tree "marked by said River for a corner." From this beginning point the line continued northeast 84 chains to a black oak tree for a corner, northwest 257 chains to a maple for a corner, then southwest to a white oak at the river, then along the river to the beginning.³⁴ While some large tracts were re-surveyed in greater detail in the early eighteenth century, Hutchinson's 2500 acres were never re-surveyed as a whole, nor were sizeable portions ever conveyed to other individuals. Thus, the approximate boundaries of Hutchinson's land, or "Hutchinson's Mannor," as it was often referred to in early records, remained largely unknown. Occasionally descriptions in deeds would contain a course running "along the Rear Line of Hutchinson's Mannor," but these references would reveal, at best, only a small segment of the huge Hutchinson tract.

Early local historians, who clearly had no idea of the full extent of the Hutchinson tract, could conclude only that it was in the vicinity of the present New Jersey State Hospital grounds. Their authority for this came from the description of a two-acre parcel of land conveyed in 1703 by John Hutchinson, son of Thomas, for the use of followers of the Church of England as a site for a church and burial ground. The land was described as "lying near to the lands of said Andrew Heath on the Easterly side of the Highway leading between the house of said John Hutchinson and said Andrew Heath."³⁵ As this church lot is located on the Hospital grounds, the early historians knew that at least a portion of the manor coincided with the Hospital's land. However, its full extent was still a puzzle. Snell, in his *History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties, New Jersey* makes a brief and unsupported reference to Hutchinson's manor as commencing "at the northwest corner of William Spencer's land, later the Dickinson farm," but Snell, too, was unable to elaborate.³⁶

In the preparation of this study, every recorded survey, deed, and mortgage for land in present-day Ewing prior to about 1760 has been transcribed and then carefully plotted onto a current map of Ewing Township. In addition, all unrecorded deeds that could be found in both institutional and private collections were similarly transcribed and plotted.³⁷ The resulting picture, though very incomplete, does reveal important locations and

boundaries.³⁸ Fortunately, enough descriptions of small tracts adjoining Hutchinson's boundaries exist to afford an approximate picture of the location and extent of the manor lands.

The beginning point of the survey,³⁹ at the Delaware River, lay below Ewing in what is now the city of Trenton. Unfortunately, the line forming this first course, or easterly side, of the manor does not appear to be the westerly boundary for any tract of land for which a deed and description is recorded. As a result, we can only speculate on its location. Using the easternmost point of the rear, or northwesterly, line of the manor as a second corner, the side line would have begun at the river in the vicinity of the present Parkside Avenue. From there it proceeded in a northeasterly direction to the corner of the rear line, a length, according to the survey, of 84 chains. From descriptions in deeds of adjoining parcels of land, it is known with certainty that the easternmost portion of the rear line of the manor lay approximately along what is now Parkway Avenue, formerly Scotch Road.

In 1722 Daniel Coxe sold to Joel Jones a tract of 260 acres of land lying along the westerly side of Ewingville Road-Parkside Avenue and extending from the Shabbacunk to Parkway Avenue.⁴⁰ In the description accompanying this deed there is no mention of Hutchinson's line as the southern boundary of the land. However, the next year Jones sold to William Huff the bottom half of this tract, containing 147 acres, and the beginning point of the description was "a hickory . . . standing in line of a tract of land formerly surveyed to Thomas Hutchinson."⁴¹ When plotted, this beginning point coincides very closely with the intersection of Parkside Avenue with Parkway Avenue.

From this second corner the survey line extended in a northwesterly direction a length of 257 chains. It is this "Rear Line" of Hutchinson's manor that is occasionally found in descriptions of adjoining tracts of land. Although the early deeds for most of the lands adjoining this line are not recorded, enough do exist to reveal the approximate direction and location of Hutchinson's line. From its beginning near Parkside Avenue on a modern map, it follows Parkway Avenue to approximately Hillcrest Avenue. It can then be located again below Parkway Avenue, near the bend in Ranchwood Drive, where it formed the 50 chain southern boundary of a 266 acre tract sold by Daniel Coxe to Jacob Reeder in 1712.⁴² From here it continues in the northwesterly direction, crossing Lower Ferry Road near the railroad tracks, just below Houston Avenue. Here it formed a 52 chain southern boundary of a 73 acre tract conveyed by Coxe to Daniel Howell in 1711.⁴³ The manor line next appears approximately where the Reading Railroad station now stands in West Trenton and continues to a point on Summit Avenue, just northeast of its intersection with Howell Avenue. Here it was the 25 chain southern boundary of a 146½ acre tract sold in

1798 by Daniel Clark, Sr., to Samuel Clark.⁴⁴

No references to the rear line northwest of the above point have been found. However, between that point and the corner of the line, on or near what is today Mountain View Road, the approximate direction of the line can be seen from the plottings of early deeds in the area. It crosses very nearly through the intersection of West Upper Ferry Road and Bear Tavern Road-Grand Avenue, in West Trenton, then follows along, but slightly south of, Bear Tavern Road until it reaches Mountain View Road.

The westerly line of Thomas Hutchinson's manor is mentioned in two or three early surveys and deeds, but its precise starting point on the Delaware River can be located only by ascertaining the location of a creek called Shoomak Run. The 1689 surveys to Christopher Wetherill and Elizabeth Pope, which will be described below, both adjoined Hutchinson's manor on the westerly side, but in themselves are too vague to be located with certainty. When Joseph Sackett purchased the Wetherill-Pope tract in 1701,⁴⁵ and when Daniel Coxe conveyed (or quitclaimed) the same tract to Sackett in 1707,⁴⁶ the descriptions accompanying these deeds reveal only the position of the Wetherill-Pope tract in relation to the Hutchinson tract. Not enough information was given to permit any of these lands to be precisely located.

To compound the difficulty, the early deeds for land in this area are unrecorded.⁴⁷ However, in 1769 John Hart and his wife Deborah conveyed a 200 acre tract to Daniel and Amos Scudder, and it is this deed that fixes the beginning point of Thomas Hutchinson's line on the Delaware.⁴⁸ *Deborah Hart was a granddaughter and heir of Richard Scudder, and by this deed, which is the earliest recorded description of the Scudder tracts, she conveys her interest in the homestead farm to her brothers. The description of the westernmost of the two tracts begins at a Spanish Oak "standing by a small run called Shoomak Run," then continues "up the River Delaware north and by west 41 chains to John Hutchinsons old corner tree by aforesaid river."*

With the exception of one other early deed,⁴⁹ the name Shoomak Run does not appear in any other deeds, maps, or early records. However, by plotting 19th century Scudder deeds and comparing these with late 19th century land maps of Ewing, Shoomak Run can be identified with reasonable certainty as the small creek that runs just south of the old Scudder farm beside what is today Scenic Drive and empties into the Delaware. Aside from the two early references to Shoomak Run, no name appears to have been given to this small creek.

Exactly 41 chains northwest of the mouth of this creek is Mountain View Road, "John Hutchinsons old corner," and it is safe to assume that Mountain View Road follows on or near Thomas Hutchinson's manor line. The 1687 survey did not give the length of this line; it simply ran from the

rear line "southwest to the River." The distance from the river to Bear Tavern Road, along Mountain View Road, is 90 chains. As noted above, the extension of Hutchinson's rear line ran slightly below Bear Tavern Road. The rear lines of the two Richard Scudder tracts along Bear Tavern Road went from 82 chains from the river, at Mountain View Road, to 88 chains from the river, at the southeasterly corner. Very possibly this Scudder rear line was a portion of the original Thomas Hutchinson rear line. As the other side line of the manor survey was 84 chains from the river, and the rear line approximately paralleled the river, this argument seems valid.

Thomas Hutchinson's 2500 acre manor covered approximately thirty percent of what is today Ewing Township, and it was the first tract of land to be surveyed in Ewing. Thus, Hutchinson has the distinction of being the first landowner in the township. In addition, he was probably also Ewing's first settler. As already noted, Thomas Hutchinson was one of the five original Quaker proprietors whose aggregate of ten shares encompassed the first tenth of West New Jersey. Precisely when Hutchinson came to America is not known. The earliest recorded deed describing Hutchinson as of other than Beverley, England, is dated September, 1681, and describes him as "late of Beverley in old England."⁵⁰ In January of 1683/84 he is a resident of Talbot County, Maryland.⁵¹ Whether Hutchinson went directly to Maryland from England cannot be determined. However, the many recorded Hutchinson deeds before his arrival in New Jersey all describe him as either of Beverley or of Talbot County, Maryland. The latest recorded deed listing him as a Maryland resident is dated July 1, 1687.⁵² On December 26, 1688, the date of the next known deed, he is described as being of the County of Burlington.⁵³

When the 2500 acres were surveyed, on July 29, 1687, Hutchinson could still have been living in Maryland or he may have recently come to New Jersey. Whether he came first to the town of Burlington before moving on to his land above the falls, again, cannot be determined. Hutchinson's name first appears in the Burlington court records under the date August 8, 1688, and thus it is only to this date that we can positively trace his New Jersey residency.⁵⁴ The next recorded Thomas Hutchinson deed is dated January 23, 1688/89, and for the first time he is described as "of Hutchinsons Manor."⁵⁵ One month later, on February 22, he is noted in a deed merely as a resident of Burlington.⁵⁶ The final recorded deed is dated June 17, 1689, and he is again described as "of Hutchinsons Manor proprietor & inhabitant of West New Jersey."⁵⁷ Thomas Hutchinson's death probably occurred late in 1689, for the inventory of his estate bears the date December 9, 1689.⁵⁸

Just eight months after the survey of Thomas Hutchinson's manor, the Adlord Bowd Indian purchase above the falls was made for the benefit of

Daniel Coxe. As this purchase was one of the most important land transactions above the falls, and as all of what is now Ewing Township was included in the purchase, some background is appropriate.

Edward Byllynge had died in London on January 16, 1687. His heirs immediately decided to sell the family interests in New Jersey, which included several proprietries as well as the power of government. In February 1687 the right of government in New Jersey and all of Byllynge's proprietary interests were sold to Dr. Daniel Coxe of London. Coxe, a prominent London scientist and physician to the court of Charles II, already owned several proprietries in West Jersey, and with the acquisition of the Byllynge shares became the largest single proprietor in West Jersey. He continued to accumulate shares until 1692, at which time he held approximately twenty shares, or well in excess of one million acres.⁵⁹

In September 1687 Coxe addressed a long letter to the resident proprietors of West Jersey explaining the terms under which, as chief proprietor, he was assuming the governorship of the province. Although he never came to America, he was formally announced as governor by the Burlington Court in February of 1688. In October 1687 Coxe had appointed Adlord Bowd his agent in West Jersey:

To all People to whom this present writing shall come I Daniell Coxe of the City of London Doctor in Phisicke Governor & Chiefe Proprietor of West new Jersey in America send Greeting Whereas Adlord Bowde late of the Towne of Hertford Draper is now (by Gods Providence) bound on a voyage to the towne of Burlington in the Province of West new Jersey aforesaid Now knowe yee that I the said Daniell Coxe for diverse good causes & considerations mee hereunto moveing have made Constituted ordeyned & appointed and in my place & stead putt & Constitute the said Adlord Bowde my true & Lawfull Deputy and Attorney for me and in my name . . . ye fifteenth day of October Anno Dom 1687⁶⁰

On his arrival in West Jersey, Bowd's first task was to locate and take up the lands to which Coxe was entitled. To this end, on March 30, 1688, Bowd purchased from the Indians a large tract of land extending along the Delaware River above the falls:

To all people to whom this present writing shall come, Hoham, Taptaopamun, Mecoppe, Weheending, Lummaseecon, Pleeze, Mehekizhue, Caponoconickon, Nahusing, Mehkeekan & Shawonna, Indian Sachimackers & owners of the following Tract of Land in ye Province of West Jersey send Greeting Knowe yee that the said Indian Sachimackers & owners of the Tract of Land herein after mentioned for & in Consideration of one hundred fathams of Wampom, Tenne stript Dutch Duffelds, Tenne broad strawdwater matchcotes, Sixty matchcotes, Thirty Gunns, Twenty Ketles, Twenty Shirts, fforty pairs of stockings, Eighty Hatshots, Two halfe Anchors of powder, one hundred Knives, one hundred & Twenty barres of Leade, Sixty pounds of Shott, one Anchor of

Rumme, Two Barrells of Beere, Three pounds of Read Lead, Three hundred pipes, Three hundred needles, & three Anchors of Tobacco by Adlord Bowde now of Burlington Merchant & within ye Province of West Jersey aforesd. at and before the sealeing & delivery hereof for and on the behalfe of Daniell Coxe Esqr. Governor & Chiefe Proprietor of the said Province to them the said Indian Sachimackers & owners in hand paid whereof & wherewith they doe hereby acknowledge themselves fully eontented & satisfied Have granted bargained and sold Alyened Enfeoffed & Confirmed And by these presents doe fully clearly & absolutely grant bargain & sell Alyen Enfeoffe & Confirme unto the said Adlord Bowde for & to the onely proper use & behoofe of the said Daniell Coxe & his Heirs & Assignes forever All that & those Tract & Tracts of Land beginning at a white oake markt on fower sides being on the South South west side of Shabbicunck Creeke by the Road side Leading to new yorke three myles from the ffalls of Dellaware River or Three miles from Hugh Stannylands from thence Running North by the Land of Thomas Budd to a white Poplar & a Beech tree upon the head of Shabbicunck Creek markt of fower sides and from thence to a small Hickory standing by a black oake markt by the Lyne of Thomas Budd aforesaid from thence to a Gumme tree standing by the side of Stony Bruck by a Lyne Tree from thence along the Lyne of Thomas Budd aforesaid to a lyne of markt Trees runing west north west to one white & one black oake markt on fower sides a little above menapenasson and from thence with a direct Lyne west & by north to the mouth of a Creeke called Laocolon runing into Dellaware River above Atekokins wigwam and soe to runne downe the side of Dellaware River to a Lyne of markt trees lyeing two myles above the ffalls mill & from thence runing East to the white oake on the South South west side of shabbicunck Creeke aforesaid . . . In Witness whereof the said Indian Sachimackers & owners have hereunto sett their hands & affixed their seales (according to ye English Accot.) the Thirtieth day of ye moneth called March In ye yeare one Thousand Six hundred Eighty & Eight

Hoham
Taptaopamun
Mecoppe
Weheending
Lummaseecon
Pleeze by their marques
Mehekizhue
Caponoconickon
Nahusing
Mehkeekan
Shawonna

Signed sealed & delivered in ye presence
of Thomas Budd Henry Greenland
Thomas Bowman William Biddle junr.
John Wills Interpreter.

In margin: "The Deed from the Indians to
Adlord Bowde, for the Governor Coxe."⁶¹

By this deed Coxe acquired a large tract of land that extended along the Delaware north and west of Thomas Budd's tract (present Lawrence Township). It should be noted that there is no mention of the parcel of land recently surveyed to Thomas Hutchinson, which was located entirely within the Coxe tract. All of Ewing Township, as its bounds exist today, would be included in this Coxe deed.

At a session of the Burlington court on August 8, 1688, the area around the falls was again referred to as Nottingham: "Presented alsoe the Inhabitants of the Towne of Nottingham for not making a sufficient Bridge over the River Darwin The Inhabitants of Nottingham together with all the Inhabitants on the Northeast side of Crosswicks Creek to make a sufficient bridge over the River Darwin before the end of the Nyneth Moneth next, or otherwise to pay 20 l. Fyne to be Levyed upon their goods and Chartells."⁶² Four assessors were appointed and were ordered to pay the money collected into the hands of Mahlon Stacy and Thomas Hutchinson.

At the Court of Quarterly Sessions held at Burlington on November 6, 1688, Hugh Staniland was licensed to keep an ordinary, or tavern, at Nottingham. At this same session of court, the first subdivisions of what later would become Burlington County were formally created:

The Respective Division of Each Constabry or Township in the County returned by the Grand Inquest: And Approved per Court for present.

Vizt, Nottingham Constabry to lye betweene Crosswicks Creek and Delaware River, and Northwards up the River soe farr as at present Inhabited.⁶³

The court went on to designate seven other constabularies to the south of Nottingham. Thus Nottingham township was officially created, although, as noted above, the name had been in use prior to this date. The boundaries were vague, but so few people were living around the falls that specific bounds were unnecessary. This same court appointed Joshua Wright overseer for highways for Nottingham.

At the Court of Quarterly Sessions on February 6, 1688/89, the grand jury included Thomas Hutchinson and Joshua Ely. John Wilsford was dismissed as constable for Nottingham and Robert Pearson was appointed.

On May 13, 1689, an additional 1850 acres above the falls were surveyed by Daniel Leeds to Thomas Hutchinson.⁶⁴ Although difficult to plot, this tract lay in the southeast corner of the present Ewing Township, east of Parkside Avenue-Ewingville Road, and extended over into what is now Lawrence Township and the City of Trenton. Its beginning point was a white oak "by a path side that leads to Wissomencey." This path was the present Pennington Road and the beginning point appears to have been near the spot where the Odd Fellows' Home now stands. From here the

tract extended southeast to the Assanpink, north to the Shabbacunk, across the "road leading towards York" (present Route 206), then southwest to the beginning. In 1702 Thomas Hutchinson's son, John, conveyed much of this same tract to Andrew Heath.⁶⁵ By that time the beginning point was described as the "path side that leads from Wissamenson to the Mill" and the land adjoined Thomas Lambert and Joshua Wright.

The next recorded transaction involving Ewing land also occurred in May 1689. In that month the Wetherill-Pope tract was surveyed at the westerly and northwesterly extremity of Hutchinson's manor, on both sides of what is now Jacobs Creek. The first portion of this tract consisted of 647 acres and was surveyed by Daniel Leeds to Christopher Wetherill. Wetherill, a Quaker, was one of the earliest settlers of West Jersey and was for many years sheriff of Burlington. He lived in the town of Burlington and never resided on his lands in Ewing. Like many other West Jersey residents over the next few decades, his land holdings in Ewing and elsewhere above the falls were speculative ventures. Wetherill's tract began "by ye land of Thomas Hutchinson at the River Delaware" (the foot of today's Mountain View Road) and extended northeast along Hutchinson's land (in part) 143 chains. This line would have followed the present Mountain View Road, and the extension thereof, to a point just beyond Ewing Creek in the present Hopewell Township. From there it ran east and by south 18 chains, north and by east 58 chains, then southwest and by west back to the river, and down the river to the beginning.⁶⁶ About half of this roughly triangular tract lay east of Jacobs Creek and south of Ewing Creek, within what is now Ewing Township.

The second and adjoining portion of the Pope-Wetherill tract consisted of 525 acres surveyed to Elizabeth Pope. Elizabeth Pope was the widow of Joseph Pope who, like Wetherill, was a Burlington Quaker and non-resident landowner. The Pope tract adjoined the Wetherill tract on the west, and Hutchinson's manor on the south. Approximately seventy-five percent of the Pope land was in Ewing, the remainder above Ewing Creek in Hopewell.⁶⁷ These two tracts, totalling 1172 acres, remained in Wetherill-Pope hands until 1701, when they were sold to Joseph Sackett of Newtown, Long Island.⁶⁸ Once again it should be noted that these two parcels were located entirely within the tract of land purchased from the Indians by Daniel Coxe the previous year.

The need for accurate surveys of Coxe's holdings above the falls had become apparent. In June 1689 the following survey was made:

Surveyed then for Daniel Coxe Esqr. a Tract of Land, begins att a white oak for a Corner markt on four sides by ye River Delaware about halfe a mile above Pilcocks house & Runs East South East forty Chaines & East two hundred ninety Chaines & north & by West one hundred forty five Chaines, Then East two hundred & fifteen Chaines & north one

hundred forty eight Chaines, then East two hundred fifty six Chaines to an oak, Corner to ye Indian purchase made by Adlord Bowde in a Line called ye Scotch Lyne, then along ye same near South & by East four Miles & eight Chaines to a white oak for a Corner in ye Line of an Indian purchase made by Thomas Budd, then along ye said line South West two hundred & thirty Chaines & South West & by West eighty Chaines, then South West & by West & South South West two hundred Chaines to a brook called Shabbaconck, then downe the said brook to a northeast line that falls thereon from ye South East Corner of Thomas Hutchinsons Surveyed Land, then along ye said Line to the said Corner of Thomas Hutchinsons Land by which it runs North West Two hundred fifty Seven Chaines to ye Land of Christopher Weatherill & Nathanll. Pope by which it runs North East Eighty chaines & East & by South forty one Chaines & South & by west Tenne Chaines & East & by South fifty one Chaines & North & by East Eighty three chaines & west Seaventy Seven Chaines, then South West by West againe to the River Delaware then up by ye same about five miles & thirty Chaines to ye Corner first mentioned.

*In margin: "28000 Acres."*⁶⁹

This was the first survey of the tract that would later become known as the "Hopewell tract" or simply "the 30000." It was surveyed here for 28,000 acres. Very roughly, the beginning courses ran along what would become the zig-zag boundary between the counties of Mercer and Hunterdon to the province line dividing East and West Jersey (here called the "Scotch" line). It followed the province line until it met Thomas Budd's line (near the present Lawrence Township line), then down this line to the Shabbaconck, then to the northeast corner of Hutchinson's manor, along Hutchinson's rear line to the end (at the present Mountain View Road), around the Wetherill-Pope tract to the Delaware River, and up the river to the beginning point.

The land within this survey comprised approximately the present Hopewell and Ewing Townships. Several township and county boundary lines that exist today were established by this 1689 survey (or the more accurate 1707 re-survey of the same tract). It should be noted that the only land within the Hopewell-Ewing area that had been claimed by the time of this survey (or at least acknowledged by the surveyor to belong to someone other than Coxe) was Hutchinson's manor and the Wetherill-Pope tract.

Sometime prior to June 1689 Daniel Coxe had acquired from Thomas Budd the tract Budd had purchased from the Indians. This tract was also conveyed in June 1689:

Surveyed to Daniel Coxe Esqr. one Tract of Land purchased from ye Indians by Thomas Budd, Begins at a white oak, Corner to ye Indian purchase made by Adlord Bowde abovesd. in a Line called ye Scotch Line on ye north side & near Stony brook & runs thence along the said Line near South & by East to Assinpink River, then bounded by the same to ye

mouth of a brook called litle Shabbaconck or five mile brook, then up by ye same to ye head spring thereof at the sd. Indian purchase of ye sd. Adlord Bowde, then along by ye same North East & by East & North East to ye Corner first named.

*In margin: "8600 Acres."*⁷⁰

This is the land that today roughly comprises the township of Lawrence. Although surveyed here for 8600 acres, later it would generally be referred to as "the 15000."

At a session of the Burlington court on June 5, 1690, John Roger was chosen constable for Nottingham.⁷¹ At the Court of Quarterly Sessions, on November 3, 1690, John Wood was charged with trespassing on the lands of Daniel Coxe above the falls:

John Tatham Esqr. Attorney for Daniell Cox Esqr. Plaintiff. John Wood Defendant. An action of Trespasse. Issue joyned the Defendant denies the Trespasse.

The Jury John Wilsford and fellowes Attested. Declaration opened. Thomas Lambert deposeth that John Wood the Defendant did acknowledge in his the Deponents heareing that hee the Defendant did take up certaine Lands above the Falls which Daniell Cox hath bought of Thomas Budd.

Richard Basnett Deposeth that hee heard the Defendant Wood say hee hath marked Trees in the Land (as above mentioned) and thereupon alsoe Cutt Hay, and alsoe that the Defendant Wood said hee would make the Tytle of Daniell Cox (the Plaintiffs) Land from Thomas Budd voyd.

Thomas Revell Deposeth that hee heard the Defendant Wood say that hee hath marked Trees and Cutt and stack Hay upon parte of that Land sold by Thomas Budd to the Plaintiff Daniel Cox above the Falls.

Court Called: The Jury gave in their Verdict in writing, as followeth (vizt) Wee of the Jury all agree in our verdict that John Wood defendant by his threatening speeches about the Land of Daniell Cox purchased of Thomas Budd disparaged and defamed publickly the Tytle of said Land Contrary to the Lawe of the Province to the damage of said Daniell Cox Plaintiff five pounds and costs of Suite. The Bench thereupon grant judgment against the Defendant for the Plaintiff for 5 l. dammages and Costs Suite.⁷²

Although this offense occurred on the 15000 acre Coxe tract, it is typical of the disputes which arose during the early years between individual landowners (or claimants) and Daniel Coxe. Surveys, particularly those for large tracts of land, were grossly inaccurate and often tended to encompass an entire area without regard for or knowledge of existing smaller tracts. And, on the other hand, it would not have been difficult for an individual, prior to the arrival of settlers, to appropriate to his own use portions of uninhabited land.

Thomas Gilberthorpe's election as constable for Nottingham was an-

nounced at the February 23, 1690/91 session of the Burlington Court. John Lambert was named overseer of highways.⁷³ At another session of court that same year Lambert was presented by the grand jury "for not clearing the Highway upon Complaynt."⁷⁴ In February 1691/92 John Abbott was chosen constable and John Lambert continued as overseer.⁷⁵

For some time Daniel Coxe had been contemplating the sale of the lands and government of West Jersey. He was now absorbed in far-reaching land schemes in the Carolinas and elsewhere, and his interest in New Jersey was waning. As a result, on March 3-4, 1691/92, Coxe sold the bulk of his New Jersey holdings and the right of government to the West New Jersey Society.⁷⁶ The society was composed of several prominent London businessmen whose sole interest was to obtain a good return on their investment. A stock company was formed and shares of stock were sold. At least at the outset, they intended to follow closely the plans laid out by Dr. Coxe for the development of New Jersey. Coxe was a prominent member of the Society and, during the first few years, was one of the commissioners chosen to direct its affairs.⁷⁷

The deed to the West New Jersey Society did not include all of Coxe's lands, however. Specifically excluded from the conveyance were all those lands that had been conveyed by Coxe to his father-in-law, John Coldham, on December 11-12, 1691. One of the tracts specifically excluded was "All that Tract of Land lying above ye ffalls of Delaware River in West New Jersey aforesd. purchased of ye Indians by Adlord Bowd & Surveyed by James Budd contayning by Estimation Thirty thousand acres." Also excluded was the 15,000 acre tract given by the Proprietors to Thomas Budd. Although the initial Coxe-Coldham transaction is recorded,⁷⁸ there were evidently other agreements between Coxe, his wife, and Coldham regarding these tracts of land that were not recorded. Thus, a record of the precise ownership over the next several years of the 30,000 acre tract, as well as the 15,000 acre tract, cannot be determined with certainty. It is clear only that these two tracts were not initially included in the sale to the West New Jersey Society.

Unfortunately, the minutes of the Society shed little light on this question.⁷⁹ For the first several months of the Society's existence, the matter of the disposition of Coxe's remaining lands was a major issue. However, like many other minutes books, the minutes of the West New Jersey Society contain only the briefest references to subjects which undoubtedly were discussed at great length in the meetings. At one of the first recorded meetings of the General Court of the Society, on November 30, 1692, it was

Ordered, That the proposal made by Dr. Coxe for the purchase of the remainder of his Land being taken into consideration, after a serious and long debate thereupon It is agreed that the Doctor be further treated with And that we do purchase his third part of his Land provided the same can

be obtained at or under 2000£. present money and £500 more when he clears the Title to the Minnesinks Province and [obliterated] be in full of all demands on the Society.

The matter was brought before the next session of the General Court on December 3, 1692, and it was "Ordered that all that ye Dr. has, be purchased." A committee was appointed to study the purchase and to negotiate with Coxe in an attempt to get the land on reasonable terms. It was also ordered that if the whole of the lands could not be purchased on such terms as the committee thought reasonable, it was to proceed only on Coxe's one-third part. Unfortunately, precisely what this one-third consisted of cannot be determined. It may refer to a reversionary interest in the Coxe-Coldham transactions, or it may refer to the original deed of Coxe to the Society, a portion of which land was secured by a mortgage for one year on one-third of the entire estate.

At the committee meeting on December 27, 1692, Coxe appeared and offered his proposal for the sale of his West Jersey lands. "After a Long Debate thereupon, It was ordered that ye Dr. Coxe Do produce Coldham's deed against next ffryday." On December 9 the committee ordered Coxe to "make out his titles" to certain tracts of land, including the 30,000 acre tract and Thomas Budd's 15,000 acre tract. On December 12 an agreement was reached between the committee and Coxe.

That Dr. Daniel Cox Shall make over all ye thirds reserved to himselfe by this deed to the Society dated 4th March 1691 and that he do make over all his right to ye ffifteen Thousand acres that where Thomas Budds they paying ffive hundred pounds to Cleare ye Mortgage [and various other tracts, not including the 30,000] . . . Provided that at the same time Dr. Cox do make over to the Society all other his lands in America Either in possession or Revertion In trust for [remainder illegible].

There is no further discussion or elaboration of this somewhat ambiguous agreement until February 21, 1693, when the minutes reveal that Coxe was asked to "come to a Speedy Determination abt. ye 15000 acres of Land above Burlington wch. ye compy. by ye Deeds have ye Equity of Redemption of." On April 13, 1694, the committee met to discuss the terms of the proposal Coxe had apparently made for the sale of the 15000 acres. The minutes state simply "Committee not thinking the same worth their purchase agreed not to accept it, and informed the Doctor that he had liberty to dispose of ye sd Land at his pleasure."

Although the minutes over the next few years contain no mention of either the 30,000 or the 15,000 acre tracts, other Coxe lands are often referred to. A careful and thorough examination of all the West New Jersey Society papers in the Public Record Office in London would perhaps reveal additional information about the 30,000 acre tract: specifically, what interest in the tract was owned by whom, and when. This question becomes

important in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, when Ewing was being settled and small parcels of land within the large tract were being sold. The tract is variously referred to as "the Society's 30000 acre tract above the falls" and "Coxe's 30000 acre tract above the falls." Recorded deeds exist from both the West New Jersey Society (or its agents) and from Daniel Coxe (Senior and Junior) for Ewing lands within the 30,000. In addition, recitals in some of the Coxe deeds give the chain of title as Adlord Bowd to Dr. Daniel Coxe to Daniel Coxe, Jr., of 30,000 acres; others recite 3/90 of West New Jersey from Edward Byllynge to Thomas Williams to Daniel Coxe, Jr. Although mention will be made below of the Williams and Daniel Coxe, Jr., transactions, the solution to these seeming ambiguities must be left to a future historian. For the present no more can be done to explain the chain of title to the 30,000 acre tract.

At a session of the Burlington court on February 23, 1691/92, the following order of the court is recorded:

Whereas upon the returne of several Surveys of Land at this Court a Caveat is entred against Recording the returne of Mahlon Stacyes Survey of Land, And that Caveats are still upon the Returne of the Surveys of Christopher Weatherills and the Land late belonging to his wife in right of Joseph Pope her former Husband which was formerly bought in: Ordered therefore at this Court, that if any person or persons have any thing to object against the Recording of any of the said particuler Surveys aforesaid, they are required to make public their objections in 6 Moneths next [O]nely Edward Hunloke (as Attourney for Doctor Cox) desired to be excused in his Assent to this order.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, the substance of the caveats is not revealed and there are no further references to the matter in the court records. However, it is likely that the lands referred to were the Wetherill-Pope tract adjoining Hutchinson's manor, and the 1000 acre tract along the Little Shabbacunk surveyed to Stacy in July 1687. It is clear that there was some dispute between Coxe and the owners of the Wetherill-Pope tract, for, after the 1701 sale of these two parcels to Joseph Sackett, we find another deed from Daniel Coxe, Jr. dated 1707 conveying these same two parcels to Sackett, and the deed recites ". . . money in hand paid by the hands of Christopher Wetherill and Nathaniell Pope for and on behalf of said Joseph Sackett."⁸⁶ As Coxe's attorney abstained from the court order, perhaps it was Coxe himself who entered the caveats.

The Court of Quarterly Sessions, on February 20, 1692/93, ruled that ". . . every Township within this County of Burlington, Shall have a Towne meeting to raise a tax to defray their Constables Charge at or before the first of the First Moneth: And that at the same meeting, every Townshipp shall agree to raise money to pay for killing wolves."⁸⁷ Thomas Tindall was appointed constable for Nottingham and Thomas Gilberthorpe overseer. At

this same session we have the first inferences as to the relative sizes of the various townships:

Court Order the Severall Townshipp proportions Trebled Nottingham 20-60, Chesterfield 19-57, Mansfield 18-54, Springfield 18-54, Southampton 20-60, Wellingborrow 9-27, Eversham 9-27, Chcester 14½-43-6, Burlington []⁸⁸

Each constable was ordered to levy a poll tax of 2s. 6d. for every inhabitant sixteen years of age or older and again an assessment was ordered on lands and cattle to pay for the killing of wolves.⁸⁴ It must be borne in mind that whatever the population of Nottingham at this time, practically all of the inhabitants would have lived around the falls. With the possible exception of Thomas Hutchinson's family and any other residents of the manor lands, the Ewing area was still virtually uninhabited.

William Watson was chosen constable for Nottingham at the February 1693/94 session of the court, but "hee hath hyred Robert Pearson and the Court accepts him." Pearson was also chosen overseer for the highways, along with John Wilsford.⁸⁵ In May 1694 another 1300 acres were surveyed to Mahlon Stacy, this tract lying on the Shabbacunk adjoining John Wilsford.⁸⁶ The location of this land would be near the present Trenton-Lawrence Township border, just west of Ewing.

The upper tenths of West Jersey had been referred to as the "county" of Burlington for several years, though the area had not been formally created into a county. However, on May 17, 1694, by "An Act for Boundaries of Burlington County":

. . . the Two distinctions or divisions heretofore called the first and second Tenths, be and is hereby laid into one County, named and from henceforth to be called the County of Burlington, The Limits whereof bounded with the River Derwent, (formerly called Sunpink) on the North, And the River Cropwell (formerly called Penisawkin) on the South.⁸⁷

This act fixed the northern boundary of the county at the Assanpink Creek. However, at the same session the assembly passed an "Act for ye Inhabitants above St. Pink to belong to Burlington County for present":

. . . all Persons Inhabitting in this Province above the River Derwent (being the northern boundary of the County of Burlington) shall belong and be subject to the Jurisdiction of the Court of Burlington untill further order of the Generall Assembly.⁸⁸

The number of inhabitants above the Assanpink was still very small, but sufficient to warrant a specific act of the legislature including them within the new county.

The Burlington court in February 1694/95 chose William Hixson constable for Nottingham and John Abbott and John Bryerley overseers for highways.⁸⁹ The grand jury at this same session presented Bryerley and his wife, Mary, "for having a Child within 21 weeks next after marriage."⁹⁰

These are the earliest recorded references to John Bryerley. The Bryerley matter is again recorded by the court at its May 1695 session:

John Bryerley and Mary his wife upon presentment last Session: processe made out to the Constable to Seize them and take them before next Justice in order to be bound over to answer this Court, the Constable saith Mahlon Stacy promised they should appeare; But they are called and appeare not.⁹¹

On May 13, 1695, 300 acres were surveyed to a John Calow "above ye Societies Thirty thousand acres."⁹² In addition to being one of the earliest recorded surveys for land *above* the 30,000 acre tract, this survey is also evidence that by this date the 30,000, or at least some interest in it, was owned by the West Jersey Society.

The earliest recorded deed for an individual parcel of land within what is now Ewing is dated June 22, 1695. On that date Mahlon Stacy conveyed 200 acres of land to John Bryerley "of Hopewell Miller." The deed described the land as "already surveyed and laid out unto ye said John Bryerley (and in his actual possession now being) . . . lying above ye creek called St. Pinck . . . in ye fork or graines [?] of ye runne called Shabbacunk . . ."⁹³ On a current map of Ewing Township, the Bryerley tract would begin precisely in the center of the forks of the Shabbacunk, at the present Ewing-Lawrence boundary. From here the line runs slightly north of west to a point on Irven Street near the railroad tracks; up Irven and Ewingville Road, and beyond, to a point where Ewingville Road becomes Parkside Avenue, at the foot of Heath Street; northeast to the Shabbacunk; then more or less along the Shabbacunk back to the forks. With the exception of a small piece of this tract just north of the forks that runs over into what is now Lawrence Township, all of the Bryerley tract is in present-day Ewing. It should be noted that Bryerley, who presumably was working at Stacy's mill and who was living on the tract of land at the time it was deeded to him, describes himself as "of Hopewell."

Bryerley's court case was concluded at the November 1695 session:

John Bryerley being presented for haveing Carnally to do with his wife before Marriage, at a former Court desires the Thing may not be called in Court: he acknowledges his Crime and submitts to the Governours pleasure as to the Fyne and promisses to pay the Court charges.⁹⁴

The next recorded conveyance of land in Ewing also involved John Bryerley. In addition, it marked the beginning of the break-up of Thomas Hutchinson's original 2500 acre manor tract. On April 10, 1696, John Hutchinson "of Hopewell yeoman (son and heir of Thomas Hutchinson yeoman deceased)" deeded to John Bryerley "of Hopewell Miller" 600 acres of land "lying within ye township of Hopewell." This tract lay along the Delaware River, beginning at "ye mouth of Shoomack Branch" (the small creek on the south end of the old Scudder farm, near the present

Scenic Drive) and extended down the river 86 chains (near to what is now West Upper Ferry Road), then back "into the woods" 80 chains.⁹⁵ It is possible that around this time Bryerley may have purchased from Hutchinson another tract of land adjoining this one on the southeast, extending along the river to what is now the Wilburtha Road area, for Bryerley's name occasionally appears in recitals in early eighteenth century deeds for land in this area. However, such conveyance to Bryerley, if it was made, is not recorded.

Sometime after the 600 acre purchase from Hutchinson but within the same year, Bryerley conveyed the westernmost portion of this land, perhaps about 80 acres, to Thomas Hough. At the same time, John Hutchinson conveyed to Hough 200 acres adjoining Bryerley's land on the northwest and extending from Shoomack Creek to the end line of Hutchinson's manor, at what is now Mountain View Road. Both of these deeds are unrecorded.⁹⁶ These two tracts, totalling 280 acres, were conveyed by Hough in 1709 to Richard Scudder⁹⁷ and remained in the Scudder family until the 1950s.

On November 14, 1699, Brearley, now "of Maiden Town yeoman," re-conveyed to John Hutchinson 650 acres "lately appendant to ye said Mannor." The deed described the tract as "lying between ye lands of Thomas Hough northward and ye land of John Addington late of Tho: Kirle on ye south and abutting on Delaware River westward and on ye eastward on other lands of said John Hutchinson."⁹⁸ This land included much of the former 600 acres, as well as additional lands to the south, in the Wilburtha Road area. On this same day John Addington of Burlington conveyed 160 acres lying to the south of Hutchinson's 650 acres to John Watson and Richard Eayre.⁹⁹ The next day, November 15, Hutchinson deeded his 650 acres also to Watson and Eayre.¹⁰⁰ On March 21, 1699/1700, John Watson conveyed his entire undivided one-half interest in both of these tracts to Richard Eayre.¹⁰¹ Thus in 1700 Richard Eayre, of Burlington, was the non-resident owner of 810 acres along the Delaware in Ewing, extending from the southern boundary of Thomas Hough's lands (later the Scudder plantation) just below the present Bernard Drive to Andrew Heath's plantation, at what is now Lower Ferry Road.

Samuel Overton was appointed constable for Nottingham at the February 1695/96 session of the Burlington court and Gervas Pharoe was appointed overseer.¹⁰² The following year Anthony Woodward was chosen constable "but Samuel Overton serves in for him."¹⁰³ At this same session of the Burlington court, on February 20, 1696/97, the township of Maidenhead was created:

The Inhabitants above Assinpink ordered by ye Court to be a Township of themselves by ye Name of Maidenhead.¹⁰⁴

Maidenhead was the first jurisdictional subdivision above the Assan-

pink. Although not defined, its boundaries would have been the Assanpink on the south, the Delaware River on the west, and the province line on the east. However, as the number of inhabitants above the creek was still few, and most of those were living along the creek, near the falls, defined boundaries were not necessary. Anyone living north of the Assanpink was a resident of Maidenhead township.

The first individual parcel of land in Ewing to be deeded by the West New Jersey Society was conveyed to Henry Bell on March 18, 1696/97. The deed, from Thomas Revell as agent of the Society to Bell "of the county of Burlington Husbandman," described the parcel as "200 acres laid forth and surveyed or to be laid forth and surveyed of that tract of land belonging to the Society above the falls of Delaware called ye 30000 acres."¹⁰⁵ Bell's land was located between what is today Scotch Road and Lower Ferry Road and extended from Upper Ferry Road south across Carlton Avenue to the Shabbacunk. In the nineteenth century the Israel Carle Woodruff farm and the upper portion of the Thomas Alonzo Howell farm occupied this land.

About this same time the West New Jersey Society, through Thomas Revell, conveyed 500 acres in Ewing to Jonathan Davis. This deed, like so many other early Ewing deeds, is unrecorded, and what little information we have must be pieced together from references in later deeds or deeds to adjoining tracts of land. Davis's 500 acres adjoined the western boundary of Henry Bell's land, along the present Scotch Road. From Scotch Road the Davis tract extended westerly across what was formerly the Hough farm to a point above Bear Tavern Road, probably near the rear of the present Mercer County Airport. The land on which the Ewing Presbyterian Church now stands was along the easternmost boundary of this tract.

The first constable for the newly-created township of Maidenhead was John Brearley, who was chosen at the Court of Quarterly Sessions on February 21-22, 1697/98.¹⁰⁶ At this same session Brearley was ordered to "Summons in twelve Sufficient Men of the same Towneship" to lay out a King's highway through the township.¹⁰⁷ In May 1698 the following is recorded in the Burlington Court Book:

John Bryarley Constable of Maidenhead bein Asked by the Court what he hath done in the Execution of the Warrants for the late provinciall and County Taxes, he replyed he warned in the Inhabitants of the said Towne upon a Certaine day and the Major parte of them mett, but they did nott proceed Any further in order to Choose Collectors or to Any other Matter relating the said Taxes According as they were required by the Tenour of the said Warrants, whereupon the Bench fine the Inhabitants of the said Township the summe of one hundred pounds for their default therein, but mitigated and restricted to the Summe of ten pounds upon Condition only their respective Taxes both provinciall and County be paid in a months Time from the present day.¹⁰⁸

At the February 1698/99 Court of Quarterly Sessions:

Constables being called, John Brierley constable of Maidenhead appeard and Return'd John Clerk Who had been chosen by the Said Town for his Successor whom the Court accepted of and forasmuch as the Said Clark was not present ordered him to be brought before William Emley Justice to be Sworn to Serve for the said Town in the office of a constable for the ensuing Year. Ralph Hunt overseer of the highways within the Said Township appeard and return'd Thomas Smith who had been chosen by the Said Town for his Successor in the office of overseer of the high wayes for the ensuing Year and was accepted of.¹⁰⁹

The following year Brearley was re-appointed constable for Maidenhead.¹¹⁰

Sometime prior to June 1699 Joshua Ely acquired title to a tract of land lying north of the upper branch of the Shabbacunk in Ewing, which land had formerly belonged to John Hutchinson. On June 10, 1699, Ely deeded this land to Christopher Snowden of Burlington. It was described in the deed merely as "400 acres taken up or to be taken up laid forth and surveyed to and for ye sd. Christopher Snodon . . . as part of ye share or shares of land late belonging to John Hutchinson son and heir of Thomas Hutchinson deceased."¹¹¹ On October 24, 1700, the land was surveyed to Snowden: "Surveyed then to Christopher Snodon one tract of land within the Proprietor's Land Beginning at ye Point of ye Societys land on great Shabbacunck Creek . . ." From this beginning point, which was approximately at the southeastern tip of the rear lake on the Trenton State College campus, Snowden's line extended northeast along land of Jasper Smith to a point near the "head spring" of the Five Mile Run; then southeast along a line that exists today as part of the boundary line between Ewing and Lawrence Townships to a point about 900 feet below Eggert Crossing Road; then southwest to the Shabbacunk and up this creek to the beginning point.¹¹² In the early eighteenth century this tract was divided, the upper portion being sold to William Green and the lower to William Welling.

In late 1699 a number of residents living in the western part of Maidenhead township petitioned the Burlington Court for the creation of a new township:

Petition of some of the Inhabitants above the Falls for a New Townshipp to be called Hopewell as also for a New Road and Boundaries of the said Town read—and upon file. Order'd That there be a Town there called Hopewell and that the Boundaries thereof be as follows (vizt) To begin at Mahlon Stacyes Mill And so along by York: road, untill it comes to Shabbacunck, and up the same untill it meet with the line of Partition that divides the Societies 30000 acres Purchase from the 15000 and then along the line of the said Societies 30000 acres Purchase to Delaware River.¹¹³

As previously noted, the name "Hopewell" had been used as early as 1686 to designate lands along the western parts of Nottingham, and later

Maidenhead, townships. The origin of the name is unknown. Traditionally Andrew Smith had been credited with its first use. On May 21, 1688, Smith purchased from Cornelius Empson a tract of 200 acres, the description in the deed reading, in part, “. . . by him the said Andrew Smith called and to be called Hopewell.”¹¹⁴ Nineteenth century local historians, apparently unaware of the earlier uses of the name, awarded Smith the distinction of having first used the name to refer to this area. Hopewell was a relatively common English name carried by many towns. It also was frequently used as the name of a ship: in 1684 the Burlington court examined one John Peake, “owner of the sloop called the Hopewell.”¹¹⁵

The original boundary of Hopewell township, as recited by the court, began at Mahlon Stacy's mill on the Assanpink, in what is now the city of Trenton. From here the line followed a northerly course along the York road (now Route 206) to the Shabbacunk, then up the Shabbacunk to the division between the Adlord Bowd 30000 acre purchase and Thomas Budd's 15000 acre tract, then along this division to the province line, along the province line to the zig-zag northern boundary of the 30000, then along this line to the river and down the river to the mouth of the Assanpink. Very approximately, the Hopewell township of 1700 comprised what today are the townships of Hopewell and Ewing and the city of Trenton. At this same session of court, Stephen Willson was chosen constable for Hopewell and Andrew Heath was chosen overseer.¹¹⁶

The last recorded land transaction in Ewing in the seventeenth century was the deed from John Hutchinson to Andrew Heath, February 24, 1699/1700, for 400 acres out of Hutchinson's manor. Heath's tract adjoined Richard Eayre on the Delaware, lying along and to the east of the present Reading Railroad tracks.¹¹⁷ From this site Andrew Heath operated his ferry across the Delaware River.

As the seventeenth century closed, the arrival of settlers in Ewing was just beginning. Although the area was still largely uninhabited, all of the land had been taken up and eight or ten individual tracts had been surveyed. The owners of these individual tracts were, for the most part, Quakers. A few resided on their lands, the remainder were non-resident landowners living below the falls. While the majority of the inhabitants of the township still lived around the falls, below what is now Ewing, one of the two elected township officials in 1700 was a Ewing resident. Over the next twenty years most of the land in Ewing would be settled. The settlers came from Burlington, from across the river in Pennsylvania, and, perhaps in greater numbers, from the Newtown area of Long Island.

The study of these migrations, and of the development of Ewing in the eighteenth century, must be left to a future historian.

NOTES

1. John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1956), pp. 6-7.
2. Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware*, ed. and trans. William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia, 1874), p. 106.
3. Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, pp. 53-54.
4. George Fox, *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Ancient, Eminent, and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox* (Philadelphia, 1832), p. 449.
5. Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, p. 67.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-289.
8. Aaron Learning and Jacob Spicer, comps., *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, c. 1752), pp. 383-384.
9. West Jersey Deeds, Book B, p. 4, Division of Archives and Records Management, New Jersey Department of State, Trenton. Hereafter, recorded deeds will be cited as West Jersey Deeds, B:4, and the Division of Archives and Record Management will be cited as New Jersey Division of Archives.
10. Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), p. 108. For a contrary argument, see George DeCou, *Burlington: A Provincial Capital* (Philadelphia, 1945), p. 35.
11. William A. Whitehead et al, eds., *Archives of the State of New Jersey*, 51 vols. to date (V.p., 1880-), 1:323-332, 337-345. See also Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, p. 112.
12. West Jersey Deeds, B:5.
13. West Jersey Deeds, B:13. On 28 and 29 January 1677/78, Mahlon Stacy alone sold $\frac{1}{3}$ of a share to Samuel Baker, $\frac{1}{4}$ to Godfrey Hancock, $\frac{1}{2}$ to Thomas Lambert, $\frac{1}{3}$ to both Thomas Farnsworth and Thomas Fowke, and $\frac{1}{6}$ to John Lambert (B: 78, 117, 311, 4, 187, and 571, respectively).
14. Trenton Historical Society, *A History of Trenton, 1679-1929*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1929), 1:32.
15. Jasper Danckaerts, *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*, ed. Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1913), pp. 95-97.

16. Revell's Surveys, p. 14, New Jersey Division of Archives. Revell's book of West Jersey surveys is occasionally referred to as "Book A." In early records the Assanpink Creek frequently is called St. Pink, St. Pinck, Sunpink, River Derwen, Derwent, or Darwin.
17. West Jersey Deeds, B:34.
18. Revell's Surveys, p. 14.
19. 1320 feet. One chain equals 66 feet.
20. Revell's Surveys, p. 76.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
22. West Jersey Deeds, B:375.
23. West Jersey Deeds, B:93.
24. Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, p. 156.
25. The records of this session of the assembly have not survived. However the resolution of the assembly is referred to in the deeds to Budd dated 25 May 1687.
26. West Jersey Deeds, B:15, 231.
27. New Jersey Division of Archives. The manuscript record through the year 1709 has been transcribed and published: H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller, eds., *The Burlington Court Book: A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence in West New Jersey, 1680-1709* (Washington, 1944). The transcription is generally reliable, and hereafter the published volume will be cited.
28. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, pp. 5-6.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.
34. Revell's Surveys, p. 105. See also Joseph J. Felcone, *Land Transactions in Ewing Township, Mercer County, New Jersey, 1687-1760* (Princeton, 1983), p. 2, for a transcription of the survey. Hereafter, citations for land transactions in Ewing after 1687 will be to both the manuscript record and its transcription in Felcone, *Land Transactions*.
35. West Jersey Deeds, AAA: 105; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 132.
36. James P. Snell, *History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 184.
37. All of these transcriptions appear in Felcone, *Land Transactions*.
38. *Ibid.*, p. iv, for a comment on the large number of unrecorded land transactions.
39. Revell's Surveys, p. 105; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 2.

40. West Jersey Deeds, E-F:178; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 118.
41. West Jersey Deeds, E-F:180; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 119.
42. West Jersey Deeds, B-B-B: 69-70; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 148.
43. West Jersey Deeds, AAA:366; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 50.
44. West Jersey Deeds, A-W: 134; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 55.
45. West Jersey Deeds, B:697; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 13-14.
46. West Jersey Deeds, AAA: 244; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 15.
47. See Felcone, *Land Transactions*, pp. 16-17, for the unrecorded deeds to the Scudder lands.
48. West Jersey Deeds, A-B:16; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 30.
49. John Hutchinson to John Bryerly, 10 April 1696 (West Jersey Deeds, B:544; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 26).
50. West Jersey Deeds, B:112.
51. West Jersey Deeds, B:91.
52. West Jersey Deeds, B:423.
53. West Jersey Deeds, B:239.
54. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 90.
55. West Jersey Deeds, B:530.
56. West Jersey Deeds, B:510.
57. West Jersey Deeds, B:323.
58. Unrecorded Wills, vol. 3, pp. 53-58, New Jersey Division of Archives.
59. Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, p. 150.
60. West Jersey Deeds, B:173; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 3.
61. West Jersey Deeds, B:179; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 4.
62. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 91.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 92. See also Joseph J. Felcone, "Ewing Boundary Changes, 1688-1900," *Ewing History* 4 (1977): 69-82, for a complete study of all boundary legislation affecting Ewing Township.
64. Revell's Surveys, p. 154; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 97.
65. West Jersey Deeds, AAA: 39; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 98.
66. Revell's Surveys, p. 100; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 11.
67. Revell's Surveys, p. 100; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 12.
68. West Jersey Deeds, B:697, Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 13-14. See also a deed from Daniel Coxe to Joseph Sackett, 8 May 1707, covering these same lands (West Jersey Deeds, AAA:244; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 15).
69. Revell's Surveys, p. 114; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 5.

70. Revell's Surveys, p. 114; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 6.
71. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 111.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
76. West Jersey Deeds, B:289, 291.
77. William T. McClure, "The West Jersey Society, 1692-1736," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 74 (1956): 2-4.
78. West Jersey Deeds, E-F:239, 249.
79. Minute Book of the General Court and Committees, West New Jersey Society Records, Treasurer-Solicitor Group No. 12, Public Record Office, London.
80. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 134.
81. West Jersey Deeds, AAA:244; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 15.
82. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 149.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
86. Revell's Surveys, p. 109.
87. Felcone, "Ewing Boundary Changes," p. 73.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 176.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
92. Revell's Surveys, p. 117.
93. West Jersey Deeds, B:483; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 99.
94. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 183.
95. West Jersey Deeds, B:544; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 26.
96. Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 16.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
98. West Jersey Deeds, B:656; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 27.
99. Unrecorded, but reference to the transaction is made in the recital of the deed from Watson to Eayre of 21 March 1699/1700.
100. West Jersey Deeds, B:657; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 28.
101. West Jersey Deeds, B-B-B:214; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 29.
102. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 185.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
104. Felcone, "Ewing Boundary Changes," p. 73.
105. West Jersey Deeds, B:605; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 42.
106. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 201.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
111. West Jersey Deeds, B:684; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 84.
112. Revell's Surveys, p. 149; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 85.
113. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 227.
114. West Jersey Deeds, B:214.
115. Reed and Miller, *Burlington Court Book*, p. 36.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
117. West Jersey Deeds, B:675; Felcone, *Land Transactions*, p. 154.