THE SCENE OF THE BATTLE, 1775



HISTORIC GROUNDS REPORT
MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT STUDY NO. 15

DIVISION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES
NORTH ATLANTIC REGIONAL OFFICE
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

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No. 1	Archeological Resource Study, Roger Williams National Monument. Public Archaeology Laboratory, Brown University, 1979.	NTIS PB81 185134
No. 2	Archeological Overview and Evaluation at Minute Man National Historical Park. Vernon G. Baker, 1980	NTIS PB81 185142
No. 3	Historic Resources Study, Jamaica Bay: A History. Gateway National Recreation Area, New York-New Jersey. Frederick R. Black, 1981.	NTIS PB81 226649
No. 4	Archeological Site Examination: A Case Study in Urban Archeology. Roger Williams National Monument. Patricia E. Rubertone and Joan Gallagher, 1981.	6.00
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(continued on inside back cover)

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JOYCE LEE MALCOLM

CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT STUDY NO. 15

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Cover illustration shows a scene of the fighting along the Battle Road in Lexington on April 19, 1775 from the engraving by Amos Doolittle after the engraving by Ralph Earl.

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I should like to thank Dwight Pitcaithley, Robert Nash, and Frank McManamon for their patience in answering my many questions about Minute Man National Historical Park and for their own questions which stimulated my thinking on the subject. Thanks are also due to Douglas Sabin, Frederick Szarka, William Halainen, and Sarah Hubbell for their kindness, enthusiasm and aid. Isabel Mancinelli provided valuable advice in the preparation of the maps which accompany this report. Special thanks are due to Dwight Pitcaithley for his patient and careful editing. Finally, I owe a debt of gratitude to all the historians, archeologists, and architects whose work made my own easier, above all the first historian of Minute Man National Historical Park, Robert Ronsheim, who acquired for its library a splendid collection of source materials which enabled me to work far more effectively and efficiently. Any errors are, of course, my own.

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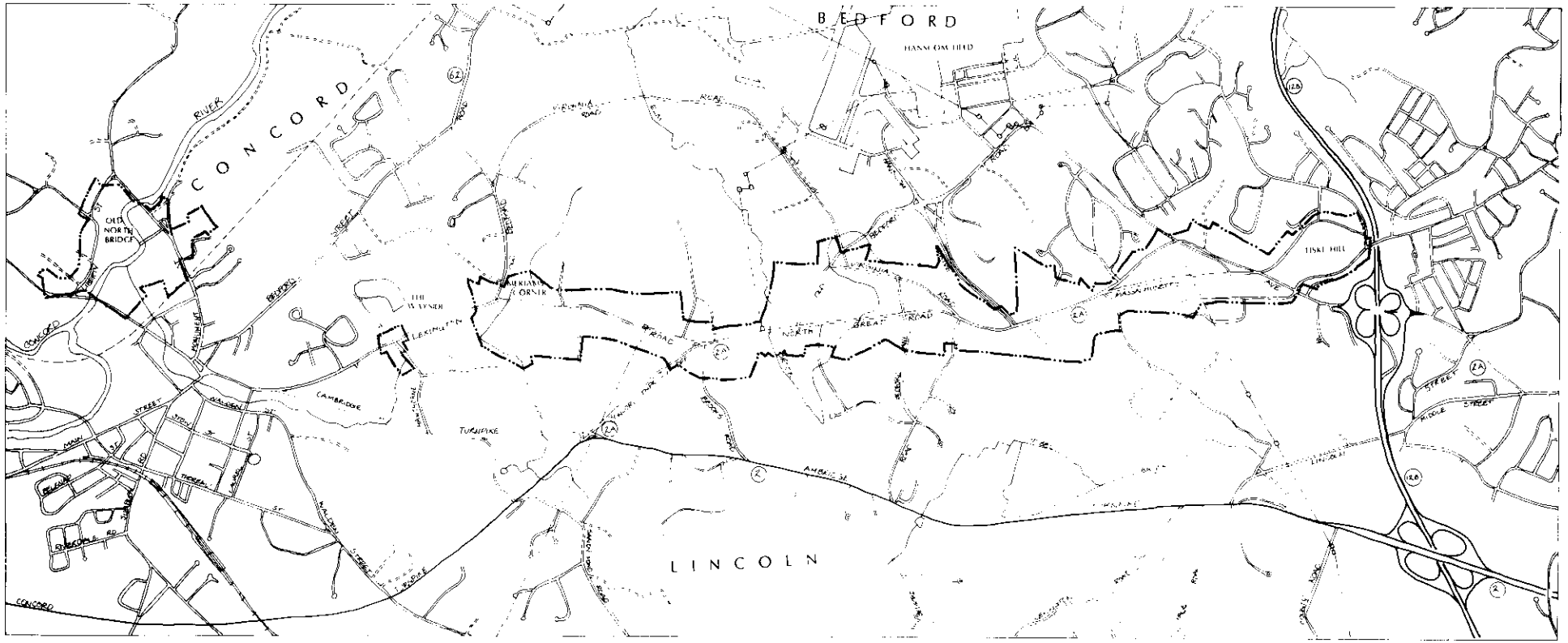
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The land use maps contained in this report are based upon the research completed for the purposes of this monograph. The emphasis is upon the land use in 1775. The buildings are not to scale.



MINUTE MAN
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

1"=1,000'

FIGURE 1.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of Minute Man National Historical Park is to commemorate the events of a single day, April 19, 1775, when the Concord or Battle Road which runs the length of the park and the Old North Bridge in Concord were the scene of the military clashes which launched the American Revolution. Central to this purpose and intrinsic to the original plan for the park is the eventual re-creation of the landscape which existed on that momentous occasion. To this end it is the aim of this report to relate, in as great detail as surviving historical materials permit, what the landscape looked like when the British regulars and their American opponents fought there-- where the roads, houses and barns were located, how the surrounding land was divided and used.

The difficulties of this task are evident. Even the most significant man-made features of the landscape were seldom deemed worthy of written comment and have long since vanished as succeeding generations either tampered with them for their own purposes, or left them moldering under ever more dense layers of vegetation. Secondly, the use to which local farmers devoted their property in the eighteenth century is generally known, but the precise use of any given parcel is more difficult to fix. On the other hand, the Lexington-Concord area had been settled for more than a century by 1775, and a variety of contemporary documents survive which, if used in combination, can yield an accurate if incomplete picture of that landscape at that time. The most valuable of these materials are deeds, wills, tax rolls and tax assessments, and surviving maps and surveys.

Source Materials

Before setting out the format of the report which follows, a few comments on the strengths and weaknesses of these source materials are necessary. Deeds present us with

the kaleidoscope of ever-changing land divisions and occupiers which must be frozen at the year 1775. Those that provide a detailed description of particulars are of great value for information about both man-made structures and land use. Unfortunately, many deeds fail to describe buildings on the land in question in any detail although, with the exception of minor farm outbuildings, the presence of a structure is nearly always noted. The greatest weakness of deeds as a source of reliable information, however, was the failure to record every land transfer. The land transfers for Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington were supposed to be registered in Cambridge. Some farmers must have regarded the trip to and from that city, and the expense entailed, as not really worth the bother. The occasional transfer is not recorded at all. More frequently a property owner will make a single trip to Cambridge to record a whole series of land transfers, often extending back over a period of ten years or more. Still more serious is the failure to record what were known as "deeds of gift." It was popular practice for fathers to give sons their patrimony when they came of age or married and this was done through deeds of gift. Unlike transfers involving an exchange of money, these deeds of gift to sons were almost never registered although they are always acknowledged in the father's will.

Wills are an excellent source of information, often far more specific than deeds about the size and location of the house, barn, outbuildings, property boundaries, and land use. The portion--typically one-third of the property--left to the widow and her share of the house, barn, and barnyard usually provide the most detailed information of all. Often there is a lengthy appraisal, or inventory, of all the real and personal property of the deceased including his farm implements and stores of provisions grown on the farm. Such careful, explicit wills are invaluable. The difficulty arises when the deceased merely bequeaths the bulk of his farm to a single heir and feels no necessity to specify what parcels of land that includes. Worse still, this vague style of will drafting sometimes continues in a family for two or three generations before any breakdown is made of the property involved. Again, as was the case with deeds, many wills are missing, leaving frustrating gaps in the information available about a property.

The tax rolls for Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington have been a great aid. The surviving rolls of greatest relevance to this study were the Concord tax roll for 1771; the Lincoln tax roll for 1769, 1770, 1774, and 1778; and the Lexington tax roll for 1770, 1771, and 1777. None of the three communities within the park had a tax assessment for 1775. All men over the age of 16 had to pay a poll tax

except school masters and, in the language of the law, "those who from age, infirmity or extreme poverty in the judgment of the assessors are not capable to pay towards public charges." In these cases "so much of their estates as in their [the assessors'] prudence they shall think fit" is exempt.[1]

Tax rolls usually break down each taxpayer's property by type, listing the number of acres of pasture, upland meadow, swampy meadow, arable land, and orchard.[2] Waste land and woodland were not taxed. The assessors also recorded the number of houses, shops, or mills owned, any slaves--or "servants for life" as they preferred to call them--farm stock, and the number of adult men on each farm. Sitting tenants were usually taxed for the land they farmed unless there had been some previous agreement between landlord and tenant. For the most part the landlord was to reimburse the tenant one-half of the tax set upon the land he leased. Tax rolls are especially valuable for including tenants who were otherwise invisible residents of the community since they are almost never mentioned in wills or deeds. It is occasionally difficult to be certain whether a tenant actually owns the land for which he is taxed. Another valuable feature of the tax rolls is the fact that people were usually listed geographically, the assessors recording the pertinent information for one farm after another along a road. This affords precious information about where individuals lived in any one year that cannot be found elsewhere. The chief drawback in the use of tax rolls is the irregular years for which rolls are available, the fact that some rolls fail to break down property by use and merely give a total tax bill, and the exclusion of unimproved land and woodland.

Maps, while potentially the most valuable source for the location of roads and houses, tend to be the most idiosyncratic. Some mapmakers were careless about the position of roads or other features and the results depend upon the purpose for which the map was made and the degree of the surveyor's art the particular artist possessed. The maps executed by John G. Hales in 1830 for the towns of Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington have been very valuable for their depiction of land use and identification of the owner of each house. While land use undoubtedly changed considerably between 1775 and 1830, it is reasonable to assume that, at the very least, the area that was woodland in 1830 was woodland in 1775.

Format

For the sake of convenience the land within Minute Man National Historical Park has been divided into six separate districts. Each district is introduced by a brief discussion of its particular roads, bridleways, islands, terrain, and any special problems involved in their rediscovery. Maps necessary to easy understanding of the property descriptions are included. The districts with their modern road names are:

1. Fiske Hill to Nelson Road
2. Nelson Road to the Old Concord-Lexington Line
3. The Old Concord-Lexington Line to Old Bedford Road
4. Old Bedford Road to The Lincoln Line
5. The Lincoln Line to Meriam's Corner
6. The North Bridge area

Land within each district has been divided according to its owner in 1775. The analysis of each property begins with a brief account of the person or persons who occupied it in April 1775. A description of the property itself follows and includes details of land use and man-made structures. The report concludes by outlining those problems yet to be resolved.

Concord Road

As the focal point of Minute Man NHP the Concord, or Battle, Road deserves special mention at the outset. This much-travelled route linked the town of Concord, the first inland settlement in Massachusetts, with Cambridge, Boston, and the sea. Indeed, it was so vital a part of Concord life that the very first recorded vote of that community, an order from 1636 when the first division of town land took place, concerned the dimensions of the Concord Road. It ordered "that the highway under the hill through the Towne is to be left foure Rodes broad."[3]

In fact, the right of way for the Concord Road varied considerably. In 1716 it was, as ordered in 1636, four rods wide from the town center to Meriam's Corner, then eight

rods wide from there to the "Ministerial Lot of Ten Rod Way," near the spot where the tannery of Joshua Brooks stood in 1775, and fully ten rods wide to the Lexington line. Except for small, napped stones and gravel placed where the road bed was especially muddy, the road was unpaved. Where the road crossed swampy areas such as that east of Meriam's Corner, causeways were constructed. Where it climbed steep hills such as Old Bedford Road, excavations were made to reduce the slope. The Concord Road was in frequent need of repair and was necessarily the object of much attention in the three communities of Minute Man Park which it linked. Its route was altered many times and a thorough study of these changes, while outside the scope of the present report, would be invaluable.

NOTES

1. Massachusetts, The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1878), 3:98.

2. The contemporary designation for productive, taxable farm land was into the categories of pasture, tillage, fresh meadow and upland meadow. Pasture was land used for grazing cattle; tillage was arable farm land, land prepared and used for crops; fresh meadow was low-lying, well-watered grass land; and upland meadow was high grass land, often with planted grasses. The Lincoln tax rolls are an unreliable source for orchards as several property owners are known to have orchards for which they were not taxed.

3. See Charles H. Walcott, "Concord Roads" (Concord, 1938), p. 1. This manuscript was transcribed from Walcott's notes. A typescript copy is at the Concord Public Library.

DISTRICT ONE: FISKE HILL TO NELSON ROAD

Roads are a community's lifeline, the most important man-made feature of the landscape, vital to its social, economic, and political relationships. The network of roads cutting through that portion of Minute Man NHP between its eastern boundary at Fiske Hill in Lexington and present-day Nelson Road changed considerably during and since colonial times. The Battle Road, or Concord Road, was altered several times in the eighteenth century, particularly that portion which wound over Fiske Hill, while several other roads and trails important in that era have now shrunk into obscurity or have disappeared altogether. It is necessary to be aware of their routes in 1775 to place surrounding farms in proper perspective.

In 1775 Concord Road cut through the property of Ebenezer Fiske as it crossed over Fiske Hill. Only two years before the outbreak of war, in 1773, the town of Lexington had altered this portion of the road once again. To move the road the town paid Ebenezer and his son Benjamin £31-1-4, a considerable sum at that time, for "a strip of land...lying on the northeast side of the Country Road going up Fiskes' Hill, for the better accomodating of Travellers."[1] The Fiskes received the money in May, 1773 and the actual alteration of the road must have taken place either later that summer or the following spring, the season when road repairs were usually undertaken.

Two other roads entered the Concord Road just east of Fiske Hill, Wood Street (also called Bedford Road, Clay Road, and Cutler Road), and the Salem Road, an important route from Concord through Woburn to Salem and the coast. The latter used Concord Road from Concord Center but diverged from it just east of Fiske Hill. The Fiske house stood at the junction of Wood Street and Concord Road and very near the junction of Concord Road and the Salem Road. Wood Street was altered in recent years to smooth out its contours but old maps reveal its colonial shape.

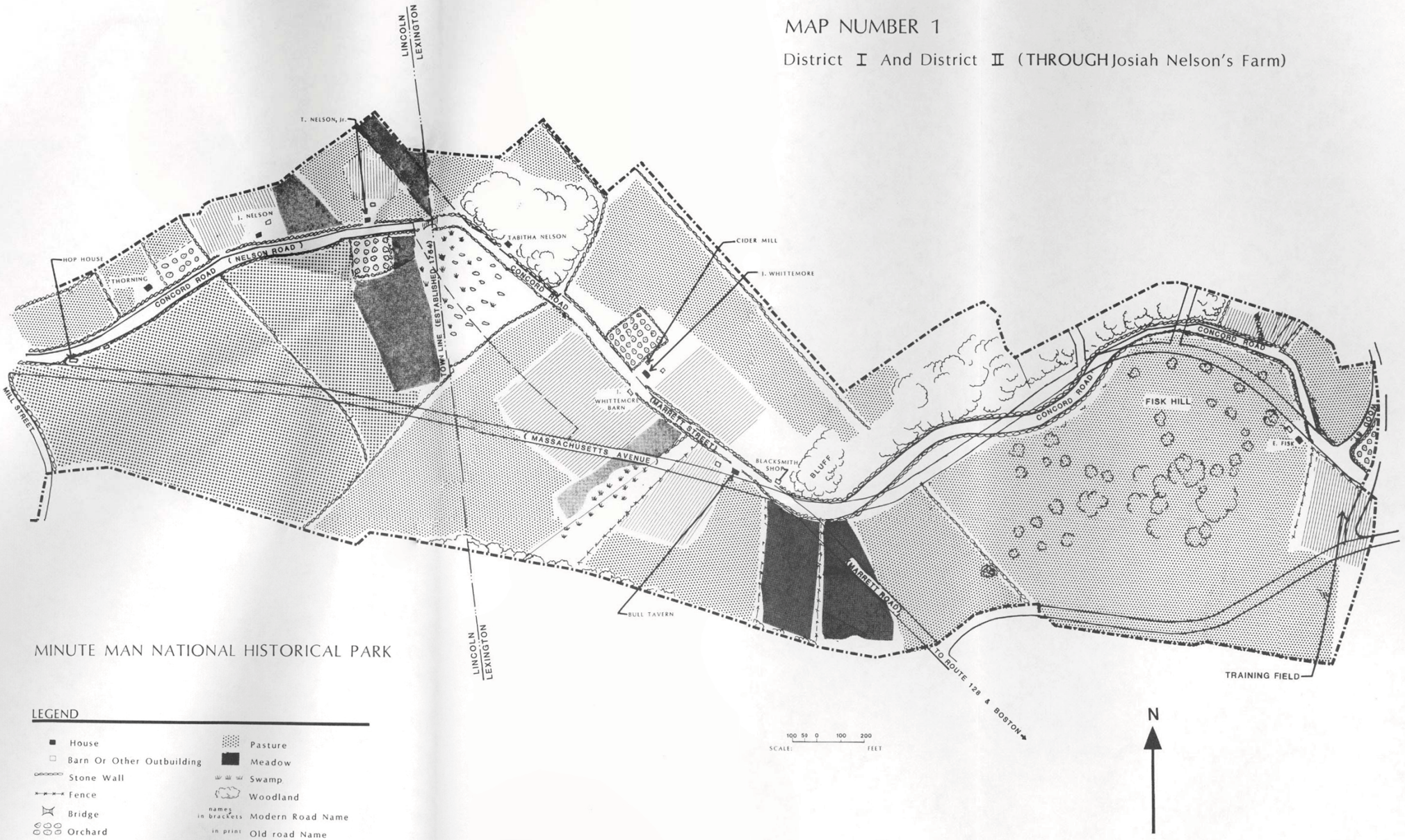
In addition to these major roads there are two minor ones of interest for reconstructing the events of April 19.

A bridleway which formed the boundary between Thomas Nelson's homestead in Lexington and Jacob Whittemore's land both north and south of Concord Road extended from Mill Street in Lincoln north to Bedford. The wall that ran along it north of Concord Road in 1775 still exists. This bridleway was probably the back road to Bedford taken by Josiah Nelson to warn the Bedford Minute Men of the arrival of the British.

Finally, there was an "old trail" or "way," mentioned in various deeds for Fiske land, which appears in H.M. Houghton's map of the area. This trail cut east-to-west across the base of Fiske Hill from Concord Road to the Fisk house. According to Houghton, a British soldier killed in front of the nearby blacksmith shop was taken over this trail and buried along it.[2]

MAP NUMBER 1

District I And District II (THROUGH Josiah Nelson's Farm)



MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

LEGEND

- House
- Barn Or Other Outbuilding
- Stone Wall
- Fence
- Bridge
- Orchard
- Tilled Field
- Rocky Field
- Pasture
- Meadow
- Swamp
- Woodland
- names in brackets: Modern Road Name
- in print: Old road Name

FIGURE 2.

EBENEZER FISKE HOMESTEAD

Ebenezer Fiske's property astride the Concord Road, and his house itself, figured in the events of April 19, 1775. The British army advanced and retreated along the Concord Road as it wound over Fiske Hill in Lexington, and a confrontation between an American from Acton, James Hayward, and a British regular near Fiske's well resulted in the death of both. At the time the Fiske house, known as "the red house," at the junction of the Concord Road and present-day Wood Street (referred to in the eighteenth century as Clay Road or Cutler Road), was occupied by Ebenezer Fiske, a man of eighty-three, his youngest son, Benjamin, and his daughter-in-law, Rebecca. Ebenezer's wife Bethia, sister of John Muzzy the minute man, had died just the year before and Ebenezer himself would not live out the year. Benjamin and Rebecca had been married eight years by 1775 but had no children. From the time he inherited his father David's homestead in 1729, Ebenezer had steadily added to his holdings until by 1775 he owned one of the largest and most prosperous farms in Lexington. Ebenezer was styled "gentleman" and his house labelled a "mansion house." In 1772 Ebenezer was licensed as an innkeeper.

Prior to this study few details of the Fiske property had been determined. A long controversy centered on the exact location of Ebenezer Fiske's "mansion house." Notwithstanding the five separate archeological studies carried out to fix its position, there was no agreement whether it was north or south of Concord Road. The house foundation presently marked as the Fiske homestead is south of the road, but the Archeological Overview and Evaluation marks a site north of the road as the proper location, though the author makes it clear that the evidence is inconclusive. There have even been suggestions that the Fiske house was not located on present park property and that all trace of it was destroyed by the construction of Route 128. Fortunately a series of deeds of purchase by Ebenezer Fiske, his father David's will, the will and inventory of his son Benjamin who died in 1785, later land sales, and early maps provide a wealth of detail about the Fiske estate and not only indicate where the house stood but what other buildings were on the property and how the land was used.[3]

The Fiskes owned land on both sides of the old Concord Road with the great bulk of their property lying south of the road occupying the area known as Fiske Hill. Robert Ronsheim argues in his "General Report" that Ebenezer Fiske's estate consisted of some sixty-nine acres but, at the time Benjamin Fiske died in 1785, his inventory indicated that he was seized of some 90 acres of land.[4] Since Benjamin sold some twenty-six acres in 1777 the

estate probably had consisted of 116 acres in 1775. Contemporary tax lists are of little aid in determining total acreage since unimproved land and woodland were not taxed. However, the Lexington Tax list for 1771, the last detailed list available before the Revolutionary War, is valuable for its breakdown of land use. It lists Ebenezer and Benjamin Fiske as possessing:

11 acres pasture
11 acres tillage
12 acres upland meadow
9 1/2 acres fresh meadow

The same tax list reported that they had produced thirty-five barrels of cider the previous year. Only three property owners in Lexington claimed to have produced a greater quantity of cider that year. Clearly Ebenezer Fiske must have had a substantial orchard, although no separate orchard is listed either on the tax rolls or in any of the Fiske deeds or wills. The area under tillage on the Fiske farm was also impressive, fully twice the average. In addition the Fiskes were taxed as owning 2 horses, 4 oxen, 9 cows, and 6 sheep or goats, stock which would have required a fair-sized barn.

Deeds, wills, and inventories divided the Fiske estate into a great many parcels. There were four separate plots of land north of Concord Road:

1) a "close" or walled plot 3/4 of an acre bounded west by Wood Street, south by Concord Road;

2) a 3-acre, 46 rod pasture bounded south by Concord Road, northeast by Wood Street, and located north of the Fiske house;

3) a 3 1/2-acre closed field bounded south by Concord Road and northeast by Wood Street;

4) a 25-acre tract of woodland and upland bordered south and southwest by Concord Road, northeast by Wood Street, east by the 3 1/2-acre field mentioned above, and west by the land of Jacob Whittemore. A large ditch, used to keep the Fiske land drained, lay along the western boundary.

It is very likely that one of the enclosed plots north of Concord Road, probably the three-fourths-acre plot, contained the missing orchard. Orchards were usually walled and these parcels, especially the three-quarter acre parcel, were evaluated at far higher rates than the other fields.

The parcels the Fiskes owned south of Concord Road were far more extensive. Here we find the Fiske house, part of the seventy-six acre homestead lot. Although the inventories and deeds do not fix the house location within the seventy-six acres, early maps make it absolutely clear that it was located close to and south of Concord Road, slightly west of the point where Concord Road intersects Wood Street. This is the location of the present, marked foundation. The David Fiske house, the home of Ebenezer's father, was also part of the homestead lot, completely surrounded by it and south of Ebenezer's house. The inventories refer to the "Old House Lot," a parcel of land containing some 2 acres 114 rods and bordered by Fiske property on all sides. This house has been the object of an archeological research project. Before providing further details of the buildings on, and use of, the homestead lot, it would be well to list the other parcels of Fiske land south of Concord Road. These were, moving from east to west along Concord Road:

1) The 14-acre "training field" and adjoining pasture bounded north by Concord Road, south and east by the land of Amos Marrett, and west by Fiske land. A fence marked the western border.

2) A 10 1/2-acre pasture bounded north by Concord Road, east by the land of John Parkhurst, and south and west by the land of Amos Marrett to whom Benjamin sold it in 1777. A deed of 1743 mentioned a fence along its border with Concord Road.

3) An 11-acre pasture, Fiske Hill itself, bounded north by Concord Road, west by John Parkhurst, and east by the "training field."

4) The "Old House Lot," some 2 acres 114 rods surrounded on all sides by Fiske property. Since the widow was given the west end of the barn, the old house lot may have been west of the barn placing it west of "the third."

5) The 76-acre homestead lot bounded north by Concord Road, south by the land of Jacob Whittemore, and south and southeast by the land of Amos Marrett. The homestead lot included pasture and tillage land. At its western end some 12 acres, left to Rebecca Fiske, of woodland, mowing and pasture extended from the hill down to meadow land. This piece seems to have been surrounded by a fence. Its westernmost section included the

> "Beavergray Meadow," a 2-acre 150-rod parcel which bordered on the Josiah Mansfield property. It also included 7 acres of upland, a parcel east of the house, a pasture of 1-acre 32 rods south of the house, a stockyard of about 1/4-acre, a cow yard, a small garden, and an enclosed garden.

The Fiskes also owned some non-contiguous parcels which are of little interest. These included a ten-acre woodlot bounded by the land of Josiah and Thomas Nelson, Jacob Whittemore, and John Parkhurst and a four-acre parcel, probably in Lincoln, bounded by the properties of Ephraim Hartwell and Thomas Brooks.

While it is not necessary for the purposes of this study to describe the interior of the Fiske house or barn, their locations, as well as those of other farm buildings close to them and of the plots of land surrounding them, are of great interest. The area surrounding the house and barn contained approximately twelve acres. From descriptions of the house and barn in inventories and wills-- Rebecca, Benjamin's widow, for example, was given the easterly end of the house and westerly end of the barn-- both structures would appear to have been built along an east-west axis. The stretch of Concord Road that bordered the Fiske property was shifted several times in the eighteenth century. The orientation of the house and barn may have accorded better with the original angle of the road to permit the house to face the passing traffic. Although most barns were either behind the house with which they were associated or, as is frequently the case with Minute Man NHP properties, across the road from the house, the Fiske house and barn appear to have been along the same axis, with the barn west of the house. In addition to the house and barn the homestead contained a hog house and corn shed and the following parcels of land:

1) a small garden between the house and the barn;
2) an enclosed garden north of the barn;
3) a stock yard of 1/4 acre west of the barn;
4) a cow yard south of the barn;
5) a pasture of 1 acre 32 rods south of the house; and
6) a parcel of 128 rods, merely described as "a piece," east of the house.

The eighteenth-century Fiske barn was probably much smaller than the foundation of the nineteenth-century barn visible on the Fiske site today and closer to the house, leaving more level terrain west of the barn for the stock yard.

With the exception of the buildings already mentioned there are few manmade features referred to in the deeds

describing the Fiske property. The fields and stock areas were surrounded by fences, probably similar to the post-and-rail fences depicted on the Doolittle prints. The only walls mentioned on the property are the walls that surround the enclosed fields and gardens. A rangeway crossed the land in a northwest-southeast direction cutting across both Concord Road and the parcel of land which lay between Concord Road and Wood Street bordered by Jacob Whittemore's land on the west. There would have been a stone wall down the center of the rangeway.

In conclusion, there is a good deal about the property of the Ebenezer Fiske family of which we can be confident. The house site and the locations of the original barn and several of the parcels of land can be fixed. The arrangement of the buildings and small plots in the immediate vicinity of the house and barn is known. We know, for example, that the corn shed was southwest of the barn and that the hog house was behind the house near the famous "Haywood well." Land use is, for the most part, clear as well. There is still doubt about the location of the orchard, but it seems likely it was on the three-quarter-acre enclosed parcel north of Concord Road. There is also doubt about the location of the eleven acres of tillage. Tilled plots, like orchards, were usually located close to the farmhouse. The most promising sites for the Fiskes' tillage land are the three and one-half acre enclosed field north of Concord Road, the gardens surrounding the house and barn, and at least part of the fourteen-acre "training field" which is carefully distinguished as a field rather than pasture, meadow, or woodland. It is hoped that aerial photographs may provide further clues.

AMOS MARRETT PROPERTY

In 1775 Ebenezer Fiske's neighbor to the south and east was Amos Marrett, a man of thirty-six. Marrett was a soldier in Captain John Parker's Lexington company and served the following year in the revolutionary army. He had lived for some years in Cambridge before he purchased a substantial Lexington farm of 140 acres in 1764 from Isaac Stone. Three years later he bought an additional twenty-eight and one-half acres outside of the park from Thaddeus Hastings. These parcels made him one of the largest landowners in the area.

The Lexington tax rolls of 1771 and 1780 listed the stock and land use of property owners. In 1771 Marrett was assessed for 40 acres of pasture, 8 acres of upland meadow, 22 acres of fresh meadow, and 7 acres of tillage-- a

substantial holding. He was also reported as having produced thirty-five barrels of cider, indicating an orchard of at least one acre. In 1771 his stock included 2 horses, 2 oxen, 9 cows, 3 goats or sheep, and 2 swine. By 1780 his flock of sheep had increased to 12, his swine to 7, and he owned 14 young cattle in addition to his former herd of 9 cows. In 1780 his total produce was valued at £1158, a figure nearly twice that of the next highest person on the tax list. The great bulk of Marrett's land was south of Minute Man NHP. For his holdings within the park we have little information. In 1775 all his property was south of Concord Road and only bordered that road for short distances in two locations. His land abutted Jacob Whittemore's meadow on the west and Daniel Brown's land on the north and west. His house was south of the park and there is no evidence of any buildings that stood near Concord Road. Marrett's property along the road was fenced.

JOSEPH BROWN PROPERTY

In the 1720's Joseph Brown, a shoemaker by trade, purchased a house and land on the south side of Concord Road in Lexington between the property of the Fiskes and the Whittemores. Daniel Brown, one of Brown's sons, owned property on Nelson Road which will be considered in the next section. By the time Joseph died in 1764 he owned some 170 acres of land on both sides of Concord Road, the bulk of which he left to his son Benjamamin.[5] The original Brown home may be the site south of Concord Road and east of the blacksmith shop which is listed in Baker's Archeological Overview and Evaluation.[6]

Despite early deeds of purchase and the reference to Brown as an abuttor in other deeds from the first half of the eighteenth century, the exact whereabouts of his holdings in 1775 are unknown. They are not described in his will of 1754 or that of his heir Benjamin Brown in 1802 sufficiently to place them in District One.[7] Nor is Benjamim's heir, James's inventory of 1817 adequate aid, for although it describes the parcels in some detail, abuttors are seldom mentioned and the sites cannot be fixed.[8] Furthermore, the property records of those whose land abutted Joseph's original purchases, the Fiskes and the Whittemores, provide no clues. When the Fiske and Whittemore farms were inventoried and sold in the late eighteenth century neither mentioned the holdings of Joseph or Benjamin Brown.[9]

It is hoped that future information will come to light to determine whether the Brown property was along this section of Concord Road in 1775 and if so, how it was used.

BULL TAVERN FARM

The Bull Tavern, one of the Concord Road landmarks mentioned in accounts of the events of April 19, 1775, is also one of Minute Man NHP's most elusive properties. Its precise location, its occupant in 1775, and even whether it was a tavern at the time are all open to question.[10] Of these questions the location of the so-called tavern is the simplest to determine. Early accounts all place it on Concord Road in Lexington near the Lincoln-Lexington line. A series of nineteenth-century maps indicate that a tavern was at the junction of the old Concord Road (now Marrett Street) and the addition built to straighten out and shorten the Concord Road in 1802 (now known as Massachusetts Avenue). In the earliest maps the tavern is on the south side of Concord Road, across from, and west of, the blacksmith shop on the Whittemore farm and east of Whittemore's own house. Whittemore's barn was on the south side of the road west of the tavern farm. Modern maps are more erratic in siting the tavern. A Minute Man NHP map labels a site exactly opposite the road from the Whittemore house as the proper location of the tavern while the map on page 91 of the Archeological Overview places the tavern--there called the Danforth Tavern after a later owner--directly opposite the blacksmith shop, putting it east of, and quite outside, the triangle of land formed by Marrett Street and Massachusetts Avenue.

A letter in the posession of the Lexington Historical Society by H. M. Houghton, who lived near the site in the nineteenth century, and deeds for the property help pin down its precise location. Houghton's letter includes a map which puts the blacksmith shop to the east of the tavern and specifically states that the shop was "on the right of the road a few rods this or the Lexington side of the Viles tavern."[11] A deed of 1772 indicates that Moses Reed, son-in-law of Jacob Whittemore, sold the property to Josiah Mansfield, an Acton blacksmith.[12] At that time the tavern farm was described as containing a forty-acre tenement with a mansion house and other buildings, among them a cider mill.[13] It was bounded:

> North by the Concord Road
> East by land of Jacob Whittemore
> South by land of Amos Marrett and Joseph Abbot
> West by land of Jacob Whittemore to the road "as the fence now stands."

The farm also touched the land of Ebenezer Fiske, probably on the east or south.

At the same time that he bought the tavern farm Mansfield purchased a three and three-fourths acre piece of

"upland and swamp" from Jacob Whittemore which bordered his new property on the west. This parcel was described as bounded:

> North by Concord Road 6 rods from a stake to the corner of the wall
> East and southeast 63 rods by Mansfield's land to a stake and stones
> Southwest 13 1/4 rods by land of Jacob Whittemoreto a black oak
> West and northwest 63 rods by Whittemore's land to a stake and stones by Concord Road.

The tavern farm subsequently changed hands several times without any change in this general description until the sale in 1818, which occurred after construction of Massachusetts Avenue.[14] This deed clearly placed the farm buildings on a three-fourths acre triangle wedged between Concord Road and Massachusetts Avenue. The remainder of the farm, some thirty-nine acres, was on the south side of the new road.[15]

The answer to the second question, who lived on the farm in 1775, is far more difficult to determine. In 1772 Moses Reed, Jacob Whittemore's new son-in-law, sold the property to Josiah Mansfield of Acton, but there is no deed to indicate how Reed had acquired the property. The tax list of 1771 makes it clear that as of that date Reed did not own any land in Lexington. The most likely solution is that Reed was given the property in 1772 as a gift by his father-in-law, whose land bordered the tavern farm on both the east and the west. Numerous "deeds of gift" were never properly recorded. Whittemore himself sold Mansfield an additional piece of property bordering the farm that summer. In any event, Mansfield never appears to have actually lived on his new property. He mortgaged it almost immediately, first to Joseph Lee, a Concord physician, and to Daniel Fletcher of Acton; then to Martha Salisbury, a widow, also of Acton, who apparently leased it out. Some time in 1778 or early 1779 a Lexington blacksmith, Benjamin Danforth, evicted Mrs. Salisbury's tenant and moved onto the tavern farm himself.[16] The lady brought suit and in 1782 the inferior court of common pleas of Concord found for her. She then sold the property to Nathan Dudley, a gentleman of Lexington, who moved onto it. During the crucial years between the sale of the farm to Mansfield in 1772 and 1778/9 when Danforth moved in we have only the single tax list of 1777 to guide us to the identity of the actual resident of the property.

On the tax list of 1770 Moses Reed, future owner of the tavern farm, is listed as living in another part of Lexington. That year Reed married Sarah Whittemore, and on the 1771 list his name suddenly appears as a resident of

Concord Road between Ebenezer Fiske and Tabitha Nelson, a situation which coincides with the location of the tavern farm. He still owned no property. The following year Reed sold the tavern farm to Mansfield. By 1777, the next year for which a tax list is available, Reed is again listed as owning no property and has moved to a different location in Lexington. But in 1777 the name of John Muzzy Senior appears for the section of Concord Road in question, next to that of Jacob Whittemore. By 1780 Muzzy's name has taken Whittemore's place on the tax list while Whittemore and Reed are joint owners of a farm elsewhere in Lexington.[17] find Muzzy occupying the Whittemore farm as tenant in 1780, a year after it had been sold to a Watertown distiller, it is a surprise to find Muzzy on this stretch of road before he could have moved into the Whittemore property. The most reasonable explanation is that it was John Muzzy who became the tenant of the tavern farm after its sale to Mansfield and that it was he who was evicted from it by Danforth in 1778/9. This theory is supported by the fact that in August, 1773, Muzzy sold his own 140-acre farm north of Wood Street. Fortunately for Muzzy, the Whittemore property just across the street from the tavern farm was sold in April 1779, shortly after Danforth ousted him from the tavern farm, and Muzzy simply moved into the Whittemore property as a tenant. If this is correct then it was John Muzzy Senior and his son Isaac who occupied the tavern farm in 1775.[18] Both men were active in the events that launched the American Revolution. John Muzzy served in the Lexington company of minute men, and Isaac was killed during the skirmish on Lexington Common on April 19, 1775.

The question of whether there was a tavern operating on the "Bull Tavern" site in 1775 is the most difficult of the issues raised about the property. Tradition placed one there in 1775 and the men who owned the farm after 1778-- Benjamin Danforth, Nathan Dudley, William Benjamin, and Joel Viles-- are all known to have been innkeepers. There is a reasonable presumption, therefore, that a tavern existed on the spot in 1775. Unfortunately the records of those who were licensed to keep an inn in Lexington are incomplete for the years after 1772. In the various transfers of property in which he was involved John Muzzy is described as a yeoman, not an innkeeper. However, Ephraim Hartwell, his son John, and Ebenezer Fiske, all innkeepers, were described as gentlemen in their deeds and wills. There was a John Muzzy, innkeeper in Lexington in 1739, but it is doubtful if it was the John Muzzy with whom we are dealing. Without further evidence no definite conclusion can be reached. But there is strong circumstantial evidence that there was a tavern on this site in 1775.

We know little about the use of the tavern farmland. The farm certainly had a large house, a barn, and a cider mill. If the Bull Tavern were a serious inn it ought to

have had stables for the horses of guests. A drawing made of the Viles Tavern in 1827 shows stables to the east of the inn and a barn and shed to the west. The deed of 1818 which recorded Joel Viles' purchase of the property from Joseph Simonds mentions a shed at the easterly end of the house which Simonds reserved the privilege of removing. But there is no evidence that either the stables or the shed were on the site in 1775.[19] As to other man-made structures, the deed of 1772 mentions a fence along the western boundary with Jacob Whittemore's property that stopped at the road. The actual use of the farm land is difficult to determine because the tax of 1777, closest in date to 1775, does not contain any breakdown of land use, merely a total figure for tax due on personal and real estate. A twenty-one and one-half acre parcel that may originally have comprised the eastern half of the farm, sold to Jacob Whittemore in 1763, was described at that time as improved land and woodland.[20] This fits the description of Whittemore's land adjoining the tavern farm. The woodland would have been along the southern border of the farm, and the improved land along the road, close to the house and barn. A three and three-fourth acre parcel Whittemore sold Mansfield shortly after he bought the tavern farm was described as upland and swamp. No orchard was mentioned in any of the deeds although the farm should have had one since it had a cider mill. A further clue about land use comes from the 1780 tax. At that time Danforth was in possession of the farm. Although he owned a horse, 4 cows, 6 young cattle, 8 sheep, and 4 swine, all quite typical, he is exceptional in having no oxen. It is, therefore, likely that he had a good deal of pasture for his stock of cattle and sheep but very little plowland.

JACOB WHITTEMORE HOMESTEAD

Jacob Whittemore, the Fiskes' neighbor to the west and owner of the surviving Whittemore house, was the son of Nathaniel Whittemore, a prosperous and distinguished Lexington landowner and almanac writer with property in Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington. Jacob was born in Lexington in 1722, died in 1780, and was fifty-three at the time of the Battle of Lexington. One of his daughters, Esther, married Benjamin Brown, eldest son of his neighbor Benjamin Brown, while a second daughter, Sarah, married Moses Reed of Woburn in 1770. Reed figured prominently in the sale of the Bull Tavern property and when Whittemore sold his own homestead in 1779 Reed was his partner. Reed had no property of his own but does not appear to have been living with his father-in-law after his marriage for he is listed separately on the tax rolls.

Jacob inherited his Lexington and Lincoln property when his father, Nathaniel, died in 1755. Nathaniel had divided his property leaving to Jacob his "home place," some 114 acres of land in Lincoln and Lexington, lying "in sundry pieces being upland, pastureland, orcharding and meadow."[21] He left other properties in Lincoln and Concord to his son Nathaniel. The bulk of Jacob's land, some sixty acres, lay north of Concord Road and contained Whittemore's orchard, some woodland, a "mansion house," a corn house, a blacksmith shop, and a cider mill. There were fenced "yards" surrounding the house, cornhouse, and cider mill. On the south side of Concord Road, opposite the homestead, Jacob inherited a forty-three acre parcel of improved land and woodland with a barn on it, and a five-acre meadow bounded on the east by Fiske land and on the west by the Bull Tavern farm. When Jacob sold his homestead in 1779, he also owned two other parcels south of Concord Road. These were a ten acre meadow he had bought from Joseph Abbot, his neighbor to the south, and a small triangular meadow of 1 3/4 acres 20 rods bordering Concord Road, purchased from Josiah Mansfield.

At the time Whittemore sold his homestead in April 1779 to a Watertown distiller, Ezekial Hall, the property was described in some detail.[22] Since there is no reason to suppose it had altered since 1775, this description is presumably appropriate for that year as well. The plot north of Concord Road was described as sixty acres of improved land, orcharding, and woodland lying in Lexington and Lincoln with a mansion house, a corn house, and a blacksmith shop bounded:

> Southwest by a highway [Concord Road]
> Southeast by a rangeway and the land of Amos Marrett [formerly Fiske land] to a town road [Wood Street]
> Northeast by said town road [Wood Street] to another highway
> Northwest by the rangeway to the highway [Concord Road].

The blacksmith shop on the property, where legend has it that a British soldier was shot and killed, was not included in the sale but was specifically reserved. According to early maps and on-site inspection this shop was north of Concord Road just west of the bluff belonging to Whittemore (in a flat, sheltered spot). A cider mill was also mentioned as situated on the parcel north of Concord Road in Nathaniel Whittemore's bequest to Jacob in 1755, and again in 1761 when Jacob purchased his mother's right in his property.[23] Since the 1771 tax list indicated that Whittemore had produced twenty barrels of cider that year, quite a large amount, it seems probable that the cider mill was still standing in 1771 and probably in 1775. It is

difficult to be certain, however, since there is no cider mill mentioned in the sale of 1779, or the resale of the property in 1781.[24] Cider mills were common, and it is possible it was simply overlooked on these deeds.

The only structure mentioned as standing on Whittemore's property south of Concord Road was his barn. The plots south of the road, from east to west, were as follows:

(1) a five-acre meadow bounded:
North by Concord Road
East by land of Benjamin Fiske
South and West by land of Josiah Mansfield.

(2) 43 acres of improved land and woodland with a barn bounded:
Northeast by Concord Road
Southeast by an angling line by land of Josiah Mansfield
South by land of Joseph Abbot till it comes to stake and stones at corner stone wall; then a straight line by Jacob's other land to stones near white oak being Northwest corner of 10 acres Jacob bought of Joseph Abbot
Northwest by land of Thomas and Josiah Nelson and a rangeway to Concord Road.

(3) 2 acres of meadow bounded:
North by Fisk
Southeast by Amos Marrett
West by land in possession of Danforth [formerly Mansfield].

In addition, Jacob had bought ten acres of meadow land situated in Lincoln from Nehemiah Abbot in 1755.

In 1771 Whittemore was listed as owning 15 acres of pasture land in Lexington, 6 acres of plowland, 6 acres of upland meadow, and 8 acres of fresh meadow. This was an average holding and a typical distribution of land use. He also had an orchard on the north side of Concord Road, probably west of his house for an orchard was situated near the road there in 1738. There is no record of the size of Whittemore's orchard, but the average orchard was between three-fourths and one acre in size and an orchard of one acre could be expected to produce some twenty barrels of cider a year. The parcels both north and south of the road are described as having "improved land" and woodland. "Improved land" could have included both plowland and pasture, hence a portion of his six acres of plowland was on each side of the road. The plowland on the north side of Concord Road was probably located east of the house;

plowland on the south side of the road was situated close to the barn. The eight acres of fresh meadow, usually swampy land, was doubtless south of the road where the land is more marshy, while the six acres of upland meadow may have been north of the road where the land is decidedly higher. The bluff must have formed some of Whittemore's woodland.[25] His other woodland, if the 1830 map of Lexington by Hales can be trusted, was probably the land he owned next to Wood Street and the land along his southern boundary, with most of his cleared land and meadowland lying next to the Concord Road.

Apart from the rangeways bordering the Whittemore property north of Concord Road on the northwest and southeast, which would have had stone walls, and the stone wall along his southern boundary with Joseph Abbot, fences surrounding the yards on the home lot are the only other enclosures mentioned. The orchard and fields would have been enclosed, however, and in the absence of reference to stone walls were probably set off by fencing.

One final note about the Whittemore property. The blacksmith shop which was on the property does not appear to have belonged to the Whittemores. Neither Jacob nor his father were ever described as blacksmiths, and in Nathaniel's will of 1755 and Jacob's purchase of his mother's rights to the homestead in 1761, the blacksmith shop is never mentioned as part of the bequest. When Whittemore sold his property in 1779 and when it was resold in 1781 the blacksmith shop was specifically excluded from the sale. Moreover, when Jacob died in 1780, no blacksmith shop or blacksmith tools were mentioned in his inventory. The obvious conclusion is that the shop never belonged to the Whittemores to bequeath or sell although it was situated on their property. It seems most likely that the blacksmith shop belonged to the large Brown family, neighbors of the Whittemores throughout the eighteenth century, since various younger members of the Brown family were blacksmiths. In this regard there is an inventory of the property of one Daniel Brown of Cambridge who died in 1786 and who may have been the son of Daniel Brown of Lexington who was born in 1741 and had moved away.[26] The younger Daniel is listed as a blacksmith and left a house and barn on a one and three-fourths-acre plot, with a blacksmith shop valued at £10. The plot was described as bounded southwest by Concord Road, southeast by land of one William Whittemore, northeast and northwest by land of one Joseph Hartwell. When Benjamin Brown, heir to Brown property on both sides of Concord Road in Lexington, died in 1802, he left to his son James not only his house but "the other house which is called the Shopp." Whatever the truth, we can be certain there <u>was</u> a blacksmith shop on the Whittemore property and that the Whittemores did <u>not</u> own it.

NOTES

1. See Lexington Town Records, 4:219; Cordelia T. Snow, "The Roads on Fiske Hill" (unpublished manuscript, 1968) on file at North Atlantic Regional Office, Boston.

2. See H. M. Houghton, Lexington Historical Society, Roll 1, p. 77. In a letter to a child of Samuel Chandler, Houghton describes these events and includes a rough map of the area. A copy of this letter is on microfilm at Minute Man National Historical Park.

3. See in particular the will and estate inventory of Ebenezer Fiske, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 7573 and that of his son Benjamin, no. 7554.

4. Robert Ronsheim, "General Report: Houses and Lands within the Park"(unpublished manuscript, 1968), p. 1.

5. For Joseph Brown's will see Middlesex County Probate Record no. 3101.

6. Vernon Baker, Archeological Overview and Evaluation, Minute Man National Historical Park, Cultural Resources Management Study No. 2, U.S. Dept. of the Interior (Washington, D.C., 1980), p. 91.

7. For Benjamin Brown's will see Middlesex County Probate Record no. 2959.

8. For James Brown's see Middlesex County Probate Record no. 3051.

9. See material in this section on the properties of the Fiskes and the Whittemores.

10. Robert Ronsheim, "General Report," pp. 12-22. Ronsheim devotes considerable space and effort to these problems without being able to resolve them.

11. See Houghton letter, Lexington Historical Society.

12. Middlesex Record Office, Book 73:477-8.

13. The description of the land when Josiah Mansfield mortgaged his new property on October 2, 1772 is more precise. It mentioned, in addition to the house and barn, a mill house on the plot, and gave Ebenenezer Fiske as an abuttor on the east, along with Jacob Whittemore. See Middlesex Record Office, Book 73:432-34. This note was discharged on March 2, 1773.

14. Joseph Simonds to Joel Viles, Middlesex Record Office, Book 224:413-14.

15. The additional three and three-fourths acres which Mansfield bought from Jacob Whittemore in 1772 is not mentioned in this deed, nor indeed in other early deeds and seems to have remained distinct from the tavern farm property.

16. Danforth must have been in possession before April 1779 when Whittemore sold his homestead since the deed of that sale referred to the land "now in possession of Benjamin Danforth." See Middlesex Record Office, Book 80:96-7.

17. Whittemore and Reed purchased their new property from Thomas Parker of Princeton on March 15, 1779. Whittemore then sold his home farm on Concord Road on April 4, 1779.

18. There is additional evidence that Muzzy took up residence as the tenant of the tavern farm soon after its purchase by Mansfield in 1772. In August 1773 he sold his 140 acre farm north of Wood Street. Ronsheim, in his report on the Whittemore house, points out that John Muzzy does not appear to have been living on his own property in 1775 and there is no evidence he purchased any other home. See "Middlesex Record Office" Book 74:512-13; Robert Ronsheim, "Historic Structures Report Part I on Building Number Lex-3: The Jacob Whittemore House" (unpublished report, 1963), p. 13.

19. While this is mere speculation there was likely to have been at least a small stable on the property in 1775 for the following reasons. First, a stable would have been valuable for an inn. Second, the tavern farm was directly across from a blacksmith shop which does not appear to have had stables. Third, Mansfield and Danforth, who both owned the Bull Tavern Farm, were blacksmiths, and when Benjamin Brown whose property was nearby died in 1802, he bequeathed his good friend Nathan Dudley, a later owner of the tavern farm, "my horse stable standing upon his land near said Dudley's dwelling house." (Probate Record no. 2959.) The blacksmiths who owned the tavern farm presumably rented the blacksmith shop across the road.

20. Middlesex Record Office, Book 65:547-8.

21. Nathaniel Whittemore will, 1755, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 24828.

22. Middlesex Record Office, Book 80:96-7.

23. Ibid., Book 65:548.

24. See Middlesex Record Office, Book 80:96-7; Ibid., Book

84:505.

25. Whittemore also owned a thirty acre parcel of woodland called Pine Hill in East Lexington which he did not sell.

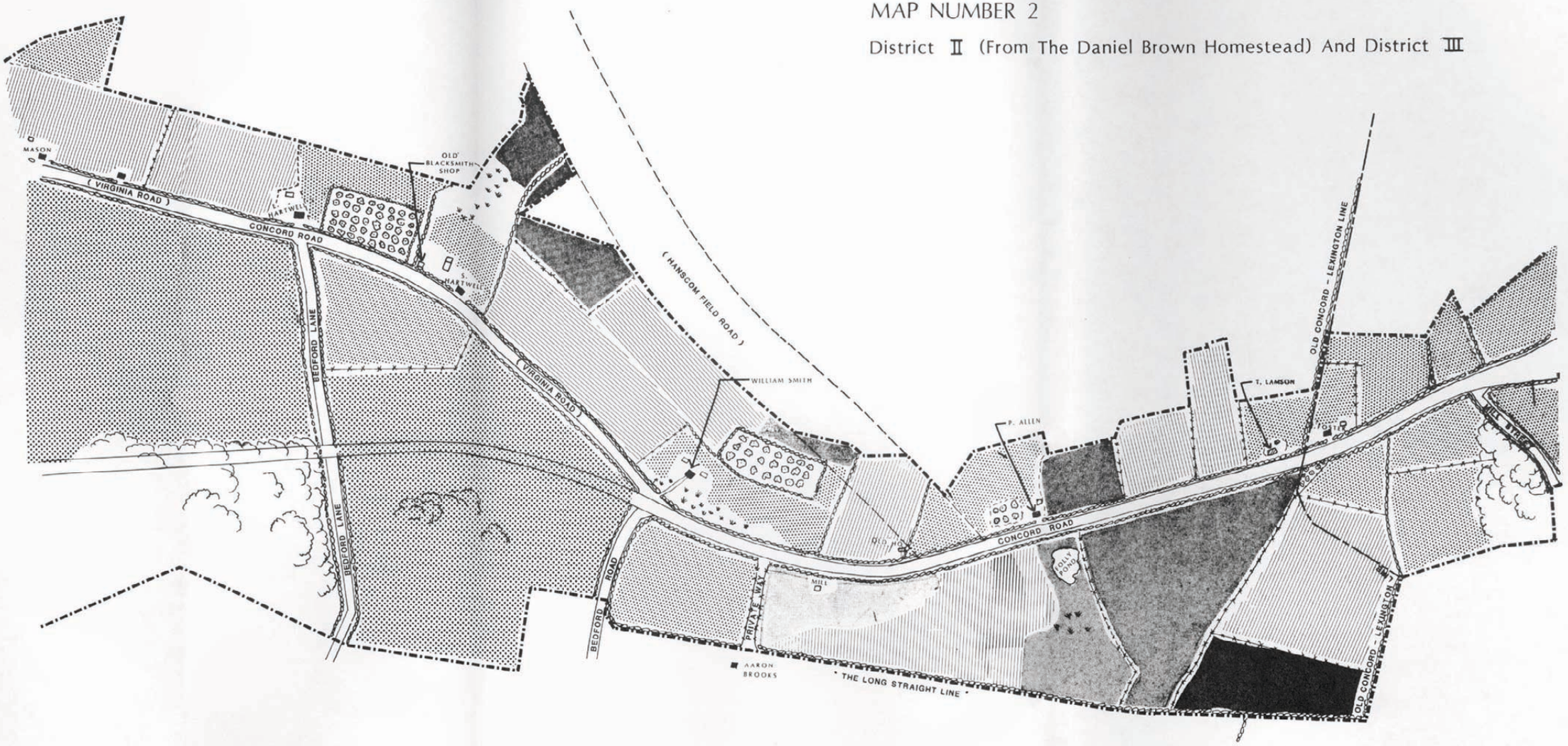
26. Middlesex County Probate Record no. 2973.

DISTRICT TWO: NELSON ROAD TO THE OLD CONCORD-LEXINGTON LINE

In this area the Concord or Battle Road followed the route of present-day Marrett Street and Nelson Road, meandering through a relatively flat country with swamp land here and there along the southern side of the road. From Nelson Road to the old line which had divided Concord and Lexington before the creation of the town of Lincoln in 1754, the Concord Road followed present Route 2A. The old line between Lexington and Concord was marked by a broad, straight stone wall and, at least south of Concord Road, by "an ancient ditch" with stones around it. A bridleway marking the boundary between the properties of Thomas Nelson Senior and Jacob Whittemore, already mentioned above, transversed this section of the park.

MAP NUMBER 2

District II (From The Daniel Brown Homestead) And District III



MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

100 50 0 100 200
SCALE FEET

N

LEGEND

- House
- Barn Or Other Outbuilding
- Stone Wall
- Fence
- Bridge
- Orchard
- Tilled Field
- Rocky Field
- Pasture
- Meadow
- Swamp
- Woodland
- (names in brackets) Modern Road Name
- (in print) Old road Name

FIGURE 6.

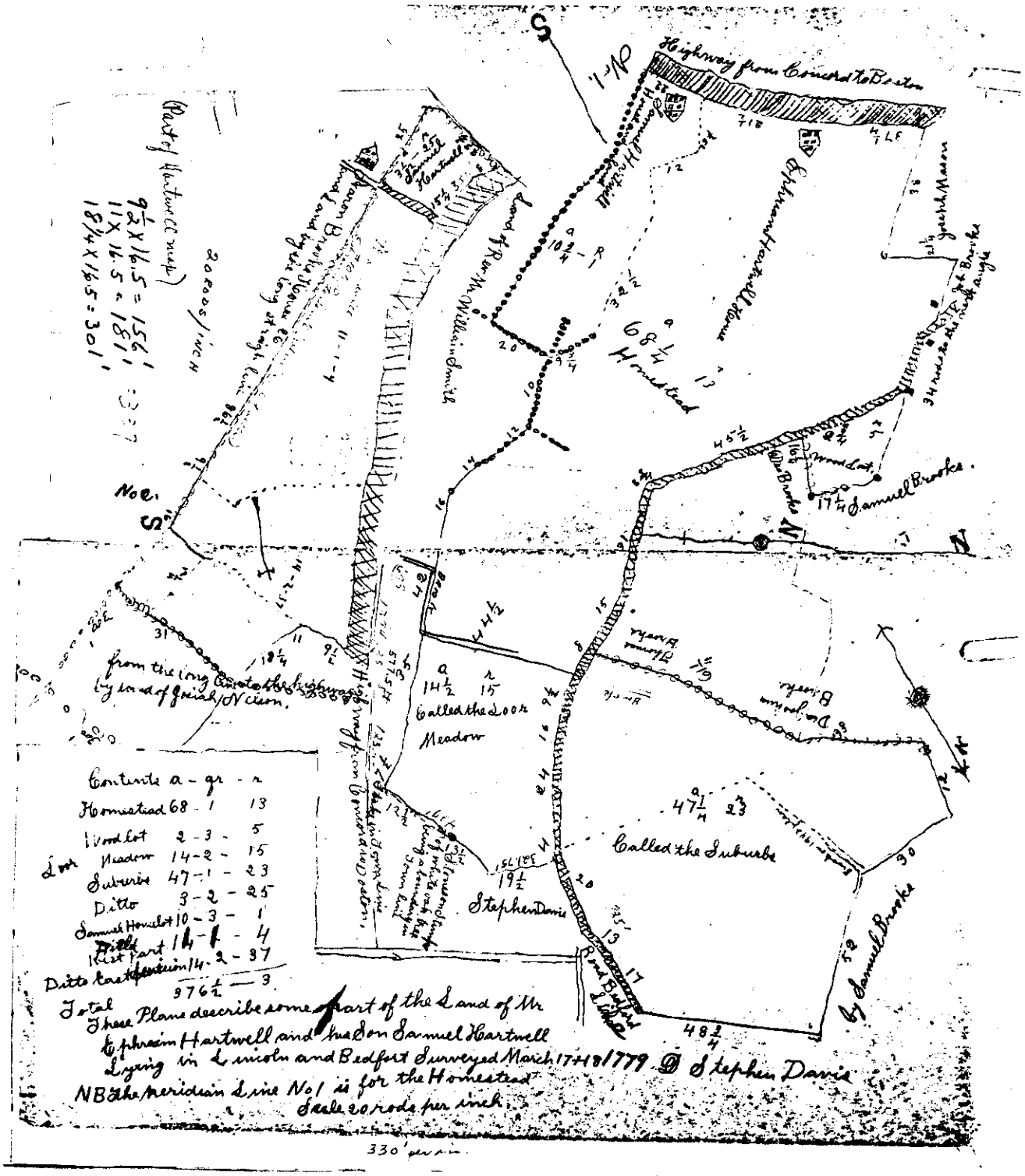


FIGURE 7.

Survey of Ephraim and Samuel Hartwell Farms by Stephen Davis, 1779. (Lincoln Historical Society, Lincoln, Ma.)

THE WILLIAM SMITH AND JACOB FOSTER FARMS

Before treating the two large properties which stretched from the old Lexington-Concord line to the Samuel Hartwell farm on present-day Virginia Road, it is necessary to resolve the present uncertainty about both the number of houses standing along this stretch of the Battle Road in 1775 and their occupants at that time.[1]

In the 1740s and 1750s there were three houses and three working farms along this part of the road. All the houses and their barns were on the north side of the road. From east to west they were the Timothy Lamson farm, the Ebenezer Lamson farm, and the Nathaniel Whittemore farm. This Nathaniel was from a different branch of the Whittemore family than the Whittemores of Lexington already discussed. Timothy Lamson had been given his homestead of thirty-four acres bordering on the Lexington-Concord line in 1739 by his father Ebenezer. When Ebenezer died four years later, his remaining estate was divided between his sons Timothy and Ebenezer Junior. The latter inherited the senior Lamson's own house, situated next to the Whittemore house, and was to share it with his widowed mother, Sarah. Four years later Timothy Lamson died and his widow, unable to cope with the debts on the estate, sold the property to her neighbor, Nathaniel Whittemore. Whittemore property now flanked Ebenezer on both east and west. In 1752 Ebenezer bought a five acre homestead east of the old town line but from that date his fortunes declined. In 1754 he mortgaged all his land and in 1760 his brother-in-law, Bradyll Smith of Weston, brought suit to retrieve the entire inheritance and won.[2] Bradyll Smith and his brother Josiah immediately proceeded to sell it. Much of the land including the house which had belonged to old Ebenezer Lamson, and was still home to his now indigent widow Sarah, went to a local laborer, Daniel Hager.[3] Within two years the Hagers were reselling the property, parcel by parcel, to William and Elizabeth Dodge, the couple who had purchased the property of the Lamsons' neighbor, Nathaniel Whittemore, in 1758. By 1770, therefore, the Dodges owned both the Whittemore and the Lamson properties.

Although the Dodges remained absentee landlords they were determined to improve their new property and installed tenants to carry out the work. Their chief tenants were Jonathan Foster and his son Jacob, but a landless farmer, Phineas Allen, was listed as living on the property as well. It is an open question which houses were occupied by Allen and the Fosters. In 1770 the Dodges gave the Whittemore homestead and farm to their daughter Catherine Louisa and her new husband William Smith. In 1774 Sarah Lamson died leaving her share in the old Lamson house available. The occupation of these houses by the Smiths, Allen, and the

Fosters all took place in the years just prior to 1775 and were reflected in the Lincoln tax roll for 1778. Proceeding west-to-east the tax list read:

Capt. William Smith
Phineas Allen
Jonathan Foster
Jacob Foster
John Thorning
Josiah Nelson
Thomas Nelson

Allen's position, between Smith and the Fosters, seems to indicate he was living in the old Ebenezer Lamson house, the Fosters in the house just over the old Lexington-Concord line. This would also be in keeping with their relative stations as the old Lamson house was a very humble dwelling, one befitting a hired man, the other house more suitable for a full-fledged tenant and agricultural improver. On the other hand, a deed dated November 1777 conveying the parcel containing Sarah Lamson's "thirds" which lay between the Smith property and the Ebenezer Lamson house referred to the latter as "the house in which Jacob Foster now dwells."[4] It is also possible that Phineas Allen was Smith's hired man and lived with him while Foster lived in the Lamson house. Until further research can be undertaken all these variations are possible.

THE JACOB FOSTER FARM

The portion of Foster's farm which bordered the old Lexington-Concord line had belonged to Timothy Lamson. When his father Ebenezer gave him the property in 1739, it was described as a thirty-four acre tract bordering on, and north of, Concord Road with a dwelling house. No barn was mentioned. It abutted Ebenezer's farm on the west and the Concord-Lexington line on the east. There were two parcels: the main section containing thirty acres and the house, and the second, a four acre plot in Long Meadow on the western part of the farm bounded by Ebenezer's land on all sides.[5] When Ebenezer died in 1743 his remaining property was divided between his sons Timothy and Ebenezer Junior. The latter received the parental homestead, Timothy additional land to the north of his property and two and one-half acres in the Barn Field bounded "mostly" with a wall, bordering Whittemore property on the west and the Concord Road on the south. Four years later, in 1747, as already noted, Timothy died. In 1750 his wife, unable to cope with the debts on the estate and the support of five small children, sold the property to her neighbor Nathaniel Whittemore of Concord.[6] To do so she required permission of the legislature. In her

petition she explained that she had the opportunity to sell the parcel to someone who had adjoining land and buildings, "a person who would now purchase them [her house and barn] in order to carry them where he is obliged to build a house and barn."[7] Eight years later when Whittemore sold this as well as his other property to the Dodges there was no mention of any house or barn on the site.[8] In fact, although the entire transaction included some 203 acres the only structures involved were one house-- Whittemore's own home-- and two barns, both situated on his own homestead. If he had changed his mind about moving the Lamson house, or had moved it to other property in Lincoln, the deeds would have indicated that he was selling the Dodges, who bought all his property in Lincoln, two houses. He had moved the Lamson barn to his own homestead, for when he inherited his land it had only a single barn, but when he sold it in 1758 it had two barns.[9] Since the Lamson house did disappear from its original site, Whittemore either moved it onto the foundations of his old house, dismantled it and used the doors, windows, and other fittings to remodel his house, or it burned down. Further research into the architecture of the Whittemore-Smith house may determine which of these theories is correct.[10]

In 1750 when Whittemore purchased it the Timothy Lamson estate was described merely as fifty acres of land with no mention of land use. When William Dodge let the farm, first to Jonathan and then to Jacob Foster, it was explicitly with the intention of improving it. In 1774 Foster was taxed for 10 acres of tillage, 20 acres of mowing, and 8 acres of pasture. Apparently he had only a very small orchard or none at all. The proportion of tilled acreage was large for the size of the farm. Four of the tilled acres would have been Timothy Lamson's portion of his father's Long Meadow lying on the west side of the homestead; another two and one-half acres of tillage were in the Barn Field bounded by Nathaniel Whittemore's land on the west and the property of Ebenezer Lamson, later the Dodges, on all other sides.[11]

The property called Foster's farm came to include the Ebenezer Lamson as well as the Timothy Lamson farm. By 1794 when Catherine Louisa Smith sold Foster's farm it comprised some ninety-one acres including the small homestead just east of the old town line and the two Lamson farms.[12] In the deed it was described as bounded:

> South by Concord Road
> East by Thomas and Josiah Nelson, Samuel Hartwell and the land of Nathaniel Whittaker deceased
> North by the Bedford line
> West by the farm where Catherine Louisa Smith lived.

The western portion of Foster's farm-- formerly Ebenezer Lamson's land-- included Ebenezer Senior's house, barn, and some fifty-two acres of land when it passed from

father to son in 1743. The main portion of the property was a tract of forty acres along Concord Road. Two nine-acre parcels north of the homestead touched the Lexington line on the east and the Bedford line to the north. Next along the road, moving from east to west, was the so-called Long Meadow in which Timothy had originally owned a four-acre enclosed field. The Long Meadow formed the boundary between the two Lamson farms. Ebenezer Senior's widow, Sarah, had been left two and one-half acres of plowland which was probably next to the Long Meadow since it is described in 1743 as lying along the Concord Road with no other abuttors mentioned than the Lamsons. When Sarah died in 1774 a crop of rye was growing on it. The twenty acre parcel which included the house and barn was described in a deed in 1767 as consisting of orchard, plowland, mowing, and pasture, and was bordered by the road to the south.[13] The buildings on this homestead were very humble ones for in 1745 house and barn together were appraised at only £12 while in 1747 Timothy Lamson's house alone was appraised at £37-10-0 and his barn at £15-0-0.[14] To the west of the homelot, bordering Whittemore, was the Lamsons' Barn Field of some 10 acres in which Timothy had had 2 1/2 plowed acres and his mother another 7 acres 103 rods. This parcel also contained the site of an old house and, north of it, an old cellar. The barn field bordered the road for sixteen and one-half rods.

Grass and rye were raised but there is no indication what other crops were grown. Foster's improvements must have been intended to produce cash crops for in 1774 he had very few cattle-- 1 horse, 2 oxen, and 1 cow. By contrast, in 1764 when his own father, Jonathan Foster, was the chief tenant in addition to horses and oxen he kept 6 cows, 3 swine, and 12 sheep. The northern portion of the Timothy Lamson property was woodland in 1830 and presumably woodland in 1775.[15] A ditch and fencing ran along the northern boundaries of the Foster farm. Fences are mentioned as separating the various fields from each other and from other properties. No other man-made features are mentioned in early documents.

THE WILLIAM SMITH FARM

In 1775 William Smith, captain of the Lincoln company of minute men, and his wife, Catherine Louisa, lived on the Whittemore farm which bounded the property of William Dodge (Foster's farm) on the east and Samuel Hartwell's farm on the west. They are a mysterious couple. Catherine Smith, nee Catherine Salmon, was given the 120-acre farm in Lincoln by her parents, the Dodges, in November 1770. In January 1771 she married William Smith, son of the Reverend William Smith of Weymouth and brother to Abigail, wife of John Adams. The young couple seem to have been on shaky

financial ground for later in 1771 they mortgaged their farm to William's father, who owned it until his death in 1783. Soon after his move to Lincoln, Smith assumed a prominent role in organizing Lincoln resistance to the British, persuading some historians that this may have been his purpose in moving to Lincoln.[16] In the early hours of April 19, 1775, Mary Hartwell is supposed to have brought Smith news of the British advance whereupon he galloped to Lincoln Center to raise the alarm and assembled his men for the trip to Concord.

Smith's fierce patriotism may have been commendable but other aspects of his behavior left much to be desired. In 1780 his father took the Lincoln farm out of his control. Smith became captain of marines on the privateer Tartar, which was captured. After his release, he failed to return to his family and from 1783 until his death in 1787 lived apart from his wife and children. Catherine Louisa and her children, however, remained on the Lincoln farm.

We can be certain of the bounds of the 120-acre Smith farm and, thanks largely to early Whittemore inventories, fairly confident about their use. The property included a house, two barns, plowland, mowing, pasture, and woodland as well as an old orchard. The boundaries of the 120 acre farm north of the road were:

> East by the farm formerly Ebenezer Lamson's at Concord Road north to a maple tree
> Northwest to a white oak tree upon a ditch bank between the land formerly Lamson's and that formerly Whittemore's
> North in line between Lamson and Whittemore land until it comes to Ephraim Hartwell's land [later Samuel Hartwell's farm]
> South upon Hartwell till it comes to Concord Road and upon said road to the first mentioned bounds.[17]

In addition to the farm north of the road, in 1774 William Smith rented and later bought three additional parcels south of the road from his father-in-law. These were:

1) 40 acres, the "Hill Pasture" between Bedford Road and Bedford Lane bounded:

> North by Concord Road
> West partly by E. Hartwell, the highway and Thomas Brooks
> East by Aaron Brooks & E. Hartwell
> South by Thomas and Aaron Brooks.

2) 1-acre west of Bedford Road bounded:

North by Concord Road
East by Samuel Hartwell
South by Aaron Brooks
West by Bedford Road.

3) 2 acres. This parcel is not described precisely but is probably the 2 acres in the Great Pasture south of Concord Road which Nathaniel Whittemore acquired in 1735. If so this parcel was situated in the NW corner of the Great Pasture, at the junction of Virginia and Bedford Roads, and bounded:

North by Concord Road
all other directions by Whittemore [later Dodge] land.

That year the Smiths were taxed for 115 acres (probably exclusive of the three rented parcels) of which they had 16 acres of tillage, 35 acres of mowing, and 50 acres of pasture. On both the 1774 and 1777 Lincoln tax rolls they were listed as owning a slave and farm stock consisting of 2 horses, 2 oxen, 9 cows, 4 swine, and 20 sheep.

The Smiths' homestead lot had been in the Whittemore family since the 1690s. The house, which still exists, is set back from the road on a knoll. The land along the road was referred to as the "fore swamp," probably the reason the house was set so far back. An inventory of 1735 provides the most detailed description of land use. The eastern portion of the homestead at that time consisted of pasture and orchard which extended "across the whole home lott" from the Country Road to a stump near the Lamson farm, and which, together with the fore swamp, comprised 13 acres 50 rods of land. Behind this, on the northeastern portion of the home lot, were old clay pits which had been used to make bricks for the original chimney of the family house. The clay pits were part of a twenty-five acre parcel of meadow, plowland, and woodland. There was a cross fence at the clay pits and a bridge. Below and north of this tract was another 7-acre 76-rod parcel of meadow with some upland. The western portion of the homelot, along the road and bordering on Samuel Hartwell's land, was a walled parcel (part stone wall, part fencing) which was a corn field in 1735 and almost certainly would have remained tilled land. Behind this field was a two acre meadow. Four acres of plowland were bordered by the Samuel Hartwell farm on the northwest and on all other points by other Whittemore property. The Whittemore orchard extended behind the house to the walled field on the west.[18] An old cellar is mentioned as situated east of the orchard, behind the house, touching a corner of the plowland.

The parcels which belonged to the Smith farm in 1775,

situated south of Concord Road and bounded as described above, were devoted to pasture and woodland. In addition to the walled field on the west, a stone wall marked the western boundary for a considerable distance north from the road. In addition three stone walls are mentioned in the 1735 inventory, one northwest behind the house. The house is probably in the same position as it was in 1735, for the inventory mentions that it is up a lane. The original 1735 barn seems to have been on the eastern side of the house. In nineteenth century photos there is an outbuilding behind the house.[19]

SAMUEL HARTWELL FARM

In 1775 Samuel Hartwell, farmer, clockmaker, forty-year-old son of Ephraim Hartwell, was living with his wife Mary and their three small children on the farm given him by his father when he married. His neighbor to the east was William Smith; to the west, his father Ephraim. Both Samuel and his wife played a role in the traditional accounts of the events of April 19. Samuel was a sergeant of the Lincoln Minute Man Company where his skill as a locksmith and gunsmith must have served the company well. His wife Mary carried news of the impending arrival of British troops to their neighbor William Smith, captain of the Lincoln company of minute men.

In the deed of gift by which he was given his farm in 1769 and in his father's will of 1793 which finally confirmed the transfer, Samuel Hartwell's farm is carefully described. The main portion was a ten and three-fourths acre parcel of upland and swamp with a dwelling house bounded:

> South by Concord Road
> East by the Smith farm
> North by Ephraim Hartwell's land
> West by Ephraim Hartwell's land. [20]

The western boundary dividing this land from his father's began "upon the back side of an old blacksmith shop." Their mutual boundary was marked by a stone wall and rail fence, the fence marking the section closest to the road. Samuel's northern and eastern boundaries were also marked by stone walls. Fortunately, a survey of the main Ephraim and Samuel Hartwell farms executed in 1779 survives and is in the possession of the Lincoln Historical Society. This survey is reprinted on page 52. It indicates that Samuel's homelot had 22 rods frontage on the road, or 121 yards. Samuel was also given six acres of plowland south of the Concord Road bounded:

East by Josiah Nelson
North by Josiah Nelson
South by Josiah Nelson
West by Ephraim Hartwell's land.

A third parcel of 3 1/2 acres and 25 rods was also south of the road and, according to the 1779 survey, was bounded:

East by a private way to Aaron Brooks land
South by land of Aaron Brooks and William Dodge
West by Bedford Road
North by Concord Road.

There is no description of the use to which these 3 1/2 acres were put. In 1766 Samuel had bought 3 acres 91 rods from Edmund Wheeler on the southern side of Concord Road outside the park, and in 1771 he bought 4 acres of woodland that bordered Flint's Pond on the west, again outside park boundaries.

The Lincoln tax of 1774 indicates that Samuel's farm contained 5 acres of tillage, almost certainly on the 6-acre parcel of plowland his father had given him south of Concord Road. He also was taxed for 5 acres of mowing land and 5 acres of pasture. Mowing was probably the use to which the swampy land to the rear of his houselot was put. Part of the pasture was probably also on the homelot, the rest on the 3 1/2-acre parcel at the corner of Bedford and Concord Roads. Samuel was not, of course, taxed for his 4 acres of woodland, and had no orchard. His stock consisted of a horse, 3 cows, 6 sheep, and 2 swine. Despite his 6 acres of tillage (or 5 according to the tax roll) he had no oxen but presumably used his father's teams. Indeed Ephraim Hartwell could certainly spare a team as he had six oxen, three times the average. In Samuel's own will of 1829 his widow is to be supplied with provisions of corn, rye, barley, white beans, cider apples and winter apples, pork and beef, and she is to get some of the bees and the hives. In 1775 he had no apples of his own, or at least no full-sized orchard, but the other crops may have been grown on his farm at that time.

The man-made structures on the Samuel Hartwell farm were all situated on Samuel's homelot and comprised his house, barn, and the old blacksmith shop near the road bordering his father's homelot. His will of 1829 mentions as part of the house a cheeseroom and sink (smoke?) room but there is no evidence that these refinements existed nearly fifty years earlier. In fact, the house Samuel was given may have been the house his grandfather had lived in, and if so it would have been built either late in the seventeenth century or very early in the eighteenth. In that case, if his grandfather's barn was still standing it would have been

at right angles to the road, in a north-south axis. There is also the possibility that Samuel's house had belonged instead to John Brown of Concord, a blacksmith who sold Ephraim Hartwell a parcel of six acres to his east with a dwelling house on it in 1750.[21] Like the homestead Samuel was given in 1769, this sale had not mentioned a barn. Samuel's homestead did have a blacksmith shop, however. Unfortunately, no deed of sale to explain how Brown got the property has been found. He may have purchased it from Nathaniel Whittemore, the Hartwells' eastern abuttor.[22] The properties south of the road had no buildings of significance on them, although there were walls. The plot at the corner of Bedford Road and Concord Road, according to the 1779 map, had a stone wall along its southern and western border,and the six acre parcel of plowland had a stone wall on the east.

EPHRAIM HARTWELL FARM

Ephraim Hartwell was one of the largest property owners in Lincoln in 1775. Born in 1707 to one of the original families to settle the area, he rose from shoemaker to gentleman, and, from 1756, held a license to keep an inn at his home on the Concord Road. Over the years he acquired land in Concord, Bedford, and Princeton as well as Lincoln. At the time he wrote his will in 1786 he owned some 186 acres. Ephraim and his wife Elizabeth had had fifteen children during their long marriage, five of whom died in 1740 of "throat-distemper." In 1775 Ephraim's grown sons John and Isaac lived with him while his son Samuel lived in the adjoining farm Ephraim had given him which bordered the family homestead on the southeast.

The chief difficulty in describing the farm owned by Ephraim Hartwell in the town of Lincoln is the lack of any complete listing of its separate parcels. In his will Ephraim meticulously included the dimensions of all the plots he bequeathed to his heirs with the sole exception of his bequest to his son John who inherited the main homestead and farm. Nevertheless, it is possible to pin down most of the parcels by using his own father's deeds and will and the survey Ephraim commissioned in 1779 of his own and Samuel's farmland.

Neither the will nor the 1779 survey offer much help in dispelling the uncertainty about the Hartwell house. In the section dealing with Samuel Hartwell's farm it was noted that there was doubt whether Samuel was living in his grandfather's house which Ephraim had inherited in 1744, in the house Ephraim had purchased from one John Brown in 1750, or if these were the same. It is quite possible that in

1750 Ephraim owned three houses. Certainly with three grown sons sharing the family home another house could easily have been put to use. Indeed, until 1769 Ephraim's mother was living in the old Samuel Hartwell farmhouse. The 1779 map, however, shows only Ephraim's house and Samuel's with Smith as their neighbor on the east and Joseph Mason on the west. The study of the Joseph Mason property indicates that there was another house between Mason's and Ephraim Hartwell's which the Hartwells probably owned and leased. An unfortunate number of possibilities exist. The 1779 map does indicate that Ephraim owned a mill on the parcel of land south of Concord Road which encompassed Folly Pond on the east and bordered Aaron Brooks' private road on the west. This structure may have been the cider mill mentioned in Ephraim's will, or it may have been one of the surplus houses moved to this site. Captain John Hartwell may have been living in it in 1775 because on the tax rolls for this period he is repeatedly placed after Samuel rather than next to his father, the list reading, from west to east.

Ephraim Hartwell
Samuel Hartwell
John Hartwell

If John had been sharing the family home his name would customarily have been directly after his father's instead of consistently after his brother's.

While more research needs to be done on the Hartwell houses there is a great deal about which we can be certain. In 1733 Ephraim's father, Samuel, had given him his future homestead, a tract of eighteen acres of woodland and upland bounded by Concord Road on the south, Samuel on the east and, at that time, Ebenezer Brooks on his west and Samuel Brooks on the north. The tract contained "a New Dwelling house" and Ephraim was also given the use of Samuel's barn with a right of way to the north end of it that portion "being a new addition unto it made by Ephraim Hartwell."[23] At the same time he was also given 3 acres of meadow in Rocky Meadow north of his home bordering Whittemore land on the east; half of an 18-acre parcel of meadow and upland which bordered the highway on the south and Samuel's land on the west; and 6 acres of plowland surrounding Folly Pond, which by 1775 Ephraim had given to his own son Samuel. In 1744 Ephraim's father died leaving him the parental homestead, with its house, barn, and homestead lot, thirty-two acres of "orcharding, pasture and mowing land." This property was bounded:

South by Concord Road
East by Nathaniel Whittemore
North by Nathaniel Whittemore
West by the "way" leading to Bedford.

Thus in 1775 Ephraim Hartwell's Lincoln farm consisted of a homestead lot of 68 1/4 acres 13 rods which, according to the 1779 map, fronted for 58 3/4 rods along the north side of Concord Road. The map places the house itself slightly to the east of center, 21 1/2 rods from the rail fence that divided Ephraim's farm from Samuel's. There were several other parcels north of Concord Road. Ephraim had a meadow of 14 1/2 acres 15 rods called the Loor Meadow (Lower Meadow) north of the homelot , and directly opposite this meadow, on the other side of Bedford Road bounded on the south by an old ditch, a 47 1/4-acre 23-rod parcel. This area was called "the suburbs." A small 2 3/4-acre woodlot bordered Bedford Road on the south at the point where the road turned to the east. Ephraim had a 2-acre orchard, his father's old orchard, along Concord Road bordering his son Samuel's farm and surrounded by a stone wall.

South of the road he owned a 15 3/4-acre 7-rod parcel beginning just east of Folly Pond, bounded south along what the 1779 map calls "the long straight line" and west on Aaron Brooks' road. A 4-acre plot, bordered north by Concord Road and west by Bedford Lane, would, by the time of his death, have a "young orchard" planted on it, but in 1775 he owned only the 2-acre orchard next to his home.

In 1774 Ephraim was taxed for 20 acres of tillage, 37 acres of upland mowing, 2 acres of orchard, and 25 acres of pasture. He had the largest tract of tillage land in Lincoln at that time. The bulk of it was on the field south of Concord Road next to Folly Pond, a parcel from which he had given Samuel 6 acres of plowland. The 4-acre parcel bordering Bedford Lane was pasture land in 1775, part of the area known as the Great Pasture. Ephraim also owned another section of the Great Pasture west of this and probably opposite his homestead since the deeds of the properties bordering what is now Old Bedford Road give Ephraim Hartwell as the eastern abuttor. The remainder of Ephraim's pasture and mowing was on his homestead lot, on his Lower Meadow and on his Suburbs lot. The 1830 map shows no woodland in this area although when his father gave the land to Ephraim in 1734 there was some woodland. By 1775 Ephraim may have had little woodland left in Lincoln. In his will of 1786 he arranged to have his widow provided with corn, rye, malt (barley), white beans, pork, beef, cider, and winter apples, all of which were doubtless grown on the family farm. His stock in 1774 consisted of a horse, 6 oxen, 10 cows, 5 sheep, and 4 swine. He also owned a slave woman. In the account of Mary Hartwell's exploit in the early hours of April 19 a slave named Sukey (nickname for Susannah) is mentioned.[24] At the time Ephraim wrote his will in 1786 he had a slave named Violet. Either the story about Sukey had the woman's name wrong or a different woman served the Hartwell family in 1786.

The Hartwell inn has been thoroughly researched and is now restored. While the 1779 map indicates some of the stone walls on the property, it does not show any of the farm buildings except the mill. The existing Ephraim Hartwell barn is north and west of the house but there is no indication where the 1775 barn stood. In 1734 Ephraim had shared a barn with his father which would have placed a barn north and east of the Ephraim Hartwell home.

JOSEPH MASON FARM

Very little previous research has been done on either Joseph Mason or his property beyond labelling him a schoolmaster and identifying a site north of the so-called Bloody Angle as his home. Unfortunately both the label and the site are incorrect. Joseph Mason lived near the Hartwells in the township of Lincoln at the junction of present-day Old Bedford and Virginia roads. The Archeological Overview and Evaluation for Minute Man Park locates his house north of the road and lists it as a known but unexcavated site.[25] Just west of it, also north of the road, another unexcavated foundation near the northern peak of the Bloody Angle has been regarded as that of a school house.

Joseph Mason was a currier by occupation, a person who dresses and colors tanned leather, and doubtless worked for Joshua Brooks whose tannery was a short distance from Mason's home. Mason taught school from time to time (in 1761, 1771, and 1773 in the north part of Lincoln, 1764 and 1765 in the south part of Lincoln) but so did his wife Grace, his neighbors Elizabeth Hartwell, Ephraim's wife, Mary Hartwell, Samuel's wife, and William Smith. In 1775 it was Mary Hartwell and Captain William Smith who taught school in the north part of Lincoln.[26]

Since Joseph Mason of Lincoln was not a full-time schoolmaster or even the sole schoolmaster of the area, was the foundation at the Bloody Angle that of a schoolhouse? There is no evidence at all that it was. On the contrary, every nineteenth century map of the area which pinpoints Lincoln schoolhouses shows several elsewhere in the town but not one near the Bloody Angle. If the second site was not a schoolhouse what was it? Close study of deeds for the Mason property and Lincoln tax lists for the years 1769 through 1784 are revealing. When Joseph Mason purchased his property in 1753 it was described as nine acres of land bounded:

South by Concord Road
East and North by Ephraim Hartwell

> North by a certain highway leading from Bedford to Concord [Bedford Road] and so on said highway till it comes to the Country Road [Concord Road] as the wall now stands.[27]

In 1769, however, Mason was assessed for 42 acres of land but the following year his real estate shrank abruptly to 12 acres. In 1774 it had shrunk further to 8 acres but in 1778 was back to 12. In 1780 it rose again to 40, and in 1784 to 47. In 1775 it must have been between 8 and 12 acres.

Tax lists are helpful in locating the position of residents along the roads of a town as well as the size of their owned or rented property. In this instance the records reveal that in 1769 when Mason was assessed for 42 acres he was listed next to Ephraim Hartwell, but in 1770 when he was assessed for only 12 acres one Ephraim Flint was listed between Mason and Hartwell. Unfortunately the surviving tax list for 1774 is in alphabetical, rather than geographical, order, but the list for 1778 shows two of Mason's sons, Jonas and Joseph Junior, between Mason and Hartwell. Mason is still assessed for only 12 acres and his two sons have no property of their own, while Ephraim Flint has moved to a position in South Lincoln. On the 1780 and 1784 lists Joseph Mason's name appears directly next to Ephraim Hartwell's once again. Despite the appearance of an increase in Mason's property after 1780, at his death his entire estate, which he left his widow Grace, consisted of only nine acres of land. He left his currier's tools to Jonas, his eldest son.

Joseph Mason's will gives no description of the real estate he owned, but the inventory made in 1802 at the death of his widow gives more details about the family holdings.[28] At that time the nine acres of land, all north of the Concord Road (now Virginia Road), contained a dwelling house and barn and were bounded south by the Concord Road, east and northwest by the land of Captain John Hartwell who had inherited Ephraim Hartwell's homestead, and northwest on a town road leading from Bedford to Concord and from the town road to the Concord Road. The estate was too small to divide among the Mason children many of whom no longer resided in the vicinity, and was settled entirely upon Jonas Mason, the eldest son.

Tax rolls are an uncertain guide to the size of rental property, as Mason's case demonstrates. An agreement between landlord and tenant governed the question of who paid the assessment on land that was rented. For the most part renters are listed as having no land although their names appear in the geographical location where they were living. It was quite possible, however, for the renter to be forced to assume the assessment for the land he rented and on the tax list it would then be impossible to be

certain whether or not he owned the land. This may well have been the case with the farm located between Joseph Mason's homestead and Ephraim Hartwell's inn.

It seems clear from the deeds and tax lists that the site now labelled a schoolhouse was Joseph Mason's farm house while the foundation located between the so-called schoolhouse and Ephraim Hatwell's inn was, in fact, a separate farm. I have been unable to ascertain who owned this farm. The most reasonable conclusion is that the Hartwells owned it from the first, since it fits the description of the land Ephraim Hartwell was left by his father. The elder Hartwell's homestead, left to Ephraim in 1744, consisted of thirty-two acres including a house, barn, orchard, pasture and mowing all on the north side of the Concord Road. It was bounded south by the road, east by Nathaniel Whittemore, north by Ephraim Hartwell and west by a way leading to Bedford. Since Ephraim already had a house at the time he may have sold or leased his father's house to Mason, then leased it briefly to Ephraim Flint, to Mason's sons, then to Mason again. Ephraim Flint was the brother of Samuel Hartwell's wife Mary, Ephraim Hartwell's daughter-in-law. This theory is the more likely as no deed of sale for this farm has come to light. Ephraim Flint's will of 1825 gives no description of his property, but if he had owned the farm the Mason wills would have described him as their eastern abuttor. Instead the Hartwells are always listed as Mason's eastern abuttors. Unfortunately neither Ephraim Hartwell's will nor that of his son John describes the main Hartwell estate. It is hoped that further investigation will turn up evidence of the farm's ownership.

We are on surer ground when we turn to the use to which Jospeh Mason put his small holding. In 1774 the tax list indicates he had 3 acres of tillage and 6 acres of pasture land. He also owned a cow and 2 swine. It is not certain which portion of his land was tilled. He may well have rotated the tillage area. In any case it is clear that the northern portion of the "Bloody Angle," north of Concord Road, was open land. No walls or fences are mentioned on Mason's small holding but he had an obligation to fence his cow and would certainly have fenced his tilled fields.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Robert Ronsheim, "Land in the Park" (unpublished manuscript, 1968), pp. 38-40; Vernon Baker, Archeological Overview and Evaluation: Minute Man National Historical Park, Cultural Resources Management Study No. 2, U.S. Dept. of the Interior (Washington, DC, 1980), map p. 91, sites 6, 7, 8.

2. Middlesex Record Office, Book 52:334-5; Ibid., Book 60:395-6.

3. In 1761 Lincoln selectmen complained that the town had spent some £8-0-0 "for the relief and support" of Sarah Lamson, some of whose grandchildren were able to support her. They cited three grandsons living near, but not in Lincoln, but failed to mention Bradyll Smith or her son Ebenezer who seems to have moved from the area.

4. Middlesex Record Office, Book 79:251; Ibid., Book 122:421. Sarah Lamson died in 1774, leaving her share of the Lamson house vacant.

5. These four acres were probably tilled because in the original deed of gift Ebenezer gave Timothy the privilege "of passing with a team to and from said four acres thro my land." Middlesex Record Office, Book 50:47.

6. Middlesex Record Office, Book 63:377.

7. The Massachusetts House of Representatives approved the petition on January 18, 1750. See Massachusetts State Records, vol. 18:705-7.

8. Middlesex Record Office, Book 56:193.

9. Ibid., Book 56:193; Benjamin Whittemore inventory, 1735.

10. Current restoration work on the house has uncovered extensive remodelling which occurred shortly before the house was sold, that is in the 1750's.

11. According to the deeds for the sale of Ebenezer Lamson's lands in the early 1760's, William Dodge had already improved the Timothy Lamson land he had purchased in 1758. All the Timothy Lamson property adjoining the Ebenezer Lamson land, that is the western and northern portion of Timothy's estate, was of this category (Middlesex Record Office, Book 60:452; Ibid., Book 61:137-8). In his will of 1743 Ebenezer gave Timothy the entire Long Meadow of some twenty-nine acres stretching west and north of his homestead to the old Concord line. "Improving" agricultural land at that time meant bringing waste land into cultivation. In

this instance the swampy area in the northern portion of the property near the Well Head was probably drained and some of the woodland in the north may have been cleared as well.

12. Middlesex Record Office, Book 122:467.

13. The orchard must have been less than half an acre, since Jacob Foster is not taxed for any orchard at all in 1774.

14. In 1716 a road settlement mentioned that the door of Ebenezer Lamson's house was west of a pond, a clue which helps place his house.

15. See John Hales, "Plan of the Town of Lexington," 1830, and John Hales, "Plan of the Town of Lincoln," 1830.

16. See Marlene Rockmore, "Historic Structure Report: The Captain William Smith House" (unpublished manuscript, Boston, 1980).

17. Middlesex Record Office, Book 71:38-9.

18. Ibid., Book 44:713-14.

19. A map of the Ephraim and Samuel Hartwell farms executed in 1779 by a neighbor, Stephen Davis, shows the boundary between the Hartwell and Smith farms as it existed in 1775.

20. The deed of gift estimates the size of this parcel at 10 acres but the 1779 survey sets it at 10 3/4 acres 1 rod, a more exact calculation.

21. Middlesex Record Office, Book 52:457-8.

22. See John Luzader, "Samuel Hartwell House and Ephraim Hartwell Tavern" (unpublished manuscript, 1968).

23. Middlesex Record Office, Book 35:187-8.

24. Frank W. Hersey, Heroes of the Battle Road (Boston, 1930), p. 21-2.

25. Vernon Baker, Archeological Overview and Evaluation: Minute Man National Historical Park, Cultural Resources Management Study No. 2, U.S. Dept. of the Interior (Washington, DC, 1980), pp. 90-91.

26. See Lincoln Town Records, Town Clerk's Office, 1746-1810. There is a microfilm copy at Minute Man Park Library.

27. Middlesex Record Office, Book 52:431-2.

28. See "Middlesex County Probate Record no. 14765, item 1; Ibid., no. 14956, item 3.

DISTRICT FOUR: OLD BEDFORD ROAD TO LINCOLN LINE

There are two important points about the roads and landscape in this part of Minute Man National Historical Park. First, the section of the old Concord Road beween Joshua Brooks's tannery and the junction with the Virginia Road was a steep uphill climb. To make the ascent easier for travellers and incidentally to get material for road repairs, an excavation had been made in the brow of the hill shortly before the British and Americans fought there.[1] The road passed through the excavation. Secondly, the nature of the landscape enclosed by the bend made by Concord Road as it turned north toward Bedford, then east toward Lexington, is of great importance for understanding the problems of the soldiers who retreated along the road and the cover their American assailants were able to find. As the Concord Road turned north it was lined by woodland on the east. But the large area on its west was known in the eighteenth century as the Great Pasture. It was divided into many small parcels consisting largely of pasture and meadow with a few more barren areas of scattered, scrubby trees and a few small orchards. The area at the brow of the hill, traditionally regarded as the location of the infamous Bloody Angle, was open, developed land on both sides of the Concord Road. There was an orchard on the eastern side of the road as it made its sharp turn from north to east. The western and northern side of the road at the brow of the hill was open land. Apart from the walls which bordered the road, the occasional wall lining a parcel of land, the little orchard and the odd tree, there would have been little protective cover. On the other hand, because of the recent road excavation in that area the road would have been lower than the banks of land that lined it, placing the retreating British regulars below the level of their attackers.

At the junction of present-day Virginia and Old Bedford Roads the Concord or Battle Road turned abruptly south and, upon reaching the base of the hill, just as abruptly west toward Concord. Fierce fighting took place along this section of the Battle Road and its landscape is therefore of particular importance for its effect, if any, upon the

fortunes of the combatants. There were no houses along this stretch of road and for that reason, instead of discussing the fields in terms of their owners they will simply be described in the order one would have found them in 1775.

This stretch of road was dominated by the property of the numerous members of the Brooks family: Joshua, who owned a tannery at the spot where Concord Road turned due west to Concord (junction of Old Bedford and Concord Roads); and Thomas and Noah Brooks, a father and son, who lived in a house at the corner of Concord and Brooks Roads. For the sake of simplicity and clarity the land on each side of the Battle Road will be treated in turn.

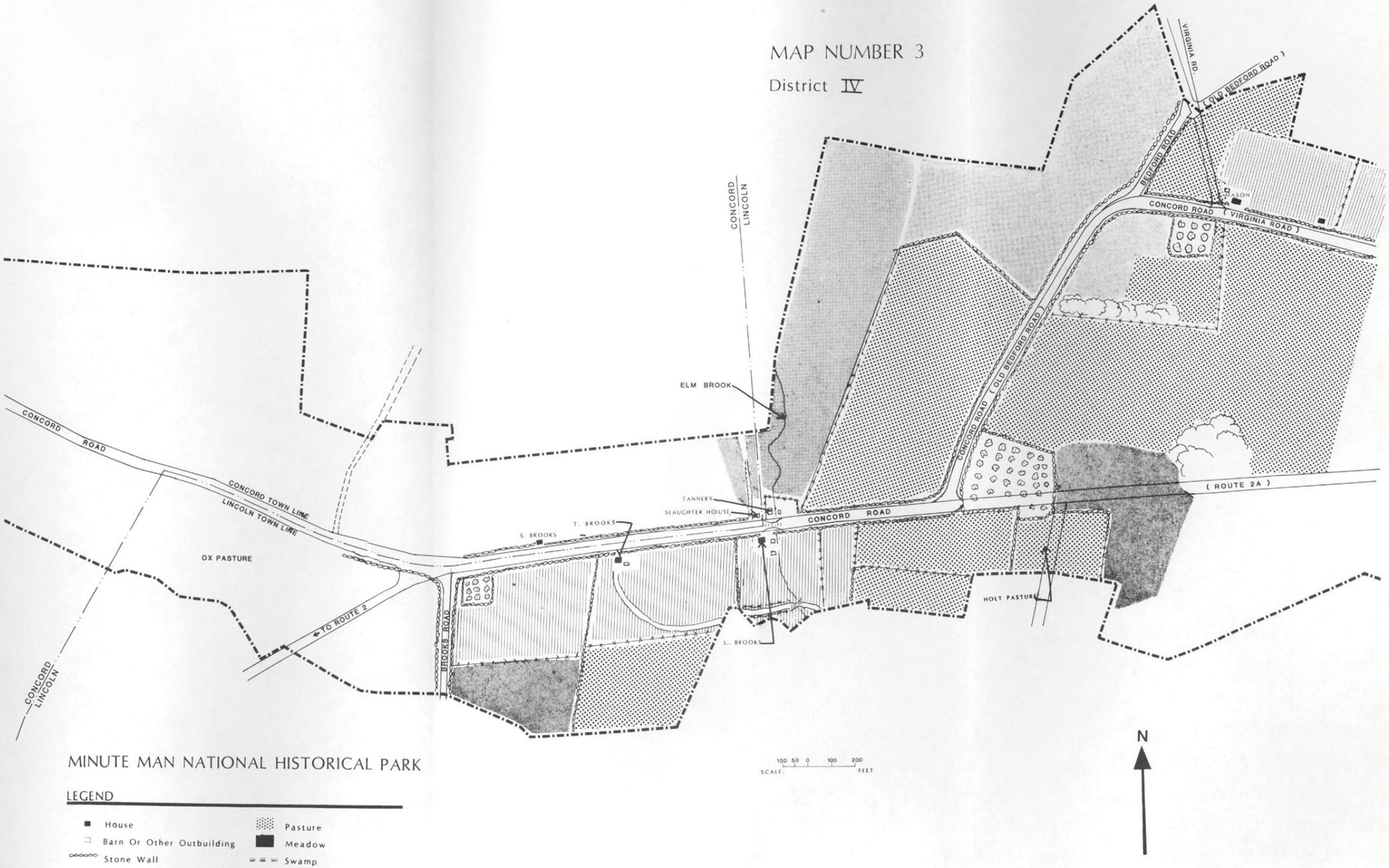

MAP NUMBER 3
District IV
VIRGINIA RD.
OLD BEDFORD ROAD)
BEDFORD ROAD
CONCORD ROAD (VIRGINIA ROAD)
CONCORD
LINCOLN
ELM BROOK
CONCORD ROAD (OLD BEDFORD ROAD)
CONCORD ROAD
CONCORD TOWN LINE
LINCOLN TOWN LINE
(ROUTE 2A)
TANNERY
SLAUGHTER HOUSE
CONCORD ROAD
T. BROOKS
S. BROOKS
OX PASTURE
HOLT PASTURE
TO ROUTE 2
BROOKS ROAD
J. BROOKS
CONCORD
LINCOLN
MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
LEGEND
House
Barn Or Other Outbuilding
Stone Wall
Fence
Bridge
Orchard
Tilled Field
Rocky Field
Pasture
Meadow
Swamp
Woodland
names in brackets Modern Road Name
in print Old road Name
100 50 0 100 200
SCALE: FEET
N

FIGURE 8.

South and East of Concord Road

The parcel at the peak of the angle formed by present-day Old Bedford and Virginia Roads was owned in 1775 by Joshua Brooks.[2] It consisted of ten acres described as orchard, mowing, pasture, and woodland. Of this some 4 acres was orchard and mowing land; 6 acres was woodland and pasture.[3] The woodland seems to have been in the more southern portion of the plot. The property was bounded:

West and North by Concord Road
East by land of Ephraim Hartwell
South by Joshua Brooks' own property.

As we descend the hill moving south and west, the next parcel bordering the road also belonged to Joshua Brooks. It was a plot of 13 acres called the Top of the Hill Pasture bounded:

West by Concord Road
North by Joshua Brooks' land
East by Ephraim Hartwell's land
South by Thomas Brooks' land.

Southeast of the hill pasture was Thomas Brooks' two acre Barren Orchard. A barren orchard was a young orchard not yet capable of bearing fruit. The orchard bounds were:

West by Concord Road
North by Joshua Brooks' land
East by Joshua Brooks' land
South by the Holt Pasture.

At the point where the Concord Road turns west Thomas Brooks had a three acre parcel called the Little Pasture. It was bounded:

North by Concord Road and the Barren Orchard
East by Barren Orchard and Holt Pasture
South by land of Joshua Brooks
West by the Hog Pasture.

Joshua Brooks owned the one-acre Hog Pasture west of Thomas Brooks' Little Pasture. Despite its name, the Hog Pasture included a garden. It was bounded:

North by Concord Road
East and South by land of Thomas Brooks
West by Joshua Brooks' house lot.

Joshua Brooks' houselot consisted of a two acre parcel south of Concord Road containing his house, barn, corn barn, and several outbuildings. It was bounded:

North by Concord Road
East by the Hog Pasture
South by the private way running from Thomas Brooks' house to Elm Brook Meadow
West by Thomas Brooks' land.

Thomas Brooks' homelot bordered Joshua's on the west. It was a larger tract, some thirteen acres, bounded:

North by Concord Road
East by Deacon Joshua Brooks
South by Eleazer Brooks
West by Samuel Brooks.

Samuel Brooks, whose house was north of Concord Road in the town of Concord, owned a fourteen acre parcel of land just west of Thomas Brooks' homelot. There was a wall between their properties and Samuel's land extended west to Brooks Road. In 1735 Brooks Road began four rods from the northwest corner of Samuel Brooks' stone wall.

North and West of Concord Road

Just below the peak of the hill, at the junction of Old Bedford and Virginia Roads and bordering the western side of the Battle Road, was a long pasture known as the Tanyard Meadow because Joshua Brooks' tanyard was situated at the foot of the hill. It belonged to Thomas Brooks and comprised 10 acres 126 rods of pastureland bounded:

West by land of Joshua Brooks
South by the town way to Bedford for 35 rods
Southeast by the way to Bedford for 54 rods to the corner of a stone wall
Northeast by land of Ephraim Hartwell 31 1/4 rods by 1 angle as the stone wall stands
Northwest by land of Joshua Brooks as the stone wall stands 76 1/4 rods to the corner first mentioned.

At the bottom of the hill where the Concord Road has begun to turn due west toward Concord, just inside the Lincoln line, was Joshua Brooks' tannery. A one-fourth acre plot contained the tannery and a currier shop. Joshua also

owned a slaughter house which was in Concord and may have been situated just over the boundary line of that community. We have exact measurements for the tanyard parcel. It was bounded:

South by Concord Road for 92 feet, 9 inches
West 111 feet, 4 1/2 inches
North 78 feet, 4 1/2 inches
East 86 feet, 7 1/2 inches.

It was bordered on the west by a lane which separated Joshua's land from Samuel Brooks' homestead.

DISTRICT FIVE: THE LINCOLN LINE TO MERIAM'S CORNER

In this section of Minute Man NHP the Concord Road follows a northwesterly course from the Lincoln line toward Concord Center. The boundary separating the two communities intersects the road at the eastern end of this district, just west of the bridge road over Elm Brook, then follows the road for nearly a half a mile before pursuing its course southward. The land at the eastern end is dry, the road winding around the base of two hills before becoming marshy as it moves toward Meriam's Corner where the waters of Mill Brook cross it. Here, a long narrow causeway was constructed to keep the traveller above the level of the surrounding meadow. Beyond Meriam's Corner the road clung to the side of the ridge on its north, the land to the south being marshy. At Meriam's Corner the width of the road's right of way altered dramatically. From Concord center to Meriam's Corner it was four rods wide, from there "to the Ministerial Lot of Ten Rod way" in Lincoln, it was eight rods wide.[1]

The route of the road was altered several times near Meriam's Corner, first, no doubt, in an effort to find the highest ground, then later to straighten it. Before 1801 it seems to have been closer to the Meriam house which stood on Bedford Road nearly opposite the cart path into the Great Fields. But Concord Road was straightened out both here and in Lincoln in 1801 and again in 1804. In 1775 it was intersected at several places in this area by lanes leading into fields to the north and south.

This stretch of road played an important part in the running battle of April 19th. It was at Meriam's Corner that the Americans who had fought at the North Bridge lay in wait for the British. They knew that once the British left the protection of the ridge which ended just west of Meriam's Corner and set out across the long causeway they would be vulnerable and exposed. According to the traditional account, it was at Meriam's Corner, therefore, that the Americans "poured a sharp fire on the retreating columns, causing them loss, and then passed round the next hill to renew the attack."[2] A second sharp exchange took

NOTES

1. See Hamilton D. Hurd, ed., History of Middlesex County, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1890), 2:619.

2. The most detailed single document of the holdings of Joshua Brooks in this area comes from the estate agreement of 1790 which described and divided this estate among various family members. See Middlesex Probate Record no. 2864. Deeds for Joshua brooks, Timothy Brooks, Samuel Brooks, Thomas Brooks and other members of the Brooks family living in this district in the late eighteenth century were analyzed to produce the description of the land in this district.

3. Since Deacon Joshua Brooks was taxed in 1774 for only one acre of orchard, the orchard must have occupied only one acre of this tract.

place at the foot of Hardy's Hill, "the first considerable ascent" on the British army's return journey, where a company of Sudbury minute men which had come up from the south of the road joined the fray.[3] The British were now being attacked from both sides of the road. As they approached the infamous "bloody angle," their officers dismounted to find shelter amid the ranks of their men.

Another peculiarity about this section of the road, one too commonplace at the time for traditional accounts to record, lies in the nature of its population. Research has disclosed that whereas the other districts within the park were dominated by family farms interspersed with the occasional inn, cobbler, or blacksmith shop by means of which the farmer sought to implement his income, several houses between the Lincoln line and Meriam's Corner were owned and occupied by widows or single women who supported themselves and their children by keeping a small shop or working at some homely occupation such as sewing. Why should this have been the case in just this section of the community is unclear, although much of the farmland in this area belonged to men living in Lincoln, rather than on the site, and perhaps houses were cheaper here than closer to the center of Concord. At any rate, not only was this stretch of road occupied, but it formed something of a small shopping district, one whose residents must have been particularly terrified by the fierce firing as the British columns passed their homes.



FIGURE 10. Printed plan of Concord by John G. Hales, 1830. (Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Ma., Maps and Plans, 3rd Series, vol. 56, page 17, no. 2162)

JOSHUA BROOKS PROPERTY

Deacon Joshua Brooks of Lincoln, whose property in District Four has already been discussed, also owned propety just over the Lincoln line in Concord, which abutted his tanyard. The Concord tax list of 1771 assessed him for a slaughter house in Concord and eighteen acres of fresh meadow. From his position on the tax roll it is clear that part of this property was adjacent to his Lincoln property on the north side of Concord Road. The low-lying land at this location was probably meadowland. Any slaughter house he owned would, for convenience sake, have been located next to his tanyard. Doubtless the refuse from both tanyard and slaughterhouse were tipped into the waters of Elm Brook. Since Joshua also owned fourteen acres of the "river meadow, so called," probably situated along the river in the Great Meadows of Concord, the parcel on Concord Road contained, at most, four acres of meadowland.

Between 1771 and 1775 Joshua had also purchased an additional two acres of land on the north side of Concord Road from Timothy Wesson of Lincoln, a housewright.[4] At the time of purchase the property had a house and barn on it and Wesson was given one year from the date of the sale, September, 1772, to remove them. Before 1790, a house and other buildings had been erected on the parcel, but there is no evidence that they had been built by 1775. This plot was not contiguous with Joshua Brooks's other property, but was just west of Brooks Road and across from a six-acre parcel of orchard and pasture he had puchased from Timothy Wesson in 1762, ten years earlier.[5] This last, on the south side of Concord Road, was in the town of Lincoln, and in 1790 had a barn on it. No barn was mentioned either at the time of purchase or in the 1771 tax. The six-acre parcel was described as orchard and pasture at the time Joshua bought it and was undoubtedly orchard and pastureland in 1775.[6]

The two-acre parcel north of the road was bounded:
South by Concord Road
North and West by land of Eleazer Brooks
East by land of Samuel Brooks

The six-acre parcel opposite this tract was bounded:

North by Concord Road
East by Brooks Road
West by land of Eleazer Brooks
South by land of George Minot

The Concord Town Records for 1747 note that a fence stood at that time along Concord Road from Joshua Brooks's tanyard to the corner of Job Brooks Junior's land. With

this exception, none of the property descriptions mention whether land was set off by fencing or stone walls, although orchards were typically walled.

JOB BROOKS FARM

Job Brooks, his wife Anna, grown son Asa, and daughter Anna occupied the first house and farm one came to on Concord Road in the town of Concord.[7] Job Brooks of Concord should not be confused with his contemporary, Job Brooks of Lincoln. In county documents the former is sometimes referred to as Job Junior, presumably to avoid any confusion, although he was some 58 years old in 1775. Job is listed as a currier and probably worked at Joshua Brooks's tannery which bordered his property on the east. His neighbor on the west was Samuel Brooks.

Job and his son Asa farmed the land together. In 1771 they were assessed for 2 acres of pasture, 8 acres of tillage, 3 acres of upland meadow and 14 acres of fresh, or low-lying meadow. The farm's tilled land and fields must have been excellent for Job was taxed for the production of some 200 bushels of crops a year, a very high figure indeed. This was equal to the highest produced in that section of Concord including farms with far more tilled acreage. The property at that time which produced an equal amount, in fact, had fifteen acres of tillage to Job's eight. Farm stock noted in the tax rolls included 6 oxen--more than the average number--8 cows, 2 horses, and 3 swine. Job and Asa were also taxed for the production of 8 barrels of cider a year. As Job's will of 1791 arranged for his widow to be supplied with Indian corn, rye, malt, cider, pork, beef and flax, these crops were probably produced on the family farm.[8]

Job had inherited his homestead and farm in March of 1740 from his father Hugh Brooks.[9] There had been a house and barn on the property as early as 1679. At the time of transfer the homestead consisted of 20 acres with a house and barn bounded:

North by land of Joseph Fletcher
South by Concord Road
West by land of Joseph Brooks
East by land of Thomas and Joshua Brooks

Although the barn was not mentioned in the transaction there had been one on the premises in 1695 when one of the bounds of the "8 rod highway" was "the stone wall by Hugh Brookses Barn on the north of the way."[10] The barn was approximately twenty-two yards from the center of the right way, and

therefore must have bordered the road.

Job owned other parcels which bordered on Virginia Road near the property of Joseph Wheat outside the bounds of Minute Man NHP. Most of his meadowland was probably in this area as well as part of his upland. His tillage, apple trees, and the remainder of his upland meadow were part of the homestead lot. Job had also inhertited two parcels of woodland comprising some twenty acres, neither within the park.[11] Job's two acres of pasture were on the western side of his homestead lot, in a parcel bordering Concord Road which he purchased in 1747.[12]

There is little specific information about the manmade structures. The house has been the subject of a separate study. [13] The existing structure may have been built after 1775. There are no details about farm buildings. Job's stock, with his six oxen suppose a large barn, however. In 1798 Job's heir, Asa, was taxed for three houses in Concord. The house he lived in, the former family home, was assessed at $840 at that time, a very high valuation.

With the exception of the stone wall near the barn along Concord Road no other wall is mentioned. This was either an oversight or Job merely relied upon fences to set off his land. The lane near Samuel Brooks's land was bordered by fencing.

SAMUEL BROOKS FARM

Job Brooks's neighbor on the west was another member of numerous and prosperous Brooks family, Samuel Brooks. His property in Lincoln east of Brooks Road has been discussed above. While Samuel's farm was divided between the communities of Concord and Lincoln he lived on the north side of Concord Road, and was therefore a resident of Concord. Samuel had been married twenty years before the outbreak of the American Revolution to Hannah Brown and at that time was listed as of Worcester. The couple may have moved to Concord when they married or in 1768 when Samuel's father, Samuel Senior, died leaving his farm to his namesake. The geneological records fail to note any children of the marriage and in 1775 Samuel, Hannah, and his widowed mother Elizabeth were presumably living together on the family farm.

Samuel had inherited ten and one-quarter acres north of Concord Road from his father in 1758. This tract included a house lot and nine acres described as upland on which the house and barn stood. In 1771 Samuel Brooks was assessed for a total of forty-four acres of land in Concord. Of

these 10 acres were pasture, 26 acres fresh meadow, 4 acres upland meadow and 4 acres tillage. Samuel's farm was also assessed for an annual production of eighteen barrels of cider, an impressive amount which indicates an orchard of at least an acre. In 1693 the farm orchard, containing both apple and plum trees, was located near the house and was probably still in that location in 1775. The house stood on a plot of pasture and orchard, while the barn was located in what was called the "home field," clearly the four acres of tillage.[14] Samuel's fresh meadow was north of his home lot and barn field, on the northerly and northeastern part of his farm outside the park.

On the Concord tax roll for 1771 Samuel was listed for having the very large sum of £124-0-0 lent at interest. He was also taxed for 2 horses, 2 oxen, 6 cows and 3 swine.

Samuel's house still exists. An old photograph in the possession of Minute Man NHP dating from the late nineteenth century shows stone walls on either side of the front of the house but it is uncertain whether these date from 1775. The 1775 house had an ell at its northeast corner. There is an old cellar hole dating from before 1693 near the northern boundary of the farm and a lane between Samuel's property and Job Brooks Junior's. The lane was on Samuel's boundary and permitted access into Elm Brook Meadow, the meadowland near Virginia Road.

As Samuel had no natural heir he left his property to Nehemiah Flint, his presumed son-in-law. There is no record of Samuel having had a daughter, however, and church records indicate that Nehemiah Flint intended to marry Hannah Davis of Lincoln in 1797. There is no record that they did marry or that Hannah died, nor is there any reference to children born to Nehemiah Flint. Indeed the notice in the Concord registers of Nehemiah's death in 1849 does not refer to any wife, but strangely lists the seventy-seven year old man only as the son of John and Mary Flint.

At any rate at the time of the 1798 Direct Federal Tax Samuel and Nehemiah Flint were living together in the Samuel Brooks homestead and when Samuel died in 1811 his property went to Flint.[15] The property can be located with assurance because "N. Flint's" house north of Concord Road in Concord is pinpointed on the 1830 Hales map of Concord. Flint sold the property to Isaac Hurd in 1836.[16]

PROPERTY OF JOB BROOKS OF LINCOLN AND HIS SON ELEAZER BROOKS

Although Job Brooks, a gentleman of seventy-seven in 1775, and his grown son Eleazer lived together in the town

of Lincoln, they owned and were taxed for land along the Concord Road just west of Samuel Brooks's farm. A tax list for 1770 separated the property of the father and son and assessed Job for twelve acres and Eleazer for seven. On the 1771 tax form, however, Eleazer was not mentioned, and their combined property assessment was listed as consisting of 5 acres of pastureland, 15 acres of meadow and 2 acres of upland meadow, or a total of 22 acres.

Five acres of Job's meadowland had been bequeathed to him by his father in 1725 and lay in the River Meadow, another five acres, part of the same bequest, lay near the Great Island along Virginia Road. In 1736 Job had purchased an additional four acres of meadowland in Concord, also in the so-called Island Meadow near the Island. Fronting the Concord Road, and therefore of more interest, was a parcel of pasture and plowland five and three-quarter acres in size which Eleazer had purchased from Nathaniel Brown, an heir of Jacob Taylor in 1769.[17] This parcel accounts for another five acres of the twenty-two acre assessment. It was bounded as follows:

> South by Concord Road for 13 3/4 rods
> East and South by land of Timothy Wesson
> East and North by land of Samuel Brooks
> Other ways by land of Jonathan Stickney to road first mentioned.

This parcel, with its frontage along Concord Road was tilled field and pasture.

Neither Job nor Eleazer lived in Concord, nor is either man assessed for a house there. On the 1798 Direct Tax Eleazer was assessed only for a house in Lincoln. Yet when Jacob Taylor's estate was divided up in 1768, Eleazer and his wife Mary, Jacob Taylor's daughter, were awarded Jacob's dwelling house and barn together with a parcel of one acre ten rods of orchard and other land adjoining the house. The house was bounded:

> Southwest by Concord Road
> Elsewhere by other heirs
> Southeast from a heap of stones two rods southeast of the corner of the house yard to a heap of stones at the Northeast corner of the orchard wall to the county road including the wall.

Eleazer must have decided to continue living with his father and either sold or rented the house and barn, for in 1771 the two men are listed as resident in Lincoln and not taxed for a house in Concord.[18]

On the south side of Concord Road, in that portion where the road formed the boundary of Lincoln and extending

just over the line into the town of Concord, Eleazer and Mary Brooks inherited a tract of eleven acres fifty rods of tillage, woodland, and pasture from Jacob Taylor in 1769. Shortly afterward they sold the tract to Job Brooks. The Lincoln section of this parcel bordered Joshua Brooks's land on the west. The larger part, in Lincoln, was bounded:

North by Concord Road beginning by a slip of land improved for a way
East by land of Joshua Brooks
Southwest and south by Job and Eleazer Brooks land
West by a slip of land for a way

A second portion, three-quarters of an acre, partly in Lincoln, partly in Concord, began west of the slip of land set aside for a road. Its boundaries were:

East by the slip of land for a way
North by Concord Road
West by land of Farwell Jones
South by land of Daniel Hoar, Job and Eleazer Brooks

This small parcel was sectioned off for a reason. It seems to have been an orchard which originally belonged to Samuel Fletcher in 1729. Other land owned by Job and Eleazer Brooks in this area of Lincoln and Concord is not within park boundaries.

With the exception of the stone wall around the house, barn, and orchard that Eleazer Brooks had inherited from Jacob Taylor, no specific man-made features are mentioned in the deeds for their property in this district. In the absence of such specific references we must assume the land boundaries were marked by fencing.

PROPERTY OF JOHN BROOKS OF LINCOLN

John Brooks, eldest son of Job Brooks of Lincoln whose property was described above, was assessed on the 1771 tax roll for land near his father's in Concord. At that time he seems to have owned three acres of upland and five acres of meadow in Concord. The 1770 tax, however, assessed him for ten acres of Concord land. The earlier tax roll seems to have been more stringent generally, perhaps having a stricter view of usable land.

No deeds have been found for John Brook's Concord property. He was a resident of Lincoln, his home situated along Brooks Road on its western side. At the time of his death in 1812 an inventory of his holdings noted a parcel of

twelve acres of River Meadow in Concord.[19] A portion of his meadowland in 1775 may therefore have been located near the river. Since the tax roll places him between his father and Abner Wheeler along the Concord Road he either owned upland and meadow which was in the vicinity but did not abut Concord Road, or he was listed on the tax roll next to his father for the sake of convenience and because his Lincoln property and homestead were in the part of Lincoln which bordered District Five.

ABNER WHEELER FARM

Proceeding westward on the Concord Road the next name on the Concord tax list for 1771 is that of Abner Wheeler, a housewright. Abner, the son of Benjamin and Rebekah Wheeler, was thirty in 1775 and had been married for six years to Elizabeth Hunt. There is no record of the couple having any children by April of 1775, but a series of babies began to arrive the following year. While Abner and his wife are frequently referred to in documents as residents of Lincoln, and were so when they married in 1769, the 1771 Concord tax indicates that they were living in Concord at that date and assessed Abner for two polls. In the 1798 Direct Tax and in his will Abner is again a resident of Lincoln but he must have lived in Concord earlier as the births of his children are listed in the Concord registry.[20] It seems likely, therefore, that the Wheelers lived on Concord Road in Concord in 1775.

The Concord tax of 1771 assessed Abner for 6 acres of pasture, 2 ares of tillage, and 8 acres of meadow. He had 1 taxable horse, 2 cows, 2 swine, produced a modest 5 barrels of cider, and had the sum of £20 money lent at interest. There is a suprising absence of Abner's name in deeds for this area. It appears likely that since he and his new wife needed a house and farm in 1769, just after the division of Jacob Taylor's Concord estate, the Wheelers rented out the house, barn and property which had been bequeathed to Eleazer and Mary Brooks.[21] Certainly this would explain who lived in that house. The cider for which Abner was assessed could have come from the orchard around the Taylor house. Abner's place on the tax roll, right after John and Job Brooks of Lincoln, would fit this interpretation.

Since Abner was assessed for sixteen acres in Concord, in addition to the Jacob Taylor house lot and one acre ten rods of orchard and other land adjoining it, presumably pasture, he probably rented land from other Taylor beneficiaries. Jonathan Stickney and Silence his wife had received 5 1/2 acres 28 rods of meadow and pastureland which abutted the Concord Road for 11 1/2 rods, Samuel Brooks land

on the north and elsewhere on other beneficiaries. This field was fenced on the east, bounded by a stone wall on the north, then ran southwest across a pasture to a heap of stones by the wall at the road. There was a slip of land one rod wide and five rods long from the property line on the southwest side of the pasture wall meant to enable other beneficiaries to water their cattle and to cart hay. The part of the parcel abutting the road was walled. Jonathan Stickney and his wife do not appear to have lived in Concord either before or after Jacob Taylor's bequest to them and would probably have been quite willing to rent their land. Indeed, since the Stickneys are not assessed for any land in Concord on either the 1770 or 1771 tax lists, they must have rented it.

In addition Wheeler probably also rented from Elezer Brooks the five and three-quarters acres of plowland and pasture which Nathaniel Brown and his wife, residents of Brookfield, received from Jacob Taylor and immediately sold to Ebenezer Brooks.[22]

The boundaries for the property Wheeler rented along Concord Road include the house, barn, and the one acre ten rods of orchard and pasture adjoining it were bounded:

> Southwest by Concord Road
> Elsewhere by other heirs of Jacob Taylor, i.e., in 1775 Job Brooks and John Brooks of Lincoln on the east, land of Samuel Hunt and Ephraim Potter on the west.

The disposition of Taylor's land explains that the house lot and orchard extended on the southeast from a heap of stones two rods southeast of the corner of the house yard to a heap of stones at the northeast corner of the orchard wall to the Concord Road including the wall. The wall had a well along it which it encircled. The orchard seems to have been located north of the house and barn. The wall not only enclosed the orchard but extended around the "spot of ground on which stands a dwelling house and barn to the road."[23] Since the house was close to the southeastern end of the parcel and the orchard was behind the house, the barn was probably situated to the west of the house.

The remainder of the farm shall be described proceeding from east to west. The eastern-most parcel of the farm was the five and three-quarter acres of pasture and plowland bounded:

> Southwest on the Concord Road for 13 3/4 rods
> Southeast and northeast by the land of Timothy Wesson [in 1767] and Samuel Brooks
> Otherwise by land of Jonathan Stickney, an heir of Samuel Taylor

The plowland was two acres at most, since Wheeler was taxed for only two acres of tillage, a small amount for a family farm. The plowland probably occupied the two acres of this narrow parcel closest to Concord Road, the pasture land the remainder.

The next parcel to the west, very similar to the parcel above and immediately alongside it, consisted of five and one-half acres twenty-eight rods of meadow and pasture land. This parcel abutted Concord Road for eleven and one-half rods and was bounded:

> North by land of Samuel Brooks, a wall being the boundary
> South by Concord Road
> East by the parcel above, the two separated by a fence
> Southwest across the pasture to a heap of stones by the wall near the road on the Northwest side in a straight line from a heap of stones by the road to a stake 2 1/2 rods west of the corner of the meadow land (excepting a slip of land 1 rod wide, 5 rods long from the said line on the southwest side of the pasture wall for the convenience of the other beneficiary-Lucy Taylor-for watering cattle, etc.)

The fairly complicated discription of this parcel can be more simply explained. First, there was a wall along the Concord Road which formed its southwest boundary. It was this part of the parcel that was pasture. The northern boundary was marked by a wall too. A fence separated this parcel from the parcel to its east, probably indicating that even before Jacob Taylor's land was divided these two parcels were separate. The obvious reason for this must have been that the fence had separated a pasture on the west from tilled fields on the east, since the remainder of the eastern parcel was pasture. This would substantiate the theory that the two acres of tilled fields were along the road at the southern end of the eastern parcel. At the western end of the parcel of meadow and pasture was a cart track one rod wide, five rods long which ended at a stake two and one-half rods west of the corner of the meadowland. There may have been a pond here as the intent was to permit the holder of another parcel to water cattle, and of the parcel in question to cart hay. Users were to "keep safe the barrs thereon," indicating that the sides and ends of the cartroad must have been fenced. Another piece of information revealed by this complicated boundary description of the parcel is that the meadow was north of the pasture and began two and one-half rods east of the western line.

The description of the third parcel is less revealing. It was between the above parcel and the houselot, a tract of seven acres forty-five rods. There is no exact description of its land use. This parcel was larger than the two to its east and abutted Concord Road for a greater distance. In this case for seventeen and one-half rods. Its boundaries were:

> Southwest by Concord Road
> Southeast by Jonathan Stickney's dividend [see above]
> North by land of Samuel Brooks
> West by land of Joseph Stow and other dividends to Concord Road.

This parcel was probably pasture and meadowland with the pasture closer to the road where the land was higher. There is no information about manmade structures on it, but the boundary along Concord Road, if it conformed to the surrounding Taylor parcels, would have had a stone wall along it. The boundary between this parcel and the home lot on the west would have been walled. Other boundaries were very likely fenced.

West of the house lot and orchard was a thirty-five acre tract of mowing land which had belonged to the Jacob Taylor estate. This parcel is too large to have fitted with the information we have about the land Abner Wheeler rented and may have been rented by his neighbor to the west, Joseph Stow. For the purposes of this study its renter is less important than its use. It was described as mowing land and its boundaries as set forth in the estate division of 1768 were:

> Southwest by the Concord Road
> Southeast by the homelot of Jacob Taylor "on the orchard wall to a heap of stones at the northwest corner of the orchard near an apple tree (excluding a small nook where is a well as it is walled out)" then to a stake at the corner of Joseph Stow's land
> Northeast and northwest by Stow's land to the Concord Road.

This substantial parcel was divided between Samuel Hunt and his wife and Ephraim Potter and his wife. It must have extended to the Virginia Road for the deed yielding the property to Jacob Taylor in 1763 gives this as its northern boundary and none of the other bequests are as large or extend as far north.[24] In fact the northern abutters of the other parcels are either Samuel Brooks or Joseph Stow.

WIDOW OLIVE STOW FARM

In 1772 Joseph Stow, whose homestead and farm were located in Concord just west of the Wheeler property on Concord Road, died suddenly leaving his widow, Olive, to manage their property and raise their two children, Sarah and Nathaniel. Olive must have been helped considerably in shouldering this burden by her younger brother Farwell Jones who lived next door. In 1775 Olive, Sarah then fifteen, and Nathaniel, just thirteen, were residing in the family home as the running battle between colonials and British regulars swirled by their farm.

The Stow farm seems to have been a modest property. Just prior to his death in 1771, Joseph had been assessed for a dwelling house, 3 acres of tillage, 10 acres of pasture, 5 acres of upland meadow, and 7 acres of fresh meadow. He also also taxed for production of 3 barrels of cider, indicating only a small orchard. His farm stock consisted of a horse, 4 cows, and 1 pig. He does not appear to have had any oxen. He was also taxed for some £26 lent at interest.

An inventory shortly after his death described his holdings in more detail. The house lot stood on a ten-acre tract, and Stow owned property in Chestnut Field in Lincoln, in Brick-kiln Field, and on "the Island." Despite what appears a favorable financial situation, his widow was forced to sell some of the property as well as the horse, cows, and swine, salt pork, and cider to help pay off his debts.[25]

The Stow house lot with the house and barn were described in 1725 when Joseph inherited the property as consisting of ten acres of meadow and upland.[26] It was bounded at that time:

> South by Concord Road and partly on land of John Stow deceased
> West and north by the highway to Brick-kiln Island [a lane]
> East partly by land of Daniel Brooks [later Jacob Taylor] and partly by land of John Stow

The lot in the Brick-kiln Field, outside park bounds, consisted of nine acres of plowland and pasture. Joseph's parcel on the Island was described in his father's inventory as meadow, plowland, and woodland. Some of Joseph's plowland was, therefore, on the parcel in the Brick-kiln Field, and the rest probably on the Island lot.

Olive died in 1811 and her son Nathaniel inherited the

bulk of the family farm. In his own inventory of 1827 the property still consisted of a lot of swamp, woodland, and upland called the Island lot, the Brick-kiln lot--not described as to use--a house lot of about 2 acres, 10 acres of meadow, and some 10 acres of woodland in the town of Lincoln. Nathaniel Stow seems never to have been fully competent and in 1838 his guardian sold the bulk of the property to Isaac Hardy.[27] Henceforth this property became known as the Hardy Farm. The house lot and meadow border the Concord Road, their description similar to that of the 1725 inventory. The records are silent about the location of the modest Stow orchard. Indeed, since there are descriptions of the land use for all parcels but the two-acre house lot the few apple trees were probably located there. It was common practice to locate an orchard near the house.

A more serious potential for confusion exists about the exact location of the Stow farm itself. The 1771 tax roll, if it follows geographical order precisely, indicates that the Jones property was east of the Stow property, although it would appear to have been to the west of it. There are several reasons to conclude that the 1771 tax roll was incorrect. First, the 1731 tax roll has the two in reverse order. Secondly, a deed of 1828 which describes the sale of the Stow farm to Isaac Hardy, explains that the house lot and adjacent ten-acre meadow were bounded beginning at the southwest corner as follows:

> North from Concord Road by the lane on the land late of Farwell Jones and the Brick-kiln Lot
> East by said lane to land of Captain Nehemiah Flint [heir of Samuel Brooks] and land of Asa Brooks and Isaac Hardy to road first mentioned [Concord Road][28]

Additional evidence about location comes from the identity of the owners of the Stow and Jones farms in 1830 when they were recorded by Hales on his map of Concord. The Stow property went to Isaac Hardy and then to Walkup. The Jones house to L. Haven. Both properties are pinpointed by Hales.

There is little detail about manmade structures in the deeds for the farm. The old Stow house, however, survives and a report on it should be consulted for specific details.[29]

FARWELL JONES FARM

Farwell Jones, son of John and Anna Jones of Concord, was a forty-one year old bachelor at the time the British regulars and their American pursuers fought in the vicinity of his Concord Road farm. His property bordered that of the widow Olive Stow to his east and Samuel Fletcher to his west. On the 1771 Concord tax roll he was assessed for a dwelling house, 10 acres of tillage, 8 acres of upland meadow, 16 acres of fresh meadow, and 6 acres of pasture. He had a modest stock of animals, one horse, 4 cows, a pig and a pair of oxen, and was taxed for an impressive production of cider, some 20 barrels a year. He had far more tilled land and a much larger orchard than many of his neighbors. The Jones family had owned an orchard on the south side of Concord Road opposite their house since at least 1726 when that part of the family estate was left to Farwell's father.[30] The other half of his grandfather John's estate had been left to his uncle Bartholomew Jones who died in 1738 at the age of forty-two leaving his property to his eldest daughter, Ruth. Bartholomew's widow, another Ruth, married David Taylor of Bedford in 1745 and does not appear to have lived in Concord after that time. In the absence of clear documentary evidence it seems likely that the land Farwell lived on, and the house he lived in, may have been the original John Jones estate, now reunited. At any rate he appears to have possessed both the house and the family orchard.

Farwell Jones was assessed for forty acres of land. His father had left fifty-two and one-half acres, some of which would later have been within the town of Lincoln. The house stood on a four acre fifty-two rod parcel of land. The house may have been ell-shaped, with an ell at its northwest end for Farwell's mother was left the "northwest half" of the house. In 1746 when an inventory was made there was also a barn, probably near the house for there is no mention of it on any other parcel, a leanto shop, and a workshop a few rods west of the house.[31] North of the house lot was a lot called Long Meadow in which the Joneses had nine acres nine rods of land. In 1746 it was bounded:

> Southwest by a brook [Elm Brook?]
> Northwest by the meadow of Timothy Hoar
> Northeast by heirs of Joseph Wheeler a ditch being the line
> Southeast by the meadow of Job Brooks
> South and southwest by the meadow of Joseph and Isaac Taylor

There were two additional parcels of upland north of Concord Road but outside park boundaries. One parcel of 4 acres 143 rods called Blosses Island lot was bounded south by the land

of Samuel Brooks and northwest by the "way" (Virginia Road) leading across the island. Another tract of four acres lay on Brick-kiln Island, a pasture called the Old Hill. This probably accounts for Farwell's six taxable acres of upland pasture as both parcels were pastures.

Much of the Jones farm lay south of Concord Road. There was a parcel of 1 acre 102 rods of plowland and mowing bounded in 1746:

Northeast by Concord Road
Southeast by heirs of Bartholomew Jones
Southwest by Mill Brook
Northwest by John Beaton

In this case the plowland must have bordered the road, while the meadow bordered the area near Mill Brook. The family orchard, which must have been between three-quarters and one acre in size to yield twenty barrels of cider a year, was directly across the Concord Road from the house. Unfortunately we have no stated size or boundaries for it. There was also a four acre forty rod plot of meadow called The Swamp. It was separated from Concord Road by land belonging to Ruth Taylor which, by 1775, Farwell Jones probably had in his possession. The other 1746 boundaries were:

Southeast by Ensign John Jones [Farwell Jones's father]
Southwest by Daniel Hoar

Farwell's father had inherited a meadow "lying by the meadow of Mr. Daniel Hoar" so the entire Jones tract must have been fresh meadow.

What has yet to be identified is the sizable portion of tilled land, ten acres, Farwell Jones was assessed for. Apart from the nearly two acres of plowland and mowing on the south side of Concord Road no other parcel has been labelled plowland. He may have had a field of some eight acres in the Great Fields nearby, and part of the four-acre house lot was probably tilled.

Farwell Jones also owned land on the south side of Concord Road in this district which lay in the town of Lincoln. He was listed as an abutter to property in the Ox Pasture and to the meadow and pastureland of Timothy Hoar on the south side of the road.

With the exception of the house, leanto shop and separate shop the documents give no description of manmade features.

SAMUEL FLETCHER FARM

The property abutting that of Farwell Jones in 1775 was a farm which seems, in that year, to have been inhabited by Rebecca Fletcher whose husband Samuel, a housewright, had died in 1772. Rebecca was sixty-seven in 1775 and her spinster daughter, Sarah aged thirty-seven, may have been living with her. Samuel had a son Jonathan from a previous marriage, who would have been fifty-three in 1775.[32] The property was a sizable one, for Samuel had forty-eight taxable acres listed on the Concord tax roll of 1771. Of these there were 8 acres of tillage, 12 acres pasture, 4 acres of upland meadow, 5 acres of fresh, or lowland meadow, and an orchard. The farm stock consisted of 4 oxen, 11 cows, 2 goats or sheep, and 2 horses.

The house, one that Samuel Fletcher had inherited from his father Samuel in 1729, was on a four-acre parcel bounded:

> South by Concord Road
> West by Samuel Minot [in 1775 by George Minot]
> North by Joseph Stone
> East by Peter Heywood [later Farwell Jones]

This home had been deeded to Samuel Fletcher Senior by his own father, Francis, in 1694 and the house may well have been quite old.[33] The barn had originally stood across the road from the house, but Samuel Fletcher Senior sold both the barn and the plowland which surrounded it, the former to Nathaniel Billings, the latter to Nathaniel Ball, in 1722.[34] Thereafter there is no mention of a barn in the deeds or description of various parcels of family property, although there surely was such a structure either on the same plot of land as the house, or across the road from the house and close to it.

Fletcher had over an acre of orchard across from the house. He was given part of the family orchard--it must have been at least half an acre--before 1729 and another three-quarters of an acre of orchard in 1729. The parcel on which the orchard stood was very likely the two-acre parcel described as "over the way against the house" in the 1694 bequest which turned the property over to Samuel Fletcher Senior.[35] If so the entire orchard may have been as much as two acres, but it is more likely to have been one and a half acres with Samuel Junior receiving half of it first, and then his father's remaining half in 1729.

Some Fletcher property appears to have been outside park boundaries. There was a 2 1/2 acre parcel in Brick-kiln Island pasture, 5 acres in Elm Brook Meadow, a 3 acre meadow south of Concord Road "below Daniel Hoar's damn

so-called," 13 acres in the Ox Pasture south of Concord Road in Lincoln and a five-acre parcel in Virginia Meadow. The meadow land the Fletchers owned north of Concord Road near the Virginia Road doubtless accounts for the five acres of meadow cited on the 1771 Concord tax roll. Samuel Fletcher also owned eight acres of upland in Cranefield, that portion of the Great Fields opposite the Meriam house on Old Bedford Road. Samuel's eight acres of tillage were probably here. This leaves the twelve acres of pasture still to be accounted for. Part of the four-acre house lot was very likely pasture, the two and one-half acre parcel on the Brick-kiln Island Pasture was certainly pasture, as was a portion of Fletcher property in the Ox Pasture, which extended over the Lincoln line into Concord.

While some of the parcels beyond park bounds mention ditches as boundary markers the parcels bordering Concord Road give no description of man-made features. The orchard south of Concord Road, if at all typical, must have been walled.

GEORGE MINOT FARM

The Concord tax list for 1731 indicates that Samuel Fletcher and Samuel Minot were neighbors. In 1771 their descendants, Samuel Fletcher and George Minot were side by side on the tax rolls, still neighbors. By 1775 Samuel Fletcher had died but George Minot still ran the family farm next to the Fletcher property. George was the youngest of his father Samuel's children, born in 1741, a young man of thirty-four at the time of the Concord battle. He and his wife Rebeccah had three daughters. The youngest, Lucy, was born in 1770. Rebeccah seems to have died sometime soon after Lucy's birth for in December 1776 George married for a second time, and was probably a widower in 1775. On the 1770 Concord tax Minot is one of the few citizens noted as owning a slave. If Rebeccah had died sometime soon after childbirth it would be necessary to find someone to look after her children. On the 1771 tax list Minot is listed as owning 2 houses, and having 10 acres of tillage, 28 acres of pasture, 10 acres of upland meadow and 28 acres of fresh meadow. He had 4 oxen, 11 cows, 2 horses, and 2 swine, and produced 8 barrels of cider a year.

George Minot was an active member of the community. He was captain of one of Concord's minute man companies, as well as a farmer and a teacher. In 1775 he may have hidden some rice from Salem in his house. Minot later served with the American forces at Ticonderoga, in Rhode Island, at Saratoga ,and was with the colonial army in New Jersey.

George Minot had purchased his property in 1765 from his father Samuel. At that time it was described as fifty acres of upland, plowland, orcharding and meadow with a dwelling house, and half of a barn bounded:

> Beginning at said house and running east as the fence now stands to the highway (Concord Road) to Samuel Fletcher's land North on Fletcher's land then on Joseph Stow's land about 20 rods then turning East on Stow's land to the said Fletcher's land then North on Daniel Jones's land then North and West on said Jones's land to Lieutenant Hoar's land running West to Abraham Taylor's land and West also to Hoar's land to a ditch between Hoar's land and the land of Fletcher and the premises then turning South upon Fletcher's land to a ditch between his land and the land of Ebenezer Meriam and the premises then South to the highway (Concord Road) then turning East to a gate leading to said barn and then turning North to said barn along this barn and from the northeast corner of said barn running Southeast to the house.[36]

In 1765 George Minot also purchased four acres of plowland in the Great Field. All this was north of Concord Road and in the town of Concord. A final parcel, part of the same purchase, was a twenty-acre plot of woodland in the northern part of Concord. There was an apple orchard on one of these parcels. Samuel Minot reserved to himself and his wife "as many of the apples growing in the orchard as I or she will ever need in our life," but it is not clear exactly where the orchard was. It may have been planted behind the house. When the property was transfered earlier from James Minot to George's father, Samuel, in 1729 the northern portion, some twenty acres, were described as upland and pasture, while the "lower end," some eight acres, bordering on Concord Road were refered to as meadow and swamp.[37] The deed states that on this piece of land in 1729, "on the upland near the County Road stands a new frame for a dwelling house." The Minot house, therefore, dated from 1729. In addition, in 1729 Samuel Minot received eight acres of upland and meadow south of and bordering on the Concord Road, with Samuel Fletcher's land on its east, Joseph Meriam's land on the west. Other parcels included forty acres of woodland on Elm Brook Hill and two acres of "upland" somewhere in the eastern part of Concord. In 1755 and again in 1756 Samuel Minot purchased an additional nine acres of upland bordering Concord Road on the north from Joseph Taylor. This property had John Jones on its east and Samuel Fletcher on the west. No land use was stated.

George Minot was assessed for two houses in 1771. The house he lived in was along Concord Road. His second house may have been the property Samuel Minot of Boston--possibly

his older brother--purchased from Timothy Minot in 1770.[38] This was some eighteen acres of Concord land with "a large house and barn" along what is now Monument Street. The boundaries were:

North by the land by Humphrey Barrett
East by the County Road
South by Timothy Minot
West by the Mill Brook

This land had been purchased by Timothy Minot from Ephraim Minot. A tract eight rods square within the property "whereon Mr. Minch's pot ash works stand" was exempted from the sale. Whether this was the missing second house or not, George Minot's "other house" does not appear to be within District Five.[39]

SAMUEL WOOLEY PROPERTY

Samuel Wooley's name appears on the Concord tax roll for 1771 wedged between George Minot and Mary Taylor on Concord Road in District Five. He was taxed for four acres of pasture in this location. Wooley was a resident of Bedford, however, and did not have a house on this property. He died in 1773 and his property was sold by his heirs.[40] The Wooleys had intermarried with their Concord neighbors the Fletchers and had owned land in Concord, Bedford, and Acton. It is unclear whether Samuel's four acres of pasture had any frontage on Concord Road. At any rate by 1775 this parcel was no longer in the Wooley family, and while they had once lived in and owned land in Concord, their homestead was not along the relevant portion of the Concord Road.

MARY TAYLOR

Mary Taylor, whose name appears as a resident of Concord Road between those of Samuel Wooley and Lydia Ball, is a rather mysterious figure. None of the Mary Taylors in the Concord birth, marriage, and death records was living as a single person in Concord in 1771. The tax roll, our sole source of information in this instance, does not tax Mary Taylor for any house or other property, but does note that she has some £20 worth of stock-in-trade. She must have been living with someone else and supporting herself by making and selling goods of some sort.

While the reconstruction of the battle route is not especially affected by the presence of a single woman with

no property, knowledge of her identity does help complete the picture of those people who lived along the battle route during the opening skirmishes of the American Revolution and hence provides a clearer image of their community. It is therefore useful to speculate on the residence of Mary Taylor. There are two likely places of residence, both near the spot she holds on the tax roll, the home of George Minot and that of Farwell Jones. Only Samuel Wooley, who was not a resident in 1771 but is taxed for land in the vicinity, comes between Mary's name on the roll and that of George Minot. Minot's third child, Lucy, was born in 1770 and his wife Rebeccah seems to have died either in childbirth or soon after. Since Mary is not on the tax roll for 1770 but is for 1771 she may have been taken into the Minot home to help care for Minot's three motherless daughters. In 1776 George Minot remarried, and there is no record of Mary Taylor's continued presence in this district. The second possibility is that Mary, a cousin of Farwell Jones who was a bachelor running a farm by himself in 1775, may have been keeping house for him. It seems more likely, however, that Minot knew of Mary through Jones and asked her to care for his children, since Mary's name is listed nearer to Minot's than to Jones's.

LYDIA BALL

In 1775 Lydia Ball, a spinster of sixty, was living along the Concord Road near the farms of George Minot and Nathaniel Stow. Unlike her neighbor on the 1771 Concord tax roll, Mary Taylor, Lydia was and remained a resident of Concord and died in 1814 at the grand age of ninety-nine, still "singlewoman." There is no evidence that she kept a shop to support herself but the 1771 tax noted that she had the large sum of £40 lent or invested at interest. Although the 1771 tax did not assess her for ownership of a house, on the 1798 Federal Direct Tax she was assessed for a house and forty perches of land.

The Ball family had lived along Concord Road near the Stows since the early eighteenth century. Lydia was the daughter of Caleb Ball whose large family of children seem to have moved from Concord leaving only Lydia.

At her death Lydia had a homestead in Concord containing some forty-three acres with buildings. This property was sold in 1814 to a relative, Reuben Ball.[41] There is no evidence, however, that Lydia owned property in 1771 or 1775, however. Her case is similar to that of Mary Taylor in that neither woman is listed on the 1770 tax roll for Concord, neither is assessed for any real property (real estate), and it is uncertain where both woman lived.

NATHAN STOW FARM

In 1775 there was a second Stow farm along Concord Road in District Five. Nathan Stow, a bachelor of forty-one and a cordwainer, lived west of George Minot and east of the widow Keturah Durant. Five years later Nathan would marry Abigail Meriam, daughter of Nathan Meriam. In 1775 his farm was a modest one. On the 1771 tax roll he was assessed for a dwelling house, 8 acres of pasture, 2 acres of tillage, 2 acres of upland meadow and 3 acres of fresh, or wet meadow. He owned few animals, merely two cows and a single pig. He seems to have had no orchard as he was not taxed for production of any cider.

Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to single out and distinguish Stow's property because he was contemporary, or nearly contemporary to other Nathan Stows and Nathaniel Stows who lived in the vicinity. Worse still there is little information about property either purchased or sold by Nathan Stow. There is evidence that in November 1778 he purchased a five-acre tract of woodland and tillage from John Meriam located in the eastern part of Concord known as Polden. From the description in the deed it would appear to have been located west of Bedford Road.[42] Of course, in 1775 this tract still presumably belonged to the Meriams. The Direct Federal Tax of 1798 assessed Nathan Stow for a house and twenty perches of land in Concord at a modest valuation of $136. There is doubt whether the house assessed was located in the spot Stow lived at the time of the Revolutionary War.

In the absence of more complete documentary evidence, much must be based on supposition. Since the property Nathan Stow occupied in 1775 lay between the holdings of George Minot and John Meriam he may have purchased or rented it from one of them. Further evidence comes from an extensive sale of property by Daniel Taylor to John Meriam in 1778 which mentions Nathan Stow's property as boundary markers at several points.[43] These include a one-acre parcel with a house, barn, and shops said to have been bounded west by the land of Nathan Stow, south by Concord Road and southeast by Nathan Meriam. A ten-acre tract on the south side of Concord Road, part of the same sale, began at the garden of Nathan Stow, ran west to Stow's barnyard and north on Stow's garden. These parcels would appear to have been located west of the location of Nathan Stow's residence based on the 1771 tax roll, and, indeed, west of park boundaries. If the property ascribed to Stow in 1778 was in his possession in 1775 then the bulk of his land lay south of Concord Road, north of Mill Brook and west of park property. The Daniel Taylor sale also mentions that the Stow garden was fenced as was Stow's property north of Concord Road near Taylor's house lot. The latter, which in

the 1778 deed is refered to as Stow's house lot, would appear to have been situated west of Meriam's Corner rather than East of it.

Evidence of possible value, although less definite than that of the Taylor-Meriam sale above, comes from the inventory of Nathan Stow's brother-in-law, Ephraim Meriam, who died in 1804. His estate included two tracts of land which may have belonged to Nathan Stow.[44] One labelled the Stow Pasture was bounded:

East by a 3-acre 52 rod tract, the Meriam Home Field which was situated on the western side of Bedford Road
North by land of heirs of Joseph Meriam
Southwest by a bridle way into the Great Fields

The other parcel, Stow's Field consisted of 2 acres 126 rods bounded:

South by the Stow Pasture
Southwest by the bridle way
North and East by land of Joseph Meriam

These parcels accord with other evidence that Nathan Stow held property west of Bedford Road.

This evidence is not sufficiently solid and it is hoped that future research may uncover more precise descriptions of the holdings of Nathan Stow in 1775

KETURAH DURANT PROPERTY

In 1770 Keturah Durant, a widow and shopkeeper, purchased a house on the northern side of Concord Road situated on a small, half-acre parcel of land.[45] Keturah was living in this house in 1775 with her young daughter Catherine. When she purchased the property she was described as a shopkeeper "of Boston" but there is no indication just what sort of shop she had. The 1771 tax assessed her for one house and £3 of stock-in-trade. Keturah's daughter died in 1786 at the age of seventeen leaving her mother in the old house, presumably alone, until her death in 1813 at the age of eighty. She died intestate and the probate record makes a point of noting that at the time of her death she "left no kindred in the United States."[46]

At the time of purchase Keturah's property was bounded:
South by Concord Road
East by land of the heirs of Elnathan Jones

North by land of Samuel Whitney
West by land of Daniel Jones

With the house went half an acre of land and a half share in the well on the premises.[47] In 1794 Keturah sold half the house and land to Ebenezer Hardy and the 1798 Direct Tax lists him living in his own house, valued at $600, and sharing ownership of her house, more modestly assessed at $120. Neither at the time of original purchase nor at the time half the property was sold to Hardy is there any description of the buildings or land use. No barn is ever mentioned. While Keturah kept a shop there is no mention of any separate shop or even what the tax roll termed a "shop adjoining" her dwelling house. The inventory of her estate points up how modest her possessions were.[48] The property was purchased at auction in 1815 by Ebenezer Hardy.

MARY BURBEEN PROPERTY

The house situated between Keturah Durant's on the east and John Meriam's on the west, was occupied in 1775 by Mary Burbeen, a single woman of forty-seven. Like her widowed neighbor, Keturah, Mary supported herself, in her case as a seamstress. A small shop adjoined the house for this purpose. It seems she not only sewed but also sold sewing equipment as her inventory after her death in 1779 included eighty brass thimbles, a bundle of knitting needles, and an assortment of lace, threads, and other materials.[49] On the 1771 Concord tax Mary Burbeen was assessed for one house with a shop adjoining it and a single acre of tillage. She does not appear to have had any farm stock, at least no cattle, horses, sheep or goats, but may have kept chickens. Her real estate was valued at a modest annual worth of £2-0-0 but she was assessed for £10-0-0 of stock-in-trade. She seems to have come off lightly on the 1771 tax for the 1770 tax recorded that she had twelve acres of land and £20-0-0 of stock-in-trade. The 1798 Direct Tax listed her as owning a house and assessed it at $120, the same low value as that of Keturah Durant. By that date, however, she had sold the property to Daniel Hoar of Concord although she apparently remained on the premises.[50]

Mary's land lay on both sides of the road with the house on the north side, and the barn on the south. These two parcels comprised 3 acres. When they were sold to Daniel Hoar in 1782 the parcels were described as bounded:

1) On the south side of Concord Road

North by the Concord Road
West by land of Daniel Hoar

South by Mill Brook
East by Aaron Williams

2) On the north side of Concord Road

North by Daniel Hoar
East by Daniel Hoar
West by Aaron Williams
South by the Concord Road

The parcel south of Concord Road was not opposite the house lot but considerably west of it. The remainder of Mary's twelve taxable acres, some nine acres, were probably in Concord's common fields for other properties are known to have bordered property of hers there.[51] There is no evidence where the single acre of tillage was situated. The most likely possibility is that it was next to the barn, south of Concord Road. Unfortunately the inventory of Daniel Hoar's property after his death in 1823 is so much later and includes so many other parcels that it is no aid in distinguishing the holdings which had belonged to Mary Burbeen.[52]

Apart from the house, barn, and shop no manmade features are mentioned on deeds or inventories of the property. There is no information about how the acre surrounding the house was used. Presumably there was the usual kitchen garden for vegetables and herbs and one or two apple trees, but not sufficient to necessiate taxing Mary for production of cider. The remaining two acres south of the road not used for tillage was probably meadow or swamp as the land at that section of Concord Road was low-lying.

It is possible that Mary Burbeen's house stood on the spot near Mill Brook where a school was situated in 1802. It would not, however, have been as close to the brook as the Hales map of 1830 places the school since the brook is not mentioned in descriptions of the parcel she owned north of the road, and the land near the brook would have been too marshy. Her house was probably located on the parcel labelled "school house site (B)" on the 1970 National Park Service Map.

JOHN MERIAM FARM

The house which occupied the northeastern side of Meriam's Corner, as the intersection of Concord and Bedford roads was known, belonged in 1775 to John Meriam. Although his house faced Concord Road it stands some distance from that road today and abuts Bedford Road. The original route of Concord Road, however, may well have passed close to the

front of the Meriam house in 1775.[53] Just across Bedford Road from the Meriam house was the Cranefield Gate, the entrance from Bedford Road into the Great Fields, and, in particular, into that part known as Cranefield.[54] In the spring of 1775 John Meriam had not long to live. He died in July of that year at the age of fifty-five, leaving his wife Sarah and six children all under the age of twenty. His oldest son, another John Meriam, would take over the family property.

By 1798, John Meriam Junior had amassed an estate of over 126 acres. In 1775, however, the Meriams must have lived very modestly for the elder John Meriam, according to the 1770 tax rolls, had only five taxable acres in addition to his house and a shop, while the 1771 tax assessment didn't assess him for any taxable land at all. He was not taxed for any farm stock, or, more suprisingly, for any stock-in-trade. No evidence has come to light about the trade he practiced, although the shop must have been the family's chief support. His son John would become a prosperous yeoman. John's widow Sarah lived on in the family house until her death in 1793.

At least four acres of the family property, four acres and sixteen rods to be exact, were located in the Great Fields for the younger John sold this tract to George Minot in 1779.[55] This parcel was a part of the Meriam's home Field. The remaining acre of taxable land was doubtless the parcel on which the house and shop stood. The best description of the homelot comes from the division of the estate of the younger John Meriam after his death in 1804.[56] Since this John Meriam was clearly more prosperous than his father the property, even the original home lot, may have changed considerably since 1775. In 1804 the homelot was a six and a half acre parcel bounded:

> West by Bedford Road
> South by the Concord Road "until it passes where the school house stands there bounding where the old road was trod to a stake and stones to the thirds of the widow Blood."
> East by the land of said thirds to land of Edward Flint
> North by the land of Edward Flint and Jonathan Hoar to Bedford Road

The references to the boundary "where the old road was trod" indicates a change in the route, the original road being north of the schoolhouse which on Hale's 1830 map was situated just to the east of Elm Brook, next to Concord Road. This would appear to justify the assumption that the Concord Road in 1775 was closer to the Meriam house. Meriam's Corner, the site where the British were first fired upon as they retreated to Boston, would therefore have been

north of the present-day intersection. That would put it much closer to the entrance to the Cranefield Gate. It would also have made the original Meriam homelot much smaller. In 1804 there was a barn on the homelot situated on an east-west axis, just as the house was. The barn must have stood north of the house. The entrance to the barn cellar was flanked by flowers and the barnyard was fenced. The barn roof had been shingled and in 1805 the widow bought some 15,000 shingles to repair it. At the time of John Meriam Junior's death in 1804 there was a garden south of the house bordering Bedford Road. If the road had been moved since 1775, this garden would not have existed north of the road at that date. The will of 1804 fails to mention any other fences or walls on the property. No orchard is mentioned.

SAMUEL WHITNEY FARM

The house which occupied the northwest quadrant of Meriam's Corner in 1775 is today known as the Daniel Taylor house. But in fact, in 1775 it was occupied not by Daniel Taylor but by another trader and shopkeeper, Samuel Whitney and his family. There is no evidence that Whitney was born, married, or died in Concord although he purchased property in this section of the town in 1768 and 1769. Within ten years he had sold off his extensive holdings to more long-term Concord residents, among them Daniel Taylor, John Meriam, and David Hoar. He clearly lived in Concord during that decade, however, as a series of children's births testify. Indeed, seven children were born to Samuel and Abigail, his wife, between 1768 and 1776--two daughters and five sons. The last of these children, Sarah, was born in February 1776. A deed from August 1776 in which Whitney sold a parcel of land in Concord to David Hoar describes Whitney as "late of Concord." Deeds from 1778, however, still refer to Whitney as "of Concord." It is unclear, therefore, whether Samuel and his family moved out of Concord in 1776 or remained at least until 1778.

The Whitneys were a prosperous family. Samuel is variously described as a trader or shopkeeper. He owned two slaves. The 1770 tax assessed him for 56 acres of real estate while the 1771 tax divided his holdings into 6 acres of tillage, 10 acres of pasture, 4 acres of upland meadow and 8 acres of fresh, or low-lying meadow. He owned 2 horses, 2 oxen, 4 cows, 6 sheep and 3 swine. His farm apparently produced three barrels of cider, a modest amount. He was assessed for one dwelling house, one warehouse, and £150 of stock-in-trade.

Although the Concord tax roll assessed Samuel Whitney for only a single dwelling house, between 1768 and 1769 he had purchased no less than three dwelling houses. The first of these stood on a three-acre tract and had belonged to Dr. Abel Prescott.[57] At that time it was bounded:

> Beginning at Concord Road at the southeast corner of John Breed's land east and southeast on said Breed's land
> East by heirs of Henry Euers and Lieutenant Daniel Hoar
> North and east by Abel Prescot's land
> North and west by Mr. Thankful Smith's land to the road
> South by Concord Road to bounds first mentioned.

This house is to the east of Abel Prescott's property. The following year John Breed seems to have sold out to Samuel Whitney, now his neighbor, for the sale was an extensive one and there is no further record of the Breeds in the Concord registers of births and deaths.[58] The four parcels of land involved included another dwelling house and a barn. The first of these parcels, the one on which the house stood, contained a mere half acre of land and was bounded:

> South by Concord Road
> West by heirs of Henry Euers
> North and east by Whitney's own land

Although the descriptions are confusing, the second house was probably east of the first house. The second parcel, a fourteen-acre plot south of Concord Road, was bordered by Mill Brook on the south, and the road to Lincoln on the west. This parcel is west of park bounds. A parcel of three acres thirty-two rods flanked the western side of the road to Lincoln where it intersected Concord Road. This parcel had a barn on it and, like that mentioned above, was west of park bounds. Finally, Whitney purchased some fourteen acres extending from Concord Road to Ridge Hill west of land belonging to Daniel Hoar and the heirs of Thomas Flint. This would appear to lie in the Great Fields west of park bounds.

Several months later that same year Whitney bought still more property in Concord. Daniel Jones sold him three additional plots of land, all termed upland and meadow.[59] Two of these parcels were south of Concord Road. The first, a six-acre plot, was located to the east of another of his parcels, bounded north by Concord Road, east on Mary Burbeen's land and south by Mill Brook. Another still smaller parcel, one only three-quarters of an acre, also was bounded north by Concord Road, south by Mill Brook but flanked Mary Burbeen's land on its west, and the land of Timothy Hoar on the east. The third, much larger parcel

consisted of some twenty-eight acres of upland and swamp which seems to have been on the north side of Concord Road, west of other parcels Whitney owned there. It bordered land of Abel Prescott on its west, David and Abraham Taylor on its north, Abraham Taylor on the east, and a variety of other owners on the south until it came to the road. This parcel contained another dwelling house and a barn. All these assorted parcels were in the possession of Samuel Whitney in 1775.

In 1778 a series of transactions between Whitney and Daniel Taylor, and between the latter and John Meriam and Daniel Hoar resulted in Whitney's land passing first to Taylor, then to Meriam and Hoar.[60] The difficulty all this raises for the purposes of this study is that we are left with little indication who lived in the three Whitney houses in 1775, why Whitney was taxed for only a single house, and how these houses stood in relation to each other. The house Whitney purchased from John Breed would appear to be the house located in the northwest quadrant of Meriam's Corner. On the other hand none of the property descriptions definitely places a house in this location, for none has Bedford Road as its eastern boundary line.

The tax rolls are little help, for after John Meriam they list Abel Prescott. Since the road was crossed at this point, the assessors might well have started from another direction or even mixed residents of Bedford Road with those of Concord Road. Finally, Abel Prescott was assessed for three dwelling houses and it is possible that he shouldered the assessment for two of Whitney's houses, since Whitney was merely assessed for a single house. Clearly additional research is required if further light is to be shed on these problems. It should also be noted that whereas the house just west of what is now labelled the Daniel Taylor house has been presumed to have belonged to Daniel's brother Abraham Taylor, there is no documentary evidence to indicate that Abraham Taylor occupied this location in 1775.

Putting aside the problems of who lived in the houses near Meriam's Corner on its western side, what did these dwellings look like? The house standing in this area known as the Daniel Taylor house may, or may not, have been standing in 1775. None of the records give any details about these houses. They backed on the Ridge Hill which led north into the Great Fields. The parcel Whitney purchased from Abel Prescott in 1768 was simply described as three acres with a dwelling house. None of the four parcels Whitney purchased from John Breed mentions land use, although both the fourteen-acre parcel south of Concord Road and the three-acre parcel south of the road had barns on them. When Whitney sold land to Daniel Taylor, however, ten acres at the corner of Concord Road and the road to Lincoln were described as plowland and meadow. The three parcels

Whitney purchased from Daniel Jones in 1769 were collectively described as upland and meadow. The six-acre parcel south of Concord Road and three-quarter acre parcel south of the road were probably meadow although the deed does not specifically mention this. The large twenty-eight acre parcel north of the road which included a dwelling house and barn--the only barn specifically mentioned for any of Whitney's holdings north of Concord Road--stretched over the hill, and not only included upland but about two acres of swamp. The upland areas would have included tillage and pasture land.

The 1771 Concord tax assessed Samuel Whitney for six acres of tillage. Part of this must have been south of Concord Road at the corner of Lincoln and Concord roads, the remainder in the Great Fields north of Concord Road. Whitney had ten acres of pasture, probably north of Concord Road, along with his four acres of upland meadow, while his eight acres of fresh meadow was south of Concord Road. No orchard is specifically mentioned although he was taxed for the rather modest production of three barrels of cider. The apple trees were either scattered among his houses or possibly on the three-quarter of an acre parcel south of Concord Road. Whitney was also assessed for a warehouse but it is unclear where it was situated.

NOTES

1. The width of the right of way was established by 1716. See Charles H. Walcott, "Concord Roads," unpublished manuscript, Concord Public Library, p. 1; Concord Town Records, vol. 1, pp. 414-15.

2. Hamilton D. Hurd, ed., History of Middlesex County, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1890), 2:586.

3. Ibid., p. 619.

4. Middlesex Record Office, Book 74:25-6.

5. Ibid., Book 62:169.

6. Ibid., Book 62:169.

7. See Arthur L. Sullivan, "Historical Research Report: The Job Brooks House," (unpublished manuscript, Boston, 1963).

8. Ibid., Appendix I.

9. Middlesex Record Office, Book 45:577-8.

10. See Concord Records, Old Vol. 2, f. 95; Vol. 1, 360b.

11. Middlesex Record Office, Book 45:577-8.

12. Ibid., Book 55:95-6.

13. See Sullivan, "The Job Brooks House," pp. 4-6.

14. See Daniel Brooks' bequest to Samuel Brooks, 1733, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 2808.

15. See Samuel Brooks' will, 1811, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 2900.

16. Middlesex Record Office, Book 352:262-3.

17. Ibid., Book 73:128-9.

18. See Middlesex County Probate Record no. 22191.

19. See John Brooks inventory, 1812, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 2849.

20. See Abner Wheeler will, 1820, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 24227.

21. Jacob Taylor's estate was divided up in 1768.

22. Middlesex Record Office, Book 73:128-9.

23. Ibid., Book 72:266.

24. Ibid.

25. See Joseph Stow inventory, 1772, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 21765; Middlesex Record Office, Book 91:154-5.

26. See Nathaniel Stow inventory, 1725, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 21772.

27. Middlesex Record Office, Book 334:182-3.

28. Ibid.

29. See Carolee Dane Funk, "Historic Structure Report: Part II, Widow Olive Stow House (unpublished manuscript, Boston, 1973).

30. John Jones estate, 1726, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 12859.

31. Middlesex County Probate Record no. 12796.

32. Jonathan Fletcher seems to have moved away from Concord as there is no further mention of him in the records of births, marriages, and deaths for Concord and no Fletcher on the 1798 Direct Federal Tax for Concord.

33. Middlesex Record Office, Book 24:541-2; Ibid., Book 65:351-2.

34. Ibid., Book 22:154-5; Ibid., Book 23:52.

35. Ibid., Book 24:541-2.

36. Ibid., Book 63:222.

37. Ibid., Book 54:489.

38. Ibid., Book 66:87.

39. George Minot will, 1808, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 15229.

40. Samuel Woolley estate, 1773, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 25612.

41. Lydia Ball will, 1814, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 913.

42. Middlesex Record Office, Book 98:357.

43. Ibid., Book 79:324-6.

44. Ephraim Meriam estate, 1804, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 15056.

45. Middlesex Record Office, Book 71:119.

46. Keturah Durant estate, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 6552.

47. Middlesex Record Office, Book 71:119.

48. Middlesex County Probate Record no. 6552.

49. Mary Burbeen estate, 1799, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 3533.

50. Middlesex Record Office, Book 91:322-3.

51. Ibid., Book 79:319-20.

52. Daniel Hoar inventory, 1823, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 11588.

53. See page 75.

54. See Walcott, "Concord Roads."

55. Middlesex Record Office, Book 101:71-2.

56. Ephraim Meriam estate, 1804, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 15056.

57. Middlesex Record Office, Book 69:77.

58. Ibid., Book 69:78-9.

59. Ibid., Book 69:489-90.

60. See Middlesex Record Office, Book 79:319-20; Ibid., Book 79:324-6; Ibid., Book 79:385.

DISTRICT SIX: THE NORTH BRIDGE AREA

More than in any other part of the park, the roads of the North Bridge area are the key to the location of its eighteenth century properties. There is a good deal of information about these roads, the bridge, the causeway leading to and from it, the wall along it, and even a careful engraving made of the area only weeks after the battle there. This wealth of detail makes it especially frustrating that considerable uncertainty remains about the route of the causeway and road on the western side of the bridge and, consequently, about the location of historic houses in the vicinity.

A bridge existed on this site as early as 1654 and by 1659 the citizens of Concord were petitioning the General Court for aid in maintaining it.[1] This bridge, which formed the main link between the center of Concord and settlers in the northern part of town, was a simple wooden structure covered with loose planks. Before a wagon could cross, its driver had to inspect and occasionally rearrange these planks. Before the battle at the bridge the British soldiers had tried to slow their American pursuers by removing these planks.

The land on both sides of the bridge, especially on its western side, was low and marshy. To raise the level of the road a causeway of cobblestones was built. The causeway on the western side ran parallel to the river and extended from the foot of the bridge to the hill upon which the Buttrick houses stood. Heavy traffic over the bridge and regular spring and fall floods necessitated frequent repairs of the bridge and causeway. In 1750 the town decided to widen the causeway across the swamp west of the bridge, and asked Captain Jonathan Buttrick for a strip of his land for the purpose. Buttrick agreed on the condition that a substantial wall be built at town expense to protect his property from passing traffic.[2] The town fathers agreed and in 1752 a wall was constructed on the north side of the causeway. In 1760 a new wall was constructed at the causeway's western end to replace the earlier wall. In 1770 the town hired David Brown to set up posts and rails along this wall to enable pedestrians to walk on it during periods when the river flooded the causeway. (Presumably they had been endeavoring to do so already). This walkway was described as low--probably less than three feet--broad, and composed of very large stones. Posts were set up at intervals with a single handrail attached to their tops[3]

The stumbling block to reconstruction of the area is not the bridge but the exact route of the causeway and connecting road between the bridge and Groton Road. Like the bridge, the route of the road was altered from time to time. In March 1765 the "old Road or trodden Path under the Hill" was discontinued and a new road laid out through the land of David Brown. The road seems from the start to have been between the property of the Buttricks and the Browns with the former on its eastern side, the latter on the west.[4] Exactly where it went, however, and the point at which it intersected Groton Road, are still in doubt. In 1793 the North Bridge with its connecting causeway was superseded by two other bridges, one above and one below it.


MAP NUMBER 5
District VI
J. BUTTRICK
J. FLINT
(LIBERTY STREET)
E. BUTTRICK
W. BRUTTRICK
CONCORD RIVER
D. BROWN
J. BATEMAN
(LIBERTY STREET)
BOSTON ROAD
MANSE
L. JONES
CONCORD RIVER
(LIBERTY STREET)
(LOWELL ROAD)
R. HUNT
S. HUNT
(MONUMENT STREET)
BLACKSMITH SHOP
MILL BROOK
MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
100 50 0 100 200
SCALE FEET
N
LEGEND
House
Barn Or Other Outbuilding
Stone Wall
Fence
Bridge
Orchard
Tilled Field
Rocky Field
Pasture
Meadow
Swamp
Woodland
names in brackets Modern Road Name
in print Old road Name

FIGURE 11.



FIGURE 10. Printed plan of Concord by John G. Hales, 1830. (Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Ma., Maps and Plans, 3rd Series, vol. 56, page 17, no. 2162)

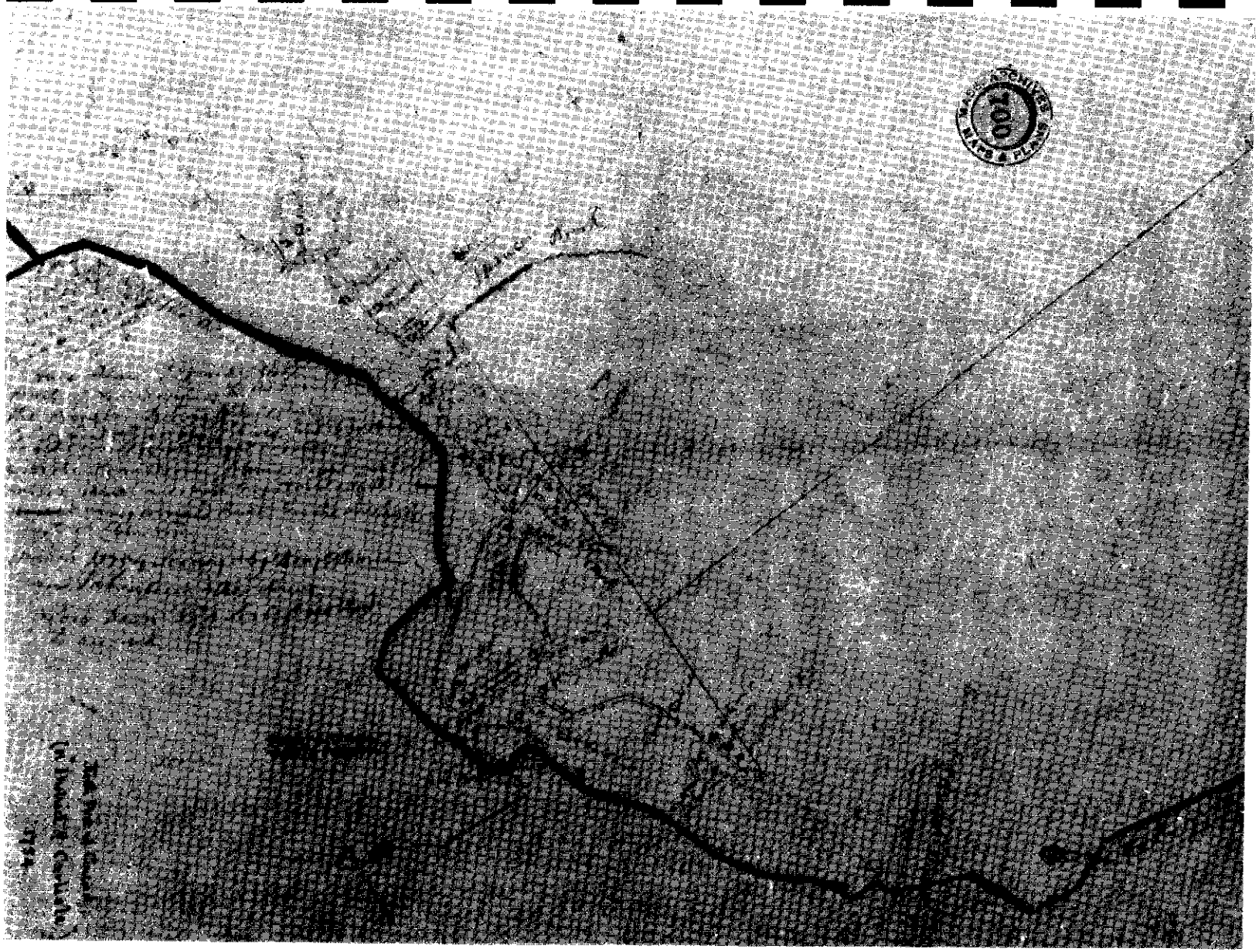


FIGURE 12. Plan of that part of Concord which Jonathan Blood et al petitioned might be set off as the district of Carlisle, plan made by Benjamin Brown, 26 March 1757. (Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston, Ma., Maps and Plans, 3rd Series, vol. 37, page 13, no. 700)

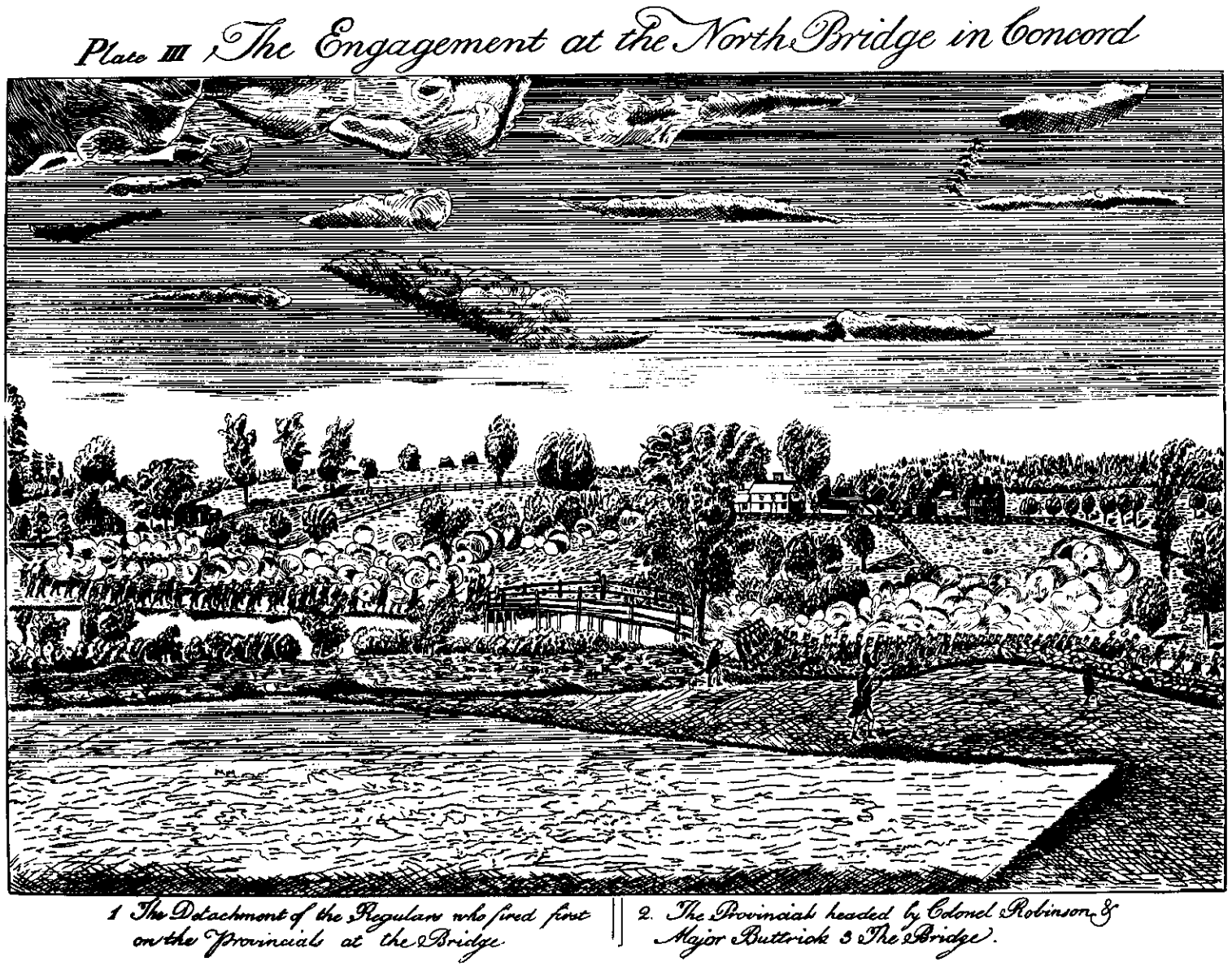


FIGURE 13. The engagement at the North Bridge in Concord by Amos Doolittle after Ralph Earl, 1775.

THE JOHN FLINT FARM

The evidence about this parcel of land must be described as paltry, although its owner was one of Concord's leading citizens. John Flint, whose farm bordered the Buttrick farms on the east and whose house, like theirs, overlooked the North Bridge, served as selectman in 1769. His reputation was diminished during the Revolutionary War, when he tried to maintain a moderate, relatively neutral stance. Such moderation earned him the dishonor of having his name stricken from the jury lists in May 1778, although a few years later his neighbors relented and reinstated it.[5]

Neither John Flint in his will of 1789, nor his father, another John Flint, in his will of 1746, describes the family farm. It is necessary to go back to John's grandfather's will of 1686 to get some idea of the family property.[6] At that time the central portion of the property was divided between sons John and Thomas Flint. John received the portion that lay east of the Buttrick property. It was described as follows:

> Beginning at the northeast corner of William Buttrick's corn field and so by that line along near the top of the Pine hill; and thereon across the meadow at the west end of the long hill and so along the top of the said hill till it comes just past the old cart-way that came downe the said hill and then turning by the line down to the river-meadow fence leaving the lower part of the plowland on the east side of the land on which the house standeth.

As the eldest son, John received not only this portion of upland and meadow with the enclosed river meadow which adjoined it, but the dwelling house and outbuildings as well as sixty acres of woodland called Bullord's Wigwam Lot and half his father's meadowland in the Great Meadow. These parcels were passed down to the John Flint whose house stood near that of the Buttricks overlooking the North Bridge in 1775.

In 1775 he and his wife Hepzibah lived in a large house on the south side of Liberty Street. They had a barn close by and a separate shop. In 1771 they were taxed for forty acres in Concord. Of this 6 acres were tillage land, 5 acres were upland meadow, 10 acres were fresh meadow, and 16 acres were pasture. The four barrels of cider produced on their farm that year indicated a small apple orchard, perhaps a half acre or less. They owned 4 oxen, 4 cows, 9 sheep, and 2 swine.

John Flint's son, John Junior, a young man of twenty-four in 1775, lived on his own farm next to that of his father. By 1771 John Junior already owned more property than his father, 47 acres to the senior man's 40, and was assessed for 14 acres of pasture, 8 acres of tillage, 5 acres of upland meadow, and 12 acres of fresh meadow. His stock consisted of a horse, 2 oxen, 5 cows, 8 sheep, and 2 swine and, like his father, he produced 4 barrels of cider on his farm that year.

THE BUTTRICK FARMS

The hill overlooking the Great North Bridge was dominated in 1775 by the three houses of the Buttrick brothers, John, Ephraim, and Willard, descendants of one of the original settlers of the town. John, aged forty-five, his wife, and their eight children ranging in age from fifteen-year-old John Junior to one-year-old Phoebe, occupied the main family homestead on the north side of Liberty Street, across the road from the houses of Ephraim and Willard. At thirty-nine Ephraim was still a bachelor and lived with his two sisters in a large, decrepit house the family had acquired before 1726 from John and Dorothy Heald.[7] Although he paid the standard poll tax, Ephraim may have been an invalid, for he did not farm, have any personal estate, or any known occupation. Willard lived in a new, two-storey house built on land given him by Ephraim. He had married Esther Blood, a member of the prosperous Concord Blood clan, in 1769, and in 1775 they had two small children, a daughter Abi aged five and a son Willard aged three. He and Ephraim shared a small barn, sufficient for their surprisingly small stock of animals-- Ephraim owned only a single cow and Willard had only 2 cows, 3 sheep, and 1 pig.[8] Apart from the land upon which his house stood Willard owned no real estate in Concord. He apparently had some occupation other than farming, perhaps that of trader, for the tax rolls of 1771 note that he had £40 lent at interest and £100 worth of unspecified stock-in-trade. Only their brother John Buttrick seems to have farmed and he may have farmed Ephraim's thirty-five taxable acres of tillage, pasture, and meadow as well as his own land.

JOHN BUTTRICK FARM

In 1771 John Buttrick was taxed for some forty-five acres of land in Concord. Like most descendants of the original settlers, however, John's fields and woodlots were scattered widely and only a portion, his fifteen-acre

homestead, was within the bounds of Minute Man NHP. The John Buttrick homestead seems to have been comprised of two adjoining parcels of upland and meadow which had been given to his father, Jonathan, by his grandfather in 1721.[9] These parcels extended north to the section known as "the Twenty Score"and south to the highway.[10] Their boundaries were described as follows:

(1) the ten-acre parcel was bounded
East by land of Capt. John Flint
South by a highway
West by land of Samuel Buttrick [John's grandfather]
North by the five-acre parcel,

(2) the five-acre parcel was bounded
East by land of Thomas Flint
South by the ten-acre parcel
West and North by "the Twenty Score."

Apart from this bare outline there is regretably little detail about the John Buttrick farm. The rest of the scanty evidence comes from the Concord tax rolls and an inventory made in 1791.

John Buttrick's house, barn, a shed adjoining the barn, and a woodhouse stood on the homestead parcel north of Liberty Street and west of the homestead of John Flint. When it was inventoried in 1791 his house was valued at £30-0-0, substantially higher than the homes of his brothers, and his barn with its adjoining shed was valued at £18-0-0, more than three times the value of the barn Willard and Ephraim shared. According to the 1771 tax rolls he had 9 acres of tillage, 6 acres of upland meadow, 16 acres of fresh meadow, and 23 acres of pasture. He owned 4 oxen, 9 cows, 1 horse, 12 sheep, and 2 swine. Since his 1791 inventory indicated that he owned 4 acres of tillage in the Great Fields, the other 5 acres of tillage must have been on his homestead lot. The remainder of that parcel consisted of upland meadow and pasture. There is no mention of any orchard, although John ordered his widow to be given an annual allotment of winter apples and cider and surely had at least a few apple trees. Corn and rye were grown on his tilled land.

EPHRAIM BUTTRICK

In 1775 Ephraim Buttrick lived with his sisters, Rachel and Sarah, in the old house south of Liberty Street overlooking the Great North Bridge. It was described later in the eighteenth century as a brown, one-storey house with

a gambrel roof, and was situated about an eighth of a mile west-southwest of his brother John's house. In 1771 he was taxed for 35 acres of land, of which 8 acres were tillage, 18 acres pasture, 5 acres upland meadow, and 6 acres fresh meadow. Despite his fairly substantial land holdings, Ephraim was taxed in 1771 for only a single cow.

Ephraim died in 1785 and left to his elder brother John all his property with the exception of the small parcel he had given Willard on which to build a house. The remainder of his homestead lot was described at that time as twenty acres of tillage, pasture, and mowing bounded:

> Northeast and east on the land of John Flint and the Great River to the North Bridge then bordering on the causeway and road leading to the Blood farm "called now Carlisle" to the land of John Flint.

Ephraim owned all the Buttrick land north and west of the river and the causeway. This land must have been farmed by someone, probably by John Buttrick, and if he planted the same crops here in 1775 that he did after inheriting the parcel it included rye and corn. Ephraim was not taxed for producing any cider in 1771 and does not appear to have had an orchard.

WILLARD BUTTRICK

Sometime between 1771 and 1775 Ephraim gave his brother Willard a piece of land on which to build a house for his growing family. This property is described by Willard in the bill of sale of 1786, when his brother John bought the property, as upland with a dwelling house bounded:

> Beginning at a heap of stones on the County Road [Groton Road] about 20 feet south from the southwest corner of the house
> North 6 rods on said road to heap of stones
> East to a well
> South to the front of house that belonged to Ephraim Buttrick
> West to bounds first mentioned.

A second piece of land comprised Willard's half of the barn and barnyard with the privilege of passing to and from the barn and the privilege of using the well near the barn.[11] After selling this property Willard seems to have moved away, for there is no record that he or his son died in Concord. Indeed, he chose not to leave his house to his own son. From the above description Ephraim's barn must have

been away from the road, probably on the far other side of Ephraim's house from the road, closer to the family fields.

THE DAVID BROWN FARM

Both Captain David Brown and his farm figured prominently in the battle at the Great North Bridge on April 19, 1775. Brown was a very active participant in town and political affairs and led a company of local minute men on that occasion. His house stood near the junction where the road from the Great North Bridge joined the Groton Road and, in fact, David Brown was responsible for the maintenance of the bridge and the construction and maintenance of its pedestrian walkway. While the general location of his farm is certain, the precise location of his house and barn is still in doubt. A clear description of the property from the historical record can shed light on the subject.[12]

Although David was the youngest of Ephraim Brown's four sons, he nevertheless succeeded to the family farm when his father died in 1752. The inventory of his father's property, that of his own estate on his death in 1802, and the tax assessment of 1771 provide valuable information about the property and its use. In 1771 Brown owned 67 acres of taxable land in Concord. Of this he had 7 acres of tillage, 2 acres of upland meadow, 13 acres of fresh, or swampy meadow, and 45 acres of pasture. He produced four barrels of cider a year and must, therefore, have owned a small orchard. His homestead of 39 acres stretched north and east of the house and south of Groton Road, bordering the road from the Great North Bridge. The inventories distinguish several parcels:

(1) A field east of the house of 10 1/4 acres used as pasture. This was probably the militia training field. It extended east for 22 rods along Groton Road and northeast still bordering the road. On the north and northeast it bordered the land of John Brown, a blacksmith.

(2) Oak Meadow or the Back Meadow, 30 acres of land. The 6 acres of this meadow which bordered the western side of the homestead parcel was meadow, the other 23 were described in 1752 as woodland and swamp. This part is outside park bounds, its western boundary on the present Carlisle Road.

(3) A field of 14 1/2 acres behind the barn of which 7 acres were tilled.

(4) A four-acre meadow which bordered the road from the Great North Bridge, west of that belonging to the Buttricks. This was probably the portion of Brown's land that the road was laid through when it was re-routed in 1765.

On this property Brown kept 4 oxen, 7 cows, 1 horse, 9 sheep, and 2 swine.

The structures on the homestead lot are of particular interest since they overlooked the battle at the bridge and may be depicted in the Doolittle print of the area. Brown's house was red and had a central chimney. Although he was a wealthy man, his house seems to have been less grand than that of his neighbor, John Buttrick, for when both were appraised in 1798 Brown's house and barn were assessed at $600 while Buttrick's were assessed at $700. The house lay along a generally east-west axis. Brown's barn was a two-stage structure, a small barn attached to the western end of a large barn situated northwest of the house. Apart from the house and barn, a portion of the front yard set aside for his widowed mother in 1752 included an "old house" site, apparently located between the 1775 house and the road. Unless Groton Road was moved closer to the Brown house after that date, this would seem to contradict references Charles Tremer mentioned in his report on the Brown house that described the house as just "one pace" from the road.[13] Available documents contain no details about walls or fences on the property, although the road was bounded by a wall.

JONAS BATEMAN FARM

Jonas Bateman, David Brown's neighbor to the west and a relative through marriage, was forty at the time the Revolutionary War broke out. He, his wife Elizabeth, and their four children lived on the farm he inherited from his father John Bateman in 1752.[14] When his grandfather died in 1730 the homestead lot of eleven acres on the north side of Groton Road had a house, a large and a small barn, and a malt house which was appraised at the same value as the dwelling house. The remainder of the eleven acres consisted of plowland and pasture with a few apple trees. The family also owned five acres of river meadow south of the house.

In 1771 Jonas was taxed for 48 acres of land in Concord, of which 10 acres were tilled, 17 acres were pasture, 5 acres were upland meadow, and 16 acres were fresh

meadow. Since the family owned 7 acres of plowland in the portion of the Great Fields known as the Fir Plain, probably only 4 acres of plowland were situated on the homestead. A small meadow and pasture 3 1/2 acres in size bounded Bateman's land on the east where it joined the David Brown homestead. The remaining 3 1/2 acres of the homestead lot were probably pasture and meadow as well. In addition Bateman owned a half-acre orchard called, appropriately, the Little Orchard, situated by the Concord Road near the river, probably close to the South Bridge . He also owned five acres of meadow land on the east side of the river in common with another Bateman. This parcel, bounded west and north by the river, east by Mill Brook, and south by a meadow belonging to James Minot Esquire was within park boundaries. His other property, in the Great Meadow and Great Fields, was outside the park.

There is no available information about fences and walls on the property, or about the buildings. There was an old dwelling house on the Bateman farm in 1729 but it is unclear whether this house was still the Jonas Bateman family home in 1775. The house Bateman owned in 1798 was considerably smaller than that of David Brown, as it was assessed for only half the value of Brown's house. According to the will of Jonas' grandfather John Bateman in 1729, the family also owned a cider press and a "scrue mill."[15]

THE HUNT FARMS

To the west of the Jonas Bateman homestead lay the farm and houses of Deacon Simon Hunt, in 1775 a man of seventy-one, and his son Reuben, aged thirty-one. Their houses stood, like Bateman's, on the north side of Groton Road, on a seven-acre plot of land. Information about the property they owned is sparse and more research clearly needs to be done if any attempt at its recreation is to be undertaken. Neither Deacon Simon Hunt nor his youngest son Reuben specified in his will the precise boundaries of the properties belonging to the main family farm.[16]

In addition to the homestead lot Simon Hunt owned ten acres of woodland in the northern part of Concord and several acres in the Great Fields. In 1771 Simon and Reuben were partners in the family farm which contained 34 acres of pasture, 20 acres of tillage, 10 acres of upland meadow, 32 acres of fresh meadow, and an orchard which produced 20 barrels of cider a year. This would have been a large orchard of at least an acre, or perhaps two smaller orchards. In 1798 after Reuben had inherited the entire farm, he was assessed for the two houses and only one

outbuilding, presumably a barn. Father and son each owned 2 oxen, 5 cows, and 1 pig. Reuben, in addition, owned a horse. Deacon Simon Hunt was one of the few persons in Concord to own a slave. The combined farm was a substantial one and when Reuben died in 1815 he was styled gentleman. No exact information about the arrangement of family fields has been located.

ELISHA JONES HOMESTEAD

Just before the road from Concord Center made its abrupt right-angle turn west to the North Bridge, nearly opposite the Old Manse, stood the house and blacksmith shop of Elisha Jones. We are told Jones was an ardent patriot and had stashed barrels of meat and salt fish in his cellar for the local militia. British soldiers are said to have drunk from the well in his front yard on the morning of April 19 as they marched toward the North Bridge. The house site is probably one of the oldest in Concord. The first owner, John Smedley, erected a house on it before 1640. The building had been enlarged several times before Elisha's grandfather purchased the property in 1724. Although the now famous well has been preserved, Jones' blacksmith shop and barn are gone and the house itself was later so drastically altered that it cannot be regarded as resembling the original historic structure.[17]

Not a great deal of specific information survives about the use to which Jones put his land. In 1771 he was taxed for 35 acres, of which 7 acres were tilled, 15 acres were pasture, 4 acres were upland meadow, and 9 acres were fresh meadow. Although he owned a typical amount of tilled land, Jones had no team of oxen, only a single horse, 4 cows, and 2 swine. The farm produced a modest five barrels of cider a year and therefore had an orchard of less than half an acre.

Jones also owned the eight-acre parcel opposite his house which stretched from the road to Mill Brook and the river. His barn stood on this parcel. Part of his tilled fields and part of his fresh meadow were here. His upland meadow and pasture were on the east side of Monument Street. The orchard was probably on this side too since the land was more suitable for this use. As for manmade structures, in addition to his house and barn Jones had a blacksmith shop just south of his house, its foundation dug into the hill behind the house.

NOTES

1. See Lemuel Shattuck, A History of the Town of Concord (Boston, 1835), p. 35.

2. See John Luzader, "The Wall West of the Great North Bridge," Historic Structure Report, Part II (unpublished manuscript, 1968).

3. Shattuck, History of Concord, p. 111.

4. When the road was officially laid out by the town in 1699 it was described as going over the causeway to the west of the bridge, then "up ye hill Betwixt Thomas Brown Senior and Samuel Buttrick's land untill it coms on ye upper end of Thomas Brown Junior his home lott and then turning westerly as ye fence now standeth." See Concord Town Records, Book 2, 1694-1748 for March 14, 1699 and Book 3, pp. 406-7.

5. Robert A. Gross, The Minute Men and Their World (New York, 1975), pp. 137, 168.

6. Middlesex County Probate Record no. 8011, 1686.

7. The Healds had a house next to the Buttricks as early as 1677. Ephraim's house may have been one of the earliest houses in the town, and one of the earliest within the park.

8. A draft tax roll for 1770 assesses Willard for 5 cows, 4 sheep and 2 swine, a more sizeable stock. The same tax lists no animals at all for Ephraim. Concord Tax Records, Book 130, p. 485.

9. Middlesex Record Office, Book 40:415-16.

10. The Twenty Score was a 400-acre tract originally held in common by the inhabitants of the North Quarter of Concord.

11. Middlesex Record Office, Book 93:295.

12. See Ricardo Torres-Reyes, "Captain Brown's House" (unpublished manuscript, 1969) for a brief biography of Brown and an interesting collection of documents.

13. Charles Tremer, "David Brown Site" (unpublished manuscript, 1973), pp. 49-50.

14. The best descriptions of the Bateman property come from the John Bateman will of 1729, Middlesex County Probate Record no. 1373, and 1730 inventory, and the John Bateman inventory of 1767. Also see Middlesex Record Office, Book 113:118, which is the deed for Jonas Bateman's sale of his

old house in 1792.

15. Middlesex County Probate Record no. 1373.

16. See Middlesex County Probate Record no. 12292; Ibid., no. 12280.

17. See Thomas F. Mahlstedt, "Archeological Impact Statement: Elisha Jones House, Minute Man National Historical Park," (unpublished manuscript, 1979).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Within the constraints of time and space allotted for a historical project of this sort, it is impossible to investigate every important feature of the landscape that had a significant bearing on the 1775 scene, or to analyze the effect of the findings on current interpretations of the events of April 19. Both types of studies ought to be undertaken.

Among the first sort, a rigorous examination of the road network within the park, particularly the Concord Road and the causeway and road on the west side of the North Bridge, would have been an immense aid in preparing the present report. The additional information from such a project will fill gaps or correct inaccuracies in our knowledge of the park landscape. A deeper probe should also be undertaken of those park properties noted in this report as requiring further study because inadequate information on them had come to light. Numerous features of the landscape-- the crops local farmers planted, the varieties of plants and species of cattle, oxen, and swine they raised, the trees typical of the period, the techniques of road and bridge construction native to the time and place-- should all be studied as an aid to the re-creation of the eighteenth century scene.

Of the second sort of investigation-- the application of the present report-- the most pressing project is a thorough reassessment of the battle which took place along the Concord Road and at the North Bridge in the light of our new understanding of surrounding landscape. Finally, materials uncovered in the course of this research about the residents of this area should be used as the bases for a series of brief biographies which would greatly enliven the visitor's sense of the individual men and women who peopled this historic landscape on that fateful day and thereby played a role in the opening episode of the American Revolution.

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