Interpretation Plan of the Battle Road Homestead of Samuel Brooks of 1775:
A Living History of Early American Farm Life
in Concord (and Lincoln,) Massachusetts

Judith Broggi

A Thesis in the Field of Museum Studies
For the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts

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Extension School
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The farmland of Battle Road has been preserved to honor our Revolutionary history, but it also has the potential for demonstrating early American agricultural life. This thesis demonstrates the link between agriculture and patriotism in order to support its goal of interpreting the Samuel Brooks Homestead of 1775.
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To the memory of my grandfather, Oscar, whose land and farmer's spirit are always in my heart.

To my daughter, Pilar, with whom I long to share what I remember and love about my days with Oscar on the farm.

And to my husband, Dan, who has endured, and helped me endure the worst of times without forgetting or losing sight of the best times.

Countless thanks for your endless support for this project. I love you.
Acknowledgement

The following people are acknowledged for their vital help and contribution to this thesis. I am forever grateful to them for lending their expertise, patience, and wisdom in the fields of Museum Interpretation, Design, and Research.

Susan Porter, Historian and Thesis Director for this project.
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Leslie Perrin Wilson and Connie Manoli-Skocay, Special Collections of the Concord Free Public Library.
Jeff Smith and Dee Clarke of the Warburg Library, Middlesex School.
Preface

I grew up in the state of Illinois at a time when most of the countryside consisted of uniform small farms. The view from the car window during family trips was flat, and alternated barn, silo, house, pasture, corn, beans, and wheat. I was sorry to find on a trip back in 2000 that the landscape was dramatically different. There were no barns, no silos, no houses, no pasture—just corn or beans as far as the eye could see. Once in a while, a huge metal warehouse would appear, which I know was either a factory hog barn or cattle feed lot. Without even considering the issues of pesticides, environmental hazards, inhumane methods, or the sacrifice of quality for quantity, I was witnessing the disappearance of the small family farm. And even if one did not grow up in farm country, the image of the red barn, green pasture, white farmhouse, animals, fields, and gardens is indelibly etched in the dearest (perhaps romanticized) image of America.

The permanence of this image on our American consciousness has outlived the reality because, as long as we have been Americans, our culture has included the small family farm. What happens when the thing itself becomes rare? Well, in the ideal world, it might be preserved, and conserved, and shared as a museum. I believe farm museums are the next big thing in the museum world. There is enormous potential for the preservation of rare breeds of animals, heirloom plants, and the implementation of education programs ranging from American History to biology and environmental science to conservation. Through such museums people will better understand
connections to consumerism and global warming

At present the American public is painfully ignorant about farming trends in this country, and how they affect every person. The late Steve Irwin, Australian conservationist, once pointed out that "If we can touch people with wildlife, they want to save it. Humans want to save the things they love." (Animal Planet, 6 September 2006) My thesis is not about saving wildlife, but farm museums are the key to teaching the history and opening minds to ideas for the future. Given the right information, people care about where and how their food is produced, and what can be done to protect the environment, improve food quality, and facilitate better human health.

My memories and sadness over the fate of the small American farm are what pushed my curiosity toward the Samuel Brooks House. Long before my topic search, I was one of those passersby who repeatedly wondered about the house and started to imagine it coming to life. Because a thesis is a scholarly exercise, I have tempered my writing, but I remain passionate about this project. The picture is very clear in my head, and this thesis puts it on paper. Then I hope to see it become reality.
Chapter I.
Introduction

The town of Concord, Massachusetts could be a showcase for American colonial and revolutionary history, but "showcase" implies something other than the quiet safeguarding of its many important landmarks. This reserved style of preservation extends to the National Park Service's approach to the former farmland from Lexington to Concord known as the Battle Road Unit of the Minute Man National Historical Park. (FIGURE A, Map of the Battle Road, next page)¹ The British regulars traveled this route, then known as the Bay Road, in 1775 on their expedition to destroy the munitions they knew were stored in Concord. Paul Revere was captured on this road at the Lincoln town line while on his way from Lexington to Concord, but not until he had sounded alarms and misled his captors with a story of hundreds of provincials intent on blocking the expedition.²

The Battle Road, originally called the Great Country Road, came to be called the Bay Road because it was the "way to the bay" and there were no other towns between Concord and the tidewater settlements.³ This thesis from now on will consistently refer to it as the Bay Road when discussing the historic era and the Battle Road when discussing the modern road. In 1775, Samuel Brooks owned one of the family farms adjacent to the Bay Road. Like most of their neighbors, members of the Brooks family maintained the attitudes about the land brought to America by their forebears—that possessing and
Minute Man National Historical Park
Battle Road Unit

Source: used by permission, National Park Service.¹

Figure A
cultivating land in the new world would demonstrate the family's "significance and strength" for generations to follow.¹ When members of the Brooks family stood among their fellow farmers facing the Redcoats in Concord on April 19, 1775, their goal was to defend their birthright and the legacy of their ancestors. They would take up arms to safeguard their freedom and defend their liberty in order to maintain this traditional way of life. The Battle Road, like the town of Concord, holds many family, agricultural, architectural, literary, and political stories. The goal of this thesis is to bring to life a moment in history through the story and interpretation of the Samuel Brooks Farm.

Husbandman Samuel Brooks (1739-1811) lived in the house in which his father had lived in 1728 on farmland first settled by Samuel's grandfather in 1692. After inheriting the property in 1729 the father, also named Samuel, built significant additions onto the original one story house of the grandfather, Daniel, adding a second story and an ell on the northeast side of the house. Here, where he was born, the elder Samuel (1694-1758) and his wife Elizabeth (1709-1782) would rear their eight children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samuel Brooks 1694-1758</th>
<th>married circa 1738</th>
<th>Elizabeth 1709-1782</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samuel 1739-1811</td>
<td>Enoch 1742-?</td>
<td>Marcy 1755-1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth 1740-1768</td>
<td>Anna 1748-1767</td>
<td>Sarah 1751-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary 1743-?</td>
<td>Elisha 1746-1771</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1
Eventually, brother Enoch lived to maturity and settled in Princeton, Massachusetts. Sister Mary moved out to set up housekeeping when she wed Joseph Merriam of Concord in 1768. It is presumed that sister Sarah lived to maturity, married and moved out of Concord, since no other vital information exists for her. All of Samuel’s other siblings died in their prime. Elizabeth was twenty-eight, Elisha was twenty-five, Anna was nineteen, and the youngest, Marcy was only fifteen. Samuel inherited the farm upon his father’s death in 1758, and lived alone with his mother until her death, shortly before which time he married.

The Samuel Brooks dwelling stands, as it has for nearly three hundred years, on the part of Battle Road that is now Route 2A, heading east out of Concord past the Lincoln town line, at the junction of Lexington Road and Brooks Road. Brooks Road and the neighborhood surrounding the junction came to be known as Brooks Hill and Brooks Village, named for the family that owned and occupied it for several generations. Like his father, Samuel would spend his entire life in his childhood home, surrounded by his “Village” family. In 1775, there were several farms—owned by Samuel, Thomas, Joshua, and Job Brooks respectively—and other family enterprises as well. (FIGURE B, the Samuel Brooks Homestead with location of surrounding farms of Thomas, Joshua, and Job, next page)

This interpretation plan proposes the summer of 1775 as the target date for the Brooks Farm interpretation. Summer is the ideal season for discussing and demonstrating farming practices, and summer is also the park’s peak visitation season. In the summer of 1775, the events of April 19th would be fresh in the memories of the
Brooks family "eyewitness interpreters," but also enough in the past that the consequences could also be discussed.

1775 marks an important transitional moment in Concord’s history. Samuel Brooks and his kin had weathered Concord’s declining economy and watched other relatives move away to gain access to fresh farmland in New Hampshire and Maine. After the skirmish in April of 1775, emigration would stall as young men made commitments to stay and fight when the need arose, and the town birthrate would drop. By that summer, Concord’s residents had been following the dramatic ups and downs of their political and social environment for more than a decade, and they now awaited the next chapter. Due to the late spring battle that was waged in their town, America could be at war with the mother country at any time.

The farmland of Battle Road has been preserved in honor of our Revolutionary history, but it also has the potential for demonstrating early American agricultural life.

This thesis will:

- explain the significance of the Brooks Family and Brooks Village in 1775,
- discuss Revolutionary War-era farming in Concord and its significance in American History, and
- develop an interpretive plan for the Samuel Brooks House and Farm.

The interpretation plan of this thesis is designed to inspire appreciation for and raise awareness of the importance of all these issues and educate visitors about these lands along the Battle Road and their role in helping to create the new republic.
The World of Samuel Brooks

The town of Concord was one of the earliest explored and settled inland territories in Massachusetts. Native Americans had been farming, hunting, and fishing along Concord’s rivers for 10,000 years. As a result, passageways through and around what the natives called “Musketaquid,” or grassy rivers had existed for a long time. As early as 1617, this access attracted English fur traders who, by 1630 had established effective business with the Native Americans to capitalize on the abundance of game, such as elk, martin, and especially beaver. The prospects of acquiring land led Massachusetts Bay settlers to Concord, and by 1635 Concord Plantation was officially established.

In 1710, Concord was a “boom-town,” but by 1740 all of New England was feeling the pinch of a declining West Indian market for Yankee goods; while imported goods were increasingly difficult to purchase because of the “unfavorable balance of trade” with Great Britain. For nearly a century, farmers of Concord had achieved self-sufficiency, and were able to pass land on to their sons, but it was becoming harder for many farmers to survive on their farms. By 1750, Concord was already crowded. When in 1764, the British enacted a total “ban on colonial paper money” that led to shortages of “hard cash,” landowners were forced to produce as much as they could in the shortest amount of time. With fields no longer allowed to lie fallow, and not enough fertilizer to revive the soil after repeat harvests, the woodlands were disappearing. The soil of the
fields opened by clearing of the forests was quickly exhausted, leading to shortages of fuel and produce, even as the population grew.

By 1770, inflation was straining Concord's economy to the bursting point. One out of every six husbandmen in Concord was working as an artisan to augment the income from his land. Even so, successive British acts of Parliament, designed to raise revenue to support the cost of maintaining the colonies, squeezed the American economy. With no cash and few profits, locals could not purchase consumer goods, and many artisans were forced to close up shop. Some left the town, and property values began to fall.

Ultimately economic issues led to political action. The town had long suffered from divisions between the rich, the middling, and the poor classes, as well as the town dwellers and the “outlivers.” In the past these conflicts had centered on religious issues and increasing opposition to slavery; such disputes over time had created “parties” in the town. However, such issues would never be resolved if the town failed economically, and, after “much weariness,” most of the people of Concord united against the British when the Intolerable Acts were imposed in 1774. Having long resented Britain’s increasing control over the economy of the colonies, now “they were losing control of their political lives.”

Even so, the British Parliament remained determined to force the colonies to pay for their own defense and to punish New England for disloyal behavior. In 1775, most colonists continued to seek fairness, not independence from the King’s government, but their loyalty to the crown was diminished when they became convinced that “British
policy” was feeding the “decay of their fortunes” and threatening the liberty on which New England had been founded.¹⁵

Table 2

Concord Timeline:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>First English traders to visit Concord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1626</td>
<td>Salem settled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Salem established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1631</td>
<td>Concord settled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1633</td>
<td>Small pox, measles, diphtheria wipe-out much of native population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1635</td>
<td>Concord Plantation established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Cambridge Farms established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1645</td>
<td>Concord reports “povertie &amp; meannes of the land”¹⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Concord “booming”¹⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Cambridge Farms becomes Lexington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740s</td>
<td>Religious restructuring in Concord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>Partial ban on colonial paper money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Concord “crowded”¹⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1754</td>
<td>Lincoln established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760s</td>
<td>Decline of W. Indian Market¹⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Total ban on colonial paper money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>New British taxes imposed on colonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>Inflation strains Concord’s economy to breaking point²⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>Population of 1500 people living in Concord; one-fifth of Concord’s population is taxed²¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>Boston Massacre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Solemn League &amp; Covenant signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Britain imposes greater control of colonial economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Concord becomes place for hiding arms, “proves determination”²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Battles of Lexington &amp; Concord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>British evacuation of Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Declaration of Independence</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Concord farmers who had prospered most before the Revolution were “a distinct minority--descendents of the first settlers.”²³ As the town’s elite, they keenly felt the threat to their legacy when the “land bank” had run out.²⁴ Their sons expected to
Concord's farmers shared "the same problems and concerns." They could not work their land alone, and they developed a mutual interdependence that valued the exchange of services. Farmers needed help in digging ditches, building fences, and harvesting. In addition to manpower, they shared oxen and horses, bartered artisan products, and provided emotional support for each other. These exchanges were tracked and recorded in great detail by the poor as well as the wealthy. Susan Walton, historian and author, has written an account of the life of the New England farmer and patriot, Colonel Samuel Pierce. As she observed in *The View From Dorchester*, "It was understood that the face-to-face nature of the relationship would not preclude the careful calculation of accounts or avoid legal conflicts."26

As military conflict with Britain became imminent, social and kin networks proved indispensable to the local militiamen. When orders to fight were issued by Colonel Barrett in 1775, fathers told sons, who notified uncles and brothers, who warned cousins and nephews. As Robert Gross points out in *The Minutemen and their World*, "the muster was almost a family reunion;" family loyalty would serve this "army of rural neighbors" well.27

Yeoman farmers were respectable men, the cultivators of their own land, who demonstrated the qualities of independence, industry, and simplicity; virtues "central to the self-image that justified revolution against Britain."28 As Sam Adams would proclaim, "[It is] the Yeomanry whose Virtue must finally save this country!"29 In the end, the story of the American Revolution in Concord is the story of farmers, and this
thesis is rooted in the daily farm life of Samuel Brooks and his family on their farm in 1775. Unlike farmers in twenty-first century Concord, who see themselves as set apart from society because they are farmers, the husbandmen of the eighteenth century were the foundation for their society and its prosperity.  

Men of Concord understood that they were expected to participate in military and civil service to preserve and protect the town from outside threats. For a century the list of threats had included wild animals, irresponsible farmers, Native American invaders, and ne’r-do-well strangers. Now the threat was a military engagement of rebellion, and it was expected that most “eligible men under the age of forty [would] put in their time.”  

Archival records show that Samuel Brooks was drafted in 1775, into George Minot’s militia, but he paid ten pounds “in lieu of service.” While there is no explanation offered for Samuel’s decision not to serve, buying exemptions “by procuring substitutes for the army” was common practice among those above the middling class. Often these arrangements went unchecked and led to a disgruntled militia, but they were sometimes also made for domestic rather than economic reasons.

Several of Samuel’s relatives did join the ranks, and two were decorated officers, Colonel Eleazor Brooks and Major John Brooks. Eleazor, Samuel’s uncle, farmed the land in the southern-most corner of Brooks Village. He was remembered as a well-read farmer, attentive to details of the law. A logical and even-tempered man, early in 1775 he warned, “It will not do for us to begin the war.” According to Lemuel Shattuck’s History of Concord, Eleazor’s “goodness of heart,” made him a character worthy of remembrance and imitation.

Although Samuel did not apparently hold any town offices, the Brooks family
had a long tradition of civil service. Concord men could serve their town in six ways from elevated to minor offices: judge, selectman, town clerk, constable, and highway surveyor. While not a town office, the church deacon also served his community. Higher offices were normally occupied by men in their forties who possessed "substantial" landholdings (seventy-five to one hundred acres, twice that of any ordinary yeoman or tradesman). But "ordinary citizens [took] the initiative on provincial issues," including men "outside the governing class" who took turns filling the lesser posts such as constable. Many Brooks men served civic duties as deacons, judges, and selectmen. The Joshua Brooks line, known for its successful tannery, was most prominent, and Samuel's great-grandfather Joshua and uncle Joshua were both deacons. The family was civic-minded, and had significant power in the town. (SEE TABLE 7, Joshua Brooks Genealogy, page 40)
Chapter III.
Interpreting the Samuel Brooks Homestead

This thesis develops an interpretation plan for the Samuel Brooks House that focuses on the year 1775. However, information about the land and house interior has relied heavily on two rich research sources, the wills of Samuel Brooks, 1739-1812, and his father Samuel Brooks, 1694-1758. As the elder Samuel died in 1758, the younger Samuel is the main character in the interpretation of 1775. In this thesis, the father will be referred to as the elder Samuel (1694-1758).

By 1775, the Samuel Brooks farm, first occupied in 1692, had weathered a variety of economic, social, and political events. Although Samuel did not personally witness this entire history, he and his family could relate stories of colonial times, experiences with slavery, and ways to cope with unsteady economic growth, recession, and the social effects of war. Concord’s community life was shaped by its agricultural focus. Nine out of every ten settlers hoped to acquire land for farming. Town meetings and social gatherings were planned around the farming seasons. Citizens were expected to come to either a consensus or vote on issues ranging from the maintenance of town schools, roads, and the poor, to the timing of the “Harvest Year” that coordinated plowing, planting, harvesting, and moving livestock. A choreographed calendar assured that farmers would be available to help others complete their tasks.

This pattern however, was disrupted in 1775 by Parliament’s orders to close the Courts, and Concord’s citizens would gather not to discuss farm issues, but to
prepare “for the expected assault by Redcoats.” As historian Robert Gross, author of *The Minutemen and Their World*, has noted:

On the eve of Revolution, Concord was a declining town facing a grim future of increasing poverty, economic stagnation, and even depopulation, a future that jeopardized the heretofore peaceful relations between social classes that was already undermining traditional relations between parents and children. It was a future that was only temporarily obscured by the onset of war. As the Minutemen, their families, and neighbors listened to their minister and prepared to defend their land, many may have been driven to ask what sort of world they protected and what place it held out for them.

The Land

By 1775 Concord had become very different from the town that Samuel’s great-great-grandfather, Thomas Brooks, had founded with a handful of other colonists, including the distinguished Reverend Peter Bulkeley. The English settlers had a strong appreciation for the vast quantity of land in the colonies, land that offered more people the opportunity to acquire their own property and avoid the landlord-peasant dynamic of the old world. If they could purchase land of their own, they could be independent farmers who could keep and profit from the fruits of their own labor. However, British settlers soon discovered that the forested lands of New England were difficult to cut and farm, and they came to see the new world as a harsh wilderness in comparison to the neat, well-marked fields of England. Early settlers like Thomas Brooks needed to
provide for themselves, and they relied on members of their community for every need, trading farm produce for goods and services from brick makers, blacksmiths, millers, tanners, weavers, shoemakers, and carpenters, all of whom were also farmers. Five generations later, Samuel Brooks was farming in an established community of yeoman farmers. In 1775, a farm of twenty to thirty acres could supply enough dairy, meat, bread, fruits, and vegetables to feed a family of six, and by the late 1780s and through the mid-1790s, farms in Concord became even more productive, as farmers learned to rotate crops to enhance nitrogen levels, and began to graze cattle further from home, where fields had not yet been exhausted.48

Tax lists for 1771 and 1774 provide accurate and detailed information about farm life for a 1775 interpretation. Additional sources include tax records from Concord and Lincoln for 1774, the Federal Direct Tax of 1798, the Massachusetts Direct Tax Valuation of 1771, and probates. The following table combines all the information from these various sources to illustrate the overall pattern of landholdings associated with the Samuel Brooks homestead in Concord and Lincoln. (See TABLE 3, next page)49

The wills of Samuel and his father suggest that the size and location of the parcels belonging to Samuel Brooks in 1775 were essentially the same as they had been for the two prior generations. The elder Samuel (1694-1758), according to the 1749 tax records owned sixty-three acres. Deeds between 1693 and 1775 consistently refer to the property in Concord as “roughly 40 acres of homestead in Concord...of either upland or meadow.”50 This land probably included some acreage listed later in Lincoln, as the town of Lincoln was not granted full independence from Concord until 1754—thirteen acres south of the homestead, and ten more to the north in the “suburbs.”51
Table 3

Land of Samuel Brooks Farm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1749 tax</th>
<th>1758 probate</th>
<th>1771 tax</th>
<th>1774 tax</th>
<th>1798 direct tax</th>
<th>1811 probate</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tillage</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39 C</td>
<td>39 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasture</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50 L</td>
<td>34 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meadow</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchard</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NS*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Tract</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>60 ½</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NS= Not Specified

When Samuel the elder (1694-1758) died in 1758, he left "...[my] homestead, on both sides of the Bay Road, to [my] son Samuel...the house and the barn, with one-third reserved to the use of [my] widow." (No other out buildings are mentioned.) He also bequeathed all of his household and personal items, including livestock, furniture, and money to Samuel, with the exception of some furnishings specified for his widow and daughters. There is little detailed description of the homestead left to Samuel, but some idea about the household contents can be ascertained through a list of items left to his children. His daughters received even shares of personal items, such as glassware and
linens, and for two of his sons he left “to Enoch and Samuel my two guns—Samuel to have his choice of them.” 52

The wills of both Samuels, the tax records from Concord and Lincoln, and the Federal Direct Tax, also help to distinguish the kinds of land and their uses. Like most other farms, the Samuel Brooks farm in 1774 included some tillage (five acres,) hayfields (five acres,) pasture (twenty acres,) meadow (twenty-one acres,) and orchard (one-half acre.) He grew corn, barley, and rye, and undoubtedly had a kitchen garden. Located near or next to the house, the garden would have contained vegetables, berries, herbs, and medicinal flowers. His orchards would have produced apples and sometimes plums, to be eaten fresh or turned into vinegar, but mostly for cider. 53 (Figure C, Samuel Brooks Land Use of 1774, next page) 54 Samuel was primarily a farmer, as he was not taxed for any other trade income, such as the various Brooks family businesses in the Village, including over time, a slaughterhouse, tannery, and tavern. However, the 1771 tax valuation does reflect taxable rental income, which appears to have been land leased to a neighboring farmer, Edmond Wheeler. 55

Mixed Husbandry in Eighteenth Century New England

For better or worse, New England farmers like Samuel Brooks of 1775 had to work with a variety of soils. Concord’s glacial prehistory has left a topography of hard-packed clay and boulders, swampy marshlands, and sandy outwashes. Farmers adapted to these conditions by using the land for varied purposes—orchards, meadows, fields, and woodlots—where they could graze livestock, grow grain, hay, and fruit, and cut wood to use for fuel and construction. Woodlots and hay meadows were also used for pastureland. 56
Elm Brook
Battle Road (Bay Road)

LEGEND
- Hay/Meadow
- Pasture
- Tillage (Corn)
- Garden
- Orchard

Samuel Brooks Land Use, 1774

Figure C
Fields for crops grown for human consumption were referred to as “Tillage,” and generally contained light, well-drained soil. Indian corn grew well in warm, dry soil, while rye grew better in sandy outwash, which lacked nutrients. Brooks Hill contained much of this sandy glacial outwash, which Samuel Brooks used for his orchard. The slope of the hill allowed for a natural, gradual pattern of drainage that was useful for “viney” fruit trees. Cider, the most common daily beverage, was also a valuable commodity.

New England farmers grew two types of hay, a native meadow grass that thrived in low areas where winter flooding was followed by a dry growing season, and English hay, planted on higher ground that did not flood in winter. Native meadow hay was the main source of animal fodder, but the “imported” species produced a better quality with potentially higher yields. Farmers practiced mixed husbandry, employing only a limited practice of “fallowing,” or leaving a field to rest after a harvest without plowing for a season, in an effort to replenish nutrients. Fields were planted where the land could be more easily plowed, and in places where it was possible to cart manure. Organic matter was in high demand for fertilizing the soil. Between 1749 and 1771, as Concord’s population grew, Concord farms tried to increase productivity. This exhausted much of the land, because there was a serious shortage of dung fertilizer. “In Concord even the droppings of horses stabled behind the meetinghouse during Sunday worship were spoken for.” Given the limitations of tools and the backbreaking labor farming required, it was common sense to make the best use of the varied landscape and topography. The New England soil and climate did not help. Stones had to be removed and transported, and ditches had to be dug to aid winter flooding. In the summer the livestock was moved out, and in winter gathered in where they could be fed, all in addition to plowing and
harvesting, completing other necessary chores, and processing farm products and other required items.  

The Dwelling

Tax records, archaeological and other reports in the Minuteman National Historical Park archives, and probate records paint an excellent picture of the Samuel Brooks farm. Samuel’s personal belongings, some of which were listed in his will, included apparel, guns, provisions, money, beds, chairs, tables, chests, and farming and household equipment. Over the years he consistently owned livestock: one pair of oxen, six cattle, two to three swine, and at least one horse. The will of the elder Samuel (1694-1758) also lists specific items, including personal possessions that were evenly divided among Samuel’s sisters—pewter dishes, pillows, looking glasses, chests of drawers, cider barrels, blankets, skillets, and tankards—that indicated significant prosperity and status consciousness. Some larger items included a loom, a spinning wheel, a round table, and the “best bed.” (FIGURE D, Samuel Brooks will of 1758, to his daughters, next page)

The younger Samuel’s will is somewhat brief, with regard to real estate. He had no children of his own, but left all his “lands and housing” to his wife’s youngest son, Nehemiah Flint, referring to him as his “son-in-law.” He was very careful to specify the provisions for his widow, however.

“...I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary Brooks, the free use and improvement of the westerly half of my dwelling house in Concord, with the whole of the back kitchen, and as much cellar room under said house, as will be necessary for her, and of passing, and repassing to, in,
Samuel Brooks Will of 1758
To daughters

Source: printed from microfilm, MA Archives.52
and about the premises as will be convenient for her, and of using the
wells of water on my farm when necessary and to improve and enjoy the
same described premises during her remaining widow[hood].”

The Samuel Brooks house was a good size. Provisions set for his widow tell us
the house contained two parlors, a summer kitchen, and a winter kitchen on the first floor,
and, on the second floor, two sleeping chambers and a loft that provided storage and
served as an unheated dormitory for younger family members or visitors. Samuel makes
a gift to his wife of “the westerly half of the dwelling house, with the whole of the back
kitchen,” etc.63 The westerly half would have included the best parlor, since the east
parlor had a cooking fireplace and would have been the alternative kitchen. According to
Thomas Hubka, author of Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn, the parlors served
various purposes. Generally, one was used for visiting with friends and family, but
sometimes it also held a bed, and was used for less formal functions as well. The other
was used for family purposes, including dining, sleeping, cooking, weaving, spinning,
and other indoor tasks.64 Hubka also points out that the connected farm buildings of the
1800s are the product of architectural innovations established in the 1700s by farmers
from all over New England. This particular building style, size, and room configuration
was unique to New England farmers, who had come from England and perpetuated
architectural traditions built on shared patterns of building and life-style.65 (FIGURE E,
Historical Evolution of the Samuel Brooks House, next five pages, note the orange “W”
indicates the widow’s quarters).66
Historical Evolution of Samuel Brooks House

1693 – Daniel Brooks

Figure E-1
Well or Wood House?

'M' indicates widow's provision.
Historical Evolution of Samuel Brooks House

1729 – Samuel Brooks
Second Floor

‘W’ indicates widow’s provision.
Historical Evolution of Samuel Brooks House

1750 – Samuel Brooks
First Floor

‘W’ indicates widow’s provision.

Figure E-3a
"W" indicates widow's provision.

1750 – Samuel Brooks
Second Floor

Figure E-3b
Chapter IV.
Interpretation Plan

This thesis proposes a living history interpretation of the Samuel Brooks Farm that will “stimulate the senses and arouse the imagination” of visitors, and help them understand daily life in 1775, presenting accurate historical information, meeting sound educational objectives, and connecting visitors to the past. The U.S. Secretary of the Interior and the National Park Service fund the Battle Road Unit of the Minute Man National Historical Park (NPS). NPS funds have dwindled in recent years, and almost nothing is earmarked for expansion. In addition, current Congressional funding excludes the Battle Road. To be implemented, this project must look to support itself financially. This section will consider a variety of ways for the park to generate sustaining revenue, including charging entrance fees, leasing land for grazing, becoming a venue for workshops and farm schooling, and selling milk, cheese, eggs and cider produced within park boundaries. Nancy Nelson, the park Superintendent, believes that Brooks Village could become a “National Academy of Colonial [and Early American] Life.” The Park Service has been considering ideas for programs that would help to sustain properties like the Samuel Brooks House for several years. In 2005, the staff published a survey that explored uses for park structures, including use of one or another for small functions, as a bed & breakfast inn, and for interpretation. The study concluded that interpreting the
structures offered the fewest concerns and the potential for the most positive outcomes; interpretation also serves the mission of the park.\textsuperscript{69}

Buildings that are not part of the living history component could also enhance the interpretation. The Noah Brooks Tavern, for example, is located directly across the Battle Road from the Samuel Brooks House parking lot. With such proximity, the Tavern could house a two-dimensional historical exhibit about six generations of the Brooks family in the context of Concord's history. The tavern could also house a gift shop, restroom facilities, alternative access aids for visitors with disabilities, conference space, and a specialty restaurant serving menu items that would utilize Brooks farm produce, dairy and poultry. (FIGURE F, Brooks Tavern Proposal, next two pages)\textsuperscript{70}

While funding and revenue present the largest hurdle, another major concern for the park is the Battle Road itself. At Brooks Village the road is a modern, busy thoroughfare, and the volume and speed of traffic passing through makes the area dangerous for pedestrians. Several plans developed by the park propose reconfiguration of the Brooks Road and Lexington Road intersections of the Battle Road to explore possible ways for slowing down drivers to allow for pedestrian traffic. These plans are subject to state highway agendas and budgets, and have not yet been included among the top priorities. More studies will likely be required to determine if such changes to the road would actually ensure safe pedestrian traffic crossing from one side of the Battle Road to the other. Accommodating additional vehicles, expanding visitor parking, and providing for visitor safety without compromising the authentic visual experience necessary for a living history is problematic. The park has remedied this problem at another location further east of Brooks Village, at the entrance to the Hanscom Air Field,
Noah Brooks Tavern

Interpretive Proposal - Second Floor

Figure F-b
by digging under the entrance road and creating a pedestrian walkway and underpass that
seamlessly joins the rest of the Battle Road Trail. This would also be an ideal solution
for visitors moving back and forth from the Samuel Brooks House to the Noah Brooks
Tavern.

A living history interpretation at the Samuel Brooks farm will require formulating
a carefully researched picture of daily life in 1775 that deals with many issues, including
gender roles, daily work, diet, in addition to work on the landscape (topography,
buildings, fences, crops, equipment, livestock). Existing natural and historic resources,
including the Samuel Brooks House, fences, and fields, can be used to reinforce the story.
Additional elements might include a barn, a kitchen garden, a field with corn or rye, tools
and other equipment, and livestock.

Living museum collections pose unique problems. While zoos often attempt to
save rare or endangered species, domestic animals species are rarely seen in this light.
However, as Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia and Plimoth Plantation, Massachusetts
have already discovered, eighteenth century American livestock and poultry are actually
just as rare or endangered as zoo specimens. The characteristics of breeds recorded by
colonists include only general descriptions of size, color, and temperament, so museums
look for species that reflect them as closely as possible. The Milking Red Devon cow,
"with its deep color and gentle nature," or the Wiltshire sheep, "with its gracious, curved
horns" are considered likely choices. 71 The Tamworth hog fits the description of "a
reddish-colored lean and hardy forager," and four types of chickens call Williamsburg
home (the Dorking, the Dominique, the Hamburg, and the English Game Fowl)."72
After comparing the livestock collections of other early American living history farms, a choice must be made to recreate the Samuel Brooks farm livestock collection according to phenotype or genotype. Some museums seek only to recreate a certain “look” while others strive to preserve genetic history as much as possible according to the best research. This thesis relies on the genotypic collection at Colonial Williamsburg for assembling a collection for the Samuel Brooks farm, selecting breeds appropriate for New England weather. (SEE APPENDIX, Rare Breed Collection) The suggested collection, all rare breeds, might ideally include:

- The Milking Red Devon cow
- Beef Shorthorn cow
- Randall oxen
- Iron-age pig (Tamworth & European Boar cross)
- Leicester Longwool sheep
- American Cream Draft horse
- Canadian horse
- Dorking chicken
- Dominique chicken

In some areas of New England, as early as 1718, farmers raised geese. Geese “scrounged for their own food,” keeping weeds and ground pests under control, and they were a source of feathers and quills, as well as meat. Dogs were also found on farms. They served as guards and herding specialists, as well as foot warmers at the meetinghouse on chilly Sundays. Although tax documents do not list poultry for
Samuel Brooks, presumably because he did not make any income from them, it is fair to assume he would have raised a few birds for personal use.

Brooks Village is a stage for all the elements of the typical late-eighteenth-century farm. Farms generally included a dwelling house, one or more outbuildings, a yard used for gardening and small livestock, orchards, and fields. Fences delineated these components and marked property boundaries. The fences were commonly constructed from stones gathered in line and piled two-to-three feet high, with tree stumps and timber on top fashioned into "3-rail post-and-rail fences." (FIGURE G, Stone Wall Fencing, next page) Roads and natural landmarks such as small ponds or streams defined other boundaries. In the Brooks Village of 1775, these included Brooks Road, first laid out in 1729, the Bay Road, and the Elm Brook. 

Other natural features included a natural spring connected to the Elm Brook by way of manmade ditches at the north part of Samuel’s property. Also characteristic of the fields and woodlots of Brooks Village were dams, drumlins, wild berries, and wild game. As in many New England settlements, Concord allowed communal grazing of livestock, as well as some gardening in commons in central locations near town. These parcels of land were nearly always privately owned, including the ox pasture atop "Brooks Hill on the south side of Bay Road." (FIGURE H, Brooks Hill Ox Pasture, second page after Figure G)

It is not feasible to recreate every aspect of the Samuel Brooks farm of 1775. Much of the land (even within park boundaries) that would have been used for crops or grazing is now a natural preserve of overgrown meadowland, that is no longer flooded or drained. Even so, enough space remains around the dwelling to present a microcosm of farm life. This interpretation would include the house, a kitchen garden, a cornfield, a
Stone Wall Fencing
Source: printed from Sermons in Stone, Susan Allport.77

Figure G
Ox Pasture of Brooks Hill

Source: used by permission, National Park Service, Malcolm.

Figure H
small orchard, and a field or two for grazing livestock.

Elements of a typical farm of 1775, like those mentioned above will be incorporated where appropriate. As there is no complete 1775 crop inventory for the Samuel Brooks House, the crops cultivated would be based on the tax list of 1774, when corn was Samuel’s largest crop. Some generalizing based on other farms and households will provide information for featured elements, as farming patterns in Massachusetts did not differ drastically from farm to farm at this time.84

Because some of the modern improvements made to the house in the twentieth century have been saved, much of the house cannot be included in the interpretation. However, the four basic rooms in the main part of the house can be easily made to appear as they might have in 1775. Modern rooms like the bathrooms and the twentieth century kitchen would be closed to the public, but available for park staff use. To keep the modern areas off limits, a vestibule will need to be constructed to allow public access from the side porch of the house. (FIGURES I-a and I-b, Interpretive Proposal, next two pages. A suggestion for this is indicated in the light blue shaded area of the floor plan of Figure I-a. Another proposed change to the current floor plan is on the second floor, Figure I-b, to remove a much later partition.)

The tour of the house would begin with the front entry, move into the west parlor and then go to the east parlor/kitchen. Visitors would go upstairs to see two typical eighteenth century “chambers.” These four rooms will provide a full sense of the typical farm dwelling, and will balance the many outdoor experiences designed for visitors. Outdoor elements of the interpretation will feature interpreters demonstrating the care of small farm animals, livestock, the kitchen garden, as well as other daily tasks and their purposes. These demonstrations will connect visitors to this particular place and time, and help them understand early American family life.
Samuel Brooks House Museum

Interpretive Proposal
First Floor

'*' indicates changes to existing structure.

'For Staff Use'

Figure I-a
Samuel Brooks House Museum

Interpretive Proposal
Second Floor

‘*’ indicates changes to existing structure.

Figure I-b
In the past 300 years, American families have “undergone a series of domestic revolutions.” The Samuel Brooks house reflected family ideals based on the community values of 1775. Today’s American home, more often than not, is a private place, and the family is seen as a means of raising and nurturing individuals who will focus on personal pursuits. The eighteenth century family, on the other hand, was a productive unit and every member had a role in the family economy.

In the eighteenth century, the roles of men and women on the farm were different, but complementary, and both would ideally appear in the interpretation. Men and women “were partners in a common Enterprise.” The man worked in the fields, while the wife was responsible for all things at home. She kept the fire going, prepared meals, tended to children, maintained the garden, milked the cows, made butter and cheese, soap, bread, and every other household consumable. She would spend much of her time sewing and mending clothes, as well as laundering and ironing. She would probably spin yarn and thread and she might weave. When necessary, women would help harvest, and men would help with the dairying, but women’s tasks were more repetitive and somewhat less dependent on the seasons, while men had more rest in the winter.

During the Revolutionary era, Concord’s residents produced homespun goods to replace imported merchandise. When men left town to serve, farms became less productive, and the women were left to deal with food shortages and maintain what they could of their husbands’ farms. Under the strains of war and poverty, many women gained “new authority” as they found that they could survive quite well. Before the war, colonial women literally belonged to their men, and at least in law, marriage meant exchanging one master for another. After the war, these experiences and new attitudes of authority would be realized in social ideas regarding education, courtship, marriage, and women’s roles.
In Concord in the summer of 1775 women were just beginning to feel the effects of the impending conflict in the aftershock of April 19th and the tensions that had been building for many years. Ultimately, the Samuel Brooks farm will present both a picture of daily life, and the extraordinary history that was occurring at the same time. Many elements of this interpretation will be visual and tactile. Trained and accurately costumed re-enactors will provide a verbal interactive experience, explaining to visitors the work they perform, the tools they use, and their daily routines. These interpreters will tell their visitors about their daily lives as they lived them—including their tradition of farming, the terror of the Redcoats marching across their fields, and their uncertainty about their future relationship with Great Britain.

The Minuteman National Historical Park has established a healthy roster of re-enactors, both volunteers and staff rangers. Volunteers include individuals devoted to the park, as well as entire groups, such as minuteman companies trained in firing muskets, determined to accurately represent their groups' histories. These volunteers simultaneously achieve their own goals while serving the mission of the park. Staff rangers, who would otherwise perform their duties—including guiding group tours and grounds maintenance in park uniform—often don period costumes for certain events.

All staff and volunteers are briefed on the specific information they are to convey during a living history tour or event regardless of experience. While some details vary, generally all interpretation relies on established themes. These themes include:

1. Minute Man National Historical Park was the starting place of the American Revolution; here the resolve of citizens willing to seek, stand up for, and die for the ideals of liberty and self-determination was instrumental in the formation of the American identity.

2. The landscapes shaped by the New England colonists, including
features such as stone walls, roads, fields, orchards, woodlots, and homes affected the course of the events of April 19, 1775; segments of these landscape elements can be experienced today.

Park Interpretation and Living History Coordinator, Jim Hollister elaborates on how these themes are demonstrated during a living history tour within the park:

When talking about the battle itself, you will need to cover the basic facts. Beyond this, an interpreter can touch upon the human experience. For example, [interpreting] the common British soldier, [one could describe] how fatiguing the march must have been, or how desperate the fighting was on the road back to Boston. Or you can talk about the feelings of the colonists alarmed in the middle of the night. Imagine the fear and uncertainty. Behind tangible facts the interpreter can reach into the larger, intangible story of the non-importation agreements, and the role of patriotic women in the revolutionary movement...universal concepts of liberty, devotion, sacrifice, and community. Lastly, a good interpreter uses his or her skills to help visitors arrive at their own conclusions, by learning and understanding as much as possible about our audience, and what they have come here for.90

While the interpretation at the Samuel Brooks House would be specific to that site and Brooks Village, it is to be expected that such an interpretation would fit within the larger message of the park as a whole, and conform to the standards of the Interpretation Coordinator already in practice.
Elements of the Interpretation Plan

The Mission.

This plan for the Samuel Brooks House fits within the existing missions of the Minuteman National Historical Park and its Division of Interpretation:

Minute Man National Historical Park Mission

The purpose of the park shall include the preservation and interpretation of the historic landscape along the road between Lexington and Concord, sites associated with the causes and consequences of the American Revolution, and the Wayside on Lexington Road in Concord, the home of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Bronson Alcott, Louisa May Alcott, and Margaret Sidney, whose works illustrate the nineteenth century American literary renaissance.

Interpretation Mission & Vision

Our mission is to preserve and interpret the significant historic sites, structures, properties, landscapes, and events associated with the opening battle of the American Revolution which lie along the route of the Battle of April 19, 1775 and interpret the ideas, causes and consequences of these events (Long-Range Interpretive Plan.)

We collaborate with living history groups to enhance regular interpretive offerings, provide opportunities for community participation, and utilize the skill and perspectives of others to provide services that we simply cannot accomplish on our own.

Our vision is to establish Minute Man NHP as one of the premiere living history sites in New England, known for quality interpretive and educational programming and superior authenticity standards. Thus we hope to heighten local, regional, and international awareness of Minute Man NHP and its significance in American History.91
Themes.

The themes for interpreting the Samuel Brooks House are easily integrated into the mission of the park, and will serve to expand the themes of the Battle Road experience.

1. Samuel Brooks typifies the life of a prosperous farmer of Concord in 1775. At the age of thirty-six, he had inherited a substantial farm, and lived in the Brooks House with his widowed mother, Elizabeth, aged 66. He was unmarried, and at least four of his seven siblings had died. Although Samuel did not play a public political or military role in Concord, the events of 1775 had an impact on all citizens.

2. Elizabeth Brooks played an essential role in the Brooks family economy, carrying out varied tasks, some specific to women, and others shared by men and women. She was a farmer’s wife, a farmer’s mother, a widow, a woman who had lost most of her children early in their lives, a woman who never had grandchildren nearby, and a woman who worked until her death at the age of seventy-three.

3. Over six generations the Brooks family in Brooks Village used kinship as a resource that aided in the continuity of farm life and family prosperity.

4. Despite the impact of dramatic events in April, summer on the Brooks Farm in 1775 was, like all other summers, a time when farming and food production for the year was the family’s focus.
Collections and Tours.

The only collections associated with the Samuel Brooks House are the dwelling, the land, and the location. According to Terrie Wallace, curator of special collections at the Minuteman National Historical Park, no other items are attributed to the house from the eighteenth century. Furnishings for the house and farm will consist of historically accurate “props.” Other so-called props will include tools, household necessities, animals, garden plants, a corn crop, and personal items, such as clothing and treasured possessions, ranging from reproduction iron kettles to antique ladder-back chairs. There are advantages to this approach, including reduced risk in allowing tour groups to move in the rooms, and the possibility of letting visitors touch or use certain props to enhance their experience.

Upon arriving at the Samuel Brooks House, visitors will see one version or another of a usual day on the farm for Samuel and his mother, Elizabeth. For example, on one day, Elizabeth is tending the garden, pulling weeds and removing bugs to feed to the chickens. She is using is a hand hoe, which is nearly the same hoe gardeners use in 2007. Off in the distance, Samuel is leading his horse back to the barn after a trip to the Hartwell Tavern to inquire about recent reports of the resistance in New York. He reports the news from the Hartwells that the colonials took charge of vast military supplies from Fort Ticonderoga. Such hostilities means that the future for the colonies is more uncertain than ever, but for now it is back to work. He must help Elizabeth bring in the milk cow for milking, and move the chickens into the barn for the evening. (FIGURE J, Conjectural Drawing of Samuel Brooks Homestead 1775 Interpretation, next page foldout)
Elizabeth invites her modern visitors into the house for a tour. She shows them the parlor first, which is plainly furnished with a writing desk, a pair of ladder-back chairs, and Samuel's favorite Windsor armchair. On a side table is a tea set, which she explains has gone unused since the ban on imports including tea, "I pray it will not be much longer for such finery to sit idle." Suddenly, she remembers that she needs to check the fire in the kitchen and invites her guests to follow her there, where she explains to them what and how she is preparing for the evening meal. Once she is sure the fire is properly stoked, she shows them the upstairs chambers, pointing out various features of the house of which she is especially proud, and has worked hard to achieve. Excusing herself to get back to the kitchen, she invites the guests to walk around the farm and visit the animals, and to have a look at the barn. "And carry this to the dunghill fowl, if you please" she asks of one young visitor, handing over a bowl full of turnip ends and cabbage cores.92

Outside, visitors find a modest, but efficient (reproduction) barn that serves many purposes. Common sense and some evidence tell us there were outbuildings on the Samuel Brooks farm, but there are not enough specifics available to know for sure what a barn would have actually looked like. It is fair to assume that the barn would have been large enough to accommodate the amount and types of livestock we know Samuel to have owned, as well as to serve the purposes of farming hay, corn, and the kitchen garden. Other needs, such as preserving foods, storing wood, processing meats, and making cider might have been met through the use of other types of outbuildings. For the basic purposes of this interpretation it is crucial to at least recreate a realistic representation of what might have been useful to Samuel, which typically would have been a building for livestock and hay storage, or other such combination of animal shelters, granary, and storage sheds.93
This day in the yard there is a very playful pig getting bossed around by Elizabeth's favorite ewe lamb, and the chickens gather around the visitors waiting for the contents of that well-recognized rubbish bowl. Access aids will be made available for visitors to the Samuel Brooks house who cannot ascend the stairs of the house, or traverse the grounds easily, or are hearing impaired. These aids will include portable audio recordings, and portable illustrated handbooks.

Programs.

Like the rest of the park, the Samuel Brooks House would only be open from May to October, except for Patriot's Day events in April and planned school group visits with an appropriate curriculum. According to Division Chief Lou Sideris, educational programming is the primary and most efficient source of revenue during the off-season. Leasing land to farmers and offering venues for events has not proven to be as successful as originally hoped, therefore more and more energy is being focused on developing educational programs to augment the income generated during the tourist season. Educational and Visitor Service programs for school and other tour groups at the Samuel Brooks House will be based on the curriculum currently in use for the Hartwell Tavern. However, while the tavern specifically gears its programming toward the day of April 19, 1775, the Samuel Brooks House will feature daily life shortly after that infamous date.

Educational programs could include demonstrations of farming techniques based on the seasons. Springtime would feature baby animals and plowing. Summertime would feature planting, gardening, and grazing. And fall would feature harvesting, cidering, and preparing food for winter storage. Other programs would describe the lives of Samuel and Elizabeth, the fighting they witnessed, and the concerns they have about
their political and economic uncertainties. These programs would teach history, as well as husbandry.

As mentioned above, leases to farmers and livestock owners have already been explored at the park with limited success. It was thought these leases would help generate revenue by providing space to lessees who would otherwise not be able to provide for their farming business or livestock collection, while serving programmatic goals for the park. As it turns out, mutually beneficial cooperative efforts with likeminded organizations have been more successful. These include the aforementioned minuteman companies of volunteers, but also the Athol Farm School, which provides year-round programs for teachers and students to learn “what it means to be stewards of the earth.”

The farm school has helped the park accomplish agricultural goals that would otherwise be unfeasible. For instance, Peter Merrill is a recent graduate of the farm school who has come to the Minute Man National Historical Park as a sort of visiting artist in residence. In exchange for housing and land to farm, he maintains certain programs that support the agricultural goals of the park, including acquiring livestock from the farm school to be kept at the park. Farmer Merrill cares for and feeds the several pigs and the rare breed cattle currently grazing in the pasture at the Noah Brooks Tavern site. Agricultural needs created by interpreting the Samuel Brooks House could easily be met by folding them into this existing cooperative program, which would be mutually beneficial for both sites along the Battle Road. Some of the benefits of adding to the agricultural collection are that these cattle control overgrowth, revitalize the soil, and offer a great means of publicity. Few cars can drive past these unusual beasts without slowing or stopping to observe them—better marketing than any signage for encouraging park visitation.
The proposal for a specialty restaurant inside the Noah Brooks Tavern is based on models already growing in popularity across the United States. Such restaurants grow their own produce, poultry, and herbs, and design their menus around what is fresh and in season. Some follow the philosophy of sustainable farming, where pesticides, hormones, and preservatives are avoided and food is locally consumed. The restaurant chef cooperates with local farmers, who provide him with sustainable-farmed items for his menu, such as certain meats or fruits. The American public is willing to pay a premium for fresh, gourmet food that is prepared with a conscience and served in a charming setting from another time in history.

With the restaurant program in place, events and conferences could be held outside on the grounds of the Noah Brooks Tavern, or the grounds of the Samuel Brooks House. The tavern has already been the site for tented party receptions, and events from small receptions to larger conventions could be held inside as well. The “ballroom” space on the second floor could be used for the restaurant, but also partitioned off for events.

Gift Shops are vital to any museum. Entrance fees alone cannot keep exhibit doors open, but visitors are happy to spend extra dollars on items that help them share and remember their visit. Currently, there is a gift shop at the Minute Man Visitor Center at the east end of the Battle Road, four miles from Brooks Village, and another at the North Bridge Visitor Center, located at the most-westerly end of the park, also four miles from Brooks Village. The inventory at the Noah Brooks Tavern gift shop could complement and augment that of the other gift shops, by offering items unique to the Brooks Village experience as well as popular items that address the whole general museum experience of the Battle Road. Centrally located within the park, and convenient for visitors who need a rest or will not be continuing from one end of the park
to the other in one trip, the Noah Brooks Tavern Gift Shop would be an asset to an already established park enterprise.

Governance.

Personnel, budgets, fundraising, etc. are determined by Park Service management policies, and could easily mirror those established for the Hartwell Tavern interpretation. The Samuel Brooks House interpretation is designed to be easily incorporated based on the established management policies.
Chapter V.
Brooks Village

While the proposed interpretation is based at the Samuel Brooks farm, characters from other parts of Brooks Village can help communicate the personal and professional relationships so central at this time. In 1775, Samuel Brooks and his cousins Thomas, Joshua, and Job Brooks all lived on land inherited from their common forefather, Captain Thomas Brooks (of Kent in England) who died in 1667, the first Brooks to settle in colonial Concord.98 (FIGURE K, Brooks Village Map99, and TABLE 4, Brooks Village Genealogy, 100 next two pages)

Family Ties

In New England towns, kinship had as much to do with geography as bloodline.101 In the case of the Brooks family, distant cousins were more like brothers because they lived next door and worked side-by-side, generation after generation. The Brookses chose not to partition their land and disperse, but to “keep their homes within sight of one another.”102 This was likely a great advantage to Samuel Brooks, whose siblings had died young or left the area, leaving him with no immediate family, except his mother. (TABLE 5, Samuel Brooks Genealogy, third page following Figure K and Table 4)
The Brooks Family
Brooks Village - 1775

Capt. Thomas '1' Brooks (?-1667) m. Grace
Joshua 1 (1630-1696) m. Hannah

- Daniel (1664-1733) m. Ann Meriam
- Noah 1 (1656-) m. Dorothy
- Hugh (1677-1746) 1702m. Abigail Barker (1681-1761)
- Job 1 (1675-1697)

- John (1733-1812) 1745 m. Lucy Hoar
- Samuel 1 (1694-1758) m. Elizabeth (1709-1782)
- Eleazer (1727-1806)
- Enoch (1742-?)

- Silence (1767-?) 1786m. Joel Flint
- Noah 2 (1733-1790) m. Elizabeth Potter
- Sarah (1751-?)
- Samuel 2 (1739-1812) Mary (1739-1820)

- Nehemiah Flint (1773-1849)
- Betty (1761-1809)
- Lydia (1775-?)
- Noah 3 (1770-1809)
- Rebecca (1765-?)
- Ruth (1767-?)

- Joshua 2 (1688-1768) 1713m. Lydia (?-1750) 1751 m. Mary
- Noah 3 (1770-1809)
- Joshua 3 (1720-1790) m. Hannah
- Joshua 4 (1755-1825)

- Thomas 2 (1701-1790) m. Hannah Dakin
- Joshua 2 (1688-1768) 1713m. Lydia (?-1750) 1751 m. Mary
- Noah 3 (1770-1809)
- Joshua 4 (1755-1825)

- Jos (1720-1790) m. Hannah
- Enoch (1742-?)
- Noah 3 (1770-1809)
- Joshua 4 (1755-1825)

- Hugh (1677-1746) 1702m. Abigail Barker (1681-1761)
- Job 1 (1675-1697)
- Job 3 "Jr." (1717-1794) m. Anna (?-1798)
- Asa (1746-1816)
- Anna (1750-?)

- Jupiter

Table 4
Minute Man National Historical Park
Map of Brooks Village

Source: used by permission, National Park Service, Lou Sideris.

Figure K
TABLE 5

Samuel Brooks Genealogy:

Unknown/Unavailable dates are signified with a question mark. Women’s maiden names are listed where known/available. Marriage dates are signified with a lowercase m after the wife’s name. Multiples of the same name are chronologically numbered.

Thomas I & Grace
?-1667 ?-1664

Joshua I & Hannah
1630-
1696

Daniel & Ann m. 1692
1664-
1733

Samuel I & Elizabeth
1694-
1758
1709-
1782

Samuel 2 & Mary Bateman Flint
1739-
1812
1739-
1820

Eleazer
1727-
1806
1733-
1798

John & Lucy Hoar m. 1745

Silence (last of 10 children)
1767-

Job 2 (Sr.)
1698-

Joel Flint m. 1786
1762-

Nehemiah Flint
1773- 1849
Hannah Davis m. 1797
1773-1854

John Bateman Daniel Mary Jonas Hephzibah
1760 1764 1766 1768 1770

Enoch Sarah Elisha
1742- 1751- 1825

John Bateman Daniel Mary Jonas Hephzibah
1760 1764 1766 1768 1770

Job 2 (Sr.)
1698-
Thomas Brooks (1701-1790).

In 1775, Samuel’s second cousin was seventy-four year-old Thomas Brooks. Thomas lived with his wife, Elizabeth and their forty-two year-old son, Noah Brooks. Noah and his father worked the land and shared the house that Thomas built in 1726, across the road from the Samuel Brooks House. Also living there was Noah’s wife, Hannah, their four daughters and one son, also named Noah. This Noah (3) would eventually inherit his father’s property and would continue to farm, as well as establish the well-known Brooks Tavern in 1798. (See TABLE 6, Thomas Brooks Genealogy, next page)

Joshua Brooks (1720-1790).

Deacon Joshua Brooks, Samuel’s first cousin, lived to the southeast, on the opposite side of the Bay Road. (TABLE 7, Joshua Brooks Genealogy, second page following Table 6) Joshua grew up in a modest house on the land that had been settled by his father in 1713. Most of the homestead was farmland, but the family was running a slaughterhouse and tannery on land they owned on the other side of Bay Road. In 1775, he was living with his wife, Hannah and their nine surviving children (three older daughters had died by that time) in a house that no longer exists. At the age of twenty, their son Joshua (4) was among the Minutemen of 1775. After the war he married twice. His first wife Martha Barrett had six children before her death in 1792. They were Joshua (5), Humphrey, William, Nathan, Charles, and Patty. His second wife, Sally Davis delivered Isaac, Sarah, Hiram, George, Almira, Frank, Susan, and Franklin.
Joshua (4) built a house in 1780, where he would eventually raise his sizable family, that stands today on the original farm.

**TABLE 6**

**Thomas Brooks Genealogy:**

Unknown/Unavailable dates are signified with a question mark.
Women's maiden names are listed where known/available.
Marriage dates are signified with a lowercase m after the wife's name.
Multiples of the same name are chronologically numbered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Died</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas 1 &amp; Grace</td>
<td>Thomas 1</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>?-1667</td>
<td>?-1664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joshua 1 &amp; Hannah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1630-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah 1 &amp; Dorothy</td>
<td>Noah 1</td>
<td>Dorothy</td>
<td>1656-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas 2 &amp; Hannah Dakin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1701-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah 2 &amp; Elizabeth Potter</td>
<td>Noah 2</td>
<td>Elizabeth Potter</td>
<td>1733-</td>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Betty</td>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>1761-</td>
<td>1765-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ruth</td>
<td>1767-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Noah 3</td>
<td>1770-</td>
<td>1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lydia (Eventual Tavern-keeper)</td>
<td>1809 (28 April)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7

Joshua Brooks Genealogy:

Unknown/Unavailable dates are signified with a question mark.
Women's maiden names are listed where known/available.
Marriage dates are signified with a lowercase m after the wife's name.
Multiples of the same name are chronologically numbered.

Thomas 1 & Grace
?-1667  ?-1664

Joshua 1 (Esquire) & Hannah
1630-
1696

Noah 1 & Dorothy
1656-
1739

Joshua 2 (Deacon) & Lydia/Mary m. 1713/1751
1688-
1768

Joshua 3 (Deacon) & Hannah
1720-
1790

Joshua 4 (Esquire)
1755-
1825

Timothy106 & Elizabeth m.1762
1733-
1803

Jupiter (Slave/Servant) & Peg m.1756
?1443-?

Peter
1763-

Owner, William Reed
of Lexington (MacLean, 217)

The first Joshua Brooks (1630-1696) appears to be the originator of the well-known Brooks Tannery (Noah (1) is called a tanner on deeds starting in 1695.)107 It is believed he passed the tannery on to his son Noah (1) in an unrecorded deed, and it
continued to be passed down within the Noah Brooks line for five more generations, involving members of other branches of the Brooks family. In The Great Meadow Brian Donahue points out that tanneries were essential in small farming communities, making use of hides and oak wood to produce needed leather goods.

The Brooks slaughterhouse and tannery had been in operation on the Joshua Brooks farmstead for almost a century by 1775. Hides from the adjoining slaughterhouse were soaked and treated through several processes requiring lye, bark tannin, tallow, and oil leached from oak trees to produce leather for saddles, shoes, britches, and aprons. Because waste products from these operations created noxious odors, the town controlled the location of businesses like tanneries and slaughterhouses. Fortunately, the Elm Brook running through Joshua’s property carried the odiferous “offal” downstream where it settled and served to fertilize the “croplands…in the form of muck and hay.” Today there are no obvious remnants of the tannery on the property, but the Brooks slaughterhouse and tannery operation lasted for six generations until the mid-nineteenth century--nearly two hundred years. (FIGURES L & M, Tannery Archeology and Aerial View of Tannery Site, next two pages) As the author Donahue also notes:

Tanning combined the bark of black oaks from the rocky hills above with the hides of red cattle from the grassy meadows below…The forest soaked into the look, the feel, and even the flavor of this world-- its shoe leather, cider barrels, huckleberry puddings, and the plain color of its everyday clothes.
Figure L

TANNERY-
JOSHUA BROOKS
SITE MAP
MINUTE MAN NHP
Excavation Units
and
Shovel Test Pits

Tannery Archeology

Source: used by permission, Syenkei et al, National Park Service.
Tannery Aerial
Source: printed from Zillow.com.
There were a number of slaves in colonial Concord, and the father of Joshua Brooks, Joshua 2, owned a slave named Jupiter, who was bequeathed to Joshua’s brother Timothy Brooks. Jupiter was listed as a taxable commodity for Timothy from 1769-1774. The papers of Eleazor Brooks indicate that Joshua 2 sold a child who “may well have been” Jupiter’s two year-old son. The baby, Peter, went to Josiah Nelson in 1765. The Massachusetts Court overturned slavery in 1783, but equality remained elusive for former slaves. The census of 1790 reflected a count of twenty-nine “blacks” in Concord, twice the number of Africans counted before the war. Many were former slaves and longtime residents. Former masters provided for some, and others remained outcasts. “The experience of colonial blacks was anything but uniform,” and there is no evidence for what happened to Jupiter, the former Brooks slave.

Job Brooks (1717-1794).

Job Brooks, Samuel’s second cousin, lived in the house he had built in 1740 just east of Samuel’s farm. Job, a farmer, was also a currier at the Brooks Tannery, located just beyond the stone wall dividing his property from Samuel’s. In 1775, Job’s eldest son, Matthew, had married Ruth Hunt in 1766 at the age of twenty-three, and Job’s daughter, Anna, also married at the age of twenty-three to Capt. Stephen Jones in April of 1775. By the summer of 1775, Job was, therefore, only living with his wife Anna, and his son, Asa, aged 30 years. Asa is recorded in the muster rolls of 1776 and 1778 as Rank Sergeant Asa Brooks of the Captain George Minot Company, under the leadership of Colonel Eleazor Brooks, Samuel 2’s first cousin. Like his cousin Samuel, he married
Timothy Brooks House lot

Figure N
The success of Brooks Village depended upon cooperative labor and combined resources. Samuel, 36; Thomas, 74; Joshua, 55; Job, 58; Elizabeth, 66; Elizabeth, ?; Hannah, ?; Anna, 52; Noah, 42; Joshua, 20; Asa, 31; Hannah, ?; Hepzibah, 22; Betty, 14; Abel, 14; Rebecca, 10; Deborah, 11; Ruth, 8; Phebe, 9; Noah, 5; Sarah, 7; John, 4; Lydia, infant; Uncle Timothy, 42; Jupiter, ?

All four of the Brooks household heads of 1775 in Brooks Village had acquired their property from prior generations. Each had his own family, skills, and livelihood, and each contributed to their collective well-being in distinct ways. The long-term success of Brooks Village depended upon cooperative labor and combined resources. This interpretation will show the range of life experiences among the Brooks family members. The following summarizes each household, according to names and ages in 1775.

The plan includes choosing a few of these characters to serve as living history narrators. Each character would follow a script that incorporates specific facts, and individual personalities would be adopted by living history interpreters.
The Life of Samuel Brooks After 1775

Samuel Brooks was a single man who lived with his mother in 1775, but he entered a different phase of life in 1781 when he married Mary Bateman Flint, shortly before his mother’s death. There is no evidence that Samuel had any children of his own, but his wife, Mary was the widow of John Flint, who had died in 1773 leaving seven children. Mary’s first husband, John Flint was a prosperous farmer. The Flints were as prominent a family as the Brooks family. They owned substantial farms in
Concord near the North Bridge, and in Lincoln where a small lake is still known as Flint's Pond. Samuel and John had comparable real estate and livestock, but because the differences of the family structures, one farm outlived the other. (SEE APPENDIX, Comparison Chart for the Brooks and Flint Property and Flint Family Genealogy)\textsuperscript{124} The Brooks Family was comfortable, but the Flints may have been even one step higher on the social ladder. John Flint’s probate inventory lists silver and velvet jackets, and items of furniture appraised at more than twice the value of any of Samuel’s. (FIGURE O, John Flint Probate Inventory, next page)\textsuperscript{125}

John Flint was only forty-two when he died, and as he died without a will, his probate record contains a detailed inventory and careful accounting of his finances, as well as the care of his children, all of whom were minors at the time of his death. Mary Bateman Flint was appointed the administrator of her husband’s estate and the guardian of her children. By 1781, the two oldest sons, John Bateman, 21 and Joel, 19, each received half of the Flint lands in Concord, and arrangements were made for them to pay the other children’s share of the estate in cash. In early 1781 Mary settled her accounts with the estate and for the care of her children. The four youngest ones, aged eight to fifteen, were appointed new guardians. Given this, it is likely that Mary was preparing to marry at this time. Nehemiah and Hepzibah, were only eight and eleven; they would not receive their shares of their father’s estate until the 1790s. (FIGURE P, Mary Bateman Flint Brooks Accounts, second page following Figure O)\textsuperscript{126}

It is not clear whether all of Mary’s children continued to live with her after John died (the youngest four certainly did) and it is equally unclear whether any of them
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>One pair of stocks</td>
<td>3.9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One pair of breeches</td>
<td>0.18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>3.12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>2.14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>1.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>1.8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small lines of clothing</td>
<td>0.17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One plate, 2½ oz. to 3 oz.</td>
<td>2.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One pair of shoes, 1.5 d.</td>
<td>0.3. A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One world, 2½ d. to 3 d.</td>
<td>0.3. A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One case of drawers</td>
<td>2.20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One round table</td>
<td>0.1.2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One small round table</td>
<td>0.1.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One chair</td>
<td>0.1.2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great wheel, 3½ ft. to 4 ft.</td>
<td>0.2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John Flint's Probate

Source: printed from microfilm, MA Archives.
And he caused allowance in his discharge, follows below:

March 11, 1784, going to the Judge of Probate for a letter of
 guardianship to my time and money paid
 April 5, 1784, to three days with the approvers
 found my self
 June 16, 1784, a day with the approvers
 September 9, 1784, to day to set the Estate
 settled with the Judge of Probate

February 24, 1784, paid to me Samuel Brook's wife
 (mother to said Hephrah) to give to her four and twelve
 dollars which was agreed upon when said Brook took said
 Hephrah for to Coate said Hephrah for the almost
 had none also to three dollars more to urge her
 a Bible and other things
 December 13, 1785, paid to the Custable for Rodes
 December 12, 1785, paid to said Hephrah's mother
 to lay out for said Hephrah

April 16, 1788, it was thought that Hephrah
 was a young girl and upon her application
 had none also to three dollars more to urge her
 a Bible and other things

Concord April 13, 1789, due upon
 Settling till now
 Error excepted get me John's Flint guardian

Notes of office for Discharge, allowing for B "John Flint"
 0. 5. 0.
 Balance in the Guardian's hand
 12. 10. 8
 7. 10. 0
 22. 12. 8

Middlesex Probate Court, Thursday Sept. 11, 1789.
Having examined this account in the presence of the witnesses.
I do certify it to the same, John Flint, the former
 guardian, follow this under it to be recorded.

Mary Bateman Flint Brooks's
 Accounts of 1784

Source: printed from microfilm, MA Archives.
followed her to the Samuel Brooks House after her remarriage. (FIGURE Q, Guardianship, next page) In 1784, Nehemiah's and Hepzibah's guardian was Asa Brooks, Samuel's cousin. Over time Nehemiah would develop a close relationship with both Brooks cousins and, when Asa Brooks died, he would become the guardian of Brooks children. Eventually Nehemiah, and later his wife, would move into his mother and stepfather's house, and when Samuel died in 1812, he left his property to his stepson.

The marriage of Samuel Brooks and Mary Bateman Flint was a mutually beneficial and fortunate move for all parties concerned. Samuel's mother was aging (she died in 1782) and he needed help to maintain his farm. Mary had a large family and her older sons were getting ready to take over their father's farm. When they married, she would be peripheral. Her remarriage offered her a central role in the Brooks household and perhaps, a home for her younger children.

Occupants of the Samuel Brooks House

It is very difficult to determine the occupants of the Samuel Brooks House, especially in the years before 1790, when the first federal census was taken. The only guaranteed occupants of the Samuel Brooks House in 1775 are Samuel and his mother, Elizabeth. The 1790-1820 censes list only the gender, age, and number of occupants, and the census-taker bypassed Samuel Brooks in 1800.

The 1790 census lists three males 16+ and two females. In addition to Samuel and Mary, the household could have included Nehemiah (then seventeen) and Hephzibah Flint (then twenty) who married in December of 1790. Certainly Samuel
Figure Q

Guardian Document for Nehemiah Flint

*Source: printed from microfilm, MA Archives.*
would have required farm help; the males listed could either have been relatives or other hired hands.

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CENSUS NUMBERS</th>
<th>NAMES OF LIKELY RESIDENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>3 males 16 yrs.+, 2 females</td>
<td>Samuel Brooks, Nehemiah Flint &amp; ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 male 16-26, 1 male 45+, 1 female 16-25, 1 female 45+</td>
<td>Mary Brooks &amp; Hephzibah Flint ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>1 male 16-25, 1 female 45+</td>
<td>Nehemiah Flint, Samuel Brooks, Hannah Davis Flint, Mary Brooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>1 male, 45+, 1 female 26-45, 1 male 10-16, 1 male 16-25, 2 females 45+</td>
<td>Nehemiah Flint, Hannah Flint, farm hands ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far as can be determined, Nehemiah and Hannah Flint, who married in 1797, had no children. However, Nehemiah was named executor for the estate and guardian for the children of Asa Brooks (his former guardian) upon Asa’s death in 1816. The children were Mary, Job, Asa, Love Lawrence, all over the age of fourteen, and Abigail Jones, under the age of fourteen, but it is not clear if they ever lived in the house.

Samuel Brooks was part of a network of friends, family, and neighbors throughout his life. His father’s first-born son, Samuel received significant landholdings to pass to his heirs, but he never had his own children. Nehemiah Flint, on the other hand, the youngest son of a prosperous farmer, was experiencing something shared by many men of post-war Concord, the reality of limited land left to inherit and being one in
a family of many sons. Fortunately he was able to inherit land from his stepfather, Samuel Brooks, who refers to Nehemiah as his “son-in-law,” an eighteenth century term for stepson. It is clear that Samuel and Nehemiah had a strong personal relationship.

When Samuel Brooks died in 1811, he left his wife, Mary, in Nehemiah’s care, and left him the house and the farm. After Mary died, nine years later, Nehemiah Flint and his wife Hannah remained in the Samuel Brooks House until 1836. They had no children either, and sold the house. The house changed hands several times thereafter, including a long ownership within the Hartwell family. Despite the property’s turnover, all the owners were related to the Brookses in some way, from its original construction in 1692, to its purchase by the National Park Service in 1963.
Chapter VI.

Conclusion

To understand the life of Samuel Brooks, one must look at both his personal story and the events that took place in his “backyard.” On the Brooks farm in Concord, in America, and even in Europe, this was a momentous and trying period. Three of Samuel’s sisters had died, one after the other, between 1767 and 1770, and Samuel’s younger brother, Elisha followed in 1771. As these personal losses took place, the town of Concord was struggling against the new policies imposed upon the colonies from Great Britain. In 1774 Samuel, living at home with only his widowed mother, became one of the nearly two hundred men to sign The Solemn League and Covenant, a document “considered quite radical when Concordians signed it, [vowing that the] subscribers, inhabitants of the Town of Concord...will not buy, purchase, or consume...any goods, wares, or merchandise, which shall arrive in America from Great Britain.”

In addition to these unusual personal and political trials, Samuel Brooks, like other farmers, continued his lifelong struggle to farm his land and contend with the forces of nature. Samuel’s daily routine was not recorded, but Colonel Samuel Pierce, a yeoman farmer in Dorchester who was exactly the same age as Samuel Brooks, kept a very detailed journal that, among other things, provides details on Boston-area weather before and during the summer of 1775. Both men undoubtedly shared the same glee and frustration about the unpredictable New England weather. Colonel Pierce’s journal notes
when rains were heavy, snow was deep, and if frosts came too early or late. In 1775, he reports that March was unseasonably warm, and April rainy. While Pierce offers no details for April 19, John Winthrop, a professor at Harvard who kept meteorological records, recorded that day as “fair with clouds, [50 degrees].”133 The summer of 1775 was also rainy, and brief. Colonel Pierce reports “great rain” for May, June, and August, and all but three clear days in September brought rain and storms, followed by an early hard frost already in October.134 It is likely the hay and rye fared well, but sowing seeds for the garden vegetables and corn was perhaps a bit late that summer. (SEE APPENDIX, Chronology and Brooks Family Timeline)

Samuel Brooks called himself a yeoman farmer, and was more prosperous than most. A National Park study based on the 1771 tax list states that Samuel Brooks ranked eleventh among Concord land owners.135 The same study ranks Timothy Brooks as the biggest landowner of the sixty-eight farmers in Lincoln. The Brooks Village families maintained their prosperity even as other Concord farmers experienced decline. Even after the war, the tannery and the slaughterhouse remained busy.136 The corn, rye, and potato crops continued to sell, and cattle and wood were in high demand in Boston and beyond.137

Yeoman farmers had always measured their prosperity by their standard of living and their ability to provide for their children. With available land all but gone, the Brooks men had a relatively better chance of acquiring additional parcels to divide among all their sons.138 Agriculture at this time was no longer subsistent, but not quite commercial, it had not yet moved out of “the limits of [the] old mixed husbandry system.”139 Samuel Brooks, living on land in the heart of Brooks Village that had been
established by his grandfather Daniel, undoubtedly felt a sense of satisfaction about being a Brooks.

Samuel Brooks was not a political or military hero, or a spiritual leader. He was a farmer following the most common occupation of his time, even though his dwelling and farmstead had a higher than average value. He was one of the “long string of prosperous yeoman who styled themselves gentlemen.” Properly told, the significant history of the Samuel Brooks farm would enrich the larger view of American history, already so vivid on the Battle Road.

While the interpretation proposed in this thesis cannot include all four households of Brooks Village or recreate the tannery, visitors to the Samuel Brooks House might see Elizabeth, Samuel’s mother, tending the garden, and the swine foraging in the yard on the other side of the fence. Corn is growing well on the farm, an orchard is thriving across the Bay Road, and a milk cow, a horse, and oxen are grazing in adjoining pastures. This could very well be what Samuel Brooks would have seen from his front step looking out in 1775. After a tour of Samuel’s house, visitors can follow the underpass to the Noah Brooks Tavern Visitor Center for refreshment and souvenirs, before returning to their cars at the nearby parking lot. (FIGURE R, Conjectural Aerial View of Brooks Village, next page foldout)

The tavern was built in 1798 by Noah Brooks 3 (1770-1809) on part of his childhood farm. Aged twenty-eight years at the time, he operated the tavern and lived there with his wife Dorothy (they had married in 1794) and their newborn son, Cyrus. Noah’s parents had died by the time the tavern opened, and his unmarried sisters may also have lived there, as the expectation of an unmarried woman was that she should stay
with her parents until their deaths, and then "enter her brother's household... and enjoy whatever satisfactions there were for a maiden aunt." The family occupied private quarters at the front of the house, which included the main entrance, while tavern patrons used the side entrance on the east face of the structure. The Brooks Tavern became a Concord fixture, providing hospitality for farmers and tradesmen traveling in or out of Boston, carrying mail, and "driving herds or hauling wagonloads."

However, in the new century, the prosperity of the 1790s had sputtered out for Samuel Brooks and his kin in Brooks Village. In 1802, a new road, the Cambridge Turnpike, was built from Concord to Boston. Rerouted traffic and a growing temperance movement profoundly affected the Brooks Tavern. Concord's agriculture was expanding commercially, but was in "ecological disarray;" grain, meat, and milk production was up, but at the expense of the forests; embracing the large market economy meant abandoning the diversity and balance of mixed husbandry. Such "improvements" meant Brooks Village was no longer the heart of that part of town, and by the 1850s, even the Brooks farms "were in their last flowering."

The Samuel Brooks house stands observed and preserved--a monument to 250 years of American history and a monument to the land. Although it is an unassuming structure, passersby frequently wonder about the house, Samuel Brooks, Brooks Village and its fields. Because this environment has experienced very little change since Samuel's time, the Samuel Brooks farm is an ideal location for demonstrating daily life in the "largely agrarian society" of eighteenth century America.
Endnotes


5 Gross, 135.


7 Gross, 76, 92, 93.

8 Ibid, 76.

9 Ibid, 92.

10 Ibid, 93.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid, 15.

13 Lincoln Precinct Records 1746-1775, (Lincoln Public Library Special Collections), 6 March 2007.

14 Gross, 107.

15 Ibid.


22 Ibid.

23 Gross, 78.

24 Ibid.


26 Susan Walton, The View from Dorchester (Boston: SPNEA, 2004), 57.

27 Gross, 71.


30 Parish, 55.

31 Gross, 148.

32 Massachusetts Archives, Massachusetts Muster and Pay Rolls., Vol. 52, 105.


34 John Gregg, This Old House Mirrors Lincoln’s History, (Boston: The Boston Sunday Globe, September 27, 1998); Sideris, conversation with author, December 2006. The original house still survives, but is outside the boundary of the National Park. Fortunately, a family committed to maintaining its historical integrity currently owns it.

36 Ibid, 106.

37 Ibid.

38 Gross, 12-14.

39 Ibid, 47.

40 Shattuck, 308.


43 Gross, 8.

44 Ibid, 9.


46 Shattuck, 36.


48 Gross, 85.

49 Massachusetts Archives. (Boston: Middlesex County Probate Records), Probate #2891 & #2900; 1749 & 1774, tax records for Samuel Brooks (Minute Man National Historical Park, Library Special Collections) Drawer A; Bettye H. Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1978), 228; Federal Direct Tax List of 1798, Minute Man National Historical Park Library, Special Collections, Concord, Massachusetts, Schedule C- District 8 in the 5th Division, 629. *Historic Grounds Report- Samuel Brooks Farm* (Minute Man National Historical Park Committee Project: Library Special Collections); none of these sources had a record of taxes for Samuel Brooks in Concord in 1775.

50 *Historic Grounds Report- Samuel Brooks Farm* (Minute Man National Historical Park Committee Project: Library Special Collections), 2.
Generally, Concord and Lincoln tallies are combined here, since the Brooks family owned these parcels before Lincoln was incorporated. Also, the "suburbs" totals combine the mostly Lincoln portion and the minimal portion of Bedford. Bedford tax records were not researched.

Massachusetts Archives. (Boston: Middlesex County Probate Records), Probate #2891.

Ibid., Item, 1.


Brian Donahue, personal interview by author, 16 June 2006.

Estelle Levetin and Karen McMahon, Plants and Society Third Edition. (Tulsa: McGraw Hill, 2003), 94-95. Some fruit trees, like most apple trees in America are "spreading, long-lived trees...and are produced through [a] process of grafting" very similar to the technique practiced by wine vintners.

Donahue The Great Meadow, 164.

Ibid., 160.

Ibid., 207.

Samuel Pierce Papers (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society) Journal, 11 and 30 May, 3 and 24 November 1770.

MA Archives, Probate #2891.

MA Archives, Probate #2900, Item 1.


Ibid, 18.

Nancy Nelson, original plans made available through the Superintendent's Office, Minuteman National Historical Park, personal interview by author, 16 June 2006; room terms in quotes are terms used by Brooks men in their wills and other terms follow common room names mentioned in Hubka.


70 Nelson, original plans made available, 16 June 2006.


72 Ibid.


74 Ibid., 288.


78 Historic Grounds report-- Samuel Brooks Farm, 8-b.

79 Ibid., 11.

80 Shattuck, 202-203.

81 Johnson, 61.


85 Mintz and Kellogg, xiv

86 Ibid, xv.

87 Gross, 102.

88 Walton, 41.

89 Gross, 102.


91 Hollister, 3.

92 Russell, 165.

93 Hubka, 54, 62-65.


95 Lou Sideris, Division Chief, Minuteman National Historical Park, personal interview by author 19 April 2007.


97 Ibid.

98 Shattuck, 365.


102 Donahue, 147.
Regarding Elisha: 1771 tax records show one rateable and one non-rateable poll for Samuel. Speculation around the 1771 non-rateable poll led to Park Service documents, citing Massachusetts Archives, volume 130, p. 476. 1770 records show Elisha possessed no real estate, and then he is not listed at all in 1771. He died in 1771 at the age of 25, and "was probably failing by the time the assessment was made, making him non-rateable. Elisha may have gone home, if he ever left it, to die." Historic Grounds report, Samuel Brooks Farm.

Brooks Papers Vault Files (Concord Free Public Library Special Collections). Nathan Brooks, Esquire (1785-1863) commissioned Henry David Thoreau in 1852, to survey the Noah and Joshua Brooks properties, and Joshua (6), the son of Isaac Brooks (1809-1847) was the last of the tanners, and the last to own property of the first Joshua Brooks (1630-1696.)

Donahue, 200. Timothy lived on property that had been his father’s second homeplace..."a nearby farm that had belonged to [the second] Joshua’s brother Benjamin."

Donahue, 28.

Ibid, 147.

Ibid, 198.

Donahue, 178; Gross, 11.

Donahue, 179.

As is customary in probate, the previous guardian listed all expenses paid on behalf of the children. One specific item is from February of 1784 for 4 ½ Pounds to “Mr. Samuel Brookses wife (mother to said Hephzibah) to give to her Husband twelve Dollars which was agreed upon when said Brooks took said Hephzibah for to Cloth said Hephzibah for she almost had none— also three Dollars more to Buye her a Bible and other things.” At some point between December 1780, and February 1784 when Mary is referred to as “Mr. Samuel Brookses wife,” Samuel became “stepfather” to the Flint children through marriage. The probate records for John Flint provide a number of useful clues about the timing of their marriage and the disposition of the Flint children after their father’s early demise.

Today, the Flint dwelling no longer exists, but much of the land belongs to the Park Service within the North Bridge Unit of the National Historical Park, and the rest of the original farm has been subdivided. Archival documents show that all seven of the Flint children were still alive in 1781, but it is unknown who was still alive by the time Nehemiah received his inheritance in 1812, specifically his brothers Daniel and Jonas.
131 Historic Grounds report- Samuel Brooks Farm, 16-20.

132 Pruitt Dissertation, 35.


134 Samuel Pierce Journal; Johnson, xxi-xxvii.

135 Historic Grounds report- Samuel Brooks Farm, 6.

136 Donahue, 12.

137 Ibid, 208.

138 Walton, 44.

139 Donahue, 227.

140 Donahue, 222.

141 Illustration based on image available through Zillow Real Estate <http://www.zillow.com, online> March 2007.

142 Gross, 103; Martin. The eldest sister, Betty had moved away upon her marriage in 1786.

143 Sideris, 2.

144 Donahue, 222.

145 Parish, i.
Leicester Longwool Sheep.
A long, healthy, lustrous coat, which falls in ringlets, ease of feeding, valuable meat supply and quick maturation are this breed’s traits.

PHOTO: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

Beef Shorthorn.
Of Dutch origin and developed in England during the late 18th Cent., then exported from Scotland to North America. Usually light roan in color, but also may be red, white, or red & white.

PHOTO: shorthorn.co.uk

American Milking Red Devon Cow.
Milk contains high butterfat content- prized in the 18th Cent. For butter and cheese. Very intelligent and good work animals, easy to feed.

PHOTO: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

Randall Oxen.
Randalls were bred in a closed herd by a Vermont family of the same name. They are also called linebacks, due to the white line that runs down their backs.

PHOTO: Randallcattleregistry.org
Iron-age Pig.
An Iron-age pig is a cross between a Tamworth sow and a Wild Boar. Often red in color and very adaptable to different climates.

Dorking Chicken.
Silver or dark poultry breed distinguished by its five toes; large, broad-breasted and well suited to foraging.

Dominique Chicken.
One of the first breeds of chickens developed in the United States. They are small to medium sized with very hardy constitutions. Heavy plumage protects them from low winter temperatures.

American Cream Draft Horse.
The only breed of draft horse originating from the U.S. Cream-colored coat, pink skin, amber eyes, long, white mane and tail and white markings. Excellent temperament.

Canadian Horse.
Developed from horses sent from France to Quebec between 1665 & 1670. Usually black or reddish brown with full manes and tails. Energetic, but not nervous, and adaptable for riding and driving.

Sources for text & photos: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Lucie’s Farm, UK; Omlet Co., UK; Shorthorn Co., UK; the Randall Cattle Registry; Rare Breeds by Lawrence Alderson, pages 19 and 43.
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Brooks, Samuel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
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### Lincoln:

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**TOTALS:**

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<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>5</td>
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* In addition to one dwelling house and one barn, John is taxed in 1771 for one tanhouse and three stillhouses.

** Samuel’s land in Lincoln appears to have been farmed by Edmond Wheeler according to notations on the 1771 tax valuation of Massachusetts “Status Code 4”. Also, Samuel is taxed significantly for substantial rental income, presumably from this arrangement with Edmond Wheeler.

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**Comparison of Brooks and Flint Property of 1771**

*Source: Pruitt, MA Tax 1771.*
Flint Family Genealogy

Source: Special Collections, Concord Free Public Library.
British Crown challenges Massachusetts Bay
Freedom to govern itself

First of the Brooks family of Concord,
Captain Thomas Brooks dies
1692

Salem witchcraft affliction begin

1693

Governor orders release of accused witches

1695

Daniel Brooks buys homestead that will become Samuel Brooks Farm

1699

Captain Kidd the pirate is arrested in Boston

1706

Benjamin Franklin born in Boston

1717

Job Brooks Jr. (3) born

1733

Noah Brooks (2) born

1739

Samuel Brooks born

1749

Deadly drought in New England

1754

Beginning of French and Indian War

1755

1758

Joshua Brooks (4) born

Samuel Brooks (1739-1811) inherits his homestead
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devastating fire in Boston</td>
<td>1760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George III becomes King of England</td>
<td>1763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of French and Indian War</td>
<td>1764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New British taxes imposed on colonies</td>
<td>1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town accepts committee proposal</td>
<td>1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;...to prevent purchasing as much as we have done of foreign commodities&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA Assembly calls on other colonies to join in non-importation of British goods</td>
<td>1769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smallpox</td>
<td>1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Massacre</td>
<td>1771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measles</td>
<td>1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel 2’s sister Anna dies, age 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel 2’s sister Eliz. dies, age 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel 2’s sister Marcy dies, age 15</td>
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<tr>
<td>a great frost in June</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 9 a blazing star in sky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beans dead from may frost</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel 2’s brother, Elisha dies, age 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Dec to Apr ’72, much snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good weather year-pleasant, cold winter, no storms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fine rain in May, light frosts</td>
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</table>
First Continental Congress

Revolution begins
Battles of Lexington & Concord

British evacuation Boston
Declaration of Independence

Revolution Ends
Slavery Declared Unconstitutional in Massachusetts

1774 very mild weather all year
1775 Mar exceeding warm & pleasant
much rain Apr through Nov
Noah Brooks's (2) forth daughter,
Lydia born April 28.

1776
1783

1790 Thomas Brooks and son, Noah (2) die
1792
1794 Job Brooks, Jr. (3) dies
1798 Noah Brooks Tavern opens
1803 Timothy Brooks dies
1809 Noah Brooks (4) dies
1811 Samuel Brooks (2) dies
1825 Joshua Brooks (4) dies

3rd major outbreak of smallpox
Brooks Family Timeline

Each line of the Brooks descendants of Thomas and his son Joshua is assigned a color:
- Samuel: red
- Thomas: blue
- Joshua: orange
- Job: green

1635  Thomas, the first Brooks comes to Concord from England, with family that included his son Joshua (1630-1696)

1656  Joshua’s son Noah is born

1664  Joshua’s son Daniel is born

1667  Thomas Brooks dies

1677  Joshua’s son Hugh is born

1694  Daniel’s son Samuel (1) is born

1695  Daniel buys homestead property on which still stands the present-day Samuel Brooks House

1696  Joshua dies

1701  Noah’s son Thomas (2) is born

1713  Noah’s son Joshua (2) is born

1717  Hugh’s son Job “Jr.” (3) is born

1720  Joshua (3) is born

1730  John Flint (Jr.) is born

1733  Noah (2) is born, Timothy is born, Daniel dies

1739  Samuel (2) is born, Mary Bateman is born, Noah dies

1746  Asa is born, Hugh dies

1758  Samuel (2) inherits the homestead upon his father’s death

1759  Mary Bateman marries John Flint
1767 death of Anna- sister of Samuel (2)
1768 Joshua (2) dies, death of Elizabeth- sister of Samuel (2)
1770 Noah (3) is born, death of Marcy- sister of Samuel (2)
1771 death of Elisha, brother of Samuel (2)
1773 Nehemiah Flint is born, John Flint dies
1775 Noah (2)’s daughter Lydia born 9 days after Battle of Lex & Con
1780 last time we see signature of Mary ‘Flint’
1781 believed to be the year that Samuel (2) marries the widow Mary Bateman Flint
1782 Samuel (2)’s mother Elizabeth dies
1784 first time we see the signature of Mary ‘Brooks’
1790 Noah (2) and his father, Thomas die, Joshua (3) dies
1794 Job “Jr” (3) dies
1797 Nehemiah Flint marries Hannah Davis
1798 Noah (3) open Brooks tavern
1803 Timothy dies
1809 Noah (3) dies
1811 Samuel (2) dies, leaves estate to stepson Nehemiah Flint
1816 Asa dies
1820 Mary Bateman Flint Brooks dies
1825 Samuel’s brother Enoch dies in Princeton, MA
1836 Nehemiah Flint, and wife Hannah sell the Samuel Brooks House
1849 Nehemiah Flint dies
1854 Hannah Flint dies
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Special Collections. Library of the Minute Man National Historical Park. Concord, MA.

Special Collections. Lincoln Public Library. Lincoln, MA.


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**Personal Communications**

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<td>Save Our Heritage/ Barrett Farm</td>
<td>3 Feb 2007.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brian Donahue</td>
<td>Brandeis University Professor, and Author</td>
<td>16 June 2006.</td>
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