THE
CHURCHES QUARREL
ESPoused:
or, a
REPLY

In Satyr, to certain Proposals made, in Answer to this
Question,-------What further Steps are to be taken,
that the Councils may have due Constitution and Effi-
cacy in Supporting, Preserving, and Well-Ordering the
Interest of the CHURCHES in the Country?

by

JOHN WISE, A. M.
Pastor to a CHURCH in IPSWICH.

Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be found
in the faith. TIT. 1. XIII.

Abhincendus Pudor, Quoties urget Necessitas.

BOSTON:
Printed and Sold by JOHN BOYES, in Marlboro'-Street,
MDCLXXII.
VINDICATION

OF THE AMERICAN

AND NEW-ENGLAND

GOVERNMENT-OF

CHURCHES.

Drawn from Antiquity; the Light of Nature; Holy Scripture; its Noble Nature; and from the Dignity Divine Providence has put upon it.

BY

JOHN WISE, A. M.

Pastor to a CHURCH in Ipswich.

There are none to guide her among all the Sons whom she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all the Sons that she hath brought up.

Isa. ii. 18.

Say ye unto your Brethren Ammi, and to your Sisters Ruhamah.

Hos. ii. 1.

BOSTON:

Printed and Sold by JOHN BOYLES, in Marlboro' Street.

MDCCCLXXII.
THE RESURRECTION OF JOHN WISE:  
POPULAR MOBILIZATION AND THE  
OPENING OF  
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1771 - 1775

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
The Degree Master of Arts in the  
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
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ABSTRACT

A series of interpretive errors have led historians to marginalize John Wise’s early eighteenth century pamphlets as having been insignificant to the revolutionary movement. They have been observed by some, but ignored by all. Nevertheless, when they were combined and republished in 1772, the Wise pamphlet expressed a coherent ideology that is best described as an indigenous or congregational republicanism. In its insistence upon the purification of society’s institutions (civil and ecclesiastical), the Wise pamphlet provides a tangible link between the Settlement of the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the support of ordinary New Englanders for the revolutionary movement. Of all the pamphlets published in New England between 1764 and 1775, the 1772 Wise pamphlet is unique in that it is the only politically-oriented pamphlet that also included a list of its subscribers. When the information contained in this list is correlated with other sources, it reveals how the covenanted relationships of ordinary New Englanders, through their professional, civic, military, religious, and social affiliations, formed a second-tier of leadership during the revolutionary era. Because they were committed to the purity of their civil and ecclesiastical institutions, these ordinary New Englanders actively sought opportunities to serve their local communities and to defend their vision of England’s constitution. Unlike the leadership of elite Whigs at the provincial level, however, the leadership provided by ordinary New Englanders was guided not by a
republicanism inherited from ancient Rome, but rather by the congregational republicanism that was already deeply embedded within their culture, given written expression by John Wise and exemplified in the actions of William Dawes.
Dedicated to my mother, her siblings, and their parents
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the four years that went into the development of this thesis, many people offered assistance and advice. Without their generous guidance this work would have been the poorer, but with it both I and my work have been enriched. I am deeply grateful to each individual who, in one way or another, touched this project.

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My deepest professional debt, though, is owed to Professor John L. Brooke, who welcomed and allowed me to figuratively “dig in his backyard.” His guidance and advice led me to consider alternative possibilities, allowing me to draw this
project's conclusions. Somewhere a small bell has rung, and Professor Brooke's wings have been assured.

On a personal note, I would be remiss if I failed to acknowledge how Don C. LaHue's unwavering interest reassured me that someone outside of academia could actually care about my rather arcane research. My most sincere thanks are reserved for my husband and his unselfish support that allowed me to pursue and complete this project. And then, of course, there was Max—the cat—my constant companion both day and night. His hair is evident on every electronic page of this thesis, but I concede that he may have been attracted more by the warmth of my desk lamp's halogen light bulb than the genius of any idea expressed herein. To all involved I extend my heartfelt thanks.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

History has not remembered William Dawes as it might have. He did not create pieces of heirloom silver and pewter, or any of the most familiar engravings of the revolutionary era that survived the centuries. Nor did he leave a diary or journal that recorded his actions and could offer insight today regarding what motivated his actions. These limitations, however, place Dawes in good company—in a category occupied by the vast majority of middling Massachusetts provincials. These are the historically silent majority, whose commitment to an indigenous congregational republicanism—rather than a more secular republicanism inherited from classical Rome via England's early eighteenth-century Whigs—led them to actively defend their provincial interpretation of England's constitution and Massachusetts' 1691 Charter. Throughout the revolutionary era the educated and economic elite wrapped their objections to Parliamentary taxation in the language of classical republicanism, but the principles they expressed were already familiar to New England's ordinary provincials. Living on the edge of empire, where fewer protections existed, forced provincials to understand and jealously defend their constitution and Charter against any attempted infringement or usurpation. The covenantal foundation of congregationalism embedded the notion of self-sacrifice for a homogenous communal
good within New England's culture more than a century before elite provincial Whigs borrowed the same ideal from classical republicanism. At the opening of the revolutionary era, then, ordinary New Englanders were already tied to a congregational inception of republicanism. But how, exactly, did this commitment to congregational republicanism manifest itself in New England society, and where did William Dawes fit in?

Because it was the incubator of a new nation, the revolutionary era has always fascinated historians. The revolutionary movement has been interpreted through a number of historical lenses, including Whig, celebratory, progressive, and consensus. More recently (in the 1960s) Caroline Robbins and Bernard Bailyn posited that a well-defined republican ideology had been the primary impetus of the movement.1 Almost immediately, New Left historians pointed out that this intellectual synthesis

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1 Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth-century Commonwealth: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); Robbins' argument was largely overlooked in favor of Bailyn's work largely because her narrative emphasized the English experience. See also Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967). When Caroline Robbins and Bernard Bailyn asserted that the actions of revolutionary era American provincials had been motivated by an ideology of republicanism inherited from English Whigs, it shifted how historians thought about the origins of the American Revolution, but it also created a problem. Their arguments assumed a broad consensus existed throughout provincial American society regarding opposition to Parliament's measures after 1764, but they approached their subject only from the perspective of traditional elites. It remained unclear how or why ordinary provincials responded to this ideology. Pauline Maier's study of resistance and rebellion followed shortly thereafter. It established the institutional role crowd actions played in provincial politics and traced the trans-Atlantic cooperation of English and Anglo-American Whigs, but it left unanswered the problem of what factors influenced ordinary provincials to support the revolutionary movement. See Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776 (New York: Knopf, 1972). New Left historians explored the possible causation of economic and social factors, but as Jesse Lemisch suggested, this approach is condescending toward its subject. Rather than project twentieth-century concerns with class upon provincial Americans, why not consider the possibility that one or more ideologies unrelated to republicanism influenced ordinary provincials to support the revolutionary movement. Refer also to Jesse Lemisch, "Bailyn Beseiged," Radical History Review 3 (Fall 1976), pp. 77-83.
approached the problem of motivation from the perspective of elite Whigs only.\(^2\) They emphasized the centrality of ordinary provincials and emphasized that a variety of economic and social factors had influenced their actions. Their conclusions, though, implicitly rejected the possibility that the actions of non-elites would not have been guided by ideology—republican or otherwise.\(^3\) After a century of debate regarding the preeminence of different causes, there is now broad concurrence that monocausal explanations inadequately account for the era’s actual complexity. Instead, we now accept that the revolutionary era marked the nexus of a variety of factors, which culminated in a political declaration of independence.

Historians have not intentionally avoided engaging directly with ordinary New Englanders, but the sources available to understand what, if any, ideology they adhered to is extremely limited. Ordinary provincials generally did not consider their lives to be of enduring significance, and so did not record their actions and the ideas that motivated them. Although this has rendered recovery of individual lives difficult, it has not been impossible.\(^4\) A number of important historians have made

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\(^3\) Lemisch, “Bailyn Beseiged.” Timothy Breen also regards the notion that ordinary provincials, those who actually fought the Revolutionary War, were the pawns of a political ideology to which they did not subscribe; see Breen, “The Lockean Moment,” (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

significant contributions toward a better understanding of the lives of middling provincials. The finiteness of primary sources available to study middling provincials of the revolutionary era, though, will ultimately force researchers to approach already well-examined documents and artifacts from fresh perspectives.

Since the mid-twentieth century some leading historians have sought to recover the mentality of New Englanders through their religion. Portions of their work have posited how religion influenced the trajectory of the Revolution, but these examinations have invariably been from the perspective of the clergy. After all, the sermons were written by the clergy for their congregations. Historians have therefore tended to interpret these sources as the expressed reflections of the clergy upon contemporary society. This assumption has unavoidably shaped the resultant historical narratives. To a significant extent, they imply that without the vigilant

1969) as having been ineffective at mobilizing ordinary provincials; instead, he observes that a world of manufactured British goods, available to provincials of all economic means since the 1750s, drew them together into a common consumer culture. Breen emphasizes provincials' individual decisions regarding whether or not to support the non-consumption associations were indicative of how their support of the revolutionary movement was motivated not by republicanism, but rather by liberalism.


leadership of congregational ministers, middling New Englanders would have wandered aimlessly through the revolutionary era.

Unquestionably, the members of congregational churches respected the advanced education of their clergy, but in their relationship with their minister Congregationalists held the power of the purse. One of the fundamental tenets of congregationalism was the autonomy of its churches, especially the freedom of each church’s elders to call and dismiss their clergy without external supervision or review. Therefore, even though New England’s clergy often appeared as a fountainhead of intellectual leadership, it is misleading to assume that the ideas espoused in their sermons were necessarily their own. Especially in times of political, social, or economic conflict, sermons likely reflected ideals already voiced by a church’s congregants. What of a sermon, though, that was republished fifty years after its author died?

In December of 1771 Boston publisher Nathaniel Boyles printed two pamphlets written by Reverend John Wise in 1713 and 1717 as a single volume. 7

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7 John Wise, A.M., Pastor to a CHURCH in Ipswich, *A Vindication of the Government of New-England Churches*, (Boston: Nathaniel Boyles, 1772). This is actually the second edition of the Wise pamphlets that Boyles published. Newspaper advertisements reveal an earlier edition was published in December of 1771. For simplicity, all further references to the Wise pamphlet will simply cite the year 1772 unless explicitly discussing the earlier edition and its significance. Boyles’ revolutionary era publication of the Wise pamphlet included two Wise pamphlets, as well as other commentaries. The original titles of Wise’ pamphlets were *The Churches’ Quarrel Espoused: or a Reply in satyre, to certain Proposals made, in Answer to this Question. —What further Steps are to be taken, that the Councils may have due Constitution and Efficacy in Supporting, Preserving, and Well-Ordering the Interest of the CHURCHES in the Country?*, and *A Vindication of the Government of NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES, Drawn from Antiquity; the Light of Nature; Holy Scripture; it’s Noble Nature; and from the Dignity Divine Providence has put upon it*. Included within the same pamphlet were also John White’s *New England’s Lamentations* (Selections), the Cambridge Synod’s *Platform of Church Discipline*, and the Boston Synod’s *Confession of Faith*. Boyles’ newspaper advertisements in Boston and Salem almost always emphasized Wise’ writings, but in at least one instance Boyles did advertise that he would make available separately copies of the *Platform of Church Discipline* to any interested party.
Appended to a second edition of this amalgamated volume, which was distributed in September of 1772, was a list of the individuals who subscribed to both editions, including their town and the number of pamphlets each purchased. This republished version of Wise' writings and its subscription list present a rather unusual primary source. The subscription list reveals the identities of several thousand New Englanders who voluntarily purchased and read a lengthy (more than three-hundred pages) religious tract, but not one written by their own minister, nor a contemporary. In essence, these New Englanders subscribed to the Wise pamphlet because something within the Wise pamphlet appealed to them. Thus far, historians have concluded that this appeal was strictly religious; that it was Wise' theology that resonated with revolutionary era readers. Wise' early eighteenth century defense of congregationalism, however, depended explicitly upon a philosophy that has been described as democratic, but is better characterized as a republicanism that was indigenous to congregational culture. It is precisely because Wise' political ideas were embedded within the vernacular language of congregationalism that ordinary New Englanders were drawn to the 1772 Wise pamphlet. The combination of the pamphlet and its subscriber list therefore presents a tremendously rich resource; it is a detailed exposition of ideology coupled with the revolutionary era New Englanders who found those ideals appealing. There is also sufficient information in the list to allow the identification of most of the subscribers. When analyzed in conjunction

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8 Clinton L. Rossiter analyzed Wise' political philosophy and characterizes it as having been democratic in his article, "John Wise, Colonial Democrat," *The New England Quarterly* 22 (1949), pp. 3-32.
with other primary sources, the Wise subscription list reveals that interlocking circles of friends, family, professional associates, and acquaintances existed that, together, formed a second-tier of revolutionary era leadership. It was upon these voluntary, covenanted coalitions that support for the revolutionary movement in New England hinged. Indeed, evidence suggests that the 1772 Wise pamphlet positively influenced New Englanders’ attitude toward the formation of the Committees of Correspondence in November of 1772.

*The Error of Our Ways*

Historians’ interpretations of sermons during the revolutionary era have colored the way in which we consider the role of religion as an element of cultural cohesion during the revolutionary era—it has been viewed as a “top-down” factor. While the degree to which ordinary provincials’ own guiding ideals influenced the content of revolutionary era sermons may be debatable, the interest of ordinary New Englanders in Wise’ political ideology cannot be contested. Unfortunately, the 1772 Wise pamphlet has received scant historical attention for a variety of reasons. When historians have examined this publication, they have either marginalized or misinterpreted its significance. To the modern eye looking for tracts that influenced revolutionary-era provincial thought and action, the titles of Wise’ pamphlets appear anachronistic and an improbable source of revolutionary interest: *The Churches Cause Espoused* and *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches*.
Drawn from Antiquity. The result has been the perpetuation of the notion that provincial elites alone formulated political ideology.

The timing of Boyles' publication of the Wise pamphlet has persuaded some historians that its argument formed part of a larger public debate regarding the proposal to establish an Anglican bishopric for the colonies. Although New England's Congregationalists and Anglicans had disagreed on the merit of an American Episcopacy since the first decade of the eighteenth century, that conflict intensified after the settlement of the Seven Years' War. Remarks made by the guest of honor at a 1768 dinner hosted by the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London precipitated what became a year-long printed debate between two leading provincial theologians. Between 1768 and 1770 Anglican Thomas Chandler and Congregationalist Charles Chauncey alternately published their opinions in New York and Boston's newspapers regarding the advantages and disadvantages they believed would accompany an American episcopacy. When viewed within this context the publication of Wise' pamphlets in 1771 and 1772 appear to have been a coda to the Chauncy-Chandler debate. Any historian who approached Wise' work from this perspective would reasonably conclude that contemporaries read the 1772 Wise pamphlet only for their religious content.

Indeed, a simultaneous debate in Massachusetts between Old Lights and New Lights led Alan Heimert to misinterpret the significance of the 1772 Wise pamphlet. In his remarkable study Religion and the American Mind, which spanned the period from the Great Awakening to the Revolution, Alan Heimert includes John Wise at several junctures in his narrative, but finds reason to mention the 1772 republication
of his pamphlets only once. Placing Boyles’ republication of Wise’ 1710 and 1717 pamphlets firmly within the decades-old conflict between Old and New Lights regarding consociation and hierarchical church governance, Heimert asserts the Wise pamphlet was a factor in the bitter dispute between congregational minister Nathaniel Whitaker and the congregants of Salem’s Third Church in 1773. Both Whitaker and his newly formed church were products of the Great Awakening. The members of the Salem’s Third Church had called Whitaker as their minister because they shared his doctrinal perspective and enjoyed his manner of preaching. Within a year of his installation, however, conflict surfaced. In accord with New Light tendencies, Whitaker attempted to constrict his church’s polity by excluding members who had not been confirmed as among the Elect—visibly unregenerate citizens as well as Half-Way members—from church governance. His effort to return to a more stringent definition of church-membership threatened to exclude some of the Salem church’s prominent members such as Timothy Pickering, despite his protestations to Christian virtue and respectability. In response, these members asked an outside council of clergy to intervene and mediate their dispute with Whitaker. Heimert argues that in 1773 this group of “established clergy of Massachusetts republished John Wise’ tracts in defense of congregationalism ... in the hope of ousting Nathaniel Whitaker from the Salem Tabernacle,” and to oppose the “efforts of [New Light] Calvinists in the western part of the state ... to undo the Half-Way Covenant.”

10 Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, 500.
11 Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, pp. 206, 500-501. He also notes here that the readership
Several factors work against Heimert's interpretation of the role of the Wise pamphlet in the Whitaker conflict and, more broadly, New England's revolutionary era history. Heimert likely linked the Wise pamphlet to the Salem discord because in 1774 Whitaker published a *Confutation* of the Wise pamphlets. Heimert published this rebuttal to defend his pulpit against parishioners determined to remove him who may have drawn upon the Wise pamphlet to justify their action. Boyles did not publish the Wise pamphlet in 1773, however, as Heimert cited, but rather in 1771 and 1772. A careful reading of newspaper advertisements from early 1772 reveals that Boyles printed a second edition in 1772 only because all copies of a late-1771 edition sold so quickly. Heimert’s assertion that it was Whitaker’s theological opponents who initiated publication of Wise’ pamphlets in 1773 is also misplaced. Like the publication date, the cover page of the Wise pamphlet clearly attributes publication to John Boyles in Boston. Although the clergy cited by Heimert could have initiated the printing of the pamphlet, a combination of primary sources suggests that a trio of middling New England artisans financed the pamphlet’s printing. Regarding the pamphlet’s readership, not one minister from Salem or the western reaches of


13 The subscriber list, newspaper advertisements, and unpublished personal papers suggest that three men (Ephraim Fairbanks, Peter Jayne, and William Dawes, Sr.) financed Boyles’ publication of the 1772 Wise pamphlet. Their role in the publication and distribution of the 1772 Wise pamphlet will be discussed in Chapter 4: “Elusive Revolutionaries.”
Massachusetts subscribed to the Wise book as Heimert claimed. Indeed, of the thirty-one members of Salem’s Third Church who in 1774 jointly advertised their church pews for sale at the height of their feud with Whitaker, only three subscribed to the 1772 Wise pamphlet—too few from which to draw any meaningful conclusion.\textsuperscript{14} Heimert’s characterization of the Wise pamphlet readership is therefore misleading; it has helped to pigeon-hole the Wise pamphlet as having been read in the late eighteenth-century for its religious content only. The Whitaker conflict bears testament to the continued influence of the Great Awakening, even three decades after its zenith. It cannot account, though, for the republication of the Wise pamphlet in 1771 and 1772, or the demographics of its subscribers. Heimert’s characterization of the Wise pamphlet readership is therefore exceptionally misleading; it has helped pigeon-hole the Wise pamphlet as having been read in the late eighteenth-century for its religious content only.

Heimert, though, is not alone in misjudging the significance of the 1772 Wise pamphlet. In 1949, Clinton Rossiter wrote an article devoted to an analysis of Wise’ political philosophy. As he considered the significance of Wise among his late-seventeenth century contemporaries, Rossiter lauded Wise as America’s “first democrat.”\textsuperscript{15} But with regard to the 1772 reprint, Rossiter concluded that Wise’ “ideas were quite without effect, even upon the minds of the Massachusetts

\textsuperscript{14} John Gardner, Samuel Hall, and Thorndike Proctor advertised their pews at Salem’s Third Church for sale in the \textit{Essex Gazette}, 8 February 1774, 15 February 1774, and 22 February 1774.

Rossiter rationalized his assessment of Wise’ polemics as inconsequential because he found Wise’ name rarely mentioned in the writings of revolutionary era Whigs. Rossiter’s conclusion, however, is less indicative of Wise’ influence in 1772 than it is of his own bias. His objective was to analyze how effectively the Wise pamphlet articulated a democratic political philosophy. When he discovered that Wise’ polemics aroused little interest among New England’s elite Whigs, though, Rossiter dismissed the 1772 reprint as having been inconsequential. To do so Rossiter had to assume that only elite New England Whigs exerted influential leadership throughout the revolutionary era. Even when confronted with a list of subscribers, Rossiter assumed that no one else was even capable of having exercised individual or collective agency. Rossiter’s characterization of the 1772 Wise pamphlet as having been of no influence is excessively narrow. That virtually no elite Whig commented upon the Wise pamphlet should have been somewhat predictable; these were men who articulated their political philosophy within a language of classical republicanism. For all intents and purposes, the 1772 Wise pamphlet outwardly appeared to be a religious tract. It required a reader conditioned to its congregational language to read between the lines for its political subtext. Among the 260 subscribers, less than two percent could be described as having been “elite Whigs.” The problem with Rossiter’s interpretation is not simply that he overlooked the agency of ordinary provincials; he also did not consider that a distinct segment of New England society was drawn to the 1772 pamphlet precisely because

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Wise embedded his political manifesto within an explicitly religious text. The 1772 Wise pamphlet therefore did have far-reaching influence—it just extended where Rossiter did not expect to find it. By the 1770s, congregationalism had transcended its original religious boundary and had rooted its emphasis upon autonomy deep within New England’s broader culture.

In the eighteenth-century the vast majority of English citizens in both England and New England were Protestant, professed allegiance to the Crown, and shared a common cultural heritage. The unique relationship between civil and religious government on each side of the Atlantic, however, created a wedge that over time further divided English citizens already separated by an ocean. Whereas England’s Anglican clergy inculcated in its members an unquestioning submission to hierarchical authority, New England’s Congregationalism fostered independence of thought and action in both its churches and citizens. In both cases, though, the fundamental tenets of Anglicanism and Congregationalism reinforced popular commitment to the institutions of their respective civil government.

The continued influence of these two different Protestant denominations contributed to what eventually became one of the primary causes of the political conflict between England and its American colonies. In the century that followed the Glorious Revolution, the way in which English citizens on either side of the Atlantic envisioned England’s constitution increasingly differed. In England, the realities of governing an empire forced citizens there to accept pragmatic accommodations. In New England, though, provincials remained committed to a conception of England’s
constitution that became fixed not long after the Glorious Revolution and its Settlement in 1689.

The impulse within congregationalism to purify society’s institutions compelled New Englanders throughout the eighteenth-century to defend their vision of England’s constitution both locally and nationally. Eighteenth century crowd actions imposed provincials’ vision of moral economy and justice at a time where, at the edge of empire, written statutes proved insufficient. With the onset of the imperial crisis that followed the Seven Years’ War, though, provincials’ focus shifted from local concerns of constitutionality to resistance of Parliament’s infringement upon rights they regarded to have been customary, inherited, and protected by their provincial charters. Each occurrence of individual and collective action to enforce that vision, including the formation of non-importation and non-consumption associations, the Stamp Act Riots, the forced resignations of mandamus counselors, and the formation of alternative institutions of government, should be thought of as having been an act of ‘popular constitutionalism.’

Examples of provincial Americans’ commitment to popular constitutionalism are rife throughout the colonial and revolutionary eras. Constitutional historian Larry Kramer recently noted that colonial use of petition, hue and cry, the posse comitatus, and militia were all popular demonstrations of individual and communal concern for the defense of England’s constitution. “Colonial Americans were wedded to the

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18 Legal historian Larry Kramer has used the term ‘popular constitutionalism’ to see American citizens’ interpretation of legal statutes during the early national period before the Supreme Court case of Marbury v. Madison established the doctrine of judicial review. See Larry Kramer, The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). This thesis argues that this term applies equally well to the colonial and provincial eras of American history.
principles of this constitution, intimately familiar with its terms and convinced of its essential rightness and wisdom." Though Kramer’s focus is upon how, in the absence of a mature judicial system, Americans of the early national period considered it natural to collectively interpret what was “constitutional.”19 Their concern with interpretations of constitutionality, however, did not begin with the formation of the new nation.

Anglo-American colonists, particularly in New England, were concerned with the defense of “constitution” from the moment they emigrated from England. Indeed, in Massachusetts alone, between 1690 and the onset of the revolutionary movement in 1764, twenty-four “significant cases of purposeful, collective, and political violence” occurred. In each case, members from different social classes acted together to enforce their community’s collective interpretation of popular constitutionalism.20 Provincial concern with popular constitutionalism was not limited to enforcement of moral economy, but operated on a broader level as well.

In New England, covenanted relationships (rather than inherited titles and automatic submission of hierarchical authority) formed the basis of everyday life for provincials of all social classes.21 They pledged themselves to one another as they


20 William Pencak. War, Politics, & Revolution in Provincial Massachusetts (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981), 185-190. Pencak discusses twenty-four “significant cases of purposeful, collective, and political violence” from the 1690s until 1764. He asserts that in all cases citizens from all socio-economic groups joined together to achieve the community’s objective.

21 Fred Anderson in A People’s Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years’ War (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984); see chapter six for a discussion of the centrality of covenanted relationships to the popular understanding of what constituted a legitimate exercise of authority and the willingness of New Englanders to voluntary support colonial military expeditions.
pursued their goal of a "City Upon a Hill." By the turn of the eighteenth century, New Englanders’ conception of an idealized constitution focused on the political settlement of the Glorious Revolution. As articulated by England’s Whigs, a new distribution of power replicated in its civil institutions the nation’s social structure; its three estates of King, nobility, and people would be represented by respectively the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. Theoretically, the balance of these three estates would limit the power of the other two, to the benefit of English citizens. It was this vision that crystallized in the minds of New Englanders. Their ideal, though, was only an abstract conception, untested by the pragmatic realities of administering an empire. Even though New Englanders’ conception of constitution remained fixed, Parliament sacrificed that abstract ideal during the Walpole administration in order to create a functioning government. This trans-Atlantic dichotomy in constitutional conceptions eventually became the hinge upon which New Englanders’ resistance to Parliament turned. American involvement in constitutional interpretation therefore did not originate with the early national period, as Kramer suggests. Popular constitutionalism should be associated with Anglo-Americans throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well. Due to the covenanted nature of their society, New Englanders were especially committed—almost compelled—to defend their idealized vision of England’s constitution. During the revolutionary era, the actions of William Dawes, Jr. epitomized that covenanted nature and New Englanders’ popular defense of their constitution.

When New England provincials read the Wise pamphlet in 1772, its political content reinforced their idealized conception of England’s constitution and offered
justification for further acts of popular constitutionalism. The publisher, aided by
three principle investors, distributed the pamphlet throughout New England during
the nine-month period most historians describe as having been the calm before the
storm. But it was precisely in this lull--during the months that preceded Boston’s call
to create a network of corresponding committees in November of 1772--when
provincial New Englanders were reading the Wise pamphlet in their homes and
taverns. Credit for the idea of committees of correspondence is often ascribed to Sam
Adams, but Carl Bridenbaugh has traced its organizational roots to the persistent
provincial fear of an American bishopric. Provincial New Yorkers, who in the 1760s
feared that efforts by the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel might
secure the appointment of a bishop for the American colonies, organized a short-lived
network of corresponding committees in the 1760s. 22

Similarly, the intellectual roots of Massachusetts’ network of corresponding
committees are indirectly tied to the 1772 Wise pamphlet. As Richard Brown has
observed, while the “Boston pamphlet” that called for the creation of corresponding

22 Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-
1775 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 202-204. According to Bridenbaugh, the trans-
Atlantic scope of the network and its dependence upon volunteers contributed to the committees’
failure. Richard Brown specifically notes that an Albany physician, Thomas Young, familiar with
New York’s committees had settled in Boston some time after 1766. Young conveyed to Sam Adams
that the New York Committees of Correspondence had failed because its geographical scope (which
included committees in England) had been too broad. It was inevitable that some committees would
disagree regarding objectives, and not share the same fervor that New York did against an Anglican
Episcopacy. Adams therefore determined Massachusetts’ network of committees should be intra-
colonial, and that they would work through sub-committees of each locale’s town meeting rather than
rely upon undependable volunteers, as New York had done; see also Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary
Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 45-46. Patricia Bonomi also has noted that the New
York committees were “undoubtedly a model for the American Revolutionaries; see Patricia Bonomi,
University Press, 1986), 207.
committees contained no new political theory, it “rejected passive, acquiescent political behavior”—the very antithesis of congregationalism. As will be seen, the orchestrated distribution of the Wise pamphlet throughout much of New England anticipated the mode in which Boston organized the province’s towns into a network of corresponding committees. It seems likely that republication of the Wise pamphlet in late 1771 and 1772 must have helped to persuade more than 200 of Massachusetts’ towns to join with Boston and form their own Committee of Correspondence.

Provincial acceptance of these committees in late 1772 and into 1773 was by no means automatic. Massachusetts’ 1691 Charter, which outlined the province’s institutions of civil government, said nothing about corresponding committees. Massachusetts’ royal governor, Thomas Hutchinson, immediately recognized the implications of the newly formed corresponding committees and characterized them as an illegal usurpation of Parliament’s legitimate sovereignty. He wrote that with the Committees of Correspondence, Boston’s Town Meeting not only created a new institution, but these committees were “standing” bodies that functioned beyond the purview of royal government, threatening to create the untenable position of “imperium in imperio.” Whereas the governor could convene and prorogue the General Court, the new province-wide network of corresponding committees

23 Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts, 69. For a full discussion of the creation of corresponding committees in Massachusetts, Brown’s work remains the standard text; see especially chapter three.

24 Alden Bradford, ed., Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts, 1765-1775 (Boston, 1818), 336-342. See also Hutchinson, The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, from the charter of King William and Queen Mary, in 1691, until the year 1750 (Boston: Thomas & John Fleet, 1767); and Hutchinson, The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, from the First Settlement Thereof in 1628 (1764).
functioned continuously. This, of course, was their raison d’etre; to facilitate communication of any Parliamentary usurpation of rights—as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects—whenever the General Court was not in session. Given their cultural commitment to a constitution free of corrupting influences, it would seem that provincials across Massachusetts would have objected when the Boston Town Meeting established a system of extra-legal committees. Instead, most of the province’s towns joined in the growing network. When they made this decision, Massachusetts provincials must have been convinced that establishing the Committees of Correspondence was a measure—an act of popular constitutionalism—absolutely necessary to defend their constitutional rights from further usurpation by Parliament.

The subscription list appended to the 1772 Wise pamphlet therefore presents an unprecedented opportunity to better understand why ordinary New Englanders chose to support the revolutionary movement. It identifies by location where 1,132 pamphlets were distributed, and by name the hundreds of New England provincials who purchased one or more copies. Most subscribers were not clergymen or known congregational leaders, but rather middling provincials. This widespread lay interest in what was essentially a theological tract affirms the notion that revolutionary era New Englanders had inherited and embraced the essence of congregationalism.

Although the timing of the Wise pamphlet’s publication in 1771 and 1772 appears on the surface to have been during an interlude in trans-Atlantic political

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conflict, it was really a hinge in the trajectory of the revolutionary movement. The content of the pamphlet in all likelihood helped provincials to justify their unilateral escalation of resistance to Parliament— from discrete, temporary acts of popular constitutionalism, to the permanent extra-legal institution formed by the Committees of Correspondence. In terms of relative geographic saturation alone, nearly twice as many Wise pamphlets (1,132) circulated throughout Massachusetts in 1772 compared to the number of “Boston Pamphlets” (600) distributed by the Boston Town Meeting.\(^\text{26}\) The subscription list and the ideology articulated by the Wise pamphlet therefore present an important means of recovering what ideas influenced ordinary New England provincials on the eve of this important turning point.

Few studies thus far have considered the possibility that cohesive groups within provincial New England society existed that may have offered an ideological vision that either complemented or competed with republicanism. The implication is that America’s middling provincials patiently waited for the “better sort” to communicate a fully-formed political agenda, and then followed their cues without question. This notion is problematic for two reasons. Although elites had held a monopoly on provincial office-holding and positions of political influence throughout much of the eighteenth century, by the 1770s that pattern was changing.\(^\text{27}\) First, it assumes that people steeped in the Congregationalist tradition blindly followed a secular political agenda rather than acting in accord with the dictates of individual

\(^{26}\) See the subscription list appended to the 1772 Wise pamphlet, and *Boston Town Records 1770-1777* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1887), 94.

conscience. Widespread interest among ordinary provincials in the 1772 Wise pamphlet confirms Richard Brown's observation that "After six generations Massachusetts was turning away from the traditional ideal of active leaders with passive followers toward the radical goal of an alert, actively engaged populace." It privileges the role of classical republicanism, but does not allow for the influence of a republican ideology indigenous to congregationalism. Persistent concern through the revolutionary era regarding the continued autonomy of congregational churches appears to have influenced the decisions of some middling New England provincials. Even men and women who were not themselves Congregationalists were the beneficiaries of New England's congregational heritage, which remained a driving force in their lives. Secondly, the notion that ordinary New Englanders would humbly acquiesce to an authority in political matters represented for these men and women the very embodiment of "slavery." Their political history (beginning with the 1689 Settlement of the Glorious Revolution) combined with their congregational heritage (which emphasized individual and institutional autonomy) to impress upon New Englanders the need to stand ever vigilant against the possibility of political "enslavement."

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CHAPTER 2
JOHN WISE, MINISTER OF CHEWBACCO

Enslaved

To Massachusetts provincials, both congregational church members as well as those who were simply the beneficiaries of a cultural inheritance bequeathed to them by New England's Calvinist founders, neither John Wise nor his writings were obscure. By 1771 John Wise had been dead for almost fifty years. Although virtually all of his contemporaries had also passed, Wise persisted as a cultural icon—particularly to a society steeped in congregationalism and contending with the imperial metropolis in a political conflict. Wise's importance to Massachusetts' provincial culture derived not only from his articulation of a democratic philosophy, but also from his willingness to act upon his convictions to defend his vision of what was "constitutional."\(^1\)

Two decades before Wise wrote his first pamphlet on church governance (in 1710), he became embroiled in the political conflict between Massachusetts' people and James II's Dominion of New England. At that point Wise had already served as

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the pastor of Chebacco's Puritan church (officially the Second Parish of Ipswich) for twenty-five years. Contemporaries regarded him as "the most powerful and brilliant prose writer in this country during the Colonial time, and who in this day enjoyed a sovereign reputation in New England." In the process Wise created an exemplar of political philosophy and action that would influence future generations of New Englanders. Wise led provincial resistance to the Crown's effort to reorganize the administration of its colonies according to the Vice-Royalty model created by Spain.²

James II's plan to create a Dominion-style government in New England met mixed support in the targeted colonies. When in 1684 the Crown directed its New England colonies to surrender their charters, Connecticut and Rhode Island voluntarily complied. Massachusetts, however, refused. For two years its General Court consistently resisted repeated demands. The Assembly's resistance ended, though, when James II appointed Sir Edmund Andros as Royal Governor of the newly formed Dominion of New England.

When the frigate Rose brought Andros to Boston in December of 1686, the General Court realized further resistance was futile. Years of defending the province against the external danger of Indian wars had drained the province's treasury, leaving it without funds to mount an armed rebellion to the unexpected internal attack of the Andros administration. Once the Colony of Massachusetts Bay surrendered its

1629 Charter, their democratic town meetings as well as popularly elected provincial legislature and governor, were replaced by an arbitrary government.

Once the Dominion of New England was implemented, a royal oligarchy assumed control of governance. provincials no longer possessed a voice in their polity; no elected legislature existed to represent and defend their interests. The removal of institutional opposition left the Crown, acting through Andros, free to impose whatever tax measures it deemed desirable. In January of 1687 Governor Andros levied a property tax directly upon New England provincials. With no apparent recourse, the Selectmen of town after town grudgingly appointed a tax commissioner, who assessed the value of locals’ property. Before the Dominion had seized power, a provision of Massachusetts’ 1629 Charter had reserved to the General Court the right to control provincial taxation. If the Crown required funds from the province, Parliament had traditionally allowed the General Court to determine the optimal manner of taxation and to supervise its collection. This autonomy to control internal provincial taxation had long been the shibboleth of Massachusetts provincials’ rights. But with this chartered right denied by Dominion fiat, first Boston, then Salem, Manchester, Marblehead, and Newbury each complied with the provisions of Andros’ property tax.\(^3\) When it appeared that the Dominion’s assertion

\(^3\) Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*; and Thomas Franklin Waters and Eunice Whitney Farley Felten, *Two Ipswich Patriots* (Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, XXVI, 1927). This is a small book of 41 pages that is out of print; it is available online at http://www.bwlord.com/Ipswich/Waters/TwoPatriots/JohnWise.htm, but the website is unpaginated.
of absolute power would progress through the province unimpeded, it encountered opposition.

In August of 1687, the Selectmen of Taunton refused to comply with the Dominion’s directive. Prior to the Dominion of New England, Taunton had actually been part of Plymouth colony. When its leaders refused to appoint the requisite tax officers, royal response was swift and decisive. Dominion officers arrested Taunton’s Town Clerk, Shadrack Wilbore, and held him in jail for trial. Given the Dominion’s exercise of unwavering absolute authority, it seemed only a fool would dare challenge its right to govern the New England colonies. But, then, New England was after all a “fool’s errand into the wilderness.”

In 1687 John Wise had been the pastor of Ipswich’s Puritan Church for only four years. Yet when Dominion government intruded into local governance, Wise stepped out of his pulpit to publicly support the Taunton town clerk. Even though it exposed him to almost certain royal censure, Wise spoke out against continued New England cooperation with the Dominion a year before the Glorious Revolution in England.

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4 Historians have portrayed the pattern of town compliance and resistance variously to fit their argument. The actual progression of compliance followed by resistance remains unaltered, but the characterization varies radically. Waters and Felten described a series of towns complying, suggesting that the success of the Dominion’s tax measure would proceed unimpeded, until Taunton and Ipswich resisted. In a 1973 edition of *The Diary of Samuel Sewell 1674-1729*, editor M. Halsey Thomas emphasized the opposite; that “several towns in Massachusetts, including every town but three in Essex County, refused to proceed with the election [of tax commissioners] which was ordered.” From George Allan Cook, *John Wise, Early American Democrat* (New York: King’s Crown Press, 1952) 525-529.

5 Waters and Felten, *Two Ipswich Patriots*. 

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Wise acted as an intermediary between Taunton, which had defied Dominion prerogative, and Ipswich, which was debating whether or not to support Taunton. Despite the distance between the two towns, both geographically and culturally, the evening before a scheduled Ipswich town meeting Wise traveled to Taunton. There he met with other citizens at the home of their jailed town clerk and participated in an informal caucus. At this meeting Taunton leaders concluded that any tax imposed without benefit of their interests defended by duly elected representatives was incongruent with their notion of how their government and society should be constituted. As expressed by a Taunton minister, "it was not ye Town's Dutie any wayes to Assist the ill methode of Raisong mony without a Generall Assembly."

When the Ipswich town meeting convened the following day, Wise pressed his fellow freeholders to affirm the sentiments expressed by Taunton's citizens. Wise assured them "We had a good God and a good King, and Should Do well to stand for our previledges [sic]." Persuaded by Wise' conviction to defend their customary right--that only through duly elected representatives could the people of Massachusetts be taxed--the Ipswich freeholders voted almost unanimously to oppose the property tax levied by Governor Andros. The Ipswich town meeting agreed that "Considering that the said act doth infringe their Liberty as Free borne English subjects of his Majestie by interfearing [sic] with yet statutory Laws of the Land-by which it is enacted that no taxes shall be Levied on ye subjects without consent of an assembly chosen by ye Free holders for assessing ye same. They do therefore vote,

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6 Reverend William Hubbard, from Two Ipswich Patriots.
that they are not willing to choose a Commissioner for such an end, without said priviledges [sic.]”

The opinions expressed and opposition made by the residents of Taunton and Ipswich to the Dominion of New England were examples of popular constitutionalism. When Wise and the other freeholders of Ipswich opposed the Dominion’s tax statute, they demonstrated their covenanted mutual commitment to uphold the constituted good of their society. Fortified by Wise’ argument and the Ipswich town meeting’s opposition to the Dominion’s attempt to impose a property tax, the towns of Topsfield and Rowley also refused to appoint a tax officer. This organized opposition to Dominion authority posed a threat that Andros could not ignore. Ipswich was no remote backwater community, but by 1687 it had become (after Boston) the province’s most important and influential town. Andros therefore had royal officers arrest Wise and five other Ipswich leaders and hold them in Boston’s stone prison, where they awaited trial.

During the subsequent proceedings, Wise and Joseph Dudley, the Chief Justice the Superior Court, engaged in a verbal exchange, the essence of which became embedded as a marker in New England’s culture. To defend the Ipswich position that its freeholders could not be taxed without their interests being represented during the deliberation of the revenue measure, Wise drew on Magna Charta to assert provincials’ rights as Englishmen. To this the Dominion’s chief legal authority informed Wise, “You have no privilege, Mr. Wise, except not to be

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7 Waters and Felten, Two Ipswich Patriots. The town meeting convened 23 August 1687.
sold as slaves."" Given that the Dominion was organized according to the Spanish model of colonial government—one that embraced the enslavement of native peoples—and that the Dominion enjoyed absolute and unlimited authority, Dudley's threat of enslavement must have left an indelible impression upon the psyche of New England provincials. The threat of enslavement became forever fixed in their minds as the logical endpoint of an arbitrary government allowed to operate unchecked. Given the absolute and arbitrary nature of Dominion government, Massachusetts provincials regarded Chief Justice Dudley's comment as a very real threat to their continued freedom. Despite the humble supplication rendered by Wise, the Court heavily fined him and, for a time, revoked his license to preach the word of God. 9

Even in the late seventeenth-century, Massachusetts provincials considered the right to levy taxes without outside interference to be so fundamental to the constitution of their society that, when they drafted formal articles of impeachment against Andros and the other Dominion officers, their usurpation of this fundamental right was listed first among all Dominion violations to provincials' vision of constitutional government. The article named Wise and the other imprisoned Ipswich leaders, and pressed their assertion of "damage for their being unwilling for Sir Edmund Andros rayseing [sic] money on the people without the consent of the people, but Improved upon Contrary to Magna Carta [sic]." 10

9 Wise was suspended from his clerical position in Ipswich, fined £50, and required to post a £1000 bond to assure good behavior for one year. By order of the governor's executive council 24 November 1888 Wise was reinstated as Ipswich's minister. See Waters and Felton, Two Ipswich Patriots.
10 Waters and Felton, Two Ipswich Patriots.
Consociation

Though Wise' exploits during Dominion rule left an imprint upon New England culture, the ideas he expressed in the early eighteenth-century against clerical consociation not only contributed to a delay in the formal adoption of this organizational scheme until the early nineteenth-century, but also influenced the thinking and actions of ordinary provincials during the revolutionary era. In the two decades that followed Massachusetts' receipt of its 1691 Charter, the congregational clergy saw their authority decline in both church and society at large. Numerous factors worked to erode the clergys' influence: Anabaptists challenged the doctrine of infant baptism, church members questioned the validity of the Halfway-Covenant, and the province's 1691 Charter expanded suffrage beyond the Church's Visible Saints to all male freeholders. This last, in particular, greatly diluted Puritan control of civil government to include increasing numbers of nominally religious immigrants.

Even before the Crown revoked the 1629 Charter in 1684, though, many Calvinist leaders had identified congregational autonomy as a weakness. It impeded efforts to enforce doctrinal uniformity across the scattered congregational churches. Before the Dominion of New England was imposed, the General Court had approved requests from Congregational leaders to convene synod meetings in 1649 and 1662.

With the loss of the Charter, though, Puritans had no sanctioned means by which to coordinate orthodoxy.  

While Increase Mather was in England negotiating Massachusetts' 1691 Charter, he met with leading English dissenters and, like them, became committed to the idea of clerical association. Mather worked with Matthew Mead and John Howe in 1691 to draft the ‘Heads of Agreement,’ a document designed to as the basis for a union of English Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Although the union quickly failed in England, Mather returned to Massachusetts persuaded that the plan could help unite New England Puritanism. Mather’s idea to form regional associations of clergy was readily embraced by many of Massachusetts’ Puritan ministers. A “Presbyterian Party” formed, led by Cotton Mather, Samuel Willard, and Ebenezer Pemberton, which drafted a plan designed to solidify the leadership position of the Puritan clergy within the Church and throughout society.

The colony’s more conservative clergy had been concerned with a decline in religion since 1662, when the Synod had adopted the Half-Way Covenant. Their concern intensified after 1699, though, when several dozen of Boston’s leading merchants formed the Brattle Street Church. Though purportedly established to alleviate insufficient seating in the existent meeting house, the new church

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14 For a good overview of the tension between conservative Puritans and the somewhat more secular, though still Congregational, merchants and their formation of the Brattle Street Church in 1699, see Cook, John Wise, pp. 88-100.
implemented doctrine that markedly deviated from that outlined in the 1680 Westminster Confession of Faith in several respects. Conservative Congregationalists and their clergy opposed the Brattle Street Church because it accepted as full members those who had not testified to having had a conversion experience, it read scripture in service each Sunday without any explanation or exposition by the minister, and it extended suffrage to call ministers beyond full members to include all baptized adult male members.

Although numerous congregations throughout the colony had long drifted away from strict adherence to Congregational doctrine, formation of the Brattle Street Church crystallized and, to an extent, institutionalized those changes. It also seems to have crossed a figurative line in the sand for Cotton Mather. For decades the Puritan clergy had slowly lost their position in New England society; the Crown revoked the colony’s 1629 Charter and imposed the Dominion of New England’s rule, the 1691 Charter expanded suffrage to all male freeholders, and immigration increased the number of dissenters. Formation of the Brattle Street Church, though, seems to have been a tipping point. As the extent of the new church’s change in doctrinal practice gradually became known, conservative opposition grew.

Between 1700 and 1705 conservative theologians defended their remaining authority by mounting an offense based upon consociation. In March of 1700 Cotton Mather published his Order of the Gospel, which condemned unorthodox practices in general, but also included thinly veiled accusative references to the Brattle Street
Mather followed this condemnation of unorthodoxy two years later with *Proposals for the Preservation of Religion in the Churches*. He submitted this four-page statement to the annual convention of his fellow Congregational ministers for their consideration, and then had it published and distributed to a wider audience. From the outset, the Puritan churches established in New England had emphasized the autonomy of individual congregations, but they had also met (regionally and colony-wide) to coordinate doctrine and to resolve significant issues. At a 1702 meeting of Massachusetts' Congregational ministers the notion of strengthening the existing regional clerical associations and of creating a council to coordinate their actions was discussed, but not acted upon. Two years later, though, twenty clergymen signed a circular letter that endorsed a similar agenda—that the mandate of existing regional clerical associations should be expanded, and that ties between them should be established. That November, Samuel Willard of Harvard College circulated a letter that similarly urged the regional associations to cooperate and coordinate their efforts as a hedge against unorthodox practices. This movement toward consociation culminated in September of 1705, when representatives from each of the five regional associations (Cambridge, Weymouth, Salem, Sherborne, and Bristol) again convened their annual meeting in Boston. For this meeting, Cotton


16 Cotton Mather, *Proposals for the Preservation of Religion in the Churches, by a Due Trial of Them That Stand Candidates of the Ministry* (Boston: June, 1702); also referenced in Cook, *John Wise*, 100.

17 Cook, *John Wise*, 101; this circular letter is not available in Evans.
Mather took the ideas already circulated and crystallized them within sixteen proposals, which he submitted for the convention’s approval.\textsuperscript{18}

The plan that Mather submitted called for significant changes in Congregational Church administration. New regional associations of clergy were to form where they did not exist, with representatives from each regional association to be chosen to serve on a standing council. The intended purpose of the plan was to provide a means to resolve disputes, examine and recommend candidates for the ministry, to impose doctrinal consistency, and to correct errant congregations.\textsuperscript{19}

Following the convention additional regional associations formed, but the plan that Mather submitted did not materialize. Even though the consociation plan received widespread approval from the clergy at their 1706 meeting, the members of most Congregational churches remained extremely reticent to submit any aspect of their religious autonomy to outside control.

John Wise shared congregants’ sentiment and expressed his own opposition to consociation in two pamphlets. The first, \textit{The Churches Cause Espoused} (1710), offered a critique of the proposed council.\textsuperscript{20} Wise argued that a synod form of

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\textsuperscript{18}Rossiter, 10-11; Their plan to shift control of Puritan Church administration from each church’s congregants to a hierarchical council of clergy embodied aspects of a contemporary theological debate between advocates of “Brownism” and “Barrowism.” Robert Browne led a group that insisted each congregation should retain complete control of its affairs; Henry Barrowe’s followers allowed that a clerical council from outside of a congregation should be used to resolve certain issues. For an overview of the context within which Mather proposed his plan for consociation and the response it received, see Bremer, \textit{The Puritan Experiment}, pp. 216-219.

\textsuperscript{19}Bremer, \textit{The Puritan Experiment}, pp. 216-217.

\textsuperscript{20}Wise dated his dedication of the pamphlet as 31 May 1710. Although no known copy published in 1710 is known to still exist, this date is sometimes referenced in secondary works, including S. Austin Allibone’s \textit{A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors Living and Deceased from the Earliest to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century}, III (Philadelphia: J.B.}

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government would introduce unnecessary hierarchy into New England’s churches. The proposed organization too closely resembled the structure of the Catholic and Anglican Churches. As his pamphlet sarcastically questioned why the congregants of each physically autonomous church had not yet rushed to embrace the proposed hierarchical Church government, Wise’ treatise actually dissected the plan point by point until it was left obvious to most readers that consociation offered no benefit to New England’s congregational churches. Although this first pamphlet challenged Mather’s consociation plan, it offered no other alternative vision. Seven years passed before Wise again returned to this subject in pamphlet form to articulate his own vision for church governance.

The delay between the publications of Wise’ 1710 and 1717 pamphlets was due to more than his need to better understand Enlightenment philosophy. Not long after Boston publisher Nicholas Boone printed Wise’ The Churches’ Cause Espoused pamphlet, a “Great Fire” swept through the center of Boston in 1711. It consumed the businesses of many of the town’s booksellers, as well as virtually all of the town’s printing presses. Though the fire temporarily prevented all local printing, it weakened the monopoly previously enjoyed by one or two printers and stimulated an era of growth in print culture. Between 1711 and 1718, the number of printers in Boston doubled, from two or three to five.21 Because these printers depended upon government print contracts, they clustered around the Town House (now the Old

Lippincott & Company, 1858-1871), 2801. The earliest copy of The Churches’ Cause Espoused referred to by Evans was printed in 1713 (New York). A second printing was made in 1715 (Boston) by Nicholas Boone.

State House); from Dock Square in front of Fanueil Hall, along Cornhill Street, and southward to Essex. It was in the Cornhill section of Boston that Nicholas Boone, a printer and bookseller, established his print business.

Like his numerous competitors, Boone's business catered to an emerging class of professionals, who could afford and demanded access to all things English—including its print culture. The books in Boone's inventory were therefore written predominantly by English authors, including John Flavel and John Bunyan (three titles each). As historian Charles Clark has noted, the twenty-one titles available from Boone in 1738 represented a very "conventional index of New England culture;" an assortment of sermons, schoolbooks, and histories rounded out the proverbial "Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, Psalm Books—with Tunes or without—Primers and Catechisms."22 From the ashes of the 1711 Great Fire arose a more vibrant provincial print culture and in 1717 Boone printed John Wise' second pamphlet, A Vindication.

Vindication

Whereas Wise' The Churches' Cause Espoused pamphlet relied upon satire to deflate plans for consociation, his pamphlet entitled A Vindication advanced a coherent alternative. Alan Heimert observed that when later Liberals, such as Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew, had no constructive alternative to offer, they avoided

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22 Charles E. Clark, “Early American Journalism: News and Opinion in the Popular Press,” in Amory and Hall, The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World, pp. 326-27. When Boone died in 1738, his widow invited Thomas Fleet to appraise Boone's inventory and advertise it for sale in the Boston Evening Post (4 June 1739). Of the twenty-one titles then in stock, only two were written by colonial authors.
directly attacking Anglicans' 'plans' for a bishopric, and instead relied upon ridicule and satire, just as Wise did in 1710. With *A Vindication* in 1717, however, Wise offered Massachusetts provincials in both 1717 and 1771 a concrete alternative. In the opinion of Clinton Rossiter, Wise articulated "as precise and lucid a rendition of the age-old doctrine of the social contract as has ever been presented by any political theorist." 

After having studied Enlightenment philosophy for several years, Wise was prepared to comment upon the relationship between civil and religious governance. His 1717 pamphlet represented a quantum leap forward in terms of how New Englanders rationalized how their Church and State governments should be constituted. Before Wise' *A Vindication* New Englanders had argued that since the Church predated the formation of modern political states, civil government should be patterned upon an ecclesiastical model. Wise inverted this logic; he insisted that the governance of Congregational churches should be democratic because history had proven that the most successful governments had been democratic. Wise suggested that since Puritan church governance was already somewhat democratic, its organization could be optimized if it were modeled upon recognized ideals of republican civil government. He cited three civil governments specifically; those of Venice, the "Belgick Provinces" [sic] and England. Wise observed,

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24 Rossiter, "John Wise, Colonial Democrat," 22. Rossiter's analysis is limited to Wise' political philosophy as expressed in 1713 and 1717. He makes no connection to Boyles' republication of Wise' work in 1771 and 1772.

We may very fairly infer, where we find nations flourishing, and their Liberty and Property, with the rest of the great immunities of man's nature nourished, secured, and best guarded from tyranny, we may venture to pronounce this people to be the subjects of a noble government, and there be many such on earth, whose constitution will serve to justify [sic] ours. 26

In his selection of these ideal democracies, Wise quoted an unspecified 'Gordon.' The logical conclusion is that Wise' thinking was influenced by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon's *Cato's Letters: Arguments Against a Strong Central Government*, but this seminal work was not published until three years later, in 1720; and even then, an ocean away. Nevertheless, the language Wise chose to express his ideas in *A Vindication* is unmistakably 'republican.' Wise' republican kernel found fertile soil in those elements of Massachusetts' Puritan heritage that emphasized communal good. This enabled an organic republicanism to take root in early eighteenth-century Massachusetts, decades before a classically-inspired republicanism crossed the Atlantic from England's Whigs.

Though the extent of Wise' reading cannot be ascertained with certainty, it appears that at least one Enlightenment philosopher from the Continent shaped his thinking. In *A Vindication* Wise specifically acknowledged Baron Pufendorf's ideas regarding natural philosophy, and cited his *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* as having directly influenced his thinking regarding natural philosophy. 27 The way in which


Wise integrated natural philosophy into his work, though, was rather unorthodox and reflected the close cultural link between Church and State in late seventeenth-century Massachusetts. Whereas John Locke used natural philosophy to describe how men in a state of nature come together to establish civil governments, Wise invoked its tenets to articulate how men should structure their church government.  

Wise asserted that the Bible itself was based upon natural law. Thinking on this order is absent from his 1710 pamphlet, but manifestly evident in the comparatively mature political philosophy Wise expressed in his 1717 pamphlet. Throughout his text Wise cited different books of the New Testament. Perhaps the most important of these was the book of Matthew’s metaphor that argues egalitarianism between “the people” and their elected rulers was essential to form an ideally constituted society. The author of the book of Matthew reasoned that since there is but a single heaven, a “better” man cannot be given a divine reward greater than that of an “inferior.” Though Wise does not specifically cite this particular passage, he implicitly referenced it when he stated “...all Assembly’s Superiour [sic] and Inferiour [sic], that have any Equality of Power dispersed amongst the Members, Ordinarily keeps the whole Body, in all points of Administration, in an exact Equipoize.[sic]” Wise’ association of the Bible with natural law is a measure

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28 Patricia Bonomi has observed that Wise’ two pamphlets from 1710 and 1717 appealed to the people because his arguments drew on natural philosophy to make their case. She concludes that his ideas became well-known in pre-Revolutionary America as a consequence of Wise’s precocious use of natural law to defend local autonomy and his penchant for translating religious values into political principles. See Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 62-64.


of his intellectual leadership, since the integration of Enlightenment ideals within Puritan theology did not become popular until two decades later, when “Old Lights” invoked its reason in their resistance of the Great Awakening’s emotional appeal.

In the 1730s and 1740s, the Great Awakening sparked not only renewed religious fervor, but also a sharp shift in provincial demand away from English authors to colonials. Of the English authors Nicholas Boone had stocked over the years, only Russell continued in popularity. Although Wise’ 1710 and 1717 pamphlets enjoyed popularity among Massachusetts’ Congregationalists when first printed, they did not immediately achieve the status of “classic” that would have led to repeated printings. With a limited number of The Churches’ Cause Espoused and A Vindication pamphlets in print, over the next fifty years Wise’ pamphlets became difficult to find.

During the period bracketed by Boone and Boyles’ publication of the Wise pamphlets, New Englanders held fast to the Glorious Revolution’s promise of a balanced constitution and the covenanted relationship they enjoyed with the Crown through their colonial charters. In the early eighteenth century, though, they watched as the influence of Anglican bishops became elevated in England’s civil affairs and, with that, increased tolerance among England’s Whigs for passive obedience to


32 Richard D. Brown, “The Shifting Freedoms of the Press in the Eighteenth Century,” in Amory and Hall, The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World, 368; The public debate regarding consociation continued until at least 1724, when Massachusetts prosecuted Boston printer John Checkley for “false and Scandalous Libel.” Checkley prompted this legal action when he published and distributed a book that criticized congregational church polity and advocated again that a hierarchical council be created. Massachusetts’ royal governor had no interest in buttressing the authority of the congregational church. He therefore fined Checkley £50 and ordered to suppress his book.
absolute authority in exchange for institutional stability. When Parliament asserted in
the 1766 Declaratory Act that it retained the right to legislate for the colonies in all
matters whatsoever, New Englanders believed that Parliament had overstepped a
constitutional boundary established by the Glorious Revolution. Despite the
conciliatory attitude of England's Whigs, New Englanders stood firm in their
conviction that they did not owe obsequiousness to a Parliament that needed to
expand its sovereignty in order to effectively administer an expanding empire.
Provincials' perception through the 1760s that well-placed Anglicans in England
sought to create an American bishopric only exacerbated the persistent fear that their
political autonomy was threatened. The Declaratory Act and Anglicans' pursuit of
an American bishop portended to New Englanders a return to Stuart-style absolute
governance. The implicit expectation that they would be expected to submit
unquestioningly to an absolute civil or ecclesiastical authority, for New Englanders,
was the essence of slavery. Herein lay the attractiveness of John Wise' pamphlet to
New Englanders in 1772.
CHAPTER 3

THE RESURRECTION OF JOHN WISE IN 1772

Current historiography depicts the period between the settlement of the Boston Massacre in March 1770 and Boston's creation of the Committees of Correspondence in November of 1772 as having been "the calm before the storm." The trial of a small contingent of British soldiers involved in the "Massacre" of five belligerent provincials had resulted in a mixed verdict. The Boston jury convicted two of the soldiers of manslaughter, but John Adams and Josiah Quincy secured acquittals for Captain Thomas Preston and six others. Sam Adams, whose oratory skills had enlisted the cooperation of Boston's crowd on previous occasions, encouraged civil unrest in response to the British soldiers' release. But none emerged; conflict between Parliament and the colonial assemblies eased and a tenuous "normalcy" gradually returned to Boston. This peace endured, at least outwardly, until not long after March of 1771, when the Crown promoted Thomas Hutchinson from his position as lieutenant-governor to royal governor of Massachusetts.

Initially, Hutchinson’s appointment met with widespread approval. As governor, he yielded to pressure from Sam Adams and ordered that the British soldiers encamped within Boston proper withdraw to Castle William. Once the British presence was removed to the military fortress strategically situated on an island in Boston Harbor, the likelihood of conflict between the Regulars and local residents lessened. Provincials also welcomed Parliament’s decision to allow the Quartering Act to expire in 1771 without renewal, and to rescind all Townshend duties save that on tea. Though this last tax remained a point of contention, provincial support for non-importation waned and the colonies gradually abandoned the associations, with Virginia the last to do so in July of 1771.

Despite these developments, the royal governor’s actions soon engendered doubt and suspicion among Massachusetts Whigs. Hutchinson invigorated a decades-old ‘Court’ political faction in Massachusetts, and leveraged what limited patronage he possessed as governor to appoint loyalist friends and family to positions of power throughout the province. Sam Adams and others quickly recognized Hutchinson to be far more politically adept than his predecessor, Francis Bernard. From the perspective of Massachusetts’ Whigs, Hutchinson’s acceptance of a salary from the Crown late in 1771 extended the reach of ministerial corruption across the Atlantic into their province and effectively added the governorship to the civil list. ² Although Hutchinson’s actions rang as if a fire bell in the night to Massachusetts Whigs, open conflict did not surface until the autumn of 1772. In September Massachusetts’

² Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts, 50.
residents learned that the Crown would henceforth also pay the salaries of their Superior Court Judges.\(^3\) Royal assumption of provincial officers' salaries essentially revoked the provision of Massachusetts' 1691 Charter that had delegated that responsibility to the General Court. With the General Court recessed, no royally chartered body existed that could legitimately speak for the province. After Governor Hutchinson had rebuffed several overtures made by Boston's Town Meeting, Sam Adams persuaded fellow freeholders in the Boston Town meeting that in order to keep the province continuously informed about further efforts to usurp their rights, a provincial network of corresponding committees should be created. Its purpose was to disseminate information, especially when the governor recessed or prorogued the General Court. This intra-provincial network grew in 1773 to become an inter-colonial network, which thereafter facilitated coordination of inter-provincial response to Parliament's legislative measures toward the colonies.\(^4\)

Between March of 1770 and November of 1772, though, the relative absence of popular resistance in Massachusetts—led or instigated by provincials whose names are familiar to twenty-first century readers—has created the illusion that little of political consequence transpired during this period. This impression is misleading because it focuses only on the actions of visible elite Whigs, who formed only the tip of a far larger political iceberg. Below the surface of this apparently placid sea

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\(^3\) *Boston Gazette*, 28 September 1772.

\(^4\) Unlike most eighteenth century legislative references, the records of the Boston Town Meeting include an unusual amount of detail regarding the events that immediately preceded its formation of a Committee of Correspondence, as well as the committee (and then its three sub-committees) that drafted the "Boston Pamphlet"—its statement of rights, list of grievances, and plan of distribution. See *Boston Records 1770-1777* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1887), pp. 88-108.
floated a loosely inter-connected web of middling freeholders that vastly outnumbered this upper echelon of leadership. As a function of their New England heritage, these middling provincials covenanted themselves to one another through their civil, church, and militia organizations and thereby created a second-tier of leadership actively engaged in the public sphere. Unlike provincial Whigs, who rationalized the corruption they observed in England’s constitution in the language of ancient, classic republicanism, New England’s comparatively silent majority quite literally “bought into” a more indigenous form of republicanism. This “congregational republicanism,” expressed at the turn of the century by John Wise, was republished by Boston printer John Boyles at a critical juncture of the revolutionary era. 5

Boyles offered his New England readers the message they wanted at just the right time. Rather than publish the political rhetoric expected from contemporary Whigs such as Sam Adams, Joseph Hawley, or James Otis, Boyles considered republishing two pamphlets that Wise had written on congregational church governance fifty years earlier. To assess whether sufficient interest existed for a new edition of Wise’ two pamphlets, Boyles advertised for subscribers in the newspapers of Boston and Essex in December of 1771. 6 In these first advertisements for the Wise pamphlet Boyles indicated that he would continue to accept subscriptions for the 280-page pamphlet until it became available on its promised delivery date of 1 March


6 *Boston Evening Post*, 9 December, 1771; *Boston News-Letter*, 12 December 1771; *Essex Gazette*, 14 January 1772; in all cases the advertisement was the same, and dated 7 December 1771.
In just weeks though, even before Boyles had finished printing and binding the Wise pamphlet, New Englanders subscribed to all five-hundred planned copies. The popularity of the Wise pamphlet is not surprising, given that it followed on the heels of Hutchinson’s announcement that he would accept his salary from the Crown rather than the people through their General Court.

Although Boyles offered the new edition of Wise’s work at the supposed nadir of public opposition to Parliament, the essence of Wise’s thesis resonated with the covenanted culture its readers had inherited. At the opening of the eighteenth-century Wise had entered into an ongoing debate among Calvinist theologians regarding the merit of creating a hierarchical structure of governance for the otherwise independent individual congregational churches of Massachusetts. The proposed council’s purpose was to ensure consistency of church doctrine throughout the colony and to provide an authoritative outside body to adjudicate internal disputes, but it also would have injected a more Presbyterian form of hierarchical governance—the antithesis of congregationalism’s emphasis upon local autonomy. In his two pamphlets, Wise broke with the majority of his fellow clergy and instead defended the right of each congregational church to maintain its autonomy without external interference. Wise rationalized that the structure of church governance should ideally be modeled upon a republican civil government.

Encouraged by demand for the Wise pamphlet, Boyles immediately appealed in newspapers to “Those Gentlemen who have hitherto appear’d as Encouragers of

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7 Boston Evening Post, 2 March 1772 (dated 25 February 1772). To put this in perspective, the twenty-one member Boston Committee of Correspondence spent at least as long to identify to whom it would distribute the six-hundred copies of the Boston Pamphlet, beginning in January of 1773; see Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts, pp. 66-68.
this Work, [and] requested [them] to use their influences to promote a second Subscription, in order that so useful a Book may become more general․”

Boyles announced in April that he would put it to print as soon as he had received three-hundred subscriptions, and that the pamphlet would then be available in eight weeks. Within eight weeks Boyles reported he had secured the necessary orders, and in August of 1772 he informed New Englanders that “the Work is now in the Press.” As promised, Boyles made the Wise pamphlet available to its subscribers by the tenth of September.

Typical of eighteenth-century pamphlets, the Wise pamphlet’s publisher made clear through advertising who its intended audience was. In newspaper advertisements Boyles repeatedly appealed “To all Friends to Ecclesiastical LIBERTY” [original capitalization]. In conjunction with “Ecclesiastical,” Boyles’ advertisements always capitalized “liberty.” If we accept this advertising at face value, Boyles intended readers from a strong congregational heritage to be his target audience.

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8 *Boston Evening Post*, 2 March 1772.

9 *Boston Evening Post*, 20 April 1772.


11 *Boston Evening Post*, 13 July 1772, and *Boston Evening Post*, 17 August 1772.

12 Elizabeth Carroll Reilly and David D. Hall, “Modalities of Reading,” in *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, Amory and Hall, eds., 405. Reilly and Hall discuss how a publisher typically provided a one or two line synopsis of the pamphlet’s contents, as well as an indication of who he believed would be willing to pay to read that information.

13 December 1771 to August 1772, *The Boston Evening Post* and the *Essex Gazette*. 

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Since congregationalism placed a high priority upon literacy, New England was populated with avid readers. As the manufacturer of a popular consumer good, Boyles seems to have catered to his market. In the 1770s, most printers still offered pamphlets to the public wrapped only in blue paper covers, and left the specialized process of bookbinding to other craftsmen. Boyles, however, offered the Wise publication as either a pamphlet with standard blue endpapers for two shillings, or for an additional shilling subscribers could have their pamphlet "bound and neatly lettered." It appears that Boyles was attuned to market conditions of supply and demand; between the time that he first advertised his first edition of the Wise pamphlet in 1771 and when he made the second edition available in September of 1772, Boyles increased its price. The first edition sold "neatly bound and letter'd" in 1771 for two shillings and eight pence, but a year later Boyles advertised the same quality pamphlet "at the moderate price of three shillings lawful." 

Boyles determined very quickly to print this second edition, but the timing of its distribution was critical to how subsequent events unfolded. Although Boyles had announced very early in 1772 that he intended to publish a second edition of the Wise pamphlet, its availability was delayed by the time needed to secure subscriptions and the significant time involved in the pamphlet's actual printing and assembly. When it was finally ready, the second edition of the Wise pamphlet was distributed to subscribers throughout Massachusetts in September of 1772. Just six weeks before the Boston Town Meeting convened to consider whether the province should create a

14 Boston Evening Post, 30 December 1771 from advertisement dated Boston, December 7, 1771; and Boston Evening Post, 2 March 1772.

15 Boston Evening Post, 17 August 1772.
network of corresponding committees, more than one-thousand copies of the Wise pamphlet circulated among provincials across Massachusetts. The contextualization of a republican form of civil government within the congregational vernacular familiar to New Englanders lent the Wise pamphlet an appeal to middling New Englanders that the classical republicanism of elite Whigs lacked. The principal readership of the 1772 Wise pamphlet represented a segment of New England society that, if not universally pious, remained rooted in the congregational culture. More importantly, though, evidence suggests that rather than simply responding to the cues of leading Whigs, these subscribers were political activists, who operated autonomously, according to their own priorities.

The Influence of Congregational Republicanism

When subscribers collected their Wise pamphlets in September of 1772, two important changes had already occurred that year in the personnel who administered England's North American colonies.16 In England, a protracted period ended during which the British government's ministry had suffered from frequent turnover. When Lord North assumed responsibility for the American colonies, he not only consolidated his political power, but the "political reshuffle completed what was

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16 Five-hundred of these 1,136 pamphlets were actually the first Boyles printing in 1771. Although we know that there were five-hundred copies sold in the 1771 subscription, because there is only a single subscriber list for both the 1771 and 1772 print runs, it is not possible to determine how many subscribers there were for each issue. This figure of 1,136 copies includes the five-hundred from the "1771" edition that became available in March of 1772.
almost a polarization of British politicians with regard to America.”17 The colonies found themselves with few friends willing to publicly advocate their cause, and those who remained--principally Rockingham and his followers--offered little effective opposition. On the other side of the Atlantic, Thomas Hutchinson moved from the office of lieutenant-governor to that of royal governor. Though Hutchinson was a native of Massachusetts, his political ties to the Crown and trans-Atlantic commercial interests identified him to provincial Whigs as an antagonist. Almost from the moment Hutchinson became governor, he worked to strengthen the existing “Court” party. Hutchinson’s appointment of unqualified placemen to public offices quickly persuaded Sam Adams and others that the new governor posed an insidious threat to the continued liberty of provincials in Massachusetts. During the year that preceded Boston’s call for a network of corresponding committees, Boyles’ publication of the combined Wise pamphlets influenced middling provincials throughout the Bay colony and beyond.

The 1772 Wise pamphlet is exceptional within provincial print culture for its influence upon the culture and thinking of ordinary New Englanders. The commercial success of the Chauncy-Chandler pamphlets that were published throughout 1768, which regarded the possibility that an Episcopal bishop might be appointed for the American colonies, may have been a factor in Boyles’s initial decision to re-publish the Wise pamphlets in 1771. Even though half a century separated the writing of Wise and Chauncy, both men enjoyed broad public support.

and opposed hierarchical control of church governance. Their opposition to ecclesiastical hierarchy, though, differed in two significant respects. Whereas Chauncy argued against the introduction of an episcopacy to govern the Anglican Church, Wise opposed a plan that would have introduced a Presbyterian synod style of governance into the Puritan Church. Though the Anglican episcopacy held the potential to interfere in future congregational and civil governmental, it posed an external threat. The 1705 consociation plan had been initiated by the Puritan clergy, though, and so it had presented a threat to continued congregational control and freedom from within. Wise’ pamphlets therefore warned of actual dangers that had been imposed by hierarchy and absolute authority within provincials’ government, rather than the possibility of that danger from without. In the political context of 1771, when it appeared to provincial New Englanders that Parliament believed it could wield absolute authority as the Dominion had almost a century earlier, Wise’ writings held immediate relevancy. More importantly, the 1772 Wise pamphlet reinforced in ordinary New Englanders’ minds the notion that their mission was to purify both their religious and civil governments of corruption, and restore them to an idealized state.

The influence of the Wise pamphlet depended to a great degree upon its blend of ecclesiastical and political ideals. Whether or not the Puritan Church ever suffered a sharp decline in its influence, it nevertheless bequeathed an unmistakable legacy to New England’s culture. The original intertwining of Puritan Church and State evolved by the 1770s to become a universal concern for the protection of civil and ecclesiastical liberty. In 1772 Sam Adams affirmed that ‘the religion and public
liberty of a people are so intimately connected, their interests are interwoven, and cannot exist separately.\textsuperscript{18} Because Massachusetts provincials thought of these two institutions as inseparable, they found the Wise pamphlet particularly appealing.

Had he tried to print a pamphlet that articulated Wise’ political philosophy without its theological trappings, it could have been labeled seditious. The pamphlet followed a series of events that established for New Englanders a commonly understood language.\textsuperscript{19} Boyles was therefore able to reprint the Wise pamphlet with no explanatory comment. Boyles correctly anticipated that New Englanders would need no explanation in order to glean the political message Wise embedded within a religious context. Protestant tradition emphasized an active form of reading that was not “cursory, but searching.”\textsuperscript{20} New Englanders recognized the double entendre in the Wise pamphlet. Wise’ 1717 defense of a liberal congregational church government modeled upon a republican model held unmistakable meaning for revolutionary era New Englanders, who focused on its political subtext.

A subscriber to the \textit{Boston Evening Post} underscored the notion that New Englanders read the Wise pamphlet for its political text. Phileleutheros reported that readers “will find the true Fundamentals of our civil Liberties and Privileges very

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\textsuperscript{18} S. Adams, \textit{Writings}, II, 232.
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\textsuperscript{19} This series included the persistent threat of an Anglican bishop, the Townshend Acts, the stationing of a standing army in Boston with its officers quartered in private dwellings, the Boston Massacre, and the royal assumption of Hutchinson’s salary.
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\textsuperscript{20} Reilly and Hall, “Modalities of Reading,” in \textit{The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World}, Amory and Hall, eds., 406.
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judiciously investigated in the Book to be published.”

This same subscriber reiterated Boyles’ opinion regarding the urgency of making the Wise pamphlet widely available at that particular time. Apparently the Episcopal controversy remained a vital concern (among others) for New Englanders. John Adams in later years reflected that just “the apprehension of Episcopacy” contributed as much as any other cause to the American Revolution as it captured the attention “not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people. The objection was not merely to the office of a bishop... but to the authority of parliament, on which it must be founded.”

In 1772 Phileleutheros agreed. He advised that “a strict united adherence to the Platform is the only Barrier against Episcopacy. Which therefore makes our attention to the Platform very important at this time.”

Within weeks of the second edition’s availability, the Boston Committee of Correspondence included the concern expressed by Phileleutheros within the Boston Pamphlet’s list of grievances. The committee observed that “we cannot see without concern the various attempts, which have been made and are now making, to establish an American Episcopate.” Their concern, though, was not simply the arrival of an Anglican bishop in North America, but the threat to their civil rights that they perceived would accompany an Anglican Episcopacy. Since they asserted that “…no power on Earth can justly give either temporal or spiritual Jurisdiction within this

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21 Boston Evening Post, 16 March 1772 (dated 2 February 1772). Phileleutheros was the pseudonym for Joseph Fownes; see http://www.uark.edu.depts/comminfo/cambridge/TS2.html.

22 John Adams to Dr. J. Morse, Quincy, 2 December 1815, in Works of Adams, ed. Charles Francis Adams, X (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1865), 185.

23 Boston Evening Post, 6 January 1772.
Province, except the Great & General Court,” Boston’s Committee of Correspondence concluded that “they who are so warmly contending for such an establishment, have views altogether inconsistent with the universal and peaceful enjoyment of our Christian privileges...[and] that every design for establishing the Jurisdiction of a Bishop in this Province, is a design both against our Civil and Religious [sic] rights...”24

Numerous passages from Wise’ 1717 pamphlet that described an ideal civil government therefore would have jumped off the pages at supporters of the revolutionary movement. No Massachusetts provincial in 1772 could also have failed to notice how Wise characterized placemen as a plague upon New England’s constitution. A “great advantage” would flow only to those countries that appointed “the best sort of men” to office. For Wise, “best” meant men who were “solid, pious, wise, and unbyas’d [sic]”. His assessment read as if it were a letter printed in a contemporary issue of the Massachusetts Spy condemning Hutchinson and his administration party. Whenever there had been “buying and selling of Offices, ...the World has been miserably cheated, and debauched.” He insisted that in the ideally constituted society there was “no back Stairs for Courtiers And Favourites [sic] to Climb up to high Seats without Defect; it is merit and instrinsicsick [sic] Worth [that] sets the value, and holds the strongest plea for Preferment here.” Fearful of any effort to consolidate power, Wise asserted,

there was no lurking place for Synods in this Constitution. ...In a word, an aristocracy is a dangerous constitution. ...There is but about two steps from

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24 Boston Records 1770-1777, p.105.
an aristocracy to a monarchy, and from thence but one to a tyranny—an able standing force, and an ill nature. 25

Anything that upsets this equality between men, according to Wise, threatened a government’s balance. 26

In place of hierarchies, Wise emphasized balance in a democratic government. This aspect of Wise’ work held obvious appeal to revolutionary era provincials, as they observed Parliament endeavor to extend its legislative sovereignty to the North American colonies after the Seven Years’ War. Wise described Congregational Church governance as a “Body consisting of very numerous Parts…” Despite the number and diversity of these parts, “the balance of Power is very exactly and with great advantage preserved…” 27 Not only should a government’s parts operate “in an exact Equipoize [sic],” but “the natural equality of men amongst men must be duly favored.” 28 To that end, Wise echoed Locke as he wrote, that

a company of men shall enter into a voluntary compact, to hold all power in their own hands, thereby to use and improve their united force, wisdom, riches and strength for the common and particular good of every member, as is the nature of a democracy. 29

Given the date Wise’ work was originally published, his emphasis upon equipoise within government and equality between men must surely have reflected the

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25 Wise, A Vindication, pp. 87, 39, 41.
26 Wise, A Vindication, pp. 88 and 90.
27 Wise, A Vindication, 88.
28 Wise, A Vindication, 40.
29 Wise, A Vindication, 40.
important position England’s new “balanced constitution” (established just two
decades earlier by the Glorious Revolution and its Settlement) occupied in provincial
culture. In his notion of equality in a balanced government and elsewhere, the
influence of Enlightenment philosophers is unmistakable in Wise political
philosophy.

Although Clinton Rossiter has closely analyzed Wise’ democratic
philosophy, historians have not looked at how Wise, the theologian, drew from the
Bible to justify his vision of democratic government. To tailor his arguments to an
audience that was pious as well as literate, Wise substantiated his enlightened ideas
with New Testament passages. Excerpts from the Bible appear on almost every one
of the pamphlets’ 280 pages.

An example of how Wise used the New Testament is found in how he
justified for Massachusetts provincials that sovereignty rightfully rested with the
people. In A Vindication, Wise surmised that “the Church [the people] is Superiour
[sic] to its Officers; and not the Officers to the Church. For that Churches are not
made for Officers, but Officers for Churches. ...The highest Power of Electing
worthy Officers and Rejecting unworthy is in the People.” Though his text
referenced the Church, Wise argued that this logic should be applied to both church
and civil governance. To make his case, Wise cited an example from the New
Testament Book of Acts, where after Jesus’ death and ascension into Heaven, his
twelve closest disciples called together the other disciples and instructed them to elect

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from their group seven leaders. Wise used this biblical illustration to emphasize to his readers that even Jesus' twelve disciples believed sovereignty rested within the people. Because the principle audience for Wise' writings remained more pious than did the emerging merchant elite of early-eighteenth century Massachusetts, it behooved Wise to substantiate his vision of democratic government with biblical references.

Wise insisted in 1717 that democratic government must rest upon a popularly elected legislative body, as well as popular control of the judiciary. Later, when provincial opponents of the Townshend Acts faced extradition for trial by Vice-Admiralty Courts in Nova Scotia or England, the 1772 Wise pamphlet reassured New Englanders that they should be entitled to "lawful Judgment [by their] Peers." Just as Joseph Warren structured his argument in the Suffolk Resolves of September 1774, Wise drew upon "the Great Charter of English Liberties" to assert provincials' status as Englishmen entitled to the rights and protections they rightfully inherited.

One passage in particular from the 1772 Wise pamphlet (originally from A Vindication, 1717) must have appeared to members of the General Court as a metaphor for their troubled time. Wise declared that "the prince who strives to subvert the fundamental laws of the society is the traitor and the rebel," and explained

31 Wise, A Vindication, pp. 78-79.
32 Wise, A Vindication, 85.
33 Wise, A Vindication, 85. In September of 1774 Dr. Joseph Warren summarized the sense of the people at the Suffolk County Convention in a series of resolves that have since been labeled the Suffolk Resolves. Warren's original resolves were printed in The Massachusetts Spy, 15 September 1774, and were immediately followed by Governor Thomas Gage's response. The Suffolk Resolves were adopted in September of 1774 by the Continental Congress.
that if they would be contented to behave as "Masters of an Assembly of Free Men, and not of Slaves," then the people would willingly defer to their judgment. 34 This, in at least one regard, accurately reflects how Massachusetts provincials regarded their civil relationship with the Crown in 1772. At that point of the revolutionary movement no responsible Whig publicly advocated a break with the Crown. Indeed, in each of its many petitions to White Hall the General Court always carefully paid homage and offered sincere exclamations of fealty to the King as its sovereign. No doubt this passage from the Wise pamphlet appealed to provincials who sought to placate a father-figure apparently unaware of the oppression they suffered at the hands of Parliament. Wise, however, could be as explicit as any revolutionary era polemicist when he took aim at tyranny.

The language Wise used to indict aristocracy's evils in the church could easily be applied to civil society. He wrote through thousands of years history had observed that "aristocracy is a dangerous constitution... because it has no barrier to it against the ambition, insults, and arbitrary measures of men than an absolute monarchy." Democracy, on the other hand, was the form of government Wise thought "seems most agreeable with the light of nature..." Like all good Congregationalists, Wise acknowledged that democracies required "due restrictions" of liberty. Without these, a man would "alter himself from a freeman into a slave, which is repugnant to the law of nature." 35

34 Wise, A Vindication, pp. 35 and 90.

35 Wise, A Validation, 39-40. Wise sprinkled allusions to Locke's Second Treatise on Government (1690) throughout his pamphlets. Aside from the reference to political slavery, on this same page
When the Chief Justice of Massachusetts' Superior Court arbitrarily administered justice for the Dominion of New England, his expectation that Wise and his associates should meekly submit to whatever the Dominion willed epitomized for Massachusetts provincials in both 1686 and 1771 the danger that an arbitrary government posed to their liberty. At the two points in time when the metropolis infringed upon Massachusetts provincials’ self-governance, Wise’ writings reminded citizens in both 1717 and 1771 that they possessed only what “priviledges”[sic] their government deigned to grant.36 As if writing in 1772, Wise asserted “There [are] but two steps from an aristocracy to a monarchy, and from thence but one to a tyranny.” Presciently, Wise predicted those steps were “an able standing force, and al ill nature, Ipso facto, turns an absolute monarch into a tyrant.”37 At the end of the eighteenth-century, then, the link between the abridgement of rights and slavery was not simply literary license or metaphor; it was a justified fear that embedded itself within Massachusetts’ culture, transmitted from generation to generation.38 Revolutionary era Whigs’ fear of enslavement emanated not from an irrational fear, nor did it represent an exaggerated expression that punctuated Whigs’ propaganda. Their fear of enslavement was, to a significant extent, the consequence of their ancestors’

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36 Actually, Wise’ writings were published again in 1860, just before the onset of the Civil War, and so reminded freedom-loving citizens of a third century as well of their rights.

37 Wise, A Vindication, 41.

experience with an arbitrary government that wielded absolute authority. Left unchecked, that force threatened to rend the sinews that bound together their covenanted society. Therefore, when Parliament assumed the prerogative to legislate for the colonies or stationed a standing army in Boston, its measures evinced a vivid image for ordinary New Englanders of the tangible danger to liberty posed by an unbalanced constitution.

Though Wise’ original intent in 1717 was to defend why Congregational Church governance should be structured along the lines of an idealized democracy, the language he used to accomplish his purpose validated for readers in 1771 the republican ideals indigenous to congregationalism. He argued that not only should church and civil government be closely related, but that they should both be based upon republicanism. As he sought to describe his ideal civil government, Wise offered several “noble” cities as examples, notably Florence, Belgium, and England. Wise rationalized that if those polities jealously guarded their democratic civil governments, “Then why should we in New-England be any more ashamed, or less careful of our Church-Government, which keeps us from Tyranny and Slavery in the concerns of our Consciences, than those Nations are of their Civil Government,

39 There are multiple interpretations of how provincial New Englanders perceived “enslavement.” Richard Bushman argues that land ownership was central to this conception. He notes that provincials’ inability to own land in England influenced their commitment to freehold farming in Massachusetts, and that this priority shaped the province’s culture from its establishment in the 1620s. Bushman argues that provincials’ fear of enslavement was tied directly to the potential loss of their land. In the 1680s Dominion government forced the sale of unincorporated towns’ common lands to friends of the Crown. This, combined with the land bank debate of the 1720s reinforced New Englanders’ notion that land ownership formed the basis of their liberty; loss of that land would therefore lead to slavery. See Richard Bushman, “Massachusetts Farmers and the Revolution,” essay in Society, Freedom, and Conscience, Richard M. Jellison, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976). Bushman’s interpretation of provincials’ fear of enslavement is more economic than the religious and constitutional argument that this thesis articulates.
whereby they are preserved...” Wise’s advocacy of republican governance in church and State offered just as much to readers in 1771 as it did in 1717. Revolutionary era New Englanders, jealous of their civil and religious rights, could not help but find the political argument of the Wise pamphlet ineluctable.

New Englanders held fast to the Glorious Revolution’s promise of a balanced constitution and the covenanted relationship they enjoyed with the Crown through their colonial charters. In the early eighteenth century, though, they observed the influence of Anglican bishops elevated in England’s civil affairs and with that increased tolerance among England’s Whigs for passive obedience to absolute authority in exchange for institutional stability. Although a generation had passed, when Parliament asserted in the 1766 Declaratory Act that it retained the right to legislate for the colonies in all matters whatsoever, New Englanders believed that Parliament had overstepped a constitutional boundary that the Glorious Revolution had established. Despite the conciliatory attitude of England’s Whigs, New Englanders stood firm in their conviction that they did not owe obsequiousness to a Parliament that needed to expand its sovereignty in order to effectively administer an expanding empire. Provincials’ perception through the 1760s that well-placed

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Anglicans in England sought to create an American bishopric only exacerbated the persistent fear that their political autonomy was threatened. The Declaratory Act and Anglicans' pursuit of an American bishop portended to New Englanders a return to Stuart-style absolute governance. New Englanders had studied the history of Stuart England, as well as their own, and were familiar with the consequences of unlimited power. The implicit expectation that they could be expected to submit unquestioningly to an absolute civil or ecclesiastical authority was, for New Englanders, the essence of slavery. Herein lay the attractiveness of John Wise' pamphlet to New Englanders in 1772.

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42 Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven, 208. During the 1760s and into the 1770s, Thomas Hutchinson's The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay (Boston: Thomas & John Fleet, 1767) remained a perennial favorite among New Englanders, as evidenced by its frequent appearance in newspaper advertisements.
CHAPTER 4
THE THREE WISE MEN: THE PRINCIPLE SUBSCRIBERS

Not only were the Wise pamphlet readers distinct from “traditional” Whigs, so was the impetus and financial sponsorship for its 1771 republication. Evidence from a combination of sources suggests that an unlikely trio sponsored Boyles’ publication of the Wise pamphlet and acted as its distributors. Eighteenth-century provincial printers rarely possessed the financial means to personally assume the risk of underwriting a sizeable project. Instead, they typically relied upon subscriptions. So, like other publishers, Boyles solicited subscribers by advertising in provincial newspapers. Boyles’ very first advertisements for the Wise book appeared in the last 1771 issue of the Boston Evening Post and the Essex Gazette. Both indicated, however, that “Three Hundred Subscribers are already obtain’d---The Work will be immediately put to press.”¹ While it is possible that Boyles could have cobbled together three-hundred individual subscribers by word of mouth, it seems far more likely that the first three-hundred “subscribers” were actually three individuals who each purchased one-hundred copies. Ephraim Fairbanks of Lancaster (Worcester County), Peter Jayne of Marblehead (Essex County), and William Dawes, Sr. of

¹ Ad dated “Boston, December 7, 1771” printed in the Boston Evening Post, 30 December 1771 (first occurrence); and ad dated “Boston, December 7, 1771” printed in the Essex Gazette, 7 January 1772 (first occurrence).
Boston (Suffolk County) purchased one-hundred copies of the Wise pamphlet—apparently the 1771 edition. Their combined purchases enabled Boyles to imply in his first advertisement, even before he had printed a single copy, that demand for the Wise pamphlet was so great that he had already sold three-hundred copies. Madison Avenue in the twenty-first century could not have conjured a more effective strategy to market and generate interest in a pamphlet. Although most of the other subscribers also purchased additional copies of the Wise pamphlet, they bought only as many as they could readily share with friends and family, or sell through their bookstores. Their purchases represented authentic provincial demand for the ideas expressed by Wise.

The frequency with which the Wise subscribers purchased multiple copies was encouraged by Boyles' marketing strategy. Forty percent (105) of the subscribers bought more than one copy. Because publisher Boyles offered one copy gratis for each five purchased, 76 subscribers (29%) bought the Wise book in increments of six. It seems reasonable that an individual might purchase six books in order that they could share them with family and close friends, but sixteen men actually subscribed for 12, 24, or even 36 copies. Three of these individuals, Bulkley Emerson (a Salem bookseller in Essex County), and Samuel Hall (of Salem, Essex County) and Ephraim Sawyer (of Newbury-Port, Essex County), collected and funneled subscriptions from the northeast of Massachusetts to Boyles in Boston. In addition to these sixteen subscribers, three other individuals each subscribed for one-hundred copies of the Wise book. Their case will be discussed at the end of this and in the following chapter.

2 Advertisement dated December 8, 1771 published in the Boston Evening Post, December 9, 1771; advertisement dated December 1, 1771 published in the Boston Gazette December 23, 1771;
addition to the subscriptions that they accepted for Boyles, Emerson, Hall, and Sawyer bought a total of thirty-six copies of the Wise pamphlet to sell in their shops. Similarly, James Foster Condy also subscribed for a dozen copies to sell in his own book shop. The other thirteen men likely distributed their copies of the Wise book beyond their immediate family and friends to their acquaintances in various professional and social circles.

The process of sharing the Wise pamphlet with friends and distributing it to associates in this manner surely multiplied its readership many times beyond the 1,136 copies printed. This would be particularly so if it found its way into taverns. As David Conroy has noted, newspapers and pamphlets were staples among a tavern-keeper’s entertainment offerings. Most tavern-keepers therefore made a point of keeping fairly extensive collections of pamphlets and newspapers on hand for patrons they knew personally, as well as total strangers. Some taverns, such as James Pitson’s on King Street in Boston, catered specifically to men of middling and low rank, who did not regularly purchase printed materials. Taverns offered to the literate New England public so many Whig publications that it appeared to many Tories as if “every ‘ordinary person’ had turned ‘statesman.’” With so many copies of the Wise pamphlet in circulation (almost twice as many as the Boston Pamphlet), the Wise pamphlet was surely a staple of the province’s taverns. One in particular, likely

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advertisement dated December 7, 1771 published in the *Essex Gazette* January 14, 21, and 28, 1772. In 1768 Hall established the first Massachusetts newspaper outside of Boston, the *Essex Gazette*; prior to that he worked for Ann Franklin, the widow of Benjamin Franklin’s brother, James. See Christopher M. Jedry, *The World of John Cleaveland* (New York: Norton, 1979), pp. 130-131.
offered it to its customers; subscriber Joseph Jackson’s brother Edward owned a tavern in Boston as well as an inn located in the center of Brighton. By making printed discourse available to men of middling and low estate, some of whom were illiterate and benefited from public readings available in public houses, taverns were instrumental in expanding the public sphere beyond the educated elite.\(^5\)

None of the Wise pamphlet subscribers living in Middlesex, Worcester, and Hampshire counties were licensed to operate a tavern.\(^6\) It may be that tavern-keepers avoided adding the Wise book to their collections because its author and subject were directly tied to the Puritan Church. This institution had long inveighed against public drinking as a sin, but the Puritan attitude against public drinking had steadily waned since the 1720’s.\(^7\) Even if tavern owners avoided purchasing the pamphlet, patrons interested in influencing the opinions of others could have brought the Wise pamphlet into taverns. The 105 subscribers who purchased more than one copy of the 1771 or 1772 Wise pamphlet together purchased a total of 982 copies, or potentially 876 more than needed by their personal households. The magnitude of this surplus renders it inconceivable that the Wise pamphlet was not commonly found and discussed in taverns throughout New England.

The case of Jayne, Fairbanks, and Dawes, however, is distinctly different. With five score pamphlets each, these ordinary New Englanders acted as mass distributors of ideology. Yet none of them were associated with the provincial Whig

elite. Jayne, Fairbanks, and Dawes embraced Wise’ expression of congregational republicanism rather than the classical republicanism of provincial elites, who were typically better educated and more prominent both economically and politically. These men were not associated with the elite Whigs who wrote in the style of classic republicanism or who published in newspapers using the pseudonyms of ancient Roman Senators. The circles of the elite provincial Whigs were defined principally by membership in one or more of Boston’s preeminent social clubs and extra-constitutional political organizations, including the Loyal Nine, the North Caucus, St. Andrew’s Masonic Lodge, and Boston’s Committee of Correspondence. In all, the elite Whig leadership of New England included probably not more than two-hundred men.8 Conversely, thousands of New Englanders shared the ideals of congregational republicanism that was indigenous to their culture.

Jayne, Fairbanks, and Dawes may have been just ordinary New Englanders, but their roles in initiating republication of the Wise pamphlet and in actively distributing it throughout the province clearly indicate that these men not only believed in this distinctive ideology, but that they wanted to share it with others. Family histories indicate that these men did not sell their three hundred copies, but rather were strategically positioned throughout the province so that they could spread actively spread Wise’ notion of congregational republicanism—gratis.9 The existence of 257 other subscribers affirms that many New Englanders already believed in congregational republicanism. The way in which they shared their surplus copies


9 Mary Walton Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines (Privately Printed, 1943), 40.
with contacts through their networked associations, coupled with the way in which the principle backers actively distributed another three-hundred copies not only multiplied the influence of the pamphlet’s expression of congregational republicanism, but it also suggests that ordinary New Englanders were just as keenly interested in ideology as their more elite Whig counterparts. The religious context used by Wise, however, resonated more clearly with ordinary New Englanders than did the secular tone of elite Whigs’ republicanism. Although little seems to bind these three sponsors to one another, their purchases give every indication of having been informally coordinated; the three principal financial backers lived in Massachusetts’ most populous areas—Marblehead, Worcester, and Boston.

_Peter Jayne_

Peter Jayne was born in England around 1725, but in the mid-eighteenth-century this schoolteacher immigrated to Marblehead.¹⁰ Unlike the social cohesiveness that defined other New England towns, however, Marblehead’s fishing economy was seasonal, and therefore its residents changed cyclically as well. No institutions bound them together, and they acted in concert only when threatened by an external force, such as when an Indian raid appeared imminent in 1667 or the town’s cannons were

removed in 1690.\footnote{Heyrman, \textit{Commerce and Culture}, pp. 273-74.} According to Christine Heyrman, Marblehead in the 1710s was an economic boomtown that resembled Jamestown in its early decades.

The disarray and discontinuity of family life, the ascendant elite’s disengagement from local concerns, and the growth of religious diversity reflected and reinforced the splintering of the community by economic pressures. No social organizations or bonds exerted sufficient influence to offset the dominant force of the market in Marblehead.\footnote{Christine Heyrman, \textit{Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750} (New York: Norton, 1984), pp. 268-69.}

Changes in the nature of Marblehead’s society are integral to understanding why Peter Jayne subscribed to the Wise pamphlet in 1771.

Around 1710 Boston merchants moved for economic reasons to the outlying port cities, including Marblehead, where they established St. Michael’s Anglican Church in 1714.\footnote{Heyrman, \textit{Commerce and Culture}, pp. 273-74, and 265-66.} Although these merchants constituted as much as a quarter of the local population, formed the economic elite, and held many local elected offices, local residents treated these Anglicans as outsiders.\footnote{Heyrman, \textit{Commerce and Culture}, 288.} But in 1715 an unusual alliance was forged. The search for a new pastor for the First Congregational Church of Marblehead caused a split in the congregation. When the Congregationalists who were newer to Marblehead (immigrants from Boston, elite merchants with trans-Atlantic economic ties) failed to secure a call for their candidate, they sought to establish a second church. They were closely related through marriage and economic ties to the members of St. Michaels’ Episcopal Church of Marblehead. In response, the long-time members of the First Church forged an alliance with the members of St.
Michaels’ Church that depended upon the Anglicans’ ability to influence their congregational friends and family: as long as there were only two churches in Marblehead, tax revenues for the support of the established church would be divided (two/thirds, one third) between the First Church and St. Michael’s. If a third church—a second congregational church—was established, all tax revenue would revert to the congregational church.15

The complex ties that bound Marblehead’s Congregationalists and Anglicans together were reflected in Peter Jayne’s personal life. Not long after Peter Jayne immigrated to Marblehead, he forged a similar alliance and married the daughter of one of the First Church’s leading families, Susannah Haskell.16 By then, Heyrman observes that the economic elite of Marblehead—congregational and Anglican—had become strongly committed to their local institutions. Marblehead in 1750s, then, stands as an exception to the findings of Gary Nash and Harry Stout, who have written that the trans-Atlantic ties of New England’s merchants led them to be more cosmopolitan and therefore have little or no affinity for local institutions.17 Although Jayne was a member of the Anglican Church, it may be that he learned from his long-time residence in the remote village of Marblehead to privilege covenanted

15 Heyrman, Commerce and Culture, pp. 276-82. The plan soon failed, but not from lack of cooperation from the Anglicans, but rather from the First Church’s new minister.


relationships and the autonomy of local institutions over the notion of submission to
hierarchical authority that he simply inherited. The fact that twenty-some years after
Jayne immigrated to Marblehead he purchased one-hundred copies of the Wise
pamphlet suggests that nurture (through his adopted home, culture, and marriage)
influenced Jayne more than did nature. 18

_Ephraim Fairbanks_

A basic outline of Ephraim Fairbanks can also be reconstructed. Fairbanks
was born in 1724 in Bolton. Situated in Worcester County, Fairbanks lived in the
“heart of the commonwealth.” Both John L. Brooke and Ray Raphael have written at
length regarding the centrality of this county to the revolutionary movement. 19 Like
many of the other subscribers, Fairbanks became active in the politics and governance
of Bolton, and was also actively involved in his local militia. Fairbanks filled a
number of minor local offices, including Moderator of the Town Meeting, Highway
Surveyor, and Overseer of the Poor. As the revolutionary movement progressed,
Fairbanks was extensively involved in the administration of Bolton’s public
schools, and served briefly in the General Court. 20 Like many of the Wise

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18 Jayne’s son, also named Peter Jayne, abandoned the Episcopal Church and became a Methodist
minister. See Jesse Lee, _A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America; Beginning
in 1766, and Continued Till 1809, to which is prefixed, a Brief Account of Their Rise in England, in the
year 1729, &c._ (Baltimore: Magill and Clime, 1810); and [http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0101-
0200/HDM0118.PDF](http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0101-0200/HDM0118.PDF).


20 John A. Schutz, _Legislators of the Massachusetts General Court 1691-1780_ (Boston: Northeastern
subscribers, as the revolutionary movement gained momentum, Fairbanks became increasingly involved in his community, both politically and in his local militia. When Governor Gage refused to administer the oath of office to the General Court members in September of 1774 and they reconstituted themselves as the First Provincial Congress, the freeholders of Worcester elected Fairbanks as one of their representatives to that extra-legal institution. While still a young man during the Seven Years' War, Fairbanks had served as a drummer with the Bolton militia in Colonel Abijah Willard's regiment during its part in the conquest of Canada. Later in 1775, when he was fifty-one years old, he again responded with his unit in response to the Lexington Alarm. Fairbanks was one of the 127 men from the Bolton and Berlin militias that marched to Cambridge, where they dismantled the bridge's planks. Their action, coordinated by Colonel William Heath (who had been appointed by the Provincial Congress as one of Massachusetts' five regional military leaders) eliminated one of only two lines of retreat for the British, which forced them into Charlestown.\footnote{Major-General William Heath, \textit{Memoirs} (New York: William Abbatt, 1901), 7 (written in 1798). \textit{Colonial and Revolutionary War Rolls}; \textit{NSDAR} Vol. 91, 217; \textit{Ancestry.co.uk}; and L.S. Fairbanks' \textit{Genealogy of the Fairbanks in America 1633-1897} (The American Printing and Engraving Company, 1897) available only on microfilm from the Library of Congress.}

\textit{William Dawes, Sr.}

Although comparatively little is known about Fairbanks, the case of William Dawes, Sr. is slightly different. William Dawes, Sr. was born in 1719 and lived all but the final two years of his life in Boston, on Ann Street at the corner of Scottow's University Press, 1997), 216.
Alley. Over the course of his career, he worked as a tailor in his own shop on Salt Lane and, in later life, was a financial partner in his son-in-law’s goldsmith business. It was not his professional life, though, but his marriage and family that linked him to the Wise pamphlet (see Dawes – Artillery Company – Wise Diagram, p. 76).

William Dawes, Sr. represented an important link in the pamphlet’s publication and distribution. In 1742 he married Lydia Boone, the daughter of Nicholas Boone, who had originally printed John Wise’s pamphlets—*The Churches’ Cause Espoused* in 1715 (its second edition) and *A Vindication* in 1717. One or more of these pamphlets certainly remained in the Dawes home in the 1770s. Dawes’ professional success would have easily enabled him to help underwrite the cost of reprinting the Wise pamphlet in 1771, but to what end?

William Dawes, Sr. was well-connected. Like many of Boston’s leading citizens, Dawes had been tapped as a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Membership was a coveted honor and open by invitation only.\(^{22}\) Dawes’ participation in the Artillery Company was limited by a physical deformity—a club foot—and so he served only as the company’s secretary.\(^{23}\) Nevertheless, a member of New England’s oldest militia unit, Dawes connected the Wise pamphlet to an extended network of friends and family. Of the twenty-three Wise subscribers who

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\(^{22}\) Oliver Ayer Roberts, *History of The Military Company of the Massachusetts now called The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts 1637-1888, Volume II 1738-1821* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 1897), pp. 100-01; Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines* (Privately printed, 1943); for Boone connection see footnote on p. 33.

\(^{23}\) Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, pp. 33-38; Henry W. Holland, *William Dawes, and His Ride with Paul Revere; An Essay read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society on June 7, 1876; to which is appended a genealogy of the Dawes Family* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1878), 23.
were also Artillery Company members, nine were members of Dawes’ immediate family (see Dawes – Artillery Company – Wise Diagram, page 76). From just this single family the Wise pamphlet branched out to members of numerous other organizations.

Despite Dawes’ connections, he was incapable of distributing his one-hundred copies of the Wise pamphlet alone. His physical handicap presented an insuperable obstacle to horseback travel. And though Boston was one of provincial America’s largest cities, the Wise pamphlet was already widely available from Boyles and other Boston printers. Dawes may have shared a number of his pamphlets with friends and professional associates, but from a strategic standpoint, it was throughout the rest of Suffolk County where the pamphlet needed to be distributed. Evidence points directly to Dawes’ son, William Dawes, Jr., as the individual who distributed the one-hundred Wise pamphlets.
DAWES—ANCIENT ARTILLERY CO.—WISE NETWORK

"Blue" Typeface indicates a Wise subscriber; "AHA" indicates Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co. Member and date of admission. A double-ended arrow (↔) connects a married couple.
CHAPTER 5
ELUSIVE REVOLUTIONARIES

Just as the Great Fire of 1711 had spurred the growth of Boston's print industry, a second fire in 1760 followed by the revolutionary movement again catalyzed the expansion of provincial print culture.\(^1\) Between 1763 and 1775 the number of master printers in the American colonies increased from forty-seven to eighty-two, and the number of newspapers they printed doubled from twenty-one to forty-two.\(^2\) By 1770 America's print culture had matured such that its operation became segmented and increasingly specialized. In Boston eight bookbinders, seven importing booksellers, two stationers, ten printer-booksellers, four printers, and an assortment of complementary businesses rounded out the industry. A keen competitiveness forced most printers, like other Boston shopkeepers, to diversify their businesses. In addition to an array of printed materials, most also offered a variety of smaller English goods, such as cutlery and gloves.\(^3\) Even as they diversified, though, Boston's booksellers also specialized in the sort of printed materials they sold.

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Massachusetts Spy publisher Isaiah Thomas observed that Daniel Fowle primarily printed and sold ‘chiefly pamphlets,’ his brother Zechariah sold ‘ballads and small pamphlets,’ and the books that Samuel Kneeland published were ‘chiefly on religious subjects.’

Pamphlets offered a popular format for the inexpensive publication of a single author’s exposition on a single theme. Throughout the revolutionary era, elite Whigs wrote hundreds of pamphlets that repeatedly urged fellow provincials to jealously guard their rights (natural, chartered, and those they inherited as Englishmen) against Parliamentary usurpation, lest they be made slaves. Early twentieth-century progressive historians marginalized this rhetoric, characterizing it as expressions of paranoia and propaganda. This interpretation remained ascendant until 1963, when Bernard Bailyn published The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution. In this book Bailyn posited that elite provincial Whigs cloaked their opposition to Parliamentary measures in the language of a classical republican ideology. In this guise, the Whigs’ fear of “slavery” became a political metaphor that described the consequence that would naturally ensue if provincials failed to oppose an arbitrary government. To alert a complacent public to this danger, provincial Whigs published their republican-shaded arguments as pamphlets. The ideas they expressed filtered throughout society as they were distributed and shared in taverns and coffee houses.

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In these public venues newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets were read aloud for all
to hear and debate, and opinions, ordinarily kept private, were liberated by alcohol
and freely shared.⁶

Newspapers were an especially popular form of print media in public houses,
but one of the era’s best known printers cautioned against looking only to this print
form to find provincials’ most important ideas. When Isaiah Thomas, the editor of
the openly “Whig” Massachusetts Spy, notified his readers that he intended to publish
a monthly journal, he observed that newspapers were not necessarily the best medium
to disseminate ideas of substance. “Newspapers,” he noted, “are known to be of
general utility but not so fit to convey to posterity the labours [sic] of the learned, as
they are, most commonly, only noticed for a day, and then thrown neglected by.”⁷
The ease with which newspapers and pamphlets could be discarded meant that they
offered a medium too ephemeral upon which to record any exposition intended to
transcend time.

Up to and through the revolutionary era, though, New England’s printers were
reluctant to publish pamphlets or books of significant length. Historian Stephen

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⁷ Essay by Isaiah Thomas dated 1 July 1773, printed in The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal, 2
Aug 1773, p1 top and center, middle of column three, just under the masthead. Thomas printed this
opinion to justify why he believed a new monthly journal, the Royal American Magazine, or New-
England Monthly Intelligencer offered to provincial readers an important, new format. Thomas
initiated publication of his journal in 1773, but it was a short-lived experiment.
Botein explains that this was the principle difference between American printers and their English counterparts. Colonial American printers had little impetus to print books of any size because colonial demand for them was inconsistent, and those who did purchase books in the colonies tended to prefer English-bound volumes. The 1789 *Bibliotheca Americana*, printed in London, concluded that “All publications of consequence, in point of size and expence [sic], are executed in Europe.”\(^8\) Provincial publishers also avoided printing longer pamphlets and books because their typesetting, printing, assemblage, and distribution required publishers to personally invest substantial sums of money. Their increased cost encouraged publishers to minimize personal financial risk by offering large pamphlets and books (generally anything longer than fifty pages) by subscription only.\(^9\)

Even though newspapers and pamphlets commanded the lion’s share of the revolutionary-era market, some provincial printers did offer a small number of books and longer pamphlets by pre-paid subscription. It has been asserted in at least one source that provincial American presses printed no less than 231 separate pamphlets that targeted the political conflict between Crown and colonies between 1764 and


A review of six New England newspapers between 1764 and 1775, however, shows that Massachusetts' printers offered fewer than ten pamphlets during this period via subscription, and fewer than this ever went to print (see Appendices A and B). Since publishers generally hesitated to print anything longer than fifty pages except via subscription, for the most part republican pamphlets must have been relatively brief in length. Of the pamphlets offered via subscription in New England during this decade, only two included language that could even remotely be described as related to the revolutionary movement. The first was English political dissenter John Wilkes' *The History of England* (1768), which included a discussion of the conflict between the colonies and Parliament's ministers. This pamphlet's topical content no doubt made it popular among provincial Whigs. Although initially printed in London, a New York publisher reprinted the Wilkes pamphlet, easing its availability for provincials. The second pamphlet was the 1772 Wise pamphlet.

As a primary source, the 1772 Wise pamphlet has received very little attention from historians—and its subscription list, even less. As one of only two historians who have considered Wise writing at length, Clinton Rossiter concluded in 1949 that when reprinted in 1772, Wise' "ideas were quite without effect, even upon the minds of the Massachusetts Revolutionists." Rossiter came to this conclusion because he

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found Wise’ name rarely mentioned among the writings of the leading Whigs. The actual conduct of the Revolution, though, required more than highly visible political leaders; thousands of ordinary provincials ultimately chose to support the revolutionary movement, often by organizing local levels of institutional support and providing various forms of material support. Despite their indispensable role, the identities of individual home-front revolutionaries have remained elusive.

The 1772 Wise pamphlet offers historians something that very few other pamphlets of the revolutionary era could claim: a list of its subscribers. To the second print-run, Boyles appended a single list those who subscribed to the 1771 and 1772 editions. Because the 1772 Wise pamphlet has been marginalized by historians, though, its subscriber list has remained a “diamond in the rough;” it has never before been mined to reveal many of the middling New Englanders that supported the revolutionary movement on the eve of Boston’s call to form the Committees of Correspondence. When analyzed, the Wise subscriber list provides entrée to overlapping circles of politically active New Englanders.

The life of virtually every notable elite revolutionary has been studied at length. Unlike these highly visible leaders, though, the voices of ordinary New Englanders at this point in the revolutionary movement have, for the most part, remained unheard. One factor that has misled researchers is the secular nature of provincial Whigs’ writings. Religious tracts of the revolutionary era, when considered at all by historians, have been linked only with their authors—the clergy. Though these sermons and addresses reflect their authors’ informed opinions, it is worth highlighting the obvious—that each was also written for a specific audience. In
New England’s congregational churches, even though members typically deferred to the theological leadership of their minister, they still controlled the balance of power. Full members collectively determined who they would call as their minister, the terms of his salary, and whether or not to continue that call. Any distinct political ideology espoused by a minister, then, likely reflected an order of thinking already embraced by his congregants. Sermons should therefore not be interpreted as expressions only of their ministerial authors, but of their audience as well.

Unlike most sermons, though, the 1772 Wise pamphlet was not written expressly for its revolutionary-era readers; Wise originally wrote its contents as two separate pamphlets, initially published in 1710 and 1717, for an audience he knew shared his opposition to consociation and commitment to the political settlement of the recent Glorious Revolution. Wise could not have foreseen how fifty years later, men unknown to him would seize upon his ideas and use them to illustrate just how far the empire had deviated from its own ideal. The readers of the Wise pamphlet in 1772 were not his parishioners, but made a discretionary purchase specifically so that they could read his ideas.

In this regard the 1772 Wise pamphlet and its subscriber list present a potentially unique opportunity. There was no other politically oriented pamphlet printed in New England during this era that also identified the individuals who purchased it (see Appendix A). Boyles printed the Wise pamphlet in an era when committees of inspection demanded that men and women publicly profess their political allegiance. Anyone who refused to sign a non-consumption agreement circulated by their local safety committee risked public censure, economic ostracism,
and possible crowd retribution.  

When Boyles advertised that he intended to publish a second edition, he explicitly indicated that the subscribers' names would be included. The men (and one woman) who subscribed to the Wise pamphlet in 1772 understood that their names would be publicly linked with the ideas expressed in the pamphlet. Boyles' inclusion of a subscriber list, and the willingness of the subscribers to be named, therefore made a calculated public statement.  

As the revolutionary movement gained momentum and more and more provincials felt either moved or pressured to identify themselves as a patriot or loyalist, provincial newspaper printers strove to maintain the appearance of neutrality. Despite the visibility of “trumpeters of sedition” like publishers Benjamin Edes and Isaiah Thomas, most newspaper publishers endeavored to maintain their politically neutral stance in order to sustain the broadest audience possible and maximize revenue. To do this they often presented opposing views of the same issue side by side. This practice departed from the tradition established earlier in the eighteenth-century in which most authors invariably used a pseudonym.

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14 No copy of the Wise pamphlet that Boyles published at the end of the 1771 appears to have survived; its existence is confirmed only through newspaper advertisements, which refer to both it and a second edition. These advertisements suggest that only the second edition included a subscriber list, but that this list includes the names of those who purchased the first edition as well.

Michael Warner has suggested that this anonymity was an essential element in the creation of a vital provincial public sphere.\(^{16}\) Pseudonyms enabled citizens to "converse" with others and to share ideas freely in an uncensored public forum. The use of pseudonyms in America had earlier originated as a literary device within small social circles, wherein the members exchanged essays under assumed classical pen names, but authorship was typically known to all involved.\(^{17}\)

The very public identification of the Wise pamphlet subscribers in 1772 challenges how Michael Warner conceptualizes the role of anonymity in the construction of the eighteenth-century colonial public sphere. Warner has noted how pseudonyms donned by authors created an "impersonality" that legitimized and facilitated the growth of public debate in newspapers.\(^{18}\) American pamphleteers and authors who submitted their written opinions to newspapers for publication continued this convention, even if their identity became known.\(^{19}\) The Wise subscription list complicates Warner's interpretation in subtle, but important ways. It is not the pamphlet's authorship that is problematic; Wise's arguments had been part of the public record for fifty years. What is notable is that 260 individuals gave Boyles their consent to print their names in conjunction with Wise's pamphlets—publicly linking


their names with his ideas and essentially creating “class action” public support for Wise’s advocacy of local control of civil institutions. Conceivably, provincials could have—and likely also did—purchase the 1772 Wise pamphlet anonymously. This alternative would be more in keeping with Warner’s analytic framework. The inclusion of subscribers’ names, though, adds a dimension not yet considered in the development of the public sphere. The Wise subscriber list is therefore far more valuable than it first appears. It opens a window to a group of 260 individuals who (with few exceptions) were ordinary in every respect, save their common interest in the revolutionary message embedded within the Wise pamphlet: that the people should control their civil and ecclesiastical institutions.

One consequence of New Englanders’ congregational heritage was that revolutionary-era Massachusetts provincials held firmly to the notion that control of their governance—both church and civil—should rest with the people. The Wise pamphlet spoke directly to this theme. As Edmund Morgan has observed, Wise offered “an explicitly detailed account of the beginnings of government among people in a state of nature.” Wise was also “unequivocal in affirming that the powers of government conferred by the people could be withdrawn by them” if their government should “subvert or confound the Constitution.”

Similar to Heimert, though, Morgan has also asserted that Wise’s work was read only for its theological message. If the subscribers to the 1771 and 1772 Wise pamphlets had principally

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20 Edmund S. Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988) 141-142; the second quote is also from Morgan, but are Wise’s words from “A Vindication” (1717).

21 Morgan, *Inventing the People*, pp. 141-142.
been those involved in either the Episcopacy or the Whitaker controversies, this might be a tenable assertion. The Wise subscriber list, however, does not bear this out. The actual pattern of subscription to the 1772 Wise pamphlet refutes the conclusions historians have made regarding the nature of provincial interest in the 1772 Wise pamphlet.\(^{22}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>Number of Pamphlets</th>
<th>Number of Subscribers</th>
<th>Pamphlets/ Subscriber</th>
<th>% of TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnstable</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampshire</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.1: Geographic Distribution of Subscribers**

One of the most striking patterns among the Wise subscribers is their geographic distribution. Analysis of the Wise pamphlet subscription list clearly shows that the subscribers lived in a pattern that hugged the commercial coastline of New England from Essex to Boston, and then continued westward through Worcester and Middlesex Counties, with additional pockets in Lancaster, Shrewsbury,

\(^{22}\) As will be examined further on, although 260 individuals subscribed to the 1772 Wise pamphlet, they purchased 1,136 copies. Their additional pamphlets extended the penetration of the Wise pamphlet both in depth and potentially in breadth (where--and potentially beyond --subscribers lived).
Marlborough, Grafton, and Brookfield. The pattern created by these clusters of Wise subscribers closely approximates that identified by Stephen Patterson for Massachusetts' pre-war Court faction. The fact that the Wise subscribers, who would principally have been affiliated with the Country (or opposition) faction, largely replicated this pattern does not necessarily present a conflict. Patterson's analysis focused on the decades of the mid-eighteenth century, and by the 1770's no area held a monopoly on individual political persuasion.

This simple distribution analysis refutes Heimert's supposition regarding the source of support for publication of the Wise pamphlet. Subscriptions to the Wise pamphlet concentrated east of the Connecticut River; more than 91% of subscribers lived in the four counties that formed the original Massachusetts Bay Colony—Suffolk, Worcester, Essex, and Middlesex. Only four subscribers hailed from Hampshire County, and none from Berkshire. The faction that Heimert believed opposed the Half-Way Covenant may have existed, but there was very little interest in the Wise pamphlet in the area he indicated, much less from that area's clergy. The dearth of subscribers west of the Connecticut River may be an indication that these more recently developed areas persisted in distancing themselves from Massachusetts' provincial politics, or it may have been that the "River Gods," who were closely aligned with Governor Hutchinson and the Court Party, still dominated local and county government. It could also be that what appears to have been

23 Patterson, *Political Parties in Western Massachusetts*, pp. 41-43.


25 Brown, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts*, especially chapter five: "The Emergence of Local
disinterest may have been simply a factor of distance from the pamphlet’s point of publication in Boston. In 1772 travel west of Worcester remained difficult; residents in Hampshire and Berkshire Counties depended primarily upon the Connecticut River, which runs north-south, to connect to other markets.

It is also worth noting that in the counties from the original Plymouth Colony (Plymouth and Barnstable), there were only ten subscribers. This may reflect the persistence of that area’s distinct culture, which usually distanced itself from the Bay Colony’s politics. The number of subscribers throughout other areas of New England (Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the area of Massachusetts that later became Maine) actually exceeded the total number in western Massachusetts and the old part of the province combined. Although this still amounted to only fifteen individuals, widespread geographic distribution of the Wise pamphlet is indicative of the shared congregational culture throughout this region, and should be interpreted as a measure of the significance that the Wise publication held for New Englanders.

Although subscriptions to the Wise pamphlet sharply declined beyond the four core counties (Suffolk, Worcester, Middlesex, Essex), distance as an analytical measurement can be deceptive. Boyles published the pamphlet in Boston and, as might be expected, the highest concentration of subscribers (388) resided in Suffolk County. What may be surprising, though, is that residents of Worcester County, just west of Suffolk, far outpaced Suffolk residents in the average number of pamphlets purchased by subscriber. Whereas the 288 Suffolk County subscribers each

Opinion;” and Stephen Patterson, Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1973), which considers the differences in provincial politics between Boston and its orbit relative to Hampshire and Berkshire Counties west of the Connecticut River.
purchased an average of 3.5 pamphlets, those in Worcester bought an average of 6.5 copies—almost twice as many. No single subscriber’s purchase skewed this statistic. Three individuals did each purchase one-hundred pamphlets, but lived separately—in Suffolk, Worcester, and Essex Counties. The markedly higher average pamphlet purchases in Worcester County appear to have been the consequence of two factors working in tandem. Numerous historians have observed the frequency and intensity with which residents of Worcester County participated in revolutionary era agitation.26 If this had been the only factor that had influenced Wise pamphlet subscriptions, however, then the average number of pamphlets purchased in Suffolk County (including Boston) should have approximated that of Worcester County. What may account for the doubling of average pamphlet purchases in Worcester County is Boyles’ marketing strategy: for every five copies purchased, Boyles included an additional pamphlet gratis. In Suffolk County, where the Wise pamphlet was readily available, only fourteen percent of subscribers committed to purchase the pamphlet in an increment of six, and seventy-seven percent of subscribers purchased only one or two copies. In Worcester County, though, only thirty-nine percent of subscribers purchased so few copies; fifty-nine percent (more than four times the number of Suffolk County subscribers) bought the pamphlet in increments of six.

A separate analysis of the Wise subscribers by socio-economic groupings within geographic area shows more clearly where support for Wise’ ideas lay in 1772. Along with each subscriber’s name, Boyles included in the Wise pamphlet the title by which each expected to be addressed in public. Though a crude measure, these titles indicate how each subscriber represented themselves to fellow provincials and how each identified their position and role within society. When the Wise subscribers are grouped by social roles, it becomes apparent that the principle subscribers were not the clergy, as Heimert and Morgan have suggested, but rather non-clerical, ordinary provincials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pamphlets</th>
<th>Subscribers</th>
<th>Pamphlets/Subscriber</th>
<th>Pamphlets*</th>
<th>Subscribers*</th>
<th>Pamphlets/Subscriber*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Militia</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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<td>Clergy²⁷</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr., Mrs.</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esq, BA, AM, MA, Dr.</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Demographic Analysis of All Subscribers in All Areas (* without Dawes, Fairbanks, Jayne, Chaplin, and Emerson)

Current historiography characterizes New England’s clergy as having been the principal supporters of the Wise pamphlet in 1772, but this is a misreading of clues peripheral to the pamphlet’s central history. In reality, New England’s clergy formed only a small percentage of the Wise pamphlet subscribers: only twenty-five (9.6%)

²⁷ Includes Deacons and Ministers.
were ministers, and another eight were ordained deacons. These thirty-three individuals officially associated with a church purchased a total of 114 pamphlets, or an average of 3.5 copies per subscriber. This figure, however, is skewed. Of these 114 pamphlets, sixty were purchased by just two ministers: Ebenezer Chaplin (of Sutton, in Worcester County) and Edward Emerson (of Concord, in Middlesex County). The larger purchases made by Chaplin and Emerson suggest that these two ministers were likely more politically active than their collared brethren.

Indeed, Chaplin epitomized the image of the revolutionary era "Black Regiment." He was installed as an ordained minister just as the conflict with Parliament was beginning in 1764. In the fall of 1774 Chaplin became the chaplain for the Worcester County Convention, and thus was closely affiliated with the patriot cause.²⁸ Perhaps Chaplin's most significant contribution to the revolutionary movement, however, was the sermon he delivered in Sutton on Sunday, 17 January 1773—the day before the town meeting there was scheduled to reconvene and vote on how it would respond to Boston's formation of a Committee of Correspondence and the list of grievances it circulated among Massachusetts' towns.²⁹

In his oration, Chaplin compared civil authority to a great stream of water, which could either benefit the people or destroy them. Alluding to Parliament's

²⁹ Ebenezer Chaplin, A.M., Pastor of the Second Church in Sutton, *Civil State compared to Rivers, all under GOD's controul [sic], and what People have to do when Administration is grievous, in a DISCOURSE Delivered in SUTTON, 2d Parish, January 17, 1773, being the day preceeding[sic] the TOWN MEETING, Which then stood Adjourned to consider and act upon the LETTER, &c. from BOSTON. Published at the Desire of many of the Hearers*, (Boston: John Boyles, 1773). Although Chaplin specifically targeted the freeholders of Sutton as the audience for his spoken words, Boston publisher John Boyles (who also published the Wise pamphlet in 1771 and 1772) published Chaplin's sermon just two weeks later.
recent enactment of the Townshend Acts and the Crown’s plan to assume payment of provincial magistrates’ salaries, Chaplin advised his listeners that they must build “bold shores to keep the stream within its proper limits.” In his analogy Chaplin appears to have offered his listeners a rationale for why a new, extra-legal institution was needed to help constrain Parliament and its ministry. In the years that preceded the formation of the Committees of Correspondence, Massachusetts’ clergy had demonstrated a reluctance to enter into any organization that might jeopardize the province’ Charter. Chaplin’s sermon, however, makes clear that by 1773 that had changed. If Parliament would not respect provincials’ rights, then as Chaplin observed, “some new amendments of the constitution…”—some measure to restore balance to provincial society--would be a logical next step.

If the Crown could not be made to respond to its people, Chaplin foresaw provincial action more extreme than committees of correspondence. Chaplin observed that the recent appointment of “the multitude of placemen” was a “grievous thing…” Chaplin reasoned that God had actually willed the British ministry to exceed the salutary bounds of its power because he had a special purpose for His

30 Chaplin, Civil State, 9.
31 Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 207. Bonomi observes that in the 1760s Pennsylvania’s Presbyterians had invited New England’s congregational ministers to meet with them in a convention, but the stated purpose of this meeting was not ecclesiastical. The Presbyterians had created it with the avowed purpose of defending provincial civil liberty. The Massachusetts’ clergy decision not to meet with Pennsylvania’s Presbyterians, even though other colonial ministers did, constitutes their tacit recognition that the convention constituted an extra-legal civil institution, and their participation would break the Massachusetts Charter.
32 Chaplin, Civil State, 10.
33 Chaplin, Civil State, 20.
people. He intimated that the British civil state, because it did not serve the good of provincial Americans, was not of God. Chaplin’s entire address embodies precisely what Patricia Bonomi recognized among New Englanders: that “should their religious as well as civil liberties come under attack, a new element would be added that might outweigh conventional inhibitions about resistance.” As if Hutchinson and Whitehall did not have enough to worry about with the formation of extra-legal Committees of Correspondence, Chaplin intimated that the situation in which New Englanders found themselves in January of 1773 “wonderfully agree[d] to the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt.” On the eve of Sutton’s decision to support Boston’s Committees of Correspondence, Chaplin emboldened the freeholders of Sutton to discard their conciliatory stance toward Parliament with his vision that God was about to deliver provincial Americans from their British oppressors, just as Moses had led the Israelites out of bondage in Egypt.

Whether or not Chaplin would have delivered this same address without Boyles’ publication in 1772 of the Wise pamphlet is moot. There are sufficient points of reference between the two pamphlets to recognize that Chaplin had read and learned how to embed a political message within a sermon. By 1773 this had become a standard modus operandus for New England’s clergy. Wise, however, had adopted this style fifty years earlier and established the example for the revolutionary generation. Chaplin’s subscription to the 1772 Wise pamphlet and January 1773

34 Chaplin, Civil State, pp. 17-18.

35 Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven, 198.

36 Chaplin, Civil State, pp. 17-18.
sermon figuratively bridged the gap between Wise in the early eighteenth century and
the formation of the Committees of Correspondence in 1772.

Although historians have successfully identified a number of demographic
patterns in the decades before the revolutionary movement, it is difficult to make
religious generalizations for the 1770s. Increased mobility in the decades after 1740
makes it exceedingly difficult to characterize the Wise subscribers as having been
predominantly Old Light and New Light based only on where they lived. More
than ninety percent of the Wise pamphlet subscribers were laymen and, in all
likelihood, were affiliated in some way with a congregational church. Heimert has
suggested that differences are discernible between the support of New Lights and Old
Lights for the Revolution; the subscribers to the Wise pamphlet; however, defy such
categorization. By the 1770s the differences that had distinguished “Old Lights”
from “New Lights” in the 1740s were quickly fading. The contours of their
doctrines and the clergy’s delivery styles were no longer sharply defined, rendering it

37 A number of historians have been able to discern political, economic, and religious patterns within
pre-revolutionary era Massachusetts. See Stephen Patterson, Political Parties in Revolutionary
Massachusetts (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1973); Robert J. Taylor, Western Massachusetts in
the Revolution (Providence: Brown University Press, 1954); and John L. Brooke, The Heart of the
Commonwealth: Society and Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts 1713-1861

38 Perry Miller has characterized this period in Puritans’ history as one of declension. This thesis,
however, builds more upon the work of Patricia Bonomi, who argues in Under the Cope of Heaven
that Puritan churches did not decline, but rather experienced an explosion of growth through new
churches. The resulting fractures in theological issues, compounded by each church’s autonomy,
created conflicts that are discussed throughout this thesis.

39 Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, 360.

40 Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, 360.
almost impossible to label the inhabitants of a town as “Old” or “New Light.”

Neither would it be accurate to assume that all subscribers or readers were Congregationalists. Wise’ emphasis upon church autonomy appealed to Baptists and at least one of their ministry, Isaac Backus of Middleborough (Plymouth County), subscribed to the 1772 pamphlet. Because the landscape of New England religion changed so much in the three decades that followed the Great Awakening, it does not make sense to try and apply the labels ‘Old Light’ and ‘New Light’ in the 1770s. As Patricia Bonomi has noted, “by 1775-1776 the emotionalism of the Great Awakening had subsided or been diluted by a widening current of Enlightenment rationalism. Thus, evangelical Calvinism and religious rationalism did not carve separate channels, but flowed as one stream toward the crisis of 1776.”

Although corollary data has not yet been analyzed to characterize the Wise subscribers with regard to personal religious affiliation, other demographic patterns can be discerned among Wise the subscribers.

Although Chaplin and Emerson purchased a total of sixty of the Wise pamphlets, it would be misleading to categorize their pamphlets as having all been consumed by the clergy. More likely, these ministers shared their pamphlets with

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41 Several primary sources that include lists that could indicate concentrations of Old and New Lights have been consulted, but because they were produced over several decades, their data conflict. Without further research to determine the church membership of each of the 260 Wise pamphlet subscribers, it is not possible to conclude with any degree of certainty their religious inclination. References consulted include: the subscriber list appended to Charles Chauncy’s Seasonable thoughts on the state of religion in New England (Boston: Rogers and Fowle for Samuel Eliot in Cornhill, 1743); and John L. Brooke, The Heart of the Commonwealth: Society and Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts 1713-1861 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 12-15.

their congregations and communities. Because it is not possible to accurately assign
readership to these pamphlets, they are set aside in this analysis. Similarly, the
pamphlets purchased by William Dawes, Sr., Peter Jayne, and Ephraim Fairbanks are
not included. While it is likely that they distributed their three-hundred pamphlets
among friends, family, and associates, it is simply not possible to assess how their
acquaintances should be categorized demographically. If these exceptional clerical
and secular purchases are disregarded, the clergy that subscribed to the Wise
pamphlet purchased an average of only 1.7 copies per person.\footnote{The figures cited here do not include the subscriptions of the three main secular subscribers (William Dawes, Sr., Peter Jayne, and Ephraim Fairbanks) or the two exceptional clerical subscriptions (of Ebenezer Chaplin and Edward Emerson). Although it is reasonable to assume that these men distributed their purchases within their geographic area, it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty to whom they gave their pamphlets.} This is less than half
the average for all subscribers.

If analysis if focused further to subscriptions within just the four core
counties, the social demographic most interested in the Wise pamphlet becomes
apparent. Although the ratio between clerical and secular pamphlet subscriptions
remains relatively static, the average pamphlet subscription purchase for provincials
associated with their local militia increases to just over four pamphlets per militia
member—greater than any other demographic group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pamphlets</th>
<th>Subscribers</th>
<th>Pamphlets/Subscriber</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Militia</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr., Mrs.</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esq, BA, AM, MA, Dr.</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Demographic Analysis in Core Counties  
(without Dawes, Fairbanks, Jayne, Chaplin, Emerson)

Although many of the Wise subscribers were affiliated with their local militia, age prevented most from actively serving during the Revolutionary War in their local militia unit or in the Continental Army. Instead, these patriots supported the war effort at home by providing the leadership needed to encourage their communities to continue provisioning their militia over an extended period of time.

One militia company in particular illustrates how closely New Englanders were linked together by their interlocking associational memberships. Although Boston had eight militia companies by the 1770s, the oldest and most prestigious was the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. It held the third oldest charter in Massachusetts—behind the province itself, and Harvard College. Charles I granted the original London artillery company a charter in 1632, and its sister company of the same name in Massachusetts Bay Colony received its charter 13 March 1638. 44

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Within this highly visible militia company is found a distinct circle of Wise subscribers. Indeed, of the sixty-eight subscribers who lived in Boston, twenty-three (slightly more than one-third) were members of the Boston Artillery Company. This circle of Wise subscribers epitomizes how ordinary New Englanders linked themselves together through a variety of personal, professional, civic, and social organizations. Their network illustrates how many of the Wise subscribers formed a second tier of revolutionary era leadership that was active primarily at the local level. Working outward from the Artillery Company’s hub, the subscribers in Boston alone formed an extensive network of interlocking spheres of influence. Virtually all of them were involved over time in civic affairs, and held a variety of offices that sound unfamiliar today: Scavenger, Clerk of the Market, Census Taker, Constable, and Informer of Deer. They also served, however, as jurors, wardens, and Justices of the Peace. Several even were tapped to work on the more familiar committees of inspection, safety, and correspondence. Josiah Edson served for many years as a Selectman. When the Boston Town Meeting formed a committee of twenty-one men to draft the plan that created the Committees of Correspondence, both of the Wise subscribers appointed to this task (Nathaniel Appleton and William Greenleaf) were also members of the Boston Artillery Company. Other Artillery Company members, including Jeremiah Belknap, Jr., served on their local or county committees

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45 Roberts, *Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, Volumes I and II.
47 Brown, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts*, 64; and *Boston Town Records 1770-1777*, 93.
of correspondence.\textsuperscript{48} After Parliament enacted the Tea Act in 1773, Thomas Marshall was one of Boston’s Selectmen who, on behalf of the Town Meeting, visited the town’s tea consignees 18 November 1773 and requested that they resign their appointments.\textsuperscript{49} Interestingly, all three Wise subscribers who participated in the Boston Tea Party (Samuel Gore, John Fenno, and James Fostor Condy) were also Artillery Company members.\textsuperscript{50} After the British evacuated Boston in March of 1776, ending the Siege of Boston, Artillery Company member Thomas Russell served on the committee that estimated the economic damages inflicted by the Boston Port Bill, while fellow militiaman Edward Kneeland served on a committee that collected subscriptions for the Continental Army.\textsuperscript{51} These men were linked to non-political associations, as well. At least three members (Samuel Gore, John Fenno, and Joseph Sherburne) belonged to a Masonic Lodge, which would have connected to not only to a broad spectrum of Boston’s leaders, but also to leaders in other colonies as well.\textsuperscript{52} In keeping with their commitment to their community, most of the Artillery Company members that subscribed to the Wise pamphlet were actively involved in their churches or some other charitable work. Fully one-half (twelve) of the twenty-three Artillery Company members were congregants of Boston’s Old South Church. Several were associated with Massachusetts’ Charitable Mechanic Association;

\textsuperscript{48} Roberts, \textit{Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company}, Volume I, 35.

\textsuperscript{49} Roberts, \textit{Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company}, Volume II, 107.

\textsuperscript{50} Drake, \textit{Tea Leaves}; Roberts, \textit{Records of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company}.

\textsuperscript{51} Roberts, \textit{Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company}, Volume II, pp. 170 and 160.

\textsuperscript{52} Roberts, \textit{Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company}, Volume II, pp. 205, 224, and 36-37.
Samuel Sellon was one of its founders, and Samuel Gore was the association’s first treasurer. Others supervised their local public schools and attended to Boston’s poor. Through these political, military, social, and religious affiliations, the Wise subscribers illustrate how ordinary New Englanders created interlocking spheres of influence, which formed the backbone of the revolutionary movement at the local level. Many of these men from New England had served together during England’s wars with France. This formative experience forged lasting bonds, and helped solidify New Englanders’ distaste for the autocratic practices they observed being practiced in the British Army.

The associative links between the members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company were not unique to this one unit, but were replicated in militia companies across New England. In the analysis presented thus far, the subscriptions of Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company members were categorized as they personally specified: as “Mr.” Only those militia members who had already served in earlier engagements gave Boyles their militia title when they subscribed to the Wise pamphlet. Actual militia interest in the Wise pamphlet is therefore revealed only


54 One of the Artillery Company’s members, William Moore, served as sergeant of the Fifth Company, First Massachusetts Regiment in the Cape Breton Expedition under Sir William Pepperell. See Ayers, Volume I, 51.

55 For a detailed discussion of the New England militia experience in this earlier era, see Fred Anderson, A People’s Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years’ War (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), chapter six. Perhaps the strongest tie within the Artillery Company, however, was formed by blood and marriage. Of the twenty-five Wise subscribers who were also Artillery Company members, nine were related to one another within the Dawes family (see diagram). At the heart of the Dawes family in the 1770s was William Dawes, Jr. Through his professional and personal relationships, Dawes was directly linked to a network of leaders that blanketed revolutionary era Boston. His history will be taken up in Chapter Five.
when the subscriptions of provincials who were militia members, but subscribed as
"Mr." are also included within the "militia" category. When Wise subscriptions
from just the Ancient and Honorable Artillery members are included within "militia,"
the number militia in the four core counties increases by 33% (from 22 to 33).
Further research is likely to confirm that Wise pamphlet subscribers in other
Massachusetts towns shared a similar commitment to their local militias.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from analysis of the Wise
subscriptions is that its readership was overwhelmingly secular; the Wise pamphlet
readers in 1772 were predominantly ordinary New England provincials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pamphlets</th>
<th>Subscribers</th>
<th>Pamphlets/Subscriber</th>
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<td>SUB-TOTAL:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>PERCENTAGE:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr., Mrs.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>TOTAL:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Demographic Analysis in Core Counties of Secular Readership

Demographic analysis of the Wise subscribers makes clear that its readership
in 1772 was overwhelmingly secular. But if attention is focused within that secular
readership—that is, if the subscriptions of all deacons and ministers are set aside—an
interesting dichotomy emerges between socio-economic classes. Subscribers from
the four core counties who labeled themselves as a gentleman or professional represented sixteen percent of subscribers in that area, as might be expected. The average number of pamphlets they purchased, though, was only 3.2, compared to 5.1 for subscribers who identified themselves as ordinary provincials. Though the keenest interest, as defined by average pamphlets purchased, was among militia members, it is also important to acknowledge that the pamphlet’s secular readership was not dominated by the traditional elite Whig leaders of the revolutionary movement, but rather ordinary provincials. Although ordinary, these Wise subscribers distinguished themselves through their dedication to the welfare of their communities and the prevalence of their leadership within their local institutions.

Indeed, so many of the subscribers served at the local or regional level in positions of civil responsibility and military authority that they draw attention to the existence of a distinct second tier of revolutionary-era leadership. In the weeks that followed Boyles’ distribution of the Wise pamphlet, two subscribers, Nathaniel Appleton, Jr. and William Greenleaf, served on the twenty-one member committee appointed by Boston’s Town Meeting to formulate its plan for the Committees of Correspondence.56 Appleton, along with bookseller James Foster Condy and Thomas Hitchborn were members of the politically active North End Caucus. Three Wise subscribers—Condy, John Fenno, and Samuel Gore—are known to have participated in the December 1773 Boston Tea Party.57 After Parliament enacted the Coercive

56 Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts, 64; and Boston Town Records 1770-1777, (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1887), 93.

57 Samuel Adams Drake, Tea Leaves: Being a collection of letters and documents relating to the shipment of tea to the American colonies in the year 1773, by the East India Company (Detroit:
Acts, Wise subscribers participated in their county conventions, July through October of 1774. When Massachusetts' First Provincial Congress convened in September of 1774, nine of the Wise subscribers represented their towns. Six of these nine, plus six additional Wise subscribers, also attended the Second Provincial Congress the following May.

Many of the subscribers lived in areas that were urban and more commercial areas where the economy had not only grown, but also developed. The economy of Massachusetts' coastal towns, especially Boston and Salem, had by the 1770s become tied to the trans-Atlantic economy. Even if subscribers were not merchants, their local economy was sensitive to contractions in credit, changes in the metropolitan market, and Whitehall's priorities for administration of the empire. The shift after the Seven Years' War from an imperial strategy based upon mercantilism and the expansion of trade to one in which fiscal considerations designed to maximize revenue to the home government were privileged may have been political, but its effect was also felt economically in provincial seaports. Residents of these areas,


58 Moses Gill (Suffolk County); Benjamin Brown, Stephen Davis, Isaac Foster, and Abijah Pierce (Middlesex County); Ebenezer Chaplin, William Dunsmoor, and Artemus Ward (Worcester County); and Jacob Dodge Solomon Parsons, John Patch, and Timothy Pickering (Essex County).

59 Nathaniel Appleton and Moses Bullen (Suffolk County); James Barrett, Samuel Fisk, Abraham Fuller, and Jonas Stone (Middlesex County); and William Dunsmoor, Ephraim Fairbanks, and Artemus Ward (Worcester County).

60 Moses Bullen, Ephraim May, and Josiah Waters (Suffolk County); James Barrett, Abraham Fuller, Joseph Simons, and Jonas Stone (Middlesex County); William Dunsmoor and Artemas Ward (Worcester County); Robert Hooper and Solomon Parsons (Essex County); and Samuel Freeman (Barnstable County).
who were tied into the trans-Atlantic economy, had grown accustomed to a
significant degree of autonomy in their political economy, and so they opposed
Parliament’s revenue measures. It is not surprising, then, that a large number of the
Wise pamphlet subscribers lived in New England’s commercial seaports. What is
notable is that these urban residents displayed interest in the expression of a
republican ideology that was distinctly congregational rather than secular in its origin;
evidence that distinct streams of thought influenced different segments of New
Englanders. Whereas the classically inspired republicanism inherited from England’s
radical Whigs emphasized the fragility of a republic and the need to carefully guard
against corruption, the republicanism indigenous to New England that sprang from its
congregational culture emphasized the need to purify the institutions of society—both
church and state. The difference here is subtle, but it reflects the long-standing
division within trans-Atlantic Puritanism; those who remained in England may have
expressed concern about practices that corrupted the state church, but those who
emigrated acted to purify their civil and ecclesiastical institutions. This distinction is
reflected in the pamphlets that articulated the secular and congregational inceptions of
republicanism.

Wise may have originally written his pamphlets to oppose consociation, but in
1772 his argument bore the patina of his defiance of the Dominion of New England’s

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arbitrary government. In the early years of the revolutionary era most New Englanders resisted the impulse to support extra-legal civil institutions because only their civil rights were threatened. But as Patricia Bonomi has observed, once provincials felt that their ecclesiastical liberties were also at risk, they felt justified in adopting more aggressive modes of resistance. The defense of civil and ecclesiastical liberties combined to legitimize extra-legal institutions.

Boyles’ publication of the Wise pamphlet followed not long after the 1768 Boston Convention of Towns. Richard D. Brown has observed that each town’s attendance at the meeting demonstrated their corporate willingness to participate in an extra-legal civil institution. He notes that their attendance “demonstrated their readiness to defy the governor,” but in reality the towns disregarded their province’s 1691 Charter. Before the onset of the imperial crisis most Massachusetts provincials thought it unthinkable to unilaterally violate their Charter, which they regarded as a covenant between their colony and the Crown. The willingness of many Massachusetts’ towns to themselves call and then meet in an extra-legal convention underscores the degree to which they believed their rights had become threatened—by the governor’s refusal to convene the General Court, by the anticipated arrival of

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62 According to Richard Brown, more than half of Massachusetts’ towns had not been involved politically in resistance to Parliament before the 1768 Convention of Towns. See Brown, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts*, 96. Bonomi discusses the Massachusetts clergy’s decision not to participate in a network of corresponding committees initiated by Pennsylvania’s Presbyterians; see to Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, 207.


64 This reluctance is evident in the decision of Massachusetts’ congregational clergy not to join Pennsylvania’s Presbyterians in forming committees of communication in the 1760s; see Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 207.
British troops, and the persistent specter of the Episcopal Controversy. Brown sees town attendance in the 1768 convention as a measure of how far support for the revolutionary movement had developed beyond Boston. The pan-provincial subscription to the 1772 Wise pamphlet affirms Brown's claim regarding the increasingly cosmopolitan outlook of towns beyond the coastline.

The domination of ordinary New Englanders among the Wise subscribers reinforces the notion that the congregational language Wise used to express his political ideas held great appeal for ordinary New Englanders, as compared to the republicanism favored by so many educated polemicists. The divergence in interest between elite and ordinary New Englanders in the Wise pamphlet suggests that they recognized that the republicanism expressed by Wise represented an ideology distinct from the classical republicanism invoked by provincial Whigs. Historian Clinton Rossiter, in an effort to determine the extent of Wise's influence, found that none of the revolutionary era's leading Whigs ever mentioned the 1772 Wise pamphlet. Its subscription list confirms that elite Whig leaders took little notice of the Wise

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65 The most striking provincial use of extra-legal institutions in response to Parliament's infringement upon both civil and ecclesiastical liberties would occur two years later, when Parliament enacted the Coercive Acts in June of 1774 (including the Massachusetts Government Act and the Quebec Act). Massachusetts provincials quickly formed country conventions (August and September, 1774) and their Provincial Congress (convened October, 1774). Both of these were extra-legal institutions well beyond the scope of civil institutions provided for by the 1691 Charter.


pamphlet. Among the 260 subscribers enumerated, the only ones with whom most historians might have a passing acquaintance are Nathaniel Appleton, John Fenno, Moses Gill, Joshua Henshaw, Joshua Loring, Thomas Marshall, and John Scollay (all from Boston of Suffolk County); Timothy Pickering (of Salem in Essex County); and Artemus Ward (of Shrewsbury in Worcester County). The paucity of quintessentially high-profile ‘elite Whigs’ among the subscribers and their apparent lack of interest in the Wise pamphlet (Wise’ name is absent from the writings of Samuel Adams, James Otis, Joseph Hawley, Joseph Warren and others) not only affirms that more than one ideology guided New Englanders through the revolutionary era, but also suggests that the funding to underwrite the cost of publication came from a source other than Boston’s leading Whigs. In other words, the 1772 publication of the Wise pamphlet, which articulated a republican ideology designed to appeal to readers more inclined to congregationalism than secularism, was driven by someone outside of the inner Whig circle. Demographic analysis of the Wise pamphlet demonstrates that ordinary New Englanders embraced an indigenous “congregational” republicanism, which complemented the classical republicanism articulated by elite Whigs.

The popularity of the Wise pamphlet among ordinary New Englanders in 1772 suggests that they remained culturally predisposed toward the ideals of congregational Puritanism far longer than has been supposed. Nathan Hatch and Alan Heimert have argued that religious support for the revolutionary movement had its roots in the Great Awakening, but analysis of the Wise subscriber list suggests that the support of thousands of ordinary New Englanders for the revolutionary movement was influenced—if not directly guided--by the ideas of congregational republicanism.
articulated in the 1772 Wise pamphlet. Since those ideas were first published in 1710 and 1717 and they depended heavily upon ideals established at the settlement of the Glorious Revolution, it stands to reason that the roots of the Revolutionary War reach back to 1688 and the political idealism that then became embedded within New England's culture.

The 1772 Wise pamphlet failed to find an audience beyond New England because its message was tailored for that region's unique culture. Bridenbaugh has argued that though the threat of an Anglican bishopric concerned many provincials, especially in New England, it was insufficient to have driven them toward revolution. The Episcopal Controversy alone did not precipitate the Revolutionary War, but it did accelerate the movement in New England. Because concern regarding the potential appointment of an American Anglican bishop crested between 1760 and 1765, however, it intensified urban provincial reaction to the Stamp Act. The Thanksgiving Sermon delivered by Joseph Emerson when Parliament revoked its measure comments more directly, though, upon the continued interrelated nature of politics and religion in New England. Emerson described his parishioners in Pepperrell as having

looked upon it [the Stamp Act] as the darkest day New-England ever saw. ...after taking away the liberty of taxing ourselves, and breaking in upon our charters, they feared the breaking in upon the act of toleration, the taking away of liberty to choose our own ministers, and then imposing whom they pleased upon us for spiritual guides, largely taxing us to support the pride and vanity of diocesan Bishops, and it may be by and by making us tributary to the See of Rome, and in a little time we must either have took a wafer for our God and Saviour, and bowed down to a stupid priest, or suffered all those miseries which that persecuting church could have invented.68

68 Joseph Emerson, 1766 Thanksgiving Sermon (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1766), 12.
The ideas expressed by Wise appealed to New Englanders in part because they shared a common cultural heritage based upon a justified fear of absolute authority and political intrusion into their religious freedom. It is not surprising, then, that the Wise pamphlet was not distributed beyond New England.
CHAPTER 6
ONE AMONG MANY: WILLIAM DAWES, JR.

William Dawes, Jr., as the son of one of the principle subscribers to the Wise pamphlet in 1771, presents an interesting example of popular constitutionalism in action. Most people are familiar with his role as one of two messengers that rode from Boston to Lexington the night of 18 April 1775 to warn Hancock and Adams of the British' intent to seize the provincial munitions stored in Concord. His activities in the years before and after, though, have received scant scholarly attention. Dawes' activities before 1775, including the purchase and distribution of one-hundred copies of the Wise pamphlet in a region occupied by the British, stand out as examples of popular constitutionalism.

William Dawes was very much like the other fifteen-thousand or so Bostonians at the height of the revolutionary movement who thought of themselves as being of the "middling sort." Like many of them, Dawes was directly descended from English Puritans. The first Dawes émigré left England amidst a wave of Puritan immigrants to New England in 1628-29. Although he soon returned to England, his son William sailed to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635 to escape persecution from the alliance of England's Anglican Church and State. He lived temporarily first in Braintree, but soon settled permanently in Boston. At a time when the colony's first
charter restricted suffrage to members of the Puritan Church, this first William Dawes publicly advocated that voting rights should be extended to all male freeholders. He risked being shunned both socially and economically in order to support religious dissenters’ right to vote. Even though this was then an unpopular political position within Puritan controlled Massachusetts, it represented Dawes’ opinion of how England’s constitution should be interpreted. Four generations later, his great-great-grandson with the same name shared a similar commitment to popular constitutionalism.

When the revolutionary movement began, William Dawes, Jr. had just come of age and was ready to strike out on his own. He was the third of twelve children, and the first of two sons. At that time his father and a cousin, William Homes, Jr., together owned a goldsmith business on Ann Street, where Oak Hall stood. William Dawes, though, chose a different career path; he followed the footsteps of his older cousin, Thomas Dawes, and became a tanner. Since the tanning business required a significant initial capital outlay and the younger Dawes owned his own tannery by the age of twenty-three, he probably received financial assistance from his

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69 Henry W. Holland, William Dawes, and His Ride with Paul Revere; An Essay read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society on June 7, 1876; to which is appended a genealogy of the Dawes Family (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1878), 21. His home on Sudbury Street remained within the Dawes family until 1775, when the British burned it to the ground during the Siege of Boston; refer also to Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, (Privately Printed, 1943), 32.

70 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, pp. 33, 37; three of the daughters likely did not survive childhood.

71 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 34.

72 Holland, William Dawes, 23.
father.\textsuperscript{73} This would not have been at all unusual, though, as it was common for fathers to help their sons establish their economic independence. Dawes operated his tanning business at a property he owned at the corner of Sudbury and Friend Streets. This was adjacent to Mill Pond, which would have provided access to the water needed for his business, as well as disposal of its caustic chemicals.\textsuperscript{74} His own home was not much more than a stone’s throw to the southeast. Previously owned by an uncle, Captain Josiah Waters, Dawes’ home stood at 64 Ann Street--diagonally across the street from that of his father’s family, at the corner of Scottow’s Alley, just southwest of where Ann Street crossed over Mill Creek.\textsuperscript{75}

Once Dawes had secured a competency, he married seventeen-year-old Mehitable May of Roxbury, on 3 May 1768.\textsuperscript{76} Soon after, the couple joined the Old South Church, where all of Dawes’ ancestors had worshipped, except his father. When his parents had married, Dawes’ father had joined the New South Church because his wife was already a member and her father, Nicholas Boone, had been one of its founding members.\textsuperscript{77} There is no record that Dawes fought with the militia in the Seven Years’ War, but he was civically active and served in a number of minor public offices in the five years before the outbreak of actual military hostilities in

\textsuperscript{73} Letter of Hannah Newcomb (daughter of Dawes’ daughter, Hannah) to Henry Holland; see Holland, \textit{William Dawes}, 38.


\textsuperscript{75} This is the same Josiah Waters, who was also a Wise subscriber. Ferris, \textit{Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines}, pp. 31, 34. Dawes’ home was at the south end of Ann Street; Paul Revere’s home was at the north end of Ann Street; Holland, \textit{William Dawes}, 23.

\textsuperscript{76} Ferris, \textit{Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines}, 38.

\textsuperscript{77} Ferris, \textit{Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines}, pp. 33, 44.
In the midst of those years, Dawes embarked upon an endeavor that epitomized his commitment to popular constitutionalism.

In the summer of 1772 the people of Massachusetts could reflect with some satisfaction that for seven years they had creatively defended their vision of the empire’s constitution. Parliament had rescinded the Stamp Act, British Regulars had withdrawn as a standing army from Boston, and (in response to pressure applied by Non-Importations Committees) Parliament had withdrawn all but one of the Townshend Duties. Even John Adams, who successfully defended the British officers involved in the Boston Massacre, had only attempted to enforce the law and therefore an element of the constitution. The two-year lull (1770-1772) in conflict between Massachusetts provincials and Parliament, though, proved to be only the calm before the storm.

By the middle of 1772 Massachusetts’ leading Whigs suspected their provincial government was being corrupted. Governor Hutchinson had initiated an effort to consolidate a Court party by appointing men to local and provincial office only if they remained loyal to the Crown. Since Hutchinson believed “the three professions Lawyers Physicians and Clergy[,] depending entirely on the people for their support[,] must comply with popular humours[,]” a great many of these appointees had little to recommend them for their office beyond their loyalty.79 This

78 Robert Francis Seybolt, Town Officials of Colonial Boston, 1634-1775 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939). Records Dawes as having been one of two “Informers about Deer” in the years 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773, as well as one of twelve “Wardens” in 1774, and one of four “Sealers of Leather” in 1775; pp. 309, 313, 336, 341, 345, 350, 355.

79 Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, 8 August 1769, Thomas Hutchinson Letter Books, Massachusetts Archives, XXVI, 362; see in Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts, 39.
threat to provincial virtue, coupled with the continued collection of the Townshend tax on tea and the Crown’s assumption of judges’ salaries persuaded Massachusetts’ Whigs that a means was desperately needed by which to inform the people of efforts to usurp their rights. Out of this the Boston Committee of Correspondence emerged as well as a province-wide network of corresponding committees. This in itself expressed a broad commitment to popular constitutionalism, as each of the corresponding committees was controlled by a local town meeting that staffed and directed the content of the committee’s correspondence. The establishment of this network of corresponding committees was a striking organizational innovation, but did not represent the extent of provincial response to the apparently growing threat to their interpretation of the constitution. Even as Sam Adams worked within the Boston town meeting to establish a network of corresponding committees that could continue to share information whenever the General Court was recessed, William Dawes acted independently to defend the charter. With others, Dawes drew upon a pamphlet published early in the century, and used it for contemporary purposes.

Dawes’ father was one of the three principle subscribers to the Wise pamphlet.  

Dawes, Sr., Ephraim Fairbanks of Bolton, and Peter Jayne of Marblehead each purchased one-hundred pamphlets, and distributed them to strategically distinct regions. Their commitment to the Wise pamphlet and its ideology is remarkable. Of the 1,136 subscribers, 151 purchased only a single copy. An additional ninety subscribers purchased between two and six copies to share with

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their friends and neighbors. Of the remaining twenty subscribers, the trio of Dawes, Fairbanks, and Jayne was responsible for 300 copies (more than a quarter) of the 1,136 pamphlets.

The connection of William Dawes, Jr. to the 1772 Wise pamphlet was no accident. Indeed, it is plausible that he may have encouraged John Boyles to undertake its reprinting. Dawes' maternal grandfather, Nicholas Boone, had printed *The Churches' Cause Espoused* in 1715 (its second edition) and *A Vindication* in 1717.\(^1\) It is very likely that Dawes' parents kept copies of these pamphlets in their home. Dawes' childhood conditioned him to support the ideals Wise espoused. Unlike many other Boston families in the mid-eighteenth century, his family remained unusually pious.

The Dawes household, despite the easing of Puritan strictures, remained a bastion of Puritan virtue.\(^2\) William Dawes, Sr. ensured that his family strictly adhered to the biblical injunction that prohibited work on the Sabbath. Each Saturday he ensured that the food for the following day was already prepared and that every family member's clothing was neatly groomed. As the province's first Puritans had, the family's food for Sunday was prepared the previous day in order to not work on the Sabbath, and Dawes, Sr. also prohibited his children from either laughing or even looking out of doors on Sundays.\(^3\) The patriarch assiduously instilled piety in his

\(^1\) Roberts, *Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, Volume II, pp. 100-01; Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 33; a footnote identifies Nicholas Boone as the father of Lydia Boone Dawes, the wife of William Dawes, Sr.


\(^3\) Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 33.
children, teaching them such Puritan maxims as “Let thy recreations be lawful, brief, and seldom,” and “let thy meditations be of death, judgment, and eternity.”

Dawes’ familial connection to Boone, the financial resources that both he and his father possessed, and his commitment to congregationalism’s fundamental tenets all prepared Dawes to be the ideal messenger of Wise pamphlets in 1772. Since it was Dawes who still possessed copies of both Wise tracts, he may have been the moving force behind their publication in 1771.

Dawes is known to have frequently traveled the countryside of Suffolk County on horse to distribute his share of the Wise pamphlets to receptive readers. Because he also attempted to encourage opposition to Parliament, Dawes’ actions could have been interpreted as treason by loyalists. His sojourns outside of Boston were therefore not without risk, and so Dawes consciously disguised his purpose. “During these rides, he sometimes borrowed a friendly miller’s hat and clothes, and sometimes he borrowed a dress of a farmer, and had a bag of meal behind his back on the horse. ...But in trying to stir up recruits, he was often in great danger.” On one of these trips a British soldier attempted to stop Dawes, but he drew his weapon and charged ahead on his horse and made good his escape. Despite the real possibility of arrest, William Dawes pressed ahead in order to persuade others of the danger in allowing Parliament to tread on the provincial interpretation of England’s

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84 Holland, William Dawes, 23.
85 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 40.
86 Letter from Hannah Newcomb (Dawes’ grand-daughter and daughter of Hannah Dawes) to Henry W. Holland in 1875; see Holland, William Dawes, pp. 36-38.
constitution. The concealment of Wise' political message within the language of
religion provided Dawes and others a plausible explanation if needed to avoid a
charge of treason.

While this was, perhaps, the defining example of Dawes' commitment to
popular constitutionalism, a more adventurous demonstration of that commitment
also deserves mention. When Thomas Gage replaced Thomas Hutchinson as
governor to implement the Coercive Acts in May of 1774, two regiments of British
Regulars accompanied him. In a town of 17,000 residents, almost 3,000 Regulars on
land supported by the Royal Navy in the harbor made provincial acknowledgement of
a military occupation unavoidable. 87 In this atmosphere of escalated tension, William
Dawes performed a rather unique act of popular constitutionalism.

As part of his effort to implement the Coercive Acts, Military-Governor Gage
moved to gradually assume control of the province’s munitions. Most had to be
forcibly seized, but some loyalists voluntarily aided the British in this process. Adino
Paddock intended to be one such volunteer. As Captain of the Ancient and
Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, Paddock held responsibility for the militia
unit’s two six-pound cannon. In November of 1774, the guns still remained stored in
their usual place, in the gun house at the corner of West and Mason Streets—literally
steps from where thousands of British Regulars were camped just to the west on the
Common. When Paddock’s plan to relinquish control of the Artillery Company’s two
small field pieces to the British was discovered by members of the militia unit with

87 Richard Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company,
1865), 450.
Whig sympathies, a small number of them intervened—led by second sergeant
William Dawes.\(^8^8\)

By 1774 the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was already, well, ancient and honorable. Boston had eight militia companies, but membership in Massachusetts’ oldest militia unit was selective, and by invitation only.\(^8^9\) Less than a month before Dawes married in 1768, the members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston tapped him to join their ranks.\(^9^0\) Dawes’ membership may have been more or less assured, though, because he was a ‘legacy.’ The Dawes family’s association with the Artillery Company was not as old as the unit’s charter, but it was lengthy, nonetheless. Ambrose Dawes (son of the first William Dawes that had immigrated to the province in 1635, and Dawes’ great-grandfather), was inducted in 1674. In more recent years a number of Dawes’ extended family had also become members, including his father (1766), three uncles (William Homes (1747), Josiah Waters (1747), and William Moor (1749)), and three first cousins (Benjamin Goldthwait (1740), Thomas Dawes (1754), and William Homes, Jr. (1766)).\(^9^1\) In


\(^{8^9}\)Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 34. In his capacity as clerk of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1786, Dawes was instructed to purchase black and white balls for the purpose of secretly voting for new members. Any single member could anonymously veto another member’s proposal to extend an invitation of membership. Frothingham, *History*, 49; and Roberts, *Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, 148.


\(^{9^1}\)Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 34.
1770 the membership of the Artillery Company appointed Dawes its second sergeant. 92

Dawes and fellow militia member Samuel Gore led the effort to spirit the Artillery Company’s two guns to safety. 93 For all intents and purposes the guns were already under British control, guarded by a single redcoat sentry stationed at the main entrance to the gun house. While he was called away to roll-call, Dawes and Gore led a small group of fellow militia members into the building through a rear entry. They removed the two guns from their carriages and quickly carried them out the rear entrance and across the yard that separated the gun house from the adjacent free school on Mason Street. There, the guns were hidden in a woodbox stored under the schoolmaster’s desk. As soon as the theft was discovered, the British mounted a search that included the school. The schoolmaster and some of the boys knew of the guns’ hiding place, but when questioned by a British officer, the schoolmaster and boys maintained that they knew nothing. The schoolmaster, who in fact did have a lame leg, rested his leg upon the box as he usually did, which disguised the resting place of the rescued guns. They remained under the schoolmaster’s desk for two weeks, until they were removed and under cloak of darkness were carted through Boston’s streets in a wheelbarrow to Whiston’s blacksmith shop at the south end of town. On 5 January 1775 the Committee of Safety of the First Provincial Congress directed Dawes to deliver the pair of brass cannon to Deacon Cheever, who

92 Roberts, Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 148; Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 39; the Artillery Company later appointed Dawes as its Clerk in 1786.

93 Samuel Gore also participated in the Boston Tea Party and was a brother of Christopher Gore, who served as Governor of Massachusetts in 1809-1810; see Samuel Adams Drake, Tea Leaves (Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970), pp. 5-6.
constructed new carriages for them. The guns were then taken by boat to Waltham as later voted by the Committee of Safety. Six weeks later (23 February 1775) the same committee voted that the six colonels appointed by the Provincial Congress each be given two pieces of artillery, as well as "two for the use of the artillery company of Boston, lately commanded by Major Paddock." The two cannon provided by Dawes were presumably among these fourteen. Baptized "Hancock" and "Adams," the two field pieces eventually saw action in seventeen engagements of the Revolutionary War. At the end of the war the Continental Congress approved funds to restore "Hancock" and "Adams." By order of Secretary of War Henry Knox an inscription was placed on each to commemorate their service to the new nation.

The pair of brass cannon that were first fired 4 June 1768 to celebrate King George III's birthday now rest within the national memorial that honors the men who served at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

No record exists to explain what motivated Dawes risk his personal safety to rescue the two cannon. That this almost entirely obscure individual today would even make the effort, though, would not have surprised contemporaries. Dawes came from a family personally dedicated to popular constitutionalism. In revolutionary era Boston, several political clubs met regularly to discuss the ongoing conflict with

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94 William Lincoln, The Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, Printers to the State, 1838), 511.

95 Letter from Hannah Newcomb (daughter of Dawes' daughter, Hannah) to Henry Holland, in Cambridge dated 17 June 1875; see Holland, William Dawes, pp. 36-38; Roberts, Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, pp. 148-49; Holland, William Dawes, 27-29; Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, pp. 39-40.

96 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 41.

97 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 40.
Parliament. The most influential of the private clubs were the South End Caucus, the Middle District Caucus, and the North End Caucus, of which John Adams was a member. Early in the movement Adams learned that another club, "the Caucus Club, meets at certain times in the garret of Tom Dawes, the adjutant of the Boston regiment. He has a large house, and he has a movable partition in his garrett, [sic] which he takes down, and the whole club meets in one room." Given that Thomas Dawes hosted the meetings in his home, he must have been a trusted member of the Caucus Club, and privy to its debates and plans. This Thomas Dawes was also William Dawes' older first cousin with whom he had apprenticed to learn the tanning trade. Though never a member himself, William Dawes remained in contact throughout the revolutionary era with others who were. Doctor Joseph Warren was one of these, as was Nicholas Holmes. Both were members of the North Caucus Club, but Holmes was also Dawes' immediate neighbor on Ann Street, along Mill Creek.

Without the effort made by Dawes and others, the guns would have fallen to British control and been used against Massachusetts provincials in subsequent military engagements. Indeed, the Artillery Company's two six-pound guns were precisely the number and size of field artillery that Brigadier Hugh Percy took, along

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99 Holland, *William Dawes*, 29. Dawes died almost three years before his father, and so must have earned on his own the considerable amount of property he owned at his death. One of three principle properties was his 'mansion' at 64 Ann Street. A general inventory of Dawes' estate was taken by Edward Barnes, Moses Wood, and Dr. Nathaniel Shepard Prentiss in April of 1799. In it the Ann Street property, including three tenements and other buildings, was valued at $10,000; see Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, pp. 45-46.
with a full brigade of British infantry, to rescue the failed expedition to Lexington on their retreat, 19 April 1775. Those guns were used in the British' continued attempt to impose the Coercive Acts. Parliament had enacted this series of Acts in the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party (16 December 1773) to seize control of what appeared to be a rebellious colony. The centerpiece of the Coercive Acts was the Massachusetts Government Act. Through this measure Parliament intended to usurp functions reserved to Massachusetts’ provincial government by its 1691 Charter. Massachusetts provincials, including Dawes, widely regarded this Act as having further violated the balance of England’s constitution. Dawes’ rescue of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company’s two brass cannon must therefore be regarded as having been an exceptional act of popular constitutionalism.

An unusual injury received during the transport of the field pieces from the gun house to the schoolhouse forced Dawes to renew his acquaintance with Doctor Joseph Warren. The two had not been in contact since Dawes was nineteen years old, in a professional encounter in 1764. Then, a smallpox epidemic in Boston had forced more than 1,500 Bostonians to flee the city for the relative safety of the countryside. On Ann Street, where Dawes still lived with his parents, the disease afflicted fourteen families, including some of Dawes’ immediate family members. Uninfected family members, including William, temporarily relocated to Roxbury, just across Boston Neck. There, twenty-three-year-old Doctor Joseph Warren had established his first

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101 Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 34.
practice. He inoculated those members of the Dawes family not already infected with the smallpox disease, including William.\textsuperscript{102}

A decade later, Warren had moved his practice to Boston, where Dawes’ injury brought the two together again. Warren was by then widely known as a Whig leader in provincial government, and had been instrumental with John Hancock and Sam Adams in the transformation of the General Court into a provincial congress, just the previous month—October of 1774. In November, as Dawes helped to carry one of the two artillery pieces across the schoolyard, the gun pressed one of his shirtsleeve buttons through his flesh and into his wrist.\textsuperscript{103} The gun’s “six-pound” label referred not to its weight, but to that of the three-inch diameter lead balls it shot. The gun itself weighed so much it required several men to carry it. While the British actively searched for the guns, Dawes delayed seeking medical attention lest his injury reveal his involvement in the ‘theft’ of the guns. After two days, though, pain forced him to find professional treatment for his wound. It is not known if Dawes already had a relationship with any other physician, but when treason was involved, he deliberately sought the services of a physician he knew would not inform the British—Doctor Joseph Warren.

Warren, then, did not just pluck Dawes off the street the evening of 18 April 1775 to deliver a message to Hancock and Adams in Lexington. Between November of 1774 and April of 1775 as the British occupied Boston, the two maintained “close


\textsuperscript{103} Letter from Mehitable May Goddard (Dawes’ daughter with his second wife, Lydia Gendell) to Henry Holland, in Brookline, dated 8 June 1875; see Holland, \textit{William Dawes}, pp. 33-36.
consultations.\footnote{104} The Warren-Dawes relationship formed one of probably many links between the orbit of elite Whigs and that of more ordinary New Englanders.\footnote{105} "During th[at] time ... [Dawes] had frequent occasion to pass to and from the town on visits to the country, and thus became well known to several of the men [British Regulars] who stood on guard at the gates [at Boston Neck, where fortifications had been erected].\footnote{106} Dawes also contacted the Committee of Safety in Salem, where Timothy Pickering served as chairman, to aid the provincial Committee of Safety in its effort to collect the munitions required to supply an army of 20,000 men.\footnote{107}

Following the Battles of Lexington and Concord on 19 April 1775, provincial militia surrounded Boston, and the year-long Siege of Boston began. Many Bostonians feared for their safety and sought to leave. The Provincial Congress petitioned Military-Governor Gage to permit their egress, which he granted.\footnote{108} Because the town was located on land surrounded by water and connected to the rest of Massachusetts only by a narrow strip of land known as Boston Neck, the exit of refugees was constrained by a bottleneck. Dawes' father remained in Boston, but

\footnote{104} Letter from Hannah Newcomb (daughter of Dawes' daughter, Hannah) to Henry Holland, in Cambridge dated 17 June 1875; see Holland, \textit{William Dawes}, pp. 36-38.

\footnote{105} Stephen Patterson posited that once most of Boston Whigs had evacuated the town after the Battle of Lexington that Warren remained as the leader of a second-tier of leadership. Patterson did not, however, recognize that this second-tier existed independently of Warren. See Stephen E. Patterson. \textit{Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts} (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), pp. 92-93.

\footnote{106} Letter from Mehitable May Goddard to Holland, in Brookline, dated 3 June 1875; see Holland, \textit{William Dawes}, pp. 34-35.

\footnote{107} Holland, \textit{William Dawes}, 26. Pickering was also a Wise subscriber.

sent his second wife (Hannah Jackson Dawes) and their two daughters (Ruth and Sarah, ages nine and ten) to Marlborough. They loaded as many household goods as they could into a borrowed wagon pulled by a single horse, which was driven by a "colored man, who was a servant in the family of a relative." Hannah, who had never held the reins of a horse before in her life, drove a two-wheel chaise. To keep her daughters from falling from the vehicle, she tied shawls around their waists to her arm. As she drove the chaise with the girls tied to her, Hannah also held the year-old baby of her sister-in-law, Abigail Dawes Cogsworth (Dawes’ younger sister, born in 1752). The wagon heaped with household accoutrements and chaise filled with Dawes’ step-mother, his two step-sisters, and his niece must have made quite a spectacle as they joined others like them in leaving Boston.\(^\text{109}\) Dawes’ father remained in his Ann Street home, though, with the unmarried sisters of his first wife, Lydia (Betty and Molly Boone).\(^\text{110}\) To protect the family’s silver and other valuables from being pilfered by the British, Dawes’ father hid them in a cistern in home’s basement, where they remained safely.\(^\text{111}\)

Dawes did not immediately return to Boston following his ride to Lexington, however, but continued to do what he could to support the Whigs’ cause to defend the provincial interpretation of England’s constitution. He remained with the provincial militia in Cambridge, where he served as an Adjutant to Major-General William


\(^{110}\) Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 36.

\(^{111}\) Letter from Hannah Newcomb to Henry Holland; see Holland, William Dawes, 38.
Heath, whom he had long known from their association in the Artillery Company of Boston. "After the war fairly began, [Dawes] was with the American army as long as it remained near Boston, and frequently did duty as bearer of dispatches, at times running much risk while thus employed." Following the Battle of Bunker Hill, it appears financial necessity forced Dawes to return to Boston, but like his father, sent his own family to Worcester, accompanied by his sister Lydia and her husband, John Coolidge. During the Siege, Dawes visited his family weekly. "On these visits he wore his coats covered with cloth buttons, though brass and gilt buttons were in common use. Every Saturday his sister, Mrs. Lucas, would cover his gold pieces with cloth and sew them on, while as regularly in Worcester his wife would remove the coins, and put button-moulds in their place. In this way he eluded search, and secreted necessary money for the support of his family." Though he worked to provide food and other necessities for his family, Dawes continued his support of the Whig cause. After the Continental Congress declared the colonies' independence, the General Court voted on 7 September 1776 to commission Dawes as a second major of

112 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 44; Return dated 20 May 1775; see Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War. A Compilation from the archives, prepared and published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth in accordance with chapter 100, resolves of 1891, Vol. II (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Company, State Printers, 1891), 559. Heath joined the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in the spring of 1765, when he was twenty-eight years old. He served first as its Lieutenant, but by 1 April 1771 he commanded the Company as they participated in Massachusetts Governor Shirley's funeral procession to King's Chapel. See Major-General William Heath, Memoirs (originally published 1798, New York: William Abbatt, 1901), 1; and Samuel Adams Drake, Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1873), 267.

113 Mehitable May Goddard Letter to Henry Holland; see Holland, William Dawes, 36.

114 Holland, William Dawes, 28; Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 36.

115 Hannah Newcomb letter to Henry Holland; see Holland, William Dawes, 38.
Colonel Henry Bromfield’s Boston regiment. It appears that Dawes resigned this commission, though, when the Continental Congress appointed him as an Assistant Commissary of Issues at the Worcester Magazine, where he served from 1777 through 1779. It was this commissary that served the imprisoned Hessians that the Continental Army captured when Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga in October of 1777.

In his service as Assistant Commissary, Dawes again served the cause of justice sought by provincial Americans. Much of the public was incensed by the generous terms granted to the British and Hessian soldiers who surrendered at Saratoga. The captured Hessians then exacerbated their anger as they plundered private property from homes on their march from upstate New York to their prison camp in Massachusetts. In his role as an administrator of the camp, it is said that Dawes attempted to provide some means of justice. He adjusted the commissary’s scales so that when the Hessians provisions were measured, the ration they received was commensurately less than what they would have had they not ventured to infringe upon provincials’ right to the protection of private property. As he meted out yet another innovative form of popular constitutionalism, Dawes did not personally profit, but rather saved provisions desperately needed by the Continental Army.

When the British moved the theater of war further south, Dawes returned to Boston, where his household had grown to include his aged and infirm father and step-mother,

116 Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution, IV, 561.
117 Holland, William Dawes, 28, Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution, II, 559.
118 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, 41.
as well as two sisters in addition to his own wife and children. A knee injury about this time prevented Dawes from further active public service. After his wife, Mehitable died in 1793, Dawes remarried Lydia in 1795. Together they had two children. Just after the second child’s birth, Dawes moved his family for the last time, to his father’s old farm in Marlborough, where he died just three years later in 1799.  

The acts of popular constitutionalism that Dawes performed throughout much of his life were not rendered without personal cost. Dawes had hoped that by sending his family to Worcester in 1775 that they would be safe during the Siege of Boston. But as he continued to work at his business in Boston, Mehitable bore their son, Charles, on 22 February 1776 alone. Worse yet, on the heels of this missed joy came sorrow. Two months after Charles’ birth, Dawes’ seventeen-month-old daughter, Mehitable, died, followed three weeks later by her brother, Samuel May, aged three.  

Family relationships died as well.  

The Revolutionary War divided both empire and families. Dawes’ younger brother Elisha did not share his older brother’s provincial interpretation of England’s Constitution. Elisha’s loyalty remained with Parliament, and ultimately with the Crown. The only extant record of Elisha’s life is the one word—‘Tory’—written next to his name in the baptismal records of the New South Church of Boston.  

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119 Letter from Mehitable May Goddard to Henry Holland; see Holland, William Dawes, 36.  

120 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, pp. 39, 46.  

121 Ferris, Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, pp. 37, 38; Old South Church Baptismal Records.
name is never mentioned in any other documentation, and so it seems likely that he at least withdrew from the family, and possibly the country. William Dawes, Jr., on the other hand, was firmly committed to a defense of a provincial vision of popular constitutionalism.

More than one historian has dismissed William Dawes as having been inconsequential to the revolutionary movement and war. Indeed, he recently was described as 'ordinary.' If so, then the provincials committed to acting upon the cause of popular constitutionalism—rather than delegating that responsibility to others—must have been legion. The mystery of how the republican rhetoric of educated elites was transformed into resistance, rebellion, and revolution should no longer remain a puzzle. Stephen Patterson has written that when most of Boston’s Whig leadership evacuated the town during the Siege of Boston, “this “in effect reduc[ed] the leadership of the party in Boston to the second tier, probably headed by Dr. Joseph Warren.” Patterson’s description of leadership, however, is slightly misleading. Warren’s position among the Whigs’ inner circle remained secure until he died defending a redoubt during the provincials’ retreat from Breed’s Hill in June of 1775. With his death, Warren became the nation’s first martyred hero, lionized in contemporary engravings and depicted side by side with George Washington. Before his premature death, though, Warren also functioned as an intermediary between Boston’s elite, secular Whigs and the ordinary New Englanders who possessed a


stronger affinity for congregational republicanism. It is tempting to compare Warren in this role to that performed by Sam Adams with the Boston North End and South End mechanics prior to the Stamp Act riot, but a more accurate analogy would be the urban merchants of the 1760s. Because they came from humble beginnings, urban merchants effectively bridged the cultural divide between artisans and elite Whigs to form the Sons of Liberty. Just as shared opposition to Parliamentary taxation mitigated the socio-economic differences that divided these men, so too there was no need for the Massachusetts elite to motivate ordinary provincials to defend their rights; as English citizens at the edge of empire, New Englanders understood that if they did not defend their provincial vision of England’s constitution, no one would.
Thanks in part to Wise’ rhetoric, Puritanism’s fundamental principles transcended religion to become embedded within New England’ culture early in the eighteenth-century as congregational republicanism. Its egalitarian tenets mirrored the Puritans’ idealized concept of Church and State. Heimert has suggested that New England’s Congregationalists “were allowed to think that they were defending religion when in fact they were doing battle for civil liberties.”¹ The support that these Calvinists gave to the revolutionary movement, though, was not an unintended consequence of piety, but rather a deliberate choice. Because this indigenous republicanism helped to reinforce congregational control of the Puritan Church, it was embraced by New England culture. During the revolutionary era, the tenets of this indigenous republicanism helped ordinary New Englanders justify why they should oppose Parliament’s usurpation of their civil rights. Elite Whigs’ expression of a republicanism inherited from English (Country) Whigs appeared to find a receptive audience throughout New England because it reinforced a philosophy that had already had time to mature across several generations. The need to translate elite

Whigs’ republican rhetoric into ‘reality,’ as posited by some historians, therefore never really existed, since Massachusetts congregationalists had embraced a similar philosophy for more than half a century.

A variety of factors have led important historians astray with regard to the 1772 Wise pamphlet, obscuring the agency of ordinary New Englanders during the revolutionary era. Nathan Hatch is but one of these. Throughout his narrative Hatch identifies the congregational clergy as the agents empowered to realize a new Christian republic. Hatch’s research design, however, renders this conclusion almost inescapable. Of the 238 primary sources cited in Sacred Cause of Liberty, 211 (almost 89%) are sermons. This alone is not problematic, but Hatch emphasizes the role of the clergy to the exclusion of their audience. The resulting narrative is therefore skewed and depicts New England’s clergy in the post-Revolutionary era as having fused religion to civil liberty to the exclusion of religiously-inclined middling citizens.

Massachusetts’ moderate evangelicals and rational Liberals were just as concerned with the defense of their civil liberty as were their clergy and elite Whigs. Though revolutionary era Calvinists had not yet figuratively fused matters of Church and State, as Hatch describes having occurred in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, they did recognize that their continued religious freedom was

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3 Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, 359; Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty, 60.
predicated upon continued civil liberty. Sam Adams acknowledged as much when he commented in 1772 that “the religion and public liberty of a people are so intimately connected, [that] their interests are interwoven, and cannot exist separately.” Before the first edition of the Wise pamphlet became available in 1771, a writer--undoubtedly a friend to publisher Boyles--advised readers of the Boston Evening Post that they would “find the true Fundamentals of our civil Liberties and Privileges very judiciously investigated in the Book to be published.” This published endorsement testifies that, despite the pamphlet’s “religious” title and its intent to defend congregational church governance in 1717, that the revolutionary era context led readers to re-focus their attention on Wise’ political philosophy.

It should not be surprising, then, that New England’s moderate evangelicals and rational Liberals became actively involved in political matters. As Bonomi has noted, “From 1740 to 1776, thousands of provincials from every rank and section—Old Lights as well as New—became embroiled in political activity as a consequence of their religious loyalties.” As the relative power between the institutions of Church and State shifted toward the latter, ordinary New Englanders recognized that their civil government, rather than their Church, was the institution better empowered to

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4 Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty, 169.


6 Phileleutheros, letter dated February 3, 1772 to the Boston Evening Post, March 16, 1772. The delay between authorship and publication was due to the author’s distance from Boston. He wrote, “My distance from Boston makes my Correspondence with you difficult. It was the 31st of January before I received your Answer to me published the 13th.”

achieve their vision of a “City Upon a Hill.” Indeed, as the revolutionary era opened, sentiment grew among middling provincials that they should no longer blindly follow the political lead of elite Whigs; that the more secular agenda of Sam Adams, Joseph Warren, and others might not mirror their own as closely as they would like. Even as provincial resistance to Parliamentary taxation first began, tavern-keeper and almanac author Nathaniel Ames “urged Massachusetts farmers to “study not only religion, but politics and the nature of civil government. [We must] become politicians, every one of us” and “take upon us to examine every thing, and think for ourselves.” Ames’ admonition suggests that religion continued to be an important element of provincial identity into the revolutionary era. Hatch has suggested that it was not until the opening of the nineteenth-century that Americans recognized that realization of their goals would be better met through their civil, rather than religious, institutions. The degree to which the actions of many middling New Englanders were influenced by the Wise pamphlet in 1772—a political treatise that was deeply embedded within a language of religion already familiar to them—should prompt historians to rethink the timing of “congregational republicanism.” The support of middling New Englanders for the political success of the revolutionary movement suggests that this shift began perhaps a quarter century earlier than Hatch’s date of 1800.

8 Nathan O. Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty, pp. 143-146.

The popularity of the Wise pamphlet in 1772 both reinforces and challenges one of Hatch’s most important arguments. The ability to identify hundreds of individuals, who quite literally harnessed their ecclesiastical liberty to the success of civil liberty, breathes life into Hatch’s assertion that there occurred “a decided reordering of allegiance from ecclesia to polis.” It also, though, questions Hatch’s emphasis on the role of the clergy, who he argues led the ideological shift from church to State in the two decades that followed the Revolution as a vehicle to effect millennialism. The timing of the Wise pamphlet’s publication in 1771 and 1772, the demographics of its readership, and the secular impetus of its publication suggest that the fusion of ecclesiastical millennialism to civil republicanism began among middling provincials not after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, but rather at the mid-point of the revolutionary movement. Hatch argues that Christian republicanism evolved along smooth contours over the last half of the eighteenth-century. But from the revolutionary era perspective, at least, his emphasis upon the continued influence of the Great Awakening and the leadership of the clergy may be incorrect.

Traditional congregational notions of independent institutions in ecclesiastical and civil governance continued as one of, if not the, most important cultural influence during the revolutionary era among New Englanders. Far more directly than the Great Awakening, the 1772 Wise pamphlet influenced thousands of ordinary New

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10 Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty, 145.
11 Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty, 169.
12 Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty, pp. 136-37.
Englanders to actively defend their vision of popular constitutionalism. If John Wise had written and published his pamphlets for the first time in 1772 rather than sixty years earlier, Hatch’s emphasis upon the role of the clergy as leaders would be more persuasive. But instead, there was broad interest and commitment among ordinary New Englanders for a pamphlet written by a minister who had died fifty years earlier. From this perspective it appears that a broad spectrum of New Englanders charted a course based upon an ideology rooted deep within the region’s Puritan past rather than upon revolutionary era sermons.

In a culture wherein the Church and State enjoyed a loose, but symbiotic relationship, it is evident why Wise’ work still resonated in 1772.\(^\text{13}\) The Wise pamphlet subscribers—and the friends, family, and acquaintances with whom they shared their copies—found his political argument accessible precisely because he did not express his ideas within an arcane secular argument. Instead, he framed his political ideas within a language of religion already familiar to the Congregationalists of New England.\(^\text{14}\) This aspect of Wise’ work, which linked Church and State, enabled his argument to reach out to an audience whose congregational culture predisposed it to respond positively to its civil message.

The timing of the Wise pamphlet publication in 1772 also is significant. It was the only pamphlet printed by subscription in New England between 1763 and 1776 centered on a theme of republican governance. Boyles released his second

\(^\text{13}\) Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind*, pp. 510-11; Heimert notes that as the Revolutionary War began, New England’s Calvinists still envisioned the State and the Church as symbiotic elements of society.

\(^\text{14}\) Hatch describes that the vocabulary of New England’s Calvinists was rooted in Biblical history; *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, pp. 56-57.
printing of the pamphlet in September of 1772. Just two months later the Boston Town Meeting began creating an extra-legal civil institution in its organization of the Committees of Correspondence. The message that institution should be autonomous and free of arbitrary interference that was embedded within the Wise pamphlet influenced at least some New Englanders to support the Boston town meeting's creation of a network of corresponding committees.

The message that New Englanders took from their reading of Wise confirmed their belief that Parliament had strayed from how provincials idealized England's constitution. In the Wise pamphlet, then, ordinary provincials discovered a political manifesto that reinforced their commitment to popular constitutionalism. They needed neither the secular republican rhetoric of elite Whigs nor the exhortations of their contemporary clergy to motivate their participation in public affairs. The indigenous congregational republicanism first articulated by John Wise in 1717 finally became manifest in 1772 as it informed the opinions of a second-level tier of revolutionary era leadership in New England.
APPENDIX A

PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE VIA SUBSCRIPTION
IN NEW ENGLAND, 1763-1775

Samuel Frink, *The marvelous works of creation and providence, illustrated. Being the substance of a sermon preached at the North Precinct in Shrewsbury. On Thursday the 7th of October, 1762. A day of public thanksgiving, occasioned by the reduction of the Havannah.* (Boston: S. Kneeland, 1763).

John Wise, *A vindication of the government of New-England churches. Drawn from antiquity; the light of nature; Holy Scripture; it's noble nature; and from the dignity Divine Providence has put upon it* (Boston: John Boyles, 1772).

Wellins Calcott, *A candid disquisition of the principles and practices of the most antient and honourable society of Free and Accepted Masons; together with some strictures on the origin, nature, and design of that institution. Dedicated, with permission, to the most noble and most worshipful Henry Duke of Beaufort, &c. &c. Grand Master* (Boston: William M'Alpine, 1772).


Thomas Blackwell, *Forma sacra, or, A sacred platform of natural and revealed religion; exhibiting, a scriptural and rational account of these three important heads ... By the pious and learned Thomas Blackwell, To which is now added, an introduction ... by Simon Williams, A.M. Minister of the Gospel in Windham in N. Hampshire* (Boston: William M’Alpine, 1774).

John Gillies, *Memoirs of the life of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. late Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon: in which every circumstance worthy of notice, both in his private and public character, is recorded. Faithfully selected from his original papers, journals, and letters. Illustrated by a variety of interesting and entertaining anecdotes, from the best authorities. To which* 1

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1 As found in Evans Digital.
are added, a particular account of his death and funeral; and extracts from the sermons, which were preached on that occasion. Compiled by the Rev. John Gillies, D.D. (New York: Hodge and Shober, 1774).

John Hawkesworth, *A new voyage, round the world, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771; undertaken by order of His present Majesty, performed by, Captain James Cook, in the ship Endeavour, drawn up from his own journal, and from the papers of Joseph Banks, Esq. F.R.S. And published by the special direction of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Admiralty. By John Hawkesworth, L.L.D. and late director of the East-India Company. In two volumes: with cutts [sic] and a map of the whole navigation. Vol. II* (New York: James Rivington, 1774).

Hugh Knox, *The moral and religious miscellany; or, Sixty-one aphoretical essays, on some of the most important Christian doctrines and virtues. By Hugh Knox, D.D. in St. Croix* (New York: Hodge and Shober, 1775).


APPENDIX B

PAMPHLETS ADVERTISED FOR SUBSCRIPTION
BUT NOT PUBLISHED, 1764-1775


David Wilson, *Palaemon's Creed, which refuted errors Wilson found in Sandeman's Letters on Theron and Aspasie* (1765)

Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of Massachusetts-Bay Colony* (1769)

*The Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to the Rev. Mr. White's Three Letters* (1772)

*A Serio-comic, Herioc Poem, in Three Parts* (1773)

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2 As found advertised in Boston newspapers between 1764 and 1775, but no record exists in Evans Digital.
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PAMPHLETS


Chauncy, Charles D.D. The Appeal to the public answered, in behalf of the non-Episcopal churches in America; containing remarks on what Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler has advanced, on the four following points. The original and nature of the Episcopal office. Reasons for sending bishops to America. The plan on which it is proposed to send them. And the objections against sending them obviated and refuted. Wherein the reasons for an American episcopate are shewn to be insufficient, and the objections against it in full force; also known as: Dr. Chauncy's answer to Dr. Chandler's Appeal to the
Chauncy, Charles D.D. *A Discourse on "the good News from a far Country, Deliver'd July 24th, A Day of Thanks-giving to Almighty GOD, throughout the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, on Occasion of the REPEAL of the STAMP-ACT; appointed by his Excellency, the GOVERNOR of said Province, at the Desire of it's House of REPRESENTATIVES, with the Advice of his MAJESTY'S COUNCIL.* Boston: Kneeland and Adams in Milk-street for Thomas Leverett, 1766.

Chauncy, Charles D.D. *A letter to a friend, containing remarks on certain passages in a sermon preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Landaff [sic], before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at their anniversary meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, February 20, 1767. In which the highest reproach is undeservedly cast upon the American colonies.* Boston: Thomas Leverett, 1768.

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