THE OTHER RIDE OF PAUL REVERE: THE BROKERAGE ROLE
IN THE MAKING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION[*]

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The celebrated tale of his "Midnight Ride" notwithstanding, Paul Revere's role in the events leading up to the American Revolution remains rather obscure. Joseph Warren, known as the man who sent Revere on that ride, presents a similar quandary. What was the nature of the roles they played in the mobilization process? I address the question from a social structural perspective, reassessing the evidence and reconsidering the key concept of brokerage. The analysis shows that these men were bridges par excellence, spanning the various social chasms and connecting disparate organizational elements of the movement, thus bringing together "men of all orders" to forge an emerging movement.

Notwithstanding the celebrated tale of his "Midnight Ride," Paul Revere's role in the complex of events leading up to the American Revolution remains rather obscure. The few who have delved into this gap in the historical narrative suggest that Revere's real importance is not to be found in that one spectacular exploit (Countryman 1985; Fischer 1994; Forbes 1942; Triber 1998). What then was his importance, if any? In other words, if Revere was more than a messenger who just happened upon the assignment to ride to Lexington on that fateful night of April 18-19, 1775, and if he indeed had "an uncanny genius for being at the center of events" (Fischer 1994: xv), what exactly was the role he played? Joseph Warren, known mostly as the man who sent Revere on that ride, presents a similar quandary (Cary 1961; Truax 1968). What was his role? Also, what was his relationship with Revere in the context of the incipient movement?

Using the membership rosters of key Whig groups and supplementary secondary data, I address these questions by examining the underlying relational structure that created opportunities for Revere and Warren in the mobilization process. The analysis shows that Paul Revere's genius was in his being a bridge par excellence. The role Joseph Warren played was of the same kind, welding the movement as a whole. Both men were bridges that spanned the various social chasms and connected disparate organizational elements, helping to forge an emerging movement that gave rise to the American Revolution. The effectiveness of the brokerage they provided in linking the microlevel interactions to the macrolevel mobilization was due mainly to the fact that the network they were embedded in was highly multiplex, and the positions they occupied in it were singularly instrumental. Moreover, they complemented each other as structural doubles. This is the *other* ride of Paul Revere and Joseph Warren—far less known, yet, I argue, much more crucial.

While this article revolves around Revere and Warren, it is not simply about who the two individuals are; rather, it is about why and how they mattered to the underlying structure, and in turn, to the outcome of the movement (Gould 1995; Granovetter 1973). Also, the study shifts the focus away from the single episode of the ride to the overall social and organi-

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zational structures in the broader historical context of the mobilization process, providing an opportunity to reassess their places in the historiography of the American Revolution. While drawing from the literature on social networks and social movements, it focuses, in particular, on the intersection between the two. More specifically, it takes information on organizational membership as a source of network data, allowing a range of systematic analytical tools to be of use. Also, by locating brokerage in a setting decoupled from the usual frame of reference of individual competitive incentives, it provides a fresh vantage point to reconsider the concept of brokerage.

In the following section, I review the literature on social networks with a focus on bridging in general and brokerage in particular, establishing the theoretical basis of the article. The literature on social movements pertinent to the issues at hand is also reviewed, placing Revere and Warren's roles in the context of mobilization. Next, the historical setting is laid out. I first discuss the social structure in New England—Boston, Massachusetts, more specifically—of the eighteenth century. There were many fault lines—political, economic, and social—that posed significant challenges to the mobilization effort. When those lines crosscut one another, Paul Revere and Joseph Warren found themselves straddling them. Also, the organizational structure of the revolutionary movement in Boston, consisting of various groups and their loosely connected networks, is examined. Its fragile structure lent a crucial importance to Revere and Warren's roles. In the analysis section, I look at the network structure among the various organizations and their members in the movement. The analysis clearly identifies the roles played by Revere and Warren, who, through their extensively overlapping and highly multiplex memberships, served as linchpins between various organizations and segments. In spite of the differences in their social background, their positions in the network were quite close to one other—close enough to serve the mobilization effort as structural doubles. Finally, in the concluding section, I sum up the findings and consider some of their substantive and theoretical implications.

HOW BRIDGING TIES WORK

Often invoked in recent discussions of brokerage is Granovetter's argument in his article, "The Strength of Weak Ties" (1973). It starts with the well-established relationship between the degree of overlap between two individuals' networks and the strength of their tie to one another. The two vary directly with each other: the stronger the tie connecting the two, the more overlap between them. A key insight of this argument is that these micro processes generate a paradox at the macro level. Strong ties tend to be concentrated within groups that are homogeneous and close-knit, yet the local clustering they breed within each group is likely to result in global fragmentation between groups. Weak ties, on the other hand, tend to cross group boundaries, connecting members of discrete groups. As a result, it is difficult to reach beyond group boundaries without them. In terms of providing linkages between groups, it follows, strong ties are weak and weak ties are strong. Note that the strength of weak ties lies in their bridging social distance (Granovetter 1973, 1983), which is determined by where they are located in the network and whom they are connecting. Hence, not all weak ties are strong; weak ties are strong only if they bridge non-overlapping groups, or "nonredundant clusters" (Burt 1992).[1]

Cohesion of the network as a whole, which is frequently a key goal of many mobilization efforts, is possible when the locally clustered groups brought about by the strong ties are linked by the weak ties bridging them. This "bridge-and-cluster" structure is why "small-world" networks easily and quickly obtain high levels of overall cohesiveness with the introduction of a few weak ties, called "short cuts" (Watts 1999; Watts and Strogatz 1998). Network structure as such, however, is only a necessary—rather than a necessary *and* sufficient—condition for mobilization on a large scale, for it cannot act on its own. It only

creates a structural circumstance in which certain positions are provided with opportunities to link others—or, equally importantly, to prevent such links from being forged (Gould and Fernandez 1989: 98). Unless these opportunities are taken up and acted upon, network structure by itself cannot produce the desired effect (Burt 1992: 36-38). The historical context and Paul Revere and Joseph Warren's roles within it offer a prime case of this bridge-and-cluster structure at work, where Granovetter's core implication (1973, 1983) is clearly demonstrated.

Brokerage and Incentive

In the literature on social networks, such a role has typically been framed and analyzed in terms of brokerage, which Marsden succinctly defines as a process "by which intermediary actors facilitate transactions between other actors lacking access to or trust in one another" (1982: 202). While adopting this general formulation to examine the historical material on Revere and Warren's roles, I take note of a couple of conceptual issues that their case brings to light for clarification and reassessment.

First, one of the key foci in research on brokerage has been on showing that brokers can gain by charging commissions for facilitating the exchanges, as in Burt's *tertius gaudens*—literally, "the third who benefits" (1992: 30). Brokers' rent from intermediation has been found in a wide range of empirical settings: they achieve better outcomes, for example, in terms of higher power, faster career advancement, and more creative ideas (Burt 2004; Padgett and Ansell 1993; Podolny and Baron 1997). Second, the structural condition that privileges the brokerage position is the absence of relations, or the presence of "structural holes" (Burt 1992), between the actors. In other words, "the feat of bridging differentiated spheres depends on the spheres first being separate" (Granovetter 2002: 46), and the mechanism works only as long as these holes are kept from being closed up. Hence, the broker who extracts rent from his mediating role has a vested interest in keeping the other parties apart so that he can continue to monopolize the channel through which they can be connected (Boissevain 1974; Granovetter 2002).[2]

Conceived as such, the incentives for brokerage appear to be set against realizing its potential for large-scale mobilization. However, the element of commission—whether implicitly presumed, as in the prevalent metaphor of the broker as an opportunistic entrepreneur, or explicitly stated, as "tariff" (Boissevain 1974) or "competitive advantage" (Burt 2000)—is not structurally prerequisite for the brokerage mechanism to operate (Gould and Fernandez 1989: 91; Burt 1992: 37). More importantly, this narrow focus on the value capture element in brokerage glosses over its complement—the value creation element. The brokerage roles Revere and Warren played were not of the conventional kind. For one, little tangible gains accrued for either of them personally. The real beneficiary was the movement as a whole.[3] Also, they actively brought the various actors together *and* closed the holes between them, rendering their brokerage positions obsolete for overall consolidation. To locate the case of Revere and Warren, then, the scope of brokerage needs to be broadened to encompass noncompetitive settings and its incentives redefined accordingly. In that sense, the case provides a theoretical corrective to recalibrate the conceptual scope of brokerage as it relates to the issue of incentive.

Brokerage in the Context of Mobilization

With this recalibration, the core idea of brokerage can be readily extended to a variety of substantive settings. Among them, most pertinent to understanding the roles played by Revere and Warren, is the area of social movements. The roles of brokerage and, more broadly, those of social networks have been an important focus in the recent literature, especially for those in the resource mobilization perspective (Diani and

McAdam 2003; Gould 1995; Jenkins 1983; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1988; Pfaff 1996). In reaching beyond group boundaries and connecting members of different groups, bridging ties provide micro-macro linkages in the mobilization process (Granovetter 1973, 1983; Gans 1974a, 1974b). As such, they are crucial for any large-scale mobilization efforts, and conversely, those that lack such ties are likely to be severely handicapped in effecting "scale shifts" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001: 332-35). The likelihood of successful large-scale collective action is therefore expected to be higher in the bridge-and-cluster structures discussed earlier (Granovetter 2002; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001).

In employing this general idea for the particular context at hand, I take into account three substantive issues, adding layers to the workings of bridging ties in the context of mobilization. First, the process by which social ties influence mobilization structures does not operate exclusively at the individual level (Gould 1991; Hedström, Sandell, and Stern 2000). Network effects also operate at the organizational and interorganizational levels (Fernandez and McAdam 1989; Klandermans 1997; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1988; Tarrow 1994). Organizations form ties to other organizations through overlapping affiliations of members (Breiger 1974) and constitute "multiorganizational fields" (Curtis and Zurcher 1973). As the bases of collective action and movement mobilization, their importance has been documented in a range of settings (see, for example, Mische 2007; Morris 1984; Oberschall 1993; Osa 2003; Rosenthal, Fingrutd, Ethier, Karant, and McDonald 1985; Taylor 1986; Walsh 1988).

Second, in terms of both interest and identity, appeals for mobilization confront "a basic indeterminacy in the dimensions along which the relational basis of solidarity can be defined, with a corresponding indeterminacy in the placement of group boundaries" (Gould 1995: 17), for there is more than one way in which people can view their social positions relative to others. Only rarely will diverse social relations align to jointly influence solidarity and commitment to social movements. When they do, they link actors across different role domains, allowing the resources embedded in one relationship to be appropriated for use in others (Coleman 1988). The issue of multiplexity is thus critical to identifying the mode and site of the organizational process in the context of mobilization (see, for example, Gould 1991, 1993; Traugott 1980).

Last, since the power that bridging ties have to facilitate or block large-scale mobilization is of a particular kind that draws from being located *between* the groups (Burt 1977; Cook, Emerson, Gillmore, and Yamagishi 1983; Freeman 1977, 1979; Gould and Fernandez 1989), it is likely that brokers will be marginal to the groups they bridge (Granovetter 1973; Simmel 1955). Those who serve this role are, as a result, not necessarily prominent, well-known figures, and it is common that formal leadership positions and broker positions often do not coincide with each other (Diani 2003). Rather than charismatic public-opinion leaders (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955; Weimann 1982), they are more likely to be "shopkeepers and bartenders" (Gans 1974b; Jacobs 1993) or "organizing cadres" (Freeman 1973).

These issues are taken into account in formulating the analysis as follows. First, technically, the analysis uses the data on ties between organizations through their common members. Second, it addresses the substantive questions of how the various dividing lines intersected one another and where along those lines Revere and Warren were at the time. Third, the historical account in the analysis is framed to mark the roles Revere and Warren played, which were of little visibility, but of much significance. Within this analytical frame, in the following two sections I describe the opportunities that existed and how Revere and Warren—and the movement as a whole—took advantage of them.

TO MUSTER

The Better Sort, The Lower Sort

In designating the complex of events during the late eighteenth century in the British American colonies as *the American Revolution*, one is led to subscribe to the view that the country was united and that Americans directed their anger and fire at the British during the period. This after-the-fact presumption of cohesive and discrete collective identity—as in "Rebels vs. Redcoats"—obscures an important aspect of the mobilization process, particularly in its early stages. As John Adams noted, Americans were divided—"one third Tories, and [one] third timid, and one third true blue" (McCullough 2001: 78). First, a large portion remained faithful to the Crown and was definitely not in favor of causing an overt rift between themselves and Britain.[4] Another third, representing a sizeable number of Americans, did not or would not have an opinion on the Revolution. In fact, as late as 1773, the vast majority of people still did not know which side they belonged to (Forbes 1942). Mobilizing for the Whig cause thus meant competing against the institutionalized authority for the hearts and minds of the divided and uncertain populace. It was a formidable challenge to galvanize them for the "Great and Common Cause" (McCullough 2001: 20) and maintain a unified resistance capable of mounting an effective insurgency (Brown 1970; Countryman 1985; Forbes 1942; Gross 2001; Maier 1991). In the face of these difficulties, mobilizing even one third was a feat that required hard organizational work.

Given this division, it was imperative for the movement to broaden its social basis and to mobilize "men of all orders" for the patriot cause (Maier 1991; Triber 1998). The most imposing difficulty was presented by social divide. By the eighteenth century, the colonial social structure was showing an increasing degree of complexity and differentiation (Lockridge 1968; Pole 1962). Patterned on the English model of social hierarchy, the invidious distinction along class lines was readily noticeable in terms of wealth, power, and honor. During the period, it was customary to separate men into the "better, middling, and inferior" sorts (Aronson 1964; Fischer 1989). At the top of this social hierarchy were the landed gentry, and in New England, the great traders—the "merchant princes" (Aronson 1964). Rounding out the upper class were the successful professional men—lawyers, doctors, and ministers. While the exact position varied somewhat by colony and by period, they formed a community united by ties of kinship and marriage in each colony (Fischer 1989). Occupying the intermediate position in the prestige hierarchy was a substantial group of artisans, manufacturers, sea captains, shopkeepers, and tavern keepers (Aronson 1964; Forbes 1942). The most important group, numerically at least, was farmers, who comprised about 90 percent of the population. At the bottom, ordinary free laborers, together with poorer farmers, tenants, and servants, were included among the lower or inferior sort of people (Main 1965; Rosswurm 1989).

There were strict rules of social deference between these groups, and by and large, people accepted the existence of rank and privilege as part of the natural order (Fischer 1989; Gross 2001). On the other hand, the chasms dividing them were wide and deep, where the condescension of the better sort was often met by the resentment of the lower sort (Countryman 1985; Forbes 1942; McCullough 2001; Triber 1998). The divide could have been a pernicious one for the movement. In fact, the resistance often took the form of *either* popular uprisings *or* petitions to the Crown, each initiated respectively by the lower and better sorts. They did not, however, join their forces, which was precisely what kept them from mounting an effective resistance. To mobilize men of all orders meant, more than anything else, to span this divide (Fischer 1994; Maier 1991).

The lines dividing the classes, though, did not neatly align with those dividing the people on the political issues. Sometimes they acted together; at other times they split apart. While there were rich men, like John Hancock, who either joined crowd action or cheered it on,

there were poor and middling people who took no part in it (Countryman 1985; Forbes 1942).[5] There were other fault lines as well, further complicating the matter. In Massachusetts, for instance, the contest between Britain and the colonies occurred in two loci: in Boston, the center of commerce and administration, and in the province at large, where 95 percent of the population lived (Brown 1970; Forbes 1942). For the most part, those in the backcountry did not share the sense of threat to the urban interests (Gross 2001; Henretta 1965).

Another important gap to be bridged in order to turn what was happening from a debate to a movement was the one between the thinkers and the doers. Leaders are for naught without followers, and they could have done nothing material against British policy without substantial popular support (Countryman 1985; Forbes 1942). Two groups are worth noting in this regard. One, locally organized citizen-soldiers—provincial militia or the minutemen, many of whom were combat veterans (Galvin 1967; Gross 2001)—provided a much-needed resource element for the pivotal armed insurrection they staged in response to the alarm. While the upper-class tendency in the American officers' corps can be seen in George Washington's edict governing recruitment during the Revolution ("Take none but gentlemen"), they usually pursued their trades or professions as civilians, leaving service in the army to artisans and most of all to farmers (Anderson 1984; Aronson 1964; Main 1965). Although they lacked a centralized leadership, these citizen-soldiers did employ military concepts of organization and methods of command and control that had been learned during a century and a half of nearly constant warfare (Galvin 1967: 13). The other group was comprised of the crowds, or the mobs, that had been central—extralegal, but integral—to the public life of colonial America, especially in popular uprisings (Countryman 1985; Rosswurm 1989). The traditional gathering of the crowds in Boston on Pope's Day ("Guy Fawkes Day") was typical of those, which consisted mostly of laborers, mariners, and artisans from the lower ranks of the craft hierarchy (Countryman 1985; Triber 1998). Despite the fact that most revolutionary leaders clung to the eighteenth-century ideal of a ruling elite (Wood 1998) and held the "Lower Orders of Men" in contempt, they did gradually recognize the need to bring them into the fold (Forbes 1942).

Placing Revere and Warren

Where was Paul Revere in this picture? First and foremost, he was a silversmith. The master artisans like him were separated from the journeymen and apprentices in wealth and rank, and there was a hierarchy of trades that put silversmiths, goldsmiths, and distillers at the top among them (Main 1965; Triber 1998). Still, in the overall colonial social hierarchy, he stood in the middle, between patricians and plebeians (Aronson 1964; Countryman 1985). Both a mechanic who made buckles and mended buttons for fellow artisans and their families and an artist who designed rococo-style "scalop'd salvers" for the merchant elite, he moved back and forth between the worlds of artisans and gentlemen, including many of Boston's leading Whigs. The nature of his work rendered Revere a potentially useful bridge between the "bully boys" of Boston's waterfront and the Harvard-educated gentlemen who led the American Revolution (Aronson 1964; Fischer 1994; Forbes 1942; Triber 1998).[6]

Given the composition of the movement's leadership, this was a critical factor in broadening its support base. The men chosen to serve on the Boston Committee of Correspondence, for instance, were all members of the town political class, men with property or a profession (Aronson 1964; Fischer 1989; Henretta 1965; Pole 1962; Tyler 1986). Several were well-to-do merchants and capitalists with diverse investments, two were lawyers, three were physicians, and the rest were involved in trade and manufactures. All had previously served the town in various offices, and one third of its members held degrees from Harvard College (Brown 1970). This leadership, however, was always a frail instrument, the success of which rested on continuous popular support, especially the mobilization of large segments of the lower class

(Countryman 1985). In short, it took *all* of the colony to carry out the revolution. And both the identities and interests needed to be articulated and organized as in any effort at extensive, robust, and sustained mobilization. For that, the movement needed men whose socioeconomic status and cultural outlook allowed them to move among the various ranks of society. As a man whose contacts reached deep and wide into the social and political networks, Revere was one of the few who were comfortable in all of these places, each of which became an important part of Boston's revolutionary movement (Fischer 1994; Triber 1998).[7]

Despite the differences in his background, Warren too occupied a position structurally similar to Revere's. In part, it was due to his "ease among men of all ranks" (Triber 1998: 117-118). Although Warren was a Harvard College graduate and physician, he was able to "talk to, and for, merchants, farmers or mechanics" (Truax 1968: 38). More important, his being a doctor was key to the breadth of his contacts in Boston (see footnote 9). Having played a major role in battling the smallpox epidemic of 1764, his patient list included not only the well-to-do and influential, but also the bottom of the social hierarchy (Cary 1961). He was also active in the organizations discussed below, in many of which he was a leading figure. It was thus not a surprise that Revere and Warren often found themselves sharing the same structural space (Forbes 1942; Triber 1998). In other words, the roles they played were nearly structurally equivalent.

The key feature that distinguished what happened in 1775 from all of the preceding events was its breadth of mobilization. During the struggle following the Stamp Act of 1765, for instance, the opposition came in a variety of forms: pamphlets were written and circulated (for example, James Otis's *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*), meetings were convened (such as the Stamp Act Congress), agreements were signed (like the Nonimportation Agreements), and violent riots broke out. However, they were not organized and coordinated as one. In the 1775 Alarm, in contrast, all the pieces fell into place: John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were hiding in Lexington, the mechanics in Boston, who watched the British movement, and the locals, who were guarding the ammunition in Concord, were brought together. And there to provide the connections were Revere and Warren, whose positions in the social and organizational structures of the movement readied them for the task.

Organizational Infrastructure

Long before the Imperial Crisis, Boston's political life revolved around social clubs, taverns, and fire and militia companies. While they were not social movement organizations proper, they served as organizational bases for the movement. Significant among them, and the ones I examine below, were: the St. Andrew's Lodge, the Masonic lodge that met at the Green Dragon Tavern; the Loyal Nine, which was the nucleus of the Sons of Liberty; the North End Caucus that met at the Salutation Tavern; the Long Room Club in Dassett Alley; and the Boston Committee of Correspondence (Fischer 1994).

One of the Masonic lodges in Boston, the St. Andrew's Lodge, was comprised overwhelmingly of men of the middling ranks. Between 1752 and 1775, artisans, retailers, and men in the seagoing trades made up nearly 70 percent of its membership, including Revere's cousin Nathaniel Hichborn, a boatbuilder; Josiah Flagg, a jeweler and childhood friend who had helped Revere ring bells at the Christ Church; and Ezra Collins, a hatmaker and neighbor. Revere's membership reinforced his existing ties to family, friends, and neighbors. It also introduced him to Warren, which shaped both of their futures in the political struggles of the 1760s and 1770s (Triber 1998: 29). As a Freemason, they were also linked, albeit indirectly, by "bonds of brotherly love" to other members of Boston's elite in the St. John's Lodge.[8]

The Loyal Nine figured prominently in the resistance against the Stamp Act, and as the episode unfolded, served as the organized nucleus of Boston's Sons of Liberty. It was a social club of printers, distillers, shopkeepers, and other artisans and tradesmen, men of middling

rank. The Loyal Nine used several means to generate resistance, one of which was to contact a cordwainer named Ebenezer MacIntosh, who was a leader of the South End Pope's Day company (Forbes 1942). While neither Revere nor Warren were members, Revere had connections to two, and possibly three, members of the Loyal Nine by the Stamp Act crisis, and within a few years he and Warren would join several members of the Loyal Nine in the North End Caucus.[9] Despite the commitment, organization, and militancy, however, it virtually dissipated when the Stamp Act was finally repealed. Its members, though, tend to appear repeatedly in later groups.

There were three caucuses in Boston—North End, Middle, and South End—run by the Whigs to control the politics of town. The North End Caucus met at the Salutation Tavern, one of Revere's haunts. Its membership straddled the class divide. Nearly 40 percent of its members were merchants, lawyers, and physicians, including Samuel and John Adams, James Otis, and Joseph Warren, who formed the leadership of the caucus. They knew that the patriot cause could not survive without the support of Boston's master artisans, who could mobilize their families, friends, and neighbors. The rest, hence, was mostly a gathering of artisans and ship's captains, overlapping substantially with the St. Andrew's Lodge (Fischer 1994; Triber 1998). This balanced mix in the group was, as shown below, crucial for the integration of the movement as a whole.

Paul Revere was also invited to join the Long Room Club. This secret society, smaller and more select than the North End Caucus, was an inner sanctum of the Whig movement in Boston. Its seventeen members included the most eminent of Boston's leading Whigs, such as Samuel and John Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, Josiah Quincy, and Joseph Warren. Most—at least ten of the seventeen known names—had been to Harvard College; nearly all were lawyers, physicians, ministers, magistrates, and men of independent means. That Revere was possibly the only mechanic selected by this exclusive club proved to be of much significance later (Fischer 1994).

Last, formed as a permanent committee of correspondence to communicate with other towns in the province and colony at large, the Boston Committee of Correspondence served as a de facto town committee as well. The men chosen to serve on the committee were all members of the town political class, men with property or a profession. More importantly, through its membership, the committee was linked closely to the existing institutions of Boston, political or otherwise, save the governor's circle (Brown 1970: 60). Its members participated in several Boston congregations, in both of Boston's Masonic lodges, the fire companies of several wards, as well as a variety of private clubs. At least eight of the twenty-one members belonged to the North End Caucus. Warren was a member. Revere was not, but he was employed by the committee as its express rider.

These associations did not make a unitary organization; rather they were a loose alliance of groups.[10] Moreover, although there were a number of well-known political leaders, no central authority existed to control the movement as a whole (Brown 1970; Countryman 1985; Fischer 1994). The diffuse nature of its locally clustered structure gave Revere and Warren, who moved in many different circles, a special importance as communicators, coordinators, and organizers of the movement.[11]

DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

The main source of data is the membership lists of key Whig groups during the period, compiled by Fischer (1994: 301-7). Of the seven lists he provides, five discussed earlier—the St. Andrew's Lodge as of 1762, the Loyal Nine as of 1766,[12] the North End Caucus as of 1771, the Long Room Club as of 1773, and the Boston Committee of Correspondence as of 1774—are used for the analysis. The other two—the list of men known to have participated in the Boston Tea Party and the list of Whig leaders on a Tory enemies list—

are not used, for those were not membership groups. Admittedly, it is a rather select sample of the organizations that had existed.[13] Yet, these lists include most of the Whig organizations in Boston that are known to have played significant roles in the movement and provide a series of organizational snapshots that span from the early 1760s to 1774, a year before Revere's ride.

Shown in figure 1 are the group membership data. The five groups are placed from top to bottom by the year each membership list was compiled. A total of 137 men were in one or more of these groups. In each, members are sorted by their membership profiles. Among the members of the St. Andrew's Lodge, for instance, indicated by the box on the left, are forty-eight members, who shared the same membership profile of belonging only to the Lodge. The other five, indicated by the separate boxes to the right, belonged to more than one group, providing links between the St. Andrew's Lodge and those groups. For example, Crafts and Welles (the second box) were also members of the Loyal Nine, and Urann (the third box) a member of the North End Caucus. Revere belonged to two other groups—the North End Caucus and the Long Room Club. And, lastly, Warren had membership in four groups. These overlapping memberships, or intergroup connections, are indicated by the vertical lines connecting the boxes.

The membership data in figure 1 can be rearranged as a two-mode network of five groups and 137 persons (5-by-137), which allows an empirical analysis of both the network of persons and the network of the groups that they comprise (Breiger 1974; Wasserman and Faust 1994). A person-by-person (137-by-137) network can be constructed, in which the

Figure 1. Groups and Their Members
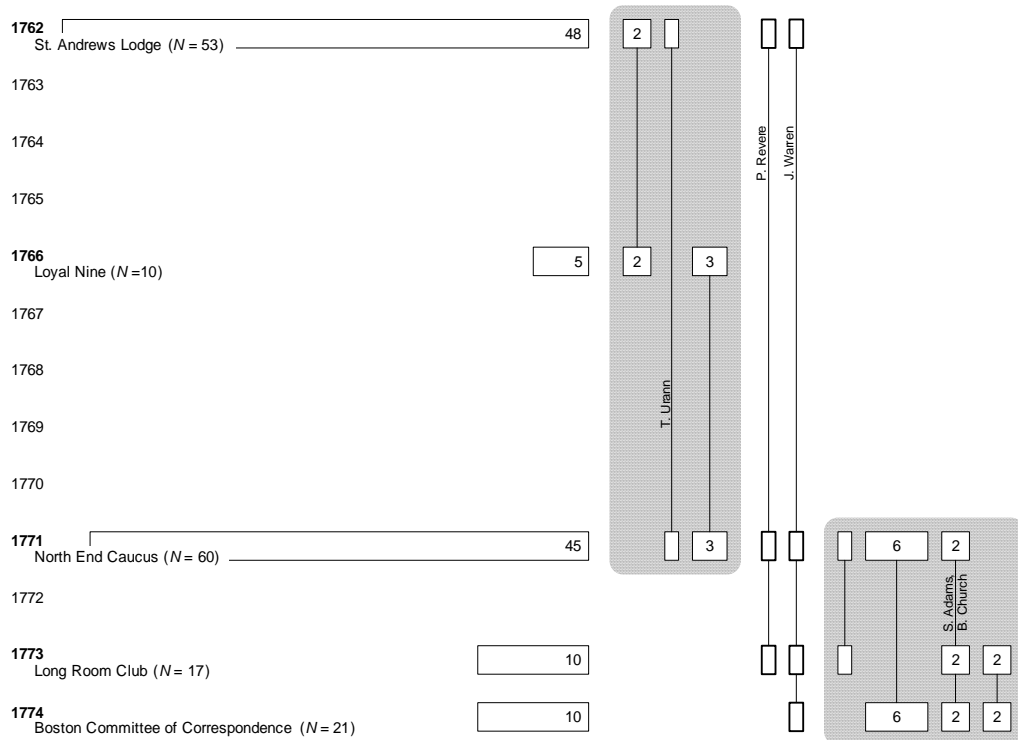
Note: The boxes—each denoting a structurally equivalent block—are sized proportionally to the number of persons, as noted inside. When left blank, it denotes a single person box. The lines indicate intergroup links.

value of a tie between two actors is defined by the number of groups of which both are members. For instance, as shown in figure 1, Samuel Adams and Benjamin Church belonged to three groups together, giving the tie between them a value of 3. Alternately, a group-by-group (5-by-5) network can be obtained, in which the value of a tie between two groups is defined conversely by the number of persons who belong to both. The St. Andrew's Lodge and the Loyal Nine have only two members in common. The tie between these two groups, hence, has a value of 2. These two networks will be the bases of the analysis that follows.

FINDINGS: SUBSTANTIATING THE LINKAGES

Figure 1 shows that all five groups can reach one another through their shared members within two steps at most, thus forming a single connected component (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 109-110).[14] Yet the connections were sparse and weak: the overlaps between the groups were small, and consequently, the intergroup links were few. The great majority, 118 of 137 (86.1 percent), appeared only on a single list, generating no between-group ties. And no one appeared on all five lists. Only a few had relational breadth: Joseph Warren was in four groups, followed by Samuel Adams, Benjamin Church, and Paul Revere, who were in three. The remaining fifteen (10.9 percent) appeared on two lists. These numbers suggest that the groups did not form a tight, unitary organization. Rather, they were organized as a loose, sparsely connected alliance. Also, most of the ties that linked the groups were of the kind that did not reach far and wide. They were narrow and localized in their span, a consequence of which is the fissure between two network clusters, indicated by the two shadowed areas in the figure.[15] These weaknesses in the structure are precisely what made Revere and Warren's connections critical to the success of movement mobilization. Warren obviously had the most and farthest-reaching connections. Revere had fewer connections. Yet in spanning the divide between the two network clusters, Revere's membership profile was qualitatively distinct from those of Adams and Church, who appeared on just as many lists.

Various measures bear out their structural centrality in the network. I examine "betweenness centrality" (Freeman 1977) first. It is a measure of centrality of an actor in a network, calculated as the fraction of shortest paths between pairs of other actors that pass through that actor. Since the actor in such a position presumably can mediate relationships between the other actors, it comes closest to measuring the extent to which an actor operates as a broker. Figure 2(a) summarizes the result. Since the vast majority of them—118 out of 137— belonged to only one group, the average betweenness centrality score is very low (.473), and the overall distribution is highly skewed with a few extreme values—such as Joseph Warren (20.977), Paul Revere (14.606), and Thomas Urann (9.922), followed by Samuel Adams and Benjamin Church (2.240 for both). These were the bridges across the structural holes that brought the groups and their members together.

The other measure is "closeness centrality," which indicates the distance between an actor and all other actors in a network as measured by average path length. Actors with high closeness centrality can more easily, quickly, and directly reach and interact with the other network actors. As shown in figure 2(b), although not as severely skewed, the overall pattern, including the rank order ($r = .693$), is quite similar with that of the betweenness centrality in figure 2(a). The skews found in both are clear signs of cluster-and-bridge structure, where the world is made smaller by a few connections provided by the people like Revere and Warren.[16]

In order to get a more precise sense of these connectors' importance, I examine in what ways, and by how much, the network as a whole will suffer if they were to be removed from it. Given that the shorter the distance between actors, the easier and more direct the communication between them, and hence, the better and more efficiently connected the network as a whole, I measure the changes in average pair-wise path distance. Figure 3 shows

Figure 2. Distribution of Centrality Scores

(a) Betweenness Centrality   (b) Closeness Centrality
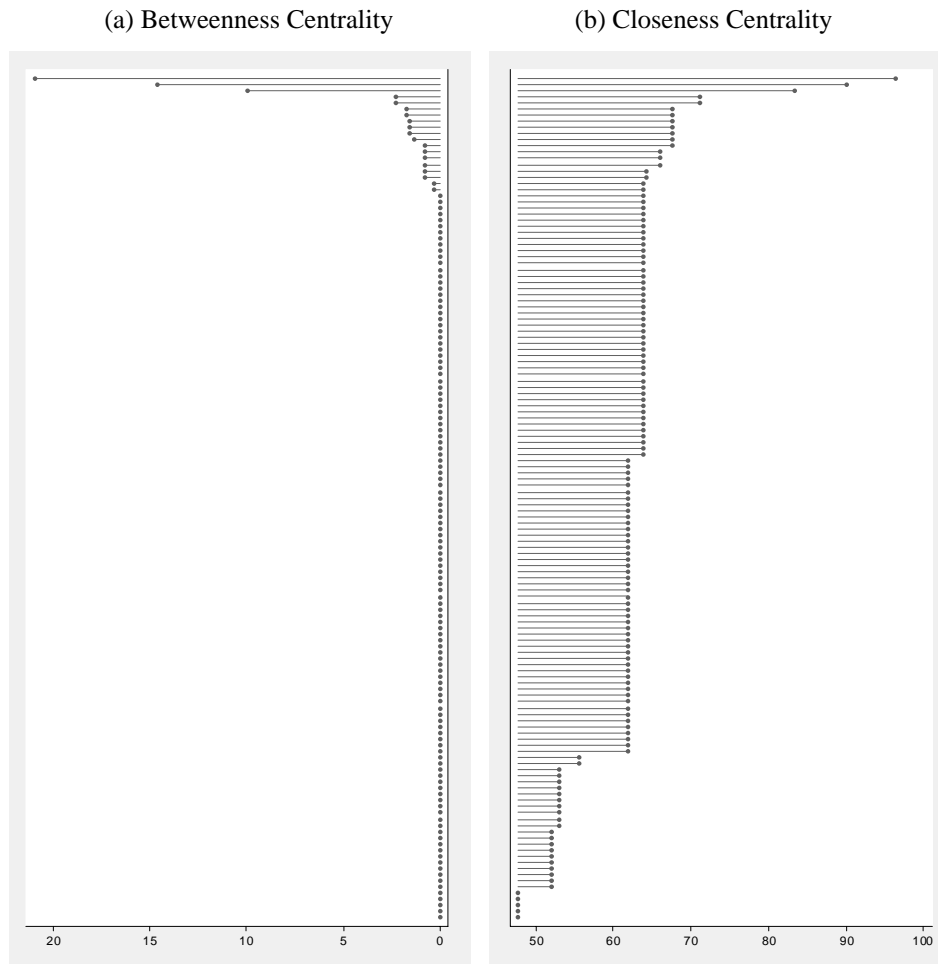
Note: Cases are ordered vertically by centrality score rank.

the result, where the actors ranked high in betweenness and closeness centralities are removed one at a time from the network and the impact of their removal is observed (also see Moody and White 2003). The baseline distance, obtained from the full network of all 137 men, is the average of all pair-wise distances (1.638). Warren, who ranks at the top in both measures examined, has far and away the largest impact—an increase of 3.91 percent over the entire network. Revere is a distant second. While much of what the upper panel of figure 3 presents could have been expected from the results reported in figure 2, the bottom panel of figure 3 reveals a peculiarity that was not expected. The bars in the bottom panel show the effects of removing those actors *in tandem*. Whereas pairing the other actors—such as Urann, Samuel Adams, or Church—with Warren adds little to Warren's impact on his own, the impact of removing Warren and Revere together explodes to nearly a double of the sum of their individual values. The key to the puzzle seems to be in their structural proximity to each other in the overall configuration of the network.

The 137 men can be sorted by their membership profiles. In the upper left corner of figure 1, for example, those who belonged only to the St. Andrew's Lodge shared an identical membership profile. Similarly, in the lower right corner, Samuel Adams and Benjamin Church
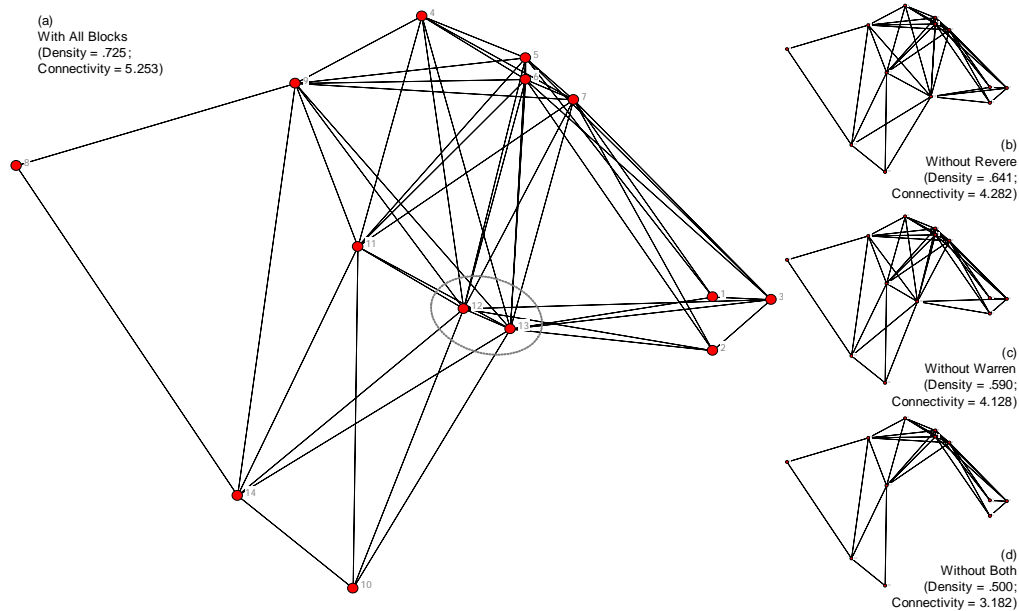
had the same membership profile. In this manner, one can identify fourteen distinct blocks in the figure. These membership profile blocks translate into fourteen "structurally equivalent" blocks in the person-by-person network, for they have identical ties to and from all the other actors in the network (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 394-424; White, Boorman, and Breiger 1976). With these blocks, a simpler representation of the network structure, in which its dimensions are reduced to 14-by-14, can be obtained.

Figure 3. Percent Changes in Average Path Distance
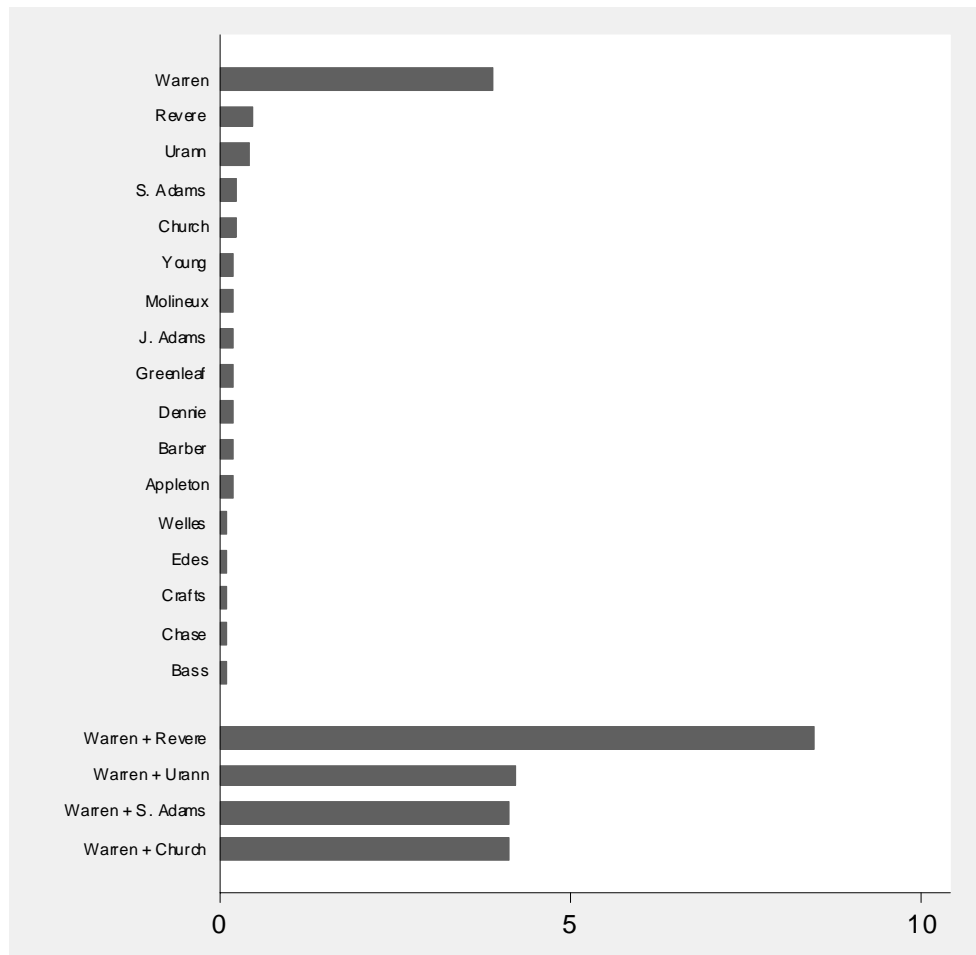
Note: Percent change produced by removing actor(s).

In figure 4, where the fourteen blocks and their ties with one another are shown, both Revere (13) and Warren (12) are found at the center of the network. More importantly, they are located close to each other, indicating that they play similar roles vis-à-vis the other. Revere and Warren were substitutable in that sense (Burt 1976), being structural duals or backups to each other. Thus, the networks in figure 4(b), where Revere is removed, and figure 4(c), where Warren is removed, appear almost identical in their configurations. With one of them still holding the center, the damage to the network as a whole seems not to be that severe. However, when they are removed in tandem, as shown in figure 4(d), the network becomes virtually hollowed out at the core. The network remains connected as a whole, but substantially less efficiently. It seems that the movement might have been able to afford losing one of them, but not both, without seriously harming itself.

Figure 4. Network Structure of the Revolutionary Movement in Boston

(a)
With All Blocks
(Density = .725 ;
Connectivity = 5.253)

(b)
Without Revere
(Density = .641 ;
Connectivity = 4.282)

(c)
Without Warren
(Density = .590 ;
Connectivity = 4.128)

(d)
Without Both
(Density = .500 ;
Connectivity = 3.182)

Note: For layout, Gower metric scaling is used. Circles represent structurally equivalent blocks. Density and connectivity reported are measured between those blocks. For further details, refer to figure 1.

Revere and Warren's impacts on the overall cohesion can further be ascertained by two additional measures: network density and point connectivity (Hedström, Sandell, and Stern 2000; Moody and White 2003).[17] Between the blocks shown in figure 4(a), the overall density is .725 and the average connectivity is 5.253. When Revere is removed, the density drops to .641 and the connectivity drops to 4.282. Similarly, when Warren is removed, they drop to .590 and 4.128, respectively. When both Revere and Warren are removed in figure 4(d), the change is drastic: There is a 31.0 percent decrease in overall density (.500) and a 39.4 percent decrease in connectivity (3.182). Without the two, in other words, the network becomes noticeably more sparse and fragile, and its integrity significantly undermined.

Equally important was what Revere and Warren spanned in substance. Certainly, a shared political goal bound the five organizations. There was, however, little else that they shared. Socially and culturally, they were poles apart, which would have made large-scale mobilization of men of all orders difficult. One of the ways to ascertain the social distances between these groups is to examine the background of their members. From the secondary data available, three binary variables are constructed for the analysis reported in table 1: experience in the militia as an officer (Fischer 1994), occupational background as a merchant (Tyler 1986), and educational background of a degree from Harvard College (Brown 1970). In addition, two count variables—the number of index entries in Pauline Maier's *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (1991)[18] and the number of total memberships in the organizations examined (Fischer 1994)—are included. The former is an indicator of the historical recognition and the latter the extent of organizational activity.

The provincial militia, or the minutemen, provided one of the key elements to the armed insurrection (Fischer 1994; Galvin 1967; Gross 2001). Mostly artisans and farmers, thus middling in their socioeconomic status (Anderson 1984; Aronson 1964; Main 1965), they were heavily concentrated in the earlier groups—the St. Andrew's Lodge in particular ($L^2 = 22.05$, $p = .000$). On the other hand, merchants and those with a degree from Harvard College

were significantly over-represented in the later groups ($L^2 = 21.26$, $p = .000$, and $L^2 = 29.85$, $p = .000$, respectively). The members of the later groups were also more likely to have multiple memberships, forming a dense cluster as suggested in figure 1 ($F = 3.88$, *d.f.* $= 4$, $p = .005$). Unlike the members of the earlier groups, these are the men who are known to be the leaders of the American Revolution today as measured by the number of times they are mentioned in Maier's book ($F = 4.11$, *d.f.* $= 4$, $p = .003$).[19] By and large, the earlier groups and later groups were comprised of people from distinct social strata, showing a typical pattern of focused organization (Feld 1981).

Table 1. Membership Characteristics

	Militia Title		Merchant		Harvard College		Maier's Index	No. of Memberships
	N	*(%)*	*N*	*(%)*	*N*	*(%)*	*Mean*	*Mean*
St. Andrew's Lodge (*n* = 53)	17	(32.1)	6	(11.3)	1	(1.9)	.62	1.15
Loyal Nine (*n* = 10)	1	(10.0)	6	(60.0)	1	(10.0)	1.30	1.50
North End Caucus (*n* = 60)	4	(6.7)	17	(28.3)	7	(11.7)	1.73	1.33
Long Room Club (*n* = 17)	1	(5.9)	6	(35.3)	10	(58.8)	6.24	1.71
Boston Committee of Correspondence (*n* = 21)	0	(0.0)	12	(57.1)	5	(23.8)	4.57	1.71
Total (Average %)	23	(16.8)	47	(34.3)	24	(17.5)		
Average							2.19	1.37
L^2	22.05***		21.26***		29.85***			
F-ratio							4.11**	3.88**
d.f.	4		4		4		4	4
τ-b	-.308***		.254***		.314***			
Linearity							11.69**	12.69***

Note: $^*p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Note too the changes in these characteristics over time. In terms of *τ-b* and ANOVA linearity tests reported in the bottom panel of the table, all five variables show clear statistical significance, with the *p*-values ranging from .000 to .001. The finding implies that there has been a generational shift in the movement's organizational base, especially in its leadership. Some—Thomas Urann, for instance—were central during the early period by holding the groups together through their joint memberships. When they faded out, a new group emerged, which included such well-known figures as Samuel Adams, John Adams, and James Otis. This new generation was educated and well-off, led the revolution at the front, and later became prominently associated with the revolution. In this shift, Warren and Revere were the only exceptions who sustained the level of centrality throughout the period, spanning the generation gap as well as various social chasms.

THE *OTHER* RIDE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

It is impossible not to notice the elaborately sculpted hills of the founding fathers in the historiographical landscape of the American Revolution. Overshadowed by those hills in the backdrop are the vast heath of the Unknowns and the occasional glades of the middling characters that had played various supporting roles. Such selective memory, after all, has always been the way in which histories are written. However, failing to be evenhanded in allotting historical recognition is one thing; missing the underlying historical process is another (Fischer 1970; Stinchcombe 1978). With regard to the former, the analysis brings Revere and Warren to light, which they rightfully deserve. As to the latter, it frames the American Revolution as an incipient social movement and highlights the structural problems inherent in a large-scale mobilization process, thus emphasizing the organizational work and the social structural basis on which it played out. As in any effort at extensive, robust, and sustained mobilization, the revolution required hard work to articulate and organize the identities and interests of those involved. This understated, yet more fundamental, aspect of *making* the Revolution was examined here.

My focus was on two characters, Paul Revere and Joseph Warren. Revere of course has hardly been forgotten. From Longfellow's poem to the painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, he enjoys "posthumous panegyrics" (Triber 1998: 196) in abundance. All of these, however, center exclusively and misleadingly on the single episode of his ride to Lexington on the night of April 18-19, 1775, whereas his real substantive importance has not been given due attention. What Fischer (1994: xv) alludes to as his "uncanny genius for being at the center of events," the analysis has shown, had more to do with where he was in the network that formed the core of the mobilization effort. Warren, too, has suffered the same predicament, being remembered only for his role in that episode. Moving away from the spotlight on the ride itself, the paper recast them in terms of their roles in the social and organizational structure of the Revolutionary movement.

The analysis showed that Revere and Warren played critical roles by being extraordinarily effective bridges. The effectiveness of their brokerage was due to its high multiplexity and the unique ways in which it was embedded in the institutional and organizational setting of eighteenth-century New England. There were grave fault lines, along which the society was divided, posing significant challenges to the effort to mobilize men of all orders. Furthermore, the revolutionary movement was structurally quite fragile, for it consisted of diverse and changing groups and their loosely connected networks, and lacked centrally organized leadership. Paradoxically, these adverse conditions made Revere and Warren's roles as bridges all the more crucial. No one could have contrived it just so; yet they were at the right place at the right time. In spanning various social chasms and connecting disparate organizational elements, and thus, in bringing them together to forge an emerging movement, their brokerage role was highly instrumental, if not indispensable, for its success.

Reassessing their case also allowed an opportunity to recalibrate the key structural concept of brokerage. The roles Revere and Warren played fit perfectly into the general conceptual framework of brokerage. However, the brokerage role they played diverges from its currently prevalent usage in two related aspects, providing a critical corrective. Both bear upon the issue of incentives in brokerage. First, in the case of Revere and Warren, the commission, typically associated with the brokerage positions like theirs, was not found in any tangible, personal form. And second, instead of maintaining the holes to keep exploiting them, Revere and Warren closed them up. These considerations expand the purview of the concept of brokerage to encompass noncompetitive settings, including that of movement mobilization.

In structural terms, what I presented here is another case of strength of weak ties and structural holes arguments. Yet, in the context of mobilization, its theoretical and substantive implications are made more vivid, showing how networks matter and how the micro-macro

linkages operate (Burt 2000; Diani 2003; Gould 1991; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; White 1992). In accounting for collective action dynamics from a relational point of view, Granovetter (2002: 53) distinguishes three kinds of configuration of social networks and their corresponding potentials. One, fragmented social structures deficient in bridging ties, are likely to find collective action difficult, failing to mobilize politically. Two, those that are densely connected, though amenable to a high level of cooperation, are even less likely to be effectively coordinated from a center. Lastly, in the structures characterized by cluster-and-bridge configuration, the presence of a limited number of actors towards whom most interactions converge greatly facilitates the transformation of an aggregate of largely isolated groups into a connected and coordinated movement network, as it opens up channels of potential communication and mutual recognition (Diani 2003: 118; Simmel 1955). This is where Granovetter (2002) expects to find the greatest potential efficacy for large-scale social phenomena. Revere and Warren found themselves in precisely such a setting, and they acted to couple the decoupled (Breiger 1995: 126-127; White 1992). In mobilizing for the American Revolution, this was the *other*—and, as I have argued, far more important—ride.

NOTES

[1] The ideal-typical configuration of strong weak ties requires a number of structural conditions to be jointly at work. It involves, at the very least, the conditions described in the discussions of betweenness centrality (Freeman 1977) and range (Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn 1981). More broadly, the discussions on graph connectivity (Wasserman and Faust 1994), power in exchange networks (Cook, Emerson, Gillmore, and Yamagishi 1983), homophily (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001) and focused organization (Feld 1981) all bear upon the underlying mechanism.

[2] This is the principle of "divide and rule (*divide et impera*)" illustrated in the countless historical examples, such as the Medici in Florence of the 15th century (Padgett and Ansell 1993) and the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century (Barkey 1994). Given the built-in pressures toward closure, such as the tendency toward balance (Granovetter 1973; Harary, Norman, and Cartwright 1965), however, it requires a great deal of effort and shrewdness to sustain these holes over time.

[3] As Lin (2001) points out, this is one of the issues to be resolved in the debate on social capital (also see Portes 1998), that is, at which level is return or profit on social capital to be conceived and accounted, and similarly, whether it is a collective or an individual good.

[4] At the war's end, for instance, about eleven hundred Tories went to England with General Howe (Triber 1998). And of course much of Canada was settled by those Americans loyal to the Crown, who fled north.

[5] See, for example, John W. Tyler's *Smugglers and Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the American Revolution* (1986), a careful and sophisticated analysis of divisions within Boston's merchant community and how they played into revolutionary politics.

[6] Due to the range of their contacts on the job, some occupations seem to be better positioned to play the bridging role in the mobilization settings that require broad bases, such as shopkeepers and bartenders in Boston's West End and New York City (Gans 1974a; Jacobs 1993), shoemakers and electricity meter readers in Ireland (Boissevain 1974), traveling agitators in Sweden (Hedström, Sandell, and Stern 2000), African-American hair salon owners in South Carolina, and cab drivers in South Korea.

[7] In many local settings, those in similar positions served as the links helping to gain the confidence of the populace, such as Sears and Lamb in New York, Spooner in Newport, and Putnam and Durkee in Connecticut (Maier 1991: 87-9).

[8] The St. John's Lodge seems to have been more upscale in its membership than the St. Andrew's. Among their brethren were James Otis, two Gridleys, three Quincys, and "Merchant" Rowe (Forbes 1942: 59).

[9] John Avery, a Harvard classmate of Joseph Warren, had purchased a silver tankard from Revere on October 19, 1764, and Thomas Crafts had been a lodge brother at the St. Andrew's since 1761. Captain Henry Welles, who may have been one of the Loyal Nine, was another member of the St. Andrew's Lodge. Thomas Chase, who joined the St. Andrew's Lodge in 1769, Henry Bass, and Benjamin Edes were later Revere's fellow members of the North End Caucus. Revere may have known Bass, Edes, Chase, and other members of the Loyal Nine even earlier because of geographic proximity and their similar social status (Triber 1998).

[10] The strains within the nonimportation movement, for instance, clearly illustrated that the patriot cause was often riding on a fragile coalition (Triber 1998; Tyler 1986). Even when the Stamp Act in 1765 managed to offend everyone, much of the organizational structure, including the Sons of Liberty, quickly dissipated after its repeal in 1766 (Countryman 1985; Forbes 1942).

[11] This, of course, is not meant to slight the others in different roles. For instance, Samuel Adams was especially important in managing the town ,eetings and the machinery of local government, and thus was much in the public eye. Otis was among its most impassioned orators, John Adams "the penman of the revolution," and John Hancock its "milch cow," as a Tory described him (Fischer 1994).

[12] The Loyal Nine were identified by name and occupation in the diary of John Adams, who visited them in January 1766. However, there are confusions surrounding the list. It has been conjectured, for instance, that Field's presence, like Adams's, was as a guest, and that Henry Welles, a mariner, was the ninth member. When Gordon compiled his list of those who prepared Boston's August 14 effigies, he gathered eight names, including Welles's, but excluding both Field and Trott (Maier 1991: 307). I err on the conservative side by including them all, making it 10 instead of 9.

[13] Apparently, Fischer's data do not include all the groups in Boston at the time. There were, for instance, at least two other Masonic lodges in Boston, including St. John's, at various periods before and during the Revolution. There were also the South End and Middle Caucuses in addition to the North End Caucus, yet no definitive membership lists are available for them. Fischer speculates that the overall pattern would not be significantly altered by additional data (1994: 301-2). I note that while these organizations were of clear relevance to the mobilization, they were not the only sources for mobilization. Family and kinship, church, and neighborhood, for instance, could have also affected the network. Given the limited data availability, though, they had to be put aside for future research.

[14] For instance, while there were no direct links between the Loyal Nine and the Long Room Club, the Loyal Nine had three members in common with the North End Caucus, which in turn shared two members with the Long Room Club, creating indirect links between the two. They were also linked in the same manner through the St. Andrew's Lodge.

[15] Although the two clusters are joined through the North End Caucus, these overlaps are to be taken cautiously, for they are likely to be overstated due to the large size of the North End Caucus.

[16] Degree centrality, another often-used measure of centrality, is not suitable for this particular setting, for it is likely to be heavily biased upward for those who belong to large groups (Faust 1997; Wasserman and Faust 1994: 322-24).

[17] For a binary network, the density is the total number of observed ties divided by the total number of possible ties; for a valued network, the total of all values divided by the total number of possible ties. The connectivity is measured by the number of actors that need to be removed from the network to leave no path connecting the two actors.

[18] Widely considered a definitive treatment on the subject, it focuses on the period that coincides precisely this article.

[19] For example, Samuel Adams, *primus inter pares* among them, is mentioned 31 times, followed by John Adams with 25 times. Joseph Warren was mentioned 13 times. Paul Revere, however, was mentioned only once (!).

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