1775, April 19th. Last night between 10 and 11 o'clock all the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the army, making about 600 men (under the command of Lt. Col. Smith of the 10th and Major Pitcairn of the Marines), embarked and were landed upon the opposite shore on Cambridge Marsh; few but the commanding officers knew what expedition we were going upon. After getting over the marsh, where we were wet up to the knees, we were halted in a dirty road and stood there till two o'clock in the morning, waiting for provisions to be brought from the boats and to be divided, and which most of the men threw away, having carried some with 'em. At 2 o'clock we began our march by wading through a very long ford up to our middles. After going a few miles we took 3 or 4 people who were going off to give intelligence.

About 5 miles on this side of a town called Lexington, which lay in our road, we heard there were some hundreds of people collected together intending to oppose us and stop our going on. At 5 o'clock we arrived there and saw a number of people, I believe between 2 and 300, formed in a common in the middle of the town. We still continued advancing, keeping prepared against an attack tho' without intending to attack them; but on our coming near them they fired one or two shots, upon which our men without any orders rushed in upon them, fired and put 'em to flight. Several of them were killed, we could not tell how many because they were got behind walls and into the woods. We had a man of the 10th Light Infantry wounded, nobody else hurt. We then formed on the common, but with some difficulty, the men were so wild they could hear no orders.
John Adams to William Barrell.

April 19, [1775]

Yesterday produced a scene the most shocking New England ever beheld. Last Saturday P.M. orders were sent to the several regiments quartered here not to let their Grenadiers or Light Infantry do any duty till further orders, upon which the inhabitants conjectured that some secret expedition was on foot, and being on the look out, they observed those bodies upon the move between ten and eleven o'clock the evening before last, observing a perfect silence in their march towards a point opposite Phip's farm, where [boats?] were in waiting that conveyed 'em over.

The men appointed to alarm the country upon such occasions got over by stealth as early as they could and took their different routs. The first advice we had was about eight o'clock in the morning, when it was reported that the troops had fired upon and killed five men in Lexington—previous to which an officer came express to his Excellency Governor Gage, when between eight and nine o'clock a brigade marched out under the command of Earl Percy, consisting of the Marines, the Welch Fusileers, the 4th Regiment, the 47th, and two field pieces.

About twelve o'clock it was gave out by the general's aide camps that no person was killed, and that a single gun had not been fired, which report was variously believed—but between one and two, certain accounts came that eight were killed outright and fourteen wounded of the inhabitants of Lexington—who had about forty men drawn out early in the morning near the meeting house to exercise. The party of the Light Infantry and Grenadiers, to the number of about eight hundred, came up to them and ordered them to disperse. The commander of 'em replied that they were only innocently amusing themselves with exercise, that they had not any ammunition with 'em, and therefore should not molest or disturb them. Which answer not satisfying, the troops fired upon and killed three or four, the others took to their heels and the troops continued to fire. A few took refuge in the meeting, when the soldiers shoved up the windows and pointed their guns in and killed three there. Thus much is best account I can learn of the beginning of this fatal day.
Thomas Gage to Lord Barrington, Secretary of War.

Boston, April 22, 1775

... I have now nothing to trouble your Lordship with, but of an affair that happened here on the 19th instant. I have intelligence of a large quantity of military stores being collected at Concord, for the avowed purpose of supplying a body of troops to act in opposition to his Majesty's Government. I got the Grenadiers and Light Infantry out of town, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith of the 10th Regiment, and Major Pitcairne of the Marines, with as much secrecy as possible, on the 18th at night, and with orders to destroy the said military stores, and supported them the next morning by eight companies of the 4th, the same number of the 23d, 47th and Marines under the command of Lord Percy. It appears from the firing of alarm guns and ringing of bells that the march of Lieutenant Colonel Smith was discovered, and he was opposed by a body of men within six miles of Concord; some few of whom first began to fire upon his advanced companies, which brought on a fire from the troops that dispersed the body opposed to them, and they proceeded to Concord, where they destroyed all the military stores they could find.

On the return of the troops, they were attacked from all quarters where any cover was to be found, from whence it was practicable to annoy them; and they were so fatigued with their march that it was with difficulty they
John Crozier (?) to Dr. Rogers.

*Empress of Russia, Boston, April 23, 1775*

... On the 18th instant between 11 and 12 o'clock at night I conducted all the boats of the fleet (as well men a war as transports) to the back part of Boston, where I received the Granadiers and Light Infantry amounting to 850 officers and men and landed them on a point of marsh or mudland which is overflowed with the last quarter flood; this service, I presume to say, was performed with secrecy and quietness, having oars muffled and every necessary precaution taken, but the watchful inhabitants whose houses are intermixed with the soldiers barracks heard the troops arms and from thence concluded that something was going on, tho they could not conceive how or where directed. In consequence of this conception, a light was shown at the top of a church stiple directing those in the country to be on their guard.

The intention of this expedition was to distress some guns and provision which were collected near Concord, a town 20 miles from where the troops were landed. Colonel Smith, a gallant old officer, commanded this detachment and performed the above service. A firelock was snapt over a wall by one of the country people but did not go off. The next who pulled his trigger wounded one of the Light Infantry company of General Hodgsons of the Kings Own. The fire then commenced and fell heavy on our troops, the militia having posted them selves behind walls, in houses and woods and had possession of almost every eminence or rising ground which commanded the long vale through which the King's troops were under the disagreeable necessity of passing in their return.
A minuteman's account of Lexington.

I, Sylvanus Wood, of Woburn, in the county of Middlesex, and commonwealth of Massachusetts, aged seventy-four years, do testify and say that on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, I was an inhabitant of Woburn, living with Deacon Obadiah Kendall; that about an hour before the break of day on said morning, I heard the Lexington bell ring, and fearing there was difficulty there, I immediately arose, took my gun and, with Robert Douglass, went in haste to Lexington, which was about three miles distant.

When I arrived there, I inquired of Captain Parker, the commander of the Lexington company, what was the news. Parker told me he did not know what to believe, for a man had come up about half an hour before and informed him that the British troops were not on the road. But while we were talking, a messenger came up and told the captain that the British troops were within half a mile. Parker immediately turned to his drummer, William Diman, and ordered him to beat to arms, which was done. Captain Parker then asked me if I would parade with his company. I told him I would. Parker then asked me if the young man with me would parade. I spoke to Douglass, and he said he would follow the captain and me.

By this time many of the company had gathered around the captain at the hearing of the drum, where we stood, which was about half way between the meeting-house and Buckman's tavern. Parker says to his men, "Every man of you, who is equipped, follow me; and those of you who are not equipped, go into the meeting-house and furnish yourselves from the magazine, and immediately join the company." Parker led those of us who were equipped to the north end of Lexington Common, near the Bedford Road, and formed us in single file. I was stationed about in the centre of the company. While we were standing, I left my place and went from one end of the company to the other and counted every man who was paraded, and the whole number was thirty-eight, and no more.

Just as I had finished and got back to my place, I perceived the British troops had arrived on the spot between the meeting-house and Buckman's, near where Captain Parker stood when he first led off his men. The British troops immediately wheeled so as to cut off those who had gone into the meeting-house. The British troops approached us rapidly in platoons, with a general officer on horseback at their head. The officer came up to within about two rods of the centre of the company, where I stood, the first platoon being about three rods distant. They there halted. The officer then swung his sword, and said, "Lay down your arms, you damned rebels, or you are all dead men. Fire!" Some guns were fired by the British at us from the first platoon, but no person was killed or hurt, being probably charged only with powder.

Just at this time, Captain Parker ordered every man to take care of himself. The company immediately dispersed; and while the company was dispersing and leaping over the wall, the second platoon of the British fired and killed some of our men. There was not a gun fired by any of Captain Parker's company, within my knowledge. I was so situated that I must have known it, had any thing of the kind taken place before a total dispersion of our company. I have been intimately acquainted with the inhabitants of Lexington, and particularly with those of Captain Parker's company, and, with one exception, I have never heard any of them say or pretend that there was any firing at the British from Parker's company, or any individual in it, until within a year or two. One member of the company told me, many years since, that, after Parker's company had dispersed, and he was at some distance, he gave them "the guts of his gun." ...
Overall, primary night represented a mixed bag for the leadership of the IR party. Five of its six endorsed candidates for state constitutional offices—all of whom had close ties to Allen Quist—were defeated, an embarrassment to the party (Smith 1994d). The wins by Grams and other conservatives, however, suggest a crucial point when interpreting the Christian Right’s influence in the state. While Quist, Grams, and their allied candidates all supported virtually the entire party platform, no other candidate was as open or aggressive as Quist in stressing social issues in religious terms (Smith 1994d). It would seem that support for the agenda of Christian conservatives worked to a candidate’s advantage, whereas identification of a candidate with the Christian Right became a clear disadvantage. The nature of this distinction is made clearer by an analysis of media coverage during the formative stages of the 1994 campaign.

Media Effects on Perceptions of Candidates

An analysis of Minneapolis Star Tribune coverage of the primary campaign supports this interpretation of the obstacles Quist confronted in appealing to non-Christian conservative voters. We consider the Star Tribune to be the best source for our purposes, because it has the largest readership throughout the state and therefore the largest probable effect on voter attitudes. The time frame covered is the defining part of the campaign, beginning roughly one month prior to the state conventions and continuing through the end of June, following the conventions. It is during this period that the effect of the media is the most prevalent (Polsby and Wildavsky 1991, 75–79); the major IR and DFL candidates are being covered intensively for the first time, and the conventions are clearly the signal events of the initial stages of the election.

The initial hypothesis is that coverage of Allen Quist will include a significantly higher religious content than coverage of either Rod Grams or DFL gubernatorial candidate John Marty, both of whom also campaigned with substantial church-based core constituencies. Further, the differences in coverage should lead to conclusions regarding the relative success of the three candidates. One apparent consequence of the newspaper’s coverage would be that in the minds of many voters, Quist becomes marginalized as a fringe candidate.

Indeed, it is ironic that Quist received so much attention for the religious motivations behind his political beliefs, while the DFL primary victor ran a campaign that was also based substantially in churches. State senator John Marty, a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and son of the prominent Lutheran theologian and historian Martin Marty, made no secret of his own strong faith and liberal politics, and his father became a frequent presence who assisted with fund-raising and networking among Lutheran congregations (Allen 1994).5

Coding

Star Tribune articles were coded to differentiate among sections of the paper, news stories versus columnists and letters to the editor, and length of stories. Word counts were used to balance the discrepancies in the number and length of articles that cover the three candidates; not surprisingly, Quist received far more coverage in this time period.

Once articles were identified and sorted by type, the data base was analyzed to find religious references to Quist, Grams, and Marty. The terms selected for testing were: religion (or any word with the root relig), Christian (or any word with the root Christ, excluding Christmas), church, Lutheran, Evangelical, fundamentalist, theology (or any word with the root theot), pray/prayer/praying, Bible/biblical, born-again, worship, zealot, God, and cult. With appropriate controls for article length and type, the results of the analysis are presented in tables 9-1, 9-2, and 9-3.

Frequencies of Religious References

Within the time frame of the study, a total of 134 uses of the chosen terms are found. Table 9-1 shows that 78 percent of the religious term references come from the coverage of Quist; 13 percent describe Grams; and 9 percent are found in Marty’s coverage. Controlling for the amount of coverage each candidate receives, religious references about Quist occur 3.32 times as often as those for Marty and 1.92 times as often as those for Grams. Marty articles have a religious reference once every 3,000 words, Grams articles every 1,700, indicating that the newspaper does pick up on some connection between religion and these candidates. By not emphasizing this connection to the same extent as for Quist (one reference every 900 words), the Star Tribune effectively defines Quist as a far more religious candidate than Marty, and Grams to a lesser extent, even though the motivations of all three men, their issue positions, and the voting patterns of their supporters suggest that this distinction is not fully justified.
Location of References

The findings outlined in Table 9-2 illustrate that the religious component of Quist's candidacy is presented throughout the Star Tribune, not merely isolated to one section. There are no references to Grams or Marty in articles by columnists, and Marty has none in the rest of the State/Metro section where the columnists appear. Quist, by contrast, has 21.9 percent and 34.3 percent, respectively, of his references in these two parts of the paper; Grams has only 12 percent in the Metro/State section. Only a small share of Quist's references come in letters to the editor (6.7 percent), but this is still three times as large as the letters references to Marty (2.2 percent), while no letters refer to Grams at all.

The variety in distribution of references translates into a stronger definition for Quist in two ways. First, not everyone reads all sections of the paper. Thus, the greater the variety of places to find references, the more likely people are to read and be influenced by them. If all references had appeared in the first (A) section of the paper, they would be missed by the readers who skip that section. Secondly, those who read all sections of the paper and find references laced throughout would have the references reinforced. The number of different locations for the references should amplify the definitions of the candidates that emerge from the references.

Specific Content of References

Table 9-3 indicates the differences in the content of the religious references made about the three candidates. Seven of the twelve references made about Marty (58.3 percent) are either Lutheran or some variation...
of theology. These terms denote biographical references to Marty. In fact, each use of theology is actually a reference to Marty’s father. Such terms are innocuous because they do not carry the political and emotional baggage of terms such as cult. We also note that cult represents 15 percent of the references to Quist, while the term is never used to reference Grams or Marty.

Additionally, terms that describe the Christian conservative movement (religious, Christian, Evangelical, fundamentalist, cult, and born-again) are used much more often to describe Quist and Grams than Marty. These terms account for 71.3 percent of the references about Quist, 47.1 percent of the references about Grams, and only 8.3 percent of the references for Marty. This is notable partly to show accuracy (most of the above terms are not appropriate for any DFL candidate) but also to show that the Grams references differ from Quist references both quantitatively and qualitatively.

**Initial Conclusions**

The findings outlined in the tables indicate not only how the media perceived the religion of the candidates in Minnesota’s 1994 elections, but also how the media, and by extension voters, perceived candidates. While Grams and Quist are equally deserving of the “religious right” description based on their views and voter support, and Marty certainly can be accurately described as religious, Quist is the only candidate with whom such terms are strongly associated. Media framing of Quist in religious terms appeared to contribute to his marginalization among voters who do not belong to the Christian conservative movement. It is these voters, turning out in force, who ultimately propelled Arne Carlson to his landslide win in the IR primary.