



# A VOICE FROM THE PAST: HOW AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN FOUNDER USED THE COMMON SENSE REALISM FRAMEWORK

**PUJA VENGADASALAM**

Rutgers University. E-mail: [puja.v@hotmail.com](mailto:puja.v@hotmail.com)

## **ABSTRACT**

*John Witherspoon is America's forgotten founder. While much attention has been showered on American colonial history, America has not fully acknowledged the debt that owes to John Witherspoon. The paper proposes to discuss how Witherspoon's ideas had a major impact on American national character and on the political, educational and religious thought of the era. It expounds on how his Common Sense Realism (CSR) framework resolved conflicts and set standards for the emergent nation. The exploration of how the CSR model helped Witherspoon reach a principled compromise can not only offer valuable lessons for modern America but for leaders the world over.*

**Received :** 19 October 2021

**Revised :** 28 October 2021

**Accepted :** 10 December 2021

**Published :** 24 December 2021

## **TO CITE THIS ARTICLE:**

Puja Vengadasalam. 2021. A Voice from the Past: How America's Forgotten Founder used the Common Sense Realism Framework. *Journal of History, Art and Archaeology*, 1: 2, pp. 159-166

## **Introduction**

Who was James Knox Witherspoon? Why is it necessary to know about this Scottish clergyman who came to New Jersey in 1768 to take over the reins of what is now Princeton University? What was it that singled him out from his contemporaries and distinguished him from his peers? As America's only clergyman and educator to sign the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, Witherspoon actually left a huge legacy for his country as a pastor, pedagogue, and politician. Holding three positions and keeping a balance between them would

not be easy today; it was more so in colonial America. Not only were the colonists during the years of the revolution and early republic conflicted by the claims of religion and science and wedged between the pulls of church and state but they were also caught in the crossfire of those who wanted quid pro quo and those who wanted freedom. Exploring how Witherspoon reached a personal resolution and helped his country evolve a compromise through the principles of "common sense realism" can serve as an example in conflict resolution for America and the world now as it did then.

## Methodology

The author used three available dissertations as research sources to investigate into the life of this forgotten founder. New Jersey State Archives, the library of Congress legislations and the websites of Princeton University, National Archives, Library of Congress, and Signers of the Declaration to unearth details about the period and seek out information about Witherspoon. All available speeches, sermons and articles of Witherspoon that have been digitized were also examined. Articles were sought through New Jersey's state university databases that included America's historical newspapers' database. Published journals and book chapters were used and cross-referenced by the author to both find and confirm facts.

## Discussion

Though much research has been done on colonial American history, there is little scholarship available on this Scottish immigrant who championed first resistance to British imperial policies and then separation from Great Britain. Even though Witherspoon went on to represent New Jersey in the Continental Congress and helped to formalize the Articles of Confederation and the ratification of the Constitution of 1787, he is a "forgotten" Founding Father with only three statues and one school named after him in the United States that owes him so much. (Morrison:2005:xiii-xiv). Though Witherspoon's contemporaries knew him well, neither Americans today nor scholars of American thought know much about his contributions. John Witherspoon's unique position as a pastor-politician empowered him to shape the process that the colonies went through to balance the conflict between religion and state. As a pedagogue he chose to establish a university that imparted a nationalistic scientific education, and not a seminary or vocational institute. This went a long way in defining the role of future American universities. His common sense realism while delivering sermons made him advocate that American colonists had a moral duty to rebel while at the same time promoting ethics and community service. Herein lies the relevance of the philosophy of common sense realism and

Witherspoon's part in moulding America to be a secular yet principled nation and his role in the creation of the nation's founding documents needs to be recognized.

Witherspoon grew up in Scotland and was ordained as a Presbyterian minister. He emigrated to New Jersey at the age of forty-five to take over the College of New Jersey that was to later become Princeton University. Though Witherspoon never separated his religious and political roles—one grew out of and reinforced the other—it is significant that he adopted a more pragmatic, flexible, and democratic philosophy when in America. While Witherspoon in Scotland had a foundational Calvinist belief in the moral depravity of human beings and in the need for regeneration, both national and societal, he adopted a common sense realism to guide his behaviour and take a principled stand in each of the three areas in which he played a significant role in his adopted country: religion, education and politics.

What really is "Common Sense Realism"? CSR is a philosophical system termed variously as "first principles, principles of common sense, common notions, [or] self-evident truths." (Reid: 1790:452) Since "the learned and the unlearned, the philosopher and the day-labourer, are upon a level" (Reid:1790: 372) and are considered equally endowed, the philosophy is balanced and egalitarian. As its name implies, CSR works on the principle of "common sense" that relates to events within human experience, and is observable with ordinary human faculties. Thomas Reid, proponent of the Scottish brand of Common Sense philosophy that Witherspoon embraced, described common sense as "not a new principle or word without meaning. I have endeavoured to show that sense in its most common and most proper meaning signified judgment" (Reid: 1915:148). Reid went on to add how common sense determines or ought to determine actions:

To prefer a greater good, though distant, to a less that is present; to choose a present evil in order to avoid a greater evil, or to obtain a greater good is, in the judgment of all men, wise and reasonable conduct; and, when a man acts the contrary part, all men will acknowledge that he acts foolishly and unreasonably (Reid: 1915:171).

In other words, CSR philosophy is built on the foundational principle that humans live in a community, and that the action of community members should benefit the community and be validated by reason and common sense. Since common sense beliefs automatically govern human lives and thought, actions that are not guided by common sense principles or deny it lead to “ridicule,” “contradictions” and “rejection” of the doer. Since philosophers have always searched for universal truths that can be applied to and be of value to ordinary human lives, the ideas and assumptions of the “common sense philosophy” particularly appealed to Witherspoon, who “following the test and “principles” of common sense, took all his decisions using the yardstick of what would be most beneficial to those that would be affected by them. Since many of his contemporaries also abided by CSR, common sense realism as a philosophy can be thought of as exerting influence on the development of the American value system.

Early Americans were conflicted about whether education ought to be religious or scientific, neutral or nationalistic. Witherspoon’s philosophy of common sense realism helped him find a compromise on this knotty issue of public education. When Witherspoon came to America in 1768 to head what is now Princeton University, he had personally decided to channel his piety into his pedagogy. However, he neither elected to preside over a Latin teaching religious seminary nor did he desire to lead a vocational institute, as were the options at that time. In the light of common sense criterion of effecting the greatest good, he wanted Princeton University to be a center of scientific education that would turn out nation builders of the kind that were required in that period. Since “science and religion are bound irrevocably to the public interest, without which all the valuable ends of liberal education would be lost” (Blair: 1764:24-25) he made it his mission to turn “Nassau Hall into a public institution of learning, teaching English and criticism, moral philosophy and rhetoric, with mathematics and natural philosophy [science] as a constant attendant.”<sup>1</sup> His calling as a pastor notwithstanding, he celebrated reason and became an amateur scientist. Unlike most colonists,

Witherspoon saw no conflict between faith and reason, and applied the test of common sense to any proposition, reducing it to its simplest terms. He encouraged students to do likewise and test their faith by experiment and experience. He was careful not to protect students from exposure to ideas that were in conflict with his own strong convictions, and made sure his students had access to a wide range of contemporary literature, including works by authors with whom he had engaged in a public dispute.<sup>2</sup> Reinventing himself, he stood for and was elected member of the Mechanical and Architecture committees. He bought the Rittenhouse Orrery<sup>3</sup> for the University in 1771—the Orrery came to symbolize Princeton University’s scientific outlook and the institution acquired fame for the way it taught morality and nurtured reason. It came as no surprise that George Washington acknowledged how “No college has turned out better scholars or more estimable characters than Nassau,”<sup>4</sup> in a letter to his adopted son, John Parke Custis, a member of the Class of 1799.

True education is an education that teaches students to take a principled stand. Institutions of learning could not be ivory tower houses and students be insulated from what was happening outside. As that was what America needed, Witherspoon instilled the spirit of patriotism and public service in his students. Not surprisingly, he became the only educationist who taught a president, vice president, ten cabinet officers, twenty-one senators, thirty-nine congressmen, and twelve governors, but also thirteen college presidents and three Supreme Court justices (McGinty:2012:347). While this is a testimony to the commitment of a dedicated professor whose philosophy of common sense realism encouraged him to prepare his students to contribute politically to the new nation that was coming into being, it prompted British officers to complain that Princeton University was a “seminary of sedition” and “Dr. Witherspoon... the political firebrand, who perhaps has no less a share in the revolution than Washington himself. He poisons the minds of his young students, and through them, the continent.”(Collins: 1908:180). Though Witherspoon never encouraged violence against the king, his commencement addresses did

clearly evidence his growing nationalism. In 1768, his speech was about why America should have the right to free trade.<sup>5</sup> In 1770, commencement speakers and the senior class stood dressed in American manufactured clothes to make their stand clear.<sup>6</sup> In 1772, he pointed out that defending one's freedom against a monarch, who unlawfully denies it, was a natural right, prompting newspaper commentary that "the Spirit of Liberty breathed high and strong in all its Members of Princeton College."<sup>7</sup> By coming down on the side of national American interest instead of opting to be apolitical, Witherspoon not only became the most influential educator in the early life of the republic (McGinty:2012:347), but a revolutionary himself.

How is it that Witherspoon, though he had grown up in Scotland, became, as the famous quip puts it, "an American the moment he landed on our shores?" (Sanderson:1823:228). There were perhaps three reasons for this. The first was that Witherspoon could perceive firsthand how British principles adopted in the United Kingdom were being denied in his new country. Hence, the gap between British pronouncements and policies in America struck him hard. Second, most colonials related to British policies through their own colony's experiences and interests. They sympathized with other colonies, but only gradually came to think of themselves as Americans. As a Scotsman who had come to America as a middle-aged immigrant, Witherspoon was able to think of the colonies collectively more than many others. Third, he felt morally obliged as a minister to get actively involved in colonial affairs since he believed that to tolerate wrong was to break his commitment to the pulpit. Assured that what he was doing was good for the greater number of people, Witherspoon plunged into active politics in 1774 and became "a founding member of the inter-colonial committee of correspondence in New Jersey" (Morrison:2005:73), a kind of shadow government established by the Patriots on the eve of the American Revolution. As the "right to acting on conscience" (Bartley:1989:201) was important to Witherspoon, he saw no incongruity in using the podium as also the pew to encourage the revolution. His 1776 sermon titled the "Dominion of Providence of Men" unfurled the flag of rebellion and is hailed

as "one of the most significant political statements made by a religious leader during the revolution" (Miller:2015:27).

Colonial America, however, was deeply conflicted on the issue of separation of Church and state. In the context of the excesses of Calvinism and its attempts to proselytize and police that had not gone well with the people, there were many colonials who did not attend church even in New England. Amongst those who did, there was a distinct movement to keep the clergy away from worldly affairs to ensure that the Church took a neutral political stance. Witherspoon's common sense philosophy made it clear to him that pastors could not really be removed from practical affairs and the political turmoil around them. He considered such attempts to be wrong, unrealistic, and against the grain of common sense. Since a religious grounding was necessary for the colonies to transition into becoming "a strong nation." (Tait:2000:ix) He saw the need for clergymen like him to lead by example. While he did disseminate his message that the colonies should seek freedom in his sermons and speeches, the decision was neither easy nor simple. Though his common sense rhetoric and his "gravitas" (Morrison:2005:10) touched a chord and brought him numerous followers amongst the clergy and the laity across the nation, he was aware of the inherent dangers of mixing both. As Mailer described it, "On the one hand, Witherspoon desired moral leadership on the state and national level. On the other hand, he also feared a monopoly of civil governance from any one religious group." (Mailer:2017:16) Hence, in spite of his calling and his substantial work in unifying the split Presbyterian church of America, he was determined that the colonists would have the right to choose their faith. Conscious that this was what would do the most good, he ensured that Christianity of whatever denomination - or any other religion - was not thrust upon the people of the new nation. Even as a pedagogue, Witherspoon's lectures at Princeton explored multiple religious ideas. He hesitated to proceed on his own beliefs and preferred that his students choose their own path.

Though Witherspoon supported and helped win the case for a secular America in spite of his calling

as a pastor, he was not an advocate of a “godless” America as that would work against common good. He called instead for “conscientious public service” and for leaders who forswore “sloth and ease” in order to “attempt great and difficult things.” Guided by his common sense realism, Witherspoon encouraged Americans to opt for “industriousness” that “instils personal virtue” and “promotes the interest and happiness of mankind.” (Miller: 2015:20) What he was promoting was ethical secularism characterized by “unqualified integrity,” community “service,” and “a genuine love of God and of neighbour,” (Tait: 2000:ix), values that define American life even today. The framework that common sense realism offered thus not only made it easy for Witherspoon to coalesce his duties as a pastor and a politician, but was also instrumental in the development of America’s national character.

Virtue is the necessary ingredient for a successful revolution and for a republic to stand. At a time when the country was conflicted about whether to stay loyal or break free, Witherspoon, by making resistance to tyranny a religious obligation made it moral to rebel (Davis *et al.*: 2010:327). As a result, the ranks of rebels swelled. By 1776, Witherspoon was characterizing “the turmoil of the revolution as a historic opportunity to consciously create a just political and social order.” (Davis *et al.*: 2010:326) As a member of the Continental Congress for six years from 1776 to 1782, he wore his ministerial robe and bands” (Tait: 2000:xiii) as a visible cue that it was possible to be both a patriot and a minister. He wanted his countrymen to follow his lead in using common sense realism framework to resolve their own conflicts, especially when it came to the issue of resisting the injustices of British imperial policy. Many a colonist of the period tried to avoid committing to the revolution in an attempt to preserve the status quo—these were the “situational” loyalists who came to be defined as Loyalists after 1783. Witherspoon played a key role in eliciting Loyalist recantations (Davis *et al.*: 2010:352) and convincing those on the fence to join in the struggle for independence. To Witherspoon, the need to rebel against Britain was a mission that was as urgent as necessary. That is why Witherspoon responded to the conservative who used his entry to say that

the Congress needed more time before signing the Declaration of Independence thus: “Congress is not only ripe for the measure but in danger of becoming rotten for the want of it.”(Collins:1925: 218)

When the revolutionary war broke out, Witherspoon became America’s spokesman. Although he had lost a son in the battle, Witherspoon hailed the American Revolution as “a purifying fire, the first test of union, and the forging of a new community of states” (Bartley: 1989:281). Internationally, it established him as “a chief promoter of American revolt.” “The unhappy commotions in our American colonies” are due to “clerical influence: and none...had a greater share... than Dr. Witherspoon” (Collins:1925: 227). In the British commissioner Adam Fergusson’s words, “we have 1200 miles of territory occupied by 300,000 people of which there are about 150,000 with Johnny Witherspoon at their head” (Morrison:2005:12-13). Not surprisingly, Witherspoon’s effigy was burned, Nassau Hall and his house ransacked, and the library vandalized during the revolutionary battle. Someone even bayoneted a clergyman in Princeton, thinking it was Witherspoon (Collins:1925:94). In fact, extensive historical data that documented Witherspoon’s role in the revolution was lost in the fire (Butterfield: 1953:10).

Witherspoon’s philosophy of compromise was put to test repeatedly in his public life. While drafting the Articles of Confederation, the Continental Congress was often split and conflicted between states who wanted to preserve the existing state of affairs, states who wanted to be sovereign, and those who wanted one strong dominion. While arguing for the cause of the union and a republic, Witherspoon used the common sense argument to point out that “if when the danger is imminent..., we find it impossible to agree upon the terms of this confederacy, what madness is it to suppose that...it will be done in an after season. So certain is this, that I look upon it as on the repentance of a sinner. Every day’s delay, though it adds to the necessity, yet augments the difficulty and takes from the inclination” (Miller:1990:150). In the first part of his statement, Witherspoon was rationalizing that a confederation could keep since wars happen generally between “monarchs of single states,” and

arguing that a union was necessary to ensure that when sovereign, the states did not battle each other or fall prey to British conspiracies. By adding that “I look upon it as on the repentance of a sinner,” he professed that confederacy was a way to atone for the sin of having co-operated with the unjust system of British colonialism. Not only did Witherspoon link politics and religion here in the search for a consensus, but he also clarified yet again that it was moral and virtuous to rebel. As Witherspoon envisioned it, the taking of this “step from the former disunited and hostile situation of kingdoms and states to their present state,” signified that it would not be very difficult for them to “move from their present condition to a state of more perfect and lasting union” (Miller: 1990:151).

As per the theory of common sense realism, those in authority are as fallible as those being governed. Hence, Witherspoon pointed out that America needed “an enlarged system called balance of power that remedied not just the weaknesses of preceding constitutions but also some of the weaknesses of the human constitution itself” (Miller: 1990:151). Taking a leaf out of the experiences of Netherlands and Switzerland to suggest that progress in this vein is possible, he pointed out that such a lasting union of equals could be formed. Witherspoon perceived the process of creation of the constitution itself as an opportunity for the United States to assume “the role of defender of the people, as its civil-social leaders became the new exhorters of virtue and repentance, calling every citizen to restore affections by voluntary consent and common agreement” (Bartley:1989:281). Though the Articles of Confederation that served as America’s first constitution turned out to be flawed, it cannot be denied that Witherspoon was ahead of most of the other members of the Congress in his vision of what the American constitution could and needed to achieve. Significantly, he was the chief intellectual mentor of James Madison, his student at Princeton and the father of the American constitution as we know it today.

Between June 1776 and 1781, Witherspoon served in over one hundred committees that included war and finance. As a War committee delegate, he formulated foreign policy decisions

and provided instructions for American delegates at the Paris Peace conference (McGinty:2012:223). As a finance committee he promoted credit and debt balance, argued against price-fixing, and opposed the issuance of bonds without provision for their amortization (Witherspoon:1786). Witherspoon’s encouragement of the free market and balanced budgeting established him as a common sense realist and economist who influenced Madison’s banking report. In fact, Madison, as President, took many of his teacher’s thoughts on political economy forward.

## Conclusion

Witherspoon did indeed do much to found the ideals that set America on the road to greatness. As a clergyman he showed by example that pastors needed to be with the people, but that the nation had to be secular. As a pedagogue, he demonstrated through his leadership of Princeton University that true education was liberal and nationalistic, scientific and moral. As a politician, he advocated for free and united states of America. By demonstrating how common sense philosophy could be used through the choices he made and the stands he took, Witherspoon offered Americans a model of conflict resolution and compromise as an additional bequest. It is now time for America to acknowledge Witherspoon’s contributions and philosophy not only because CSR can be a useful framework of compromise in the divided nation that she is today, but also because the whole world would stand to gain by adopting and witnessing the adoption of the “greatest good for the greatest number of people” principle in taking decisions at the political, social and individual levels.

## Acknowledgement

I thank the library at Rutgers, the state university of New Jersey, for allowing me to access their newspapers and dissertation databases.

## Notes for Rare Newspaper Extracts

1. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2288, October 28, 1772, rpt. in *Archives*, 28: 299-300.
2. Letter of Washington qtd. in “Presidents of Princeton University” <<https://www.princeton.edu/pub/presidents/witherspoon/>>

3. *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1478, April 4, 1771, rpt. in *Archives*, 27: 156; also the subject of Rice, *The Rittenhouse Orrery: Princeton's Eighteenth-century Planetarium* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1851).
4. Letter of Washington quoted. in "Presidents of Princeton University" < <https://www.princeton.edu/pub/presidents/witherspoon/>>
5. It is to be noted that as was the tradition then, no news story has a title or author listed.  
*The New York Journal*, No. 1344, October 4, 1768, rpt. in *Archives*, 26: 287.
6. *The New York Gazette*, No. 1439, July 30, 1770, rpt. in *Archives*, 27: 209.
7. Causudicus, *The New York Gazette*, other data not available, November 24, 1772 rpt. in *New Jersey archives* 28: 357.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- AMS Press, Incorporated and New Jersey Historical Society. *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*. Volumes 1-40. Newark: AMS Press, 1903. Accessed Nov. 4, 2018. <<https://archive.org/details/documentsrelatin32newj>>
- Blair, Samuel. *Account of the College of New Jersey*. Woodbridge: James Parker, 1764.
- Butterfield, Lyman H., (ed.). *John Witherspoon comes to America: A Documentary Account based largely on new materials*. Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1953.
- Witherspoon, John W. *The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men*. Short title. Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1777.
- . *The Absolute necessity of salvation through Christ*. Short title. Edinburgh: Printed for W. Miller, 1758.
- . *Considerations on the nature and the extent of the legislative authority of the British Parliament*. Short title. Philadelphia: William & Thomas Bradford, 1774.
- . *Essay on money*. Short title. Philadelphia: Young, Stewart and McCulloch, 1786.
- . *The Works of John Witherspoon*. Short title. Edinburgh: Ogle & Aikman, 1804.
- . *The Selected Writings of John Witherspoon*. Edited by Thomas Miller with Introduction. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990.

### Secondary Sources

- Bartley, David D. *John Witherspoon and the Right of Resistance*. 1989. Ball State University, PhD dissertation.
- Bobb, David J. *Competing Crowns: An Augustinian Inquiry into Humility, Magnanimity, and Political Pride*. 2006. Boston College, PhD dissertation.
- Collins, Varnum. *President Witherspoon*. 1925. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- . *The Continental Congress at Princeton*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1908.
- Cuneo, Terence. "Reid's Ethics." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta. Stanford: Stanford University, 2016.
- Davis, Robert S., Robert M. Calhoun and Timothy S. Barnes. *Tory Insurgents: The Loyalist Perception and Other Essays*. Revised and expanded edition. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2010.
- Fea, John. "Revolution and the Confederation Period: New Jersey at the Crossroads." In *New Jersey: A History of the Garden State*, Edited by Maxine N. Lurie and Richard V Francis. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2012.
- Gerlach, Larry R. *Prologue to Independence: New Jersey in the Coming of the American Revolution*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1976.
- Henretta, James A. *The Evolution of American society, 1700-1815: An interdisciplinary analysis*. Lexington: Heath, 1973.
- Library of Congress. Legislations related to John Witherspoon. Congressional Research Service Accessed 4 Nov. 2018 <<https://www.loc.gov/search/?q=John+witherspoon&fa=original-format%3Alegislation>>
- Mailer, Gideon. *John Witherspoon's American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.
- McAllister, J. "John Witherspoon: Academic Advocate for American Freedom." *Miscellany of American Christianity: Essays in Honor of H. Shelton Smith*, edited by Henry Stuart. Durham: Duke University Press, 1963.
- McGinty, Walter, J. *An Animated Son of Liberty: A Life of John Witherspoon*. Bury St. Edmunds: Arena, 2012.
- Miller, Thomas P. (ed.) *The Selected Writings of John Witherspoon*, Southern Illinois University Press, USA, 2015.
- Morrison, Jeffry H. *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.

- Nash, Gary B. *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*. New York: Pearson, 2006.
- Pomfret, John E. *Colonial New Jersey: A History*. New York: Scribner Book Company, 1973.
- Princeton University. "Presidents of Princeton University." Accessed 10 Jan., 2019. <<https://www.princeton.edu/pub/presidents/witherspoon/>>
- Reid, Thomas. *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*. Dublin: Byrne&Milliken, 1790.
- Reid, Thomas, et al. *Selections from the Scottish philosophy of common sense*. No. 2. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1915.
- Rice, Howard C. *The Rittenhouse Orrery: Princeton's Eighteenth-century Planetarium*. Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1851.
- Sanderson, John. *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* 5. Philadelphia: R.W Pomeroy, 1823.
- Sloan, Douglas. *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1971.
- Tait, Gordon L. *The Piety of John Witherspoon: Pew, Pulpit, and Public Forum*. Louisville: Geneva Press, 2000.
- Witte, Wayne W. *John Witherspoon: An Exposition and Interpretation of his Theological Views as the Motivation of his Ecclesiastical, Educational, and Political career in Scotland and America*. 1954. Princeton Theological Seminary, PhD dissertation.