

What a Pity

that men too often inherit the ignorance of their ancestors rather than their wisdom.

The reason for this is the fact that their wisdom lies interred like their bones.

Fortunately, it is still possible to dig out the wisdom of inspiring Presbyterians from diaries, letters, and other papers which have been ignored until now.

You can help spread wisdom for the benefit of future generations by making a bequest toward two funds: one for scholarships to aid students while digging; and the other for publication of helpful historical stories.

Your bequest may be modest or large. We suggest you consider writing into your will, "I give and bequeath to the Presbyterian Historical Society, a corporation under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, the sum of..... for its corporate purposes."

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### PRESBYTERIAN SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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#### INTRODUCTION

... The Presbyterian Clergy are particularly active in supporting the measures of Congress from the Rostrum, gaining proselytes, persecuting the unbelievers, preaching up the righteousness of their cause and persuading the unthinking populace of the infallibility of success. Some of the religious rascals assert that the Lord will send his Angels to assist the injured Americans. They gain great numbers of converts and I am convinced if they establish their Independence that Presbyty will be the established religion on this Continent " " So wrote Nicholas Cresswell, a traveling Englishman visiting America, in his diary one October Sunday evening in the year 1776.

Time proved Cresswell wrong, and neither Presbyterianism nor any other religion became the established religion on the continent. While his outspoken views obviously were exaggerated, they do nevertheless represent a segment of the climate of opinion that was crystalizing during the colonial period. Yet in another way Cresswell was indeed right, for Presbyterianism and Independence were terms that seemed synonomous to many colonists living in the New World. The more than five hundred scattered Presbyterian congregations, who supported the cause of independence almost unanimously, bear evidence to this fact?

If the cause of independence was so universally expounded from Presbyterian pulpits, one might logically assume that many of the framers and signers of the Declaration of independence would have their roots in Presbyterianism. This is a subject in which there has been a wide difference and divergence of opinion, and which to a certain degree has been based on religious prejudices. One Roman Catholic historian, for instance, has stated that the *only* signer of the Declaration of Independence the Presbyterians supplied was Dr. Witherspoon, "while a different Protestant denomination has asserted that six signers represent the total members of the Presbyterian faith.

The primary purpose of this study, therefore, is to discover which of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were either Presbyterian members or related to the Presbyterian Church to a significant degree. In a number of instances research has revealed the actual signature or name of the signer on some type of documentary evidence. Such evidence includes Presbytery and Synod minutes, session minutes, or a call to a minister. Where a man's name appears numerous times on the roll of a particular session, all instances have not been noted. However, as a result of an investigation of the sources, it is evident that at least twelve of the signers did possess close ties with the Presbyterian Church.

Interrelated with a short background of each signer's life, in the present paper, are references to his affiliations or connection with the Presbyterian Church. In addition to signers who possessed various religious ties, there were others who wandered aimlessly from one denomination to another. Benjamin Franklin was an example of this *type*. While some of these men worshipped in Presbyterian churches, they could not fully be called Presbyterians, and are, therefore, not included in this study.

Of the twelve Presbyterian signers, four were from Pennsylvania—Benjamin Rush, James Smith, George Taylor, and James Wilson. Abraham Clark, Richard Stockton, John Hart, and John Witherspoon, the only clergyman to sign the Declaration, were Presbyterian signers from New Jersey. New York was represented by two—Philip Livingston and William Floyd, while New Hampshire and Delaware had one signer each—Mathew Thornton and Thomas McKean, respectively. In numerical strength this represented over 21% of the

total number of men who signed the Declaration, but it was left for future generations to evaluate the contributions this Presbyterian group of signers as a whole made on the development of American life.

#### NOTES

1. *The Journal of Nicholas Cressweil* (London, 1925), 165.
2. Sweet, W. W.; *Religion on the American Frontier* (New York, 1936), 3.
3. Maynard, T.; *The Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941), 156

#### BENJAMIN RUSH

Benjamin Rush was the only Presbyterian signer from Pennsylvania who was born in America. The fourth of seven children, Rush was born in Philadelphia on December 24, 1745. Historians refer to him as a patriot and humanitarian, but primarily he is remembered as a physician. In all three spheres he excelled, and in all he fought tenaciously for the principles in which he believed.

In his youth, Benjamin was baptized by Enna Ross, an Episcopal minister and brother of George Ross, another signer of the Declaration of Independence from Pennsylvania. After the death of his father, a member of the Episcopal Church, he often went with his mother to hear Reverend Gilbert Tennent preach in a building afterward conveyed into a college and university on Fourth Street, Philadelphia. His mother worshipped in Tennent's congregation and educated her children in the Calvinistic principles taught by him.

In 1753, Rush was sent to West Nottingham Academy, Maryland, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Finley, a Presbyterian clergyman and his uncle by marriage. Here he was more fully educated in the principles of the church and committed the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Synod to memory. It was also in the Academy that Dr. Finley was successful in diverting him from a life of legal enterprise to one of medical pursuits.\* Dr. Finley made a profound impression on Benjamin Rush. In his later years Rush often reflected that many of the remarks Dr. Finley made on passages in the Bible "have occurred to me years afterward and I hope not without some effect." "As unique an impression as

Finley himself made, Benjamin Rush wrote in his later recollections that the religious principles he learned were "retained but without any affection for them 'till 1780."

Graduating from the College of New Jersey in 1760, he began a five year medical apprenticeship under Dr. John Redman, an elder of the Second Presbyterian Church and member of the Corporation for the Relief of Poor and Distressed Ministers. As a student of Redman's, Rush was an able pupil and thirsty for the knowledge of the masters. In 1766 at Redman's suggestion he journeyed to Scotland and completed his medical education at the University of Edinburgh in 1768. While in Scotland, Rush persuaded John Witherspoon's wife to reconsider the American opportunity of her husband's election as president of the College of New Jersey.' From Edinburgh he wrote to Witherspoon about the urgency of the situation at Princeton:

. You will likewise see in what dangers and difficulties that College involved, how thick and fast its enemies increase, and how much the hearts of its pious friends are trembling for fear the ruin of the College. Does not your heart expound with unutterable sentiments of love and benevolence when you think that you are to be the means of rescuing so important a Seminary from ruin??

Returning to Philadelphia in the following year, Rush became the first formal professor of Chemistry in America at the College of Philadelphia. He also became associated and interested in public projects, particularly in behalf of the oppressed.

As a worshipper in the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Benjamin Rush noted that his presence in church had its professional gains. In his recollections, he wrote of a Scottish sea captain who had great confidence in him because he had witnessed Rush's "decent behavior in time of Divine Service in the Revd. Dr. Allison's church." Another who joined Rush's family of friends was William Marshall, a young Presbyterian minister, who made a profound impression on him. "Much of what I know of many subjects connected with theology I derived from his conversation," Rush wrote. He also did not overlook the fact that he rendered his medical services to nearly every family in the good Reverend's congregation<sup>10</sup>

In 1776, Benjamin Rush married Julia Stockton, the young daughter of Richard Stockton, a fellow signer of the Declaration

of Independence, from the neighboring state of New Jersey. The marriage was performed by Rush's friend, Reverend John Witherspoon at Stockton's residence, "Morven," near Princeton, New Jersey. Rush admired the preaching of John Witherspoon, and chose his wife partly because of her opinion of Witherspoon's preaching. To Julia, the Scottish minister was the best preacher she had ever heard." Such a declaration Rush "was sure could only proceed from a soundness of judgment and correctness of taste seldom to be met within a person of her age, for there was nothing in Dr. Witherspoon's sermons to recommend *them*, but their uncommon good sense and simplicity of style.'" From this moment on, Rush determined to offer Julia his hand.

Like medicine, the field of politics was close to Benjamin Rush's heart. Closely associating himself with the best thinkers and political leaders of the day, Rush believed in and toiled hard for the patriotic cause. He was a leader in advocating independence, and served in the Continental Congress. On July 4, 1776, he penned his name to the Declaration of Independence, the only Doctor of Medicine to do so. Offering his medical services to the American forces, he served as a surgeon with the Philadelphia militia on the battlefields of Trenton and Princeton. His services as surgeon-general which began in April 1777 were disrupted the following year because of his outspoken criticism of his superior. As a result of his resignation, he returned to his medical practice and resumed his lectures at Philadelphia. During the 1780's, with the instability of government looming over the floundering colonies, Rush urged the acceptance of the Constitution and was elected to the Pennsylvania ratifying convention where he and his Presbyterian friend, James Wilson, led the fight for its adoption. In keeping with his diversified interests, President John Adams appointed him as treasurer of the United States mint in 1797, a position he held until 1813"

During the Revolutionary War period, Rush's activities and support of the Presbyterian Church, like members of his family, were more than of a passive nature. In addition to paying pew rent to the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia,<sup>11</sup> he also contributed to various subscriptions and funds of this church."

Through a difference of opinion with Dr. John Ewing, the minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Rush started attending

services in the Second Church. His son, James, and daughters, Mary and Anna Emelia, were baptized in the Second Church, and his financial support in the form of pew rent was also paid to the support of this congregatiou.<sup>10</sup>

In 1783 Rush urged and persuaded his Presbyterian friends to establish a college at Carlisle, which later became Dickinson College. A new college, he wrote Reverend John King, will "form new ties & friendships among us stronger in some instances than the ties of blood ... it will convey knowledge & religion with population-agriculture—and government over the widely extended & fruitful territory that has lately been ceded to the United States." He suggested that James Wilson draw up the charter since his "education in a British University & his perfect knowledge of all the Charters of the American Colleges will qualify him above most men for the business." <sup>10</sup>

Benjamin Rush's position on religion was to many observers parallel to his thinking on medicine and politics. His approach gave the impression that he was never on a solid foundation and that for the sake of independence and expediency he would turn his attentions from one Protestant denomination to another. Originally an Episcopalian, he turned to Presbyterianism, and then to Universalism. Once there he reversed the pendulum and turned to the Episcopalian Church. When that didn't fill his religious desires, he reverted back to the Presbyterian Church.]'

Yet if he were too independent to remain in any particular denomination too long, his love of the Bible, reverence for Christ, and Christian behavior were exemplified in his endeavors. As one of the founders of the Bible Society of Philadelphia, he drafted its constitution and continued a vice president until his death. In addition, he conscientiously devoted any emoluments received for his services on the Sabbath to benevolent purposes, and considered ministers as auxiliaries of physicians by attending them on a "professional courtesy" basis. •

Benjamin Rush continued his devotions and read daily from the Bible. As a writer he was never reluctant to mention the name of Christ or the Christian theme in his lectures, publications, letters, or autobiography. Before he died it was his intention to write a book, "The Medicine of the Bible," which would show how all ills could be remedied by natural means. •

After 1789, Rush devoted himself primarily to his medical profession where he rendered his greatest contribution to medical science in his introduction of humane measures for the care of the mentally ill. Through his influence as a teacher, his contributions to medicine, his theory of special remedies, and his contributions to psychiatry, he did much to establish Philadelphia as the leading American center of medical training during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. In addition, he earned a literary reputation, and was recognized as an influential figure by the great political leaders of his day.

When he died on April 19, 1813, he was buried in Christ Church, still a Christian, but with no strong denominational attachments.

#### JAMES SMITH

James Smith was born in Northern Ireland and at an early age brought to America by his father. The family settled in York County on the west side of the Susquehanna, the general region where he was to spend most of his life.

Like his older brother, James was given the opportunity for an advanced education and was sent to Philadelphia under the charge of the Presbyterian minister, Reverend Francis Alison, later vice-provost of the College of Philadelphia. Here he became well versed in the study of Latin and Greek, as well as the professions of surveying and law. Upon completion of his education, he was admitted to the bar and practiced in York. His interests and livelihood, however, were not confined entirely to legal affairs. In addition to becoming a lawyer and surveyor, he took up iron manufacturing in 1771, but was pleased to abandon the role of manufacturer seven years later when he was forced to sell his interests at a financial loss."

Smith was one of the few men in 1774 who made known his political position of cutting the bonds with England. At a provincial meeting in Philadelphia on June 15, 1774, he served on a committee that prepared a draft of instructions to this effect." In 1775 he was a delegate to the Provincial Convention and in the following year was a member of the Constitutional Convention to draft a new form of government. When the British were occupying Philadelphia and Congress was holding sessions in York, the meetings of the Board of War were held in his office on George Street" The Board, which was

established to aid Washington in opposing the progress of Howe's army, consisted of George Clymer and Samuel Chew as well as three Presbyterians—James Smith, James Wilson, and Richard Stockton.

The town of York in the year after Independence was proclaimed was a small one, "not larger than Plymouth," John Adams wrote to his wife. Among the churches was one "erected by the joint contributions of Episcopalians and Presbyterians."<sup>21</sup> During 1789–1790 a new Presbyterian Church was constructed and from this time on separate worship services were held. On September 8, 1789, James Smith was one of the three elders who attended the meeting of the Presbytery of Carlisle held at the Lower Marsh Creek Church.<sup>22</sup> On August 6, 1792 a call was extended by the congregation to Reverend Robert Cathcart, who was born in Ireland and educated at the University of Glasgow, and who had come to America several years before. James Smith was one of the signers of this call." Altogether there were twenty-four signers of the call, and they obligated themselves for one half of Cathcart's time at seventy-five pounds. A complementary call also sent to Reverend Mr. Cathcart from the Hopewell congregation four days after the call from York requested the other half of his services. For the next forty-four years Cathcart was pastor of the York Presbyterian Church.

In 1778 Smith retired from Congress and the following year was named a member of the Pennsylvania State Assembly. Later he was appointed a judge of the Pennsylvania Court of Appeals, and in 1782 was named a Brigadier General of the militia. From 1781–1801 he returned to his law practice and refrained from any future public office. Retiring in 1801, he died five years later in 1806 at the age of 87, and was buried in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church in York."

Thus, *through* James Smith's educational training under Reverend Dr. Alison, *through* his signature on the call to Reverend Robert Cathcart as minister of the Presbyterian Church at York, and by his burial in the Presbyterian Churchyard, his association with the Presbyterian Church is evident. It has been said that James Smith "although not a professor of religion, ... was a possessor of many of its sublimer virtues and practiced its holiest precepts."<sup>27</sup> It is apparent that the Presbyterian Church was an important part of his life.

## GEORGE TAYLOR

Like James Smith, his fellow representative from Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress, George Taylor was born in Northern Ireland probably in 1716.<sup>0</sup> Although his father wanted his son to enter the medical profession, George Taylor forsook the chance of a college education and took passage to America. In 1736 he settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and obtained employment at Warwick Furnace and Coventry Forge. His ventures in business pursuits paved the way and had a direct bearing on his future life insofar as his marriage and occupation were concerned. Within a few years he had not only assumed a position of managerial responsibility with the forge, but also married the owner's widow, Ann Savage, in 1742.<sup>90</sup>

Taylor remained in Chester County for the next decade. The proprietorship of Warwick Furnace soon changed, however, in 1752 with the coming of age of his step-son and with inter-family frictions which soon began to develop. In 1755 he formed a partnership with Samuel Flower and for the next ten years teased the Durham Iron Works in Durham, Bucks County. From these iron works came part of the "cannon shot" used by the Provincial Government in the French and Indian War.<sup>80</sup>

In the Bucks County Deed Book is a record that on March 8, 1765, a lot of approximately one acre of land in Springfield Township, was given for the Presbyterian minister to "Richard Treat and George Taylor & to their Heirs and assigns for Ever in trust for a Burying Ground ... for solo use benefit & Behoo£ of the Presbyterian Congregation in Tineem Township....<sup>81</sup> It is conceivable that his wife, Ann, who died in 1768 might be buried in this burial ground, although the specific location of her grave is not known.

In 1764 Taylor was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly from his new residence in Northampton, and served in this capacity to the year 1770. As a member of various committees on grievances as well as redresses to the King on the repeal of the Stamp Act, he bitterly opposed a royal government and advocated the establishment of an intercolonial congress. Sent again to the Assembly in October 1775, he was named a member of the Committee of Safety, but rarely attended the following year because he felt assemblies, like committees, were becoming too conservative"

During the Revolutionary War, Taylor was one of the first to

supply gun shot and ammunition to the Continental Army. His motive in doing so was perhaps for both patriotic and business reasons, although more than once he was reminded that his price for shot *was* more than the authorities thought it should be...

On July 20, 1776, George Taylor was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence on August 2. As a delegate he rendered no outstanding accomplishments, and with the exception of representing Congress at a conference with the Indians in his general locale, his record is void of political achievements. James Allen, a lawyer from Philadelphia, noted in his diary on February 17, 1777, that "the assembly have appointed Gen Itoberdeau,<sup>o</sup> J. B. Smith, and William Moore and reappointed R. Morris and Dr. Franklin Delegates in Congress & left out G. Clymer, J. Wilson, G. Ross, Dr. Ross, G. Taylor, and J. Morton. The reason for leaving out so many old members, it is said, is that the new light Presbyterian Party have the ascendant in Assembly: the 2 former of the new Members, being of that Class."<sup>o</sup>^

Following Taylor's retirement from Congress, he was elected to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, but served only six weeks before retiring from all public affairs. On February 23, 1781, he died and was buried in a Lutheran Cemetery in Easton. An examination of his will discloses that he provided for his son, James,<sup>9</sup> and five children by his housekeeper, Naomi Smith, but left nothing to the *church*..<sup>o</sup>t

Taylor's attitude, provincial in nature, was indicative of the pattern of life he followed. His interests were closely knit with his business enterprises and pursuits, and one might conclude that his venture in the political sphere was of a secondary nature to his main interests. Although his name cannot be found in the incomplete Minutes of the Red Hill Presbyterian Church, it seems apparent that he was a member. It is hardly likely that a deed of land would have been *given* to the Presbyterian minister by a person outside of his flock for the purpose of a burial ground for the Red Hill Presbyterian Church.

#### JAMES WILSON

Born on September 14, 1742, in Carskerado, a small town near St. Andrews, Scotland, James Wilson was one of the many colonial leaders who rose to prominence in the initial stages of the formation

of the Federal Union. His matriculation at three Scottish universities—from 1757 to 1759 at the University of St. Andrews, at the University of Glasgow from 1759-63, and the University of Edinburgh from 1763-65—enabled him to cultivate one of the most versatile minds and become one of the best informed men of his day in colonial America..

Equipped with this background, he came to the Colonies in 1766 where he made good use of his talents as a lecturer in the College of Philadelphia. More lucrative and personal rewarding fields of endeavor were to be found elsewhere, however, and Wilson turned his attention to the study of law. The next year he began to read the decisions of the old masters in the office of John Dickinson. Upon admission to the bar he moved to Reading, Pennsylvania, and later to Carlisle where he dabbled in speculation and cases arising from land claims.

In the fall of 1771, Rachel Bird of Birdsboro, Pennsylvania became the first Mrs. Wilson. Although this marriage took place in the Episcopal Church, his allegiance was to the Presbyterian Church. This was exemplified in a charter granted the last day of December 1773 by "Thomas Penn and John Penn, Esquires, true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors in chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware." James Wilson was one of the group of twelve appointed to form a corporation and govern the "Society of Presbyterians of the First Presbyterian Church in the Centre Square near the court house in the town of Carlisle."<sup>o</sup>B

Wilson was *one of* the first to question publicly the authority of Parliament over problems essentially of a colonial nature. Active on numerous local committees of correspondence, he was elected to the Second Continental Congress in 1775 where he played an active part in the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. His thesis of sovereignty residing with the people, while not new (and a thesis that he later modified), was exemplified in one of its broadest concepts in national politics in the advocacy that all legislative members as well as the President be elected by the people. This thesis was given its virtual stamp of approval in the Federal Constitution, and a few years later in the adoption of the state constitution of Pennsylvania. His swing to conservatism, however, as well as his opposition to the

first state constitution in 1776 had already forced his removal from Congress in the fall of 1777.

The following year he returned to Philadelphia where he resided the remaining years of his life. During the next decade he directed his public energies toward the formation of the federal constitution, and played a conspicuous part in its ultimate adoption. In the process he subordinated his legal interests to speculative ventures. Modern biographies have said that his move to Philadelphia was indicative of one of the many changing viewpoints he was witnessing at this point in his life."

While Wilson's business and political endeavors after 1778 might have differed from his past, his religious affiliations with the Presbyterian Church, however, remained unbroken. The list of donors indicated on the Cash Book of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia is indicative of his Presbyterian support" Immediately following the war, when subscriptions were solicited to repair the damage of the First Presbyterian Church resulting from the British occupation of Philadelphia in the Revolutionary War, Wilson was one of its ardent supporters and contributed one hundred pounds for its restoration.' In addition, the list of pewholders of the First Church shows Wilson regularly contributing to the support of the church! He continued to hold his pew in the First Presbyterian Church and to give liberally through the years that followed; in fact, every year until his death in 1798 finds his pew rent listed as paid. In addition to his pew rent there is evidence that he contributed a sizeable amount for the rebuilding of the church."

Thus, if Wilson did change his religious affiliations after 1778, he nevertheless regularly continued to support and contribute to the Presbyterian Church.

Although economic security was one of the motivating factors in Wilson's pattern of behavior, the knowledge and application of law were his main interests of concern. His eventual appointment in 1789 by President Washington as an associate justice of the Supreme Court was one of the fruitions of his political desires and enabled him to voice on a national plain the theories of government that he had previously expounded in local committees years before.

Wilson's closing years were a pitiful conclusion for one who had rendered such notable contributions to the development of his

country. On August 21, 1798, he died in virtual poverty while holding a district court in North Carolina. One hundred eight years later his remains were removed to Christ Churchyard, Philadelphia.

#### ABRAHAM CLARK

Unique among the characteristics of the signers of the Declaration of Independence is the type and calibre of men each of the thirteen colonies sent to Philadelphia to represent them. One of the best examples of this is the delegation from New Jersey consisting of John Witherspoon, John Hart, Richard Stockton, Francis Hopkinson, and Abraham Clark. The first three were men destined to play an important role in the future of the state and church. The last member and perhaps least known of the New Jersey signers was Abraham Clark—a man of political mediocrity, but a man whose thoughts and opinions were respected by his fellow members.

Abraham Clark was born on his father's farm in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on February 15, 1726, the only child of Alderman Thomas Clark. He was baptized as an infant by Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, a member of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church." Although not possessing any formal education, Clark had a particular inclination in the field of mathematics and civil law and studied extensively in these areas. This learning made a favorable impression on many of his neighboring friends, and laid the foundation for the ascendancy of the "poor man's counsellor," a nickname he eventually acquired in the political horizons. His appointment as High Sheriff of Essex County is, in part, indicative of his political influence."

In the Revolutionary period as a member of the Committee of Safety of Elizabethtown, Clark played more than a passive role in the beginnings of the independence movement" On June 21, 1776, he was selected by the provincial congress with Richard Stockton, John Hart, Francis Hopkinson, and John Witherspoon to the Continental Congress. Here he joined delegates from neighboring colonies in urging separation from the English throne as well as penning his name to the Declaration of Independence.

On June 21, 1776, Clark was elected to the Continental Congress and with the exception of the year 1779, served each successive year in that body until 1783. Following his tenure of service in Congress, he was a member of the New Jersey state legislature until 1787 at which time he returned to the Continental Congress

for his last term. As a member of Congress, he was appointed a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution, but ill health prevented him from serving in this capacity. Later, he was selected a member of the Second Congress where he remained until his death in his sixty-ninth year."

As a member of the new Congress, Clark rendered little in the form of political contributions. His main service to his country was in the field of diplomacy—both in national and international spheres. Diplomacy from a national standpoint was evidenced in his contributions and ability as a commissioner in settling disputes of the state of New Jersey with the Federal Government. In the debates on foreign relations on the floor of Congress, he was inclined to be pro-French rather than pro-British and urged all intercourse with Great Britain in the 1790's be prohibited.

In the Presbyterian *Church*, Abraham Clark worshipped, and was a member of the congregation of Reverend James Caldwell, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup> His letters to Captain Winans in the loss inflicted on the Elizabethtown community by the murder of Reverend James Caldwell show his personal identification with the Elizabethtown Presbyterian Church.<sup>2</sup> Active in the governing work of the church, he was a trustee for four years from October 26, 1786, to December 4, 1790.<sup>3</sup> At his death on September 15, 1794, he was buried in the Presbyterian Churchyard in Rahway...

#### RICHARD STOCKTON

Richard Stockton, unlike many of his contemporaries who signed the Declaration of Independence, was born to a family of above average means on the first day of October 1730. His father, a presiding judge in Somerset County, New Jersey, made his home in the country and was a staunch supporter of the College of New Jersey. In his later years, Judge Stockton was instrumental in having the College of New Jersey moved from its location in Newark to Princeton, where his heirs in future generations carried on this tradition of loyalty to their alma mater.

Richard's first formal preparatory education was under the Presbyterian minister, Reverend Samuel Finley, in the latter's academy in West Nottingham, Maryland.<sup>4</sup> Here he remained for approximately two years and then continued his education at the

College of New Jersey from which he was graduated with honors in 1748 at the age of eighteen. He immediately began his preparation for the study of law and was licensed in 1754.

As with many lawyers of his day, the lure of politics and interest in public affairs were motivating factors in Stockton's life. Elected to the board of trustees of the College of New Jersey in 1757, he remained on the board until his death in 1781 and was one of its most distinguished patrons." As a trustee he was requested by that body to personally tender the presidency of the college to John Witherspoon of Paisley, Scotland. Unsuccessful in his initial attempt, he enlisted his friends to urge Witherspoon and his wife to come to America." From London, Stockton wrote to Witherspoon, "What shall I say upon my return to America if you refuse and, which is much more, what shall I and my brethren, who have the inspection and care of that rising Seminary, do .... I am pained when I think of the consequences of your determining against us." His persistency in urging Witherspoon to accept the presidency is indicative of his support and interest in his alma mater—a characteristic passed down by his father and on to his son in the next generation.

Stockton's interest in the College of New Jersey and the Presbyterian *Church* at Princeton were uniquely interrelated. On January 10, 1762, he initiated and wrote a subscription paper for the building of a church—a church that would serve a two-fold purpose as a place for worship as well as for the commencement activities of the college. In addition to his subscription to the erection of a building, an entry at the top of the paper was recorded, "Richard Stockton (one acre of land to set the *church* on)." Both the college and church cooperated in the subscription movement and the establishment of this close relationship between the two continues to exist to the present day.<sup>5</sup>

For many years Stockton enjoyed a personal contact with the Presbyterian Church of Princeton where he was a member and trustee... In addition, he also served as one of John Witherspoon's elders. At the May 26, 1773 synod meeting, "post preces sederunt qui supra ... the Hon. Richard Stockton, Dr. Witherspoon's elder" gave sufficient reason for not arriving at the meeting at an earlier time."

In 1774 Stockton was appointed one of the justices of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. Two years later he was elected to the Conti-

mental Congress and in the gubernatorial election in the fall of 1776, he secured the same number of votes as William Livingston for the chief executive position. The legislature selected Livingston, however, and offered the position of Chief Justice to Stockton. Stockton preferred to remain in Congress, and therefore declined the office. As a legislator in Congress, he was later captured by a party of royalists and imprisoned in New York City. He obtained his release through the intercession of Congress,<sup>60</sup> but his confinement and barbaric treatment permanently affected his health. Not only was his health impaired when he was released, but in addition his fortune was greatly depleted.

As a member of the Continental Congress, Stockton was considered moderate in his views regarding colonial liberty. No advocate of war, he suggested in 1774 a plan of colonial self government whereby the colonies would be independent of Parliament yet not renounce their allegiance to the Crown. His appeal was premature for the colonial minds of the day, but this plan later served as a basis for the petition of the Continental Congress to the King the following year.<sup>61</sup>

The family of Richard Stockton was virtually intertwined with members of the Presbyterian faith. Mr. Stockton's wife was the former Annie Boudinot, sister of Elias Boudinot, the President of the Continental Congress and first President of the Trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In 1762 Boudinot married Stockton's sister, Hannah. In addition, Stockton's eldest daughter, Julia, married Benjamin Rush, a fellow Presbyterian signer and one who held a profound respect and admiration for his father-in-law.<sup>62</sup>

Stockton died the last day of February 1781, and his funeral sermon was given two days later by Witherspoon's son-in-law, Reverend Samuel S. Smith. "As a Christian," Smith said of Stockton, "he was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. Nor could the ridicule of licentious wits, nor the example of vice in power, tempt him to disguise the profession of it, or to decline from the practise of its virtues. He was, however, liberal in his religious principles ... he was candid, as became a Christian, to those who differed from him, where he observed their practice marked with virtue and piety."<sup>63</sup> It was no wonder people spoke well of Richard Stockton and considered him "a Man of excellent Temper and fine behavior."<sup>64</sup>

## JOHN HART

Were we to list the factors that motivated men's minds in regard to the Revolutionary cause, we would note that it would be difficult to find few who had less selfish desires than John Hart. When the clouds of British tyranny began to cover the colonial horizons in the spring of 1776, John Hart was sixty-five years old, his active political and professional life was drawing to a close, and any personal gain or ambitious pretentious he might have desired could not be counted on by casting his sympathies with those favoring revolution as a remedy for the ills of the New World.

Hart suffered a great personal and economic loss by siding with those who sought to upset the established British order.<sup>65</sup> Not only was his four-hundred odd acre farm abandoned when the British troops were rallying their forces around Trenton and Princeton, but his family was temporarily scattered and his wife never fully recovered the health she previously enjoyed. Because of his personal animosity to the loyalist cause, his participation in the colonial legislature of New Jersey, his criticism of Lord Townshend's plan of revenue for the Colonies, and his signature on the Declaration of Independence, English loyalists had little respect for anything connected with his name.

John Hart was born in 1711 in Stonington, Connecticut. His father, Edward Hart, as a resident of Hunterdon County, later rendered his services in the French and Indian War and commanded the volunteer corps, "New Jersey Blues."<sup>66</sup> It was near this location two years later that Reverend Jedediah Andrews baptized "John [son] of Edward Hart" at Maidenhead on February 21, 1713.<sup>67</sup>

John Hart, like another of his New Jersey colleagues who signed the Declaration of Independence, Abraham Clark, received no formal education.<sup>68</sup> This factor, however, proved no detriment to his popularity, for his common sense, intelligence, and initiative appealed to his neighbors and those in authority. At a council held at Elizabeth Town, March 3, 1755, "his Excellency nominated John Hart to be a Justice of Peace of the Quorum in the County of Hunterdon."<sup>69</sup> In 1761 he was elected to the Twentieth Assembly in New Jersey, and later reelected as a member until its dissolution in 1771. In 1774, while serving as a judge of the court of the common pleas of Hunterdon County, he was elected to the First Provincial Congress of New

Jersey. The following year he was elected and represented his constituents at the Second Provincial Congress. As a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Committee of Safety in 1775-76, he played an active part in the political affairs of the colony. His signature on the Declaration of Independence was made on August 2, 1776, two years before he retired from public life.<sup>10</sup>

On August 29, 1735, he was received as a member of the Hopewell Presbyterian Church, and evidence can be noted of his contributing to the church's support as late as thirty four years after this date." When he died on April 16, 1779, he was buried in a private burying ground of a family friend." However, his body was later removed and buried in the Hopewell Baptist Churchyard which had received from him in 1771 a deed for the plot on which the church and burial ground were situated."

#### JOHN WITHERSPOON

John Witherspoon was born in Scotland on February 5, 1723, and died in Princeton, New Jersey, on November 15, 1794. In that span of seventy-one years was crowded a life of activity and service that might aptly be divided into four distinct spheres of influence—his role as leader of the Popular Party in the Scottish Church, as the sixth president of the College of New Jersey, as a statesman during the Revolutionary War, and as one of the most influential leaders in the Presbyterian Church in America. History would remember Witherspoon not only for his statesmanship in the colonial period and his quarter-century leadership of a struggling college, but also would it be careful to record that he was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence.

The son of James and Anne Witherspoon attended the University of Edinburgh at fourteen, obtained the Master of Arts degree at nineteen, and by the time he was twenty was licensed to preach by the Haddington Presbytery." After his graduation he was invited to be the assistant minister with his father in the parish of Yester, but chose instead the parish of Leith in the west of Scotland." Here he remained until 1757 when he became pastor at Paisley for the next eleven years.

It was in Paisley that Witherspoon allied himself to the Popular Party and attacked the Moderates for their willingness to emphasize science and letters at the expense of church dogmas. And it was at

Paisley that his fame and writings in universal circles became recognized. Basically, Witherspoon believed in preaching the word of God and not in emphasizing the theories of virtue. His fame as a leader and theologian of the Popular Party in Scotland spread to the New World with the result that in 1766 he was called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey. His call, it was generally assumed, would help to heal the wounds of disunion between the Old and New Lights in America.

Witherspoon and his family were not as enthusiastic about coming to America as the College of New Jersey was in desiring his presence. In London at this time was Richard Stockton, a member of the trustees of the College, who was requested to visit Scotland and personally extend the invitation of the presidency to him. After reaching Edinburgh in February 1767, he talked with Benjamin Rush, a member of the class of 1760 in the College of New Jersey, who had recently begun his medical studies at the University. Rush's aid, Stockton concluded, would be needed to persuade the pastor at Paisley that his talents were needed in the New World. Witherspoon himself was not difficult to persuade insofar as his own desires were concerned. Following Stockton's visit, he took pen in hand and wrote to Archibald Wallace, his merchant friend in Edinburgh, that his mind was made up. "From the Persuasion of you & other friends at Edinburgh, & what Mr Stockton has said of the State of Religion in America," he wrote, "I find a pretty favorable Inclination in my own Mind to the Proposal though many Difficulties lie in the Way." Stockton himself was convinced that his trip to Scotland had been a fruitful one. It is "absolutely certain," Stockton confided to his wife, "that if I had not gone in person to Scotland, Dr. Witherspoon would not have had a serious thought of accepting the office" <sup>11</sup>

One of the main difficulties that Witherspoon was referring to was the reluctance of his wife to break her ties in Scotland. This was a task that required diplomatic strategy and it took Stockton, Rush, and delegations from both sides of the Atlantic to urge Mrs. Witherspoon that her husband's talents in Scotland, while not necessarily decaying, could be utilized more fully in Princeton where "they will all be called into action, and the evening of your life will be much more eminent than your highest meridian days have been." <sup>12</sup>

The call to *New Jersey* was more than merely assuming the leadership of an educational mission and Witherspoon plainly understood

it as such. The new president of the College of New Jersey, wrote John Rodgers, a trustee of the college, "will sit revered at the Head of Presbyterian Interest already great & dayly *growing* in these Middle Colonies!" To John Witherspoon the call to America was a religious opportunity, the challenge of which appealed to his missionary zeal. Two years later, in 1768, he crossed the Atlantic and landed on the shores of the New World.

As a college president, Witherspoon ably filled the role. Universities, he believed, should prepare not only ministers, but all students for the common problems of life, and the curriculum for that plan should be adjusted accordingly. New emphasis in courses pertaining to politics, international law, and oratory were made at Princeton, and the study of the Hebrew and French languages was introduced. As a university public relations official, Witherspoon was unexcelled in his day. Even before he left Scotland, he began contacting friends and interested parties soliciting funds and obtaining books for the library in Princeton. In America his journeys and contacts on behalf of the university never ceased. Even after the war, which resulted in serious destruction to the physical plant of the university, Witherspoon sought funds as well as counsel from all sources both at home and abroad.<sup>90</sup> One who replied and who rarely turned down the opportunity to offer advice was the old philosopher from Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin:

"For my own part, I am persuaded we are fully able to furnish our Colleges amply with every Means of public Instruction, and I cannot but wonder that on Legislatures have generally paid so little Attention to a Business of so great Importance."<sup>91</sup>

If success be judged on the training of men for professional careers, few educators ever witnessed the pinnacle Witherspoon experienced as president of the College of New Jersey. Of the four hundred and sixty-nine students who graduated during his regime, one became President of the United States, one became Vice President, six were members of the Continental Congress, twenty-one became Senators, thirty-nine members of the House of Representatives, ten cabinet members, twelve were governors, three were appointed to the United States Supreme Court, one hundred and fourteen were ministers, nineteen presidents or professors of colleges, and thirty others distinguished themselves in medicine, letters, or law."<sup>92</sup>

As president of the College of New Jersey, Witherspoon also

carried on the pastoral duties of the Presbyterian Church which was the church of both the college and town of Princeton. The church, in essence, was an appanage of the College until the former was organized and elders and trustees were elected for the first time in 1786.<sup>81</sup> Though Witherspoon was relieved from time to time by supplies, he acted in this dual relationship of president and pastor for twenty-five years from 1768 until 1793.

To those around him, Witherspoon gave the impression of a leader who permitted no grass to grow under his feet. His role in the short time he was a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, his activities in the Continental Congress as well as the prestige he gave colonial politics from the pulpit, his signature on the Declaration of Independence a few days after becoming a member of Congress—all show evidence of his firm stand in favor of independence. As a member of the Continental Congress for six years his contributions were noteworthy, though often overlooked. His views, aptly presented in his addresses on such subjects as paper currency, foreign affairs, and army problems, as well as his participation on two of the important committees of Congress (Committee of Secret Correspondence and Board of War) made him one of the most valuable of men to the independence cause. Following the signing of the Declaration, he was named a member of the New Jersey Senate in 1780, the Assembly in 1783, 1789-90, and the state constitutional convention in 1787.

After liberty was proclaimed, he directed his allegiance, devotion, and energies to rebuilding the College of New Jersey which had suffered extensive damage during the war. In this task he was aided by his son-in-law, Reverend S. S. Smith who later assumed the administrative duties of the college and who in 1799 became Moderator of the General Assembly.

Through all of Witherspoon's secular activities, he never forgot that he was a man of God. His leadership in the sphere of religion, like education and politics, was apparent and continued until the last days of his life. As expected, his presence in America helped to blend the various factions of the church together. During the last decade Witherspoon attempted to organize the discipline and forum of government of the Presbyterian Church along national lines, and in 1789 presided at the opening session of the General Assembly in America."

When the (died on November 15, 1794, on a farm near Princeton, his seventy-one years had been complete in every sense of the word. Whether serving his school, *church*, or nation Witherspoon lived a life of personal devotion to God. As a stranger in America he had played his part in bringing unity to his nation and to his *church*.

#### PHILIP LIVINGSTON

Eighteenth Century colonial America was a melting pot of conflicts, personalities, religions, and families. Unique among the frontier settlers in the New World was the prominence of many of the members of the same family name who played an important part in the development of our nation's heritage. Such as the Adams', Pickney's, Livingston's, Rutledge's—to mention only a few—are family names with historic tradition, and the nation today owes a debt to those who clung to their principles in the past.

Philip Livingston, one of the four signers of the Declaration of Independence from the state of New York, was a member of such a family. To some he was considered the ablest member of the Livingston family. Though he died at the height of the Revolution, it was not before his name became intimately linked with the independence movement and the rise of *the new* nation. Born on January 15, 1716, the fourth son of Philip and Catharine Van Brugh Livingston, Philip was the great grandson of Reverend John Livingstone, a distinguished minister of the *Church* of Scotland. Because of Reverend Mr. Livingstone's religion and opposition to the restoration of Charles II, he left Scotland and took charge of a Presbyterian congregation in Rotterdam. From such beginnings, Philip's roots in Presbyterianism had their origin.

At the age of seventeen Livingston graduated from Yale College, one of the few signers to obtain a formal education in colonial America and the only Presbyterian signer to graduate from the Connecticut colleges. Early in his life he determined to pursue a vocation in business and ultimately became eminently successful as a merchant and importer in the city of New York. "Among the considerable merchants in this city," Governor Hardy wrote in 1755, "no one is more esteemed for energy, promptness, honesty, and public spirit, than Philip Livingston."<sup>OP</sup>

In 1740 Livingston married Christina Ten Broeck, daughter of the mayor of Albany. Their family consisted of four sons and five

daughters, one of whom later married Reverend John II. Livingston.

A glance at Livingston's civic endeavors reveals that all types of projects stimulated his personal interests in public improvements. He was active in the early establishment of Kings College, and was one of the founders of the Society Library and Chamber of Commerce in New York City. In addition, he served as one of the first governors of the New York Hospital, and in 1756-57, was president of the St. Andrew's Society, one of the early benevolent societies in the city.<sup>80</sup> The year before he was admitted to an honorary membership in the St. Andrew's Society of *Philadelphia*.<sup>80</sup> A firm believer in the "sublime truths of religion" led him to establish a divinity chair at Yale College in 1746.01

It was not long before these interests in civic pursuits led him into the field of politics and government. From 1754 to 1762 he was a member of the Common Council of New York, and during the same period was elected to the Assembly in 1758-59. His seat in the Assembly was retained until 1768 at which time he was elected speaker. Six years later he was a member of the Committee of Fifty, a group consisting of outstanding New York citizens, who selected delegates to the First Continental Congress. This committee named Livingston and three others to represent the state of New York.<sup>02</sup>

From the commencement of the conflict of interests between the Colonies and the mother country, Philip Livingston took an active part in behalf of colonial independence. In 1765 he was a member of the Stamp Act Congress whose over-all purpose was basically to investigate the Act. It was his belief that England had a right to tax but only with the colonists consent. His opposition was in the form of a dignified protest in view of the fact that his livelihood was closely linked with mercantile interests. Yet despite his commercial interests, his devotion to the colonists during the conflict was evidenced by his disposing of a portion of his private estate to aid in supporting the public credit.

Livingston's name at this time is intimately linked with the development of the new young nation. Between the dissolution of the First Continental Congress and the assembling of the Second, he acted as president of the Provincial Congress of New York. In May 1775 he took his seat in the Continental Congress where he served on the Commerce, Indian, Treasury, and Marine committees. The

following year, he represented the state of New York in Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence.<sup>o1</sup>

Livingston, however, did not live to witness the termination of the revolutionary conflict. In May 1778, after the British had taken possession of Philadelphia, Congress resumed its sessions in York, Pennsylvania. On the twelfth of June he died in the sixty-second year of his life, and was buried the same evening. During the afternoon the Continental Congress resolved that its members will in a body, attend the funeral of Mr. Livingston this evening, at six o'clock, with a crape round the arm, and will continue in mourning for the space of one month."<sup>05</sup> In addition, the lawmakers appointed a committee consisting of the other delegates from New York to make the necessary funeral arrangement. Reverend George Duffield, the Presbyterian minister who was chaplain of Congress, officiated at the funeral.<sup>01</sup>

#### WILLIAM FLOYD

Born in Brookhaven, Long Island, on December 17, 1734, from a lineage which originally emigrated from Wales, William Floyd lived to the age of eighty-seven. One of eight children, Floyd's early education was void of any formal academic training despite the influential family background and ties he possessed.

Before the beginnings of the American independence movement, William Floyd took no active part in the political welfare of his neighborhood or country. His primary interests were in military affairs and the problems of war. As an officer of Suffolk County, he advanced to the rank of major-ge eralY<sup>1</sup>

The American Revolution, however, gave him an opportunity to enter politics. His popularity and methodical approach to existing problems of the day were recognized by his constituents who sent him to Philadelphia as a delegate to Congress in 1774. The following year, as a deputy to the Provincial Convention of New York, he was chosen a delegate to the Second Continental Congress and with the exception of one year represented the state of New York in every succeeding Congress to 1783.<sup>0</sup> As a member of the standing committee representing the inhabitants of South Haven he was one of the first to correspond with the Committee of Correspondence in New York and protest the actions of the English.<sup>oo</sup>

From a legislative point of view, Floyd's contributions to the

deliberations of the Continental Congress were not on a par with his fellow delegates from New York. Indeed, history would perhaps best remember him as a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Nevertheless, his sound judgment and sane viewpoint on common issues of his day, while not giving him any unusual fame or distinction, did demonstrate his talents as a committee representative. The Journals of the Continental Congress bear evidence of his labors in this field... His participation on several committees, particularly the Board of Admiralty and Treasury in 1779, illustrate the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues in Congress.<sup>101</sup>

At approximately the same time that Floyd was in the Continental Congress representing the state of New York, he was also elected to the state senate. During the Revolution, when the British occupied Long Island, he was forced to flee to Connecticut leaving his extensive four-thousand acre estate in the hands of the enemy. His strong patriot feelings coupled with his long exile away from his residence at this time resulted in extensive damage to his personal property.<sup>10E</sup>

When hostilities of the Revolution ceased Floyd purchased a sizeable tract of land in Oneida County, New York, and in 1803 moved his family to this location. At the age of sixty-nine he started his life anew in Oneida County where he remained for the next eighteen years until his death in 1821.

William Floyd represented the state of New York as a member of the First United States Congress in 1789-91. Soon after his unsuccessful attempt for reelection to the Second Congress, he was a candidate for lieutenant-governor of New York. As a state senator and more particularly as a presidential elector in 1792, 1800, 1804, and 1820, he was a loyal adherent of Jefferson and the democratic philosophy the latter represented.<sup>10a</sup>

Floyd's personal life evolved around his two wives—Isabella Jones of Southampton, who died in 1781 in Connecticut while in exile with her husband, and Joanna Strong of Setauket. Three children were born of the first marriage and two of the second.

As a churchman Floyd was active in the incorporation of the South Haven Church in New York in 1802.<sup>10f</sup> At a meeting in January 19, 1802, in Samuel Carman's house, since there were "no churchwardens elders Deacons or vestrymen belonging to said Parish or Congregation Wm Floyd Esq. and Mr. Ebenezer Hart of said parish" were named returning ofscers.<sup>10B</sup> As such it was their duty

to "take the votes of four Trustees to take charge of the estate and property belonging to the aforesaid parish or congregation agreeable to the act 'Entitled an act to enable all the religious Denominations in this State to appoint Trustees etc. passed 6th April 1784' and upon due examination Daniel Robert, John Rose, Oliver Smith, and Nicoll Floyd were unanimously chosen Trustees ... of the Congregation of Southaven."<sup>108</sup> Nicoll Floyd, one of the above trustees, was William's son by his first marriage.

Floyd also served as one of the returning officers at future elections in the South Haven Church. On January 12, 1803, and again on the same date the following year he held a similar position for the parish of South Haven in certifying the election of members of the congregation as trustees.<sup>107</sup>

The career of William Floyd was not highlighted with any recognized feats of outstanding achievements, and few would have ever heard of him had he not penned his name to the Declaration of Independence. Mediocre in ability though he might be, he was, nevertheless, for years honored by fellow citizens with offices of trust and respectability. At the time of his death on August 4, 1821, he was eighty-seven years old, many of which had been spent in service to his constituents in New York.

#### MATTHEW THORNTON

Although the month and day are not specifically known, Mathew Thornton was born in 1714 of Scotch-Irish extraction. His parents, Elizabeth Jenkins and James Thornton, emigrated from Ireland to America in 1717 and settled in Wiscasset, Maine, before moving to Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1740 the family moved to Londonderry, New Hampshire.

It was in Londonderry that Mathew resided for the next thirty-nine years of his life. During the Revolutionary conflict he changed his residence to Exeter and in 1780 moved to Merrimack, New Hampshire, where he continued to reside until his death on June 24, 1803, at the age of eighty-nine years.<sup>109</sup>

At an early age Thornton decided that he would pursue a profession in the field of medicine. During this period, his interests and activities broadened into more extensive areas and were not confined entirely to his own chosen profession. His political life was similar

to the pattern of many of his fellow patriots in the struggle for the young nation's recognition. Though originally a loyalist, his later allegiance with the American independence movement enabled him to play a significant part in the development of his state's history.

Mathew Thornton was an eminently successful man in his many professional pursuits. As a physician and surgeon, he ably served in one of the New Hampshire regiments. In addition, he was commissioned by the English as a colonel in the Londonderry regiment, a commission he held until the beginning of hostilities in Massachusetts. The town of Thornton in northern New Hampshire was named in his honor by the Royal government in 1763.<sup>110</sup>

Although the most significant role of Mathew Thornton's public life and services was associated with the political events connected with the American Revolution, he was equally active in town and public affairs. In 1758-62, before the Revolution was underway, he represented the town of Londonderry in the General Court, and during the years 1771 and 1776 was the village's chosen Moderator at the annual meetings. In addition, he also served as *one of His Majesty's justices of the peace* in 1771. The same year he was appointed chief justice of the court of common pleas for Hillsborough County, a position he held until 1776 when he was appointed justice of the superior court. It must be kept in mind that legal training was not a prerequisite to service on the bench as it became in later years.<sup>110</sup>

Although Thornton did not attend the First Provincial Congress, he did represent the town of Londonderry in the Second and Third Provincial Congresses. One of the functions of such gatherings was to keep an ear open for political rumblings and to prepare for any emergencies that might arise. At the Fourth Provincial Congress, Mathew Thornton again represented Londonderry. Later he was named a member of the Committee of Safety whose purpose was to maintain over-all governing powers of the colony during the recess of the provincial congress. On his reelection as president of the Fifth Provincial Congress, the assembly under his direction assumed the name, power, and authority of a house of representative for the state of New Hampshire. And the powers of president developed under Mathew Thornton who was accordingly elected the first speaker of the house."

Thornton was not in Philadelphia at the time of the signing of

the Declaration of Independence, and therefore, like several of his fellow delegates, did not sign his name on the document on the fourth of July. When the state assembly met in September 1776 he was elected to the Continental Congress and accordingly signed the Declaration on November 4, 1776. As a member of the Continental Congress, he served approximately one year, but declined a second election in order to resume his duties as justice of the superior court.

Two years later an act was passed in New Hampshire for the election of delegates to meet at Concord and form a new plan of government. At this assembling of delegates, Thornton again represented Londonderry. After he changed his residence and moved his family to Merrimack in 1780, he represented his new constituents in the legislature in 1783 and 1786. At approximately the same time, 1784-85, he was a member of the newly organized state senate of New Hampshire. In addition to all these duties, he also was a justice of the peace from 1785 until his death in 1803.<sup>2</sup>

As a Christian, it has been said that "no man was more deeply impressed with a belief in the existence and bounties of an overruling Providence" than Thornton." His name was linked with activities of a constructive character, and as early as 1758 he signed a memorial petition to the General Court of New Hampshire urging the governor for an act limiting the number of taverns in Londonderry."

On September 1, 1769, Mathew Thornton was a member of a committee of three to call a meeting of the parish "to consider & finally to Determine by what means they will Raise the money to pay for Building ... their new meeting House and all belonging to said parish of any of the following opinions are desired to attend."<sup>16</sup> Everyone should attend such meetings, the committee urged, for if the citizens do not make known their views, they questioned "what Right any man or number of men have to Complain of the vets or actings of others which they will not endeavour to prevent when they have Repeted Opportunities."<sup>6</sup>

The following month the same committee sold "sundry Pews" to the residents of Londonderry, and recorded the money received in their ledgers. Thirteenth on the list is Mathew Thornton who purchased pew number twenty-three?" As one of the Select Men he also ordered "the Parishiners belonging to the old parish in Londonderry" to meet on the fifth day of February 1771 "to see if the parish can agree on a method to Raising the ministers Salary." "s

Insofar as the records are concerned, Mathew Thornton kept his pew in Londonderry years after he changed his residence to Merrimack, New Hampshire. On April 16, 1795 for the sum of twenty dollars he sold to John Alexander "the pew number thirty two on the lower floor of the meetinghouse in the east parish in Londonderry."<sup>1B</sup> Several months later on "the eleventh day of Agust", in the presence of his son Mathew, Jr. and his wife, Hannah, Thornton personally acknowledged receipt of twenty Spanish mill dollars paid to him for pew number one in the gallery in the Meetinghouse in the East Parish of Londonderry.<sup>190</sup>

On June 24, 1803, Mathew Thornton died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, while visiting his daughter. His body was taken to Thornton's Ferry in Merrimack and the funeral sermon was preached by the Reverend Dr. Jacob Burnap, "the clergyman at Merrimack."<sup>01</sup>

#### THOMAS MCKEAN

Few men in history ever received the political fortunes of office from different states as Thomas McKean, the statesman from Delaware and Pennsylvania. Claimed as a favorite by both states, McKean held many responsible political positions before his life drew to a close in 1817 at the age of eighty-three. His independent personality aroused many antagonisms during his various tenures of office and led many to believe that he was even vain and ruthless. Yet behind this cloak of indifference, he was a man who basically believed in Christian principles and whose education and life evolved around the church.

Born on March 19, 1734, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, McKean spent seven years of his *early* educational training at Reverend Francis Alison's academy in New London. Dr. Alison, an influential Presbyterian minister and "one of the best Latin scholars in America," later became assistant pastor of the First Church in Philadelphia as well as Gee-provost of the College of Philadelphia.<sup>122</sup> Following his training at the academy, McKean studied law with his cousin, David Finney, and completed his preparation for a career in law before he had reached the age of twenty-one. Two years later he was clerk in the Delaware Assembly and by 1762, at the age of 28, was elected to the Delaware Assembly. For the next successive seventeen years he served in this body where his name became linked more and more with the independent movement in America.

As a member of the Delaware Assembly, McKean became an ardent foe of the Stamp Act and the infringements on liberty that he believed the act represented. Considered by some as a man who possessed radical tendencies, he was nevertheless elected speaker of the Assembly in 1772–73 and later played an influential part in framing the Delaware constitution.

Soon after McKean became a member of the Delaware Assembly, he married Mary Borden of Bordentown, New Jersey. Six children were born from this marriage. After the death of his first wife, he married Sarah Armitage of Newcastle, Delaware, in 1774, and was married by Reverend Joseph Montgomery, a member of the New Castle Presbytery. Five children were born from this marriage.

Following the signing of his name to the Declaration of Independence, McKean's ascendancy to political heights reached new proportions. As a member of the Delaware Assembly he was elected speaker in 1777 and in that capacity became acting president of Delaware. In the same year he also was commissioned chief justice of Pennsylvania, a position he held for the next twenty-two years until 1799. As such he possessed a dual political relationship between two states—assemblyman and acting president of the state of Delaware while chief justice of the Keystone state of Pennsylvania. Although there was understandably a considerable degree of antagonism to this allegiance to two distinct states, McKean weathered the storm by tempering his political philosophy to fit the times. Once his name was signed to the Declaration in January 1777, he became less liberal in the new freedoms independence offered. As an advocate for a popular movement in Pennsylvania for a new state government, McKean opposed the radical leanings of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. His efforts, however, were enlisted and welcomed in securing ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1787.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas McKean was a continual supporter of the Presbyterian Church *throughout his* adult life. In his earlier years, as a young man he received training under Reverend Francis Alison, and the marriage to his second wife was performed by the Presbyterian minister, Reverend Joseph Montgomery. On October 2, 1774, his name was "entered a member of the congregation" of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup> In addition he contributed liberally to the financial support of the First Church, and continually

paid his pew rent until shortly after his tenure as Governor of Pennsylvania.<sup>6</sup> At this time, *his* liberality ceased and from 1810 to his death he became delinquent in his pew rent. It was not until several years after his death in 1821 that the McKean family was no longer in arrears in pew rent to the First Church.<sup>7</sup>

McKean's initial financial support of the First Church extended beyond the payment of pew rents. When the British damaged the First Church during their occupancy of Philadelphia in the Revolution, McKean joined two of his fellow signer's of the Declaration, James Wilson and Benjamin Rush, and contributed to a fund for the church's restoration.<sup>8</sup>

Nine years later his name attested the document of "The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to John Purdon" which directed the trustees of the Scots Presbyterian Church to "restore the said William Marshall to the use of the Pulpit in the said Church of Meeting House as . . . Minister in order to perform divine Service."<sup>9</sup>

As Chief Justice for twenty-two years during the period 1777-1799, McKean sought to stabilize the government he had played such a part in forming. In 1799 he was nominated and elected governor of Pennsylvania, a position he held until 1808. The political pendulum had swung to the other side during the decade of the 1790's, and McKean had changed his allegiance from those who favored a strong and tight interpretation of the Constitution to those who were more liberal in their views. As such he attempted to sweep from office all who opposed his philosophy, and this strategy furnished much impetus for additional political antagonism against him. It was no wonder that his tenure of office as governor produced a tempest in the game of Pennsylvania politics.

On June 24, 1817, Thomas McKean died in his eighty-third year, and was buried in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.<sup>10</sup> His life had been full in many respects—as a family man with eleven children, as a statesman and political leader of two states, and as a Christian in the Presbyterian Church.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In reviewing the lives and religious affiliations of the signers, certain interesting observations and generalizations come into focus. From a glance into the background of men of the Presbyterian faith,

it can be seen that in many ways *they* represented a cross-section of colonial life as it existed at the opening of the Revolution. This cross-section was exemplified in their place of origin, educational background, and personal life.

Five of the twelve Presbyterian signers were born in foreign countries, and each of the remaining seven came from one of the three Middle Colonies—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or New York. Educations varied from highly technical and specialized education in foreign universities (as Rash and Wilson possessed) to no formal training whatsoever as was the case with Hart and Floyd. All of the group married, five had at least two wives, and with the exception of Abraham Clark each had a minimum of five children. Eleven of the Presbyterian signers left eighty-six children for future posterity.

The average Presbyterian signer was born in the year 1726 and lived through the next seventy one years until 1797. Four of the group—Smith, McKean, Floyd, and Thornton—died in their eighties. Although forty-two of the total fifty-six signers were in their thirties and forties in 1776, the average Presbyterian signer was entering his fifty-first year. Thus, if the adage "conservatism increases with age" is true, it might be concluded the forces of the Presbyterian faith sought to temper the eventual 1,458 word document or if not temper it, to refrain from adding their signatures.

Just the opposite, however, was true. Without exception and with little *thought* of personal considerations to the various members' families, each Presbyterian signer—whether of the conservative party who hoped for a liberal local autonomy under British rule, or of the more radical group who sought complete independence with no ties to the mother country—had much to lose from a business or professional point of view by signing the document, and nothing to gain except "certain unalienable Rights." Economic motivations were not only subordinated, they were often sacrificed at the expense of their families. Each signer eventually was to learn this in his own way.

Fortunately for the future of the American nation, the signers as a group represented some of the best minds of the day. Generally speaking, each of the fifty-six men who signed the document faced a certain risk. However, the approval, though not altogether spontaneous, given the Declaration of Independence by the signers of the Presbyterian faith, was not indicative of the remaining forty-four

signers. In contrast to at least seven of the Congressional members present on July 4 *who* never signed the document, one third of the Presbyterian signers (Hart, McKean, Taylor, and Thornton) made it their duty to sign after that date even though they were not present when the actual Declaration was promulgated.

It is apparent from a review of the signers that the question of political and religious liberty had some type of special attachment to colonists of the Presbyterian faith. Aside from sectional controversies in the colonies and the propaganda effects used in the "taxation without representation" appeal, the Presbyterian colonists could and did link American independence with religious liberty and freedom. To such people, the Declaration in its broadest aspects, exemplified in political terms the religious philosophy of such natural rights as the right to oppose a King, all government is a mutual contract between King and people, and a fundamental government contains a written law. The "cause" of independence was, therefore, not new to them, but contained such elements that men of the Presbyterian faith could, perhaps in their own way, basically recognize as their own.

That the Church in 1776 had a direct influence on the thinking of the Presbyterian signers of the Declaration of Independence is difficult, if not impossible, to prove. It cannot be denied, however, that such factors that mold an individual's thinking—namely, his parental background, religious training, education, public and private associations—tend to influence his pattern of behavior. Thus, the Presbyterian signers, because of either their family background, their early training under Presbyterian ministers of the gospel, their attendance in a Presbyterian congregation, or their direct affiliation as an elder, pewholder, or member of a Presbyterian Church, were better prepared for the task ahead of making a democratic and representative type of government.

It would be erroneous to conclude that the significance and importance we attach to the Declaration today is due to the wisdom, integrity, and foresight of the Presbyterian signers of a different generation. Indeed, it is highly debatable that the signers attached the significance to their signatures on the Declaration of Independence that we in our present day do. The Declaration was the result of a melting pot of political, religious, and philosophical expressions of the times, and was made inevitable by the outbreak of armed con-

filed. *By virtue of an investigation of the sources it is obvious that the influence and contributions of the Presbyterian signers in colonial America were extensive and the Declaration of Independence which they helped to produce has withstood the greatest test of all—the test of time.*

## NOTES

1. Benjamin's oldest Meter, Rachael, was the future wife of Reverend Joseph Montgomery who officiated at the second marriage of Thomas McKean, another Presbyterian signer of the Declaration. Joseph Montgomery was a Presbyterian minister in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and a member of Congress from Pennsylvania in 1780–82.
2. *Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1948), 163.
3. "An Account of Sundry Incident", in the Life of Benjamin Rush, Written by Himself" in Biddle, L. A.; Benjamin Rush, A Memorial, 1745–1813 (Philadelphia, 1906), 10.
4. Stanghton, William, *An Eulogium in Memory of the Late Dr. Benjamin Rush* (Philadelphia, 1813), 9.
5. *Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1948), 31.
6. *Ibid.*, 163.
7. John Witherspoon to Archibald Wallace, February 28, 1767 (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society) expresses his reluctance about coming from Scotland to America to become the president of the College of New Jersey.
8. Beejamin Rush to John Witherepoon, October 23, 1767, (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society). See also, Benjamin Rush to John Witherspoon, April 23, 1767, in *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1951), 36–27. An excellent documentary account of the importance of Rush's role in getting Witherspoon to make the journey to New Jersey is contained in L. II. Butterfield's *Blot of Witherspoon's Conies to America* (Princeton, 1953). This work contains new sources consisting of approximately thirty unpublished letters between Rush, Stockton, and Witherspoon during the period 1766–68.
9. In addition to publishing essays on social reform, penal reform, temperance, and improved education for women, Rob from 1803–1813 was also president of the Abolition Society of Philadelphia for improving the condition of the African race. William Stoughton, *An Eulogium in Memory of the Late Dr. Benjamin Rush* (Philadelphia, 1813), 30.
10. *Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1948), 80–81.
11. *Ibid.*, 116.
12. Butterfield, L. H., *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 1209–1212.
13. "Boards of First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1747–72," Sept. 4, 1769, (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society). Benjamin's brother, Moab (1747–1820), ordered half of pew N 17 with him. "List of Pew-holders of First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Penna.," May 1781 (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society). The list of penholders under the date August

16, 1779, also includes the names of Joseph and William Rush—both of whom were uncles of Benjamin Rush.

14. "Subscription for the purchasing- of a parsonage House for the Congregatimn " in Records, First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pcmayivaoia, 1747–72. August 10 and 30, 1771. Also "List of Subscriptions toward Repairing the Dilapidatious Suffered by the First Presbyterian Church, Corner Market and Bank Streets, Phila., at the Hands of the British During their Occupation of Phila. in the Revolution." May 19, 1779. (Both sources in MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

15. "Register of Second -Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1744–1833." Feb. 22, 1779, July 4, 1784, and April 25, 1786. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.) "Pew Rent Bonk, Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1781 and 1786." (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

16. Benjamin Rush to Reverend Dr. John King, April 2, 1783. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.) Dr. King was born in Lancaster County, Dec. 5, 1740, and graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1766. He was pastor at Conococheague in the Donegal Presbytery from 1769 to shortly before his death in 1811. Dickinson College gave him a D.D. degree hr 1792.

17. Mr. L. H. Butterfield, editor of *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1951), a two-volume collection of over 650 letters of Rush, concludes that Rush's letters show that he held Presbyterian views until 1787. See, *Autobiography of Benjamin Rash* (Princeton, 1948), 163 if. Be that as it may, Rush did not give up all ties with the Presbyterian Church. On January 27, 1793, Joseph and Ben Rush contributed twenty pounds "to their subscription for building the First Presbyterian Church in Philad." In *The List of Subscribers, 1793–1798, First Presbyterian Church, Phial, Pa.* (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

18. Stanghton, William, *An Rulogium in Memory of the Late Dr. Benjamin R,3h* (Philadelphia, 1813), 26–31.

19. Rush's projected work on "The Medicine of the Bible" never reached beyond the outline stage, and was merely a set of highly condensed headings and scripture references. See, *Autobiography of Benjamin Bush* (Princeton, 1948), 12, 193.

20. Leasing, B. J., *Lives of the Rigors of the Declaration of American Independence* (Philadelphia, 1870), 119–123. Judson, L. C., *A Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1839), 260–267.

H. While these instructions were significant in the independence cause, it is doubtful if they formed part of "the most learned state paper ever written in Pennsylvania," as stated in A. M. Aurand'a, *History of York County* (Harrisburg, 1930), 172.

22. "York, Pennsylvania, In the Revolution," by C. C. Jordan, *Penna. Magazine of History and Biography*, Oct. 1908, 494.

23. *Ibid.*, 490.

24. Minutes of the Presbytery of Carliele, 1786–1794, Vol. 1, 481. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

25. "Call to Mr. Robert Cathcart, Preacher of the Gospel, August 6, 1792" (MSS in the Historical Society of York County, York Pennsylvania).

26. There is some dispute about the age of James Smith, mainly because of his humorous reluctance in admitting the time when he was born. His tombstone, erected by his son, states that he was ninety-three years old at the time of his death. Acceptance of the letter figure, however, tends to challenge the veracity of other known events, and historians have generally accepted the year 1719 as his date of birth.

The First Presbyterian Church was sometimes referred to as the English Presbyterian Church.

27. Tossing, B. J., *Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of American Independence* (Philadelphia, 1870), 1.22.

28. Through tracing the origin of his bookplate, later research has shown the place of his birth could conceivably be England, but the authenticity has not been completely established. See Faekenthal, B. F., Jr., "Tire Homes of George Taylor, Signer of the Declaration of Independence." *Papers of Bucks County Historical Society*, Vol. V, 1926, 112-115.

29. Sanderson, John, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1846), 491.

30. Lossing, B. J., *Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of American Independence* (Philadelphia, 1870), 123-125. Judson, L. C., *A Biography of the Signers of the Declaration* (Philadelphia, 1839), 174-175.

31. "Bucks County Deed Book," Court House, Doylestown, Pennsylvania, Vol. XX, 235-236.

32. *Colonial Records*, First Series, Vol. X, 380.

33. Ibid, 297, 339, 354, and 373.

34. Daniel Roberdeau, a successful merchant who supported Independence and signed the Articles of Confederation, had as his first wife, Mary Bostwick, daughter of Reverend David Bostwick, a member of the New York Presbytery in 1761. Roberdeau's name appears among the Elders of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia up to 1769.

35. "Diary of James Allen, Esq. of Philadelphia, Counsellor-at-Law, 1770-1778" in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. IX (Philadelphia, 1885), 278-279.

36. George and Ann Taylor's only daughter, Ann, died in childhood.

37. Linn, James B., "The Lost Will of George Taylor, the Signer," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 44, (Philadelphia, 1920), 82-86.

38. Wilson's educational background and grasp of the complexities around him has been the interest of writers and historians for years, John Bach Maeter (*History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I, 421) states: "Of the fifty-five delegates he was undoubtedly the best prepared, by deep and systematic study of history and affairs of government, for the work that lay before him." Another historian who has written an excellent treatment of Wilson says, "There indeed, few important facets of the American struggle for independence and the subsequent efforts to establish a new republic that were not affected by the incisive mind of [Wilson]." See Charles P. Smith, "James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-98 (Chapel Hill, 1956), 391.

39. The complete and detailed charter is in Conway P. Wing's, *A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle*, Penna. (Carlisle, 1877), 93-95.

40. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), Vol. XX, 328.

41. "Cash Book, First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1779-1783," Aug. 24, 1779, Nov. 12, 1770, Feb. 20, 1780. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

42. "List of Subscriptions toward repairing the dilapidations suffered by the First Presbyterian Church, Corner Market and Bank Streets, Philadelphia, at the Hands of the British during their occupation of Philadelphia in the Revolution." First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, May 19, 1779. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

43. "List of Pewholders, First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania" (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

44. "Minute Book of 1st Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia." deaconery 31, 1793. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

45. All records of the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabethtown, N. J., were destroyed when the church was burned to the ground on January 25, 1780 by British troops. Complete records exist only since 1796. The pastor of the church from 14-33, Rev. John Mae Dowell, reconstructed as accurate records as possible from survivors of the period of the Revolution. Letter from I. C. Ellison, church historian of the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N. J., dated February 7, 1958.

Jonathan Dickinson was born in 1688, near Elizabethtown in 1708, and became a member of the Synod in 1717. He died in 1747 at the age of 59.

46. Sanderson, John, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1846), 331-335.

47. Murray, Nicholas, *Notes, Historical and Biographical, Concerning Elizabethtown* (Elizabethtown, 1844), 89-91.

48. Judson, L. C., *A Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1839), 61-65.

49. Hatfield, E. F., *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey* (N. Y., 1868), 587 ff. and Humphrey, E. F., *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1739* (Boston, 1924), 103.

Reverend James Caldwell graduated from Princeton College in 1759 and was ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1761 and was installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. As a vigorous chaplain who was appointed Assistant Commissary General in the Revolutionary War, he was as popular with the colonists as he was unpopular with the British patriots. Both he and his wife were later murdered by different means and in different places during the war.

50. Abraham Clark to Captain Benjamin Winans, Philadelphia, January 18, 1782, as quoted in Pomeroy, Reverend J. J., *Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church of Rahway, New Jersey* (N. Y., 1877).

51. Reverend John McDowell's, "Sketch of the History of the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabethtown, New Jersey" (pamphlet, 1824) includes a list of trustees during Abraham Clark's term of office. In addition this pamphlet shows a list of the members in 1824 with their dates of reception. Of the members still living at that time, thirty-one had been received before 1790. See also, Bigelow, Bertha B. (Ed.), "Record Book of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1668-1916," ix.

52. The first fifty-four years of the records of the First Presbyterian Church of Rahway are missing and the earliest records of that church begin in 1795. In view of this and because Clark was interested in the grave yard of the First Presbyterian Church of Rahway instead of Elizabethtown, some writers have concluded that Abraham Clark and his family were members of the former church at his death. See, Pomeroy, J. J., *Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church of Rahway, New Jersey* (New York, 1877).

53. Samuel Finley was born in Ireland in 1715, came to Philadelphia in 1734, and in 1744 went to Nottingham for 17 years where he established a popular academy. In 1761 he was elected president of the College of New Jersey.

54. Smith, Samuel S., *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Hon. Richard Stockton, Esq., March 2, 1781* (Trenton, 1781).

55. Benjamin Rush to John Witherspoon, October 23, 1767. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.) Witherspoon's hesitation to come to America is discussed in his letter to Archibald Wallace, February 28, 1767 (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society).

56. Richard Stockton to John Witherspoon, April 14, 1767 (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society). See also L. H. Butterfield's, *John Witherspoon Comes to America* (Princeton, 1953) which brings out the significance and importance of Stockton's role in bringing Witherspoon to America.

57. Hageman, John F., *History of Princeton*, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1879), 80-81.

58. Smith, S. S., *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Hon. Richard Stockton, March 2, 1781* (Trenton, 1781).

59. "Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, May 26, 1773" bound as *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the USA* (Philadelphia, 1904), 446.

60. *Journal of the Continental Congress*, Vol. V11, January 3, 1777, 12-13.

61. Wiasor, J., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. VI, (New York, 1887), 108".

62. *Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1948), 147.

63. Smith, S. S., *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Richard Stockton, March 2, 1781* (Trenton, 1781).

64. Mrs. Witherspoon's reference to Stockton in John Witherspoon to Archibald Wallace, Paisley, Scotland, February 28, 1767. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

65. Sanderson, J., *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1846), 323-328.

66. *Archives of the State of New Jersey, First Series*, Vol. X, 269.

67. "Register of Baptism, 1701-46, First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Penna." (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

Jodiali Andrews was born in 1674, graduated from Harvard in 1695, and came to Philadelphia three years later where he was employed in a building used as a storeroom by the "Barbados's Company." He was recording clerk of the Presbytery and Synod, and died in 1747.

68. Walsh, James J., *Education of the Founding Fathers* (New York, 1935), 53.

69. *Documents Relating to Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, Vol. RVI, 509.

70. *Archives of the State of New Jersey, First Series*, Vol. X, 269-270.

71. "List of Communicants served by the Rev. Joseph Morgan at Hopewell, Maidenhead, and Trenton, Nov Jersey, 1733-37." (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

72. Probably the Ralph Hunt family. It is interesting to note that both Ralph Hunt and John Hart's names appear on the February 21, 1713, baptismal record of Jodiali Andrew, and the "List of Communicants served by Rev. Joseph Morgan." (August 29, 1735.)

73. Sanderson, J., *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 330. *Archives of the State of New Jersey, First Series*, Vol X, 270.

74. Collins, Varuum L., *President Witherspoon* (Princeton, 1925), Vol. I, 3-26.

75. Rodgers, John, "The Faithful Servant Rewarded" in *The Works of John Witherspoon*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1800), 24.

76. John Witherspoon to Archibald Wallace, February 28, 1767. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

77. Richard Stockton to Mrs. Stockton, March 17, 1767, in L. H. Butterfield's (ed.), *John Witherspoon Comes to America* (Princeton, 1953), 32.

78. Benjamin Rush to John Witherspoon, March 25, 1767, in L. H. Butterfield's (ed.), *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, Vol. I (Princeton, 1951), 3335.

79. John Rodgers to John Witherspoon, December 24, 1766, in L. H. Butterfield's (ed.), *John Witherspoon Comes to America* (Princeton, 1953), 22.

80. Witherspoon, John, "An Address to the Inhabitants of the West India Islands, in Behalf of the College of New Jersey." (Philadelphia, 1772.)

81. Benjamin Franklin to John Witherspoon, April 5, 1784. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)

82. Dickie, J. F., "John Witherspoon, 1722-1794 (undated), 19 and Thorp, W., *The Lives of Eighteen from Princeton* (Princeton, 1946), 84.

83. Schenck, William N., *An Historical Account of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton*, New Jersey (Princeton, 1850), 36-37.

84. *Records of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1904), 548.

85. Sedgwick, Theodore, *A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston* (New York, 1833), 17-22 and Rogers, Thomas J., *A New American Biographical Dictionary or Remembrancer of the Departed Heroes, Sages, and Statesmen of America* (Ego, Pennsylvania, 1824), 316.

86. *Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Yale University* (New Haven, 1924), 119.

87. As quoted in Dexter, F. B., *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Yale College, 1701-1745* (New York, 1885), 583.

88. John Henry Livingston, who married Sarah Livingston, was a distinguished pastor in the Reformed Church of America and later president of Queens College (Rutgers) from 1810-1825.

89. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. RI (New York, 1938), 316-818.

90. An Historical Catalogue of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia, 1740—1907 (Philadelphia, 1907), 399.
91. Although under a different name, the endowed chair is still in existence today. The Professorship of Divinity (including the paetoral charge of the College Church) wile established in 1746 and named the Livingston Professorship. In 1863 Simeon B Cbittenden made a gift for the "support of the pastorate of the College" and the chair was named in his honor. *Catalogue of the Officers and Graduate., of Yale University, IVO I—17t4* (New Haven, 1924), 19.
92. Lamb, M.. 1., *History of the City of New York*, Vol. I (New York, 1877), 770.
93. Rogers, Thomas J., *A New American Biagraphioal Dictionary or Remembrances of the Departed Heroes, Sages, and Statesmen of America* (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1824), 319—320.
94. *Dictionay of American Biography*, Vol. XI (New York, 1933), 316-318.
- 95..Touneat, of the Continental Congress, Vol. XI (Washington, 1908), 592—593.
96. *Ibid.*, 593.
97. Judson, L. C., *A Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1839), 108.
98. Leasing, B. J., *Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of American Independence* (Philadelphia, 1870), 63-65.
99. At a meeting of the Inhabitants of the parish of South Haven, June 13, 1774" quoted in Henry Onderdonk's Revolutionary *Incidents of Suffolk and Kings Counties*.
- 100..Journals of the Continental Congress (Washington, 1905), Vol. I1, 106; Vol. IV, pg. 4012, 66, 368; Vol. AIII, 130, Vol. XVIII, 1129.
101. *Ibid.*, Vol. AV, 1344, 1364.
102. Thompson, B. F., *History of Long Island* (New York, 1839), 284.
103. Tracy, William, Notices of Men and Events Connected with Early *History of Oneida County* (Utica, 1838), 37. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), 484.
104. The South Haven Church, Presbyterian in denomination, was originally in the Suffolk Presbytery and later was a member of the Presbytery of Long Island. Soo, "Records of the Presbytery of Long Island," Vol. U, 1790—1811. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)
- Applotons', Cyclopaedia of American *Biography* (New York, 1894), Vol. II, 488 claims Floyd was "strong Congregationalist."
105. "Records of the "South Haven Church" (first page—pages not nun tiered). (MSS in Presbyterian Historieal Society.)
106. *Ibid.*, (first page).
107. *Ibid.*, (third page).
108. Judson, L. C., *A Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of hide. peudenre* (Philadelphia, 1839), 108-108. Sanderson, J., *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1846), 187—194.
109. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. %VIII (New York, 1936), 503.
110. "List of Moderators at the Annual Meetings and Town Clerks" in Parker, E. L., *The History of Londonderry* (Boston, 1851), 347.

111. "List of All the Representatives from Londonderry to the General Court." in *Ibid.*, 345.
112. Proceedings of the *New Hampshire Historical Society*, Vol. ill, Part 1 (1897), 77—109.
113. Sanderson, John, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1846), 193.
114. *Early Records of Londonderry, Windham and Derry, New Hampshire*, 1719—1762, Vol. I, 398.
115. Londonderry, N. H., East (Old) Pariah Records, 1741—1809 (Photostat MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society), 60. (The Riot Presbyterian Church building had been erected in 1721) "Centennial Discourse," by Luther B. Pert, Exeter, 1876, 8.
116. *Ibid.*, 59.
117. *Ibid.*, 69.
118. *Ibid.*, 76.
119. *Ibid.*, 162.
120. *Ibid.*, 163.
121. Reverend Mr. Dunlap served Merrimack from October 14, 1772 to his death in December 26, 1821. See, Hazen, H. A., *The Pastors of New Hampshire, Congregationalist and Presbyterian* (Bristol, New Hampshire, 1878).
122. Webster, Richard, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia, 1857), 440.
123. *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1904), 450.
124. Selsam, J. Paul, *The Pennsylvania Canntitution of 1776* (Phila., 1936), 223.
125. "Meeting of the Monthly Committee, Monday 2 Oct. 1774" in Minute Book, First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Penna., 3. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)
126. Cash Book, First Presbyterian Church, 1779—1783, Sept. 9, Nov. 12, Der. 31, 1779 and Feb. 26, 1780. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.) "Pew Rents of Market Street Mooting, First Presbyterian Church, May 1787" (MSS in Presbyterian historical Society.)
127. "Pew Rental Arrears and Treasurer's Accounts, 1809—56, First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Penna." (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)
128. "List of Subscribers toward Repairing the Dilapidation Suffered by the First Presbyterian Church, Corner Market & Bank Street, Phila., at the Hands of the British During their Occupation of Phila. in the Revolution." Phila., May 19, 1779. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)
129. "The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to John Pardon, Jan. 22, 1788." (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)
130. "Register of Burials in the Grave Yard of the First Presbyterian Church, Bank Street & Pine Street, Phila., 1808—1867," 6. (MSS in Presbyterian Historical Society.)