

Joseph C. Harrod

Theology and Spirituality in the Works of Samuel Davies



Reformed Historical Theology

Edited by
Herman J. Selderhuis

in Co-operation with
Emidio Campi, Irene Dingel, Elsie Anne McKee,
Richard Muller, Risto Saarinen, and Carl Trueman

Volume 55

Joseph C. Harrod

**Theology and Spirituality
in the Works of Samuel Davies**

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data available online: <http://dnb.de>.

© 2019, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Theaterstraße 13, D-37073 Göttingen
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means,
electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and
retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Typesetting: 3w+p, Rimpär
Printed and bound: Hubert & Co. BuchPartner, Göttingen
Printed in the EU

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISSN 2197-1137
ISBN 978-3-647-57314-4

For our sons.

Contents

List of Abbreviations	11
Acknowledgements	13
Foreward	15
Chapter 1: Introduction	19
1.1 Methodology	26
1.2 Summary of Contents	30
Chapter 2: Samuel Davies' Theology in Context	33
2.1 A Summary of Samuel Davies' Life and Ministry	33
2.1.1 Education and Conversion	35
2.1.2 Ordination and Marriage	39
2.1.3 Anglicanism and Presbyterianism in Virginia	43
2.1.4 Davies' First Virginia Mission: 1747	45
2.1.5 Davies' Settled Virginia Ministry: 1748–1759	46
2.1.6 Davies' Journey to Great Britain: 1753–1755	53
2.1.7 "Religion and Patriotism": Samuel Davies and the Seven Years' War, 1755–1761	54
2.1.8 President Davies and the College of New Jersey: 1759–1761	60
Chapter 3: Scripture: The Foundation of Christian Spirituality	63
3.1 Scripture in Confession	64
3.2 A Theological Analysis of Samuel Davies' View of Scripture	65
3.2.1 Inspiration, Authority, and Infallibility	65
3.2.2 Sufficiency	68
3.2.3 Perspicuity	70
3.3 Samuel Davies and the Interpretation of Scripture	72
3.4 Scripture as a Mean of Grace	76

3.4.1 Public Means: Preaching and Hearing	76
3.4.2 Private Means: Reading and Meditation	80
3.4.3 Psalmody	84
3.5 Conclusion	85
Chapter 4: Conversion: The Beginning of Christian Spirituality	87
4.1 Conversion in Puritan and Early Evangelical Theology	88
4.1.1 Joseph Alleine (1634–1668)	89
4.1.2 John Flavel (1628–1691)	92
4.1.3 Thomas Shepard (1605–1649)	95
4.1.4 Solomon Stoddard (1643–1729)	101
4.1.5 Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758)	104
4.1.6 Samuel Blair (1712–1751)	107
4.2 Samuel Davies’ Theology of Conversion	108
4.2.1 Predestination	109
4.2.2 Immediate Regeneration	112
4.2.3 Preparation for Conversion	114
4.3 Spiritual Life Communicated through Christ	115
4.4 Christians Formed into Christ’s Image	118
4.5 Conclusion	120
Chapter 5: Holiness: The Vital Principle of Christian Spirituality	121
5.1 The Nature and Communication of Spiritual Life	122
5.2 The Holy Spirit and the “Spiritual” Life	130
5.3 Spiritual Communion	137
5.4 Conclusion	138
Chapter 6: The Means of Grace: The Practice of Christian Spirituality	141
6.1 The Means of Grace in the Puritan and Early Evangelical Traditions	141
6.2 The Means of Grace in Samuel Davies’ Ministry	144
6.2.1 Prayer	145
6.2.2 Fasting	151
6.2.3 Baptism and the Lord’s Supper	153
6.2.4 Family Worship	157
6.2.5 Sabbath/Lord’s Day	162
6.2.6 Personal Writing	163
6.2.7 Christian Friendship	167
6.3 The Means of Grace and Assurance of Salvation	171
6.4 Conclusion	174

Chapter 7: Conclusion	177
Bibliography	181
Primary Sources	181
Secondary Sources	186
Books	186
Articles	191
Dissertations	193
Subject Index	195

List of Abbreviations

DFW	The Directory for Family-Worship
DPW	The Directory for the Publick Worship of God
<i>Sermons</i>	<i>Sermons by the Rev. Samuel Davies, A.M. President of the College of New Jersey.</i> 3 vols. N.p.: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1854. Reprint, Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1993.
WCF	Westminster Confession of Faith
WLC	Westminster Larger Catechism
WSC	Westminster Shorter Catechism

Acknowledgements

This book is the fruit of more than three years of research, but it had its genesis several years earlier in an inauspicious late-morning conversation with my doctoral supervisor, Michael Haykin. Over the course of many lunches, afternoon teas, and even video chats, he whittled away needless words, sharpened blunt transitions, and scribbled marginal notes in purple Noodler's ink on several iterations of the document that would become my doctoral dissertation. More importantly, he has modeled for me the Christian piety that I found in Davies' sermons, and for his ministry I am indeed grateful. Two other colleagues, Donald Whitney and Gregory Wills, have been continual teachers, encouragers, and dialogue partners for several years. Both men have shown me what is possible through disciplined work, and I am thankful for their scholarship and friendship. Thomas Kidd of Baylor University served as my external reader and provided welcomed encouragement and keen insight to improve my final document. I am grateful for Herman Selderhuis' interest in this work and encouragement to revise it for this series. Likewise, I am appreciative for the incisive feedback of those who reviewed an earlier edition of this manuscript. Parts of chapter 6 appeared in a different form in the *Puritan Reformed Journal* (6:2, 2014) and I am grateful to Joel Beeke for permission to use that material here. I regret that the helpful articles of Breno Macedo (*The Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 9, 2013) and Craig Gilborn (*Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 8, 1973) came to my attention too late to be included here.

I am indebted to two stellar librarians in particular: Paul Roberts and Jason Fowler, whose mastery of digital repositories and reference works has proven almost as valuable as their friendship. Further, the reference librarians and associates at Princeton's Firestone Library, William and Mary's Swem Library, and the Virginia Historical Society have been most helpful in securing rare items that have made their way into numerous footnotes.

To my brothers in the doctoral program, thank you for your encouraging words and for enduring far too many conversations on Samuel Davies and eighteenth-century evangelicalism. Thanks also to the late Rich McRae for lending me his copy of Davies' sermons at a critical juncture in my studies.

My family has supported me in ways too numerous and frequent to mention. To my wife Tracy, whose patience, sacrifice, encouragement, prayers, and steadfast love have sustained me, all my love, always. Finally, to our sons, whose energy and imagination are boundless, Dad is more proud of you than words can express.

Louisville, Kentucky, April 2019

Joe Harrod

Foreward

In an address entitled “What Is Preaching?” that he gave in September, 1967, at Westminster Theological Seminary, D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones told his audience that if only they could be transported back in time to the eighteenth century they would have the opportunity to hear some great preachers. Understandably he mentioned hearing George Whitefield (1714–1770), probably the greatest evangelist of that century. But then he went on to mention a name that is almost unknown today: Samuel Davies (1723–1761). “The greatest preacher” ever produced in America is the way Lloyd-Jones described him on that occasion.¹ Now, “the Doctor,” as Lloyd-Jones was known to friends and acquaintances, was Welsh and had a predilection for Welsh Church history, and given Davies’ Welsh roots, one could put this remark down to Lloyd-Jones’ bias. But, as this marvelous monograph on Davies’ life, theology, and piety reveals, Davies was indeed a remarkable Christian leader who should be better known by our generation of evangelicals.

His ministry was at the heart of the Great Awakening in Virginia, and more than anyone else in his day he was responsible under God for the growth of Presbyterianism in that colony and much of the upper South. Something of the blessing that attended his ministry is seen in the following comment made by a man in 1755 who lived near the sites of Davies’ ministry: “When I go amongst Mr Davies’ people, religion seems to flourish; it is like the suburbs of heaven.”² Mark Noll has noted that of all Davies’ labors as a preacher and teacher, the most remarkable was his solicitude for the education of African-American slaves as well as Native Americans. He was not an abolitionist (should he be faulted in this regard?) but he was a determined pioneer in training slaves to read, providing them with books, and urging them to become regular members of the church. A

1 “What Is Preaching?” in his *Knowing the Times. Addresses Delivered on Various Occasions 1942–1977* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1989), 263.

2 Cited Iain H. Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750–1858* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), 13.

sermon from the late 1750s *The Duty of Christians to Propagate Their Religion Among the Heathens, Earnestly Recommended to the Masters of Negroe Slaves in Virginia* (1758) defended African Americans as fully human, and entitled therefore to be taught religious truth and educational skills. By 1755 Davies had baptized 100 slaves and regularly preached to 200 more.³ Should his voice not be heard in recent discussion regarding race and religion?

Davies was also assiduous in the preparation of young men for academies like the Presbyterians' College of New Jersey (later Princeton University). It says much for the high regard in which Davies was held by fellow Presbyterians that when, in 1752 the Presbyterian Synod of New York decided to move this college from Newark to Princeton as the permanent site for the school, Davies along with Gilbert Tennent (1703–1764), another stalwart of Evangelical New Side Presbyterianism, were delegated to travel to Great Britain to raise the funds necessary to build a hall on this site. The diary account that Davies kept of their journey from November 1753 to February 1755 was one of the first literary contacts I had with Davies, and I found him a delightful diarist. The two succeeded in securing at least £3,000, which was used to construct Nassau Hall.

The trip also gave Davies the opportunity to see the sorry state of English Presbyterians, most of whom had rejected Calvinism for Enlightenment rationalism and had become either Arians or Unitarians. The Congregationalists and the Calvinistic Baptists proved to be more receptive to Davies' Calvinism. For example, he met John Gill (1697–1771), the doyen of the Calvinistic Baptists, whom he described as a “serious, grave little Man” who told him that the “Baptists in general were unhappily ignorant of the Importance of learning.”⁴ He also met the Wesley brothers, George Whitefield, Oliver Cromwell's grandchildren, and the widow of his hero Philip Doddridge (1702–1751). It is interesting that Davies would have had the opportunity to go to Wales, the native land of his forebears, but for one reason or another he did not set foot in Wales.

Though away for sixteen months, his trip felt rushed to him. He was plagued, he said at one point, by “incessant hurries” so that he could not be simply “a curious traveler.”⁵ But he was thankful that the trip had been financially successful and he had been “instrumental in laying a foundation of extensive benefit to mankind” in the establishment of Princeton: “if my usefulness should thus

3 Mark Noll, “Davies, Samuel,” *American National Biography*, eds. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 6:160.

4 George William Pilcher, ed., *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad: The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753–55* (Urbana/Chicago/London: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 65.

5 Cited Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 15–16.

survive me, I shall live to future ages in the most valuable respects,” he concluded.⁶

It is intriguing to reflect on the fact that the author of this monograph received his doctorate for it from a school that was founded by men trained at Princeton, and so Davies’ usefulness does indeed live on. And I, for one, am deeply thankful that Prof. Harrod used his time of study at Southern Seminary to probe the theology and spirituality of such a key figure in the long eighteenth century as the American preacher and teacher Samuel Davies.

Dundas, Ontario, June 15, 2018

Michael A.G. Haykin

6 Cited Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 15–16.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In November, 1752, Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) wrote a Scottish correspondent describing a young minister with whom he had recently spent an afternoon’s conversation: “He seems to be very solid and discreet, and of a very civil, genteel behavior, as well as fervent and zealous in religion.”¹ Nearly four years before the aforementioned meeting, Edwards had called the same young preacher “a very ingenious and pious young man.”² For all that he knew of this godly young man in 1752, Edwards could never have known that within a decade their bodies would be buried just yards apart, about a half-mile north of the yellow clapboard house in which both men had briefly lived and died in Princeton, New Jersey. Samuel Davies (1723–1761), the minister whose character Edwards described, was the reluctant fourth president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), a champion for religious toleration and civil rights for dissenters in Virginia, and a poet whose verses constitute some of the earliest North American hymnody. Davies was a husband and father who had lost both wife and children, a pioneer missionary among African slaves, and a New Side Presbyterian revivalist whom D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones has described as “the greatest preacher” America ever produced. Yet a decade into the twenty-first century, Davies remains relatively unnoticed by American Evangelicals.³

1 Jonathan Edwards, letter to William McCulloch, November 24, 1752, in: *Letters and Personal Writings*, ed. George S. Claghorn, in: *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 16 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 544.

2 Jonathan Edwards, letter to James Robe, May 23, 1749, in: *Letters and Personal Writings*, ed. Claghorn, *Works* 16:276.

3 D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones, *Knowing the Times: Addresses Delivered on Various Occasions 1942–1977* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1989), 263. The standard biography of Davies is that of George William Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1971). See also George William Pilcher, ed., *Samuel Davies Abroad: The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753–55* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967). Although Pilcher’s work is the standard monograph, the best biography is that of George H. Bost, “Samuel Davies: Colonial Revivalist and Champion of Religious Toleration” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1942). Other noteworthy bio-

Moreover, for all of his remarkable public accomplishments, those who knew Davies most closely esteemed his personal holiness. Upon learning of Samuel Davies' death, his long-time friend and London correspondent Thomas Gibbons (d. 1785) remarked,

what crowned all, or advanced his distinction as a man and a scholar into the highest value and lustre, was, that his pious character appeared not at all inferior to his great intellect and acquired accomplishments . . . His pious character as much surpassed all else that was remarkable in him, as the sparkling eye in the countenance of a great genius does all the other features of the face.⁴

Samuel Finley (1715–1766), Davies' successor as President at the college, noted that “from twelve or fourteen years of age, [Davies] had continually maintained the strictest watch over his thoughts and actions, and daily lived under a deep sense of his own unworthiness,” and “of the transcendent excellency of the Christian religion.”⁵ In reading Davies' sermons, treatises, hymns, correspondence, and diary, one gains a sense of what his friends knew personally: Samuel Davies articulated a warm, evangelical piety, deeply rooted in theological reflection upon Scripture.

In recent decades, several writers have drawn attention to the vital link between theology and spirituality. Edward Farley wrote that “a person's piety is a pattern of being and doing that arises out of a specific interpretation of the gospel.”⁶ Alister McGrath has noted similarly that “properly understood, the-

graphical treatments include Iain H. Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750–1858* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), 3–31; John B. Frantz, “Davies, Samuel,” in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol. 15 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 405–06; Mark A. Noll, “Davies, Samuel,” in: *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals*, ed. Timothy Larsen (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2003), 181–83, and Mark A. Noll, “Davies, Samuel,” in: *American National Biography*, ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, vol. 6 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 159–61; and Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South, Volume One: 1607–1861* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1963), 52–61. Most recently independent historian Dewey Roberts published his *Samuel Davies: Apostle to Virginia* (n.p.: Sola Fide, 2017), which is essentially dependent upon existing biographical studies.

- 4 Thomas Gibbons, “A Portion of Two Discourses, Preached at Haberdashers-Hall, London, March 29, A.D. 1761, occasioned by the Decease of the Rev. Samuel Davies, A. M., Late President of the College of Nassau Hall, in New Jersey,” in: *Sermons by the Rev. Samuel Davies, A.M. President of the College of New Jersey*, vol. 1 (New York: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1854; repr., Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1993), 56. This work will henceforward be cited as *Sermons*.
- 5 Samuel Finley, “The Disinterested Christian: A Sermon, Preached at Nassau-Hall, Princeton, May 28, 1761. Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Samuel Davies, A. M. Late President of the College of New Jersey,” *Sermons*, 1:53.
- 6 Edward Farley, *Requiem for a Lost Piety: The Contemporary Search for the Christian Life* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 17.

ology embraces, informs, and sustains spirituality,”⁷ and Donald Bloesch has asserted that “spirituality is inseparable from theology.”⁸ Every theology implies a corollary spirituality or spiritualities. One’s doctrinal commitments, whether articulated and refined or unexpressed and unappreciated, shape the ways in which one lives. This interrelationship between theology and spirituality informs the thesis of this book.

The purpose of this book is to answer the following question: how did Samuel Davies’ theology inform his understanding of spiritual life and piety? For Davies, this question was of utmost importance. In an undated letter, Samuel Davies expressed the vital importance of theology to Christian piety:

The blessed Jesus by his mediation opened a way for the communication of Heaven. In truth sir, I cannot inculcate the religion of The holy Jesus without inculcating holiness; & therefore this has been, & I hope shall ever be, the darling subject of my Discourses, wherever I have the honour of preaching the everlasting Gospel to ye [the] sons of men. The free and rich Grace of God, the absolute necessity & complete sufficiency of ye [the] righteousness of Jesus & the importance & necessity of faith, are doctrines dear to my soul, the foundation of my Hopes, & of the utmost consequence in the Christian system.⁹

In answering this primary question, this book also addresses the following related questions: first, what role did the Bible play in Davies’ vision of Christian spirituality? Second, how is the spiritual life communicated to and sustained within individuals through Jesus Christ? Third, what is the nature and role of holiness in the spiritual life of Christians? Finally, what role do means play in the communication, maintenance, and furtherance of Christian piety? In sum, I will argue that Samuel Davies believed that spiritual life was founded on the divine revelation of Scripture, communicated by Jesus Christ to individuals through conversion and regeneration, sustained and nourished by faith in the living Christ, animated by gospel holiness, and maintained through the conscientious practice of various religious duties. Though Davies lacked the theological brilliance of Edwards, the widespread appeal of George Whitefield (1714–1770), and the long-lived ministry of brothers John (1703–1791) and Charles (1707–1788) Wesley, he

7 Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Spirituality: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 27.

8 Donald G. Bloesch, *Spirituality Old and New: Recovering Authentic Spiritual Life* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 13.

9 Samuel Davies, letter to unspecified recipient, Samuel Davies Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Although the manuscript is undated, Davies mentions preparations for his trip to England, placing the letter in approximately 1753. The transcription leaves Davies’ shorthand, punctuation, and spelling in place. Throughout this book, all citations and quotations from primary sources retain their original spelling and punctuation.

was perhaps early evangelicalism's most eloquent spokesman for the spiritual life, addressing its nature and power with uncommon elegance.

Although Samuel Davies was a key figure in colonial Christianity, his theology and piety remain largely unexplored. Not until the twentieth century did his life and ministry attract scholarly interest, interest that has been restricted to only a few areas of Davies' legacy, namely his roles as a preacher of the great awakening and as a forerunner of religious toleration. Jonathan Yeager and Tom Schwanda include excerpts from Davies' works in their respective treatments of early evangelicalism.¹⁰ Thomas Kidd has described Davies' role in challenging the colonial Anglican establishment in Virginia and in bringing the awakening to the southern colonies.¹¹ Mark Noll has contributed two substantive biographical articles on Davies and located him as a key preacher within early Evangelicalism.¹² In his 2008 doctoral dissertation, Charles Holloway compared Davies' homiletical theology with that of Davies' fellow Presbyterian and close friend Gilbert Tennent, and also with that of Jonathan Edwards.¹³ Holloway suggested that while these three men differed in their homiletical methodology, their underlying theology of preaching was remarkably similar.¹⁴ In this work, Holloway considered Davies' theology of Scripture as it related to the work of a preacher, but did not extend this theology to its broader influence on the Christian's life.¹⁵ Holloway described an important aspect of Davies' piety when he demonstrated that Davies believed the preached word was only effective when it was attended and applied by the Holy Spirit.¹⁶ In his conclusion, Holloway recognized that increased personal devotion was a significant outcome of the ministries of Edwards, Tennent, and Davies, yet devoted less than one page to explaining the features of such devotion.¹⁷

10 See Jonathan M. Yeager, ed. *Early Evangelicalism: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Tom Schwanda, *The Emergence of Evangelical Spirituality: The Age of Edwards, Newton, and Whitefield*, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2016).

11 Thomas S. Kidd, *Patrick Henry: First among Patriots* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), and idem, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

12 Noll, "Davies, Samuel," in: *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals*, and idem, "Davies, Samuel," in: *Dictionary of National Biography*. See also Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 183–85.

13 Charles Stewart Holloway, "The Homiletical Theology of Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennent, and Samuel Davies" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2008).

14 Holloway, "Homiletical Theology," 68.

15 Holloway, "Homiletical Theology," 77–111.

16 Holloway, "Homiletical Theology," 113–16; 120.

17 Holloway, "Homiletical Theology," 148–49.

In her 1996 doctoral dissertation, Carol Bodeau described eighteenth-century colonial depictions of Native Americans.¹⁸ To this end, she analyzed five of Davies' sermons delivered during the French and Indian War, noting his rhetorical movement between Indians as potential allies and Indians as demonic savages.¹⁹ While Bodeau's rhetorical assessment of Davies' sermons is generally accurate, her theological analysis lacks depth and focuses only on broad categories such as "sin" and "millennium."²⁰ Though mentioning Davies' ethical appeals to his hearers, Bodeau did not develop the implications of these appeals on the lived Christian experience of the congregants. Further, she omitted nine sermons Davies delivered between 1755 and 1761, in which Davies more clearly articulates his theological bases for declaring the conflict a "holy" war.²¹ Though less critical than Bodeau, Iain Murray's 1994 treatment of evangelical revivals provides a thoughtful historical narrative of Davies' life and ministry, especially his theology of revival.²² Davies believed the rapid spread and success of the gospel during the 1740s–1750s was due to a special effusion of the Holy Spirit upon churches.²³ The key validation of genuine revival was increased Christian love.²⁴

During the 1960s and 1970s, G. W. Pilcher produced arguably the two most important scholarly monographs on Davies: *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad* (1967) and *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (1971). The first is an edited transcription of Davies' diary that he maintained during a trans-Atlantic fund-raising tour on behalf of the College of New Jersey from 1753–1755 and the second is the standard biographical work on Davies, which is

18 Carol Ann Bodeau, "Faces on the Frontier: Indian Images from Colonial Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1996). The usefulness of Bodeau's research is limited by her weak historiography. She includes a clear factual error on p. 13 when she indicates that Davies visited David Brainerd's Indian mission in 1753 and was pleased with Brainerd's success. Here she relies on Pilcher's annotations in his republication of Davies' diary for her chronology, yet Pilcher's annotations are incorrect. Davies actually visited the mission of John Brainerd (d. 1781); David Brainerd had died in October 1747.

19 Bodeau, "Faces on the Frontier," 4, 12. Bodeau uses the terms "Indian" and "Native American" with specific technical meanings. When non-native writers describe images of native people, she uses the term "Indian." When discussing the people these images represent, she uses the term "Native American."

20 Bodeau, "Faces on the Frontier," 46–51.

21 Davies returned from a fund-raising trip to Great Britain in mid-February 1755, and by early March he began to address the war in his sermons. Thirteen sermons preached between March 5, 1755, and January 1761 address the war. Two additional sermons, published in spring 1756, also took up this subject. These sermons will be treated more fully in chap. 1 of the book.

22 Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 3–31. Nearly half of Murray's chapter (pp. 3–18) is a biographical sketch.

23 Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 19–24.

24 Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 24–26.

itself a reworking of Pilcher's 1963 doctoral dissertation from the University of Illinois.²⁵ Pilcher's sought to present a thorough historiography of Davies' life and ministry, which he handily accomplished, though not without weaknesses.²⁶ In developing his portrait of Davies, Pilcher necessarily interacted with Davies' theology as a representative of New Side Presbyterianism, as pastor, and a college president, yet because his concern was more broadly historical, he was content to leave significant aspects of Davies' theology undeveloped and his discussion on spirituality is therefore limited.

R. S. Alley's 1962 dissertation focused primarily on Davies' role in advocating religious toleration for non-Anglican congregations in Virginia.²⁷ In chapter 2 of his work, Alley engaged Davies' theology, but his major interest was in those aspects of Davies' theology that relate most directly to the relationship between the Christian and the state: providence, nature, history, and government.²⁸ Alley's analysis here is helpful to some degree in elucidating Davies' worldview. While Alley does take up doctrines of the Christian life such as repentance, conversion, faith and works, and citizenship, his analysis of each theme, save the last, is limited to one page each.²⁹

25 George William Pilcher, "Preacher of the New Light, Samuel Davies 1724–1761" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1963). Pilcher incorrectly lists the year of Davies' birth as 1724.

26 Interestingly, Pilcher's dissertation title lists the year of Davies' birth as 1724, though Davies was born on November 3, 1723, an uncontested date and one not affected by Old Style/New Style calendar changes. Pilcher cites the 1723 birth date in the text of his dissertation: Pilcher, "Preacher of the New Light," 6. A more significant error involves an annotation Pilcher made in his transcription of Davies' diary. In his entry for Monday, October 1, 1753, Davies notes that he "lodged at Mr. Brainerd's, the good Missionary among the Indians." For nearly one week, Davies was in Mr. Brainerd's company. Pilcher adds the following footnote to this entry: "At this time David Brainerd was minister to congregations of Presbyterian Indians in Crossweeksung and Cranbury, New Jersey, and engaged to Jerusha Edwards. His expulsion from Yale in 1743 had actually triggered the founding of the College of New Jersey." See Pilcher, *Samuel Davies Abroad*, 17, n. 37. Pilcher's identification of "Mr. Brainerd" as David Brainerd is impossible as David Brainerd had died in October 1747, and was buried in Northampton, Massachusetts. Further, Jerusha Edwards died in February 1748, and as I have argued elsewhere, the story of an engagement between Brainerd and Edwards has little historical grounding: Joseph C. Harrod, "Jerusha Edwards: A Heart Uncommonly Devoted to God" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Jonathan Edwards Society, Northampton, MA, October 7, 2011), 8–11. Davies actually lodged with Presbyterian missionary John Brainerd (d. 1781), David's brother.

27 Robert Sutherland Alley, "The Reverend Mr. Samuel Davies: A Study in Religion and Politics, 1747–1759" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1962).

28 Alley, "Reverend Mr. Samuel Davies," 2, 18–61.

29 Alley, "Reverend Mr. Samuel Davies," 45–59. Alley develops the concept of citizenship further than other doctrines of the Christian life and his discussion is helpful for understanding Davies' ethic.

G. H. Bost's 1942 dissertation is perhaps the best researched biographical study on Davies yet produced.³⁰ Bost accurately characterized Davies' emphasis on evangelical catholicity, the necessity of holiness, and renewed affections.³¹ His chapter on Davies' family and pastorate provide important vistas through which to observe Davies' high views of marriage and ministry, views that shaped his spirituality.³² The chief limitation of Bost's valuable study is that the breadth of his research does not allow for focused development on those elements of Davies' theology which most directly affect an understanding of Christian piety. His treatment of this area of Davies' thought occupies only seven pages.

The sources cited above represent the most substantive treatments of Samuel Davies' life and theology. A few other works, though less directly relevant to this book's thesis, deserve mention. Leonard Trinterud's 1949 study of colonial Puritanism includes a clear summary of New Side federal theology, which includes numerous citations from Davies' sermons.³³ Wesley Gewehr's 1930 monograph on the Great Awakening in the South focused primarily on Davies as a promoter of religious toleration and includes a helpful narrative of Davies' several disputes with Anglican clergy and British officials.³⁴ This narrative illuminates one of Davies' chief concerns in seeking religious toleration for Presbyterians in Virginia: his concern over the laxity among many Anglican clergy in living holy lives. R. B. Davis' 1968 publication of Davies' collected poetry contains a thoughtful introductory essay on the role of poetry in Davies' religious expression and contains many poems that Davies composed as means of applying his sermons to his congregants and also for shaping their piety outside of his normal preaching ministry.³⁵

Samuel Davies has attracted relatively little scholarly attention in the past two and a half centuries, especially when compared to contemporaries such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. Most studies of Davies have tended to emphasize a few key aspects of his ministry, namely his role as preacher of the Great Awakening, or more commonly his work in securing religious toleration for Presbyterians in Virginia. While some studies have included discussion of Davies' theology and some aspects of Christian piety, none have attempted a

30 George H. Bost, "Samuel Davies: Colonial Revivalist and Champion of Religious Toleration" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1942).

31 Bost, "Samuel Davies," 62–69.

32 Bost, "Samuel Davies," 86–142.

33 Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-Examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1949), 169–95.

34 Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740–1790* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1930), 68–105.

35 Richard Beale Davis, *The Collected Poems of Samuel Davies, 1723–1761* (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968).