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Sermon Literature and the 1745 Louisbourg Campaign

In 1745 the people of New England mounted a military expedition on the "Dunkirk of America," the fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. The New England Yankees were also predominantly Puritans, and at the time of recruiting for the expedition the region had just passed through a popular religious catharsis known as the Great Awakening. The venture was backed by the New England clergy, who preached sermons to the departing troops and provided a religious underpinning for the struggle against the French. Indeed, the major public figure of the Great Awakening, George Whitefield, not only blessed the expedition but gave it a motto, "*Nil desperandum, Christo duce*" (Despair not, Christ leads). The attack on Louisbourg was, after all, part of a great struggle in North America between the "papist" French and the reformed Protestantism of the English, particularly the inhabitants of New England. At least, so goes the story. The image of Puritan preachers exhorting their flocks in hundreds of meeting houses to destroy the French is a persistent one.¹ Not all commentators would agree on the precise relationship of Louisbourg and Puritanism, but the central role of the clergy is seldom disputed.

To a considerable extent, Francis Parkman has been responsible for the popular image of the Louisbourg expedition of 1745 as a religious crusade. In his usual picturesque language, Parkman in *A Half-Century of Conflict* described the "undertow of enthusiasm, born in brains still fevered from the 'Great Awakening'."² According to Parkman,

The New England soldier, a growth of sectarian hotbeds, fancied that he was doing the work of God. The army was Israel, and the French were Canaanitish idolators. Red-hot Calvinism, acting through generations, had modified the transplanted Englishman; and the descendant of the Puritans was never so well pleased as when teaching their duty to other people, whether by pen, voice, or bombshells. The ragged artillerymen, battering the walls of papistical Louisbourg, flattered themselves with the notion that they were champions of gospel truth.³

Such a passage tells us more about Francis Parkman's nineteenth-century sensibilities than it does about Louisbourg, but although modern scholars would not go so far as Parkman, in much of the recent literature on the Louisbourg expedition some version of Parkman's "undertow" continues to run, focussing less on the soldiers than their clerical leadership. For S.E.D. Shortt, for example, "the victory at Cape Breton was primarily a religious symbol," particularly for the ministers.⁴ For Nathan Hatch, "this mighty blow to the Man of Sin evoked numerous expressions of millennial hope from the clergy and pointed to the new concerns that would preoccupy them in the subsequent years of imperial war."⁵ For William Pencak, "the war fever caused New Lights and Old Lights to bury the hatchet between themselves. Beginning with the Louisbourg expedition of 1745, Puritan millennial confidence revived for the first time since the 1630s and 40s. Conquest of the French and Indians was viewed as a prelude to the final triumph over the Anti-Christ (Popery), the universal spread of true religion, and the second coming of Christ."⁶

The evidence cited for most of the assertions about the relationship of Louisbourg and the New England clergy are the sermons published by the ministers in 1745. The question which needs to be asked is whether this sermon literature is capable of sustaining any sweeping generalizations. It is the contention of this paper that the sermons do not prove any case for the importance of Louisbourg to Puritanism or its clergy in New England. Indeed, the whole role of the ministry in Louisbourg has been greatly exaggerated. Louisbourg was never a central matter for New England's religious leadership, and the providential victory of the British forces put Cape Breton outside the vision of history held by most of the ministers. Contemporary comments about holy war were less insincere than perfunctory. If they thought about it, most Puritans would probably have agreed that French Canada (including Acadia) was antichrist, but most gave the question little consideration.

While anti-Catholic sentiment and propaganda was always present in British North America, the war of which the Louisbourg expedition was a central part saw far less bitter hostility and emotional hatred for the French than those which had preceded it.⁷ In part this absence of high emotions was a product of the French regularization of the treatment of prisoners under accepted international rules. Equally crucial, New England was not in the 1740s subjected to the same intensity of Indian warfare that had characterized previous conflicts with the French. The French had far fewer Indian allies and the population centres of New England were far less vulnerable to raiding parties by the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of the New

England recruits to the Louisbourg expedition were attracted by promises of booty and adventure rather than by appeals to their civic or religious feelings.⁸ The young men who signed on to Louisbourg may have been the same sorts who, a few years earlier, would have responded to the emotional revivalism of the Great Awakening. But while Louisbourg may have provided an alternative to Awakening, there is no evidence of any direct linkage between the military expedition and the revival.⁹ The surviving journals of participants in the expedition offer precious little evidence of any religious commitment on the part of those involved.¹⁰ The chaplains at Cape Breton complained far more of laxity and sinful behaviour on the part of the New England troops than they praised them for their spirituality.¹¹ In short, the Yankee forces were no New Model Army motivated by religious visions, either positive or negative.

Even the standard picture of George Whitefield enthusiastically sending off the troops under his Christian motto needs modification. According to Whitefield's contemporary biographer, Colonel William Pepperrell visited Whitefield before the departure of the expedition to ask the evangelist's blessing. Whitefield responded "that he did not, indeed, think the scheme very promising; that if he [Pepperrell] did not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain soldiers would be like lions robbed of their whelps; but if it pleased God to give him success, envy would endeavour to eclipse his glory."¹² Pepperrell was a noted New-Light or pro-revivalist, and Whitefield may well have feared association of his religious opinions with what many thought a foolish scheme.¹³ Only after much pleading did Whitefield reluctantly agree to support the expedition publicly and give it a motto, the impetus for which had come from outside the ranks of the clergy. Like many extreme New-Lights, Whitefield was not particularly concerned with affairs in the secular world. He worried more about the souls of unconverted men (and their families) who might suddenly be struck down in battle than about the geopolitics of North America.

A careful examination of the sermons published by the clergy in response to the Louisbourg expedition indicates many complexities surrounding the relationship of religion and warfare in 1745. The expedition to Cape Breton and the subsequent victory at Louisbourg produced a dozen published sermons and one "poem" by a Connecticut clergyman. One of the sermons was by a Presbyterian and another by an Anglican — neither of whom ought in fairness to be labelled "Puritan" — and a third sermon was by a Pennsylvania clergyman.¹⁴ The remaining nine sermons by New England Puritan ministers hardly, in quantity, indicate that Louisbourg was a major event. Indeed, given the publishing patterns of the New England clergy, the

number of sermons on Louisbourg marks the subject as of decidedly secondary importance. In 1745, a Great Awakening which had run its course could produce over 100 publications, and schisms in individual towns could and did produce nearly as many publications as the entire Louisbourg campaign.¹⁵ Perhaps equally significantly, in 1746 Culloden produced far more published sermons among New England Puritan ministers than had Louisbourg in 1745.¹⁶ The Cape Breton fortress may have been important to secular New England, but it was not a principal concern among the Puritan clergy. For the ministers, controversy over the Great Awakening, the projected preaching tour of George Whitefield, and local schisms, were the major public events of 1745. Ministers who preached on Louisbourg did so largely because the civil government proclaimed days of Thanksgiving in which clergymen were literally forced to participate. Most of the published sermons are quite perfunctory, and the unpublished ones probably were even less committed.

The reasons for the absence of clerical interest in Louisbourg are in part to be found within the world-view of the Puritan ministry. One of the central themes of the few published sermons on the subject was a narcissistic introspection typical of New England clergy. The tradition of employing events, natural and man-made, as evidence of God's judgement on His People, was nearly as old as New England itself.¹⁷ God was responsible for everything which happened, and it was the ministry's task to explain His actions to His People. Government made sure that such explanations occurred, through its proclamations of days of thanksgiving, mourning, fasting. Earthquakes, floods and natural disasters of all kind were direct acts of God, and grist for the clerical mill. In human events such as Louisbourg, He acted through secondary causes. Military victory, therefore, was an opportunity to praise God and give thanks that "God has heard our Prayers of faith and Trust in his Power and Goodness, and in Answer to them, crowned our Enterprize against the *French* Enemy with such signal Glory and Victory."¹⁸ Success in Cape Breton was an occasion to exult in the fact that New England had triumphed despite innumerable obstacles. More than one preacher rehearsed the chains of fortunate happenstances—the secondary causes traced to God's providence—which resulted in the final triumph. But the very success of the expedition was from the standpoint of most clergymen counterproductive, for not many preachers were in 1745 in a mood to luxuriate in the blessings of God upon His People.

The prevalent clerical themes of 1745—as throughout the eighteenth century in New England—were community sinfulness, backsliding, sloth, luxury, and wickedness. Such criticism of society was difficult to

combine with a great corporate victory. Implicit in Louisbourg was the conclusion that God had smiled on New England. The great convulsions and conversions of the religious revival were past. For those who had favoured the Great Awakening, its ending was a sign that God had withdrawn His blessings. For proponents and opponents of the revival alike, the legacy of schism and division increasingly apparent in New England was further evidence that God was unhappy. Into this world-view Louisbourg came as a terrible complication, almost a counter-event. If New England were so sinful, how could it be victorious? Had Pepperrell and his associates failed in their efforts, the pulpits of New England would have rung with jeremiads, with preachers telling their congregations "I told you so," and imploring them to heed the warning before it was too late. A disaster in Cape Breton would have suited the clerical sense of the direction of human history, and would have been far more warmly embraced by the clergy. From their view of the human condition defeat was the logical outcome, and it would have been suitably and properly bemoaned in the pulpit. As Jonathan Edwards commented in 1747, while "surprising deliverances" from the temporal enemy were "wonderful," these "mercies are acknowledged in words, but we are not led to repentance by them; there appears no such thing as any reformation or revival of religion in the land."¹⁹

One of the few serious efforts at celebration of Louisbourg was *The Character of a True Patriot*, a sermon preached by Nathanael Walter, one of the expedition's chaplains. It well illustrates the difficulties of the clergy in dealing with a military victory. The Christian religion, maintained Walter, tends to promote "the Welfare and Happiness of Mankind," teaching "that in Paradise there were exalted Seats for those, who had contributed to the Glory and Grandeur of their Country."²⁰ Nevertheless, warned the preacher, the notion of armies and navies sufficient themselves to gain the victory was an impious thought. Louisbourg's walls were proof that God watches the righteous and opposes infidelity. But Walter could hardly leave his exposition at this point. New England must now "improve" the victory, and should it fail to do so, "the Walls of Louisbourg shall testify against us." The conclusion to be drawn from the success in Cape Breton, said Walter, was that "from this Day, Righteousness shall be practis'd by us, manly Virtue shall adorn our Conversation, and every one merit the Character of a steady Patriot and a Christian hero."²¹ Not many Puritan ministers were sufficiently optimistic to join Walter in exhorting their flocks to continue in their paths of righteousness. But Walter was, after all, a military chaplain.

Most ministers bothering to preach on Louisbourg emphasized more strongly than Nathanael Walter the need to credit God rather

than man with the victory. They cast their sermons in Old Testament typologies which compared Cape Breton to Tyre, Babylon, ancient Egypt, even the Philistines. New England was, of course, Israel, a familiar concept for the preachers.²² The clergy emphasized the need for their listeners to remain humble and to do better in their personal lives in the future. These were standard exhortations, and audiences were doubtless more interested in justifications for the expedition and concrete explanations of what the victory meant to New England. Here two themes predominated: the concept of a religious war against the antichrist, and a *realpolitik* appraisal of the advantages of the triumph. Significantly, by far the preponderant emphasis was upon material benefits, coldly calculated. In short, the clergy stressed the strategic and economic aspects of Louisbourg rather more than its religious dimensions. The general tone of most of the few sermons was calculating and secular rather than emotional and religious, a good reason for most ministers to find Louisbourg beyond their sphere. Had the Puritan clergy in substantial numbers found the concept of holy war against the heretic an attractive one, more sermons might have found their way into print.

Only two sermons preached before the departure of the expedition were published, neither by ministers of the standing Congregational order of New England. William McClenachan emphasized the twin themes of religion and *realpolitik*. A Scots Presbyterian, McClenachan preached his sermon at the "French Meeting House in Boston," where his audience were descendants of French Calvinists with a long tradition of hatred of papist persecution. After all, their ancestors had been driven from France rather than give up their Huguenot principles. McClenachan went straight to the point. The French were the "Enemies of our God, our King, and Country."²³ Prevention was the best action, vindicating "the present Expedition, which is so excellently calculated to preserve our People, and our sacred Privileges, from the merciless Rage of *Popish* Power, and the Tyranny of France." The preacher offered two reasons for the expedition. First, if not conquered, Louisbourg would serve as a base for an invasion against New England. It was "a City of Refuge and Succour to our Enemy, and of Ruin to our Commerce by Sea." Significantly, McClenachan did not invoke fears of Indian depredations. Secondly, McClenachan reminded his listeners, "How many poor Protestants have felt the Smart of hot Persecution under the Tyranny of France?"²⁴ McClenachan's audience, of course, had a hatred for French Catholicism hardly typical of the New England population at large. Even so, the religious motive was virtually overwhelmed by the secular.

In his conclusion, the Presbyterian preacher posed another rhetorical question:

Will not the Conquest of Cape-Breton tend to God's Glory, and to the Enlargement of his Son's Kingdom, by the pulling down of the Power of Popery in that Part of *America*, and by encouraging Protestants to settle there, and on our Frontiers?²⁵

For William McClenachan, expansion of settlement and anti-Catholicism went hand in hand. Anglican pastor Samuel Checkley, who preached the other published sermon delivered at the time of departure for Louisbourg, was considerably less given to religious concerns than was McClenachan. For Checkley, whose congregation was composed largely of government officials and merchants, "Our Cause is good, and our own Preservation, and Safety, call us to what we are doing."²⁶ If the expedition were victorious, Checkley added, the advantage would be to "humble our Enemies and greatly secure our Business, Trade, and Substance, &c."²⁸ Perhaps the "&c." included religion, but Checkley obviously was no exponent of holy war.

The few public statements from orthodox Puritan ministers in New England were in response to the victory. Men of all persuasions were included in this Puritan reaction, with little discernible differences relating to their theological or political positions, although it must be added that the sample was extremely small. New-Lights were perhaps a bit more willing to sound millennial, to emphasize the triumph over antichrist, but the emphasis was marginal at best. Liberals and conservatives, New-Lights and Old-Lights, preached sermons virtually indistinguishable from one another. Most sermons joined religious and secular benefits of the conquest; some omitted religion entirely; few sounded particularly strident or excited about New England's success.

The principal statement from the anti-revival wing of Puritanism was made by Charles Chauncy, whose Louisbourg sermon stressed the twin themes of strategy and religion. The capture of Louisbourg, said Chauncy, guaranteed navigation and assured the cod-fishery to the British. The preacher hoped, moreover, that the gospel would be preached in "this part of the Dominion of Antichrist," and "all *Graven Images* would be pulled down, all Superstitions removed."²⁸ If Chauncy conjured up the picture of antichrist, he balanced this view with a humanistic (and singular) plea for Christian compassion and kindness to the late enemy, which was joined to the destruction of popery:

We should not insult them, we should not upbraid them, we should not treat them with Harshness and Severity; but endeavour to make their

Captive State as comfortable to them as may consist with the publick Good.²⁹

While Chauncy did not neglect the religious dimension, his was hardly a fervent statement of holy war.

The most extreme statement of Christian crusade came from one of Chauncy's New-Light colleagues in Boston. Joseph Sewall, son of the noted diarist, was famed for emotional sermons and was known as the "weeping parson" because of his style of delivery. Sewall's Louisbourg sermon was an extended exposition on the antichrist, finally identified as the French at Cape Breton:

Let us praise our Lord Jesus, the Captain of the Lord's Hosts, who by His divine Wisdom and Power has led His People into the strong City, the romish Edom, and triumph'd gloriously over His and our anti Christian Enemies.³⁰

With antichrist vanquished, Sewall called for a new regime. Jesus would be proclaimed within the walls of the city as the only head and king of His Church. Unlike Chauncy, Sewall gave little thought to the defeated inhabitants when he proclaimed:

And in order to these things, may our glorious Lord have a faithful People to serve him on Cape-Breton, Churches be gather'd there according to Scripture Pattern, and true Ministers of Christ be set over them in the Lord.³¹

While Sewall sought a destruction of "*Graven Images*," his emphasis on the God of the Puritans taking "the entire Possession of this *New World*" clearly included the expansion of New England settlement into Cape Breton. And despite his theme of the victory over antichrist, even Sewall recognized Louisbourg as "a Place of great Importance with Regard to the Safety of our Navigation and Improvement of our Fishery, and which we hope will be a Curb to restrain our incroaching Enemies" from the opportunity "to invade us on our Frontiers."³² Sewall's emotional language on Louisbourg was personal, however, rather than representative. He always sounded extreme.

From Philadelphia, New-Light evangelist Gilbert Tennent added his voice on the benefits of Louisbourg. According to Tennent, the New England victory checked a prince "who wearily labours to rob us of our civil and religious liberties, and brings us into the most wretched Vassalage to arbitrary Power and Church Tyranny."³³ But Tennent was a clerical leader of opposition to Quaker pacifism in Pennsylvania, and he was using the occasion of Cape Breton to press home the advantages of military preparedness, not to foresee a millennium. Anti-Catholic emphasis was always more overt in colonies like Penn-

sylvania with many differing Protestant denominations, since it served as the basis for unifying the population in a common goal.³⁴ Even Tennent recognized the material benefits of conquest: "Our Commerce is both protected and encreas'd, and a Barrier fix'd which may be of great Service to prevent the Inroads of the *French* and *Indians*, upon the *Eastern* Inhabitants of this Continent."³⁵ Pennsylvania was far more exposed to Indian raids by the 1740s than New England, and it is hardly surprising that it was Tennent rather than a Puritan preacher who saw the victory in Indian terms.

Erstwhile poet Samuel Niles intertwined the themes of religious and secular advantage in a horrendous epic poem published in 1747. In a revealing passage, the Connecticut bard wrote:

Its not from thirst of Blood, nor for your Lives
O' you Beseiged, your Children, nor your Wives
That we 'gainst you this formal Seige Commence,
But Country's Freedom, from Praeminence,
Which you assume, in these our Northern Seas,
Obstruct both Im-, and Export of Supplies.
You for long time, by your usurped Measures,
Robb'd some of life, and many of their Treasures.
Combining likewise with the Heathen Tribes,
Delusion, Popish Doctrine, and with Bribes:
By these incentives they do us Annoy,
Whose Cruelties, give you, with Them, much Joy.
Which moves us thus, our Weapons to Employ.³⁶

For Niles, religious victory was less a motive for the expedition than a providential result of it, to be celebrated and appreciated as the gift of "God's almighty Hand."³⁷ His explanation of the *causus bellum* was remarkably secular.

If it is possible to find sermons which evidenced spiritual undertones to the Louisbourg expedition, it is equally possible to find sermons which paid little attention to the religious dimension. Connecticut's Jared Eliot was particularly secular in his focus. Eliot's sermon text was Psalm XXXI.21. He noted that David's conquests had increased trade, adding. "It May be laid down as a Rule, that ordinarily no Kingdom, State or Province will ever advance to any considerable Degree of temporal Greatness, Polity, Power and Influence, without Trade and Navigation."³⁸ Louisbourg was the "great Fishery of Cape-Breton," and considerable trade arose from the industry. Eliot included the ritual thanks to God "in putting in our Hands such a strong Place happily situated for Trade and Navigation, to defend our Selves, and annoy our Enemy," but concluded by exulting that "Our natural Enemy the *French*, have not one Sea-port on this Continent on this side of the Bay of Mexico."³⁹ In this sermon one could hear more

the sounds of the counting house than the coming of the Christian millennium.

In the most popular and best-circulated of the Louisbourg sermons, Thomas Prince was only slightly less calculating than Jared Eliot. *Extraordinary Events the Doings of God, and Marvellous in Pious Eyes* was reprinted five times in London and once in Edinburgh, thus bringing to Great Britain New England's sentiments on the great victory. Prince's sermon was no more representative of Puritan thinking than any other preached on Louisbourg, but it was the one chosen to explain New England's motivations to a larger audience. Since Prince was a noted New-Light, his *realpolitik* balances the sentiments of Christian crusade enunciated by colleague Joseph Sewall, whose sermon, it should be noted, was not deemed worthy of reprinting. Prince began by demonstrating the role of God in everything from natural catastrophe to government. He then turned to Louisbourg, pointing out its importance. It abounded in pit coal, commodious harbours, and was situated at the "Centre of Our Fishery, at the Entrance of the Bay and River of *Canada*, and in the Wake of all the Trade from *Europe* to the *British Colonies* on the *Main Land* of *America*."⁴⁰ Louisbourg was the "Dunkirk of North America," and the French expansion of the fishery increased their wealth and shipping while greatly diminishing New England's commerce.⁴¹

Thomas Prince saw the French in North America as a threatening spectre:

Yea, from the Consideration of such a *strong Defence*, the Advantage of *Wood, Sea-Coal, Fishery*, and *Free-Gift Land* in this and the neighbouring Islands, the Settlement of *Thousands* of People on them already, and the innumerable Poor in the Sea Coast Towns of *France*, ever swarming and coming over to them; — it seems highly probable that if the *Peace* continued much longer, there would be in a few Years Time such a multitude of *French Inhabitants*, as with the growing Numbers on the bordering Continent of *Nova Scotia* and *Canada*, with the addition of the *Indian Nations* would exceedingly vex and waste, yea, endanger the Conquest of our *English Colonies*.⁴²

How seriously Prince intended this picture of rampant French population growth on places like Isle Saint Jean (now Prince Edward Island) is not clear. Perhaps the important point was the implication that the British could grow as rapidly, if they possessed the fortress and the region. Certainly Prince saw Louisbourg as a source of privateers and men of war, arguing that its capture was crucial for the salvation (secular) of the British colonies and "of the most important Branches of British Trade."⁴³

Toward the conclusion of his sermon Prince turned very briefly to religious and spiritual matters, asking his listeners to "Let our Joy rise higher, that thereby a great support of Antichristian Power is taken away, and the *visible Kingdom of CHRIST* enlarged."⁴⁴ In his peroration the preacher painted a vision of an expanded empire, both secular and spiritual. He called for "this happy Conquest" to be "the dawning Earnest of our DIVINE REDEEMER'S carrying on his Triumphs thro' the *Northern Regions*; 'till he extends his Empire from the Eastern to the Western Sea, and from the River of *Canada* to the Ends of *America*."⁴⁵ Whether his auditors and readers took secular or religious meaning from such a millenarian dream is another question.

Despite the quotations in support of material or spiritual visions which can be drawn from the Louisbourg sermons, the fact remains that neither the expedition to Cape Breton nor the fortuitous Yankee victory struck much of a respondent chord with the Puritan ministry. The lack of concern for the subject was in large measure a result of the absence of any conceptual framework for handling victories; a truly burgeoning millenarianism would have made much more of Louisbourg. Even before the surprising triumph of British seapower and New England manpower at Cape Breton, the little public interest shown by clergymen in the invasion came from men outside the Puritan establishment. In their scattered and very occasional treatments of the Louisbourg victory, the Puritan clergy emphasized secular—strategic and commercial—considerations as much or more than spiritual ones. Most were prepared to pay lip-service to the Protestant crusade, to the triumph over antichrist, but the sermons were far more cogent on the benefits in this world of extending the kingdom. New England took its religion seriously, but the sermon literature does not substantiate any view of serious religion as a major factor in the Louisbourg campaign.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Donald Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada* (Toronto, 1957), p. 131; J. L. Finlay, *Canada in the North Atlantic Triangle: Two Centuries of Social Change* (Toronto, 1975), p. 57.
2. Francis Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (Toronto, 1900), II, p. 113.
3. *Ibid.*
4. S. E. D. Shortt, "Conflict and Identity in Massachusetts: The Louisbourg Expedition of 1745," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 5 (1972), p. 176.
5. Nathan O. Hatch, "The Origins of Civil Millennialism in America: New England Clergymen, War with France, and the Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 31 (1974), p. 417.

6. William Pencak, "Warfare and Political Change in Mid-Eighteenth Century Massachusetts," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 8 (1980), p. 57.
7. See my "Carried to Canada! Attitudes toward French Canada in British Colonial Captivity Narratives, 1680-1760," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 13 (1983), pp. 79-96.
8. George Rawlyk, *Yankees at Louisbourg* (Orono, Maine, 1967), 45-47.
9. For the appeal of the revival for young males, consult J. M. Bumsted and John Van der Wetering, *What Must I Do to be Saved? The Great Awakening in Colonial America* (Hinsdale, Illinois, 1976), pp. 127-138.
10. See Louis Effingham de Forest, ed., *Louisbourg Journals 1745* (New York, 1932).
11. "Journal of Chaplain Stephen Williams," reprinted in de Forest, ed., *Louisbourg Journals*, pp. 121-169.
12. John Gillies, *Memoirs of the Rev. George Whitefield* (New Haven, 1834), pp. 146-147.
13. For Pepperrell's religious position, see James Alexander to Cadwallader Colden, 1745, quoted in Alice M. Keys, *Cadwallader Colden: A Representative Eighteenth-Century Official* (New York, 1906), p. 134.
14. William McClenachan, *The Christian Warrior: A Sermon Prech'd at the French Meeting House in Boston, March 17th, 1744.5* (Boston, 1745); Samuel Checkley, *Prayer a Duty, When God's People Go Forth To War. A Sermon Prech'd Feb. 28, 1744.5 . . .* (Boston, 1745); Gilbert Tennent, *The Necessity of Praising God for Mercies Receiv'd. A Sermon Occasion'd by the Success of the Late Expedition. . . in Reducing the City and Fortresses of Louisbourg on Cape-Breton . . . Preach'd at Philadelphia July 7, 1745* (Philadelphia, 1745).
15. For the Awakening literature, a virtually complete contemporary listing exists in Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*.
16. Again, see the listings in Evans. The New England response to Culloden has never been properly investigated or examined.
17. Sacvan Bercovitch, *Horologicals to Chronometricals: The Rhetoric of Jerediad* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1970).
18. Charles Chauncy, *Marvellous Things Done by the Right Hand and Holy Arm of God in Getting Him the Victory. A Sermon Preach'd the 18th of July 1745 . . .* (Boston, 1745), p. 8.
19. Jonathan Edwards to William McCulloch, 23 September 1747, in S. E. Dwight, *The Life of President Edwards . . .* (New York, 1830), pp. 243-244.
20. Nathanael Walter, *The Character of a True Patriot. A Sermon Preach'd at the Thursday-Lecture in Boston, August 1, 1745* (Boston, 1745), pp. 5, 7.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 20.
22. Sacvan Bercovitch, "Typology in Puritan New England," *American Quarterly*, 19 (1967), pp. 166-191.
23. McClenachan, *The Christian Warrior*, p. 5.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
26. Checkley, *Prayer a Duty*, p. 23.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
28. Chauncy, *Marvellous Things*, p. 15.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
30. Joseph Sewall, *The Lamb Slain. Worthy to be Prais'd, As the Most Powerful, Rich, Wise, and Strong. A Sermon Preach'd at the Thursday Lecture in Boston, July 11, 1745* (Boston, 1745), p. 29.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 32.
33. Tennent, *The Necessity*, p. 36.
34. Sister Mary Augustina Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936).
35. Tennent, *The Necessity*, p. 37.
36. Samuel Niles, *A Brief and Plain Essay on God's Wonder-working Providence For New-England, in the Reduction of Louisbourg, and Fortresses thereto belonging in Cape-Breton* (New London, Ct., 1747), p. 18.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
38. Jared Eliot, *God's Marvellous Kindness. Illustrated in a Sermon Preach'd at the South Society in Killingworth, on the General Thanksgiving in the Colony of Connecticut, July 25, 1745 . . .* (New London, Ct., 1745), pp. 5, 6.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 24.
40. Prince, *Extraordinary Events*, p. 18.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.