

COLONEL JAMES BURD IN THE FORBES CAMPAIGN

THE great contribution which the Scotch-Irish have made to our country has been the subject of much discussion. We sometimes forget, however, the many sturdy sons who came here directly from a Scottish home. James Burd was one of the latter. Born of good parentage in 1726 near Edinburgh, he came to Philadelphia in 1748. Here he became a merchant and by marriage allied himself with three of the most influential Pennsylvania families—the Shippens, the Willings, and the Allens. These families were friends of the proprietaries, and Burd was soon given important assignments in provincial affairs. In 1752, he moved to Shippensburg, a frontier village where he managed a plantation, aided Edward Shippen, his father-in-law, in his fur trade, and soon had his finger on the pulse of international affairs in the Indians' land. He became agent for William Allen who was gathering supplies for Braddock's army; he was one of five commissioners named by Governor Morris to survey a road; and the responsibility for its construction rested almost entirely on Burd. Always inadequately equipped and provisioned, Burd cut the road through sixty-five miles of wilderness country in ten weeks' time. This first road to the west was traveled by pioneers to the Ohio country, and in the later territorial dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania, Burd's Road helped bind the Monongahela country and the Pittsburgh district to Pennsylvania.*

Entering the provincial service as a captain, January 17, 1756, Burd was commissioned a colonel by August 18, 1758. He defended the frontier, constructed forts, and became commander, April, 1757, of Fort Augusta, the most important trading post in the province. Later his authority extended over the garrisons of the nine eastern forts which ranged from the Susquehanna to the Delaware. Doubtless he had acquired military training in Scotland during the stirring

* For Burd's services in the Braddock campaign, see Miss Nixon's article in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XVII. 235-46 (Dec. 1934).—Ed.

days of Culloden; with the wide experience gained in Pennsylvania between 1748 and 1758, Burd was thus well equipped to aid England in her latest, world-wide struggle with France.

By the spring of 1758, events had a more promising aspect for England than in the previous year. Pitt's return to power had its effect. A Highland Scot had been sent to blot out Braddock's failure and retrieve the Ohio country from the French. Forbes landed in New York and immediately began negotiations to win the Indians, particularly the Cherokee Nation, to his cause. Arriving in Philadelphia, he wrote Loudoun "necessity will turn me a Cherokee."¹ The money bill was, as usual, slow in passing the assembly, though finally that body, being thoroughly frightened by raids upon Carlisle and Lancaster, appropriated a half million dollars and twenty-seven hundred men for the Forbes' expedition.²

General Stanwix, relieved by Forbes, had left Carlisle for Albany. Colonel Armstrong, however, went to Philadelphia to be present at the consultations of Forbes and Sir John St. Clair. Richard Peters, secretary of the province, thought Burd also should have been present.³ It was Sir John, the quartermaster-general in this expedition as well as in that of Braddock, who induced Forbes to start west through Pennsylvania rather than through Virginia.⁴ Probably he remembered that the middle colony had a larger food supply and more wagons than the southern colony. On May second, Edward Shippen wrote Colonel Burd that he expected at his home that night, Sir John, Thomas Willing, and his sister, Anne.⁵ Anne, or Nancy as she was usually called, was the Philadelphia girl with whom Colonel Bouquet, with his vaunted cosmopolitan sensibilities, fell in love. Although his ardent courtship finally failed, there was perhaps at this time a special reason for the fair

¹ Forbes to Loudoun, Philadelphia, April 23, 1758. Photostat from original in the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, in possession of Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh. Others from the same source hereinafter cited as Huntington Library MSS.

² Archer Butler Hulbert, *Old Glade Road* (Cleveland, 1903), 47.

³ Edward Shippen to Colonel Burd, Lancaster, May 2, 1758; Balch, *Letters and Papers*, 117.

⁴ Hulbert, *Old Glade Road*, 83.

⁵ Edward Shippen to Colonel Burd, Lancaster, May 2, 1758; Balch, *Letters and Papers*, 116-117.

Nancy visiting her cousin, Sarah Shippen Burd, since by the twenty-first of May at least, Colonel Bouquet was in Lancaster.

Meanwhile, Colonel Burd was preparing for the coming campaign. He was busy with reports, returns, muster rolls, supplies, and orders for the nine officers of the eastern forts. On April ninth, from Hunter's Fort above Harris', he wrote each of these men as follows:

As I am Commanded to hold my Battalion in Readiness to take the Field by the first day of May next. This is therefore to order you to have your Company fill'd up to fifty-three Men compleated with Cloathing and to be ready to March upon my first Notice to you.⁶

Orders to move, however, did not come to Burd until the twelfth of May, when Governor Denny, with the consent of Forbes, ordered him to Carlisle.⁷ Joseph Shippen forwarded him the orders from Philadelphia. Captain Shippen had just been made brigade major of the provincial troops, while Edward Shippen, Jr., the future chief justice of Pennsylvania, had been made clerk of the mayor's court and of the common council. Thus Burd often got inside information quickly. On the 16th [May ?] Burd wrote that Sir John ordered him to conference either in York or Lancaster,⁸ and May 21, Bouquet wrote Burd to meet him at Harris' where the troops were being ferried over the Susquehanna.⁹ So leaving the men least able for duty at the forts, and putting dependable Levi Trump in charge of Augusta, Burd began his march, May 24, with two hundred men. Part of his final instructions to Trump are significant: "I would recommend to you particularly to Guard against Drunkenness and Surprise, the former will Necessarily Expose you to the latter, and therefore it behooves you to be particular in your Command on this head."¹⁰

General Forbes, yet in Philadelphia making his careful and minute plans, was gravely concerned about what part the Indians would

⁶ Burd to Nine Officers of Eastern Forts, Hunter's Fort, April 9, 1758; Letter Book, 71; THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, hereinafter cited as Letter Book.

⁷ Joseph Shippen to Colonel Burd, Philadelphia, May 2, 1758, Shippen Papers, III. 149; THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, hereinafter cited as Shippen Papers.

⁸ Burd to John Hughes, Augusta, no month, 16, 1758; Letter Book, 76.

⁹ Bouquet to Bird, Lancaster, May 21, 1758; Shippen Papers. III. 157. Published *supra*, XXXII. 435, substituting the correct spelling, Burd.

¹⁰ Burd to Levi Trump, Augusta, May 23, 1758, Letter Book, 77; Shippen Papers, III. 157.

play in the ensuing campaign. Colonel William Byrd had arrived at Winchester, Virginia, with the discontented southern Cherokees. Forbes wrote Stanwix, May 29:

So I have ordered all the Virginia and Pennsylvania troops to march that way, armed or not, or with or without Cloathes etc. This I hope will amuse them some time, as I must erect a Deposit and Fort at Raes Town, and open the communication betwixt that and Fort Cumberland as also to open the road across the Allegheny Mountain towards the Yohageny.¹¹

On the 7th of June, Forbes wrote to Abercrombie of his plans for the neutrality of the western Delawares and Shawnese.¹² He was terribly handicapped by the fact that neither Sir William Johnson nor Edmund Atkins, Indian commissioners of respective departments, had come to him or sent him advice on a matter in which he confessed total ignorance. Forbes arranged, however, with Governor Denny, to have the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post, undertake to get the Ohio Indians to resume their friendship for the English.¹³ Post set out on his momentous mission July 15, 1758.

Colonel James Burd, who had left Augusta May 24, arrived at Carlisle before the end of the month, and his troops received pay there. Bouquet in reporting to Forbes, again spelled the Colonel's name Bird.¹⁴

It was to Colonel James Burd, however, that Thomas Penn, one of the proprietaries, sent his hearty thanks for Burd's good conduct at Augusta. With that news came, May 31, orders for Burd to go to Lancaster.¹⁵ Yet Bouquet was worried about Augusta, fearing Burd's substitute was not fitted for the post which the Quakers

¹¹ Forbes to Stanwix, Philadelphia, May 29, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

¹² Forbes to Abercrombie, Philadelphia, June 7, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

¹³ Mary Carson Darlington, *History of Colonial Bouquet* (1920), 121-122.

¹⁴ Bouquet to Forbes, Carlisle, May 29, 1758; Bouquet Papers, British Museum, 21, 640, as abstracted in the *Annual Report of Canadian Archives, 1889*. The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has recently acquired transcripts of many of the Bouquet Papers from photostats in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. Hulbert in his *Old Historic Highways*, Index Volume XVI, says for Burd "see Byrd" and there indiscriminately refers to the actions of each. Francis Parkman did not realize there were two men with a similar name though from different colonies. He speaks only, in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*, of a mythical composite, Colonel James Burd of Virginia! In 1759, Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen wrote to Colonel William Burd of the Pennsylvania troops! Shippen Papers, IV.

¹⁵ Major Shippen to Colonel Burd, Philadelphia, May 31, 1758; Balch, *Letters and Papers*, 123.

deemed the key to the province.¹⁶ This order must have been countermanded, for Burd was in camp at Fort Loudoun¹⁷ on June 10. Forbes had not yet left Philadelphia, although his advance troops had reached Fort Cumberland on the one road and Raystown on the other.¹⁸ Every forty miles, his men stored a large supply of provisions under sufficient protection. This plan detached a considerable number of his soldiers; nevertheless, Forbes intended to travel lightly and to have food and a retreat in case of final failure. He left Philadelphia June 30th, arriving at Carlisle,¹⁹ the point of mobilization, on July 4, a very sick man. But by that time Bouquet and Burd were at Raystown.

Colonel Burd was busy giving as well as taking orders. He had the nine eastern garrisons, besides Augusta, to supervise. His quill pen must have been in almost constant use, and his express riders continuously coming and going. Sending warning of a threatened attack on Augusta; ordering the French deserters who had enlisted to be sent to Lancaster gaol;²⁰ ordering old roads to be repaired and new ones to be built; sending Forbes' request to friendly Indians that they wear a broad yellow band around their head for purposes of recognition—all these duties were part of Burd's daily routine. One order was connected with the Braddock campaign and Burd's first work. At that time Burd had written, though he had not sent the letter, that all the tools and provisions of the road builders had been lost or destroyed in their retreat. He probably meant lost to the colony for the time. Bouquet wrote Forbes that he had sent a party to search for the "tools buried by Captain Burd after the defeat."²¹ In that dark hour the young leader evidently had not lost faith in a future conquest. At this time, Burd, himself, wrote to Lieutenant Humphrys, probably the head of the party, "bring with you all the tools you can find, which are burried on Top of the Allegheny

¹⁶ Bouquet to Forbes, Carlisle, May 30, 1758; Bouquet Papers, B. M., 21, 652, as abstracted in the *Annual Report of Canadian Archives, 1889*; hereinafter cited as Bouquet Papers.

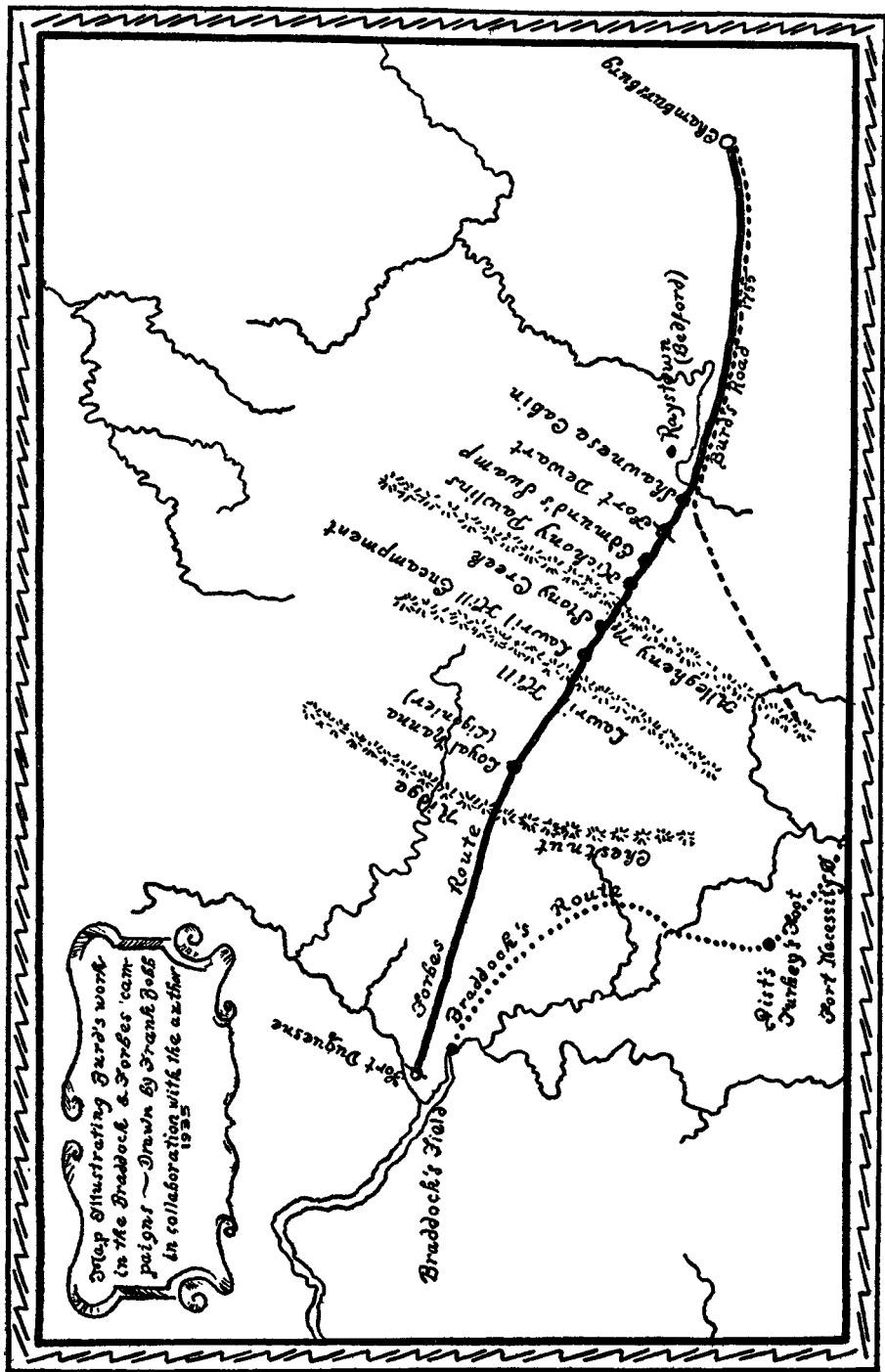
¹⁷ Burd to Captain James Sharp, Camp at Fort Loudoun, June 10, 1758; Letter Book, 79.

¹⁸ Forbes to Abercrombie, Philadelphia, June, undated; Huntington Library MSS.

¹⁹ Forbes to Abercrombie, Carlisle, July 10, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

²⁰ Levi Trump to Governor Denny, Augusta, July 1, 1758; *Pennsylvania Archives*, III. 430.

²¹ Bouquet to Forbes, Raestown, July 11, 1758, Bouquet Papers B. M., 21, 652.



Mountain; particularly the Falling Axes."²² The bearer of the letter was to show the hiding place. Obviously, some of Burd's regiment had been his road builders three years before.

Colonel Bouquet and Colonel Burd, his assistant, were always in advance building the lines of communication and erecting breastworks and fortifications.²³ The road they made to Raystown for Forbes had, in the main, followed the one made in 1755 by Burd. From Raystown, it was expected by St. Clair and the Virginians that the army would drop down to Cumberland and follow Braddock's road. Commercial rivalry between the two colonies was behind the rather bitter contest which ensued, and which is well known. Suffice it to say that Colonel Burd, who was constantly with Bouquet and who had more knowledge of the obstacles to be overcome, very probably brought sufficient proof to convert that European to the Pennsylvania route. Bouquet, in turn, convinced the impartial Forbes. These reasons Forbes explained to Abercrombie July 25, when he wrote that the Pennsylvania route "will facilitate our matters much by shortening the march at least seventy miles—besides the advantage of having no rivers to pass, as we will keep the Yeoghenny upon our left."²⁴ And on August 11 Forbes gave him a reason (less known today)—that the enemy was not expecting them the new way whereas every pass and defile of Braddock's route was watched and a *batis de Bois* had been placed where, of necessity, the English must have passed.²⁵ None of these reasons, however, weighed with the two Virginia colonels, Washington and Byrd; but, although letters had been exchanged, these men had not arrived at Raystown²⁶ by August 16.

Meantime, by the above date, the army at Raystown consisted of above 2500 men, while 1400 more were employed cutting and clearing the road between that base of supplies and Loyal Hanna.²⁷ This stretch was the hardest of the old Indian trading path. Dense under-

²² Colonel Burd to Lieutenant Humphrys, Camp at Raes Town, July 3, 1758; Letter Book, 82.

²³ George Donehoo, *Pennsylvania, A History* (1926), II. 823.

²⁴ Forbes to Abercrombie, Carlisle, July 25; Huntington Library MSS.

²⁵ Forbes to Abercrombie, Carlisle, August 11, Huntington Library MSS.

²⁶ Captain Joseph Shippen to Peters, Raystown, August 16, 1758; *Pennsylvania Archives*, III. 510; *supra*, XXXVI. 461-62.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

brush blocked the rangers. Supplies were slow in coming. Wagon horses were too weak, for want of forage, to go fast. Pack horses—the eternal pack horses, as Bouquet called them—were galled by the poorly built packsaddles, 700 of which were so poorly constructed as to be useless until restuffed.²⁸ Evidently profiteering was practised in 1758. Forbes could get roads built; but he could not get sufficient supplies, nor could he control the weather. Rain retarded progress again and again. Roads became impassable. But the steady, unhurried pace of the *Head of Iron* had two good effects: it impressed the friendly Indians, and it gave Post time to treat with the unfriendly ones. That apostle of brotherly love had taken an indirect northern route to Fort Duquesne, passing through Augusta,²⁹ July 25, where he rested and had his horse shod. Then continuing on his circuitous trip, he arrived at his destination³⁰ August 24. After three dangerous days of parley, he started back to Philadelphia, accompanied by many chiefs and by proofs of renewed friendship.

On August 23, while Post was cementing peace with the Shawnese, Forbes wrote Governor Sharp, “. . . my new Road is quite ready the length of Laurelridge, and I have sent to tak post on the other Side of it, from whence it is all good to the Ohio.”³¹ On the same day Bouquet gave marching orders and minute instructions to Burd. He was to march from Raystown that day toward Loyal Hanna with the Royal Americans, six companies of the Highland Battalion, his own division—the Second Battalion of Pennsylvanians, and one division of artillery. After the engineer had selected the site, Burd was to erect the fort, hospital, ovens, a storehouse 120 by 25 feet, to be covered with shingles made on the spot, and other buildings. He was to get “sea coal” or make charcoal. Great precautions were to be taken. No gun was to be fired, no drums beaten and the sentries were to be changed every hour. Burd was to keep a journal and to send a report every two days to Bouquet. Yet that officer’s growing faith in his subordinate’s ability is seen in this sentence: “I give you the above instructions by way of memorandum and you are at Liberty

²⁸ Forbes to Abercrombie, Carlisle, August 11, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

²⁹ Christian Frederick Post’s “Journal” in *Pennsylvania Archives*, III. 521; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1904), I. 138.

³⁰ Darlington, *History of Colonel Henry Bouquet*, 121.

³¹ Irene Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes relating to the Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758* (1928), 28-30.

to make any alterations that your Judgment and the Circumstances may direct."³² In view of what later happened, another sentence is ironic: "If any difficulty should occur to you, Consult Major Grant, whose Experience and perfect knowledge of the service, you may rely intirely upon."³³ This same advice is given in another letter.

Three days later, August 26, Colonel Burd was at Fort Dewart beyond the Shawnese Cabins. From there he wrote Bouquet of the arrival of troops and wagons and that the engineer had found a fine site nine miles beyond Loyal Hanna.³⁴ But the same day Bouquet wrote him not to go farther than Loyal Hanna without the general's orders, since the army might not be able to send him supplies.³⁵ He told Burd, however, to send a detachment of 300 to reconnoitre the post proposed by the engineer. Another detachment was to open the road for his wagons through Laurel Hill. Bouquet had ordered all of Sir John St. Clair's men to rejoin him and to start cutting the road up to Burd. Thus it would seem that two groups of men were working on the road between Bedford and Laurel Hill, with Sir John St. Clair's group at the front. One can hardly believe that the French scouts had not yet found the English. But when one remembers that conservative estimates of the entire number of Indians who lived north of Mexico even when Columbus landed are less than the present total population of Pittsburgh, one can realize that at this time the vast wooded stretches of the Alleghenies could have a scanty number of red men. At any rate, Bouquet hoped that Burd's advance party would pass unnoticed; they were not even allowed to speak, could have no horses, and were to build fires carefully, if absolutely necessary, in the deep woods.³⁶ Bouquet reproved Burd for not having sent Rohr, the engineer, back to Raystown, saying it had caused him, Bouquet, to lose five or six more days. Three days later he wrote again, saying that one of his letters to Burd had been intercepted.³⁷ This might explain why Burd did not obey Bouquet's order; at least it gives the first intimation that the French probably knew of Forbes' plans.

³² Helen Jordan, "Selections from the Military Correspondence of Colonel Henry Bouquet, 1757-1764," *supra*, XXXII. 437-40.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Burd to Bouquet, Fort Dewart, August 26, 1758; Bouquet Papers, B. M., 21, 643.

³⁵ Bouquet to Burd, Raestown Camp, August 26, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 191.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Bouquet to Burd, Raes Town, August 29, 1758; *supra*, XXXII. 442-43.

St. Clair was informed that Burd had reached Edmund's Swamp, rather than Fort Dewart, with the artillery on the 26th and was curious to know when Burd would reach him at "Kickony Pawlings."³⁸ The irascible St. Clair was in a predicament. He could not go to camp at the Ridge as he wished, because it was full of laurel! Trouble had made him quite gentle. Instead of storming like a lion rampant as to his earliest meeting with Burd, he tamely wrote, "I shall keep working on the Hill all this day, and if after you come up, you choose to see the descent of the Hill, I shall accompany you."³⁹ By the next day these two men had doubtless met, for Burd camped on the Quimahony that night. He wrote Bouquet twice on the 28th—the second letter after receiving Bouquet's orders written on the 26th. There was a scarcity of pack horses and live cattle, and Burd was having to displace Virginia troops, unfit for lack of shoes, with Pennsylvania troops;⁴⁰ yet he intended marching in the morning with four companies of the Royal Americans, five companies of the Highlanders, and the artillery, leaving the rest with Sir John for roadwork. At the foot of the mountain he would leave the artillery and proceed to Loyal Hanna. From there he, himself, would go with Major Grant to view Rhor's site, leaving there a captain and fifty men with necessary directions.⁴¹ Burd also reported that Captain Parris had been in sight of Fort Duquesne,⁴² but could not take a prisoner. They had yet no definite news of the French strength. This same day, Forbes wrote Peters from Shippensburg, "Everything that depended upon the troops has succeeded to admiration. . . ."⁴³ But, he added, all now depended on the country inhabitants furnishing wagons.

On the 30th Burd was still at Quimahony, writing the second time about the disgraceful quarrel between Colonel Stephens of Virginia and the crusty, irascible Sir John St. Clair. The next day he

³⁸ St. Clair to Burd, Hickorey Pawlins, August 27, 1758; Burd and Shippen Papers, State Archives, Harrisburg.

³⁹ St. Clair to Burd, 4 Miles West of Kickony Pawlings, Tuesday Morning, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 221.

⁴⁰ Burd to Bouquet, Quimahony, August 28, 1758; Bouquet Papers, B. M., 21, 643.

⁴¹ Burd to Bouquet, Quimahony, August 28, 1758; Letter Book, 84. Burd wrote two letters to Bouquet on August 28th.

⁴² Burd to Bouquet, Quimahony, August 28, 1758, Bouquet Papers, B. M., 21, 643; Letter Book, 84.

⁴³ Forbes to Peters, Shippensburg, August 28, 1758; Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, 31-33.

reached the "Clear Fields," where he was detained by rains and feared further loss of time on account of the trouble between these two gentlemen.⁴⁴ Mutiny among officers could not be handled in quite the same manner as mutiny among the men. Back in Raystown on the same day, Bouquet was confronting mutiny for more pay and victuals.⁴⁵ The court martial ordered the guilty ones to receive six hundred lashes on their bare backs with a "Catt of Nine Tales." One received one thousand lashes and was drummed out of camp! Just the same, Bouquet gave the provincial soldiers the desired increase in rations, rather than the king's allowance. When Forbes arrived he did the same and so wrote Abercrombie, whose advice he asked, adding, ". . . they are at present in great good humour works stoutly upon the roads without repining and very little desertion."⁴⁶ The officers' quarrel, however, kept Burd from going to Rhor's site, although he had viewed part of the road with Major Grant and that gentleman was now sent instead, since, as Burd wrote dryly, "Differences between Col. Stephen and Sir John Can't easily be accomodated."⁴⁷

On September 1 Colonel Burd camped at Clear Fields, and on the 3rd, he had reached his destination⁴⁸ on the Loyal Hanna with his force of about 2500 men.⁴⁹ A busy time it must have been for the colonel. Besides supervising the construction work, he wrote at least three letters that day—one to Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd and another to Captain Wetherholt with instructions for their work, and one to Bouquet, in which he wrote that he could say "very little yet about this Place, but shall soon be acquainted with it."⁵⁰ Doubtless, Bouquet's letter of the first had reached Burd by that evening. If so, the woods resounded with the unaccustomed roar of the artillery and with the shouts of happy, excited men. Bouquet had sent the glorious news of the capture of Louisburg and had ordered a fire of

⁴⁴ Burd to Bouquet, Clear Fields, August 31, 1758; Bouquet Papers, B. M., 21, 643.

⁴⁵ Proceedings of Court Martial held in Camp at Raestown, August 30, 1758; Shippens Papers, III. 195.

⁴⁶ Forbes to Abercrombie, Shippensburg, September 4, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

⁴⁷ Burd to [Bouquet], Clear Fields, August 31, 1758; Letter Book, 85.

⁴⁸ Burd to Bouquet, Camp at Loyal Hannon, 4 A. M., September 3, 1758; Letter Book, 88.

⁴⁹ Donehoo, *Pennsylvania, A History*, II. 826.

⁵⁰ Burd to Bouquet, Camp at Loyal Hannon, September 3, 1758; Letter Book, 88.

all artillery and musketry!⁵¹ The tide in the affairs of the English was coming in, and silence and repression among Burd's troops were to be a thing of the past. Moreover, Burd received a plan of Fort Duquesne from an Indian.⁵² The size of its garrison, however, was still a mooted question. Bouquet gave elaborate instructions to Burd in this letter of the first.⁵³ He was to stay at Loyal Hanna until the artillery and wagons reached him. Then he was to send 1000 men to the advance post which Forbes had approved. Leaving enough men at the camp to guard the artillery and wagons, he was to divide the remaining troops into four parties to cut nine miles of wagon road between Loyal Hanna and the new post. While this was being done, Burd was to make an entrenched camp at the "New Deposit" for 2000 men. The wagons were then to be brought up, unloaded, and sent back to Raystown where the general was daily expected.

The country inhabitants had failed to supply the general with all the wagons needed. On September 6 Burd wrote of the scarcity of provisions. On that same day, Forbes, not realizing the danger, wrote a very optimistic letter to Pitt from Fort Loudoun where he had arrived.⁵⁴ That the danger was really great is discovered from Burd's entry in his letter book on the thirteenth:

. . . I found myself here a few days ago Commanding Three Thousand men, with only one days provision—and Col. Bouquet had neither Horses nor waggons to supply me from Rays Town, and I am Really of Opinion if Our province does not Immediately Interest themselves in Supplying this Army . . . the Expedition will be at an end—and we shamefully obliged to Return.⁵⁵

Bouquet, himself, arrived at Loyal Hanna on September 7. During the three or four days that Colonel Burd had been there alone, a good start at ridding the ground of trees and laying foundations for buildings had doubtless been made. The troops had started to work on Rhor's first selection, but "upon Reconnoitring We found a very fine Piece of Ground, naturally strong, being high and havin[g] the Creek on the one Side and a fine Spring [on the] other just

⁵¹ Bouquet to Burd, Raestown Camp, September 1, 1758; *supra*, XXXII. 443-44.

⁵² Burd to Bouquet, Quimahony, August 30, 1758; Bouquet Papers, B. M., 21, 643.

⁵³ Bouquet to Burd, Raestown Camp, September 1, 1758; *supra*, XXXII. 443-44.

⁵⁴ Forbes to Pitt, Fort Loudoun, September 6, 1758; Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, 35-38.

⁵⁵ Burd to [William Allen] September 13, 1758; Letter Book, 90.

under our Works.”⁵⁶ Those who have stood on the site of Fort Ligonier will agree that Burd’s description is good and will understand why the first site was evacuated. Bouquet’s order of August 23 had been very explicit. Just why those orders to take charge of the post at Loyal Hanna had been given to Colonel Burd instead of to Major Grant, as was Bouquet’s intention three days before,⁵⁷ is not clear. It is true that Burd had been given another promotion.⁵⁸ He now held the highest commission—that of colonel—that a colony ever gave before the Revolution. But the provincial commission of colonel would not equal in importance any granted by the king of England, no matter how inferior that one might be.⁵⁹ Probably Grant, who was a great favorite of General Forbes, had pleaded for a more spectacular assignment. That he early had a scheme in his head is evident from Forbes’ letter of September 23. In connection with this plan, Bouquet, on September 7, called into his tent Major Lewis and Colonel Burd, told them of Grant’s proposal, and asked their advice on the plan.⁶⁰ Bouquet did not write his superior officer what opinion had been expressed. The inference, however, is that the officers consulted approved. At any rate, Grant marched on the 9th taking Major Lewis along. Bouquet followed on the 10th, coming up with Grant at the advanced post and watched him leave on the morning of the 11th for Fort Duquesne.⁶¹ Grant’s tragic dénouement on the hill above Fort Duquesne followed on the 14th.

It would be interesting to have the reactions of true frontier soldiers of that time to this defeat. Bouquet had had two years’ experience in this country; Grant even less. One wonders how Washington or Burd would have behaved on this scouting trip. Bouquet, who

⁵⁶ Burd to Bouquet, Loyal Hanna, September 6, 1758; Letter Book, 88. Original plan of the Camp at Loyal Hanna, 1758, is in the possession of Mr. Edward Shippen Thompson of Thompsettown, Pa.

⁵⁷ Bouquet to Forbes (in French) Raes Town, August 20, 1758; Bouquet Papers, B. M., Add. MSS., 21, 640. Transcript in Western Pennsylvania Historical Library.

⁵⁸ Burd to Governor Denny, Raystown, August 18, 1758; Peters’ Manuscripts; THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

⁵⁹ Lieutenant Governor Lawrence to Colonel Monckton, Halifax, March 28, 1755; Aspinwall Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, Series Four, IX, 218-219.

⁶⁰ Bouquet to Amherst, Loyal Hanna, September 17, 1758; Darlington, *Fort Pitt*, 75-81.

⁶¹ Burd to Allen, Loyal Hanna, September 13, 1758; Letter Book, 91.

relied so much upon his European background, acknowledged, when writing Amherst of this defeat, that, "The Provincials appear to have done well and their good men are better in this war than the regular troops."⁶²

On September 23, Bouquet was back at Raystown meeting Forbes who had arrived on the 15th. Thus Colonel Burd was trusted to erect and defend, even in the face of Grant's defeat, the most advanced post. The one ten miles ahead had been withdrawn after that catastrophe.⁶³ Forbes, evidently not expecting Bouquet, wrote him that day regarding this most talked of event. He said he could not make much out of the officer's description:

. . . only that my friend Grant had most certainly lost the *tra mon tane*, and, by his thirst of fame, brought on his own perdition, and run a great risque of ours, which was far wide of the promises he made me at Carlisle, when soliciting to command a party, which I would not agree to; . . .⁶⁴

The above letter is better known than the following one, in which it would seem that Forbes blamed Bouquet as much as Grant for the latter's defeat. In writing to Abercrombie he said:

You will see by Col. Bouquet's letter that he endeavours all in his power to apologize for this rash attempt, which was in every article directly contrary to my own opinion and my orders, . . . the rashness and ambition of some people brings great mischief and distress upon their friends . . .⁶⁵

That Forbes depended greatly upon Grant's good sense is found in a letter to his superior, "and now that Major Grant is gone I have no mortal belonging to my Command that I can either trust with a letter, or argue seriously about Army proceedings, Frank Halkett alone excepted who is most diligent, . . ."⁶⁶ A week later, from Raystown, Forbes again wrote Abercrombie about Grant, adding the postscript, "I hope in God you will lose no time in endeavouring to get back to Maj. Grant from Montreal, he was my only slight anchor, and support, . . ."⁶⁷ Major Grant lived to become a brigadier gen-

⁶² Bouquet to Amherst, Loyal Hanna, September 17, 1758; Darlington, *Fort Pitt*, 75-81.

⁶³ Forbes to Abercrombie, Raystown Camp, October 16, 1758, Huntington Library MSS.

⁶⁴ Forbes to Bouquet, Raestown, September 23, 1758; Darlington, *Fort Pitt*, 74.

⁶⁵ Forbes to Abercrombie, Undated, Unplaced, Huntington Library MSS.

⁶⁶ Forbes to Abercrombie, Raes Camp, October 8, 1758, Huntington Library MSS.

⁶⁷ Forbes to Abercrombie, Raes Town Camp, October 16, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

eral and to give a life's service to Great Britain. He did good work for that country during the Revolution. He was in the battle of Long Island and probably had something to do with arranging the exchange of Colonel Burd's son who was captured by the British in that engagement.⁶⁸ If Forbes did not give him the full blame, and his own country honored him, it seems hardly fair that America should remember him only as a rash fellow who exceeded his orders.

In view of the fact that Burd had heard those verbal orders given to Grant by Bouquet who later asked Burd to repeat them, and in view of the fact that Burd's conduct at the battle of Loyal Hanna was doubtless greatly influenced by Grant's affair, Burd's account of the instructions to Grant takes on greater interest. Burd wrote William Allen on the 13th that Grant had marched "to reconnoitre with orders to act agreeable to Circumstances . . ."⁶⁹ On the 16th, upon inquiry from Bouquet, Burd wrote a rather full account of the orders:⁷⁰ The eight hundred men were to march as secretly at possible, keeping "always small Parties of the best Woodsmen" ahead. If no Indians were to be found lying around their fires outside the fort, Grant was to conclude he had been discovered and "his Scheme must be at an End." If Indians were lying around their fires, he was to go to the top of the hill and lie there "keeping a perfect Silence" until midnight, then the troops were to creep up to each fire. For this midnight sortie the men were to have on "clean white shirts . . . to distinguish one another." There was to be no firing except at embrasures in case cannon were fired and then only a few rounds just before retreat. As soon as Grant judged the business done he was to beat a retreat. The troops were to "retreat Instantly" to the drums left with the major on the top of the hill. Although Grant departed from these vague instructions, it is quite likely Bouquet received little consolation from this written account of his orders.

That the fourth English defeat in the Ohio country had a very serious aspect, no one could deny. Counteracting the capture of Frontenac in Canada a few days previous, the disaster had only one redeeming feature for the English—it instilled a spirit of revenge

⁶⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, X. 307.

⁶⁹ Burd to Wm. Allen, Loyal Hanna, September 18, 1758; Letter Book, 91.

⁷⁰ Burd to Bouquet, Loyal Hanna, September 16, 1758; Letter Book, 91-92.

in the troops.⁷¹ All were eager for battle. Yet even in such times jealousy among the provincials was ever present. Colonel Burd, some of whose own troops had been in the affair, received the following condolence from Daniel Clark: "Sorry your battalion behaved so poorly in the late skirmish. Storys derive their birth from Capt. Dagworthy who without exception says the Pennsylvanians ran at the first fire."⁷² A little later, John Armstrong gave Peters the germ truth: "The Virginians are much chagrin'd at the Opening of the Road thro' this Government & Colonel Washington has been a good deal Sanguine & Obstinate upon the Occasion, . . ."⁷³

Besides the jealousies among the colonies as reflected among their troops at the front, the campaign leaders were yet harassed with the old problem of getting supplies. While Bouquet was visiting the posts and seeing Grant off, he was planning with Burd how to save the expedition from collapse due to this cause. Sir John St. Clair was sent back to Philadelphia to urge action,⁷⁴ and Burd, using his political influence, wrote William Allen: "Bouquet and I hope you will get the Assembly to pass a law to oblige every Person without exception who has a Waggon to make one Trip with Provisions to the Army under Penalty of Thirty pounds—They to provide Forage and to be paid as the law directs."⁷⁵ What Allen did we do not know, but that the irascible Sir John must have bungled things in connection with his work is evident, for sometime later the sick Forbes wrote: "and the Qr. Mr. Genl. is beyond the power of man either to change or amend. And the immense confusion of Waggons and roads are intirely Sir John's creating who by a certain dexterity has you in fresh Dilemnas every day, . . ."⁷⁶ Yet Sir John was capable, and the greatness of Forbes is seen in a later letter to the same Abercrombie, "we are every way so much mended in the Qr. Mr. Gen-

⁷¹ Joseph Shippen to Colonel Burd, Rays Town, September 20, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 203.

⁷² Daniel Clark to Burd, Camp at Rays Town, September 24, 1758; in possession of Edward Shippen Thompson of Thompsontown, Pa.

⁷³ Armstrong to Peters, Rays Town, October 3, 1758; *Pennsylvania Archives*, III. 551-552.

⁷⁴ Burd to Allen, Loyal Hanna, September 13, 1758; Letter Book, 90.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Forbes to Abercrombie, Rays Camp, October 8, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

erals Department that I beg leave to retract my reflections upon that Branch.⁷⁷

Alone at least since September 22, Colonel Burd was having numerous troubles. Dissention among the troops and officers was probably the most dangerous. Some time previous he had written Bouquet, who seems to have started the subject:

I am sorry to observe the Diminution of the Troops of the Province of Pennsylvania, but am much more so, at the psultry Behavior of some of the Officers, and I can't help taking Notice that their Self sufficient Opinion of themselves only tends to expose their Folly, and it is with Regret that I see them too wise to be taught.⁷⁸

On the 29th, apropos of the above, Burd again wrote Bouquet:

I appointed a Court of the Line to enquire into the Reasons of Col. Hamilton's confining Captain Ward & the Ensigns Pollock & Armstrong & enclosed You have the Report of the Court. Col. Hamilton is confined to his Tent under two Sentinels and Lieut. Lauchry to the Redoubt No. 1. and they both shall remain untill I hear from you.⁷⁹

Besides trouble with his own men, Burd was being harassed by Indians. They had recently killed one man, carried off another, and taken a number of horses. Lieutenant-Colonel Dagworthy went out with one party and Captain Ward with another, yet neither took any prisoners.⁸⁰

Nature, too, seemed determined to hinder the whole Forbers' campaign. It had been a rainy year. Burd wrote that before he left Augusta in May it had rained for fourteen consecutive days. Forbes had been told that October and November were fine months, yet he wrote in disgust of the effect of the continual autumn rains on the roads. Burd was hindered by this constant precipitation in supporting his parties. He had to send tools to Colonel Armstrong at Stony Creek,⁸¹ and he had sent Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd with four hundred men to cut the road to the former advance post.⁸² The rain also greatly hindered the erecting of the buildings and the digging of the entrenchments. Army routine, nevertheless, was kept up in much

⁷⁷ Forbes to Abercrombie, Raestown, October 24, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

⁷⁸ Burd to [Bouquet], Loyal Hanna, September 6, 1758; Letter Book, 89.

⁷⁹ Burd to Bouquet, Loyal Hanna, September 29, 1758; Letter Book, 93.

⁸⁰ Burd to Bouquet, Loyal Hanna, October 5, 1758; Letter Book, 93.

⁸¹ Orders to Ensign Armstrong, Loyal Hanna, September 9, 1758; Letter Book, 89.

⁸² Burd to Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd, Loyal Hanna, September 27, 1758; Letter Book,

the same way, no doubt, as Burd had done at Augusta. Reveille was sounded at break of day. Then all hands went to work except a reconnoitering party which also brought in the wagon horses. Breakfast followed—a hearty one if the camp were not on short rations through the carelessness or penuriousness of the leaders in the East. All parties, closely guarded, returned to work until dinner at one o'clock. After a short rest, work was resumed until sunset, when the troops gathered in parade. After supper the tired men surrounded campfires, and games and stories peculiar to military life occupied their time. In Colonel Burd's tent the pine knot burned late at night, while his driving quill pen turned off endless letters, orders, and journal entries. Interruptions to his rest must have been frequent, as belated wagoners, dejected pack horse drivers, and breathless post riders stopped to report. Some evenings, however, were doubtless spent with brother officers playing poker and drinking the inevitable liquor.

On October 6, or shortly after, it is likely that Lieutenant-Colonel Dagworthy with several other officers of the Maryland and North Carolina troops went back to Raystown. Burd wrote that much as he disliked allowing it, he had to let these men go since their troops were in such need of clothing.⁸³ Ligonier (Loyal Hanna) even in October, would seem chilly to Southerners. It is not likely they were all back by the twelfth. Bouquet, so far as we know, had not been at Loyal Hanna since September 22, nor had he written recently to Burd. On October 12, however, he wrote from Stony Creek, east of Laurel Hill, "I differed answering your Several Letters in Expectation of joining you every day. The Rains, broken Roads, and Several other contingent Causes have kept me back, Tomorrow I hope to dine w^h you, but don't retard your dinner for me."⁸⁴ Bouquet had the second division of artillery with him, while the third had just left Raystown, so we know Burd had only the original first division with which he started to Loyal Hanna.

By the morning of October 12, the fortifications of Loyal Hanna had been in the process of building less than six weeks. Bouquet, as before intimated, had not been there for about three weeks, and was

⁸³ Burd to Bouquet, Loyal Hanna, October 6, 1758; Letter Book, 94.

⁸⁴ Bouquet to Burd, Stony Creek, October 12, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 209. This letter has been widely printed.

on the other side of the mountain, not only unable to give assistance, but needing help from Burd in case of attack. Forty miles to the west was the French Fort Duquesne. The English had yet no proof of its strength. George Croghan, however, estimated the enemy to be four thousand, and Forbes, thinking of supplies, perhaps, said that even twelve hundred could harm his army.⁸⁵ It is likely Burd, knowing Croghan so well, believed his estimate to be correct and governed his actions accordingly, when, at eleven that morning, the French and Indians attacked Loyal Hanna.

We have several brief accounts by Colonel Burd of this attack. It started with the firing of a few guns to the southwest. Two parties were sent out to surround the enemy, "but Instantly the firing Encreased." Then a party of five hundred men were sent out by the colonel. The attack was so strong that these men were forced back to camp and "Immediately a Regular Attack ensued" with great fury.⁸⁶ In his journal and in his letter to his wife, Colonel Burd said the engagement lasted until three in the afternoon.⁸⁷ The main attack, he wrote Bouquet, lasted two hours. No details were given in this letter, only the statement: "But we had the pleasure to do that Honor to his Majesty's arms, to Keep his Camp at Loyal Hannon."⁸⁸ This dispatch was written in the evening after Bouquet's long expected letter had arrived. His superior officer had asked for one hundred axes to be sent him.⁸⁹ Burd not only complied, but he also sent off, at eight o'clock that night, two hundred soldiers under Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd to reinforce Bouquet, should he be attacked at Stony Creek.⁹⁰ Burd did this although he expected another attack on his own camp, and, in fact, two attacks were made while he was writing to Bouquet. At eleven that evening another at-

⁸⁵ Forbes to Abercrombie, Rays Camp, October 8, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

⁸⁶ Burd to Bouquet, Camp at Loyal Hannon, October 12, 1758; Stewart, *Letters of General Forbes*, 55.

⁸⁷ Burd to Wife, Loyal Hannon, October 14, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 213; Fragment of Journal Kept while at Loyal Hanna, October 12-17, 1758; both in THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Also see *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII., Appendix, 392.

⁸⁸ Burd to Bouquet, Camp at Loyal Hannon, October 12, 1758; Bouquet Papers, B. M., 21, 643; Letter Book, 95.

⁸⁹ Bouquet to Burd, Stony Creek, October 12, 1758; *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXXII. 445-446.

⁹⁰ Burd's Loyal Hannon Journal; Bouquet to Forbes, Rays Dudgeon. October 13, 1758, 10 P.M.; Darlington, *Fort Pitt*, 83. This place, no doubt, should read Fort Dudgeon.

tack was made.⁹¹ All troops slept that night under arms. Burd noted in his journal that Lieutenant Cairy returned that evening with his small party bringing clothing for the Virginia regiment. Every reinforcement, no matter how small, must have been very welcome.

At eleven next morning, Friday the thirteenth, an express from Bouquet arrived saying he was at Fort Dudgeon and wanted to know if the situation was such that he could get into the camp at Loyal Hanna.⁹² Burd replied that he thought it safe to come with his three hundred men. Bouquet received this letter the same afternoon. At ten that night he wrote Forbes he would start in two hours to join Burd although he could then hear cannon shots in the mountains. Bouquet was short of provisions and wrote that the two hundred men Burd had sent had not eaten for two days until that moment when provisions had come from Stony Creek. He added, "Without this cursed rain we would have arrived in time with the artillery and 200 men, and I believe it would have made a difference."⁹³ But at twelve that night he wrote Burd that, having discovered a party of Indians on the east side of Laurel Hill, he was taking the whole party back to Stony Creek!⁹⁴ He was still there on the sixteenth and had been joined by Washington who had spent July and August at Fort Cumberland.

Fuller accounts of this battle at Loyal Hanna (Ligonier) differ. Colonel Burd thought the French were twelve hundred strong with two hundred Indian allies. Forbes wrote Peters that there were nine hundred French and the two hundred Indians. The only available French accounts with any particulars, both written by Montcalm, do not give the number of the French.⁹⁵ Forbes said that Burd had fif-

⁹¹ Burd's Loyal Hanna Journal.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Bouquet to Forbes, Rays Dudgeon, October 13, 1758; 10 P.M.; Darlington, *Fort Pitt*, 83.

⁹⁴ Bouquet to Burd, Fort Dudgeon, 12 P.M., October 13, 1758; *Supra*, XXXII. 446.

⁹⁵ M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle, Montreal, November 15, 1758; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, VI. 426-427. Sipe in *Fort Ligonier and Its Times* thinks this letter refers to Grant's defeat. George Donehoo in *Pennsylvania, A History* thinks it refers to Burd's victory. The writer agrees with Dr. Donehoo: M. de Montcalm to M. de Cremille, Montreal, November 21, 1758. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, VI. 427-428. See also "Fort Ligonier: Additional light from unpublished Documents" by A. P. James, in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XVII. 259-86 (Dec. 1934).

teen hundred not counting the sick. Other details also differ. Burd thought Captain de Ligneris of Fort Duquesne had sent M. de Verti in command. Montcalm says it was Captain Aubry who attacked and gained a considerable advantage. Burd says the English lost sixty-two men and five officers killed, wounded, and missing; Montcalm says the English lost one hundred fifty men, killed, wounded, and missing. Montcalm says the French had only two men killed and seven wounded; Burd says the French were busy all night carrying off their killed and wounded and writes in his journal of burying seven French soldiers and taking one prisoner. Since Montcalm has the date and location of battle wrong, it is probable much else is wrong also. Two things, at least, that he recorded were correct: the Indians had since gone off to hunt, and the Louisiana detachment at Duquesne had gone home.

Bouquet made complimentary remarks in his letter of the thirteenth to Burd: "I am very easy about you, the Post is Strong and in good hands, . . ."⁹⁶ Yet he implied in his letter to Forbes that had he been there things would have gone better. In a later letter he called the affair a humiliating defeat.⁹⁷ Although he seemed a true friend of Burd's later on, it is probable at this time, for several reasons, he was not. Ten years in Pennsylvania had doubtless made Burd seem a provincial. Bouquet gave his estimate of colonials in a letter to his sweetheart, Anne Willing. As a reason why he should not forswear a military for a civilian life in Philadelphia, he wrote:

How could I brook the supercilious look and the surly pride of the Humble Quaker? or the insulting rudeness of an Assemblyman, who, picked up from a dunghill thinks himself raised to a Being of a Superior nature? How submit to the insolent Rusticity of the free Pennsylvania Boor, who knows no distinction among mankind, and from a vile Slavery in his native country takes his newly acquired Liberty for a right to run into all the Excesses of Licentiousness and Arrogance.⁹⁸

One is not surprised that Anne refused Bouquet, and married one of the men at whom he railed. Nor yet is one surprised that this

⁹⁶ Bouquet to Burd, Fort Dudgeon, 12 P.M., October 13, 1758; *supra*, XXXII. 446.

⁹⁷ Bouquet to Forbes (in French), Stony Creek, October 15, 1758, 11 A.M.; Bouquet Papers, B. M., Add. MSS., 21, 640, f. 183, A.C.S. Transcript in Western Pennsylvania Historical Library.

⁹⁸ Bouquet to Anne Willing, Fort Pitt, January 15, 1761; George Harrison Fisher, "Brigadier General Henry Bouquet," *supra*, III. 135.

soldier of fortune should become a naturalized citizen in this home of the "Pennsylvania Boor" in order to be in a position to receive well-earned promotion from the king.

Again on the sixteenth, Bouquet sent a compliment —that Forbes had fired a *feu de joye* for Burd's "affair."⁹⁹ He was sorry no prisoner had been taken. He must not have received Burd's letter of the fourteenth which enclosed the deposition of the French prisoner who died that day.¹⁰⁰ From that paper, Forbes got his idea of the strength of the enemy, and from Bouquet's description, he received his main idea of the engagement.¹⁰¹ At this time it is unlikely that Forbes had ever seen his former countryman, Colonel Burd. John Armstrong had gone to Philadelphia to meet the general, but Burd had stayed at his post, Fort Augusta.

We have three long letters written by Forbes about the attack on Loyal Hanna. Alike in facts, they give varying interpretations of the action. The letter to the secretary of Pennsylvania, Richard Peters, puts the affair in a fair light. Forbes was diplomatic. He knew he was writing about a prominent man of the colony. He finished the description with, "I fancy they will not visit soon again, and it has put all the Waggoners in such spirits, that a single waggon will go now without one escorte, . . ."¹⁰² The letter to William Pitt was condemnatory of the defense. After pointing out that Burd had the greater number of men and that the French had no cannon he wrote:

. . . , I was extreemly angry to find our people had not pursued and attacked their rear in their retreat, from which we might have made reprizalls, but as our troops were mostly provincials, I was obliged to attribute it to their ignorance, for to do justice I must commend the spirit of some of the provincials, particularly the Maryland troops, . . .¹⁰³

This letter probably expresses, as honestly as possible, Forbes' opinion. The third one was to Abercrombie, his immediate superior. After that man's terrible defeat at Ticonderoga, it would have been

⁹⁹ Bouquet to Burd, Stony Creek, October 16, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 217; *supra*, XXXII. 447-448.

¹⁰⁰ Burd to Bouquet [Loyal Hanna], October 14, 1758; Letter Book.

¹⁰¹ Forbes did, however, send a special messenger to Loyal Hanna for direct news of the engagement, *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII. Appendix, 392.

¹⁰² Forbes to Richard Peters, Raystown Camp, October 16, 1758; *supra*, XXXIII. 91; Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, 57-59.

¹⁰³ Forbes to William Pitt, Raes Town Camp, October 20, 1758; Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, 59-62.

tactless for Forbes to report a victory. After giving the facts he wrote sarcastically:

I send you enclosed the list of killed etc in this great action of which (I beg you keep my secret) I must make the best, but I am apt to believe that the Enemy were not so strong as call'd, and that we had above 1500 effective men within our breastwork exclusive of sick and yet neither made one *sortie* or followed them half a yard, but shamefully allowed them to bury the few they had killed. Carry off their wounded with some prisoners, and all our horses. . . .¹⁰⁴

Forbes then added that because the rains and lack of provisions had depressed every one's spirits he "puffed up every thing and ordered a General Feu de Joye," but he hoped soon to make a real *feu de joye* for Abercrombie's success!¹⁰⁵

Colonel Burd had taken no chances. He had done nothing spectacular. He was stationed at the outpost, and he held it against a long attack whose potential strength he did not know. Losing less than a score in killed, he erased the previous defeat. Without holding a brief for Burd, one must admit that after four defeats, his was the only important English victory over the French in the Ohio country. Burd, as well as the Indians had watched the failure of Ensign Ward, of Captain Washington, of General Braddock, and of Major Grant. Another French victory might well have marked the end of English hopes for the Ohio country. Bouquet notwithstanding, it was an English victory, and was so considered by the Indians.

It is the irony of fate, that these four men who were defeated have received far more publicity for their failure, than has Burd received for his success. Bouquet, perhaps on account of his splendid victory at Bushy Run, five years later, has been the outstanding character in this campaign. By the twentieth of October, he had returned to Loyal Hanna. Perhaps Burd breathed a sigh of relief. At least, he would have more time to devote to the nine eastern forts, whose commanders looked to him for orders. All hands, however, were kept busy getting quarters ready for the whole army, the last division of which left Raystown on October twenty-third.¹⁰⁶ It now seemed probable that the army would go into winter quarters at Loyal

¹⁰⁴ Forbes to Abercrombie, Rays Town Camp, October 16, 1758; Huntington Library Photostat MSS.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Colonial Records*, VIII. 224-225.

Hanna. By the last of October Forbes was at Stony Creek and arrived at Loyal Hanna soon after. The sick general was now further pestered with the making of a momentous decision—to attack Duquesne or to go into winter quarters. On November 7 Christian Frederick Post arrived from Easton on his second trip.¹⁰⁷ Forbes, disappointed with the assistance of the Cherokees under Colonel William Byrd of Virginia, was still counting greatly on the neutrality of the Ohio Indians, influenced by the saintly Post. In this he was not disappointed. Post left on the ninth, carrying Forbes' message of that date.¹⁰⁸ The soldiers, perhaps Burd among them, wondered how Post managed without sword or gun.

On November 12 occurred the affair in which Washington was nearly killed. Forbes said that when two hundred of the enemy attacked the cattle guard, he sent a party of five hundred to the rescue.¹⁰⁹ These were commanded by Colonel Mercer. Then he sent Washington with five hundred more. From a misunderstanding and the gathering dusk, the two English parties fired on each other, killing two officers and thirty-eight privates. Thus Forbes' greater casualty list was one he could wish "sunk for a little" as he had wished Burd's to be.¹¹⁰ One encouraging thing for the English came out of this unfortunate encounter—the capture of a prisoner who told about the reduced strength of Fort Duquesne. The general decided to attack.

When Forbes and the main body of the army moved forward toward Fort Duquesne from Loyal Hanna, Colonel Burd was left with the rear guard in charge of that post. What a keen disappointment this was to the active young officer is seen in his letter of November 20 to Bouquet:

I have a most disaggreable Command here I wish it was Consistant with the Service that I could be ordered forward to Join you, it is certainly as unfortunate a Circumstance as has happened to me during my life, yett I will do my duty here, or anywhere else, to the utmost of my Faculty . . .¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Post's "Journal" of trip to the Ohio Indians, Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, I. 242.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 245.

¹⁰⁹ Forbes to Abercrombie, Loyal Hannon, November 17, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

¹¹⁰ Forbes to Abercrombie, Rays Town Camp, October 16, 1758; Huntington Library MSS.

¹¹¹ Burd to Bouquet, Loyal Hannon, November 20, 1758; Letter Book, 98.

Doubtless, Bouquet answered this request sooner, but at least on December 1 he wrote from the "Late Fort Duquesne" that no officer of the first or second battalion was to go farther than Loyal Hanna without the general's permission.¹¹² John Armstrong evidently had that permission. But if Burd did not get to the Gateway to the West in 1758, he made at least four visits there, one in each of the succeeding years. In 1759, he arrived by canoe down the Monongahela from the Redstone Country where he had extended Braddock's road to the river and built a fort on that river.¹¹³ In 1760, as senior officer of the Pennsylvania troops, he escorted General Monckton to that place where,¹¹⁴ in addition to his other duties, Burd was made deputy quartermaster-general.¹¹⁵ In 1761, he again took his troops to Fort Pitt, where he was to have been in charge had Bouquet been given leave of absence.¹¹⁶ And finally in the fall of 1762, Colonel Burd made perhaps his last trip to Pittsburgh, sent there by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton to receive prisoners delivered by the Indian tribes.¹¹⁷

The day before Burd had sought release from Loyal Hanna, General Forbes wrote a long letter directly to him about the desertion of Carpenter, the Cherokee chief. The Cherokees had been from the beginning of the campaign, the bane of Forbes' existence. Now the last of them had departed taking arms and horses which had been supplied by the English. Colonel William Byrd of Virginia had not been able to induce them to remain, and Forbes feared for the back inhabitants of the southern colonies. He, therefore, ordered Colonel James Burd to send to Raystown full directions for the commanders at Winchester, Cumberland, and Loudoun. The garrisons of these

¹¹² Bouquet to Burd, Late Fort Duquesne, December 1, 1758; Shippen Papers, I. 58; American Philosophical Society.

¹¹³ Bouquet to General Stanwix, Fort Bedford, August 22, 1759; Bouquet Papers, B. M., Add. MSS., 21, 638, F. 21, C. Transcript in Western Pennsylvania Historical Society; Burd to Joseph Shippen, Camp at Monongahela, November 4, 1759; Shippen Papers, I. 69; American Philosophical Society.

¹¹⁴ Burd to Edward Shippen, Sr., Carlisle, June 12, 1760; Shippen Papers, V. 53.

¹¹⁵ Burd to Edward Shippen, Sr., Fort Pitt. July 15, 1760; Burd & Shippen Papers, State Archives, Harrisburg; also see Bouquet to Burd, Presque Isle, September 30, 1760; Shippen Papers, V. 97.

¹¹⁶ Monckton to Bouquet, New York, July 5, 1761, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XIX. 86; also see Bouquet's answer, 114.

¹¹⁷ Joseph Shippen to Burd, Philadelphia, September 9, 1762; Shippen Papers, V. 207.

forts were to attempt to secure the arms from the deserting Cherokees.¹¹⁸ Brigade Major Francis Halkett wrote from Forbes' advance post, ordering the dejected commandant to detach two hundred of his best men and send them forward to the place the army was about to leave. This site was twenty-two miles beyond Loyal Hanna and fortified with "Four Redoubts." To Burd, then, fell the task of keeping open the line of communication and of supplying Forbes with food.¹¹⁹

The world knows what happened at the forks of the Ohio on November 25, 1758. Bouquet wrote William Allen that afternoon, "After God, the success of this expedition is entirely due to the General. . . ."¹²⁰ The next day, Forbes renamed the fort in honor of the man who had sent him out and probably envisioned the teeming city of today. The lack of climax in the long struggle for the acquisition of this strategic point was sensibly reviewed by Edward Shippen, Jr.

The reduction of the fort by driving the French away, though it will not make such an eclat in the world as obtaining it by regular siege or a pitched battle would have done, is nevertheless equally beneficial in its consequences, and General Forbes' prudence and good conduct will establish his character with thinking people, as effectually as if he had obtained his conquest through blood and slaughter. . . .¹²¹

The French, however, would hardly have evacuated Fort Duquesne, had their Indian allies stood by them. That these aborigines decided to go hunting was largely due to four factors: first, since the base of supplies at Frontenac had been captured, the French could not supply the Indians with the usual gifts; hence the primeval hunt was necessary for sustenance. Second, the slow, relentless progress of Forbes, supported by his fortified line of communication, must have seemed as inevitable as death to the savage, inured only to the short, hasty raid. Third, the character of Christian Frederick Post, embody-

¹¹⁸ General Forbes to Colonel Burd, New Camp 20 Miles West of Loyal Hanna, November 19, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 219; Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, 66-67.

¹¹⁹ Hacket to Colonel Byrd or the officer Commanding at Loyal Hannon, New Camp, November 20, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 219.

¹²⁰ Bouquet to William Allen, Fort Du Quesne, November 25, 1758; Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, 67-69; *Hazard's Register*, VI. 226.

¹²¹ Edward Shippen, Jr., to Father, Philadelphia, December 14, 1758; Balch, *Letters and Papers*, 150-151.

ing the traits of the religion he professed, helped win the red man's neutrality, for the promises of the Easton treaty seemed valid when delivered by him. Lastly, the severe check received from the provincials under Colonel Burd at Loyal Hanna quenched the ardor of the braves.

On December 2 Burd wrote Governor Denny of the happy outcome of the expedition,¹²² Saying he would return with the general and Bouquet, he asked that instructions about recruiting his battalion be sent him on his march. Two days later, he wrote his wife he would go to Philadelphia with the general, but that he and Bouquet would be stationed at Lancaster "which you may be sure is very agreeable to me."¹²³ Burd was expecting the general every minute, and by the eighth, when Post arrived from Logstown, Forbes was at Ligonier too sick to receive him.¹²⁴

The next three weeks were surely trying times. Colonel Mercer had been left at Fort Pitt, more soldiers would be left to garrison Loyal Hanna, but the others hoped to be back at their homes for Christmas. Forbes, being a soldier, must have been chagrined that his illness should retard the restless men; being a physician also, he must have realized this Christmas would be his last. Success was poor consolation for the lonely man. Colonel Burd, on the other hand, dreamed of spending the happy day with his wife and children. As days passed this hope failed. On the twenty-fifth, nevertheless, the men made the best of it and enjoyed a "frolic"—except Post, another lonely soul, who spent the day in the woods.¹²⁵

Two days later, Forbes was again able to travel in his litter. One wonders whether he might have changed his opinion about his countryman's defense of Loyal Hanna as he had changed his mind about the touchy Sir John. Probably Burd sometimes rode by his side as they retraced the long trail. The last day of the old year was spent resting at Raystown.¹²⁶ In a few days the troops reached Shippensburg where on the fifth, Israel Pemberton from Philadelphia met the

¹²² Burd to Governor Denny, Camp at Loyal Hannon, December 2, 1758; *Colonial Records*, VIII. 234.

¹²³ Burd to Wife, Loyal Hannon, December 4, 1758; Shippen Papers, III. 221.

¹²⁴ Post's "Journal" of Trip to the Ohio Indians; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1748-1846, I. 285.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 288.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 289.

general.¹²⁷ Strange that this Quaker should come out to meet a victorious army. Arriving at Lancaster, it is probable that Forbes stayed with Edward Shippen. No doubt the bell of the nearby church rang a thankful greeting. In the welcoming crowd were Sarah Shippen Burd and her little flock. Colonel Burd was home again.

Doubtless most of the provincials had been disbanded or given leave of absence at Carlisle or Lancaster. The Highlanders supported their chief as he started on his last march. Little record is found of Forbes' arrival in Philadelphia or of his last days. His iron will held out until winter was almost over. Colonel Burd went down for the funeral on March fifteenth.¹²⁸ He may have been one of the six officers who carried the body, preceded by the riderless horse, in the long procession to Christ Church. The interment within the chancel of that church was followed by a last discharge of guns.¹²⁹

As Burd walked out to the street, past the great Shippen house where Governor Denny now lived, and on to the London Coffee House, his thoughts must have reverted to his own future. He was still young—just thirty-three.¹³⁰

Pittsburgh

LILY LEE NIXON

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 290.

¹²⁸ Edward Shippen, Jr., to Father, Philadelphia, March 14, 1759; Balch, *Letters and Papers*, 152.

¹²⁹ *Supra*, II. 120.

¹³⁰ After this article was put in page-proof, the editor was given permission by Miss Caroline Elise Peale, of Philadelphia, to make the following extract from a letter in her possession written by Colonel James Burd to Lynford Lardner, dated at Lancaster, June 21, 1762: "You know I have had the Hon^r to serve this Province ever since Genl Braddock's March to Fort Du Quisne. I have gone through a long series of Fatigue in opening a Communication from this Province to the Ohio (and had a hard task to obtain it from [for?] Pennsylvania, much opposition being made by Col. Washington on the part of Virginia.) However we have now open to us that large & rich country."