The seven years' war reached its decisive period in North America in 1759. Colonel James Burd of Pennsylvania served his country from the beginning of that world-wide conflict. In 1755 he built a road over which supplies were to have been taken to Braddock's army. This road, sixty-five miles long, ran from near Shippensburg to the crest of the Allegheny Mountains. In 1756 he built Fort Morris in Shippensburg and assisted in the building of several other fortifications, and later he was assigned to the Third Battalion, which was stationed on the upper Susquehanna where Sunbury is now located. There Burd was largely responsible for the building of Fort Augusta, considered the most important outpost in the colony. In 1757, at the resignation of the colonel; Burd was given command of the battalion; upon the reorganization of the regiment shortly afterwards he became commander of the Second Battalion and was given supervision of the nine eastern forts in addition to Fort Augusta. In 1758 he assisted Forbes by building lines of communication, and on September 3 he started the construction of Fort Ligonier. During

1 Read at a meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on March 26, 1935. Miss Nixon is a teacher of history in the David B. Oliver Junior-Senior High School and is the author of "Colonel James Burd in the Braddock Campaign," ante, 17:235-246, and "Colonel James Burd in the Forbes Campaign," in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 59:106-133 (April, 1935). Attention has recently been called to what seems to be an erroneous statement on page 244 of the former article, wherein the author, referring to the retreat of Burd's road builders after Braddock's defeat, says that "all their tools and provisions were lost or destroyed." Burd wrote to this effect in a letter to Governor Robert Morris, but the letter was not sent (Shippen Papers, 2:15—Historical Society of Pennsylvania). A discussion of the point is in Miss Nixon's article in the Pennsylvania Magazine, 17:110. Ed.
the next month he was successful in repulsing an attack on that fort by a large force of French and Indians. Thus by the end of 1758 Burd was an experienced frontier commander.

After the Forbes campaign, Burd’s troops were widely scattered and he, under the direction of Colonel Henry Bouquet of the Royal Americans, was constantly engaged at Philadelphia and Lancaster gathering supplies and recruits for the 1759 campaign. This was tedious work. Exorbitant prices for supplies were asked, and many persons refused to sell since they had not yet been paid for the previous year’s services. During Braddock’s campaign, currency had been plentiful. Benjamin Franklin had been able to collect wagons easily by paying cash. During the Forbes campaign, currency had been scarcer and supplies were correspondingly harder to procure. In 1759, however, lack of cash almost ruined the campaign. Threats of seizure of forage with payment later, which were actually carried out in some cases, and threats of impressing soldiers angered the colonists. That Burd was earnestly attending to his duties is evident from the content of letters addressed to him. Bouquet wrote him that “you have the General’s thanks for your indefatigable Industry in forwarding every branch of the service in your country.” Burd was disturbed, however, by the discouraging reports about the men of his battalion that came from Major Thomas Lloyd at Ligonier and from Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Mercer at Pittsburgh. Lloyd wrote, perhaps exaggeratedly, that the “graveyard” had most of Colonel Burd’s men. According to Mercer, those stationed at Pittsburgh had fared almost as badly. Exhausted by the hard campaign and unaided by sufficient medical care, the soldiers had not been able to withstand disease. An epidemic of measles had broken out in the early spring. Scurvy, that dread disease caused by improper diet, had also taken a heavy toll. A flood on the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers had left the floor of the temporary fort at the “Point” covered with water. Added to all these troubles was the scarcity of food. The garrison at Fort Pitt had been without meat since the seventh of May, and on the twenty-fifth, when Captain Morgan was finally able to bring supplies, there was not one pound of any food left in
the storehouse. Mercer, himself a surgeon, felt deeply the soldiers' desperate need of medical aid and proper food.4

The situation in which the British garrisons of the western forts found themselves in the spring and early summer of 1759 was quite precarious. France had by no means given up hope of recovering Fort Duquesne; Wolfe had not yet made his decisive stroke. Constant rumors of the concentration of troops and supplies at Venango came creeping into English outposts; stealthy attacks made with increasing boldness by the Indian allies of the French upon the English lines of communication were becoming almost daily occurrences. A small party under Lieutenant Hughes was attacked within hearing distance of Fort Bedford, and four men were killed before the party was reënforced from the garrison. Captain Morgan, on his urgent trip with supplies for Fort Pitt, was attacked at Turtle Creek. Five men were killed but he brought the wounded and the much-needed supplies safely into the fort.3 An attack with a more serious result brought gloom to all the English troops. Colonel William Byrd III had sent Virginia troops from Winchester to reënforce Ligonier. On May 23 Major Lloyd wrote of the defeat just four miles from Ligonier of one hundred of these Virginians under Captain Bullit. This officer had a convoy of provisions. Thirty-six men were killed or missing; all his wagon horses, fifty in number, were killed or taken; and, worst of all, most of the provisions were carried off to the French forts on the English pack horses. The loss of these fifty horses was a blow to the English out


3 Add. MSS., 21644: 181; Shippen Papers, 4:49.
of all proportion to the fact, for the lives of the garrisons at Ligonier and Fort Pitt were seriously jeopardized by this depletion of transportation facilities. This attack upon the Virginia convoy had other disastrous effects. Even George Croghan was afraid to leave Bedford without a large escort; he waited two weeks before he could start for Pittsburgh to hold an Indian conference. He wrote Captain Horatio Gates that if another escort were attacked, the western posts would have to be abandoned. The farmers had now even a better reason for not supplying horses and wagons. Yet despite the danger and the positive rejection of the money bill by the Assembly so that the people had to await payment until money came from England, Burd wrote on the last of May that he had just sent forward twenty-two wagons and that thirty more would start within a week. Meanwhile, he had received word of the pressing need for troops to the westward. From Carlisle Colonel John Armstrong wrote that conditions made it expedient that Burd's new recruits be sent forward, and from Philadelphia Bouquet sent the general's marching orders for four companies from Lancaster.

The fear of an attack upon Fort Pitt and the danger of the starvation of its garrison caused military men to plan a quicker and easier means of transportation: a serviceable route from Virginia over which supplies from that colony and Maryland could be sent to Fort Pitt. The plans of the military men were soon endorsed by the business men of Virginia. The Ohio Company, ten years earlier, had planned a trade route to the junction of the three rivers. Late in July, 1759, Major Tulleken of the Royal Americans wrote General Stanwix that a Mr. Finnie, "a man of substance" and of "some interest in his Province" although nominally "head sutler" to the Virginia regiment, had proposed such a road. It was apparent that a new route would help Virginia trade and that it would also save his Majesty many pounds sterling. In fact, after the road had finally been determined, Bouquet made with the Virginians a very advantageous contract to which a penalty of five hundred pounds was attached. This contract called for the delivery at Fort Pitt of six hundred bushels of fine salt at twenty-two shillings per bushel, Virginia money. Salt from Carlisle

4 Add.MSS., 21644: 172, 185, 187, 193, 199, 201. See also the account of Bullit's defeat in James, ante, 17: 272.
5 Add.MSS., 21644: 209; Shippen Papers, 4: 49.
6 Add.MSS., 21644: 252.
would have cost the government, according to Bouquet, three pounds per bushel for carriage alone. During the winter of 1758-59 Captain Joseph Shippen and Captain Harry Gordon had explored the Monongahela region. Captain Gordon was the engineer who had designed Fort Ligonier and who later planned Fort Pitt. He was consulted about the projected road from Virginia, and on July 5 he made the following report:

The Road to Redstone Creek turns off at the great Rock five Miles Westward of the great Meadows—but the Indian Path from the great Rock is to be kept—and that comes upon the Mononghela two Miles above Redstone Creek —where it comes upon the River there is a Ridge upon which is the Remains of an Indian Retrenchment of a circular Form and below is a Creek where a Saw Miller can be made—upon the Point of the Ridge above to the River is a large Tree which I blazed.

Captain Gordon suggested that a post be erected on this ridge and he thought that “two Artificer Companies of Virginia” could make the road and post in a short time.

Since the road led from Virginia, the logical man to build it was Colonel William Byrd of that colony. In 1758 he had constructed Fort Chiswell near the forks of the roads from Philadelphia and Richmond and had built a fort on the Holston River, now in Tennessee. Colonel Bouquet thought Byrd was the man for the enterprise; on July 13 he wrote Hugh Mercer at Fort Pitt that the Virginians were to have set out on the eleventh of July, part of them to clear the road to Redstone Creek, the remainder to proceed to Bedford. Byrd received the order to march to Redstone from General Stanwix and replied that although he had no tools to open the road and build the fort, he intended to march not part but all of his five hundred men to the creek because smallpox had broken out among his force. Stanwix stated that he approved the plan unless Major Tulleken, who was stationed at Fort Bedford, should need the Virginians’ reënforcement. Tulleken was quite certain that the strength of the enemy was six or seven hundred French with eight or nine hundred Indians, that they had ten pieces of cannon, two of which were twelve pounders, and that the immediate objective of this force was either Fort Pitt or Fort Ligonier.
For these reasons Tulleken sent a request to Byrd to march to Bedford at once and leave his baggage to follow. Tulleken intended to join the Virginians upon their arrival and to go with them to reënforce Fort Lig-

onier. Hugh Mercer had written for more troops at Fort Pitt and said that an escort of five hundred men was needed to go safely to that out-

post. George Croghan, still at Pittsburgh after a satisfactory Indian con-

ference, wrote Stanwix that spies told of preparations at Venango for an immediate attack. Such was the anxiety that by July 18 Tulleken feared it might be too late to relieve the garrison at Fort Pitt; by the twenty-

first, however, he knew that an immediate assault had been abandoned, because Colonel Prideaux had drawn the French to Niagara, where he was planning to attack the fort with the help of Sir William Johnson and his Iroquois. On the day this intelligence came William Byrd arrived at Bedford with the five hundred Virginians. These troops were now di-

vided to form two escorts going west, and Byrd left with the first division for Fort Ligonier.  

There seems to have been no more discussion about the Virginia Byrd opening the road to the Monongahela at Redstone and building the post there. During the remainder of the campaign of 1759 he was stationed at Ligonier or at Pittsburgh; his men were kept busy re-

pairing the Forbes Road and aiding in building Fort Pitt. Both his wife and his mother wrote him at Pittsburgh, begging him to come home, but he seems not to have gone back to beautiful Westover that year even for a short visit.

Meantime, James Burd of Pennsylvania had been busy at Lancaster in a dreary round of purchasing supplies, arming and drilling troops, and sending them to Carlisle from where Bouquet wrote him that he would “forward them up the Country to form your Batt. as you desired.” There was, nevertheless, a pleasant compensation. Burd was able to see much of his family, and he and his father-in-law, Edward Shippen, doubtless en-

10 Add.MSS., 21644: 228, 245.
11 “Letters of the Byrd Family,” in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 38:
347–350 (October, 1930). In a letter to Bouquet on July 22 Tulleken wrote: “As to open-

ing the Communication between Ft. Cumberland and Pittsburgh it would certainly be of infinite service and is much to be wish’d for; Col. Byrd had received your orders on that head, but... Col. Byrd not thinking one hundred men sufficient for that end, and likewise imagining as things then stood that you would want all his people this way he has done nothing in it, and hopes the General will approve of his measures. Add.MSS., 21644: 247.
tained many of the men prominent in military and political circles. Toward the end of June Bouquet wrote Burd that he would "perhaps have the Pleasure to see you again at Lancaster to meet the General." Was it just General Stanwix that Bouquet expected to meet, or did he hope to dance the stately minuet with Ann Willing of Philadelphia at the home of her cousin, Sally Shippen Burd? In July Burd said good-by to these social gatherings and left with his troops to join Bouquet at Bedford.

On account of the grave danger of starvation, it had finally been decided to reopen the Braddock Road, thus providing two land routes over which provisions could be sent to Fort Pitt, where four or five hundred friendly Indians, besides the garrison, made it impossible to maintain any magazine. Bouquet was skeptical as to whether the advantages of this route would outweigh the necessity of maintaining troops at Cumberland for escorts, and he felt that the Virginians rather than the Pennsylvanians should furnish these guards.

Shortly after it had been decided to reopen the Braddock Road, the Virginia group again insisted upon the construction of a new road from the Braddock Road to the Monongahela River at Redstone Creek. Lieutenant Colonel George Mercer of Virginia wrote Bouquet that in 1754 he had commanded a "Working Party" that had opened a road from Gist's plantation to within three or four miles of that creek. He thought the road could be easily repaired, for he had not had to build a single bridge. By this route, according to Mercer, thirty or thirty-five miles of land carriage could be saved and by November Pittsburgh could have enough supplies. Colonel Adam Stephen of Virginia also wrote Stanwix recommending the road. The Virginia business men presented their case in favor of the route. Finally, on the twenty-second of August, two days after the Braddock Road had been opened to Pittsburgh by the Virginians under Finnie, Bouquet wrote Stanwix that he had sent Burd at his own request to open the road to Redstone Creek and build storehouses

14 Add.MSS., 21644: 262, 296. George Mercer of Virginia is likely to be confused with his contemporary, Hugh Mercer of Pennsylvania, who later also became a Virginian. In 1759 each was a lieutenant colonel in his respective colony.
and a stockade on the Monongahela, by which means there would be three communications with Pittsburgh and every province might send produce which way it chose. Just why James Burd of Pennsylvania had been chosen, rather than William Byrd of Virginia who had first been considered, or George Mercer, who had been over the road in 1754 and had fought with Washington at Fort Necessity, is not known. Urgent reasons for the construction of the road were advanced. To Governor Francis Fauquier of Virginia, Bouquet wrote that Stanwix had ordered the road opened in order to render communication easier with Virginia. To Edward Shippen of Lancaster, who with James Burd had spent the first half of the year in seeking supplies, Bouquet wrote of the new project and added that Burd had gone to Fort Cumberland, "being at last obliged to have recourse to Virginia to avoid the Impending Ruin of the Army."

Bouquet was by this time friendly with many Pennsylvanians of prominence. They may have induced him to postpone the Virginia road as long as possible. James Burd, too, must have disliked the prospect of seeing Virginia drain the Ohio fur trade. He had, nevertheless, done all he could to get sufficient supplies in Pennsylvania, and he had too often been near starvation during his own frontier projects to risk it for those at Fort Pitt. It is probable, therefore, that Burd urged the building of this rival road, and it is not surprising that this important work was given to him at his own request.

Burd took two men with him who knew the region: Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Shippen, who had been there the previous year with Captain Gordon, and Colonel Thomas Cresap, who with the Indian Nemacolin had marked and improved the early traders' path to the mouth of the Redstone. By the first of September Burd, with his party of two hundred men, had left Bedford and was in camp at Fort Cumberland. From all representations he would naturally have expected to find sufficient supplies at that point. In a letter written that day, however, he directed an officer of his battalion to bring with him all supplies since he could expect nothing at Cumberland! That night seventeen men deserted and took

15 Add.MSS., 21638:21; 21639:96.
two wagon horses with them. The autumn rainy season had begun and with it Burd's troubles. For the present-day traveler, accustomed to the macadamized road over which the motor-driven vehicle swiftly carries provisions, it is hard to conceive of Burd's plodding cavalcade of pack horses and crude wagons as, on the second of September, it moved slowly north from Cumberland. One hundred pack horses loaded with forage were sent directly to Pittsburgh. Fifty Burd sent back to Winchester to be loaded with oats, and forty went with him loaded with flour. Wagons followed. In all, he carried enough provisions for eighteen days. Bouquet wrote that fifty wagons were on the way with forage but that he was quite anxious to know what sort of road Burd would find. The road proved to be in such bad condition that Burd made only ten miles by the fifth of the month and by the seventh he was encamped at Little Meadows. Not a single bridge over the fourteen or fifteen creeks crossed in the first ten-mile stretch had been repaired. Heavy rains made a swamp of the road in many places. Perhaps it was exposure to the inclement weather that caused Burd's usually splendid health to become impaired; he used "Jesuit's Bark" (quinine) to combat a violent fever.17 The careers of James Burd and William Byrd, so strangely interlaced, were again parallel; for the Virginia colonel, ordered by Stanwix to leave Ligoni-er and join him at Pittsburgh, arrived there at this time "very ill."18

Braddock's Road, as described by James Burd, was "not more than 10 feet wide and carries up every Hill almost without a turn and Hills almost perpendicular." Burd had started with a moderate load for each wagon—twelve hundredweight each. Yet he wrote Bouquet that the horses could not haul this amount, so that he took about fourteen hundredweight out of the four wagons "and loaded upon the officers horses & at the Hills I put 6 soldi18 to each Wagon to hoist them up; I hope to march from hence 12 miles today, if I make out this March I will be very happy

17 Shippen Papers, 9:123; Burd to Bouquet, September 2, 1759, Burd and Shippen Papers (Pennsylvania State Library); Add.MSS., 21652:172.
18 Add.MSS., 21658:41. It is most difficult to distinguish, from the correspondence of this period, between the work of the two colonels—James Burd of Pennsylvania and William Byrd of Virginia—not only because correspondents misspelled the similar names, but also because the men were doing similar work in the same locality. Each was a leader in his colony, and at this time the two men were rivals for advancement in the British army.
at Night."\(^{19}\) The rains had made the road from Bedford to Cumberland so bad that Bouquet recalled his wagons and attempted to supply Burd by pack horse. As in the campaign of 1758, some profiteer had made ill-fitting packsaddles, with the result that three hundred horses had been lost on account of them. The farmers, knowing that their horses had been ruined by either the bad roads or the packsaddles, refused to furnish more horses; they even eluded confiscation by temporarily disabling the animals. The Bucks County plantation owners retained their horses in this manner.\(^{20}\)

Just when transportation facilities were breaking down and the road builders were getting far from their base, another difficulty to the forwarding of supplies arose: George Mercer could not persuade the Virginians to accept paper money. He wrote to Bouquet on August 28 from Winchester: "Pray Sir be pleased if possible to send Me down some Gold or Dollars" for "it will have a strange Effect upon the Eyes, & Minds indeed, of the Farmers." These men were aware of the prices offered to the Pennsylvania farmers and, as usual, found comparisons odious; but specie was the all-important requisite. Said Mercer, "The old Misers take more Delight in telling over the Pieces of Gold or Silver, than twice the Quantity of Paper." There is another interesting item in this letter of George Mercer: "I have engaged two very good, honest, industrious young Merchts here, to go out to Pitsburg with about £500 of Indian Goods, their first Venture." Thus did Virginia strengthen her hold upon the upper Ohio fur trade.\(^{21}\)

Meanwhile Burd was slowly pushing forward along the Braddock Road. On September 10 he passed Fort Necessity and on the eleventh the lonely grave of General Braddock. From there the party marched to the site of Dunbar's camp which, as Burd wrote in his journal, was in a stony hollow, surrounded by hills, and commanded on all sides; "the worst chosen piece of ground for an encampment I ever saw." He said, further: "Here we saw vast quantities of cannon-ball, musket-bullets, broken shells, and an immense destruction of powder, wagons, etc. Reconnoitered all the camp, and attempted to find the cannon and mortars, but could not discover them, although we dug a great many holes where

\(^{19}\) Add.MSS., 21644: 367.
\(^{20}\) Add.MSS., 21652: 167; 21638: 37.
\(^{21}\) Add.MSS., 21644: 342-345.
stores had been buried, and concluded the French had carried them off.” On the same day he wrote, “We continued our march, and got to Guest’s (Gist’s) place; here we found a fine country.”

On the next day Burd’s party turned away from the friendly open spaces of Gist’s plantation and started on its first objective—the opening of a new road from the Braddock Road to the Monongahela. Whereas Braddock had taken a north-northeast course, Burd took a north-northwest course following some old blazes that he supposed had been made by Colonel Washington. After a few miles the party crossed Redstone Creek and cut the road along a ridge in a west-northwest direction. The following day James Kenny, a Quaker trader, wrote in his journal, “I met Col. Burd of Penna & a party with wagons & pack-horses going to ye mouth of Redstone Creek to build some storehouses in order to have ye carriage on this road to go from thence down ye Monongahela to Pittsburgh, old Cressap being their pilot.” A day later Kenny wrote that he had “met a man going with liquor to Redstone, also a small party of soldiers with some bullocks.” These were probably the last supplies to reach Burd from either Fort Cumberland or Fort Pitt for many a long day. The gratitude and good intentions of Virginia seemed to be expressed in words rather than in deeds. Governor Fauquier had written Bouquet, “This Colony has certainly great Obligations to Genl Stanwix for the Advantages he has procured to it by opening the Roads to Pittsburgh, & I sincerely hope his army will immediately and daily receive the Benefit he expects by being well supplyed with provisions from our back Settlements.”

Remembering, perhaps with gloomy foreboding, how starvation had almost conquered his road builders of 1755 and how unfavorable this section of the country had been to the English cause, Burd cautiously and steadily pushed forward. Even on Sunday the men worked, before and after the regular sermon by Dr. Alison, the chaplain. After leaving

23 James Kenny, “Journal to Ye Westward, 1758–59,” in Pennsylvania Magazine, 37: 444 (1913); Add.MSS., 21644: 379. Fauquier also wrote, “As for the Trade with the Indians, it is open with us and not confined, and I hope the Merchants will for their own Sake, as well as that of the Colony, be expeditious in sending up all the Goods they can procure, to furnish the Indians with in Return for their Skins.”
Gist's plantation Burd encamped six miles to the west where he had crossed the Redstone. There some mail reached the party, and from there Joseph Shippen replied to a letter from his father, who had informed him that a daughter had been born to Colonel Burd's wife at Lancaster. The letter to Burd containing the news had not yet reached him, although the event had occurred fifteen days earlier. Each day put the party farther from human contact. Soon the camp was moved to Coal Run. Of this place Burd wrote, "This run is entirely paved in the bottom with fine stone-coal, and the hill on the south of it is a rock of the finest coal I ever saw. I burned about a bushel of it on my fire." Burd has been given credit for the first mention of coal in western Pennsylvania. Although he has not received enough credit for what he did do, this particular honor he does not deserve. On April 24 of this same year Hugh Mercer wrote that excellent coal, and limestone also, had recently been found on the Monongahela nearly opposite to Pittsburgh.

On the twenty-third of September Burd reached the Monongahela. He had cut a new road sixteen and one quarter miles and sixteen perches long. He made camp at the mouth of Nemacolin's Creek (now Dunlap's Creek) one mile above the mouth of the Redstone rather than at the junction of that creek with the Monongahela. The reason for the change he explained to Engineer Harry Gordon:"You may remember last winter you blazed the trees on the point of a hill and then you went up another which Colonel Shippen informs me you called the Rich Hill and on which you saw an old Indian Fort. At the point of this hill I am building next the river. I determined upon this last place for two reasons. One was that just by the other place you blazed there was a very deep gully which I could not command by so small works, another was that Col. Shippen told me the place where we now are you preferred and indeed it is a very fine place." To Stanwix Burd wrote that the site, fifty yards from the river, commanded both it and the creek and was "not Commanded by any thing."

24 Shippen Papers, 4: 149.
25 Burd's journal, October 22, 1759, quoted in Crumrine, Washington County, 371 n-1 Add.MSS., 21644: 133.
26 Shippen Papers, 4: 165; Add.MSS., 21644: 424.
Burd had expected to find supplies awaiting him at the Redstone, but although the river was in good shape for bateaux none had arrived. There were no nails for the construction of the fort, no oats for the worn-out horses, and, worst of all, no food for the men. Burd had only eight bullocks left and for three days had been able to allow only one-half pound of flour per man, officers included, and that flour was spoiled. On September 25 the usually good-natured colonel sent a blistering indictment of the commissary department to Bouquet. In his bitterness he wrote that the Virginians evidently intended to starve him. But, hungry or not, the crew of more than two hundred men made the woods ring with the sound of ax and saw. On September 30 Burd wrote Stanwix, “I have kep’t the People Constantly employed on the works since my arrivall altho we have been for eight days past upon the allowance of one pound of Beaf and half a pound of flour per man a day and this day we begin upon a pound of Beaf, not haveing one ounce of flour left & only three bullocks I am therefore obliged to give over working untill I Receive some supplies.”

This same day Bouquet replied to Burd’s caustic letter of the twenty-fifth. After reporting to him the strict orders he had given George Mercer to send supplies and stating that he had begged General Stanwix to send a bateau to meet him, he wrote, “I am sorry to my Soul of your cruel situation, reproaching myself to have trusted to any Body but myself the Care of your subsistence.” Bouquet was really frightened; he knew hunters could not supply enough deer to eke out the meager rations. He wrote George Mercer of the probable fatal consequences of delay in sending Burd supplies. Mercer had several reasons for the delay. First, whereas the rainy season had retarded Burd in August, a drought now made it difficult to furnish him with supplies, for the streams were too dry to turn the mill wheels for the grinding of flour. Second, according to Mercer, the indolence of the drivers and wagoners was to blame, and finally, Joseph Galbraith, the commissary at Cumberland, who had orders to inspect all cattle and buy only those of a certain size, caused delay by refusing to obey Mercer’s orders to send all cattle on to the Redstone. Galbraith refused because he feared that inspection at the Redstone would

be ineffectual, since the troops there would take anything rather than starve. Thus the weather and such human characteristics as obstinacy, honesty, and carelessness threatened ruin to the expedition. Burd did not starve, but he seems to have had short rations for many weeks, since as late as October 25 Bouquet wrote that to prevent any future lack of provisions Burd was to stop any convoy to Pittsburgh and take all the flour necessary. That his party was thirsty as well as hungry is evident from General Stanwix' letter to Burd in which he wrote that he had "sent you 2 bbls. of rum, was I to send you all I have it would not wet the whiskers of your party." He added, "When you have finished your work I shall be glad to kiss your hand at Pittsburgh."

Burd was so far along with the work that it seemed time to give the post a designation. He often headed his letters "Camp at the mouth of Nemocalling's Creek." Bouquet wrote him to give the post a shorter name. In a letter to Stanwix, Burd asked him to name the fort, saying, "The Creek it's upon is rather too much of the Indian." Soon afterward, letters came addressed to Burd's Fort or to Fort Burd, and it is probable that Stanwix chose the name. The earlier Indian fortification on the site, however, had often been referred to as Redstone Old Fort, and this name was frequently used by early settlers for the post. On the eighth of October Burd wrote Stanwix that he had received all requisitions except the hinges for the gates. Colonel Joseph Shippen thus described the post: "The curtain 97\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet, the flank 16, the faces of the Bastions 30 feet, a ditch between the bastions 24 feet wide and opposite the faces 12 feet, the log house for a magazine and to contain the women and children 39 feet square, a gate 6 feet wide and 8 high, and a drawbridge—feet

29 Add.MSS., 21638:468. In a letter to Thomas Walker, October 25, Bouquet apparently blamed Mercer for Burd's predicament, for he wrote, "Col. Mercer having agreed with Col. Burd in August last to supply him upon the Mononghehela with Provisions from Virginia, can tell you by what accidents they were not forwarded. It is certain that these Troops would have been starved, had I not Sent them some Beeves, and two small Convoys of flour upon the King's Horses." Add.MSS., 21652:192.

30 Shippen Papers, 4:187. Stanwix has written "Colonel Byrd" at the bottom of the first page.

31 Burd to Stanwix, October 8, 1759, in the possession of Mr. Edward Shippen Thompson of Thomspontown, Pennsylvania.
wide.” Burd, who had constructed several forts, wrote George Mercer that he thought “this post to be infinitely the best on either the Communications, and it will really be a great pity if it is not properly supported.”

The building of the road and the fort was by no means all of this Redstone enterprise. Stanwix heartily endorsed Burd’s suggestion to build a bridge at the Little Crossing of the Youghiogheny and two small houses, one for a small force of men and one for stores, at the Great Crossing. Since neither men nor tools could be spared from Bedford or Cumberland, Burd was ordered to carry out his suggestion himself and later to leave a sergeant and ten men in charge. He also built a “flat” or boat at the Great Crossing. Then he was instructed, if he could manage it, to explore the upper Monongahela in order to find how far it was navigable and how short the portage was between it and the Potomac. An exploration of the Youghiogheny was also scheduled. Burd sent Colonel Shippen, a good draftsman, on these journeys, and a sketch map of the region was drawn up.

By the end of October the fort was almost finished and the work at the Little and the Great crossings had so far progressed that Burd made plans for his early departure. Captain Richard Pearis, who had escorted the much-needed supplies and had then begun the construction of the bridge, was put in charge of twenty-five men to garrison the new fort. Food was still scarce and Burd, knowing the supply of ammunition was almost exhausted by the hunters, wrote George Mercer, “I must beg that this garrison and that at the crossings may be immediately and constantly supplied with provisions.” Ensign Duffield was left with the main body of Burd’s men to finish the work at the crossings and was given orders to march later to Pittsburgh. By Saturday evening, November 3, 1759, all these plans had been made and the fort itself was finished. Knowing that the recent fall of Quebec had freed the garrison from danger of attacks instigated by the French, Burd decided to leave for Pittsburgh. Sunday morning dawned cold and snowy. Dr. Alison preached his last sermon in the fort and then set off for Philadelphia. The men were given a day of

12 Pennsylvania Archives, first series, 12:347; Shippen Papers, 4:201.

13 Add.MSS., 21644:453, 470. The map is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
rest and doubtless went down to shout farewell to Colonel Burd as he stepped into a canoe and disappeared down the stream.¹⁴

There must have been a happy excitement at Fort Pitt when the sentinels sighted Burd’s canoe rounding the bend of the Monongahela. No doubt the officers went down to the water’s edge to greet him. It was rather an outstanding reception committee—General Stanwix, who was soon to lose his life at sea while returning to England; the Swiss soldier of fortune, Colonel Bouquet, who was later to distinguish himself at Bushy Run; Colonel William Byrd III of Virginia, soon to retire to Westover and to remain loyal to England during the Revolution; and Horatio Gates, who later won fame at Saratoga and disgrace at Camden.

This was probably Burd’s first visit to Fort Pitt. It was to become a familiar place to him during the next few years. He had a house near the “Point” and probably welcomed many new settlers and aided many traders who came by way of the land-water route that he had so thoroughly pioneered and protected. James Kenny, the Quaker trader, described the influx of people to the region and stated that on “ye South Branch of Potomack people are in droves along ye road, going to Pittsburgh, some with flour & some with corn oats butter cheese &c.”³⁵ Settlers meant food and food meant the safety of Fort Pitt and the English interests in the Ohio Country, a condition that had been the major objective of Colonel James Burd.

¹⁴ Shippen Papers, 4:201; Add.MSS., 21644:479; Shippen Papers, 1:69 (American Philosophical Society Library); Burd’s journal, November 4, 1759, quoted in James Veech, Monongahela of Old, 32 (Pittsburgh, 1858-92). After frequently writing that he would march to Pittsburgh, Burd finally changed his plans and went by canoe. The following paragraph in a letter of October 29 to Bouquet gives a possible reason for the change: “I have been inform’d that it is not Impossible to gett a Road to avoid the two Crossings of the Monongahela, I shall send the Troops along & take a look at this, as I think it would be of great use to the driving of our Cattle etc. to Pittsburg.” Add.MSS., 21644:470.