



## *From Forts to Families: Following the Army into Western Pennsylvania, 1758–1766*

LIKE CINDERELLA, Cathrine Winepilt, Mrs. Middleton, and “Henery’s” wife dropped their slippers and disappeared.<sup>1</sup> They were among the colonial British women who stirred embers and ashes in camp and cabin fireplaces; women who had followed troops, traders, and farmers into the wilderness castles that were supposed to mark and defend civilization from savagery, British territory from French and Indian. They may have danced in those North American woodlands, but more often they drudged. That toil supported imperial claims and defense. Yet their contributions, and those of most other civilians with the armed forces engaged in the American campaigns of the Seven Years’ War, were not celebrated in the official accounts that recorded military actions. Letters, journal entries, and orders from Brigadier General John Forbes’s campaign in 1758 through Colonel Henry Bouquet’s command

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<sup>1</sup> Winepilt was a packhorse woman, Middleton a hospital matron, and “Henery’s” wife the consort of an old soldier or hanger-on. They are mentioned further below. The names and titles, or lack thereof, are themselves indicative of the varied states of rank, recognition, and even visibility of these frontier and follower women.

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of the troops in the Ohio Country to 1765, however, acknowledge their participation in the initial penetration and settlement of the old Old West, though usually in the context of noting the problems they caused. Other literary and material artifacts, such as frontier narratives and the numerous women's shoes found at Fort Ligonier in western Pennsylvania, also reveal both their presence and the difficulties they endured.

The women and their families dealt with the same hardships as the soldiers: culture shock, isolation, poor living conditions, numbing routines and boredom, intense physical labor, harsh discipline, disease, and the possibility of capture and death. Yet they persevered, and their growing presence—disruptive as it was at times—served to anchor both soldiers and civilians to the posts in particular and the backcountry in general. Their work helped preserve the troops that protected civilian traders and farmers. As these women rooted and maintained the forces in this frontier, the British army stimulated trans-Appalachian settlement by planting forts to secure the territory and by fostering communities at those forts. The latter occurred because other civilians followed the women's example and trailed the forces. Furthermore, some soldiers became traders and farmers upon leaving the service and settled along the routes they had hewed and near the forts they had guarded. Some men who had served in Forbes's campaign in 1758 (and a few surviving returnees from Major General Edward Braddock's expedition in 1755) settled in what became Westmoreland County, where they and their families could support and be supported by Fort Ligonier. In 1763, for example, just days after childbirth, the wife of Andrew Byerly (a former soldier turned settler) fled to Fort Ligonier with her children to escape attacks during the Indian rebellion known as Pontiac's War. Settlement in the Ohio Country, specifically trans-Alleghenies Pennsylvania, was thus spearheaded as much by women and the army as by trappers, traders, diplomats, and missionaries to the Native Americans.<sup>2</sup> The military established a material framework of roads, buildings, and ordinances as well as ordnance. The women, in

<sup>2</sup> For the Byerly story and the names of other early settlers, see C. Hale Sipe, *Fort Ligonier and Its Times* (Harrisburg, PA, 1932), 172–75. This essay focuses on the Anglo-American incursion into the Ohio Country. As Michael N. McConnell, in *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln, NE, 1992), points out, Delawares, Shawnees, and Senecas had settled the area not long before the Europeans arrived there and in doing so made the area even more important economically and militarily. Eric Hinderaker, in *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (New York, 1997), delineates how land came to trump trade in the definition and expansion of empire as Indians, colonists, and governments negotiated and fought for accommodation and then dominion.

turn, provided social substance.

The contention that the army helped establish civil society in this territory challenges the general notion that the British army repressed colonial settlement in the West, especially after the Proclamation of 1763. The army did take official control of the Ohio Country when it became a theater of military operations. That continued after the official end of the Seven Years' War due to the Indian resistance of Pontiac's Rebellion. Moreover, because the 1758 Easton Treaty, subsequent Privy Council instructions, and the Proclamation of 1763 presented intentions to prevent white settlement on the frontier, the army did have a duty to contain growth. The British army found, however, that securing sovereignty of the frontier required such civilian support that it could not, would not, stop all the people who followed it into the territory. But it did endeavor to regulate them. It had to, for it did not appear that the colonial governments and backcountry communities had much control over those trading and settling in the West.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, the army—a masculine institution—carried forward women who were fundamental to the establishment of what the colonists deemed civilization. That these women acted as “civilizers”—promoting stability, civility, and the European form of social organization—may seem paradoxical, for those who followed the army or fled to its fortifications for security generally belonged to the lower ranks of society and were anything but refined themselves. Yet as impugned as they often were by the contemporary elite, they were vital to the expansion of colonial society because they created and maintained family ties and performed numerous services.

Follower and frontier women packed and peddled goods into the backcountry as well as tended to their fields and families. As they did so, they both contributed to and were affected by the contest for territory, autonomy, and sovereignty that the British colonists called the French and Indian War. Yet the women who were tied to troops and posts appear to have had more intra- rather than intercultural influence. This is not to deny the effect of the hundreds of women, including some camp followers,

<sup>3</sup> Matthew C. Ward, in *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh, PA, 2003), notes how the lack of social and kinship ties as well as weak institutions hindered frontier community building and how conflicts between authorities and civilians undermined the making of both war and peace. Ward's work modifies, as this essay does, Hinderaker's contention that government had been a restraining force in the Ohio Valley until 1775. The British government and its army could not—did not—prevent continued settlement. The army's presence did the reverse.

who were captured by Indians during this time. Such women, whether they lived in native communities briefly or for life, certainly participated in transcultural relations and adaptations. But many captive women rejected native ways. Furthermore, as the objects of diplomatic wrangling and colonial ethnocentric fears and anger, such captives complicated and even undermined intercultural relations. Given that, the impact of followers in this part of the Ohio Country tended to be in the building of communities within rather than between cultures.<sup>4</sup>

The women who moved among the trees and stockades of the colonial

<sup>4</sup> Jean R. Soderlund argued, in “Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania: Toward a Model of Diversity,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115 (1991): 163–83, that women have tended to be analyzed separately in or from social, cultural, political, and other studies. This essay addresses that problem in part by integrating women into a backcountry military “community” study. It does not make the extensive cultural and class comparisons for which she also called because it does not focus on Native American women and because it appears that most colonial women west of the Allegheny Mountains in this short period were of the lower to middling ranks. As noted in Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998), 100–101, that had changed by 1788 when migrant Mary Dewees found a few genteel families in Pittsburgh. A comparison of follower to Native American women’s roles would have lengthened this essay considerably, but related information may be found in a number of sources. Two essays in *Friends and Enemies in Penn’s Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania* (University Park, PA, 2004), edited by William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, deal specifically with women’s transcultural influence in western Pennsylvania. Amy C. Schutt discusses the gender ties that fostered intercultural community building in “Female Relationships and Intercultural Bonds in Moravian Indian Missions” (87–103). Alison Duncan Hirsch, in “Indian, Métis, and Euro-American Women on Multiple Frontiers” (63–84), focuses on women’s involvement in diplomacy, trade, and hospitality. As she admits at the end of her essay, their influence, especially native women’s, was greater in peace than war. James H. Merrell, in *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, 1999), 68–71, wrote that women did not take on the role of go-between in the Pennsylvania backcountry. While a few colonial and native women may have acted occasionally as informers or translators, neither side accepted them as negotiators. Gender bias and the relegation of women to the domestic sphere—the latter reinforced by restricting women within or near fortified areas (this may be more applicable to 1780s Kentucky stations described in Perkins, [68], than 1750s–60s western Pennsylvania)—perhaps explains the Anglo-American refusal. The absence on the Native American side may be explained in part by what Theda Purdie related in *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835* (Lincoln, NE, 1998). She wrote that war put men “center stage in Cherokee society because war was the occupation of men, and political decision making came to focus on military and diplomatic matters, the business of men” (86). As warriors came to dominate diplomacy, consensual politics within the tribe faded. Women maintained considerable power within their villages, but lost it beyond that. Gregory Evans Dowd, in *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore, 2002), 86–88, touches on a similar shift among the Ohio Indians. British officers bargained with Indian men for the return of captives instead of with the women who often controlled the fate of such prisoners. Furthermore, in restricting trade to posts, the British effectively started to separate native women from that, for it was both more difficult for them to leave familial and agricultural duties at home and more hazardous to deal with the many men at the forts. Matthew C. Ward discusses “transculturation” in “Redeeming the Captives: Pennsylvania Captives among the Ohio Indians, 1755–1765,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 125 (2001): 170–73.

frontier lived in a forest rife with competing forces. As the eighteenth century passed into its middle age, especially after King George's War ended in 1748, more French and British colonial agents and traders moved deeper into the trans-Appalachian West. As packhorse peddlers drove ever larger trains along the Juniata Path through the mountains to the forks of the Ohio and beyond, British settlers followed.<sup>5</sup> The Native American inhabitants protested and used both diplomatic and military means to contain the incursion, while the French and British accused each other of trespass and acted to confirm their own claims. A few British observers may have faulted the colonists for the escalating conflict, but for others the criticism was not that the colonists should have stayed east of the Allegheny Mountains, but that they should have been quicker and more vigorous in opposing the "Encroachments of their perfidious Neighbours." Instead, the French were faster. After learning "that the English were building Forts, and raising Plantations along the River Ohio, . . . the French . . . took all possible Measures to disturb the new Setlers, and to erect Forts of their own on the Banks of the said River."<sup>6</sup> The French and their Indian allies also defeated the colonial counter-move, the Virginia expedition led by Colonel George Washington, at Great Meadows in July 1754, and then the British expedition under Braddock at the Battle of the Monongahela in July 1755. The escalating conflict helped ignite Europe's Seven Years' War in 1756.

Over the next few years British and colonial forces racked up more defeats than victories. In 1758, however, the British instituted new leadership, strategies, and mobilization in the American theater, which had a profound effect on the campaign to control the Ohio Country. That summer, to expedite attacks against the French entrenched at Fort Duquesne and to secure western Pennsylvania, General Forbes set his troops to building a road and establishing posts across the colony. Following the recommendation of Lieutenant Colonel Bouquet, he picked the Raystown Indian path for his route instead of the one forged earlier by

<sup>5</sup> Stanley W. Baker, "The Packhorse Trade across the Appalachian Frontier," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 23 (fall 1987): 7. The Juniata Path, often referred to as a "pack-road," "tote-road," or "horse-way," began near Lancaster, crossed the Susquehanna River at Harris's Ferry, continued through Carlisle and Shippensburg before climbing through the mountains to the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River and on along the Conemaugh River. It then followed a fork of the Ohio River to where the Ohio, Monongahela, and Allegheny rivers meet.

<sup>6</sup> *French Policy Defeated. Being, An Account of All the Hostile Proceedings of the French against the Inhabitants of the British Colonies in North America, For the Last Seven Years* (London, 1755).

Braddock. Forbes was determined not to meet with his predecessor's fate: the defeat and death that had been shared not just by soldiers but by women and servants. The families with Forbes's troops were thus not the first British and provincial followers to trudge into "the Shades of Death."<sup>7</sup> Nor were they the last, for followers and other civilians multiplied as Bouquet (as commandant at Fort Pitt) continued to hold western Pennsylvania under Brigadier Generals John Stanwix and then Robert Monckton (until Bouquet himself took command of the Southern Department in April 1764).

Forbes put to work officers and soldiers belonging to the Royal American, Highlander, Pennsylvania, and Virginia regiments as well as one thousand or so wagoners, sutlers, and other followers. He ordered the building of Fort Bedford at Reastown (Raystown) in May. By the end of June Bouquet could respond that construction was underway. Less than a month later, Bouquet also reported that he had sent Major George Armstrong (Third Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment) and one hundred volunteers out to find a spot suitable for a depot on the other side of Laurel Hill. Bouquet thought the right place would be at "Loyal Hanny," and Armstrong confirmed it with his note that "the Situation is undoubt-edly Good for nature has supplyed it with all conveniences, and what makes it more desirable is the Westeren breeses carrying with them the Smell of the French Brandy." Given such recommendations, Forbes and Bouquet sent Colonel James Burd (commander of the Second Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment; of the First in 1760) and 1,500 men to fortify the old Indian site on Loyalhanna Creek. Burd staked camp by September 3, and within a week not only had Bouquet arrived with more troops but

<sup>7</sup> George Thornton Fleming, *History of Pittsburgh and Environs*, vol. 1, *From Prehistoric Days to the Beginning of the American Revolution* (New York, 1922), 319. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000), 100. When Col. Adam Stephen wrote Bouquet from his camp at Edmunds Swamp on Aug. 8 and 10, 1758, he noted that he had checked out "the Shades of Death." Travelers in Pennsylvania apparently applied this name to places where the forest was so dense that sunlight could not penetrate it—in this case, a place where one could only get through on foot and while wielding a tomahawk. Native American and French women also trod through the "Shades." Cherokees scouting around Fort Duquesne in late July 1758 noted a woman washing in the river and another "putting up the Bars of a Cow Pen" near the fort; in Bouquet to Forbes, Camp near Reas Town, Aug. 3, 1758; and Capt. Abraham Bosomworth, Indian Intelligence [Raystown, Aug. 4, 1758]. Washington wrote Bouquet from Fort Cumberland on Aug. 19, 1758, that scouts watching Fort Duquesne had killed and scalped two "Squaws," and reported that there were "many Women & Children on that side the River, but very few men either French or Indian at the Fort." In Sylvester K. Stevens et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 6 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1951–1994), 2:341–42, 349, 313, 315, 389 (hereafter *Bouquet Papers*).

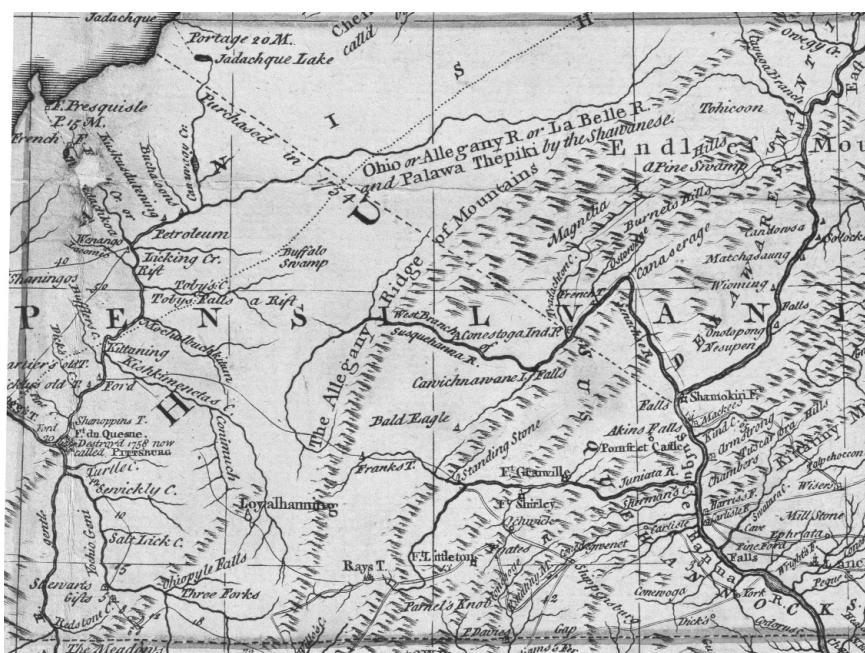
Major James Grant had marched 850 men and officers off to reconnoiter Fort Duquesne fifty miles away. Duquesne's defenders trounced that detachment.<sup>8</sup>

The soldiers at Loyalhanna (who now included men from North Carolina, Maryland, and Lower County [Delaware] companies) returned the compliment on October 12 when they stoutly defended their own fortification, which was soon reinforced by even more Royal American, Highlander, and provincial troops. There were approximately four to six thousand soldiers (plus followers) at the new outpost when the physically debilitated Forbes finally joined them in November. Soon thereafter, upon learning that Duquesne's commander had released his militia forces and lost his Indian allies, Forbes decided to advance. The French, hearing of this, destroyed and abandoned their post. The British then took possession of the forks of the Ohio on November 25, 1758. Forbes named the area Pittsburgh in honor of William Pitt, the British prime minister. He gave the name Ligonier to the fort at Loyalhanna in honor of General Sir John Ligonier, who served as chief military advisor to Pitt during the war, and dubbed the Raystown fortification for the Duke of Bedford, the longtime secretary of state for the Southern Department.<sup>9</sup>

Success at the forks of the Ohio did not mean that the area was secure, so, as they did elsewhere, British and colonial officials decided to strengthen the forts along this newly opened line of communication. British military forts were usually the strongest and most elaborate with their parapets, palisades, bastions, and barracks, but some colonial government fortifications showed structural similarities and strength. The latter could include cabins, storehouses, and other structures (such as powder magazines) surrounded by a stockade that might have blockhouses

<sup>8</sup> Jacob L. Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation of Fort Ligonier, 1960–1965* (Pittsburgh, 1970), 10. Extract of Letter from Officer [possibly Capt. Ralph Harding] on Duquesne Expedition, Fort Loudoun, July 17, 1758, provides the number of troops and followers destined for the expedition; Bouquet to Forbes, Camp near Reas Town, June 28 and July 21, 1758; Armstrong to Bouquet, Drounding Creek, July 27, 1758; Bouquet to Burd, [Raystown, ca. Aug. 23, 1758], instructions on marching to and setting up camp at "Loyal Hannon"; Bouquet to Burd, Reas Town Camp, Sept. 1, 1758, orders to take possession of Loyalhanna; and Grant to Forbes, ca. Sept. 14, 1758, reports the failure of his engagement against the French and Indians on Sept. 14. In *Bouquet Papers*, 2:227, 142, 252, 283, 406–7, 458, 499–505.

<sup>9</sup> Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Old Glade (Forbes's) Road, Pennsylvania State Road* (1902; repr., New York, 1971), 156–58; Fleming, *History of Pittsburgh and Environs*, 1:411–13; Fort Bedford Web site, <http://www.bedfordcounty.net/attract/fort> (accessed July 3, 2005); Forbes to William Pitt, Pittsburgh, Nov. 27, 1758, [and Philadelphia, Jan. 21, 1759], in *Writings of General John Forbes, Relating to His Service in North America*, ed. Alfred Procter James (Menasha, WI, 1938), 269.



Detail of *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America* (Philadelphia, [1758]), showing the locations of Fort Duquesne “now called Pittsburg,” “Loyalhanning,” and “Rays T,” in the lower left quadrant. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

on two or more corners. There were also simpler stockades that consisted of a log cabin in the middle of a palisaded enclosure. Settlers might also have found refuge in stations that consisted of cabins tied together by palisades that presented a continuous wall on the outside. And then there were the blockhouses. These fortified structures were usually two-stories tall, the top overhanging the bottom, and set up for rifle defense.<sup>10</sup>

The Reverend Thomas Barton, a chaplain traveling with the Forbes expedition, described a settler fort west of Shippensburg: Colonel Chambers's house "is surrounded by a Stockade of 300 Feet in Length, & 90 in Width. It has a pleasant Stream of Water runing thro' it, & is full

<sup>10</sup> Roy Bird Cook, "Virginia Frontier Defenses, 1719-1795," *West Virginia History* 1 (1940): 120; Charles McKnight, *Our Western Border: Its Life, Forays, Scouts, Combats, Massacres, Red Chiefs, Adventures, Captivities, Pioneer Women, One Hundred Years Ago . . .* (Philadelphia, 1876), 240. Information on company- and colony-sponsored forts may also be found in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Journals, 1748-1765* (Cleveland, OH, 1904), 83-84, 95; and in Fleming, *History of Pittsburgh and Environs*, 1:257, 385.

of small Huts built by the Inhabitants, who fled there from the Ravages of the Enemy.”<sup>11</sup> Years later when preparing for Indian attacks in 1763, Bouquet promoted the building or reinforcement of other such forts. As he believed there was no way to defend all the scattered plantations abutting the Alleghenies, he proposed that some areas be abandoned and that the inhabitants “Stockade seven or eight Places in this County, each capable of holding about 300 Men, exclusive of Women & Children,” to which they would flee upon the enemy’s approach.<sup>12</sup>

The people settling near such bolt-holes, whether established by settlers or soldiers, created communities that further fortified the frontier by establishing stronger collective defense via more men and militias. By doing so they both complemented and complicated the operations of Forbes’s successors who had government (Board of Trade) instructions to secure the Ohio Country, not settle it. Indeed, when British officials sought help from the Native Americans, they assured them of that purpose. Military necessity, however, made settling a part of securing. Colonel Bouquet may have harried squatters out of his area of operations at various times in 1761 and 1762, but he also encouraged some traders, tavern keepers, laborers, and farmers. His actions illustrate how, far from containing expansion, the army helped foster it.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> July 21, 1758, in Rev. Thomas Barton, “Journal of an Expedition to the Ohio, commanded by His Excellency, Brigadier-General Forbes; in the Year of our Lord 1758,” Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Barton was probably referring to Benjamin Chambers.

<sup>12</sup> Bouquet to Gov. James Hamilton, Carlisle, July 1, 1763, in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:280–81. Bouquet later suggested that Light-Troops be established for frontier service, and that after they served twenty or so years that they should be given plantations within districts set aside for that purpose. He believed this would induce enlistment in the corps, and that later the veteran-farmers would “be the greatest security of the frontier where they are settled.” In William Smith, “Method of forming such Settlements upon the Frontiers, as might support themselves during an Indian-War,” in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians* (1765; Ann Arbor, MI, 1966), 51–53 (microfilm). General Gage suggested something similar when he said he intended to demand a great tract of land around Fort Pitt from the Indians as part of peace terms. He wanted to form a “Military Settlement round Fort-Pitt, by granting the Lands Gratis, in Lots, not exceeding two Hundred Acres each, on Military Tenures . . . We may by such means, become formidable on the Ohio, at no Expence and in a short Time; And the Fort may be supplied at an easy Rate.” Gage to the Earl of Halifax, Apr. 14, 1764, in *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763–1775*, ed. Clarence Edwin Carter, vol. 1 (New Haven, CT, 1931), 24–25. Neither Bouquet’s nor Gage’s proposals materialized—perhaps because the ministry wanted peace and trade with the Indians, not settlement against them. On the other hand, many Pennsylvania settlers, including former soldiers, did erect fortified homesteads that, in turn, supported frontier defense. Perhaps dozens of such settler forts were erected during the 1770s–1790s, in an area of approximately seven hundred square miles, south of Pittsburgh. David S. Rotenstein, “Retired Lawyer is on the Trail of Forgotten Forts of the Frontier,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1995.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 524–25. Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 79. As Dowd notes, the

Maintenance of the line of communication demanded a civilian as well as a military presence, and it required the attention of both sets of people at the provincial and local levels. Bouquet noted the first when he wrote, on the very day the British marched into the ruins of Fort Duquesne, that possession of the ground just taken would hold only if Virginia and Pennsylvania assisted the troops by providing provisions, clothing, and goods for trade. He asked that not only cattle, horses, and garden seeds be sent out so that the garrisons could start to support themselves but that artisans, such as blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters, and masons, be encouraged to travel west to ply their skills. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Lloyd (Second Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment), who had been left in command at Fort Ligonier, gave added force to Bouquet's point in February 1759 when he "found it necessary to contract the out work" at the front of the fortification. Apparently his 240 or so effective, meaning healthy, troops (all that remained after Forbes left some troops at Pittsburgh and marched back to Philadelphia with others) could not build batteries and barracks all by themselves.<sup>14</sup>

Bouquet and his officers constantly needed supplies as well as workers to maintain the troops, roads, and forts. In May 1759, Bouquet wrote to George Stevenson, the prothonotary of York County, that as the country people were averse to going past Raystown the army will "buy or contract for Pack horses to carry the flour & forrage from Bedford to Ligonier, and then have the King's own Waggons and horses to carry to Pittsburgh." He also wrote that as it might be worthwhile to advertise "to encourage People to carry at their own Venture several necessaries to the Army, I beg you would let me Know what Prices you think should be offered at Bedford, Ligonier, and Pittsburgh" for flour, oats, Indian corn, rye, whiskey, pork, cattle, sheep, and hogs. He continued that sales in camp of small items such as "Butter, cheese, Fowls, Fruit Vinegar Wine &c" were welcome, "but no Spirit except for the King's Stores."<sup>15</sup> Bouquet was still encouraging traders in 1760, but he also contemplated making the forts more self-supporting. That meant supplying troops with items necessary for gardening, hunting, and fishing. He also considered establishing farmers at Bedford, Ligonier, Pittsburgh, and elsewhere "to raise oats, Indian

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Indians, challenging subordination and fearing dispossession, had hoped the British government would contain settlements, but they ultimately found that its army was the problem not the solution.

<sup>14</sup> Bouquet to William Allen, Fort Duquesne, Nov. 25, 1758; Lloyd to Bouquet, Fort Ligonier, Feb. 19, 1759; in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:610–11, 3:133–34.

<sup>15</sup> Bouquet to George Stevenson, [Lancaster, May 15, 1759], in *Bouquet Papers*, 3:283–84.

Corn, Wheat, and Rye." That meant the commanding officer needed the power to grant lands. Such power, however, always remained problematic and limited, for the British government did not want settlers spreading out and inciting the Native Americans.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, General Jeffery Amherst, commander in chief of the forces in North America, promoted settlement as a way to control territory and peoples (the remaining French and Indians, as well as incoming settlers) and take care of his troops.<sup>17</sup> Thus the army ended up recruiting traders, laborers, and artisans from among frontier settlers as well as from back east. A few of these, in turn, brought families with them or created them when they formed attachments with women at or near the forts.

As to the east, not all of the people who crossed the mountains and came to live near these forts were directly associated with the military. A few, such as the traders at Raystown, had already chopped out homesteads before the army built Fort Bedford, but many others, attracted to the jobs or security offered by the posts, followed their establishment. Even individuals in the army kept watch for postmilitary opportunities. When he was scouting out suitable sites for the depot that would become Fort Ligonier, George Armstrong wrote Bouquet that he really liked the lay of the land around "Drounding Creek" (Quemahoning Creek), and "when I return from Loyalhaning, and after the Works are finished, I intend to employ myself in Surveying a very Good Plantation or two that Lays upon this Creek." A few days later, apparently after thinking over just how that might have sounded to Bouquet, he wrote again to assure him that he put the service first over personal interests and that his idea of "Surveying a Plantation was no more than a Jock."<sup>18</sup>

Joke or not, Armstrong's idea of laying a claim does illustrate how military incursions could stimulate civilian settlement. Indeed, the Ohio

<sup>16</sup> "Articles necessary for the Western Department in 1760"; Monckton to Bouquet, Philadelphia, Apr. 5, 1761: "Col. Vaughan tells me that there are People settling on the Monongahela, at a Distance from the Fort, they should be told to Retire, or I shall order them to be drove off. As It may create Disturbances with the Indians." Bouquet to Monckton, Fort Pitt, Apr. 22, 1761: "As to the Lands occupied upon the Mononghehela, I Sent your orders to Serjeant McDonald to drive . . . those People off." In *Bouquet Papers*, 5:227–28, 393, 436–37.

<sup>17</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 473–74.

<sup>18</sup> George Armstrong to Bouquet, Kickeny pallens (site of Kickenapauling's Old Town) on Drounding Creek, July 26, 1758, and again from Drounding Creek on July 30, 1758, in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:280, 286. When Armstrong returned without finishing his reconnaissance, Bouquet reprimanded him. James P. Myers Jr., "Mapping Pennsylvania's Western Frontier in 1756," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123 (1999): 8.

Company, the actions of which had helped spur the war in the first place, offered Bouquet a chance to partake in its claims along the Ohio in 1760. It offered him the same acreage—twenty-five thousand—as held by other shareholders and told him that it proposed “so soon as the Wars are ended, to settle the Land with Germans & Switzers, which they shall . . . encourage.” The Swiss-born Bouquet was much obliged for the offer, but wrote that he had to defer because, according to the 1758 Treaty of Easton, the British government said that there would be no settlement until the Indians consented.<sup>19</sup>

Armstrong did not act upon his enthusiastic appraisal of the Loyalhanna area, nor apparently did anyone else—for a year or two. While the huts of packhorse men, sutlers, and other kinds of camp followers popped up near Fort Ligonier, it appears settlers did not start to establish farms there until 1760–61. By March 1762, when Lieutenant Colonel William Eyre of the engineers passed through on his way to Fort Pitt, he could record that “there are eight or ten poor People who live here, and are making little Gardens and do intend to sow Indian Corn this Year.”<sup>20</sup> As such it suffered in comparison to Fort Bedford and the rapidly growing Pittsburgh outside the gates of Fort Pitt, which, according to Colonel Burd, had 149 people—88 men, 29 women, 32 children—“that do not belong to the army” in July 1760. Admittedly, most of those men were Indian traders, not farmers.<sup>21</sup> Soldiers, some of whom left the army while in the West, also built lodgings at Fort Pitt and the other fortifications for their families. An April 14, 1761, return of the houses and inhabitants at Fort Pitt noted that there were 160 houses and 219 men, 75 women, and 38 children. Of those, 43 men, 23 women, and 13 children factored among the “out Lying” soldiers. One of those women lived in the house owned by Corporal Henry Harshaw of the Royal Americans. Harshaw himself may have continued to live there for a while after his discharge in November 1762, but at some point in the next eight months he traveled back east to the Fort Bedford area where he was killed by

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Cresap to Bouquet, Old Town, July 24, 1760; Bouquet to Cresap, Presqu’ Isle, Sept. 12, 1760; in *Bouquet Papers*, 4:656–57, 5:32–33. Bouquet owned a farm in Maryland and later accepted land grants from Pennsylvania’s government.

<sup>20</sup> Alfred P. James, “Fort Ligonier: Additional Light from Unpublished Documents,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 17 (1934): 281–83; and “Colonel Eyre’s Journal of His Trip from New York to Pittsburgh, 1762,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 27 (1944): 44.

<sup>21</sup> “Journal of Col. James Burd of the Augusta Regiment, 1760,” *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 7 (1878): 422; and Fleming, *History of Pittsburgh and Environs*, 1:467.

Indians on July 12, 1763.<sup>22</sup>

That attack on Harshaw was just one of many that presented a tragic irony: the movement west made the eastern edge of the frontier more vulnerable. That vulnerability, in turn, rebounded upon the march to the West. Although many officials and colonists advocated expansion, others had supported the military actions simply as a way to secure the newly planted farms and hamlets that butted up against the eastern front of the Alleghenies in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. But when British and colonial forces blazed trails west, Native Americans followed their own east. Indians found it easy to attack eastern frontier settlements and increasingly did so once war broke out. The result by the summer of 1758 was “deserted plantations where the Hay rots upon the Ground for want of Hands & Scythes to cut it down and make it.” The dearth of secure producing areas affected the ability of the provinces and people to provide for the army. Even with Forbes ordering troops and inhabitants out to mow the hay, people balked, for they feared what actually happened in August 1758: an enemy scouting party near Shippensburg killed one man and took a woman and “light horse” man captive. To bolster defenses Forbes had to order over one hundred Highlanders back from Fort Loudoun, where they had been punching out and protecting his new road.<sup>23</sup>

Yet even as some military forces remained to protect the near frontier, others continued to push into the far frontier. And once there, provisioning problems, which were aggravated by the Indian attacks along the line of communication, made commanders consider the advantages of encouraging not just traders but settlers to provide supplies. It was not as if many of these people needed such encouragement, as Proprietor Thomas Penn remarked when thanking Bouquet for his letter describing the taking of

<sup>22</sup> List of Houses and Inhabitants at Fort Pitt, Apr. 14/15, 1761; Report of the Fort Guard, Fort Pitt, Nov. 25, 1760, noted that Corp. Harshaw had been confined for “Striking a Soldr of the Pens.” In *Bouquet Papers*, 5:407–11, 120, 121n.

<sup>23</sup> Anderson, in *Crucible of War*, 162–63, wrote that war parties hit “within seventy miles of Philadelphia” in 1756 and that the frontier line was essentially pushed back to Carlisle. Forbes to Bouquet, Shippensburg, Aug. 18, [1758]; Brig. Maj. Francis Halkett to Bouquet, Shippensburg, Aug. 26, 1758; in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:383–84, 428. Gage applied this lesson to considerations of maintaining forts in the Illinois territory a dozen years later. He noted that it is false “that distant Forts draw the Attention of the Savages from the Settlements in time of War. . . . Forts Pitt, Ligonier, Bedford, Littleton, and Cumberland did not protect Pennsylvania and Virginia in the late Indian War; the Savages fell upon, and destroyed many Settlements in both those Provinces; and pushed their Incursions, as low as Shippensburg and Winchester.” Gage to the Earl of Hillsborough, New York, Nov. 10, 1770, in *Correspondence of Gage*, ed. Carter, 1: 276.

Fort Duquesne. Penn agreed with Bouquet's evaluation that it would be impossible to preserve a peace with the Indians if the British did not convince them that they did not intend to settle their lands, but he added that he had been informed that some people had already returned to their abandoned homesteads, and he supposed the rest would soon follow.<sup>24</sup> The problem was that of juggling the possible positive effects of settlers on the conduct of the war versus their possible negative effects on the preservation of peace afterwards. The latter point was the sticky one, and ultimately led Bouquet to issue a proclamation against settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains in October 1761 and the British government to issue its own proclamation in 1763. Both, however, were too late and inconsistent in implementation.

Most settlers who followed the army, including the women, were willing and able to participate in their own defense. Many knew defensive procedures because they had helped protect civilian or military forts in previous attacks. Willis F. Evans romanticized the fortitude of such women in his 1929 book, *Isabella Stockton: A Tale of the French and Indian War*. The story begins as a classic frontier folktale, complete with settlements and stockades under attack, native savagery, French perfidy, and colonial courageousness. Then the author resurrects another old American literary tradition: the captivity narrative. Taken by Indians, the child Isabella is adopted by a native woman. After a subsequent adoption by a French colonial family, she finally returns to her old home in the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>25</sup>

The most famous factual captivity tale of the Pennsylvania and New York frontier is that of Mary Jemison. In 1755 a Shawnee raiding party attacked the Jemison home in Cumberland County. The warriors carried off the young girl after killing her parents. A Seneca family then adopted her and took her to western New York where she, unlike fictive Isabella, embraced Indian culture. Many eastern Americans of the 1820s, when Jemison's story was first published, celebrated it as an account of history, adventure, and romance.<sup>26</sup>

The people who actually experienced or dealt with Indian captivity on the mid-eighteenth-century frontier did not have such a romantic view of

<sup>24</sup> [Thomas] Penn to Bouquet, [London, Apr. 14, 1759], in *Bouquet Papers*, 3:243.

<sup>25</sup> Willis F. Evans, *Isabella Stockton: A Tale of the French and Indian War* (Boston, 1929).

<sup>26</sup> Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Arthur Levernier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550–1900* (New York, 1993), 6; James E. Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (New York, 1961), vi–vii.

the actors or activity. Rather, they applauded those who escaped captivity and rejected native ways. Colonel Burd at Fort Augusta in 1757 did so when Betty Armstrong, a soldier's wife who had been taken eighteen months earlier at "Juniette," and then old Nelly Young turned up hollering for help.<sup>27</sup> Others did so when they bought Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger's 1759 account of escaping their captors, an action facilitated by the Indians moving after defeat at Fort Ligonier and then trying to establish trade at Pittsburgh. LeRoy, Leininger, and two men made it to safety at Pittsburgh, where the women rejoiced in Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Mercer giving them (and providing us with a peek at sutler stores) each a new chemise, petticoat, pair of stockings, garters, and knife before having them escorted east.<sup>28</sup>

Colonel Bouquet negotiated the release of many captives, which led others to apply to him for help. For example, Henry William Stoy, the minister of the German Reformed Church at Lancaster, wrote Bouquet in February 1761 that he had heard that the children of relatives by marriage were among the Indians near Fort Pitt and he hoped that Bouquet would recover them. Stoy had received the information from Marie LeRoy.<sup>29</sup> What is noteworthy here is that many captivity narratives (both factual and fictional) feature women in these cultural confrontations.

In his *Isabella Stockton*, Evans piqued the imagination of later generations by dramatizing how some women met those challenges. When warned of an attack by the natives, the Stockton family headed to John Evans's fort where they joined other families. Once within the stockade, the defenders decided on everyone's—including women's—duties. Some women were to pour hot lead into molds to make bullets, others to trim off the lead particles left by the molds, while still others were to cut bullet patches. Then, after a French officer with his Indian allies arrived and called for surrender, John Evans reminded everyone that in an attack, "we will get the women to load rifles. We have one extra—Polly's. Don't forget her, boys. She got it down and oiled it a couple of weeks ago. And

<sup>27</sup> June 26 and Aug. 28, 1757, entries in "The Journal of Colonel James Burd, while Building Fort Augusta at Shamokin, 1756–7," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 2 (1876): 799, 811.

<sup>28</sup> "The Narrative of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger, Who Spent Three and One Half Years as Prisoners among the Indians, and Arrived Safely in This City on the Sixth of May," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 7 (1878): 427–37.

<sup>29</sup> Stoy to Bouquet, Feb. 26, 1761. For example, among those, mostly soldiers, returned to Fort Pitt in Dec. 1760 were two women, Ann Bready and Mary Bready, both listed as Pennsylvania inhabitants, who had been prisoners of the French, in Return of Prisoners from Detroit, Dec. 26, 1760; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:310, 210. Also see Ward, "Redeeming the Captives," 161–89.

don't forget she can shoot if she needs to."<sup>30</sup>

"Don't forget her," Evans said. Colonists on the frontier did not forget what their women could do in an attack. There may have been some ambivalence in their praise of "soldierly women," especially when women's words and actions challenged the divide between the feminine and masculine, the civilian and military, but frontier settlers accepted women's contributions to community security.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately such assumptions and occurrences did not always appear in the written record, perhaps because people did not feel the need to record the commonplace, but challenging events sometimes served to shake people up and make them note what was usual as well as unusual.

Frontier women commonly did housework, cooked, milked cows, prepared flax and other fibers, spun, wove, and sewed. Their men hunted, planted, ploughed, and harvested. Some chores tended to remain gender specific, but they often shared tasks, such as the grinding of corn into meal, when necessary. And, as already mentioned, they shared danger, especially since they preferred to stay on their farms even as threats mounted. Then, usually at the last minute, they hurried to find refuge in nearby forts, stations, and blockhouses.<sup>32</sup> And then some of them, women among them, decided to stay close. For some of those settlers, that decision may have been due to the destruction of their farms and their need for supplies. Others may have simply preferred the society as well as defense of the military.

Although the military benefited from the development of communities around its forts, especially in goods and services, there were also drawbacks besides the increased tensions with the Native Americans. Commanders, for instance, found themselves importuned on civil matters even as they tried to maintain military readiness. Lieutenant Lewis Simon Ourry of the Royal Americans, in charge of Fort Bedford, noted to his friend and commander, Colonel Bouquet, in February 1759 that "the Country People coming with Corn to sell here, & Liquor &c: to carry up, and returning with a thousand requests & Difficulties, will perplex any body that is not a little innur'd to that variety of Occurrences, & perhaps throw things in great Confusion." He was, of course, dealing not just with the nearby Raystown residents, but sutlers and other merchants

<sup>30</sup> Evans, *Isabella Stockton*, 84–87.

<sup>31</sup> Perkins noted both the ambivalence towards and celebration of women's courage and marksmanship in frontier stories in *Border Life*, 142–46.

<sup>32</sup> McKnight, *Our Western Border*, 199, 239–40.

who moved through the backcountry and to the various forts in pursuit of trade. For instance, in 1760 "Lems the Suttler" (probably Christopher Lems, who took part in the Kittanning expedition and served in Bouquet's 1764 expedition to the Ohio) applied to Oury for permission to build a tavern near Turtle Creek. Oury sent him on to Bouquet with a recommendation, for Lems "keeps one at Bedford where he has always behaved very well."<sup>33</sup>

Months later, in March 1761, an exasperated Bouquet was trying to contain the mounting confusion at Fort Pitt that was caused by too many people behaving badly. He dashed off a diatribe to General Monckton about Pittsburgh being "infested with a number of Inhabitants the Scum of the neighbouring Provinces, who have no visible means to live, except a Licence." He now wanted to limit the number of traders at the post. In the meantime, he forbade the local inhabitants to allow soldiers in their houses after the evening gun or to allow their horses or cattle to roam loose in the lower town where they could destroy the fortifications. He warned that horses or cattle "found in the Ditch of the Fort, in the Brickyard, or in the Publick Garden, will be Shot, or sold for the benifet of the Poor." He thus neatly tied public good to military necessity. Bouquet also thought that the numerous dogs were becoming a nuisance, and so he ordered people to "keep their own dogs tied in or about their Houses, or send them down the Country as all those found in, and bout the Fort after the first day of april shall be Killed."<sup>34</sup>

A year later, the commander at Fort Ligonier, Lieutenant Archibald Blane, referred to an incipient infestation of inhabitants when he reported that "every Day I have a number of People soliciting for Plantations." At the same time he was juggling their land claims, he was also drawn into

<sup>33</sup> Oury to Bouquet, Fort Bedford, Feb. 9, 1759; Oury to Bouquet, Philadelphia, Dec. 14, 1760; in *Bouquet Papers*, 3:112–13, 113n; 5:174, 175n. Lems, recorded as Limes, owned a house near Fort Pitt in Apr. 1761. He also owned land near Bedford, and carried flour from Bedford to Pittsburgh between 1766 and 1768. It appears that he had been a sergeant in the Royal Americans at some point before 1763 and then served in the Pennsylvania forces in 1763 and 1764 (*Bouquet Papers*, 5:410, 419). Bouquet wrote Monckton, from Fort Pitt, Apr. 22, 1761, that while he had ordered Serg. McDonald to evict people occupying lands upon the Monongahela, he thought some taverns along the road west of Bedford were needed and would not upset the Indians. He asked that Monckton "permit People to build them at proper distances, allowing them the use of some Lands about their Houses to raise Hay & Corn"; Monckton had no objection, New York, June 28, 1761; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:436–37, 587.

<sup>34</sup> Bouquet to Monckton, Fort Pitt, Mar. 20, 1761; Bouquet's Regulations for Pittsburgh, Fort Pitt, Mar. 28, 1761; Order Concerning Dogs, Fort Pitt, Mar. 30, 1761; also see the comprehensive list of regulations in Orders Concerning Pittsburgh Inhabitants, May 9, 1761; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:355, 376–77, 380, 470–71.

their personal affairs. On June 14, 1762, after he set down his pen, he was off "to Marry Gasper Doup's Son to one of the young girles."<sup>35</sup> He did not make clear whether he was officiating or simply acting as witness to a ceremony conducted by a chaplain. As there were no established churches in the area at that time, and only occasional itinerant ministers or missionaries, chaplains' services could also contribute to a sense of civilization in the wilderness. Of course, that only happened when chaplains were available.

Ministers served as chaplains to the troops and their followers at various times. Charles Beatty, a Presbyterian minister, was commissioned as chaplain to the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment in June 1758. The next year he asked his synod whether it was his duty to go out with the troops in the coming campaign; the synod judged it his duty to decline. In 1766, however, he and George Duffield made a missionary trip to the frontier. They stopped at Fort Pitt in October where they met the Reverend James MacLagan, the chaplain of the Forty-second Regiment, and where they preached to both the soldiers at the fort and to the inhabitants in town. That must have been a treat to those who had been making do with lay services.<sup>36</sup>

Thomas Barton, who was commissioned chaplain to the Third Battalion in July 1758, had his charge enlarged by Forbes. The general, dismayed that troops belonging to the Church of England did not have a clergyman, authorized the Anglican Barton (who was affiliated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts) to minister to his command. Barton served on the Forbes expedition into the fall, and during that period he baptized a few children at Raystown.<sup>37</sup> Other chaplains came and went over the course of the war, but it appears that troops and inhabitants often went without. John Armstrong, who with his wife, Rebecca, helped establish the frontier community of Carlisle around

<sup>35</sup> Blane to Bouquet, Ligonier, June 14, 1762, in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:94–95.

<sup>36</sup> Guy Soulliard Klett, ed., *Journals of Charles Beatty, 1762–1769* (University Park, PA, 1962), xvii, 54–55. Beatty's application for advice from the synod, May 21, 1759, in *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1706–1788*, ed. Guy S. Klett (Philadelphia, PA, 1976), 351. In 1761–62 and perhaps beyond, some Pittsburgh inhabitants may have employed a Presbyterian schoolmaster who conducted weekly lay services. The Moravian Frederick Post also conducted services at times. In Ernest Edwin Logan, *The Church That Was Twice Born: A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1773–1973* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1973), 1–2.

<sup>37</sup> Barton, "Journal of an Expedition to the Ohio"; Forbes to Barton, [Carlisle, July 9, 1758], in *Writings of Forbes*, ed. James, 132. Barton received the governor's commission on July 7 and then Forbes's letter on July 12 after he reached Carlisle. He baptized a child on Aug. 7, a soldier's ten-year-old daughter on Aug. 13, and another soldier's child after the sermon on Aug. 20.

1750, commented in 1761 that he could not understand how Bouquet could “live so long in that Wilderness without the benefit of a faithful Consort, or Regimental Chaplain.”<sup>38</sup> Both were evidently essential to refined living in a time (war) and place (frontier) that were anything but.

Although auxiliary personnel matters were distracting and even distressing at times, commanders found that if they dealt effectively with such issues, civilians could and would assist them in securing the frontier. At times the commanders insisted on this, as Bouquet did in 1761. Bouquet, responding to mounting Indian tensions, established militia companies at Fort Pitt that June. He appointed Indian trader Hugh Crawford as captain of the “Lower Town” company. Robert Pearis, another trader, captained the other. Bouquet then ordered “all the Traders, sutlers, Artificers, Labourers, and any other men able to Carry Arms now living at Pittsburgh, and not belonging to . . . the Army” to enroll in the militia. Those who refused to enlist, he commanded “to quit this Place in two days.”<sup>39</sup>

Monckton reinforced Bouquet’s example in orders to Captain Ourry in July. Besides reminding Ourry to keep a good lookout and reiterating what he was to do with the stores at Bedford should anything happen, Monckton ordered him to arm the local inhabitants. Apparently those people did their part, if not then, then two years later as soldiers and settlers prepared for an Indian incursion. Ourry reported to Sir Jeffery Amherst, “I have been greatly Assisted by the Country People Settled about this Post, in repairing & guarding the Fort. Indeed, without their Assistance; I could make but a weak Deffence.” Ourry reported that he had two volunteer companies of eighty men each, which far outnumbered his regular complement. He admitted that one way he kept them was by provisioning their women and children, who he acknowledged were “a little difficult to manage” because not under military discipline, but he immediately added that he had to “do them the Justice to acknowledge their Behaviour to have been very good & Orderly.” Ourry may just have been fortunate in his neighbors, but perhaps he was simply better at civil-military relations than many of his brothers-in-arms, who finding frontier inhabitants to be recalcitrant, cursed them as “the scum of nature.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Armstrong to Bouquet, Carlisle, June 24, 1761, in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:575.

<sup>39</sup> Bouquet, Orders to Crawford, and Bouquet, Proclamation Enrolling Militia, [Fort Pitt, ca. June 29, 1761]; Militia List, Lower Town, Fort Pitt, June 30, 1761, in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:593–94, 606–7.

<sup>40</sup> Monckton to Ourry, Philadelphia, July 13, 1761; and Ourry to Sir Jeffery Amherst, Fort

Bouquet could be withering in his evaluations of the inhabitants. He contended, in response to a lady's concern over the residents of Quebec, that one of the advantages of war was "the destruction of beings who, by their vices or circumstances, would be a nuisance to society." He scathingly added that many frontier inhabitants were worthless, "and that the public did not suffer a great loss in getting rid of that vermin, which in time would have perverted the few good ones among them. To judge by what remains, they were no better than the savages, and their children brought up in the Woods like Brutes, without any notion of Religion, Government, Justice, or Honesty would not have improved the Breed." Harsh words from a man who also championed America as "the only place open to a foreigner" and one exhibiting many positive changes: "The towns are growing in a surprising manner, commerce is flourishing, the people are thriving and becoming more refined, the arts are being introduced, and it can be prophesied that in a century or two, it will be equal to Europe."<sup>41</sup> But he was an officer often aggravated by balky packhorse men, mulish wagoners, suppliers who did anything but, and colonial officers, soldiers, and civilians who did not always support his military mission in the prompt and efficient manner he desired.

Their desires and duties affected the perceptions of officers dealing with colonists who were juggling their own wants and needs against British demands. And, given that those demands were often great, provincials in general, and backcountry inhabitants in particular, did not always—or precisely—meet them. Thus the relationship that developed had a need/hate component from the start. Forbes wrote of the "horrible roguery, and Rascality in the Country people, who did not at all fulfill their Contracts and agreements," and how the people of Pennsylvania "by their Neglect and Obstinacy have it in their Power to render every step that has been taken (for the safety of these Colonies) fruitless and to no Purpose." Unless he saw the evidence—as in destruction due to Indian raids—Forbes tended to dismiss most of the colonists' counterclaims of

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Bedford, June 10, 1763; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:632, 6:246–47. On Apr. 23, 1763, Capt. Simeon Ecuyer wrote to Bouquet that all but the garrison at Fort Pitt were "scum." Bouquet at Philadelphia on July 19, 1764, wrote to John Harris that he was "disgusted at the Backwardness of the Frontier People in assisting us in taking Revenge of the Savages who murder them daily. . . . I am very Sorry to be obliged to alter the high opinion I had of them and that they give So just a Cause for Censure." *Bouquet Papers*, 6:178, 594–95.

<sup>41</sup> Bouquet to Anne Willing, Bedford, Sept. 17, 1759; Bouquet to [probably Col. Bouquet, his uncle in Dutch service], June 10, 1759; in *Bouquet Papers*, 4:115–16, 3:371–72.

scarcity of forage and abuse of wagoners.<sup>42</sup> Yet although some British officers spat curses at the colonists (who countered in kind), they generally received much of the support they needed. Noncompliance, however, got more ink.

Many people of the frontier found that when they went to the posts, whether for pleasure, business, or defense, they had to accept imperial priorities and deal with military oversight and regulations. Licenses and contracts spelled this out for those who provided goods and services. Bouquet distributed a form for licenses in June 1758 that stated that sutlers could furnish the troops of the Western Expedition with dry goods and liquor according to the orders and regulations of the general or commander in chief. They were forbidden to sell or give liquor to any Indians. Nor were they to provide strong liquor to any soldier or "Woman belonging to the Army" without written permission from the commander of the regiment to which he or she "belonged." Disobedience could result in the sutler's stocks being confiscated and the sutler "turn'd out of the Army." The license concluded with the warning that "you are to be Subject to Military Discipline so long as you enjoy the benefit of this Licence."<sup>43</sup> Three years later, Bouquet extended the power he exercised over sutlers to other civilian and government trading agents. He told the agent of Fort Pitt's provincial store that he gave orders regulating trade to support the good intentions of the Pennsylvania legislature. He said that he could issue such orders, and the merchants trading at Fort Pitt were subject to them, because there was "no form of Civil Judicature in Force." In essence, martial law was in place.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Forbes to Richard Peters, Shippensburg, Aug. 28, 1758, and to Gov. William Denny, Fort Loudoun, Sept. 9, 1758, in *Writings of Forbes*, ed. James, 191, 206–7.

<sup>43</sup> Form for Sutlers' Licenses, [ca. June 19, 1758], in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:114.

<sup>44</sup> Bouquet to John Langdale, agent of Provincial Store, Fort Pitt, Feb. 28, 1761, in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:317. If the "sutler" was a storekeeper or assistant who had been employed by a civilian trading firm or had acted against such a company, then the military could deliver the accused to a civilian legal body. George Kerr was confined at Fort Pitt in the fall of 1760 for stealing from the store maintained there by John Doncastle, Alexander Finnie, and William Cunningham. Kerr had been their storekeeper, but had been fired for drunkenness and refusing to do business. Doncastle, a resident of Maryland, requested that Kerr be sent down to Fort Cumberland and handed over to the Frederick County sheriff. Bouquet complied. Report of the Fort Guard, Fort Pitt, Nov. 25, 1760; Kerr to Bouquet, Fort Pitt, Dec. 7, 1760; John Doncastle to Bouquet, Jan. 19, 1761; Bouquet to James Livingston, Fort Pitt, Jan. 24, 1761; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:120, 158–59, 255, 261. For further evidence that Bouquet extended the military justice system to nearby civilians, see his letter to Gov. Francis Fauquier of Virginia on Feb. 8, 1762 (6:44–45). In response to Fauquier's worries that he was interfering with "the just right" of persons moving west of the Alleghenies, he said that most were vagabonds without legal authority to settle in the area. "As to such offenders being liable to be tried

Sutlers, traders, and others accompanying the army felt the force of its discipline often. General orders issued at Raystown on September 22, 1758, warned that the provost, who was to make his rounds twice a day, would examine the weights and measures of sutlers and stall keepers as well as prevent rioting, gaming, and other disorders. The order also required the sutlers to submit their names to Lieutenant St. Clair (probably James Sinclair, deputy quartermaster general) "with an Acct. of the things they have to Sell & from whom they receivd their Licences, as no followers of the Army will be allowed to remain witht. having a Licence from the Qr. Mastr. Genl. The Regimts. are likewise to be given in to Mr. St. Clair a list of the Sutlers who attend them." That same day the camp commander ordered that posts be established along the paths leading to and from Raystown from which soldiers would patrol. Part of their duties included stopping stragglers, soldiers, and others "going or coming to Camp without proper passes or Licences for so doing."<sup>45</sup>

Lieutenant Caleb Graydon, Second Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, registered much movement of suppliers over Forbes's Road in the spring of 1759. Graydon, the commander at Fort Lyttelton, observed the many sutlers, traders, and packhorse men, who with their files of horses, and occasionally wagons, passed to and from the forts (or other frontier spots) carrying such "necessaries" as dry goods, flour, pork, corn, malt, molasses, eggs, butter, liquor, and, sometimes, shoes. Notably, Graydon recorded the passage of women engaged in such enterprises. He wrote that on the morning of March 3 three sutlers on their way to Pittsburgh passed through: William Horn with four horses laden with flour; William Scott with five laden with flour; and Jonathan Lambard's wife with two horses laden with forage. Andrew Byerly, among others, traveled through later that day. On March 18, Cathrine Winepilt passed through with one horse laden with apples and eggs. Four days later, at nine o'clock in the morning, she passed through again with one horse (no note taken of goods), going downwards, along with Peter Skinner, a sutler with seven

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by a Court Martial, I conceive that People living out of the Settlements, and at Such Places where there is no form of civil Judicature in force, and acting contrary to the orders of that Department, can be tried by the Martial Law, agreeable to the articles of War: and that the actual inhabitants of this & other remote Forts are liable to be tried in the same manner, if they do any injury to Indians, or otherwise disobey the orders given by the General or Comanding officer, tho' they are not directly connected with the army."

<sup>45</sup> General Orders, Camp at Reas Town, Sept. 22, 1758, in Orderly Book, Expedition of General John Forbes to Fort Pitt, Toner MSS. Collection, Library of Congress. Photocopy of microfilmed transcript in Fort Ligonier archives. Sinclair was noted as a captain in other sources.

horses. Graydon wrote that on March 24, three sutlers with thirteen horses passed downward at three o'clock while simultaneously four men with three horses laden with malt were making their way upwards. Andrew Byerly's wife was also moving upwards with two horses. Graydon later jotted down that on May 5, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Jason Craclon with eight bullocks for the army passed through with an escort of a sergeant and twelve men who had been sent to the crossing at Juniata. At the same time, John Work, who was an Indian trader at Pittsburgh in 1760–61, and his family traveled through on their way to Ligonier.<sup>46</sup> Graydon's record thus clearly shows that women were active in the supply lines.

Carrying such necessities as dry goods was one thing, and liquor another; thus the emphasis on licenses. Authorities saw a connection between security and sobriety, and so they established who could sell liquor, to whom, as well as when and where. In October 1758 General Forbes repeated his orders that no one either in or following the army "shall give an Indian any Spirituous or firmented Liquours upon any Accounts whatever." If found doing so, an officer would be tried for disobedience of orders, while a soldier faced severe corporal punishment. A transgressing sutler was "to have his goods Plundered & be whiped out of Camp & any person who is found to buy exchange or Receive in any Shape whatever from an Indian any of the Presents made them by His Majesty, shall be deemd equally Guilty & Suffer the Same Punishments."<sup>47</sup> In the fall of 1760 Colonel Burd at Fort Pitt passed on orders that sutlers and traders were not to sell or exchange rum to Indians for skins; disobedience could result in their houses being pulled down, their stores "plundered," and the offenders turned out of camp. That December Colonel Bouquet cracked down on women selling liquor.

<sup>46</sup> Graydon, Journal Kept at Fort Lyttelton, Monthly Reports from Jan. 24 to Mar. 1, Mar. 1 to Apr. 1, and May 1 to June 1, 1759, in *Bouquet Papers*, 3:155–60, 222, 225, 226, 352. Winepilt was also spelled Winepitt. Andrew Byerly (Beyerly, Birely) "was the name of (1) a sergeant in the Royal Americans, (2) a baker of Lancaster who subsequently moved to Pittsburgh, and (3) an express carrier." The three may have been the same man (3:227. Also see n2). Bouquet observed that it would take thousands of horses to keep the forces supplied with flour alone. To reduce the number and expense, he recommended the use of carts drawn by oxen. The oxen could then be killed for meat. Yet he recognized that such a change meant that more attention had to be given to the roads. In Smith, *Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians*, 54. The use of wagons by traders increased as the army built the road and brought in its own wagoners.

<sup>47</sup> General Orders, Camp at Reas Town, Oct. 10, 1758, in Orderly Book, Expedition of General John Forbes.

Having been informed that “several women belonging to this garrison keep dram Shops,” and believing that was “contrary to order & good discipline, and evidently productive of very bad Consequences,” he ordered that after January 15, 1761, “none but licenced sutlers are to sell, give, or any other way dispose of any Strong liquer Whatever.” He gave everyone else two weeks to dispose of their liquor stock and warned that no evasions or excuses would protect those found disobeying the order. He promised that they would “be banished from this Place, or otherwise punished at the discretion of a Court Martial.” To ensure compliance, he directed that “an officer of Each Company will see this order read to all his men, & let the Women be acquainted with the same.”<sup>48</sup>

Of the numerous, repeated injunctions, the ones that perhaps irritated sutlers the most were those regulating the types and prices of their goods, but there were certainly many others that applied to these traders and other inhabitants at the posts. Bouquet issued standing orders in June 1758 forbidding “any Person whatsoever belonging to the Army either Officers Soldiers, Servants, Waggoners, Sutlers, Guides Artificers, or any other” from firing “in the Camp or in the Woods without Leave from the Commanding Officer (except in Case of an Attack) under penalty of being tried for Disobedience of Orders.” Orders issued at Raystown that July enjoined that “the Quarter Guard is to mind that no Body wash either Meat or Linnen in the Springs About the Camp, they are to be kept Clean for the use of the soldiers; All Cloaths are to be wash'd in the river.” If anyone disobeyed, the army followed through on its threat of military trials. An orderly book recorded that there was to be a court-martial at Raystown on August 11, 1758, “to try a Suttler for selling Liquors without proper orders,” and again on August 16 “to try Swan the Sutler for Disobedience of Orders.”<sup>49</sup>

Female camp followers also had to worry about the penalties for disobedient and disorderly conduct. Martha May, an experienced follower of

<sup>48</sup> Burd, General Orders, Fort Pitt, Oct. 8, 1760; Bouquet, Order Forbidding Liquor Sales, [Fort Pitt], Dec. 31, 1760; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:62, 224.

<sup>49</sup> Product and price examples in Bouquet’s Orderly Book, Camp at Rays Town, Aug. 8, 1758, and published “Rates and Prices at Raystown,” Aug. 10, 1758, in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:673, 352–53. The published list of rates, which established prices for Raystown, “Loyal Hannon,” and “at the Ohio,” covered dry goods such as soap, candles, writing paper, shoes, Indian blankets, and match coats, foods items such as sugar, cheese, chocolate, salad oil, vinegar, butter, and various liquid goods from coffee and tea to wine, rum, spirits, cordials, and whiskey. Bouquet, Standing Orders, Camp at Fort Lyttleton, June 17, 1758; Orders, Camp at Reas Town, July 3, 1758, Camp near Rays Town, Aug. 10, 1758, and Camp at Rays Town, Aug. 16, 1758; in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:656, 662, 675, 678.

the army, was reminded of this at the beginning of the Forbes expedition when she ended up in the Carlisle gaol for lambasting Bouquet when her “Old Soldier” husband was punished. Fearful of being left behind, on June 4, 1758, she humbly petitioned Bouquet for pardon. She abased herself as she apologized for “abusing so good a Colonel,” such a compassionate and merciful man, as Bouquet. She explained that her undeferential behavior had come out of love for her husband, and she promised that if Bouquet set her free,

I never will disoblige yr Honour nor any other Officer belonging to the Army for the future, as I have been a Wife 22 years and have Traveld with my Husband every Place or Country the Company Marcht too and have workt very hard ever since I was in the Army I hope yr Honour will be so Good as to Pardon me this ~~one~~ time that I may go with my Poor Husband, one time more to carry him and my good Officers water in ye Hottest Battle as I have done before.<sup>50</sup>

May argued her case upon the contention that she was long wed to both her husband and the army. Significantly, by accepting and appealing to Bouquet’s authority and by pointing out her own contributions to his force, she saw herself as in the military and of value to it.

Martha May may have insulted Bouquet initially, but often the shoe was on the other foot: the officers disparaged the women intent on following the army. Yet as derogatory as those officers may have been, they nonetheless allowed women to accompany their forces. They did so because they provided essential combat support services—the women’s work to which May alluded. These women were not often noted in regular muster or provision rolls, but orders regarding what they were or were not to do reveal their presence. The lack of notice was perhaps partially due to a lack of interest, but more due to acceptance of and a reliance on custom. What to do with women followers, and what women followers were to do, tended to follow precedents set in earlier wars. Published orders generally addressed special concerns in specific circumstances, though they, like custom, tried to ensure that followers benefited, not disordered, the army. They indicate that commanders were generally resigned to the presence of women, for those women helped “man” the military. Accepting wives aided recruitment and retention, and women’s labor

<sup>50</sup> Martha May to Bouquet, Carlisle, June 4, 1758, in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:30.

helped feed, clothe, and care for the men.<sup>51</sup> Eighteenth-century armies, although certainly male dominated, were no more exclusively masculine than the frontier was; indeed, each contributed to a feminization of the other.

That women (maybe Martha May among them) crossed the mountains with the vanguard of Forbes's expedition is evidenced by orders issued at Raystown on August 20, 1758, demanding that "Six Women from the Line" be sent immediately to the hospital to take care of the sick. Orders issued eight days later reminded commanders that six women needed to be sent to the hospital, but noted that they would be relieved every fortnight instead of weekly. Presumably they still received the provisions and "6d. Sterling" per day initially promised. Furthermore these orders specified that the Highland and Pennsylvania regiments were to send two women each, while one was to come from the Maryland companies and one from the Lower County companies. On September 4,

<sup>51</sup> In the past twenty-five years a number of historians have pointed out how women contributed to the economic and domestic sides of military life in early modern Europe and America. Linda Grant De Pauw noted the difficulties inherent to studying women in war as well as provided a survey of women's military roles in *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present* (Norman, OK, 1998). In many ways Barton C. Hacker began the current crop of scholarship by reminding readers that women were a normal part of European armies from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, though their roles did change somewhat. See his "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 6 (1981): 643–71. Paul E. Kopperman shows the British army's growing hostility to women followers, though continued pragmatic use of them, in the Seven Years' War and American Revolution (and thus gives an indication of the attitude that led to the growing masculinization of support roles in the nineteenth century), in "The British High Command and Soldiers' Wives in America, 1755–1783," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 60 (1982): 14–34. Kopperman notes women's essential role in healthcare in "Medical Services in the British Army, 1742–1783," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 34 (1979): 428–55. Scott N. Hendrix's "In the Army: Women, Camp Followers and Gender Roles in the British Army in the French and Indian Wars, 1755–1765," in *A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military*, ed. Gerard J. Degroot and Corinna Peniston-Bird (Harlow, Eng., 2000), 33–48, posits that the socialization and motivation of soldiers in the sexually integrated eighteenth-century army camps was intrinsically different than in later all-male ones. Peter Way, in "Venus and Mars: Women and the British-American Army in the Seven Years' War," in *Britain and America Go to War: The Impact of War and Warfare in Anglo-America, 1754–1815*, ed. Julie Flavell and Stephen Conway (Gainesville, FL, 2004), 41–68, points out that the military challenged traditional family life in that it took on the role of paterfamilias over soldiers and their wives. The military exercised an exaggerated form of patriarchy just as perceptions of soldiers and followers contributed to exaggerated images of masculinity and femininity (or lack thereof). Stephen Brumwell, author of *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755–1763* (Cambridge, 2002), in a section titled "The Army as Community," (119–27), notes how women and children added a measure of domestic normality to army life. Holly A. Mayer, in *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* (Columbia, SC, 1996), points out how the Continental army followed the example set by the British army in the French and Indian War to create its own military community.

Bouquet wrote Washington that there was no room for the Virginian's sick at Raystown, thus he was to leave them at Fort Cumberland when he marched his troops north. Bouquet would send a surgeon, medicine, and hospital equipment, but Washington needed "to order a Sufficient Number of Women to attend them as Nurses."<sup>52</sup> Women not only nursed the sick; they were among those treated: "Any woman suspected to be infected with ye. Venial Destemper are to be sent to ye. Hospittal to be examined & those who are found disorderd are either to be kept in ye. Hospittal till Curd or Turnd out of Camp."<sup>53</sup>

Some of these women simply passed through the backcountry posts, but others stayed—and in doing so left material as well as written evidence of their lives. Archaeological excavations at Fort Ligonier in the early 1960s were particularly fruitful. In 1961 workers digging west of the fort in what had been the cattle pens and a stream uncovered a tremendous cache of leather, wood, and metal items that had been masked by fill. Among those leather items were over a hundred complete or partially complete shoes and over a thousand bits and pieces of many more.<sup>54</sup> They may have washed down or been chucked into the stream and pen in the winter of 1758 or following spring as the soldiers bought replacements from sutlers or received them from the "Kings Store."<sup>55</sup> Then, due to flooding that April, when the garrison realized that the low land was too vulnerable to recurring water damage, soldiers filled it in, covering the area with a thick layer of clay that preserved everything there.<sup>56</sup>

Approximately 90 to 95 percent of the complete and partial shoes discovered were men's, as identified through both style and size, but the others provide some revelations about women attached to the camp and, incidentally, about the interpretation of physical artifacts. Initial interpreters hedged a bit on identifying some remains as women's shoes. Jacob

<sup>52</sup> Bouquet's Orderly Book, Camp at Rays Town, Aug. 20 and Aug. 28, 1758; Bouquet to Washington, Reas Town Camp, Sept. 4, 1758; in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:680, 684, 475.

<sup>53</sup> General Orders, Camp at Reas Town, Oct. 4, 1758, in Orderly Book, Expedition of General John Forbes.

<sup>54</sup> Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation*, 8, 128–44.

<sup>55</sup> Shoes figured often in reports due to being in short supply. In "Rates & Prices Settled upon Sutlers Goods at Rays Town by Order of Colo. Bouquet Commanding Officer," Aug. 10, 1758, shoes listed at eight shillings per pair at "Rays Town," nine shillings per pair at "Loyal Hannon," and ten shillings per pair at the Ohio, in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:353. Bentick (possibly Lt. Volkier Rudolph Bentinck), Yorck Town, [Feb.] Apr. 8, 1759 (month altered; editors think Apr. is correct), wrote Bouquet that he could not give an "exact account of the Blankets, and Shoes received out of the Kings Store at Ligonier." In *Bouquet Papers*, 3:234–35.

<sup>56</sup> Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation*, 23.



Parts of women's shoes uncovered at Fort Ligonier. Courtesy of Fort Ligonier.

Grimm's 1970 report did say that the high-heeled shoes probably were for women, but hypothesized that they could have been men's riding shoes. Other than that, both the plates and descriptions of the shoes and shoe parts in the report were identified without any reference to the sex of the wearer.<sup>57</sup> Then D. A. "Al" Saguto, master shoemaker for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, examined Ligonier's shoe collection in 1996. He confirmed that a number of those shoes were indeed for women, and in fact, the majority of them were "high-fashion" in style.<sup>58</sup>

Contemporary accounts infer that by the 1750s women everywhere and doing just about everything were wearing high-heeled shoes with textile uppers. The leather-covered wooden heels of such shoes were generally between one and a quarter to two inches high. The remains at Ligonier fit this pattern, for although no uppers appear to have survived, there are the pointy-toed leather soles and wooden heels that mark

<sup>57</sup> See plates 29, 33, 34, 35, and 36, in Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation*, 93, 100, 101, 102–3, 104–5.

<sup>58</sup> Telephone interview with D. A. (Al) Saguto on July 26, 1999, and in-person interview in Williamsburg, VA, on July 28, 1999. Saguto and Ken Treese examined the shoes in the spring of 1996. Saguto estimated that 90 percent of the shoes were men's; the counts of shoe artifacts in Grimm's work suggests 95.

women's shoes. Although not appropriate for the environment, they were probably essential to the women's sense of self. This is not to say that the shoes looked fashionable for long. Due to fit, wear, or accident, some women may have worn their shoes with the heels broken off and their feet spreading over the insole (wearing out their shoes at the sides). Fort Ligonier's shoes showed wear and tear, and their condition was not just due to burial; thus these were not the remains of a packhorse man's—or woman's—lost trading stock. One or two of the shoes had a distinct pattern of wear on both the front and back of the soles and heels. It is a pattern that suggests that someone may have trekked over hilly, uneven terrain, such as would have been the case if whoever had worn them had marched over the mountains. At least one woman tried to combat the toll on her shoes, for hobnails were found on a pair. While common on men's military and work shoes, primarily on the heel, they appear to have been rarely used on women's. Some female followers may have worn some kind of a leather shoe, or even men's shoes, but they were not, apparently, the kind of shoes being sold to or bought by most women. Review of the artifacts did not provide any evidence of all-leather women's shoes, nor could analysis reveal if some of the men's shoes—most of which, by the way, did not conform to standard late 1750s British army issue—were worn by women.<sup>59</sup>

While the remains of kitchenware do not add more material proof of women being present, for men certainly used pots and pans when cooking for themselves, the excavation of brass pins at Ligonier may serve as supporting evidence. Such pins were usually used for women's clothing (such as pinning the stomacher to a gown) rather than men's. Hundreds of buttons and buckles (shoe, knee, stock, garter, and belt) were also uncovered, but they do not specifically point to women's clothing.<sup>60</sup>

Although there appear to be no reports providing an accurate count of the number of women at these backcountry forts (besides the Pittsburgh censuses), the correspondence of the officers in charge suggest that the numbers continuously increased after 1758. As more army and militia units marched into these garrisons, so too did their human baggage. Furthermore, women, children, and servants moved back and forth

<sup>59</sup> July 26 and 28, 1999, interviews with Al Saguto. Clothing helped mark and maintain one's gendered identity. Perkins wrote—talking primarily about men's clothing—that "dress served as a potent symbol of identity in an exotic world of strangers," in *Border Life*, 88.

<sup>60</sup> Pins noted in plate 31 in Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation*, 97, 111; buckles and buttons discussed on pp. 56–75.

along the line of communication. For instance, Robert Stewart (ranked a major in the Virginia Regiment and lieutenant in the Royal Americans) asked Bouquet in September 1760 for the use of one of the king's horses to carry the baggage of four Royal American women at Venango who wanted to join Bouquet's troops at Presque Isle. In June 1761 Blane wrote Bouquet that as soon as the Pennsylvanians arrived he would send off his current troops at Ligonier, except his servant, the drummer, and an old fellow named Henry. "My Reason for keeping Henery is, his Wife has two small Children, and you have ordered her from Pittsburg. She can't maintain her self & Family without his Assistance. Therefore I thought it better to keep him here, till I know yr Pleasure, than run the Risk of sending her to Pittsburg."<sup>61</sup> Family life at the backcountry forts was marked by mobility and risk.

Illness was a constant threat, indeed, sometimes a greater foe than the French and Indians. Sickness battered Fort Ligonier in the spring of 1759. That April Lloyd had to inform Bouquet that many of the soldiers in the Pennsylvania Regiment were extremely sick. Furthermore, the person serving as a surgeon's mate was also sick. Lloyd asked that a surgeon be sent up to tend to his people. As if that was not enough to lay the Pennsylvanians low, he also moaned about how insult had been added to injury. Not only had the Pennsylvanians not been paid for six months, but the "Officers of the regular Service" were making the few healthy Pennsylvanians perform all the duties regularly assigned the entire unit.<sup>62</sup> They were sick, poor, persecuted, and exhausted.

Officers and soldiers also felt at times, despite their mission to keep open this line of communication, closed off from the rest of the world. They were most keenly conscious of that isolation during the winter when the earth and elements combined forces to make their lives miserable. After assuring Bouquet that he was as happy "as any Mortal has a right to expect on this Side the Grave," Ourry asked for newspapers: "No Book extant, not even the Pilgrims Progress, could please me  $\frac{1}{2}$  so much as a Succession of Papers from the beginning of December 'till now [January 25, 1759]. For, tho' I am debarr'd, & cut off, from the Conversation (& alas! Correspondence.) of the civiliz'd part of the Creation, I still interest

<sup>61</sup> Stewart to Bouquet, Camp at Venango, Sept. 4, 1760; Blane to Bouquet, Ligonier, June 9, 1761. Blane's "Henery" was probably Hugh Henry. It is not clear whether or not he was a soldier. Henry was allowed to go to Pittsburgh from Ligonier in Aug. 1762; but about a year later Indians killed him near Ligonier. In *Bouquet Papers*, 5:19, 536, 420n84.

<sup>62</sup> Lloyd to Bouquet, Fort Ligonier, Apr. 1, 1759, in *Bouquet Papers*, 3:228–29.

myself in their Happiness & Misfortunes; and have some Curiosity left." If that did not rend the heart of his correspondent, he followed through with an ironic stab: he imagined that Bouquet, then heading to Philadelphia, was by now "enured to the use of a Feather Bed, and almost able to Sleep between Sheets."<sup>63</sup>

After a busy summer and fall strengthening and stocking the posts leading to Fort Pitt, the soldiers and civilians stationed at or traveling between the forts once again had much ado to contend with nature, much less the natives. Bouquet wearily arrived at Ligonier from Bedford on October 8, 1759, after having been detained by weather and wagons. Three days of heavy rain had destroyed the roads between the mountains: "10 Horses could hardly get a Waggon up the Allegheny, and in coming down to Edmunds Swamp they Sinck above the axle Trees; Three hundred Pack Horses, that happened to be on the Road have been half ruined." The deeper the mud, the fewer the wagons and packhorses that got through. While the roads would harden and thus be sometimes—snow allowing—more passable in winter's freeze, there was then the added necessity of providing forage and shelter for the beasts.<sup>64</sup>

Getting indoors and huddling by a fire did not, however, always spell relief for the human element. Ourry at Bedford on January 13, 1760, noted that "the Cold is so intense just now that I cannot keep the Ink from freezing at the end of my Pen, tho' I am as near the fire as I can bear, & the Ink-Stand upon the Hearth." Just a few days later General Stanwix at Pittsburgh also wrote of the ink freezing in his pen.<sup>65</sup> As the ink froze, the men and women shivered.

Soldiers and civilians were often cold and hungry, but they seldom starved. Commanders worked hard to provide for everyone they deemed necessary to operations and troop welfare. Making that determination, however, meant that they had to try to get rid of some followers, especially before the exigencies of winter. Bouquet ordered Colonel John Armstrong of the First Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, to reduce the number of women at Ligonier when he arrived there in September 1759. Armstrong passed on the order to Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen of

<sup>63</sup> Ourry to Bouquet, Fort Bedford, Jan. 25, 1759, in *Bouquet Papers*, 3:81.

<sup>64</sup> Bouquet to Stanwix, Ligonier, Oct. 9, 1759, in *Bouquet Papers*, 4:201. See Bouquet-Orry correspondence of Oct.–Nov. 1759 on plans for way stations and provisioning packhorses, etc., in *Bouquet Papers*, 4:176–345.

<sup>65</sup> Ourry to Bouquet, Fort Bedford, Jan. 13, 1760; Stanwix to Bouquet, Fort Pittsbourg, Jan. 18, 1760; in *Bouquet Papers*, 4:419, 432.

the Virginia forces that were already at the fort. Stephen then sputtered back to Bouquet that he had read his directions “about the fair, I may Say, the foul Sex,” and that he was not part of the problem but that Armstrong was.

He has brought up a mere Seraglio with him, and among the Rest, three of our Cast offs, Sent down some time ago. If a person of his Rank and Gravity, a person whose example is so much respected, Connive at these things I fancy the thing will soon gain ground. All the women I wanted to get rid off, claim his patronage, and I have been obliged to Confine a Groupe of them, for pretending to go down, and then fetching a Compass, and Returning in the night to the Suburbs of Ligonier again.

Caught between Stephen’s disapproval and Bouquet’s orders, Armstrong did try to push some women back east—and found success as difficult to achieve as Stephen had. Armstrong admitted to Bouquet that “as No Orders, are Obey’d by the Females I’m beginning to Duck & Drum Out, but nothing less than force will persuade them to Visit their Old friend Capt Ourry, . . . they are inshort the Bane of any Army, the Devil & two Sticks.”<sup>66</sup> This was the same man who later, in 1761, wondered how Bouquet could live so long in the wilderness without a wife; but, of course, there was a difference between officers’ consorts and soldiers’ women.

Most of the women followers were not troublemakers, but those few who were colored the perceptions of observers. For instance, there was Sergeant John Coulton’s wife, who had been staying at Fort Pitt while her husband served at Venango. But then Mrs. Coulton eloped with the sutler Thomas Spencer in January 1761 and took off with money that was not her own. Sergeant Angus McDonald stopped her and her companion at Fort Burd when she could not produce a pass and, upon learning that they were not at liberty to leave, returned the two to Pittsburgh. Resolution was not a simple matter, however, for it appears that Mrs. Jacobs, a resident at Fort Burd, had, in turn, robbed Mrs. Coulton. McDonald found the money but could not get Jacobs to account for the other goods taken. As Jacobs was “in a condition not to be Ruffely dealt with,” the harassed sergeant sent her up with the others for Bouquet’s judgment. He also requested that Bouquet “not suffer Mrs Jacobs to Come to this garrison any more as She is a notorious thief and a common disturber of the garrison and is of no service Here.” Note that additional

<sup>66</sup> Armstrong to Bouquet, Fort Ligonier, Sept. 14, 1759; Stephen to Bouquet, Fort Ligonier, Sept. 16, 1759; and Armstrong to Bouquet, Sept. 23, 1759; in *Bouquet Papers*, 4:94, 114, 136.

indictment of being of no service. In the middle of this brouhaha, Captain Richard Mather sent Sergeant Coulton down from Venango to deal with his “[B or W]-tch of a Wife.” The consequences were not quite what anyone might have figured.<sup>67</sup>

The wife’s actions (and then probable banishment from Pittsburgh) may have precipitated another crisis concerning her husband, for Sergeant Coulton deserted from the grenadiers that July. He decamped with another grenadier by the name of Hand, and the two of them headed east until caught on July 20 between Bedford and Juniata Crossings and returned to Pittsburgh. They could perhaps have been captured a few days earlier at the “Shawanes Cabbins,” but Ourry suspected that the tavern keeper there, Thomas Hays, warned them off (especially as Mrs. Coulton was there). Mrs. Coulton was not the only woman who played a part in this. Sergeant James McIntosh’s wife apparently harbored Coulton and Hand at Pittsburgh the night they deserted. The angry Bouquet then ordered her away, labeling her as no better than the others there “who Seem a Colony sprung from Hell.”<sup>68</sup>

Bouquet’s exasperation came out of his having just dealt with yet another incident, for Lieutenant S. C. Carre had written him that June from Venango about a “Mrs. Cremar,” probably Mrs. Vendot Cramer, the wife of a Pittsburgh inhabitant, who had arrived at that outpost, having eloped with Carre’s servant. Carre sent her back down, but it took two tries, for she escaped from the batteau carrying her the first time. Once she arrived back at Fort Pitt, Bouquet dispatched her “down the Country”; in other words, he sent her back east.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Serg. Angus McDonald to Bouquet, Fort Burd, Feb. 1, 1761; McDonald to Bouquet, [Fort Burd, ca. Feb. 5, 1761]; Capt. Richard Mather to Bouquet, Venango, Mar. 20, 1761; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:278, 278n, 280–81, 360.

<sup>68</sup> Footnote to Feb. 1 McDonald-Bouquet letter above, and Bouquet to Monckton, Fort Pitt, July 27, 1761; Ourry to Bouquet, Fort Bedford, July 17, 1761, in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:278, 660, 637. Ourry had had problems with Hays before: due to complaints against him, and because the tavern was unlicensed and a nuisance, Ourry had ordered Hays to close and forbade him from keeping a public house on the communication between Forts Loudoun and Stoney Creek (Ourry to Hays, May 25, 1761, in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:507–8). Ourry wrote Bouquet on June 17 that he had given the Hayeses (calling Mrs. Hays *la Mégère*, meaning “the shrew”) permission to sell off their liquor provided there were no more complaints (*Bouquet Papers*, 5:557). Bouquet to Cochrane, Fort Pitt, July 12, 1761; Cochrane answered Bouquet from “Presqu’ Isle,” July 27, 1761, writing that he “told Serjt Mckintosh with what gentleness you had used his wife upon his Account tho’ she had been guilty of A very heinous crime; he is very Sensibel of your goodness & beg’d I would write you so”; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:630, 661.

<sup>69</sup> Carre to Bouquet, Venango, June 15, 1761; Carre to Bouquet, Venango, June 20, 1761; Bouquet to Carre, Fort Pitt, June 20, 1761; in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:552–53, 567, 581. *Bouquet Papers*, 5:419n79 records Vendot Cramer, or Windle Creamer, as a Pittsburgh resident in July 1760; that

The year 1761 was a particularly trying one. But it was not the only one in which such incidents occurred. In September 1764, Captain William Grant at Fort Pitt reported to Bouquet that “Colonel Reid sent down Ensign Tucker’s Lady at my desire.” There was scathing sarcasm in his use of the term lady, for he deemed her “a most infamous Harlot, and was much concern’d in the mutiny that lately happen’d at this place, all ladies of her profession, I find are very troublesome at an out post.”<sup>70</sup> While most followers were no ladies—their birth and behavior reflected that—most were not prostitutes either. Many officers and other commentators, however, often reflecting their own social origins, aspirations, or base misogyny, tended to disparage their character in general and their virtue in particular.<sup>71</sup>

The above incidents were exceptional; generally female followers acted within social norms and military regulations and thus could stay and support garrison life on the frontier. But the presence of extraneous women and children, even orderly ones, complicated operations when officers and soldiers had to expend precious time and supplies on them while preparing for action. This occurred in 1763 when Native American resistance to British occupation escalated into Pontiac’s Rebellion. As commanders strove to strengthen their fortifications and prepare their men—regular and militia troops as well as some civilians drafted in the crisis—they tightened their control of followers, and then decided to evacuate most of the women and children.

Captain Simeon Ecuyer, commanding at Fort Pitt in Bouquet’s absence, had a number of concerns as people moved into the fort for safety. On June 5 he ordered the quartermaster to list “the number of the women and the children in each barrack room . . . in order to have a proper number put together and prevent the men from being crowded and disturbed.” He also mentioned animal followers that might cause confusion during an attack: dogs not tied up by four o’clock that afternoon were to be killed and the resident wolf and bear were to be killed or removed from the fort. The next day, Monday, Ecuyer set the schedule for watering and feeding the cattle. He ordered that the cattle be fed spelts (German wheat) at ten o’clock in the morning and four o’clock in the afternoon, “at which time the women to turn out to cut the spelts, and in case any of

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census also noted a woman, Cate Creamer, and a boy, George Creamer.

<sup>70</sup> Grant to Bouquet, Fort Pitt, Sept. 4, 1764, in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:627.

<sup>71</sup> Way, “Venus and Mars,” 44–47.

them refuse so to do, they are to be confined in the guard-room." On Tuesday he informed everyone that in the case of an attack no women were to be on "the ramparts or to appear out of their rooms, except such as are bringing water to men."<sup>72</sup>

The attacks came, again and again, especially from mid-June through the end of July. During that time, Bouquet assembled additional troops at Carlisle and marched them over the mountains. He left some of those troops to reinforce Bedford and Ligonier (which had weathered an attack on June 21) before moving on and into an ambush on August 5. His forces defeated the enemy that day and the next, but victory at Bushy Run was hard won. By the time he arrived at Fort Pitt on August 10, Bouquet knew he had to plan more for defense than offense.

On August 12 Bouquet ordered Major Allan Campbell of the Forty-second Regiment to escort "the Women, Children, and useless People" from Fort Pitt to Ligonier and then have militia forces take them on to Fort Bedford. Despite Bouquet's orders, a few people delayed. Doctor Robert Boyd, a surgeon's mate, dashed a note off to Bouquet asking that he be allowed to keep the girl living with him, whom he took "young & innocent from her parents without their knowledge and without explaining to her what my Intentions were," until he could provide for her care at Bedford or elsewhere. He asked for that boon, because it was "both dis-honourable and villainous to Seduce a virtuous Girl and then turn her off," especially since her "Behaviour in the garrison has always been unexceptionable and the virtuous freindship & connexion betwixt her & me makes the thoughts of parting from her in the condition she is extreamly Schocking."<sup>73</sup>

Once the women and children from Pitt and Ligonier arrived at Bedford, Captain Ourry provided carriages "for as many Women & Children as were willing to go below this Post, and indeed for a few more than were inclined." He also notified "those that chuse to Stay, that it must be on their own Bottoms, No Provisions being allowed at this Post for Women." After recounting how he dealt with wagoners hieing out of the area and provincial volunteers eating into his supplies but refusing to drive cattle to Ligonier, Ourry observed that before noon on August 20 "the Town was like a Fair."

<sup>72</sup> June 5, 6, and 7, 1763, Fort Pitt Orderly Book, in *Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier*, ed. Mary C. Darlington (1892; New York, 1971), 152–53.

<sup>73</sup> Bouquet said three women could stay at Ligonier. Bouquet to Campbell, Fort Pitt, Aug. 12, 1763; Boyd to Bouquet, [Fort Pitt, Aug. 12, 1763]; in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:363, 364.

The mottled Crew of Women, Children, Drivers, Sorebacks, & Side Saddles, that flocked in, furnished, thro' the Dust that they kicked up, a diverting Scene, to those that had nothing to do with them, but to me it was far otherwise, tho' I had not much trouble with them that Day, the Sending of the Dumb Creatures to Pasture being my first Care. . . .

The next Day being the Sabbath, was a Day for rest; nevertheless I was harrassed with many Petitions & Intreaties, and my Floor was Sprinkled partly with Mothers Tears, & partly with Children's P-ss—Distressfull Scene!

That Monday was a Day of Toil—draughting the Horses & appointing the Drivers—Matching Stubborn Women, with illnatur'd Waggoners—and impudent Strumpets with knavish Horse Masters, but finally I Started the Caravan, and the Spit-fires lay that Night at the Snake Spring.<sup>74</sup>

Orry apparently had a lively sense of humor and horror of boredom that led him to relish the challenges with which the women—and provincials in general—presented him. He seemed to accept frontier disorder, the fits and starts of the people and process of social organization, in a way Bouquet never did. Bouquet wanted order as he expanded the king's dominion. It was a desire constantly frustrated by subordinates and civilians who weighed compliance against interest.

Lieutenant Blane at Ligonier had passed on some of the women at his post, but he was not able, nor did he want, to drive off all of them. As he explained to Bouquet on at least two occasions that season, he had to keep a number of the women so as to retain enough of the inhabitants to hold the fort: "It was by Major Campbels aprobation who saw the necessity of it for the detention of their Husbands which considering the weakness of the Garrison no risk cd be run, but even them I allowed only halfe provs to."<sup>75</sup>

Blane was not the only one providing rations for women, nor, apparently, only to those designated as belonging to the army. It was common practice to provision female followers, generally at the proportion of one to every twenty-five men in the ranks or three per company (or three to

<sup>74</sup> Orry to Bouquet, Fort Bedford, Aug. 27, 1763, in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:372–73.

<sup>75</sup> Blane to Bouquet, Fort Ligonier, Aug. 18 and Sept. 5, 1763, in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:366, 383. The besieged Blane also turned to impressment, explaining that as Ligonier's garrison had only one sergeant and seven privates in May 1763, he had to arm the post's inhabitants and "impress in the Service all the Pack Horse Men who happened to be there at the time to asist in the deffence of the Fort which was attacked by the Savages on the Second of June." In Edward G. Williams, ed., "Pay List of the Militia at Fort Ligonier in 1763," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 46 (1963): 257.

one hundred men).<sup>76</sup> The practice was reflected in the November 6, 1758, orders at Loyalhanna that asked for a return “of the Number of Persons belonging to each Corps that draw Provisions including Officers Soldiers Women & Servants.”<sup>77</sup> A problem developed later, however, when it appeared that many commanders became overly generous to all the women at their posts during Pontiac’s War. Contrary to Sir Jeffery Amherst’s orders of August 7, 1763, to strike off the women, and of September 23, which stated that “no Woman can Receive any Provisions,” a chart compiled in April 1764 to calculate overdrawn rations shows that the Sixtieth (Royal Americans), Forty-second (Black Watch/Royal Highlanders), and Seventy-seventh (Montgomery’s Highlanders) regiments overdrew thousands of rations for the women of their regiments between October 1763 and January 1764.<sup>78</sup> Parts of those regiments were at Fort Pitt and the fortifications along its communication.

Although the new commander in chief, Major General Thomas Gage, was upset about the provisioning as he tried to balance the books in 1764, his subordinates defended their actions as being militarily necessary. While jettisoning “useless” followers was a common procedure before troops went into action, some women were useful. Furthermore, families helped secure men—particularly militia and other civilian “volunteers”—to a post, thus if the military wanted to keep such reinforcements it had to feed their attendants. By 1763, reflecting the growth of the garrison communities, frontier commanders were dealing with many women who were not officially affiliated with their respective corps. Even so, a great number of these women, whether settler or camp follower, deserved rations, and some deserved pay, because of their work for the military as an institution or for individual military members. Such work supported and released men for soldiering.<sup>79</sup>

The evidence from Fort Pitt and its posts of communication is not

<sup>76</sup> Bouquet’s Orderly Book, [Aug. 9, 1758], in *Bouquet Papers*, 2:674, 5:20n about the ratio of one to twenty-five men “altered to three per company when foot companies were reduced in October, 1760, to 70 rank and file.”

<sup>77</sup> Camp at “Loyal Hannon,” Nov. 6, 1758, copy of “Washington-Forbes Orderly Book, Nov. 1–Nov. 23, 1758,” in “Collected Notes of Early Ligonier Valley” in Fort Ligonier Association collection.

<sup>78</sup> Amherst to Bouquet, New York, Aug. 7, 1763; Overdrawn Rations Calculation, Apr. 19, 1764; in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:348, 520. Part of the problem was that Amherst was trying to reduce the army—and its expenses—due to the end of the war with France.

<sup>79</sup> Hacker, “Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe,” 660–64; Kopperman, “British High Command and Soldiers’ Wives in America,” 15–16.

always clear on the exact relationship women at the garrisons had with the military forces. Based on British military practices elsewhere and at other times, however, one may conclude that most of the women who labored as laundresses and nurses actually belonged to army units, especially as followers could be drafted as nurses. In May 1759 Oury mentioned a couple of these employees when he worried about "Mrs Middleton the Matron, and Mrs Robinson the Nurse of our Hospital" being paid their salaries.<sup>80</sup> Such women did not let the army forget what was owed them—even in a time of crisis. Years later, in 1763, at Fort Pitt, after petitioning to keep his "girl," Doctor Boyd mentioned that "the Nurses who have been employed during the Siege and the Milk Woman are going down & have applyed for pay."<sup>81</sup> The nurses were probably true camp followers, as was his mistress; the milk woman may or may not have been. Followers tended to have priority for regular employment, but they and inhabitants also engaged in piecemeal or individually contracted labor. Either way, women's work helped preserve the military forces on the frontier.

Women wore out much shoe leather as they followed the troops into Forts Bedford, Ligonier, and Pitt in 1758. Some wore out more when they returned with the recalled troops, while others planted their shod and unshod feet in Pennsylvania's backcountry. The shift from military outposts to civilian settlements, from soldiers and followers to pioneer men and women, proceeded fitfully through the 1760s after the wars with the French and Indians ended and the army started to withdraw. Although General Gage had contemplated keeping "a very small Garrison" at Fort Ligonier, that post was demobilized in the spring of 1766, signaling the beginning of the end of military occupation in the area.<sup>82</sup> Fort Bedford operated as an active post, though minimally manned, until around 1769. Fort Pitt was already disintegrating when, in October 1768, Thomas and Richard Penn bought the lands of and around Pittsburgh from the Native Americans. In 1771 they appointed magistrates for the area; and the change of command was complete when the

<sup>80</sup> Oury to Bouquet, Carlisle, May 27, 1759, in *Bouquet Papers*, 3:330. Oury did not say which hospital, but as he was heading back to Bedford, it is likely that was the hospital he was talking about.

<sup>81</sup> Boyd to Bouquet, Fort Pitt, Aug. 12, 1763, in *Bouquet Papers*, 6:364.

<sup>82</sup> Gage to Henry Seymour Conway, secretary of state, New York, May 6, 1766, in *Correspondence of Gage*, ed. Carter, 1:90. As the forts tended to decay quickly, Gage also recommended that "instead of repairing them, at a great expence, and keeping them on the extensive plan they now are, that as they fall in ruin, they should be rebuilt in a much smaller Compass of Stone or Brick."

last British troops marched out in 1772.<sup>83</sup>

Over the period in which all the posts were operating, the size of the garrisons varied widely. For example, Fort Ligonier held over 4,000 men for a short period during the Forbes campaign, while at other times it had fewer than 10. Between January and May 1759 the numbers fluctuated between 86 and 379; and in November 1760 Monckton directed Bouquet to leave Ligonier with a winter garrison of only one captain, one subaltern, one sergeant, one drummer, and thirty rank and file.<sup>84</sup> Troop strength rose again during Pontiac's Rebellion, but fell off to only 55 men holding the fort in the winter of 1764. After that, until it was decommissioned, there were only 18 to 20 soldiers in garrison.<sup>85</sup> The numbers of soldiers—and their followers—rose and fell accordingly at the other posts. The number of civilian inhabitants, however, kept rising.

The number rose as former soldiers and followers established homesteads and families. It rose as new colonists moved in along Forbes's road and settled near the disintegrating forts. Those wilderness castles had performed the service for which they were built—the military occupation of a contested area. They had also, however, attracted, protected, and hosted men and women who started transforming trans-Alleghenies Pennsylvania with rural settlements and a trade and transportation center—Pittsburgh—that assisted further western expansion. The families that had followed Forbes and his successors had served the imperatives of empire by helping push out the French and Indians. Those that stopped following and stayed put served not only territorial but cultural expansion by establishing a British yeoman—and woman—presence.<sup>86</sup> They also set to work establishing their own independence.

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<sup>83</sup> Frank C. Harper, *Pittsburgh of Today: Its Resources and People*, vol. 1 (New York, 1931), 93.

<sup>84</sup> Monckton to Bouquet, Philadelphia, Nov. 13 1760, in *Bouquet Papers*, 5:108.

<sup>85</sup> Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation*, 185–86.

<sup>86</sup> Richard C. Wade, in *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), argued that the “growth of urbanism was an important part of the occupation of the West” (2) and presented Pittsburgh as one of his primary examples. Warren R. Hofstra, in “The Extension of His Majesties Dominions’: The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers,” *Journal of American History* 84 (1998): 1281–312, argued that the movement to the backcountry and the creation of a distinctive society there could not be explained only by looking at speculators and settlers, for the actions and results were also due to the imperatives of empire (see esp. p. 1285 and n. 8), namely to spread white, Protestant settlements, including via forts, so as to extend territorial sovereignty.

