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Fort Hoskins is located near Kings Valley, approximately 16 miles from Corvallis. The Fort, built after the Rogue Wars of the 1850s, was intended to safeguard the newly created Indian reserves. During its ten-years of existence, U.S. Army Regulars manned the Fort from 1856-1861 while volunteers from California, Washington, and Oregon were present from 1861-1865. Life at Fort Hoskins was similar to other peacetime forts, regimented and void of battle heroics.

The research problem concerns determining military status and authority as revealed in the archaeological record. The data used was the archaeological material from the excavated site of Fort Hoskins. Artifacts were categorized into a functional classification scheme. Assemblages for the artifact categories produced proportional frequencies providing a method in which to compare differences or similarities between the officers and enlisted men. Fort Hoskins artifacts reveal greater status differences in the Personal and Domestic categories between the two groups. The Military Defense category reveals limited differences to substantiate authority.
Archaeological Symbols of Status and Authority:

Fort Hoskins, Oregon, 1856-1865

by

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS OF STATUS AND AUTHORITY:
FORT HOSKINS, OREGON, 1856-1865

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is military status and authority as expressed in the archaeological record. Archaeological data used in this study are from Fort Hoskins. The Fort Hoskins site is located in western Oregon approximately 16 miles northwest of Corvallis at the southern terminus of Kings Valley. U.S. Army troops occupied the Fort from 1856 to 1861. Volunteers from California, Washington, and Oregon manned the post from 1861 to 1865.

This study compares the material culture of enlisted men and officers as distinct status groups. The use of a functionally based artifact classification provided a method to compare differences or similarities between the officers and enlisted men. Artifact assemblages are described by the proportional frequencies of the functional categories; Personal, Domestic, and Military. When comparing the artifact assemblages' percentages, patterns emerged which distinguished certain characteristics of the two status groups.

The primary objective of this research is to demonstrate how military status and authority differences are expressed through the Fort Hoskins archaeological record. The Fort Hoskins study will contribute to the understanding of how and why such differences are observed archaeologically. Methods to accomplish this objective are: 1) to use a functional classification scheme as a comparative tool; 2) to identify and explain causes for the variation and similarities; and 3) to validate the existence of status and authority as expressed in the material culture symbols between the officers and enlisted men.

A secondary objective is to provide a partial description and analysis of the results of two years of excavation at Fort Hoskins. A cataloguing format was developed to encompass attributes for certain artifact groups. The attribute system and the functional artifact classification scheme provided the structure for a comparative framework. A descriptive artifact section is presented in Appendix II. Artifacts reveal manufacturing
attributes indicative of time, quality, trade networks, consumer choice, technological processes, and individual manufacturers. This step is fundamental to understanding and recognizing artifact patterning and depositional episodes. Characteristics of the artifact assemblage afford insights into intrasite variation.

This study will also examine a soldier's position in mid-nineteenth century American society, specifically, the distinct status position to which the enlisted men were relegated relative to the officers. A multitude of literature clearly documents this relationship (Coates and Pellegrin 1965; Utley 1967; Janowitz 1974; Knight 1978; Coffman 1986). The organization and operation of the U.S. Army on the frontier had certain characteristics contributing to recognizable artifact patterns. Part of this is the essence of the military, a hierarchical structure of status and authority.

Military activities in the Pacific Northwest occurred primarily during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1890s (Hart 1981:23-54). Forts established during these periods were a result of: interventions with the Native Americans, response to Southern sympathizers, and the development of coastal artillery defenses along the Washington and Oregon shoreline. In addition, numerous military-related structures appeared throughout the West, ranging from temporary camps to stockade structures.

Specific research relating to western military posts should involve settlement patterns associated with permanent to temporary structures; Regular Army versus volunteers; the acculturation of Native Americans by the military; trade networks and variability between the forts; and status and authority between social groups and forts. According to Charles Cleland (1988:16-17) questions should be framed in order to understand:

the correspondence between control of production and social differentiation; the use of material culture to symbolize and affirm social categories; and the effects of military logistics on the growth of frontier settlements.

Yet, in reviewing Pacific Northwest military archaeological excavation reports, only a few (Minor et al. 1980; Riordan 1985) approach the site as a cultural phenomenon. The majority of excavations were conducted for interpretation (Combes
1965), building location (Harrison 1990), or site integrity (Chance and Chance 1976). For the most part, the reports are strictly artifact descriptions (Sprague 1975). However, Andrew Masich (1979) does a good job describing and interpreting military artifacts from American Camp (1859-74) on San Juan Island.

To date, only one other archaeological excavation focuses on status at a Pacific Northwest military location. Riordan (1985) investigated Fort Walla Walla which was occupied during the early twentieth century. He "show[s] how racial prejudice and status differences were expressed in economic rewards or penalties and patterns of group identification" between black (1902-04) and white troops (1909-10) (Riordan 1985:1).

Military status and authority are interwoven into a soldier's everyday activities. Status is defined by the quantity and quality of personal and domestic items, pay rate, rank, and housing arrangements. The enlisted men's group has the lower status within the military structure, receiving lower pay, living in communal housing, and delegated to manual labor. The military as a social group maintains and reinforces a hierarchial system of status and authority (Linton 1936; Janowitz 1974).

Individuals with higher social positions have more status and are rewarded by greater access to material goods. Consequently, a higher status individual has a greater number of goods associated with the maintenance of that status system. Status is reflected by and supported through the acquisition of certain material objects. From an archaeological perspective, higher status artifacts are usually represented by a higher quantity, quality, and variety of domestic and personal items (Linton 1936; Moore 1985; Riordan 1985).

Authority is used to maintain the role interaction between the officers and enlisted men and consists of issuing and obeying commands and using titles as a confirmation of the roles. It is difficult to separate status and authority in a confined military setting because authority is a prime component of the interaction between the officer and enlisted men. Also, part of the officers' role is the use of authority and discipline. The following quote is from a military manual at Fort Hoskins by one of the land owners:

Discipline... determines the habits of men to certain rules of action... in a large sense it regulates the conduct of troops in camp and quarters; and
a good discipline implies the existence of a well defined and exact subordination (Duane 1813:20).

Authoritarian items are usually military specific and are associated with rank. Authority symbols include apparel items, uniforms containing insignias, buttons, and medals, as well as guns and swords. However, non-military goods can also be viewed as authority symbols, as some items are objectified in that position — e.g. an officer’s riding stick (DeGeorge 1985). In comparison with status symbols, recognized authority items (apparel) are less numerous in the archaeological record.

As documented in the literature, Fort Hoskins was structured by a military hierarchy encompassing status and authority. Officers and enlisted men participated in their role positions while obtaining and discarding goods. Some items used were limited by availability or by regulation, while other goods were obtained by socioeconomic choice. Are these social interaction concepts reflected in the archaeological record? What artifacts reflect status and authority in a military setting? Are there differences in the artifact assemblages between the officers and enlisted men and can these differences be explained?

This research attempts to provide data that reflects status and authority differences observable in the archaeological record. This research will attempt to use the Fort Hoskins "material culture to symbolize and affirm social categories" (Cleland 1988:16). When a functional classification scheme is utilized, a pattern of variability is noted, and questions are asked that are consistent with the conceptual paradigm employed, then the synthesis of Fort Hoskins will occur (Brauner 1976:4).
CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Status and Role

Collectively, status represents an individual's position and is the sum of an individual's rights (privileges) and duties (obligations) within a society. Rights are related to an individual's position and performance expectations or the duties that are associated with that position. Role refers to the behavioral aspect of status. An individual assumes a role when performing those rights and duties of his or her status position (Linton 1936:113-114). Role and status cannot be separated because the two terms represent different aspects of the same phenomenon. Status refers to the cognitive aspect of society, while role is the expected or experienced behavior (Linton 1936).

The social status of an individual has a number of different "social identities" as well (Goodenough 1965:4). The social identity of an individual is a collection of rights and duties acquired in the different statuses — i.e., son, father, manager, church-goer. As a result, an individual's rights and duties are flexible and dependent on that status relationship.

Military status consists of prescribed rights and duties actuated in the role performance. The social identities of enlisted men and officers are limited and tied to the immediate military setting. Status and authority are often intermixed in non-military activities, as well.

Military life has and will continue to serve as an example of status differentiation, exhibiting distinctive classes. Military society operates in a system by which status is hierarchically arranged within a division of labor while serving as a basis for disciplined behavior. Status positions are filled through a system of authority and discipline in the military (Coates and Pellegrin 1965:118-119; Janowitz 1974). Military status and role are a result of historical traditions based on social and economic divisions as discussed later in this chapter.
Authority

Richard DeGeorge a noted scholar of authority structures writes, "[a]ny existing order is difficult to maintain without some justification for its values and authority structures" (DeGeorge 1985:3). Authority is a function of a system (military) by which the legal realm creates and defines authority. Additionally, the system involves certain structures and specifies who will be bearers of authority. This type of authority is known as "imperative authority" and involves the "right or power of someone to do something, in some realm, resulting in someone being subject to authority" (DeGeorge 1985:17-23,62).

Imperative authority is grounded in military law. A superior (officer) gives an order to an inferior (enlisted man or subaltern) within a certain context (military). In obeying the command, one gives that right to be ordered, thus legitimizing some role or set of rules that define the realm in relation to the authority structure (DeGeorge 1985:65-67).

Command obedience is structured within underlying motives involving:

- fear - reasons for accepting authority, and also a source of authority;
- need - one relies on the competence of others for goods and services they need and want, yet submit to authority;  
- habit - individuals accept authority without reason; and herd - authority acceptance by each person is reinforced in the acceptance by others, but tested by dissidents (DeGeorge 1985:96-97).

Consequently, authority within a system is defined by that system and can not exist without it. Authority is often objectified and structured. It is attached to positions (social and military) and is assumed successively by those who occupy the authority positions. Authority becomes a function of that organization (DeGeorge 1985:65-67).

Symbols

A symbol is a phenomenon whose meaning is prescribed by the group who utilizes it (White 1949). Social interaction reinforces the meaning of symbols, serving
as thoughts and ideas within a cultural system. Even though people react and construct situations in different ways, a commonality of interests exist within groups. This commonality of interests and social dispositions is produced because of a similarity in material conditions within a historical context (Hodder 1985).

Positions of authority are usually indicated by symbols. According to DeGeorge "[t]he symbols of authority come to be associated with positions of authority, and they make it easier psychologically for those who are in subordinate positions to accept the authority of whomever holds the positions" (DeGeorge 1985:102).

Symbols are based on history and tradition, providing meaning to the authority position. Uniforms and their associated accouterments are easily recognized as authority symbols. The housing arrangements of officers and enlisted men reflect not only an authority structure but also are viewed as a social symbol as well. The military as a social group contributes meaning to the material culture. The military structure intrudes into the soldier’s everyday activities.

Not all symbols are objects. Language, the issuance of verbal orders, is indicative of the authority structure. The performance of a command, the drill, or disciplinary actions reflect an acceptance of non-physical authority symbols (Janowitz 1974; DeGeorge 1985).

Military symbolism identifies positions of authority and also is equated with conceptions of social status (DeGeorge 1985:102). The military social context produces and reinforces thoughts and ideas in which the individual reacts. It is brought about through language, social structure, landscape environment, and military material culture (Janowitz 1974). It is assumed that physical and social structures not only serve a function but also have inherent meanings (symbolism) associated with a defined status. The symbols are sometimes obvious, sometimes subtle. They vary according to time, place, culture and historical period (DeGeorge 1985:104). Material goods used as status symbols are a universal characteristic in western society (Riordan 1985:14).
Military Cultural System

Nineteenth Century Public Perception. In 1802, Secretary of Treasury Albert Gallatin described the U.S. Army negatively as "[t]hat perhaps necessary evil" (quoted by Coffman 1986:39). The U.S. Army had become a permanent institution by 1812 and by no means a popular one. A standing army was detested by many who regarded it as a threat to the republic, an extension of the central government. The Army, functional and necessary during times of conflict, ran afoul of basic ideals and values during peacetime. Others viewed the Army as inappropriate in a democracy. Retired Civil War Lieutenant Duane Greene (1880) described the military in this manner. "The Army is a little domain of its own, independent and isolated by its peculiar customs and discipline; an aristocracy by selection and the halo of tradition" (quoted in Knight 1978:3).

During the nineteenth century peacetime periods, a soldier's status was viewed with contempt:

"In 1858 he took what many of his friends deemed the hopeless step of enlisting...; [the] privations and restrictions of a soldiers life" (Finley [1886] in Coffman 1986:207).

"Where, then, a man is reduced to the necessity of enlistment... there may be reasons to believe his habits are not good" (Henderson [1840] in Coffman 1986:137).

"The Army in our country is certainly not a desirable profession for any young man" (Smith [1853] in Coffman 1986:61).

"The Army offers no career which a man of talent can desire" (Smith [1853] in Coffman 1986:62).

As a result, the military as a cultural system has been influenced by public perception. This perception determined the roles the military serves in society and also created distinct characteristics in military development (Coates and Pellegrin 1965:26-32).

Social Values. The military organization itself is a social class system. Inherent in the system are sharp distinctions between officers and enlisted men. American society
maintains principles and values of equality, freedom, and democracy. But it also holds firmly to a social class system based on status, economics, sexism, and racism. The military is an integral part of the larger system, yet exhibits a greater deviance with respect to the values system. The U.S. military cultural system was assigned a lower status compared to other cultural systems operating during the nineteenth century (Coates and Pellegrin 1965:32-35; Coffman 1986).

**Law.** The military structure is contained within a politico-legal system. Military laws are rules of action and conduct imposed by the state upon individuals in its military service. Laws prescribe the rights of and imposes duties and obligations on the several classes of people comprising the military establishment. Even though part of a larger body of laws from Congress (Constitutional authority), a considerable amount of military law is derived from "usages". Called "customs of service", usages are military practices (discipline, Articles of War) long adhered to in the military establishment. Older than the Constitution, usages are part of U.S. Army regulations, a body of administrative rules relating to the management and performance of duties (Davis 1898:1-6).

Actions are legally authorized in the performance of official functions. Laws govern the social interactions of soldiers. Authority is supreme and all pervasive, involving force or coercion. Authority becomes an important aspect in a soldier's life even though it is a temporary service for the majority of enlistees and inductees (DeGeorge 1985:90-92).

**Authority.** Authority is characteristic of the military system. Authority derives its power and influence from historically-rooted customs, traditions, laws, social positions, and personal characteristics. Inherent within the military authority are structures associated with skill (shooting and riding) and rank, operating through the status system (Janowitz 1974:43-55). Generally, enlisted men are from the lower social strata. Officers became authority figures as a result of tradition, customs, and social position. Authority status could be attained through achievement, but was usually ascribed (Linton 1936). The schooling and military experience of an officer presumably produces authoritarian attitudes (Campbell and McCormick 1952:482).

The structure within the military rank system involves a continuous pyramid,
where clear-cut lines of authority are present (Janowitz 1974:45-47). Status is fixed, based on the power derived from the politico-legal system. The first duty of subordinate personnel is to obey orders. Decision and direction are exclusively in the hands of authority figures. Rank has exclusive and punitive command privileges. This form of control produces mechanical compliance (Coates and Pellegrin 1965:118).

Institutionalized. The military operates with its own set of rules. Norman Hilmar (1965:311) states that "[m]ilitary life is essentially group life." Cohesion is reinforced in all phases of the military system. One trains, works, sleeps, eats, and spends leisure time in group situations. Daily activities serve to organize and adhere relations to the rigid structure of the military. The ever-present social hierarchy is controlled "in an atmosphere where all directions tend to be expressed as authoritative and obligatory" (Janowitz 1974:119). The military atmosphere pervades all realms of the soldier's life, contributing to patterned behavior.

The military is an institution of defined statuses and roles. Soldiers interact, contributing to status positions and role performances, with authority being a dominant force. In the military, symbols are recognized as status and authority positions. What is produced in this interaction is a behavior pattern that should be observable in the archaeological record through artifact differences between the officers and enlisted men.
CHAPTER III: ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Artifact Patterning

Stanley South (1977a) argues that human behavior is culturally structured, rather than being driven by individuals or random chance. The by-product of behavior is material culture, which reflects structure and pattern. This theoretical view is not new, as Leslie White (1949) laid the foundations for identifying cultural patterns set in an evolutionary perspective. Kroeber (1952) also recognized the importance of patterning for understanding culture. Numerous studies use patterns of material objects to address questions of culture process. Examples of cultural objects used to address processual questions include ceramics (Otto 1977:11), tombstone data (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966), and Mormon town plan and fences (Leone 1973:125). The key to interpretation is "artifact patterning" (South 1977a).

Pattern delineation begins in a particularistic framework and continues toward broad generalizations. The former historical-descriptive (particularism) methodology of artifact analysis emphasizes qualitative description and recognition of artifact types. The integrational pattern emphasizes quantitative and comparative analyses (South 1977b:2-3). As South (1977a:32) points out, quantifying is "a necessary means of demonstrating pattern in the material remains of culture, [but] the quantification of data in itself will add no more knowledge... unless we are operating under a research design specifying why we are quantifying."

Pattern regularity concentrates on proportional relationships between functional categories rather than on absolute numbers of objects. Consequently, percentage representation is used rather than raw frequencies to minimize the effects of different sample sizes. Patterns are descriptive models of regularity in which to compare sites and their contexts. As J. W. Joseph (1987:56) has pointed out, "[A]rtifact patterning is [a] means of establishing a comparable organizational framework for the presentation of otherwise unwieldy data." Also, recognizing degrees of variability in the pattern is critical to understanding the archaeological record.
Status. In his early formulations of artifact patterning, South (1977a) had not considered social status as a variable (Joseph 1989:60). Subsequent researchers, Otto (1977) and Moore (1985), using South's quantitative pattern process, have recognized status in the artifact assemblage. Otto used the Southern plantation as a context in which a pattern based on the function of wealth was identified. This pattern is exhibited by three class groups: planters, overseers, and slaves. According to Moore (1985), both social and economic status should influence pattern formation. Moore's reasoning is based on the premise that, as economic status increases, an increase of non-essential domestic items should occur as well. Additional researchers, Miller (1980), Adams and Boling (1987), and Orser (1987) have used ceramics as an indicator of social and economic status on and off the plantation.

Military Patterning

The majority of American military sites should be functionally related to South's Frontier Pattern that maintains a higher quantity of architectural items than domestic items. However, some sites may exhibit artifact patterning associated with a higher domestic item configuration (Carolina Pattern) because some forts were more permanent and/or were near a supply source (South and Widmer 1977:138). Other scholars have cited aboriginal interaction (Fontana 1978) and a fort's battle action (Noel Hume 1969) as bases of material object differences.

Results from an eastern 1860s military occupation revealed similar percentages to those of South's Frontier Model (18th century) (South and Widmer 1977:137). Reasons for pattern continuity are based on the following variables (South and Widmer 1977:140):

* Military duty interrupts domestic patterns of acquisition and consumption of goods.

* The utilization in military units of a single tin vessel and cup by the enlisted men. The few ceramic vessels are owned by the officers,
producing a dramatic drop in the consumption and breakage of ceramics and glassware. This results in a high "architecture" to "kitchen" artifact ratio.

* A functional and survival necessity for arms in frontier and military situations. The one firearm per family pattern on domestic sites contrasted with the "one firearm per individual" pattern on military and frontier sites.

* A frontier and military population dominated by adult males.

**Military Status.** As previously noted, certain characteristics are associated with the military, influencing the overall artifact patterning. Feister (1984) used construction techniques to reveal status differences at a British military post. Differences existed in fireplace construction materials and flooring between officers' and enlisted men's barracks. In reviewing military historical and archaeological studies, Frazer (1963) and Thomas et al. (1984) also noted that differences in construction and materials exist between the two groups.

Other authors have attempted to demonstrate status differences in the military. Ferguson (1977) uses ceramics as an indicator of social position for the British post Fort Watson (1781). Ceramic types and military buttons were also used to distinguish social structure and status in the analysis of U.S. Fort Independence, 1803-1833 (Turnbaugh and Turnbaugh 1977).

Military forts were built with defined social areas. Reflections of these social parameters should be observable in the archaeological record. Previous research by Otto (1977), South (1977a), and Joseph (1987) have focused on general artifact patterns using the entire site assemblage. The Fort Hoskins study excludes certain artifact groups (Chapter VI) and concentrates on intrasite variation. Comparative analyses will focus on differences between the two social classes within the military, the officers and the enlisted men.

Variability should be revealed in artifact categories between the officers' and enlisted men's areas at Fort Hoskins. A greater portion of the officers' area was excavated (Chapter V), but this strategy should not affect the results. As South and
Widmer (1977:138) explain, "a site tends to maintain considerable regularity regardless of whether one uses all artifacts from the entire site" or social class area. A cultural system displays an internally consistent array of functional artifact categories. Status and authority should be revealed in the archaeological record at Fort Hoskins regardless of the number of artifacts recovered.
CHAPTER IV: MILITARY HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Peacetime Frontier Army

It is beyond the scope of this research to cover all aspects of the frontier soldier. Numerous authors provide a detailed and in-depth study of the soldier on the frontier during peacetime activities of the nineteenth century (Bieber 1932; Hunt 1951; Rickey 1963; Utley 1967; Coffman 1986). The following research provides a background through which to understand the development of Fort Hoskins and the trials and tribulations of the officers and enlisted men.

Peacetime Army. During the nineteenth century, the U.S. acquired vast expanses of western land. During this time, the U.S. Army played an important role in settling these new land acquisitions. Indeed, much of the nineteenth century Army’s non-wartime existence is attributable to the westward movement. Yet, the Army during this time had numerous problems associated with its increased responsibilities.

The size of the standing Army brought forth fears that embraced political and democratic principles. An enlarged Army was considered a threat to democratic institutions. Likewise, Southern politicians expressed apprehension of a larger army on the eve of the Civil War (Utley 1967; Coffman 1986).

The greatest objection to a large army was the cost. While lawmakers applauded westward expansion, they failed to provide adequate financial resources for the military. Dramatic increases in fort maintenance and transportation of supplies became a reality during and after the Mexican War (Utley 1967; Coffman 1987:58). No longer could supplies be readily shipped along navigable waters and overland transportation was slow and expensive. Many posts were located in inhospitable, sparsely inhabited regions. Supplies were obtained from local civilian populations at higher prices (Risch 1962). Additional personnel were costly, dramatically increasing the overall cost in maintaining a standing army.

Stringent allotment of monies for the Army altered and shaped its frontier units. Economic measures structured the range of military duties far below the expectations of
the soldier. According to Utley (1967:17):

Manpower had to be diverted from military tasks to such ordinarily civilian tasks as constructing buildings, cultivating crops, tending herds of beef and draft animals, and gathering forage. Often, too, it meant field operations were handicapped, postponed or not even prosecuted because available supplies or the means of moving them were not at hand.

Development of the Frontier Army was greatly influenced by financial and political support. This minimal support greatly altered the structure and function of frontier forts.

**Purpose.** Besides its primary duty of peacekeeping, the Army inherited other duties. These duties included:

- exploring and mapping of the new territory,
- improve and open new travel routes,
- aid emigration,

Military companies sent to the frontier made fort construction their first order of business. Western forts were built along travel routes to protect emigrants and nearby settlements, and curb increased transportation costs (McFarling 1955:235-36).

**Post Composition.** In 1855, there were 74 posts on the frontier, increasing to 138 by 1857. The dramatic increase resulted from escalated Indian/white confrontations. Even though more than half of these posts were temporary, they drew men and money away from the older fortifications in the East and Midwest (Coffman 1986:58). The Army was spread thin on the frontier "in an expanding network of little forts whose feeble garrisons intimidated few Indians and protected few whites" (Utley 1967:57).

Serving not only as a symbol of protection (real or unreal), the fort was the "central institution of the frontier army" (Utley 1967:42). Fort construction and composition varied depending on personnel and the geographic region. Some were isolated and others were close to a settlement; some were stockaded or fortified partially or completely; some were constructed of stone or wood or a hasty patchwork of available materials. Despite these differences in construction and composition, all forts conformed to a basic pattern. The following description would apply to almost any fort in the West:

The buildings are built... in a hollow square, leaving in the center what is called a "parade ground"... one side of the square is used as officers
quarters; the opposite as a guard house, commissary department, offices, etc. The other two sides are soldiers barracks. There is a flagstaff in the center. Out of this square are to be found a hospital, dragoon stables, yards, etc. (Brooks and Reeve 1948:40).

The fort's general layout served to establish a social hierarchy which reaffirmed existing lines of authority within this self-contained community.

**Recruitment.** The Army was always seeking new recruits. This was caused by a high desertion rate prevalent throughout the Army's existence. In relatively good economic times, the Army had little appeal for American citizens. Most recruits were unskilled or unemployed laborers from the North. The number of immigrants recruited increased dramatically from the 1820s, affording them an opportunity for employment and learning the language and customs. Recruiting officers focused on money, as pay was often comparable to civilian occupations when considering bonuses and amenities. In addition, soldiers also received a uniform, rations and housing (Utley 1967:36; Coffman 1986:138).

**Soldier's Duty.** In the West, hundreds of encounters between Indians and soldiers are documented by the War Department between 1848 and 1861. It is estimated, however, that a frontier soldier might participate in combat only once during a five-year enlistment (Russell 1965:viii). As a result of limited combat, the enlisted man and officer were destined for other activities outside their expectations of heroics. Garrison duty consumed much of the frontier army's existence. Utley (1981:42) states that garrisoning the forts consumed most of the manpower. And paradoxically, too, garrison routine usually permitted an abundance of leisure in an environment affording few outlets for its enjoyment.

Field excursions relieved some of the boredom and tedious activities of garrison life. Garrison life consisted mostly of "drill, guard duty, care and feeding of horses, repair and maintenance of facilities, police of the post... escort or scouting assignments" (Utley 1981:45), all part of the fort's regular activities. Daily activities of enlisted men were not that much different than those of a pioneer; they cleared land, built shelters and roads, cooked food and provided services for officers and comrades (Meyers 1914:125). In addition, they farmed and raised livestock (Utley 1967:38; Coffman 1986:19). Some
duties were performed by women, commonly known as laundresses, who attended to the cooking, sewing, laundry, and other services.

**Military Training.** Characteristic of garrison duty was the lack of formalized training. The Army did not have a standard recruit training program before 1860. Training was not the primary duty of the peacetime soldier (Coffman 1986:158,161).

The lack of military training was noted in 1853 by J.K.F. Mansfield during an inspection tour of military posts (Frazer 1963). Even though there were insufficient numbers of officers, according to Coffman (1986:161), "the principal obstacle to consistent training remained the lack of available [enlisted] men." The Army was stretched across the frontier in scores of widely separated, tiny, undermanned garrisons. Soldiers often were consumed in military-related labor intensive activities, which did not leave much time for training. In 1856 Secretary of War Jefferson Davis (quoted [1856b] in Coffman 1986:161-162) summarized the problem:

> The employment of all the troops for long periods at constant labor, [is] injurious to military instruction and the contentment of the soldier.

**Diversions.** To escape the monotonous guard duty and strenuous labor, soldiers sought diversions through an array of activities. Gambling, drinking, and womanizing were considered by civilians to be the soldiers' main diversions. However, some army men spent their time reading. Newspapers and magazines were the prevalent reading materials, although some posts had libraries stocked with material ranging from popular novels to intellectual writings. Many officers had, to some degree, their own library. Social outlets, such as singing, temperance groups, debating societies, acting groups, dances and Masonic lodges were formed to alleviate boredom. Recreation included hunting and fishing, which also supplemented Army rations. Other activities included swimming, athletic games and horse racing. Competition was commonly associated with gambling, card playing and dominoes. Few religious activities were centered on the post, even after a mandate in 1841 (Utley 1967:45-46; Coffman 1986:173,176,181).
After entering the Army and serving on the frontier, enlisted men and officers alike experienced the hardships of frontier service. These consisted of:

- Abominable food and living conditions...
- Monotony...
- Least rewarding field duty...
- Separation from friends and family...
- Prospect of death or disability.
- Reward system negated by low pay...
- Little chance of advancement or recognition...
- And for the soldiers, discipline, often brutal (Utley 1967:29).

These conditions were not a random occurrence but common and inherent in the Army structure and the very nature of frontier conditions.

**Military Operations In Oregon**

**Early Troubles.** Relations between Indians and white settlers in the 1850s were tenuous because of land acquisitions encouraged by Congress through the Oregon Donation Land Law (Oregon Spectator 1850:2). With increasing settlement, Native Americans were pushed away from their traditional resource base. Another assault to the original inhabitants was the California Gold Rush beginning in 1849. Thousands of gold seekers and entrepreneurs raced westward, inundating the mountains and valleys. Pack trails were quickly converted into established roads. Mining camps and settlements sprang up in southern Oregon and northern California. Indian resentment spread throughout the region. Settlers were now nervous over increased agitation, as men were heading to the gold fields (Bancroft 1888).

**Military Arrival.** Escalating Indian/white conflicts, the Whitman Massacre of 1847, and the United States attempting to establish a military presence in the Oregon Territory (1848) created the demand for federal troops. In 1848, the Army’s Pacific Division was created (Table IV. 1) encompassing California and the Oregon Territory.

The Pacific Division was sub-divided into the 10th and 11th Departments, California and Oregon respectively. The following spring (1849), Brevet Major J. S. Hatheway with two artillery companies arrived by ship at Fort Vancouver. The troops soon started building quarters for the upcoming winter and the expected increase of army personnel. Later that fall, 11th Departmental Commander Lieutenant Colonel William
Loring reached Fort Vancouver. Loring brought four companies of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, marching overland from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Clark 1935:22; Utley 1967:98).

The Army of the Pacific was not without problems similar to those in other areas. Desertion was a continual problem, as was supplying and maintaining the forts (Clark 1935; Utley 1981). During a ten-year period (1849-1858) building and repair costs were higher in the Pacific than in any other department (Jesup 1859:16-17). Lack of a united military contingency and adequate resources left the Department of the Pacific ineffectual in carrying out its duties. According to Robert C. Clark, "expense and inconvenience dogged every military activity in the Northwest" (Clark 1935:35-36).

Army Actions. The Army's mission in the Northwest was not an aggressive assault; rather it was primarily to maintain peace between the settlers and the Indians (Hunt 1951). The military, in fact, was accused of protecting the Indians against the whites, instead of the reverse. Inhumanities against Native Americans were overwhelming in number, substantiated by official documents (Clark 1935:27). Injustices reached a point where Major-General Wool openly and vehemently sympathized with the plight of the Indian, as did his predecessor, General Hitchcock (Croffut 1909:396; O'Donnell 1991). Anson Dart (1851:473), Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the
Oregon Territory from 1850-1853, cited numerous cases of Indian harassment. Indian harassment was reported more frequently by his successor, Joel Palmer.

Periodic battles in southern Oregon in the early 1850s culminated in the Rogue River War of 1853. The ensuing Table Rock Treaty solved few problems. Further confrontations eventually led to the Rogue River War of 1855 (Victor 1894; Beckham 1977; O'Donnell 1991). As a response to the Indian Wars, Palmer established a reservation system to relocate the indigenous populations before they were exterminated. In the end, the Army escorted survivors from various Indian groups to the Grand Ronde, Siletz and Umpqua Reserve (Ambrose 1856). It is beyond the scope of this paper to address in detail Indian/white relationships or the reservation system. Other authors provide an in-depth discussion on this subject (Spaid 1950; O'Donnell 1991). Overall, the federal military establishment played a secondary role in western Oregon Indian confrontations (Utley 1967:210).

A basic framework for Pacific military operations began in 1856, with the subsequent construction of eight new forts in Oregon and Washington Territories (Jesup 1859:16-17). Three forts, Hoskins, Yamhill, and Umpqua, were established to guard access routes to and from the newly-created (1855) Coast Reservation and provide protection for the Siletz, Umpqua, and Yamhill Indian agencies (Royce 1899:812-13).

Fort Hoskins 1856-1865

Fort Hoskins Established. Safeguarding the Coast Reservation was the primary intent in establishing military posts (Davis 1856a). Three forts, Hoskins, Yamhill, and Umpqua, were located in areas that provided strategic access to the Reservation and to mountain passes (Figure IV.1). The location of these forts is described by Onstad (1964:173):

In the north a low and comparatively easy pass led over the mountains from a spot west of the Grande Ronde Valley. From the south the reservation could be reached by traveling along the sea coast. The third pass, a difficult route over the rugged terrain of the Coast Range, started
at the southern end of Kings Valley and wound a tortuous way to the upper prairie of the Siletz River.

This third pass was secured by Fort Hoskins, which was initially garrisoned by Company G., Fourth Infantry of the U.S. Army, and commanded by Captain Christopher C. Augur. When Augur arrived at the proposed central pass location in 1856, it was secured by Joel Palmer, then Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Lieutenant Phil Sheridan. However, from the beginning, there was disagreement about the fort placement (Onstad 1964:178). Department Commander Wool and Indian agents insisted that the fort be on the reservation. Captain Augur presented convincing arguments for locating the fort on the Coast Range's east side. Arguments that were presented focused on transportation; at such a location the fort would provide quick access to nearby settlements and the close proximity for supplies. As a compromise, a blockhouse and temporary quarters for 20-25 soldiers were built at the Siletz Agency while the post was maintained east of the reservation on the Luckiamute River (Augur 1856d). Post construction began in the fall of 1856 while the main post would serve the blockhouse by wagon road (Augur 1856e). However, because of expense and terrain difficulties, the intended wagon road was a pack-trail only (Onstad 1964:180).

Due to early indecisiveness and the building of the blockhouse and road, only temporary structures, possibly tent platforms, stood during the first winter at Fort Hoskins (Onstad 1964:180). One of the first permanent buildings was a bake house built in mid-January, 1857 (Fort Hoskins Proceedings of Councils of Administration [FHPCA] January 1857).

The fort was named after Lieutenant Charles Hoskins, killed at Monterey, Mexico, 21 September 1846. Hoskins was in the same regiment with Augur at the time of his death (Augur 1856a). Even though not official, Augur (1856c) stated that the purposes of the fort's location were to "keep Indians away from the white settlements, keep whites away from the reservation, and protect whites if Indians escaped from the reservation".

Augur entered into a $300.00 yearly lease agreement in 1857 with Henry Van Peer for 80 acres of land and unlimited building privileges, the use of timber as needed,
Figure IV.1 Map of western Oregon, location of Fort Hoskins. Adapted from Barth 1966:2.
and use of an existing small house (Benton County Courthouse 1857). The main fort area covered approximately two acres.

The fort's layout, built around a rectangular parade ground, was similar to that of other western forts. A plat map of 1864, drawn by post-surgeon E. Y. Chase, details the location of buildings and auxiliary structures (Figure IV.2). Seventeen major buildings made up the fort complex: officers' quarters, enlisted men's barracks, a kitchen, a bakehouse, a guardhouse, a commissary, a sutler's store, a hospital, stables, a blacksmith, a company store, and others. Buildings and layout reflected Augur's ideas of Indian relations, as no blockhouse or any other type of defense was constructed. A fence surrounded most of the buildings. Mansfield (1858) provided an excellent description of the fort and its environment (Appendix I) along with a sketch map (Figure IV.3). The following narrative are excerpts from the Mansfield report:

**Location and Indians**
This post is placed among the hills at the terminus of the valley, and on a side hill. There is however a large population within 30 miles; as the whole country is taken up and settled by farmers in flourishing conditions; and there is a grist mill and sawmill within 3 miles.

**Quarters, Gardens and etc.**
There are three small buildings for officers quarters; a good hospital, a good store house for Quartermaster and Commissary supplies, a good barrack two stories, with kitchens, and mess rooms, and washrooms. Complete, a good bakery, five small houses for laundresses; good sheds all sufficient for mule stables and a sutlers store. These buildings are all framed and new, and judiciously executed, with no unnecessary expense, and water is brought into most of them from a spring on the side hill and by means of pipes underground. There are good gardens, and a summer and winter supply of vegetables are easily cultivated.

**Troops**
This company was in the old uniform, very neat and in good order. Knapsacks and haversacks, painted canvas. The canteens mostly gutta percha and of no use. The arms, the old smooth bore musket. The rain precluded all drills and target firing. The quarters and company books are in excellent order. The men slept on double bunks, two tiers high and every desirable comfort afforded them.
Figure IV.2 Chase's 1864 Plat Map.

1. Sutler's stables
2. Sutler's store
3. Hospital
4. Company quarters
5. Guard House
6. Adjutant's office
7. Officers' quarters
8. Quartermaster stables
Quartermaster Department
His supplies are ample except in clothing, and shoe nos. 7, 8, 9. He keeps 8 horses, 37 mules, 3 wagons, one ambulance.

The U.S. Army occupied Fort Hoskins from 1856 to 1861, at which time troops were ordered east for the Civil War. From 1861 to 1865, volunteers from California, Washington, and Oregon manned the post (Table IV.2). In addition to peacekeeping duties, soldiers kept a watchful eye on southern sympathizers (Platt 1903:108). On 10 April 1865, Fort Hoskins was abandoned. General Orders No. 19 of 3 August 1866, decommissioned Fort Hoskins (Barth 1959:197). In the same year, the buildings were auctioned (Oregon Statesman 1866:2), with land reverting back to the original owner. See Chapter V, Post Abandonment section for twentieth century details of Fort Hoskins.

Table IV.2 Troops Stationed at Fort Hoskins (Hoop 1929:359-60)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company/Regiment</th>
<th>Commander</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G 4th</td>
<td>Capt. C.C. Augur</td>
<td>July 1856 - June 1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Capt. F.T. Dent</td>
<td>April 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 9th</td>
<td></td>
<td>June 1861 - Nov. 1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 4th</td>
<td>Lt. Wheeler</td>
<td>March 1857 - April 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 4th</td>
<td>Capt. Floyd-Jones</td>
<td>June 1857 - Jan. 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 1st WA Vol.</td>
<td>Capt. Seidenstriker</td>
<td>July 1862 - April 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 4th CA Vol.</td>
<td>Lt. Garden</td>
<td>April 1863 - Sept. 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Lt. Herzer</td>
<td>Aug. 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Capt. L.S. Scott</td>
<td>Sept. 1863 - Oct. 1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sgt. King</td>
<td>Oct. 1864 - Dec. 1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Capt. G. Curry</td>
<td>Jan. 1865 - March 1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 1st OR Vol.</td>
<td>Capt. E. Palmer</td>
<td>March 1865 - April 1865</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Life at the Post. Kings Valley was first settled by pioneers in the 1840s and 1850s. The residents in the latter decade acquired land claims under the Donation Land Act of 1850. A flour mill, a saw mill, and livestock raising were features of this early stable agricultural community. The military provided another market and a sense of
Figure IV.3 Mansfield’s 1858 Sketch Map.
security. Few complaints were lodged against Fort Hoskins except for the mysterious disappearance of pigs (Hoop 1929:353; Ledbetter 1935:83).

The post was approached from Corvallis to the southeast and from the northern valley settlements and Fort Yamhill via Dallas. Corvallis was used as a post office and a drop-off point for small rations and quartermaster stores supplied from Fort Vancouver (Ledbetter 1935:62,78). All other items such as flour, bacon, fresh meat, vegetables, and hay could be obtained locally (Augur 1856c).

U.S. Army Regulars at Hoskins were not locals, but primarily from the East Coast. The 4th Infantry, from New York, arrived in California in 1854 (Sheridan 1987:31) and later became involved in the Rogue River War of 1855 while stationed at Fort Orford (Utley 1981:183). The 4th Infantry arrived at Fort Hoskins in July of 1856. Troop composition at Fort Hoskins was not unlike other U.S. regiments (Fort Hoskins Collection [FHC]). Enlistments were mainly from the North Atlantic states and consisted of newly arrived immigrants, young farmers, and laborers (Coffman 1986:139). Volunteers stationed at the Fort came from a variety of mid-western states and European countries, although many were locals (FHC).

Desertion was a continual problem in the peacetime Army, and is noted numerous times in Fort Hoskins' documents (Fort Hoskins Post Returns [FHPR] 1856-1865; Mansfield 1858; Augur 1859b; Seidenstriker 1862b; Garden 1863). Strenuous duty and the lure of higher wages were but some of the causes for desertion (Augur 1859b).

Fort Hoskins' military records (FHLB; FHPA; Fort Hoskins Post Orders [FHPO]) suggest that daily life was strictly regimented, monotonous, and without glory. Mostly, the soldiers were called upon to guard dispirited Indians, retrieve escapees, or to intercede in reservation squabbles. A soldier spent his official day on guard duty, drilling if time permitted, target practice, preparing for inspection, blacksmithing, animal tending, gardening, food preparation, chopping wood, and construction. Enlisted men had extra duties as carpenters, packers, hospital orderlies and bakers. Officers, besides their regular duties, served on the Post Council of Administration, Court Martial Boards, and Inspection Committees.

Officers generally lived in single dwellings or at the most, two per house at Fort
Hoskins. The enlisted men, on the other hand, lived in a communal situation; sleeping, bathing, cooking and eating in one barrack. Rations were unequal as well; the officers were to receive four meals a day while the enlisted men only received two. Each ration consisted of: pork or bacon, flour or bread, beans or rice, coffee, sugar, vinegar, candles, soap and salt (Scott 1861:487). It is unknown whether or not the soldiers received all these items or in what proportions. Fort documents state that bread was baked regularly (Mansfield 1856; FHLB). Mansfield (1856) also reported on "good gardens".

The diary of Corporal Hillary (Nelson and Onstad 1966:42-46,50-53) provides a clearer picture of the enlisted men's diet. Bread and water was common fare during dinner (lunch), with bread also served at breakfast. Coffee was usually available at all meals. Bensell talks about going hungry on numerous occasions and complained about the lack of food. A bean soup was made with 12 year old barreled pork. A few diary entries mentioned fresh pork for breakfast and supper. To supplement this diet, enlisted men hunted and fished, while vegetables, eggs and apples were purchased from the local farmers through the company fund.

The tedium of the daily schedule (Table IV.3) and living conditions that were substandard as compared to the officers, were reflected by the large number of desertions and alcohol-related incidents which resulted in court martials, demotions, jail time, or labored punishment (FHLB; FHPO).

Life at the post was routine with few spectacular events occurring "to break the monotony of garrison life" (Hoop 1935:355). Diversions from military structure provided some relief. At one time, money was appropriated for newspaper and magazine subscriptions (FHPMA Sept. 1856). Also, a theater building was erected, but when it was built or used is unclear (Seidenstriker 1862a).

Family units at Fort Hoskins were uncommon. It is believed that Captain Augur had the only wife and children stationed at the Fort (Augur 1859a). It is unknown how Mrs. Augur socialized at the Fort or with the surrounding community women. Coffman (1986:128) reports that married officers were expected to entertain visitors and new arrivals. Women who did not live within the fort confines but were important to daily
operations included the laundresses, servants and cooks. As with the officers and enlisted men, a sharp division of status positioning was maintained between the women (Coffman 1986:113).

Other than military documents cited in this text (FHLB; FHPCA; FHPO; FHPK), there is limited documentation concerning the types and cost of goods available at the Fort. No records for either the Quartermaster or sutler were located. No known diaries exist for U.S. Regulars stationed at Fort Hoskins. Diaries from two volunteers, Corporal Bensell (Barth 1959) and Corporal Hilleary (Nelson and Onstad 1965), provide unique insight into an enlisted man’s life. Both diaries tell of extracurricular activities pursued by the soldiers such as social clubs, spelling bees, checkers, cards, sport games, drinking, and social contacts with local settlers. As a counterbalance to drinking, religion apparently played an important role at the garrison, even though no chaplin or chapel are mentioned in military documents. The journals also speak of romance with the Kings Valley settlers and Indian women.

These diaries confirm the regimented daily activities of the soldier. Only Bensell noted military action, which consisted of brief skirmishes with wandering Indian groups. Both officers and enlisted men stationed at Hoskins experienced a lack of battle heroics usually accorded to the soldier.

The ten-year period at Fort Hoskins was one of drill, manual labor, and contempt of superiors (Barth 1959; Nelson and Onstad 1965). Officers performed their roles,
assigning duties and issuing commands. The enlisted men, listening to orders, performed their assignments. Soldiers at Fort Hoskins were part of the U.S. Army's legacy of status and authority.
CHAPTER V. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE DESCRIPTION

Environmental Setting

Fort Hoskins is approximately 16 miles northwest of Corvallis, Oregon, at the southern terminus of Kings Valley. The area is characterized by the Coastal Range foothills and alluvial valley plain of the Luckiamute River and its tributaries. Terraces above the floodplain form relatively flat areas before the mountain ascent (Figure IV.1).

Terrace soils consist of moderately to well drained silty clay loams that formed in colluvium weathered from sedimentary and igneous rocks. Average annual precipitation is 40-60 inches (Knezevich 1975:3). Vegetation is mainly Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menzeisii*), oak (*Quercus* sp.), maple (*Acer* sp.), ash (*Fraxinus latifolia*), blackberry (*Rubus* L.), rose (*Rosa* L.), hawthorn (*Crategus* L.), snowberry (*Symphoricarpos Duhamel*), and grasses (*FestucaL, Bromus L., Deschampsia Beauv., Elymus L.*).

The Fort was constructed on a terrace above a broad flood plain and the river’s bend. The two-acre terrace rises 50-60 feet above the valley floor "except on the north and northwest where it is commanded by higher ground" (Hoop 1929:351). The immediate site area is densely overgrown with blackberry, rose, hawthorn, and grasses, with scattered Douglas fir. A semi-open area is approximately where the parade ground is situated, but is disturbed from years of landscape alteration: farming, corrals, road and building construction. Encompassing approximately 78 acres, the military reserve’s natural limits are the river’s bend and the hill slopes to the north (Figure V.1).

Post Abandonment

After the fort’s abandonment, buildings were sold, with property reverting back to private ownership. No military structures remain except the hospital (Walton 1974) which was remodeled for residential use (Figure V.2). In the early 1980s, the owners moved out of the house (hospital) and into a mobile home, uphill near the spring.
The immediate site area was used for farming until the early 1980s. Barns and outbuildings were built by 1922 as documented in historical photos (FHC). Some buildings still stand today, most are in a deteriorated condition (Figure V.3). Corrals, orchards, fences, open areas, and plowed fields are also documented in association with the farmstead. Photos (FHC) and visual observation testify to the continual alteration of roads since the soldiers left in 1865.

Site disturbance appears limited in most areas, except half of the parade ground having been plowed throughout the years. The greatest impact is scavenging for collectibles. The "continual relic collecting activities, aided by sophisticated electronic gear and increasing interest in the property by private realtors/builders have created a crisis situation" (Brauner 1976:1). The landowners have also collected an assortment of military, domestic, and personal artifacts from throughout the site (Dunn-Burbank 1988). In addition, the military flagpole base was destroyed by a bulldozer in 1964 (Gazette-Times 1964:3).

Archaeological Methodology and Field Strategy

In 1976, the first season of a multi-year historical archaeology program at Fort Hoskins was initiated by Dr. David Brauner of the Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University (OSU). Funds for Phase I and II investigations were provided by OSU and the National Park Service through the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office. The intent of the archaeological field school was to serve the educational needs of the participating students and the general public. In addition, the site offered potential for research along numerous avenues (Brauner 1976:2-3).

Methodology. Similar archaeological excavation methods were used during the two years. Horizontal control was established using a basic 2 x 2 m cartesian grid system. Variation existed with some 1 x 2 m and 1 x 1 m test units. Excavation units are designated by number of meters north and east of an arbitrary datum zero. This reference point is also arbitrary elevation 100 m. Test units not situated on the grid are designated by letters.
Figure V.1 Photo, aerial view of site on river terrace.
Figure V.2 Photo of former hospital, now residential.

Figure V.3 Photo of farm buildings in near collapse.
Arbitrary 10 cm levels were excavated throughout the site. Emphasis was on in-situ recovery, with mapping and photography completed before artifact removal. Exceptions are noted in Area B, with a 1 x 2 m unit excavated in 20 cm levels, and the Area C privy, removed in 20 cm levels. This method was undertaken to remove overburden or quickly determine cultural deposition.

Initial unit excavation utilized shovels and trowels, with trowels used on features. All excavated matrix was screened through 1/4-inch (6 mm) mesh, regardless of stratigraphy or feature. To assist in horizontal and vertical control, the following code system was used for artifact recovery.

- **Code 1**: Exact provenience in three dimensions was measured in situ.
- **Code 2**: Provenience known within 50 cm horizontally and 5 cm vertically.
- **Code 3**: Provenience known within a single 2 m grid unit and a 10 cm vertical level.
- **Code 4**: Provenience known within the excavation area and by level.
- **Code 5**: Provenience unknown but from within the excavation area.

Artifacts were defined as all items brought to the site as a result of human activity. This included faunal material, seeds, and fragments of wood, metal, and rocks used in foundations. Flotation samples were also taken in features.

Field notes were written for each level by the crew members, noting soil morphology and artifacts recovered. A general daily progress log was kept by the crew chief. During feature excavations, plan drawings showing feature outline, color-coded in-situ artifacts, and depths were recorded for each level. Photographs were taken of each feature, general work areas, and of work in progress.

The majority of artifacts were recorded daily and given a sequential number by area. Each number includes the description, the provenience, the elevation, the level, any associations, the excavated code, and the excavator. The remaining level bag artifacts (mostly code 3 and 4) were given numbers during final artifact cataloguing. Concurrent with the excavation, lab personnel cleaned and applied permanent numbers to the artifacts. Architectural items were generally noted on forms, while faunal remains and soil samples were catalogued by unit.

**Field Strategy.** Phase I excavations were designed as a testing operation. As
Brauner (1977:1) stated, "[s]ampling cultural content, locating structural remains and assessing the sites potential for activity area analyses was central to... field methodology." The 1864 Fort Hoskins plat map (refer to Figure IV.2) aided in defining the approximate position of each structure. A grid system was established over the site and subdivided into areas A-E (Figure V.4). Test units were situated to encompass depositional remains. Emphasis was placed on the officers’ quarters, Area A; the enlisted men’s sink, Area C; and a reported dump in the middle of the parade grounds, Area B.

Excavation strategy in 1977 was a continuation of Phase I testing, and additionally focused on the contextual status of buried cultural debris. Attention was placed on the central officers’ house and the associated privy and on the location of two additional buildings, the bakehouse and armory. In question from the 1976 excavation was the location of the enlisted men’s barracks and possibly the parade ground dump. Additional information was sought on uniform styles and adornment, building materials and methods, weapons and associated hardware, recreational items, and subsistence activities, as well as other aspects of life at the frontier military post (Brauner 1977:4,10).

**Area A:** A 2 x 40 m trench was excavated across the probable location of the three officer’s houses. Focusing on the central officer’s house, two 2 x 12 m trenches were opened north and south of the 1976 trench (Figure V.5). Cultural material was recovered from directly below the surface to 40 cm deep. Post-abandonment disturbance was minimal, as this area had not been plowed. Domestic- and military-related artifacts occurred in low frequencies, relative to the abundant architectural debris of fragmented bricks and machine-cut nails. Excavation recovered domestic, personal, and military items and faunal remains from a privy. In 1977, another privy was located and excavated (Figure V.6), revealing similar ceramic and glass items, but in a higher quantity (Brauner 1977:4,7).

**Area B:** The Area B general area was concentrated on for years by relic collectors. Previous to excavation, this area was used as a pasture and an orchard. Excavations were confined to the slope in the center of the parade ground. Two meter-wide test trenches, four and ten meters long, were placed perpendicular to the slope over
Figure V.4 Map of 1976-1977 grid system, block excavations (Brauner 1977:5; FHC) and Chase’s 1864 Plat Map.
Figure V.5 Photo of Area A trench, officers' quarters.

Figure V.6 Photo of Area A 1977 officers' privy.
the alleged dump (Figure V.7). The abundant cultural debris recovered included fragmented clay pipes, uniform accouterments, and architectural items. Additional blocks were opened in 1977 to confirm the hypothesized demolition of the enlisted men’s barrack. Supposedly the barrack was demolished after the Fort was abandoned, creating a large debris on the parade ground. This could be the scenario, as an abundance of burned wood, nails and glass was recovered from Area B (Brauner 1977:8).

**Area C:** The Area C testing focused on locating an enlisted men’s privy. A small privy was encountered below a horse burial. The post-fort horse burial and subsequent relic collecting disturbed the upper third of the privy. Below the disturbance, however, more than 160 artifacts were recovered and a distinct privy outline was revealed (Figure V.8; Brauner 1977:7).

**Area D:** A 2 x 4 m block was opened to test the commissary location. Additional 2 x 2 m units were excavated to locate the bakery, armory and additional privies. Too few artifacts were recovered to warrant further exploration (Brauner 1977:8).

**Area E:** Units were placed on the slope below the officers’ quarters, south of Area A. Fragmented ceramic and bone, and military ammunition and buttons were recovered, revealing the presence of several dumps. Cultural items revealed occupations extending from the military period to the present.

Depositional episodes at Fort Hoskins are briefly noted throughout the text. An in-depth discussion of these episodes is beyond the scope of this research. The Methodology and Field Strategy section provides a background to the artifact analysis.
Figure V.7 Photo overview of Area B.

Figure V.8 Photo of Area C enlisted men's privy.
CHAPTER VI. MATERIAL CULTURE DISCUSSION

Introduction

In analyzing the results of the historical archaeological program at Fort Hoskins, only a portion of the total artifacts recovered are examined. The rationale for this approach involves specific research questions (see Chapter I) encompassing excavation strategy, cataloguing procedures, post-military occupation, and the classification scheme.

Although useful in revealing structural integrity (Combes 1965) and reflecting social status (Feister 1984), architectural artifacts of unknown quantities are omitted. Furthermore, Halchin (1985:113) states that "structural materials make up the building itself and did not serve in a functional role in daily life in quite the same fashion as do less fixed items. More importantly, when quantities of structural remains are included, they can obscure patterned distribution of other artifacts more important in answering questions".

Faunal remains are important in substantiating socio-economic status (Schultz and Gust 1983). Studies reveal a higher cost meat cut (discarded bones) associated with higher socioeconomic status (Schultz and Gust 1983; Lyman 1987). Brauner (1989) noticed a difference in faunal remains at Fort Hoskins between the officers and enlisted men. The enlisted men's discarded bones included a greater proportion of wild game. It is inferred that officers had greater access to better cuts of domesticated meat, while enlisted men utilized wild game to supplement their meager rations (Utley 1967). The Fort Hoskins faunal remains are provenienced by excavation unit and have only been partially identified, consequently they are not included in this analysis.

The excavation strategy divided the site into five major areas. Areas A and E encompass the officers' houses, their privies, and a dump. Areas B and C encompass the enlisted men's privy and barracks. Area D, the probable commissary, is not used in the artifact analysis because only 24 artifacts were recovered. The commissary area was used by both officers and enlisted men.
Although a catalogue of artifacts produced by the 1976-77 archaeological program was assembled, a detailed catalogue was constructed by this researcher to organize the artifacts and include pertinent information. Over 4500 artifacts were reviewed and catalogued using the format described in this text. Of those re-catalogued, not all were used in this analysis because of the research questions asked or were artifacts without a distinct function. In the original Fort Hoskins catalogue, artifacts are entered by material type or with a brief description, i.e., green glass, pipe, or metal object. Quantities noted in this research are not equivalent to the Fort Hoskins catalogue for a number of reasons. The original field catalog listed numbers numerically by area, but an individual artifact number could include numerous specimens. Also, during the later cataloguing stage, some items previously listed were not located because their numbers were illegible or they were misplaced. Some new artifact entries have no provenience resulting from improper number transcription, reject or reused numbers, and code 5 entries.

The research catalogue format (FHC) is organized to encompass Sprague’s classification (1981), a binomial object name (Blackaby and Greeno 1988), and attributes for major artifact types. The binomial object name is a museum cataloguing tool, providing common names in a systemic hierarchy and common nomenclature for man-made objects. However, the system primarily focuses on whole objects and does not include the parts. The attributes portion is an adaptation from the Intermountain Antiquities Computer System (IMACS) (1990) for artifact recordation and description. The present attribute format is more encompassing than IMACS and includes additional artifact types.

The raw material field is relevant to historical material types. Metal, ceramic, bone and fabric are further sub-divided to include specific types. Major ceramic compositions are adapted from Adams (1980:506) while metal, bone and fabric were compiled by the author.

The last field includes trademarks, references to either trademarks or datable
technological attributes, and comments including a minimum number of vessels (MNV) for bottles and ceramics, or miscellaneous notes. This catalogue format provides a comprehensive review of the artifacts and is easily organized in a computerized data base program.

Classification Scheme

The criteria for the Fort Hoskins artifact classification is based on Sprague’s (1981) pragmatic scheme, which is designed to assist in analyzing artifacts dating to nineteenth and twentieth century historical sites. This classificatory scheme is structured to reflect "cultural reality" by forming an analytic step toward cultural construction. Each artifact is placed in a particular functional category and described. The artifact function is determined not only by its form but also by the context in which it was recovered.

Sprague’s classification scheme employed here and by others (Speulda 1988; Sanders et al. 1983) on historical sites in Oregon utilizes a descending level approach for categorization. The primary level (category) represents the context of utilization (i.e., Domestic items). The secondary level (group) reflects activity or use to which an artifact was applied (i.e., Furnishings). The tertiary level is sub-divided into types of group artifacts, depending on the artifact category (furniture, decorative).

This system imposes a culturally recognized format (Blackaby and Greeno 1988) to organize historical artifacts. Sprague (1981:255) described his scheme as "neither definitive nor exclusive but simply... one approach that has worked." The system is flexible, yet does not mix primary and lower level artifact groupings. This scheme is only a classification system and does not outline strategies for site predictability, describe site characteristics, or assign artifact attributes. Since Sprague’s initial writing, little has changed in the format, and he has not written follow-up literature that assesses the schemes success or failure.

Sprague (1981:255-258) employs seven primary levels and an Unidentified category. Each of the primary levels are sub-divided into activities or uses, and sub-
divided again based on variables within the primary category. Research questions addressed herein preclude the utilization of all primary levels. Some primary levels (Group Ritual) are under-represented because of the nature of this site. Also, the site was only partially excavated, focusing on officers’ and enlisted men’s habitation areas.

The classification presented in this research (Table VI.1) reflects a slight alteration of Sprague’s classification. In addressing military status and authority research questions, only the primary level categories, Personal, Domestic, and Group Services (Military Defense), will be utilized. Not all secondary levels categories are used either. Some secondary level groups are added, while subdividing other groups within the primary categories.

A frustrating aspect of Sprague’s classification is the lack of a category to reflect human consumption and discard items such as faunal, tin cans, and condiments. As a result, the group Subsistence is added, with Fresh and Preserved serving as types on the tertiary level. Under secondary level groups, such as Clothing (Personal), sub-divisions or types (headwear, outerwear, underwear, and accessories) are added. Sub-divisions are added for other secondary level groups, depending on the particular historical context. The Unidentified category is not based on material type as in Sprague’s original scheme. These additions and alterations do not change the basic framework of the original classification scheme.

Artifact Classification

The Fort Hoskins material culture is described in Appendix II to avoid a loss of reading continuity in the text. Identification, description, and quantification of the artifact form, raw material, and manufacturing attributes are discussed.

Artifact analysis and the artifacts used as status and authority symbols will be discussed in Chapter VII. Table VI.1 illustrates artifact quantities within the functional categories for the Fort Hoskins collection. The rationale and variables involved in classification for certain artifact types are discussed after the artifact totals are presented.
Assigning artifacts to a functional category incorporates the object's original intent and the recovery context. There were only four artifacts that could not be assigned to a sub-assemblage in the Personal or Domestic category. No doubt, some items have dual purposes. For example, a button is a clothing-related item but may have served as a poker chip or used for target practice. Only when an object is positively identified to a secondary use is it placed in that functional category. Some military-related artifacts outside a military setting might be classified elsewhere. This same idea applies for non-

### Table VI.1 Functional Categories and Fort Hoskins Artifact Totals by Officer and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category/Group</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adornment/Keepsake</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooming and Body Ritual</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical and Health</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indulgence</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation and Pastime</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Personal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domestic</strong></td>
<td>1288</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishing</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewares and Appliance</td>
<td>1126</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning and Maintenance</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Domestic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Military Defense</strong></td>
<td>266</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammunition</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparel</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accouterment</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucratic</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong> (3534)</td>
<td>2224</td>
<td>1310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unidentified</strong></td>
<td>573</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
specific military artifacts within a military hierarchy. An example is footwear items which are normally classified under Personal Clothing. However, boots were a standard military issue during that time. Post Orders No. 45 of 1857 decreed that no soldier was permitted to appear in any clothing but U.S. Army issue while in the fort's confines (FHPO 11 December 1857). Military clothing is only related to the outerwear garments.

Other artifact identification parameters include the following. A vessel number (MNV) is assigned only to those items that have distinguishable traits in counting for relative number of vessels present. For glass items, the base is used to identify a vessel. The base may not necessarily be complete but, in comparison to others of the same color or shape, represents a vessel. Some bottles were identified to function through recognized bottle shapes and distinct colors. All the variations of olive green glass (non-inkwells) were classified as Indulgences (alcohol).

Ceramics are usually Houseware items within this classification system and generally were identified as Gustatory. When reviewing their composition, form and thickness, some artifacts were placed within another grouping. The MNV for ceramics is primarily based on the rim thickness, the composition, and the decoration type. Tobacco pipes MNV was based on the bowl and/or juncture, composition, and decoration type.

The Unidentified category is not used in the final analysis. Artifacts (887) within this category were described, measured and given descriptive attributes, yet lack an identifiable function within the three categories under study. The majority of these items are fragmented glass and metal.

Using a functional artifact taxonomy provides a consistent base for quantification and comparison. However, there remains room for disagreement and adjustment in classificatory categories. A functional classification system provides a mechanism to examine assemblage variability.
CHAPTER VII. SITE ANALYSIS

Introduction

The preceding discussions of Fort Hoskins archaeological data provides an initial step in analyzing artifact differences between the officers and enlisted men. The functional classification scheme is useful for intra-site comparisons and the discovery of functional variability between activity areas and/or structures.

Artifact patterns are descriptive models. However, artifact patterning is not intended to merely categorize artifact assemblages, but to assist and stimulate explanation of the cultural processes that make assemblages similar or dissimilar from one another. Recognizing assemblage regularities is possible through comparative and quantitative analysis. Artifact patterns can then be explained from a process-oriented viewpoint (Honerkamp 1980:2; Martin 1985:132-33).

The search for patterned regularities concentrates on proportional relationships between categories rather than absolute numbers of objects (see Chapter III). Percentage representation minimizes the effects of different sample sizes between artifact assemblages. Artifact patterning involves quantitative patterns, characterizing cultural interaction in terms of artifact frequencies and proportions. Through quantitative analysis, archaeological variability reflecting a pattern of status and authority differences should be revealed.

The military is characterized by distinct status differentiation (Janowitz 1974) and is likewise recognized by defined social spaces within the fort’s confines. Fort Hoskins’ status group areas were identified from Chase’s 1864 plat map. Using the map (Figure V.4) as a reference, excavation of the site was conducted. Accordingly, the officers’ Area A reveals structural and non-structural elements consisting of two houses, two privies, and open space, while Area E is an officers dump. The enlisted men’s Area B and C includes the structural remains of the barrack, a privy, and surrounding non-structural areas. There was no central dump discovered for the enlisted men.
Validation Process

Analysis of Fort Hoskins data will use descriptive statistics, encompassing percentages of artifact frequencies in the functional categories. Data analysis utilizes 3534 functionally identified artifacts. Summary artifact totals are presented in Table VI.1. The artifact tables final percentages do not always equal 100% because of rounding.

Potential problems arise in using percentage data in statistical analyses as discussed in detail by others (Martin 1985:135-36; Shennan 1988:89,286-88). This is a concern when using measures that do not lend themselves to percentage data and the use of nominal scale variables. However, there are ways to view variance when using nominal scale variables and ratio data (Cohen and Holliday 1982; Shennan 1988). Basic descriptive statistics work well in conjunction with artifact patterning.

One type of status definition employed is the overall quantity of goods between groups (Riordan 1985). It is presumed that officers should produce a greater number of archaeological remains than the enlisted men when considering military status differentiation. The officers' excavated area contained 62.9% (2224) of the total artifacts, while the enlisted men's total is considerably less, 37.1% (1310). However, held constant as an independent variable is metric volume (m3) excavated. Excavated volume percentage for the officers is 62.3% (73.54 m3), while the enlisted men's is 37.7% (44.51 m3). Artifact density is nearly equal between the two groups when viewing artifact density per excavated volume.

Since the enlisted men artifacts did not include a central dump does the exclusion of the officers dump artifacts make a difference? Also, numerous artifacts were unidentified (UNF) for both groups. In adjusting these numbers to the overall total, does this make a difference for status group artifact/volume comparisons? Table VII.1 presents the adjusted artifact percentages and excavated volumes. Area E (officers dump) artifact totals and volume excavated are excluded from the first comparison while the UNF artifacts are added to both group totals for the second comparison. These comparisons reveal a direct correlation between volume excavated and total artifacts.
Table VII.1 Adjusted Artifact Density and Excavated Volume Percentages by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Artifact %</th>
<th>Volume %</th>
<th>Artifact %</th>
<th>Volume %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Officers</strong></td>
<td>59.4 %</td>
<td>59.6 %</td>
<td>62.3 %</td>
<td>62.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Enlisted Men</strong></td>
<td>40.6 %</td>
<td>40.4 %</td>
<td>37.7 %</td>
<td>37.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

recovered per status group and/or deposition type. From these figures, the premise that officers produce a greater number of artifacts is transcended by other considerations. Two variables are discussed below to explain reasons for these similarities.

Personnel at a nineteenth century U.S. Army post consisted of one to three companies of enlisted men and officers. The Army’s Table of Organization (Scott 1861:50) allotted 52 enlisted men for each three officers, or a ratio of seventeen enlisted men per officer. Utley (1967:22) states that one or two officers per 30-40 was the usual average for frontier companies. In reviewing the Fort Hoskins Post Records (1856-1865), a ratio of 1:28 is calculated. From these figures, it would seem that enlisted men’s areas should have considerably more artifacts.

Equally important is pay differentiation between the two groups. Pay scales (Scott 1861:454-57) of the period have monthly pay including subsistence, a clothing allowance, and servants (enlisted men’s wage) for the officers. Officers’ and enlisted men’s pay involved different ranks within each status group. In this comparison, the three officers’ and four enlisted mens’ rankings were averaged, based on the number of individuals allotted for each rank in the infantry. Average pay for an officer was $110.50 per month, while an enlisted man’s was $19.17, less than one-sixth of what an officer received. All things being equal, this would indicate that officers should have a higher level of goods, both in quantity and quality.

Both pay and personnel calculations are crude figures, but do provide a basis for comparison. What this means is that officers’ deposition should contain a higher percentage in some categories because of their greater buying power. On the other hand,
the enlisted men's artifact totals should be more numerous in other categories because of personnel ratio differences between the two groups.

Payment differential, population ratios and excavated volume are reasons why artifact quantities alone are not useful indicators of status. Analyses of Fort Hoskins artifacts involves functional category comparisons within each status group and comparisons between the officers and enlisted men. What are the variables that contribute to differences or similarities between the two status groups?

Table VII.2 lists the artifact frequencies for each status group and by functional category. Functional categories are explained in Chapter VI while Tables VII.3, VII.7 and VII.8 list artifact types and quantities for each category. The Domestic, Personal, and Military Defense categories explore the everyday activities of officers and enlisted men.

The table reveals distinct artifact differences in the Personal and Domestic categories. This discrepancy results from an increase of personal items being acquired by the enlisted men. The increase is caused by the greater number of enlisted men versus officers and how enlisted men spent their excess money, usually on personal luxury items. Lower status groups normally spend surplus money on necessity items. However, goods (arms and ammunition) associated with military activities were supplied primarily by the Army. Few domestic items were purchased with this excess money because the enlisted men had their own mess kit containing utensils, plate/bowl and drinking vessel (Utley 1967; South and Widmer 1977). Fragile domestic items would

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>30.1 %</td>
<td>69.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>57.9 %</td>
<td>08.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Defense</td>
<td>12.0 %</td>
<td>22.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
have been impractical to carry in haversacks or knapsacks. It would appear that when luxury personal or domestic goods were purchased by the enlisted men, they were expendable. Also, it is expected that officers would have more domestic items because they often had their family at the post. Officers were able to afford a comfortable lifestyle because of higher pay and the Army supplying some items. The roles and rewards assigned to the enlisted men and officers influenced the acquisition of certain goods (South and Widmer 1977).

Other factors attributable to artifact differences between the officer and enlisted men are based on economic and political/legal factors operating in the Army at that time. Economic differences are related to the number of daily rations officers and enlisted men received, which were four to two respectively (Scott 1861:454-57; Utley 1967:36). Another comparative factor is that enlisted men had less time for food preparation because a considerable portion of their time was spent performing other military-related tasks. It was much easier for the enlisted men to prepare communal meals, probably consisting of one-pot meals (stews) versus a single preparation meal for each individual. Fewer culinary items are present in the enlisted men's assemblage. Preserved goods including bottled mustard, pickles and ground pepper were recovered. Of these items, the officer’s assemblage dominated, comprising 81.1% of the total. Faunal remains, which are useful in determining meat cuts and how the meals were prepared, have yet to be completely analyzed.

Domestic Items

The following table presents the artifacts that are included in the Domestic category. A detailed description of these artifacts is included in Appendix II.

As noted by Otto (1977), Moore (1985), and Orser (1987), ceramics are a major factor in assessing socioeconomic status. Ceramic use is part of officers’ role-playing, representing the material expression of their social position (Riordan 1985:29). An inverse relationship of domestic items (primarily ceramics) by a considerable margin of 49.8 percentage points is noted (Table VII.2). It is expected that the officers' artifact
assemblage should contain a higher percentage of quality ceramic items than the enlisted men.

Certain kinds of ceramics are more expensive than others. Miller (1980) developed a pricing scale for ceramic decoration type for nineteenth century non-military sites on the East Coast. The scale is based on price lists from merchants and potters of that time. Also generated are scaling levels for ceramic forms, remaining constant in each of the decoration types. Bowls (hollowware) were the least expensive, plates (flatware) next, with cups the most expensive. Decoration types were divided into four classes regardless of raw material. Class 4 was the most costly, containing transfer-

Table VII.3 Domestic Artifacts Profile by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings: flower pot, tacks</td>
<td>33 / 2.6%</td>
<td>5 / 4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewares and Appliances</td>
<td>1126 / 87.4%</td>
<td>85 / 80.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culinary: cooking pots and knives, mixing bowls</td>
<td>(31)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustatory: eating utensils, plates, bowls, cups</td>
<td>(999)</td>
<td>(74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable Illumination: chimney lamp</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable Waste Disposal: chamber pot, wash basin</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Housewares</td>
<td>(63)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence: mustard, black pepper, condiments</td>
<td>108 / 8.4%</td>
<td>14 / 13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning and Maintenance: scissors, thimbles, safety and straight pins, glue</td>
<td>17 / 1.3%</td>
<td>0 / 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Domestic: stove parts, porcelain</td>
<td>4 / 0.3%</td>
<td>2 / 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1288 /100.0%</td>
<td>106 /100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
printed wares. Class 3 consisted of hand painted vessels. Simple decoration included edge painted, sponge, and annual wares, all Class 2. Lastly, the plain undecorated wares made up Class 1. The Fort Hoskins decoration types and ceramic forms are presented for comparison in Tables VII.4 and VII.5. These tables represent only those pieces having an identifiable decoration or form, some of which may be the same ceramic piece. Culinary (27) and portable waste disposal (14) ceramic items (all officers) were not used in these figures. Ceramic composition totals (Table VII.6) are presented in a later discussion.

Table VII.4 Ceramic Decoration Type Totals/MNV and Percentages by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Plain</td>
<td>46/12, 43.0%</td>
<td>16/ 0, 44.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Simple</td>
<td>40/ 6, 37.4%</td>
<td>0/ 0, 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Hand painted</td>
<td>4/ 1, 3.7%</td>
<td>2/ 2, 5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Transfer-print</td>
<td>17/ 7, 15.9%</td>
<td>18/ 7, 50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>107/26,100.0%</td>
<td>36/ 9,100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VII.5 Ceramic Form Totals/MNV and Percentages by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>129/ 7, 32.2%</td>
<td>17/ 1, 37.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>115/ 4, 28.7%</td>
<td>22/ 8, 47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>157/ 7, 39.2%</td>
<td>7/ 3, 15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>401/18,100.0%</td>
<td>46/12,100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table VII.6 Ceramic Composition Totals and
Percentages by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Porcelain</td>
<td>188, 26.6%</td>
<td>5, 7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refined earthenware</td>
<td>505, 71.5%</td>
<td>63, 92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoneware</td>
<td>9, 1.3%</td>
<td>2, 7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common earthenware</td>
<td>4, 0.6%</td>
<td>0, 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>706, 100.0%</strong></td>
<td><strong>70, 100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Superficially, ceramic decoration type appears to indicate that the enlisted men are the higher status group, because of the higher percentage of transfer-print. The contention that vessel form is an indication of status has some validity at Fort Hoskins. One must look elsewhere to explain the former anomaly.

Only 70 ceramic items were recovered from the enlisted men's area. All but seven were a refined earthenware variety, of which 18 are transfer-print. This would indicate that enlisted men's ceramic usage was limited, consisting mainly of plates and bowls. It was not uncommon for enlisted men to pool their resources to buy expensive domestic items for celebrations. Otherwise, the enlisted men used their tinware everyday (Utley 1967:45,47).

Proportionally, enlisted men have high status ceramics when viewing decoration type. However, their total count for ceramic artifacts is minuscule in comparison to the officer's, with composition proportions reflecting the imbalance. Ceramic totals for the officer's is 706, with numerous plain, undecorated porcelain recovered in all vessel forms. The officers were likely using an undecorated, refined earthenware (ironstone) for everyday use which contributed to the high frequency in this ceramic category. Ironstone at Fort Hoskins was likely a military issue as the "U.S. Army carried [it] throughout the West as military posts were established" (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:92). It was during this time that ironstone, a type of refined earthenware, became more popular than the transfer print.

Ironstone was only observed in the officers' ceramic assemblage. Enlisted men
either acquired ceramic vessels from the officers' discards or merely obtained what was available at the sutler's store. This helps explain the discrepancy for decoration type between the two groups. All stoneware and common earthenware vessels were culinary related in which officers had the higher quality.

From these results, Miller's price scaling based on decoration type does not work for the Fort Hoskins data. The availability of relatively inexpensive transferprint from the Hudson's Bay Company and the military issuance of ironstone creates a different pattern. In this case, ceramic composition percentages provide insight on the social position of the users. This analysis supports Riordan's (1985) contention that ceramic composition is a basis for status differences.

Other gustatory items from the officers' assemblage are 420+ glass fragments representing twenty-two pressed-glass tumblers, a shot glass, and a decanter. A single glassware (goblet?) vessel came from the enlisted men's area. Officers had other domestic items including portable illumination, portable waste disposal, and cleaning and maintenance items. While the enlisted men's assemblage had no comparable artifacts. Domestic items are clearly officer-related, contributing much to the artifact discrepancies. The presence of Captain Augur's wife and children at the Fort probably also contributed to an increase in the Domestic and Personal categories recovered from the officers' area.

Personal Items

When comparing functional categories between status groups or archaeological sites, differences occur. The differences result in higher frequencies in one artifact category, but lower artifact frequencies in the next comparable category. As noted in Table VII.2, enlisted men had greater personal items proportionally than did the officers. The enlisted men's Personal category percentages were more than double those of the officers (69.0 and 30.1 respectively). This was a result of a dramatic difference in the Domestic category. The differences within the Domestic category have been previously discussed. Are the personal artifact frequency differences between the officer and enlisted men within the Personal category that great? When comparing internal artifact
frequencies for the Personal category, similar artifact proportions exist between the two status groups. Table VII.7 outlines artifact percentages for personal items. A similar artifact assemblage by frequency order is noted between the two groups.

The officers' artifact assemblage may reflect a higher status when comparing personal items internally. Indulgences comprised a major portion of the enlisted men's artifact assemblage. Using ceramics as a model, is it possible to make a similar comparison between the quantity and quality of indulgence-related items? Otto (1977) asserts that a lower alcohol quality (cost) is associated with lower class status sites. Alcohol bottles observed at Fort Hoskins includes whiskey, brandy, champagne, cognac,

Table VII.7 Personal Artifacts Profile by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing: buttons, buckles, corset</td>
<td>71 / 10.6%</td>
<td>113 / 12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adornment/Keepsakes: jewelry, agate</td>
<td>13 / 1.9%</td>
<td>2 / 0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooming and Body Ritual:</td>
<td>61 / 9.1%</td>
<td>47 / 5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfume, scalp tonic, comb,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toothbrush, toothpick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical and Health: eyewear,</td>
<td>19 / 2.8%</td>
<td>4 / 0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proprietary medicine, misc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indulgences: alcohol (377-O/395-E)</td>
<td>449 / 67.0%</td>
<td>729 / 80.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco (072-O/334-E)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation and Pastimes:</td>
<td>55 / 8.2%</td>
<td>9 / 1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knives, marbles, domino,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musical instrument, doll</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Personal</td>
<td>2 / 0.3%</td>
<td>0 / 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>668 / 99.9%</td>
<td>904 / 99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gin, wine, schnapps, and ale. Yet, only a small portion of the total bottle sample could be accurately identified. The majority of fragments are the various shades of dark olive-green that contained different types of alcohol. Of those identified, the enlisted men had a higher quality of alcohol. Similar to domestic wares, high quality alcohol items were purchased on special occasions (Utley 1967:45,47).

Comparing the quantity of alcohol items is misleading. The enlisted men’s artifact assemblage contained slightly more alcohol items (395:377), yet their assemblage had a greater number (MNV) of alcohol bottles (21:12). This is a result of five whole bottles being recovered from the enlisted men’s privy. Also, considering the number of enlisted men, their assemblage totals are low in comparison. Whiskey and ale were likely contained in wooden casks, sold individually and available from the sutler (Barth 1959:65; Coffman 1986:150). Consequently, this type of packaging would be less observable archaeologically.

Indulgences also include tobacco pipes. Pipes consisted of stemmed and detachable stems, common earthenware and stoneware in composition and decorated and non-decorated. These variables are all interrelated, with officers and enlisted men having at least some of each type in a variety of permutations. The tobacco pipes in the Fort Hoskins collection differ in composition and decoration, with both groups having a similar assemblage.

Common earthenware pipes (51) comprised 85 percent of the total with officers and enlisted men having similar percentages, 82.3 and 86.0, respectively. Tobacco pipes made of stoneware (9 or 15%) revealed almost identical comparisons. The officers’ stoneware pipes was 17.7 percent of their total assemblage, while the enlisted men’s are at 14 percent. Overall, the enlisted men had more (MNV) pipes (43:17) at Fort Hoskins, but they had considerably fewer tobacco pipes per individual.

Comparable studies or historical records are currently unavailable to address status based on tobacco pipe cost. The white kaolin pipe was relatively inexpensive during the mid-nineteenth century (Wilson 1966:11). Status based on tobacco pipe composition and decoration can not be substantiated at this point.

Clothing items consist mainly of buttons. The Fort Hoskins buttons are
dominated by a one-piece porcelain type (Prosser), and a two-piece pressed metal. The enlisted men's button assemblage is greater while the officers' contain a wider variety of material types represented by glass, bone, brass, leather and shell (see Appendix II). Price differences for the different button types are negligible and are not a good comparison for status differences.

Throughout the remaining Personal artifact groupings (see Table VII.7), the officers maintained a larger collection and had a greater variety of goods (see Appendix II) than did the enlisted men. As with buttons, some items are a necessity. However, from a personal choice standpoint, higher status individuals usually possess items of a higher quality (higher cost). This element has been consistently observed in archaeological contexts, both prehistoric (Costin and Earle 1989) and historical (Spencer-Wood 1987).

Items of high economic value (Riordan 1985:140) are intermixed throughout the different artifact groups. These items are jewelry (Adornment/Keepsakes), perfumes (Grooming and Body Ritual), pocket knives (Recreation and Pastimes), and pressed glass (Gustatory). Other Recreational and Pastime items that might be considered a higher economic value include musical instruments and non-regulation weapons. The officers' assemblage dominated in all these artifact comparisons.

The ability to support and care for a family is greatly enhanced by one's socioeconomic status (Riordan 1985:144). The officers' assemblage contained the majority of items that might be related to supporting a family. These items include: women's clothing, children's toys and numerous domestic items. The officers' assemblage comes closer to resembling those from civilian households of this time period.

The Fort Hoskins' artifact profiles reveal that the enlisted men had a high percentage of indulgence-related items, usually considered luxury items. Enlisted men were provided the basic necessities food (rations), clothing (uniform), and shelter (barracks). As a result, surplus money was spent on luxury items that normally an individual could not afford.
Military Defense Items

The military maintains a distinct status differentiation accorded by law and tradition (Davis 1898; Janowitz 1974). This cultural group imposes political and social boundaries, has ceremonies, and recognizes symbols to distinguish between the officers and enlisted men. From the Fort Hoskins archaeological collection, there appears to be little distinction to identify authority status. Probably some artifacts are more costly than others, but no comparable figures were obtained. What, then, are the similarities and differences in the military artifact profiles? What artifacts contribute to authority status differences, and are the frequencies a result of the authority structure or socioeconomic influences?

Overall, military artifacts are more frequent proportionally for the enlisted men at 22.9%, with officers at 12.9% (see Table VII.2). Internal frequency distribution for military artifact types are listed in Table VII.8. These figures indicate a similar artifact assemblage, with some variation among the Arms, Accouterment, and Bureaucratic categories. These low counts could easily be changed with the addition of a few artifacts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arms: gun parts</td>
<td>9 / 3.4%</td>
<td>1 / 0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammunition: lead balls, percussion caps, misc.</td>
<td>164 / 61.7%</td>
<td>162 / 54.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparel: fabric, footwear, headgear, insignia, button</td>
<td>71 / 26.7%</td>
<td>121 / 40.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accouterment: haversack, non-clothing, canteen</td>
<td>9 / 3.3%</td>
<td>16 / 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucratic: inkwell, pen nib</td>
<td>13 / 4.9%</td>
<td>0 / 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>266 /100.0%</td>
<td>300 /99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many items were not purchased by the individual, but rather were supplied by the Army such as weapons, ammunition and bureaucratic items used in the performance of official duties. Military apparel and accouterments were purchased by the soldier through a clothing subsistence allowance.

It is unclear why the officers had a higher number of arms-related items. Officers had greater access to weaponry and may have upgraded their weapons at a faster rate. Also, the hand gun was part of the officers’ military baggage (Utley 1967:26). A hand gun part was recovered from the officers’ area.

Ammunition frequency is nearly equal between the two groups. Yet, in looking at ammunition types, a clear distinction is noted. Officers had considerably more pistol caps and Minie balls recovered from their area while the enlisted men’s ammunition frequency is dominated by the musket type (rifle) percussion cap. The explanation for these contrasts are differences in certain military procedures. Soldiers conducted target practice away from the Fort, leaving their ammunition waste at the target range. After guard duty, soldiers emptied their charged Minie ball away from the barracks (Masich 1979:19). Issued only to the officers of Infantry troops, the hand gun and its related ammunition items represent distinct differences between the two groups in military artifacts.

There appears to be little difference in the Accouterment items. Bureaucratic items are part of the officers’ role in the performance of his duties. However, similar items were not classified as Bureaucratic for the enlisted men. Even though possessing these items, the lower rank would probably not likely have performed these duties in the barracks.

Apparel items consist of numerous objects accorded to the soldier. It is not the uniform itself that distinguishes rank, but all the trimmings assigned to each rank to identify authority. Official documents describe the uniform in detail (U.S. War Department [USWD] 1851,1857,1861) but few of these symbols were recovered because they were often made of fabric. Emblems and horned devices of the Jeff Davis hat were worn by both groups. Only the enlisted men were required to wear epaulets and metal letters; some of these items were recovered.
A possible distinguishing characteristic of military uniforms is the brass button. The Sanders type was the predominant button recovered at Fort Hoskins (see Appendix II). Two different designs were recovered from both status group areas. Some of this variation is accounted for by supply and demand and the use of buttons as souvenirs. Both buttons, the Line Eagle Device and the General Service were used by each group during this period. First introduced in 1833, the Line Eagle Device was discontinued for the enlisted men during the Civil War, and continued until 1902 for the officer. The Fort Hoskins officers' assemblage contained seven buttons from a total of 10 that were recovered. The General Service button was authorized for the enlisted men from 1855 to 1902 (Brinckerhoff 1972:3,5) of which 17 out of 21 were from the enlisted men's assemblage.

Status differences within the military are a functional necessity by which it operates. These differences are accorded by law and reinforced through the use of symbols. Yet, few apparel-related artifacts that reflect the authority structure were recovered to differentiate between the two groups.

What is revealed in the officers' and enlisted men's artifact assemblages is a similarity in the artifact group proportions. Differences between the two groups are the artifact types. The officers' hand gun is viewed as a symbol of authority. Uniform trimmings provide the best indication of authority differences, but few distinctive symbols other than buttons were recovered. The military status structure appears to be strongly reinforced through socioeconomic symbols in the Domestic and Personal categories. Authority, ever present through official documents, historical records, and diaries is less observable in the Fort Hoskins archaeological record.
CHAPTER VIII: SUMMARY and CONCLUSIONS

The primary objective of this study was to reveal what reflects military status and authority differences in the archaeological record as expressed at Fort Hoskins, Oregon, a mid-nineteenth century site. Socioeconomic and military status does influence artifact patterning, and is reflected in the type, quantity, and quality of goods the soldiers acquired. Yet, artifact patterning reflects only a portion of status and authority. To understand the nineteenth century soldier, it is important to review anthropological and sociological concepts that influence our perception. In the course of this study, additional information has been presented to assist in studying status and authority differences within the military.

Since specific costs of items were unobtainable, comparisons were made through identifying variation in type, style, and frequency of the officers’ and enlisted men’s artifact assemblages. Functionally classified, the artifact assemblages provided a means of understanding more about status and authority at this military site. By comparing the artifact assemblages, patterns emerged that distinguish certain characteristics of the officers and enlisted men. It was demonstrated that differences existed in the overall and internal artifact profiles while similarities existed in some artifact groups. Artifact differences were observed in the quantity and variety of items within discrete functional artifact categories. The quality of items is less observable at Fort Hoskins.

Artifact patterning in the military of the mid-nineteenth century did not reflect the larger civilian society structure. The military context created a situation in which both officers and enlisted men had the ability to acquire higher quality items. In some instances, this may have resulted in the pooling of resources to obtain items of higher status. Soldiers were not directly participating in an economic exchange system like the civilian population. This provided a channeling of surplus money, normally used for a livelihood, to be used on personal items. This premise is reflected in the enlisted men’s Personal and the officers’ Domestic artifact assemblages. Officers to some degree were trying to emulate a domestic lifestyle on the frontier while creating status differences. Domestic life ways and associated artifacts greatly increase at an isolated post with the
addition of women and children. Some of the Fort Hoskins artifacts reflect a family influence.

Protocol of enlisted men operating in the West called for rapid deployment, requiring them to leave a post with a limited amount of goods. This would also apply to the officers. But, in order to maintain a status differentiation, the officers would probably acquire new domestic items and transport other household belongings. Officers maintained their military status differences through their rank and the acquisition of certain material goods.

Status at Fort Hoskins was revealed archaeologically by ceramic differences in the Domestic items category. Comparisons were made through relative costs of ceramic decoration, composition and form. Ceramic composition and vessel form were truer markers of status than decoration type. The ceramics at Fort Hoskins appear to be a reliable indicator of socioeconomic status. This was a result of nationwide marketing trends and the military providing much of the ceramics used by the officers. Another useful indicator for identifying status differences in the Domestic category would have been the analysis of the faunal remains (not analyzed) for understanding dietary habits, meal preparations, and supply networks.

An unexpected result of this study was the lack of success in identifying distinct status artifacts within the Personal category. Only a few alcohol bottles could be accurately identified by type. Comparable studies of tobacco pipe composition, style, and decoration was unobtainable. Officers usually had a greater variety and quantity of items in the Personal artifact groupings (non-indulgences). Even though enlisted men had larger personnel numbers, officers maintained a greater number of personal artifact proportionately per individual. Some differences were observed by the quantity and variety of artifact types, and possessing items considered to be of higher economic value. In addition, the officers' assemblage reflects more of a domestic lifestyle than the enlisted men in both the Personal and Domestic categories. The lack of information on costs of specific items hindered artifact comparisons based on the quality of goods.

Military apparel artifacts would appear to be ideal indicators of authority. Yet, few (6) of these artifacts were recovered to identify military authority. A major factor
is that many of the documented authority emblems were made of fabric. The items are less likely to be preserved in the archaeological context. Military buttons differentiating enlisted men and officers were identified in both assemblages. A correlation was noted between the General Service Button and the enlisted men, while the Line Eagle Device is generally officer related. Indirectly, the handgun (officer issue) and its ammunition and ignition system provided a larger sample in which to distinguish differences between the officers and the enlisted men. This study suggests that military authority differences at Fort Hoskins are less observable in the archaeological data.

Through historical documents, items of authority are represented by symbolic interaction between the two groups as revealed in the definition of social space, housing arrangements, and role performances. Authority differences are reinforced by military law while indirectly defining social and economic status differences.

The military cultural system produces an artifact assemblage that is unlike the larger society. Investigating the sutlers and quartermaster supply operations (types of goods and cost to soldiers) through written records and archaeological investigations would have provided greater understanding of the supply networks and concepts of personal choice. A review of military archaeological sites in the Pacific Northwest reveals an inadequate data base for comparing material goods.

Military forts are not a representative sample of the larger civilian society. A fort’s population is almost exclusively young males. Yet, military forts can be valuable sources for archaeological data. Archaeological investigations of military systems can provide a base for viewing other less extreme arrangements of status and authority. Researchers can look at military and non-military sites and compare the social, political, and economic arrangement between classes of people.

Military forts could be used to test hypotheses regarding the interplay between historical and archaeological data, for usually an abundance of documents exist for military sites. Archival records provide a knowledge of social interaction, supply networks, building episodes, daily rations, the use and upgrade of military arms, accouterments and insignias, and the social discourse between the civilian and Indian populations. Archaeology of military sites provides a testing ground applicable to these
ideas. This is not to say that military sites are wholly dependent on the historical record to test hypotheses. Historical documents, as artifacts, are evidence of past social interaction set in temporal and spatial parameters in which to apply archaeological methods and to ask questions. Historical records must be scrutinized as they have their own biases.

The archaeological remains are only a portion of the behavioral system of the past. Yet, as Reid and others (1975:210) have stated, "there are regular relationships between a past system and the archaeological record it produces that allow archaeologists to recover data relevant to constructing what is not directly preserved." Archaeological excavation and artifact analysis merely sample the data sets. The problem lies in knowing what the best sampling strategy is to answer questions about the past behavioral system (Reid et al. 1975:210).

Archaeologists must also be aware of the formation processes which produced the archaeological record (Schiffer 1972, 1976, 1977). Fort Hoskins' excavations focused on known defined social spaces between the officers and enlisted men. Artifacts recovered from the living areas, privies and a dump reflected differences between the two groups. Disposal patterns by the two groups were likely similar, even though no central dump was found for the enlisted men. In a previous discussion (see Chapter VII), when the officers Area E (dump) artifacts were removed from the general analysis, no significant frequency differences were noted in the categories.

Other formation processes having a potential effect on the Fort Hoskins archaeological record are: gradual abandonment of the Fort by the soldiers, thus possibly altering the normal disposal patterns; the auctioning and scavenging of the buildings; personal discard and loss factors; field strategy and excavation techniques; and vandalism (Schiffer 1972, 1976, 1977). Activities which blended and smeared the Fort Hoskins' formation processes are both cultural and non-cultural. These include: farming/ranching activities, subterranean construction, and environmental disturbances.

The effect these activities had on the Fort Hoskins archaeological record is only partially known. In analyzing the artifacts, these variables were taken into consideration. This resulted in some artifacts being removed from the analysis process or assigned to
a different function. The architectural items and the Unidentified category artifacts were not used for either the officer or the enlisted men. South and Widmer (1977:138) explains that "a site tends to maintain considerable regularity regardless of whether one uses all artifacts from the entire site."

In addressing status and authority at military sites it is critical to understand the formation processes that produced the archaeological record. This includes the research design, the excavation techniques and field strategy, and the use of archival records. A clearer understanding of the formation processes will assist in understanding artifact differences and similarities. Future field excavations at the Fort should involve locating the enlisted men's dump, other privies, the hospital, the commissary, and assessing the destruction of the enlisted men's barrack. Fort Yamhill (Adams 1991) could also be used to test similar assumptions of military status and authority. Comparing the forts would provide new insights into the interplay between the two. Fort Yamhill appears to have undergone less damage and maintains good integrity of the archaeological component (Adams 1991).

Artifact frequency differences at Fort Hoskins are aided by status role duties, bound within a social, legal and economic system supporting such differences. The ability to purchase goods is tied into this network and influences what a soldier acquires. A fort's temporal parameters and geographic location also influences the types of goods observed.

Status and authority are concepts and defined by ones position, their duties and the material goods associated with that position. Symbols of authority and social status play an important part in the social interaction between the officers and enlisted men. As demonstrated from the archaeological record, status and authority differences existed at Fort Hoskins.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Victor, Frances Fuller</td>
<td>The Early Indian Wars of Oregon.</td>
<td>Frank C. Baker, State Printer, Salem, Oregon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Wilson, Rex L.</td>
<td>Tobacco Pipes from Fort Union, New Mexico.</td>
<td>El Placio, 73 (1).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I
MANSFIELD 1858 INSPECTION REPORT

Location and Indians

Fort Hoskins is in a locality called King Valley, about 35 miles from Salem in a southwest course thro' the town of Dallas, which is 22 miles distant from the fort: and it is 40 miles from Fort Yamhill, via Dallas. At this post a trail is taken for about 25 miles to the Indian Agents house, on the Siletz reservation, where there is a block-house, and a detachment of 30 men from fort Hoskins, and where the Indians to the number of not exceeding 2000 souls, made up of the various bands, are collected on the reserve. The rainy season and the very muddy state of the trail, in connexion with other considerations, precluded a visit to the Reserve where the Indian Agent Robt. Metcalf resided.

This post is placed among the hills at the terminus of the valley, & on a side hill, & convenient to afford aid to the Indian Agent, & is the boundary of settlements in this direction, altho' about twelve miles from the reservation, It is convenient to the people in case of trouble with the Indians, which is not now to be apprehended. It will be necessary however, as an act of prudence to preserve this a two Company station for perhaps two years yet: till the Indians become identified wit the soil. There is however a large population within 30 miles; as the whole country is taken up and settled by farmers in flourishing conditions; and there is a grist mill and sawmill within 3 miles. A part of the Indians on this reserve are from the Rogue River, & probably the most difficult to manage (particularly old John's party), and satisfy.

They burn down the hut in which an Indian dies, and consequently are badly housed, as the Agent will build no more. Their rifles have been taken away, but a few are loaned to them to hunt with by the local Agent. At Salem, I had a long & free interview with Col. J.W. Nesmith, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon and Washington Territories. He is a practical man of decided ability and does not apprehend any difficulty with these Indians for the future.

The only objection I see to this post is, that it stands on leased ground at 300 dolls per annum: but when broken up, the U.S. will have the right to sell the buildings. It is now too late to change on this account, as the buildings are all up & the expense of them has been incurred, & post answers the purpose of over awing the Indians, and protecting the inhabitants.

It was commenced by Capt. C.C. Augur of the 4th Inft on the 26th July 1856; by order of Bvt. Major Genl. Wool, and was calculated for a two company post, & is ample except in one small building at the Block House for an officer in charge of the detachment.

Quarters, Gardens and etc.

There are three small buildings for officers quarters; a good hospital, a good store house for Quartermaster and Commissary supplies: a good barrack two stories, with kitchens, and mess rooms, and washrooms, &c., &c. complete: a good bakery: five small houses for laundresses: good sheds all sufficient for mule stables &c.: and a sutlers store. These buildings are all framed and new, and judiciously executed, with no unnecessary expense, and water is brought into most of them from a spring on the side hill, & by means of pipes underground. I regard the post as
built with a proper regard for economy, and quite creditable to Capt. Augur. There are good gardens, and a summer & winter supply of vegetables are easily cultivated. No more material expense need be incurred here for quarters.

Troops &c.

This command is composed of Companies G & F of the 4th Inft: with Assistant Surgeon Lewis Taylor & a hospital Steward.

Company G Capt. C.C. Augur in command: 1Lt. R. Macfeely detached at Headquarters of Regiment as Regimental Quartermaster at fort Vancouver; and as Commissary of Subsistence at that post: 2nd Lt. W.T. Gentry, acting Assist quartermaster, Commissary of Subsistence, & Recruiting Officer.- 4 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 2 Musicians, 68 privates, of which one was sick, 2 confined & 18 on detached service.

This company was in the old uniform, very neat and in good order. Knapsacks & haversacks, painted canvas. The Canteens mostly gutta percha and of no use. The arms, the old smooth bore musket. The new rifled musket was expected by next steamer. The rain precluded all drills and target firing. The quarters & company books &c in excellent order. The men slept on double bunks, two tiers high and every desirable comfort afforded them. 12 desertions in 1856, 9 in 1857, 8 in 1858. Attached to this company 1 laundress, a fund of 212.63 dolls, 90 muskets, 1 Sharps rifle. It had a good garden in which it raised 800 bushels potatoes for winter use.

Company F Capt. D.F. Jones absent on detached duty at Gov Island N.Y. and left his company in November 1856: 1Lt. H.C. Hodges Adjutant Regiment, at Headquarters, at fort Vancouver: 2nd Lt. H.H. Garber in arrest for disobedience of orders in refusing to send out of the Garrison a squaw - charges waiting the decision of Bvt. Brig. Genl. N.S. Clark, at that time in command of the Dept. Thus the Company is temporarily without an Officer: - 4 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 2 Musicians, 66 privates, of which 3 sick, 4 confined, 17 on detached service.

This Company like Company G was in the old uniform, in excellent in every respect & equally well accommodated by itself in the west half of the same building - 22 desertions in 1856 - 14 in 1857 - 14 in 1858. The deserters are double those of Company G, which may be attributed to its former stations, and the absence of its Captain. Pertaining to this Company are 3 laundresses & a fund of 16.91 dolls. As it arrived at the post on the 7 October from fort Vancouver, there was no opportunity to cultivate a garden.

Officers &c.

The want of Officers at this post is felt, where a Company is left in Command of a 2nd Lieut, and a detachment of 30 men is kept at the Block House in command of two sergeants, and two corporals, say 25 miles distant. Such a detachment should be under an Officer. Lieut. Gentry was necessarily ordered to take command of Company F for the present.

Post Ordnance

There is one 12 pr brass gun here in serviceable order with suitable ammunition; and 5000 ball & buck musket cartridges. A small building is used as a magazine. And there is at the Block House a 12 pr howitzer, with 36 howitzer shells, 48 spherical case, 24 howitzer
canister shots & a years supply of other ammunition.

Medical Department
Is under the direction of Assistant Surgeon Lewis Taylor, who has a good steward, and a supply of medicines &c, for one year, for one company: but as the post is healthy, it will answer for the two companies now here. The dispensary, wardroom, & kitchen &c &c in good order, & there seems nothing wanted for the sick. He keep a cook, nurse & matron. The latter is a squaw, as no other was to be had to do the washing. There is fund of 32.23 dolls, & a garden.

Guard
The guard is 6 strong, a 1 sergeant & 1 corporal. There were 3 prisoners undergoing sentence, 1 waiting trial & miner offence. The guard house is a small frame building, with a prison room & adequate.

Bakery
A small frame building with a good oven, & baker, & good bread.

Commissary Department
2d Lt. W.T. Gentry has been acting commissary since the 15th May, 1857. The supplies are all ample, & good, & stores in a good frame building, which is likewise occupied by the quartermaster's supplies: flour is obtained at 8 dolls the barrel in the neighborhood, beef at 8 cts delivered here, & 11 cts delivered at the Block House. Sugar costs 16 cts for brown, & 20 cts for crushed!! - All his returns have been forwarded except the month of October, & his accounts are all correct. He receives his funds from the Commissary at fort Vancouver. On the 30th Sept. the U.S. owed him 165.90 dolls. He received since 36.22, leaving a balance due him of 129.68 dolls. He keeps in his employ one extra man, as a Commissary Sergt. & occasionally a cooper.

Quartermaster Department
2d Lt. W.T. Gentry is also acting Assistant Quartermaster since the 15th May 1857. His supplies are ample except in clothing, and shoes nos. 7,8,9. He keeps 8 horses, 37 mules, 3 wagons, one ambulance. These horses and mules are necessary to keep up the supplies for this post, & at the Block House, & for expresses. He pays 50 cts the bushel for oats; 20-25 cts dolls the ton for hay; 6 1/2 dolls the cord for wood; 45 cts the bushel for charcoal. This last charge is extremely high.

He has a smith's & saddler's shop where extra duty men are employed; and has in his employ a citizen carpenter at 5 dolls per day, & a plasterer at 8 dolls, till the quarters of the Officers are completed, which will soon be; and he has as extra duty men, one clerk, one ostler, two teamsters, 4 packers, one carpenter, one painter & 3 laborers, as circumstances require. His accounts are all correct, & monthly papers all forwarded to the 1st October, & quarterly papers ready to forwarded to that date. He receives his funds from the chief quartermaster of this Department. His account current on the 30 Sept. last shows an amount due the U.S. of 3553.88 dolls - Expended since 3237.06 dolls leaving a balance on hand of 316.82 dolls.

Sutler
H.H. Meyer is the Sutler of the post, but has not yet his supply of goods complete, nor has his appointment yet been confirmed by the Secretary of War.

Command Discipline &c

Capt. Augur is a good commander. The Troops are in good discipline, and the comforts of the men consulted in the arrangements of the quarters, and he studies the economy of the service. Hitherto the men have been engaged in putting up buildings, including the Block House, at the Agency. It is to be hoped that hereafter, there will be some time devoted to the instruction of the men, in drills, & at the target.
APPENDIX II

FORT HOSKINS ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS

Introduction

Artifacts represent status and authority only when applied to a research design or placed into a particular context. The Fort Hoskins' artifact descriptions are inseparable to this research, yet are an independent component as well.

This appendix was added to avoid a loss of reading continuity in the main text. Artifact descriptions in Appendix II provide researchers a description of the cultural material used by the soldiers at Fort Hoskins. All the Personal, Domestic, and Military Defense Items used in the analysis are described.

The purpose of this artifact discussion is not to elaborate on the history of a particular item, or delve into the intricacies of manufacturing attributes. A wealth of published information is available that details manufacturing processes. Terminology used in this discussion is specific to each artifact type. Some historical information is included within this appendix and Chapter VII, when appropriate for the level of interpretation. Abbreviations for the officers (O) and enlisted men (E) are used throughout when delineating where an artifact was recovered.

Personal Items

Miscellaneous Personal. General personal items not categorized below are a small metal bell and a dime coin. The 1/2 inch bell could belong in a number of personal categories. The 1864 dime is part of the monetary exchange system, which has no distinct category in this classification. Table II.1 provides totals and percentages for each of the artifact groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Personal</td>
<td>2 / 0.3%</td>
<td>0 / 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>71 / 10.6%</td>
<td>113 / 12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adornment/Keepsakes</td>
<td>13 / 1.9%</td>
<td>2 / 0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooming and Body Ritual</td>
<td>61 / 9.1%</td>
<td>47 / 5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical and Health</td>
<td>19 / 2.8%</td>
<td>4 / 0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indulgences</td>
<td>449 / 67.0%</td>
<td>729 / 80.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>(377, 84.0%)</td>
<td>(395, 54.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>(72, 16.0%)</td>
<td>(334, 45.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation and Pastimes</td>
<td>55 / 8.2%</td>
<td>9 / 1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>670 / 99.9%</td>
<td>904 / 99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clothing. The majority of items in this group are buttons of seven different raw material (RWM) types. The largest quantity is eighty-seven (56-E/31-O) Prosser’s, normally used on shirts and undergarments. The Prosser button is a high-fired porcelain, that has a vitrified appearance resembling pressed glass. Most of the buttons are four hole and white but others include two and three hole, off-white and milk color, a blue diamond stenciled (E), a relief dot pattern (E) and a brown calico transfer print (O). Size range is from 0.350 to 0.580 inches.

Other button material types are listed below in Table II.2. Two button shanks were also recovered.

Table II.2 Non-Prosser Buttons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RWM</th>
<th>Qty</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ferrous</td>
<td>21-E/7-O</td>
<td>round, four hole suspender (Herskovitz 1978:41), 0.495-0.695&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>3-E/2-O</td>
<td>round, four hole, concave, sew through (SWT), 0.40&quot; (E); flat asymmetrical, SWT, 0.565&quot; (E); impressed, gilt flower design, &quot;ESLE GILT&quot;, 0.540&quot;; impressed, flower design, gilt, &quot;EXTRA/RICH&quot;; two piece ball, loop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>3(O)</td>
<td>blue sew through, partial; green geometric ten point star face, white edging, ball-shaped back, shank; blue ball, inlaid concentric white and purple glass, loop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell</td>
<td>3(O)</td>
<td>four hole, 0.355-0.385&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather</td>
<td>1(O)</td>
<td>round, shank back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>3(O)</td>
<td>four hole round, 0.41-0.60&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Few non-button clothing items were recovered at Fort Hoskins. Considering the site type, this is expected. All items were recovered from the officers’ area and consisted of three corset frame fragments, one brass clothing rivet, one buckle fragment, and a small hook (and eye). Also included are three (2-O/1-E) suspender buckles, which did not became regulation until 1883 (Herskovitz 1978:44).

Adornment/Keepsakes. Jewelry items consist of a 0.74 in. diameter brass finger ring (O) with relief dots on the exterior and an interior weld seam, a gold plated locket (O) with hair strands on the inside and a decorative, two piece cast ornament (E).

Agates, recovered on the Oregon coast, are likely souvenirs or keepsakes, having a similar function today. Only one (O) of these was recovered. Other keepsakes recovered are portions of tintypes, the frame (E), and the internal hinge (O). The tintype is a pocket-sized photograph which was very popular for the soldier during this time (Lord 1963:193).

A single thin, lightweight stamped brass (O) waist belt or sash plate is part of the collection. Such items are non-regulation and were sold by sutlers and sword manufacturers (Phillips 1975:19). The Fort Hoskins example is impressed with a crown in the center with the following letters encircling it, "FO---ETT / 60 Ct BOURKE EAST MELBOURNE." Another item is a cast, silver-plated wing portion bearing the inscription "Feb. 15 1845." This date precedes the Texas annexation and Mexican War. This medallion-like object is probably a keepsake and has someone’s birth or graduation date inscribed.
Grooming and Body Ritual. Found in areas occupied by both officers and enlisted men are thin walled bottles, a polygon (12) base, hinge bottom mold with a pontil scar, and having a short body. These characteristics are consistent with toiletry bottles during this time (Wilson 1981:66,68; IMACS 1990:472.24). Eight were recovered in various stages of fragmentation, but sharing the common traits. Six of the eight (5-E/3-O) bottles are translucent-aqua colored, and the two remaining are clear. One of the bottles contained a bright red substance.

Another bottle (O) recovered is a hair scalp care item. The identification of function is through embossed lettered panels: "(BURN)ETT('S)/(COC)OAINE", "(BOST)ON", and "(B)URNETT". It is translucent-aqua, with a hinged bottom and snap case scar and a rectangular base with beveled corners. This product was first introduced in 1847 (Fike 1987:157). Other hair care items are four (0) comb fragments, consisting of the bridge and teeth. One fragment contained impressed lettering, "?RNY".

The recovered bone or ivory toothbrush is included in this artifact group. Items consist of one handle and three portions, all recovered from the enlisted men’s area. Fourteen (0) bone toothpicks are also part of the collection. The last item in this grouping is 16 (0) pieces of mirror glass, distinguished by a silver film on one side.

Medical and Health. Three (2-O/1-E) small brass eyewear pieces are identified. Two pieces are the hinged portion that connects the temple and the eyepiece and the other is a temple or eyepiece fragment.

Recovered from an officers’ privy is a test tube and two glass syringe plungers. These items were used for hemorrhoidal relief (Brauner 1991).

Other medical related items are fragmented glassware panels from at least one bottle. The clear bottle (O) has a rectangular shaped base with rounded corners, hinged bottom mold and snap case production. Embossed lettering indicates the bottle was manufactured for Joseph Burnett and Co. of Boston. This firm began business in 1840, producing a number of household remedies (Switzer 1972:78). The remaining glassware (11-O/3-E) consisted of embossed lettering from bottles, in which three other firm names were identified. One firm is Dr. D. Jayne’s from Philadelphia, which produced an alterative. Another firm is "(H.T. HEL)MBOLD" with lettering identifying its contents "GEN(UINE)/FLUID EXTRA(CTS)/--". The last company is either Ladyhill or Pacific Self Helper Co. Ladies*Star, identified by the letters "LAD-" (Fike 1987:168,166,72,119). Other lettered panels had portions of the word ‘Sarsaparilla’.

Liquid medicine of the nineteenth century had numerous names, many of which have taken on a different meaning and function today. During this period, proprietary medicine was at its peak, especially in the West. These patent remedies contained a high percentage of alcohol, sometimes greater than intoxicants of today. Old medicine names were: alterative, balm, balsam, castoria, expectorant, extract, tonic, and sarsaparilla (Fike 1987:11-14; Wilson 1981:39-43).

Indulgences.

Alcohol: Alcohol glass items are one of the largest artifact groups. Alcohol items were distinguished by the various shades of olive-green. Colors included dark olive green, olive green, light olive green, and amber green. By scrutinizing bottle colors to this degree, additional bottles
were identified. Another color is brown, distinguished from later amber colored bottles. Recovered from the enlisted men’s area was partial bottle seal with the word "(COG)NAC" and raised vertical lines. Non-glass alcohol items consisted of a single wire cork tie down (O), and at least one stoneware ale bottle (E). Stoneware fragments were also recovered from the officers’ area.

The enlisted men’s alcohol artifacts contained more bottles, 21 to 12. Total quantities are nearly identical, 377 (O), and 395 (E). This is explained by the recovery of five whole bottles from the enlisted men’s privy. The most interesting bottle (Figure II.1b) is a brown, chestnut-shaped with an applied handle and having a free blown oval base and blow pipe pontil (Ketchum 1975:47). Two bottles were nearly identical, except one bottle has a backwards E on the word "CLUBHOUS[E]" (Figure II.1d). These bottles (Figure II.1d,e) are characteristic of gin bottles of this time and are commonly called Case bottles. They are identified by their dark olive color, having a square base, hinge bottom mold with a tapering body to the shoulder and a tooled bead finish. Embossed lettering on these bottles read "J. T. DALY/CLUBHOUSE" (Ketchum 1975:50). Another embossed paneled bottle (Figure II.1a) has the words "VOLDNERS//AROMATIC/SCHNAPPS//SCHIEDAM" (Switzer 1974:24). This bottle has a beveled heel and body panels with a hinge bottom mold, and a bead finish. The last whole bottle contained champagne (Figure II.1c) and is a dip mold with a blow pipe pontil and push-up.

Figure II.1 Whole alcohol bottles.
Having only basal portions, sixteen other alcohol bottles were identified in the enlisted men's artifact assemblage. Four different base manufacturing types are noted, which are the free blown, the hinge bottom, the dip mold, and the post bottom mold. The free blown bottles are generally characterized by an asymmetrical shape and having a pontil and kick-up. Dip molds are similar to the free blown but are uniformly round. The "Rickets Ring" is a variation to the post bottom. Both examples from Fort Hoskins have embossed letters, "N", and "H-HE-". The hinged bottom molds are associated with a square bottle having a snap case scar. These bottles are also identified by embossed panels. Many fragmented sections had partial words were recorded. Some of the partial words spell "HOSTETERS", "AROMATIC", "SCHNAPPS", "VOLDNERS", and "Dr. TOWNSEND'S". All these names are identified with alcoholic beverages (Switzer 1974; Wilson 1981).

The officers' dump contained over 100 alcohol items, but lacked an identifiable bottle. Items are primarily body portions, except for four finishes and a basal portion. Outside the dump, the officers' alcohol assemblage contained a total of 12 bottles with only one being complete. This smaller champagne bottle shares the same attributes as one described above. This bottle has a partial wire tie down still attached. One very distinct bottle was identified as a pictorial, having the overall shape resembling a log cabin. It has molded log sides and a pitched roof with the neck serving as the chimney. There is no trademark or lettering on this bottle to identify the manufacturer. It is very similar to Kelly's Old Cabin Bitters (Switzer 1974:37-38). The other MNV bottles are basal portions only. Manufacturing methods are the same as described above. One post bottom has the embossed letters "3 P" and five raised dots. Four bottle finishes have foil remnants.

Tobacco: A common find in male-dominated sites (military, fur, and mining) is the smoking pipe. Often viewed as a form of interaction, smoking and its paraphernalia draws individuals into a social setting, providing a break from military activities.

Clay pipe analysis is endeared on pre-nineteenth century sites, primarily the East coast. Harrington's (1954) dating method uses stem bore diameter for calculating dates. This system is valid (Oswald 1960:49) until the late eighteenth century, when shorter stems were used. Bell (1980) substantiates this fact using the Fort Hoskins collection. For nineteenth century sites, trademarks are the primary dating attribute, but are often too-wide of a date span. Wilson (1971) provides an excellent description on methods of pipe manufacture.

A complete and detailed description of the Fort Hoskins pipes was provided by Bell (1980). All pipe fragments were measured and categorized into types, and are used for referencing in this research. These different types are split into 53 different categories, regardless of MNV. Some of these types are already identified by others in the West (Chance and Chance 1976; Humphrey 1980; Wilson 1966,1971). Only the MNV pipes are described here. All other types (non-MNV) are discussed as a whole. Minimum number for pipes is based on the bowl and or juncture. Also taken into consideration is decoration type, raw material, and color. A MNV may consist of more than one fragment, as 78 pieces represent 60 MNV pipes.

The primary pipe recovered is the common earthenware (37-E/14-O) variety. Of the 60 MNV pipes (43-E/17-O) recorded, all but nine are of this type. White (kaolin) is the dominant color (74.5%). Numerous bowl decorations are observed in the collection and described below in Table II.3.
Table II.3 Common Earthenware Pipe (MNV) Decoration Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Qty</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>plain bowl, medial keel front face (Figure II.2f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>bearded effigy with top hat (Figure II.2h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>dotted bowl rim (Figure II.2i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>vertical scallops on bowl/juncture (Figure II.2a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>plain bowl, short dashes around rim, windmill on bowl face, &quot;A SPARNAAY//IN GOUDA&quot; on stem (Figure II.2e; Chance and Chance 1976:172)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>union shield surrounded by leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3/1</td>
<td>detachable stem, knob spur on bowl, bowl covered with linear studded pattern (Figure II.2j; Caywood 1955:59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>detachable stem, Lewis Cass effigy (Figure II.2b; Caywood 1955:59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>grey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>turbaned effigy, with mustache (Wilson 1966:39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>studded line bowl, spur base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>leafed half-bowl, juncture, spur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>coat of arms - man in kilt, horse and deer, colored glaze (Humphrey 1969:24-25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;T D&quot; on bowl, spur (Figure II.2c; Humphrey 1969:18-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>irregular spaced ridges on bowl, molded shank, &quot;ARESS&quot; on shank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>unknown decoration, fragmented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>fragment only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>brown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stoneware pipes are predominately a detachable stem variety, usually heavier, non-white and decorated, and fitted with a wood stem. Only a single wood stem (O) was recovered at Fort Hoskins. Table II.4 provides a listing of the stoneware pipes (6-E/3-O).

Pipe bowl/juncture fragments, totaling 84 (66-E/18-O), are comprised mostly of non-white specimens (46). Some of these fragments are the same decoration, but lacked MNV qualities, and are probably associated with the pipes discussed above. The remaining fragments are various colors (see Tables II.3 & 4) of stoneware (10) and common earthenware (28), both plain and molded, glazed and unglazed.

A total of 145 pipe stem/shank fragments (117-E/28-O) were recovered. Stem fragments consists of numerous types (Bell 1980) not previously described. This is a results from being unable to identify stems with pipe bowls. The majority of stems are small with no designs. Other decorated stems are impressed or molded designs of fish scales, diamonds, flowers, concentric rings, lines, arrows, and dashes. Notable exceptions consisted of trademarks and other lettering. Seven molded relief "PETER//DORNI." stems (type 6) were recovered. Plain stems (5) with impressed lettering "MURRAY//GLASGOW" (type 7) date from 1826 to 1861/62 (Humphrey 1949).
Figure II.2 Tobacco pipes, representative sample.

Table II.4 Stoneware Pipe (MNV) Decoration Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Qty</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>buff</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Henry Clay effigy (Wilson 1971:9-10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>grey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Franklin Pierce effigy (Figure II.2d; Wilson 1971:79[36])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>brown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>turbaned effigy with mustache (Wilson 1966:39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>buff</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>thick bearded effigy (Figure II.2g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>buff</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>plain (Humphrey 1969:24-25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>red/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>fragment only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1969:15). Other impressed stems (3) include a "303" (type 39), a "PARIS" (type 43) and a "F.S.S//S." (type 50).

A related tobacco item is the pipe bowl cover (Herskovitz 1978:77-78). Located in the officer area was a 1-1/4 inch brass hinged-lid cover, slotted sides, and a impressed leaf design.

Recreation and Pastimes. A variety of items comprised this artifact type, but in limited quantities. A lamella (E), the looped wire on a mouth harp’s narrow end (Figure II.3b) was noted. Another instrument part is two pegs (Figure II.3a; [O]), the internal portion of a tightener used on a stringed instrument. Violins and fiddles are noted in Hilleray’s diary (Nelson and Onstad 1965). Five (4-O/1-E) harmonica portions (Figure II.3c) were recovered.
At least three knives are in the collection: two (1-E/1-O) pocket knives (Figure II.3l,n) and a pen (O) knife. The fragments are the internal plates and handle portions with two specimens having shell handles. A 1/4 inch fishing hook (Figure II.3m) was retrieved (O).

Toys and games included one domino (Figure II.3d) and six marbles, all from the officers' area. The domino has a dark wood base and a polished bone top having six dots (4/2). The marbles are described below in Table II.5 in which one of each was found. At least two different play dolls were collected. The dolls' raw material consists of two types of porcelain: bisque and parian. The doll parts (Figure II.3e) are body, bust, and arm. It is believed that Captain Augur had the only children at the post.

Table II.5 Marbles (Baumann 1970:18,30,90-92)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Composition; Color Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China Lines</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>porcelain; red, blue, black swirls (Figure II.3f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Lines</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>porcelain; black, red, green swirls (Figure II.3K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Swirls</td>
<td>0.835</td>
<td>glass; red, blue, white swirls (Figure II.3j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Swirls</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>glass; blue, white swirls (Figure II.3h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay</td>
<td>0.775</td>
<td>common earthenware; brownish black Albany glaze (Figure II.3g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solid color</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>glass; blue (Figure II.3i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure II.3  Recreation and Pastimes items, representative sample.
Included within this object type is ammunition not associated with military usage. Numerous ‘bird’ shot were retrieved, all but one from the officers’ area. The shot diameter included: eight .10 (#7), ten .12 (#5), five .16 (#1), and six .18 (#BB). Shotguns have been around since the late eighteenth century with the percussion cap used by 1830 (Peterson 1964:223).

Domestic Items

Miscellaneous Domestic. Some items are domestic in nature, but lack enough characteristics for further categorization. Two of the items (O) are a porcelain lip or neck and a porcelain body fragment with clear glazing on one side and green on the opposite. Four (2-O/2-E) stove pieces were also recovered, one a front section. These artifacts could be decorative furnishing or housewares related. The table below provides percentages for each of the artifact groups.

Furnishings. The only objects of this nature are tacks, the majority being upholstery (21-O/5-E). These are similar to those found at Fort Vancouver (Steele et. al 1975:102). This type was also used for decorating gun stocks (Dixie 1990). Since weaponry items recovered at Fort Hoskins are military specific and individuality being discouraged, the tacks are classified as domestic. Other tacks (O) included carpet and cut. The cut are commonly used in furniture (Russell and Erwin 1980). The last item is a red flowerpot recovered from the officers’ area.

Housewares and Appliances. Unidentified to either the gustatory or culinary group are a fragmented utensil handle (O) and four (E) pieces of yellowware. This refined earthenware is normally used in food preparation. These fragments were different from the rest in paste and glaze having a series of three evenly spaced, slightly raised ridges and narrow in width on the exterior. The yellowware fragments were recovered from an officers’ privy. Recovered from the enlisted men’s area are two small container lids made of stoneware and a refined earthenware. The stoneware had no glaze while the common earthenware lid has an unidentified faded blue transfer print. These lids are similar to what Herskovitz (1978:113-114) calls storage jars.

Table II.6 Domestic Artifact Totals and Percentages
by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Domestic</td>
<td>4 / 0.3%</td>
<td>2 / 1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>33 / 2.6%</td>
<td>5 / 4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewares and Appliances</td>
<td>1126 / 87.4%</td>
<td>85 / 82.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culinary</td>
<td>(31,2.8%)</td>
<td>(5,5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustatory</td>
<td>(999,88.7%)</td>
<td>(74,87.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable Illumination</td>
<td>(22,2.0%)</td>
<td>(0,0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable Waste Disposal</td>
<td>(11,1.0%)</td>
<td>(0,0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Housewares</td>
<td>(63,8.3%)</td>
<td>(6,7.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>108 / 8.4%</td>
<td>14 / 13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning and Maintenance</td>
<td>17 / 1.3%</td>
<td>0 / 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1288 /100.0%</td>
<td>106 /100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Culinary: Few cooking-related items were recovered. The officers' artifact assemblage at least one cooking pot, a handle, and the sides and rims. Two handles were recovered from the enlisted men's area. Other food preparation items documented are two (E) butcher knives, salt-glazed stoneware storage vessels (O/E), yellowware bowl sides (O), and three common earthenware lids (O). The lids have a manganese oxide glaze with one lid fitting a salt-glazed storage vessel.

Gustatory: At least nine (8-O/1-E) utensils were recovered which include a table knife, three forks and five other handles. One utensil handle has raised ridges on the outside edge while another is made of pewter with the trademark "C. PARKER & CO." Utensil parts consisted of fork tines, a fork head, a table knife blade and four bone handle covers.

Ceramics are the largest artifact type analyzed, primarily a refined earthenware of white paste and clear glaze (Figure II.4). Porcelain is the other ceramic composition in this group consisting of bowls, cups, plates, and a pitcher. The bowls and cups are distinct by their polygon shape with no decoration. A decorative relief design is on the Parian pitcher while a gilded decoration is noted on a hollowware. Shown in Figure II.5 is what the pitcher would have looked like. All but five porcelain fragments were recovered from the officers' area.
Variation among the refined earthenware vessels is through decoration type, mostly plain, molded relief, annular or transfer print. Other decoration types are limited and consisted of shell edge, sponge, banded and gild. One hollowware vessel has a three bead sprigging on its exterior and a molded interweaving design on the interior. Polygon vessel shapes and paneled cups are documented. Refined earthenware vessels consisted of serving bowls, eating bowls, plates, platters, a soup tureen and a pitcher.

Several ironstone vessels are identified by their molded relief patterns, all of which were recovered from the officers' area. Ironstone is a refined earthenware and is similar to the earlier pearlware, creamware and transfer print. Ironstone is a finer paste and is distinguished from the others because it did not stain or craze. Ironstone was popular in the 1840s and 1850s.
(Wetherbee 1980:37) and was used extensively by the U.S. Army throughout the West (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:92). Only two patterns were identified while the other patterns are simple designs. The "Gothic" pattern is on a soup tureen while the "St. Louis" pattern was noted on several hollowware vessels (Wetherbee 1985:37,69). The simple patterns were recorded for both flatware and hollowware pieces. Simple patterns consist of a decorative recessed teardrop sweeping toward the rim; a scalloped inset below the rim; a scroll on a cup handle; two concentric rings near the rim; and an elongated connecting figure "8" on many vessels. Several fragmented pieces had a bluish tint with no crazing.

Excluding the plain undecorated, blue transfer printed wares are the dominant decoration type of the collection. Ceramics from the enlisted men's assemblage had at least eight vessels identified, with only three patterns identified. The unidentified patterns are shown in Figure II.6. One identified pattern is a Flow Blue variety (Williams 1971:34) known as "Kyber" and dates between 1837 and 1897 (Gooden 1964:430). The other two patterns are identified from Sussman (1979:83,168) as "Camilla" (1833 to present) and "Ruins" (1846-1869).

Transfer prints in the officers' ceramic assemblage include two slightly scalloped Flow Blue saucers and are identified as "Formosa" (Williams 1971:25). This particular pattern is manufactured by Thomas, John and Joseph Mayer with a date range of 1843 to 1855 (Gooden 1964: 424). An unidentified Flow Blue pattern is on a rectangular shaped serving bowl with rounded corners (see Figure II.6g). Other vessel types are identified, but were undiagnostic as to pattern due to their small size and being discolored.

Figure II.6 Unidentified transfer print.
The officers’ assemblage has a variety of simple decoration types as described by Miller (1980). At least six different decorations are documented which include the shell edge (incised swirls) and sponge ware. The other decorations are an annular ware characterized by thick colored bands and usually encircling the mid-section of a bowl. Some of the fragments are a solid color except some have bands near the base and rim. Examples from Fort Hoskins include a pearl ware with blue bands below the rim and above the foot ring in a rice bowl shape; a green band in mid-section; two blue bands above and below a larger blue band in a rice bowl shape; a fragmented hollow ware piece of solid blue with a brown band; and hollow ware fragments of solid blue and gray (Figure II.10a).

Two unidentified patterns of hand-painted vessels were recovered from the enlisted men’s area. Hand painted vessels during this time are referred to as Cottage ware from the Staffordshire Potteries (Wood 1959:26).

Ceramic trademarks were few with many having only incised markings. Some partial and indistinct ones were observed. The etched markings are a dotted “U” (porcelain cup), "O 7 X" (porcelain plate), "O" (refined earthenware cup), "16" (porcelain plate), and a possible "MJM" (porcelain cup) in cursive writing. The two small Flow Blue saucers have impressed letters and printed characters. The letters are "B" and "FB" while the symbols are indistinct alpha or numeric characters. One of the partial back stamps has a big headed lion with a unicorn on the opposite side, a crown above the animals and the letters "-TL". The remaining two trademarks have the partial letters "-NT/-TO/(CHINA)" and the impressed words "(FIN)E CHINA".

Identifiable trademarks consisted of ink stamped and impressed. Impressed on a plate is "IMPROVED/FELDSPAR/C. MEIGH & SON" dating between 1851 and 1861 (Gooden 1964:429). Impressed on a large plate is "MADDOCKS/PATENT/IRONSTONE/CHINA", having a begin date of 1855 (Gooden 1964:406). Two plates have printed back stamps identifying the manufacturer as H & G LATE HARVEY, with a date range from 1853 to 1882 (Gooden 1964:331). Stamped on a ironstone pitcher is an eagle trademark and "SUPERIOR/WHITE GRANITE/W. ADAMS & SONS" which has a date range of 1859 to 1864 (Gooden 1964:21). A hollowware lid has a green back stamp reading "COPELAND/(GARR)ETT" dating from 1833 to 1847 (Gooden 1964:173). One back stamp was incomplete to the manufacturer "-OTE/(registry mark)/F-M-S", but the registry mark was still intact, which provided a date range from 1842 to 1867 (Kovel 1986:238).

Glassware is also part of the gustatory inventory. Glassware is primarily officer-related (426), as the enlisted men’s assemblage only has five fragments of a possible goblet. Officers’ glass goods consist of at least 22 tumblers, a shot glass and a decanter. These vessels are a pressed mold production in five different decoration styles. All tumbler styles, except one eight-sided design, were nine-sided with scalloped panels on the tumbler’s lower body. Other decorations are a variation of this basic design. The other decorations include a wide paneled scallops on bottom half and concentric rings on upper half (Figure II.7a); a similar pattern as previously described but has narrower panels and more oblong rings. Another design is two tiers of scalloped panels, with the upper tier situated where the lower panels join together. The eight-sided tumbler is all paneled (Figure II.7c). The last design has short panels only on the bottom fourth of the body. The shot glass is plain while the decanter (Figure II.7b) matches one of the scalloped designs.
Portable Illumination: Twenty-two pieces of chimney lamp glass was recovered from the officers' area. These fragments represent two vessels.

Portable Waste Disposal: At least two chamber pots and one wash basin were recovered from the officers' area. All vessels are a white refined earthenware and clear paste. The intact chamber pot and wash basin are an ironstone and molded relief.

The wash basin is scalloped rim with raised decorative lines and swirls. A registry back stamp identifies the manufacturing date of "January 18, 1859" (Gooden 1964:527). The intact chamber pot is the "Gothic" pattern (Wetherbee 1985:37) having the back stamp, "IRONSTONE CHINA/E. CHALLINOR & CO." Gooden (1964:37) provides a date range from 1853 to 1862. This chamber pot includes the lid which has a knob on top. The other chamber pot includes a few side parts and is distinguished by a blue tint in the glaze, which is possibly a pearlware.

Subsistence. Recovered from the enlisted men's area are at least three bottles; a pepper (Figure II.8d; Switzer 1974:60,63), a mustard jar (Figure II.8a; Switzer 1974:48-50) and a general condiment bottle (Wilson 1981:88, Fig. 316). The mustard jar is characteristic of others during this time, having a ribbed top and bottom and resembling a barrel. The pepper bottle is complete, having a concave base and sides, a hinge bottom mold with a laid-on ring finish. Other subsistence items are fragments of translucent-aqua or translucent-green gothic panels and are associated with pickle, honey, pepper sauce or pickled vegetable containers.

Likewise, the officers' subsistence items had numerous (70+) translucent-aqua gothic style panels equaling two vessels. One is near complete (Figure II.8b), measuring 11-1/2" tall with a 3-1/2" base having a hinge bottom with iron pontil and a hand applied ring finish. The other pickle
container is similar with fewer intact attributes. Other items include three complete black pepper bottles of near identical size (Switzer 1974:60). All pepper bottles are a translucent-green color, a hinge bottom manufacture, a fluted oblong base with a blow pipe pontil and a packer finish. The remaining five bottles are general culinary, four of which are the blake #1 bottle base style (Wilson 1981:84, Fig. 296), while the other bottle is round (Wilson 1981:90, Fig. 327). These translucent-green bottles (Figure II.8c) have rectangular bases and diagonal cut corners with a cup-bottom mold and a packer finish with some foil attached below the finish. The round bottle (Figure II.8e) is also translucent-green with a cup-bottom mold, but has snap case scars. This bottle has a flared ring finish and is either a condiment or salad oil container. The remaining subsistence items are glass fragments having distinguishable characteristics about them. Some fragments are the molded side panels of the barrel shaped mustard jar. A shoulder fragment has the embossed letters "(LO)NDON", likely a London Club Sauce container (Switzer 1974:59-60).

Cleaning and Maintenance. All of these items were recovered from the officers' area. Sewing related items dominate this artifact grouping. The objects consist of 10 straight pins (Figure II.9e), two safety pins (Figure II.9f), two thimbles (Figure II.9a,b) and one pair of scissors (Figure II.9d). Another household item is a clear colored bottle containing glue (Figure II.9c). Standing 2 3/8 inches in height and 13/16 inch in diameter, the bottle production is a dip mold with a blow pipe pontil. Embossed on the side is "HODGSON'S/DIAMOND/CEMENT".
Military Defense Items

Objects categorized within this group are military specific or related to military duty. However, some items within one status group may reflect a different function in the other group. The following table provides totals and percentages for the military artifacts assemblage.

Arms. No whole guns were recovered; only parts from at least three were identified. Representing different guns, two different ramrod thimbles were recovered, an octagonal shaped upper (Figure II.10e; [E]) and a round lower (Figure II.10b; [O]). Both thimbles are associated with either a rifle or musket because of their diameter (7/16") and a longer length (Dixie 1990:139). Thimbles secure the ramrod on the barrels underside. Missing is the lower round’s tang which slips between the stock and barrel while the upper is located near the barrel.

Table II.7 Military Artifact Totals and Percentages by Officers and Enlisted Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Enlisted Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>9 / 3.4%</td>
<td>1 / 0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammunition</td>
<td>164 / 61.7%</td>
<td>162 / 54.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparel</td>
<td>71 / 26.7%</td>
<td>84 / 40.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accouterment</td>
<td>9 / 3.3%</td>
<td>16 / 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucratic</td>
<td>13 / 4.9%</td>
<td>0 / 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>266 / 100.0%</td>
<td>300 / 99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure II.9 Cleaning and Maintenance items, representative sample.
Two hinge plates were also recovered from the officers' area. One is a patchbox (Figure II.10g) located on a rifle or a pistol stock. Even though it is fragmented, its size indicates it is from a rifle/musket (Dixie 1990:168). A patchbox stores lubricated cloth patching which is used to ease loading. Finial shaped (Figure II.10c), the other hinge plate is either a patch/cap box or a toe/side plate (Dixie 1990:166-71). This item is part of a gun stock. In addition, a one inch diameter cap box cover (Figure II.10f; [O]) was recovered. A gold-plated and incised trigger guard's lower portion (Figure II.10a) and a rifle's rear sight (Figure II.10d) were also recovered from the officers' area. Rear sights were added to the 1855 models. Identified specifically with a flintlock gun (1842 musket) is a top jaw (Figure II.10i) and top jaw screw (Figure II.10h), also from the officers. The screw fits through the top jaw hole while securing the flint. These two items are used on both a pistol and musket. However, no flint pieces were recovered.

The last weapon identified is a .31 caliber Colt revolver. A portion of the back strap (O) with serial number "27226" (Figure II.10j) lists 1849 as a manufacturing date (Dixie 1990:55,527).

**Ammunition.** In the identification of Fort Hoskins ammunition (shot, ball, bullet and percussion caps), at least six different gun types are noted. Most items are military related either to rifles, musket, or pistols.
Whole percussion caps, musket (Figure II.10n) and ground edge (Figure II.10m) or pistol are the major portion of this artifact group, 152 (102-E/50-O) and 21 (17-O/4-E) respectively. Percussion caps became an advanced ignition system for muzzle loading guns, achieving wide spread distribution by the 1830s. This system replaced the flint ignition by the 1850s (Nonte 1973:187-88). The musket percussion cap was used with the 1855 rifle musket while using the Minie ball. Whereas, the ground edge was used for pistols, revolvers, and derringers.

The .58 caliber conical shaped Minie ball (Figure II.10l) became the preferred cartridge for military use from 1855 to 1865. The Minie ball was used for a number of rifles or rifle muskets (Dixie 1990:520). Of the 13 collected, only two were found in the enlisted men’s area.

A five percent variance for established ammunition ball sizes provided a working range to assist in the identification of particular gun types. Lead ball size varied because of individual cast molds, lead properties and in measuring damaged balls. Numerous rifles and carbines (Dixie 1990:520), including the Sharp, employed a .535 (.5092-.5618) caliber. A .52 inch ball (O) is documented at Fort Hoskins.

Other ammunition items are 46 lead balls, clustered around two sizes, .68 and .28 inches. These balls are used as a single fired projectile, or as a buck and ball paper cartridge. The buck and ball, used for the .69 caliber 1842 musket, consisted of two smaller balls (approximately .28) on top and the larger .68 (.646-.714) caliber ball on the bottom (Figure II.10k). Six of the later were recovered, equally split between the two status groups. Five balls (4-E/1-O), all .28 or .29 inches, were recorded.

Also used for military purposes is the 12# mountain howitzer utilizing a .65 ball. However, considering the depositional context, the larger lead balls (see above) are likely associated with the .69 caliber musket instead of the howitzer.

Three pistols are identified by ammunition ball sizes (Dixie 1990:519-20) and from historical information (Utley 1967:26-27). The .31 Colt or Remington revolver used a .321 (.3050-.3371) ball. A part to a .31 Colt revolver was recovered (O) as were 12 (6-O/3-E) lead balls. Another popular handgun for officers was the .36 caliber Navy Colt. This weapon used a .376 (.3572-.3948) ball, in which 14 (12-O/2-E) were recovered. A single .455 was recovered from the officers’ area. Dixie (1990:520) identifies a .453 (.4303-.4757) ball belonging to a .44 Colt Dragoon or Colt and Remington Army.

Six (O) larger balls, .40-.42 in size, are probably associated with a handgun, but the exact model and caliber is unknown. A number of military handguns use a caliber of this size (Gluckman 1944).

Ammunition related items collected from the officers’ area included a powder horn fragment, a powder horn eyelet, two percussion caps container lids, a fragment of a bullet mold refuse and 305 grams of lead refuse. The enlisted men’s area produced 145 grams of lead refuse, two black powder lids and numerous pewter fragments associated with the lids. One black powder lid had the embossed letters "E.I. DUP(ON)T" and dates from 1820 to 1902 (Rock 1988:56-57)

Historical documentation (Hicks 1946; Gluckman 1965;) provides insights for military weaponry during this time. The U.S. Army adopted the Minie ball in 1855. This action resulted in the
re-tooling of the 1842 .69 caliber percussion smooth bore musket and the 1841 .54 caliber U.S. percussion rifle. Infantry troops of the 1850s carried the former weapon while the Mounted Rifleman used the latter. After the re-tooling to a .58 caliber, the weapons are known as model 1855, U.S. Rifle Musket and the U.S. Rifle. The first eight infantry regiments received the rifled muskets, the ninth and tenth received the rifle. Companies F and G of the Fourth Infantry and Company B of the Ninth served at Fort Hoskins between 1856 and 1861 (Hoop 1929:359-60).

During an inspection of Fort Hoskins, two guns are mentioned (Mansfield 1858). "The arms [are] the old smooth bore musket [1842 .69 caliber]. The new rifled musket [1855 .58 caliber] was expected. Attached to this company [are] 90 muskets, 1 Sharps rifle [.52 caliber, ball size .535-555]". It is unclear when the re-tooled rifles arrived, yet the Minie ball provides evidence of its existence. The post ordnance held "5,000 ball and buck musket cartridges" for the 1842 .69 caliber musket. The only other weapon identified was an artillery piece, a "12 p[ound] brass gun" secured in the magazine, a small building within the forts confine.

From the diary of William Hilleary (Nelson and Onstad 1965:43), the soldiers received new guns in 1866, the Hartford 1863, manufactured by Colt and Company. This gun is probably the Model 1861 U.S. Rifle Musket, .58 caliber manufactured at the Hartford Armory in 1863. The model 1855 rifle and carbine from Hartford is the predecessor to the 1861 model (Gluckman 1948:231,234).

Apparel. Artifacts of this type are clothing, footwear, headgear and related items. All objects categorized were required for Army personnel and are military specific. Some items were also used by civilians, but the site context is military.

No distinguishable clothing garments were retrieved during excavation, only fragments of leather, fabric and other non-canvas material. Textile analysis was completed by Sally Ishikawa (1990). The enlisted men’s area contained the highest frequency and variety, primarily from the privy. Miscellaneous fabric included minimally four different structures (fabric term). Highly fragmented, many of the specimens were unidentified to exact fabric type or color, but were either cotton or wool. Blue twill and braid are common as is plain weave. A highly disintegrated silk fragment is part of the collection, possibly sash material, stitching or other decorative parts of the uniform. Only two specimens were recovered from the officers’ area, both a plain weave and a twill. One specimen is encased around a brass ring while the other is covered with an unknown clear substance. Army personnel uniforms were constructed with both wool and cloth with various shades of blue as the dominant color (USWD 1851, 1857, 1861). Considering the depositional context and general characteristics, all specimens are classified within the military grouping.

Several felt scraps consist of either wool (sheep) or an unknown hair structure (rabbit or beaver). This material is likely part of a hat or cap. Other headgear items are less frequent but are larger and mostly whole. A beveled edge of a cap corner was found in the privy. Seven leather fragments, 3/4 inch wide by 1/8 inch thick were identified as chin straps (Howell 1975:3-4). Two leather pieces were used for the hat/cap chin strap and held together by a brass buckle (5/8 x 3/4") having rounded corners, with or without a tongue. The tongue type buckles (Figure AP-II.11g) were designed for use on the 1851 Albert hat (Masich 1979:35). Seven (6-E/1-O) of these were recovered.
The remaining headgear items are five hat insignias, two forage cap buttons and an insignia clasp (Figure II.11e). Two insignias are the "Arms of the United States" (Figure II.11a). This item mounted on the 1855 Jeff Davis hat (Figure II.12), the Albert hat (Brinckerhoff 1972:14) or the 1858 forage cap (Masich 1978:29). Two "F" letters (Figure II.11b) were recovered from the enlisted men's area. Letters were worn on military hats to identify regiments within a company (Masich 1979:29). Company F served at Fort Hoskins. In 1858, a new horn device (Figure II.11c) was issued for infantry use with the Jeff Davis hat (Brinckerhoff 1972:9); one was recovered from the officer's area. The cap buttons are the Omega type, Standing Eagle with spade shield. This type was first used on the 1839 forage cap and was likely used till the 1850s, at which time the Line Eagle was introduced (Howell and Kloster 1969:47).

Another military uniform item recovered is a fastening tab (Figure II.11h; [E]; Masich 1979:39) which secures the epaulet to the uniform shoulder. Also found were three (E) portions of a seven-tier epaulet (Figure II.11h) held together by a crescent plate (Masich 1979:37). Epaulets were worn by all enlisted personnel (Brinckerhoff 1972:33). Numbers, 1 1/16 inch in height were issued as collar insignia from 1851 to 1858 (Masich 1979:34). The number 9 (Figure AP-II.11f; [O]) is part of the collection. Company B of the 9th regiment served at Fort Hoskins in 1857 and 1861 (Hoop 1929:359-360).

Fifty-two (37-E/15-0) uniform buttons, primarily in two sizes (0.6 and 0.91 inches), were recovered. Twenty-eight of these had a manufacturer's name impressed on the back with three having impressed lettering as noted in Table II.8.

Forty-two of the total are the Sanders type. They are "a three part shell... whereby... the front piece [is turned] over the edge of the back piece." This thin brass allowed for detailed, pressed
decoration (Johnson 1948:13-14). Of these, 10 (7-O/3-E) are the Line Eagle Device, 21 (17-E/4-O) are the General Service (1855-84), ten (7-E/3-O) are backs while five are heavily corroded. General Service buttons are "distinguished by the recessed, wide, flat and lined shield on the eagle's breast. The eagle's wings are narrow and long" (Brinckerhoff 1972:5). The Line Eagle Device (1833-1865 [E]; 1833-1902 [O]) has the eagle's head to the right with upward wings and clutching an olive branch in the right talon and three arrows in the left. A lined spade shield is on the eagle's breast (Johnson 1948:25).

The Sander buttons are characterized by impressed letters representing the different Army branches: A-Artillery, D-Dragoons, I-Infantry, V-Voltigeurs, and C-Cavalry. Buttons of this type were regulation for both officers and enlisted men until January 1854 when General Orders were issued which limited their use to officers (Ludington n.d.:40). Only one (E) "I" lettered button was recovered. Six (O) "A" and three (2-E/1-O) "D" lettered buttons are part of the collection. Even though no artillery or dragoon regiments served at Fort Hoskins, it is not uncommon to recover a variety of lettered buttons at a military post (Brinckerhoff 1972). This is especially true at isolated posts because quartermaster supplies were infrequent. Soldiers made do with outdated stock or purchased what was available at the sutler's store or retained buttons from prior military service in another branch.

Two (E) U.S. Naval buttons are included in this collection. One is the Sanders type while the other is an Omega. Both are a line field, an eagle perched on the stock of an upright anchor, with its head to right, its wings raised and encircled by 13 five-point stars (Johnson 1948:72-76).
### Table II.8 Military Button Trademarks  
(Johnson 1948:216-18)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qty</th>
<th>Firm Name/Inscription</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-E</td>
<td>Scovills/Waterbury</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-E</td>
<td>Scovills/Extra</td>
<td>1827-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-O</td>
<td>Scovills &amp; Co.</td>
<td>1840-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-E</td>
<td>Scovills Mfg. Co.</td>
<td>1855-84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-E/4-O</td>
<td>Hortsmann &amp; Allien/NY</td>
<td>1843-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-E</td>
<td>W.M. Lang/Boston</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-E</td>
<td>Quality Extra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Omega buttons are normally flat, sometimes convex and are always a true circle, as the body was cut or punched (Johnson 1948:13). Three Omega buttons were recovered at Fort Hoskins. An early I lettered button (O) is the Line Eagle Device, a one-piece pewter cast, convex front, loop shank dating between 1815 and 1820 (Johnson 1948:15,25). A single (E) Eagle and Wreath button was commonly used for the greatcoat. On the front of this example is a "stamped eagle with wings spread and his head downward to the left, clasp three or more arrows in his left claw. A large "U.S." is in the center with an oval wreath of olive leaves. This was possibly the first General Service Button (Brinckerhoff 1972:2)

Another button type associated with military uniforms was a one piece, cast lead (11-O/11-E). Lacking an impressed eagle or letter design, this round, flat button "was commonly used... on soldier's trousers" (Olsen 1963:552). These four-hole buttons range in size from 0.495 to 0.730 inches. A similar button was a two-piece pressed, probably interchangeable with the one piece cast. However, from historical documentation the two piece is normally seen on personal clothing, suspenders, and cloth shirts (Lord 1963; Robertson 1984) and is classified as such.

At least two individual shoes (boots) are identified from five leather shoe parts recovered from the enlisted men's area. The pieces include an inner heel, a heel, insole fragments and a shoe heel/sole portion. Recovered from the officers' area were at least six individual shoes. All are large, discounting any association with women or children. The samples include ten heel fragments, insole portions and a sole. Similar characteristics are the multiple layers of leather (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:105-106), small clinched nails, brass wire screws and tacks. All these attributes date to the Fort Hoskins occupation (Anderson 1968). Boots were military issue and are refereed to as Jeffersons (USWD 1857), or bootees (Lord 1963:310). A total of 18 eyelets are also part of the collection.

**Accouterments.** Accouterments here are defined as those elements of a soldier’s equipment used in the performance of duty. These include knapsacks (personal gear), haversacks (rations), cartridge boxes, canteens, and sword belts, basically non-clothing or non-ammunition specific.

Knapsack hooks (Figure II.13a; [1-E]) are fashioned from brass wire in an elongated fashion with an applied round head on one end, hooking the shoulder strap across the chest. Triangular rings (1-O) were attached to the bottom of the knapsack and secured the large odd-shaped knapsack hook. Three rivets (Figure II.13g; [2-E/1-O]) are also part of the collection which correspond to those used on a variety of military equipment (USWD 1862). In viewing their context, the
rivets are probably associated with the knapsack. Nine roller buckles (Figure II.13f; [7-E/2-O]) from the Fort Hoskins collection correspond in size to a No. 6 Army buckle (USWD 1862:164) and were used on numerous accouterments. Other buckles included two (E) D-type (Figure II.13c; Herskovitz 1978:87) and three (O) slide adjustments (Figure II.13b). The only other accessory item is a scabbard tip (Figure II.13d; [O]; Herskovitz 1978:34) and a 1.3 inch solid brass ring (Figure II.13e) which was used on a variety of military items. One (O) other roller buckle is noted and is heavily corroded and slightly larger than the No. 6 Army type.

Some historical information exists regarding uniforms and accouterments. Hilleary comments upon receiving "cords, feathers, eagles, and more jewelry" for their hats (Nelson and Onstad 1965:41,45). This confirms the presence of the 1855 Jeff Davis hat, characteristic of the plumes and cordage and the Arms of the United States insignia. During this same time, the troops received shoulder scales (epaulets). No evidence was uncovered to confirm the existence of revised uniforms prior to U.S. Regulars leaving Fort Hoskins. Mansfield (1858) tells of the companies in old uniform.

Bureaucratic. Contained within this category are objects related to administrative duties (inventory, record keeping, and letter writing) associated with the military. Objects include writing paraphernalia and documents, none of the latter were recovered at Fort Hoskins. Officers performed the majority of these bureaucratic tasks. Whereas, similar items found in the enlisted mens area are not function specific and are classified elsewhere.

A total of nine inkwell bottle fragments, representing three MNV, make up this category. All inkwell bottles recovered at Fort Hoskins are the "umbrella" variety (Jones and Sullivan 1985:73). These bottles are conical shaped, a multi-sided (usually eight) base, sloping paneled...
sides with short necks and usually had a folded finish. Bottle production is a hinged mold with either a blow-pipe or glass pontil. Colors consist of amber green, green or translucent aqua.

Two nibs, metal sharpened points for a quill pen, are also in the collection.