

**Differing Sources: Comparing the Historical and Archaeological Data of Fort
Hoskins and Fort Yamhill**

A Thesis

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Abstract

Between the years 1856 to 1866, the Forts of Hoskins and Yamhill monitored and policed newly created reservations in Oregon. As with any bureaucratic institution, an abundance of records were left behind. As historical archaeologists, we rely on documentary and archaeological evidence to piece together the story of an archaeological site. This work intends to examine how the archaeological and historical records compare and contrast, showing how diverse sources can complement each other and provide distinct information about the past.

Initially, the intent was to produce a case study on clothing at Fort Yamhill, Fort Hoskins, and the Siletz Blockhouse using both digitized historical administrative records and archaeological data and artifacts. However, lab closures due to the COVID-19 pandemic prevented access to the archaeologically recovered material. A partial workaround to the archaeological data access challenges was Justin Eichelberger's 2019 dissertation and Shane James's 2019 MA thesis, which provided catalogs of the pertinent artifacts and have proven to be invaluable sources of data and information to build on (Eichelberger 2019; James 2019). As such, focus shifted to examining how the larger historical and archaeological datasets and sources intersect and relate. Documents list items, these items or similar ones may be recovered during archaeological excavations. As is shown in this thesis, the data does overlap, yet also reveals some complexities within both sets of data.

Acknowledgements

There are a multitude of supporters to thank on this project, if not for them I would quite simply not be where I am today.

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Additionally, I would like to thank the University of Idaho, and the College of Graduate Studies for the opportunity to complete this thesis, the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department for allowing me to work with their collection, both the Confederated Tribes of Siletz and the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde for speaking with me and providing their insight on the project.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The United States (US) during the nineteenth century was a country looking ever westward where Euro-Americans saw opportunities in lands to be settled – once they took control from the Indigenous peoples living on those lands. With the settlers came the military, moving to establish a broad presence on the frontier and providing official and unofficial support for Euro-American settlers. Indeed, it is hard not to encounter some ties to the US military in modern western history. Numerous historians have explored the military in detail, so much so, that US Military History is a subdiscipline familiar to anyone who has taken a history class and has certainly been part of this study (Clark 1935; Onstad 1964; Hunt 2004). Over the past few decades, historical archaeologists have joined in the study of the military, contextualizing, and expanding our understanding of the US military's role in our collective past. Topics explored by archaeologists include battlefield logistics, supply networks, foodways, daily lives, and Euro-American and relationships with Indigenous peoples (Eichelberger 2010, 2019; Geier et al. 2010, Schablitsky 1996, Starbuck 2012). This thesis adds to this literature, examining how archaeological and historical data intersect and diverge, through a lens focused on some of the clothing worn at two western military forts.

Much like everything else in the U.S. and the world, this is a work that COVID-19 and ensuing obstacles. This issue is discussed in more detail later in the text, but the project was ultimately delayed due to multiple COVID-related challenges. We continue to live through significant historical events that will fill up textbook chapters of the future.

Getting Started: A Digitization Project

Historical archaeology regularly incorporates access to primary documentary records contemporary to a period, such as account books, diaries, and newspapers. The available documents provide an opportunity to compare and contrast the written record with what is physically found over the course of an archaeological excavation. In this thesis, I will be doing a comparative analysis of artifacts found during several excavations of forts Yamhill and Hoskins located in central Oregon with a group of historical documents that I scanned as part of a project for the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD). This work intends to examine how the archaeological and historical records relate, and in doing so,

expand on a portion of the histories of Forts Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, as well as the Siletz Blockhouse.

In 1856, two forts were built within the Oregon Territory, near what would eventually become the reservations of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz and the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde. The first was named Fort Hoskins, after Lieutenant Charles Hoskins, a casualty of the Mexican American War (Brauner and Stricker 2006, 46). The second was named Fort Yamhill, after the nearby river, which was itself named after the Kalapuyan Tribe that lived there when Europeans first arrived (McArthur 1992, 930). These two Forts, along with the smaller Fort Umpqua to the south, supervised and monitored the new reservations until 1866 when they were decommissioned and auctioned off.

Over a decade of field schools and excavations at the two forts has resulted in the recovery of more than 20,000 artifacts, providing a significant amount of data concerning this period of Oregon history. These artifacts are presently stored at the Pacific Slope Archaeological Laboratory, at Oregon State University. Much of this data is synthesized in Eichelberger's 2019 dissertation (Eichelberger 2019).

The other primary data source is historical documents associated with the two forts. Just like every other bureaucratic organization, the military generated extensive collections of administrative records. Thus, we are left with a wealth of primary historical documents, allowing scholars to examine many aspects of contemporary military life. These military records and what was recovered archaeologically allow us to explore the history of the forts and the relationship between archaeological and textual data.

In November 2020, I volunteered as a part of a digitization project for the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD). Their archives hold a collection of 535 documents consisting of administrative records from Fort Hoskins and Fort Yamhill between 1861-1865, which were donated in 2017 to OPRD by a Harrisburg, Oregon resident. OPRD Archaeologist Nancy Nelson, and I drafted a proposal to digitize these documents. Through digitizing these documents, we aim to provide online access to historical researchers and Tribes in the region. As I worked on this project, I considered ways to connect and contrast what was in these documents with the vast amount of archaeological data recovered from the two forts, and how that might be a tool for researchers.

Literature Review

As the study of archaeology and particularly historical archaeology has evolved, scholars published several volumes dedicated to the relationship between artifacts and texts, including Barbara Little's, *Text-Aided Archaeology* (1992), and Mary Beaudry's *Documentary Archaeology in the New World* (1988). These two works are the primary sources that initiated a structured conversation on the relationship between archaeological and textual data and are my primary sources for framing this thesis.

Of more recent note is Mary Beaudry's book *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*, published in 2006. In this text, she addresses how much information an item such as a single straight pin can provide researchers. While not of great use in dating a given site, when examined in conjunction with the historical and cultural context provided by historical documents a straight pin offers key information and opens an avenue for a multifaceted and complex understanding of the site and the people that inhabited it. How they were made could indicate when they were made and what they were made for. Size, shape, and quality could also indicate a purpose. She also notes that while it is often assumed, in an archaeological context, that they are to be categorized under “women’s items”, where in reality they were used for many different purposes by many different people (Beaudry 2006, 10).

Another invaluable source examining the relationship between archaeology and texts has been the *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, issue 79 (1995). In this issue a series of papers are presented in honor of the late James Deetz, the theme being complimentary sources in historical archaeology. Ironically, I had to utilize my historical document-tracking skills to gain digital access to this publication. Initially these papers were difficult to locate online as the site that they were archived on was old and seemingly no longer supported. Recently, they have been transferred to a new online service and are much easier to locate.

Several papers in this collection provided helpful information, particularly Mary Ellin D'Agostino who pointed out that while both documents and artifacts are biased, they are differently biased. These biases can continue to provide context and expand our learning (D'Agostino 1995). Access to primary documentation was much more difficult before the widespread use of the internet and the subsequent digitization of records. The level of access we have to primary documents today greatly expands avenues of research previously

impeded by location. Information such as historical census records and maps are just a wi-fi connection and a sign-in screen away. Indeed, the work I have done digitizing the records continues to contribute to this broadening of access. However, some difficulties are the same today as in 1995, documents still require analysis, and the texts are often hard to read and interpret. In other instances, the handwriting may be hard to decipher or too faded to be legible. An excellent example of this is one of the documents I scanned; a listing of clothing issued to an Edward Colmache (Figure 1.1) where the paper is stained.

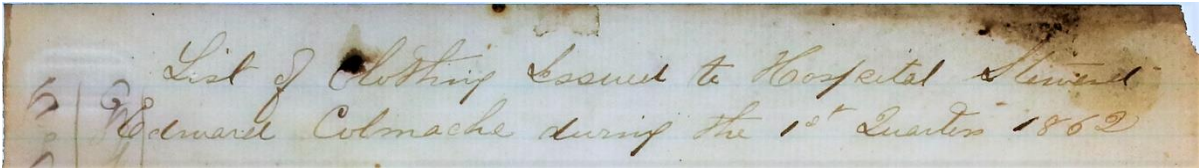


Figure 1.1 OPRD Collection, FH1.2. 7b

United States Westward Expansion

The United States' westward expansion is one of the defining movements in our history. Influenced by the myth of manifest destiny, Euro-Americans pushed ever westward, from sea to shining sea (Zinn 2015, 126). They drew upon the landscape lines that define what we see today, the towns, the counties, and the states, imposing a Euro-American ideal of order onto what was perceived as the chaotic wilderness of the west. As white settlers rolled in to tame the western frontier, the United States Army followed, bringing their camps, forts, and blockhouses with them. Following many long-established patterns, the military's mission was to protect U.S. interests, control trade routes, and establish a visible federal presence (Aikens, et al. 2011, 11). The forts, strategically located at crucial travel points, became hubs of a more extensive network. These centers of activity played a pivotal role in the relationship between the United States government, white settlement, and the local Indigenous Tribes, on both local and regional levels. Like the castles in Europe, they became tangible representations of the power of the U.S. government, demonstrating its willingness to enforce its dominance over the land and the people that inhabited it, whether they agreed or not.

The concept of westward expansion begins with the voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492. While Leif Erikson and his party landed on what became the Americas roughly five hundred years prior, it was with Columbus that the eyes of Europe turned to the west. While

the initial motive was monetary, the always land-hungry European monarchies were quick to capitalize on the possibilities the new world provided. Justified and legitimized by the Roman Catholic church, Spain and Portugal rushed to seize the newly “discovered” lands. Individuals such as Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro arrived, establishing a practice of societal dominance which resulted in much turmoil and genocide amongst the Indigenous people. These events continue to impact their descendants.

In 1607, what would turn out to be the first successful British colony, then known as Fort James, was founded on Native North American soil (Zinn 2015, 13). This military-style fortification helped set a precedent that continued throughout succeeding centuries, a piece of the foundation on which the story of the United States is laid. While earlier colonies, such as Roanoke which, were fleeting marks on the landscape, Jamestown managed to establish a foothold. Additional fortified settlements were founded along the Atlantic coast, from Charleston in the south to Plymouth in the north. By 1754 thirteen colonies had formed an enduring European presence on North American soil. A widely diverse set of people populated these new colonies. indentured servants, religious outcasts, and criminals were just a few. Slavery played a role from the very beginning, with approximately twenty enslaved Africans arriving in Jamestown in 1619 (Zinn 2015, 104).

Even before the American Revolution in 1765, the British colonies of North America were eager to expand westward. The primary political power remained in Europe, and tensions between the expanding empires lead to friction between their colonies on the North American continent. In 1754 the French and Indian War broke out, on one side the French and their Indigenous allies, and on the other Great Britain and theirs. Thus began the Seven Years' War as Britain and France vied for dominance.

In the aftermath of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), Britain saw backlash from Indigenous peoples in the lands formerly held by France. While the Parliament in London legislated against further westward settlement, the Euro-Americans living in the colonies largely ignored these new regulations. They continued to push into the Appalachian Mountains, coming into more direct contact and conflict with Indigenous peoples. The conflict between the colonies and Parliament continued to escalate, leading to the Boston Massacre in 1770 and the Boston Tea Party in 1773. Full revolt broke out in the colonies in the spring of 1775 and the American Revolution began. As before during the Seven Years'

War, Indigenous peoples were involved in both sides of the conflict. Indeed, after the American Revolution ended in 1783, the floodgates of westward expansion truly opened. With the ratification of the United States Constitution in 1789, the process of treaty-making with Indigenous Tribes began, Article 1, section 8, clause 3 states "[Congress shall have Power] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes". This phrase firmly placed the power of diplomacy and treaty-making to the federal government rather than the states.

May of 1804 saw the beginning of an expedition that became another cornerstone in the mythology of the United States. In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson negotiated with Napoleon Bonaparte to purchase a large swath of land in the central part of the continent. The "Louisiana Purchase" added approximately 800,000 square miles of territory to the United States. Keen to examine this new land, the scientifically minded Jefferson put together an expedition headed by Merriweather Lewis and William Clark to explore as far West as possible (Jefferson 1803). Over the course of two and a half years, the company of over forty made its way across the continent, establishing contact and interacting diplomatically with the Indigenous Tribes they encountered.

Like Jamestown almost two hundred years earlier, European settlement in the west began with the construction of another fort, Fort Clatsop located in western Oregon. Named after the local Clatsop people, it served as a winter home for the expedition until the spring of 1806, when the Fort, with both furnishings and horses, was given to Clatsop Chief Coboway (Josephy and Jaffe 2007, 169). Some descendants of these people are now part of the Clatsop-Nehalem Confederated Tribes of Oregon, a group currently not federally recognized, others are enrolled with the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon and the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indians, which are federally recognized tribal governments. The success of Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery (Corps of Volunteers for Northwest Discovery) became the setting for the western expansion of the United States of America. A land that extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, introducing to the United States the possibility of a continental empire, from sea to shining sea.

The last, most recent chapter of Western Expansion was the colonization of the lands in between those shining seas. It is during this period that Forts Yamhill and Hoskins were envisioned and constructed. The expedition of Lewis and Clark revealed to the United States

government and its citizens how vast the continent was. The journals of explorers such as Lewis and Clark recorded accounts that sparked the imagination, a "new" land, almost a playground to shape and exploit as one chose. This siren song of opportunity drew people west in more significant numbers, as they saw the land as empty, free to claim and tame as a Promised Land. Lines were drawn, towns were platted, and the land was reimagined in an idealized Eurocentric image. One by one the United States incorporated these newly colonized regions, in 1843 the Champoeg Meetings created a provisional government, led by a significant United States settler presence. Five years later in 1848, Oregon officially became a U.S. territory, and in 1859 the State of Oregon was created, centered on the agriculturally valuable Willamette Valley. In that same year, the construction of both Fort Hoskins and Fort Yamhill began (Brauner and Stricker 2006, 23). The removal of the Indigenous peoples from their ancestral homelands to the lands under the eyes of the forts, continued to process of opening their land to Euro-American settlement.

Chapter 2: Historical Context

History is never isolated, and in researching a site it is essential to place it in the context of the time and larger world it existed in. The people living in and around places like Fort Hoskins and Yamhill were affected by various factors and events, from the spread of disease to the vagaries of the weather, to political and religious ideals shifting, conflicting, and evolving. Archaeology adds another set of tools to understand the past, not only providing physical evidence in the form of artifacts but tying it to a real-world location, allowing us to exist in the same space as the people we study.

The People of Oregon

The Oregon Territory, what is now Oregon, Washington, Idaho, as well as parts of Wyoming and Montana are the homelands of many Indigenous peoples, each with their own history and traditions. The peoples who have lived in the region since time immemorial and their ancestral lands do not fall neatly into the state, county, or national boundaries. Even before they encountered a European, Indigenous people had encountered European diseases that decimated their population and wreaked havoc on a way of life thousands of years old. Throughout their interactions with the United States, treaties have been made and broken, entire communities uprooted and forced into increasingly small reservations. Their rights and names erased by bureaucratic and political manipulation.

However, federal recognition does not tell the whole story of tribes in the regions. In what is now the state of Oregon there are nine federally recognized tribal governments: the Burns Paiute Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians, Coquille Indian Tribe, the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians, the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon, the Klamath Tribes, the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, and the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon (Zucker et al. 1983, 140). Within these nine governments are over 30 different tribes, each with distinct histories, cultures, and traditions. There are also at least ten non-federally- recognized Indian communities in the state including the Chinook Nation and the Clatsop-Nehalem Confederated Tribes among others.

The Settlers of Oregon

The Euro-Americans that came to homestead in the Oregon Territory were of various backgrounds, from retired French-Canadian fur trappers and former officers of the Hudson's Bay Company to immigrants from the United States and farther afield. If one theme united these disparate groups, it was the pull and promise of opportunity in the west. The opportunity to own land, start businesses, and profit from the copious resources was tremendously appealing to many.



Figure 2.1 The Circuit Rider, Salem, OR (Proctor 1922; Parker 1966)

Many settlers of what became the state of Oregon were white and Christian. While the early provisional government had banned slavery, it also banned Blacks from settling in the territory at all (Nokes 2013, 31). This statewide segregation continued as Oregon shifted from Territory to State, and in fact, Oregon was the only state with such an exclusionary law in the 1850s. While the settlers' religions varied in denomination and fervor, they were primarily Christian. Both Protestant and Catholic missions were founded with a primary focus on the conversion of Indigenous peoples to some strand of Christianity. The Methodist circuit riders, preachers that rode and ministered to a broad geographic region, became an iconic symbol of Oregon, so much so that a 3.5-ton bronze statue still stands in Salem (Figure 2.1).

The United State Army

The origins of the Army of the United States lie with the creation of the Continental Army in 1775 which, in turn, reflected the European roots of most of its members. Regiments, which became the fundamental organizational unit, were established, sometimes consisting of over seven hundred men at full strength. Each regiment consisted of several companies as well as a command. After the Treaty of Paris 1783, this became the basis for the United States Army organization (Millett and Maslowski 2012, 116).

The development of the army during the 19th century was defined by various conflicts on the North American continent and the ongoing expansion into the continent's west. In many ways, the United States Army helped build the west, as military engineers were often in charge of the development of roads, canals, bridges, and eventually trains in the 1830s (Millett and Maslowski 2012, 168). The Army was also very much involved in governmental relations with Indigenous people in the lands being actively settled. Treaty-making was a federal power, and the Army was in an ideal position to mediate during this process, being both an arm of the federal government and having hands-on and sustained contact with Indigenous Tribes on the western frontier.

While tension between the British and the United States over the Oregon territory was resolved peacefully, similar expansion sparked conflict in the southwest such as with the Mexican-American War. The Mexican-American War began in 1846 and was essentially a battle over Texas, an area that was briefly independent and then annexed by the U.S. in 1845. This conflict between nations saw the tempering of a generation of officers and soldiers,

including many that became notable in the Civil War fifteen years later. After the war's end in 1848, these same soldiers were dispatched west, resuming the policy of establishing forts on the western frontier, including the Forts of Hoskins and Yamhill. These new western forts were constructed for various reasons: protecting borders, overseeing trade routes, incarcerating Indigenous people, and managing relations between Euro-American and Indigenous peoples.

In examining Fort Hoskins and Fort Yamhill, it is important to understand the two military groups occupying them. During the first part of their existence, the Forts were built, maintained, and manned by U.S. Army Regulars. These soldiers were part of the standing professional army of the U.S. Government. They were professionally trained and experienced. However, after the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, all Regular troops and most officers were called or returned east to serve in the Union or Confederate armies. To replace them, command brought Volunteer regiments from California, Oregon, and Washington to operate the Forts that were still functioning (Clark 1935, viii). The men in these units were enthusiastic former civilians, often less thoroughly trained or experienced, and discipline within the volunteer regiments was harder to maintain. Many of these men signed up to participate in the Civil War, only to be stuck the backwater west, away from the action and glory. This led to a number going away without leave (AWOL) or deserting entirely (“Fort Yamhill: Preliminary Historical Archaeological Research Concerning the 1856-1866 Military Post” 1991, 27).

Fort Architecture

By the time Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins were founded, U.S. military forts were generally designed based on a consistent architectural plan, modified to fit the location. The architecture of the individual buildings might vary depending on what materials were available and local styles. For example, many forts in the southwest utilized local adobe materials. Overall, there were some broad commonalities in design. Each fort was usually centered on a parade ground, used daily for roll calls and military drills. Buildings were constructed around the parade ground. On one side were the much nicer officers' quarters with room for families, on the opposite side were the regular troops' barracks, with latrines situated behind the buildings (Hoagland 2004, 36). Other essential buildings might include the kitchen and mess hall, while some were positioned further away, such as the hospital and

laundry. A wall or palisade enclosed everything, providing a shell of protection from the outside. The location of each fort was selected carefully and sometimes highly debated. Numerous things must be considered, such as defensibility, access to supplies, location of water sources, and commonly used routes (Hoagland 2004, 23).

While strategic location was high on the list of where to position a fort and what buildings were needed, the ease of provisioning the fort was also a high priority. Fortunately, Fort Hoskins and Yamhill were within the agriculturally rich Willamette Valley. Fresh provisions could be purchased from the local settlers, including crops and meat. They also had access to the larger distribution hubs of Fort Vancouver in the north, and San Francisco in the south (Ball 2001, 92).

Uniforms

An integral element of any military organization is the uniform. While there are cultural and psychological aspects, from a purely visual standpoint the uniform identifies, unifies, and formalizes a group. Uniforms can convey several messages, such as rank, honors, and social position. The regulation of uniforms is perhaps the most obvious visual indicator of discipline so key to any military organization. Uniforms are the face of the military; they must be neat and worn a specific way to project the desired image. During the nineteenth century, the United States modeled theirs closely on European military uniforms (Cole 2007, 1).

The US army uniforms during the period that Forts Yamhill and Hoskins were active went through several changes, many of which became iconic to the period of the Civil War. In 1851 significant changes were made, colors were assigned to different branches of the army: Prussian blue for Infantry, scarlet for Artillery, orange for Dragoons (cavalry), green for Mounted Rifles, and black for Staff (officers) (Cole 2007, 19). A general service button (Figure 2.2) was standardized, manufactured in brass, and featured an embossed Bald Eagle and flag. Uniforms were further differentiated by use, formal dress uniforms for special or public-facing occasions, and casual fatigue uniforms, used for field or combat.



Figure 2.2 US issue General Service button (Minnesota Historical Society)

Between 1858 and the 1860s what became the uniform of the Union during the Civil War emerged. The black felt Army Hat with brass branch insignia, dark blue wool frock coat or uniform jackets with piping in branch colors, and the sky-blue trousers. In addition, men were issued forage caps and a four-button sack coat for fatigue or field wear, (Figure 2.3). All leather accouterments, such as belts or packs, were black, with fittings in brass or tin (Cole 2007, 23).



Fatigue, Marching Order.

Figure 2.3 Fatigue, Marching Order, c.1866 (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

The Two Oregon Forts

The reason both Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins were built lies in the Rogue River Indian Wars of 1855. As more and more Euro-American settlers encroached uninvited on Indigenous land, tensions boiled over, leading to many broken promises and much bloodshed. In 1853, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, outlined a policy that would lead to the development of reservations on the coast and the construction of the Forts (Bowyer 1991, 11). He was following some of the more liberal paternalistic trends, “saving” the Indigenous people by segregating them from white settler society.

Fort Hoskins (Figure 2.4) was located about eighteen miles northwest of Corvallis, Oregon in Benton County, above the southern end of King's Valley. This fort consisted of 17 buildings, including Officer's quarters, barracks, kitchen, bakery, guardhouse, commissary, Sutler's store, hospital, stables, blacksmith, and company store. (James 2019, 9). While smaller than Fort Yamhill, Fort Hoskins eventually became the local headquarters for both Forts, as it was closer to Salem and Corvallis where Army personnel had access to mail and supplies. Construction of the Fort began in July of 1856 when the location was selected by 2nd Lieutenant Philip Sheridan (of later Civil War fame) and Superintendent Joel Palmer. The site was examined and agreed upon by Captain Christopher Augur (Brauner and Stricker 2006, 43). Fort Hoskins was located on a bluff overlooking the Luckiamute River and centrally located between the Euro-American settlers (and their agricultural goods) and within the bounds of the reservation it would be responsible for monitoring (Bryant 2014, 7; Brauner and Stricker 2006, 45). At its peak, approximately 100 people were living at the fort. Archaeologists have designated the site as (35BE15) and it located in Fort Hoskins Historical Park, belonging to Benton County Oregon.

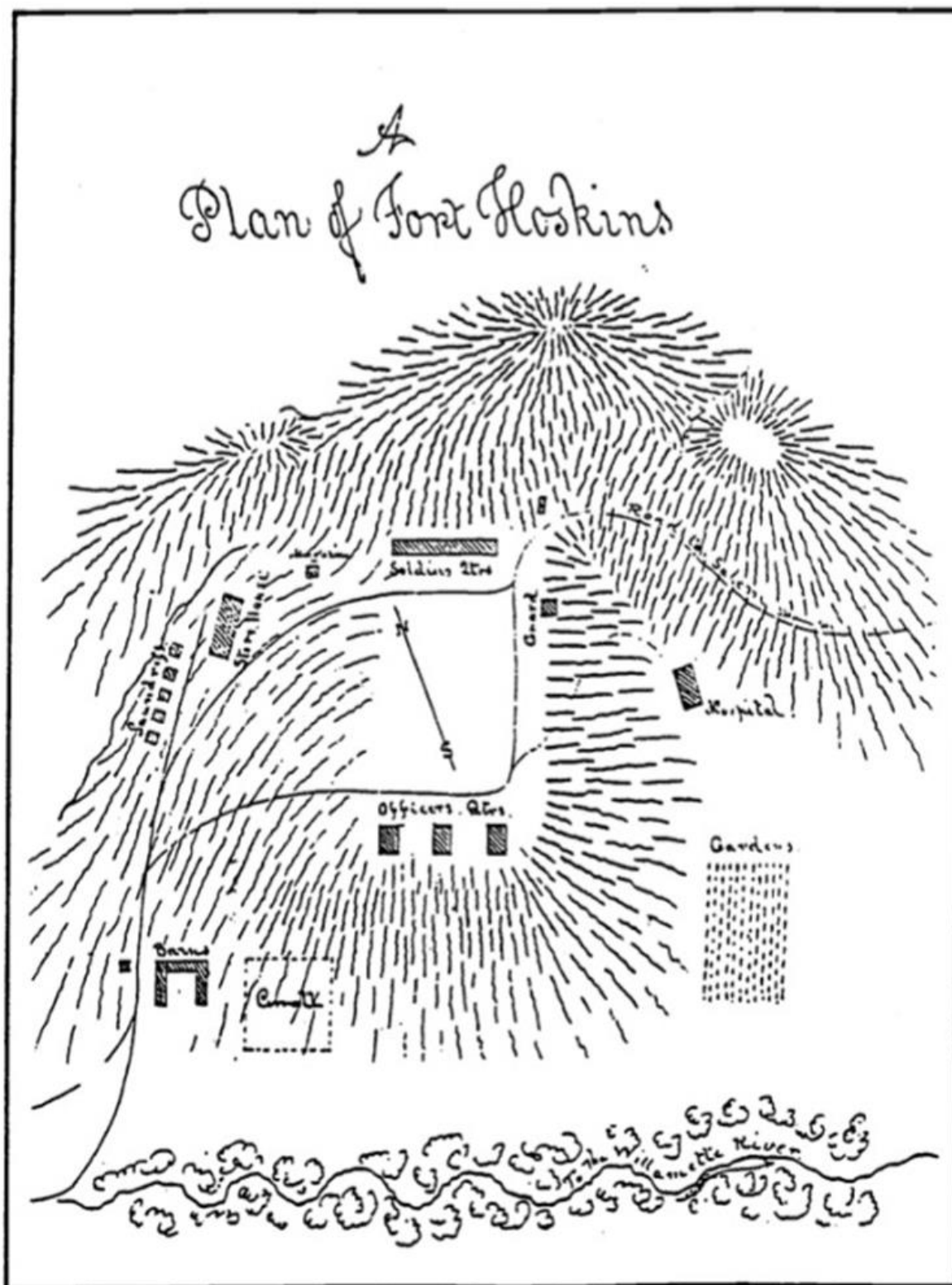


Figure 2.4 Mansfield Map (from James 2019, 7)

Fort Yamhill (Figure 2.5) was located in Polk County, Oregon near the confluence of Cosper Creek and the Yamhill River. At its height garrisoning 128 men, it faced the 1856 old road to Tillamook, on a high bluff, placing it on a key point in the trail, allowing soldiers to supervise access into and out of the newly established reservation land. The fort was composed of 24 buildings, including an adjutant's office, warehouse, guardhouse, Officer's quarters, barracks, mess hall, kitchen, bakery, laundress houses, stables, blacksmith, hospital, blockhouse, sentry box, and Sutler's store (Brauner et al. 2009, 7).

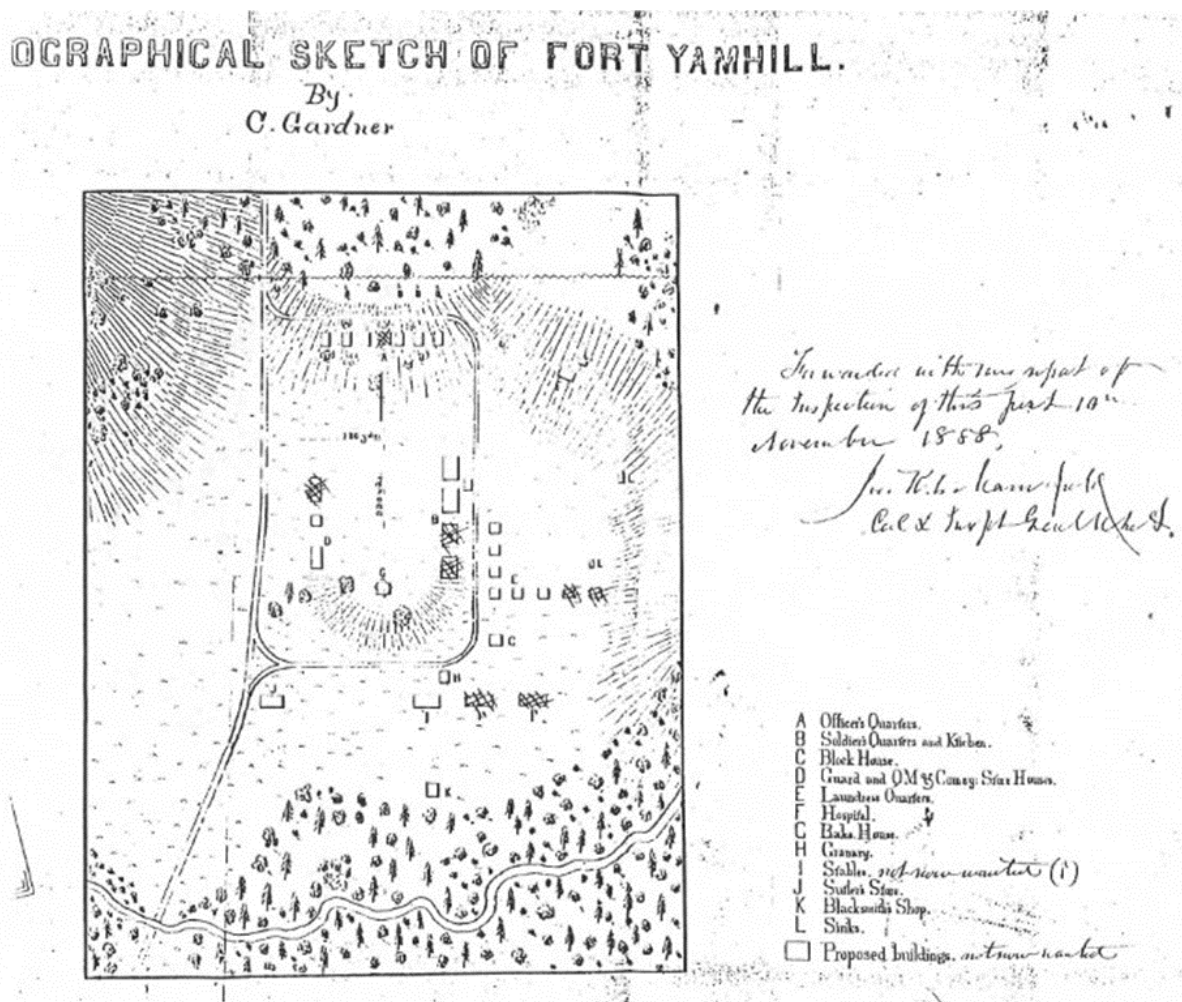


Figure 2.5 Gardner Map, c.1858 (from Adams 1991, 44)

Fort Yamhill was the larger of the two forts discussed here. Construction began in March of 1856, it was constructed on the western slope of a hill, overlooking the Yamhill River. Construction was initially supervised by 2nd Lt. William Babcock (W.B.) Hazen, Co. D 4th U.S. Infantry. In 1856, 2nd Lt. Philip H. Sheridan took over the construction. By

December 1856, it had reached 23 buildings (Eichelberger 2010, 35). By 1861, when Company "D" of the 4th Infantry California Volunteers took over, it consisted of twenty-four buildings on 40 acres of land (Brauner and Eichelberger 2009, 29).

Finally, it must be noted that approximately 10% of the OPRD Collection came from the Siletz Blockhouse, which was located on Government Hill in what is today, Siletz, OR, about 50 miles away from Fort Hoskins and over 60 miles away from Fort Yamhill. The block house was manned and administered by a detachment of troops occupying the Forts, between 1861 and 1865 this was Company "D", 4th Infantry California Volunteers, where the documents originate. No significant archaeological investigation has taken place on the site; therefore, I have no archaeological data for this location.

Chapter 3: Archaeological Context

To understand the archaeological context of Fort Yamhill and Hoskins, I drew on the work of many scholars before me, specifically David Brauner, Justin Eichelberger, Kathleen Bryant, Shane P. James, and Gary C. Bowyer (Eichelberger 2019; Bryant 2014; James 2019; Bowyer 1992). In the era of COVID-19 and having been unable to access the actual archaeological collection at Oregon State University, I would be unable to complete my research for this thesis without their work. Dr. David Brauner was a professor of Historical Archaeology at Oregon State University for three decades and was engaged in studying both Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins since the 1970s. While he led the research, it is from his students and their theses and dissertations that I draw much of the specific archaeological data (Wesseler 2017; Schablitsky 1996; Trussell 1996; Zentgraf 2018; Eichelberger 2010). As I have been unable to access the archaeological collection due to COVID restrictions, I have accessed data through secondary sources including reports, theses, and dissertations. Among these sources, I found approximately 591 individual artifacts related to clothing (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Clothing Related Artifacts

Location	Categories	Total	Source(s)
Fort Yamhill House 1	Buttons	10	<i>Dissertation Eichelberger 2019</i>
Fort Yamhill House 2	Buttons	2	
Fort Yamhill House 3	Buttons	3	
Fort Yamhill Guardhouse	Buttons	2	<i>Fort Yamhill Reports 2007-2016, Eichelberger and Brauner</i>
Fort Yamhill Warehouse	Buttons	1	
Fort Yamhill Kitchen	Buttons, Shoe heels, Buckles	37	
Fort Yamhill Bakery	Buttons, Shoe heels	3	
<i>Subtotal</i>		58	
Fort Hoskins 1976-77 Catalog	Clothing/Misc	184	<i>Thesis Bowyer 1993</i>
Fort Hoskins House 1	Buttons	14	<i>Dissertation Eichelberger 2019</i>
Fort Hoskins House 2	Buttons	3	
Fort Hoskins House 3	Buttons	6	
Fort Hoskins Shane 2019 Thesis	Buttons, Buckles	326	<i>Thesis Shane 2019</i>
<i>Subtotal</i>		533	
<i>Total</i>		591	

Fort Hoskins

The archaeological investigations of Fort Hoskins began several decades before those of Fort Yamhill, the first field seasons taking place between 1976-1977 headed by Dr. David Brauner of Oregon State University. The first fieldwork focused on testing, aiming to get an idea of the general layout, where buildings were located, and the integrity of the archaeological deposits. Two more field seasons took place in 1993 and 1994, focusing specifically on the location of the fort hospital. Altogether the archaeological exploration of Fort Hoskins recovered approximately 15,625 artifacts. Both archaeological collections and catalogs are currently housed at the Pacific Slope Archaeological Laboratory at Oregon State University.

Fort Yamhill

Archaeological investigations have been going on at Fort Yamhill (35P075) since 1991. The first work was undertaken as part of a feasibility study to determine whether the fort's remains would make an appropriate interpretive park. Oregon Parks and Recreation owns the land, though it is adjacent to land belonging to the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon. The OPRD is currently working on an agreement with the Grand Ronde that allows them to manage the property while legislation is worked on that will allow the state to return the land to the Tribe (N. J. Nelson, personal communication 2022).

At least nine excavations have been done at Fort Yamhill, all by Oregon State University (OSU). While a preliminary survey was done for the feasibility study in 1991, archaeological excavations began in 2004. Oregon State University conducted two surveys to mitigate construction activity that would take place on-site. Archaeological fieldwork continued through 2009, then again in 2011 and 2013. Areas of focus included the company kitchen, bakery, and Officer's Row (Brauner and Eichelberger 2009).

Between 2006 and 2016 approximately 40,000 artifacts were recovered of which approximately 58 are related to clothing. This collection is currently housed at the Pacific Slope Archaeological Laboratory at Oregon State University. As with the Fort Hoskins materials, I have been unable to access the artifacts and their corresponding catalogs in person due to COVID-19 closures. My research is solely from the data found in the reports,

thesis, and dissertations relating to Fort Yamhill, primarily from Dr. Justin Eichelberger's dissertation (2019) and Shane P. James, MA thesis (2019). Subsequently, Eichelberger (2019) and James (2019) provides much insight into the archaeological materials recovered from Fort Yamhill.

Chapter 4: Analysis

The collection digitized for the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD) consists of 535 historic documents, most from between the fall of 1861 and the winter of 1865. As mentioned earlier, the documents were donated to the OPRD in 2017 by a local Harrisburg, Oregon resident. The documents are associated with Fort Hoskins, Fort Yamhill, and the Siletz Blockhouse. In turn, the Confederated Tribes of The Grand Ronde and Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians expressed an interest in the origins and subject matter of the documents, making it an ideal collection to make accessible for tribal research. I was introduced to the project by Nancy Nelson, the OPRD Archaeologist. Together, we wrote up a proposal to photograph and digitize the documents. Digitization took place winter of 2020 and 2021, each side of each document was photographed, as well as digitally scanned if possible. A cataloging system was developed and embedded into the generated files. The physical documents continue to be housed in OPRD's archives and plans are underway to make the digital scans available online.

Documents

Between 1861 and 1865 both Forts were manned by Company "D", 4th Infantry California Volunteers. The documents are primarily administrative, accounting for quarterly spending and allocating resources such as food stores, clothing, and other supplies.

Many are signed by 1st Lieutenant James Garden (Figure 4.1), who served as the Quartermaster during the time the company was stationed at the forts. Over 90% are associated with him in some way, particularly letters sent to him.

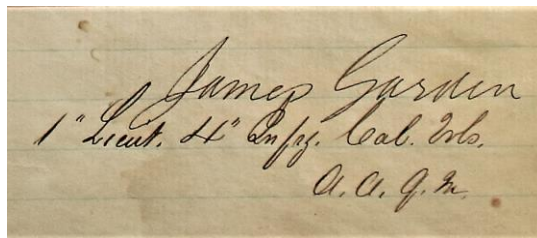

 A photograph of a handwritten signature on aged, yellowed paper. The signature is written in cursive and reads "James Garden". Below the name, it says "1st Lieut. 4th Calif. Vol." and "O. C. G. Co." at the bottom right.

Figure 4.1 James Garden's Signature (OPRD Collection, FH2.2.37c)

He was arrested on February 6th, 1864, for conduct unbecoming an officer. He was threatened with court-martial and resigned ten days later (Bensell, 1954., 122-124). It is unclear what events prompted this disciplinary action, but from the documents and letters, it

was most likely that some issues were raised about his accounting. It is suggested that the existence of the collection itself has something to do with Garden's resignation and may have even been in his possession at some point. The OPRD collection has thirteen letters dated after his resignation in February of 1864, eight from the remainder of the year, four dated 1865, and one from 1866.

The types of primary source documentation available for Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins are naturally limited to those relating to military activity between the years 1861 to 1865. Consistent administration of records was a part of day-to-day activities at the Fort, often done by one of the officers and their staff. Many of the documents are marked as triplicates and it is unknown if that was necessarily the complete set. Additionally physical damage has obscured or destroyed some of the data. Prior to the digitization project the documents digitized had been sorted into 11 types (Table 4.1). Some items fall between categories, in these cases priority was given to the category initially assigned. They primarily list items coming to or leaving the fort, including clothes, food, and other supplies necessary for a functioning and garrisoned fort.

Table 4.1 Document Categories

Category	
Abstract	<i>Summary of items distributed during a quarter, attached to a return</i>
Estimate	<i>Estimate of cost of supplies, related to quarterly budgeting</i>
Letter	<i>Communications; both internal within the Army structure and external with vendors of goods</i>
List	<i>List of items requested or received, attached to vouchers or letters</i>
Proceedings	<i>Record of court martial proceedings</i>
Report	<i>Record of supplies received, issued, and unaccounted for</i>
Requisition	<i>Record of supplies required and their amount</i>
Resignation	<i>Order regarding the resignation of 1st Lt. James Garden</i>
Return	<i>Table of supply inventory including supplies on hand, issued, and goods to account for</i>
Roll	<i>Table of individuals and supplies issued to them</i>
Voucher	<i>List of supplies received and their cost, much like an invoice or receipt</i>

Most of the documented supplies were of common military issue, communication of what items were needed (and how many) was done via the command structure. Between

1861 and 1865, Forts Hoskins and Yamhill belonged to the District of Oregon, headquartered at Fort Vancouver. It was subordinate to the Pacific Department, centered in San Francisco. Many of the letters, including those that do not reference clothing in their text, refer to Fort Vancouver, the Department Headquarters in San Francisco, and even Washington D.C. Throughout the Civil War, a line of communication and standardized supplies existed, an unbroken network across, and around, the United States.

Of the 535 documents digitized, 22 referenced clothing in their text. Most of the documents were associated with Fort Hoskins (Table 4.2). The documents mentioning clothing were from five categories noted in table 4.1: returns, lists, vouchers, letters, and a single requisition (Table 4.3). Over 60% of the clothing-related documents are dated 1863 (Table 4.4), the most common date for all documents in the collection.

Table 4.2 Documents by Location

Location	Total	Clothing
Yamhill	398	14
Hoskins	38	3
Siletz Blockhouse	47	5
Unknown	18	---

Table 4.3 Documents by Type

Type	Total	Clothing
Abstract	143	---
Estimate	14	---
Letter	99	4
List	31	6
Proceedings	3	---
Report	17	---
Requisition	56	1
Resignation	1	---
Return	38	8
Roll	14	---
Voucher	115	3

Table 4.4 Documents by Year

Year	Total	Clothing
1861	60	3
1862	11	1
1863	381	14
1864	62	2
1865	4	---
Unknown	13	2

Return of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipment received and used at Fort Hoskins Oregon.

When received	No of Vouchers	Of Whom Received	Clothing										Great Coat											
			Uniform Hats	Bugles	Eagles	Cords & Falds	Ostrich Feathers	Forage Caps	N. C. Staff	Chevyons	1st Sergs	2d Sergs		Coats	Private Musicians	Sergts	Private Sergts	Corporals	Trouse	Flannel Shirts	Drawers	Bootes	Stockings	Leather Coats
June 1st		On hand per last return	128	128	38	78	116	25	1	3	1	2	10	122	29	174	114	134	76	203	278	73	95	408
		Total to be accounted for	128	128	38	78	116	25	1	3	1	2	10	122	29	174	114	134	76	203	278	73	95	408
June 30th	1	To Whom Issued Capt. L. S. Scott Comd. "D" Company, 4th, c. v.						2	1					3										
		Total Issued	128	128	38	78	116	23	1	2	1	2	10	119	29	174	102	112	21	157	251	73	95	408
		On hand to be accounted for																						

Return of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipment received and used at Fort Hoskins Oregon

Clothing

Figure 4.2 Return, June 1863, added transcription (OPRD Collection, FH1.6.15b)

Eight of the 22 documents were Returns (Figure 4.2). Returns were tables accounting for inventory, including how many supplies had been received, issued, or transferred. The quarterly Returns that include clothing also list Camp and Garrison Equipage, and books. A little under 40% of the items listed in the Returns are clothing, the remaining are camp and garrison equipment. Equipment (Table 4.5) includes anything from personal (blankets, canteens, and bed sacks), to cookware (kettles, pans, and pots), tools (axes, hatchets, spades), and musical instruments (drums). The last category listed in the return is books and is the smallest, including administrative books. Interestingly, knapsacks and haversacks are listed separately instead of grouped, as are axes and hatchets.

Table 4.5 Equipment & Books Listed in Documents

Equipment	
Tent	<i>Common tent poles, Wall tent poles, Hospital tent pins</i>
Cooking	<i>Kettles, Pans, Pots (iron)</i>
Tools	<i>Spades, Axes, Axe handles, Hatchets, Hatchet handles, Pickaxes, Pickaxe handles</i>
Flags	<i>Garrison flags, Garrison flag hallards, Storm flags</i>
Personal	<i>Haversacks, Knapsacks, Canteens & straps</i>
Bedding	<i>Blankets, bedding sacks (single)</i>
Musical Instruments	<i>Complete Drums, Drum heads/batters, Drum slings, Drum sticks (pair)</i>
Books	
	<i>Post Order books, Morning Report books, Clothing Account books, Descriptive books</i>

Clothing (Table 4.6). has been assigned categories by item use. General refers to clothing with no apparent indications of whether it belonged to dress uniforms or fatigues, quite possibly both. This category includes trousers, boots, and flannel shirts. Undergarments include both drawers (Figure 4.3) and stockings. Fatigues include forage caps and sack coats, both of which were issued as a part of the fatigue uniform (Figure 4.4).

Table 4.6 Clothing Listed in Documents

Clothing	
General	<i>Trousers (pair), boots (pair), flannel shirts</i>
Undergarments	<i>Drawers (pair), stockings (pair)</i>
Fatigues	<i>Forage caps, Flannel sack coats</i>
Uniform	<i>Uniform hats, leather stocks</i>
Coats	<i>Sergeants, Musicians, and Privates</i>
Great Coats	<i>Infantry, Dragoon, coat straps</i>
Decoration	<i>Ostrich feathers, Eagles, Bugles (for hats), Coards & Fafuels, Corporal's lace, Thread</i>
Metallic Scales	<i>Sergeants, Corporals, Privates</i>
Chevrons	<i>N.C. Staff, Sergeants, 1st Sergeants</i>



Figure 4.3 Drawers c.1825-1850 (Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Figure 4.4 Army Sack Coat, Model 1858 (National Museum of American History)

The rest of the items mentioned in the documents fall under Uniform classification. They include hats and their insignia (feathers, eagles, and bugles), coats, great coats, and their associated insignia (cord, lace, and scales), and leather stocks (for uniform collars). There are two types of coats accounted for, uniform coats and greatcoats.

Lists (Figure 4.5) were the second most common type of document I examined. Lists were requests for specific numbers of items or lists of items received. In the lists, there is the most variance in terminology. For instance, trousers referred to as pants, and shirts listed with greater or less specificity. This difference in terms is possibly due to the less formal

nature of the list, or the various individuals writing them. Of note, some lists also mention blouses, shoes, socks, and undershirts, these are either not accounted for in the more extended returns or are grouped under a larger label.



List of Clothing Issued to Hospital Steward Edward Colmache during the 1st Quarter 1862

<i>List of Clothing Issued to Hospital Steward Edward Colmache during the 1st Quarter 1862</i>		
1	Forage Cap	63
1	Pair Trousers	3 3
3	Flannel Shirts Each 88 cts	2 64
3	Pair of Drawers	1 50
2	" " Stockings	26
1	Great Coat & Cape	7 20
		\$ 15 25

Figure 4.5 List, 1862, added transcription (OPRD Collection, FH1.2.7b)

Vouchers (Figure 4.6), of which there are three referencing clothing, are acknowledgments of items received (in this context voucher is synonymous with invoice). The quantity of items ranges from 855 in November 1861, (presumably when the company was settling in and getting supplies inventoried and ordered) to 100 in December of 1863 (as they restocked loss from breakage and items issued). These were all received by Lieutenant James Garden on the following dates: November 12th, 1861; December 31st, 1861, and December 1st, 1863.

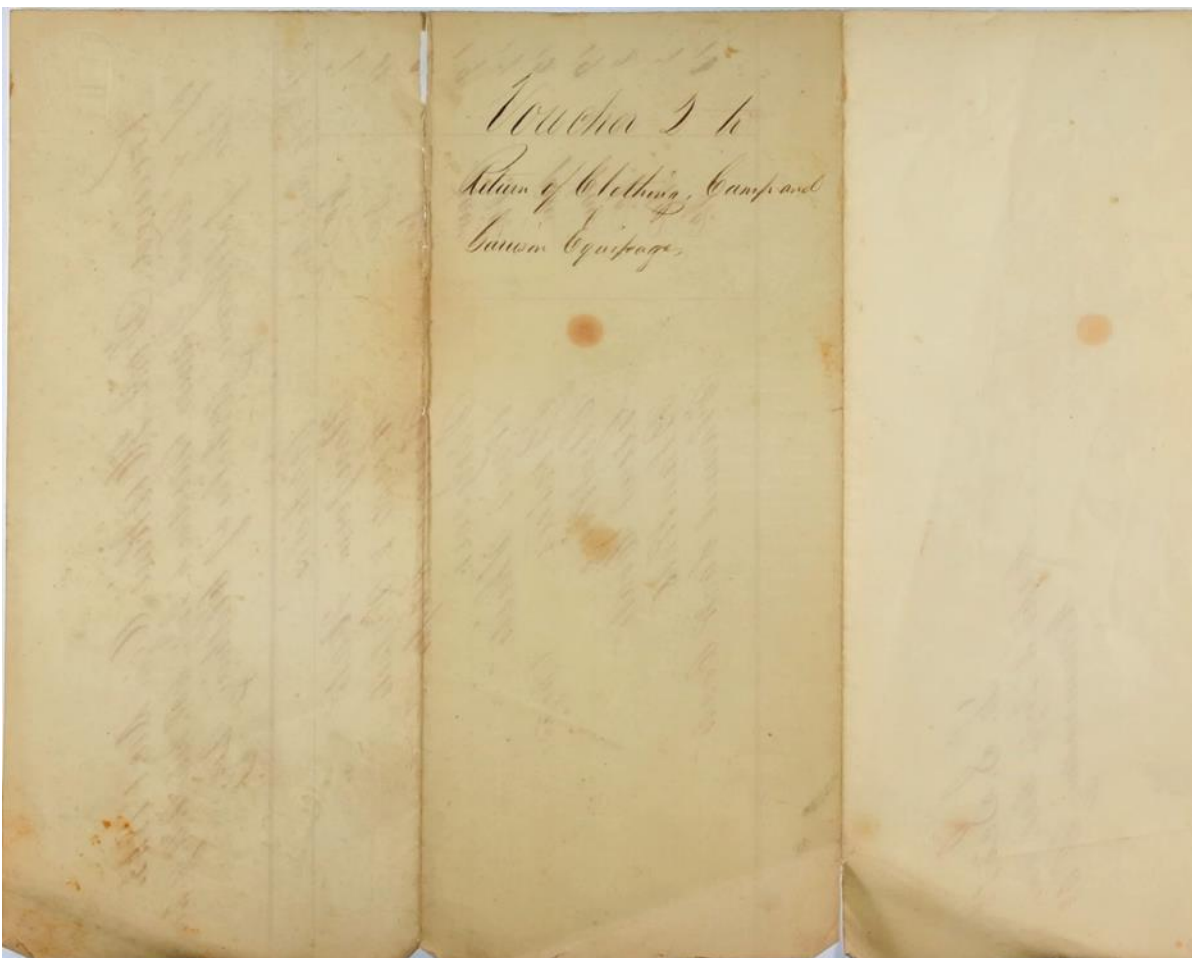


Figure 4.6 Voucher, Dec 1863 (OPRD Collection, FH2.5.33a)

The single Requisition (Figure 4.7) comes from the Siletz Blockhouse and Siletz Agency. It was located on a site now called Government hill and was manned and operated by a detachment of men from Fort Hoskins. It was at this prison where Indigenous people were held for committing minor crimes or infractions, or if they were considered to have a troublesome influence on the greater Indigenous population. Dated May of 1863, it lists members of the detachment who were issued clothing, what kinds, and how many. There are 17 soldiers listed, two corporals, and 15 privates. Forty-nine items were issued, including 19 pairs of drawers. One of these men, Private John “Pike” Hunsucker, Company “D” of the 4th Infantry California Volunteers, is the great-great grandfather of Robert Kentta, Cultural Resources Director of the Cultural Resource Department of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians. He and a Private Jaquan who is also listed, both have military headstones in Newport, Oregon (Robert Kentta, personal communication 2022).

Requisition for Clothing for the Detachment
at the Block House on Sibley River for the
month of May 1863

Names	Fatigue coats	Pants	Shirts	Drawers	Shoes	Stocks	Remarks
Capt Dunn ✓	1	"	"	"	1	"	Shoes No 8 Sewed or none
Pvt Baker ✓	1	"	"	2	1	"	Do " 8
" Cook ✓	"	"	"	"	1	2	2 " 6
" Hammond ✓	1	0	"	2	"	"	Jacket No 1 Pants small
" Howell ✓	1	"	"	2	"	"	Do " 2
" Howard ✓	0	"	"	2	1	2	Shoes No 8
" Kunsucker ✓	1	"	"	2	"	"	Jacket No 1
" Jagan ✓	1	"	2	"	1	"	Do " 1 Shoes No 6
" Kaiser ✓	"	"	"	2	"	2	"
" Lemercier ✓	"	"	1	"	1	2	Shoes No 7
" Mc Carthy ✓	1	"	"	"	"	"	Jacket No 2
" Parlin ✓	1	"	1	2	"	"	2 " "
" Tucker ✓	1	0	"	2	1	"	Shoes & Pants 32x34
" Tustin ✓	0	0	"	0	0	"	"
" Wright ✓	"	"	"	1	1	"	Shoes No 8
" Snow ✓	"	0	"	2	"	"	Pants 32x34
Capt Welch ✓	"	"	"	"	1	"	Shoes No 6
Total	9	1	11	19	9	8	

Approved

St. Louis Herje
Commanding Blockhouse

Figure 4.7 Requisition, May 1863 (OPRD Collection, SB3.2.8a)

Apt. Quartermaster Office
San Francisco, 3rd Apl '63

Sir:

Enclosed herewith please find
Triplicate Invoices and "Pkg. Memo"
Of articles this day shipped to your
address care Capt. Hopkins, a.g.m
Ft. Vancouver per dtr Bro. Jonathan.
When received please forward
To this office corresponding receipt.
Very Respectfully,
Your---Sert
R.L. Agdew
Capt. V.A.Q.M.W.A
per Edm Cahill
Clerk

To
Lt. H.E. Funk
1st Infy W.T.U.
A.A.G.M
Fort Hoskins
Oregon

Apt. Quartermaster Office
San Francisco, 3rd Apl '63

Sir:

Enclosed herewith please find
Duplicate Invoices and "Pkg. Memo"
of articles this day shipped to your
address care Capt. Hopkins, a.g.m.
Ft. Vancouver, per dtr Bro. Jonathan.
When received please forward
to this office corresponding receipt.
Very Respectfully
Your Sert
R. L. Agdew
Capt. V.A.Q.M.W.A.
per Edm Cahill
Clerk

Lt. H.E. Funk
1st Infy. W.T.U.
A. A. G. M.
Fort Hoskins }
Oregon }

Figure 4.8 Letter, April 1863, added transcription (OPRD Collection FH1.4.8b)

The letters (Figure 4.8), of which there are four, chronicle a journey of three boxes of clothing from San Francisco to Fort Vancouver, to Corvallis, Oregon, to Fort Hoskins in the spring of 1863, where Lieutenant James Garden eventually received them. The letters are the most difficult to decipher of all the documents, and the writing was done quickly, focusing more on the communication of thought rather than legibility.

In all, clothing is referenced 140 times in the 22 clothing-related documents identified (Table 4.7). No category of item is mentioned in all 22, and no item at all is mentioned by name in the four letters beyond "three boxes of clothing". In the interest of conciseness, I have included mentions of shoes with boots, undershirts with shirts, and socks with stockings. I have averaged the number typically present in the inventories taken in the Returns, bringing the total average of clothing supplies stocked to 1,269. Of all the items mentioned, stockings and boots are the most commonly issued and have the highest stock. In contrast, coats and uniform hats had a high number in inventory but were rarely issued (Figure 4.9).

Table 4.7 Clothing References in Documents

Item	Mentions	Issued Avg.	Inventory Avg.
Coats	7	3	131
Leather Stocks	9	2	73
Sack Coats	10	13	100
Great Coats	11	2	95
Uniform Hats	13	7	122
Forage Caps	14	6	30
Trousers	14	12	113
Drawers	15	21	58
Shirts	15	21	131
Boots	16	37	185
Stockings	16	28	231

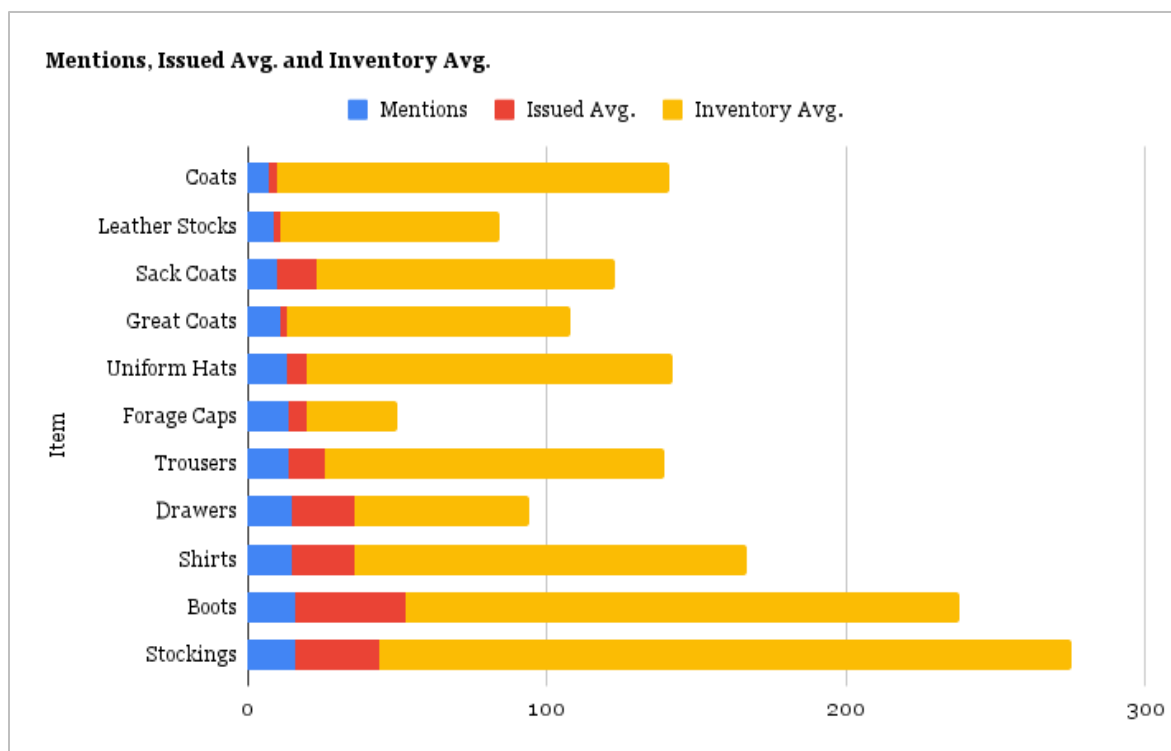


Figure 4.9 Chart of Item Mentions, Avg. Issued, and Avg. Inventory

Archaeological Data

Thanks to the detailed tables in Eichelberger (2019), data analysis for this research occurred in regard to clothing-related artifacts despite being unable to access the archaeological collection in person. In this section, artifacts are described by type and generally separated by military and civilian. In addition to clothing-related artifacts, adjustment to this research included related items such as canteens, and knapsacks, as these were included in the garrison equipage portion of the Reports and would feature articles such as buckles and straps.

According to the data, 243 artifacts relevant to this thesis were recovered. Of these over 80% were buttons, the rest being headwear, insignia, remnants of shoes or boots, and other clothing fasteners. Of the 204 buttons recovered, 11.3% (23) were military and thus could have belonged to garments mentioned in the documents. These buttons fall into two categories, large (11) which were used to fasten the front of jackets and coats, and smaller (12) for cuffs, vests, and straps (Eichelberger 2019, 222).

Company "D", 4th Infantry California Volunteers garrisoned the Forts from 1861 to 1865, while the Forts were active since 1856. Of the 23, 20 buttons were identified: 2 military academy, 1 infantry, 3 dragoon, 6 artillery, and 8 general service. While 23 buttons were identified as military, none can be directly traced to the documents. Of particular interest is the dragoon button, which was recovered at Fort Hoskins, as no company of dragoons was ever stationed there and none of the men had ever served with the dragoons. However, Company C, 1st United States Dragoons was stationed at Fort Yamhill from 1856-1857.

Additionally, in the documents I digitized, one dragoon great coat was issued at Fort Yamhill in November 1863 (Figure 4.10)

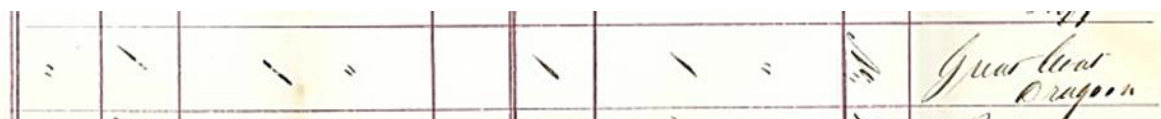


Figure 4.10 Entry for Dragoon Great Coat (OPRD Collection, FY3.9.36b)

Research shows that no record of the officers stationed there having served in the dragoons. The three remaining indeterminate buttons are small and marked with maker marks consistent with military suppliers (Eichelberger 2019, 222).

The 181 buttons not of the military type are of a greater variety, including materials such as glass, ceramic, leather, shell, etcetera. In his appendices, Eichelberger (2019) further separates civilian buttons into two categories, shanked and sew-through (Figure 4.11).



Figure 4.11 Illustration of Shanked and Sew-through buttons

Fifty-two of the buttons recovered are shanked, most ornamented: gilded, inlaid, or covered with fabric or leather (Figure 4.12). 13.5% (7) are generic or plain enough that they could have belonged to military-issued clothing, these are made of iron, or in one case, bone. The remaining 45 are ornamented enough to certainly be civilian, as any ornamented military button would follow regulation. Any ornamentation differing from the standard would have stood out enough to be against regulation.



Figure 4.12 Shanked Buttons (from Eichelberger 2019, 605)

Sew-through buttons (Figure 4.13) represented the most significant percentage of civilian buttons recovered, 71.3% (129). As with the shanked buttons, these are made of a large variety of materials, including shell, pewter, bone, and ceramic or prosser. Of those recovered, 83.7% (108) are generic enough to have belonged to non-uniform garments

issued, such as shirts, drawers, or pants. Of particular interest are the recovered 82 plain white prosser buttons, as these certainly would have been on undergarments such as shirts, undershirts, and drawers.

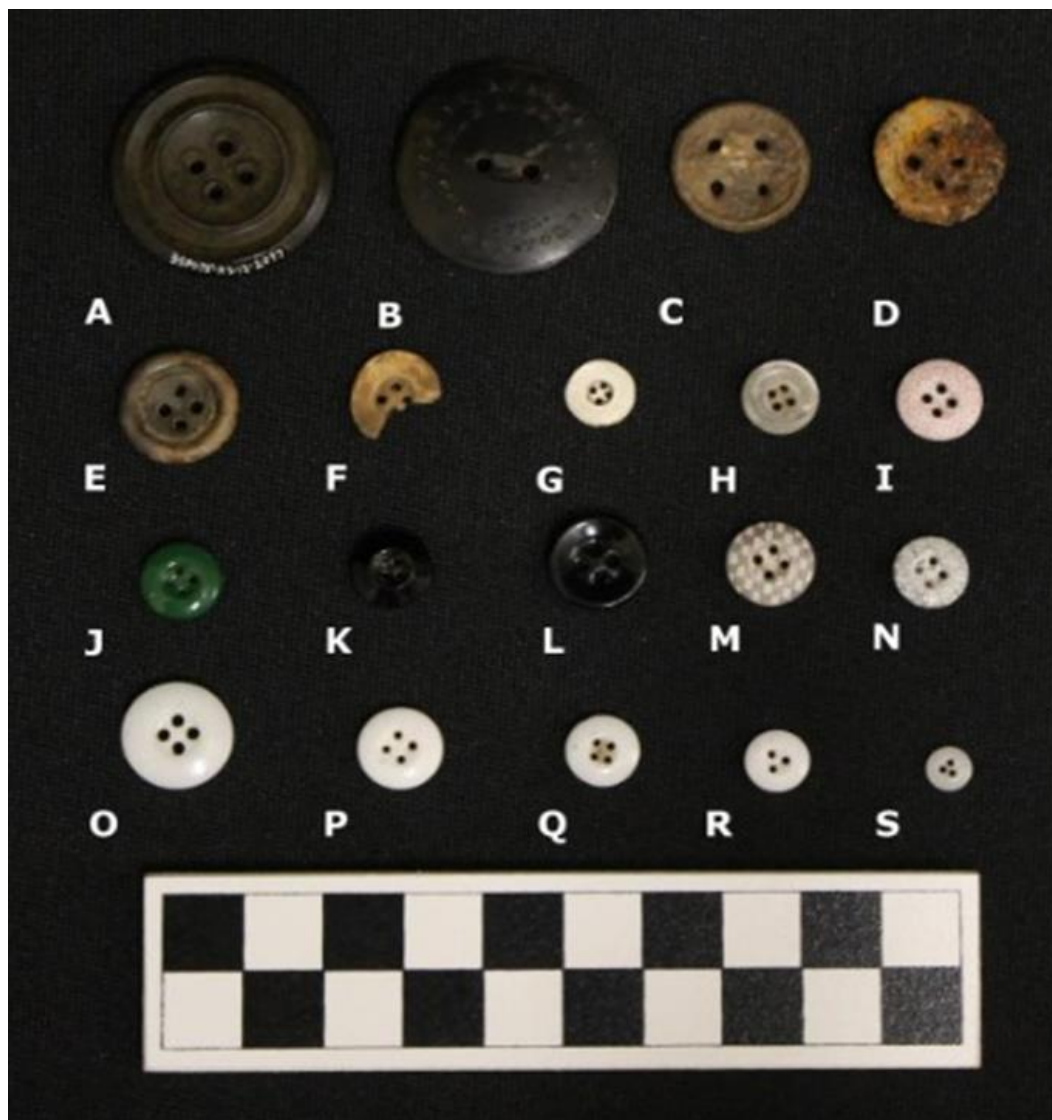


Figure 4.13 Sew-through Buttons (from Eichelberger 2019, 608)

In addition to buttons, 20 other clothing fasteners were discovered in the excavations at the two Forts. Some, such as the single corset busk discovered, certainly do not relate to the documents examined but warrant discussion later. Others (Figure 4.14), aglets, and hook-and-eyes could have belonged to either military or civilian clothing. Aglets were used for shoe or boot laces, as well as any garment lacing which some drawer patterns of the period feature. Hook-and-eyes also feature in some drawer patterns and were ubiquitous, featured on

both male and female garments. Both drawers and boots are mentioned by name within the document collection.

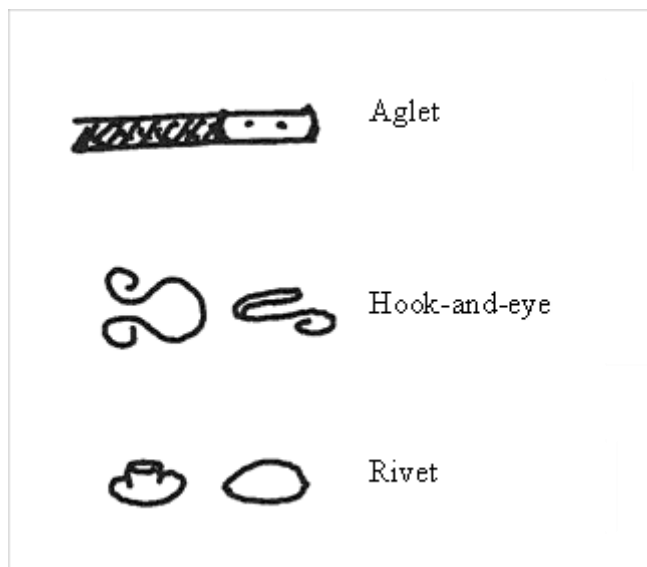


Figure 4.14 Illustration of Closures

Buckles (Figure 4.15) are also within the clothing fastener category and constitute 50% of the artifacts analyzed. While buckles are not mentioned directly within the document collection, items on which they featured were, such as canteens, or knapsacks. Decorative buckles, made with high-quality materials, no doubt belonged to a civilian garment, while others may or may not have. While some of these are made of brass, commonly used by the military, the designs are highly ornamented and indicate nonmilitary origins. One artifact, the only belt buckle, might have been worn with either military or civilian pants. The other nine artifacts include four suspender buckles and five slider buckles and are also indeterminate as suspenders were worn with both civilian and military clothing. Furthermore, the slider buckles might not have belonged to a garment, and instead have been on equipment or gear straps.

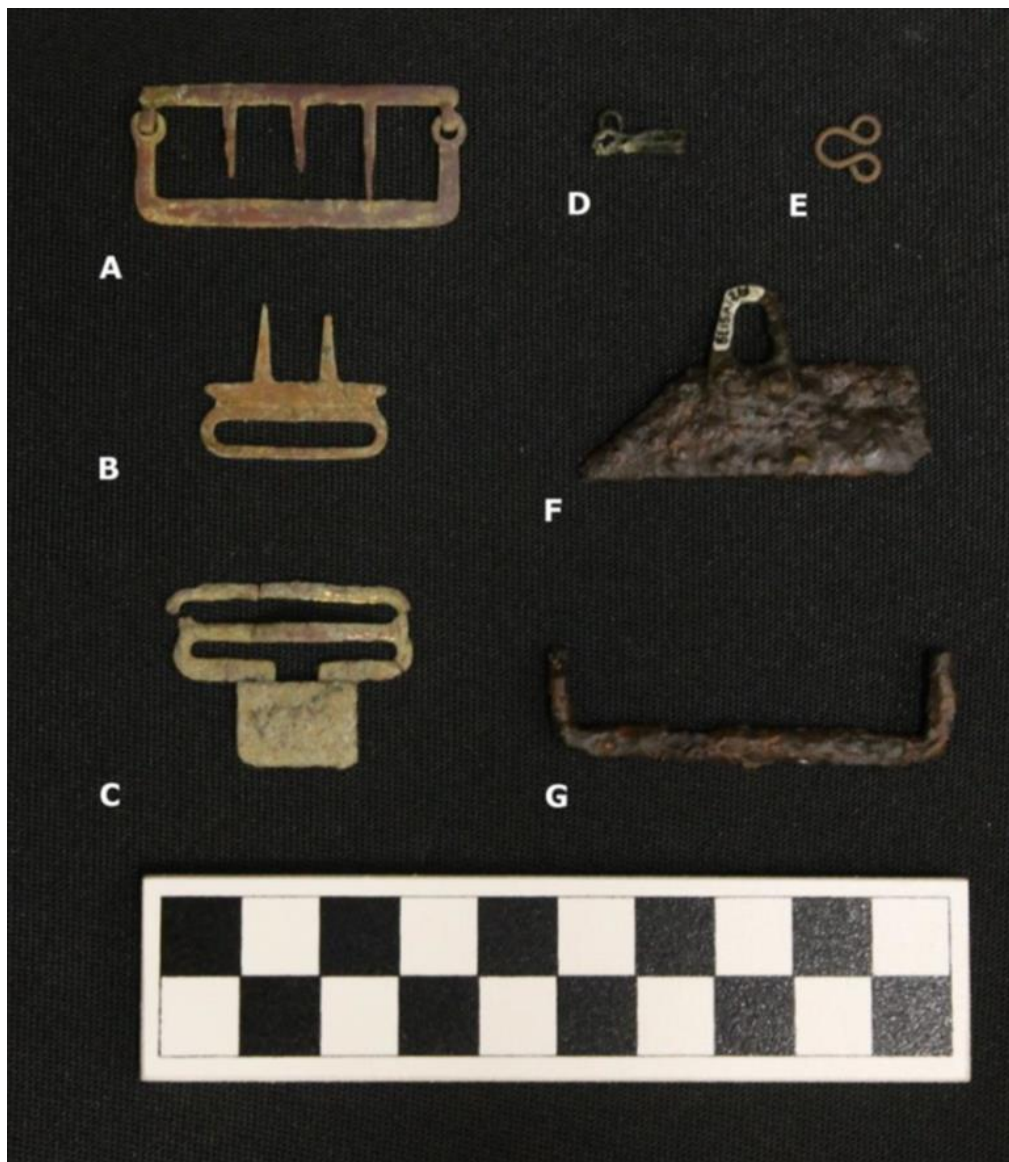


Figure 4.15 Buckles and other closures (from Eichelberger 2019, 611)

Two of the relevant artifacts belonged to headgear, both being Shako chin straps (Figure 4.16). The Shako, also known as the Albert Hat, is a tall, cylindrical hat, often tapered downwards and decorated with various insignia and ornamentation (Eichelberger 2019, 223). Officers and enlisted members of the Army would have worn these.



Figure 4.16 Charleston Light Infantry Cap, 1860 (National Museum of American History)

In addition to the leather chin strap remnants, three insignia were recovered (Figure 4.17). Insignia were specifically identified in the document collection, including type and rank. Any of these could have been worn on the front of a Shako cap.

Due to their nature, they are relatively easy to trace to a group. A number '2' a Company Letter, and Regiment Number could not have belonged to any items issued in the documents. The letter, a G recovered from Fort Hoskins, likely belonged to a member of the first company assigned to Fort Hoskins, Company "G" of the 4th United States Infantry, who garrisoned the Fort from July 1856 to July 1861 (Eichelberger 2019, 63). The Regiment Number, also recovered at Fort Hoskins was identified as either a 6 or a 9. This number could have belonged to Company "B" of the 9th United States Infantry, which occupied Fort Hoskins between June 1861-October 1861.

The third item is an infantry branch insignia that fell out of regulation in 1851. Therefore, these artifacts were likely deposited by a company garrisoning the Forts prior to Company "D" of the 4th Infantry California Volunteers occupying the forts or belonged to a volunteer company member who had served the regular army prior. A third, less likely possibility exists that either item was a part of an older garment repurposed and redistributed as military issue again. While this certainly could happen, and likely did with more generic

items of clothing, I suspect that any insignia or other ornamentation would be removed at some point during the process.



Figure 4.17 Military buttons & Insignia (from Eichelberger 2019, 566)

There were 10 remnants of boots or shoes recovered from both Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins. These consist of leather and metal fragments, the remainder of a sole, toe or heel plates, and grommets (Eichelberger 2019, 224). Like the non-military buttons, there is no way to associate these items with those ordered by the military and could have been military issue or civilian purchases. Of these artifacts, six can be ruled out as they were of a size belonging to women or children. These individuals did not receive a uniform and are practically invisible in the document collection. Two others boots or shoes were indeterminate and of unknown size. Finally, the last two were identified as men's shoes or boots and could have been issued when Company "D" garrisoned the Forts.

The last category, accouterments, is perhaps the most difficult to define. These are the artifacts, that while not clothing, were listed among the documents I examined. Of these five items, three were pieces of canteens, specifically the chain and stoppers. These items saw little to no change over the decade or so the forts were active, and therefore could have been some of the products recorded in the documents examined. One artifact is the triangle loop to a knapsack, an item listed in Returns. The last item, another buckle was identified as a buckle of a cartridge box, something not listed within the documents yet something that certainly was military. It is suggested that this item would be included within arms and ammunition administrative documents, and none are present in the digitized collection.

Discussion

To return the original question asked in this thesis, the relationship between archaeological and documentary data, contrast offers a rich if narrow picture of the Forts. Taken together, the documents and archaeological record answers some questions, while also bringing to light many more. In some cases, it provides some great detail, in bringing forward items to look for in the archaeological record and presenting the categories they used which in some ways differ from the archaeological classifications. On the other, they miss entire swaths of the story, the nonmilitary workers, such as the laundresses, laborers, and guides, and of course the Indigenous people who might have held those positions as well. The documents themselves are limited even in a military context. Items like ammunition boxes are nowhere recorded in the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD) Collection, though records must have been kept. Of note are the following points.

Firstly, there is corroboration between the two datasets in many places. Documents describe items ordered such as, uniforms, shirts, belts, and trousers. This is demonstrated in an archaeological context with the recovered artifacts: buttons from uniforms, and generic buttons from shirts or trousers. While no direct correlation can be proven, it is likely that some artifacts are related to items issued. The same thing is notable in the accoutrements mentioned such as buckles from belts and knapsacks and the fragments of canteens routinely issued. These two examples demonstrate consistency between both the archaeological and documentary datasets.

On the other hand, there are areas where contrasting the archaeological data reveals large gaps in the documentary data. A prime example of this is the presence of women at the

forts. The firsthand diaries mention many women, both Indigenous, and settler. The archaeological record provides physical proof of this in the artifacts recovered, even when restricted to clothing. However, women are hidden, if not invisible in the OPRD collection. There is no mention of women's clothing, and only in the complete collection can some references be gleaned. This absence is also notable when considering the presence of the thousands of Indigenous peoples the Forts oversaw. Little to nothing is mentioned in the documents, while they are prominently present in the contemporary journals, and continue to live in the lands the forts oversaw. Any references present, both for women and for the Indigenous people, are all in documents referring to the Siletz Blockhouse, a prison.

As we continue to examine the archaeological data, other issues become evident not visible within the document collection. Artifacts such as decorative, non-military buttons indicate a life at the fort outside military duties. This is something Justin Eichelberger explores in his 2019 dissertation in great detail. Building upon this, it was also interesting to note the dragoon button excavated at Fort Hoskins. This could provide strong physical evidence for the interactions between Fort Hoskins and Fort Yamhill prior to the years the OPRD Collection was created. Alternatively, the button could indicate the repurposing of gear and materials. The recycling of garments and other materials was a common practice, done by young and old, as documented in Nathan May's 2018 thesis on Fort Boise. The above inconsistencies reveal a few of the many interpretive complexities present between artifacts and documentary texts. I recognize that addressing these gaps in the story would require much additional study, and I hope that this work highlights future lines of inquiries for researchers I have outline some in the Appendix of this thesis.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Throughout this research process comparing and contrasting the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD) Collection with the archaeological data, some questions have been answered, while far more emerge. In a very real sense, the historical documents are themselves artifacts of their time, and while they provide more context by holding the written record, this can limit their use from an archaeological standpoint. They provide a barebones framework from which to approach the archaeological story, names, items, prices paid and received, yet this is inherently limited by the act of recording. Just as in the archaeological record, we can never expect to recover 100% of the artifacts left behind, we cannot expect to be able to view the whole story of a place just on a small set of administrative documents.

Putting aside the documents for a moment, if we focus just on the archaeological items recovered, we are inundated with a wealth of information to analyze. Buttons alone have produced many a paper, as researchers explore where and how they were made, what they were used for and by whom, and especially how they got from point “a” to point “b”. It would be particularly interesting to see if it is possible to track where the artifacts in this thesis originated, and how they might have been supplied. Nathan May’s thesis brings up the idea of old items getting repurposed and reused, if we apply this to a larger military fort context, what will we find? Indeed, there is some evidence of items being reused by the Indigenous people themselves, as old military buttons are present on some preserved garments.

While comparing and contrasting the two sets of data has revealed missing pieces in the documentary record clearly present in the archaeological one, it is in these gaps that researchers can continue to expand and contextualize our understanding of an archaeological site’s past. In the future let us explore the stories of the people missing from these documents, the non-military men, women, and children integral in the day to day running of the Forts. Of equal importance is to recognize that while it is easy to simply focus on the military viewpoint of the OPRD Collection, it must not be forgotten that the Indigenous people who lived in the shadow of the forts are at the center of this story. These forts were built to police, oversee, imprison, and intimidate as many of these peoples were displaced and held on land not of their choice.

Finally, to address the aim of this project, it is clear that the OPRD Collection and the archaeological evidence do corroborate and relate to each other. In using them together, a new dimension is added to the story of the forts, bringing into focus the pieces of story missing in the documentary data. Used in concert, they reveal disparities and new questions emerge that can continue to guide our understanding of the past. Like an empty imprint of a word written on a pad of paper, the archeological data highlights gaps in the documentary record. At the same time, the documentary record adds to the data. One of the basic understandings that underpins my research is that documents and documentary records provide a barebones framework from which archeological data can be inserted to fill out and enrich the story.

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Appendix

OPRD Collection: Further Research

While this thesis has focused on clothing through artifacts and text, the major accomplishment has been the digitization of the documents. As the Oregon Parks and Recreation makes the collection accessible, it is hoped that further research will continue to be done. It is important for the reader to know that there are many further topics that can be explored. While certainly not all, some of these topics include the following:

1st Lt. James Garden, his life before and after his resignation from Company “D”, 4th Infantry California Volunteers. Not much is known about him before or after the period between 1861 and 1863. A cursory search through of census records reveals a likely match in the 1860 United States Federal Census: James Garden, age 31, born about 1829 in Nova Scotia, living in Scott Valley, Siskiyou, CA, occupation miner, can both read and write. Drafts of two letters (FH2.6.52, OPRD Collection) indicate he was writing from Salem, Oregon in April of 1865. However, a James Garden of the correct age doesn’t appear in the later 1870 United States Census. A brief search of Find a Grave brings up two possibilities: a James Garden born 1831, died 5th of February 1870 in California, or a James R Garden born 1828, died August 19th, 1901, in New Brunswick, Canada. Who was this man and what happened to him? Additionally, it could be interesting to see what a modern eye makes of his accounting, do the documents reveal why he was threatened with court martial? Expanding on this, it is clear from Bensell’s diaries that some level of corruption was occurring at the forts, particularly on the upper levels of command. If so, what was Garden’s relation to this, as he was known to own part of the Sutler’s store with Captain Lyman S. Scott, commander of Company “D”.

Secondly, the provisioning of the forts. The documents, particularly the letters, provide a clear and precise timeline of provisioning, even linking chain of command, to secondary vendors and in-betweens. Utilizing these, as well as any documents available from the years prior to 1861 could refine and detail where provisions originated, and how they got to the forts. While materials like weaponry, ammunition, and uniform clothing was shipped from farther away, food provisions were sourced much closer to home. Since this is the case,

and the Vouchers in the OPRD Collection actually list what was purchased, how much, and from whom; they could provide a greater understanding of the local networks of trade.

Last, but by far the most important question is what we can learn about the experience of the Indigenous people on the lands under control of the Forts? I feel strongly research into this particular topic should be tribal lead, so that control of their story and teaching of it remains in their hands. In the OPRD Collection the documents originating from the Siletz Blockhouse would be particularly useful in this context, as it is they account for 40% of the documents in which the Tribes are referenced

OPRD Collection: Supplementary Data

Table A.1 OPRD Collection Total Table

Fort	Year	Abstract	Estimate	Letter	List	Proceedings	Report	Requisition	Resignation	Return	Roll	Voucher	Misc	Totals
Hoskins	1861	---	---	---	---	---	1	3	---	---	2	---	---	6
	1862	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2
	1863	94	14	65	14	2	7	33	---	22	8	70	1	330
	1864	13	---	10	3	---	1	8	1	6	2	10	---	54
	1865	---	---	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2
	1866	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Unknown Year		---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	---	5
Hoskins Subtotal		107	14	78	18	3	9	44	1	28	14	82	1	399
Yamhill	1861	17	---	---	5	---	4	3	---	7	---	17	---	53
	1862	---	---	8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	8
	1863	---	---	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	---	5
	1864	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1
	1865	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Unknown Year		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Yamhill Subtotal		17	---	11	5	---	4	3	---	7	---	21	---	68
Siletz Blockhouse	1861	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	1862	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1
	1863	18	---	---	5	---	---	7	---	3	---	6	---	39
	1864	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	1	---	2
	1865	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Unknown Year		1	---	1	2	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	5
Siletz Subtotal		19	---	1	7	---	---	9	---	3	---	8	---	47
Unknown Location	1861	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1
	1862	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	1863	---	---	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	---	8
	1864	---	---	2	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3
	1865	---	---	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2
	1866	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1
Unknown Year		---	---	---	---	---	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	6
Unknown Location Subtotal		---	---	10	1	---	3	---	---	---	---	4	3	21
1861 Subtotal		17	---	---	5	---	5	6	---	7	2	18	---	60
1862 Subtotal		---	---	8	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	11
1863 Subtotal		112	14	72	19	2	7	40	---	25	8	82	1	382
1864 Subtotal		13	---	13	4	---	1	9	1	6	2	11	---	60
1865 Subtotal		---	---	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4
1866 Subtotal		---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Unknown Year Subtotal		1	---	2	2	---	---	1	---	---	2	3	---	17
Totals		143	14	100	31	3	16	56	1	38	14	115	4	535