# Companions of Our Exile: An Archaeology of Domestic Life on Fort Boise, Idaho

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the
College of Letters, Arts, and Social Sciences
University of Idaho
by
Nathan J. May

Major Professor: Mark Warner, Ph.D.
Committee Members: Dr. Robert Lee Sappington, Ph.D.; Dr. Rebecca Scofield, Ph.D.
Department Administrator: Brian Wolf, Ph.D.

August 2018

**Authorization to Submit Thesis**

This thesis of Nathan J. May, submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology and titled "Companions of Our Exile: An Archaeology of Domestic Life on Fort Boise, Idaho," has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates below, is now granted to submit final copies to the College of Graduate Studies for approval.

Major Professor: Date:

Mark Warner, Ph.D.

Committee Members: Date:

Robert Lee Sappington, Ph.D.

Date:

Rebecca Scofield, Ph.D.

Department Administrator: Date:

Bryan Wolf, Ph.D.

**Abstract**

Military sites, such as forts and battlefields have been studied by archaeologists for decades, with items such as weapons, uniforms, and battlefield landscapes being the most common focus of study. While pertinent to studies of conflict, everyday life in military settings – particularly the activities of non-military personnel such as women and children – has not been explored as thoroughly.

This thesis examines late nineteenth and early twentieth century domestic life on a military fort primarily focusing on the activities of children. Forty years of archaeological investigations on the former grounds of Fort Boise, Idaho, inform this thesis. While materials from the numerous excavations inform this study, the major data set comes from an excavation of Fort Boise's Surgeons Quarters porch – a household of the fort's surgeon and family.

In addition, archival research has provided intriguing explanations for alterations to the archaeology and landscape of the site. Unexpected contributions of children (in lithics, artifact deposition, munitions, and handmade toys) and enlisted men (in site alteration and the destruction of artifacts) to the archaeological record will be discussed. The domestic activities of officers, their wives, and enlisted men will also be discussed as material (alcohol, leisure items, and munitions) pertains to their recreational pursuits.

**Acknowledgements**

Gratitude should be, and duly is, extended to several individuals who have guided, chided, and inspired me.

I would like to thank Dr. Mark Warner who has continually challenged me, Dr. Robert Lee Sappington whose knowledge of archaeology informed me, and Dr. Becca Scofield whose approach to history has enlightened me. To my colleagues Skylar Bauer, Renae Campbell, Molly Swords, Idah Whisenant, Dan Polito, Cynthia Hannold, Marci Monaco, and Meredith Breen among others, who have been berated with extraneous facts regarding Fort Boise. To Dr. Douglas O'Roark who emboldened me, to Dr. Douglas Scott who encouraged me, to Dr. John Seebach who supported me, and to Charles M. Haecker who instructed me. I am also beholden to the University of Idaho, the John Calhoun Smith Fund, and the Idaho State Historical Society for providing me with forty years of archaeological collections to work with, as well as the facilities that facilitated this thesis. Lastly, and foremost, I am indebted to the support of my Mother and Father whose continual assistance, criticism, and love of their son is indelible.

In some part, you all have been instrumental in shaping outcomes in my life; these contributions have not gone unnoticed and will be eternally appreciated. I am a better man for fortune gracing me with all of you.

## Table of Contents

## List of Tables

## List of Figures

# Chapter 1
# Introduction

This thesis examines domestic life on Fort Boise, Idaho, during the latter half of the nineteenth century. One of the principal objectives of the thesis is to explore the archaeology of childhood on a military fort. The contributions by children to, and alteration of, the archaeological record (as well as their individual actions) will be described as they relate to recovered assemblages. In addition, the domestic activities of enlisted men, officers, and women will be examined using both historic documents and the archaeological record.

A central issue of the archaeology of fortifications is that the primary focus has been on adding to our knowledge of the sites' spatial layout, organization, function through time, and occupational chronology. The data sets have tended to cover great depths of time often with less than desired detail of human behavior (Scott and McFeaters 2011:107). This issue stems from studying fortifications by focusing on broad patterns rather than individual behavior, and on military activities rather than domestic life. The focus on broad patterns are pertinent to issues of class, identifying differences between occupants, and long-term land use trends but the focus on generalities fails to address the contributions of other occupants – namely women and children.

By examining historic documents and artifacts recovered from Fort Boise, this thesis will establish that the archaeology of fortifications can be examined to determine not only broad patterns, but individual actions. The focus will be on actions of children, enlisted men, officers, and their wives on the fort. To determine individual actions, I will examine an archaeological assemblage recovered from Fort Boise's Surgeons Quarters which housed the post doctor and his family from 1871-1890. Other assemblages recovered from different contexts on Fort Boise will also be examined to gather insight into nonmilitary life on a military fort. The importance of achieving a greater understanding of domestic life on a military fort is relevant to understanding matters of conflict, including societies in conflict, as they relate to the American West in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

**Historical and Conflict Archaeology**

This thesis is rooted in the method and theory of historical archaeology and its offshoot conflict archaeology. Historical archaeology is the study of the material remains from any historic period (Schuyler 1970:84). Methods of historical archaeology combine the principles of archaeology and history. This allows for a better approach to understanding the past as historical documents aid in the understanding of events, disenfranchised groups, and site occupation. The methods of historical archaeology has resulted in substantial insights into numerous aspects of history such as conflict.

Conflict archaeology developed from the methods and theory of historical archaeology (Scott and McFeaters 2011:105). Using the same principles and methodology, conflict archaeology has been successful in the study of archaeological sites relating to war. Within the last few decades technological advancements have allowed conflict archaeologists to challenge previously held hypotheses and expand the capability of archaeological research on sites of conflict. The study of conflict in archaeology is broad. There are a plethora of archaeological reports that detail the results of investigations at historic military forts, camps, prisons, and battlefields (Scott and McFeaters 2011:104). Conflict archaeology focuses not solely on battles but also investigates the organization and management of war to assess contextual and societal aspects of conflict.

One prominent theme in conflict archaeology has focused on numerous sites associated with fortifications. Fortifications afford a location in which to study the contextual and societal aspects of cultures in conflict. Being both visible and lasting landmarks on a landscape, fortifications are apparent remains of conflict that remind individuals that this was once a contested site. The study of fortifications has received ample scholarly attention because they typically are the most visible remains of conflict and have been constructed across North America. These studies have tended to address other kinds of questions than might be asked of battlefields. Recent trends in conflict archaeology have shifted from asking general questions on fortifications to inquiries that can explore class, economics, architectural developments and individual lives (Scott and McFeaters 2010:105).

Notable archaeological investigations on fortifications have included Fort Bowie, Arizona (Herskovitz 1978), Fort Stanwix, New York (Hanson and Hsu 1975), and Fort Laramie, Wyoming (Walker 1998). These studies have added significantly to our understanding about how conflict was sustained or waged in the past as well as the impact it had on those who were stationed at the posts. Archaeological investigations of fortifications remain focused on those that were defined by conflict even if they were not explicitly engaged in battle. Instead, said investigations have tended to focus on how these sites functioned as home stations or forward supply centers.

**Fort Typologies**

A brief overview of North American military forts demonstrates how changing attitudes, technologies, and assessments of the 'enemy' contributed to changes in the layout of forts. Of relevance for this thesis is developing a contextual understanding of how historical archaeologists have chosen to study forts over the past sixty years.

Fortifications represent some of the oldest Euromerican structures in North America beginning with the colony of Roanoke (1585) which was constructed as a fort to protect its colonists. Fort Raleigh is one of the only forts to be located associated with the lost colony's physical presence. J.C. Harrington turned to the historic record to locate Fort Raleigh; the historic record provided a near exact location of the fort. Harrington then conducted archaeological excavations to help document and reconstruct the site (Harrington 1962:13). The reconstruction and documentation of Fort Raleigh was a success but only added to the mystery of the colonist's disappearance. Few artifacts were uncovered dating to the sixteenth century (Harrington 1962:47). What little they found (iron spear points, coins, and copper slag) indicated the presence of the fort, but Harrington was unable to pinpoint other aspects of the site. Erosion and human alteration of the environment have been blamed as prime causes for this as Fort Raleigh excavations uncovered several nineteenth century dumps and other indications of human investigation (Harrington 1962:48). Despite continued investigations, other details regarding the site remain elusive continuing to provoke thought to this day.

Other investigations of forts have had better results by concentrating on posts with distinct periods of use and occupation. Archaeological investigations at Fort Stanwix represent some of the earliest and most detailed understandings of fortification studies. Similar to undertakings at Fort Raleigh, Fort Stanwix was located through consultation of the historic record. Fort Stanwix, unlike Fort Raleigh, was disturbed by its urban setting; Rome, New York, had encroached over most of the site with streets, utility lines, and a park disturbing the remains (Hanson and Hsu 1975:3-4). An urban renewal project in 1965 resulted in an archaeological undertaking to facilitate the reconstruction of the fort and to accurately document the extent of the site, and recover any associated material related.

Despite urban intrusions, the Fort Stanwix project was immensely successful and facilitated an exact reconstruction of the fort as well as recovering a large assemblage of artifacts. Over 42,000 artifacts related to the Revolutionary War fort were recovered (Hanson and Hsu 1975:48). The recovered material culture provided detailed insight into daily life of Fort Stanwix. The fort housed soldiers and their families during the war and life was rough, trying the souls of the occupants (Hanson and Hsu 1975:154). Archaeological investigations of Fort Stanwix were tremendously effective in documenting conditions of a fort for the occupants. The methods implemented were instrumental influencing conflict archaeologists and other investigations of fortifications.

Another integral study of fortifications was conducted on Fort Bowie, Arizona (1862-1894) in 1978. The research design for the archaeological investigation of Fort Bowie had two primary objectives: 1.) to identify and describe the material culture, and 2.) to present the data in such a manner that it can be a guide for the identification of historic artifacts from sites (Herskovitz 1978:2). Although discussion regarding behavior is non-existent, the 1978 study of Fort Bowie's material culture is exemplary in documenting, identifying, and curating artifacts. The research design chose to focus on describing material culture because the author believed there was an inherent inability to draw definite behavioral patterns; the author goes on to discuss how these limitations limit future work (Herskovitz 1978:143). Documentary evidence from the historical record, personal letters, diaries, or even post returns can shed light on behavior. The amount of material culture recovered from

archaeological investigations at Fort Bowie are indicators of behavior and likely could be explored further.

Further developments in the study of fortifications were made when research questions sought to highlight class disparities on Fort Larned, Kanas. Analysis of artifacts from an officer's latrine indicated that the socioeconomic status of persons depositing the material culture could be ascertained (Scott 1989). Material remains were not only being identified but analyzed to deduce behavioral patterns. Unlike previous studies, investigations at Fort Larned shifted towards a humanistic interpretation of the archaeological data, rather than on artifact and architectural descriptions. The study of fortifications has developed into asking questions that extend beyond the battlefield and military accoutrements, and supply networks. This expansion of research topics is relevant because many forts throughout the West saw no action. Instead they served as home stations where families of soldiers lived and participated in communities in a manner similar to the mainstream society.

Continued development in the study of fortifications has allowed for a wider range of questions to be asked about the past which now includes other occupants of these posts such as women, children, and civilian workers. This thesis is relevant to such issues because it addresses issues of domestic life on a military fort. In this realm there is still much room for scholarship as material culture studies have barely addressed other occupants of these sites such as women and children.

**The United States and domestic life in the late nineteenth century**

Domestic life in the late nineteenth century is a well-documented topic by historians and archaeologists. Changing attitudes towards childhood following the American Civil War are the subject of extensive studies by scholars such as Daniel Walker Howe (1976), Colleen McDannell (1986), and Thomas J. Schlereth (1991). The works of Howe, McDannell, and Schlereth are invaluable sources on mid to late nineteenth century America, families, and childhood. Interest in the archaeology of childhood is also a burgeoning topic; archaeologists (see Barton and Sommerville 2012; Baxter 2005; Fitts 1999; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001) have addressed children in the

archaeological record but have done so in urban contexts, and generally have not examined those who settled in the interior. These works, apart from Baxter (2005) have also largely focused on Victorian America domestic life as a broad socioeconomic pattern with childhood as a footnote. The implication is that many works fail to address children as actively contributing to the archaeological record.

My research will include discussions regarding childhood, children and the rise in consumerism, but will ultimately address the so-called hidden participants in military contexts, namely women and children on a military fort. By using documentary evidence coupled with archaeological investigations I will demonstrate that the children of Fort Boise actively contributed and altered the archaeological record. In addition, the thesis will discuss the role of children in the nineteenth century family unit, their roles as well as their parent's beliefs. How and why children play is indicative of the social attitudes of their culture. What is considered acceptable and unacceptable is defined by play or leisure and will ultimately permeate into material remains. Beliefs can be professed by national figures or advertising campaigns, but it is only by studying the remains of the past that we are able to see if what is proclaimed resonated with children.

It is also the goal of the thesis to utilize documentary evidence to account for the behavior of children in their environment and identify portions of the archaeological assemblage that were erroneously attributed to adult behavior. I am aware that my analysis can only speak for this specific sub-culture, the officer class in the West, and is by no means the *reality* for childhood in the nineteenth century but it does begin to address an omission in archaeological literature.

**Methodology and Sources**

In researching this thesis, I have studied the archaeological assemblages recovered from Fort Boise, and have read post returns, diaries, newspapers, federal records, and letters that record anecdotes on domestic life. The portion of the Fort Boise assemblages and historic documents that speak to domestic activities was surprisingly large, and by examining both I have been able to discuss the deposition of artifacts, alterations to the site, daily life and culture, and individual actions.

Particularly useful sources for this thesis was a diary of an enlisted man and one collection of personal letters by the wife of a post surgeon. The first is *The Diary of William M. Hilleary 1864-1866* who, moved by patriotic sentiment inspired by the Civil War, volunteered with the First Oregon Cavalry Volunteers (Hilleary et al. 1965:1). Hilleary's Cavalry moved throughout the Pacific Northwest to fill the void left by the departure of the Army Regulars who were shifted east to fight Confederates. Beginning on January 4, 1866, Hilleary was stationed at Fort Boise staying until May 19, 1866. While Hilleary's time at Fort Boise was brief, his diary offers a unique perspective into early life on the post. Hilleary wrote extensively, and as a volunteer experienced life outside the officer class detailing the life of the average enlisted man or volunteer. Hilleary's observations detail post functions and what enlisted men did to entertain themselves.

A collection of letters from Emily Fitzgerald, the wife of Dr. John Fitzgerald, have proven invaluable to this thesis. Fitzgerald, who actually occupied the Surgeons Quarters (Building 4), also moved throughout the West detailing every aspect of the family's journey in letters to her family in Pennsylvania. The Fitzgeralds' were stationed at Fort Boise from November 8, 1877 to October 5, 1878 (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:351). The collection of letters, like the archaeological assemblage recovered from the Surgeons Quarters, comprises the bulk of the data for this research, helping to illustrate the behavior of women and children on a military fort. Emily Fitzgerald wrote candidly, often encompassing obscure activities in her letters; the letters are also important because they contain several insights into the material culture that the family purchased often listing the goods that they procured for holidays, birthdays, and other events. Other aspects of the letters include the actions of the Fitzgerald children who contributed to the archaeological record in surprising ways.

Post returns for Fort Boise were important as they elucidated troop strength, the employment of private citizens, and provide a concise date for the closure of the post. Fort Boise, later renamed Boise Barracks, dwindled in its later years as in 1909 its garrison was mustered out to the Philippines. After that the United States Army used the grounds to train other units as well as the Idaho National Guard. Units eventually returned to the Boise Barracks before the post closed in 1913, primarily

preparing for incursions into Mexico, but the post never attained the level of five garrisons it had in 1871-1884. No information pertaining to domestic life can be discerned from post returns, however, they are invaluable sources that have guided the writing of Chapter 2.

Two archival collections of officers from the Idaho State Historical Society Archives have also proved invaluable to this thesis. The collected letters and documents of Major Pinkney Lugenbeel and Major Patrick Collins inform this thesis on the development of Fort Boise's structures and military reservation, while also providing information on domestic life and tragedy. Major Lugenbeel's letters detail the early construction period of Fort Boise as well as domestic aspirations for the post such as the creation of a large garden. Major Collins' collection provides a stark contrast for domestic life on Fort Boise; Major Collins lost five children at Fort Boise before losing his own life on campaign. The outpouring of distress by the city of Boise demonstrates the unique relationship Fort Boise fostered with the adjacent town.

**Terms**

For the purpose of this thesis terms, as they apply to Fort Boise, will be defined. Domestic life relates to the household or family and includes any activities that involve or pertain to activities centered around the home. A fort is a term loosely applied to military posts in the West typically referring to a permanent army post – often used in place names. Forts, like Fort Boise, lack any fortified positions representing a concentration of military units. Family as used in this thesis is defined as a basic unit in society traditionally consisting of two parents rearing their children. Childhood refers to a young person especially between infancy and preadolescence. Enlisted man, by nineteenth century standards, refers to a man in the armed forces ranking below a commissioned or warrant officer.

# Chapter 2
# History of Fort Boise

In this chapter the history, culture, and events of Fort Boise will be discussed. The intent is to provide a brief summary of military endeavors, site development, and expansion but the primary focus is to discuss domestic life on Fort Boise. The chapter will span the life of Fort Boise, 1863-1913, and elucidate events preceding the archaeological investigations of the site in 1977. Historic diaries, archival research, and newspapers will be used to address aspects of Fort Boise that have not hitherto been discussed. Complete histories of Fort Boise's military role have been discussed at length (see Michno 2007; Polk et al. 1984; and Schwantes 1991). However, these histories have failed to adequately address other aspects of military life on the Western frontier – namely women and children. This chapter will discuss military events but will shift focus from said endeavors to create a context for domestic life on the fort as experienced by enlisted men, officers and their wives, and children.

## Boise Valley before 1863

The American West was profoundly shaped by Euromerican expansion. Detailed histories pertaining to the exploration of the Boise River Valley, fur trapping, and the Hudson Bay Company post of Old Fort Boise have been explored by archaeologists and historians (See Blackhawk 2006; Michno 2007; NPS 1971; Polk et al. 1984; Shannon 1993, 2004, and 2008; Sappington 1981; Schwantes 1991). This section will detail briefly summarize events that led to the founding of Fort Boise.

Two groups of indigenous peoples, the Western Shoshone and Northern Paiute, resided in the Boise River Valley prior to contact. The groups spoke different languages but were part of the Numic language system (Ogden 2000). The Northern Paiute spoke the Monoish language and the Western Shoshone spoke the Shoshoni language (Sappington 1981). Although separated in language the Shoshone and Paiute were similar in their social organization, religious systems, tool assemblages, and subsistence patterns (Ogden 2000). These groups traditionally lived in small bands of extended family

members travelling seasonally based on the availability of plants and game. Several other groups visited the Boise River Valley; the White Knife Shoshoni, Northern Paiute, and Sahaptin. Fish were the most important food sources for Southwestern Idaho Indigenous populations. The summer and fall months saw Native Americans travel to the Snake and Boise Rivers to take advantage of the seasonal salmon runs (Sappington 1981:25). Other fish were exploited as well but salmon proved to be the most abundant. Other subsistence patterns saw groups traveling to higher elevations in the summer and fall exploiting large game animals.

The 1600s saw the introduction of the horse to Southwestern Idaho significantly altering indigenous lifestyles (Sappington 1981:26). The change in mobility marked a shift in indigenous cultures. Further changes were ushered in by the influx of Europeans in the 1800s which brought disease and conflict to the region. Despite rising hostilities, the number of settlers steadily increase until reaching a fever pitch with the discovery of gold on the Clearwater in 1860. The ultimate repercussion of the discovery of gold is the destruction and displacement of the Native populations of Idaho. The Shoshone, Bannocks, Nez Perce, and Paiutes were at the center of conflict as the boundaries of the United States voraciously expanded. To manage the westward influx hundreds of military forts were established and speckled the landscape. U.S. Army forts are a major class of remains of this historic movement West (NPS 1971:45). Forts serve as monuments that attest to the national trend of westward migration. Most of these imposing structures have vanished from the landscape but offer a testament to those who pushed West. Fort Boise is one of these settings that, while not wholly vanished from the landscape, attests to the westward expansion.

Before the founding of Fort Boise in 1863 the Boise River Valley had long been of interest to Euromericans. Several expeditions, by the U.S. Army and fur trappers alike, exploited and documented the suitability of the region's resources sporadically in the decades preceding westward emigration (Beal and Welles 1959; Irving 1902; Schwantes 1991). As overland travel flowed on the Oregon Trail several clashes between Native Americans and Euromericans occurred. Between 1840 and 1860 some fifty-three thousand people completed the journey to Oregon passing through Idaho

(Schwantes 1991:41). Most Euromericans travelled the Oregon Trail unmolested yet, incidents of violence did occur and fostered a sense of paranoia amongst travelers; between 1854 and 1862 some of the more violent episodes occurred, most notably in 1854 with the Ward Massacre in which twenty-three Euromericans were killed (Schwantes 1991:43). Despite risk of violence and disease, throngs of wagon trains pushed into the Pacific Northwest (Figure 2.1). The continued influx of Euromericans prompted the United States to contemplate locations of forts only to be disrupted by the Civil War.

Figure 2.1. Wagon train on the Oregon Trail through an unspecified section in Idaho. ISHS Archives.

**The Founding of Fort Boise**

Efforts to establish a new military fort in the Boise River Valley were disrupted by the Civil War in 1861. Attention, resources, and soldiers were diverted to the Eastern theaters of the Civil War and sections of the west coast such as San Francisco (Hunt 1951:233). As the Civil War progressed, and gold was discovered in the Boise Basin, Congress recognized the necessity of fortifying the Pacific Northwest. The fortification of the Northwest was intended to protect emigrants, implement law and order in the mining camps which were filled with Copperheads, and control Native American

populations (Hunt 1951:234). The rapid influx of emigrants to Idaho during 1862 was a catalyst for the U.S. Army to act.

As the Civil War raged on in 1863 the Union moved to fortify the West. Major Pinkney Lugenbeel was tasked with finding a suitable location for the establishment of a fort in the Boise River Valley with the following instructions:

> Major: You have received Special Orders from these headquarters directing you to proceed to establish a military post in the vicinity of Fort Boise. The selection of the site is left entirely to your discretion, being satisfied that you will pay due regard to salubrity, military defense, and the protection of the frontier. You are fully possessed of my views to the necessity great economy in the building of temporary quarters for five companies which should be erected at that post. (Scott 1880:417).

Major Lugenbeel (Figure 2.2) set out with his orders and was directed by several travelers and settlers as to the prime location for where the new Fort Boise would be erected. One guide for Major Lugenbeel was Reverend Sherlock Bristol, who was among the first to develop agriculture in the Boise River Valley (Bristol 1898:276). A suitable location was decided upon and the inauspicious Fort Boise was consecrated on the auspicious day of July 4, 1863. As Union victories were celebrated to commemorate victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, Major Pinkney Lugenbeel and the Oregon and Washington Volunteers celebrated the founding of Fort Boise (Keegan 2009:204; Post Returns, Boise Barracks, July 1863).

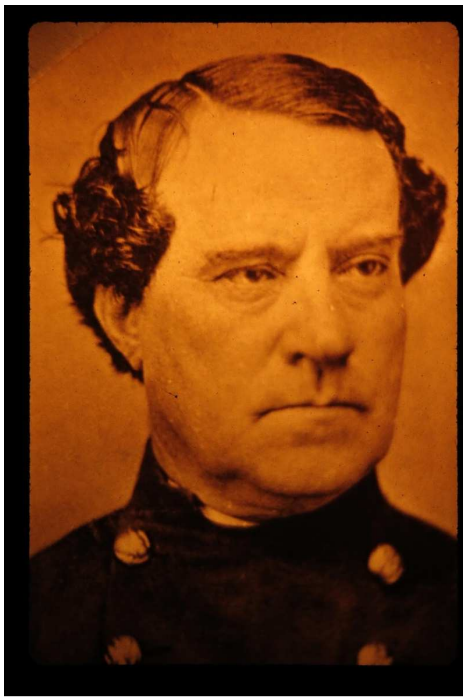

Figure 2.2. Major Pinkney Lugenbeel, date unknown. ISHS Archives.

Construction of Fort Boise commenced immediately; the sandstone portion of the Surgeons Quarters was the first stone structure and was completed in the fall of 1863. Today it is the oldest standing structure in Boise, Idaho (Statham 1972). The rest of Fort Boise would be completed by the fall of 1864 and took the shape of buildings surrounding the parade ground (Figure 2.3). Structures completed by 1864 were the commanding officer's quarters, a post hospital, quartermasters buildings, and the parade ground. The post was tucked into the foothills adjacent to the burgeoning town of Boise with officer's row occupying a small promontory overlooking the fort and town of Boise. Fort Boise would retain the shape plotted by Major Pinkney Lugenbeel, but alterations to structures and new additions would change the site. The post was maintained by private citizens who were employed in cooking, laundry, and blacksmithing (Billings 1875:426; Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1800-1916). Immediately after its inception Fort Boise began contributing to the community of Boise while also fulfilling its intended purpose.

Figure 2.3. Fort Boise panorama from behind Officers' row, 1880s. ISHS Archives

**Military Endeavors**

The garrisons of Fort Boise immediately set out to aid in law enforcement and protect emigrant populations which resulted continual war. Despite the sustained war effort, the cannons of Fort Boise were never fired in acts of war but were only fired to commemorate the concluding events of the Civil War (Figure 2.4). Each occasion was grander than the last, culminating in a two-hundred-gun salute celebrating the news of Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia's surrender at Appomattox (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman*, April 24, 1865:2). While the guns of Fort Boise fell silent after 1865, the garrisons were active in the region for the next thirty years.

Figure 2.4. Canon of Fort Boise, in front of Officers row, 1860s. ISHS Archives

In 1864 Fort Boise hosted representatives of the Boise Shoshone. The council, led by Governor Caleb Lyon, was intended to facilitate peace between Euromericans and Natives Americans by means of the Boise Shoshone ceding all claims to the Boise River Valley and surrounding areas for an undisclosed sum (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* October 13, 1864:2). The Treaty of Fort Boise was signed on October 10, 1864 but did not cease depredations. Governor Lyon made further attempts to mediate conflict between Native Americans and emigrants, but overtures to mediate conflict were met with accusations of being too soft in policy. As representatives of the Boise Shoshone began to camp around the city of Boise accusations of complacency continued pushing Governor Lyon to move the one hundred and twenty strong camp to be moved onto Fort Boise (ISHS Reference Series No.106).

Although unpopular with the citizens of Boise the soldiers of the fort were less resentful of their presence. Hilleary noted that Governor Lyon chose Fort Boise as a rendezvous out of fear that some of the population "would attempt to slaughter every last one," if not protected by the post (Hilleary et al. 1965:165). The unpopularity of Governor Lyon would boil over at his attempts to make

treaties. Soon after the Shoshone sign the treaty, Lyon was dismissed because of his policy towards Native Americans (ISHS Reference Series No.106). As attempts at treaties faltered the region's conflicts would be contested on fields of battle.

The first, and longest, of these conflicts was the four-year-long Snake War (1864-1868). The Snake War stemmed from emigration to the Pacific Northwest, violence by settlers, and the building of military forts in the region; peace attempts were made with the Northern Paiute, Bannock, and Western Shoshone who lived along the Snake River who found all overtures and offers wanting (Michno 2007:20-21). Initial U.S. military efforts stalled due to ineffective leadership necessitating command and structural changes. In 1866 Fort Boise was promoted to a military district to be headed by famed fighter General George Crook. Crook was disgusted by the apathetic conditions bred by the officers of Fort Boise and after one week at the fort Crook set out on a winter campaign resulting in a shift of the primary conflict to what is now Eastern Oregon (Schmitt 1946:142). General Crook's tactics were largely successful and by January of 1867 the military district of Fort Boise was discontinued. The following year the Snake War would come to an end (NPS 1971:124). Throughout the Snake War Fort Boise participated in matters of war and peace-making treaties with the regions tribes.

The garrisons of Fort Boise participated in the regions other conflicts. The first of these was the Nez Perce War. War commenced between the Nez Perce and U.S. Army when several bands of refused to cede their ancestral lands to live on the reservation in central Idaho (Greene 2000:8). Most of Fort Boise's garrisons were held in an auxiliary role to defend southern Idaho. At the outset of the Nez Perce War the garrisons of Fort Boise were deployed as a rearguard to prevent the Bannocks and Paiutes from joining the fight (Greene 2000:105). Three companies did join with the main detachment of the U.S. Army that engaged, and would subsequently chase, the Nez Perce across Idaho and Montana. From the rendezvous at Kamiah, Idaho to the climax of the Nez Perce War in Bear Paw Battlefield, Montana the U.S. Army units chasing the Nez Perce had marched more than seventeen

hundred miles (Greene 2000:325). The end of the Nez Perce War led immediately into war with Bannocks and Paiutes who were unsettled by their treatment.

The Nez Perce War unsettled central Idaho as friction between settlers and Bannocks and Paiutes provoked the outbreak of the Bannock War of 1878 and Sheepeater Campaign of 1879. The conflict was the result of an accumulation of grievances which reached a breaking point after white cattlemen grazed their herds which led to the destruction of camas-root grounds (Washburn et al. 1988:182). The Bannock War was short lived, and the U.S. Army immediately transitioned into the next conflict. The Sheepeater Campaign of 1879 dealt with a small handful of Sheepeater "renegades" who collapsed under persistent campaigning in the mountains cut by the Salmon River in Idaho (Utley 1984:186). As conflict waned in the region Fort Boise's role in the region also diminished. In 1879 the post war reassigned as the Boise Barracks and there were fears regarding its impending closure (Polk et al. 1984:29). Despite overtures to its closure, Fort Boise was not immediately deactivated and remained open. The primary purpose of Fort Boise was to maintain law and order and subdue the Paiutes, Shoshone, and Bannock's of the region, but the longevity of the post was due to its importance as a cultural center.

**Domestic Life**

Fort Boise transcended its initial purpose as a military fort as its domestic activities fostered an enduring relationship with the fledgling community of Boise. The activities of Fort Boise contributed heavily to the culture of Boise, Idaho. From its inception, Fort Boise was noted for its lavish parties and celebrations. Galas on Fort Boise were held in high regard; one such gala, The Christmas Eve Ball of 1865, was praised as it was attended by over fifty couples. The Christmas Eve Ball of 1865, hosted by Captain Walker and Doctor Cochran, was noted for its abundance of wine and dancing that lasted into the early hours of Christmas morning (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman*, December 28, 1865:1). The event did not go off without incident; as the officers, and upper echelons of Boise deliriously drank and danced the night away, a young soldier was shot and killed. The soldier, named Shay, became belligerently drunk and gained possession of a firearm and commenced to attack the on-duty guard

(*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesmen* December 28, 1865:2). The night became infamous in the culture of Fort Boise not only due to the precedent it set for parties but because it was not the last time Shay was seen.

Private citizen workers, families, and enlisted men reported seeing Shay in the form of a ghost years after the event walking about at night; it was proposed that nothing, save for a silver bullet, would put an end to his spirit (Hilleary 1865:155). Death lingered heavily over Fort Boise and impacted every aspect of domestic life. Other incidents saw several individuals lose their lives in drunken stupors or due to gambling debts. Perry McCord, a soldier from the 1st Oregon Cavalry, was killed after fearing for his life, over gambling debts, rushed into the guardhouse seeking sanctuary to the utter terror of the on-duty guard who shot and killed McCord (Hilleary 1965:177). Deaths would not be the only events to shape Fort Boise as corruption also set changes in motion that impacted culture and daily life on the post.

The enlisted men of Fort Boise had a notoriously bad reputation. When the U.S. Army's campaign stalled during the Snake War soldiers were openly chastised and teased as they marched through Boise for what was perceived as their apathy (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* February 17, 1866:3). The stall of the Snake War campaign was not the only scandal the men of Fort Boise provided for complaint. Further scandals plagued Fort Boise as soldiers murdered an officer who came to collect them from Levy's Alley, a local brothel, and others were caught running ammunition to Native Americans to the dismay of the local population (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman*, August 16, 1866:2). Commentary on the enlisted men of Fort Boise's character would reach Congressional attention.

During the autumn of 1866 Major E. Glenn arrived at Fort Boise with the payroll and other large sums of money and gold. Immediately after Major Glenn's arrival five enlisted men stole the post funds (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* September 2, 1866:3). Congress was furious at the loss of funds allocated for the fort. In response, Congress hired Pinkerton agents to commence an investigation into the matter. The concluding remarks of the Pinkerton investigation were delivered to Congress early in 1867; blame was shifted from Major E. Glenn to the men of the fort who were

apprehended with what was left of the stolen post funds. Members of the Congressional Committee expressed their dissatisfaction with the soldiers of Fort Boise and labeled them as being "Of notoriously bad character," (Reports Committees of the Senate of the United States for the Second Fortieth Session of Congress, 1867-1868). In the wake of repeated scandals, the morale of Fort Boise plummeted.

Former Roman Catholic Chaplin Toussaint Mesplié frequented Fort Boise until the mid-1870s and in a Congressional appeal for a pension explained how morale sank dangerously low due to the rigors and monotony of frontier life (Mesplié et al. 1878). The effects of garrison life were often the worst of times for enlisted men who had few comforts outside of gambling, drinking, and prostitution. The combination of the rigors of garrison life and low pay contributed to numerous scandals. Just north of Fort Boise, the goldmines were paying more than a military salary, and not in greenbacks but gold. As a result, many soldiers deserted for the mining camps in an attempt to strike it rich. William Hilleary, who served with the Oregon Volunteers at Fort Boise, noted it was not uncommon to see those that deserted returning to military life observing "A regular who deserted from the guard house some six weeks ago returned last night, to his old haunts, preferring a soldier life to the hard knocks of a miner's occupation. Hard work turned his stomach," (Hilleary et al. 1865:187). Garrison life was often strenuous but did not include the same back breaking work of the mining camps. Despite the return of several deserters, new leadership attempted to arrest the slide in morale and discipline.

Several officers made concerted efforts to improve the life of enlisted men on Fort Boise. In the wake of one scandal, Colonel J.B. Sinclair founded a post school and library which offered courses in reading, writing, and arithmetic (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* November 26, 1867:2). Other attempts were made to offer other leisure activities, besides drink, prostitutes, and gambling, to enlisted men. Sergeant Peter Vogel founded the "Fort Boise Varieties" which serenaded the town and post to the utter delight of both (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* September 16, 1869:3). Sergeant Vogel also used his wages to supply the school and library and was noted for fighting for enlisted men. Sergeant Vogel, whose storied career included action at Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg, met a

tragic end coming to the aid of an enlisted man whose life was threatened at a local brother (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* September 16, 1869:3). The death of Sergeant Vogel was solemnly received, and the school and library continued long after his death. The post library and school appeared on maps of Fort Boise as late as 1884 (Figure 2.5).

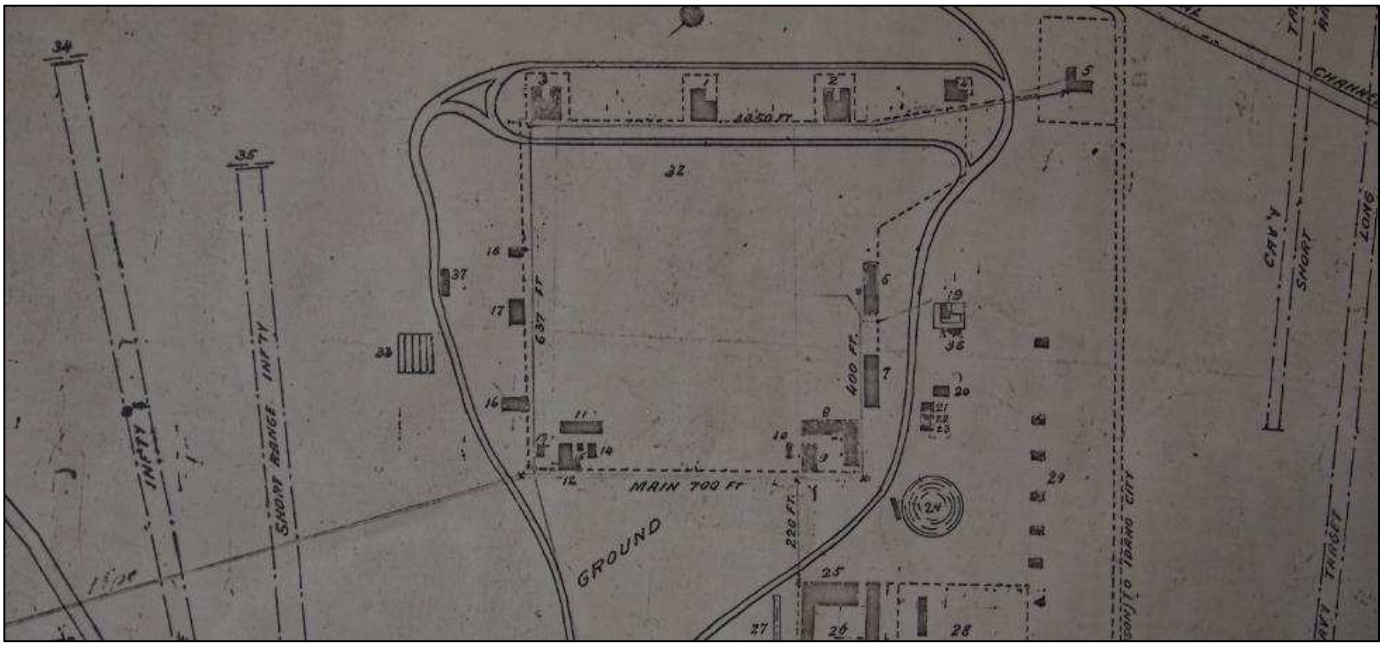


Figure 2.5. F. Jarris Patten. 1884 Plat of the Post Reservation of Boise B'K'S, Idaho. Building 1: Commanding officers quarters, single; 2; Commanding officers quarters, double; 3: Commanding officers quarters, double; 4: surgeons quarters; 5: Post Hospital; 16: School and Library 32: flagstaff.

**Officer's Wives**

The contribution of officers' their wives extended beyond providing outlets for dance and drink but fostered a support that sustained conflict. Operating out of forts throughout the West officers' wives helped sustain conflict by creating a support system that operated out of the posts which troops mobilized (Scott and McFeaters 2011:114). The women who accompanied their respective spouses in westward journeys to scattered U.S. Army posts throughout the interior left an indelible mark. A popular army ballad of the nineteenth century spoke volumes of gratitude stating, "To the ladies of the army, our cups shall overflow! Companions of our exile, and our shield 'gainst every woe! We throw the gauntlet in their cause, and taunt the soulless foe, who'd hesitate to drink to

them, and Benny Havens O!" (J. Sage and Sons, Buffalo 1855). Women were instrumental in making life bearable in far-flung military outposts by replicating the environment which they came from.

The U.S. Army had an unrealistic, and chauvinistic, view of the army wife which was also propagated by women who had an unrealistic image of a role that was more aristocratic than the reality demanded by life on a military post (Eales 1996:13). Life on a military fort was romanticized, and while some posts afforded certain luxuries, the stress and reality of life dominated by conflict shattered these preconceived notions. Arrival at a fort brought a sense of relief for army wives but imposed a new set of difficulties (McInnis 2017:55). Despite unrealistic expectations officer's wives were quick to adjust and replicate the base culture which they came from. Officer's wives created support systems intended to make life bearable on military posts, and like others who moved westward, sought replicate something that resembled where they came from (Warner et al. 2017:431). The creation of support systems, and replicating where they came from, by officer's wives was born out of what Elizabeth Custer described as the "ingenuity and resourcefulness of lacking abundance" (Custer 1966:247). The resourcefulness of women in the forts and camps was to the benefit of their spouses and the U.S. Army in sustaining conflict.

Officers' wives identified themselves as integral members of their husbands' units being fully immersed in the military forces (McInnis 2017:34). With vigor officer's wives embraced their role in the process of imperialism of the West. Emily Fitzgerald proudly wrote on the improvements spouses and officers made in furnishing their quarters, procuring supplies, raising the children, and planning events. The planning of trips, the procurement of supplies, and even picnics by officer's wives had been observed on other forts in the West was often heralded by officers and enlisted men alike (Utley 2014:86). The activities of domesticity Emily Fitzgerald and other officer's wives planned offered an escape from the rigors of the field, but they also made sure that their spouse's needs, and those of enlisted men, were met while on campaign sending pants and boots when requested (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:344). The support system created did not go unnoticed and left an indelible mark on those who benefitted from their work which often sustained campaigns. Although Fort Boise was not at the

epicenter of conflict, but its garrisons participated in the regions various conflicts engaged in subduing Native American and working-class populations.

Officers wives experienced periods of stress as they often had to bid their spouses farewell as they embarked on numerous campaigns. Emily Fitzgerald expressed a nagging worry felt for spouses on campaign regarding it as pure anxiety for her husband John (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:332). To distract the mind from the perils of war many took to domestic activities. Emily Fitzgerald often threw herself into furnishing the house, spending time teaching her children letters, and helped to start a church (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:321). The anxiety by spouses was mutual; John Fitzgerald, husband of Emily whose career spanned several decades and saw him get shot through the lung during the Civil War, wrote to his wife during the Bannock War urging her to borrow money from Major Collins, sell everything and flee in the event of a failed campaign (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:345). Dr. Fitzgerald's anxiety not only stemmed from fear of raids by the Bannock tribe but because life in the West was often a long hard struggle.

Domestic life in the nineteenth century occurred with the constant reminder of death. Fort Boise was no exception with a large portion of deaths occurring in incidents unrelated to combat. A particularly tragic story of Major Patrick Collins' family is visible in the Fort Boise Military Cemetery (Dillon 2003:2). Patrick Collins, an Irish immigrant, whose extensive military career included numerous campaigns during the Civil War and Indian Wars, notably served at Second Bull Run and Antietam, which earned Collins a field promotion personally signed by President Abraham Lincoln (Field Promotion, Patrick Collins-Idaho Civil War Collection, Idaho State Historical Society Archives). Rising through the ranks, Collins was eventually ordered west to Fort Vancouver and then to Fort Boise, where he had a long career. In 1863, Collins married his wife, Mary Leddy, in Hamilton County, Ohio, and then departed for Fort Boise. Tragedy struck early for the fledgling family as their firstborn, Daniel Collins, then only fifteen months old, passed away. Shortly after Daniel's death the Collins decamped from Fort Boise to Arizona where they remained for three years.

The Collins family again called Fort Boise home beginning in 1876 where Patrick took over as post commander. The family, which had grown to six children, were unanimously adored by those of the fort and community of Boise (Patrick Collins-Idaho Civil War Collection, Idaho State Historical Society Archives). The beloved Collins family was to be destroyed by a scarlet fever epidemic that swept through Boise in January of 1877. All four of the Collins' sons were claimed in succession to disease (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* January 16, 1877:3). The Collins residence, the commanding officer's quarters, was quarantined and each of the deceased children were lassoed and dragged a half-mile to Fort Boise's cemetery. The Collins family continued on Fort Boise until 1879 when further tragedy would strike the family. In stopping a runaway wagon in the field Major Patrick Collins fell off and cracked his head which led to his death (Patrick Collins-Idaho Civil War Collection, Idaho State Archives). Both the city and fort of Boise grieved the loss of the beloved figure.

The tragedy of the Collins family is highlighted by other graves in the Fort Boise cemetery, such as ones marked as "Ford (child)," "Marry H. Reed wife of Corporal Reed," or "Infant Daughter Hudson." The brevity of life in the nineteenth century peppered domestic life on Fort Boise with death, as not only soldiers were casualties but their children and wives. Children were particularly susceptible to diseases that bred in the mining towns and fledgling cities (Willey and Scott 2015:353), the impact of which is still visible in the Fort Boise cemetery. It was not uncommon that at the first sight of an outbreak children were removed from schools to be placed in the safety of their homes (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:330). From the fear of disease Emily Fitzgerald was often tasked with the education of the children and watched closely as they practiced letters. The hardships of officers and their wives also defined the experience of children on forts.

**Children on Fort Boise**

Children contributed to the culture of Fort Boise and many accompanied officers in the earliest days of the post. One of the first recorded events celebrated at Fort Boise was the birth of Corporal Stafford's daughter (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* August 12, 1864:2). Children held an integral role in the settlement of the West. Children were often active participants in the towns,

ranches, farms, and forts of the American West (Scott and Wiley 2015:353). Life on the frontier was not the norm and provided an experience largely foreign compared to the experience of children in the East. Children in the West had to grapple with an unsettled, harsh, and often unpredictable environment (Scott and Wiley 2015:354). The change in environment provided different areas to explore, different sites to see, and different experiences to grow up in. Children on army posts in the West had a different experience than those in the West. The lives of children on army posts were defined by military activities, events, and sites.

The location of Western forts provided an experience for children to witness the Indian Wars and other aspects of settlement. Despite the change in environment children on military forts had many luxuries, such as toys, that their other Western and Eastern counterparts enjoyed. The largest difference being that their experience was defined by military events and settings. The presence of children was common on forts in the West. John Vance Lauderdale, a U.S. Army doctor who served throughout the American West from 1864 to 1890, noted on the presence of children on several army forts. Children were added to garrison life offering entertainment in the form of song for the post (Utley 2014:94). Children offered a joy that would have otherwise been lacking on the far-flung posts. On holidays, such as Christmas, Lauderdale observed the children of the post playing with their new toys, and to his surprise, many officers and enlisted men joined in the playful activities (Utley 2014:114). Children interacted with their surroundings in play, which included enlisted men.

Life on a military post afforded children opportunity to play, learn, and spend time with their families. Lauderdale extolled the life that the army afforded children to grow up in (Utley 2014:114). Despite some perils it was a life of relative joy and luxury. Children, largely due to their parent's status and pay in the officer class, were adequately supplied with toys. Lauderdale noted that on Christmas children received a fine assortment of toys that came by special order from Macy's on 6$^{th}$ Avenue (Utley 2014:81). Children on Fort Boise were also able to engage in play with a fine assortment of toys. Emily Fitzgerald recalled how concerted efforts went into purchasing toys in the

months leading up to Christmas and birthdays (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:324). Children of Fort Boise were often observed running amok playing with all manner of things in various places on the fort.

The peak years for the number of children on Fort Boise occurred between 1870 and 1880. Territorial censuses indicate that in 1870 twelve children lived with their families on Fort Boise, and by 1880 the number had dwindled to five (Table 2.1) (Idaho Territorial Census 1870:67-69; Idaho Territorial Census 1880:13-16). The number of children on Fort Boise reflected the changing situation of the post. By 1880, Fort Boise was no longer a far-flung post but one on the edge of a growing city. Although only five families lived on Fort Boise during 1870 the number reflects established families of the posts surgeon and officers. The year 1880 saw significant social change as the number of children declined, but the numbers of families rose to nine. Four of these nine families were officers, four others enlisted men, and one belonged to the post's surgeons (Idaho Territorial Census 1880).

**Table 2.1 Fort Boise Children and Families**

| Idaho Territorial Census Year | Number of Children | Number of Families | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1870** | 12 | 5 | Idaho Territorial Census 1870:67-69 |
| **1880** | 5 | 9 | Idaho Territorial Census 1880:13-16 |

As Fort Boise entered the twentieth century its role shifted from a manned post to a brief stop for garrisons moving to the West coast of the United States (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1800-1916). As Fort Boise changed so too did its role in the community of Boise, Idaho. Officers, women, children, and enlisted men were still present on Fort Boise, but the vibrant domestic life it was noted for in the late nineteenth century tapered off. Children were discussed less and less and, as indicated by the 1880 census, their numbers dwindled in the later years of Fort Boise.

**The Later Years**

The later years of Fort Boise, after its reassignment as the Boise Barracks in 1879 remain obscure. After 1880 scant written information pertaining to the demographics of Fort Boise exists.

Post returns only focused on garrisoned strength and did not report any other information except that which focused on military activities; however, maps made of Fort Boise between 1870 and 1907 provide details of demographics of an ever-changing site. By 1907 Fort Boise had evolved to include several new structures and accommodations. Married men's quarters appear on the map indicating that enlisted men were able to have quarters if married. It is also by 1904 that the post library and schoolhouse is repurposed into the guardhouse. These changes, although subtle, signal a shift in use and changed situations on the post. Officers were no longer the only ones exclusively with families on Fort Boise. Instead married men were able to have residence for their spouses and burgeoning family. This change is present as late as 1911 as indicated by a map in which several structures have been dedicated to married enlisted men (Figure 2.6).

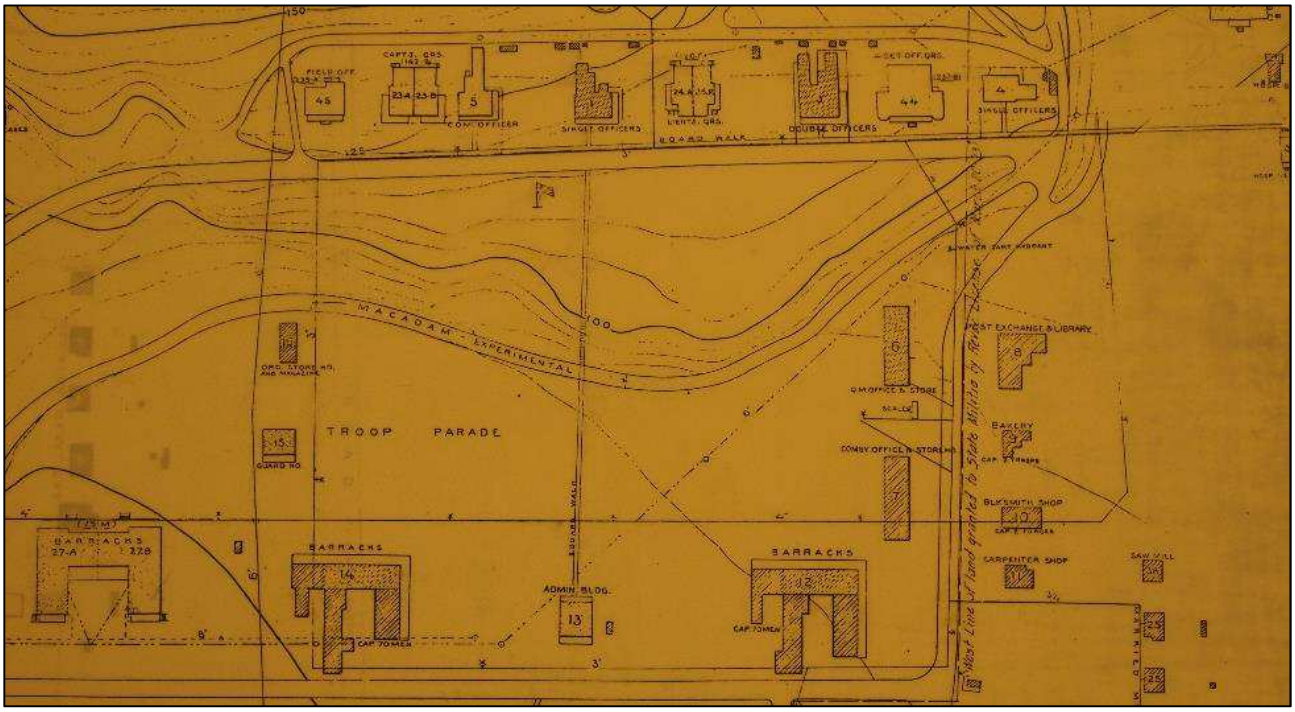


Figure 2.6. Map G4272.R2 B63 1911. Building use as follows: 1, 3, 4, 5: officers' quarters (old); 24 and 24: officers' quarters (double); 44: 4 quarters for officers; 45: field officers' quarters; 6: QM office and storeroom; 7: Commissary office and storeroom; 52: wagon scales; 12: barracks (old); 13: administration; 14: barracks; 25: Married men's quarters.

Military and domestic life marched on at Fort Boise as its importance declined. From 1884 to 1913 several post returns state that the garrison performed all the usual duties for the entire month without incident (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1800-1916). Fort Boise experienced a lull from 1880

to the 1890s where nothing of note happened until the start of the Spanish-American War. After 1898, Fort Boise served as a brief staging point for army units departing for the Philippines. Post strength fluctuated during this time ranging from lows of 26 or 67 to highs of 257; Fort Boise's average strength for its final years was 131 enlisted men (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1800-1916). Unlike the earlier decades, which were characterized by lavish parties and grand events, life focused on typical garrison duties with units, and officers, frequently shipping out to the Philippines or fighting forest fires in northern Idaho (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1910). The storied life of Fort Boise, like the many boomtowns of the West, ended almost as soon as it began.

The waning years of Fort Boise were characterized by military activities. The vibrant social life disappeared with the last party mentioned to have occurred in 1885 (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* November 17, 1885:3). The post continued its training activities and typically served as a staging point for labor wars of Northern Idaho during the 1890s or to fight forest fires in the 1900s (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1890-1910). The United States Army was changing from a frontier army focused on regional and national issues towards focusing on overseas conflicts. The last year of Fort Boise was one of the busiest of the post's existence. Hundreds of men and horses moved through the fort on their way to Fort Walla Walla and Vancouver or California and then on to the Pacific. January of 1913 saw the post garrisoned with over 200 men, but by February of 1913 that number dwindled to 13 men whose duties were now characterized as "guarding army property" (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1913). By April of 1913 seven men remained with most of the equipment and enlisted men being moved to Presidio, California.

The final summer of Fort Boise must have been quiet and contrasted with the one that consecrated the fort fifty years earlier. For the majority of the summer of 1913 Fort Boise was garrisoned by three men, including the post commander (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, 1913). August 1913 was the final month that Fort Boise operated as a military post, but it was a shell of its former self as one officer presided over and cared for the entire reservation. The last post return was filled out with the same effort as the others but in the remarks of events which had been, for the last two

decades, filled in with "the garrison carried out all duties this month with no incident," was marked with a simple "0"; after fifty years of operation Fort Boise was vacated by the United States Army (Post Returns, Boise Barracks, September 1913). For fifty years Fort Boise had played an integral role in the development and growth of Boise, Idaho. The storied parties and domestic activities of Fort Boise had added immensely to the social life and culture of the fledgling capital. The former grounds of Fort Boise would not remain closed for long as the site would be subjected to reuse and continue to serve the community of Boise.

**Life after a Frontier Post**

Fort Boise is not a static site but one of continued reuse and repurpose. After its inactivation in 1913 the former grounds of Fort Boise were used by the National Guard for training purposes (Polk et al. 1984:29). It would be six years until the grounds of Fort Boise would be used. In 1919, the post passed into the hands of the Public Health Service where it cared for patients of the Spanish Flu (NPS 1971:125). Scant activity occurred on Fort Boise between the First and Second World Wars. Building reuse was sporadic on Fort Boise with many being unoccupied for long periods or until demolition (Figure 2.8). While being used as a hospital Fort Boise was briefly reactivated by the U.S. Army as a location to muster enlisted men from 1942 to 1944 (Wells 1972). Despite its brief reactivation the ground of Fort Boise was simply used as a gathering spot to muster soldiers to other bases. On March 20, 1944 grounds not needed for use as a hospital were ceded to the State of Idaho (Welles 1972). In 1938 the former grounds of Fort Boise passed hands again into the Veterans Administration who have maintained ownership of the grounds to this day (NPS 1971:125).

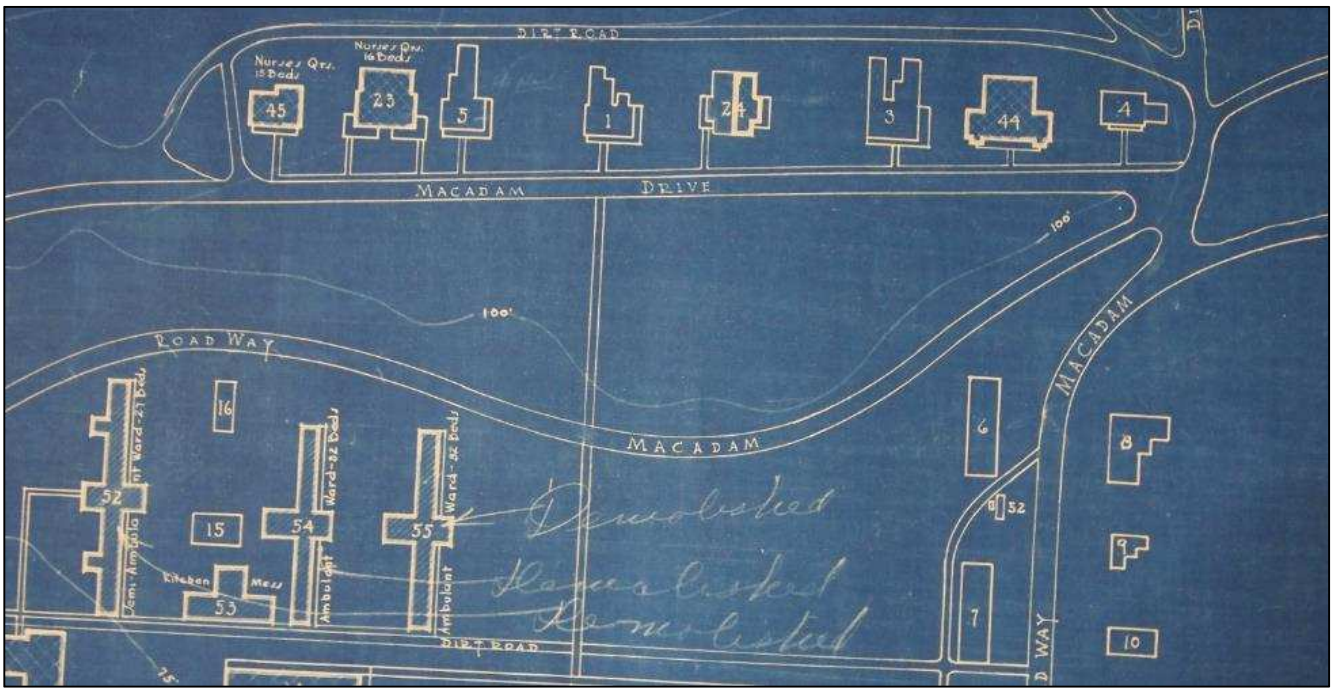


Figure 2.7. United States Public Health Service. 1920 Plot Plan U.S.P.H.S. Hospital 52, Boise, Idaho. New buildings built by USPHS are striped, old buildings used by USPHS are checkered, and old buildings not used are unfilled.

# Chapter 3
# Archaeological Investigations

The Fort Boise Military Reservation, 10AA161, is not a static site but one of evolving purpose. Originally a military fort, the grounds have been repurposed to house the Boise Veterans Administration (Figure 3.1). Since its addition to the National Register of Historic Places on November 9, 1972, Fort Boise has been the subject countless renovations, demolitions, construction projects and alterations; the projects have resulted in fifteen cultural resource projects, many of which form the basis of this thesis. These cultural resource projects have been either mitigation, salvage, or general inventory surveys. As a result of these projects, over six thousand artifacts related to the period of military occupation have been recovered, documented, and analyzed. In addition, public interest in the history and archaeology of the site has been demonstrated by a willingness of the Veterans Administration staff to network with archaeologists and protect cultural resources across the grounds of former military post. Recent projects, led by the University of Idaho, have incorporated the public in archaeology. The projects extended beyond systematic surveying and data collection and have begun to develop a rapport between the public and archaeology.


Figure 3.1. Boise Veterans Administration and former grounds of Fort Boise as it looks in 2018.

**Previous Cultural Resource Investigations**

Over forty years of archaeological investigations on Fort Boise have led to numerous archaeological collections; many items have never been touched since the time of excavation. Due to the span of years, the numerous collections that inform this thesis, a summary of the work that has been done on the fort is provided (Figure 3.1). The intent is to better understand the contexts from which archaeological data has been gathered, changes to the site, and what data has been used to inform this thesis.

**Table 3.1. Previous Cultural Resource Investigations of Fort Boise, 10AA161**

| Report No./Project No. | Year | Report Title | Company/Agency | Author (s) and Date | Project Type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1992/1396** | 1977 | Prospectus for Salvage Excavation at the Fort Boise Military Dump (10AA112) | ISHS | Ostrogorsky 1997 | Testing/Salvage |
| **1989/5489** | 1983 | A Cultural Resource Overview, Survey and Evaluation of the VAMC | Environmental Consultants, Inc. | Polk 1983 | Testing Class I |
| **1989/5504 20133347** | 1984 | A Cultural Resources Overview, Survey and Evaluation of the VAMC | AR Consultants | Polk et al. 1984 | Intensive Inventory (68 acres) |
| **1992/1465** | 1986 | Archaeological Testing in Front of Building 67, VAMC | Veterans Administration | Sutherland 1986 | Testing |
| **1989/1465 IDI-88-C-10** | 1988 | Cultural Resource Survey for Green stripping Project on the Boise Military Reservation (10AA161) | Bureau of Land Management | Davis 1988 | Intensive Inventory (75 acres) |
| **1994/569** | 1994 | Military Reserve (10AA161); Cultural Resources Survey | SAIC | SAIC 1994 | Intense Inventory (466 acres) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **2000/1030** | 2000 | Geophysical Investigations: VA Construction Site | Sage Earth Science | Sage Earth Science 2000 | Geographic Investigations |
| **2001/785** | 2001 | BOR Demolition Monitoring at Fort Boise | BOR | Sayer 2001 | Monitoring |
| **2002/450** | 2003 | Old Fort Boise Armory | MTI | Mauser 2003 | Monitoring |
| **2013/224** | 2006 | Proposed New Department of Veterans Affairs Regional Office Building at Fort Boise | DOD | TEC Inc. 2006 | Intensive Inventory (1 acre); Recon (2 acres) |
| **2014/87** | 2011 | Building 13 Demolition and Cultural Resource Monitoring | DOD | Gray 2011 | Monitoring |
| **2014/221** | 2014 | A Historical and Archaeological Assessment of the Proposed Building 4 Renovation Project; VAMC | Versar Inc. | Bertram and Noll 2014 | Intensive Inventory (1 acre) |
| **N.A.** | 2014 | Archaeological testing of the Front Porch area of Building 4; Surgeon's Quarters VAMC | University of Idaho | May et al. 2018 | Excavation |
| **2016-030** | 2016 | Archaeological Prospection Investigations of | USU Archaeological Services | Peart et al. 2016 | Inventory |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Potential Adverse Effect to 10AA161; Fort Boise, Ada County, Idaho. | | | |
| **2016-01** | 2016 | Phase II Investigation and Public Archaeology Mitigation, Fort Boise Military Reservation, Site 10AA161, Ada County, Idaho | University of Idaho | Campbell et al. 2017 | Mitigation |

Artifacts from Fort Boise have been of interest to the public preceding any of the archaeological undertakings. For decades Fort Boise has been scavenged for its relics. Several artifacts from unknown locations at Fort Boise have accumulated over the years with a few being displayed at the Veterans Administration Medical Complex (Polk et al. 1984:35). These artifacts were obtained by various employees of the medical complex and were subsequently donated for curation. Private citizens also have contributed to these collections through their own efforts and donations. Early archaeological investigations at Fort Boise noted potholes and artifacts discarded from unauthorized excavations, largely attributed to bottle hunters (Polk et al. 1984:36). Despite intrusions by collector's shovels, curation and preservation efforts on behalf of Veterans Administration staff have been largely successful in preserving the site and its cultural resources. Several of their recommendations and observations on the areas where collectors operated, have informed archaeological investigations and mitigation throughout the fort.

Archaeological interest in Fort Boise was initially described by Michael Ostrogorsky, who detailed the untapped potential of Fort Boise in 1977 writing a *Prospectus for Salvage Excavation at the Fort Military Reservation Dump (10AA112).* The prospectus detailed the need to excavate the

dump, which is believed to be the post's first, to prevent further vandalism and collection (Ostrogorsky 1977). Ostrogorsky further proposed that the site become a field school as well as incorporate public involvement; the overarching goal being to inform, educate, and preserve local history (Ostrogorsky 1977). A salvage operation was conducted that year, but no report was produced despite approximately 7,500 artifacts recovered during the excavation. Despite the lack of documentary evidence of this excavation, Ostrogorsky's investigation did uncover an artifact concentration in the dump measuring 50 by 35 meters (Polk et al. 1984:42). The contents of the dump were apparently disappointing to researchers as it was comprised of melted glass, cow bones, bricks, and hardware; all of which was destroyed beyond the recognition of its original form. While disappointing to excavate, the materials did corroborate standing orders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century army which dictated the destruction of all post material before entering a dump (Billings 1875:417). The research potential of the dump may have provided scant insight into post life as Ostrogorsky and the Idaho Archaeological Society had hoped, but it was a step in the right direction.

Two years after Ostrogorsky excavated 10AA112 the Idaho State Historical Society conducted a two-week salvage excavation after an unexpected discovery of a large cache of pre-1873 artifacts. The 1979 excavation recovered a wide range of material relating to the post's earliest periods; rifles, shot, canisters, grape shot, bullets, cartridge and belt buckles, breast plates, horse bits, curry combs, and a large assemblage of domestic items (Statham 1982). The material was recovered in a cellar of a former building that had burned and subsequently collapsed. Over two thousand artifacts were recovered. A single page site form was produced in 1982 on the 1979 excavation. A handful of photographs of the 1979 excavation are the only other documentation available (Figure 3.2). Scant information is included but enough to comprehend the depth and extent of the site. Other information gleaned from the 1982 site form tells us that the structure was buried soon after its collapse, with a lawn ultimately being added at a later period (Statham 1979). While copious amounts of artifacts were recovered from the site, a substantial portion of artifacts remain unexcavated.

Figure 3.2. 1979 excavation of Fort Boise (10AA161). Courtesy of Ken Swanson.

Successive archaeological investigations failed to recover a similar amount or even relocate the site of the 1979 excavation. A 1984 cultural resource overview survey prepared by Michal R. Polk, et al. of AR Consultants, for the Veterans Administration, was the first to systematically document the entire Fort Boise Military Reservation. The survey resulted in the identification of five to six unrecorded historic features and an isolated precontact flake (Polk et al. 1984:60). Despite the extensive survey of the site, AR Consultants could not relocate the cellar described in the 1982 site form (Polk et al. 1984:59). AR Consultants created a management plan for the Veterans Administration based on the historical, architectural, and archaeological elements of the fort with high research potential (Polk et al. 1984:1).

Further investigations would be in response to mitigation projects. In 1986 test excavations occurred in front of Building 67 in response to the Veterans Administration proposal to install a stream line. It was believed that the proposed project area lawn is where Ostrogorsky's 1979 excavation had taken place (Statham 1982). Donald R. Sutherland, a Veterans Administration archaeologist, carried out test excavations of the lawn identifying several artifacts. Sutherland identified cartridges, nails,

glass, ceramic, and leather but nothing on the scale of the 1979 excavation (Sutherland 1986). Artifact recovery was not part of Sutherland's field methods with all artifacts, except for a whiteware bowl, being reburied. Based on the findings Sutherland deduced that the 1986 test excavations in front of Building 67 were either done peripherally to the 1979 area of concentration or that the Idaho State Historical Society were thorough in their artifact recovery (Sutherland 1979). The 1986 test excavations recommended that while no cultural resources would be immediately harmed by the stream line project, further investigations in the project area was recommended.

A cultural resource survey for a green stripping project in the Fort Boise Military Reserve occurred in 1988. The purpose of the green stripping project was to seed a portion of the reservation with native grasses that the Bureau of Land Management believed would act as a fire retardant (Davis 1988). Although 10AA161 was not in the project area but five sites related to the post were. Two of these sites, 10AA112 and 10AA113, are military dumps, 10AA115 is a wagon grade and road, 10AA116 is a flume bed, and 10AA118 is a target range (Davis 1988). It was determined that these sites were not in areas where green stripping would occur. Idaho State Historical Society identified several earthworks on top of the ridge between Freestone and Cottonwood creeks; these ranged from small to large depressions that were dug in conjunction with frequent military training conducted on the reserve (Davis 1988). 10AA112, the original Fort Boise military dump, yielded many historic artifacts such as brass buckles, uniform buttons, Minié balls, pearl buttons, military accoutrements, square nails, ceramic fragments, and household utensils (Davis 1988).

The results of the 1988 Phase III cultural resource inventory of 10AA112 are interesting, because Ostrogorsky reported finding no significant cultural resources within the project area (Polk et al. 1984). The other historic dump tested, 10AA113, yielded artifacts that dated to the First World War. Site 10AA115 was surveyed with the determination that it was the original stage road to Idaho City; no cultural resources were recovered or noted. The integrity of the old wagon road is undisturbed (Davis 1988). A flume bed, 10AA116 was documented as generally contouring to the hillside. No other work had been conducted around the area nor were any artifacts found. Site 10AA117 is a target

range operated by the Boise Police Department. The target range was documented on the valley floor with concrete retaining walls, enclosures, and a structure with earthen embankments (Davis 1988). No artifacts were documented. The final site surveyed, 10AA310 recovered several artifacts ranging from glass bottles, ceramics, nails, leather, shoes, barbed wire, and buckles. A small representative sample was collected for further study by the Idaho State Historical Society (Davis 1988). While not explicitly noted, several artifacts from 10AA112 were also collected with numerous munitions of the mid to late nineteenth century comprising the collection. The cultural resource survey did not find any resources within the project area but were able to document several sites within its vicinity. It was also noted that bottle hunting appeared to become more prevalent within the years since the first archaeological investigation leading to a decision to collect representative samples from 10AA112 and 10AA310.

Only one survey occurred during the 1990s. In 1994 SAIC conducted an intensive survey of 466 acres of the Veterans Administration Medical Center grounds. No documented resources were recovered or recorded (SAIC 1994). A geophysical investigation carried out on a portion of the site in 2000 by Sage Earth Sciences recorded no resources. The demolition of Buildings 1 and 2 at Fort Boise in 2001 were monitored by the Bureau of Reclamation. No cultural resources related to the historic period of the fort were recovered and the only cultural resource of note was a fragment of a bottle dating to 1940 (Sayer 2001). Further investigations were conducted by Materials, Testing, and Inspection Inc., with soil tests in three areas on the old Boise Armory property. The project was undertaken in response to the installation of a parking lot and drainage system adjacent to the armory. No cultural resources were observed during the project (Mauser 2003). In 2006 Tec Inc. began an intensive survey of three acres of Fort Boise, but the project was unable to locate any cultural resources (Tec. Inc. 2006). Further monitoring occurred between 2011 and 2014. Frontier Historical Consultants oversaw the demolition of Building 13 observing no cultural resources in 2011.

To celebrate the 150th anniversary of the founding of Fort Boise in 2014, the Veterans Administration, working with Preservation Idaho (a local historic preservation organization) sought to renovate Building 4 with the intent of reinstating it to its original historic integrity. Preservation Idaho

and the Veterans Administration extended an invitation to the University of Idaho to conduct salvage excavations on the area below the floorboards of the Surgeons Quarters front porch (Figures 3.3). The project recovered approximately 1,500 artifacts with most being related to the historic era of the post (May et al. 2018).

Figure 3.3. The Surgeons Quarters Prior to Excavation and Renovation, 2014.

The week-long investigation also incorporated metal detection in collaboration with an avocational metal detectorist who worked for the VA. All points located through the metal detection survey were not excavated or recorded via a global positioning system; artifacts were not recovered from metal detection as it was decided that the lawn was beyond the scope of the project. Finally, Utah State University Archaeological Services (USUAS) conducted a series of remote sensing surveys in early 2016. The area tested was scheduled to become a parking garage for the VA hospital. The investigation consisted of a magnetometer survey, metal detection, and ground penetrating radar (Peart et al. 2016). USUAS's survey informed a University of Idaho led Phase II archaeological investigation conducted during the summer of 2016. This investigation identified several anomalies during the

geospatial survey. Project archaeologists concluded that decades of landscaping likely altered the archaeological record (Campbell et al. 2017). From over forty years of archaeological investigations a large assemblage from Fort Boise has been removed from 10AA161 and other sites within the military reserve. Only a small portion of the collection has been generated through systematic excavation, with the rest being driven by survey work and casual collection from the site.

# Chapter 4
# Archaeological Data

In this chapter the archaeological data from the numerous excavations of Fort Boise will be summarized, highlighting the materials that help understand domestic life at the fort. Assemblages will be presented by material type and associated behavior. Unless otherwise noted, the data presented is an aggregation of all of the materials recovered from the numerous excavations that have been undertaken. It is important to acknowledge that some assemblages may hold artifact classes (such as ceramics or munitions) that are typically analyzed as part of one functional category but may actually contribute to other activities at the fort. Differences in use and artifact classes will be discussed in the following chapters. Artifacts pertaining to domestic life will be described in this section to highlight adult and child activities. In addition, where applicable nomenclature will be discussed so as to familiarize the reader with terms.

## Glass

Seventy glass vessels were recovered from Fort Boise (Table 4.1). Glass vessels were placed in four functional categories: alcoholic beverages, medicinal containers, household and personal items, and food. Differences within these functional categories will be discussed in the following section. As appropriate the origin of glass contents will be discussed. As noted in previous sections the assemblage of glass vessels was likely impacted by the collector's shovel.

**Table 4.1. Glass minimum vessel count**

| Glass Bottle Type | Count | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| **Alcohol** | 27 | 39 |
| **Proprietary Medicines** | 14 | 20 |
| **Household and Personal** | 17 | 24 |
| **Food Preparation** | 12 | 17 |
| **Total** | 70 | 100 |

Bottle nomenclature will be discussed as the terms applied may not be familiar to all readers (for a more concise discussion of bottle glass nomenclature see Wilson 1981 and Switzer 1974). The base of the bottle is the lowermost part or bottom upon which the vessel stands or rests. The body is the main part of the bottle. A kick-up refers to the steep rise or pushed-up part of the base; this is a

common feature of wine bottles. The shoulder is that part of the bottle which lies between the point of change in vertical tangency of the side and the base of the neck. The neck is constricted to the part of a bottle which lies between the point of vertical tangency at the end or top of the shoulder. Finally, the finish is the upper terminus of the bottles neck, designed to accommodate a fitted stopper or closure that secures all contents.

**Alcohol**

Alcohol represents the largest functional category of glass bottles recovered with twenty-seven identified. Sixteen of the bottles contained beer, six bottles contained wine or champagne, and five held other forms of liquor (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. From left to right, brandy, wine/champagne, and beer bottles.

None of the beer bottles have their original labels present and they lack any embossed label; however, four of the bottles have factory marks on the base of the bottles. Two of the bottles, of amber color, are manufactured by Reed and Company of Massillon, Ohio, which specialized in producing beer bottles from 1881 to 1904 (Lindsey 2009: Accessed May 2018). The other amber bottle with a

factory mark was manufactured by the Lindell Glass Company of St. Louis, Missouri (1875-1890) (SHA Bottle Glass Guide). The final bottle, a colorless vessel, was manufactured by the Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company of St. Louis, Missouri, (1891-1925). All identifiable bottles are domestically manufactured and were likely used after 1876 when pasteurization and refrigerated railcars were introduced, enabling American breweries to ship their product across country without spoiling (Clark 2014:98). Nine of the beer bottles are fragments and only identifiable by their neck and finish. One bottle recovered was identified by its base. Lager and stouts represent the beers drank on Fort Boise as no bottles exhibit hallmarks of an ale bottle.

Wine and champagne are the second largest category of alcoholic beverages with six vessels. None of the wine and champagne bottles have any labels, makers marks, or cork caps present. Two bottles recovered are whole, while four others recovered are identified by their bases with a distinct kick-up (Wilson 1981). Four of these bottles likely contained wine while only two had champagne. One of the champagne bottles, determined by its unique shape and size, contained a champagne lager beer popular on Western forts during the nineteenth century (Lindsey 2009: Accessed May 2018). Three of the wine and champagne bottles are of the "Bordeaux" shape, two are champagne styles, and one is a "Rhine" shape (Lindsey 2009: Accessed May 2018). The wine bottles of Fort Boise date to the 1860s-1880s.

Five bottles of spirits recovered represent other types of alcohol consumed. Three of the bottles recovered are whole and one bottle was identified by its finish and the other by its base. Two schnapps bottles were recovered with one being an amber green glass and the other a transparent blue glass. Both date between 1865 and 1890 and have no identifiable marks or embossing to indicate the manufacturer. One whisky bottle is colorless and has a plain body with no markings. One vessel recovered is a cognac bottle with a molded broad-collar neck finish. Similar bottles have been identified as "Old/Cognac Brandy" (Wilson 1981:21). Finally, one brandy bottle recovered has a broad, sloping collar neck finish. The unique bottle was only manufactured for a short period of ten years between 1880 and 1890 (Wilson 1981:21).

**Medicine Bottles**

Fourteen bottles containing proprietary medicines were recovered from Fort Boise. The nineteenth century was the heyday for proprietary medicines. The ingredients of these medicines often varied, containing less than savory remedies; several of these contained high levels of alcohol or other narcotics (Wilson 1981:39). Fort Boise was no different with customers consuming several of these proprietary medicines in hopes of curing ailments.

Twelve bottles are related to medicinal contents while three are bitters bottles. Six prescription bottles lack any embossing or other distinguishing marks. These bottles have been identified by their form and classified as medicine bottles (Wilson 1981:40). The six prescription bottles have long lost their paper labels and most have no discerning makers mark. Two prescription bottles were government issued being stamped "U.S.A./ HOSP. DEPT." All of the prescription bottles are colorless. Three bitters bottles were recovered from the 1979 excavation of Fort Boise. Bitters were a popular 'medicine' applied during the nineteenth century and ranged in size and alcohol content but remained the same in the ailments they claimed to cure (Wilson 1981:24). Two bitters bottles recovered were identified by the embossing on their body that indicated that they were "Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters" (Figure 4.2) (Wilson 1981:25). Bitters were styled as being able to cure dyspepsia, constipation, diarrhea, cholera, liver complaint, malaria, nervous headache, and overindulgence; its curative powers were not miraculous, so much as the brew was 47 percent alcohol, or 94-proof (Wilson 1981:23). One bitters bottle lacked any embossing and could not be identified by use.

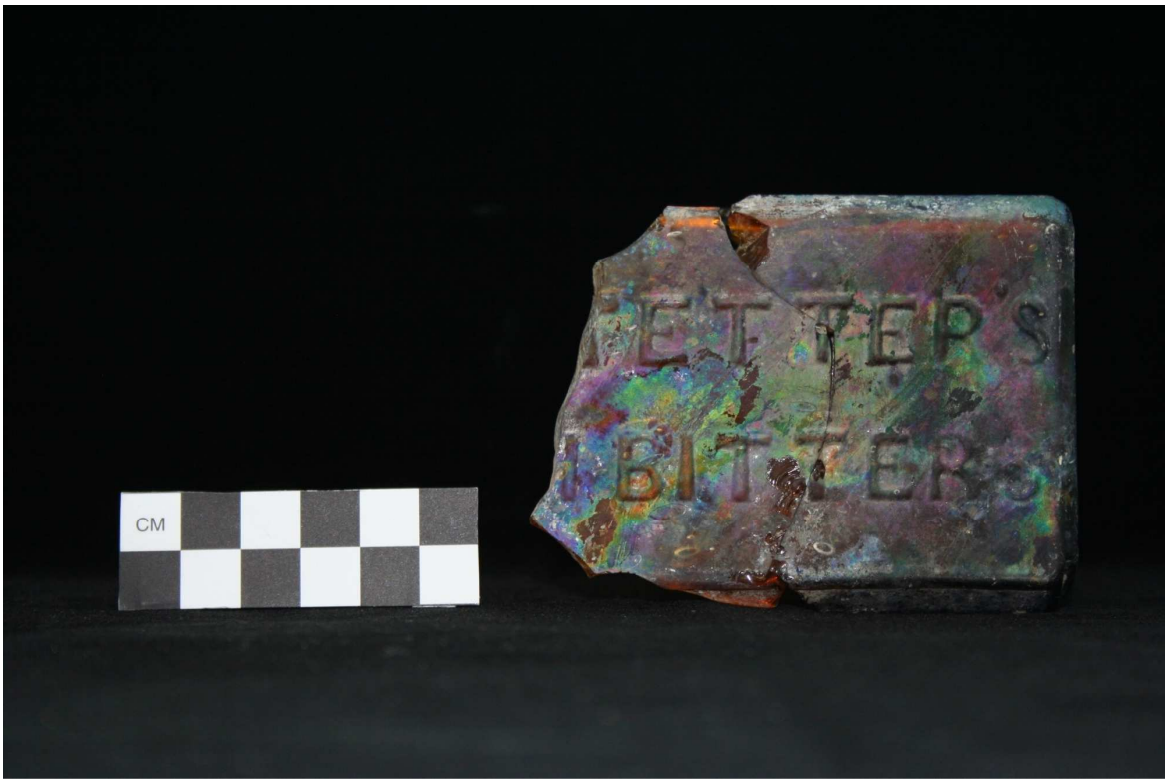


Figure 4.2. “Dr. J. Hostetter’s Stomach Bitters.” 1865-1885.

**Food**

Twelve food-related glass vessels were identified in the collection. Six of the vessels relate to food preparation. All six have been identified as “Lea and Perrins” sauces. The Worchester sauce of “Lea and Perrins” was not uncommon to Americans during the nineteenth century. The bottles were identified based on “Lea and Perrins” embossing on the bottle stopper. They were manufactured during the 1860s and 1870s before “Lea and Perrins” production was moved from England to New York (Switzer 1974:79). No labelling is present aside from the embossed labels on the stopper and base of these bottles. Five canning jars have embossed labels indicating they were manufactured by the “Pacific Glass Works*”* in San Francisco, California (Figure 4.3). The “Pacific Glass Works” manufactured this type of canning jar, mouth-blown and with the “improved Mason” finish, between 1867 and 1876 (Lindsey 2009: Accessed May 2018). Four of the jars are quart sized while the fifth is a half-gallon sized jar. All five of the jars were reconstructed during the 1979 field season.

Figure 4.3. Pacific Glass Works reconstructed jar.

**Household and Personal**

Seventeen glass vessels related to household and personal items were recovered. The vessels are associated with a variety of personal grooming and other household activities. Perfume and cologne containers were often small, transparent, and molded bottles. These bottles often lacked any embossing and instead were aesthetically chosen to resemble medicine bottles (Wilson 1981:64). Three perfume bottles were recovered. The bottles lack any embossing or labels and carry between three and five ounces of liquid. Two ink bottles were recovered. The bottles lack any embossing or labels but are identified by their distinct twelve-sided sloping base pattern (Wilson 1981:97). Seven vessels of pressed and cut glass were recovered from Fort Boise. Three of the cut glass vessels are ash trays. One pressed glass vessel is a tumbler while the other is a stylized bowl. The pressed pattern is highly stylized and ornamental. Two milk glass vessels are jar lids.

Five glass bottles recovered indicate concerns of hygiene. One glass vessel with the fading label "Van Burskirk's Fragrant Sozodont" was made for teeth and breath health; this bottle was

manufactured from 1865 to 1890 (Wilson 1981:80). Another bottle whose contents could have been used for oral hygiene was a Burnett's (Wilson 1981:64-65). One glass vessel was Vaseline bottle. Vaseline was manufactured by the Chesebrough Vaseline Manufacturing Company of New York and was manufactured between 1865 to 1890 (Wilson 1981:44). One unmarked extract bottle was also recovered. The bottle has no markings or labels to determine contents, but the oval shape indicates it was used as to store extracts (Switzer 1974:68).

**Ceramics**

Seventy-eight ceramic vessels, fragmentary and whole, were recovered (Table 4.2). Most were associated with the preparation and consumption of food, but some also were used for food storage, clerical activities, and smoking. Refined earthenware, stoneware, and porcelains are represented in the assemblages of Fort Boise. Most of the ceramics were supplied by the Quartermasters Department beginning in 1889 (USWD 1889:647). The fragmented ceramics suggest the U.S. Army policy to destroy all trash beyond recognition (USWD 1889). Despite the breakage of several, ceramic vessels were reconstructed when possible as part of earlier projects. For this thesis a Minimum Vessel Count (MVC) was performed for the entire assemblage based on rims, bases, wares, and pattern types. Certain patterns were identified as part of this process. U.S. Quartermaster supplied ironstone ceramics are utilitarian, undecorated, and have the makers mark "U.S.Q.M.D." (Herskovitz 1978:99). Other ceramics also indicate that utilitarian ceramics were personally acquired but it is the decorated ceramics, ironstone and porcelain, that detail purchasing power, personal tastes, and economic status of some individuals living on the fort.

**Table 4.2. Minimum number of ceramics**

| Ceramic Type | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| **Ironstone, undecorated** | 27 | 35 |
| **Ironstone, decorated** | 6 | 8 |
| **Refined white earthenware, undecorated** | 22 | 28 |
| **Porcelain, undecorated** | 3 | 4 |
| **Porcelain, decorated** | 2 | 3 |
| **Stoneware, glazed** | 10 | 13 |
| **Stoneware, unglazed** | 3 | 4 |
| **Pipe clay** | 5 | 6 |
| **Total** | 78 | 101 |

**Ironstone, undecorated and decorated**

Undecorated ironstone was the largest category of ceramics (n=27). Ironstone is generally undecorated and is considered to be somewhat of an everyday, utilitarian ware. Twenty-seven, or thirty-five percent, of the ceramics recovered are undecorated ironstone. Four of the undecorated ironstone vessels were identified as the result of government procurement with a "U.S.Q.M.D." maker's mark. These vessels are utilitarian and were supplied by the Quartermasters department (Herskovitz 1978:100). Other than the underglaze print, no manufacturers mark exists on these ceramics, although they were almost certainly produced by the Greenwood Pottery Company, Trenton, New Jersey. The Greenwood Pottery Company was in operation from 1868 to 1893 and became standard issue in the U.S. Army in 1889 when the Quartermasters department was charged with the issuing articles of tableware and kitchen utensils (USWD 1889:647. Herskovitz 1978:99).

One government issued ceramic is a St. Dennis style, typically used for coffee (Herskovitz 1978:100). Three plates recovered also have the same "U.S.Q.M.D." makers mark. Two of the undecorated ironstone vessels recovered had no maker's mark. One ironstone cup was a utilitarian mug manufactured in New Jersey. One cup had a Charles Meakin maker's mark on its base. The vessel was manufactured by Trent Pottery in Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England; Charles Meakin operated from 1876 to 1882 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:277).

Six ironstone ceramics were decorated; five have patterns on their rims while one is a stylized mug. One ironstone vessel has a molded pattern and is also polychrome with a hand painted decoration above glaze (Figure 4.4). A second vessel also has a polychrome pattern, but this pattern is under the glaze. Three ironstone vessels, all plates, annular decorations along their rim. Three of these vessels, whose rim has a solid blue line, have a luster decoration (Herskovitz 1978:100). One decorated ironstone vessel is an ash tray with the seal of the Veterans Administration. The seal of the Veterans Administration holds the date of 1930 and was likely created to commemorate the founding of the agency.

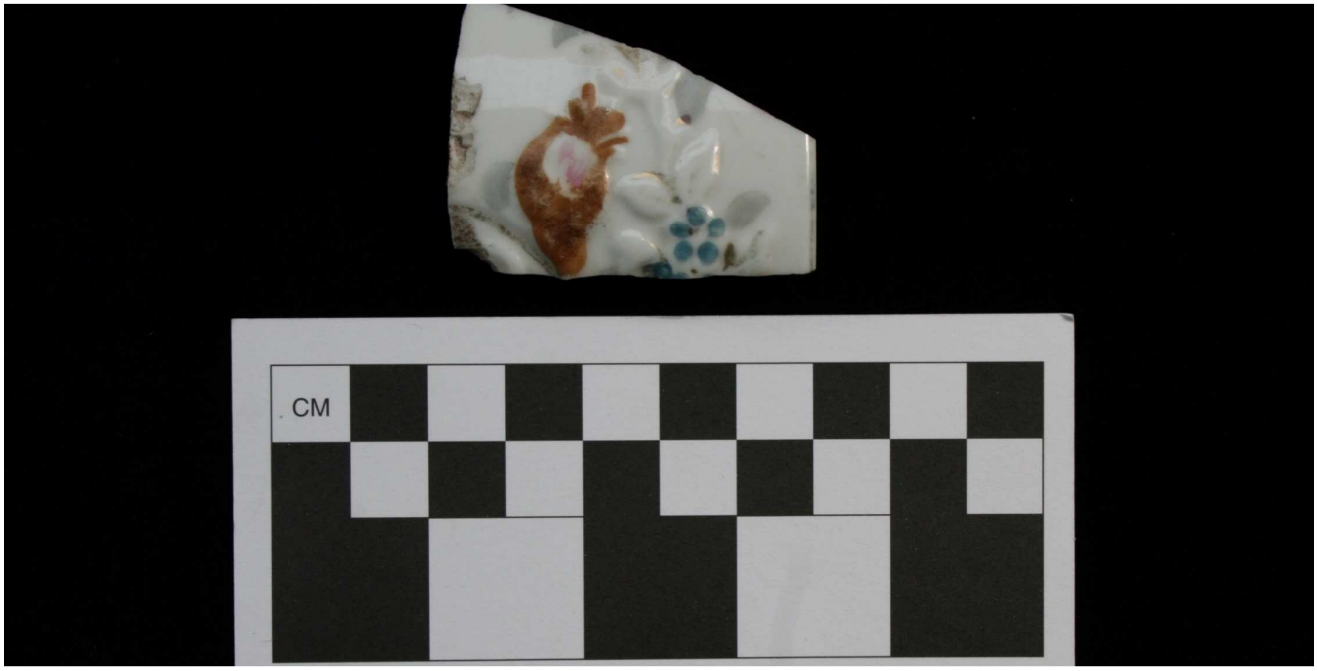


Figure 4.4. Hand-painted polychrome ironstone rim fragment.

**Refined white earthenware**

The second largest assemblage of ceramics is comprised of undecorated refined white earthenware (n=22). Nineteen of the undecorated whiteware items are plates, with two being cups or mugs, and one a bowl. Three of the whiteware vessels have makers marks; one has a maker's mark indicating American origin while the other two are products of England. One base indicates England as the country of origin being manufactured by Charles Meakin. Manufactured by Trent Pottery in Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England, Charles Meakin pottery operated from 1876 to 1882

(Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:277). The other is a partially reconstructed whiteware plate bearing the mark of William Adams from Tunstall, Stoke-On-Trent, Staffordshire, England (Figure 4.5).


Figure 4.5. William Adams makers mark on a reconstructed whiteware plate.

**Porcelain, undecorated and decorated**

Five porcelain vessels were recovered from Fort Boise. One was recovered from the 1979 excavation, one was recovered from the metal detection survey while three were from the Surgeons Quarters. Three of the porcelain vessels are undecorated while two are decorated. One of the decorated porcelain vessels is a transfer print pattern (Figure 4.6). The other porcelain vessel is decorated with a hand-applied over glaze polychrome pattern; however too much of the vessel is missing to discern the polychrome pattern. Both porcelain vessels are flatware. One undecorated porcelain vessel is a mug with a maker's mark indicating Germany as the nation of origin. The other two porcelain vessels were utilitarian items, one being an inkwell and the other being a candle stick holder.

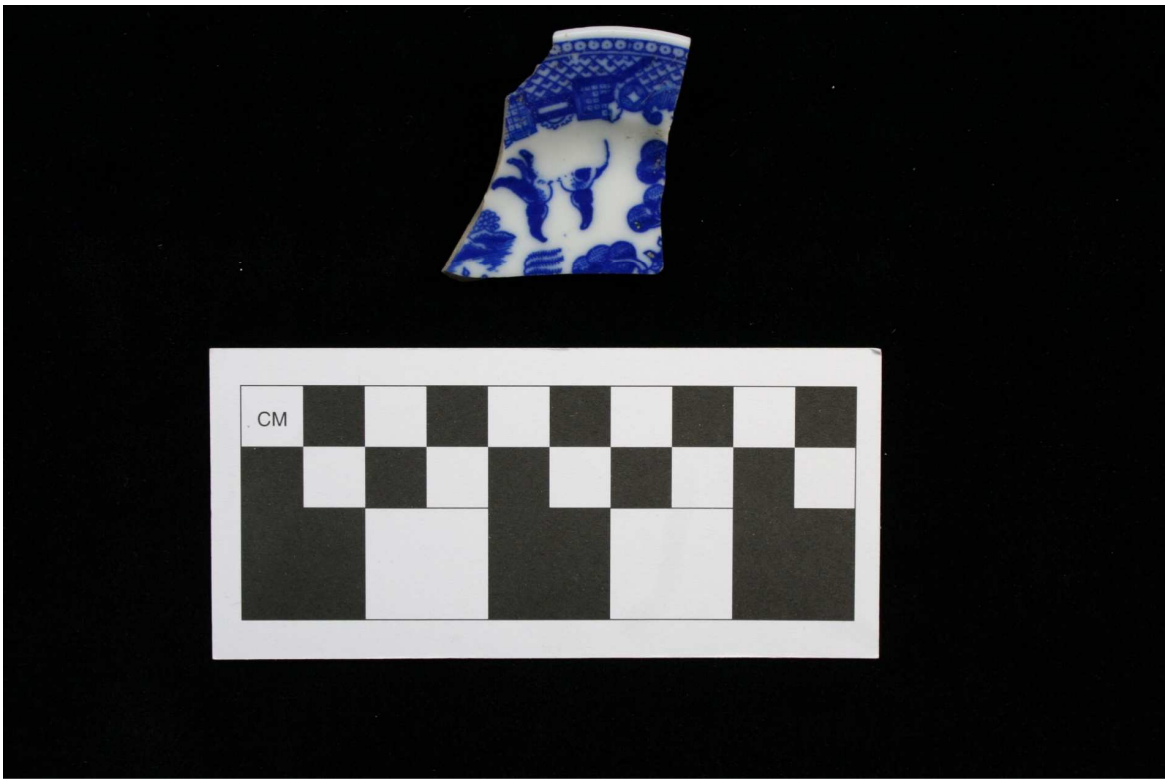


Figure 4.6. Transfer printed porcelain fragment.

**Stoneware, glazed and unglazed**

Thirteen stoneware vessels were recovered; ten are glazed while three are unglazed. Three ink bottles have a maker's mark stamped onto the body of the bottles indicating that these were made in London by "P.J. Arnold" (Switzer 1974:68). The "P.J. Arnold" ink bottles were bulk items and were commonly purchased in the West (Wilson 1981:104). The other seven glazed vessels are all unmarked. These are all salt glazed vessels and were likely used in food storage and preparation. The three unglazed vessels are all low fired.

**Smoking**

A total of five artifacts associated with smoking have been recovered. Four are pipe stems and one is a partial pipe bowl. All smoking pipe stems and bowl are white clay pipes made of ball-clay (Herskovitz 1978:117). The principal form of clay pipes has remained the same for centuries; the first recorded clay pipe was manufactured in England in 1573, with manufacturing lasting into the twentieth century (Ayto 1999:4). All four clay pipe stems differ in diameter size (Figure 4.7). Two

have partial maker's mark present with the other three have no indication as to their make; neither of the maker's mark in two of the stems is identifiable. One partially complete pipe bowl was recovered during the 2014 excavation of the Surgeons Quarters. Only the front and partial base of the bowl survive with a sliver of the rear bowl also surviving. The partial bowl, although damaged, was a relatively stylized pipe, with molded patterns; the bowl has a raised '15' on one side.


Figure 4.7. Clay pipe stems from Fort Boise, note the stamps on stems on either end.

**Personal Items**

Six-hundred and twenty-five artifacts pertaining to domestic life were recovered throughout contexts on Fort Boise (Tables 4.3). The majority of the domestic assemblage was recovered from the Surgeons Quarters. The domestic assemblage has been broken down into associated use or functional category where applicable.

**Table 4.3. Personal Items**

| Type | Count | Context | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Jewelry** | 8 | 10AA161; 1979 excavation; one locket bracket from 2016 investigation | Two rings; two pendants; 1 gilded chain; two locket brackets |
| **Buttons and Beads** | 152 | 8 from the 1979 excavation; 144 from the Surgeons Quarters | |
| **Metal Brackets/decoration** | 9 | 10AA161; 1979 excavation | Several stylized household brackets |
| **Watch and clock parts** | 16 | 1979 excavation | |
| **Smoking accessories** | 5 | 1979 excavation and Surgeons Quarters | Two synthetic stems and two stylized bowl covers; one match cover |
| **Coins** | 5 | Three from the Surgeons Quarters; two from the 1979 excavation. | Date between 1874-1896 |
| **Utensils** | 12 | 10AA161;1979 excavation. | Two pocket knives |
| **Food Packaging/Labelling** | 19 | Surgeons Quarters and the 1979 excavation. | |
| **Leisure and recreational activities** | 399 | 1979-2016 archaeological investigations. | Adult and child activities, such as toys or games, have been combined here but will be discussed separately. |

**Jewelry**

Eight pieces of jewelry were recovered from Fort Boise. Two of these are rings with one being costume jewelry while the other is handwrought. The handwrought ring has a distinct lionhead emblem motif. The lion headed emblem is not a motif of the U.S. Army and was likely to be a personal artifact. The lionhead motif does reoccur once in the Fort Boise collection. Two pendants were recovered with one being a lionhead motif. The other is a fish motif and was likely a charm. One

gilded chain was recovered and was likely used in costume jewelry. Two locket brackets were recovered with one (Figure 4.8) of plain pattern and make while the other is highly stylized and ornate.


Figure 4.8. Locket Fragment, Recovered from Fort Boise's Parade Ground, 2016.

**Buttons and Bead**

One hundred and fifty-two nonmilitary buttons and beads were recovered (Crawford in May et al. 2018). Eight domestic buttons were recovered during the 1979 excavation. Two of these are metal buttons and are heavily rusted. Three glass buttons were also recovered. Three mother of pearl buttons, all three made of shell, were recovered. One hundred and forty-four were recovered from the Surgeons Quarters. Twenty-one are small plastic beads, nineteen being colorless and two blue. Five other beads found are three red hexagonal, one black hexagonal, and one long black glass bead. Two glass beads found may not be beads at all with their jagged edges and lack of shape. Two characteristic buttons uncovered were a plastic flower shaped with a metal shank and a large cut-glass button.

Several buttons of bone, shell, and plastic were recovered. These buttons include eight pearlescent shell two-hole buttons, eight pearlescent shell four-hole, five matte shell four-hole with

one damaged in the center, and two matte shell two-hole buttons. Four wooden buttons were recovered and two had four-holes, one was a four-hole, and one was single-hole button. Two buttons were a two-hole button made of bone and the other to be a two-hole made from bone. Plastic or synthetic buttons include six basic white four-hole, one glassy white 4-hole, two decorated white 4-hole one with engraved patterns and the other with a gold painted rim. Two black buttons are two-hole. Other plastic buttons include an orange pearlescent four-hole and a tortious shell colored button.

Seven metallic buttons with some basic in design and a few with distinct motifs were recovered. Three four-hole buttons were excavated, two with engraved crosshatch work, one with seven button holes that could alternatively be the post to a button socket and one with faded embossing. Lastly, a metal shanked button featured the motif of a person's face emerging out of a tree or star. The rest of the assemblage is comprised of rusted metal buttons. Eight four-hole buttons, three small and five large, four indiscernible rounds, and four snap-style sockets that look to have been previously covered in materials from the fiber textured remnants.

**Food Packaging/Labelling**

Nineteen food packages and labels were recovered. Five ice cream tabs were recovered from the Surgeons Quarters. These date to the early 1900s and are from the Boise Ice Cream Company. One "Hutchinson" stopper was recovered and was commonly used in soda beverages. Seven can lids were recovered with only one retaining its embossed mark indicating it was "Willows of Boston." One first aid packet lid was recovered but is too heavily oxidized for any further information to be discerned from its label. Two cardboard butter labels were recovered but are heavily decayed. Two foil labels, likely belonging to wine or champagne bottles, were recovered. One is crushed with only a grape vine discernable on the label while the other is from "Crosse and Blackwell: Purveyors to Her Majesty, London." One soap case was recovered with the impressed label of "Toller Soap."

**Utensils**

Twelve utensils were recovered whose use range from utilitarian tools to refined dining practices. Two of the utensils are pocket knives; one has a synthetic handle while the other is of

sterling silver. The sterling silver pocket knife was used as a fruit knife and has an ornamental handle. One bottle opener and one wine corkscrew were recovered with both being heavily rusted. One flapjack spatula was recovered and is labelled as the "Albers Flapjack Four/Peacock Buckwheat Flour." Two sugar tongs were recovered and are highly stylized pieces. Five utensils were recovered, two are rusted, two are silver nickel, and one is a silver butter knife. The silver butter knife and one of the silver nickel are ornamental while the four other utensils have no decoration. The silver butter knife is manufacture by the Rogers Brothers in 1847 (Figure 4.9).


Figure 4.9. Rogers Bros. silver butter knife, 1979 excavation.

**Leisure and Recreational Activities**

One hundred and fifty-nine objects of leisure have been recovered (Table 4.4). These have been broken down into two functional categories of games and recreational firearms. Leisure activities at the fort have been indicated throughout archaeological remains and from historic sources. Where possible adult activities (such as drinking) are discussed separately

from children's activities, but it is important to note that in some instances the line of separation was not clear as families engaged in leisure activities together.

**Table 4.4. Adult Leisure Activities**

| Type | Count | Context | Comment |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Domestic Activities** | 10 | Two from the 1979 excavation; one from the Surgeons Quarters. | Two dominoes of plain wood; one stylized, thick, and made of two woods. One playing card. Four poker chips, and one bone embroidery/ croquet hook. |
| **Recreational Firearms** | 149 | Found in all contexts | See Tables 4.5-4.6 |

**Domestic Activities**

Three dominoes show domestic pursuits by both officers and their families as well as enlisted men. One domino is of higher quality, and was found from the Surgeons Quarters, while the other two were simple wooden pieces that may have been manufactured but also could have been handmade. One playing card, faded, was recovered and evidences the presence of card games on the post. Four bone poker chip fragments were also recovered and were likely used by enlisted men in poker games (Figure 4.10). One bone crochet hook was recovered from the Surgeons Quarters. The crochet hook was found broken in different units of the Surgeons Quarters excavation, but the ends mend. Two puzzle pieces were recovered and were likely from the later period of the fort's occupation (1890s-1913). Domestic game and activities were recovered from different contexts on Fort Boise, however other assemblages, such as firearms, indicate other recreational activities by the post's inhabitants.


Figure 4.10. Bone poker chip fragments from Fort Boise.

**Recreational Firearms**

Archaeological investigations have recovered a wide variety of firearms on Fort Boise. Many of these items (n=2,300) have been identified as military issue and are discussed in the site report (May et al. 2018). This section summarizes the firearms that were likely used for non-military purposes.

Recreational cartridges were recovered from several contexts on Fort Boise. The collection will be presented in two parts; the first being a general summary of recreational cartridges and .22 calibers, which due to the latter's size has been given its own tables and will be discussed independently. Thirty-five recreational cartridges were recovered and are presented in Table 4.5. Projectiles relating to recreational firearms use were also recovered but the assemblage is small and limited to buckshot; because of this, analysis of cartridges provides a better insight into this recreational activity on Fort Boise.

**Table 4.5. Recreational Cartridges of Fort Boise, 1863-1913**

| Caliber | Type | Associated Firearm (s) | Count | Comments | Date Range | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **.45-60** | Center fire | Winchester 1876 Centennial Model Rifle | 2 | One unfired but missing projectile | 1879-1892 | Barnes 1997:136. |
| **.44** | Center fire | Henry and Winchester rifles | 12 | One with missing primer | 1860s; uncommon after. | Suydam 1960:97. |
| **.44** | Center fire | J.M. Marlin Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2 | 8 | Long Ballard; sporting | 1876; only available for a handful of years after. | Suydam 1960:110. Barnes 1997:130. |
| **.41** | | | 3 | | | Barber 1987. |
| **.38** | Rim fire | Various | 4 | | 1867-1875 | Barber 1987:48. Barnes 1997:386. |
| **.25-30** | Center fire | Remington Model 8 Rifle | 1 | | 1906-1940 | Barnes 1997:103. |
| **12 Gauge** | | Shotgun | 5 | 4 short and 1 long; Two W.R.C.A. Co./Rival produced between 1870s-early 1900s; One Winchester—likely the earliest; One U.M.C.Co. 12 Nitro Club—Modern; One S.R.A. & Co. | 1870s-early 1900s | Herskovitz 1978:51. |

Two .45-60 caliber cartridges were identified as being associated with a Winchester 1876 Centennial Model Rifle. The rifle and cartridges were in use between 1879 and 1892; the rifle was popularized by President Teddy Roosevelt and typically used for hunting (Barnes 1997:136). Twelve .44 caliber cartridges recovered are associated with Henry and Winchester rifles. The .44 caliber

cartridges were blanks and typically used to demonstrate the rate of fire with these rifles. The .44 caliber blank cartridge was used in Henry and Winchester rifles during the 1860s but became uncommon after this decade (Suydam 1960:97). Eight .44 caliber cartridges recovered are associated with the J.M. Marlin Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2 (Figure 4.11). These long Ballard cartridges were used for sporting purposes beginning in 1876 and were only available for a handful of years (Suydam 1960:110; Barnes 1997:130).


Figure 4.11 J.M Ballard Sporting rifle no. 2 cartridges.

Four .38 caliber rimfire cartridges were recovered from the Surgeons Quarters and 1988 survey (Figure 4.12). The .38 caliber rimfire cartridge was popular on the frontier between 1867 and 1875 with some use and manufacture being recorded into the early twentieth century (Barnes 1997:386). The .38 caliber rimfire cartridge was typically used for hunting or target practice and was used in numerous rifles and pistols (Barber 1987:48). One center-fire .25-30 caliber cartridge likely came from the post's later period. The .25-30 caliber cartridge was recovered from the 1988 survey.

The .25-30 caliber cartridge is associated with the Remington Model 8 Rifle and was manufactured between 1906 and 1940 (Barnes 1997:103). Five 12-gauge shotgun caps were recovered and range in date between the 1870s to the early 1900s (Herskovitz 1978:51). Shotguns were not furnished by the U.S. Army until 1881 and even then, a 20-gauge was adopted rather than the 12-gauge (McChristian 2007:173). Shotguns represent hunting as they were not inherently used in combat until the First World War.

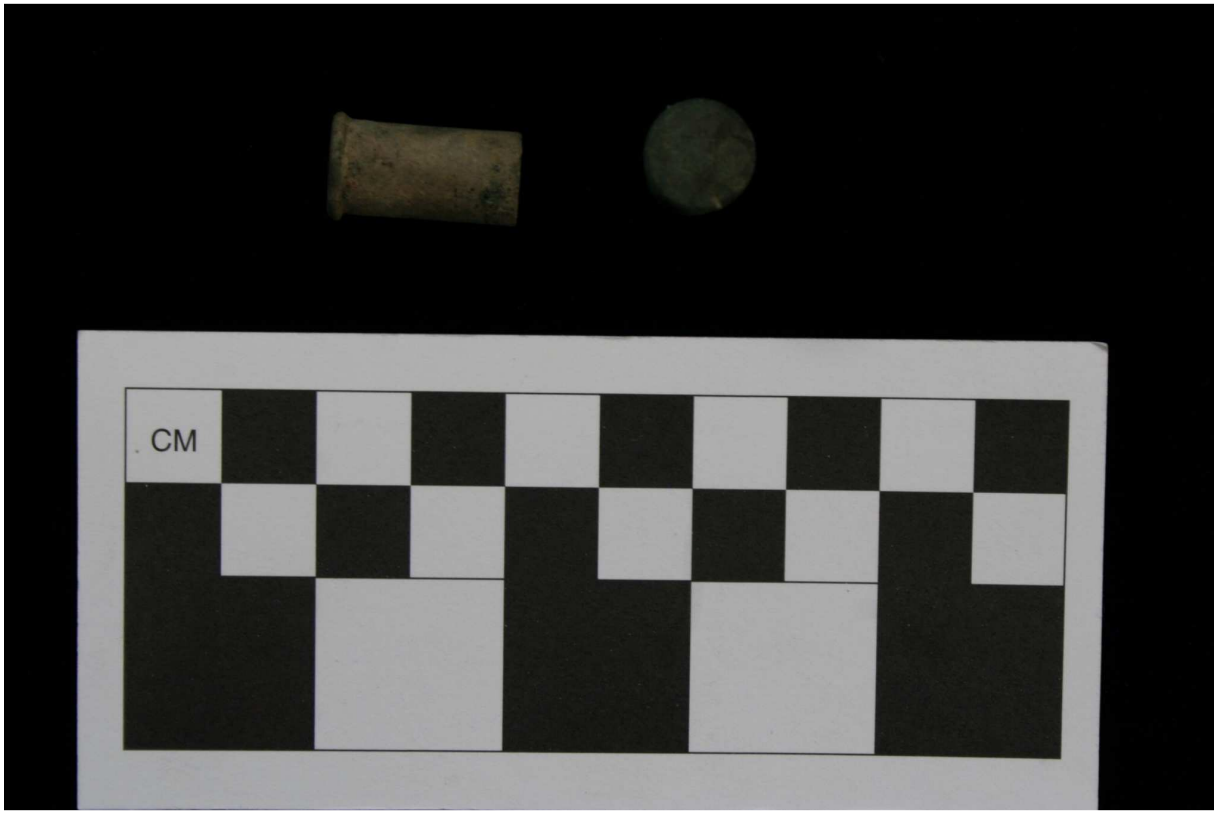


Figure 4.12 .38 caliber cartridge, rimfire.

The largest category of recreational cartridges recovered were the one-hundred and fourteen .22 caliber cartridges (Table 4.6). All .22 caliber cartridges are rimfire and come in three categories: Bullet Breech (or B.B.), short, and long (Figure 4.13). Thirty-two cartridges were manufactured by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, denoted by an impressed "H" head stamp. These cartridges were manufactured from 1867-1926 but cannot date before 1895 because this is when the impressed "H" head stamp replaced a raised "H" stamp (Barber 1987:55). Forty-five of the .22 caliber cartridges recovered were from the Union Metallic Cartridge Company. The make of these .22 caliber cartridges

is indicated by an impressed “U”. The impressed “U” was the third head stamp used by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company and was introduced in 1885 (Barber 1987:48). The impressed “U” head stamp style was prevalent until 1911 and began to fade out until 1916 when Union Metallic merged with the Remington Arms Company; after this the head stamp was changed to include a circle around the impressed “U” (Barber 1987:82).


Figure 4.13 Short and long .22 caliber cartridges.

**Table 4.6. .22 caliber cartridges (B.B., short, and long) of Fort Boise, 1863-1913**

| Head stamp | Count | Company | Date Range | Comments | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **"H"** | 32 | Winchester Repeating Arms Company | 1867-1926 | Small impressed "H" introduced around 1895; 20 short, 12 long. | Barber 1987:55. |
| **"U"** | 45 | Union Metallic Cartridge Company | 1867-1911 | Impressed "U" emerges in 1885; 19 short and 26 long. | Barber 1987:48. |
| **Blank (No head stamp)** | 13 | | 1857 – 1875 | High percent of rounds produced in 1860-1870 had no head stamp; ten short, three long. | Barber 1987:1. |
| **"U.S."** | 6 | United States Cartridge Company | 1869 – 1926 | One a mini or B.B. round; 1 short and 4 long | Barber 1987:51. |
| **"P"** | 6 | Peters Cartridge Company | 1895-1926 | One with projectile intact; slanting "*P"* indicates pre-1920 origin; all short. | Barber 1987:64. |
| **"Peters HV"** | 6 | Peters Cartridge Company | 1895-1967 | One with projectile intact; all long cartridges. | Barber 1987:83. |
| **"R"** | 3 | Robin Hood Ammunition Company | 1906 - 1915 | Manufactured in Swanton, Vermont; all three short cartridges | Barber 1987:69. |
| **"Diamond"** | 2 | Western Cartridge Company | 1908 – 1926 | One short, one long cartridge | Barber 1987:86. |
| **"F"** | 1 | Federal Primer Corporation | 1916-1918 | Top bar of letter "F" is long indicating it is manufactured by the F.P.C. long cartridge. | Barber 1987:73. |

Thirteen .22 caliber cartridges with no head stamp are amongst the first manufactured. A significant percentage of .22 caliber cartridges produced between 1860 and the 1870s had no head stamp which makes dating them easier but hinders any determination of manufacturer (Barber 1987:1). Six cartridges from the United States Cartridge Company date between 1909 and 1926. The United States Cartridge Company is denoted by an impressed "U.S." head stamp and was introduced when the National Lead Company purchased a 50% interest in the company (Barber 1987:52). One of the two cartridges is a bullet breech, or B.B. round, which was introduced in the late 1870s with the intention of attracting individuals to the sport of riflery (Suydam 1960:45). Twelve cartridges were manufactured by the Peters Cartridges Company from 1895 to 1926. One of the cartridges has its projectile intact. The impressed, and slanting, "P" indicates a pre-1920 origin for the make of this cartridge (Barber 1987:64). Three .22 caliber cartridges recovered were manufactured by the Robin Hood Ammunition Company. The cartridge has an impressed "R" and was manufactured in Swanton, Vermont, between 1906 and 1915 (Barber 1987:69). Two cartridges recovered were manufactured by the Western Cartridge Company between 1908 and 1926; the cartridge has an impressed diamond shape as its head stamp (Barber 1987:86).

**Children's Toys**

Two hundred and forty-two artifacts attributed to the activities of children were recovered (Table 4.7). Toys are not expected to be found on a military site but have been found throughout archaeological investigations on Fort Boise. Toys have been recovered in several archaeological contexts at Fort Boise, but the bulk of the toy assemblage came from the 2014 excavation of the Surgeons Quarters. Toys will be summarized by functional type in this chapter with further analysis of their use by children, and adults, being explored in the following chapters. The diversity toy assemblage recovered from Fort Boise has manufactured, homemade, and found objects of play.

**Table 4.7. Children's toys recovered from Fort Boise**

| Type | Count | Context |
|---|---|---|
| **Marbles** | 9 | One from 10AA161; Eight from Surgeons Quarters. |
| **Dolls** | 17 | One from 10AA161; eighteen from Surgeons Quarters. |
| **Writing utensils** | 21 | Three from 10AA161; nineteen from Surgeons Quarters (11 are crayon) |
| **Game Pieces** | 3 | Surgeons Quarters |
| **Metal toys** | 4 | Two from 10AA161; two from Surgeons Quarters |
| **Homemade toys** | 14 | Surgeons Quarters |
| **Paper Toys** | 143 | Surgeons Quarters |
| **Synthetic toys** | 3 | Surgeons Quarters |
| **Lithics** | 28 | Surgeons Quarters |

Marbles comprise the most common artifacts attributed to children on nineteenth century sites. The United States was a major market for these toys, with millions of them being imported into the country from Germany (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:55). Eight marbles were recovered from the 2014 excavation (Table 4.8). Three marbles, including a porcelain, were from the earliest occupation. The porcelain, or "Chinas," marble was made in Germany as identified by its bullseye, hand painted pattern, and glazed or unglazed form (Figure 4.14). Marbles from this period and make are defined by this bullseye pattern which occurs as three diametrically opposed patterns (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:63).

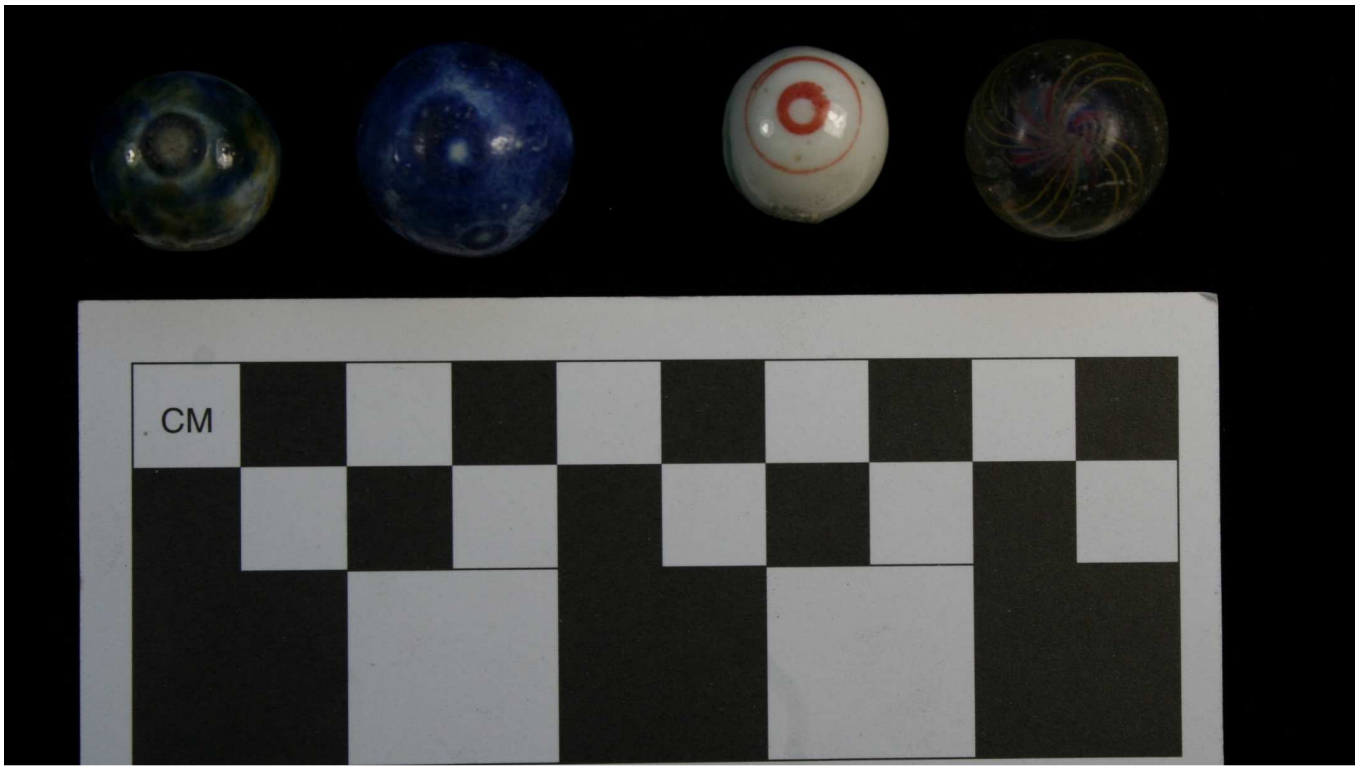


Figure 4.14. Sample of marbles; from left to right two crockery marbles, one porcelain, and one handmade glass.

**Table 4.8. Marble seriation**

| Marble Type | Date Range | Count | Comments | Context | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Porcelain; also called "Chinas"** | 1850s-1860s | 3 | Bullseye pattern on marble, was a common made in Germany stamp; hand painted; one glazed, two unglazed | Surgeons Quarters | Carskadden and Gartley 1990:57, 63. |
| **"Crockery" Clay based marble** | 1870s-1880s | 2 | Crockery marbles; clay based; small pock marks on their sides where they rested against the other during firing process; | Surgeons Quarters | Randall 1971:103. |
| **Hand-made glass** | 1846-1914 | 3 | Likely imported from Germany; identifiable by two indistinguishable by spots. | Surgeons Quarters | Randall 1971:104. |

Hand-made glass marbles recovered from the Surgeons Quarters were likely made in Germany. United States manufacturers were late to production and only the advent of the First World War would supplant Germany as the foremost manufacturer of children's toys. It would not be until the 1920s that M.F. Christensen of Akron, Ohio, inventor of the automatic glass marble making machine, that American marble makers were able to enjoy major inroads into the American market (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:55). Hand-made marbles are distinguishable from machine-made by the presence of two irregular spots at opposite sides; these spots occur at points where the marble was twisted and cut from a glass rod, and then ground to a rough finish (Randall 1971:104). The two hand-made marbles from Fort Boise have substantial wear from use but do exhibit these marks (Figure 4.15) (Randall 1971:104).

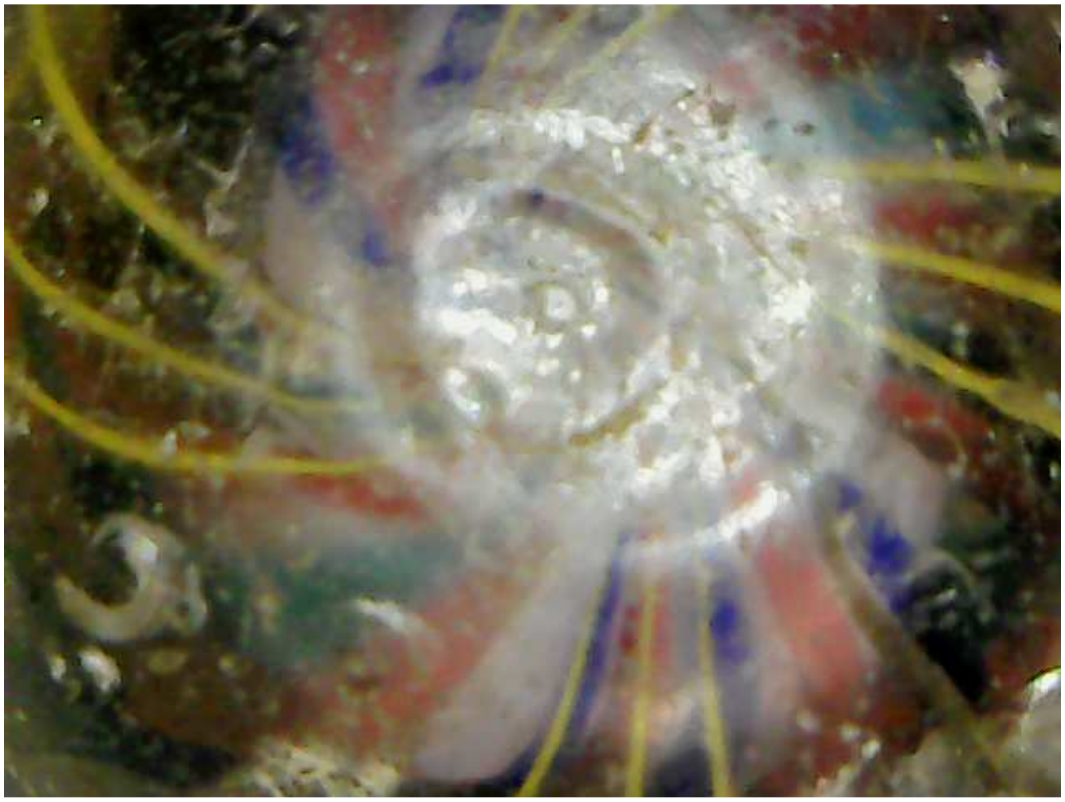

Figure 4.15 Irregular spot on marble indicating it was handmade.

Seventeen dolls parts, clothing, and accessories were recovered. The only complete doll recovered was one Frozen Charlotte doll. The rest are fragmentary and the result of children's

activities that will be discussed in the following chapter. Nine fragments of the dolls themselves were recovered. Five fragments are porcelain bisque, which form the body and head of the doll, while four eyes, each appearing different, were recovered. The most complete of the doll eyes are different in size and are likely the result of more than one doll. Two ceramic doll teacups and one pewter saucer were recovered from the Surgeons Quarters. One leather doll shoe was also recovered (Figure 4.16). Three articles of dolls clothing were recovered; one is a blouse, with another being a dress, and the other is a sock.


Figure 4.16. Leather doll shoe from the Surgeons Quarters.

Twenty-one writing utensils, two from the 1979 excavation and nineteen from the Surgeons Quarters, were recovered. While undoubtedly speaking to the activities of enlisted men, officers, and their wives the assemblage also indicates the literacy and play of children. Four slate pencils and six wood pencils were recovered. Eleven crayons were recovered from the Surgeons Quarters. Three gaming pieces, two jacks and a puzzle piece, were also recovered. Four metal toy wheels were also

recovered. Three synthetic (rubber) animals, a lion, a dog, and one unidentified item, were recovered from the Surgeons Quarters.

Paper toy fragments are the largest assemblage of toys with one hundred and forty-three recovered. Several of the paper toys, decayed and fragmentary, have yarn present indicating some may have been paper dolls. The paper toys have faint “Made in Germany” stamps. This was not uncommon as Germany dominated the toy industry during the nineteenth century (Schroeder and Cohen 1971). While many patterns have since faded some motifs are discernable and indicate that these were colorful toys with different patterns for the children to play with. The toys have letters present also which may speak to the educational purposes of the paper toy assemblage (Figures 4.17 and 4.18).

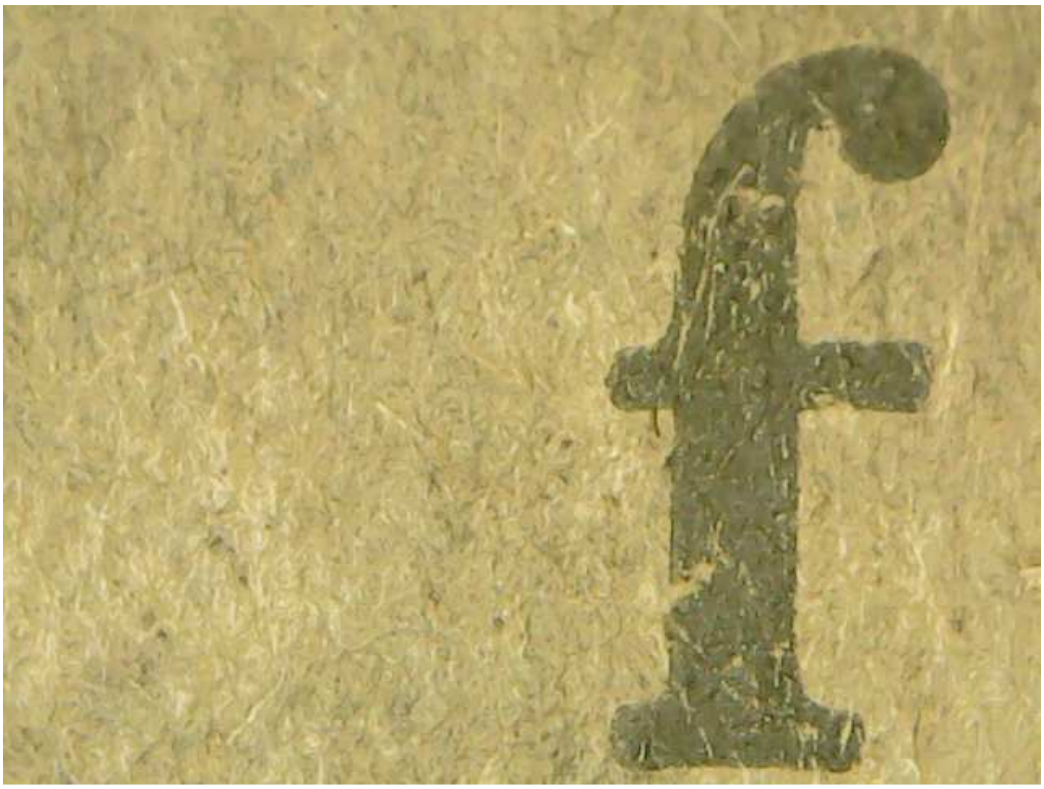

Figure 4.17. Letter on a paper toy fragment

Figure 4.18. Letter and bullseye pattern on paper toys.

Handmade toys ranged from accessories for manufactured toys to invented items of amusement (Table 4.9). Cloth, wood, and even dirt formed the basis of handmade toys (Grover 1992: 177). Many homemade innovations were made for dolls; items such as cloth have been cut and shaped to act as accessories, the result of mending, or the alteration of said dolls. Scraps of cloth found alongside manufactured goods may appear as decayed remnants of purchased toys but in actuality represent other outlets of child's play.

**Table 4.9. Homemade toys of the Surgeons Quarters**

| Toy Type | Count | Material |
|---|---|---|
| **Bayonet/Dagger** | 1 | Milled wood |
| **Cloth altered for dolls** | 12 | Cotton |

Play tools included sticks, stones, dirt, water, wind, sky and clouds, leaves, flowers, vines, tree limbs, rope, string, spools from sewing, various types of boxes, and even scraps of cloth (Grover 1992:178). Various objects may have been deposited by children, and we can assume this behavior because of overt handmade objects of amusement. A hand whittled bayonet/dagger from the Surgeons

Quarters is a handmade object (Figure 4.19). The hand whittled bayonet/dagger appears to be carved out of milled wood and is distinctly shaped. Other handmade objects recovered from the Surgeons Quarters are twelve fragments of cloth that were altered for dolls. Some of these may have been found objects but, as will be discussed in the following chapter, several homemade efforts went to provide dolls with accessories as well as repurpose them.


Figure 4.19. Handmade bayonet/dagger from the Surgeons Quarters

Twenty-eight lithic flakes from Fort Boise's Surgeons Quarters are probably the direct result of children interacting with their environment through learned behavior (Table 4.10). The presence of lithics, as well as how and why they were deposited by the Fitzgerald children, will be discussed in the following chapter. Twenty-two of the lithics recovered are obsidian, two are chert, one flint, and three pebble sized stones (Figure 4.20). The assemblage is comprised of undersurface flakes, likely the result of retouches from pressure flaking.

**Table 4.10. Lithics recovered from the Surgeons Quarters Porch**

| Type | Count | Percent | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Obsidian** | 22 | 78 | Percussion flakes, reduction flakes, and pressure flakes evident. |
| **Chert** | 2 | 7 | Percussion flakes |
| **Flint** | 1 | 4 | Fluted |
| **Other** | 3 | 11 | Pebbles |
| **Total** | 28 | 100 | |


Figure 4.20. Sample of lithics recovered from the Surgeons Quarters. From left to right: flint, chert, and two obsidian flakes.

# Chapter 5
# The Pleasanter Surroundings of Fort Boise

This chapter explores domestic life on Fort Boise through the historic and archaeological records. It is based on the archaeological materials summarize in the previous chapter. While materials from all these excavations are included this analysis, the excavation of Fort Boise's Surgeons Quarters provides the most robust data set as the provenience of the archaeological materials is well documented (see May et al. 2018). Looting has undoubtedly led to the loss of materials, particularly glass, but it does not impact the overall discussion of domestic life on a military fort. Archaeological assemblages recovered do provide interesting insight into the domestic activities of officers, their wives, enlisted men, and children. The recovered assemblages, coupled with the historic record, indicate the variety of domestic activities that occurred on Fort Boise that ultimately shaped a frontier post and burgeoning culture.

## Enlisted Men

The reality of this thesis is that the lives of enlisted men are rather ephemeral in the archaeological record. Materials recovered from Fort Boise were largely indicative of the officer class whose status and position held the capacity to purchase nonmilitary items (Scott 1989:23). Although enlisted men's ability to purchase luxury items was limited and aspects of leisure pursuits drew them to activities off of Fort Boise, some of the activities of their leisure time are observable through consultation of the historic record that lists activities like glee clubs, reading, and music. Garrison life of enlisted men was characterized by scarcity. While officers enjoyed private homes in officers' row, enlisted men were confined to barracks (Figure 5.1). The experience of enlisted men was defined by short bursts of extreme excitement and long periods of monotony. When not on campaign, the drills, guard duty, and boredom dominated, all while enlisted men lacked even the most basic of items and limited personal space (Hilleary et al. 1965:168).


Figure 5.1. Interior of the soldier's quarters, Fort Boise, date unknown. ISHS Archives.

Enlisted men were fond of recreational drinking, music, prostitutes, and card games. William Hilleary, a volunteer stationed at Fort Boise, observed the most popular game amongst soldiers was poker (Hilleary et al. 1965:154). The four bone poker chips (Figure 5.2) and one playing card recovered speak to the popularity of the game. Enlisted men were noted to pass copious amounts of time playing poker often keeping the light burning until midnight (Hilleary et al. 1965:150). Gambling and card games were often all that some enlisted men had to pass the time. Others, like Hilleary, preferred to participate in less fraught pursuits, and chose to read or play music (Hilleary et al. 1965:151-152). Gambling was frequently mentioned as the cause of numerous problems and deaths on Fort Boise. As noted in Chapter 2 one soldier was sought out by private citizens for gambling debts and sought sanctuary in the fort's prison only to be shot by an on-duty guard who panicked (Hilleary et al. 1965:177). Risk in activities available to enlisted men resulted in less than savory situations. Events were punctuated by enlisted men who voraciously consumed alcohol.


Figure 5.2. Bone poker chips recovered from the 1979 excavation.

If poker was the favored game, consumption of beer was the preferred pastime. Beer was so sought after that enlisted men sold clothes to gain it as "if their brains were already crazed" (Hilleary et al. 1965:149). The thirst of enlisted men led to many issues of insubordination on Fort Boise. Hangovers, by enlisted men and officers, often delayed morning inspections (Hilleary et al. 1965:153). Despite alcohol-induced insubordination and apathy, libations flowed frequently. Beer was the most common, and sought after, drink amongst enlisted men in the frontier army (Wilson 1981:2). Other alcohol, such as whiskey, was also consumed in high levels, but enlisted men often reached for swigs of beer. Fifty-nine percent of the alcoholic vessels recovered contained beer. The high consumption of beer on Fort Boise is analogous to national trends in the frontier army which drank prodigious quantities of beer (Wilson 1981:2). Fort Boise does not buck the trend as beer appears to be the favored drink of the post.

Drinking was such a prevalent activity that the other enlisted men often chastised William Hilleary for not participating in the consumption; instead adulation was reserved for the seldom sober officer who commended Hilleary for restraint (Hilleary et al. 1965:187). As enlisted men were frequently included in the celebrations they began to notice several excuses were made for drinking in excess. Before a campaign, raid, or patrol enlisted men went on a general bender as they prepared to march (Hilleary et al. 1965:170). Alcohol was also amply supplied during campaign to stomach several hardships. Each time soldiers returned from the field a grand dinner with libations was hosted (Hilleary et al. 1965:165-166). The frequency of consumption was typically associated with events that provided excuses to drink. Alcohol was a regular part of the enlisted man's experience becoming a major portion of their domestic activities.

Writing instruments recovered, such as slate pencils, indicate the education of enlisted men on Fort Boise. Conditions during Fort Boise's formative years were dreadful. After several incidents, most being local and one reaching national attention, efforts to arrest conditions at the fort led to the creation of a post school and library. The introduction of both was said to have made marked improvements in the morale of enlisted men (*Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesmen* November 26, 1867:2). The availability of education was undoubtedly seized upon by enlisted men who sought to better their situations and have other outlets to pass the time. The post school and library existed for over twenty-years of Fort Boise's existence and aided in creating the community and culture that made the post so enduring.

The historical record also provides insight into actions that shaped the archaeological record of the fort. For example, as a punishment soldiers were often tasked with cleaning up the post having to pick up the smallest of objects from the parade grounds (Hilleary et al. 1965:178). These objects were likely deposited in the dump or other concentrated areas. Enlisted men were also required to aid in the construction of the post and were observed levelling ground around officer's row for lawns and other amenities (Hilleary et al. 1965:168). Both actions resulted in changes to the landscape, and ultimately,

to the archaeological record. Enlisted men were also procured for creating and working on the post gardens (Hilleary et al. 1965:182).

The status of enlisted men on Fort Boise limited their contribution to the archaeological record. Their income and status saw enlisted men engage in activities indicative of the working-class. Consumption of alcohol, poker, and card games were ways to pass the monotony of the fort. Enlisted men were afforded other opportunities to participate in leisure activities but seldom did these activities, singing, exploring the area, and apple picking, leave evidence in the archaeological record.

**Officers, Army Wives, and Families**

Fort Boise afforded comparatively regal surroundings for inhabitants. The fort, adjacent to the city of Boise, was a highly regarded post whose offerings excited Emily Fitzgerald. Emily remarked that the fort and town of Boise were quite a place necessitating her to dress up a little more than she had been doing at Fort Lapwai (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:319). The excitement at being transferred to Fort Boise was conveyed in John Fitzgerald's correspondence as well expressed. In a letter to his mother, John was optimistic at the accommodations of Fort Boise stating, "Emily will consider herself repaid for the fatigue and discomforts of a whole week of overland travel by the pleasanter surroundings of Fort Boise" (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:315). The Fitzgeralds enjoyed the community of Fort Boise finding it to be a charming fort. Emily Fitzgerald even relished the fact that John's term at the post could be extended finding the amenities to be of the utmost comfort (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:320). The luxuries of Fort Boise were appealing to the weary as officers and their families embraced the post. The fort and city of Boise differed from other mining camps and military posts being regarded as a city of families (Schwantes 1991:117). Families were prevalent on Fort Boise contributing heavily to the culture. Military events also dominated celebrations, parties, and other recreational activities available for families.

Leisure between officers and their families were punctuated by holidays and events. Holiday celebrations, parties, and other gatherings occurred in the residences of officers' row. Officers were noted for finding any excuse to crack a bottle by throwing parties for returning from the field,

holidays, and births; the subsequent result of excessive alcohol use was that they often neglected their daily duties, and either showed up late or postponed daily inspections (Hilleary et al. 1965:153-154). Officer's guests and families were accustomed to consuming large, and diverse amounts of alcohol. Beer, a staple in the frontier army, was consumed but other types of alcohol were procured by officers for celebrations. Brandy, wine, cognac, and champagne were all used in celebrations and, due to their association as the most "civilized" aspect of consumption in the frontier army, likely represents the officer class (Wilson 1981:19). Six bottles, four were wine and two were champagne, recovered speak to the libations supplied on Fort Boise. It is possible that enlisted men could have purchased wine and champagne but their preference towards beer and whiskey, as well as the cost, suggest that most of the wine and champagne was consumed by officers and their families (Wilson 1981:20).

An additional point about wine is that it was noted for being not exclusively used for consumption on Fort Boise but was also used in recipes. In preparation for the numerous, holidays, birthdays, and social gatherings, Emily Fitzgerald was often busy readying cakes and gifts. Fitzgerald made a point in letters to her mother that she used sherry wine to cook and prepare meals declaring it was "not to drink – but for jelly" (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:325). Whether for consumption or cooking, alcohol was often the main ingredient to activities of Fort Boise. A bottle that contained vanilla indicates culinary activities. The Burnett's bottle likely contained extract of vanilla (Switzer 1974:78). Extracts and wine were not only procured for consumption but their use in cooking indicates the other efforts that went into domestic life. Other efforts went into either flavoring or preserving food. The "Lea and Perrins" bottle recovered were not uncommon in the nineteenth century as it was a popular, and imported until 1877, condiment (Switzer 1974:79). Canning jars recovered were manufactured by the "Pacific Glass Works" from 1867 to 1876. The "Pacific Glass Works" jar were regionally specific and have primarily only been recovered West of the Rockies (SHA Bottle Glass Guide). Life on Fort Boise afforded comforts, like ingredients to cook and bake, that were popular luxury ingredients in the nineteenth century.

Residences in officers' row were hubs of activity. Army wives found numerous ways to keep busy with social and domestic activities. Emily Fitzgerald detailed the extensive effort placed in furnishing the Surgeons Quarters, watching after her children, and entertaining many well-to-do guests. The porcelain ceramics, sugar tongs, and pressed glass all represent efforts to entertain guests. Emily and John entertained their friends of Fort Boise, often from the upper echelons, even having Governor and Mrs. Mason Brayman, who frequently enjoyed walking up the hill to officer's row (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:333). Personal attempts to furnish their homes resulted in the acquisition of several luxury items. By entertaining Governor and Mrs. Brayman, the Fitzgerald devoted energies in procuring ceramics beyond ironstone with personal tastes subtly being express. The efforts were fruitful as Fitzgerald extolled the personal efforts she had made in furnishing her table stating, "My table is lovely" (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:325). Social activities were central to domestic life on Fort Boise as homes in officer's row, like the Surgeons Quarters, entertained the upper echelons of society.

Health was a concern, as it was everywhere else during the nineteenth century, was a concern for the inhabitants of Fort Boise. Fourteen proprietary medicine bottles speak to health concerns on Fort Boise. Advertisements for proprietary medicines consistently praised the product promising fast results to cure or prevent a wide range of ailments. One such advertisement for a "D.S. Barnes Mexican Mustang Liniment" (Figure 5.3) promised that "There is no sore it will not cure, no ache, no pain, that affects the human body, of the body of a horse or other domestic animals. That does not yield to its magic touch. A bottle costing 24 cents or 50 cents, or a dollar, has often saved the life of a human being…" (Wilson 1981:41). This all-purpose cure potentially applied to every living thing on Fort Boise promising the vitality needed for man and beast.


Figure 5.3. D.S. Barnes Mexican Mustang Liniment.

A popular 'medicine' applied was a variety of bitters; these ranged in size and alcohol content but remained the same in the ailments they claimed to cure (Wilson 1981:24). Three Bitters bottles were identified in the Fort Boise assemblage; two were manufactured by Dr. Jacob Hostetter who concocted the famous "Hostetter's Stomach Bitters." Developed in 1853, the Bitters were a minimum of 25 percent alcohol and claimed to be a remarkable cure for many ailments (Wilson 1981:24). The marketing campaign for Dr. Hostetter's 'medicine' applied to a wide range of ailments and customers. One advertisement targeted children and delicate women and claimed three wine-glasses full of these Bitters a day would cure dyspepsia and flatulence as well as aid in digestion and appetite suppression (Switzer 1974:78). Some 'medicine' on Fort Boise targeted man and beast while others, like "Hostetter's Stomach Bitter," were specifically targeting children and "delicate" women.

Other concerns regarding hygiene are present in the archaeological record. One glass bottle recovered, coupled with a bone toothbrush, indicate an awareness of dental hygiene. The glass vessel

has an embossed label indicating it contained “Van Burskirk’s Fragrant Sozodont” made for the health of teeth and breath. Van Burskirk’s Sozodont did not stop at oral health and targeted the women claiming to increase ones’ desirability with adds stating “Sozodont, fair ones, is the thing that contributes to adorn the feminine mouth” (Wilson 1981:66). The sales pitch would have certainly appealed to the vanity of Fort Boise’s women. Three perfume bottles were recovered that indicate how appearance and smell mattered to the inhabitants of Fort Boise. Perfume bottles speak to the oldest of beauty preparations that did not escape the judgment of the late nineteenth century (Wilson 1981:64). Whether by means of oral health or ensuring one smelled good, the inhabitants of Fort Boise attempted to enhance their attractiveness.

Looking one’s best extended to personal adornment on Fort Boise. One hundred and sixty-eight artifacts of jewelry, watch parts, beads, and buttons were recovered across Fort Boise. A substantial portion was recovered from officers’ row and indicates their personal behaviors and tastes. Sixteen items associated with pocket watches were recovered. These items were particularly prized items amongst officers. John Fitzgerald was pleased with the watch Emily Fitzgerald purchased for him as she caught him fondly looking on it often (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:319). Other luxury items such as jewelry were also recovered and indicate personal attempts at expression. A hand wrought, lion-headed-ring is distinctly unique as it is not a common motif for the U.S. Army but the result of personal expression (Figure 5.4). One hundred and forty-four buttons and beads are also indicative of personal adornment and appearance on the fort. Due to its surroundings, and the company the fort kept, Emily Fitzgerald remarked that the fort and town of Boise were quite a place necessitating her to dress up a little more than she had been doing at Fort Lapwai (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:319). Appearance was on the forefront of Emily Fitzgerald’s mind as the surroundings necessitated a change in dress because Fort Boise afforded several comforts and sights that other frontier posts did not.

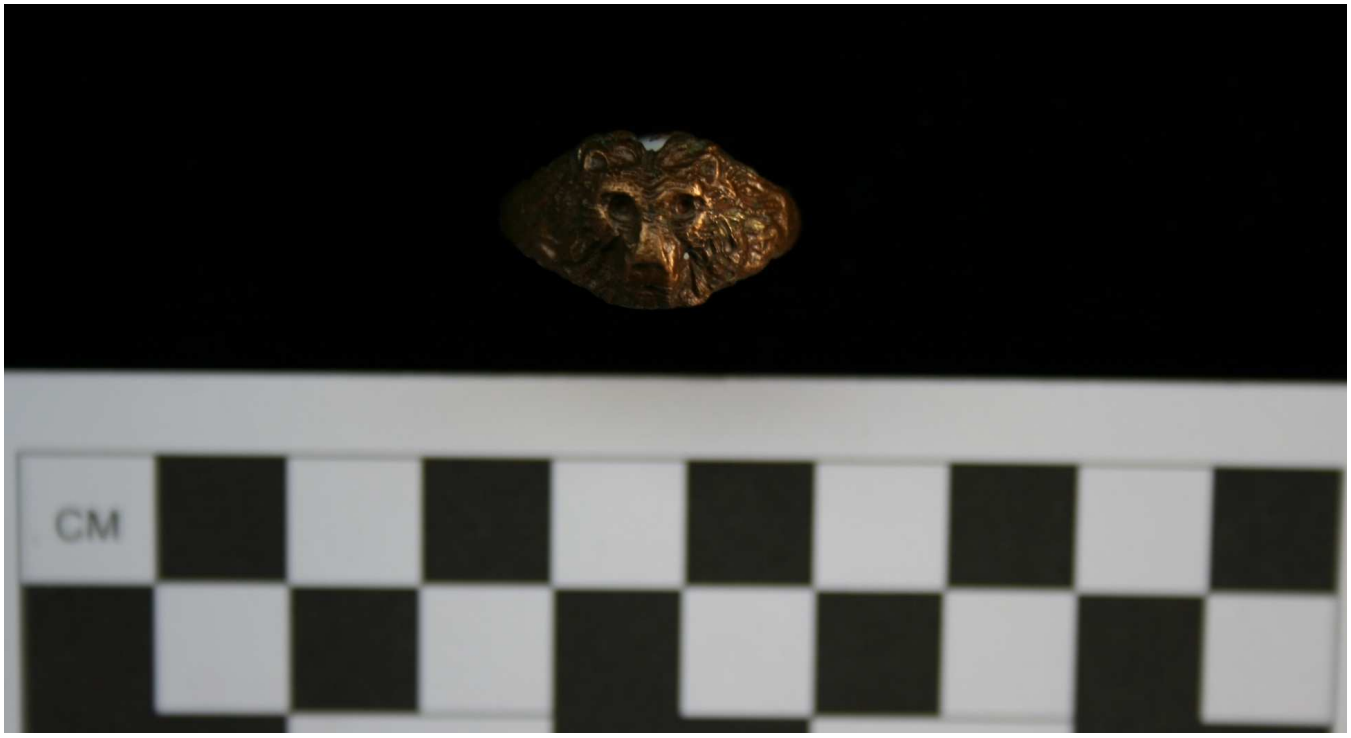


Figure 5.4. Gold Lionhead emblem ring, hand wrought.

Domestic life on Fort Boise afforded many comforts that other posts lacked due to the proximity of the post to the fledgling state capital. Family life often involved interaction with the landscapes as recreational events took place on the fort, in the town, and surrounding area of Boise. Five “Boise Ice Cream Co.” tabs indicate interactions with the city of Boise by the forts inhabitants. An advertisement for the “Boise Ice Cream Co.” describes the product as “The Old, Reliable, First-Class” (Figure 5.5). Other luxury goods were also purchased and bought to the fort. One “Hutchinson” stopper, two foil labels (likely belonging to wine or champagne bottles), and one soap case recovered with the impressed label of “Toller Soap” indicate the diverse set of luxury items procured on Fort Boise. Hygiene and food were comforts sought and purchased by the inhabitants of Fort Boise.


Figure 5.5. Boise Ice Cream Co. Tab, 2014 Surgeons Quarters Excavation.

Recreational firearms use occurred on Fort Boise. Target practice competitions were a popular pastime between the citizens of the city and Fort Boise (ISHS Reference Series No.705). Several cartridges and projectiles from the dump site provide supporting evidence. As discussed in the previous chapter, one hundred and forty-nine cartridges recovered provide supporting evidence. Recreational firearm use, unlike military firearm use, was inclusive, with women and children participating (Grover 1992:105). The presence of recreational firearms is indicative of social activities. Unique sporting arms are present in the assemblage. Cartridges, like the J.M. Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2, indicate that sporting rounds were used on Fort Boise within a short period. The J.M. Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2 was manufactured in 1876 and only available for a handful of years after (Suydam 1960:110). Firearms demonstrations likely also occurred as twelve .44 caliber Henry and Winchester blank rounds were recovered. The .44 caliber Henry and Winchester blank was specifically designed to demonstrate the rate of fire of Henry and Winchester rifles (Suydam 1960:97). The round was common during the 1860s but uncommon after that decade. Unique sporting rounds

indicate an interest in recreational firearms activities on Fort Boise, but it is the assemblage of .22 caliber cartridges that comprises the bulk of the evidence of target practice competitions.

The largest portion of the recreational firearms is comprised of .22 caliber cartridges with one hundred and fourteen recovered. The .22 caliber cartridge was developed for target practice and hunting (Barber 1987; Barnes 1997:377). The .22 caliber cartridges on Fort Boise undoubtedly speak to recreational hunting activities of the fort's inhabitants, but some have been identified by their firing pin imprint or size as being purely developed for target practice purposes. One .22 caliber B.B. cartridge (bullet breach) recovered was specifically developed for target practice use (Barber 1987:51). Distinct .22 caliber cartridges indicate target practice competitions occurred from a wide range of firearms being used.

Four .22 caliber cartridges, one from the 1988 survey and three from the Surgeons Quarters, had identifiable firing imprints indicating that they were discharged in a gallery gun. A gallery gun is a sporting rifle typically used in target practice galleries (Suydam 1960). Curiously these cartridges had a minimum of two firing imprints (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). It was likely that the multiple firing imprints were the result of misfire and attempted re-fire as these rimfire .22 caliber cartridges were unreliable (Barber 1987:1). Further analysis indicated that attempts at re-fire did not account for the dual set of firing imprints. Firearms analysis of the .22 caliber cartridges with multiple firing imprints present indicated that these cartridges were fired from a sub-caliber adapter for a 1903 Springfield Gallery Rifle; the sub-caliber adapter used in this model left dual rectangular firing imprints (Mathews 1969:667). Two of the .22 caliber cartridges fired with the Sub-Caliber adapter for a 1903 Springfield Gallery Rifle have scratches present indicating that they were jammed and pried out (Figure 5.7).

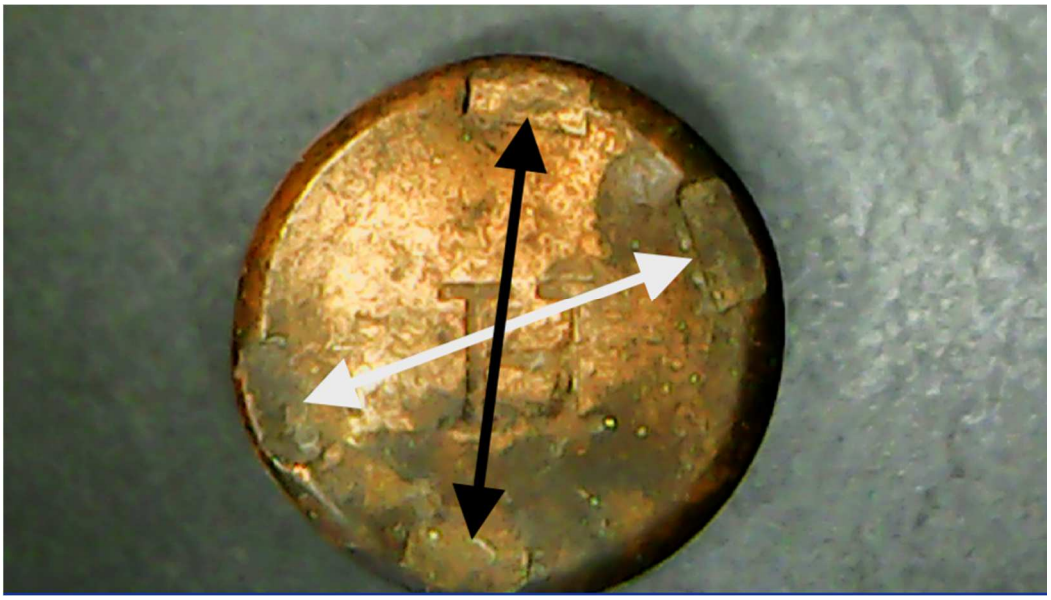

Figure 5.6. .22 caliber cartridge, note the correlating firing pin imprints; each set color represents one set.

Figure 5.7. .22 caliber cartridge, fired from a Sub-Caliber adapter for a 1903 Springfield Gallery Rifle. Note the scratch marks at the center.

Target practice competitions were all inclusive events as members of the fort and town of Boise gathered to engage in the recreational activity. The communal event resulted in a general knowledge of firearms likely being passed to women and children who were encouraged to participate (Grover 1992:105). Multiple events on Fort Boise, whether parties or target practice competitions,

were the act of community and familial events with all participating in the activity. Children who grew up on Fort Boise were exposed to a variety to armaments which impacted their experience as they incorporated objects into their play.

**Children**

The children of Fort Boise often had regular sprees. Children interacted with the site extensively, often playing in and beyond Fort Boise. Play did not only occur across the landscape but typically included found objects that contributed to the archaeological record in unlikely ways – namely in the form of cartridges and lithics. Children were fond of gathering objects for play and were subsequently observed burying them in various locations on Fort Boise. For archaeologists this can be frustrating as the end result are materials found in places that they *"are not"* supposed to be. In addition, children emulated adult roles – behavior that is evidence by homemade toys associated with military activities.

Children as a distorting factor in the archaeological record has been discussed at length by Jane E. Baxter (2005). The children of Fort Boise, particularly Bess and Bertie, were observed actively distorting their surroundings. Play was not limited to purchased, manufactured, or even homemade toys but extended to anything that caught the imagination of a child. The 2014 excavation of the Surgeons Quarters porch resulted in the recovery of several artifacts that indicate this behavior. Cartridges, lithics, cloth, and ceramic fragments were all objects that were included in child's play. While the majority of their day was spent outside playing in and interacting with their environment Bess and Bertie were often observed playing on the porch or in their playroom in the Surgeons Quarters (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:323). These locations limited the extent of the children while making confining their actions to a concise location. One of the central issues of children in the archaeological record is that their actions occur across a wide area (Baxter 2005). The lithics from Fort Boise indicate the range of children and the complexity of understanding the past.

As noted in Chapter Four, twenty-eight lithic fragments were recovered from an area below the floorboards of the Surgeons Quarters front porch. Initially the finding proved puzzling, but the

letters of Emily Fitzgerald were able to shed light on the presence of lithics. In their search for lithics Bess and Bertie, who also instructed other children in this activity, sought hearths next to creeks or rivers. At their father's tutelage, John Fitzgerald, Bess and Bertie learned to seek features so that they could find evidence of Native Americans' presence. After her birthday in 1878, Emily Fitzgerald wrote a letter home to her mother detailing the events of the day describing the celebrations, including the activities of Bess and Bertie, mentioning:

> Bess brought her Papa a piece of stone or glass and said, "See, Papa, I found a piece of flint or glass. I found it in some ashes by the creek. I guess somebody has been camping there and had a fire. Don't you think so?" What pleased John was the idea of a child her age reasoning from the ashes there had been a camp there. It is too funny to hear these children. You know the doctor is always poking into and taking an interest in everything when we are out-of-doors wandering around, and, as he often has the children with him, they, too, gather up stones and roots and bones, etc. and discuss what they are. Bess, and even Bert, can talk as learnedly about rocks with mica in them, and gold ore, and flint arrowheads etc., as an old man. Little Indian Arrowheads, flints, and obsidian are found around here, and Doctor has often picked up little scales of flint and told their children about the Indians who scaled off those pieces when they are making arrowheads and told them other things about it. Now Bessie picks them up often, and knows them, too, and discusses flint scales with other children, and tells them about Indians. Bert hunts stones and tells other children, who all go with him, which is mica, and which is not, just like an old geologist (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:328-329).

The probable result of their collecting activities was the deposition of lithics under the Surgeons Quarters porch – providing a plausible explanation for something that likely would have been an interpretive challenge.

The lithics assemblage indicates the range in which children of Fort Boise could roam throughout the post and beyond. Children, with and without their parents, were exploring their surroundings. On hikes with their father John Fitzgerald, Bess and Bertie were instructed in principles to identify their surroundings. Bess, the eldest of the Fitzgerald household, was only five at the time the letter was written. At five Bess could best a seasoned archaeologist identifying features on the landscape, determining behavior and gathering evidence, in the form of lithics, to present her findings to her father. The mental capacity of the Fitzgerald children, and their interest in geology and archaeology, were represented by the lithics assemblage. Not only were their days spent in play, but often constructive outlets that demonstrated their mental prowess.

Bess and Bertie were not limited to academic pursuits and engaged in other forms of play. While the lithics demonstrated the range of children, other aspects evidence their creative forms of play. Bess and Bertie's activities resemble the erratic behavior of children. Play often centered on purchased and found objects, but the way in which the Fitzgerald children played often baffled their own mother. Bertie in particular was noted for having a penchant to destroy his dolls and then burying their parts in random places throughout the post; the behavior occurred to the dismay of the mother who admitted that while she loved her children she often felt like "taking their heads off" (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:325).

The toys of Fort Boise indicate that children emulated their adult roles. The handmade bayonet/dagger (Figure 4.18) in particular reflects childhood on a military fort. Emulation of adult roles is also indicative of the imagination of children. Found objects of amusement were incorporated into the Fitzgerald children's play. While the imagination behind found objects is not always discernable the location of many objects, such as nine different types of shell casings below the Surgeons Quarters porch, do represent children's play. Emulating adult roles also contained an element of survival. Children were encouraged to practice skills parents believed necessary for their survival; play was believed to be crucial to the moral and physical development of individuals (Grover et al. 1992:9). Bess and Bertie were continually encouraged to engage in various forms of play. Some forms, such as crayon, paper dolls, and other writing instruments, were more thought-provoking forms of play while others, such as marbles, games, and outdoor recreation, were geared towards other forms of education and amusement. While play was believed to be crucial to the moral and physical development of children the desire to provide or engage in activities of pure amusement should not be discounted.

Homemade efforts were frequently extended to the purchased goods that were repurposed as hand-me-downs to fit the gender of the child. Emily Fitzgerald expressed delight at her son and daughter's enthusiasm for playing with dolls (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:203). Both Fitzgerald children delighted in playing with dolls which led to concerted efforts to supply them with these toys.

One Christmas at Fort Boise, Emily detailed the preparations being made for the holiday with food being prepared, gifts being ordered, toys being made, and old toys being repurposed; Bess was to receive a new doll while Bertie received a hand-me-down doll that was, through alteration, made into a Zouave Soldier (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:321). Investment was made in children, but it is not without reason to see manufactured toys, particularly those of the doll assemblage, as subjected to homemade alterations. Consequently, artifacts can hold different meanings for different children at different times.

Homemade toys and alterations to toys was common in the Fitzgerald household. John Fitzgerald often surprised Emily, Bess, and Bertie with items he made himself that were not on their wish lists (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:321). The eventual life cycle of dolls and other toys in the Fitzgerald household followed a pattern of purchase, repurpose, and destruction at the hands of Bertie. The actions of Bertie occurred to the bewilderment of Emily who observed her son destroy toys and bury or scatter their parts randomly throughout Fort Boise (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:325). The playful inclination of children, like Bess and Bertie, resulted in objects being gathered, destroyed, and summarily deposited in various locations.

Children of Fort Boise also gathered and played with recreational and military firearms. Growing up on Fort Boise exposed children to the rigors, monotony, and weaponry of garrison life (Figure 5.8). Children incorporated found objects into their play, and as indicated by the Surgeons Quarters assemblage, and this was extended to cartridges and projectiles. Curiosity in play with firearms was not uncommon on Fort Boise and even led to an accident in 1882 when the six-year-old daughter of Sergeant Falker removed powder from a number of cartridges and placed it in heap and proceeded to light the powder heap with a match; the ensuing explosion left Sergeant Falker's daughter badly burned (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* May 20, 1882:3). Although accidents occurred children were likely instructed in the etiquette of firearms use as demonstrated by the diverse munitions assemblage recovered. Children were often exposed to situational learning defined by their

social context (Baxter 2005:51). The social context of Fort Boise was defined by military and recreational activities; both of which had a component that included firearms.


Figure 5.8. .45-70 projectile (note the extraction mark on the head of the projectile) likely selected as a found object of play from the Surgeons Quarters.

The presence of firearms from the Surgeons Quarters also represents the playful activities of children who gathered military cartridges and bullets as found objects of play (Baxter 2005:58). Interest in firearms resulted in their collection and deposition under the Surgeons Quarters porch where archaeologists recovered nineteen bullets and 30 cartridges. The impact of children in creating some idiosyncrasies of the archaeological record was prevalent on Fort Boise as attested by the cartridges and lithics of the Surgeons Quarters assemblage. At play, children were able to roam the grounds of Fort Boise and beyond. The result being alterations to the archaeological record that are discernable when the erratic behavior of children is taken into account.

# Chapter 6
# Conclusion

The primary purpose of this thesis has been to examine domestic life on Fort Boise, Idaho, in the American West during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The archaeology of childhood on a military fort, the contributions by children to and alteration of, the archaeological record has been identified through recovered assemblages and the historic record. The domestic activities of enlisted men, officers, and women have also been discussed. The thesis addressed issues in the archaeology of fortifications by adding to our knowledge of the activities of the fort's inhabitants, including the so-called hidden participants of the archaeological record – women and children. By focusing on the material remains of domestic life of Fort Boise, the individual actions, contributions, and alterations to the archaeological record have been assessed. The importance being that a greater understanding of domestic life on a military fort has furthered our comprehension on matters of conflict, including societies in conflict, as they relate to the American West in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Fort Boise was not a static site, but one of evolving purpose. Since its founding in 1863 the archaeology of Fort Boise has been altered many times. The activities of enlisted men and children have continually shaped the archaeological record. The distorting nature of children in the archaeological record has been demonstrated by historic documents as well as assemblages recovered – namely lithics, homemade toys, and cartridges. Although children were supplied with a diverse set of toys, which speaks to the class and purchasing power of their parents, they still sought found and homemade objects of play to accompany purchased goods. The acquisition of cartridges and lithics, and their subsequent deposition under the Surgeons Quarters porch, demonstrates the individual actions of children in the archaeological record. It also speaks to the range of children in play and that it did not always center on manufactured goods.

The behavior of children disturbed the archaeological record but is also a factor in alterations to said record and landscape. Children were accustomed to playing with all manner of objects in a variety of contexts throughout Fort Boise. Play was not limited to the home, though as indicated by the

excavation of the Surgeons Quarters porch it did occur there, but instead occurred on and beyond the grounds of Fort Boise. These patterns establish the individual actions of children on Fort Boise who interacted with and can be observed moving across the site. The excavated material recovered from the Surgeons Quarters provided insight into the archaeology of childhood. Other aspects of the forty years of archaeological investigations have established broad patterns but it is the excavation of the Surgeons Quarters that establishes their individual actions.

Instead of focusing on broad questions of fortifications the lithics and cartridges demonstrates the range, imagination, and individual actions of children. Children were a presence on Fort Boise tearing around in play and having regular sprees. The result being that they not only collected artifacts from other contexts but proceeded with burying artifacts arbitrarily throughout the parade grounds. Altering the landscape and archaeological record were all aspects of play that children of Fort Boise were afforded in their surroundings. With a wide area to explore children were able to play beyond the confines of Fort Boise and their home.

Domestic life of Fort Boise benefited from officer's wives. Women were instrumental to facilitating domestic activities on Fort Boise. Officer's wives created a support system for their husbands while, simultaneously, contributing immensely to the social life of the fort and town of Boise. Women, like Emily Fitzgerald, planned social gatherings that did not solely focus on alcohol but did focus on other ways to entertain upper echelons of Boise. The running of the household also created a home for an officer to return to from the field. In doing so women procured luxuries that softened the monotony and rigors of garrison life. Women were not only instrumental in procuring domestic comforts on the fort but found ways to supply their husbands on the battlefield.

Women procured items to be sent to their husbands on campaign aiding in efforts to sustain conflict. The U.S. Army directed the organization and management of war in the West, but women were instrumental on frontier posts. Not only did they provide domestic comforts but sought to equip their husbands' needs in the field. By examining the contributions of women to domestic life on Fort

Boise, a unique perspective on the behavioral aspects of nineteenth century American culture, and its support systems, in conflict can be better understood.

The initial experience of enlisted men on Fort Boise was defined by scarcity. Due to their status and class they were not able to afford the same goods as officers and their families. Class and status limited their contribution to the archaeological record; however, traces of their activities are present. Enlisted men were fond of drinking, gambling, and smoking; activities which were indicated by the poker chips and playing card, beer bottles, and smoking accessories recovered. While these activities can also be attributed to those of the officer class, it is worth noting that documentary evidence indicates that enlisted men voraciously took part in these activities. Other activities, such as a glee club or exploring their surroundings on furlough, are not present in the archaeological record but still speak to the limited capacity for activities enlisted men were able to engage.

Enlisted men were involved in altering the archaeological record. As some were charged with the duty of post maintenance, largely by punishment, the distribution of artifacts was altered. The result being that artifacts from Fort Boise's parade ground, living quarters, and firing range were collected for disposal in the post's dump. The 1988 survey, which encompassed one of Fort Boise's earliest dumps, indicates that the disposal of artifacts ranged from ceramics to cartridges. The actions of enlisted men also account for the destruction of ceramics and glass vessels who acted on orders to dispose of refuse according to United States Army standards (USWD 1889). The archaeology of fortifications, like that of Fort Boise, can extend beyond broad patterns.

The archaeology of Fort Boise provides insight into the domestic life of a military fort. Social events, particularly parties, were opportunities for the upper echelons of Boise, Idaho to mix. Simultaneously the lives of enlisted men, officer's and their wives, and children were intertwined with these events. The rigors and monotony of garrison led to accidents, boredom, and a willingness to find excuses to throw parties. Leisure activities of Fort Boise were indelible to the citizens of Boise, Idaho. Parties, target practice competitions, and holiday celebrations were important to the facilitating the

development of Boise's community, but were also important to the inhabitants of the fort. Even when enlisted men were the cause of depredations the post was regarded as an enduring aspect of Boise.

In sum, Fort Boise came to mean home for the numerous enlisted men, officers and their wives, and children who lived on the post. For fifty years (1963-1913) the post was instrumental in the development in the city of Boise. While its role diminished, both culturally and militarily, by the early twentieth century Fort Boise's impact to domestic life and culture was clear. Women and children of the post were imperative to the development of Fort Boise as home. Domestic activities that featured women and children were integral to post life and greatly appreciated by enlisted men and officers alike. For officers on posts throughout the West like Fort Boise women and children were companions of exile and a shield against every woe.

**Bibliography**

Ayto, Eric G.
1999 *Clay Tobacco Pipes*. Buckinghamshire, U.K.: Shire Publications Ltd.

Barber, John L.
1987 *The Rimfire Cartridge in the United States and Canada; an Illustrated in history of its manufacturers and their products, 1857 to 1984.* Tacoma: Armory Press.

Barnes, Frank C.
1997 *Cartridges of the World.* Rev. 8th ed. Northfield, Ill.: Digest Books.

Barton, Christopher, and P. Somerville.
2012 "Play Things: Children's Racialized Mechanical Banks and Toys, 1880–1930." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 16, pp. 47–85.

Baxter, Jane E.
2005 *The archaeology of childhood: children, gender, and material culture*, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Beal, Merrill B. and Merle Wells
1959 *History of Idaho*. Lewiston Historical Publishing Company Inc.

Billings, John S.
1875 *A report on the hygiene of the United States Army, with descriptions of military posts*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Blackhawk, Ned
2008 *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Carskadden, Jeff and Richard Gartley
1990 A preliminary seriation of 19th-century decorated porcelain marbles. *Historical Archaeology*, 24(2), pp.55–69.

Campbell, Renae. Nathan Allison, Victoria Bochniak, Rachel Falzon, Nathan May, Emma Scott, and Mark Warner
2017 *Phase II Excavation and Public Archaeology Mitigation, Site 10-AA-161 Fort Boise Military Reserve, Ada County, Idaho.* Report on file Idaho State Historic Preservation Office.

Clark, Gerald R.
2014 *Supplying Custer: The Powder River Supply Depot, 1876.* Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press.

Custer, Elizabeth
1966 *Following the Gideon.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Davis, Mary Ann
1988 *Cultural Resource Survey for Green stripping Project in the Fort Boise Military Reserve.* Boise City Parks Department. Idaho State Historical Society. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Dillion, Wilda C.
2003 *Deaths and burials, Boise Barracks Military Reserve, Idaho, 1863-1913*, Boise: W.C. Dillion. University of Idaho Special Collections.

Eales, Anne Bruner.
1996 *Army Wives on the American Frontier: Living by the Bugles.* Johnson Books.

Environmental Consultants, Inc.
1983 *A Proposal for a Cultural Resource Overview, Survey and Evaluation – Veterans Administration Medical Center – Boise, Idaho.* Prepared for the National Park Service, Western Regional Office in Response to RFP notice. Dallas, Texas.

Fitts, Robert, K.
1999 The archaeology of middle-class domesticity and gentility in Victorian Brooklyn. *Historical Archaeology*, 33(1), pp.39–62.

Fitzgerald, Emily. and Abe Laufe ed.
1962 *An army doctor's wife on the frontier: the letters of Emily McCorkle FitzGerald from Alaska and the Far West, 1874-1878*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Foy, Jessica H. and Thomas J. Schlereth
1992 *American home life, 1880-1930: a social history of spaces and services*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Gray, Dale M. and William Statham
2011 Building 13 Monitoring. Prepared by Frontier Historical Consultants for the Boise Veterans Administration Medical Center. On file, Idaho State Historical Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Greene, Jerome A.
2000 *Nez Perce Summer, 1877: the U.S. Army and the Nee-Me-Poo Crisis*. Montana Historical Society Press.

2007 *Indian War Veterans: Memories of Army Life and Campaigns in the West, 1864-1898*. 1st ed., 1st print. ed., Savas Beatie.

Grover, Katherine
1992 *Hard at play: leisure in America, 1840-1940*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Hanson, Lee H. Dick Ping Hsu, and the National Park Service
1975 *Casemates and Cannonballs: Archeological Investigations at Fort Stanwix, Rome, New York*. Publications in Archeology (United States. National Park Service); No. 14. Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

Harrington, Jean C.
1962 *Search for the Cittie of Raleigh: Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina*. Archeological Research Series; No. 6. Washington: National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior.

Herskovitz, Robert M.
1978 *Fort Bowie Material Culture.* Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona; No. 31. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press.

Hilleary, William M., Herbert Nelson and Preston Onstad
1965 *A Webfoot Volunteer; the Diary of William M. Hilleary, 1864-1866.*, Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Howe, Daniel Walker
1976 *Victorian America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hunt, Aurora
1951 *The Army of the Pacific: Its Operations in California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Plains Region, Mexico, Etc., 1860-1866*. Arthur H. Clark Company.

Idaho Territorial Census
1870 *Idaho Territorial Census,* pp.67-69
1880 *Idaho Territorial Census,* pp. 13-16

*Idaho Tri-weekly Statesman*
1864 "Birth of Corporal Stafford's Daughter," 12 August:2.
1864 "Governor Lyon Holds War Council," 13 October:2.
1865 "Two-hundred-gun salute at Fort Boise," 24 April:2.
1865 "Christmas Eve Ball held at Fort Boise," 28 December:1.
1865 "Soldier Shay shot on Christmas Eve," 28 December:2.
1866 "Soldiers conduct ridiculed," February 17:3.
1866 "Soldiers caught running ammunition to Indians," 16 August:2.
1866 "Theft of post funds," 2 September:2.
1867 "School for enlisted men on Fort Boise," 26 November:2.
1869 "Sergeant Vogel – founder of Fort Boise school and varieties – Obituary," 16 September:3.
1877 "Death of Major Patrick Collins children," 16 January:3.
1882 "Sergeant Falker's Daughter burned," 20 May:3.
1885 "Party at the Boise Barracks," 17 November:3.

Idaho State Historical Society Reference Series
1972 "Treaty of Fort Boise," Reference Series, No. 106.
1970 "Pinkney Lugenbeel and Fort Boise," Reference Series, No. 705.

Irving, Washington
1902 *The adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A., in the Rocky Mountains and the far West*. New York: G.P. Putnam's sons.

Keegan, John
1996 *Fields of Battle: The Wars for North America*. A.A. Knopf.

2010 *The American Civil War: A Military History*. Vintage Books.

Kowalsky, Arnold A. and Dorothy E. Kowalsky
1999 *Encyclopedia of Marks on American, English, and European Earthenware, Ironstone, and Stoneware (1780-1980): Makers, Marks, and Patterns in Blue and White, Historic Blue, Flow Blue, Mulberry, Romantic Transferware, Tea Leaf, and White Ironstone.* Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

Lindsey, Bill
2009 Historic Glass Bottle Identification and Information Website. Society for Historical Archaeology. Electronic document, http://www.sha.org/bottle/index.htm, Accessed May 2018.

Mathews, J. Howard
1962 *Firearms Identification.* Springfield, Ill.: Thomas.

May, Nathan J. Chelsea Codling, Cynthia Hannold, Zenna Crawford, and Mark Warner
2018 *Archaeological Investigations of Fort Boise Surgeons Quarters, 2014, Site 10AA161 Fort Boise Military Reserve, Ada County, ID.* On file, Idaho State Historical Society, Boise, Idaho.

Mauser, Laurie
2003 *Old Boise Armory Monitoring.* Archaeological and Historical Survey Report. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

McChristian, Douglas C.
1995 *The U.S. Army in the West, 1870-1880: Uniforms, Weapons, and Equipment*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

2007 *Uniforms, Arms, and Equipment: The U.S. Army on the Western Frontier, 1880-1892*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

McDannell, Colleen
1986 *The Christian home in Victorian America, 1840-1900*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

McDermott, John D.
1998 *A Guide to the Indian Wars of the West*. Norman: University of Nebraska Press.

McDowell, Irwin
1879 *Outline descriptions of military posts in the Military Division of the Pacific: Irwin McDowell, commanding,* San Francisco: Headquarters, Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.

McInnis, Verity.
2017 *Women of Empire: Nineteenth-Century Army Officers' Wives in India and the U.S. West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Mesplié, Toussaint
1878 *Supplemental Petition of Toussaint Mesplié, Chaplain U.S. Army: to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled, Praying Relief for Acting as Indian Agent and Chaplain to the United States Army.* Library of Congress: Web accessed May 2018.

Michno, Gregory.

2007 *The Deadliest Indian War in the West: The Snake Conflict, 1864-1868*. Caxton Press.

National Park Service.
1971 *Soldier and brave: historic places associated with Indian affairs and the Indian wars in the trans-Mississippi West.* Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

Noll, Christopher D. and John Bertram
2014 *A Historical and Archaeological Assessment of Proposed Building 4 Renovation Project, Veterans Administration Medical Center, Ada County, Idaho.* Prepared for the Veterans Administration and Preservation Idaho, Boise, Idaho. Prepared by Versar, Inc., Boise, Idaho. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Ogden Environmental and Energy Services
2000 *Nampa-Meridian Irrigation District Proposed Fee Title and Right-of-Way Transfer, Ada and Canyon Counties, Idaho.* Final Archaeological Survey Report Prepared for Nampa-Meridian Irrigation District, Nampa, Idaho. On file, Idaho State Historical Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Ostrogorsky, Michael
1977 *Prospectus for Salvage Excavation at the Fort Boise Military Dump (10-AA-112).* Prepared by the Idaho State Historical Society, Boise, Idaho. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Patrick Collins – Idaho Civil War Collection. Idaho State Archives. Web Accessed May 2018.

Peart, Jonathan M., Paul Santarone, Rusty Boicourt, Molly Boeka Cannon, and Kenneth P. Cannon
2016 *Archaeological Prospection Investigations of Potential Adverse Effects to 10-AA-161, Fort Boise, Ada County, Idaho.* USUAS Technical Report No. 2016-030. Prepared for the Department of Veterans Affairs, Boise VA Medical Center, Idaho. Prepared by USU Archaeological Services Inc., Logan, Utah. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Polk, Michael R., Bradford R. Cole and S. Alan Skinner.
1984 *A Cultural Resources Overview, Survey, and Evaluation of the Veterans Administration Medical Center, Boise, Idaho.* Prepared for the Veterans Administration, Office of Construction, Washington D.C. Prepared by A.R. Consultants, Dallas, Texas. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Post Returns
1965 *Returns from U.S. military posts, 1800-1916; Boise Barracks.* Washington, D.C.: The National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration.

Praetzellis, Adrian and Mary Praetzellis
2001 Mangling Symbols of Gentility in the Wild West: Case Studies in Interpretive Archaeology. *American Anthropologist*, 103(3), pp.645–654.

Randall, Mark E.
1971 Early Marbles. *Historical Archaeology*, 5, pp.102–105.

SAIC
1994 Fort Boise Military Reserve – Cultural Resources Survey. On file, Idaho State Historical Society, Boise, Idaho.

Sappington, Robert Lee
1981 *The Archaeology of the Lydle Gulch Site (10-AA-72): Prehistoric Occupation in the Boise River Canyon, Southwestern Idaho*. University of Idaho.

Sayer, Camille
2001 Bureau of Reclamation Demolition Monitoring. Letter Report Prepared for Mr. Jerold Gregg, Area Manager, Bureau of Reclamation, Boise, Idaho. Prepared by Shapiro and Associates, Boise, Idaho. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Schuyler, Robert L.
1970 Historical and Historic Sites Archaeology as Anthropology: Basic Definitions and Relationships. *Historical Archaeology,* 4, pp. 83-89.

Schwantes, Carlos
1991 *In mountain shadows: a history of Idaho*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Scott, Douglas D.
1989 An Officers Latrine at Fort Larned And Inferences on Status. *Plains Anthropologist*, 34(123), pp.23–34.

Scott, Douglas, and Andrew McFeaters
2011 "The Archaeology of Historic Battlefields: A History and Theoretical Development in Conflict Archaeology." *Journal of Archaeological Research*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 103–132.

Scott, Robert.
1880 *The War of the Rebellion: a compilation of the official records of the Union and Confederate armies.* Washington: Government Printing Office.

Schmitt, Martin F.
1946 *General George Crook, his autobiography*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Schroeder, J.J. and Barbara C. Cohen
1971 *The wonderful world of toys, games & dolls, 1860-1930.*, Chicago: Follett.

Shannon, Donald H.
1993 *The Utter Disaster on the Oregon Trail: The Utter and Van Ornum Massacres of 1860*. Snake Country Pub.

2004 *The Boise Massacre on the Oregon Trail: Attack on the Ward Party in 1854 and Massacres of 1859*. Snake Country Pub.

2008 *Massacre Rocks and City of Rocks: 1862 Attacks on Emigrant Trains*. Snake Country Pub.

Sherlock, Bristol.
1887 *The Pioneer Preacher: Incidents of Interest, and Experiences in the Author's Life: Revival Labors in the Frontier Settlement: A Perilous Trip across the Plains in the Time of Indian Wars and before the Railroads: Three Years in the Mining Camps of California and Idaho: Twenty-One Years' Residence in Southern California, Etc.* Fleming H. Revell.

Statham, William P.
1982 *Idaho Archaeological Site Survey Form for Site 10-AA-161*. Prepared by William P. Stratham, Idaho State Historical Society. On file, Idaho Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Sutherland, Donald R.
1986 *Archaeological Testing in Front of Building 67, VAMC Boise, Idaho.* Prepared by the Veterans Administration, Boise, Idaho. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Suydam, Charles R.
1960 *The American Cartridge: an illustrated study of the rim fire cartridge in the United States.* Alhambra, Cal.: Borden Publishing.

Switzer, Ronald R.
1974 *The Bertrand bottles: a study of 19th-century glass and ceramic containers*, Washington: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Tec Inc.
2006 *Proposed New Department of Veterans Affairs Regional Office Building at Fort Boise.* Final Archaeological and Historical Survey Report. Prepared for the LA Group, P.C. Prepared by TEC Inc. On file, Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

United States Senate.
1867-1869 *Reports Committee of the Senate of the United States for the Second Fortieth Session of Congress, 1867-1869.* Library of Congress.

United States War Department
1880 *Report of the Secretary of War; Being Part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the First Session of the First Session of the Fifty-first Congress,* Vol.1.

Utley, Robert M.
2003 *Indian Frontier 1846-1890*. 2nd ed., University of New Mexico Press.

2014 *Army Doctor on the Western Frontier: Journals and Letters of John Vance Lauderdale, 1864-1890*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Walker, Danny N.
1998 *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996*. Cultural Resources Selections; No. 13. Denver, Colo.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, Division of Cultural Resources.

Warner, Mark and Margaret Purser, eds.
2017 *Historical Archaeology through a Western Lens.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Washburn, Wilcomb E. and William C. Sturtevant, eds.
1988 *Handbook of North American Indians: History of Indian White Relations.* Vol. 4. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Wells, Merle.
1972 Fort Boise (United States Army). *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form.* Record on file at the Idaho State Historic Preservation Office, Boise, Idaho.

Willey, Patrick. and Douglas D. Scott
2015 *Health of the Seventh Cavalry: a medical history*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Wilson, Rex L.
1981 *Bottles on the western frontier*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.