



# Colonial Identities of United States Army Commissioned Officers: The Negotiation of Class and Rank at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, Oregon, 1856–1866

Justin E. Eichelberger

Accepted: 8 March 2017 / Published online: 14 March 2019  
© Society for Historical Archaeology 2019

**Abstract** During the 19th century the American West played host to the colonial expansion of the United States. This period saw an attempt by the federal government to balance the westward expansion of White settlement spurred, in part, by ideas of Manifest Destiny, with what was then believed to be a humane solution to the “Indian problem.” What resulted from these attempts was the reservation system, where native peoples were relocated to reservations to be kept separate from White settlement and guarded by a system of U.S. Army forts. These forts became liminal environments in which the army operated both as the oppressors and protectors of indigenous peoples and lifeways, and also as stages for the display and transmission of European American ideas of social class and personal identity. Commissioned officers at these posts played an important role as actors in the drama of colonial westward expansion, holding identities as both frontiersmen and as bastions of 19th-century American sociocultural norms of social inequality and their expression through material culture. This article examines the material expressions of class represented by artifact assemblages recovered from six commissioned officers’ houses at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins. The artifact assemblages from these posts suggest that these army officers not only brought the socio-cultural norms of materialism and conspicuous

consumption with them to the frontiers, but that they were also highly competitive individuals who were interested in displaying and affirming their identities as colonizers and as members of the sociocultural elite.

**Extracto** Durante el siglo XIX, el oeste americano era anfitrión de la expansión colonial de los Estados Unidos. En ese período se produjo un intento por parte del gobierno federal para equilibrar la expansión hacia el oeste de la colonización blanca que recibía un impulso, en parte, de las ideas del destino manifiesto, y lo que entonces se creía que era una solución humana al “problema indio”. El resultado de estos intentos fue el sistema de reservas, donde los pueblos nativos fueron trasladados a las reservas para mantenerlos separados de la colonización blanca y para custodiarlos con un sistema de fuertes del Ejército de Estados Unidos. Estos fuertes se convirtieron en entornos liminales en los que el ejército funcionaba al mismo tiempo como los opresores y como los protectores de los pueblos indígenas y sus modos de vida, además de escenarios para representar y transmitir las ideas europeo-americanas de clase social e identidad personal. Los oficiales en estos puestos desempeñaban un importante papel como actores en el drama de la época colonial de expansión hacia el oeste, manteniendo identidades como hombres de la frontera y también como bastiones de las normas socioculturales estadounidenses del siglo XIX de desigualdad social y su expresión a través de la cultura material. Este artículo examina las expresiones materiales de clase que se expresaban en los conjuntos

---

J. E. Eichelberger (✉)  
National Park Service, Lake Roosevelt National Recreation Area,  
Kettle Falls, WA 99116, U.S.A.  
e-mail: eichelbj@onid.orst.edu

de artefactos recuperados de seis casas de oficiales en Fort Yamhill y Fort Hoskins. Los conjuntos de artefactos de estos destacamentos sugieren que estos oficiales del ejército no sólo traían las normas socioculturales del materialismo y del consumo ostentoso con ellos a la frontera, sino que también eran individuos altamente competitivos que estaban interesados en mostrar y afirmar su identidad como colonizadores y como miembros de la élite sociocultural.

**Résumé** L'Ouest américain fut, durant le 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'hôte de l'expansion coloniale des États-Unis. Ladite période fut témoin des efforts lancés par le gouvernement fédéral pour équilibrer l'expansion, vers l'ouest, des colonies blanches motivées, en partie, par la Manifest Destiny (destinée manifeste en français), une idéologie qui constituait, selon les croyances de l'époque, une solution humaine au « problème indien ». Ces efforts ont donné naissance au système des réserves, où les autochtones furent transportés pour être mis à l'écart des colonies blanches et surveillés par un système de forts de l'armée américaine. Ces forts sont devenus des environnements limitrophes où l'armée jouait à la fois le rôle d'opresseur et de protecteur des peuples autochtones et de leurs styles de vie, ainsi que la scène de démonstration et de transmission de l'idéologie des Européens américains relative aux concepts de classe sociale et d'identité personnelle. Les officiers responsables de ces postes ont joué un important rôle dans l'expansion coloniale en direction de l'ouest, étant à la fois pionniers et bastions des normes socioculturelles américaines d'inégalité sociale du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle et de leur expression dans la culture matérielle. Le présent article examine les expressions matérielles de classe représentées par les assemblages d'artefacts récupérés de six domiciles d'officiers de Fort Yamhill et Fort Hoskins. Ces assemblages suggèrent que lesdits officiers transportèrent non seulement avec eux des normes socioculturelles de matérialisme et de consommation ostentatoire jusqu'aux fronts pionniers, mais qu'ils étaient également des individus fort compétitifs voulant démontrer et affirmer leur identité de colon et de membre de l'élite socioculturelle.

**Keywords** army · status · officer · class · negotiation

## Introduction

Nineteenth-century frontier United States Army posts were complex and self-sustaining settlements, and microcosms of the metropolitan cities of the eastern United States. They contained a wide variety of defensive, residential, recreation, storage, and subsistence-oriented buildings that encapsulated the cultural and social complexities of the U.S. Army and the larger 19th-century American society of which they were a part (Hart 1963, 1967; Hoagland 2004; Tveskov and Cohen 2014). Army posts were also demographically and socially complex, where both civilian employees and soldiers lived a social life with real and perceived disparities in socioeconomic status and authority (Scott 1989; Bowyer 1992; McBride et al. 2000; K. Adams 2009; Horton 2014; Eichner, this issue; Tveskov and Rose, this issue; Wilkie, this issue). Defined by military regulations, soldiers and officers were stratified professionally and socially by their military grade and rank, which, in turn, was often, in part, determined by their social and economic backgrounds from their civilian lives. Once in the army these social and economic differences were amplified, solidified, and legitimized by the almost caste-like system of social and professional stratification inherent in the 19th-century U.S. Army.

Set in the American frontier, these forts were often the setting for the construction, maintenance, negotiation, and renegotiation of personhood and identity (Eichner, this issue; Lightfoot, this issue; Tveskov and Rose, this issue). As members of the sociocultural elite, commissioned officers at these forts were often concerned with defining and differentiating their identity and status, while at the same time participating in the shared rituals and behaviors that united them as U.S. Army officers (K. Adams 2009). Frontiers have been characterized as locales where normative ideas are actively challenged or reinforced (Tveskov and Cohen 2014; Eichner, this issue), and much contemporary scholarship of the frontier focuses on this liminal nature and the cultural changes and adaptations to both the colonized and the colonizers that occurred in these environments (Lightfoot 1995, 2005, 2006; Voss 2005, 2008; Ferris 2009; Silliman 2009, 2014; Panich 2010, 2013; Whaley 2010; Ferris et al. 2014; Tveskov and Cohen 2014; Tveskov and Rose, this issue). Military forts along the frontier were part of this process; located far away and often isolated from the social and material worlds of the eastern cities, the soldiers and officers who

garrisoned these posts were beset with challenges to their sociocultural norms and, in many cases, actively resisted these challenges through the reproduction and performance of their eastern upper-class world of gentility, masculinity, and domesticity; compare Bowyer (1992), Horton (2014), Tveskov and Rose (this issue), Eichner (this issue), and Wilkie (this issue).

In the case of the U.S. Army officer, some of the most important normative ideals preserved were linked to personal identity, not only as a soldier, but also as a member of the sociocultural elite in American society. For these officers, notions of class as a measure of status were intimately integrated into their worldviews and allowed gentility to become a major cultural force for them (K. Adams 2009:42). Many officers viewed themselves in terms of their military rank and social class, and the ideal officer was a “gentleman/artist/scholar/statesman” who was often conservative, sophisticated, and certain of his “deserved” place in society (K. Adams 2009:46,57). When the officer was stationed along the frontier these ideals did not simply go away, but were challenged by the “other world-ness” and liminal nature of the frontier. In response, these ideals were idolized and further solidified, maintained, and reproduced through ritualized behaviors, such as calling and dining, which provided a platform for status displays of conspicuous consumption that were so important to these officers. These behaviors not only preserved the cultural norms of the sociocultural elite, but they also became part of the colonial process by introducing and placing higher value on these norms and behaviors, such as domesticity, over others and ultimately forcing the frontiers to become less “frontier-like.”

This article examines how commissioned officers used material culture to maintain their social position, while others used material culture to renegotiate their social position. This maintenance and negotiation of social status are illustrated through the examination of the material culture and historical records associated with six archaeologically excavated commissioned-officers’ houses: the captain’s, first lieutenant’s, and second lieutenant’s quarters from both Fort Yamhill (1856–1866) and Fort Hoskins (1856–1865). These data will be interpreted using theoretical perspectives from symbolic anthropology (Turner 1967) and conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1994), where objects are viewed as symbols that give physical form to cultural phenomena. As symbols, these objects are used to express and communicate meaning, such as status, among members of

the same social group. This symbolic expression of meanings must be shared, by the sender and the receiver, in order for the message to be understood, and, therefore, it lies at the heart of the relationships among members within the group and ultimately creates the society’s norms (Ortner 1984:131). These symbols are also understood as operators in the social process by bringing about social action by exerting influence on a person’s individual and group identity (Turner 1967:36). For some, the arrangement and context of these symbols are used to maintain the status of the actors, but for others the same symbols are used to create social transformations that aid in the changing of one’s status (Ortner 1984:131).

The maintenance or changing of social status is often done through the economic behavior of conspicuous consumption or the spending of money on and the acquisition of luxury goods (Veblen 1994:1). This behavior is intended to be a public display of discretionary economic power and is ultimately motivated by the desire for *prestige* that goes beyond the intrinsic or practical *utility* of the object and, therefore, can be measured by the quantity, quality, diversity, and rarity of goods being purchased and displayed (Bullock and Trombley 1993:162; Wason 1994; McBride et al. 2000; Ames 2008). It is this theoretical perspective of objects as symbols and their use in public displays of consumption that will be used to interpret the similarities and differences in the patterns observed in the artifact assemblages recovered from the officers’ quarters at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins.

### **The Negotiation of Class and Rank in the Nineteenth-Century United States Army**

Nineteenth-century U.S. Army officers understood themselves and their surroundings in terms of military rank and social class. The first paragraph of the first article of the *United States Army Regulations* (United States War Department 1861) defined military discipline and stipulated that “[a]ll inferiors are required to obey strictly, and to execute with alacrity and good faith, the lawful order of the superiors appointed over them,” and the first paragraph of the second article provided the structure for this social and military inequality through the hierarchy of rank and command. This created a system of institutional inequality between the grades that

exacerbated the already existing social inequalities the officers brought with them from the civilian world. These officers were also competitive individuals that were interested in maintaining, if not improving, their social positions (K. Adams 2009:81). Because the system of promotion within the army was based on seniority, most officers turned to other methods to increase their social standing. One such method of negotiating this social stratification was through the use of conspicuous consumption to define themselves as sociocultural elites (K. Adams 2009:106). This practice of conspicuous consumption was most clearly expressed and observed in two important social rituals in which every army officer participated: calling and dining.

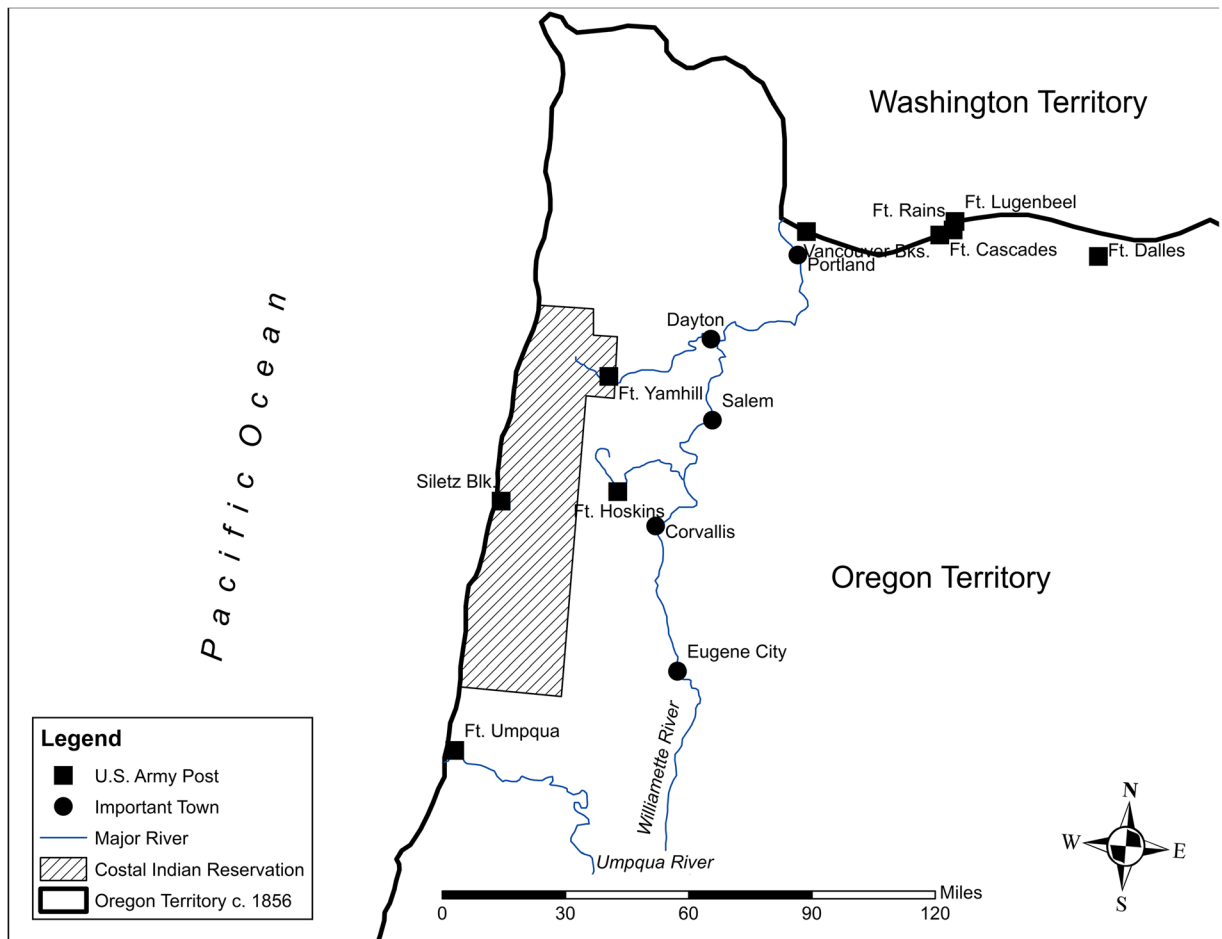
“Calling” was a social institution in which newly arrived officers were required to make a series of social visits to the resident officers (K. Adams 2009:78). Upon arriving at his new post, an officer was expected to first pay a social call to the commanding officer. After this initial call, all of the other commissioned officers of the post were required to call upon the newly arrived officer, who would then return the calls. During these social calls the host would use the visit to showcase his social and economic status through the social and economic behaviors of domesticity, gentility, and conspicuous consumption. Superficially, calling was a ritualized behavior of social introduction, but it was also an implicit pronouncement of class standing, as it was always a superior officer who called upon or accepted a call from a subordinate. The sociability imposed by this cycle of visits was expected and essentially required, and those that spurned its dictates could expect to be shunned (K. Adams 2009:78).

Dining was another ritualized behavior used to express and reaffirm an officer’s social and economic status (K. Adams 2009:81). During dinner parties officers used conspicuous consumption to assert their social worth and to demonstrate that they were members of the sociocultural elite. At these performative events an officer would serve lavish multiple-course meals of exotic and expensive foods on complete dining services of fine china. These events were meant to impress guests with the amount and diversity of foods offered and the expense and refinement of the dining service on which it was presented. Food and its consumption were strong indicators of bourgeois culture in the urban Northeast, and such refinements were brought to the frontier by army officers to demonstrate their gentility (K. Adams 2009:114).

## Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins

Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins were established in 1856 at the end of the Rogue River War as part of a three-fort system designed to guard the Oregon Coast Reservation (Fig. 1). Superintendent of Indian affairs Joel Palmer recommended isolating the native populations from European American settlers to prevent further violence, and under this plan large tracts of lands west of the Coast Range on the Pacific coast would be set aside as reservation lands for Native American habitation and use (Brauner and Stricker 2006:25; Eichelberger 2014a). Palmer also proposed the establishment of a system of military posts that would be charged with protecting the reservation from European American encroachment, keeping Native American people within the reservation boundaries, and providing military support for the three Indian agencies. Fort Yamhill (1856–1866) was positioned on the northern reservation boundary and provided support for the Grand Ronde Indian Agency, Fort Hoskins (1856–1865) was positioned on the central reservation boundary and provided support for the Siletz Indian Agency, and Fort Umpqua (1856–1862) was positioned on the southern reservation boundary and provided support for the Umpqua Indian Agency (W. Adams 1991:11; Brauner and Stricker 2006:62; Eichelberger 2011:40). With the outbreak of the American Civil War in April of 1861, the purpose of the forts changed dramatically. Originally all three forts were destined for closure in 1862, but Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins remained open until the end of the Civil War to discourage local secessionist movements and to deter a feared British invasion of the Pacific Northwest (Brauner and Stricker 2006:41,62–63; Brauner et al. 2009:7). Both forts were officially closed in August of 1866, although Fort Hoskins was abandoned the year before, in April of 1865 (Barth 1959:197).

The layouts of both forts are very similar to other frontier military posts of the 19th century and reflect their colonial purpose as symbols of American hegemony (Hoagland 2004; Scott 2009; Tveskov and Johnson 2014). Each fort included a rectangular parade ground enclosed on four sides by the fort buildings, with each side of the quadrangle containing buildings of similar function or socioeconomic status. Along one side of the quadrangle were the officers houses, and the other three sides of the quadrangle contained the other “military” buildings, including the adjutant’s office, guardhouse, warehouse, blockhouse, barracks, mess hall, and



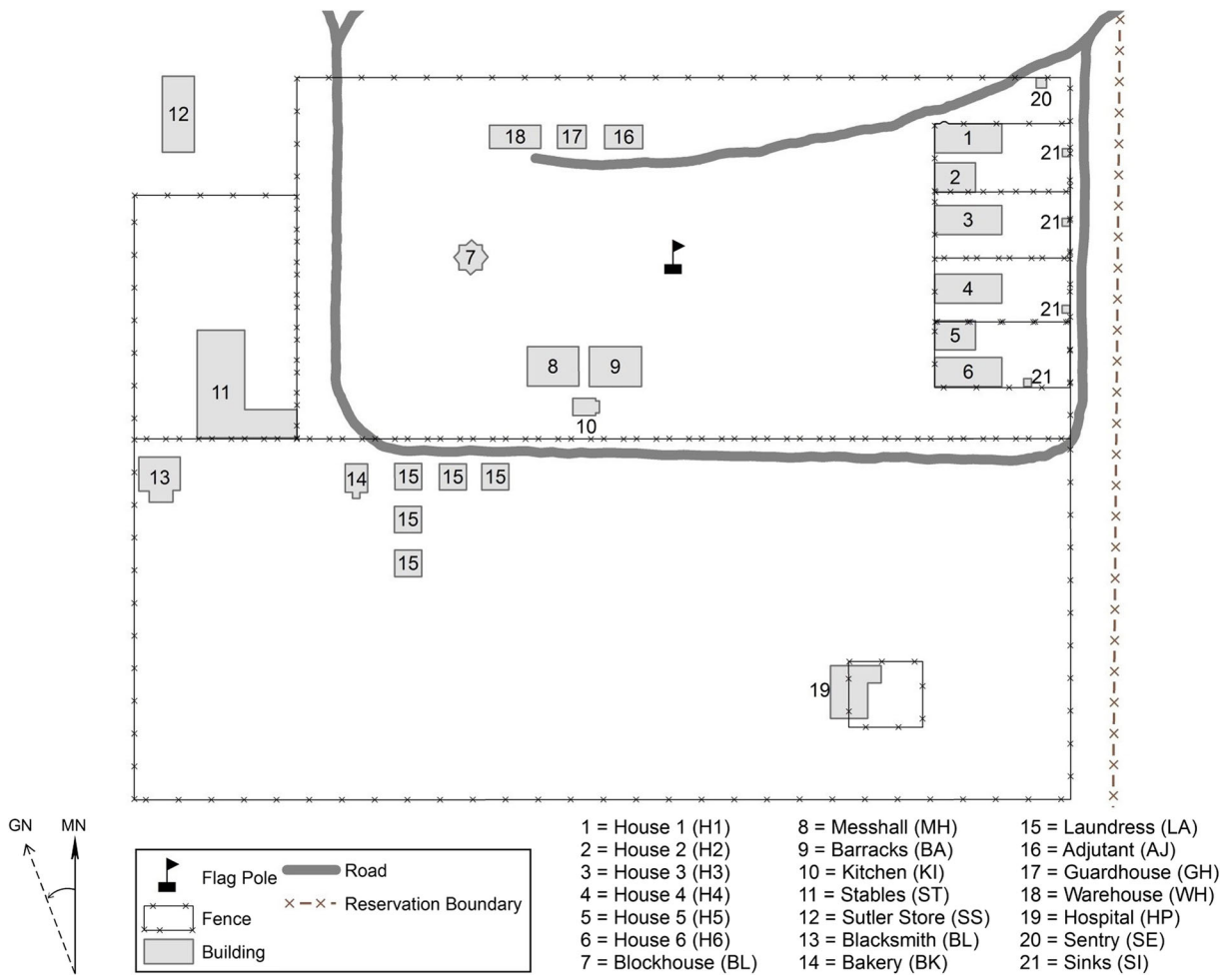
**Fig. 1** Map of the northwestern Oregon Territory, ca. 1856. (Map by author, 2019.)

kitchen. Outside the quadrangle were the quasi-military structures, such as the hospital, laundress houses, bake house, stables, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, and sutler's store, where the civilian contractors and employees of the post worked and lived (Figs. 2, 3). The most accurate and detailed maps of both Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins drawn in 1864 depict the officers' quarters at both posts grouped along one side of the fort quadrangle, in an area colloquially known as "Officers' Row." At both forts, Officers' Row was positioned to provide the best vantage point for surveillance of the other buildings, post gate, roads, and surrounding valleys. In this location the officers' houses would have been the most visible of the fort structures, enhancing them as the powerful symbols of American military power, but also as representations of the 19th-century American values of gentility and domesticity. The officers' houses at both posts were not only spatially set apart by distance and position from the other structures

on the post, but they were also physically separated from the rest of the post. Each of the officers' houses was separated and defined as "officer only" spaces, both from each other and the rest of the garrison, by a network of fences that made physical and real the symbolic and perceived social distance between the soldiers and officers of different grades, and also provided each officer with a private yard.

### Archaeological Investigations at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins

The archaeological data used in this article were recovered during several Oregon State University archaeological field-school excavations conducted between 1976 and 2013 (Bowyer 1992; Brauner and Eichelberger 2009; Brauner et al. 2009; Eichelberger 2011; Eichelberger and Brauner 2011; Eichelberger 2014b;

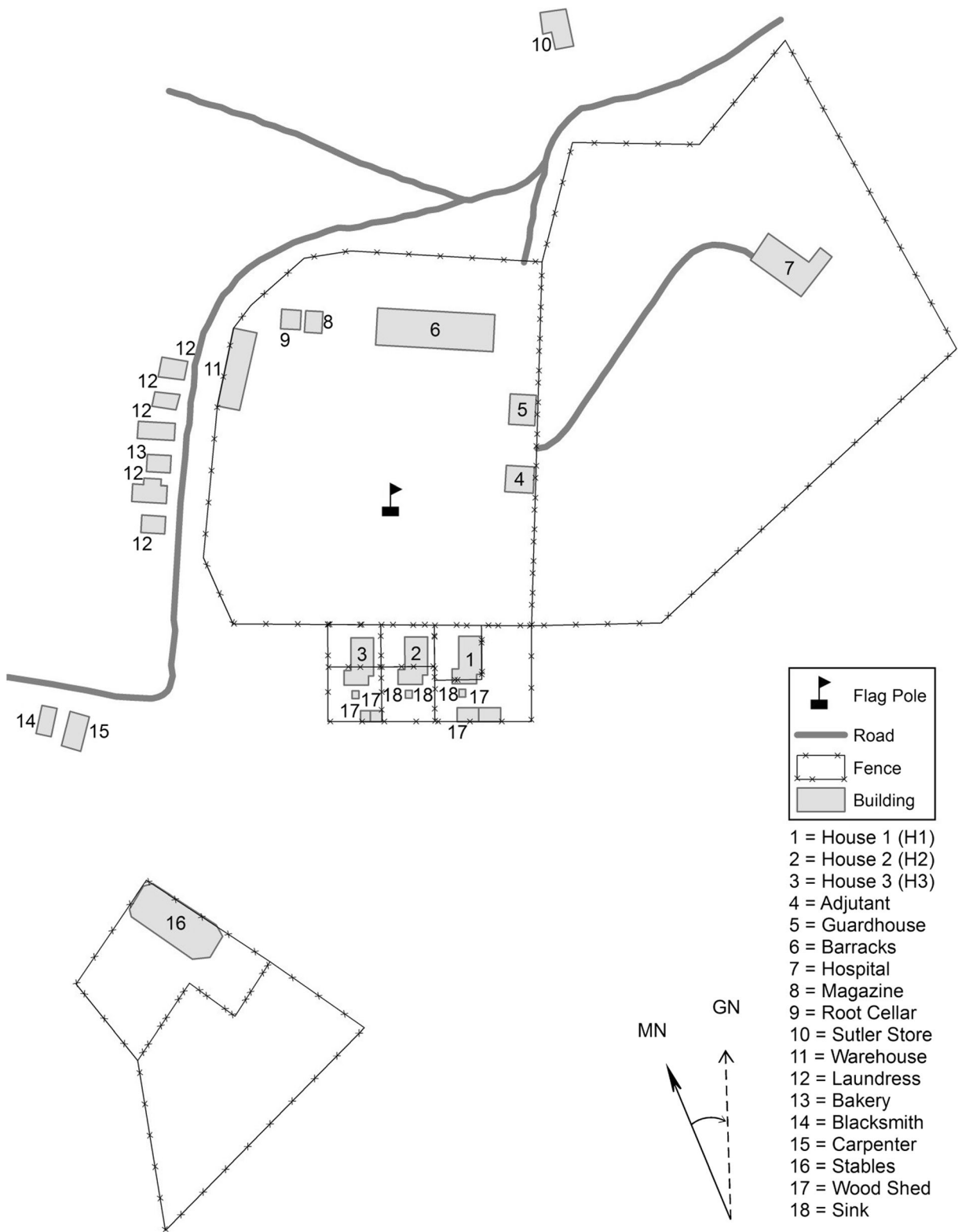


**Fig. 2** Map of Fort Yamhill, ca. 1864. Redrawn from the “Division Map” of 1864 (not to scale) (W. Adams 1991).

Eichelberger and Wessler 2015; Eichelberger 2019). The artifacts analyzed in this paper were recovered from six commissioned officers’ houses, including assemblages from two captains’ quarters (FYH1 and FHH1), two first lieutenants’ quarters (FYH2 and FHH2), and two second lieutenants’ quarters (FYH3 and FHH3) at each post (Figs. 4, 5). Over 70,000 artifacts were recovered during these excavations at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, of which only 830 artifacts and ecofacts, such as ceramic vessels, glassware vessels, faunal remains, food canisters, food bottles, condiment bottles, and beverage bottles, directly associated with the consumption of food and drink, and dining behavior will be used in this study. These items tend to be sensitive indicators of social status, since the cost of many of these artifacts is known to have varied by type, quality, decoration, or contents (McBride et al. 2000:109).

### Gustatory Ceramics

The excavations of the six officers’ houses at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins produced a minimum (MNV) of 298 gustatory ceramic vessels (Table 1). The captain’s quarters at each post yielded the greatest number of ceramic eating and drinking vessels, with 92 vessels recovered from FYH1 and 95 vessels recovered from FHH1. The excavations at the subaltern officers’ quarters produced far fewer vessels, with only 31 vessels recovered from FYH2 and 40 vessels recovered from FYH3, and only 21 vessels recovered from FHH2 and 19 vessels recovered from FHH3. The ceramic vessels recovered from each officer’s quarters also varied by fabric type, vessel form, decoration type, number of matched sets, and ceramic price-index values, all



**Fig. 3** Map of Fort Hoskins, ca. 1864. Redrawn from the “Chase Map” of 1864 (not to scale) (Brauner and Stricker 2006).



**Fig. 4** Map of units excavated at Fort Yamhill (Eichelberger 2019).

of which tended to correlate with the military grade of the officers who lived in each structure.

The captains' quarters at both posts yielded not only more ceramic vessels, but these officers also owned more-expensive eating and drinking vessels, and used

a greater diversity of vessel types. At both posts, more porcelain vessels were recovered from the captains' quarters (FYH1 and FHH1) than from all the other officers' quarters combined. Interestingly, the ceramic assemblages recovered from the quarters of the first





**Fig. 5** Map of units excavated at Fort Hoskins (Eichelberger 2019).

lieutenants (FYH2 and FHH2) had the highest percentages of ironstone vessels, a moderately priced ceramic ware, and the ceramic assemblages recovered from the quarters of the second lieutenants (FYH3 and FHH3) had the highest percentage of whiteware vessels, the cheapest of the ceramic wares recovered at both posts.

A similar pattern is observed in the type of decoration found on the vessels recovered from each house. The

more expensive decoration types were recovered in higher quantities from the captains' quarters (FYH1 and FHH1) than from all the other officers' houses, and included far more transfer-printed vessels and the only gilded vessels recovered from the officers' quarters at each post. Given the fact that porcelain vessels and transfer-printed and gilt-decorated vessels were the most expensive wares available during the middle of the 19th

**Table 1** Gustatory ceramic vessel paste and decoration types

Paste and Decoration Type	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FHH2	FHH3
Gilded porcelain	4	—	—	3	—	—
Painted porcelain	5	1	—	1	1	—
Plain porcelain	5	1	1	31	4	2
Total porcelain	14	2	1	35	5	2
Molded ironstone	35	16	11	28	8	7
Plain ironstone	31	8	18	17	3	6
Total ironstone	66	24	29	45	11	13
Transfer-printed whiteware	4	1	1	5	1	1
Painted whiteware	1	2	7	—	—	—
Sponged whiteware	3	—	—	—	—	—
Annular/banded whiteware	4	1	1	6	2	2
Edge-decorated whiteware	—	1	1	4	—	—
Plain whiteware	—	—	—	—	1	1
Molded whiteware	—	—	—	—	1	—
Total whiteware	12	5	10	15	5	4
Total	92	31	40	95	21	19

century (Miller 1980, 1991; Miller et al. 1994), the captain's quarters at each post had much more expensive ceramic assemblages than those of the subaltern officers. Differences among the six officers' houses are also evident when vessel forms are examined (Table 2). At FYH1 and FYH2 the ceramic assemblages consist of a higher percentage of serving vessels (9.67% and 10.5%, respectively) than were recovered from any of the subaltern officers' quarters, where FYH2, FYH3, and FHH3 produced only 3.2%, 5.0%, and 5.2%, respectively, and the excavations at FHH2 yielded no service vessels. A higher proportion of serving vessels is often linked to higher economic or social status (Otto 1977, 1980; Miller 1980; Wall 1994a, 1994b, 1999; McBride and Esarey 1995; Fitts 1999).

The serving vessel assemblages recovered from FYH1 and FHH1 are also distinct and include a diversity of vessel forms, including tea-/coffeepots, sugars, platters, tureens, pitchers, butter tubs, and dishes, while the serving assemblages from the other officers' houses contained only platters and tea-/coffeepot or sugar covers. This pattern is also reflected in the ceramic assemblage overall, where FYH1 and FHH1 have a higher total number of vessel forms (8 and 10, respectively), while the subaltern officers' houses contained no more than 6 and as few as 4 vessels forms (Table 2). The presence of large and varied serving vessels, such as

platters, tureens, pitchers, butter tubs, and dishes, at the captains' quarters (FYH1 and FHH1) are indicative of more-formal dining, entertaining, and display (Wall 1994a, 1994b, 1999; Fitts 1999; McBride et al. 2000).

The table-setting assemblages from the officers' quarters also show variability in forms. The plate to bowl ratios for the assemblages recovered from the captains' quarters (FYH1 and FHH1) and the first lieutenants' quarters (FYH2 and FHH2) are all greater than 2:1, and are significantly higher than the ratios recovered from the second lieutenants' quarters (FYH3 and FHH3), where the ratio did not exceed 1.6 to 1, but fell as low as 1.1 to 1. The higher plate to bowl ratios observed at the captains' and first lieutenants' quarters suggest the more-lavish purchasing behavior and more-formal dining behavior of those officers. This is in direct contrast to the lower plate to bowl ratios (higher proportion of bowls recovered) observed at the second lieutenants' quarters, suggesting less-formal dining behaviors and the greater use of less-expensive ceramic vessels (bowls). This pattern also suggests that the lower-ranking officers were probably consuming more soups and stews from bowls, meals more commonly associated with the lower classes, while the captains were probably consuming larger "cuts" of meat from plates, meals more commonly associated with the higher classes

**Table 2** Gustatory ceramic-vessel forms

Vessel Form	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FHH2	FHH3
Cups	24	7	6	9	7	3
Saucers	24	8	9	17	3	2
Pot/creamer/sugar	2	1	—	6	—	2
Total tea ware	50	16	15	32	10	7
Plate	20	8	12	33	5	5
Bowl	10	3	11	15	2	3
Flat vessel	3	3	—	2	3	3
Hollow vessel	1	1	—	3	1	—
Total tableware	34	15	23	53	11	11
Platter	5	—	2	4	—	1
Tureen	1	—	—	1	—	—
Pitcher	3	—	—	3	—	—
Butter tub	—	—	—	1	—	—
Dish	—	—	—	1	—	—
Total serving vessels	9	—	2	10	—	1
Total	93	31	40	95	21	19

(McBride et al. 2000). This is supported by the fact that the only two “steak cuts” identified in all of the faunal assemblages were recovered from a captain’s house (FYH1).

The gustatory ceramic assemblages recovered from the officers’ quarters also show variability in the 56 decorative patterns identified. These patterns fall within one of eight decorative types: gilded, hand painted, transfer printed, molded, sponge decorated, annular/banded, edge decorated, or plain (Table 1). At both posts the captains’ quarters had the greatest number of decorative patterns and matched sets, with 27 decorative patterns and at least 11 matched sets recovered from FYH1, and 24 decorative patterns and at least 9 matched sets recovered from FHH1. The remaining features from both posts contained far fewer decorative patterns and matched sets, including only 15 patterns and 2 matched sets from FYH2, 18 patterns and 2 matched sets from FYH3, 11 patterns and 3 matched sets from FHH2, and 7 patterns and only 1 matched set from FHH3. Matching tea sets and tableware were expensive and usually considered to be indicative of genteel or formal dining behavior of the upper classes (Williams 1987; Miller et al. 1994; Fitts 1999; Wall 1999).

The gustatory ceramic assemblages recovered from FYH1 and FHH1 clearly suggest the higher social and economic status of their occupants compared to the

occupants of the other officers’ houses. Both features contained more gustatory vessels, more porcelain vessels, the greater diversity of vessel forms, higher ratios of serving vessels to eating vessels, more gilded and more transfer-print decorated whiteware vessels, and more matched sets, all of which are often linked to more-formal dining behavior and the display of higher social and economic status (Otto 1977, 1980; Williams 1987; Scott 1989; Miller et al. 1994; Wall 1994a, 1994b, 1999; McBride and Esarey 1995; Fitts 1999). The ceramic assemblages from FYH2 and FHH2 contained a moderate number of gustatory vessels; more ironstone vessels; a moderate number of vessels forms; no serving vessels; no gilded, but moderate amounts of hand-painted porcelain vessels and molded ironstone vessels; and a moderate number of matched sets, suggesting that these features were occupied by officers of more modest means and status. Lastly, the ceramic assemblages recovered from FYH3 and FHH3 contained the lowest number of gustatory vessels; a moderate number of vessel forms; more whiteware vessels; a moderate number of vessel forms; low ratios of serving vessels to eating vessels; no gilded or hand-painted porcelain vessels, but moderate amounts of hand-painted whiteware vessels; higher amounts of plain ironstone vessels; and a low number of matched sets, suggesting that these features were occupied by officers with the lowest economic means and social status.

**Table 3** Miller CC-index values for gustatory ceramics

Vessel Form	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FHH2	FHH3
Teas	2.98	2.07	1.96	2.96	2.25	1.95
Flatware	2.62	2.31	1.98	2.90	2.34	2.43
Bowls	2.22	2.15	2.12	1.83	1.14	1.59
Mean	2.78	2.16	2.01	2.71	2.04	2.12

An analysis of the gustatory ceramic assemblage using the Miller Ceramic Price Index (Miller 1980, 1991) supports these conclusions. Price index values were calculated for teas, flatware, and bowls, taking into account vessel form, fabric type, and decoration type using the ceramic values for the years 1823–1871 (Table 3). At Fort Yamhill the captain's quarters (FYH1) had the highest index values for all vessel forms (teas, flatware, and bowls), followed by the first lieutenant's (FYH2) and then the second lieutenant's (FYH3). At Fort Hoskins the results were similar; the captain's quarters (FHH1) had the highest index values for all vessel forms, but, while the first lieutenant's (FHH2) had a higher index value for teas than the second lieutenant's (FHH3), the second lieutenant's (FHH3) had higher index values for flatware and bowls than the first lieutenant's (FHH2). The results of this analysis indicate that the higher-ranking officers dressed their tables with more-expensive ceramic vessels.

### Glassware Vessels

The excavations at both forts produced 95 glassware vessels, of which 22 were found at FYH1, 45 were found at FHH1, 8 were found at FYH2, 10 were found at FHH2, 4 were found at FYH3, and 4 were found at FHH3. The glassware assemblage discussed here includes only colorless cut- and pressed-glass vessels used in the presentation and consumption of food and drink. The assemblages from each feature vary by vessel form, decoration type, and decorative pattern (Table 4).

The glassware assemblages recovered from FYH1 and FHH1 contain more total vessels, a greater diversity of vessel forms, and more serving and specialized vessel forms than were recovered from FYH2, FYH3, FHH2, or FYH3. At Fort Yamhill 22 vessels in 8 vessel forms were recovered from FYH1, while only 8 vessels in 3 vessel forms and 6 vessels in only 2 vessel forms were recovered from FYH2 and FYH3, respectively. The pattern is similar at Fort Hoskins, where 45 vessels in 5

vessel forms were recovered from FHH1, while only 10 vessels in 4 vessel forms and 4 vessels of only 1 vessel form were recovered from FHH2 and FHH3, respectively.

Differences among the officers' houses are also evident when the vessels' forms are examined. Although all of the officers' houses contained a diversity of vessel forms, the most common of which were tumblers, the captains' houses contained greater numbers of other glassware vessels, such as stemware, shot glasses, and decanters. The captains' houses were also the only assemblages to contain vessels with specialized functions, such as ale glasses, cordials, compotes, and celeries. The ratio of stemware to tumblers for the assemblages recovered from the captains' quarters (FYH1 and FHH1) is significantly lower (2:1 and 3.5:1, respectively) than the ratios recovered from any of the subaltern officers' houses at Fort Yamhill or Fort Hoskins, where no stemware vessels were recovered from

**Table 4** Glassware vessel forms

Vessel Form	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FHH2	FHH3
Tumbler	8	6	2	30	7	4
Stemware	4	1	—	9	1	—
Ale glass	1	—	—	—	—	—
Shot glass	2	—	—	2	1	—
Total drinkware	15	7	2	41	9	4
Plate	1	—	—	—	—	—
Bowl	3	—	4	1	—	—
Hollow vessel	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total tableware	5	—	4	1	—	—
Butter dish	1	1	—	—	—	—
Compote/celery	1	—	—	—	—	—
Decanter	—	—	—	3	1	—
Total serving vessels	2	1	—	3	1	—
Total	22	8	6	45	10	4

FYH3 or FHH3, and the ratio of stemware to tumblers was as high as 8:1 at FHH2 and 6:1 at FYH2. The lower stemware to tumbler ratios observed at the captains’ quarters suggest more-expensive purchasing behavior and more-formal and -ritualized drinking behavior of the commanding officers.

At least 18 distinct patterns decorated the glassware recovered from the two posts. These patterns fall within one of three decorative types: cut, roughed, or pressed. More cut-glass vessels were recovered from both of the captains’ quarters (FYH1 and FHH1) than from the subaltern officers’ quarters (FYH2, FHH2, FYH3, FHH3). At both posts the captains’ houses also had the greatest number of decorative patterns and matched sets, including 10 decorative patterns and at least 4 matched sets at FYH1, and 9 decorative patterns and 4 matched sets at FHH1. The remaining features from both posts contained far fewer decorative patterns and matched sets, including five patterns and one matched set from both FYH2 and FYH3, four patterns and one matched set from FHH2, and only two patterns and one matched set from FHH3.

The glassware assemblages from all six features follow the same pattern observed in the gustatory ceramic assemblages. The glassware vessels recovered from FYH1 and FHH1 clearly suggest the higher social and economic status of their occupants compared to the occupants of the other officers’ houses. Both features

contained more glassware vessels, the largest number of vessel forms, higher ratios of stemware vessels to tumblers, more cut-glass vessels, and more matched sets. While the glassware vessels recovered from FYH2 and FHH2 are more moderate in quantity, quality, and diversity, the glassware assemblage recovered from FYH3 and FHH3 contains the lowest number of vessels, number of vessel forms, ratio of serving vessels to eating vessels, number of cut-glass vessels, and the fewest matched sets. The higher number of stemware vessels (wineglasses, goblets, and cordials) and serving vessels (decanters) recovered from FYH1 and FHH1, in particular, are consistent with other higher-status officer assemblages (Andrews and Mullins 1989; Scott 1989).

Faunal Remains

Diverse assemblages of faunal remains consisting of a mix of domestic taxa were recovered from both forts, including cattle (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), and chicken (*Gallus gallus domesticus*); and wild taxa, including deer (*Odocoileus* sp.), elk (*Cervus* sp.), geese (*Anser* sp.), fowl (order Galliformes), fish (superclass Osteichthyes), oysters (*Ostrea lurida*), and clams (*Trisus* sp. and *Clinocardium nuttallii*) (Fig. 6). At Fort Yamhill, beef and venison dominated the faunal assemblages at all three of the officers’ houses,

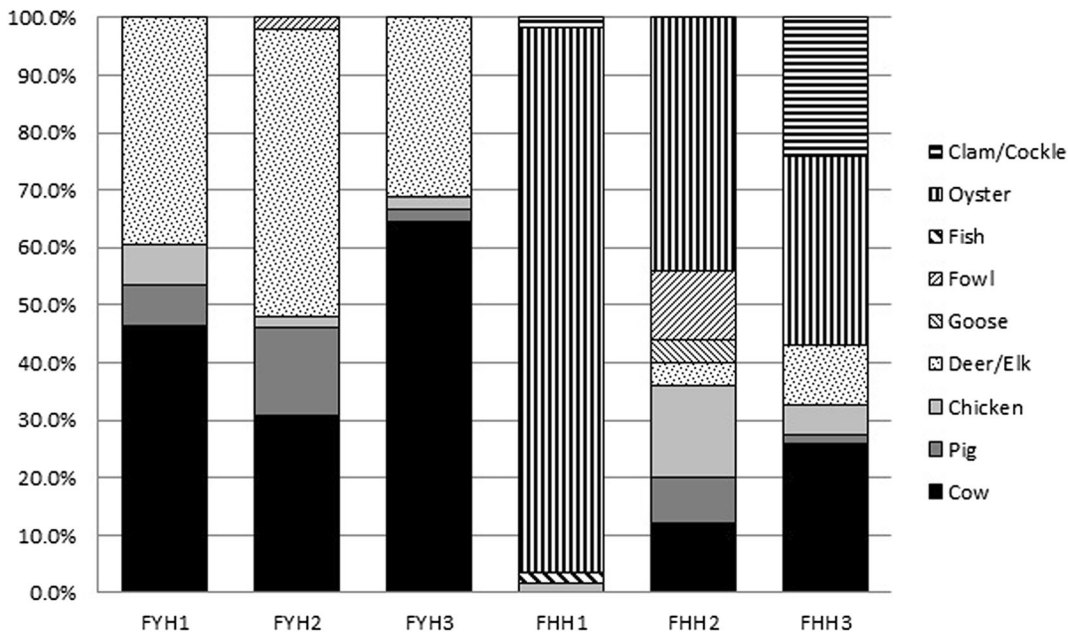


Fig. 6 Identified domestic and wild taxa (%) by feature. (Figure by author, 2019.)

**Table 5** Identified food taxa and butchery cuts

Taxon	Butchery Cut	Preference Rank Value	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FHH2	FHH3
Beef	Sirloin	High (9)	—	—	4	—	—	7
	Chuck	High (8)	—	1	1	—	1	—
	Round	High (7)	6	3	8	—	—	1
	Rump	Medium (6)	2	1	5	—	—	—
	Ribs	Medium (6)	6	4	4	—	—	1
	Shoulder	Medium (5)	4	—	3	—	—	—
	Clod	Medium (5)	—	—	—	—	2	—
	Short plate	Low (3)	2	3	—	—	—	—
	Leg	Low (2)	—	1	1	—	—	2
	Foreshank	Low (2)	—	—	3	—	—	2
	Foot	Low (1)	—	1	—	—	—	2
	Total beef		20	14	29	—	3	15
Pork	Loin	Medium (6)	—	2	1	—	1	—
	Shoulder	Medium (4)	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Foreleg	Low (3)	3	—	—	—	—	—
	Head/jowl	Low (1)	—	1	—	—	1	1
	Side meat/bacon	N/A	—	4	—	—	—	—
	Total pork		3	8	1	—	2	1
Chicken	Egg	High (9)	2	—	—	—	—	—
	Whole bird	High (8)	1	1	1	1	4	3
	Total chicken		3	1	1	1	4	3
Venison	Round	High (7)	—	—	6	—	—	1
	Rump	Medium (6)	4	7	3	—	—	3
	Ribs	Medium (6)	1	5	2	—	—	—
	Shoulder	Medium (5)	3	1	—	—	—	—
	Short plate	Low (3)	1	4	—	—	—	—
	Leg	Low (2)	2	3	—	—	1	1
	Foreshank	Low (2)	1	3	3	—	—	1
	Foot	Low (1)	5	—	—	—	—	—
	Total venison		17	23	14	—	1	6
Shellfish	Oyster	High (8)	—	—	—	55	11	19
	Clam	Low (2)	—	—	—	1	—	13
	Cockle	Low (2)	—	—	—	—	—	1
	Total shellfish		—	—	—	56	11	33
Total			43	46	45	57	21	58

while pork, chicken, and unidentified fowl comprised only a small proportion of these assemblages. The pattern was somewhat different at Fort Hoskins, where aquatic species, such as waterfowl, fish, oysters, and clams, dominated the assemblage, and terrestrial fauna, such as deer/elk, chicken, pig, and cattle never represented more than 43% of any of the faunal assemblages.

When the faunal assemblages are examined by species cost (Fort Hoskins Subsistence Account Book 1862; Eichelberger 2019), the patterns of meat consumption are more nuanced (Tables 5, 6, 7). The faunal assemblage recovered from the captain's quarters at both posts (FYH1 and FHH1) contained the highest percentage of luxury meats, such as clams, oysters, and eggs, while the first lieutenants' quarters at both

**Table 6** Cost of subsistence articles purchased by commissioned officers at Fort Hoskins

Class	Article	Index Value	Capt. Sneiderstricker	1st Lt. Funk	2nd Lt. Herzer	Sales to “Officers”
Meat	Ham	2.00	12.80	5.76	3.84	40.46
	Pork	1.25	2.80	—	1.62	1.85
	Beef	1.00	58.59	4.11	—	67.33
Bread	Commmeal	2.28	—	—	1.60	1.60
	Flour	1.00	33.28	1.13	2.00	22.89
Vegetable	Beans	4.00	2.34	—	—	1.20
	Rice	3.25	0.11	0.19	—	1.59
	Hominy	2.25	—	—	—	3.78
	Potatoes	1.00	4.15	—	—	1.00
Beverage	Tea	5.28	2.35	1.11	—	6.06
	Coffee, java	2.26	3.00	—	—	23.85
	Coffee, costa rica	1.13	21.12	1.25	—	7.45
	Coffee, rio	1.00	4.57	—	—	1.11
Sweetener	Sugar, powdered	1.16	—	1.04	—	7.02
	Molasses	1.12	1.10	—	0.22	3.27
	Sugar, crushed	1.09	9.61	1.34	0.49	25.30
	Sugar, brown	1.00	7.07	1.80	0.56	16.53
Seasoning	Vinegar	N/A	0.74	—	—	0.54
	Salt	N/A	0.73	—	—	1.92
Non-edible	Candles, sperm	2.13	13.60	11.22	—	9.69
	Candles, adamantine	1.00	14.20	—	5.28	6.00
	Soap, brown	1.00	—	—	1.40	3.29
Indulgence	Pickles	N/A	3.30	—	1.23	1.23
	Pie fruits	N/A	—	—	—	2.20
	Whiskey, superior	3.33	59.96	22.50	59.37	74.50
	Whiskey, common	1.00	14.50	6.00	0.25	—
Total purchases (\$)		—	269.92	57.45	77.86	331.66
Mean monthly purchases (\$)		—	29.99	7.18	8.65	27.63

**Table 7** Index values for food articles purchased by commissioned officers

Food Class (Specific Food Article)	Capt. Sneiderstricker	1st Lt. Funk	2nd Lt. Herzer	Sales to “Officers”
Meat (beef, pork, ham)	1.12	1.44	1.75	1.21
Bread (flour, commmeal)	1.00	1.00	2.02	1.04
Vegetable (beans, rice, hominy, potatoes)	2.00	3.25	—	1.99
Beverages (coffee, tea)	1.32	2.32	—	2.12
Sweetener (sugar, molasses)	1.53	1.64	1.45	1.57
Candles (adamantine, sperm)	1.35	2.12	1.00	1.39
Whiskey (common, superior)	2.51	2.46	3.31	3.33
Mean	1.26	1.61	1.82	1.36

posts contained the highest percentages of what might be considered “free” meat, such as deer/elk, fish, and waterfowl, and expensive meat, such as pork and chicken. The second lieutenants’ quarters at both posts contained the highest percentages of beef, the cheapest meat type identified. This pattern suggests that the subaltern officers, especially the first lieutenants, were offsetting the cost of purchasing more expensive meats by supplementing their diets with higher quantities of presumably free meats obtained through recreational or subsistence hunting. The heavier reliance on subsistence hunting by the subaltern officers is further supported by the greater quantities of hunting-related artifacts, such as firearms and projectiles, recovered from all the subaltern officers’ quarters at both posts (FYH2, FYH3, FHH2 and FHH3) than recovered from either of the captains’ quarters (FYH1 and FHH1) (Eichelberger 2019).

This pattern of subaltern officers purchasing more expensive meats is also reflected in the distribution of preferred meat cuts within each species. Using meat-cut identification and preference rankings based on variables, such as tenderness, meat yield, and availability, from Horton (2014:381–384), and modified using meat preferences from K. Adams (2009:110–111) and Ewart (1878), a combined 270 meat cuts were identified and ranked in preference from 9 to 1 (Table 5).

At both posts the second lieutenants’ quarters (FYH3 and FHH3) contained the greatest number of high-preference meat cuts, followed closely by the first lieutenant’s quarters at Fort Hoskins (FHH2). At Fort Yamhill the faunal assemblages from the captain’s quarters (FYH1) and first lieutenant’s quarters (FYH2) were comprised mostly of low- and medium-preference meat cuts, with high-preference meat cuts comprising only 20.9% and 11.9% of the assemblages, respectively. The assemblage recovered from the second lieutenant’s quarters at Fort Yamhill (FYH3) is completely reversed, with 44.4% of the assemblage comprised of high-preference meat cuts, with only moderate amounts of medium (40%) and low (15.6%) meat cuts identified. At Fort Hoskins the pattern is similar, where both the assemblages recovered from the first lieutenant’s (FHH2) and second lieutenant’s (FHH3) quarters were comprised of higher percentages of high-preference meat cuts (76.2% and 53.4%) and only moderate amounts of medium- (14.4% and 6.9%) and low-preference (9.5% and 39.7%) meat cuts, respectively. The higher percentages of higher-preference meat cuts from the lower-ranking officers’ quarters suggest that

these officers were purchasing higher-quality and possibly higher-cost cuts of meat than their superior officers.

#### Purchase of Commissary Goods

This pattern of consumption is also observable in the records pertaining to the purchase of commissary goods. The Fort Hoskins Subsistence Account Book was an official commissary department ledger that recorded the sales of commissary goods to individual officers at the post for a period of 21 months between January 1862 and February 1864 (Table 6). The records indicate that, for all food classes, individual food articles, total purchases, and mean monthly purchases, the captain purchased more commissary goods in volume and cost than either of his subaltern officers. For the 21 months listed in the ledger, the captain spent \$269.92, or \$29.99 per month, on commissary goods, a figure over three times the amount spent by the second lieutenant and almost five times that spent by the first lieutenant. The captain also purchased a greater diversity of goods, buying 21 different items from the commissary, while each of his subaltern officers only purchased 12 different articles. The captain also purchased more-expensive goods, such as ham, tea, powdered sugar, sperm-oil candles, and whiskey, than did his subordinate officers. The only article for which the captain and a subaltern officer spent similar amounts was for the purchase of superior whiskey, where the purchases of the captain and the second lieutenant were nearly identical, \$59.96 and \$59.37, respectively.

The specific cost of each food article by measure was listed in the ledger, so it was possible to create a cost-index value for each food article within each food class in order to compare the relative costs of articles purchased (Table 7). The first lieutenant had the highest index values for vegetables, beverages, sweetener, and candles. The second lieutenant had the highest index values for meat, bread, and whiskey. Interestingly, the captain had the lowest index values for all food classes. This suggests that, although the captain purchased a higher quantity and diversity of commissary goods and ultimately spent more money on those goods, on average he spent less money per article than his subaltern officers and tended to buy cheaper goods in higher quantities.

One possible explanation for this pattern is that Captain Sneiderstricker was regularly hosting his subaltern officers



for meals, a practice common in the army during the 19th century (K. Adams 2009:81), and therefore he purchased a mix of high- and low-cost commissary goods to lessen the financial burden. This interpretation is supported by the disappearance of Captain Sneidstricker from the Fort Hoskins Subsistence Account Book after March 1863, when he was transferred from the post (Fort Hoskins Post Returns 1856–1865) and, the very next month, April 1863, the appearance of “sales to officers” in the ledger, with purchases of similar quantity and cost to the commissary goods previously purchased by Captain Sneidstricker (Table 8). This may indicate that, after Captain Sneidstricker left the post, his subaltern officers pooled their funds to purchase like commissary goods in order to maintain the culinary lifestyle previously provided for them by their commanding officer. In addition, for the subaltern officers to have the majority of their subsistence provided to them by their commanding officer would have lessened their own financial burden and would have allowed them to purchase more-expensive commissary goods, such as the large purchases of superior whiskey by Second Lieutenant Herzer, and may explain the higher Fort Hoskins Subsistence Account Book index values for the lower-ranking officers.

## Food Containers and Beverage Bottles

In addition to the faunal remains recovered and the purchase of commissary goods, several other types of foodstuffs, represented by food containers, were recovered at both posts, including food canisters, food bottles, and condiment bottles (Table 8). These convenience foods were not supplied by the commissary department, which sold government-procured goods to officers at cost, but instead they would have been purchased from the post sutler or private merchants, who sold them at increased frontier prices. These canisters and bottles generally did not contain staple foods, but instead contained supplemental foods and food additives, such as sauces, and, therefore, were considered luxury items to be added to the drab fare made available by the commissary. At Fort Yamhill the greatest number of food containers ( $n=41$ ) were recovered from FYH1, including 24 food canisters and 17 condiment bottles; followed by FYH2 ( $n=6$ ), which included only condiment bottles; and FYH3 ( $n=6$ ), which included 3 food canisters, 1 food bottle, and 2 condiment bottles. The pattern is nearly identical at Fort Hoskins, where the greatest number of food containers ( $n=22$ ) were

**Table 8** Food containers

Type	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FHH2	FHH3
36 oz. canister	12	—	1	1	—	—
33 oz. canister	8	—	—	—	—	—
25 oz. canister	—	—	—	—	—	1
Indeterminate size	4	—	2	6	6	4
Total food canister	24	—	3	7	6	5
Cathedral pickle	—	—	1	—	1	—
Indeterminate	—	—	—	2	3	—
Total food bottle	—	—	1	2	4	—
Spice/pepper	12	5	2	5	2	1
Relish	1	—	—	—	—	—
Flavoring extract	1	—	—	—	—	—
Mustard	1	—	—	—	1	3
London club sauce	—	—	—	1	—	—
Pepper sauce	—	—	—	2	1	1
Sauce	—	—	—	1	—	1
Olive oil	—	—	—	4	4	—
Indeterminate	2	1	—	—	—	—
Total condiment bottle	17	6	2	13	8	6
Total food containers	41	6	6	22	18	11

recovered from FHH1, including 7 food canisters, 2 food bottles, and 13 condiment bottles; followed by FHH2 ( $n=18$ ), which included food 6 canisters, 4 food bottles, and 8 condiment bottles; and FHH3 ( $n=11$ ), which included 5 food canisters and 6 condiment bottles. The unequal distribution of food containers at both forts suggests that the occupants of these features were purchasing these luxury items differently. Both FYH1 and FHH1 produced the greatest number of canned and bottled foods, suggesting that they were purchasing more of these goods to add to the foodstuffs made available by the commissary. Their ability to purchase more luxury foods was most certainly related to the higher salaries they were paid as a function of their higher military status. The higher salaries allowed these officers to dress their tables not only with the standard military fare, but also to supplement this fare with high-cost luxury foods purchased from the post sutler and other local merchants.

An examination of the alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverage bottles from both posts confirms the patterns seen in the gustatory ceramics, glassware, faunal remains, and food canisters. Relatively few beverage bottles ( $n=50$ ) were recovered from all six features, but these do represent a variety of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, including champagne, wine, brandy, whiskey, ale/porter, seltzer, non-alcoholic carbonated beverages, and several alcohol bottles with indeterminate contents (Table 9). All six features produced similar numbers of wine, whiskey, brandy, and indeterminate-alcohol bottles, but with champagne and ale/porter bottles the assemblages from each feature diverge. At Fort Yamhill FYH1 contained four champagne bottles, while FYH2 and FYH3 had only two. The same pattern is presented in the assemblage from Fort Hoskins, where four champagne bottles were recovered from FHH1, two bottles from FHH2, and only one from FHH3. The pattern is reversed when the ale/porter-bottle assemblage is examined. At Fort Yamhill only one ale/porter bottle was recovered from FYH1, while three were recovered from FYH3. The pattern is similar at Fort Hoskins, where only one ale/porter bottle was recovered from FHH1, but three were recovered from FHH2 and one from FHH3. Non-alcoholic beverage bottles recovered from both posts follow a similar pattern. Three non-alcoholic beverage bottles were recovered from FHH1, while only two, one from FYH2 and one from FHH3, were recovered from all the other features.

The beverage-bottle assemblages from both posts suggest that officers who occupied FYH1 and FHH1 preferred to consume champagne and non-alcoholic, carbonated beverages, while the officers who occupied FYH3 and FHH2 preferred to consume ale and porter. Champagne was a favored alcoholic beverage among officers and one that tended to cost more (K. Adams 2009:119), conversely, ales and porters tended to be cheaper and, during the 19th century, were alcoholic beverages typically associated with the working class (Hooker 1981:132). This pattern again suggests that higher-ranking officers were expressing their higher social status through the consumption of more-expensive and higher-status alcoholic beverages.

#### Durable vs. Nondurable Goods

Another difference in the artifact assemblage between the assemblages recovered from FYH1 and FHH1 and those recovered from the quarters of the subaltern officers is in the proportion of durable vs. nondurable goods recovered from each feature. Durable goods are defined here as artifact types that were intended to be used more than once and, as a result, tended to cost more. For the purposes of this article, durable artifacts include gustatory ceramic vessels and glassware vessels. Nondurable goods are defined here as artifact types that were intended to be used only once: the contents was intended to be consumed all at once and then the container discarded. For the purposes of this paper, nondurable artifacts include faunal remains, food canisters, food bottles, condiment bottles, and beverage bottles. A total of 393 durable and 436 nondurable artifacts were recovered from the officers' houses at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins (Table 10).

At the captains' quarters (FYH1 and FHH1), the artifact assemblages are dominated by durable goods, but at all the subaltern officers' quarters (FYH2, FYH3, FHH2, and FHH3) this pattern is reversed, and the assemblages recovered from these houses are dominated by nondurable goods (Fig. 7). The differences in these patterns suggests that the higher-ranking officers who occupied FYH1 and FHH1 chose to express their status through the purchase of more-expensive durable goods, such as gustatory ceramics and glassware vessels. Conversely, the lower-ranking officers who occupied FYH2, FYH3, FHH2, and FHH3 chose to compete and express their economic status through the purchase of more-expensive

**Table 9** Alcoholic- and non-alcoholic-beverage bottles

Beverage Contents	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FHH2	FHH3
Champagne	4	2	2	4	2	1
Wine	1	—	1	—	—	—
Brandy	—	1	—	—	—	—
Whiskey	—	—	—	1	—	1
Ale/porter	1	—	3	1	3	1
Indeterminate alcohol	3	6	—	4	2	1
Total alcoholic	9	9	6	10	7	4
Siphon seltzer	—	—	—	1	—	—
Carbonated beverage	—	1	—	2	—	1
Total non-alcoholic	—	1	—	3	—	1
Total	9	10	6	13	7	5

nondurable goods, such as meat, canned and bottled food, condiments, and bottled beverages.

### Summary and Discussion

At frontier forts like Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, commissioned officers strove to reproduce the sociocultural norms of the Victorian America of the East in the rugged colonial frontiers of the West. In doing so, these officers competed socially and economically with each other, practicing conspicuous consumption to “keep up with the Joneses.” Limited in their military status by the hierarchy of military ranks and the promotion system based on seniority, U.S. Army officers re-created and negotiated their individual social positions at these military posts by purchasing and consuming status and

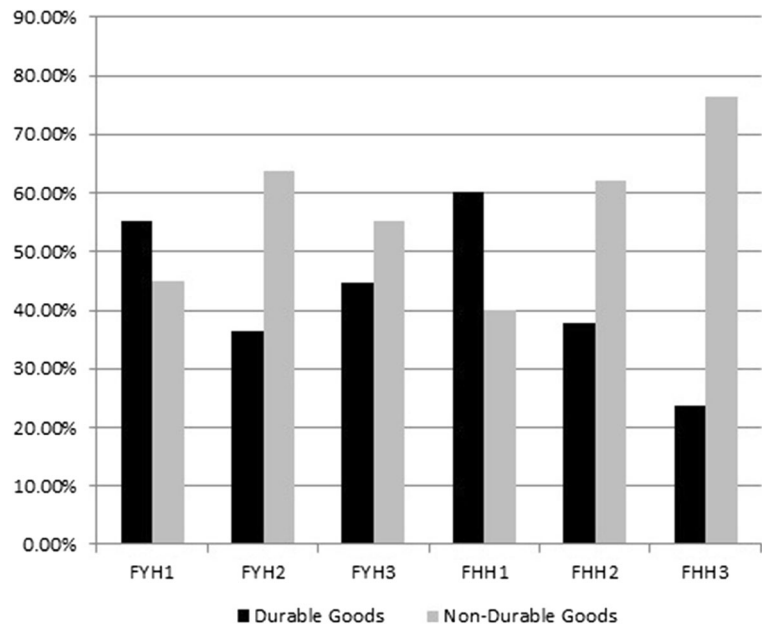
luxury goods, and reproducing the gentility and domesticity they had known at home. During social rituals, such as calling and dining, goods were used as a form of social currency to express social and economic superiority over one’s fellow officers by showcasing one’s ability to acquire and provide rare and/or expensive food and drink and to serve it on fancy dinnerware and in extravagant glassware.

Gustatory ceramics and glassware vessels recovered from both posts suggest that the higher-grade officers (captains) who occupied FYH1 and FHH1 were using more-expensive vessels and participating in more-formalized dining behaviors using a wide range of vessel forms and more matched sets. Historical records, such as the Fort Hoskins Subsistence Account Book (1862), also suggest that these officers were purchasing far more foodstuffs than their subordinate officers, and

**Table 10** Durable and nondurable goods

	Type	FYH1	FYH2	FYH3	FHH1	FH2	FHH3
Durable	Gustatory vessels	92	31	40	95	21	19
	Glassware vessels	22	8	6	45	10	4
	Total durable	114	39	46	140	31	23
Nondurable	Faunal remains	43	52	45	58	26	58
	Food canister	24	0	3	7	6	5
	Food bottle	0	0	1	2	4	0
	Condiment bottle	17	6	2	13	8	6
	Beverage bottle	9	10	6	13	7	5
	Total nondurable	93	68	57	93	51	74
Total		207	107	103	233	82	97

**Fig. 7** Durable and nondurable goods (%) by feature. (Figure by author, 2019.)



that these captains were probably hosting, at their own expense, meals for their subaltern officers. This is also reflected in the faunal assemblages recovered, where the officers who occupied FYH1 and FHH1 tended to have more, but lower-preference and lower-cost, meat cuts. To compensate, these officers were able to purchase more canned and bottled foodstuffs and condiments that were added to these more modest foods to add refinement and diversity to the meal. In addition, these officers were purchasing and consuming a wider range and a more expensive selection of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, such as champagne, superior whiskey, seltzers, tea, and more expensive coffees.

Although militarily, socially, and financially subordinate to their commanding officers, the commissioned officers of the lower grades (first and second lieutenants) still attempted to compete in these public displays of social and economic status. The presence of high-status artifacts recovered from FYH2, FYH3, FHH2, and FYH3 confirms these attempts, but their lower quantities also illustrate that, for all their attempts, these lower-ranking officers were falling short. The one place in which the subaltern officers do appear to have been directly competing with their superior officers is in the purchase and consumption of higher-preference and more-expensive foodstuffs. Although unable to compete with the quantity of foods being purchased by their commanding officers, the foodstuffs the lower-ranking officers did purchase were, on average, of a higher

quality and cost. In addition, the lower-ranking officers appear to have attempted to compete in the expression of status by purchasing more-expensive and higher-quality nondurable goods, such as foodstuffs and beverages indicated by the higher meat preference and foodstuff indices, and the lower ceramic-price indices found at FYH2, FYH3, FHH2, and FHH3.

Military posts along the frontier were socially complex environments that introduced the sociocultural norms of class, rank, and status from the East and mixed them with the social and military hierarchy of the army in the West. The physical layouts of these forts reaffirmed and made physical the notions of social status and space between soldiers of different military ranks (Tveskov and Johnson 2014; Tveskov and Rose, this issue), while the overarching system of consumption discussed above painted the social lives of offices with a nonmilitary tint. The colonial processes of domesticity and conspicuous consumption associated with 19th-century American colonialism not only included the reorganization of physical space to mirror Anglo-American models, but were also present in the everyday sociocultural rituals, such as dining and calling. Reflecting the bourgeois culture of the civilized eastern states, the commissioned officers, superior and inferior, actively resisted the effects of the colonial process by recreating the refinements of the East in the rugged environments of the frontier West and competed

with each other in the process. These officers colonized the western frontiers not only overtly, as members of a colonial military force, but also as bearers of Anglo-American upper-class culture complete with the social rituals of status expression, consumerism, and domesticity, and the material culture used to express it.

**Acknowledgments:** I would like to thank David Brauner, professor of anthropology at Oregon State University, for his support, encouragement, and tutelage through the completion of this article and the continued support of my research. Further thanks go to the Oregon Department of Parks and Recreation and Benton County Natural Areas and Parks for their funding of the archaeological investigations and for the use of the archaeological materials from these sites, as well as to Oregon State University for the use of its facilities, and to its students for their participation in several archaeological field schools. Special thanks go to the Confederate Tribes of Grand Ronde and the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, whose history is intertwined with that of Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins. Thanks also to the reviewers, Mark Tveskov, Chelsea Rose, and Christopher Matthews, for their succinct and insightful suggestions and comments on the many drafts, and to my friends and family who make my pursuit and passion for the past possible.

## References

- Adams, Kevin  
2009 *Class and Race in the Frontier Army: Military Life in the West, 1870–1890*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Adams, William Hampton  
1991 Fort Yamhill: Preliminary Historical Archaeological Research Concerning the 1856–1866 Military Post. Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Ames, Kenneth  
2008 The Archaeology of Rank. In *Handbook of Archaeological Theories*, Alexander Bentley, Herbert D. G. Maschner, and Christopher Chippindale, editors, pp. 487–513. AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD.
- Andrews, Susan C., and Paul R. Mullins  
1989 Tableware and Bottle Glass Assemblages. In *The Hatcher-Cheatham Site (44CF258): A Multicomponent Historic Site in Chesterfield County, Virginia*, Vol. 4, Clarence R. Geier, editor, pp. 72–110. Manuscript, James Madison University Archaeological Research Center, Harrisonburg, VA.
- Barth, Gunter  
1959 *All Quiet on the Yamhill: The Civil War in Oregon, the Journal of Corporal Royal A. Bensell Company D, Fourth California Infantry*. University of Oregon Press, Eugene.
- Bowyer, Gary C.  
1992 Archaeological Symbols of Status and Authority: Fort Hoskins, Oregon, 1856–1865. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Brauner, David, and Justin E. Eichelberger  
2009 Archaeological Investigations at the Fort Yamhill Site, 35PO75, Fort Yamhill State Heritage Area, Polk County, Oregon: 2008 Field Season. Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Brauner, David, Justin E. Eichelberger, and Brooke Boulware  
2009 Archaeological Investigations at the Fort Yamhill Site, 35PO75, Fort Yamhill State Heritage Area, Polk County, Oregon: 2007 Field Season. Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Brauner, David, and Nahani Stricker  
2006 *Fort Hoskins Illustrated: An Archaeologist Reflects*. Benton County Historical Society and Museum, Philomath, OR.
- Bullock, Allan, and Stephen Trombley  
1993 *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, 3rd edition. HarperCollins, New York, NY.
- Eichelberger, Justin E.  
2011 Foodways at Fort Yamhill, 1856–1866: An Archaeological and Archival Perspective. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Eichelberger, Justin E.  
2014a An Introduction to U.S. Army Material Culture and Garrison Life in Western Oregon: Archaeological Investigations at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, 1856–1866. In *Alis Volat Propriis: Tales from the Oregon Territory, 1848–1859*, Chelsea Rose and Mark Tveskov, editors, pp. 135–156. Association of Oregon Archaeologists, Occasional Papers No. 9. Eugene.
- Eichelberger, Justin E.  
2014b Archaeological Investigations at the Fort Yamhill Site, 35PO75, Fort Yamhill State Heritage Area, Polk County, Oregon: 2013 Field Season. Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Eichelberger, Justin E.  
2019 Material Expressions of Class, Status and Authority amongst Commissioned Officers at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, Oregon, 1856–1866. Manuscript, Justin E. Eichelberger, Kettle Falls, WA.
- Eichelberger, Justin E., and David R. Brauner  
2011 Archaeological Investigations at the Fort Yamhill Site, 35PO75, Fort Yamhill State Heritage Area, Polk County, Oregon: 2011 Field Season. Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.

- Eichelberger, Justin E., and Kim Wessler  
2015 Archaeological Investigations at the Fort Hoskins Site, 35BE15, Fort Hoskins County Park, Benton County, Oregon: 2013 Field Season. Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Ewart, John  
1878 *Meat Production: A Manual for Producers, Distributors, and Consumers of Butchers' Meat*. Crosby Lockwood & Co., London, UK.
- Ferris, Neal  
2009 *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Ferris, Neal, Rodney Harrison, and Michael V. Wilcox (editors)  
2014 *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Fitts, Robert K.  
1999 The Archaeology of Middle-Class Domesticity and Gentility in Victorian Brooklyn. *Historical Archaeology* 33(1):39–62
- Fort Hoskins Subsistence Account Book  
1862 Fort Hoskins Subsistence Account Book. Microfilm, Oregon State Historical Society Archives, Portland.
- Fort Hoskins Post Returns  
1856–1865 Fort Hoskins Post Returns, 1856–1865. Photocopy, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Hart, Herbert M.  
1963 *Old Forts of the Northwest*. Literary Licensing, LLC., Seattle, WA.
- Hart, Herbert M.  
1967 *Pioneer Forts of the West*. Superior Publishing Co., Seattle, WA.
- Hoagland, Alison K.  
2004 *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D. A. Russell, 1849–1912*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Hooker, Richard J.  
1981 *Food and Drink in America*. Bobbs-Merrill, New York, NY.
- Horton, Elizabeth  
2014 *Space, Status, and Interaction: Multiscalar Analyses of Officers, Soldiers, and Laundresses at Nineteenth Century Fort Vancouver, Washington*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Lightfoot, Kent G.  
1995 Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60(2):199–217.
- Lightfoot, Kent G.  
2005 *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Lightfoot, Kent G.  
2006 Missions, Furs, Gold, and Manifest Destiny: Rethinking an Archaeology of Colonialism for Western North America. In *Historical Archaeology*, Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, editors, pp. 272–292. Blackwell, Malden, MA.
- McBride, W. Stephen, Susan C. Andrews, and Sean P. Coughlin  
2000 “For the Convenience and Comforts of the Soldiers and Employees at the Depot”: Archaeology of the Owens’ House/Post Office Complex, Camp Nelson, Kentucky. In *Archaeological Perspectives of the American Civil War*, Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter, editors, pp. 99–124. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- McBride, W. Stephen, and M. E. Esarey  
1995 The Archaeology of the Ashland Privy, Lexington, Kentucky. In *Historical Archaeology in Kentucky*, K. McBride, W. S. McBride, and D. Polluck, editors, pp. 265–295. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Miller, George L.  
1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. *Historical Archaeology* 14(1):1–41.
- Miller, George L.  
1991 A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology* 25(1):1–25.
- Miller, George L., Ann Smart Martin, and Nancy S. Dickinson  
1994 Changing Consumption Patterns: English Ceramics and the American Market from 1770 to 1840. In *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, Catherine E. Hutchins, editor, pp. 219–248. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE.
- Ortner, Sherry B.  
1984 Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26(1):126–166.
- Otto, John S.  
1977 Artifacts and Status Differences: A Comparison of Ceramics from Planter, Overseer, and Slave Sites on an Antebellum Plantation. In *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*, Stanley South, editor, pp. 91–118. Academic Press, New York, NY.
- Otto, John S.  
1980 Race and Class on Antebellum Plantations. In *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*, Robert L. Schuyler, editor, pp. 3–13. Baywood, Farmingdale, NY.
- Panich, Lee  
2010 Spanish Missions in the Indigenous Landscape: A View From Mission Santa Catalina, Baja California. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 30(1):69–86.
- Panich, Lee  
2013 Archaeologies of Persistence: Reconsidering the Legacies of Colonialism in Native North America. *American Antiquity* 78(1):105–122.

- Scott, Douglas  
1989 An Officer's Latrine at Fort Lamed and Some Inferences on Status. *Plains Anthropologist* 34(123):23–34.
- Scott, Douglas  
2009 Studying the Archaeology of War: A Model Based on the Investigation of Frontier Military Sites in the American Trans-Mississippi West. In *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, T. Majewski and D. Gaimster, editors, pp. 299–317. Springer, New York, NY.
- Silliman, Stephen W.  
2009 Change and Continuity, Practice and Memory: Native American Persistence in Colonial New England. *American Antiquity* 74(2):211–230.
- Silliman, Stephen W.  
2014 Archaeologies of Indigenous Survivance and Residence: Navigating Colonial and Scholarly Dualities. In *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*, Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison, and Michael V. Wilcox, editors, pp. 57–75. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Turner, Victor W.  
1967 *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Tveskov, Mark, and Amy Cohen  
2014 Frontier Forts, Ambiguity, and Manifest Destiny: The Changing Role of Fort Lane in the Cultural Landscape of the Oregon Territory, 1853–1929. In *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*, Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison, and Michael V. Wilcox, editors, pp. 191–211. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Tveskov, Mark, and Katie Johnson  
2014 The Spatial Layout and Development of Fort Lane, Oregon Territory, 1853–1856. In *Alis Volat Propriis: Tales From the Oregon Territory, 1848–1859*, Chelsea Rose and Mark Tveskov, editors, pp. 115–134. Association of Oregon Archaeologists, Occasional Papers No. 9. Eugene.
- United States War Department  
1861 *Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1861*. Harper & Brothers, New York, NY.
- Veblen, Thorstein  
1994 *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. Penguin, New York, NY.
- Voss, Barbara L.  
2005 From Casta to Califomio: Social Identity and the Archaeology of Culture Contact. *American Anthropologist* 107(3):461–474.
- Voss, Barbara L.  
2008 *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Wall, Diana diZerega  
1994a *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America*. Plenum Press, New York, NY.
- Wall, Diana diZerega  
1994b Family Dinners and Social Teas: Ceramics and Domestic Rituals. In *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, Catherine E. Hutchins, editor, pp. 249–284. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE.
- Wall, Diana diZerega  
1999 Examining Gender, Class, and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century New York City. *Historical Archaeology* 33(1):102–117.
- Wason, Paul K.  
1994 *The Archaeology of Rank*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Whaley, Gray H.  
2010 *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792–1859*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Williams, Susan R.  
1987 Introduction. In *Dining in America, 1850–1900*, Kathryn Grover, editor, pp. 3–23. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

**Publisher's Note** Springer Nature remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.