

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE VICTORIAN FRONTIER: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS FROM
FORT GIBSON HISTORIC SITE AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS IN RELATION TO 19TH
CENTURY AMERICAN SOCIAL ORDER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By ELIZABETH CRISP

Norman, Oklahoma

2024

The Victorian Frontier: A Comparative Analysis of Artifacts From Fort Gibson Historic Site And
Their Implications In Relation To 19th Century American Social Order

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. Sarah Trabert, Chair

Dr. Amanda Regnier

Dr. Patrick Livingood

Table of Contents

List of Figures...vi

Acknowledgments...ix

Abstract...x

1. Introduction...1

- i. Summary of the Project
- ii. Main Objectives
- iii. Theoretical Background of This Thesis
- iv. Chapter Overview

2. The History of Fort Gibson...8

- i. Manifesting Destiny
- ii. A Fort's Purpose
- iii. The Civil War and Beyond

3. Life on the Frontier...17

- i. Life of a Soldier
 - a. Officers
 - b. Enlisted Men
- ii. Imperialism and its Effects on Your Health
- iii. Life of Women with the Army
- iv. The Material Culture of the 19th Century Frontier
 - a. Ceramics
 - b. Glass
 - c. Metal

4. Comparable Studies: Archaeology at Historic American Military Sites...36

- i. Introduction
- ii. Fort Larned, Kansas
- iii. Fort Davis, Texas
- iv. Fort Independence, Massachusetts

v.	Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, Oregon	
vi.	Fort Bowie, Arizona	
vii.	Discussion and Further Applications	
5.	Previous Research at Fort Gibson...	46
i.	Early Preservation	
ii.	Archaeological Research	
iii.	Summary	
6.	Analysis of The Officers' and Enlisted Men's Collections...	54
i.	Methods	
ii.	Collection I: The Drainage Ditch Group	
a.	Drainage Ceramics	
b.	Drainage Glass	
c.	Drainage Metal	
iii.	The Excavated Collection	
a.	The Excavated Ceramics	
b.	Excavated Glass	
c.	Excavated Metal	
iv.	Summary	
7.	Discussion of the Artifact Analysis...	85
i.	Ceramics	
ii.	Glass	
iii.	Metals	
iv.	Summary	
8.	Conclusion, Further Work, and Final Thoughts...	102
i.	Project Summary	
ii.	Suggestions for Further Research and Final Thoughts	
	References ...	106

List of Figures

Images:

Image 1. Molded Ironstone Plate Rim from Enlisted Men's Collection, 34MS94.994.033-.034	60
Image 2. Medium Blue Transfer Print Plate from Enlisted Men's Collection, 34MS94.994.009	61
Image 3. Doll or Cherub Figurine Face from Enlisted Area	63
Image 5. Aqua Glass Bottle from Enlisted Men's Area.....	65
Image 6. Colorless Glass Prescription Bottle Finish	66
Image 7. Iron Bits from Horse Harness in Enlisted Men's Collection	67
Image 8. Heart Shaped Enlisted Men's Brass Buckle Cover	68
Image 9. Iron Harness Buckle from Enlisted Collection.....	69
Image 10. Officer's Hand Painted Cobalt Pearlware Teacups, 34Ms94.925.016 (Regnier and Bement 2017).....	76
Image 11. Wine, Porter, and Soda Water Bottles Recovered from the Officers' Privy (Regnier and Bement 2017)	79
Image 12. Two Sides of an Iron Fork with Bone Handle from Officers' Excavation	82
Image 13. Brass Military Buttons, the First of Which is Silver Plated, From the Officers' Quarters (Regnier and Bement 2017)	83

Maps:

Map 1. Map of Oklahoma Highlighting the Location of Fort Gibson. Map produced by author.	11
Map 2. Map of Fort Gibson Historic Site, produced by the author; based on Harris 1835, Delany and Kilbourn 1874, Bement and Rea 2007, USGS 1964, and GIS plotting conducted by the author and Regnier in 2024.	15
Map 3. Map of Fort Gibson after the Army Moved Uphill, includes archaeological sites from the 1982 excavation, produced by the author; Based on Delany and Kilbourn 1875.....	47
Map 4. Map of Archaeology Around Fort Gibson's Stockade and Reconstructed Stockade, produced by the author; based on Regnier and Bement 2017.....	50

Map 5. Map of Fort Gibson in 1874, featured in Delany and Kilbourn 1875	52
---	----

Tables:

Table 1. Table of Enlisted Men's Ceramic Ware Types.....	58
Table 2. Table of Enlisted Men's Refined Earthenware (ironstone, whiteware, porcelain, and pearlware) Ceramic Decoration Styles	59
Table 3. Table of Enlisted Men's Stoneware and Yellow Ware Ceramic Decoration Styles..	59
Table 4. Table of Enlisted Men's Transfer Print Colors.....	62
Table 5. Table of Enlisted Men's Ceramic Vessel Forms.....	63
Table 6. Table of Enlisted Men's Glass Forms	64
Table 7. Table of Enlisted Men's Container Glass Colors.....	66
Table 8. Table of Enlisted Men's Metal Types	68
Table 9. Table of Enlisted Men's Metal Use Groups.....	70
Table 10. Table of Enlisted Men's "Activities" Metal Subgroups.....	70
Table 11. Table of Officers' Ceramic Ware Types.....	72
Table 12. Table of Officer's Refined Earthenware (ironstone, pearlware, porcelain, whiteware) Decoration Styles.....	74
Table 13. Officers' Earthenware (Redware, Yellow ware, Stoneware) Decoration Styles	75
Table 14. Table of Officers' Transfer Print Colors (includes ironstone, pearlware, porcelain and whitewares).....	75
Table 15. Table of Officers' Ceramic Vessel Forms and Uses.....	77
Table 16. Table of Officers' Glass Forms	78
Table 17. Table of Officers' Glass Vessel Forms	78
Table 18. Table of Officers' Container Glass Colors	80
Table 19. Table of Officers' Metal Types	81
Table 20. Table of Officers' Metal Use Groups	82
Table 21. Table for Officers' "Activities" Metal Subgroups.....	83
Table 22. Table for Officers' "Kitchen" Metal Subgroups	84
Table 23. Table Comparison of Ceramic Ware Types	86

Table 24. Table Comparison of Ceramic Vessel Forms	87
Table 25. Table Comparison of Glass Vessel Forms	91
Table 26. Table Comparison of Glass Colors	93
Table 27. Table Comparison of Metal Use Groups	97
Table 28. Table Comparison of "Activities" Metal Subgroup	98
Table 29. Table Comparison of "Kitchen" Metal Subgroups	99

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge and thank my committee members for their support through my master's degree. Dr. Sarah Trabert, Dr. Amanda Regnier, and Dr. Patrick Livingood have all been incredibly patient and encouraging of me. They made my research fun; they pushed me to be a better writer and listened when I had questions. I would also like to thank some of the other faculty at OU who have been welcoming and insightful, including Dr. Brandi Bethke, Dr. Jennifer Haney, Dr. Claire Nicholas, Dr. Kimberly Marshall, and Dr. Bonnie Pitblado.

I thank the friends I made here in Oklahoma: Ella, Raquelynne, and Veda. They listened to me rant and then gave me useful feedback when I finished. I thank my friends from Texas who encouraged me to pursue an interest in history and archaeology. To Meaghan, Jacqueline, Mason, Chase, Joey, Jeanna, and Kendra, I wouldn't be where I am today without your silly club at Texas A&M.

I send the deepest thanks to my mother who has supported me through every risky decision and random endeavor. She never told me I couldn't do something and always stood by me when I pursued a new path. For that, I am grateful.

Lastly, I want to thank those who I have cited in this work. Without your research I couldn't have made the arguments I present here, and I appreciate works that attempt to address underrepresented perspectives in archaeology. I hope this type of research continues to grow in historical archaeology and wish only that I may remain a part of it.

Abstract

This thesis is a comparative analysis of two collections from Fort Gibson, Oklahoma that date to the Antebellum and American Civil War periods. Fort Gibson marked the start of the western frontier and the end destination for the Trail of Tears. Its soldiers served as tools for US imperialism into the West but lived different lives depending on their social status within the fort. This project compares ceramic, glass, and metal artifacts recovered from an area associated with enlisted men to artifacts excavated from the commissioned officers' quarters at Fort Gibson. I will argue that the difference in the two collections reflects the social standing of their original owners at the Fort by representing aspects of their daily lives such as dining, drinking, and occupation.

Introduction

I. Summary of the Project:

Fort Gibson, a military outpost in Muskogee County, Oklahoma, operated through the 19th century as an intermediary between the US government and Native tribes of the southeast and Great Plains. Fort Gibson acted as one of many methods of imperialist expansion during a period of fervent cries for manifest destiny (Agnew 1980). Two collections from the early days of Fort Gibson (ca. 1830-40s), designated site number 34MS94, have been gathered for analysis and comparison.

The first collection used for this thesis is from an area of the Fort believed to house enlisted soldiers. The collection was recovered during a monitored drainage ditch construction in 2017-2018. It's comparatively small and has little spatial context. The second collection is from a systematic excavation of areas believed to be officers' quarters and their privy conducted in 2007-2009. This collection is much larger and spans a wider area than the construction collection. It is expected that these two collections will show a difference in diet or daily activities that reflect the social status of each group. Social class has been seen through material culture at similar sites like Fort Larned, Kansas and Fort Yamhill, Oregon (Eichelberger 2019; Scott 1989). This could be seen through different styles, uses, or materials of artifacts. These collections will be compared to answer the main research questions presented below.

II. Main Objective:

The primary research questions asked by this thesis are as follows:

1. Is the expected difference between enlisted men and officers at Fort Gibson reflected in the two collections?
2. Did the recovery circumstances of each collection, monitored construction and excavation, affect analysis and interpretation?
3. How could future archaeology be conducted at Fort Gibson to build and improve upon the information presented in this thesis?

Through the comparative analysis of the two Fort Gibson collections and a summary of the history and archaeological research surrounding the Fort, I answer these three main questions. In conducting this analysis, the theoretical framework utilized will address the social aspects of 19th century life. Below is an explanation of this theory and how it applies to the time period of focus.

III. Theoretical Background of This Thesis:

American culture in the 19th century closely followed trends of western Europe, especially England, due to the United States' colonial origin and the established trade partnership between the two nations. This was most apparent during the British Regency (ca. 1793-1837) and Victorian (1837-1901) periods (McInnis 2017). During this time, typical society separated itself into a hierarchy based on capitalist, puritan ideals that valued the white race, the male gender, individual wealth, and female religious piety (Foucault 1976; McManus 2011). This hierarchy affected the activities, interactions, knowledge, and consumerism of those in the 19th century western world. In Foucault's *Incitement to Discourse*, he explains how even the architectural layout of a Victorian era school building shaped social behavior of teenagers and implied an unconscious fixation on

a puritan-style sexuality (Foucault 1976). The social structure of Victorian-American society formed the *habitus* of the people involved; *habitus* being their daily lives and what they saw as normal which in turn steered their actions, or *praxis* (Bourdieu 1977). These actions then reinforced the Victorian social order. For example, Victorian society valued wealth, those that were wealthy generally garnered more respect from their peers. A gentleman of the time may then want to display this wealth via an opulent purchase, because openly discussing wealth labeled a gentleman as boastful and lessened his respect (McInnis 2017). So, the gentleman buys an ornate tea-set and hosts a gathering where he shows off the ceramics to his peers (Eichelberger 2019). The *praxis*, the purchase of the tea-set and hosting a teatime, re-enforce the normalized ideals, *habitus*, of the time (Bourdieu 1977). The man gains the respect of his peers, and some may go out to purchase their own tea-sets to match or out compete their neighbor and the cycle continues.

In the example above, the tea-set acts as an intermediary, a symbol of the gentleman's wealth. As archaeologists, we may not be able to see respect or admiration in historical societies the way a contemporary ethnographer might. However, we can see the tea-set. Based in theory popularized by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, which prioritized physical objects over ideas, the study of material culture and symbolism works well when analyzing Victorian-era societies (Johnson 2020). Archaeology relies on material culture and in the Victorian period material culture acted as a symbol for wealth or status. Symbols reflect cultural behaviors and can be used to infer the values and ideals of their owners (Eichelberger 2019; Hodder 1985; Turner 1967). Understanding the symbolism of the Victorian period's material culture helps archaeologists to understand the behaviors which, through the idea of *praxis*, reinforce the social order of the time (Bourdieu 1977).

It's also important to understand that modern American society is a derivative of the Victorian era. Many concepts, especially capitalist driven consumerism, remain familiar to an American in the 2020s. However, Harris' concept of the emic and etic, the inside vs outside perspective, still apply. As modern archaeologists look backwards in time, the perspective of a Victorian consumer, driven by strict gender and class roles, will differ from our own experiences (Harris 1979).

An important part of considering perspectives is understanding what aspects of human life may have caused division between people in a society. Gender, race, and economic standing influenced most aspects of Victorian life. Considering all perspectives of the time requires archaeologists to understand that those of different social standing experienced life differently. Not everyone's daily *praxis*, behaviors, were the same and this affects interpretations of material culture (Bourdieu 1977; Johnson 2020). The gentleman's tea-set, for example, may be a symbol of wealth and respect for him but it may also represent a social outlet for his wife, the oppressive aristocracy to his maid, or intrusive imperialism to the people whose land he settled on. Theories that incorporate performative identities like gender and race have become more popular in historical archaeology as internal biases have been addressed in the field (Clements 1993; Johnson 2020; Wilkie 2019). Better understanding how different groups fit into the social hierarchy improves understanding of the system as a whole. Understanding of the hierarchy improves our understanding of daily behaviors because these typically reinforce social order. And again, these daily activities are reflected in the material culture and consumerism of the period (Bourdieu 1977; Harris 1979; Turner 1967).

Lastly, an accumulation of knowledge about the daily behaviors and social system of Victorian-Americans is pointless without a goal in mind for the information. Ian Hodder is one of the archaeologists who popularized the idea of interpretation for public educational purposes. To Hodder, a science-like database of numbers only gave archaeologists the false impression they could make definitive conclusions about the past like it was a physics equation to be solved (Erikson and Murphy 2022; Hodder 1985). Hodder instead took hold of the material turn discussed above and posited that individual people-maintained agency and their actions can be read like text through remaining material culture. When interpreting the past, archaeologists must use an empathetic sense to try and understand the actions of someone they will never meet (Johnson 2020). Take a step into the gentleman's shoes and try to see why he needed the respect of his peers enough to buy the tea-set. Present all the information gathered to the public so that they may empathize in this way with the people of the Victorian period and make their own conclusions about the past. They then gain a better appreciation for the artifacts and information that allowed them to do so.

With this thesis, I aim to incorporate pieces of all the previously presented theories to create a thorough understanding of life during the 19th century and how the social customs of the time may have shaped military life. This will help answer one of the primary research questions of this thesis: what differences can be seen between the officers and enlisted men? The conclusion will not be an absolute statement but rather an interpretation of Fort Gibson, one that aims to highlight the agency, choices, and social restrictions faced by those at the Fort. Chapter 4 will cover similar case studies of contemporary American military posts; they utilize some of the concepts discussed above

in their analysis of material culture. The following analysis and discussion chapter will do the same for Fort Gibson's two collections.

IV. Chapter Overview:

The next chapter will be a summary of the historical background and purpose of Fort Gibson. It will explain why the fort was commissioned on the edge of the United States' European-inhabited territory.

Chapter 3 will discuss life on the frontier and the material culture of those who lived there. How closely did a territory so far removed from Great Britain adhere to Victorian social structure? How did the military facilitate the imperialist expansion of that social structure?

Chapter 4 covers comparable archaeological studies at 19th century military forts. It explains how authors have incorporated the material turn in their analysis of ceramics, glass, and metal artifacts. Each case study will present an analytic method or concept that will be utilized for this thesis.

Chapter 5 will recap the most prominent archaeological research and preservation efforts at Fort Gibson. It will discuss the reconstructed stockade and the change in attitude about the Fort's research potential. It will also identify the origins of the two collections analyzed for this thesis.

Chapter 6 presents the enlisted men's and officers' collections. Each has been sorted into categories based on aspects of style, material, or function. Chapter 7 then presents an interpretation of this information. In this chapter, the potential differences seen in the

collection will be addressed and an assumption made based on the information presented in this thesis.

Chapter 8 will conclude the thesis. Here I will summarize my findings and suggest future areas for research at Fort Gibson.

Chapter 2. Fort Gibson's Background

I. Manifesting Destiny

In 1803, American President Thomas Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from Napoleonic France. In doing so, Jefferson doubled the size of the United States, adding to America's Great Plains region, the Midwest, and the South. Spanning from Montana to New Orleans, the land brought about a new frontier for American settlers, explorers, and military. With the return of the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1806, the United States government learned that their young country sat on a vast untamed continent (Dwyer 2016). At least, it seemed that way to the Euro-American scouts. In reality, the Louisiana Territory supported countless Native American groups for thousands of years before European contact (Agnew 1980). The land now comprising of Oklahoma, North Texas, and Arkansas housed tribes such as the Caddo, Wichita, Kiowa, Comanche, Kansa, Pawnee, and Osage people, among many others. The land these tribes inhabited was transitional, where the forests of Eastern North America met the grasslands of the Great Plains (Waldman 1985).

There are multiple reasons that white settlers wanted the land that is now Oklahoma and Arkansas. The earliest Europeans in Oklahoma were Spanish soldiers traveling with the conquistador Francisco Vasquez de Cornado in the 16th century. On the Eastern side of the Louisiana Territory, the French traveled up the Mississippi River and into Arkansas and Missouri in the late 17th century. During the 18th century, the French and Spanish set up multiple trade routes and outposts in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana (Dwyer 2016). In order to conduct business, a large portion of these traders integrated or ignored

Native Americans rather than face them with open hostility. After Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase, the territory would see drastic increase in immigration, cultural change, and imperialistic violence (McManus 2011).

When Missouri petitioned for statehood in 1819 it was separated into the Missouri and Arkansas territories (Bolton 2010). The Arkansas Territory included the modern states of Oklahoma and Arkansas (Dwyer 2016). With a solid grasp of the Southeastern region, the United States faced pressure from its citizens who wanted to move into the tribal lands across Mississippi, Georgia, and the newly acquired Florida territory. The two sides often reached violent conflicts as white hunters encroached on Indigenous farm and hunting land (Dwyer 2016). American settlers, unlike sporadic French and Spanish traders, did not integrate into Native society and more often forced Natives into conformity or out of the area (McMannus 2011).

The heavy conflict between settlers and tribes prompted the drafting of several land treaties. Essentially, the US government deceived or bullied Native tribes into signing over the rights to the land in exchange for "unsettled land" in the West. The Government deemed modern day Oklahoma as Indian Territory, a place for Native tribes to move their families and live away from white society (Dwyer 2016). These treaties prevented the settlement of non-native American citizens in Indian Territory but made exceptions for the US military who created outposts and moved freely through the area. Some groups like the Osage, certain bands of Cherokee, and the McIntosh Creeks agreed to move westward soon after signing, as they were promised provisions from the US government. Other parties of Creeks and the Eastern Cherokee sent scouts to Oklahoma and found the land unfavorable or felt

that the government was not offering an equal trade (Agnew 1980). However, with the election of Andrew Jackson, the land treaties, whether they be truthful or scams, were harshly enforced.

Through the 1830s, the Indian Removal Act legalized the forceful removal of the Seminole, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Cherokee off their land. Many were moved by gunpoint from both the military and local non-native settlers, tired of conflict or itching to get newly opened Indigenous land (Dwyer 2016). These groups were moved westward to Oklahoma, passing by Fort Gibson, near the border with Arkansas. Fort Gibson and its commander Mathew Arbuckle would be tasked by the federal government with keeping the peace between the relocated tribes, the local tribes of Osage and Kansa, and the Plains tribes of the Kiowa, Wichita, Apache, and Pawnee. This task would prove difficult for Arbuckle who faced hurdles in the form of rebellious Texans, trigger happy Santa Fe Traders, angry removed tribes, nervous Arkansas settlers, and the impatient unyielding force of the Federal government (Agnew 1980).

II. A Fort's Purpose

Fort Gibson served as a US military outpost in what is now Eastern Oklahoma, near its border with Arkansas. The Fort sat at the edge of the Western frontier as a last stop for white settlers before venturing into Indian Territory (Agnew 1980). From its Northern border down to Texas, the United States set up multiple military outposts to guard its pseudo-border with the Great Plains and act as an arbitrator between the United States and the Native tribes residing or removed to Indian Territory (Waldman 1985). Those tribes in Indian Territory, knowingly or not, agreed to the military occupation when they signed

their land treaties with the US government. Fort Gibson sat towards the Southern end of the line of military camps with only Fort Coffee, Arkansas' Fort Smith, and Fort Towson to its South for much of its active duty. Anyone who ventured from the incorporated states into Indian Territory or Spanish America crossed paths with the line of Forts (Agnew 1980).



Map 1. Map of Oklahoma Highlighting the Location of Fort Gibson. Map produced by author.

Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle served as commander of Fort Gibson on and off from its inception as a Cantonment, or military camp, in 1824 to 1841 when he left for Louisiana (Agnew 1980). Early Fort Gibson also served as a home for a portion of the 7th Infantry sent from the recently decommissioned Fort Smith (Rohrs 1978). At first, Cantonment Gibson's men acted as little more than construction workers. The camp was the Westernmost US military post at the time, so the government mainly focused on infrastructure. Roads between forts, proper supply shipping channels, and proper camp facilities all fell under Arbuckle's supervision (Agnew 1980). It is known from his correspondence that Arbuckle resented these tasks as they spread his men too thin, preventing them from properly mediating the high tensions that arose between the

Cherokee and Osage due to a land dispute caused by the forced relocation of these groups (Rohrs 1978).

Through a series of negotiations and threats, Arbuckle and fellow commander Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth worked to contact all the removed tribes as well as the Plains tribes to bring them to negotiations at Fort Gibson. Fort Gibson housed a regiment of dragoons, or horse mounted infantry soldiers. In 1834, the Fort acted as a launch point for a dragoon expedition, led by Henry Leavenworth and Colonel Henry Dodge, aimed to contact Plains tribes such as the Wichita and Comanche to convince them to sign peace treaties with incoming tribes. Though many, including Leavenworth, died on the journey, the group managed to reach Comanche and Wichita villages. These villages and people, later depicted by the accompanying civilian artist George Catlin, hosted and negotiated with Col. Dodge to meet at Fort Gibson. The expedition marks one of the earliest efforts of diplomacy between the United States and western Native American tribes. Ultimately, tentative treaties were signed between the Osage and the Cherokee, and between the US government and some of the tribes present in Oklahoma. The Delawares, Creeks, Senecas, Comanche, Choctaw, Quapaw, Cherokee, Wichita, Osage, and eventually the Kiowas all traveled to Fort Gibson to agree to peace with each other and the United States (Agnew 1980).

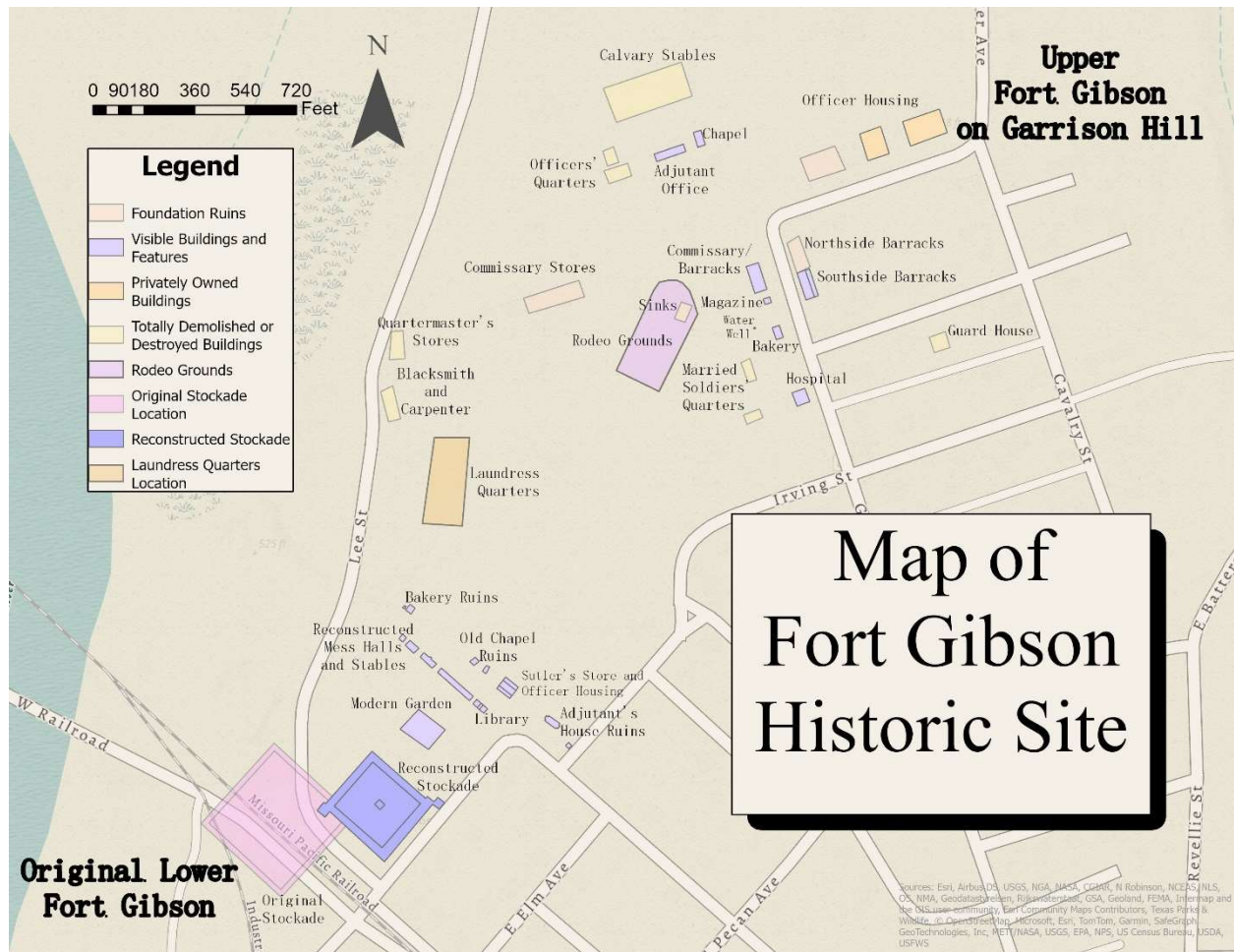
Meanwhile, closer to the Fort, conflict between the factions of Cherokee forcibly moved to Indian Territory started to arise. While living in the East, both groups faced pressure from the Federal Government to sign a treaty renouncing claims to their land and mandating their removal to Indian Territory. John Ross, the Principle Chief, led an Anti-Treaty faction while Jonh Ridge led those Cherokee in favor of signing. Ross continuously

fought against the forced removal of the Cherokee until the US went around him and asked Ridge to sign for the Cherokee instead of Ross. The Treaty of New Echota, signed in 1836, cemented the future of the Cherokee (Dwyer 2016). Both parties made their way to Indian Territory, but their conflict continued. Assassins aligned with Ross killed members of the Treaty Party, including John Ridge, soon after their arrival to Indian Territory. A civil war began among the Cherokee as a result and threatened the already fragile peace treaties created by the US. Fort Gibson served as a negotiation stage between the two parties and the US government. Worried for the safety of white settlers in Arkansas and the stability of Indian Territory, the government agreed to recognize the Anti-Treaty party as Cherokee leaders. Arbuckle could not accept that solution as the assassins never faced justice. Rather than have him continue to stir up both sides, the government, at the suggestion of the recognized Cherokee leader John Ross, reassigned Arbuckle to Louisiana in 1841. Zackary Taylor assumed command at Fort Gibson after Arbuckle's removal. The action seen by the Fort died down as the area became assimilated (Agnew 1980). A significant small population of Cherokee, African Americans, and military families grew around the Fort through the 1840s and 50s (OHS 2010). The Cherokee eventually grew tired of Fort Gibson's presence, stating the soldiers attracted unwanted brothels and saloons to the town (Rohrs 1978). Other nearby tribes refused to visit the Fort for negotiations as they often fell sick after staying there (Agnew 1980). The Fort was decommissioned in 1857, and the land transferred to the Cherokee, who settled on the surrounding reservation (Rohrs 1978).

III. The Civil War and Beyond

Fort Gibson returned to action not long after its abandonment. Soon after its formation, the Confederacy invaded Indian Territory in 1861. Fort Gibson, briefly renamed Fort Blunt,

acted as a point of contact between Native American tribes and the governments of both the Confederacy and Union (Rohrs 1978). The Confederacy quickly captured Fort Gibson at the start of the war, but it was surrendered to the Union and an ally faction of Cherokees after the Battle of Honey Springs in early 1863 (Dwyer 2016). As the North gained control of Indian Territory, the loyalist Cherokee faction set up their government in Fort Gibson, under the protection of Union soldiers. Runaway slaves fleeing Confederate Texas, Arkansas, and slave holding tribes also flocked to the fort for refuge (Rohrs 1978). The fort remained under Union control for the rest of the war (Agnew 2010). Its troops continued to police tribes and whites in the area, regulating settlements and liquor sales most frequently throughout the Reconstruction period. Fort Gibson remained mostly operational until its partial abandonment in 1890. Through this period, it acted as a supply point for troops heading west in the Indian Wars. However, by 1897 its barracks officially became uninhabitable, even for temporary military camps and those who visited after lived in officer housing or built tent camps (Agnew 2010; Rohrs 1978). Fort Gibson housed the Dawes Commission in the 1890s and the early 1900s. This Commission, a result of the Dawes Act, mandated the separation of communal Indian Reservations into individually owned allotments. This system opposed the traditional way of life for many tribes and forced the idea of sedentary homesteading onto many who did not want it (Carter 2010). Those who enrolled with the Dawes Commission would receive their own plot of land carved from the Reservation. Fort Gibson focused on enrolling the Cherokee Freedmen, black people living with the tribe (OHS n.d.). Soldiers remained a presence at Fort Gibson to protect the Dawes Commission, continuing the military's role in American imperialism in Indian Territory (Agnew 2010).



Map 2. Map of Fort Gibson Historic Site, produced by the author; based on Harris 1835, Delany and Kilbourn 1874, Bement and Rea 2007, USGS 1964, and GIS plotting conducted by the author and Regnier in 2024.

Currently, 200 years after its first log wall went up, Fort Gibson's land stewardship has been taken over by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Fort gained a place on the National Registry of Historic Places in the 1960s (Agnew 2010). Few original buildings remain, but the Works Progress Administration built a reconstruction of the stockade barracks in the 1930s near their original location (NPS 2023; Rohrs 1978). The actual location of the stockade was briefly lost so, the reconstruction is an approximation, made intentionally smaller to avoid a railroad built through Fort Gibson after the stockade's

abandonment (Robinson, n.d.). The land is open to the public and continues to have archaeological and historical research conducted on the property (NPS 2023; OHS n.d.).

Chapter 3. Life on the Frontier

Despite its distance from the core of American society, military life on the frontier adhered to strict social hierarchies derived from Victorian moralities. Most of the material culture found from this period at contemporary forts reflect this class system (Brooks 2010; Clements 1993; Herskovitz 1978; Scott 1989; Wilkie 2019). However, it is important to look at the lives of those on the frontier through a multi-perspective framework that address the mind sets of both officers and enlisted men, acknowledges the presence and influence of women, and takes the role of military outposts as enforcers of imperialist ideology into account. A detailed understanding of what was available to who and how those on the frontier lived will aid in the comparison of the Fort Gibson enlisted men's and officers' artifacts. This chapter will discuss the conditions those living at Fort Gibson endured in relation to their status in the military hierarchy. The end section will cover the cultural materials available to those in their positions. The following chapter will cover in further depth how these materials have been analyzed and interpreted by archaeologists.

II. Life of A Soldier

a. Officers

Fort Gibson remained active on and off from 1824-1890 (Agnew 2010). More is known about military officers than enlisted men from this period as more of them could read and write in English than enlisted men (Agnew 2008). By the 1850s, almost 75% of Antebellum officers came from West Point (Smith 1990). They were well educated and eager to make a name for themselves. In the grand hierarchy of American social circles, army officers and their wives lived firmly in the middle-class, equal to smaller businessmen (Smith 1990). By the Civil War, the opportunities for enlisted men to be promoted to

officers rose as commissioned officers died in combat more frequently, though this remained rare outside of periods of major conflict (Agnew 2008).

Fort housing for officers typically consisted of locally sourced stone buildings with some thin separation between rooms. In the case of Fort Gibson, soldiers constructed the commander's quarters out of dark sandstone while using timber frames on stone foundations for the other officer's housing. Later buildings held up to thirteen rooms. Non-commissioned officers may have lived in small private cabins made from the remaining lumber (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). A dragoon from the era stated that a lieutenant "would be content with one room, and all his furniture would not be worth \$25" (Lowe 1906: 25). If forts were exceptionally full or housing was unfinished, low-ranking officers slept in private tents or on cots in the hallways of finished stone buildings (Agnew 2008). Some of the original officers' quarters remain at Fort Gibson while others have been reduced only to their stone chimneys (Rohrs 1978).

Most officers could bring their families with them, and the highest-ranking commanders could maintain a servant staff as well (Agnew 2008). The material culture of the 19th century heavily reflected a person's social status (McMannus 2011). Research conducted at outposts contemporary to Fort Gibson show a diversity in artifacts recovered from officer's contexts compared to enlisted men. Dolls, gaming pieces, and women's clothing found in officer's spaces at Fort Larned in Kansas indicate that an officer's higher social standing allowed them to support their families at the Fort itself (Scott 1989). With the support of their influential families, high class women could refuse to cooperate with their husbands if sufficient comforts were not provided for them and their children (Grierson 1866).

Like Arbuckle, officers typically served as career soldiers and held command of the same units for long periods of time (Agnew 2008). Officers acted according to a code of honor; those that broke this code often lost the respect of their peers and their men (Smith 1990). A fiction novel written by an Army captain from the time highlighted the exaggerated chivalry of the officer's code of honor. An officer of the US Army "must be a man above suspicion, incapable of wrong or fraud" (King 1891: 51). Whether attainable or not, it romanticized the military for many allowing officers to envision themselves as righteous knights rather than imperialistic oppressors (Knight 1978; Smith 1990). Higher officers also heavily enforced each other's conduct. In 1834, Lieutenant Jefferson Davis faced a court martial for reportedly directing a dismissive "hmph" at a Fort Gibson Dragoon commander instead of properly addressing him (Hart 1964). Officers saw themselves as tools of the military not extensions of the current government administration, apolitical and unresponsive to public opinion. They operated within their own internal code of honor (Knight 1978). The high standards officers held themselves to are reflected in their material culture. Objects associated with maintaining social relationships such tobacco pipes, alcohol bottles, tea sets, and large serving wares have consistently been found in officer's contexts of contemporary forts in the East and West such as Fort Davis, Fort Larned, Fort Snelling, and Fort Independence (Clements 1993; Gaubatz 2020; Scott 1989; Wilkie 2019).

b. Enlisted Men

Enlisted men came from various social classes from lower-middle to poverty. The US did not hold a draft prior to the Civil War and most recruits joined of their own volition. However, most fell for recruitment tricks and exaggerations of military life (Agnew 2008).

Those at Fort Gibson imagined a life of bushwacking escapades and saw themselves as chivalrous frontier heroes. Dragoon Percival Lowe described it as “the spirit of adventure,” inspired by reading Irving’s *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (1837) that drove him to enlist (Lowe 1906: 3). In reality, life was often much more monotonous (Rohrs 1978).

Enlisted men typically lived in communal barracks (Agnew 2008). At Fort Gibson, the small number of married men lived in sturdy tents or small log cabins with their families (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). Fort Gibson contained various types of housing through its active years. The original placement of the Fort housed soldiers in a square, two storied stockade. Enlisted men lived on one side while some officers lived in the quarters across the courtyard within the same stockade structure. This style was typical for frontier forts at the time (Faulk et al. 1978; Hart 1964). After the Fort moved to higher ground, the enlisted barracks consisted of non-consecutive rectangular buildings with shared bunk rooms (Delany and Kilbourn 1875).

The Army did not require literacy tests until the 1890s, as a result most of the enlisted men were illiterate, especially in English. Recruiters targeted immigrants who needed a steady source of income. The Army actually served as an avenue for many uneducated men to learn basic reading and math skills. The middle-class men who joined typically held intermediate education but needed a better income, such as teachers, preachers, businessmen, and doctors. At the other end of the spectrum, those in legal trouble or desperate poverty joined to escape criminal punishment or the poorhouse. (Agnew 2008). Lowe described seeing alcoholics at his recruitment camp spend a day sobering up in order to get passed the recruiter. They then spent their first check on booze. According to Lowe, the Army looked the other way as long as soldiers passed an endurance

test and kept their vices to off duty hours (Lowe 1906). Joining in the Fall gave a man food, clothing, and usually a roof over his head for the Winter regardless of his debts or social status (Agnew 2008).

The Army kept a tight budget and typically used soldiers for construction and maintenance work to avoid paying civilian workers (Agnew 2008). This took up a significant amount of their time, especially on the frontier where new buildings and roads needed to be constructed from scratch (Agnew 1980). Dragoons and calvary units would repeatedly drill on horseback during late Winter when little construction could be done. With their skills improved, they spent the Spring escorting wagon trains to Oregon (Lowe 1906).

In the mid-19th century, infantry privates in Indian Territory earned about \$7 a month while sergeants made up to \$13 (Lowe 1906). They could use these funds to buy themselves luxuries such as decorative ceramics, send the money home, or bolster their rations by buying fresh food (Grierson 1866; Lowe 1906; Wilkie 2019). However, the frontier army consistently ran low on funds to pay soldiers (Lowe 1906). Those at Fort Smith, Arkansas went a full year without payment in 1817 (Higgins 1999). Commander Arbuckle often complained of loitering militia men at Fort Gibson after times of conflict. Even though their duty concluded, men would not leave the Fort until the paymaster could give them their checks (Agnew 1980).

Western outposts, due to their distance from established food centers, needed their own gardens for fresh produce (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). Food not grown at the fort or bought from small local farmers came in the form of military rations. These rations were supplied from the Eastern military hubs (Agnew 2008). Of the food sent through ration

shipments, salted meat likely provided a high percentage of enlisted men's protein. High abundance of tin scraps found through excavations at New Mexico's Cantonment Burgwin indicate that frontier soldiers likely ate salted meat from tin cans, a known tactic for preserving and transporting meat at the time (Crass and Wallsmith 1992). Hunting was also a way to supplement provided military food. Marksmanship was both a hobby and a necessary skill in the army. Soldiers practiced shooting as a training exercise but also challenged each other to shoot targets for fun (Marcy 1866).

I. Imperialism and its Effects on Your Health: Life at Fort Gibson

Built at the crux of the Three Forks, where the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Neosho Rivers meet, Fort Gibson sat in a sort of swamp land (Agnew 1980). Illnesses associated with humidity and mold killed soldiers before combat could (Rohrs 1978). Fevers likely caused by malaria, cholera, and dysentery ran rampant through the ranks, reaching even Commander Arbuckle who left the Fort constantly due to stomach illnesses and overall bad health. He would recover in Virginia only to catch another illness upon his return to Oklahoma (Agnew 1980). In 1834-35, disease killed 298 men, leading to officers describing the Fort as a "charnel house," a storage shed for corpses (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). Fort Gibson's commander Mathew Arbuckle campaigned for the rebuilding of the Fort out of stone. The high humidity and flooding rotted away wooden barracks before they could be finished (Rohrs 1978). Almost 10 years later in 1845, four years after Arbuckle left, the soldiers started construction on stone buildings on higher ground about a fourth of a mile away from the original Fort (Hart 1964). Despite this, residents continued to suffer from water-based diseases throughout Fort Gibson's lifespan (Rohrs 1978). Western Plains tribes disliked sending representatives to Fort Gibson for negotiations as they risked

catching a fatal illness (Agnew 1980). Into the 1870s, the outpost contained no organized sewage system. Residents instead relied on the natural curve of the hill to carry wastewater to the river from the privies. Despite this, an 1875 report from the Army's Assistant Surgeon stated that residents preferred to drink from the river rather than the wells because the water appeared visibly clearer. Poor troop health, and the fact that the original infirmary sat alongside the river, led to the construction of another hospital on higher ground in 1871 (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). This hospital still stands today with the help of some recent restorations.

When not suffering from debilitating illness, much of the activity at Fort Gibson remained heavily regulated by the army. The Arkansas River's unsteady flow near Fort Gibson made transportation spotty and rations scarce. Men were encouraged to garden to maintain the supply of food (Agnew 1980). An 1870s military report listed corn, wheat, potatoes, oats, pears, peaches, and apples as the most common crops grown by soldiers (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). Of the food sent through ration shipments, salted meat likely provided a high percentage of enlisted men's protein (Crass and Wallsmith 1992). Fort Gibson housed a communal mess hall for enlisted men and also ran a bakery to utilize the wheat and corn grown on the property (Hart 1964). The bakery of the Fort, rebuilt on higher ground, still stands and operates 200 years later (Oklahoma Historical Society 2018).

The military, through the 19th century, routinely shifted its opinions on race. Free black men served in or with the United States Military since its inception. Early units from the War of 1812 often were not segregated. It's known that at least one black or mixed-race man, Peter Caulder, served under Arbuckle while he resided at Fort Smith and Fort Gibson

in 1822-1829. Caulder served as a skilled scout and tracker, and also helped construct the road between Fort Gibson and Fort Smith. However, he eventually deserted the army, likely fearing both the rising rates of sickness at Fort Gibson and the increasing racial tensions in Arkansas Territory. Arbuckle filed no warrant for Caulder's desertion. The black soldier was well liked by his commanders, so it is unclear if Arbuckle took pity on Caulder or simply did not see black soldiers as worth the effort in reprimanding (Higgins 1999). In 1859, Arkansas banned free black residents from their state, likely deterring any further men of color from signing up for the frontier army until the Civil War (Higgins 2022).

During and after the Civil War, black regiments became more common, filled with former enslaved men trying to make a life for themselves. The Union Army stationed the First Kansas Colored Volunteers Infantry Regiment at Fort Gibson during its occupation in 1863 (Glasrud 2010). The white Colonel Benjamin Grierson led the Tenth Cavalry of Buffalo Soldiers through Indian Territory, staying at Fort Gibson and Fort Sill in the late 1860s. The Buffalo Soldiers were not always well respected by the military. Grierson's enthusiasm for leading black soldiers caused higher ups to pass him over for promotions, fearing he was too radical (Leckie 1989). White civilians as well tended to dislike the black units of soldiers. By 1870, the Tenth Cavalry's main job at Fort Gibson was to keep out white intruders trying to settle in Indian Territory. The policing of white activity by black soldiers only furthered racial divides in the area (Glasrud 2010). Black soldiers lived in the same quarters as white soldiers at Fort Gibson. Past archaeologists of forts that housed Buffalo Soldiers found it difficult, though not impossible, to distinguish artifacts from white versus black soldiers. Both a good understanding of race relations of the time as well as

extensive documentation of the archaeological context of a collection can aid in the process of assigning ownership to an artifact (Wilkie 2019).

When not actively patrolling, the enlisted men at Fort Gibson, black or white, spent most of their time working fatigue duties which consisted of maintaining agricultural fields, reconstructing barracks, cutting the way for roads, and other non-combat related jobs (Agnew 2008; Rohrs 1978). Indian Territory remained undeveloped, and Arbuckle prioritized forcing the land into a space hospitable to Westerners and their armies over repeated drill runs (Agnew 1980). That is not to say that Arbuckle's men remained wholly undisciplined. Military life continued as much as possible with officers enforcing obedience. Enlisted men shared barracks with little privacy (Agnew 2008). Soldiers awoke to a reveille at daybreak and Fort gates shut at 9pm. Deserters faced a public head shaving and a thigh brand of a "D" for desertion. Drunkards were marched around camp, carrying heavy stones, faced 10 days imprisonment, or stood in the center of camp on a barrel holding two empty liquor bottles to signify their crime (Rohrs 1978).

As enlisted men started to realize the frontier army was not a life of adventure, they grew bored and disillusioned (Smith 1990). Fort Gibson's first solution to boredom faced scrutiny from the local Cherokee and Army officials. Local taverns and brothels opened up near the Fort attracting unhappy soldiers. The Cherokee heavily complained about the soldier's promiscuous acts and called for action to be taken. Officers from the Fort randomly called roll after dark and chased pub owners out of Indian Territory in order to maintain the army's dignity and punish soldiers who tarnished it (Rohrs 1978).

Other more respectable activities arose as the army integrated with the Cherokee bands around them. Cherokee dances and officer-led dinner parties occurred throughout

the Fort's life (Rohrs 1978). The Tenth Cavalry started a band and the Ninth a Diamond Club for hosting galas (Glasrud 2010). Archaeological digs from other contemporary forts such as Fort Davis, Texas yield significant amounts of serving dishes used for parties. This indicates that social activities like galas served as a common distraction for both officers and enlisted men of the era (Wilkie 2019). Enlisted men at Fort Gibson also performed plays for other troops and locals. Interracial horse races, fishing, and hunting trips also smoothed relations between the two entities. Lastly, marriages between soldiers and Cherokee women settled restless men and promoted the integration of the Cherokee into Euro-American life (Rohrs 1978).

II. Life of Women with the Army

Though typically considered a male space, plenty of women worked and lived at US Army forts. Most of the women at military forts came from the middle or working class. They enjoyed the comforts of Eastern American civilization but adapted quickly to frontier life (McInnis 2017). There were few civilians allowed at most forts. Male pioneers, loggers, and passing waggoners occasionally did work for forts but did not live as permanent residents. Some were even previously discharged soldiers earning extra cash to leave for the East (Higgins 1999). Domestic servants, laundresses, officer wives, and children made up the majority of non-soldiering residents at frontier Forts (Agnew 2008).

Those that worked at forts typically conducted what Army officers considered women's work such as washing, cooking, and housekeeping (McMannus 2011). Officers may have employed women as domestic servants for their households or gardens. However, the most profitable official role for women was the laundress. Laundresses held an actual title in the Army, received a regulated pay, and were entitled to rations. The Army

required that forts employ laundresses and that soldiers pay for their own washings. At given points during the year, a laundress could be doing so much washing that she made a higher salary than a private. These women typically entered the army young and single. Due to their availability, and extra income, soldiers commonly married laundresses. By the time they reached a frontier outpost like Fort Gibson, laundresses would have husbands (Agnew 2008).

Army wives served as extensions of their husband's rank. An officer's wife held authority over enlisted wives (McInnis 2017). Officer's wives demanded respect from enlisted soldiers as well. Small social slights against high-ranking women resulted in harsh punishment. Alice Kirk Grierson, the wife of Col. Grierson of the Tenth Calvary Buffalo Soldiers, at Fort Gibson in 1867 recounted in a letter to her husband that another Captain's wife convinced officers to briefly jail three soldiers who disrespected her. Grierson states the disrespect occurred when the soldiers refused to set up the woman's buggy for her (Grierson 1867). Officer's wives did not work, focusing mainly on childcare and maintaining social relationships. Higher class women had domestic servants or enslaved servants conduct most housework (McInnis 2017; McMannus 2011). 19th century society equated working women with the lower class and many women of higher standing refused to do more than light cooking and housecleaning (Grierson 1866; McMannus 2011). These women had wealthier families who could support them if they decided to leave their husbands, which Mrs. Grierson threatened to do on occasion when her living conditions fell below her standards, or she felt neglected by Ben Grierson (Grierson 1866). Men ranged from enthusiastic to indifferent to uncomfortable with the presence of women at Forts. Retired lieutenant Duane Merritt Greene stated that "the morale of the Army is seriously

depreciated by the influence of women.” He references “vindictive women” who make a mockery of soldiers similar to the woman who Grierson mentions in her letter (Greene 1880: 27). Though, from Greene’s writings it seemed that he blamed most of the military’s problems on the presence of women. Euro-American women tended to bring their own standards to Western outposts and some men welcomed familiar comforts of home (Knight 1978).

Most enlisted men remained unmarried as a soldier’s salary could not support a family. Fort Gibson’s lack of available women led to interracial marriage between officers and the Cherokee and the rise in brothels just outside the Fort (Rohrs 1978). Laundresses even acted as sex workers to make extra cash, sometimes with the consent of their husbands (Agnew 2008).

Women at Fort Gibson had access to some home comforts by way of the periodic steamboat shipments up the Arkansas River. The Fort received not only mail from the East but comforts such as hat brushes, perfumes, and silk purses which were available via the sutler’s store (Rohrs 1978). Officer’s wives were expected to maintain as neat a household as possible. Their tidiness reflected the discipline of both their husband and the US Army. Military wives used the resources available to them to maintain the Euro-American standards expected of them (McInnus 2017). The Cherokee women who married into Fort Gibson would have been expected to assimilate their home lives to match those standards regardless of the integration between the soldiers and the Cherokee Nation. American women’s lives faced heavy oppression by Euro-American society. Domesticity, subordination, and adaptability kept a woman safe on the frontier (McMannus 2011).

III. The Material Culture of the 19th Century Frontier

A. Ceramics

In an era without plastic or Styrofoam, ceramics dominated the household of the average 19th century American. Most human necessities such as eating, drinking, and expelling waste involved ceramics. Manufacturers also used ceramics for pleasure items like dolls, game pieces, smoking pipes and decorations. In the first half of the 19th century, ceramics owned by non-Native communities came predominantly from Europe.

Staffordshire County, England supplied the UK and its colonies with ceramics starting in the 1700s (Barker 2010). Americans remained eager to buy British made goods despite growing discontent in the Colonies. Americans provided raw materials and food like indigo and rice to Britain and bought specialized ceramics not made in Colonies. Their dependence on Europe for items made by skilled manufacturers spurred the credit system in the Americas. Farmers bought imported tableware from a merchant and promised him portions of their future Autumn harvest in return (Breen 1988).

Starting in the 1760s, refined white earthenware dominated the ceramics market in England and its colonies. Americans imported creamware, pearlware, and most commonly whiteware from Staffordshire in the early 19th century (Marciniszyn 2017). The earthenware's white color allowed for easy decoration with the use of an underglaze design (Barker 2010; Brooks 2010). Metallic oxide-colored dyes would be applied to the ceramic in its 'biscuit state,' then the dish would be glazed over and fired to achieve a different color than white. Transfer printing worked in the same way. A copper plate of a pattern or landscape would be inked and stamped onto the vessel which would then also be glazed and fired. The dye, ink, and glaze contrasted with the white base of the ceramic. Both techniques required a highly repetitive process between each vessel and allowed

Staffordshire potters to cheaply produce uniformly colored and decorated ceramics (Brooks 2010). Ironstone, a thicker and stronger glazed white-gray earthenware, also grew in popularity in the late 19th century for tableware and food storage (Scott 1989). Decorated ceramics display design motifs that often reflect a certain period in time (Samford and Miller 2015). Romantic or patriotic scenes were popular, but designs changed as tastes, feelings of nationalism, and types of consumers changed (Brooks 2010; Wall 2010). Popular designs changed with the fashions of the times and those that desired to keep up with fashions, typically the upper class, periodically replaced their ceramics to stay in vogue (Wall 2010). Housekeeping magazines of the time support the idea of continuous consumerism, popularizing the idea of a different dish for every food type on the table. Carrots, peas, potatoes, and turkey each had their own serving platter that needed to be replaced as the seasons or fashion trends changed and a good housekeeper would keep up with these trends (Beecher 1846). The vast number of styles and motifs created by English potters suggests that they likely purposely influenced trends to sell more styles and types of dishes. Ceramics had relatively short lifespans in wealthier homes, and it is not impossible to find discarded whole vessels in trash piles; thrown away because they were out of style (Samford and Miller 2015; Wall 2010). Due to the mass production of ceramics in Europe and the growing trade system that crossed the Atlantic a majority of non-Native ceramics on the frontier came from Europe until the late 19th century when American based potters established their own ceramics market (Breen 1988).

In 18th century Britain, teaware reigned as the most in demand ceramic product. However, Americans developed their own dining culture independent of Great Britain starting in the 1820s (Wall 2010). Those in the upper class tended to own more teaware

than the average American (Clements 1993; Eichelberger 2019; Scott 1989). Tea culture came to the frontier through US military officers who either brought their own tea sets or had them shipped via the sutler's store (Eichelberger 2019). Enlisted men also purchased ceramics through the sutler though this occurred less often as soldiers typically ate in the mess hall of military outposts and did not participate in tea culture as often as officers (Eichelberger 2019; Wilkie 2019). Despite this, European-made ceramics often play a large role in the analysis of historic American military sites because of their close association with diet and status (Clements 1993; Eichelberger 2019; Scott 1989; Wilkie 2019).

Participation in smoking culture may also have been a sign of a high-ranking military man. Smoking tobacco was a habit influenced by adjacent Native American religious practices and turned into a massive industry in the Americas and Britain (Burnham 1992). In the late 16th century, most people in the Southern American Colonies, including children, smoked pipes (Agbe-Davies 2004). In the early 19th century American women began to see smoking as unfashionable and children were discouraged from smoking. Tobacco pipes remained a male dominated habit from then until the cigar replaced the pipe and cigarettes attracted female consumers again in the late 1800s (Burnham 1992). Pipes were manufactured in both the United States and in Europe. Those made of finer materials, like white clay pipes, were typically imported while kaolin clay pipes may have been locally made. English maker's marks were occasionally plagiarized to make a pipe seem like a higher quality than it was (Dallal 2004). Pipes found from excavations in New Jersey date to the 19th century and displayed engravings of both the American flag and the Irish harp, signaling the loyalties of the owner (Reckner 2004). Through markings like this, men could broadcast their wealth via the pipe they used or

announce an affiliation without speaking. For these reasons, around the time of Fort Gibson, smoking would have been associated with masculinity and status. Many tobacco pipes were recovered from archaeology conducted at Fort Bowie, Arizona (Herskovitz 1978). Only men who couldn't afford a pipe or tobacco would go without. Very few would abstain for health reasons as the detriments of tobacco use were not well understood (Burnham 1992).

B. Glass

Glass making differs from ceramics production in the United States because colonists established glasshouses and furnaces for glass blowing early in the country's infancy (Scoville 1944). Jamestown, Virginia attracted Dutch and Italian glassmakers and New Amsterdam and Salem developed furnaces for glass production through the 1600s (McKearin and McKearin 1941). Through the 1700s, Americans produced little of their own glassware, shopping from the European market instead. However, industrialization and immigration in the 1800s spurred growth in American glass manufacturing. In 1820, 33 glass houses operated in the United States, however, 68 more glasshouses opened in the following 20 years (Scoville 1944). This may seem small, but for many in the 18th and early 19th century glass represented a luxury. Nothing more than window glass and green bottles typically penetrated the lower classes of consumers. Green glass bottles functioned as the most popular vessels for cold drinks like wine or water and windows served as important light sources in the days before kerosene lamps (McKearin and McKearin 1941). This changed with the Industrial Revolution (Lorrain 1968).

Much of the glass blowing in the early 19th century carried on methods centuries old. Hand blown bottles made up a large portion of American produced glass (Lorrain

1968). They were free blown; the glassmaker would blow air from his mouth to shape the bottle. Hinge molds came to the US in the early 1800s. These closed around the glass as they were blown, forcing the glass into the shape of a symmetrical bottle. The hinge would then allow the operator to remove the bottle by simply opening the mold. Hinged molds typically leave noticeable seams that archaeologists can identify (Lindsey 2020). Around 1810, glassmakers develop glass jars and bottles equipped with wired on stoppers to seal vessels for long term food storage. In 1827, glass makers developed the pressing machine which aided in the manufacturing of tableware glass. Each of these techniques made glass more useful, more ornate, and easier to produce, enticing more consumers than in previous decades (Lorrain 1968).

From excavations at Fort Larned and Fort Davis, archaeologists conclude that ornate glass tableware came to the frontier with American soldiers (Scott 1989; Wilkie 2019). Despite strict military regulations on alcohol, beverage bottles have also been recovered from military forts of the 19th century. Soldiers potentially brought these bottles with them however the sutlers, hospital staff, or nearby saloons likely transported these bottles to the frontier for economic purposes (Gaubatz 2020). Letters from Mrs. Alice Grierson at Fort Concho highlight the use of brandy-wine and sherry as medicines. She used brandy to treat her daughter Edith's typhoid and sherry to wake a weak baby. When Edith succumbed to typhoid, Mrs. Grierson fed her more wine to ease her suffering. Grierson herself drank five bottles of ale to invigorate her body during an illness that left her bedbound for a week (Leckie 1989). In addition to Alice's account, it's known from the hygiene report of US Army posts conducted in 1875 that forts were expected to keep not only wine and ale but liquors. These were often stored in cellars under the quartermaster or the hospital

buildings. The inclusion of these stores in a hygiene report implies that these liquors contributed to the medical supplies of an outpost (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). Likely much of the glass on the frontier initially transported alcohol and other medicines. However, the class differences in glass consumption in the 18th century still lingered in the 19th century as officers tended to own more ornate tableware and bottles associated with expensive drinks like champagne (Gaubatz 2020; Scott 1989). The presence of champagne and expensive wine bottles might suggest that though alcohol functioned as a medicine, a social component may have influenced its consumption on the frontier.

C. Metal

Soldiers and civilians on the frontier valued metal goods as important, utilitarian items. Many of the metal artifacts uncovered from large forts relate to wagon parts, horse tack, agriculture, and cooking. Often made of ferrous metal, these tools rarely came with decorations (Herskovitz 1978). Excavations of frontier forts revealed that tin cups and bowls provided by the army were common among enlisted men (Wilkie 2019). Personal items ranged in their materials, typically brass, tin, or lead. These could be watches, game pieces, buttons, or uniform buckles (Herskovitz 1978).

The growth of the iron industry in Britain and America drove the consumer revolution of the 19th century along with the mass manufacturing of ceramics and glass. Cast iron aided cooking as pots and stoves but also helped improve transportation as wagon parts or agriculture as plowing tools. The omnipresence of iron in the Antebellum United States led this period to be dubbed “America’s Iron Age” by historians (Knowles 2013, 5). Excavations at heavily trafficked outposts, like Fort Union, which supported the fur trade in North Dakota, reveal that local skilled blacksmiths provided much of the iron

goods for the Fort. These excavations in 1969 and 1970 uncovered a large majority of construction materials including iron nails and other hardware. Iron made up the biggest portion of metal artifacts uncovered at Fort Union, probably due to both the presence of the smithy and the necessity for large amounts of iron tools (De Vore 1990).

The army uniforms of the period were sporadic due to common shortages of materials and occasionally unclear in their intentions. In 1782, the army mandated troops to wear buttons of “white metal” while artillerymen received “yellow metal” buttons (Cole 2007, 5) These buttons and other uniform pieces likely contained brass, nickel, or copper (Herskovitz 1978). Dragoons carried sabers made of steel and brass, produced in either Massachusetts or Prussia. Similarly, soldiers carried both domestic and imported firearms depending on their rank or need for a certain type of gun. Many metal objects at isolated outposts like early Fort Gibson likely came from the east and were likely recycled by the blacksmith into other metal tools, if one was available (De Vore 1990). Soldiers then carried these items with them as they moved around the frontier (Steffen 1977).

Chapter 4. Comparable Studies: Archaeology at Historic American Military Sites

I. Introduction

Historical archaeology operates alongside the written record to explore gaps in knowledge and provide evidence to support or deny recorded claims (Majewski and Schiffer 1987). The Victorian-American social structure of domesticity, gentility, and piety dominates the written record of the 19th century (McManus 2011). The structure of society itself also enforced the social order, which the material culture of the time period reflects (Eichelberger 2019; Foucault 1978). No longer made within the household, most daily items such as cookware or dishes were purchased from large manufacturing hubs. What a person owned did not correlate to their skills at metal working, glass blowing, or pottery but rather their monetary wealth (Breen 1988; Brooks 2010). The monetary wealth of an individual or family, in 19th century western society, directly corresponded to their place in society. For those of a religious persuasion, wealth represented a blessing from God, a reward for exemplary moral standing. For industrialists, wealth meant a person worked for their place in society through hardship and labor. Both exemplified the tenets of Victorian society, religious devotion and capitalism (McManus 2011).

The material culture of the military lends itself well to the study of 19th century social hierarchies. They themselves operated as extremely stratified societies so, frontier outposts of the time held tightly to the traditional values of the period (Scott 1989). Isolated from the core of American society, military structure heavily enforced the social order to maintain a sense of authority over junior soldiers and further imperialistic goals by imparting these practices onto the native people around them (Eichelberger 2019). For

this reason, the military acts as a sort of model society, imitating its core culture to the extreme (Scott 2009).

One of the main research questions of this thesis, if social stratification can be seen through the two collections originating from Fort Gibson's officers' and enlisted men's areas, relies on frameworks established by the following case studies. The study of the material culture surrounding military outposts of the 19th century should reflect the strict social roles of Victorian-American society of the time.

II. Fort Larned, Kansas

Fort Larned operated as a military outpost situated on the Kansas portion of the Santa Fe Trail from 1859-1878. Excavations conducted there in the 1970s on an officer's latrine led to an analysis by archaeologist Douglas Scott in 1989. Scott used the artifacts recovered from Fort Larned to make inferences about the daily life of officers at Fort Larned, claiming vessel forms of ceramics and glass display eating habits and that this inferred diet reflects social and economic standing. For example, stemmed glass goblets indicated the consumption of fine drinks like wine or juice and cost much more than a simple glass tumbler. Therefore, the fact that excavations at Fort Larned unearthed four times as many stemmed goblets as they did tumblers suggests that officers partook in social activities such as wine drinking and maintained the salary to afford to continue these activities (Scott 1989).

Similarly, Scott's analysis of Fort Larned's ceramics relied heavily on vessel form. Scott's ceramic collection contained only one bowl, a sugar container. He argues that this correctly reflects assumptions about higher status officers of the time. The men in charge ate grilled meat and vegetables rather than soup and stew, which enlisted men ate due to

its easy preparation and ability to feed many, quickly. The absence of bowls in the officers' collection makes sense as they likely rarely used bowls for meals. Decoration and ware type are largely irrelevant in Scott's study as he focuses on what diet can say about socioeconomic status (Scott 1989).

Lastly, Scott's ceramic analysis found that undecorated ironstone comprised 88% of the ceramics excavated at the officers' latrine. However, Scott states that contemporary excavations of US military outposts from North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Texas indicate that undecorated white creamware, ironstone, porcelain, pearlware, and whitewares were in fashion after the Civil War. Scott then concludes that because undecorated white ceramics fill most archaeological contexts of the time, decoration is not a good indicator of social standing for late 19th century America. This reaffirms Scott's use of ceramic vessel form and function as the key indicator of social or economic standing at Fort Larned (Scott 1989). Scott's study exemplifies how to use glass and ceramics to infer social context from a collection. Fort Gibson, a contemporary of Fort Larned, revealed a significant but minority selection of decorated glass and ceramics. Undecorated ceramics dominated the collection from Fort Gibson and Scott's study explains why vessel form should weigh heavily in artifact analysis. However, Fort Gibson's original stockade predates Fort Larned by 35 years. Completely ignoring decoration on vessels that predate the plain white fashion trend may prove unhelpful. Further studies at a Texas fort explain how decoration could be considered in analysis.

III. Fort Davis, Texas

In another analysis of the American military in the 19th century, archaeologist Laurie Wilkie's paper from 2019 looks at Fort Davis, an outpost in West Texas that housed all-

black companies of the Army alongside white soldiers. Similarly to Fort Gibson, Fort Davis, open from 1854 to 1891, housed the mostly African American Ninth and Tenth Calvaries. However, most of the commissioned officers as well as a few other companies were entirely white.

Ceramics were not standard issue to any of the Army Calvaries, regardless of race. Despite this, more than 32 vessels have been excavated from the barracks at Fort Davis, implying that the men spent their own money to buy dishes (Wilkie 2019). These were not necessities as the military provided all men with tin cups and bowls for meals. However, Wilkie explains that excavation at the site recovered ceramic tea ware, pitchers, serving plates, and mugs. Wilkie argues that these vessel forms imply use in a social setting and may convey the sense of comradeship felt between the men. For some of the black soldiers, especially those born into slavery or extreme poverty, the concept of a sit-down family dinner or tea-time would have been unobtainable for much of their lives, giving them seemingly little reason to engage with tea ware or serving dishes.

Wilkie argues that black soldiers did not passively accept the hierarchy of the time, and many engaged with the material culture of the period as a form of defiance. Soldiers may have bought ceramics to increase social interactions among their newly formed family within the Calvary and improve their place in the fort's social ranking. Wilkie theorizes that ceramics exhibited not only friendship ties but rivalries. A serving platter from Company K recovered during excavations displayed a hand painted Company K logo on it. Wilkie argues that this may show comradeship between men of Company K or act as a form of competition between soldiers. Calvaries threw lavish Christmas parties for the whole Fort and neighboring families to attend. Elaborate serving dishes, painted to represent certain

companies acted as a small way for soldiers to outshine other companies and their rival Christmas parties.

Wilkie explains that tensions ran high between white and black companies so small displays of company pride allowed them to engage with one another without open hostility. Black soldiers typically held lower social status than white soldiers and material wealth like ceramics shows possible attempts at social competition between the two classes. Similar platters with Third Cavalry logos have been excavated at Fort Concho, Texas, indicating that this was not an uncommon practice to assuage rising conflict between segregated companies. This case study exemplifies the use of not only vessel form but decoration, when applied to specific social settings, to determine the social status of the owner (Wilkie 2019). Fort Gibson operated contemporaneously with Fort Davis and while Fort Gibson did house African American companies, the artifacts analyzed for this thesis are likely not from these soldiers. However, competition between social classes and the desire to rise above social station could still be applied to the artifacts recovered. Wilkie's acknowledgement of vessel decoration could be utilized to explain the presence of ornate vessels among lower ranking social contexts.

IV. Fort Independence, Massachusetts

Though it was a male dominated space, archaeology conducted at Fort Independence in Boston has provided researchers with a window into the lives of military wives. Joyce Clements' 1993 study looks at excavations of military households on Fort Independence. She aimed to see how recovered artifacts differed between married and unmarried army personnel homes, highlighting what influence, if any, women possessed over the material culture of the military. Clements found that homes of single

commissioned and non-commissioned men held the cheapest and fewest ceramics while married commissioned men contained the highest proportion of expensive porcelain. Commissioned families owned 30% teaware while single men's ceramics were only about 15% tea sets. Imported porcelain of this period originated from Europe or Asia. They held hefty price tags, even in a port like Boston. Despite their higher pay, imported porcelain still served as a significant investment for commissioned officers. The presence of married women acts as the clear variable between these sites. An officer's social and economic standing greatly affected his ability to attract and support a wife and thus the presence of certain ceramics through their association with women, may reflect the socioeconomic standing of an officer (Clements 1993).

The military held clear roles for army wives and required them to uphold strict moral values and prioritize 'ladylike' behavior. Non-conformers faced social ridicule and even expulsion from the Fort in extreme cases involving immodest activities. Ceramic displays provided an avenue for women to express their dedication to the moral guidelines of the Fort. Tea drinking was an appropriate social outlet for wives, and friends would be invited to the household for a simple cup or an elaborate tea party. Tea parties served as opportunities to exchange information and strengthen social bonds among the upper class without breaking any gender roles. They provided a way for new wives to get acquainted with the other women at the Fort. The host also conveyed wealth and rank through elegant tea sets without openly bragging, an immodest activity. Dinner parties operated in a similar manner, the wife's ability to properly plate expensive food on even fancier China would display wealth to both the men and women present. A well-ordered house party may convince a superior that a soldier deserved a promotion to a respectable position. In this

example, ceramics furthered not only women's interests but the well-being of the household (Clements 1993).

Through her archaeological study, Clements proves that while bound by a strict social code, women still made purposeful choices about their social lives and played an important role in the material culture of a military Fort. Clements uses vessel function of ceramics to make assumptions about the social class of a military household and highlights differences between commissioned officers who supported wives and non-commissioned officers who lacked the ability to do so (Clements 1993). Due to Fort Gibson's similar social setting, a strict military environment, application of vessel form and function analysis could work with collections from Fort Gibson's ceramics. Despite Fort Independence's location on the distinctly Americanized East Coast, the application of this technique may still reveal information about not only social status but the presence of women at the frontier outpost, Fort Gibson.

V. Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, Oregon

Posted on the west coast of Oregon, Forts Yamhill and Hoskins monitored the Oregon Coast Indian Reservation and supported the local Indian Agent in law enforcement on the reservation. Active during 1856-1866, the forts served similar purposes to Fort Gibson and operated simultaneously. Excavations conducted at the forts unearthed comparable collections from both high- and low-class social contexts (Eichelberger 2019).

Studies at both Forts Yamhill and Hoskins revealed that captains' quarters held the most glass and ceramics as well as the most variability in type, style, and function compared to the lower ranking 1st and 2nd lieutenants. The author, Eichelberger, argues that this is due to the social expectations of military officers of the time. Eichelberger

subscribes to Victor Turner's theoretical framework of symbolic anthropology where objects act as stand-ins, symbols, for social ideas (Turner 1967). When viewing Victorian-American society through this lens, Eichelberger states that material possessions like ceramic tea sets and ornate glass pitchers operate as symbols. These symbols may display concepts such as wealth, morality, and authority. Similarly to Clement's study of Fort Independence, Eichelberger uses the expected social role of officers to make inferences on their purchases (Clements 1993; Eichelberger 2019). Captains acted as moral examples for the rest of the fort, junior soldiers or surrounding Native people ideally looked to captains as models of perfect Victorian ideals. Tea sets for hosting, glassware for serving, a kitchen fully stocked with dinnerware for dining, and a nuclear family at the table. Excavations at Forts Yamhill and Hoskins supported this, as the officer rankings of excavated quarters directly correlated to the amount and diversity of glass and ceramic recovered, with captains holding the most of both groups at both forts (Eichelberger 2019).

Eichelberger's paper exhibits another way in which material culture provides or supports information about social class in the military. It demonstrates how social order and Victorian standards spread through the US via the military, aided by the military's strict hierarchical structure. Because Fort Gibson served a similar purpose to Forts Yamhill and Hoskins, it can be assumed similar applications of Turner's symbolic anthropology may be applied to the artifacts recovered and excavated.

VI. Fort Bowie, Arizona

Union forces established Fort Bowie, Arizona during the Civil War and maintained its operation up to 1894. The Fort served as a strategic point for the US during their conflicts with western Native tribes like the various Apache bands in the area. Analysis of

artifacts excavated from Fort Bowie were split by the researcher Robert Herskovitz into use categories, similar to Clements' and Scott's vessel form and function categories.

Herskovits intended to interpret artifacts based on everyday life of soldiers rather than large patterns of industrial production or trade routes through the US West. He also states this method maintains consistency through his study as he applied the same analysis to Fort Bowie's glassware (Herskovitz 1978, 33). The author used this method to confirm the locations of enlisted men's housing by identifying that metal buckles recovered specifically belonged to pants suspenders, a standard issue uniform piece for enlisted men. He used small metal tins, identified as opium containers, to prove the presence of Chinese laborers at the fort. The elemental makeup of the metal recovered was mostly irrelevant. Almost everything belonged to a ferrous or tin group manufactured in a major commercial hub. What the item functioned as served a much greater purpose for Herskovitz's research. Herskovitz study shows an uncommon but reasonable approach to interpretation of metal artifacts. Applying categories based on use and function, as Herskovitz did, to the metal artifacts collected at Fort Gibson may shed light on the activities performed by enlisted men and officers (Herskovitz 1978). Any variation between the groups then infers a difference in duties and daily life for the two social groups at Fort Gibson.

VII. Discussion and Further Applications

The authors of the previous case studies all present a form of artifact analysis that focuses less on materials and manufacturing techniques. Instead, they highlight the forms and functions of items recovered from military outposts in the 19th century US. In using this strategy, researchers identify differences in artifacts recovered from their sites. A common pattern in each study was that officers and the upper class held more items for

preparing food, serving, drinking, and tea culture. Some imply this was due to a difference in diet between officers and enlisted men who earned vastly different salaries (Scott 1989). Others state the presence of wives and the behavioral expectations of officers who represented the higher classes influenced their material cultures (Clements 1993; Eichelberger 2019). The presence of serving dishes, pitchers, and tea ware among the enlisted men may represent competition or aspirations to move up the social hierarchy, while their decoration ties them to a specific social group (Wilkie 2019). Metal artifacts from outposts were utilitarian and their function may point towards the daily activities of the owner, which would also be segregated by class similar to diet (Herskovitz 1978).

If Fort Gibson conformed to the social stratification of the 19th century like other forts of the era, there should be a noticeable difference in the glass, ceramics, and metal found in the officers' and enlisted men's contexts. Military outposts act as intense reflections of their core society in order to maintain a sense of normalcy in a foreign area (Scott 1989). Fort Gibson was surrounded by foreign conflicts such as the Osage and Cherokee rivalry and the Cherokee civil war (Agnew 1980). Those at Fort Gibson would have reason to enforce social roles of the time in order to keep themselves grounded. The continued purchasing of specific forms of ceramic, glass, and metal represent the *praxis* of those at Fort Gibson. The reason behind the purchases would be to reassert the *habitus* of the group. This thesis intends to follow the framework of the previous case studies and assumes that differences in form and function of artifacts recovered from Fort Gibson could imply a difference in the daily lives of each social class depending on their duties, salary, diet, behavior expectations, and the ability to support wives. These differences would support the idea that Fort Gibson relied on Victorian social roles.

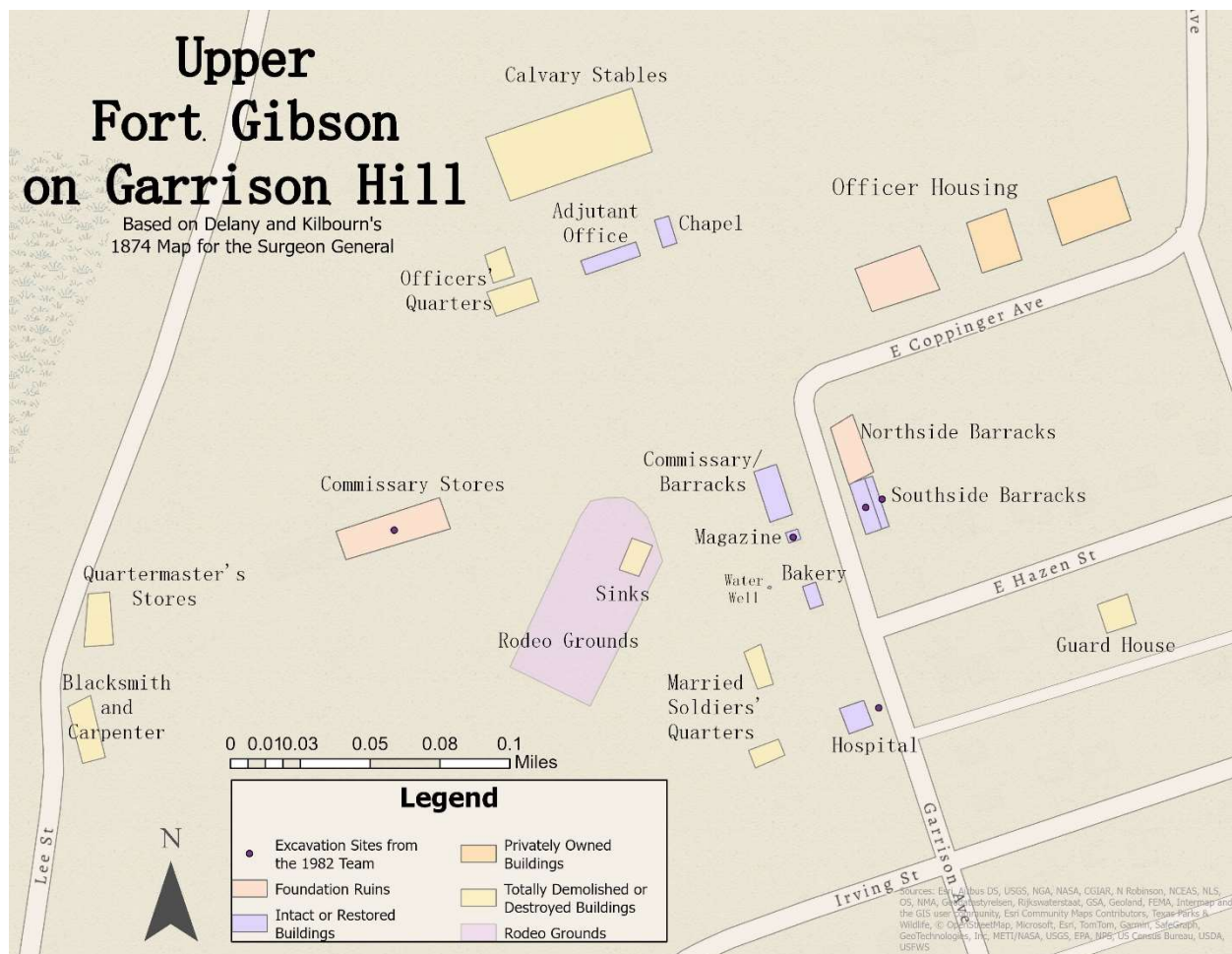
Chapter 5. Previous Research at Fort Gibson

I. Early Preservation:

After serving as a headquarters for the Dawes Commission in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Cherokee Nation regained control of the retired fort. The tribe decided to sell off the buildings that remained suitable for residential use to private citizens. By 1933, the Town of Fort Gibson owned only the location of the original stockade by the river (Boydstun 1979).

In the 1930s, the American Legion, and two women's clubs, the Old Fort Club and the Daughters of the Confederacy, all pushed for the conservation of Fort Gibson's old grounds. With input and funds from the Oklahoma State Legislature and the National Park Service, work began to rebuild the stockade and some support buildings like a dog-trot cabin and mess hall. The New Deal work groups, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Works Progress Administration, employed historians, archaeologists, architects, and construction specialists to complete the project. These workers relocated the site of the original stockade to the best of their abilities but ultimately built the reconstruction farther to the east to avoid a railroad that ran nearby (Boydstun 1979). The town also used their federal funds to buy back and restore certain buildings, like the commissary, from private residents. WPA construction finalized the stockade and other log buildings in 1937 (Oklahoma Historical Society). The architects built a smaller stockade to avoid hitting the railroad (Boydstun 1979). The current stockade also sits on top of the original, overlapping the reconstruction's west wall with the original's east wall. This created a challenge for future researchers who spent significant efforts to simply relocate the original stockade under the reconstruction (Bement 2007).

However, the original buildings upon the hill remain intact to this day. They are the remnants of the newer Fort Gibson utilized in the Civil War and beyond, built on higher ground in the late 1840s to avoid the river's floods (Agnew 1980). Due to their age, the buildings on the hill were subject to archaeological investigation.



Map 3. Map of Fort Gibson after the Army Moved Uphill, includes archaeological sites from the 1982 excavation, produced by the author; Based on Delany and Kilbourn 1875

II. Archaeological Research:

In July of 1982, Fort Gibson green-lit extensive archaeological excavations across the remaining original buildings upon Garrison Hill. Archaeologists conducted digs in the barracks basement, along the east wall of the barracks, a patch of ground on the east side of

the hospital, the magazine floor, the commissary floor, and the commissary's foundation. The report on the excavation cited finding artifacts for proper interpretation as the project's main goal; however, they aimed to maximize time by focusing on areas that may yield a small quantity of artifacts with large interpretational significance. They wanted to spend little time processing and analyzing large quantities of artifacts. Though not explicitly stated in every instance, the author, David Robinson, implies that remaining cost effective motivated many of their actions as well (Robinson, n.d.). Unpaid volunteers made up the crew and the crew leads did not offer coordinated excavation training. The researchers implemented "simple" grids of 1-meter units, labeled by their northwest corner (Robinson, n.d.,5). They marked levels at 10 cm increments as they dug. The author described buildings that failed to yield any significant artifacts as "most disappointing," and lamented the lack of interpretational information provided by the excavations (Robinson,n.d.,8).

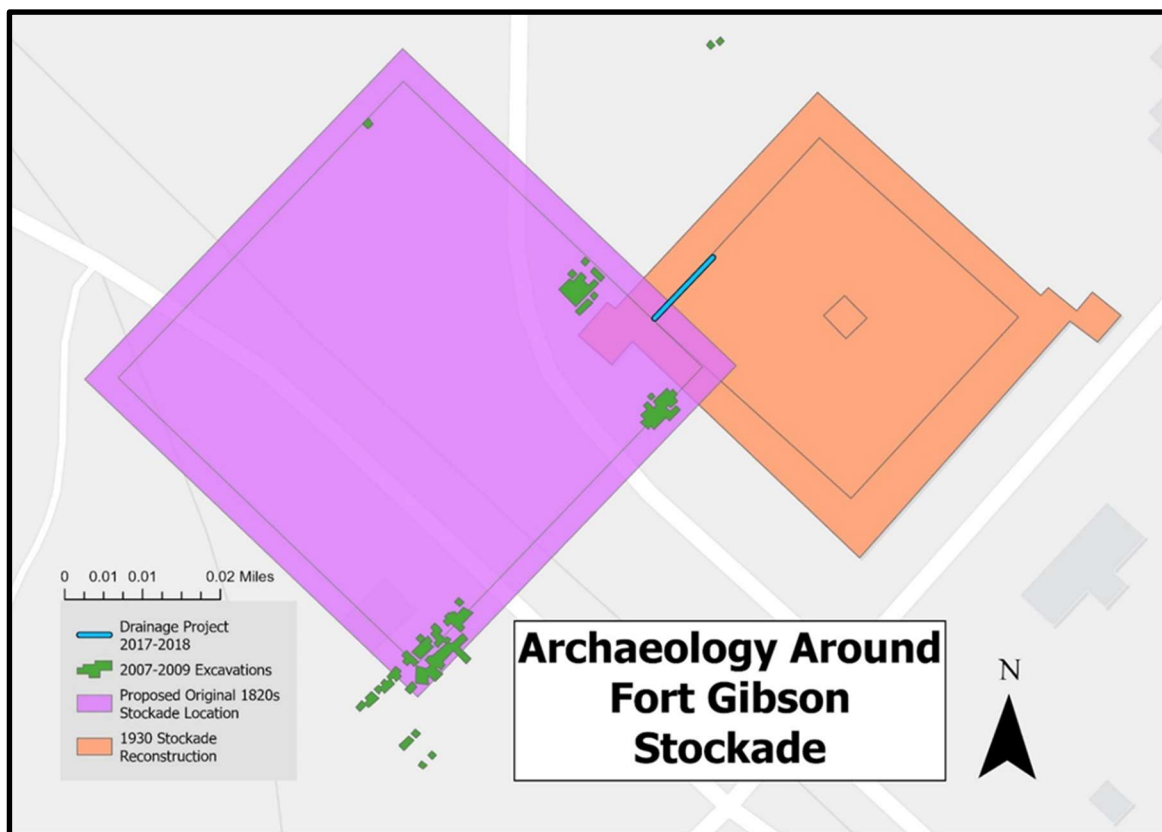
Modern trash and construction materials made up almost everything recovered from the excavations including metal screws, electrical wire scraps and plastic wrappers. Robinson states that no list of artifacts was provided with the report as a time saving measure. It is unclear from the report where the few recovered artifacts are currently, though they were likely not retained. Most of the information gained from this project related to the location of foundations and wall sections from the buildings of study that had been lost over the years. Little could be interpreted from recovered artifacts, and it would be another 9 years before more artifacts were documented from Fort Gibson.

In the Summer of 1991, Briscoe Consulting conducted investigations around Fort Gibson during waterline construction through the site. Briscoe and Burkhalter identify and

describe 19 features during the project consisting of areas such as the commissary, kitchens, various storage buildings, barracks, a privy, and remnants of fortifications from the Civil War period. Briscoe and Burkhalter have a much more in-depth artifact analysis where they state that 32% of the identified ceramics were transfer print and a fourth of those could be positively traced to the antebellum period. The authors also noted an increase in ironstone in later contexts. They also identified notable amounts of aqua medicine bottles and colored bottle glass. Metal artifacts include iron tools and wagon parts, horseshoes, scrap brass, buttons, and lead bullets. Briscoe's work pushed the waterline construction away from identified features, including an area he believed held the original stockade. The authors lament the lack of stratigraphic integrity around the area covered by the rodeo ground in the 1960s. Despite this, the Briscoe report describes in detail the types of artifacts future archaeologists could expect to find at Fort Gibson (Briscoe and Burkhalter 1991).

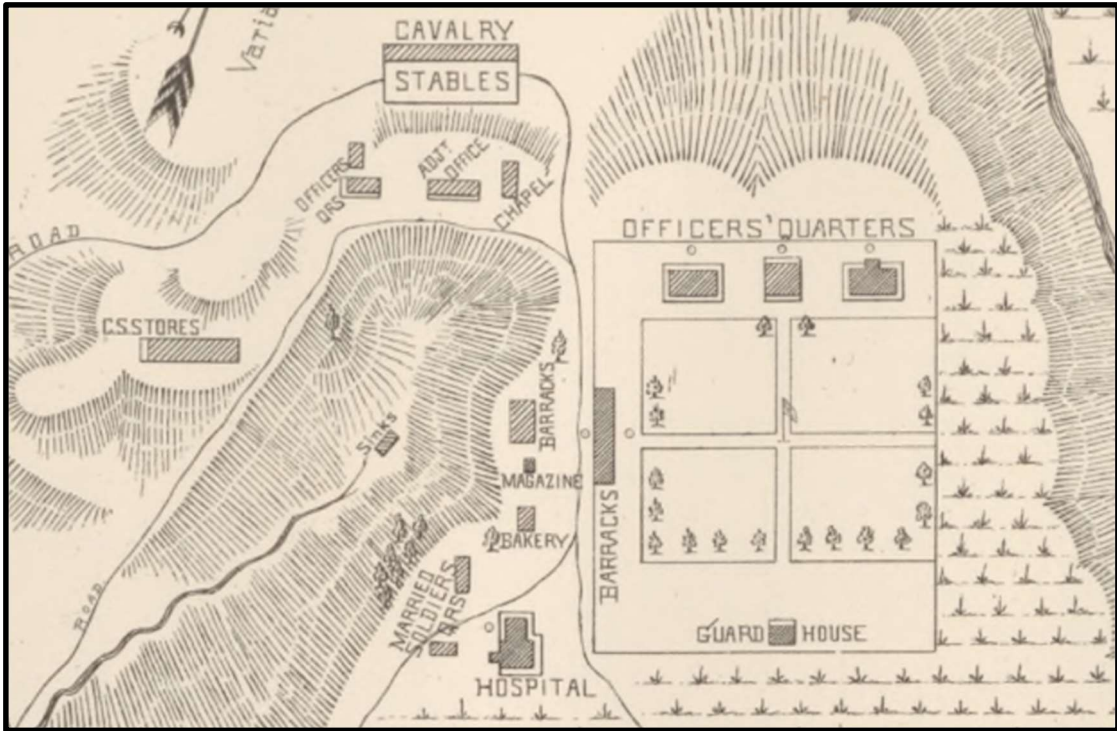
Starting in 2003, and then continuing in 2007, the Oklahoma Archeological Survey set about a new task at Fort Gibson: relocating the original stockade. Over the decades, archaeologists lost the precise size and location of the original fort. Those looking for the stockade cite the railroad and the reconstruction as the main reason the Fort's location fell from modern memory (Bement and Rea 2007, 22). Archeologists, led by Lee Bement of the Survey and Bob Rea of the Oklahoma Historical Society, used coring and GPR techniques to relocate the original fort structure. Shovel probing confirmed the identification of the east edges of the stockade foundation and a brick fireplace (Bement and Rea 2007). The effort to relocate the stockade directly led to further research on the officers' and laundresses' areas at Fort Gibson (Regnier and Bement 2017).

From 2007 to 2009, archaeologists conducted excavations around the proposed location of the original Fort Gibson stockade. The stockade is a four-sided diamond whose top point is in the general north direction. The excavations focused on the southeast, or bottom left, wall of the stockade (Regnier and Bement 2017). Based on an 1830s map of Fort Gibson, this area is assumed to be the officer's quarters (Harris 1833). In 2009, a rock-lined privy was excavated on the southeast wall which yielded many intact artifacts also believed to be from an officer's context (Regnier and Bement 2017). The artifacts uncovered from this period of excavations make up the officer's collection used for comparative analysis in this thesis.



Map 4. Map of Archaeology Around Fort Gibson's Stockade and Reconstructed Stockade, produced by the author; based on Regnier and Bement 2017

In 2016, further archaeological work occurred around the buildings on Garrison Hill, this time the hospital building. This work was noninvasive focusing on remote sensing techniques to identify cultural features under the ground surface around the hospital. This research, in preparation for the construction of a visitor's parking lot and renovations on the 150-year-old hospital building, utilized ground penetrating radar, gradiometry, and electrical resistivity. Remote sensing did not directly identify cultural features around the hospital; however, several anomalies were noticed by the authors, Amanda Regnier and Scott Hammertstedt. Some anomalies they deemed to be foundations associated with the hospital, which had outbuildings and porches around it. An area consistent with stone construction has been interpreted as a likely well or cistern (Regnier and Hammerstedt 2016). These findings align with an 1874 map of upper Fort Gibson (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). The Fort used this information to rebuild the porches around the hospital building to better represent how the original area looked (*Tahlequah Daily Press* 2018).



Map 5. Map of Fort Gibson in 1874, featured in Delany and Kilbourn 1875

Fort Gibson's stockade reconstruction has undergone modern repairs to maintain its wooden exterior. Many of the logs that make up the walls need periodic replacing, and drainage must constantly improve to keep logs from rotting and the grounds from flooding (Hughes 2015). One of these drainage projects, conducted in 2017-2018, was the source of the enlisted men's collection, utilized in this thesis. As the drainage ditch was dug along the Northwest side of the stockade, artifacts were recovered. Following Harris's map, these are assumed to be associated with the enlisted men of Fort Gibson's original stockade (Harris 1833).

Lastly, the Oklahoma Archeological Survey's Amanda Regnier and Scott Hammerstedt and the Cherokee Nation Historic Preservation Office conducted remote sensing and excavations around lower Fort Gibson's laundress quarters. Artifacts were analyzed by splitting them into ceramic, glass, metal, chipped stone, and raw material

categories. Categories were further split into ware type, color, use group, or materials. These were then analyzed as proportion or weights within the entire collection. The categories were used to date the site and attempt to confirm the location of the laundress quarters at Fort Gibson (Regnier and Hammerstedt 2019). The basic concepts of artifact analysis used in this report, along with Bement and Regnier's 2017 report, inspired the analysis methods utilized in this thesis.

III. Summary:

Fort Gibson has undergone sporadic archaeological research through the last century. The research occurring around the stockade, hospital, and laundress quarters are the most well documented. Much of the research has focused on historic artifact analysis or geophysics. It must also be noted that some research may have occurred at the site that was not documented, or the documentation has been lost. With work at Fort Gibson going back at least 100 years, it is not improbable that some gaps are present in our knowledge of the site's history.

As technology improves and necessary repairs appear more research can be done. Georeferencing historic maps as Bement and Rea did for the stockade or Regnier and Hemmerstedt with the laundress quarters can identify further locations for archaeological research to be conducted.

Chapter 6. Analysis of The Officers' and Enlisted Men's Collections

This chapter is a description of the artifacts from the drainage line construction and officer's quarters excavations, as well as an explanation of analysis methods.

I. Methods

Initially split into three categories, ceramic, glass, and metal, artifacts went through further sorting by vessel form, function or intended use groups, and decoration. These categories were derived from a report on artifacts from the 2007-2009 officers' excavations which drove many of the analysis decisions for this thesis (Regnier and Bement 2017). This strategy has proven to be effective in determining the time period and function of historic period artifacts (Eichelberger 2019; Herskovitz 1978; Regnier and Bement 2017; Regnier and Hammerstedt 2019; Scott 1989).

Artifacts determined to originate definitively out of the period of interest, 1700 CE - 1900 CE, were disregarded. This included materials like plastic and aluminum, which typically represented soda bottles and drink can pull tabs. Other anachronistic items included 1970s glass Coke bottles, a 1950s Winchester bullet, a wheat penny, and ceramics with decoration styles originating after 1900 CE. Additionally, anything labeled as "Discard" in the Officer's excavation database was not considered in this analysis. Many of these artifacts are likely from periods of construction at Fort Gibson such as the building of the new stockade and outbuildings in the 1930s (Regnier and Bement 2017).

Certain types of artifacts such as animal bone and chipped stone, though documented, were omitted in this thesis as they were not analyzed by zooarchaeologists and lithics would likely not have related to the Euro-American hierarchy being studied.

Items were dated using purely visual methods. Ceramic styles, such as transfer printing, can be dated via motif and color utilized. Transfer prints, typically manufactured in Europe, can be identified via a dot-matrix-like pattern that forms an image. Copper plates of images would be stamped into metallic oxide-colored dyes and then pressed onto the ceramic in its 'biscuit state,' then the dish would be glazed over and fired (Brooks 2010). Molded vessels often, but not always, maintain their base color, but the ceramic is pressed or shaped into raised designs like scrollwork patterns, wheat leaves, and flowers (Samford and Miller 2015). Most ceramics were broken, and cross sections were studied to identify clay types. A white-ish tan paste signified a whiteware or ironstone ceramic while grey paste might be a stoneware ceramic, and so on (Samford and Miller 2015). Visual methods were key to identifying ceramics. While undecorated ceramics grew in popularity during the 19th century, it's also possible many of the sherds identified here as undecorated are actually white portions of decorated vessels like the blank face of an edgeware plate or base of a pearlware teacup (Scott 1989). These were labelled as undecorated because there is no way to tell any different without finding the remaining vessel sherds. The Maryland Diagnostic Artifacts website, an extension of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab defines the ceramic ware types and design motifs described in this thesis (MAC Lab 2012).

Glass bottles of this period were manufactured by free blowing or blowing molten glass into a mold. Bottle mold styles and color typically indicate specific periods of manufacture. Certain colors, like colorless glass, are easily dated as their production was rare before 1900. Light purple tinted glass is also easier to date as the more it's exposed to sunlight the more purple it becomes due to the manganese it is made with. This glass was

produced from 1875 and 1918. Seams on glass bottles can represent bottle molds or machine manufacture. The finish, or mouth, will often indicate the use of a glass bottle (Lindsey 2020). The glass bottle descriptions used for this thesis are described by the Bureau of Land Management's and the Society for Historic Archaeology's "Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information" webpage.

Metal materials were identified through visual and tactile methods. Color, rust presence, weight, and texture guided myself and other analysts to approximate the materials present in each metal artifact. Cuprous metals, those with copper, often oxidize into a recognizable teal green over a period of time. Iron base metals, referred to as ferrous, oxidize into orange colored rust (Selwyn 2006). Given the age of the artifacts, oxidation and corrosion on the metals was a reliable method of identification. The use group or function for each item was assigned based on an approximation of the artifacts' intended use, such as a personal item or kitchen item. These use groups were used in the previous officers' excavation in 2007-2009 and are derived from groups defined by archaeologist Stanley South (2002). These groups were intended to make analysis more efficient (Regnier and Bement 2017). South defines Kitchen, Architecture, and Arms categories for his metal analysis. I added subcategories to better highlight artifacts associated with certain purposes like horse tack or cooking utensils. Shape and material typically determined intended use. No residual analysis, analysis of elemental make-up, nor any material sourcing took place for either collection. Many of the artifacts from 19th century outposts are known to be European imports or provided by the US military (Agnew 2008). In a country entering globalization, sourcing their materials would do little to answer social questions.

II. Collection I: The Drainage Ditch Group

The collection catalogued and analyzed specifically for this thesis originated from the drainage ditch dug along the western edge of the rebuilt stockade at Fort Gibson in 2017-2018. It sat in a location overlapping with the original stockade and mostly aligned with quarters associated with enlisted men. During construction of the drain feature, archaeologists monitored digging activity, and recovered the artifacts as workers unearthed them. No full-scale excavations occurred in this area during 2017 or 2018, only monitored construction.

a. Drainage Ceramics

With ceramics, I chose to focus on decoration, ware type, vessel form, and perceived function. From the previous case studies, it can be determined that these aspects will grant the most insight into the social life of the users and in theory differ significantly from collections believed to originate from a different social context.

The drainage construction unearthed 512 ceramic sherds. Ceramics underwent analysis based on material, vessel form, and decoration. Some combinations of these attributes aided in the identification of a date range for certain sherds. For the Enlisted Men's ceramics, 3 ceramic sherds were disregarded from the study as they were determined to be modern. So, 509 ceramics were considered for comparative analysis from the Enlisted Men's collection.

Enlisted Ware Type	Quantity	Percentage
Brick	19	3.73
Ironstone	119	23.38
Kaolin Clay	2	0.39
Pearlware	16	3.14
Porcelain	7	1.38
Prosser Button	1	0.2
Stoneware	33	6.48
Whiteware	299	58.74
Yellow Ware	13	2.55
Grand Total	509	100

Table 1. Table of Enlisted Men's Ceramic Ware Types

As shown in Table 1, whiteware sherds made up the majority of ceramics recovered from the drainage construction project at 59%. Ironstone and stoneware comprise the next largest categories. There were few pieces of kaolin clay or pearlware.

Enlisted Men's Refined Earthenware Decoration or Glaze Style	Quantity	Percentage
Banded Slip Decorated	2	0.45
Decal	1	0.23
Dipped	1	0.23
Edgeware	5	1.13
Hand painted	8	1.81
Hand painted Cobalt	4	0.91
Indeterminate decorated	6	1.36
Makers Mark	5	1.13
Molded	19	4.31
Other Slip Decorated	2	0.45
Paneled	6	1.36
Ribbed	1	0.23

Spongeware	3	0.68
Sprigware	1	0.23
Transfer Print	42	9.52
Undecorated	334	75.74
Whieldon ware	1	0.23
Grand Total	441	100

Table 2. Table of Enlisted Men's Refined Earthenware (ironstone, whiteware, porcelain, and pearlware) Ceramic Decoration Styles

Enlisted Men's Stoneware and Yellow Ware Decoration or Glaze Style	Quantity	Percentage
Albany slip	13	28.26
Banded Slip Decorated	3	6.52
Bristol ext/Albany int	2	4.35
Bristol Ext/Unglazed Int	1	2.17
Bristol slip	8	17.39
Brown ext/unglazed int	1	2.17
Dendritic Mocha	2	4.35
Derbyshire	1	2.17
Molded	1	2.17
Rockingham	3	6.52
Salt ext/Albany int	2	4.35
Salt glazed	1	2.17
Salt glazed ext/unglazed int.	3	6.52
Undecorated	5	10.87
Grand Total	46	100

Table 3. Table of Enlisted Men's Stoneware and Yellow Ware Ceramic Decoration Styles

Analysis revealed that the vast majority of collected ceramics were seemingly undecorated pieces. While typically glazed, these sherds remained white, cream, or gray colored depending on their ware type. At 71% of the collection, they may represent a

purposeful decision made by those who utilized them. Though it is difficult to say how many are truly undecorated and how many just happen to be white sherds. Molded ceramics as well were typically simple floral motifs with little color or flare. While not a plain vessel these pieces at 4% of the collection could be considered in addition to the undecorated ceramics.



Image 1. Molded Ironstone Plate Rim from Enlisted Men's Collection, 34MS94.994.033-.034



Image 2. Medium Blue Transfer Print Plate from Enlisted Men's Collection, 34MS94.994.009

Of the decorated ceramics, transfer printing proved to be the most recurring at 28% of all decorated ceramics in the drainage collection. The growth in popularity of these colors in imported transfer print overlaps with the use of Fort Gibson's stockade from 1824 to the mid-1840s (Agnew 1980; Samford and Miller 2015).

Enlisted Men Transfer Print Colors	Quantity	Percentage
Black	3	7.14
Brown	7	16.67
Dark blue	10	23.81
Green	1	2.38
Light blue	2	4.76

Medium blue	12	28.57
Mulberry	2	4.76
Pink	1	2.38
Purple	3	7.14
Teal	1	2.38
Grand Total	42	100

Table 4. Table of Enlisted Men's Transfer Print Colors

Lastly, the enlisted men's ceramic sherds had 203 pieces with determinable vessel forms. These were sorted into categories such as "storage," which includes bottles, jugs, jars, and lids. Teaware incorporated anything associated with tea sets like teacups, saucers, and cream bowls. Flatware included plates and charger plates, which were most of the transfer printed and undecorated items. In fact, flatware plates were the most frequently occurring vessel type of the identifiable sherds in the Enlisted Men's ceramics. Of the total 203 determinable vessel pieces, flatware made up 44%.



Image 3. Doll or Cherub Figurine Face from Enlisted Area

Enlisted Vessel Form or Use Group	Quantity	Percentage
Undeterminable	305	59.92
Brick	19	3.73
Button	1	0.2
Cup/bowl	41	8.06
Flatware	90	17.68
Pipe	1	0.2
Storage	21	4.13
Teaware	13	2.55
Toy or Figurine	1	0.2
Waste Bowl	17	3.34
Grand Total	509	100

Table 5. Table of Enlisted Men's Ceramic Vessel Forms

b. Drainage Glass

The drainage or Enlisted Men's collection contained 861 glass pieces. 1 piece of glass was removed from this analysis. Its base construction was machine made and is covered in stippling, a textured pattern characteristic of 20th century soda bottles (Lindsey 2020). So, 860 glass pieces were analyzed from the drainage collection. Of these 860 artifacts, 244 glass shards were determined to be flat or window glass. These were all colorless or light aqua in shade. They ranged in thickness from 1.1 mm to slightly greater than 2.5 mm. The remaining glass was categorized as container glass. 544 pieces of container glass were undeterminable vessel forms of an assortment of colors. 72 pieces were sorted into vessel forms. Bottles, by far, made up the majority of vessel forms in the glass collection. Of the 72 pieces, 57 or 79%, were bottles. The next largest category was tableware which included plates and bowls. Any glass cups went into the tumbler category.

Enlisted Glass Forms	Quantity	Percentage
Bottle	57	6.63
Canning Jar	2	0.23
Cosmetic Jar	2	0.23
Tableware	10	1.16
Tumbler	1	0.12
Undetermined	544	63.26
Window/Flat	244	28.37
Grand Total	860	100

Table 6. Table of Enlisted Men's Glass Forms



Image 5. Aqua Glass Bottle from Enlisted Men's Area

The Enlisted Men's glass contained a majority colorless and light aqua colored glass. These shades are similar though light aqua has an obvious blue tint to it while colorless is mostly clear. The 5.5% light amethyst glass also likely started out as colorless glass. The manganese in the glass made the tint turn purple over time as it reacted to the sun (Lindsey 2020). Regardless, these colors mostly align with the time frame of Fort Gibson as light aqua glass made up a large majority of household glassware. Amethyst or manganese glass was most common from 1880-1920 however the technology was known to European glassmakers since the 1400s (Lindsey 2020; Lockhart 2006). The aqua color comes from sand with lower iron deposits than average. The less iron present, the lighter the aqua

color. This is why it is difficult to distinguish between light aqua and colorless glass. The aqua color was not popular before 1750 and waned in popularity after 1930 when true colorless glass, with no blue or purple tint, became mainstream (McKearin 1970).



Image 6. Colorless Glass Prescription Bottle Finish

Enlisted Bottle Glass Color	Quantity	Percentage
Amber	3	5.26
Aqua	28	49.12
Black Amber	2	3.51
Colorless	16	28.07
Light Amethyst (Manganese)	6	10.53
Green	2	3.51
Grand Total	57	100

Table 7. Table of Enlisted Men's Container Glass Colors

c. Drainage Metal

The metal artifacts from Fort Gibson, unsurprisingly for the time period, are by a large majority made of ferrous material. Iron dominates both the drainage and excavation collections. Among the enlisted collection's iron, there were 108 intact machine cut square nails of various lengths. In addition, the collection held 427 machine cut nail fragments, many missing their nail heads. Lastly, one artifact was removed, a Winchester bullet dated to the 1930s.



Image 7. Iron Bits from Horse Harness in Enlisted Men's Collection

Beyond the vast quantity of nails, the metal artifacts uncovered from the drainage site range wildly in size and use. Sorted by metal type, 3 main categories arose: cuprous,

which included copper, brass, and bronze. Then ferrous which included all types of iron such as cast iron and wrought iron. Lastly, the smaller lead category.



Image 8. Heart Shaped Enlisted Men's Brass Buckle Cover

Enlisted Men's Metal Type	Quantity	Percentage
Cuprous	23	9.79
Ferrous	208	88.51
Lead	4	1.7
Grand Total	235	100

Table 8. Table of Enlisted Men's Metal Types

Each metal artifact was individually identified. Items in the enlisted men's collection included belt buckles, locks, iron knives and spoons, brass military epaulettes, iron mule and horseshoes, a lead candle weight, and brass shotgun shells. To simplify these items, they were further sorted into use categories. Items marked as scrap metal were not sorted into use groups. Examples of the categories are activities, which includes horse riding gear and agricultural equipment, clothing, which are items like buttons or epaulettes, and kitchen, which is mostly utensils and cast-iron cookware. Of the activities category, 29 or 46%, of the items were horse tack like buckles, bits, or horseshoes. Of the kitchen cookware, only 1 item related to food storage was identified, an iron cap for a food can.



Image 9. Iron Harness Buckle from Enlisted Collection

Enlisted Metal Use Group	Quantity	Percentage
Activities	63	8.18
Architecture	22	2.86
Arms	14	1.82
Clothing	5	0.65
Furniture	2	0.26
Kitchen	6	0.78
Nails	535	69.48
Personal	3	0.39
Unknown/Scrap	120	15.58
Grand Total	770	100

Table 9. Table of Enlisted Men's Metal Use Groups

Enlisted Metal Activity Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage
Various Activities	29	46.03
Farming Equipment	5	7.94
Horse Tack	29	46.03
Grand Total	63	100

Table 106. Table of Enlisted Men's "Activities" Metal Subgroups

III. The Excavated Collection

The Officer's Quarters excavation yielded a much larger artifact assemblage compared to the monitored drainage construction around the enlisted men's areas. These artifacts went through the same visual analysis and sorting as the drainage collection. However, more categories were necessary as the diversity of forms and functions dwarfed that of the drainage group. It must be noted that Officer's artifacts were catalogued, photographed, and analyzed by the Oklahoma Archeological Survey and their students in

2016-2017 (Regnier and Bement 2017). Their documentation, summarized in a 2017 report, has been used for my comparative research. Because of this, my categorization for the analysis of the drainage collection was based heavily on the excavated collection. All artifacts associated with the officers' excavation of 2007-2009 are housed with the Oklahoma Historical Society at Fort Gibson and were not re-analyzed in person for this thesis (Regnier and Bement 2017).

a. Excavated Ceramics

The ceramics collection from the officer's excavation held 2972 documented sherds. 73 ceramics were removed from consideration as they were labelled with modern maker's marks or created with a glaze known to be modern. There were 21 Fiesta-style-colored vessels included in the collection. These ranged in color from robin's egg blue to mint green to pink. These colors mostly sit outside of the temporal range of this thesis (Fiesta Factory). What is likely is that these ceramics come from Fort Gibson's stockade reconstruction period in the 1930s (Regnier and Bement 2017; Samford and Miller 2015). This style took off in the United States very late in the 19th century and many of the colors described would not be widespread until the 1930s (ORAU). Also, because the excavated collection report contained provenance information, it can be seen that 15 of these 21 ceramics were located above 20 cm deep, indicating that they were deposited relatively recently compared to the artifacts found deeper. Therefore, this group of 21 ceramics was also removed because they are likely from the stockade's reconstruction team. This leaves the count at 2,878 ceramic sherds for the officer's collection.

The ware types included in this collection were similar to the drainage collection. Whiteware dominated the documented ceramics with pearlware not far behind. This collection also included much more kaolin and other ceramic pipes.

Officers Ware Type	Quantity	Percentage
Brown Clay Pipe	1	0.03
Chinese Porcelain	1	0.03
Coarse Earthenware	2	0.07
Earthenware	1	0.03
Ironstone	91	3.16
Kaolin	83	2.88
Low Fired Native American Made	2	0.07
Pearlware	395	13.72
Porcelain	153	5.32
Porcelain/Bisque	1	0.03
Red Clay Pipe	6	0.21
Redware	9	0.31
Stoneware	177	6.15
Unspecified Clay	30	1.04
White Clay Pipe	1	0.03
Whiteware	1889	65.64
Yellow Ware	36	1.25
Grand Total	2878	100

Table 11. Table of Officers' Ceramic Ware Types

More than half of the 1889 whiteware sherds among the excavation collection seemed undecorated. Of the decorated vessels, transfer print occurred the most frequently. The most common transfer print ink color recorded was dark blue at 43%. The next largest was medium blue, the most common color in the drainage collection as well.

Officers' Refined Earthenware Decoration Style	Quantity	Percentage
Annular dipped	2	0.08
Banded Slip Decorated	57	2.25
Blue Glaze	2	0.08
Decal	7	0.28
Decorated	1	0.04
Edgeware	102	4.03
Edgeware molded	5	0.20
Flow blue	45	1.78
Flow blue and Molded	2	0.08
Paneled	1	0.04
Glazed	2	0.08
Hand painted	6	0.24
Hand painted and Spongeware	1	0.04
Hand painted Polychrome	93	3.68
Hand painted Polychrome and Luster	1	0.04
Hand painted Polychrome and Molded	5	0.20
Hand painted Polychrome Overglaze	9	0.36
Hand painted Polychrome Overglaze, Edgeware	1	0.04
Hand painted Polychrome underglaze ext/unglazed int	1	0.04
Hand painted, Edgeware	1	0.04
Impressed and Maker's Mark	1	0.04
Lead glaze	2	0.08
Luster	6	0.24
Makers Mark	20	0.79
Mochaware	44	1.74
Molded	68	2.69
Pie-crust style	1	0.04
Polychrome Dipped	17	0.67
Polychrome Slip	7	0.28
Polychrome Slipped Dipped Ware	1	0.04
Spongeware	43	1.70
Sprigware	17	0.67

Transfer Print	509	20.13
Transfer Print and Edgeware	6	0.24
Transfer Print and Hand painted Polychrome	9	0.36
Transfer Print and Molded	10	0.40
Undecorated	1400	55.36
Undecorated-burned	2	0.08
Undecorated, unglazed	1	0.04
Unknown/Unrecorded	21	0.83
Grand Total	2529	100

Table 12. Table of Officer's Refined Earthenware (ironstone, pearlware, porcelain, whiteware) Decoration Styles

Officers' Earthenware Decoration or Glaze	Quantity	Percentage
Albany slip	46	20.44%
Albany slip and Molded	2	0.89%
Albany slip ext/lead glazed int	1	0.44%
Albany slip int/Glazed ext	4	1.78%
Albany slip int/Unglazed ext	4	1.78%
Alkaline glaze ext/ unglazed int	1	0.44%
Banded Slip Decorated	13	5.78%
Black Glaze	1	0.44%
Blue Glaze	2	0.89%
Bristol and Salt ext/Albany int	29	12.89%
Bristol and Salt ext/Unglazed int	2	0.89%
Bristol ext/Albany int	11	4.89%
Bristol slip	16	7.11%
Bristol slip and Maker's Mark	1	0.44%
Bristol slip and Molded	4	1.78%
Brown glazed exterior unglazed interior	1	0.44%
Derbyshire salt glaze	1	0.44%
Floral decoration	1	0.44%
Glazed	8	3.56%
Lead glaze	3	1.33%

Molded	2	0.89%
Molded, Polychrome	2	0.89%
Other Slip Decorated	1	0.44%
Painted	2	0.89%
Painted and Glazed	17	7.56%
Painted int/Unglazed ext	1	0.44%
Rockingham Ware	3	1.33%
Salt glazed	6	2.67%
Salt glazed exterior and lead glazed interior	5	2.22%
Salt glazed exterior unglazed interior	2	0.89%
Undecorated	26	11.56%
Unglazed	5	2.22%
Unglazed ext/Glazed int	1	0.44%
Unknown/Unrecorded	1	0.44%
Grand Total	225	100.00%

Table 13. Officers' Earthenware (Redware, Yellow ware, Stoneware) Decoration Styles

Officers' Transfer Print Colors	Quantity	Percentage
Not Recorded	1	0.19
Black	19	3.58
Brown	15	2.82
Dark blue	231	43.50
Green	35	6.59
Light blue	38	7.16
Medium blue	105	19.77
Mulberry	29	5.46
Purple	13	2.45
Red	42	7.91
Teal	3	0.56
Grand Total	531	100

Table 14. Table of Officers' Transfer Print Colors (includes ironstone, pearlware, porcelain and whitewares)



Image 10. Officer's Hand Painted Cobalt Pearlware Teacups, 34Ms94.925.016 (Regnier and Bement 2017)

The vessels, either decorated or undecorated, were largely flatware, meaning plates, and teaware, such as teacups and saucers. The two categories combined made up about 48% of the collection. Pipes, then, bowls and cups, each made up 14% of the ceramic collection as the next two biggest categories. Many categories for luxury items like toy & figurine, or pipes, as in tobacco pipes, are significantly larger than the enlisted men's collection. The new category of serving includes large serving dishes and pitchers while the category of architecture is all ceramic doorknobs.

Officers Ceramic Use Group or Vessel Form	Quantity	Percentage
Architecture – Doorknob	2	0.27
Bowl or Cup	104	14.02
Button	33	4.45
Chamber Pot	38	5.12
Flatware	179	24.12
Insulator	6	0.81
Pipe	104	14.02
Serving	30	4.04
Storage	19	2.56
Teaware	176	23.72
Toy or Figurine	19	2.56
Unidentifiable Tableware	30	4.04
Waste Bowl	1	0.13
Whetting Stone	1	0.13
Grand Total	742	100

Table 15. Table of Officers' Ceramic Vessel Forms and Uses

d. Excavation Glass

The glass recovered from the excavation of the officer's quarters at Fort Gibson totaled 12,153 pieces. After removing modern items such as coke bottles, 6,970 glass items were left, however, more than half that total was flat or window glass. Even so, container glass made up 48% of the collection. This closely matches the drainage collection which only had container or flat glass recovered.

Officers Glass Basic Type	Quantity	Percentage
Bead	6	0.09
Button	3	0.04
Container	3283	48.35
Flat	3488	51.37
Lighting	3	0.04

Marble	5	0.07
Undetermined	2	0.03
Grand Total	6790	100

Table 16. Table of Officers' Glass Forms

438 glass items were identifiable vessels beyond the container or window glass groups. Bottles were the vast majority of these items with tableware the next biggest category. New categories included lighting, which was lantern glass or other bulbs, then marbles, beads, and buttons.

Officers Glass Type	Quantity	Percentage
Bead	6	0.09
Bottle	303	4.46
Bottle Stopper	1	0.01
Bowl	26	0.38
Button	3	0.04
Canning Jar	29	0.43
Inkwell	3	0.04
Insulator	3	0.04
Lantern/Bulb	3	0.04
Marble	5	0.07
Plate	1	0.01
Snuff Jar	1	0.01
Tableware	32	0.47
Tumbler	21	0.31
Undetermined	16	0.24
Undetermined Container	2851	41.99
Undetermined/Flat	15	0.22
Vial	1	0.01
Window/Flat	3470	51.1
Grand Total	6790	100

Table 17. Table of Officers' Glass Vessel Forms

Glass color presence did not differ much from the drainage collection. However, color ratios did. Light aqua and colorless glass made up the largest color groups of the container glass. There were several shades of green such as olive green and black olive which were typical colors for large wine and ale bottles of the time period (Lindsey 2020). This group of dark bottles was a much larger percentage of the collection than in the enlisted glass.



Image 11. Wine, Porter, and Soda Water Bottles Recovered from the Officers' Privy (Regnier and Bement 2017)

Officers' Bottle Glass Colors	Quantity	Percentage
Amber	17	5.61
Black Amber	2	0.66
Bright (7-Up) Green	1	0.33
Colorless	38	12.54
Dark/Black Olive or Amber	70	23.10
Aqua	104	34.32
Light Amethyst (Manganese)	8	2.64
Light Blue	1	0.33
Light or Olive Green	61	20.13
Medium Blue	1	0.33
Grand Total	303	100

Table 18. Table of Officers' Container Glass Colors

e. Excavation Metals

The excavated metal was also a remarkably large category compared to the metal recovered from the drainage ditch construction. 12,465 metal artifacts were excavated; however, 5,998 of those metal artifacts were machine cut square nails or wire nails. Another 3,170 artifacts were dismissed because of their modern origin. These included aluminum soda cans, stainless steel utensils, and bottle caps. Without considering the nails, there were 3,297 other metal artifacts used for this thesis.

Like the enlisted men's collection, iron dominated the materials used for the metal artifacts. Initial documentation of the artifacts separated out 7 cast iron items from the ferrous category and it is unclear why this was done. Similarly, brass was often but not always listed separately from cuprous items and no specific reason was given as to why they were separated. For the sake of uniformity, these items were added to their respective encompassing group. There was also the new category of unidentified white metal. These

are as they sound, metals that could not be identified by the cataloguers. Lastly, there are a few items that include bone as a material, these appear to be metal knife blades or forks with bone handles.

Officers' Metal Type	Quantity	Percentage
Cuprous	245	7.43
Cuprous and Zinc	1	0.03
Ferrous	2795	84.77
Ferrous and Cuprous	21	0.64
Ferrous and Cuprous with Bone	1	0.03
Ferrous and Tin	35	1.06
Ferrous with Bone	1	0.03
Gold	1	0.03
Lead	53	1.61
Pewter	71	2.15
Silver	10	0.3
Tin	16	0.49
UID White Metal	36	1.09
UID White Metal and Ferrous	4	0.12
UID White Metal, Ferrous and Cuprous	5	0.15
Zinc	2	0.06
Grand Total	3297	100

Table 19. Table of Officers' Metal Types

These artifacts consist of similar use groups to the drainage collection metal artifacts. The proportions of categories differed greatly from the enlisted men with the kitchen, arms, and clothing categories significantly larger. The contents of each category differed as well. The officer's kitchen section held a large amount of storage vessels like cans. The enlisted men's collection held only one metal can lid and no other metal storage items. The activities section had a lower percentage of horse tack than the enlisted men's

metal. Instead, officers had more farming equipment and other various activity metals including game pieces and a harmonica.



Image 12. Two Sides of an Iron Fork with Bone Handle from Officers' Excavation

Officers Use Group	Quantity	Percentage
Nails	5998	64.53
Unknown/Scrap	1523	16.39
Activities	373	4.01
Architecture	598	6.43
Arms	59	0.63
Clothing	189	2.03
Furniture	11	0.12
Kitchen	534	5.75
Personal	10	0.11
Grand Total	9295	100

Table 20. Table of Officers' Metal Use Groups

Personal items included a 18th century Spanish coin, a 19th century British farthing, a pocketknife, and a condom tin. Clothing was mostly buttons and buckles. Many of the buttons utilized an eagle motif to symbolize the military or US government, typical uniform components for dragoons and infantry at Fort Gibson (Cole 2007). Furniture at 0.12% of the collection included a steamer trunk hinge, curtain rod, and gears of a clock.



Image 13. Brass Military Buttons, the First of Which is Silver Plated, From the Officers' Quarters (Regnier and Bement 2017)

Officers' "Activities" Metal Subgroups	Quantity	Percentage
Various Other Activities	198	53.08
Farming	154	41.29
Horse Tack	21	5.63
Grand Total	373	100

Table 21. Table for Officers' "Activities" Metal Subgroups

Officers' "Kitchen" Metal Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage
Cooking	3	0.56
Storage	497	93.07
Utensils	34	6.37
Grand Total	534	100

Table 22. Table for Officers' "Kitchen" Metal Subgroups

IV. Summary of the artifacts:

To reiterate what was recovered and analyzed for this thesis, the drainage collection comes from what is believed to be the enlisted men's quarters. The excavated collection comes from an archaeological investigation of what was likely officer's quarters. The officer's collection was much larger in all categories than the artifacts recovered from the enlisted men's area. The enlisted men held proportionally more ironstone, flatware ceramics, and horse tack. The officer's collection contained larger ratios of porcelain, tobacco pipes, tea ware, ammunition, and kitchen equipment. Both groups had a high frequency of undecorated or transfer print whiteware, glass bottles, window glass, and machine cut nails. In the following chapter, I will discuss why these differences occur and what they say about the locations each collection came from within Fort Gibson.

Chapter 7. Discussion of the Artifact Analysis

The period of which Fort Gibson was active roughly equates to when the British Regency and Victorian fads heavily influenced the young United States. During these periods social expectations were strict, segregated by class, gender, and race (McManus 2011; Young 2010). Class status was fluid and as a person moved status their social expectations, consumer patterns, and *habitus* changed (Young 2010). That being understood, in theory social hierarchy should be visible through the material goods owned by an individual because that hierarchy determined their daily activities and necessities.

In the previous chapter, the artifacts recovered from the excavation and drainage ditch construction were presented. One collection derives from a location believed to house a lower class and the other collection comes from a higher-class context. Both groups of artifacts, split into ceramics, glass, and metal artifacts, will be compared in this chapter to determine what difference, if any, is seen between the enlisted men and officers of Fort Gibson through the recovered material culture.

I. Ceramics:

The officers' and enlisted men's collection both held large proportions of undecorated whiteware ceramics. As seen in Table 23 below, following close behind whiteware is ironstone for the enlisted men, then pearlware and porcelain for the officers. All of these ceramics are largely undecorated white-ish or gray-ish pieces. This matches a trend in ceramics of the period. Around the late 1830s and through the 1840s styles shifted from favoring elaborately decorated ceramics to undecorated or molded but uncolored white ceramics (Scott 1989). This trend can be seen at other Oklahoman forts of the period such as Fort Washita, where excavations revealed a large quantity of undecorated

ironstone or whiteware sherds compared to decorated ceramics (Lewis 1975). And while there is a potential that some of these are blank spaces on otherwise decorated vessels, there is nothing to differentiate these sherds from the actual undecorated ceramics. So, then the main identifiable difference in ceramics between officers and enlisted men was the presence of pearlware and porcelain vs ironstone.

Ware Type	Enlisted Quantity	Enlisted Percentage	Officers Quantity	Officers Percentage
Brown Clay Pipe	0	0	1	0.03
Chinese Porcelain	0	0	1	0.03
Coarse Earthenware	0	0	2	0.07
Earthenware	0	0	1	0.03
Low Fired Native American Made	0	0	2	0.07
Porcelain/Bisque	0	0	1	0.03
Red Clay Pipe	0	0	6	0.21
Redware	0	0	9	0.31
Unspecified Clay	0	0	30	1.04
White Clay Pipe	0	0	1	0.03
Prosser Button	1	0.2	0	0
Kaolin Clay	2	0.39	83	2.88
Porcelain	7	1.38	153	5.32
Yellow ware	13	2.55	36	1.25
Pearlware	16	3.14	395	13.72
Brick	19	3.73	0	0
Stoneware	33	6.48	177	6.15
Ironstone	119	23.38	91	3.16
Whiteware	299	58.74	1889	65.64
Grand Total	509	100	2878	100

Table 23. Table Comparison of Ceramic Ware Types

Officers held a much higher proportion of pearlware, and porcelain compared to the enlisted men. Examining the vessel forms of each group may explain this difference. Tea ware made up a quarter of the officer's ceramics, a much larger proportion than the enlisted men's collection. These items were the most likely to be made from porcelain or pearlware ceramics rather than clunky ironstone (Samford and Miller 2015).

There was also a larger portion of kaolin clay and pipes in the officer's collection. These were used to smoke tobacco. Some pipes in the officers' collection were kaolin, though others were described as 'red clay.' One pipe was described as 'white clay.' This contrasts heavily to the one kaolin pipe bowl fragment found in the enlisted area.

Identifiable Ceramic Vessel Forms	Enlisted Quantity	Enlisted Percentage	Officers Quantity	Officers Percentage
Architecture	0	0	2	0.28
Chamber Pot	0	0	38	5.26
Insulator	0	0	6	0.83
Serving	0	0	30	4.15
Unidentifiable Tableware	0	0	30	4.15
Whetting Stone	0	0	1	0.14
Button	1	0.49	33	4.56
Pipe	1	0.49	104	14.38
Teaware	13	6.40	176	24.34
WasteBowl	17	8.37	1	0.14
Brick	19	9.36	0	0.00
Storage	21	10.34	19	2.63
Cup/bowl	41	20.20	104	14.38
Flatware	90	44.33	179	24.76
Grand Total	203	100	723	100

Table 24. Table Comparison of Ceramic Vessel Forms

So, what does the high proportion of porcelain or pearlware tea-sets, and tobacco pipes say about the officers' lives at Fort Gibson compared to the enlisted men? A look at the social expectations of those living at the fort could answer this question.

As discussed in Chapter 3, commissioned officers held a high, influential status among those in the military. They, and by extension their wives, were expected to hold a moral high ground at Fort Gibson. Officers and their families were to be model citizens, gracious hosts, and faithful capitalists. They intended to spread American culture across the frontier and to their lower status soldiers (Clements 1993; McInnis 2017; McManus 2011; Young 2010). Investments in dining and tea culture were important parts of Victorian society as they were avenues for hosting. Hosting allowed officers and their wives to display wealth and reaffirm their high status without direct bragging or any verbal acknowledgement of the social order (Clements 1993; Eichelberger 2019). So, perhaps the high amounts of porcelain and pearlware teacups and saucers in the officers' collection reflect this hosting culture. The tea ware acts as a consumer record of the officers' high status at Fort Gibson.

An officer who held expensive or fashionable tea sets could show these off to other officers when they hosted guests. His rank signified his professional role but this display of wealth and pride in homelife and hosting reaffirmed the officers' place in the upper-class tier at Fort Gibson, similar to Eichelberger's interpretation of Forts Yamhill and Hoskins (Eichelberger 2019). It showed he had control of his household as well which reaffirmed the gender norms of the period (Clements 1993). For the women involved in hosting, they exercised choice by organizing tea parties and dinners, often choosing what ceramics were purchased and what food to serve. This reenforced their place as homemakers but also

gave them the freedom to make decisions without their husbands' full control (Clements 1993; McManus 2011). These ideas are echoed in the Fort Independence study conducted by Clements where women maintained their place in the social structure of the time but exercised as much choice as they were allowed in the home. Outwardly feminine and submissive to male heads of the home but operating with their own agency.

As discussed in Chapter 3, smoking culture was a large part of the 19th century. It is not surprising to find evidence of smoking at Fort Gibson, given imported tobacco pipes were uncovered at contemporaneous sites like Fort Bowie (Herskovitz 1978). Smoking was a man's habit and military outposts of the period heavily skewed male (Agnew 2008; Burnham 1992). Smoking was such a popular habit in the 19th century that most Euro-American men who could afford to smoke did so (Burnham 1992). However, among Fort Gibson's two collections, archaeologists identified smoking pipes in the officers' collection much more frequently than the enlisted men's collection. Like teaware, imported ornate pipes cost a good deal of money. Smoking culture was linked to identity and wealth (Recker 2004). Officers held a higher status and earned a greater salary than the enlisted men they supervised (Agnew 2008). The military expected them to be model gentlemen to their subordinates, setting behavioral examples through their own actions (Agnew 2008; McInnis 2017; Smith 1990). To display this status, they may have invested more money in smoking culture which would both reaffirm their masculinity and their position in the Fort's hierarchy (Recker 2004). I argue that the higher proportion of tobacco pipes among the officers compared to the enlisted men likely represents this wealth disparity and influence of smoking culture's association with masculinity in the 19th century.

It's likely most of the large differences in ceramics between the officers and enlisted men are due to wealth disparities and social status. Officers may have owned more serving dishes due to the social expectation of hosting. Enlisted men probably owned ironstone because it was thicker, stronger, and less likely to need replacing, which someone on a low salary could not afford as often as an officer. As Wilkie shows in her article on Fort Davis, enlisted men did strive to compete with those of higher standing (Wilkie 2019). One kaolin pipe was found among the enlisted artifacts. High proportions of ornate transferware was also recovered from the enlisted men's area. This could potentially represent aspirations to compete with each other or reach the status the commissioned officers. Due to the small size of the enlisted men's collection, it is difficult to say with certainty what artifact proportions are incidental such as the Prosser button or porcelain figurine. However, the striking proportions of undecorated whiteware, the officers' affinity for pipes and teaware, and the enlisted men's high ratio of ironstone likely point to a difference in the daily lives of these two groups caused by social and economic factors and reinforced by normalized behaviors surrounding masculinity, femininity, and housing culture.

II. Glass:

The glass artifacts recovered from Fort Gibson's stockade also showed a significant bias towards container types. Though flat glass dominated both collections, of the non-window or flat glass, bottles made up the majority of container glass in both groups. Many of the bottle types were not determinable within the enlisted men's collection. The seams and base structures allowed for an estimation of manufacture method but judging what each bottle was used for was difficult without more intact bases or finishes. The officers'

collection however had more intact bottles and colors that could lead to a better guess of what each bottle held.

Glass Forms	Enlisted Quantity	Enlisted Percentage	Officers' Quantity	Officers' Percentage
Bead	0	0	6	0.09
Bottle Stopper	0	0	1	0.01
Bowl	0	0	26	0.38
Button	0	0	3	0.04
Inkwell	0	0	3	0.04
Insulator	0	0	3	0.04
Lantern/Bulb	0	0	3	0.04
Marble	0	0	5	0.07
Plate	0	0	1	0.01
Snuff Jar	0	0	1	0.01
Undetermined Container	0	0	2851	41.99
Undetermined/Flat	0	0	15	0.22
Vial	0	0	1	0.01
Tumbler	1	0.12	21	0.31
Canning Jar	2	0.23	29	0.43
Cosmetic Jar	2	0.23	0	0
Tableware	10	1.16	32	0.47
Bottle	57	6.63	303	4.46
Window/Flat	244	28.37	3470	51.1
Undetermined	544	63.26	16	0.24
Grand Total	860	100	6790	100

Table 25. Table Comparison of Glass Vessel Forms

The officers' collection held a large amount of dark olive glass. It took up 18% of the bottle glass colors recorded for the officers. The enlisted men's collection in comparison had no bottles determined to be dark black olive glass. The enlisted collection contained 2% dark black olive glass overall, but their vessel shape could not be determined. So, then

the apparent difference between the enlisted men and officers is the presence of green and olive glass, which refers to the colors dark black olive, olive green, olive amber, and light green. Of the 57 officers' dark black olive glass pieces, 18 were determined to be brandy/wine bottles. Two more of the green glass pieces were recorded as champagne bottle pieces. Compare this to then enlisted men where only one colorless glass piece was determined to be a brandy bottle.

The enlisted men's collection contained a higher proportion of aquamarine glass which included light aqua, deep green aqua, deep blue aqua, and colorless aqua. True colorless glass was difficult to achieve, and often 'clear' glass contains a blue-aqua tint to it (Lindsey 2020). This effect is represented by the colorless/light aqua category. True colorless glass took up the next largest category among the enlisted men. Of the aqua and colorless glass, 13 artifacts were determined to be rectangular bottomed medicine or pharmacy bottles. The officers' collection only held 5 identified prescription bottles. These differences in alcohol and medicine bottles could point to a difference in daily activities between the officers and enlisted men.

Bottle Glass Colors	Enlisted Quantity	Enlisted Percentage	Officers Quantity	Officers Percentage
Bright (7-Up) Green	0	0	1	0.33
Light Blue	0	0	1	0.33
Medium Blue	0	0	1	0.33
Dark/Black Olive or Amber	2	3.51	72	23.76
Light or Olive Green	2	3.51	61	20.13
Amber	3	5.26	17	5.61
Light Amethyst (Manganese)	6	10.53	8	2.64

Colorless	16	28.07	38	12.54
Aqua	28	49.12	104	34.32
Grand Total	57	100	303	100

Table 26. Table Comparison of Glass Colors

Alcohol, though not officially permitted by the military, left an archaeological mark on many historic forts on the US frontier. Period relevant alcohol bottles have been found at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, Fort Lane, Oregon, and Fort Sherman, Idaho, among many others (Gaubatz 2020; Kitch 2023; Tveskov and Rose 2019). Dark greens like olive and olive amber glass bottles were typically used for wine, champagne, mineral water, or beer and ale. Medicinal liquors came in smaller or more square bottles which could be dark black olive or amber but often came in aqua and colorless glass (Lindsey 2020). In Chapter 3, it was explained that army wives like Alice Grierson kept supplies of alcohol to use as medicine for themselves and their children (Leckie 1989). The army surgeon general also inspected stores of liquor and wine when writing reports on military hygiene (Delany and Kilbourn 1875). So, the presence of alcohol bottles could signify the use of wine and liquor as a medicine for women and young children. Officers' quarters may have housed family members if the officer was married (Agnew 2008). Though every outpost likely housed an army hospital, Grierson tended to treat her own children at home, asking doctors for advice but handling issues herself (Delany and Kilbourn 1875; Leckie 1989). As discussed, enlisted men mostly did not live with wives or children. If they became ill, the hospital staff treated them (Agnew 2008; Delany and Kilbourn 1875). They likely took much stronger medicines containing higher alcohol percentages because they needed to recover faster and could withstand a strong drink like whiskey better than children or young women. Liquors for

general drinking were not typically permitted in soldiers' quarters, but liquors in medicine form, such as pharmacy bottles, would have been encouraged (Gaubatz 2020; Lowe 1906). This could be one explanation for the weaker types of alcohol bottles found with the officers' quarters at Fort Gibson. The enlisted men's area held a good proportion of pharmacy or medicine bottles. So, they likely treated illnesses with stronger liquors rather than wine and ale.

This pattern was seen at Fort Snelling, Minnesota where excavations around officers' areas unearthed more wine and champagne containers while lower status areas contained more liquor bottles (Gaubatz 2020). So, the difference in the color of bottles between officers and enlisted men likely relates to their contents. Liquors and wines likely acted as medicines, the stronger the drink the less likely an officer would keep it in their home. This explanation, however, assumes that many of the officers were married and while that may have been the case, it is not known for sure. And in any case, why would unmarried officers also have champagne and wine? I suggest a secondary social reason that might also influence the consumption of alcohol at Fort Gibson.

As discussed in the ceramics section, officers and the higher class in general participated in the social activity of hosting. This was an opportunity to socialize but also reaffirm hierarchy and flaunt wealth. Like tea culture, women influenced the practice but were not mandatory for hosting (Clements 1993; Eichelberger 2019). Owning expensive wines like champagne and sherry reflected a high status and large amount of wealth. These qualities would gain an officer respect and reaffirm his authority over those who could not obtain such luxuries (Eichelberger 2019). Alcohol may have not officially been permitted by the army but there are firsthand accounts that suggest many turned a blind eye to a few

drinks. What happened while soldiers were off duty was difficult to control. A dragoon marching through Missouri recalled that many in his troop traded their winter coats for whiskey. He states specifically that whiskey was not permitted in living quarters but going out for a drink was generally allowed (Lowe 1906). Privies at forts often serve as large collections of archaeological knowledge because they were used as trash pits (Scott 1989). It is interesting that many of the alcohol bottles were found in the officers' privy at Fort Gibson (Regnier and Bement 2017). This may represent an attempt to hide any evidence of drinking inside the Fort. Drunkenness within the outpost or while on duty was the only consequence of drinking that was strictly punished (Agnew 2008; Lowe 1906). Wine and champagne would not get one drunk as fast as whiskey, which would allow officers to partake in social drinking without breaking their own rules. They could host other officers, offer them a drink or two, displaying their wealth, and neither party would get over intoxicated.

This is supported by Scott's study of Fort Larned where high proportions of stemmed glasses like goblets were uncovered in the officer's privy. Officers drank expensive alcohol like wine to show off wealth, reinforcing their position in the upper class (Scott 1989). The presence of these green bottles supports the idea that the officers at Fort Gibson participated in hosting culture. This act continued the practice of wealth displays as a way to convey status. If it was an activity only officers and their wives could afford, then it was exclusive and representative of their superiority above the enlisted men.

The glass bottles found at the two Fort Gibson sites likely represent a difference in lifestyle, wealth, and social status between enlisted men and officers. Enlisted men lived rougher lives, drinking heavier liquors either as strong medicine or to get drunk fast and

cheap (Agnew 2008; Lindey 2020; Lowe 1906). Officers supported wives and children who drank weaker alcohols like wine and ale. Officers also faced social pressure to host others and display wealth. This drove their consumer habits making them more likely to purchase expensive alcohol like champagne (Eichelberger 2019).

III. Metals:

The metal category for the Fort Gibson artifacts reflected a greater difference between groups than the ceramic or glass artifacts. This may be because metals reflect not only diet or wealth, but daily occupations of the soldiers and the military separated many duties by rank (Agnew 2008).

The of the identifiable metal objects in the enlisted men's areas, that were not machine cut nails, activities, that being farming equipment, horse tack, wagon parts, and other utilitarian tools, made up the majority. In the officers' metal objects, after nails, architecture, and then kitchen items made up the two biggest categories. While there is a noticeable difference in proportions, the enlisted men's metal is a considerably small collection. After removing machine cut nails, scrap and unidentifiable items, there were only 115 artifacts to consider, the smallest of all the enlisted men's artifact categories. In contrast, the excavated collection held 1774 identifiable metal artifacts. Matching well with Herskovitz's argument in his study on Fort Bowie, analysis of metal origins and manufacturing does little to answer social questions compared to analysis of use (Herskovitz 1978).

Identifiable Metal Use Groups	Enlisted Quantity	Enlisted Percentage	Officers' Quantity	Officers' Percentage
Activities	63	54.78	373	21.03
Architecture	22	19.13	598	33.71
Arms	14	12.17	59	3.33
Clothing	5	4.35	189	10.65
Furniture	2	1.74	11	0.62
Kitchen	6	5.22	534	30.1
Personal	3	2.61	10	0.56
Grand Total	115	100	1774	100

Table 27. Table Comparison of Metal Use Groups

Breaking down the activities category for both groups highlights what the daily jobs of each side may have been. All the activities labeled “various” or “other” were tools like wires and cranks that could not be linked to horses or agriculture specifically. They may have been construction tools, laundry equipment, or multipurpose small items like scissors. Focusing on the other two categories shows a significant divide in the labor of officers and enlisted men. The enlisted men’s area contained more horse tack. This is not surprising as the men stationed at early Fort Gibson were often calvary or dragoons (Agnew 1980). Horses were an integral part of life and daily activities for these isolated soldiers. Enlisted men likely kept their issued horse equipment with them as supervising officers would inspect the horses’ health and husbandry upon each return from the field (Lowe 1906). Officers on the other hand may not have needed to. From Mrs. Grierson's account, there is evidence that high ranking officers’ families had subordinate soldiers set up their horse or wagon for them at Fort Gibson (Grierson 1867). It can be assumed from this that due to

their status at the Fort, officers and women did not participate in as much horse handling as the enlisted men. This makes sense for upper class ladies who did little manual labor in an effort to maintain an outwardly feminine appearance (McManus 2011). Officers may have asserted their command over troops by having the men set up their horse or wagon for them (Agnew 2008). Horse tack in the home may have signified hard labor which in turn indicated someone of a lower class and therefore it was not found as much with the officers' artifacts. This may explain why there is less horse tack among the officers' quarters. They would have other, likely enlisted, soldiers take care of that equipment.

Activities Metal Subgroups	Enlisted Quantity	Enlisted Percentage	Officers' Quantity	Officers' Percentage
Farming Equipment	5	7.94	154	41.29
Horse Tack	29	46.03	21	5.63
Various Activities	29	46.03	198	53.08
Grand Total	63	100	373	100

Table 28. Table Comparison of "Activities" Metal Subgroup

The enlisted men's kitchen artifacts may not tell much about actual daily metal uses. Only 6 artifacts could be sorted into kitchen items. Due to the small number of artifacts, it's not clear if the ratios are accurate to what the enlisted men may have actually used. One could assume that the enlisted men did not prioritize cooking instruments like pots and pans or oven tools since none are present in their collection; they did have a mess hall at Fort Gibson. However, the monitored drain construction simply did not produce enough artifacts to say for certain. The officers' excavation produced 534 kitchen related metal items and a clear bias for storage-based items can be observed. These items consisted mainly of metal cans and jar lids. So, to address this skewed ratio, looking at the status of an officer at a military outpost may help.

Food storage in the 19th century was a luxury not everyone could afford. Storage involved buying storage supplies and rationing out excess food in periods of plenty (Lee 2020; McManus 2011). Many struggled to make excess food or reach times of plenty so they ate their meals as food could be bought, gathered, or harvested. Those with more money typically could invest in food storage more often than those without (Lee 2020). Enlisted men ate their meals in the field, in the mess hall, or out at tavern halls (Lowe 1906). They likely had little need for food storage as the military provided them with basic meals, moved them around often, and paid them too little for them to invest in canned food (Agnew 2008; Lowe 1906). However, it has been covered in the other two sections that officers had a Victorian influenced hosting culture among themselves and their families (Eichelberger 2019). Officers, their wives, or servants prepared meals for visiting guests (Leckie 1989; McInnis 2017). The ability to utilize food storage allowed them to keep this practice going in the Winter or other periods of food shortages (Lee 2020). I argue that the high ratio of storage cans, and kitchen related metal in general, reflects the officers' culture of hosting as well as their high income, which they used to invest in food storage.

Kitchen Metal Subgroups	Enlisted Quantity	Enlisted Percentage	Officers Quantity	Officers' Percentage
Cooking	0	0	3	0.56
Candle Weight	1	16.66	0	0
Storage	1	16.67	497	93.07
Utensils	4	66.67	34	6.37
Grand Total	6	100	534	100

Table 29. Table Comparison of "Kitchen" Metal Subgroups

IV. Summary:

Between the officers' and enlisted men's collections recovered from Fort Gibson, a difference in lifestyles can be seen through the artifacts. Officers held much higher ratios of ceramic teaware and tobacco pipes, glass wine or champagne bottles, and metal storage containers. This likely reflects their higher salary, hosting culture, and the presence of family members such as wives. The enlisted men's area contained proportionally more ironstone, light aqua pharmacy bottles, and metal horse tack. This likely represents a more rugged lifestyle that required cheaper ceramics that broke less often, strong medicine that worked quickly, and equipment used in daily duties. The results work within the symbolism concept explained in Chapter 1. The artifacts uncovered from the Fort reflect a meaning deeper than their initial function. Officers reasserted their masculinity through smoking, their control and wealth through hosting and leading the household. Women expressed choice through tea sets and continued to care for their children in the home. Enlisted men operated within their social rank drinking cheaper and stronger liquor but buying some nice ceramics to socially compete with each other. They kept their horse tack with them as their care for their horses was scrutinized by the officers and a poor horseman would be seen as lower on the social ladder.

It must be restated that both collections were considered using proportional amounts. As the enlisted men's collection did not come from a controlled archaeological excavation it did not yield many usable artifacts. The conclusion presented here is based on the information available at the time of writing. A proper excavation on the enlisted quarters at Fort Gibson's stockade may produce differing information upon analysis. As it stands currently, I argue that the ratios of ceramic, glass, and metal artifacts can be

explained by comparing them to the expected lifestyles of officers and enlisted men at Fort Gibson during the early to mid-19th century. The differences seen are accurate reflections of the social hierarchy of the Victorian period and the US military.

Chapter 8. Conclusion, Further Work, and Final Thoughts

I. Summary:

The main research question of this thesis was to answer if a difference can be seen in the two collections from Fort Gibson that reflects the hierarchies between the two groups of the military. Earlier chapters covered the purpose of the military's presence in Oklahoma and their tendency to uphold Victorian social norms of the time. Through the presentation of the two artifact collections, I argue that these social norms are visible in the two collections and are most prominent in social expectations, diet, and daily duties. The officers' areas held artifacts that skewed towards a hosting culture while the enlisted men's collection displayed a more utilitarian life with some, but not as many, luxuries.

The second principle question of this work was whether the collection methods of monitored construction recovery versus systematic excavation made a difference in analysis. As outlined in Chapter 7, the answer is yes, the comparatively small size of the enlisted men's collection made it difficult to accurately compare to the officers' collection, specifically the metal category. One final question on how to improve the research conducted at Fort Gibson is addressed below. These suggestions acknowledge and elaborate on the issues related to question two, the differences in recovery methods.

II. Suggestions for Further Research and Final Thoughts:

As discussed, the enlisted men's collection originated from a monitored drain construction at Fort Gibson's reconstructed stockade in 2017 and 2018. This collection was relatively small in comparison to the excavated officers' quarters. It is possible that due to this small collection, especially among the metal categories, the assumptions made in this thesis are skewed or incorrect. The smaller the collection, the less representative it will be

of the true material culture of Fort Gibson. The officers' collection contained so many more artifacts that comparison in some fields was difficult. The large excavation required many more analysts which made consistency an issue when compiling data for comparison (Regnier and Bement 2017). When recording data one analyst may use the term 'Mochaware,' another may document a similar sherd as 'Polychrome Mocha Ware,' or 'Polychrome slip mocha.' I can only assume that they all mean the same type of decoration and thus need to be counted together when comparing to the enlisted men's collection where only the term 'Dendritic Mocha,' a specific mocha style pattern, was used. The standardization of style, color, and ware type names used for the enlisted men's collection was likely its biggest strength; possible only because one person conducted the majority of analysis, which I acknowledge is difficult in most situations.

In addition, the enlisted men's collection was not recovered using stratigraphic documentation. In other words, depth was not recorded in level increments like it was for the officers' excavation. This impacts the opportunity for temporal dating with the enlisted men's collection. Only knowledge of artifact histories could provide a time period for their discard. This would be useful because for giving a more definitive statement about if the enlisted men used this area at the time of deposition. As discussed, Fort Gibson moved up hill to escape the flooding river and marsh land. This area could have been a trash dump for all inhabitants rather than just the enlisted soldiers if it was used after the Fort moved. If that is the case, then little could be said about their social differences.

For these reasons, I recommend that excavations similar in scale to the officers' quarters excavations conducted by Regnier and Bement be undertaken in areas believed to house enlisted men (Regnier and Bement 2017). This would produce a collection better

suited to comparative analysis between the officers and the laundress quarters. These excavations, if possible, would use a consistent naming strategy for analysis purposes. Conducting comparative studies between these three groups would allow for a multi-intersectional method that looks not only at social class but gender as well. Enlisted men, male commissioned officers, officers' wives, and the laundresses could all be studied via artifact analysis from a full archaeological excavation.

Another reason to conduct excavations is their educational potential. Recovered artifacts of the enlisted collection miss an opportunity for further public education. The excavations at Fort Gibson enlisted students and volunteers who gained archaeological skills and knowledge of Fort Gibson's history by participating (Regnier and Bement 2017). There is little to no documentation about the Fort Gibson drainage construction and no students or volunteers partook in the artifact recovery. It is necessary to conduct monitored maintenance on a historic site like Fort Gibson and any artifacts recovered in this manner should be analyzed. However, these situations simply do not provide the same educational material as an excavation and should not substitute archaeological survey and digs when possible.

Upper Fort Gibson, from the post-Civil War period, could also benefit from more modern excavations and preservation methods. Areas like the commissary and long barracks building may also produce historic artifacts if excavated systematically. In addition, if any artifacts recovered from excavations in 1982 described by David Robinson were retained by Fort Gibson or the Historical Society, it would be of great importance to identify them. Moving backwards and plotting the artifacts on a map of upper Fort Gibson

could better show if the items belong to officers, enlisted men, or civilians. A similar comparative study to this thesis would then be conducted.

In plotting the excavations from 1982, a better map of the excavations at Fort Gibson would be produced which would identify ideal locations for further research. As of now, locations previously located under the rodeo grounds in the center of Fort Gibson show the most potential for new excavations. According to maps of the area from 1874, sinks, or waste drainage, were located near or directly under a rodeo set up in the 1960s at the fort's military park (Delany and Kilbourn 1875; *Tulsa World* 1989). Further identification of locations such as this, which were hidden under modern features, could produce accurate maps of 19th century Fort Gibson and aid researchers in choosing excavation locations.

Accurate maps and properly conducted excavations lead back to educational interpretation at Fort Gibson. If information can be gathered and studies done about the people and lifestyles at Fort Gibson, interpreters can better educate the public about the Fort and this period in United States history. Understanding how people lived and interacted with each other through their material culture is the goal in postprocessual archaeology and a key component of historical archaeology (Johnson 2020). A focus on interpretation through artifacts that highlights differences in social standing and class hierarchy allows modern people to better understand the motivations of those in the past. If Fort Gibson can continue to function as an educational site, ripe for historical interpretation, it will continue to be relevant to Oklahomans and a prominent feature of United States history far beyond the Fort's 200th anniversary.

References:

- Agbe-Davies, Anna. 2004. "The Production and Consumption of Smoking Pipes along the Tobacco Coast." In *Smoking and Culture: The Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes in Eastern North America*, edited by Sean Rafferty and Rob Mann. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Agnew, Brad. 1980. *Fort Gibson: Terminal on the Trail of Tears*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Agnew, Brad. 2010. "Fort Gibson (Fort) - *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*." Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. 2010.
<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=FO033>.
- Agnew, Jeremy. 2008. *Life of a Soldier on the Western Frontier*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing.
- Beecher, Catharine. 1846. *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book: Designed as a Supplement to Her Treatise on Domestic Economy*. New York: Harper Publishers.
- Bement, Leland and Bob Rea. 2007. "Discovering Fort Gibson: the 2007 Investigation." *Oklahoma Archaeology* 55, no. 4, Autumn Edition.
- Bolton, S. Charles. 2010. "Arkansas Territory - *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*." Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. 2010.
<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=AR012>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. "Structures, Habitus, and Practice." In *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, 6th ed., edited by Paul Erikson and Liam Murphy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Kindle Edition.
- Boydston, QB. 1979. *History of the Restoration of Old Fort Gibson*. Manuscript on File, Oklahoma Historical Society, Fort Gibson Historic Site. Accessed via the Oklahoma Archeological Survey.
- Breen, T. H. 1988. "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century." *Past & Present*, no. 119, 73–104.
- Briscoe, James and Robert Burkhalter. 1991. "Historical Archaeological Investigations along the Fort Gibson 12 Inch Waterline Project." Butler, OK: Briscoe Consulting Services. Accessed via the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey.
- Brooks, Alasdair. 2010. "A Not So Useless Beauty – Economy, Status, Function and Meaning in the Interpretation of Transfer-Printed Tablewares." In *Table Settings*, edited by James Symonds, 154–62. The Material Culture and Social Context of Dining, AD 1700-1900. Oxbow Books. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1cfr702.19>.

- Burnham, John. 1992. *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior and Swearing in American History*. New York: New York University Press.
- Carter, Kent. 2010. "The Dawes Commission - *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*." Oklahoma Historical Society. Online. Accessed October 24, 2024.
<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=DA018>
- Clements, Joyce M. 1993. "The Cultural Creation of the Feminine Gender: An Example from 19th-Century Military Households at Fort Independence, Boston." *Historical Archaeology* 27 (4): 39–64.
- Cole, David. 2007. "Survey of U.S. Army Uniforms, Weapons and Accoutrements." *US Army Center of Military History*. Online.
https://www.history.army.mil/html/museums/uniforms/survey_uwa.pdf. Accessed August 20, 2024.
- Dallal, Diane. 2004. "The Tudor Rose and the Fleur-de-lis: Women and Iconography in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Clay Pipes found in New York City." In *Smoking and Culture: The Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes in Eastern North America*, edited by Sean Rafferty and Rob Mann. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Delany, Alfred and HS Kilbourn. 1875. "Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory." In *A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army, with Descriptions of Military Posts*. Washington, DC: War Department Surgeon General's Office.
- De Vore, Steven L. 1990. "Fur Trade Era Blacksmith Shops at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, North Dakota." *Historical Archaeology* 24 (3): 1–23.
- Dwyer, John. 2016. *The Oklahomans: The Story of Oklahoma and Its People*. Vol. 1. Norman: Red River.
- Eichelberger, Justin E. 2019. "Colonial Identities of United States Army Commissioned Officers: The Negotiation of Class and Rank at Fort Yamhill and Fort Hoskins, Oregon, 1856–1866." *Historical Archaeology* 53 (1): 103–25. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41636-019-00170-2>.
- Erikson, Paul and Liam Murphy. 2021. *A History of Anthropological Theory*, 6th ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Kindle Edition.
- Erikson, Paul and Liam Murphy. 2022. *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, 6th ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Kindle Edition.
- Faulk, Odie, Kenny Franks, and Paul Lambert. 1978. *Early Military Forts and Posts in Oklahoma*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society.

- Fiesta Factory. n.d. "Our History." *Fiesta Factory Direct: an American Icon*. Online.
https://fiestafactorydirect.com/pages/our-history?srsltid=AfmBOoqUdjaODJTrt7W_M0FUZnaegUpcAOFjPLgW1UU4LrObD4zAP2yP.
 Accessed August 14, 2024.
- Foucault, Michel. 1976. "The Incitement to Discourse." In *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*. New York: Vintage Books
- Gaubatz, Katherine. 2020. "Alcohol Bottles at Fort Snelling: A Study of American Military Culture in the 19th Century." Thesis. St. Cloud State University.
- Greene, Duane Merritt. 1880. *Ladies and Officers of the United States Army: American Aristocracy, a Sketch of the Social Life and Character of the Army*. Chicago: Central Publishing Company.
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/dul1.ark:/13960/t6qz5j962?urlappend=%3Bseq=3>.
- Grierson, Alice Kirk. 1866. "Letter from Alice Kirk Grierson to Benjamin Henry Grierson, April 04, 1866." In *The Colonel's Lady on the Western Frontier: The Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson* edited by Shirley A. Leckie. Alexandria: Alexander Street Press.
- Grierson, Alice Kirk. 1867. "Letter from Alice Kirk Grierson to Benjamin Henry Grierson, July 05, 1868." In *The Colonel's Lady on the Western Frontier: The Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson* edited by Shirley A. Leckie. Alexandria: Alexander Street Press.
- Glasrud, Bruce. 2010. "Buffalo Soldiers - *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*." Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. 2010.
<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=BU005>.
- Harris, Marvin. 1979. "The Epistemology of Cultural Materialism." In *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, 6th ed., edited by Paul Erikson and Liam Murphy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Kindle Edition
- Hart, Herbert. 1964. *Old Forts of the Southwest*. Seattle: Superior Publishing Company.
- Herskovitz, Robert M. 1978. *Fort Bowie Material Culture*. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona; No. 31. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Higgins, Billy D. 1999. "Peter Caulder: A Free Black Soldier and Pioneer in Antebellum Arkansas." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 58 (1): 80–99.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/40026275>.
- Higgins, Billy D. 2022. "Act 151 of 1859." *Encyclopedia of Arkansas*. Little Rock: Central Arkansas Library System. Accessed March 27, 2024.
<https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/act-151-of-1859-4430/>.
- Hodder, Ian. 1985. "Postprocessual Archaeology." *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8: 1-16.

- Hughes, Mark. 2015. "Fort Gibson Stockade Renovation Making Progress." *Muskogee Phoenix*, May 24, 2015. https://www.muskogee phoenix.com/news/fort-gibson-stockade-renovation-making-progress/article_dbbbd92b-4382-5a29-883d-2f9652afdd40.html
- King, Charles. 1891. *The Deserter, and From the Ranks: Two Novels By Capt. Charles King*. Philadelphia. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwkn8m?urlappend=%3Bseq=9>.
- Kitch, Katelyn. 2023. "The Archaeological Investigation of Fort Sherman, Idaho." Thesis. Idaho: University of Idaho. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2825767361/abstract/6493D43C27C3497EPQ/1>.
- Knight, Oliver. 1978. *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Knowles, Anne Kelly. 2013. *Mastering Iron: The Struggle to Modernize an American Industry, 1800-1868*. University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/9780226448619>.
- Leckie, Shirley A. 1989. *The Colonel's Lady on the Western Frontier: The Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson*. Alexandria: Alexander Street Press.
- Lee, Nedra K. 2020. "Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Land Ownership among Freed African American Farmers: The View from Ceramic Use at the Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead, Manchaca, Texas." *Historical Archaeology* 54 (2): 404–23. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41636-020-00239-3>.
- Lewis, Kenneth. 1975. "Fort Washita: From Past to Present, an Archaeological Report." *Oklahoma Historical Society*, Series in Anthropology.
- Lindsey, Bill. 2020. *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website*. ONLINE. Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management. Available: <http://www.sha.org/bottle/index.htm>. Accessed July 7, 2024.
- Lockhart, Bill. 2006. "The Color Purple: Dating Solarized Amethyst Container Glass." *Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 2: 45-56.
- Lorrain, Dessamae. 1968. "An Archaeologist's Guide to Nineteenth Century American Glass." *Historical Archaeology* 2:35–44.
- Lowe, Percival G. 1906. *Five Years a Dragoon ('49 to '54) and Other Adventures on the Great Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Marciniszyn, Kayla. 2017. "Creamware, Pearlware and Whiteware." C.A.R.T. Archaeology (blog). February 17, 2017. https://cartarchaeology.wordpress.com/2017/02/17/creamware_to_whiteware/.

- Marcy, Randolph B. 1866. *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border: Unabridged Edition*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company.
- Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory. 2012. "Diagnostic Artifacts In Maryland." Online. Accessed July 28, 2024. <https://apps.jefpat.maryland.gov/diagnostic/index.htm>
- McInnis, Verity. 2017. *Women of Empire: Nineteenth-Century Army Officers' Wives In India and the U.S. West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- McKearin, George S., and Helen A. McKearin. 1941. *American Glass*. New York: Crown Publishers. <http://archive.org/details/americanglass00mcke>.
- McManus, Sheila. 2011. *Choices and Chances: A History of Women in the U.S. West*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson.
- NPS. 2023. "Fort Gibson State Historic Site." National Park Service. Online. Accessed May 12, 2024.
- OHS. n.d. "Fort Gibson Historical Site." Oklahoma Historical Society. Online. Accessed May 12, 2024. <https://www.okhistory.org/sites/fortgibson>
- OHS. 2010. "Fort Gibson (Town) - *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*." Oklahoma Historical Society. Online. Accessed October 24, 2024. <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=FO034>
- OHS. 2018. "Bake Day at Fort Gibson." Oklahoma Historical Society Online. Accessed March 26, 2024. <https://www.okhistory.org/about/pressrelease?id=718>.
- ORAU. n.d. "Fiestaware (ca. 1930s)." *Oak Ridge Associated Universities (ORAU) Museum of Radiation and Radioactivity*. Online. <https://www.ornl.gov/health-physics-museum/collection/consumer/ceramics/fiestaware.html>. Accessed August 14, 2024.
- Recker, Paul. 2004. "Home Rulers, Red Hands, and Radical Journalists: Clay Pipes and the Negotiation of Working-Class Irish/Irish-American Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Paterson, New Jersey." In *Smoking and Culture: The Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes in Eastern North America*, edited by Sean Rafferty and Rob Mann. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Regnier, Amanda and Leland Bement. 2017. "Analysis of Artifacts Excavated from the 1824 Fort Gibson Stockade, Muskogee County, Oklahoma." Final Report submitted to: National Park Service.
- Regnier, Amanda and Scott Hammerstedt. 2016. "Geophysical Survey at the Fort Gibson Historic Site Hospital." Prepared for: David Fowler, Site Director, Fort Gibson Historic Site.

- Regnier, Amanda and Scott Hammerstedt. 2019. "Geophysical Survey and Archaeological Testing of the Laundress Quarters Area at the Fort Gibson Historic Site, Muskogee County, Oklahoma." Draft Report submitted to: National Park Service.
- Robinson, David. n.d. A Report on Archaeological Excavations at Fort Gibson, July 1982. Draft for the Oklahoma State Office of Historic Preservation. Accessed via the Oklahoma Archeological Survey.
- Rohrs, Richard C. 1978. "Fort Gibson: Forgotten Glory." In *Early Military Forts and Posts in Oklahoma*, edited by Odie B. Faulk, Kenny A. Franks, and Paul F. Lambert. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society.
- Samford, Patricia and George L. Miller. 2015. "Post-Colonial Ceramics." *Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland*. Accessed July 27, 2024. <https://apps.jefpat.maryland.gov/diagnostic/Post-Colonial%20Ceramics/index-PostColonialCeramics.htm>.
- Scott, Douglas D. 1989. "An Officers' Latrine At Fort Larned and Inferences On Status." *Plains Anthropologist* 34 (123): 23–34.
- Scott, Douglas D. 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*, edited by David Gaimster and Teresita Majewski, 299–317. New York, NY: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-72071-5_17.
- Scoville, Warren C. 1944. "Growth of the American Glass Industry to 1880." *Journal of Political Economy* 52 (3): 193–216.
- Selwyn, Lyndise. 2006. "Corrosion of Metal Artifacts in Buried Environments." *ASM Handbook, Corrosion: Environments and Industries* 13c, edited by Stephen Cramer and Bernard Covino Jr.
- Smith, Sherry L. 1990. *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- South, Stanley. 2002. *Method and Theory in Historical Archeology*. Eliot Werner Publications. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2sx9g77>.
- Steffen, Randy. 1977. *The Horse Soldier, 1776-1943: The United States Cavalryman, His Uniforms, Arms, Accoutrements, and Equipments*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Tahlequah Daily Press*. 2018. "Renovations Set for Historic Fort Gibson Military Hospital," November 24, 2018.
- Tulsa World*. 1989. "Fort Gibson rodeo arena must move." Online Newspaper. Accessed March 14, 2024.

- Turner, Victor. 1967. "Symbols in Ndembu Ritual." In *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, 6th ed., edited by Paul Erikson and Liam Murphy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Kindle Edition.
- Tveskov, Mark Axel, and Chelsea Rose. 2019. "Disrupted Identities and Frontier Forts: Enlisted Men and Officers at Fort Lane, Oregon Territory, 1853–1856." *Historical Archaeology* 53 (1): 41–55.
- USGS. 1964. Aerial Photos of Muskogee County, Oklahoma. United States Geological Survey. Accessed via OKmaps.org. Accessed March 24, 2024. <https://okmaps.org/ogi/search.aspx>
- Waldman, Carl. 1985. *Atlas of the North American Indian*. New York: Facts on File.
- Wall, Diana diZerega. 2010. "Separating the Spheres in Early 19th Century New York City: Redefining Gender among the Middle Class." In *Table Settings*, edited by James Symonds, 80–88. *The Material Culture and Social Context of Dining, AD 1700-1900*. Oxbow Books. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1cfr702.12>.
- Wilkie, Laurie A. 2019. "At Freedom's Borderland: The Black Regulars and Masculinity at Fort Davis, Texas." *Historical Archaeology* 53 (1): 126–37.
- Young, Linda. 2010. "Gentility: A Historical Context for the Material Culture of the Table in the 'Long 19th Century', 1780–1915." In *Table Settings*, edited by James Symonds, 133–43. *The Material Culture and Social Context of Dining, AD 1700-1900*. Oxbow Books. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1cfr702.17>.