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## Variability in Militia and Regular Army Refuse Disposal Patterns at Fort Meigs: A Fortified War of 1812 Encampment on the Maumee River in Northern Ohio

John Nass, Jr.

*During the fall of 1812, Fort Meigs was built on a bluff along the south side of the Maumee River, Ohio, to serve as a forward supply base and to provide protection to the expeditionary force preparing to advance against Fort Malden. The completed fortification included batteries, blockhouses, and a connecting parapet and palisade. Three groups of Americans (federal army, militia, and volunteers) resided at Fort Meigs during its construction, usage as a base camp and forward-supply depot, and its defense. Members of these groups came from a range of socioeconomic classes. This article seeks to elucidate any qualitative differences in the behavior and refuse-disposal patterns among the three categories of soldier at Fort Meigs: militia and volunteers, enlisted men, and officers, and how disposal patterns reflect then-extant military culture. It should be possible to relate the forms of material culture discovered in contexts other than sinks (also known as primary, secondary, and de facto disposal types) (Schiffer 1972), to the actions of the three categories of soldiers.*

*Au cours de l'automne 1812, le camp Meigs a été construit situé sur une falaise longeant le côté sud de la rivière Maumee en Ohio pour servir de base d'approvisionnement avancée et pour fournir une protection aux forces à avancer contre le fort Malden. La fortification incluait des batteries, des casemates, ainsi qu'un parapet connecté à une palissade. Trois groupes d'Américains (l'armée fédérale, les miliciens et les volontaires) résidaient au fort Meigs lors de sa construction, pendant son utilisation en tant que camp de base et dépôt d'approvisionnement, ainsi que durant sa défense. Les membres de ces groupes étaient issus d'une variété de milieux socio-économiques. Cet article vise à élucider les différences qualitatives dans le comportement et le rejet des déchets entre les trois catégories de soldats au fort Meigs (les miliciens et les volontaires, les simples soldats et les officiers), et la façon dont ces différences reflètent la culture militaire de l'époque. Il devrait être possible de relier la culture matérielle découverte dans les contextes autres que les puits (aussi connu comme emplacement de rejet de déchets primaires, secondaires et de facto) (Schiffer 1972), avec les actions des trois catégories de soldats.*

### Introduction

In the opening months of the War of 1812, British forces and their Indian allies succeeded in seizing control of Fort Mackinac on the Straits of Michigan (July), then Detroit (August), and then Fort Dearborn in Illinois (August). By the end of August, only Fort Wayne in Indiana had not fallen to British and Native American forces.

While fighting ensued along the common border between New York and British North America, in southern Ohio a second expeditionary force was slowly being assembled in the fall of 1812 for the purpose of capturing Fort Malden in Ontario and then retaking Detroit. In its final form, the army consisted of units from the newly formed 17th and 19th Infantry regiments drawn from Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri; a component of the Regiment of Riflemen; the newly formed 2nd Artillery Regiment; state militia from Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; and volunteers from Kentucky

and Pennsylvania (Linn and Egle 1967). The new Second Army of the Old Northwest was placed under the command of Major General William H. Harrison, who succeeded General James Winchester, the original commander.

In preparation for the advance upon Detroit, Captains Gratiot and Woods of the engineers battalion assigned to Harrison's expeditionary force selected a location on the bluff overlooking the Maumee River for the construction of a fortification to protect both men and supplies (FIGS. 1 AND 2) (McAfee 1919: 244; Knopf 1957: 67–68; Boehm and Buchman 1975: 5–8; Lindley 1975). The specific location of the fortification (referred to as Camp Meigs in Department of War correspondence) was opposite a set of rapids created as the Maumee flows over an outcrop of erosion-resistant Silurian Period dolomite (Stout 1941). The rapids thus prevented large vessels from moving upriver and taking positions opposite Fort Meigs. Encampments on this scale were generally temporary in nature and not

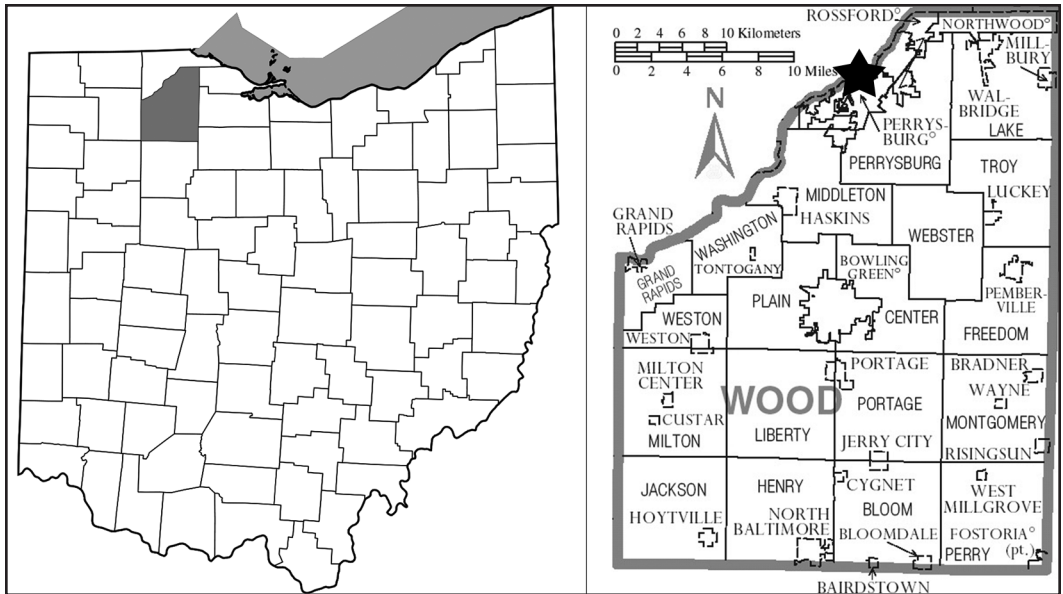


Figure 1. Location of Wood County, Perrysburg Township, and Fort Meigs (black star). (Map by John Nass, 1980.)

meant to serve in a defensive capacity other than to provide protection for both men and supplies during campaigns (Rutsch and Peters 1977). The completed fortification included batteries, blockhouses, a connecting parapet, and a palisade roughly 2,500 yd. in linear circumference (FIG. 3).

While the finishing touches were being made to the fortified encampment, British forces and Native Americans under the command of General Proctor arrived and laid siege to Fort Meigs. After establishing a base downriver near Old Fort Miami, British forces built artillery batteries opposite Meigs on the western bluff of the Maumee.

Harrison had been expecting an attack by General Proctor. On the advice of Captain Wood of the engineers, two earthen traverses running the length of the fortification's interior were built. These would help mitigate the effects of exploding mortar and cannon shot (Boehm and Buchman 1975: 19–21).

During the siege, a force of 800 Kentucky militia from the command of General Clay crossed the river and successfully captured the artillery emplacements opposite Fort Meigs. Rather than spiking the cannons as instructed, the militia force pursued the retreating British pickets and Indians inland, away from the river and into a trap. The cost of this rash decision by

Colonel Dudley was approximately 700 casualties. On 9 May, Proctor's forces withdrew, but returned for a brief second siege between 21 and 28 July.

During the second siege, additional traverses and at least one new artillery battery under the command of Captain Cratich were built (Boehm and Buchman 1975: 22–23). The additional traverses were arranged to mitigate fire from a second British battery built on the east side of the Maumee within a mile of Fort Meigs. The current Fort Meigs reconstruction reflects the appearance of the fortification after the second siege (FIGS. 3 AND 4). Mahan's 1836 manual was used for guiding the rebuilding of the outer earthworks and blockhouses.

The waste and other domestic-trash deposition locations from the two sieges is unknown. According to camp policies, disposals were to take place outside the fortification. No disposal of domestic debris over the palisade wall was permitted. However, there is no recorded policy or order pertaining to disposal during the sieges. Either debris was discarded into specially excavated trash pits within the fortification, or it was discarded over the palisade. This last point will be revisited later.

Following Commodore Perry's defeat of the British fleet on Lake Erie, a smaller fortification was constructed within Meigs. The earthen and

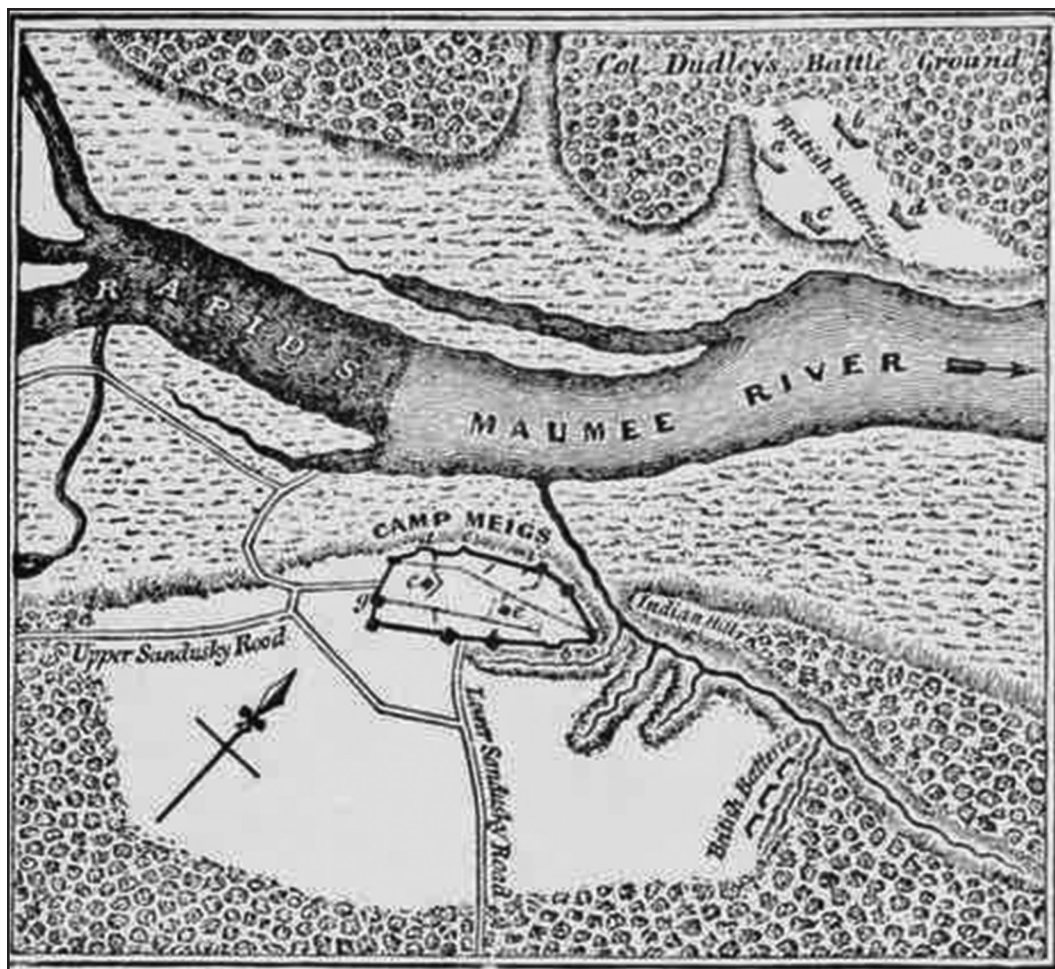


Figure 2. Sketch of Fort Meigs and surrounding environment (Larwill 1813).

palisade curtain measured 110 ft. between bastions and was completed by mid-September. The smaller fortification served as a supply base (FIG. 5). When Harrison's force moved northward to attack British positions at Malden and Detroit (McAfee 1919), a detachment of Ohio militia remained to garrison the post (Slocum 1905; Hamlin 1924: 36–45).

Having lost control of Lake Erie and facing a superior force, Proctor abandoned both Detroit and Fort Malden and retreated east along the Thames River. Although the smaller British force was defeated, the most significant loss at the battle was Shawnee leader Tecumseh.

In 1815, smaller Fort Meigs was decommissioned, and the Ohio militia garrison departed (TAB. 1). Between 1816 and 1848, Meigs

and the surrounding land were purchased for development. Fortunately, the property that included most of the fortifications was acquired by the Hayes brothers, who, along with their heirs, preserved the earthworks (Van Tassel 1929). Between the years 1907 and 1967, the State of Ohio acquired the site of Fort Meigs and several surrounding acres.

### Excavations

Archaeological investigations and landscaping were initiated in 1967 under the auspices of the Ohio Historical Society. Fieldwork was directed by Dr. Raymond Baby. His excavations permitted the reconstruction of three blockhouses, three artillery batteries, and

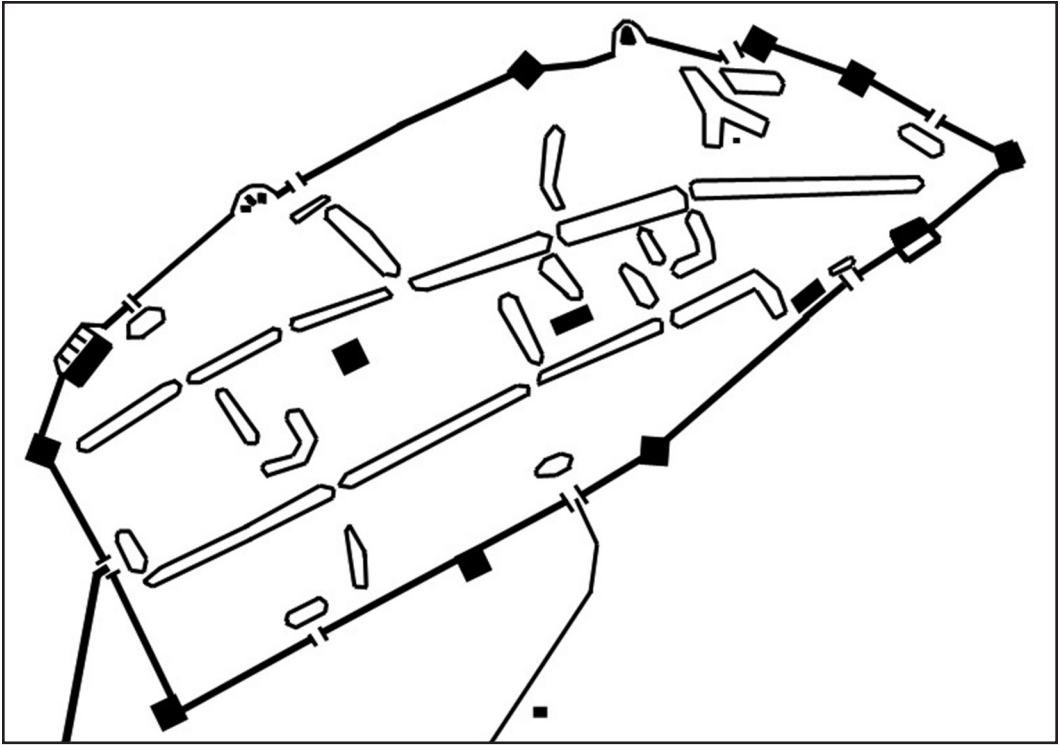


Figure 3. Drawing of Fort Meigs after the second siege in 1813 (Nass 1980).

the connecting parapet along the bluff edge. Unfortunately, this phase of construction resulted in the removal of the second, smaller fortification (Schermer 1977: 4).

### Defiance College

In 1972, Defiance College assumed the lead role in the archaeological investigation of the site for the Ohio Historical Society. The resulting excavations between 1972 and 1973 allowed the landside portion of the 1812–1813 fortification to be rebuilt, including the blockhouses and gate (Schermer 1977). The current site plan reflects, more or less, the way the fortification looked after the second siege. Gratiot's battery, built during the second siege, however, was not included in the final reconstruction.

In 1977 the author supervised excavations at Fort Meigs for Defiance College and continued in that role until 1979. These investigations focused on recovering cultural remains from the different military groups that resided at the site for the purpose of exploring differences in group psychology related to

military jurisdiction, refuse disposal, and treatment of military equipment. This research, together with prior years of excavation by Defiance College and the State of Ohio, formed the basis of the author's master's thesis on Fort Meigs (Nass 1980).

### Behavioral Model

Three groups of American soldiers (federal army, militia, and volunteers) resided at Fort Meigs during its construction, occupation as a base camp and forward-supply depot, and its defense. Members of all three groups were drawn from a variety of socioeconomic classes. Officers, especially senior officers in the regular army and senior officers in the state militia, tended to represent the upper socioeconomic segment of the population and often furnished all their personal belongings. This was also true for both generals, Hull and Harrison. For example, among General Harrison's personal belongings was a creamware coffee/tea service. The one missing cup from his set, on display at the state museum in Indianapolis, was found

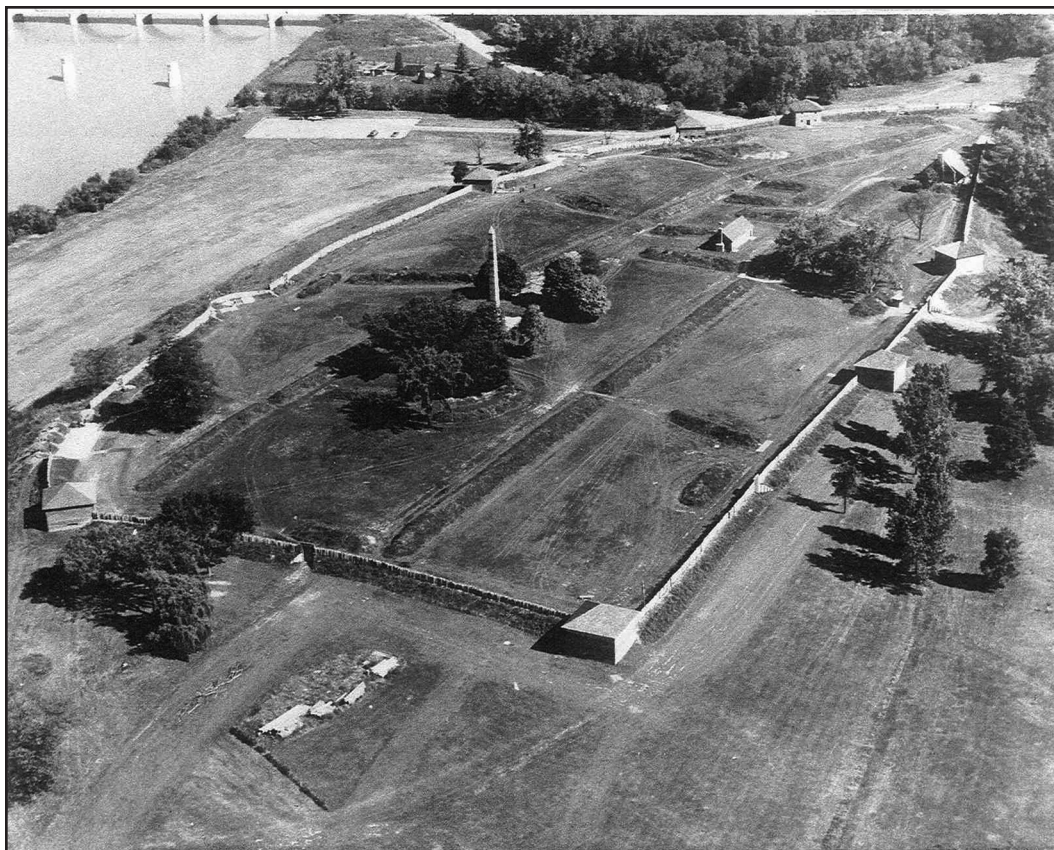


Figure 4. Aerial image of the reconstructed Fort Meigs ([http://3.bp.blogspot.com/\\_d6LkI\\_NfaxM/S7IaY987bzI/AAAAAAAAAb4/RSK7JkcpEtM/s1600/1.jpg](http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_d6LkI_NfaxM/S7IaY987bzI/AAAAAAAAAb4/RSK7JkcpEtM/s1600/1.jpg), 2012).



Figure 5. Smaller, second fortification at Meigs, photo taken in 1967 prior to removal of earthen fortifications (Nass 1980).

Table 1. Chronology of Ohio militia companies and commanders at second Fort Meigs.

Source	Date	Event	Number of men
Hamlin 1922: 87	6 October 1813	2 companies of Ohio Militia sent to Fort Meigs	120–180 men
Hamlin 1922: 98	10 November 1813	3 companies of militia sent to Fort Meigs under command of Colonel John Delong, 1st Regiment 4th detachment of Ohio Militia	200 men
Letter to the Secretary of War, Knopf 1961: 133–134	28 December 1813	3 companies under the command of Colonel Delong	200 men
Hamlin 1923: 28	24 January 1814	6 companies of Ohio Militia sent to Fort Meigs under command of Major Alexander Lanie	—
Hamlin 1923: 35–36	1 February 1814	6 companies of Ohio militia under the command of Major Lanie; 5 infantry and one rifle companies Capt. J. Hawkins, Infantry, company strength 64 men, Capt. T. Titus, Infantry, company strength 72 men	116 men
Hamlin 1924: 44	March 1814	2 companies of Ohio militia	120–180 men
Hamlin 1924: 44–45	March 1814	Lieut. Alman Gibbs and 40 Ohio militia sent to Fort Meigs	—
Slocum 1905	May 1815	Garrison under command of Lieut. Gibbs abandons fort	—

during the Defiance College excavation of one of the blockhouse sites.

Reference to Ellis's (1882) *History of Fayette County* confirmed that many Pennsylvania militia officers were from prominent and financially secure families and, presumably, brought with them personal luxuries of a civilian nature. Whereas volunteers furnished their own weapons and any personal necessities needed for an extended time in the field, in 1813 the equipping of state militia regiments varied widely. While weapons often were obtained from the state arsenal, uniforms and other equipment were usually furnished by the regiment sponsor. The soldiers also added personal belongings to increase comfort.

Senior state militia officers above the rank of major usually received their commissions in one of two ways: outright political appointment or appointment through recommendation by a statewide advisory council. Field-grade officers, such as lieutenants and captains, were usually elected by members of the militia unit.

While it seems reasonable to posit that the personal possessions of senior militia officers would certainly reflect their social rank or standing, it also seems reasonable to assume

that the personal possessions of officers beneath the rank of general should vary greatly in accordance with family liquidity, since not all officers would have been financially well off. The same material differences also should hold for members of the regular army, whether they were enlisted for the duration of the war or were career soldiers. This proposition is borne out by the examination of the inventories of the personal effects of three men who died between 1810 and 1813 while in the federal service. Noteworthy is the difference between enlisted men and commissioned officers. The three inventories (TAB. 2) were provided by Brian Dunnigan, a former historian/interpreter at Fort Niagara in New York. Interestingly, the inventory for Captain Nearing does not mention the presence of glassware, cutlery, or any forms of tableware for food consumption, whereas the inventories for the two soldiers both list cutlery. Perhaps such items were provided by the commissary or by the officers' mess.

At the start of the war, the army consisted of less than 12,000 men obtained entirely from short-term enlistment volunteers. According to historian Donald Hickey (2012: 70–71) and

others, the senior staff of the regular army was lacking in both experience and youth, due to the custom of political appointments to senior

leadership positions. Likewise, enlisted men and non-commissioned officers on the eve of the war were also inexperienced, generally

Table 2. Inventories of personal effects for individuals of different ranks. Inventories provided by Mr. Brian Dunnigan, National Park Service, 1979.

<b>Inventory of Personal Effects of Johnston D. Hall, 7th Infantry, 13th August 1810</b>		
1 coat	1 pair socks	1 knapsack
2 handkerchiefs	2 woolen pantaloons	1 pint bottle
2 woolen vests	1 tin cup	1 pair of stockings
1 spoon	1 pair gaiters	1 vest
1 shirts	1 bag of sugar	1 blanket
1 hat	1 trousers	1 stock and clasp
1 cockade and eagle	1 pair linen pantaloons	1 pair socks
	1 pair socks and frocks	
<b>Inventory of Personal Effects of John King, Private, 1st Company, 1st Regiment US Infantry, 11th November 1810, Fort Osage</b>		
1 hat	2 trousers	1 coat
2 gaiters	1 vest	1 linen jacket
1 woolen overalls	1 knapsack	2 linen overalls
1 handkerchief	1 shirt	2 shoe brushes
1 stock and clasp	1 cloth brush	1 pair shoes
1 knife and fork	1 half stockings	2 books
1 socks	2 pamphlets	1 blanket
	1 frocks	
<b>Inventory of Personal Effects of Captain Asahel Nearing, 19th Infantry Regiment, 10th August 1813, Fort Meigs</b>		
1 silk sash	1 vest	1 pair leather gloves
1 pair pocket pistols	1 puer velvet hat ribbon	1 silver watch
2 coats	1 pen knife	1 hat
6 shirts	2 oil cloths for a hat	2 pair boots
1 full dress coat	1 pen knife	3 old pocket books
4 pair pantaloons	1 cravat	1 portable writing desk
1 pair socks	1 comb	2 nut megs
1 Epaulette	1 flannel coat	1 dark silver mount
2 pair socks	1 bible	1 riding whip
1 waistcoat	1 pen knife	1 razor strap and soap box
1 towel	1 sword-silver hilt	1 shirt
1 shirt	2 umbrellas-cotton	1 handkerchief, neck
<i>Smith's Infantry Rules And Articles of War</i>	1 pair shoes	1 small bag of black pepper
	1 silver cord and tassel	2 silk ban handkerchiefs



undisciplined, and prone to desertion. The latter was sometimes due to lack of payment by the government. After the declaration of war, however, congressional policy changed in favor of offering both a financial (bounty payment) and land incentive to men who enlisted for a five-year commitment. By 1813, the term of enlistment had been reduced to the duration of the war, to ensure an ample supply of enlistees. Both the financial and land incentives also were increased (Hickey 2012: 70–71).

Having joined the army for all the wrong reasons, the characterization of these new recruits by full-time officers in the regular army was one of repulsion and abhorrence. Correspondence received by President James Madison (Hickey 2012) mentioned that disorderly and mutinous behavior and discipline infractions were common among the new soldiers. This took the form of the destruction of public property, public drunkenness, and the disrespectful treatment of private citizens and their personal property (Hickey 2012: 71).

State militias were no less notorious for their lack of discipline and other infractions of codes of conduct. Copious examples of insubordination and mutinous behavior by members of state militias at Fort Meigs are mentioned in the orderly book of Captain Daniel Cushing’s 2nd U.S. Artillery Regiment. Punishment for discipline infractions and disorderly behavior varied widely. Common practices included loss of rum ration, loss of pay, paddling, having one’s head shaved, public atonement, having an iron ball chained to one’s leg, and riding a wooden horse with weights attached to each leg. Of course, the worst infraction that took place at Fort Meigs was Colonel Dudley’s detachment of the Kentucky militia allowing itself to be distracted from its specified task, which resulted in its defeat and neutralization.

The above discussion is relevant for developing a behavioral profile regarding conduct for members of the militia. Using archived historical sources, such as Major General Harrison’s status reports to the secretary of war (Knopf 1961) and personal journals (Boehm and Buchman 1975; Lindley 1975), an argument can be made that state militias were often defiant when confronted with policies that would curtail their actions or behavior. One specific material correlate of this blatant disregard for the authority of the regular army

was the destruction of and/or damage to government-provided armaments. Such destruction occurred, even though period military documents indicate that rifle and musket parts—sold, lost, or damaged—were charged to the user and the price extracted from his pay. A list of values for the different parts of weapons is given in section 23 of the *Army Ordnance Regulations, 1812, Military Law and Rules and Regulations* (TAB. 3).

As mentioned earlier, the disposal of daily trash and night soil was tightly controlled at Fort Meigs, especially during Harrison’s residence at the site. Sinks for refuse disposal and latrines were excavated both within and outside the fort, and all undesirable material was to be deposited into them. Trash disposal over the earthworks was discouraged, and men caught doing such could be punished. The degree of compliance with the rules for the disposal of trash within these specified features, however, has never been measured, because the specific number and location of these features has never been documented on maps drawn of Fort Meigs, and excavations have never discovered any examples of these features.

It is currently not possible, therefore, to ascertain the full range of items discarded within the sinks. It is also not possible to infer whether there was any bias toward size or types of material items discarded within the sinks. For example, a musket ball, a broken gunflint, or a button could have been intentionally

Table 3. Replacement cost for lost and damaged parts or for selling musket parts (Nass 1980).

<b>Army Ordnance Regulations, 1812, Military Law and Rules, Section 23, replacement expenses for lost and damaged equipment</b>	
For a Firelock	sixteen dollars
a bayonet	two dollars
For a ramrod	one dollar
a cartridge-box	four dollars
For a bayonet belt	one dollar
a scabbard	2/3 rd dollar
For a cartridge	1/6 dollar
a flint	1/20 dollar
For a gun worm	¼ dollar
a screw driver	1/12 dollar

overlooked, but bones from a large mammal or shards from a broken bottle would have been collected for disposal in designated areas.

### **Archaeological Correlates of the Behavioral Model**

The focus of my original research and the subject of this article are the elucidation of qualitative differences in the behavior and refuse-disposal patterns among the three categories of soldier at Fort Meigs: militia and volunteers, enlisted men, and officers, and how disposal patterns reflect the then-extant military culture. Each of these groups represents a sample from the different socioeconomic segments of the early 19th-century American population, and differences in disposal behavior, along with differences in the treatment of government-issued property in the form of camp supplies and armaments, are postulated. The behavioral model also presupposes differences in the acceptance of authority and obedience to a military hierarchy. If personal accounts, such as the "Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Cushing," written during the occupation of Fort Meigs, can be believed, then the militia and volunteers were indeed a rather rowdy lot in contrast to units of the regular army (Lindley 1975; Hickey 2012). Assuming that each group had a somewhat different worldview, it should be possible to relate the forms of material culture discovered in contexts other than sinks (also known as primary, secondary, and *de facto* disposal types) (Schiffer 1972, 1976), such as discarded and lost personal belongings; subsistence and general-maintenance trash; and discarded government-issued military equipment, especially altered armaments, to the actions of the three categories of soldiers.

Unfortunately, excavations did not recover any intentionally altered military equipment within the interior of the larger fort. In fact, based on the extent of excavations (less than 20% of the interior space), the interior of the fort appears to be void of larger artifacts of any material and functional class. In contrast, a multitude of small artifacts, such as lead shot, gunflints, and a variety of buttons (FIGS. 6 AND 7), were found during excavations by Defiance College and the author. Exactly which organic and inorganic items were

deemed trash, to be collected for redispersion, is not listed in any journals and other documents written at Fort Meigs. Since hunting and fishing were not initially permitted, the men would have relied upon the onsite stores for their rations. Faunal remains from onsite butchering of larger mammals would be more obvious and would have been collected. When hunting and fishing were permitted, small bones from birds and fish could simply have been discarded directly into a campfire and thus destroyed. Certainly, larger metallic items and broken pottery, glass containers, and other large litter would have been collected and disposed outside of the fort. During times of siege, however, this method of disposal would be cut off, leaving only two other options: disposal within the fortification and disposal over the palisade/parapet wall.

Testing of these propositions requires physical evidence. The first option can be dismissed because both excavation and landscaping associated with the reconstruction of the fortification did not locate any interior trash-filled pits. The second option—discard over the palisade/parapet—can be tested because the exterior slope in front of the fort is relatively undisturbed. If anything, fort-era midden deposits would have been covered by erosion from the parapet after abandonment of the fort and, thus, preserved. While the author was conducting excavations in the fort interior between 1977 and 1979, one such sheet-midden deposit was exposed just outside the palisade/parapet wall, exactly where such deposits were predicted. The midden was exposed due to bank erosion, caused by a particularly wet spring, and excavated in 1978 and 1979 (Nass 1980). Visual examination of the feature revealed a deposit roughly 5 m in length by roughly 50 cm in thickness, tapering as it proceeded downhill.

This specific "secondary refuse" deposit can be linked with certainty to the regular army because several Script I and rifle regiment buttons, pewter cockade eagles, and stock clasps (FIGS. 7 AND 8) were found in it (Nass 1980). However, the presence of numerous large and small mammal bones is puzzling. An analysis of the faunal assemblage identified wild birds, fish, and large and small mammals, as well as domestic animals (Martin 1980). During the two sieges, hunting and fishing

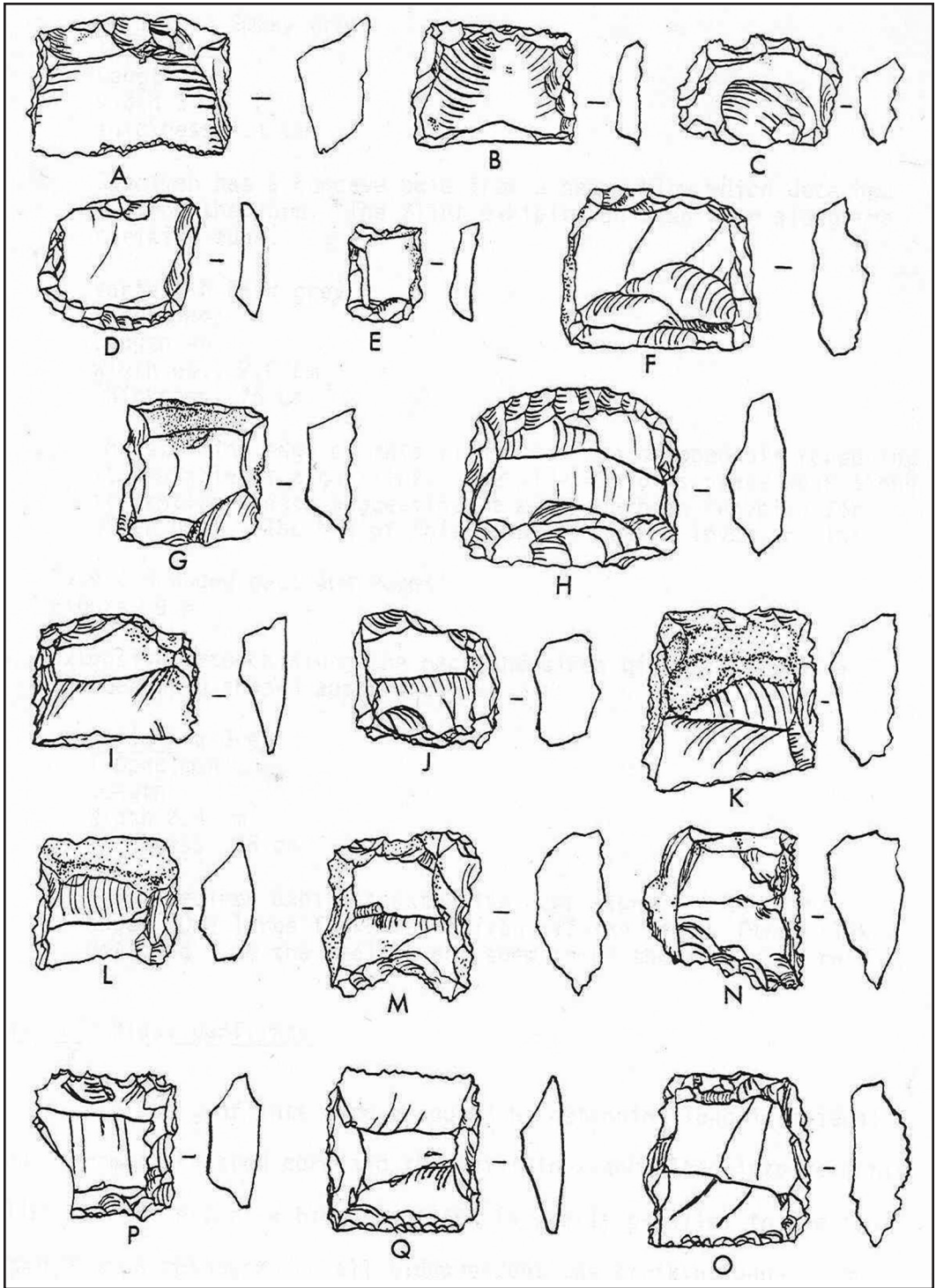


Figure 6. Drawing of gunflints. A-C, spall gunflints; D-J, blade gunflints; K-O, prismatic blade gunflints (Nass 1980).

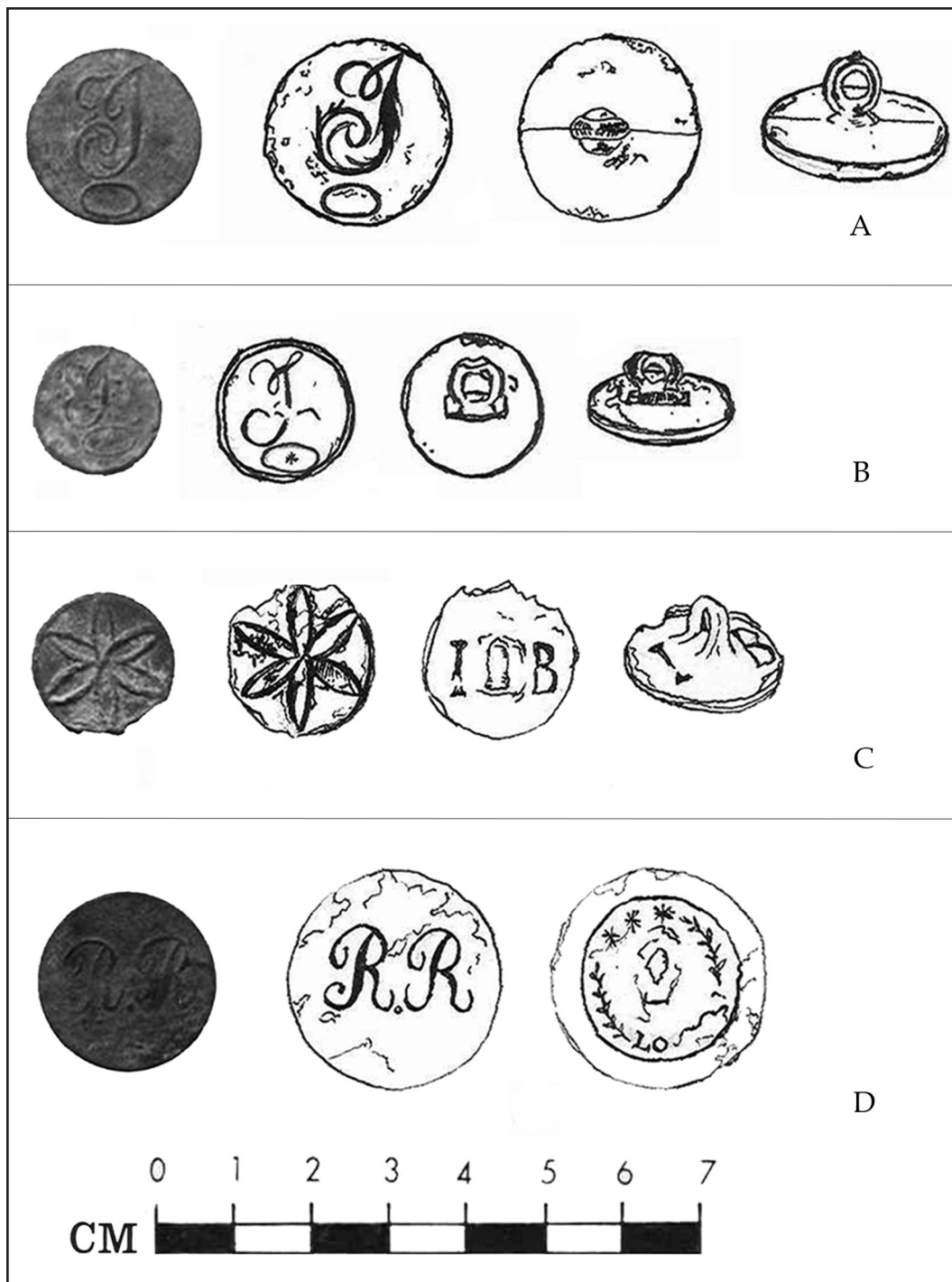


Figure 7. Examples of buttons from Fort Meigs. A, Cast pewter, Script "I" Infantry great coat button; B, Cast pewter, wire eye, Script "I" Infantry vest button; C, Unidentified cast pewter button; D, Cast brass, Rifle Regiment great coat button. (Drawing adapted from [Nass 1980]).

were not permitted for obvious reasons. The presence of wild game must date to the occupation of the smaller, second Fort Meigs built just prior to the abandonment of the larger fortification. The garrison at the smaller fort consisted of Ohio militia detachments stationed there between 1813 and 1815 (Hamlin 1922).

Support for this proposition is also provided by the recovery of armaments and other government-issued equipment (including government-provided muskets and cooking containers) recovered during earlier excavations and mechanical landscaping within and around the smaller second fort. Armaments include a musket, a lock plate, a bayonet, a broken bayonet socket, an altered musket ramrod bent into a kettle hook, a bayonet split and transformed into a fish spear, and a bayonet modified into a knife.

### Discussion

According to the behavioral model, differences in the disposal behavior among population groups of soldiers composing Harrison's army were predicted. In addition, examples of unauthorized modification/destruction of government-issued armaments also were predicted and should correlate with populations of soldiers that were less likely to follow military protocol, such as volunteers and

state militia, who were provided with government armaments.

Although the documentary record mentions only one type of refuse-disposal pattern—the systematic collection of waste and daily trash for discard outside the fortification to minimize illness due to poor sanitation—the archaeological record at Meigs documents two additional types: disposal within the traverse borrow pits and the discard of refuse over the river-side palisade/parapet. A third possible disposal type that could have taken place during the sieges—disposal in pre-dug pits within the fortification—has not been archaeologically documented thus far.

Disposal within the traverse borrow pits was documented during Defiance College excavations attempting to locate an example of a bombproof built into the Grand Traverse by different units to shield themselves from exploding cannon shot during the two British sieges. While excavations did locate one such structure, the work also recovered numerous artifacts from within the borrow pits dug on either site of the earthen traverses. It was in these excavations that bones from large mammals and a broken candlestick with a slide were collected. Although these features would have been ideal facilities for the disposal of trash, camp policies would certainly have

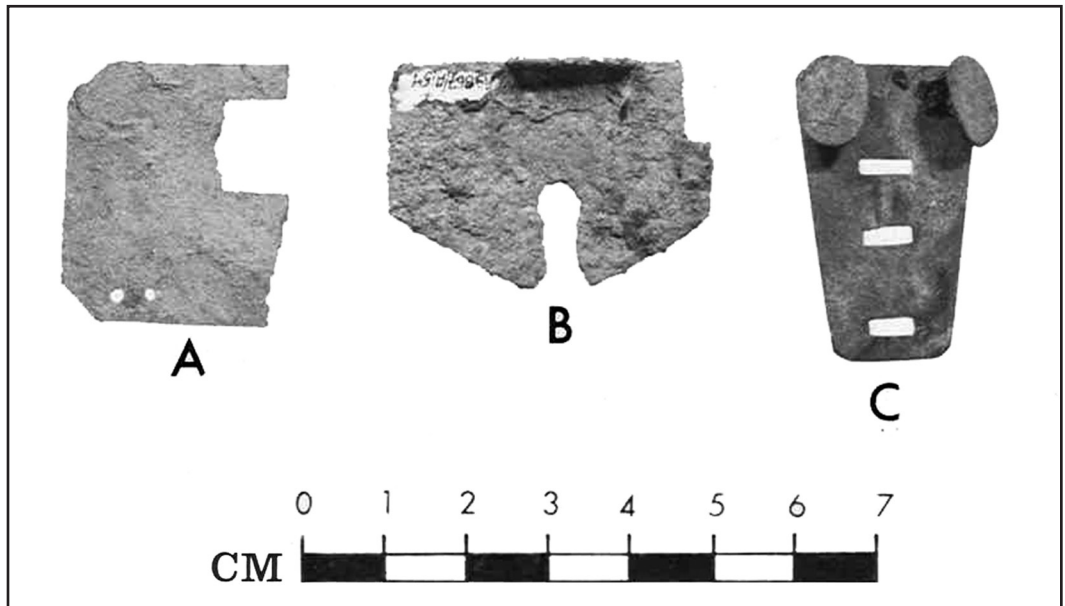


Figure 8. Leather stock clasps (Nass 1980).

precluded their usage as receptacles for trash, even during times of siege. Incidental items, such as buttons or shot, that would have been tossed into the borrow areas were probably not collected for formal discard because of their size. Small ceramic sherds, nails, and other small items also appear to have been overlooked. It is my belief that the large, discarded artifacts within the borrow areas were disposed of during the preparations for deploying the army toward Detroit and Fort Malden. A metal candlestick with a slide is not the typical sort of thing a common soldier would have possessed, so its owner was most likely an officer. However, during the deployment transition, the policies governing camp cleanliness would have been lax, as the

military commanders advanced north with their respective commands.

The second type of disposal documented at Meigs was the discard of trash over the palisade/parapet wall along the river side of the fortification. These hillside midden deposits were a treasure trove, with an array of personal and military-related artifacts. Found within the midden deposit excavated in 1979 were sling rings, a barrel-stock band, a gun wrench, a gun worm (FIG. 9), a sear spring, two pewter cockade eagles (not shown), scabbard clips (FIG. 10), and stock clasps (FIG. 8). Personal items included an ice chopper (not shown), bone- and antler-handled knives (FIG. 11), a clasp knife (not shown), a pewter spoon handle, a lead

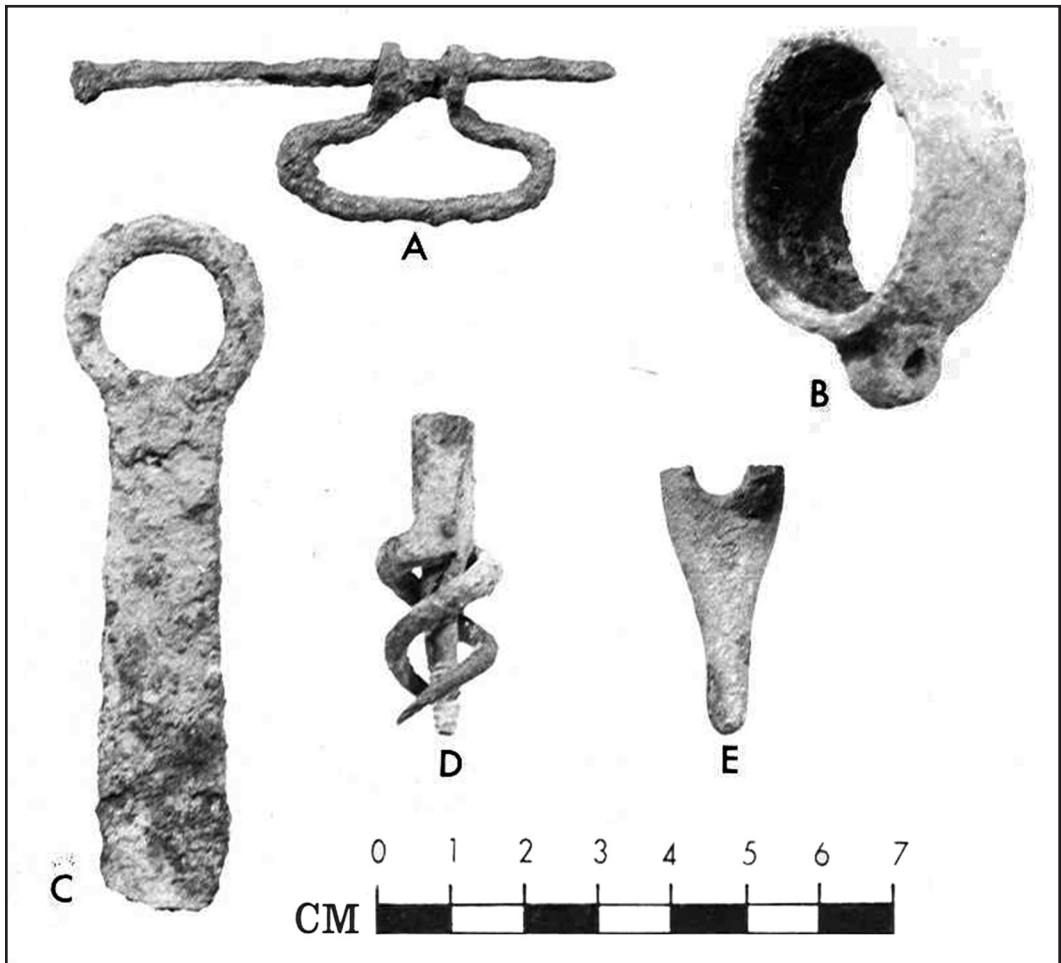


Figure 9. Artifacts from the Hillside midden deposit: (A) Sling ring; (B) barrel-stock band; (C) gun wrench; (D) gun worm; and (E) trigger-guard fragment (Nass 1980).

pencil, a bone cube, and a pick and a brush chair for either a musket or a rifle (FIG. 12). In addition, a number of Script "I" and RR buttons, (FIG. 7), nonmilitary pewter and gilded buttons, gunflints and bone and shell buttons, (FIG. 6), also were recovered.

While the proximity of this feature to the smaller, second fort garrisoned by Ohio militia cannot be ignored, the presence of items that would have been used by members of the infantry and rifle regiments certainly points to their involvement in the creation of the hillside midden deposit. This specific midden deposit is thus believed to be a composite from all groups residing at Meigs.

A third type of trash disposal, not initially predicted, was disposal within the defensive ditch surrounding the second fort. This fact only became obvious during the landscaping that required the leveling of the earthworks and filling of the defensive ditch. The artifacts within this feature were certainly deposited by the Ohio militia stationed at Fort Meigs. Perfectly usable artifacts, such as a gun worm; modified armaments, such as bayonets and ramrods; and a complete musket, were found during the landscaping of the smaller fort in

the 1960s. These, together with broken kettles and other large artifacts, were found within the ditch surrounding the smaller fort. They may certainly be connected with the Ohio militia stationed at the fort between 1813 and 1815 and represent an additional example of the type of disposal within defensive ditches documented by South (1977).

To summarize, three types of refuse disposal were identified: within traverse borrow pits, over the palisade/parapet wall, and within the ditch surrounding the smaller, second fort. Each of these contained similar, yet different, types of both military and personally owned artifacts. All three deposits seem to be a product of volunteers, militia, and government troops. One of these appears to be from government troops, one possibly from a combination of all of the different groups, and one was definitely created by the Ohio militia. The quality of the artifacts also reflects both militia and officers in the militia, the regular army, or both. A side-by-side distribution of personal, military, and food-related artifacts recovered from Fort Meigs is provided in Table 4.

What can be said is that refuse disposal was controlled, even during the two sieges. Only

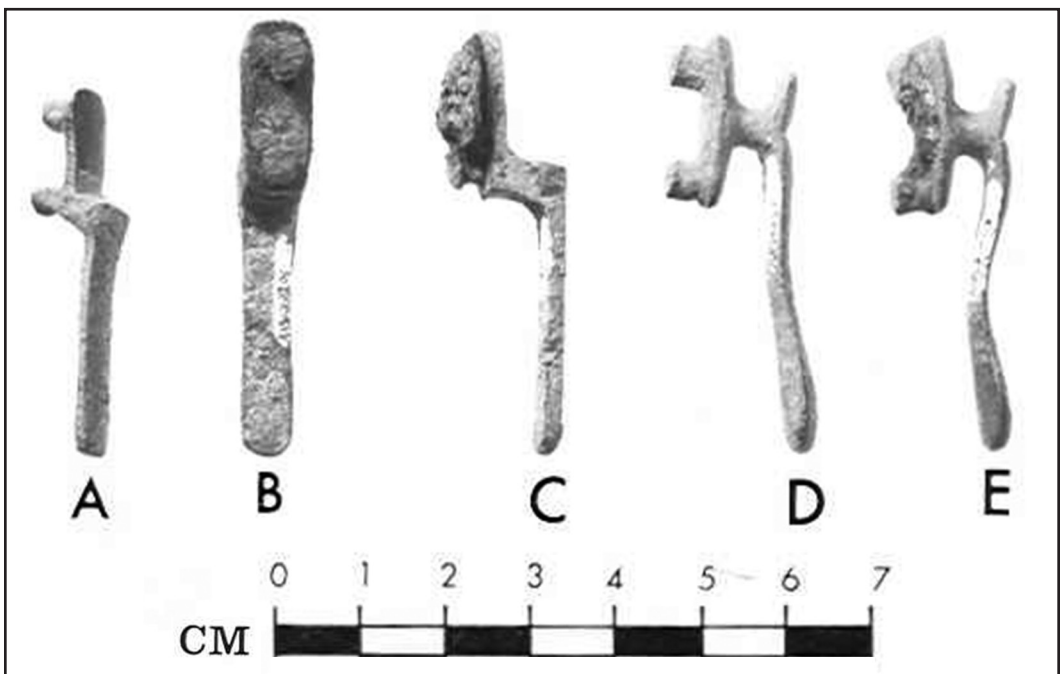


Figure 10. Examples of military-related artifacts: (A-E) Scabbard clips (Nass 1980).

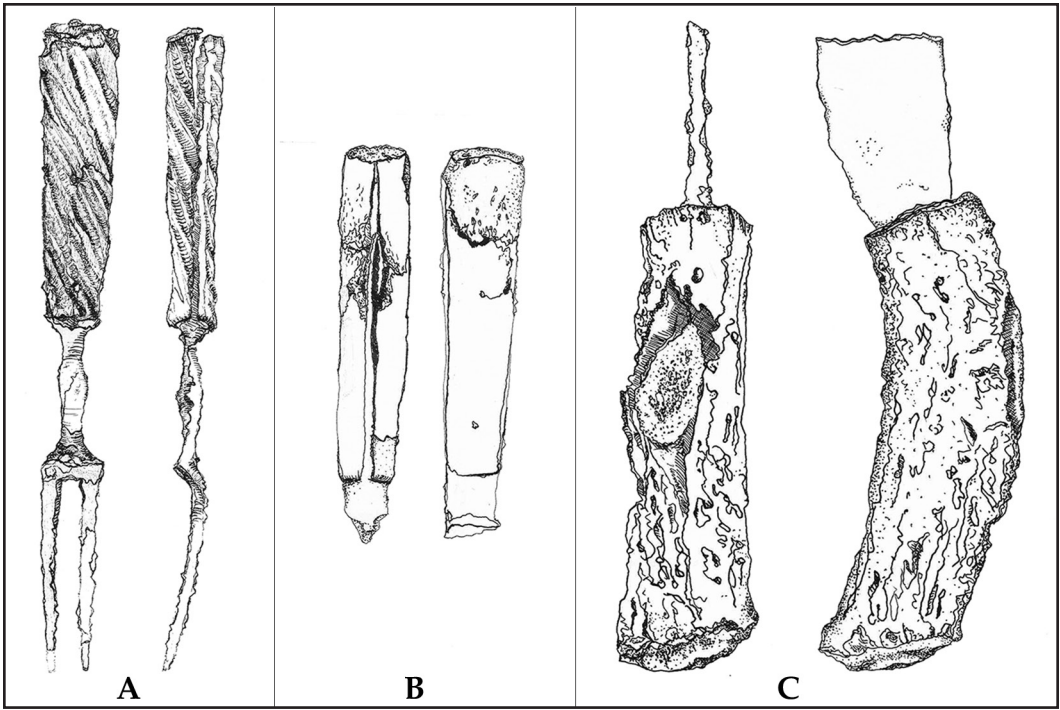


Figure 11. Examples of personal items from Fort Meigs: (A) Bone-plated two-prong fork; (B) bone-plated dinner knife; and (C) deer-antler hunting knife with broken iron blade (Nass 1980).

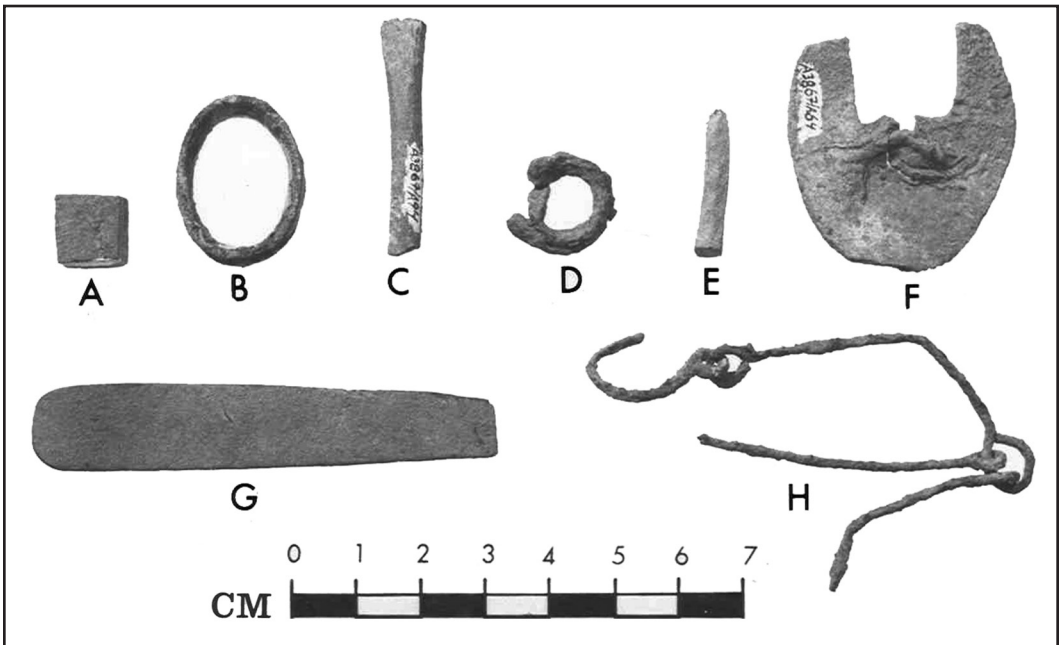


Figure 12. Miscellaneous personal artifacts: (A) Bone gaming cube; (B) oval brass band; (C) gimlet; (D) iron grommet; (E) lead pencil; (F) lead artifact; (G) pewter spoon handle; and (H) pick and brush chain (Nass 1980).



Table 4. Frequency of artifact classes from selected feature contexts.

Artifact classes	Excavation context					
	Second fort	Feature 19	Interior traverse pits	Parapet pit	River gate	Fort interior
<b>Personal</b>						
Buttons	—	20	5	1	2	4
Cutlery	8	3	1	—	1	—
Candle holder	—	—	1	—	—	—
Clasp knife	2	1	1	—	—	—
Hunting knife	—	1	—	—	—	—
Lantern	—	1	—	—	1	—
Ceramics (Pearlware)	1	35	12	—	1	—
Ceramics (Redware)	—	4	—	—	—	—
Ceramics (Stoneware)	—	6	—	1	—	—
Pipe stem/bowl	—	—	1	—	2	—
Trunk latch	—	—	—	—	—	1
Fish hook	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tin cup	—	—	—	—	—	1
Scissors	1	—	—	—	—	—
Razor	2	—	—	—	—	—
Tumbler	—	—	—	—	—	1
Stem ware	2	—	—	—	—	—
Wine bottle	—	1	1	—	—	—
Clothing fasteners	—	11	—	—	—	—
<b>Military</b>						
Whole musket	2	—	—	—	—	—
Deformed ramrod	2	—	—	—	—	—
Deformed bayonet	4	—	—	—	—	—
Lock plate	—	—	—	—	—	1
Sear spring	—	—	—	—	—	1
"US" button	—	2	—	1	—	1
Script "I" button	—	5	1	—	—	4
"RR" button	—	4	—	—	—	2
Raised eagle button	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cockade eagle	2	—	—	—	—	—
Cannon shot	30	1	—	2	—	—
Digging tools	8	—	—	1	—	—
Axes	2	—	—	—	—	—
Gun worm	1	1	—	—	—	—

Table 4. Frequency of artifact classes from selected feature contexts. (*continued*)

Artifact classes	Excavation context					
	Second fort	Feature 19	Interior traverse pits	Parapet pit	River gate	Fort interior
<b>Military</b>						
Scabbard clips/tips	2	10	1	—	1	—
Gun wrench	2	1	—	—	—	—
Brass suspender clip	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spur	—	—	—	1	—	—
Collar clasp	2	4	—	1	—	—
Canteen	2	—	—	1	—	—
Padlocks	2	—	1	—	—	—
<b>Food related</b>						
Kettle parts	4	2	1	50	1	6
Animal bones	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
<b>Miscellaneous metal items*</b>	4	—	40	38	20	29

\* Miscellaneous items consist of barrel strap, parts of digging tool blades, and other unidentified badly corroded iron items

when the policies governing the daily behavior of the encampment were lax did disposal within the fort take place. This stands in contrast to the disposal behavior of the militia members, who discarded anything and everything.

## Summary

To conclude, the Second Army of the Old Northwest included individuals from all social and economic segments of the American landscape. Aside from a professional staff and career soldiers, most of Major General Harrison's force consisted of term enlistments and members of state militias. The extent of the training for the regulars in Harrison's command is unknown. Unlike the scheduled training by members of the National Guard, members of the state militia were only required to drill for a few days per calendar year. The inexperience of Harrison's force is also reflected by entries in Cushing's and Wood's journals that reference numerous infractions of the military code of conduct. The archaeological record at Meigs reflects what is documented in the written record, especially a disregard for authority, an unwillingness to conform, and a willingness to engage in actions deemed socially unacceptable. These inconsistencies at Fort Meigs

provide a rich record of the tensions that existed between conformity and self-expression in its many forms.

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