Conflicting Ideologies of Catholic Service and Capitalism: An Archaeological Investigation of St. Mary’s Hospital in Virginia City, Nevada

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology

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December, 2013
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entitled

Conflicting Ideologies Of Catholic Service And Capitalism: An Archaeological Investigation Of St. Mary’s Hospital In Virginia City, Nevada

be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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December, 2013
Abstract

This thesis describes the results of the 2012 excavation performed by the University of Nevada, Reno Field School in Historic Archaeology at the St. Mary’s Hospital site, 26-ST-446, in Virginia City, Nevada. The excavation was performed in hopes of shedding light upon two of the site’s historic occupation periods, including a Beer or Pleasure Garden and St. Mary’s Hospital, which was administered by the Daughters of Charity. Attempts were made to locate features associated with the Beer or Pleasure Garden and to determine what kinds of activities took place at the Garden. The majority of the excavation was used to locate features and artifacts potentially associated with St. Mary’s Hospital and to answer questions relating to the religions, classes, ethnicities, health care, and gendered behaviors found at the hospital. The St. Mary’s Hospital period was also analyzed through a theoretical lens of ideology. Historical documentation and material evidence support the conclusion that the Daughters of Charity adhered to an ideology of Catholic service; it is likely that this ideology furthered the agenda of the Catholic Church, the main institution that controlled the Daughters mission in Virginia City. The documentary and archaeological records also show that the hospital’s patients were affected by, and responded to, the ideology of the Daughters, who held positions of influence as the hospital’s administration. There is also evidence to suggest that the Daughters' ideology of Catholic service was in tension with an ideology of capitalism that was an integral part of running the business of a hospital in the United States.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my Graduate Adviser, Dr. Sarah Cowie, for making this project possible and for her constant assistance and support through this process. I would also like to thank the other members of my Graduate Committee, Dr. Carolyn White and Dr. Elizabeth Raymond, for their support and assistance with this project.

I would also like to thank Ron James, the retired Nevada State Historic Preservation Officer, for his relentless support during this entire project. His guidance and assistance throughout the process, from obtaining permissions to excavate the site to acquiring funding for the project, was invaluable. From the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office, the author would also like to thank Rebecca L. Palmer, the Acting State Historic Preservation Office, Karyn de Dufour, the Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Marty Williams, Michael A. “Bert” Bedeau, Elyse Jolly, and Jessica Axsom for their assistance with this project.

The Nevada SHPO generously provided two grants that made this project possible: A Historic Preservation Fund Award from the National Park Service, as administered by the Nevada SHPO [Grant #32-12-41935(10)]; and a Nevada SHPO Award [Award #CHDGA-2011-03].

For permissions to study the St. Mary’s Hospital site, I would like to thank Storey County, Hugh Roy Marshall of the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company, and the St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center Board of Directors.
For their performance of ground-penetrating radar at the St. Mary’s Hospital site prior to excavation, I would like to thank ASM Affiliates. I would also like to thank Jimmy Daniels for conducting the work and authoring the report of those results.

The author would also like to express heartfelt thanks to all of the individuals from the University of Nevada, Reno for their help with this project. First, I would like to thank the students of the 2012 University of Nevada, Reno Field School in Historical Archaeology: Devin Blom, Jerri Ho, Katherine Kindorf, Dru McPherson, Dameon Meeks, Austin Offenbacher, Marcelle Powers, Samantha Redman, Alexia Sober, Zeb Stecker, Cavan Van Geem, and Heather Tiscareno. I would also like to thank the field school Teaching Assistants, Steven Holm and Elizabeth Bennett, and Chris LeBlanc for his assistance in field school preparations, GIS work, and field school excavations.

I would also like to express thanks to the various volunteers that assisted in the field school excavations.

Thanks also to the many volunteers who assisted in the cataloging and research of the artifacts after the field school. These individuals included Robert Leavitt, who proved to be invaluable to this project, Zeb Stecker, Dru McPherson, Cavan Van Geem, Heather Tiscareno, Jessica Leonard, and Dania Jordan. Thanks to Elizabeth Bennett for her assistance, as well as a big thank you to Austin Offenbacher for all of his help with the figures in this thesis. I would also like to thank Evan Pellegrini for his amazing sketch of the flaked glass artifact discussed in this thesis.

I would also like to thank the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul for their support of this project, for visiting the field school, and for providing insights into the results of the excavations. I would therefore like to thank Sister Patricia Smith for visiting
the site and for here assistance in the historic research of the Daughters of Charity. I would also like to thank Sister Margaret Ann Gainey, the archivist for the Daughters of Charity Province of the West, for her help with the historic research and for visiting the field school; as well as Sisters Estela Morales and Betty Marie Dunkel for visiting the field school and providing insight into the research.

I would also like to express gratitude to a wide number of people for their assistance in historic research of the site, including the staff of the University of Nevada, Reno Special Collections Department; Arline Laferry and Heidi Englund of the Nevada Historical Society; Elizabeth Huntington, Patrick Neylan, and Jacquie Obos of the St. Mary’s in the Mountains Catholic Church in Virginia City, Nevada; Joe Curtis of Virginia City, Nevada; and Barbara Mackey of the Historic Fourth Ward School Museum in Virginia City, Nevada.

I would also like to thank numerous people for their assistance in analyzing the results of the field school excavations. For their assistance in artifact identification, the author would like to thank Dr. Geoffrey Smith, Dr. Christopher Morgan, Dr. Gary Haynes, Dr. Jarod Hutson, and Scotty Strachan of the University of Nevada, Reno; Suzanne Hood of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Bill Lockhart of the Bottle Research Group; Alain Pollock and Monique Kimball of Kautz Environmental Consultants, Inc., and Jan-Erik Nilsson and Joan K. Brand-Landkamer associated with Gotheberg.com.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my family and friends for their support throughout this process. To my parents, I would like to say thank you for always being there for me and for always loving me and supporting me in everything that I do. I
could not have done this without you. To my friends, thank you for providing the personal support that helped get me through this. And to Ian, I would like to thank you for your never-ending love and support and for being my rock through this process. I love you all and thank you.
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I. Introduction

Saint Mary’s Hospital was built in 1875 in Virginia City, Nevada, under the administration of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul. At that time, the Comstock Lode in Virginia City was producing the greatest amount of profitable ore in its history (Hannefin 1989:7,147; Smith 1998:150-153, 191-194; Butler 1998:161). Because of the hazardous conditions of mining along the Comstock, the city was in need of better health care. Saint Mary’s Hospital was built to serve the injured miners, and to treat various other diseases common in the region (Sohn 1997:25-26; Breault 1988:90). The hospital, which was quite advanced for its time, admitted its first recorded patient in March, 1876. The hospital boasted indoor plumbing, including hot and cold running water, as well as many other modern features (Butler 1998:161; St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897; Gorman 1935:46; Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3).

Considering that this hospital was an institution administered by women religious, or noncloistered Catholic sisters (Michelman 1997:350), in a mining boomtown, this site lends itself to a variety of important questions, especially those concerning religion, social classes, ethnicities, health care, and gendered behaviors. A particularly apt theoretical lens through which to view this site is that of ideology. Through both historical documentary evidence and material evidence associated with this site, the ideologies of the Daughters of Charity are investigated here. Specifically, I will be discussing how the Daughters constantly displayed and reinforced their ideology of Catholic service through their material environment and their daily actions, as well as discussing how those ideologies may have furthered the agenda of the Catholic Church,
the Daughters’ supervising organization. I will also demonstrate that the patients actively responded to this ideology, which they encountered on a daily basis while at the hospital. How the Daughters successfully negotiated between their ideology of Catholic service and an ideology of capitalism inherent in administering the hospital as a business is also discussed.

**Project History**

St. Mary’s Hospital was excavated as part of the Field School in Historical Archaeology in Virginia City directed by Sarah Cowie of the Anthropology Department at the University of Nevada, Reno in July and August 2012. This project was also sponsored by the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office and the National Park Service. This excavation is part of an ongoing process sponsored by the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office to supplement the historical and archaeological information about the Comstock National Historic District and the Virginia City National Historic Landmark in Nevada. The project included historic research, fieldwork at the hospital site, laboratory analysis of the artifacts, and reporting of the results.

**Site Description**

St. Mary’s Hospital, site 26-ST-446, was excavated as a historic period site. The site also contains what is likely a prehistoric component. The site is located at 55 R Street, south of Six Mile Canyon Road, in Virginia City in Storey County, Nevada. See Figure I-1 for a map of the project area. Today, the original hospital building houses St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center. The site is located on a raised ridge-like landform west of Six Mile Canyon. To the east of the hospital site there is an abandoned mine shaft of the
Piety Hill Gold and Silver Mining Company which was in operation by the 1880s (Yale 1882:67; The Metal Worker 1881:14). This mining claim is known as “Andrews” on historical maps as it once belonged to the Andrews Company (Browne 1875; Wheeler 1879). The mining claim and mine shaft today is owned by the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company. The mine was included in the project boundary because it was contemporary with the hospital and was located within 30 meters of the historic hospital grounds. Local residents also reported that hospital trash was thrown into the shaft. To the north of the site is private property and to the south is Virginia City High School. There had been no archaeological work performed at the site prior to the 2012 field season.

The site is currently occupied by five buildings. See Figure I-2 for a map of the site. The main hospital structure and the associated small building east of the hospital, once used as a laundry building, are still intact on the site (Pickering 1986:10). They are located in the center of the landform and both face westward. The main building is a four story brick structure, while the building located to the east is a two story brick structure. There is also a small wooden structure, labeled as a waterhouse, in the front yard of the hospital grounds, in the middle of a large lawn. North of the laundry building just east of the hospital lies a small wooden structured labeled on the 1907 Sanborn map as a “wood shed” (Sanborn Map Company 1907:6). This structure was mapped in conjunction with the laundry building; therefore, it is included as part of the “Laundry Building” on the site map (see Figure I-2). North of the main hospital lies another small wooden structure labeled as a “shed” on the 1907 Sanborn map (Sanborn Map Company 1907:6). The front yard is landscaped with lawn and trees, while the backyard is currently not landscaped.
The vegetation in the backyard consists of sagebrush and various grasses, including cheat grass.

Some artifacts at the site may date from prehistoric times, although these artifacts cannot be assigned any definite prehistoric or historic date. There are also artifacts from both the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as modern artifacts and debris. Behind the hospital, the surface is covered in artifacts dating from the 19th century to the present.

In July, 2012, ASM Affiliates performed ground-penetrating radar in four grids across the site in order to detect subsurface anomalies (Daniels 2012). Certain test units at the subsequent excavation were used to target some of the discovered anomalies. In July and August of 2012, a total of nine 50x50 cm shovel test pits (STP) and 14 1x1 meter test units (TU) were excavated on the site as part of the Field School in Historical Archaeology at the University of Nevada, Reno. A total of seven features was excavated in the test units throughout the course of the field school. Because public archaeology was a focus of the field school, in addition to learning proper fieldwork methods and skills, the students also gave tours to the public and learned how to discuss archaeology and historic preservation with the press. Various volunteers also helped with the excavations.
Figure I-1. Project Area.
Figure I-2. Site Map.
Research Goals

At the St. Mary’s Hospital site, there are at least four distinct occupations worthy of analysis: the Beer or Pleasure Garden, St. Mary’s Hospital, Storey County Hospital, and St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center. Prior to the hospital, the site was owned by General Jacob L. Van Bokkelen. Certain accounts state that Van Bokkelen ran the site as a German-style beer garden. Other accounts claim that the site was occupied by Hildebrand’s Pleasure Garden (James 1998:159; Territorial Enterprise 1872a:2).

Therefore, certain test units were used to attempt to locate any evidence of this period of the site. The primary questions referencing the Beer/Pleasure Garden include:

1. Are there any traces of the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden remaining?
2. What kinds of activities took place at the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden?

The hospital site was excavated primarily to target the use of the site between 1876 and 1897, when the Daughters of Charity administered the St. Mary’s Hospital (Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3; Daily Nevada State Journal 1897:3). The main questions asked of this period include questions of class, ethnicity, health care, gender, and religion. They include:

3. Can evidence of the Daughters’ Catholic religion or the various religions of the patients be seen in the archaeological record?
4. Is there evidence of class distinctions among the hospital’s patients or workers?
5. Is there evidence of ethnic distinctions among the hospital’s patients or workers?
6. What kind of health care did the Daughters of Charity provide their patients? Did they have technologically advanced medical practices for their time?
7. Considering that the hospital was administered by a group of women, how might this have affected the care of the patients and administration of the institution?

Also, after the Daughters of Charity left Virginia City, the hospital was purchased by Storey County (Virginia Evening Chronicle 1899). Therefore, during analysis of the artifacts recovered, an attempt was made to separate the artifacts associated with the Daughters of Charity’s hospital from those associated with the Storey County Hospital. In 1964, the hospital building became St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center (Pickering 1986:13). Therefore, modern artifacts and debris at the site are likely associated with this period. Overall, the goal of the excavation was to find evidence of St. Mary’s Hospital, under the administration of the Daughters of Charity. The only test units not used to target this period included those used to target the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden. However, considering the constant use of the site since at least the 1870s, all occupations had to be considered in the artifact analysis.

Although all of the aforementioned questions will be discussed here, of particular interest was how ideology could be seen at the St. Mary’s Hospital site. Particularly, I will discuss how the ideology of Catholic service shared by the Daughters of Charity can be seen in the landscape, architecture, and material culture of the hospital (Hannefin 1989:3, 11, 13). I will also discuss how the hospital’s patients responded to this ideology and how the ideology was used to further the agenda and strengthen the authority of the Catholic Church. Lastly, I will demonstrate how the Daughters had to negotiate between this ideology of Catholic service and an ideology of capitalism, which would have resulted from operating the hospital as a business. In the next section, I will introduce the theory of ideology and how it has been applied in historical archaeology, specifically in
the archaeology of institutions. I will also discuss the definition of ideology that I will use to analyze St. Mary’s Hospital.

**Ideology**

**Introduction**

A variety of social theorists have addressed the concept of ideology, including Karl Marx (Miller and Tilley 1984), Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1994), Anthony Giddens (1979), and John Plamenatz (1970). While Marx believes it to be a tool used by the ruling class to mask social inequality or create a “false consciousness” (Miller and Tilley 1984; Burke 2006:129), other theorists choose to discuss how ideologies actually operate in everyday situations in the real world (Burke 2006; 129). Heather Burke (2006:129) describes these two viewpoints as different schools of ideology, including

An epistemological school descending from Hegel, Marx, and Lukács, which sees ideology in terms of true and false consciousness; and a sociological school followed by Althusser, Gramsci, and Giddens which is concerned more with the function of ideology within social life rather than questions of its reality.

Still, some individuals, such as Plamenatz, do not fit easily within either category and prefer to understand it as worldview, as beliefs shared by a certain community which influence their actions (Plamenatz 1970:31).

Many fields use ideology as a theoretical lens, including historical archaeology. Numerous historical archaeologists, including Randall McGuire (1991), Mary Beaudry and colleagues (1991), and Lu Ann De Cunzo (1995), have addressed how material culture can demonstrate ideology in historical contexts. Heather Burke (2006) argues that "many recent historical archaeological studies of ideology [including Marxist studies
such as those by Mark Leone] fall clearly within the sociological tradition, concerning
themselves with how ideology functions within social life" (Burke 2006:129-130).
Therefore, Heather Burke would argue that all of these historical archaeologists,
McGuire, Beaudry, and De Cunzo, all adhere to the sociological tradition because they
seek to understand how ideologies operate in real-world situations, even despite the great
Marxist leanings of some of these archaeologists.

The archaeological study of historic institutions appears to be a particularly
productive area of research using a theoretical framework of ideology (Van Wormer
2006; Spencer-Wood 2006; De Cunzo et al. 1996; De Cunzo 1995; Starbuck 1990).
Although arguably all historical archaeologists adhere to the sociological school's
understanding of ideology as they attempt to understand how ideologies play out in
everyday practices (Burke 2006:129), there appear to be two main paths taken by
archaeologists within that overall sociological perspective. Many historical archaeologists
use a more Marxist perspective to study ideologies of domination and resistance within a
framework of capitalism; by contrast, historical archaeologists of institutions, and
especially religious institutions, appear to use a more Plamenatz-like definition of
ideology in their attempt to understand how an ideal worldview held by a particular group
of individuals is manifested in everyday practice and material culture.

**Defining Ideology**

One of the most famous social theorists credited with discussing “ideology” is
Karl Marx. Marx is a member of the “epistemological school” of ideology, according to
Burke, because he focuses on the idea of “consciousness” and whether it be true or false
(2006:129). Marx’s definition of ideology is based upon the concept of a dominant
ideology, which is characteristic of the ruling class within any given society (Marx 1987:172-173). In particular, Marx focuses on the elite in a capitalist society when discussing the importance of ideology. An ideology, according to Marx, is the ruling class’s representation of reality to themselves; it is their understanding of their own reality. It is not necessarily a true representation of reality, but it is still believed despite its falsity; thus it is “false consciousness” (Miller and Tilley 10-14; Burker 2006:133). These representations make the world coherent; they mask differences between groups within a society and thereby conceal conflict. They also make cultural institutions appear natural. This ideology of the ruling class, or capitalist bourgeoisie, can thereby be used to control the more subordinate classes, or proletariat, within society because it makes the power of the elite appear natural to the lower classes. Therefore, Marx’s understanding of ideology is entrenched in ideas about power and class conflict. Furthermore, ideologies have materiality; material realities help to shape ideologies and ideologies help to shape the material world (Miller and Tilley 1984:10-14). Marx believes that ideology is a tool used by the elite to keep the lower classes under their authority. He also argues that ideology is a type of false belief that the elite actively construct and the lower classes passively accept as reality. Ideologies therefore play a powerful role in society because they help to maintain the status quo.

Alternatively, Althusser belongs to the sociological school of ideology and focuses more on “the function of ideology within social life” rather than on the falsity of ideology (Burke 2006:129). Louis Althusser argues that “ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (Althusser 1994:123). He believes that ideology is an illusion of reality, but is “an allusion to
realism” (Althusser 1994:123). Therefore, similar to Marx, he believes that a group’s ideology is their representation of reality to themselves, although this representation can be false. He further agrees with Marx’s understanding of ideology as having a material component. He argues that an “ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice…This existence is material” (Althusser 1994:126). However, Althusser differs from Marx because his main focus is on how ideology actually plays out in the real world, instead of focusing on the level of consciousness (Burker 2006:129). Althusser connects ideology to real practices. If an ideology is to work according to Althusser, it must be successful at “re-creat[ing] society’s structure through everyday social practices” (Burke 2006:133).

A similar sociological view is also shared by Anthony Giddens (Burke 2006:129). He argues that ideologies are used to legitimize the interests of hegemonic groups. He argues that ideologies naturalize the current social order and make the interests of a select few appear to be the interests of all. He further states that ideologies mask contradictions between the interests of various groups (Giddens 1979:188, 193-195). Based on these definitions, it appears that Giddens and Althusser were influenced by Marx’s interpretations of ideology, but augmented Marx’s views with a greater emphasis on ideology in real world situations (Burke 2006:129,133). Althusser chooses to focus on the materiality of ideologies and how it is seen in everyday practices, while Giddens chooses to emphasize the ability of ideologies to legitimize elite power.

Pierre Bourdieu is also a member of the sociological school (Burke 2006:133). Instead of ideology, Bourdieu chooses to use the word “doxa” which he defines as the “many things people accept without knowing” (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1994:268). For
Bourdieu, ideologies are effective because individuals accept them without understanding that they have accepted an ideology at all. Ideologies therefore appear to become subconscious controls over an individual. He further adds to the definition of ideology because he argues that “the main mechanism of domination operates through the unconscious manipulation of the body” (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1994:269). He believes that it is through bodily actions that ideologies are constantly reinforced. For Bourdieu, ideologies are not consciously, but unconsciously, accepted and taken as the real workings of the world.

Antonio Gramsci and Terry Eagleton differ from the previous theorists in that they comment upon the active acceptance and resistance of such ideologies; for these theorists, accepting ideologies is not a passive act. Antonio Gramsci argues that ideologies psychologically affect individuals and help to create the consciousness through which they act in the world (Gramsci 1999:707). Despite his argument that ideologies are an inherent part of social control and help to create the hegemony of a particular group, he argues that the masses consent to that control (Gramsci 1999:145). This idea that the masses agree to the authority of another group suggests that they also have the ability to disagree. This suggests that although ideologies help maintain social control, they are not complete and allow for resistance by the subordinate class. Terry Eagleton’s view of ideology also suggests that there is room for opposition. Eagleton argues that accepting ideology is not a passive act; it is an active, creative effort (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1994:273). If accepting ideologies is an active event, this concept of ideology leaves space for individuals to not accept them. Therefore, ideologies are not always all controlling entities through which lower classes passively accept the authority of the
elite, but they are sets of ideas which individuals can choose to reject as appropriate representations of reality.

Unlike the previous theorists, John Plamenatz offers a rather unique functionalist definition of ideology. As his is a more general definition of ideology, it is applicable to a wide variety of case studies. He defines ideology as “a set of closely related beliefs or ideas, or even attitudes, characteristic of a group or community” that “must serve to hold it together or to justify activities and attitudes characteristic of its members” (Plamenatz 1970:15,31). He argues that these beliefs do not have to be true, they just have to be believed (Plamenatz 1970:31). This definition of ideology allows groups such as religious groups, political groups, and other types of communities to have ideologies, in addition to social classes. For Plamenatz ideologies are beliefs, but they must be beliefs which function to do something, such as maintain the cohesion of the group. Therefore, ideologies are beliefs with a purpose. However, this purpose does not necessarily have to be a power struggle.

It appears that Plamenatz generally equates ideology with “worldview” as he describes it as a “a set of closely related beliefs or ideas, or even attitudes, characteristic of a group or community” that “must serve to hold it together or to justify activities and attitudes characteristic of its members” (Plamenatz 1970:15,31). Based on this definition, ideology is not much different than the concept of culture. Therefore, although Plamenatz attempts to distinguish ideology as a concept from other similar concepts like worldview, he does not truly succeed. He excludes the fact that ideology can be used to mask social differences and usually furthers the agenda of those who support that particular ideology. He appears to neglect the fact that power is an inherent component of ideology.
Heather Burke (2006:134), a historic archaeologist, provides the most succinct definition of ideology that incorporates these various ideas, when she states:

ideology comprises the general process of masking contradiction and reproducing an unequal or conflicting social form. [It is always] in the service of particular interests…It is not so much the content of ideology that matters, as it is the way in which that content operates in terms of justifying or masking relationships of political, social, or economic power.

**Ideology and Historical Archaeology**

Most historical archaeologists have arguably followed the sociological tradition and used the concept of ideology to understand the material culture of the past (Burke 2006:129-130; e.g., Deetz 1977; Glassie 1975; Wurst 1991; Burke 2006; Scharfenberger 2005). One of the predominant themes in historical archaeology, within this overall sociological perspective, is an attempt to understand the historical record from a Marxist perspective. Although these historical archaeologists are using Marx's epistemological definition of ideology, by connecting ideology with "real material practices and social institutions" and assuming that ideology can be understood by studying those practices, they are still following the sociological tradition (Burke 2006:129-130). These archaeologists have analyzed how the material record demonstrates the ideologies of the dominant class within a capitalist worldview; one of the primary focuses is how the constructed landscape demonstrates this dominant ideology. Those that do not focus on the ideologies of the dominant groups still use the Marxist view of the ideology of capitalism as a framework, but instead focus on the ideologies of groups resisting capitalism.
A Marxist Archaeology of Ideology and the Constructed Landscape

Many of the archaeologists who understand ideology from a more Marxist perspective are interested in how the constructed landscape can reinforce, mask, and illustrate the ideologies inherent in a capitalist society; such archaeologists argue persuasively that capitalism itself is an ideology which can be represented by material culture (Delle 1989; Leone 1984; Paynter and McGuire 1991; Mrozowski 1991). Randall McGuire’s (1991) work in Broome County, New York demonstrates how the constructed landscape can be used to demonstrate the social inequality put forward in a capitalist ideology. McGuire argues that an ideology of Social Darwinism, individualism, and an accumulation of wealth was an important part of late nineteenth century capitalism. He states that in this worldview, success was based on survival of the fittest and the “fittest” were the individuals who were most successful at capitalist ventures (McGuire 1991:103-104). Such an ideology helped to rationalize class relations and differences between the elite and the workers (McGuire 1991:103). McGuire argues that this “ideology both originated in the stark material differences between classes and perpetuated these differences” (McGuire 1991:104).

The cultural landscape particularly helped to create and perpetuate these differences by demonstrating how every individual fit within the capitalist hierarchy (McGuire 1991:104). Examples of this stark contrast can be seen in the difference between the large industrial factory of capitalist Jonas Kilmer in Binghamton, which boasted grand beautiful architecture, and the squalor of the working class who lived in “overcrowded wooden fire traps lacking in basic comforts” (McGuire1991:113). Kilmer and his associates thereby successfully created class boroughs that materially showed the
class distinctions between his fellow capitalists and the working class. The cemetery was
another material manifestation of these class differences as demonstrated by Kilmer’s
mausoleum, which was so grand that it dwarfed the apartments of his workers (McGuire
1991:113). Through his factory and his mausoleum, Kilmer both defined and reinforced
the inequalities between his own class and the working class. The constructed landscape
thereby helped to prove to elites why this capitalist ideology was true, because it proved
that they were the “fittest” in society; and helped to reinforce the social inequalities that
created that ideology in the first place.

It is clear that McGuire is operating within a Marxist framework in his
understanding of ideology. Not only is he focusing specifically on an ideology of
capitalism, as Marx does, but he attempts to argue why class differences within Broome
County are seen as natural. He argues persuasively that the constructed landscape in
Binghamton helped to produce an ideology, or “false consciousness,” that wealth
demonstrates fitness in a capitalist world by describing the different material culture of
the elite and working classes. Such ideologies help to maintain the power of the elite
because they help to demonstrate why such individuals are elite in the first place. The
constructed landscape helps to produce a false consciousness among the working class, as
they come to believe that the elite’s power is natural. This is an apt application of Marxist
theory in archaeology: the constructed landscape is used to legitimize the power of the
elite by making it appear natural to the working classes.

Ideologies of Resistance in Capitalism

Certain archaeologists go beyond a discussion of how material culture is used to
naturalize the ideologies of the dominant class. Some historical archaeologists discuss
ideologies of resistance, and how ideology does not necessarily have to describe the beliefs of the elite (Miller and Tilley 1984:14; Pluciennik et al. 2004; Paynter and McGuire 1991). Although these archaeologists are still generally working with ideologies surrounding capitalism and generally within a Marxist framework, these archaeologists differ in that they attempt to demonstrate how dominant ideologies are not complete and how they can be actively resisted. For example, Beaudry and colleagues (1991) argue that there is not simply one ideology that dominates all of society. Subsequently, class relationships are at least partially determined by the competing ideologies of various classes; these different classes are constantly in competition to become the dominant class with the ruling ideology (Beaudry et al. 1991:157-159). Beaudry and colleagues therefore do not see the world completely through a Marxist framework of a dominant ideology constantly blinding the working classes to the social reality. They understand it more as hegemony, as a power which is never complete and is always being constantly accommodated by various parties (Beaudry et al. 1991:165). Therefore, these archaeologists, despite their Marxist emphasis on class struggles in capitalism, demonstrate the suggestions of Terry Eagleton and Antonio Gramsci: that hegemony, or ideological control, is never complete and that there is space for active dissent (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1994:273; Gramsci 1999:145, 707).

To demonstrate their opinions about the incompleteness of social hegemonies and the existence of ideologies of resistance, Beaudry and colleagues (1991) describe the material culture of the Boott Company in Lowell, Massachusetts. They state that company officials attempted to control their workforce by prohibiting drinking because it degraded the company image and affected productivity. The company officials were
operating within an ideology of capitalism, as they tried to produce more efficient workers which would lead to greater profits. However, the discovery of large quantities of alcohol bottles and patent medicine bottles in the backlots of the mills demonstrate that the workers actively resisted such controls and therefore actively resisted this capitalist ideology. These bottles demonstrate a daily struggle between the workers and managers over control of the workers’ daily lives (Beaudry et al. 1991:166,168-169). Such material evidence demonstrates that the working class in this context shared a set of beliefs amongst themselves that contrasted with those of the managers. They demonstrated this subtly through daily acts of transgression. Therefore, the acts of these workers demonstrate that even within a world dominated by an ideology of capitalism, not every individual adheres completely to that ideology. This effectively shows that elites never have complete hegemony and that dominant ideologies allow space for resistance and even contrasting ideologies. Therefore, although these archaeologists are working within a Marxist belief that capitalism is the main ideology within this particular context, they appear to suggest what Gramsci and Eagleton suggest: that ideologies are never absolute and there is always some room for opposition.

**Ideology and the Archaeology of Institutions**

The archaeology of institutions is a subfield of historical archaeology that also provides fruitful ground for understanding the material record through a lens of ideology. The archaeology of institutions has been growing increasingly important in the world of historical archaeology (Beisaw and Gibb 2009). In recent years, specifically, the archaeology of institutions that can be considered religious, including certain reform societies, religious towns, utopian communities, and churches, has become more popular.
Numerous archaeologists have adhered to the sociological tradition and discussed how the ideologies of religious groups can be manifested in material culture (e.g., Leone 1973; Leone 1977; Preucel and Pendery 2006; Starbuck 1990; Strachan 2011; Spencer-Wood 2006; Thomas 1994; Ward and McCarthy 2009). It appears that when discussing ideology in reference to religion, most archaeologists of institutions understand ideology as a set of beliefs or worldview; these beliefs are shared by members of the same group and define that group (De Cunzo et al. 1996; Van Wormer 2006). They appear to understand ideology much like Plamenatz, in that ideology is a shared set of beliefs that serves to “justify activities and attitudes characteristic of its members” (Plamenatz 1970:15, 31). Therefore, I argue that many of these archaeologists have analyzed ideology in their respective case studies in too basic of a sense because many of them have equated ideology to a worldview or to a belief system that causes a group to behave and think in a particular way. Although De Cunzo (1995) appears to understand that ideologies function within relationships of power, De Cunzo and colleagues (1996) and Van Wormer (2006) do not take their analysis far enough. They essentially equate ideology with a belief system and do not attempt to analyze what power relationships these ideologies may be masking or whose agenda they may be serving.

However, because these are still institutions, where power dynamics are an important aspect of everyday life, I argue that the ideologies in each context should be considered “powerful.” The individuals within that group adhere to them as though they are true and valid because the elite in that group propagates the ideologies. The ideologies are still used to represent the world in an ideal way that may not adhere to reality and therefore still mask conflicting social realities.
The Ideology of Reform at the Magdalen Society

One of the numerous historical institutions that have been analyzed using a theory of ideology is the Magdalen Society in Philadelphia. De Cunzo (1995) follows the sociological school of thought about ideology, as she discusses how ideologies play out in "real material practices and social institutions" (Burke 2006:133).

In her discussion of this reform institution created to help save “wayward women,” De Cunzo (1995) demonstrates how the founders’ ideology of reform influenced the girls in everyday life. She discusses how the male founders were attempting to reform these "fallen women" and to construct them as the perfect examples of pure, moral, and refined womanhood (De Cunzo 1995). The men of the Board of Managers wanted to return these "unchaste, sinful, wicked, morally degraded, often diseased, uneducated, neglected, intemperate, miserable Mary Magdalens" to the "paths of virtue" (De Cunzo 1995:101-103). Through their interactions with the material world of the Society, the founders hoped to reform these women (De Cunzo 1995:35).

Material representations of this ideology of reform can be seen in the location of the asylum house, in the house's architecture, and even in the dinnerware. The asylum house was specifically located in a suburb full of gardens and away from the part of the city where the poorer classes lived, which was considered a den of sin and disease. Through this, the Society’s leaders hoped to place the girls in a more “natural” and “moral” setting (De Cunzo 1995:36-37). Another example was the architecture. In 1807, the Society’s leaders chose a brick house for the asylum because the upper classes lived in brick homes; they were seen as “commitments to ‘personal [moral] character, community religiosity, and involved citizenship’” (De Cunzo 1995:40). Lastly, the girls'
everyday interactions with mundane objects like plates demonstrate this ideology of reform. It is likely that the girls ate from plain white earthenware ceramics, which symbolized moral purity and the moral domestic role of proper women (De Cunzo 1995:73). Therefore, the girls' daily interactions with the asylum house and the ceramics were meant to reform these girls into moral and pure women.

De Cunzo's analysis of the Magdalen Society provides a solid example of how an ideology plays out in everyday practice. De Cunzo does an excellent job of illustrating how ideologies exist within relationships of power and how they are used to further the agenda of those who propagate them. She demonstrates how the male founders of the Society had an agenda of reform and intentionally furthered that agenda through the materiality of the asylum house and other artifacts. De Cunzo demonstrates that the "Magdalen Society’s Board and staff expected the Asylum to actively participate in the reform process" (De Cunzo 1995:35). Through this, De Cunzo shows that the ideology of reform was "in the service of particular interests" of the dominating group, that of the Society's founders (Burke 2006:134-135). This demonstrates that the ideology was used by individuals in a position of power (the founders) to further their own interests, in an attempt to dispose of an alternative lifestyle that did not adhere to what they believed was the only acceptable worldview, that of Christian morality. By propagating this ideology of reform, the Board of Managers were masking different belief systems and styles of living and imparting upon others the belief that a virtuous Christian lifestyle is the only proper way of life.
The Ideology of Millennialism and the Harmony Society

In addition to reform societies, other institutions that have been extensively studied using a lens of ideology are utopian communities. The daily lives at these types of institutions are often dictated by religious ideologies. In their study of the Harmony Society, founded in Economy, Pennsylvania in 1824, De Cunzo and colleagues (1996) demonstrate that every aspect of daily life within that religious community is dominated by a religious ideology of millennialism. By discussing how millennialism can be seen in the everyday actions of this group, De Cunzo and colleagues are following the sociological school of ideology.

Millennialism is the belief that after the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, Christ will have a “one-thousand-year reign of earthly harmony, freedom, and equality, expressed variously as a reconstituted Garden of Eden, the New Jerusalem, or the New Earth” (De Cunzo et al. 1996:105). The location that Father Rapp, the founder of the Harmony Society, chose for his people “was to be an earthly paradise prefiguring the heavenly one that the faithful awaited in the Second Coming” (De Cunzo et al. 1996:105). To create this paradise, the Harmony Society created its own Garden of Eden. The garden had a pond in the center to demonstrate the importance of water and baptism. It also had an artificial vineyard of grapes on a mount; the mount was significant due to its connection with the Mount of Olives in the Bible and the grapes represent a close connection to Jesus and also signify fertility (De Cunzo et al. 1996:106). This garden was meant to be an earthly paradise, a tangible representation of Rapp’s ideology and the importance of salvation for the Harmony Society (De Cunzo et al. 1996:109).
Through their analysis of the archaeology of the landscape of the Harmony Society, De Cunzo and colleagues demonstrate how the garden was a material representation of the Harmony Society’s ideology of millennialism. This ideology governs every aspect of the Society’s members’ lives and the garden was a constant physical reminder of this ideology and their dream of salvation and the Second Coming.

Based on their interpretations of the Society’s ideology, De Cunzo and colleagues appear to believe that ideology can be equated with a set of common beliefs shared by a group of individuals that serve to motivate their actions. In this case, the ideology of millennialism motivated the Society to construct a Garden of Eden on Earth. Therefore, the authors appear to understand ideology similar to Plamenatz's definition of the concept (Plamenatz 1970:15, 31). Although these archaeologists demonstrate that this ideology motivated the Society's actions and beliefs, they do not take their analysis further. They neglect to discuss whose interests the ideology may be serving or what kinds of internal social contradictions within the society may be hidden by this ideology. Therefore, they appear to understand ideology more as a worldview or a belief system and do not attempt to understand the power dynamics that may exist in this situation.

Although De Cunzo and colleagues do not discuss the power dynamics at play here, the Harmony Society’s ideology of millennialism is still that of the elite of the group, its founder Father Rapp, and is thereby used to justify his position of power (Burke 2006:134). I argue that this ideology is used to further his agenda and beliefs in the Second Coming. Despite the fact that it is a utopian community, there is still a powerful individual within the community; by adopting Father Rapp’s ideology, the other members are demonstrating and reinforcing his position of power.
The Ideology of Communalism

Another ideology analyzed through historical archaeology is that of communalism. Utopian communities provide particularly fruitful ground for this type of study as the basic Christian belief of communalism becomes a true ideology in utopian communities due to communitas (Van Wormer 2006:27-38). When defining this term, Kamau states, “Communitas can provoke strong feelings between persons who in normal life would never communicate, much less love each other” (Kamau 2002:24).

Heather Van Wormer argues that utopian communities serve as particularly great case studies to understand "how ideology is communicated and reinforced through material objects" (Van Wormer 2006:37). She states (2006:39),

Communitarian groups used material culture to set themselves apart from the outside world (through clothing, uses of technology, and industrial endeavors), to reflect ideology and social structure (through landscape designs, subsistence practices, settlement patterning, architectural forms), and to reinforce ideology and social relations within the group.

In her study of the Oneida Perfectionists, which began in 1848 in Oneida, New York, Heather M. Van Wormer (2006) performs a sociological study of ideology and shows how the material culture and daily practices of the Oneidas demonstrated their ideals of communalism. An important social practice that reflected this ideology was complex marriage: every woman was married to every man and every man to every woman. Adults were supposed to be equally intimate with all adults of the opposite sex and were not allowed to form close relationships with any particular person (Van Wormer 2006:40). A material representation of the group’s emphasis on communalism was that everyone lived together in a common house. There were collective kitchens and dining rooms where everyone cooked and ate together; there was even a children’s house
so that children lived communally and not with their birth parents (Van Wormer 2006:45-46). Landscaping the community’s yard was a communal effort and the gardens and courtyards were designed with an ideal of communal socializing in mind (Van Wormer 2006:49). The ideology of communalism that governed this community was prevalent in all community activities and in the architecture and landscape designed by the community. These events and objects were meant to demonstrate and reinforce the ideals of equality and community.

In this context, Van Wormer seems to believe that ideologies are shared belief systems, essentially a worldview, that govern the actions of individuals within the same community. For the Oneidas, they believed in an ideal world where communalism reigned; this was their representation of reality to themselves. Although it may not have been an accurate portrayal of reality to non-Oneidas in that period, that worldview was very much true and valid for the Oneida Perfectionists. Therefore, Van Wormer does not spend time discussing whether or not the ideology was true or false, as Marx might suggest, but instead discusses ideology in a way that is similar to Plamenatz’s definition: that an ideology is set of beliefs that are true for those who adhere to them and serves to motivate their actions in specific ways (Plamenatz 1970:15, 31).

Because Van Wormer basically equates ideology with a belief system, her analysis is lacking. She does not address the relationships of social power that may be at play here and does not address the potentially conflicting beliefs that the ideology may be suppressing. She does not discuss the fact that the ideology was propagated by the community’s founder, John Humphrey Noyes, and that he made the majority of the society's rules (Van Wormer 2006:37, 39-40). By being the "elite" of the group and
preaching his ideology to its members (Van Wormer 2006:37, 39-40), the ideology
helped to ensure Noyes's position of power. By preaching communalism, he helped to
ensure that no individual would challenge his power, as everyone, in theory, was
supposed to be equally important, including Noyes himself. This ideology also likely
masked any anti-communalism beliefs that may have existed among the community's
individual members. Although Van Wormer excludes this analysis from her article, this
ideology likely helped to ensure the success of Noyes as its leader and to prevent a
change in the social hierarchy of the group.

**Ideology and St. Mary’s Hospital**

Ideology has been addressed in a variety of ways in historical archaeology,
although almost always within the sociological school's overall understanding of
ideology in real world contexts (Burke 2006:129-130). Within that sociological
perspective, historical archaeologists have used both a Marxist-influenced view of the
ideology of capitalism, as well as a Plamenatz-like understanding of ideology as a
worldview shared by the people of the same religion within certain institutional contexts.
Both of these approaches are valid in certain contexts; however, the latter is lacking
because it ignores the relationships of power that always exist within an ideological
context. Neither one can solely be used to analyze St. Mary's Hospital.

I will be analyzing St. Mary's Hospital in a way that follows the sociological
tradition, in that I will show how "ideology [is] anchored in real material practices and
social institutions" (Burke 2006:129) and how it is "a sociological phenomenon that must
help to re-create society's structure through everyday social practices if it is to be
effective" (Burke 2006:133). As Heather Burke (2006:134) states
Ideology may well be misrepresentation, but it is not pure illusion. Ideology both represents false representations of life and makes some minimal sense of people's daily life experience... It is not so much the content of ideology that matters, as it is the way in which that content operates in terms of justifying or masking relationships of political, social, or economic power...ideology comprises the general process of masking contradiction and reproducing an unequal or conflicting social form.[It is always] in the service of particular interests.

As such, an ideology is a set of beliefs shared by a particular group of individuals that motivates their actions. It is always in the interest of those who support and propagate that ideology, usually those in positions of power. It can thereby be used to further the agenda of and validate the authority of those individuals. Ideologies not only legitimate power relationships, but also mask opposing belief systems. Through individuals' daily interactions with the material world associated with that ideology, the ideology would be constantly reinforced.

Using this definition, I will show how the Daughters of Charity's ideology of Catholic service can be seen in the architecture and material culture of the hospital site and in the historical documents associated with the site, as well as demonstrate how that ideology furthered the agenda of the organization supporting the Daughters, the Catholic Church. I will also illustrate that the hospital's patients were subtly, but certainly, affected by this ideology of the Daughters, who held positions of power as the hospital's administration, as well demonstrate how certain patients actively responded to that ideology. Lastly, I will demonstrate that the Daughters' ideology of Catholic service may have been in competition with the capitalist realities, and therefore capitalist ideology, of running the hospital.
II. Environmental Setting and Cultural Background

Environmental Setting

The project area is located at St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center, at 55 R Street in Virginia City in Storey County, Nevada. The site is located on a ridge-like landform east of Mount Davidson in Virginia City. The ridge has been cut and filled exposing volcanic tuff deposits. Also, the site has been disturbed by soil erosion, feral horses, mining activity, a two track, and use by the Art Center.

The elevation of the site ranges from 1790 to 1810 meters above sea level. The natural vegetation at the hospital site is Upper Sonoran. It includes low Wyoming sagebrush \((Artemisia tridentate)\) and various low grasses, including cheat grass \((Bromus tectorum)\). On the hospital site, there are fruit trees and other species. The species and placement of these trees indicate that they are not natural and were purposefully planted. The vegetation surrounding the site is similar to that of the site: low sagebrush and other low grasses. Due to the high elevation, single leaf pinyon pine trees \((Pinus monophylla)\) and Utah juniper trees \((Juniperus osteosperma)\) grow on the outskirts of Virginia City. However, much of the natural vegetation on and around the site has been removed due to the construction of the landscaped front yard of the hospital, the construction of the Virginia City High School football field, and mining activity. The fauna located in the local area today include cottontail rabbits \((Sylvilagus audubonii)\), whitetail jackrabbits \((Lepus townsendii)\), mule deer \((Odocoileus hemionus)\), coyotes \((Canis latrans)\), California valley quail \((Callipepla californica)\), feral horses \((Equus ferus caballus)\), Great Basin rattlesnakes \((Crotalus oreganus lutosus)\), and western diamondback rattlesnakes.
(Crotalus atrox). Some descriptions of the flora and fauna have been adapted from a description by the US Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Land Management (2012:25).

**Prehistoric Context**

This prehistoric context for the western Great Basin, with a specific focus on the Comstock Lode area, is summarized from Spidell and colleagues (N.d.)

The Paleoarchic period in the western Great Basin dates to >10,000-c. 8,000 B.P. In the Comstock region, the Washoe Lake Phase dates to >10,000 B.P. This period is marked by fluted points and is associated with the Fluted Point Tradition or Clovis Culture. After this period is the Tahoe Reach Phase, which lasts between about 10,000 and 8,000 B.P. This is the local version of the Stemmed Point Tradition (Spidell and colleagues N.d.).

According to Spidell and colleagues (N.d.), the Archaic period (8,000-150 B.P.) is characterized by larger population sizes and a greater reuse of habitation sites. There is also an increase in the diversity of subsistence resources which are exploited seasonally. The Early Archaic (8,000-5,000 B.P.) is called the Spooner Phase near the Comstock. Gatecliff Series points, as well as Humboldt Series points, mark this period. The Middle Archaic (5,000-1,300 B.P.) is locally known as the Martis Phase. Steam Series, Martis Contracting Stem, and Gatecliff points are typical of the first half of this period. The Late Martis Subphase occurs about 3,000-1,300 B.P. Martis Corner-notched, Elko Corner-notched, and Elko Eared points are typical of this period. The Late Archaic period (1,300-150 B.P.) is identified as the Kings Beach Phase near the Comstock. This period is
marked by the Rosegate Series and Desert Series point types. This period also sees the beginning of the use of the bow-and-arrow. During this time, the Numic expansion may have taken place, bringing individuals like the Northern Paiute speakers to the region (Spidell et al. N.d.).

According to Spidell and colleagues (N.d.), the Ethnohistoric period begins about 150 years ago. The Northern Paiute and the Washoe were both present in the region at this time. The Northern Paiute and the Kiyuidökadö or Cui-ui eaters lived in the Comstock Lode area. Some simply turned their gathering techniques to new resources during the Comstock rush, such as the waste left by Euro-Americans, while others served as wage laborers. The Northern Paiutes also sold their spoils from hunting, fishing, or pine nut gathering to the Euro-Americans (Spidell et al. N.d.).

**Historic Context: The Comstock Lode and Virginia City**

William Prouse, a member of a wagon train on its way from Salt Lake City, is responsible for the discovery of the first hints of precious metals in the Comstock region. In 1850, he discovered “a few small ‘colors’” while gold panning in a gulch where a small stream met the Carson River, a site which would later become the town of Dayton, Nevada (Smith 1998: 1). The wagon train moved on, but two members of the train, John Orr and Nick Kelly, returned to the gulch after snow in the Sierras did not allow the party to continue past Carson Valley. Despite having found very little gold in the gulch, Orr named it Gold Cañon (Smith 1998: 1). Hearing the story of the “cañon,” men came to the region looking for gold (Smith 1998:2).
In 1857, near Six Mile Cañon, James “Old Virginny” Finney, a placer miner, found quality ground near the site that would later become Virginia City, Nevada. Along with three other men, he discovered the “famous Old Red Ledge” in 1859 at the site of the later town of Gold Hill. The same year, Peter O’Riley and Patrick McLaughlin discovered the top layer of the future Ophir bonanza (Smith 1998:2-3). “Thus the Comstock Lode was discovered, both on its north and south ends, in the spring of 1859 by two groups of poor placer miners, working a mile apart, who had no thought of finding ore” (Smith 1998:3). These men were probably completely unaware that they had just discovered the Comstock Lode, which has a “glorious history as one of the world’s greatest mining camps and producers [of gold and silver]” (Carpenter 1998:1).

On June 27, Melville Atwood assayed the mysterious bluish-gray quartz found on the Comstock in Grass Valley, California and determined that it was indeed silver. The result of this discovery was the first “‘Washoe Rush’” of 1859 (Smith 1998:9-10). Hard-rock miners and businessmen quickly replaced placer miners in the region and started exploiting the newly discovered silver vein (James 1998:11).

As a mining camp grew into a boomtown, so too did the infrastructure. It attracted not only miners, but also other groups attempting to make a living in Virginia City, including laundry men and women, blacksmiths, butchers, saloonkeepers, merchants, gardeners, and doctors. All of these individuals came to Virginia City to serve the needs of the mining community, which controlled over 70% of the work force. The community was also rather diverse by the end of 1860; native-born Americans, as well as immigrants from Canada, Mexico, China, Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary among other nations

Although a definite Catholic presence was felt in Virginia City, there were many other denominations and religions in the region. In 1863, St. Paul’s Episcopalian Church was built; and in 1867, the Presbyterians built a church. The community also included African Methodist Episcopalians, Baptists, and Jews. There also existed a joss house, or temple, in Chinatown (James 1998:201).

In 1873, the Consolidated Virginia Company discovered the biggest bonanza on the Comstock. At that time, the silver kings John Mackay, James Flood, James Fair, and William O’Brien, known as the Bonanza Firm, owned the company. The Firm continued to drive its mineshaft downward and it connected with the Gould & Curry shaft, which was also taking advantage of the large ore body, in September 1873 (Smith 1998:144-153). In 1877, the Consolidated Virginia bonanza appeared to be all but depleted. This year marked the beginning of the end of the major producing days on the Comstock. 1880 marked the end of the “glory years” of the Comstock (Smith 1998:212-213,229).

The Comstock was at least somewhat revived in 1886 when the Consolidated California and Virginia began making profits on low-grade ore. This little development brought back a bit of hope to the Comstock. Even some of the original mine shafts were reopened to take advantage of what might be left of the ore in those mines. This small revival ended in 1894 (Smith 1998: 284). In 1899, the North End Mines, including the Consolidated Virginia, Ophir, Mexican, Union, and Sierra Nevada, were revived at the decision of the Virginia City mine brokers. This proved to be a fairly profitable venture until 1920 (Smith 1998: 286-288). The Comstock mines continued to produce
intermittently through the rest of the twentieth century, constantly changing ownership and profitability. However, the years following 1920 proved overall to be economic failures (Smith 1998: 291-307).

The detailed history of the St. Mary's Hospital site, as well as the other occupation periods of the site, will be discussed in Chapter IV.
III. Methods

Historic Research Methods

Historical research on the site of St. Mary’s Hospital was conducted at various locations. A collection of historic documents in the archives of Saint Mary’s in the Mountains Catholic Church in Virginia City, Nevada was reviewed. A copy of the St. Mary's Hospital Record Book was also obtained from the church. Historical resources, including newspaper articles and photographs, at the Fourth Ward School in Virginia City, Nevada were reviewed. Resources in the Special Collections Department at the University of Nevada, Reno and at the Mathewson-IGT Knowledge Center at the University of Nevada, Reno were also consulted. These resources included both primary documents and secondary source materials. The *Nevada in Maps* website of the University Digital Conservancy at the University of Nevada, Reno was used to obtain copies of historic Sanborn Insurance maps.

Newspaper clippings, Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) inventories, the Virginia City Historic Building Inventory, and other resources were consulted at the Nevada Historical Society in Reno, Nevada. Copies of historical newspapers, such as the *Territorial Enterprise*, the *Gold Hill Daily News*, and the *Virginia Evening Chronicle* were also consulted at the Nevada Historical Society. The archives at the Seton Provincialate of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in Los Altos, Hills California were consulted for historical photographs.

An online search for journal articles and book sources was performed. Research for historic photographs of the site was performed online at the Online Archive of
California (http://www.oac.cdlib.org); the University of Nevada School of Medicine Great Basin History of Medicine Photo Archives website of the University Digital Conservancy at the University of Nevada, Reno (http://www.medicine.nevada.edu/dept/hom/GBHOMPhotoArchive/); the Daughters of Charity Providence West website (http://www.daughtersofcharity.com/); the Online Nevada Encyclopedia (http://www.onlinenevada.org); the online Photograph Collections of the Special Collections Department at the University of Nevada, Reno (http://knowledgecenter.unr.edu/materials/specoll/photoweb/photocoll/), and the Joe Curtis Collection, Virginia City, Nevada. Historic maps and surveys were collected on the Bureau of Land Management Public Land Records website (http://www.nv.blm.gov/LandRecords/). The Nevada Census Database was also consulted for assistance with ownership history and information about the hospital patients (http://nvshpo.org/census-intro.html).

Prior to field work, Chris LeBlanc analyzed maps in ESRI ArcGIS 10. He georeferenced historical maps with modern aerial imagery in order to determine the possible location of historic features. An historic map dating to 1879 showing both the Andrews mining claim and the St. Mary’s Hospital building was georeferenced to a Bing Maps Aerial image of the St. Mary’s Hospital site (Bing Maps Aerial 2012; Wheeler 1879). A mineral survey of the Andrews mining claim from 1875 showing “Van Bokelen Garden” was then georeferenced to the previous map (Browne 1875). See Figure III-1 for the Andrews mining claim survey map. The location of the Beer or Pleasure Garden was then estimated in relation to the modern location of the hospital building. The results of this work demonstrate that the Beer or Pleasure Garden was potentially located in the
current front gravel driveway and lawn of St. Mary’s Art Center. Six test units were ultimately placed in this gravel driveway to investigate this possibility, after ground-penetrating radar (GPR) demonstrated that there were subsurface anomalies in that area (Daniels 2012). The next section in this chapter provides a more thorough discussion of the GPR performed at the site, as well as the subsurface anomalies that were investigated. Detailed descriptions of the individual test units will be given in Chapter V.

Figure III-1. Detail of “Survey No. 119 Plat of the Andrews Co.'s Claim on the Piety Hill Lode Virginia Mining District, Storey County, Nev.” by Ross E. Browne, 1875, showing “Van Bokelen Garden.” Courtesy of the Bureau of Land Management Nevada Public Land Records.
Field Methods

Fieldwork was conducted in July and August 2012 in the form of the Field School in Historical Archaeology of the University of Nevada, Reno. Sarah Cowie was Principal Investigator and Steven Holm, Lisa Machado, and Elizabeth Bennett acted as Teaching Assistants. A total of 12 students participated in the field school. Due to the public archaeology component of the field school, various volunteers also assisted throughout the excavations.

Prior to the beginning of the field school, a total of nine 50 x 50 centimeter shovel test pits were excavated on the grounds of St. Mary’s Hospital by Sarah Cowie, Chris LeBlanc, Lisa Machado, and Steven Holm. Soils were screened in 1/8 screens for all STPs, except for STP 9 where a 1/4 inch screen was used. Standard STP forms were used to record the results and the basic stratigraphy in each STP. Almost all of the historic artifacts excavated were collected, except for the majority of the charcoal located in the STPs which was not collected. The shovel test pits were used to determine the overall stratigraphy of the site and the location of artifact collections throughout the site. All artifacts from the same shovel test pit were bagged together. The locations of the STPs were recorded with a handheld GPS.

After the shovel test pit excavation, ground-penetrating radar (GPR) was performed at the site by ASM Affiliates, with assistance from Sarah Cowie and Chris LeBlanc. The following description is summarized from the report of those results (Daniels 2012). The GPR was used to locate potential subsurface archaeological anomalies in various grids, or areas, throughout the site. Figure III-2 for the locations of
the grids investigated during the field school. Grids A, B, and G were located to the east of (behind) the hospital building and were used to detect archaeological anomalies that may be associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital period of the site. Grid F (referred to henceforth as the Gravel Grid) and Grids C, D, and E, were located to the west of (in front of) the hospital building. The Gravel Grid was located in the gravel driveway, while Grids C, D, and E were located in the front lawn. These grids were used to find anomalies potentially associated with the beer garden or pleasure garden period of the site. Grids C, D, and E were not investigated during the field school, so as not to disturb the landscaping of the front lawn, and are therefore not included in the map showing the grids (Figure III-2). Grids A, B, and G and the Gravel Grid became the locations of the test units during the field school. In the Gravel Grid, two circular anomalies, as well as a linear anomaly bisecting one of the circular anomalies, were located; these were investigated during the field school. These anomalies are shown as “Circular anomaly” in Figures III-3 and III-4 and “Possible pit feature” in Figure III-4. These anomalies were located on the southern part of the landform and, therefore, may be associated with the structures shown in Figure IV-1 which were located on the southern part of the landform in 1866 (Library of Congress 1866). However, it is also possible that they are associated with features that postdate 1866. An L-shaped anomaly that appeared in Grid A was also investigated (see Figure III-5). Refer to James T. Daniels, Jr. (2012) for the complete GPR report.
Figure III-2. Site map showing the locations of the ground-penetrating radar (GPR) grids, Grids A, B, and G and the Gravel Grid.
Figure III-3. Time slice at 14-28 cmbs of GPR data in the Gravel Grid (located to the right). Image courtesy of James T. Daniels, Jr. (2012).

Figure III-4. Time slice at 35-49 cmbs of GPR data in the Gravel Grid (located to the right). Image courtesy of James T. Daniels, Jr. (2012).
During the field school, a total of fourteen 1x1 meter test units were excavated at the site. Figure V-2 shows the locations of the test units. The test units were excavated by trowels and shovels in arbitrary 10 centimeter levels. Due to how hard and compact the soils were in the Gravel Grid, an electric jack hammer was used to excavate certain parts of those units. The arbitrary levels did not correspond to natural stratigraphy. Standardized test unit level forms, feature forms, and photo logs were used to record the results of the excavation. All soils were screened through 1/8 inch wire screens. All
historic artifacts were collected, unless otherwise noted. Some materials, such as charcoal, were sampled. When features were discovered, they were recorded on feature forms and photographed. Test units were terminated either due to the discovery of sterile soil or time constraints imposed by the length of the field school. At the termination of a unit, at least one unit wall was profiled and drawn on standard profile forms. The profile wall(s) were then photographed. The locations of all units were recorded with a total station.

At the request of Darrel Cruz, the Washoe Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO), and in agreement with the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office, no artifacts presumably associated with a Native American occupation of the site were collected at the site. During fieldwork, and on field forms, these artifacts were referred to as “indigenous artifacts.” Henceforth, such artifacts will be referred to as “flaked materials” or “lithics.” If flaked materials were found during excavation, they were analyzed in the field lab. They were photographed and analyzed for material, type, and lithic stage of production. The artifacts were then placed in plastic resealable bags and labeled with the site name and number, provenience information, and a brief description. After units were completely excavated, all of the flaked materials, in their bags, were placed in their respective units. Photographs were taken of these artifacts in the bottom of each unit as proof of artifact reburial. The units were then backfilled, with these artifacts in the units. Some flaked materials were mistakenly collected during excavation. The four lithic artifacts were photographed and recorded in the lab as they would have been if identified in the field. These artifacts were then reburied in their respective units after the artifact cataloging was complete. Their respective test unit datums were relocated using a
total station and the lithics were reburied near the datum corner at 20-30 cm below surface. A flaked bottle glass sherd was cataloged with the historic artifacts and was analyzed as a possible Native American artifact. At the request of Darrel Cruz, it was returned to the site after the cataloging was complete. The artifact’s original location in the surface collection was found with a total station. To protect the artifact, it was buried in a small hole, about 15 cm deep, in the artifact’s original location.

Figure III-6. Reburial of flaked materials in Test Unit 5.

A similar reburial technique was used for the shovel test pits (STP). Consultation with the Washoe THPO about how to treat flaked materials occurred after such artifacts were discovered while excavating the STPs. Therefore, the artifacts were collected in the field bags with the historic artifacts. However, after an agreement with the tribe was made, the artifacts were processed in the same way as the flaked materials from the test
units. During the field school, they were photographed and analyzed for material, type, and lithic stage of production in the field lab. The artifacts were then placed in plastic resealable bags and labeled with the site name and number, provenience information, and a brief description. The STPs were then re-excavated so that the flaked materials could be reburied in their proper STP. In their bags, the artifacts were placed in the bottom of each STP. Photographs were taken of the artifacts in the bottom of each STP prior to reburial. The STPs were then backfilled again, with the artifacts in the test pits. There was one exception to this procedure. STP 5 could not be relocated for reburial. The flag that had marked its location was removed from the ground during the course of the field school due to disturbances at the site, including poor weather conditions and wild horses. Therefore, a new STP was dug in the vicinity of where STP 5 was originally excavated. The flaked materials from STP 5 were reburied in this new STP, following the same procedures as the other units.

In addition to excavation, a surface collection was performed. The location chosen for this collection was an artifact scatter located on the southeastern portion of the landform on which the hospital building stands. The scatter was located on the opposite side of an old fence line from the hospital building and to the southwest of a historic mine shaft. During the collection, diagnostic glass and ceramic artifacts were targeted, although non-diagnostic glass and ceramic artifacts were also collected. The types of artifacts that were specifically collected included diagnostic glass, especially sherds which contained finishes, necks, shoulders, seams, heels, and bases. Diagnostic ceramics were also targeted, especially those which displayed maker’s marks, and those with rims, bases, and any other potentially diagnostic features. Some diagnostic artifacts were not
collected due to time constraints; many of the artifacts not collected were avoided because they were similar to pieces already obtained. Approximately 75% of the ceramics and glass in the artifact scatter was collected. Most artifacts were collected, bagged and labeled individually in the field. The only exception was one 50 x 50 cm artifact concentration. All artifacts within this concentration were collected in one bag. The locations of the artifacts and the 50 x 50 cm artifact concentration were recorded with a total station.

A historic can inventory was also performed at the site. Near the location of the artifact scatter, on the southeastern part of the hospital’s landform, there was a historic can dump that appeared to be in primary context. A 1x1 meter square was placed over the densest part of the can dump and all metal items within that square were recorded. The artifacts recorded included historic cans, unidentifiable metal fragments, and barrel hoops. The opening method, closure, side seam type, and dimensions in inches were recorded for all cans if it could be identified. The cans were measured using a simple method for measuring historic cans. For example, a length of 612 equals a length of 6 12/16 inches. The dimensions and characteristics of the metal fragments and barrel hoops were also recorded. Photographs were taken of the metal fragments, one barrel hoop, and 12 cans. The location of the can inventory was recorded with a total station.

**Laboratory Analysis**

The historic artifacts were brought to the Historic Archaeology Laboratory at the University of Nevada, Reno where they were inventoried, cleaned, and analyzed. Only
glass and ceramic were wet brushed. All other artifacts were either dry brushed or were not cleaned.

During analysis, the artifacts were divided into diagnostic or non-diagnostic. If considered non-diagnostic, the artifact was analyzed by artifact type, material, quantity, weight, and function, if known. Nails were analyzed as non-diagnostic artifacts. When referring to glass colors, the color "amethyst" is used to describe sun-colored amethyst (SCA).

If considered diagnostic, the artifact was analyzed by artifact type. The various categories used in analysis included Ammunition, Bottles/jars/jugs, Buttons, Cans, Ceramics, Faunal, and Other Diagnostics. The latter category included any diagnostic artifacts that could not be easily placed in one of the other categories.

The data for each artifact, including its provenience, artifact type, material, primary and secondary function, and all other pertinent information, was recorded on paper catalog forms. The functional categories which could be assigned were adapted from Stanley South's artifact groups (South 1977:95-102). They included Architectural, Arms, Communications, Domestic, Faunal, Food/Drink, Indulgences, Landscape, Mining, Other, Personal, Sanitation, Transportation, Unknown, and Utilities. Then, a secondary function was assigned based on the primary function. For example, in the Architectural group, secondary functions could include Structural Hardware (including window hardware, doorknobs, locks), Structural Material (including brick, mortar, plaster, nails), Other (thumb tacks, staples), and Unknown. Artifact identification and function were applied conservatively to the artifacts. If the original function could not be
determined with a high degree of certainty, it was marked as unknown in the artifact catalog.

The artifact catalog was originally recorded on paper sheets and then digitally recorded in a Microsoft Access Database. See Machado (2013) for the full artifact catalog. The artifacts were then analyzed by date, function, and provenience. The catalog includes a record of all historic artifacts collected. Flaked materials, with the exception of the flaked glass, were not recorded in the catalog. These artifacts were recorded on the test unit forms used in the field.

The faunal remains from the site were analyzed and cataloged separately by Alexia Sober (2013). The faunal remains were removed from the original field bags when they were first brought to the Historical Archaeology Lab. The faunal material was then analyzed for portion, segment, fraction, taxa, species, age, size, and modification. The faunal material was cataloged minimally in the Microsoft Access database catalog as “Bone.” Weight was not recorded. Refer to Sober (2013) for the detailed analysis of the faunal remains.

A total of five artifacts presumed to be associated with a Native American occupation of the site, including lithics and a sherd of flaked glass, were discovered while cataloging the artifacts in the lab. Due to the agreement with the Washoe THPO and the Nevada SHPO, the lithic artifacts were recorded and photographed according to the same procedures that were used for processing these flaked materials in the field lab. The flaked glass sherd was cataloged in the Microsoft Access database with the historic artifacts. The artifacts were then bagged in plastic resealable bags and the bags were labeled with provenience information. After all artifact cataloging was complete, these
artifacts were returned to the site and reburied according to the same procedures that were used for reburying flaked materials during the field school.

Curation

Artifacts were stored in plastic resealable bags. Provenience information was recorded on the exterior of the bags with permanent marker. A paper label with the provenience information was also placed into each bag. Bags were placed in cardboard boxes. The collection will be curated by the Department of Anthropology Research Museum at the University of Nevada, Reno.

Artifact Analysis

Historic Artifact Analysis

In the tables in the “Artifact Descriptions” and “Analysis” sections of Chapter V of this thesis, artifacts are listed alphabetically by function or material type. If the function of the artifact was known, the artifact was included in its primary function group (i.e., Architectural, Arms, Communications, Food/Drink, etc.). After the functional groups are noted, the artifacts with an unknown function are listed by material type. Percentages of each functional group and material type were then calculated. These percentages were then used to analyze the relative abundance of artifacts in each unit.

Nail Chronology

Due to the limited number of specifically dateable artifacts in this collection, nails were used as proxy data in an attempt to determine change over time at the site and the general dates of each unit. The number of cut nails and wire nails was counted by level within each unit and unit totals were taken for each unit. Only complete nails and
incomplete nail heads were used in this count. Nails taken from possible disturbances and unit clean-ups and artifacts that fell out of sidewalls were not used in the count. These totals were then used to determine if patterns could be seen between levels in each unit and between units. The assumption behind this analysis is that a larger number of cut nails within a level or a unit would suggest an earlier date than a larger number of wire nails. A larger number of cut nails might suggest a mid-nineteenth century date while wire nails might indicate a twentieth century date. An equal number of both cut and wire nails might suggest a late nineteenth to early twentieth century date, around the time of the transition from cut to wire nails (Adams 2002).

**Analysis of Wood from Feature 2**

Feature 2 was a wood feature located in Test Unit 4. (See Chapter V for a more detailed description of this feature). In order to determine both the type of wood used in this feature and any other pertinent information about the wood, the wood sample was analyzed by Scotty Strachan, a researcher in the DendroLab at the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR) and the Environmental Research Coordinator in the Department of Geography at UNR. During the analysis, Strachan cut the wood to look at a fresh surface under a microscope. He first analyzed the level of carbonization of the wood. Figure III-7 is an image taken during this phase of the analysis. He also analyzed the character and distribution of the resin canals in the wood to determine the genus of the wood. Analysis of certain gross anatomy characteristics, such as color, tint, and hardness, was limited due to the level of carbonization of the wood. Minute anatomy was not attempted, also due to the level of carbonization.
Figure III-7. Feature 2 wood sample under a microscope showing the carbonization of the wood. Image courtesy of Scotty Strachan.
IV: Results of Historical Research

One of the earliest mentions of the property in historical documents is in 1870. At that time, General Jacob L. Van Bokkelen, Virginia City’s provost marshal, owned the site and lived there with a Chinese cook (*Territorial Enterprise* 1872a:2; Nevada State Historic Preservation Office 2010). According to some accounts, he may have operated a beer garden while he still lived on the property (James 1998:159; *Territorial Enterprise* 1876a:3). Although he still owned the site in the early 1870s, a group known in historical newspapers as the Hildebrands ran a pleasure garden on the site at this time (Browne 1875; *Territorial Enterprise* 1872a:2). When Van Bokkelen died in June, 1873, the land was purchased by Mrs. Mary Mackay, wife of silver king John Mackay; she donated the land for a hospital (*Territorial Enterprise* 1876a:3; Hannefin 1989:147).

St. Mary’s Hospital was built in 1875, under the administration of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (Hannefin 1989:147). The Daughters ran the institution until 1897 and in 1899, Storey County bought the property to serve as the county hospital (*Daily Nevada State Journal* 1897:3; *Territorial Enterprise* 1899:1). In April 1944, the Storey County Hospital officially closed (*Reno Evening Gazette* 1944; Laferry n.d.). In 1964, the building was purchased by the Catholic Church and became an art center. The building still serves as St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center today (Pickering 1986:13-14l; St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center 2013).

**Van Bokkelen’s Residence and the Beer or Pleasure Garden**

The six acres on which St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center now stands originally belonged to General Jacob L. Van Bokkelen, Virginia City’s provost marshal. As of
1870, the site was the location of Van Bokkelen’s home. Figure IV-1 is a photograph of the site in 1866 (Library of Congress 1866). Although it is unclear if this photograph shows Van Bokkelen’s home because of its early date, it does show multiple structures present on the southern part of the site landform at that time.

In 1870, Van Bokkelen shared his home with a young Chinese cook named Charles Sitgen (James 1998:130; Nevada State Historic Preservation Office 2010; Territorial Enterprise 1876a; Territorial Enterprise 1872a:2 Territorial Enterprise 1874:4; Sacramento Daily Union 1867:3). In addition to being his residence, there may have been a beer garden on the site. One account states that the site was home to “Van Bokkelen’s Gardens,” while another explicitly states that Van Bokkelen operated a beer garden there (James 1998:159). Ronald M. James describes the beer garden as a “brewery-saloon outlet” which served many members of the German community (James 1998:159).

Figure IV-1. The St. Mary’s Hospital site landform in 1866 showing multiple structures and a fence line. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.
The site was later home to Hildebrand’s Pleasure Garden in the early 1870s. Van Bokkelen still owned the site, but no longer lived there. This is supported by a mineral survey from 1875 showing “Van Bokelen Garden” (Figure III-1) and a newspaper account describing the Pleasure Garden on the site of Van Bokkelen’s former home (Browne 1875; *Territorial Enterprise* 1872a:2; *Territorial Enterprise* 1874:4). Van Bokkelen owned the land, but the Hildebrands used the land and operated the Pleasure Garden.

The accounts of the Pleasure Garden state that the site had a pavilion, a bar serving alcohol and food, and a dance hall measuring 80x60 (unit unspecified) that could hold up to 1,250 people. The Pleasure Gardens hosted numerous events, including performances by pantomime troupes, tight rope walkers, gymnasts, and dances. The Virginia Turn Verein, a group of German gymnasts, occasionally held festivals there, which involved sack races, food, games, concerts, dances, and gymnastic performances by the Virginia Turn Verein (Macháček 1938:82; *Territorial Enterprise* 1872a:2; *Territorial Enterprise* 1873:2; *Territorial Enterprise* 1872b:3).

It is possible that Van Bokkelen’s Beer Garden preceded the Pleasure Garden, considering that he lived on the property prior to the Pleasure Garden. Therefore, it is possible that both establishments existed on the site, with the Pleasure Garden coming after the Beer Garden.

Van Bokkelen tragically died in a nitroglycerine explosion in his home in June of 1873, which legend says was possibly caused by his pet monkey. Following his death, the land came up for sale (Butler 1998:161; James 1998:130; *Territorial Enterprise* 1874:4). Mrs. Mary Mackay, wife of John Mackay, then donated the land for a hospital.
Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3; Hannefin 1989:147). Refer to McPherson (2013) for a more complete discussion of the history of this period.

**St. Mary’s Hospital and the Daughters of Charity**

Saint Vincent de Paul and Saint Louise de Marillac founded the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in France in 1633. With the inspiration of Father Louis William Valentine DuBourg, Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton formally began a Catholic society in America, under the authority of the Catholic Church, based on the goals of the community in France. Known as the Community of the Sisters of Charity, also known as the Daughters of Charity, it began in Emmitsburg, Maryland on July 31, 1809 (Hannefin 1989:6-8). What really separated the Daughters of Charity from other women religious was their ability to fulfill their missions out in the public; they were not cloistered nuns (Butler 1998:146). This community of women not only served the poor and others in need, but also played a major role in “advanc[ing] the Kingdom” of God and helping the Catholic Church in America to transition from "a despised and barely tolerated minority" to “a respected ecclesial body influencing the thought and moral fiber of the nation, an acknowledged leader in human services” (Hannefin 1989:vii, 3, 8, 11). Within the first year, there were a total of 10 sisters in the Maryland community. From the beginning, Seton advocated charity and service to the community. The various services they provided included a free school, workrooms, and care for the sick (Hannefin 1989:3, 7-9, 11). An ideology of Catholic service, which is constituted and motivated by Catholic beliefs in the sanctity of Jesus Christ, service and charity to the community, and a mission of conversion, would continue to define the Daughters in the United States
throughout their history and into the modern day (Hannefin 1989:vii, 11, 13; Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul Province of the West N.d.).

This ideology of Catholic service can be considered an ideology in a sociological sense, as it is "anchored in real material practices and social institutions" and "help[s] to re-create society's [power] structure through everyday social practices" (Burke 2006:129, 133-134). Through their daily actions of "bringing the mission of Jesus Christ to life by serving the sick, and [their] brothers and sisters who are poor" (Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul Province of the West n.d.), the Daughters were performing, justifying, and reinforcing this ideology of Catholic service. This ideology is also "in the service of particular interests" (Burke 2006:134) as it serves the greater Catholic Church and its mission of conversion (Hannefin 1989:vii, 3). The Daughters are promoting the Catholic Church as the provider of these great charitable deeds (Hannefin 1989:3); therefore, the sisters are supporting the power and influence of the Catholic Church and legitimizing its role as one of the world's dominant institutions. Although the Daughters were performing acts of charitable service, their benevolent institutions would become vehicles of conversion to the Catholic Church, thereby bolstering the authority of that institution (Hannefin 1989:vii, 3; St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897).

Although the Daughters and the Catholic clergy did not always agree about the extent of the autonomy which the Daughters’ should receive in order to fulfill their mission, and particularly about the extent of the sisters’ freedom to own property, the Daughters ultimately adhered to the Catholic religion and recognized the authority of the clergy. They “defer[ed] to the church on matters of faith” and “maintained their commitment to the religious rule of their congregation” (Butler 1998:149, 164). Despite
the occasional philosophical tensions between the Daughters and their congregation, adherence to the Catholic faith was still an important aspect of the Daughters’ ultimate ideology of Catholic service. Although there may have been some disagreements between the actors within that ideological sphere, the Daughters still upheld the ideals of their mission and were ultimately agents of the Catholic Church’s mission of conversion (Butler 1998:143, 149, 164).

In America, the Daughters of Charity’s first foray into organized health care began in 1822. That following year, the Sisters took complete control over the Baltimore Infirmary (Hannefin 1989:33-34). The Saint Louis Hospital was the first hospital administered by the Daughters of Charity. In 1828, four sisters began providing medical care in a two-room log cabin to individuals of all races, nations, and religions. In 1830-1831, a two-story brick hospital was built to serve the patients (Hannefin 1989:43-44). Between 1840 and 1865, the sisters administered over 20 hospitals, 15 of which were sponsored by the Daughters or owned by the Church (Hannefin 1989:69-70). During their time in health care the Daughters earned a great deal of medical experience, learning not only how to treat the physically injured, but also how to nurse individuals with deadly diseases (Hannefin 1989:51-52,109-110). Because of the travesties that many people experienced during the gold rush in California, the sisters also had experience providing health care in mining communities in the West (Hannefin 1989:95-96).

According to Hannefin (1989) the mission in Virginia City, Nevada began in 1864. Irish miner-turned-priest, Father Patrick Manogue, requested the assistance of the sisters. In October, Sisters Frederica McGrath, Xavier Schauer, and Elizabeth Russell arrived to open a Catholic orphanage and school. As it was the first in Nevada, it was
partially funded by the state. The institution grew to include Saint Mary’s school for girls and Saint Joseph’s school for boys. The Daughters also helped to aid the poor and sick in the local community, while also teaching religion classes to local children and adults, including Native Americans (Hannefin 1989:102-103). Father Manogue and the sisters wanted a hospital in Virginia City, but they did not have a proper location. However, in 1875, the mission indeed grew to include a hospital when six acres of land was donated by Mrs. Mary Mackay after the death of Van Bokkelen (Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3; Hannefin 1989:147).

Although there were already numerous doctors in the local community and there was a hospital nearby in the form of the Storey County Hospital (James 1998:197; Lord 1959:436), in 1883, Eliot Lord stated that in the early 1870s, “the provision for the health and comfort of the working miners was insufficient, [as] many suffered from pulmonary and rheumatic affections” (Lord 1959:374). There was still a high demand for better care for injuries and illnesses that affected the mining community (Lord 1959:374). As Anne M. Butler (1998:147-148) states,

[F]or the Daughters of Charity, Virginia City, Queen of the Comstock, was a place to be embraced, as the needs of its population so closely meshed with the stated directive of their religious organization- carrying physical and spiritual comfort to the sick and afflicted of a community.

The Comstock was the perfect place for the Daughters to fulfill their ideology of Catholic service by providing tangible assistance to this community in need. The hospital would become an institution where this ideology could be enacted and reinforced in a material way, as the hospital was constructed in order to serve the needs of the miners injured at
work and to treat the various diseases that could be attributed to the unforgiving climate (Sohn 1997:25-26; Breault 1988:90).

Saint Mary’s Hospital was built on the eastern edge of Virginia City in 1875 (Hannefin 1989:147). The hospital, administered by the Daughters of Charity, has been known by several names throughout its history, such as Saint Mary’s, St. Mary Louise, Marie Louise Hospital, St. Louisa’s, among others (Butler 1998:161; St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897; Gorman 1935:46; Hannefin 1989:147). However, all the names are some version of the hospital’s benefactor, Mary Louise Bryant Mackay, wife of John Mackay, who donated the land on which the hospital was built (Butler 1998:161; Cleere 2005:94). Although the location of the hospital away from the city may have been more coincidental and opportunistic because this happened to be the land that Mrs. Mackay donated, the hospital’s placement away from the majority of the city’s pollution also exposed the patients to the fresh “air and the refreshing breezes which sweep round the place” (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3).

The hospital was constructed as a four-story brick building with technologically advanced amenities (Butler 1998:161). The hospital was “the most modern hospital in the state and probably in the West” (Sohn 1997:27). According to the Territorial Enterprise, the hospital was “undoubtedly one of the best appointed private hospitals on the Pacific coast” (Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3). Numerous sources describe the hospital as follows. The hospital was generally viewed as a beautiful, pleasant, and clean institution that provided the best possible care for its patients. It was outfitted with hot and cold running water, Brussels carpets in private rooms, marble-topped washstands, gas-lighting, and comfortable beds. The building was heated by steam pipes and every floor
boasted clean bathrooms with toilets and showers. The hospital also had good ventilation which removed any foul smells; this was considered to be an improvement from other hospitals of its time. Surgical operations took place on the first floor, and the second through fourth floors housed the public and private patient wards. The third floor even had a chapel where services were held so the patients could listen. The grounds were landscaped with trees and gardens, among which the patients could walk. Much of this landscaping was done by off-duty miners (Gorman 1935:46; *Territorial Enterprise* 1876b:3; Hannefin 1989:147; Cleere 2005:94; St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897:1; *Territorial Enterprise* 1876a:3; *Territorial Enterprise* 1877:3). The gardens were located in the front of the hospital and to the east of the buildings. Such vegetables as beets, carrots, potatoes, and cauliflower were grown. The hospital was seen as a “decided oasis in this desert land” of Virginia City, Nevada (*Territorial Enterprise* 1877:3). See Figure IV-2 below.

![St. Mary’s Hospital showing the various landscaping features. Courtesy of Daughters of Charity, Province of the West, Los Altos Hills, California.](image-url)
The hospital was an advanced institution for its time not only because of its operating room, indoor plumbing, heating, lighting, cleanliness, and proper ventilation (Gorman 1935:46; *Territorial Enterprise* 1876b:3; Hannefin 1989:147; Cleere 2005:94; St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897:1; *Territorial Enterprise* 1876a:3; *Territorial Enterprise* 1877:3). The hospital was also staffed by capable and well-trained individuals. At this time, most medical students in America did not receive extensive medical education; they usually only attended lectures for about eight months and had very little experience with patients (Dary 2008:190). St. Mary’s Hospital was fortunate because Dr. John Grant, the hospital’s first doctor, had attended various prestigious medical schools, including Albany Medical College, Jefferson Medical College and the Royal College of Surgeons in London (Sohn 1997:27). It is known that the medical schools of Europe provided a much more thorough, often state-sponsored, medical education (Dary 2008:190). Also, in Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century, scientists were developing germ theory (Duffy 1979:229-231). Dr. Grant therefore trained at a superior institution in Europe, and may have been somewhat exposed to the developing concept of germ theory (Duffy 1979:229-231) Furthermore, his training as a surgeon would have set him apart from many contemporary doctors who had limited surgical experience (Duffy 1979:208). Although in the mid-nineteenth century, there were few doctors in the West who had trained as a surgeon or at a foreign institution, the first doctor at St. Mary’s Hospital had received a proper medical education, which included surgical experience and possibly even exposure to the developing concept of germ theory (Dary 2008:190).

The hospital was also staffed by the sisters, who were highly capable nurses with extensive training. The first sister in charge of the hospital was Sister Ann Sebastian
Worms (Sohn 1997:27). She had extensive training in health care, serving the injured during the Civil War and caring for the sick at a hospital in Buffalo, New York (Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3; Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3). Both the doctors and the sisters were capable individuals who provided “skillful medical treatment and careful and kind nursing” (Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3).

Furthermore, St. Mary’s Hospital was advanced because its staff appears to have actively attempted to treat patients, instead of simply providing a location for sick individuals to pass away. According to the Territorial Enterprise, “the care bestowed upon the patients [was] constant and by the most skilled attendants” (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). Another newspaper article states that "every effort has been made to provide every comfort for patients" (Territorial Enterprise 1879:2). In hopes of curing the patients’ afflications, the doctors, whom also served as surgeons, saw the patients every day at least twice and the Daughters were constantly tending to all of the patients (Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3; Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). It appears that the sisters who worked at the hospital lived on the premises on the fourth floor (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3; James 1998:199). This was a stark contrast to contemporary hospitals in the West. In the nineteenth century, “in the minds of most people, [hospitals were] places to go to die, not to get well” (Karoleuitz 1967:113). Many Western hospitals were old farmhouses, hotels, and other derelict buildings that lacked proper funds to adequately care for patients (Karoleuitz 1967:114-118). However, the documentary record demonstrates that St. Mary’s Hospital was a modern institution built for the purpose of actively treating patients, and was not just an old building where patients spent their last precious weeks.
The hospital served a variety of patients, including the mentally ill (Cox 1960:29; St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). Despite the fact that it was a hospital administered by a Catholic society, the hospital did treat a variety of religions and ethnicities. Although most of the patients were of European and Euro-American origin, the hospital did admit at least one man of Chinese descent and one Haitian individual over the course of its history. Overall, the hospital also admitted 202 Protestants, one Baptist, one Lutheran, and two Jewish individuals (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). Despite the claims that the hospital admitted all “creeds” and that the Daughters did not impose any particular religion on their patients, the documentary evidence suggests that patients were primarily of European descent and primarily Catholic (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897; Virginia Evening Chronicle 1897; Territorial Enterprise 1879).

In addition to serving patients, the hospital became the site of picnics for local organizations, including the Young Ladies’ Sodality, the Young Boys’ Sodality, and the Miners Union Picnics were even hosted on the grounds to financially help the hospital (Arline Laferry, personal communication, July 23, 2012; Territorial Enterprise 1888:2).

This hospital became a place where the Daughters could enact their ideology of Catholic service on a daily basis, as they were able to provide a charitable service to the community in the form of health care. As mentioned previously, the patients had “constant care and faithful attendance” (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3), as the Daughters continuously tended to the needs of the patients (Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3; Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). The hospital was seen as a "refuge for sick Comstockers," a place where patients received "broad and generous care" (Virginia Evening Chronicle 1897). Even individuals who could not pay were taken in as patients and the Daughters
had to incur the cost (*Territorial Enterprise* 1876c:3). These various accounts demonstrate that the Daughters created a comforting environment, where patient's needs were seen to with great care and devotion. They even accepted patients who could not pay, demonstrating their goal of providing a charitable service to all in need. On a daily basis, by nursing patients back to health in this "refuge for the sick" (*Virginia Evening Chronicle* 1897), the Daughters performed their ideology of Catholic service. Based on these accounts, the sisters' acts of charity were esteemed by many Comstock citizens.

Overall, the citizens of Virginia City were very thankful for the many charitable services of the Daughters of Charity. An article from the *Territorial Enterprise* states that the hospital was an "admirable institution" and expresses its desire to remain open, stating that the hospital is a quality institution deserving of support (*Territorial Enterprise* 1879:2). The success of fundraisers held to earn money for the hospital, including a Ladies' Fair, demonstrates Virginia City's support of the Daughters' institutions (*Territorial Enterprise* 1875:1; *Territorial Enterprise* 1878:2). One newspaper article states that the "orphan asylum and school were institutions of incalculable benefit to the Comstock" and they represented the good work done by the sisters (*Virginia Evening Chronicle* 1897). The same article states that "[t]he greatest respect and regard are felt by everybody for Sisters Rose and Regina, the sisters now in charge" of the hospital (*Virginia Evening Chronicle* 1897). This article also demonstrates that the majority of Virginia City was saddened by the thought of the sisters leaving the city for good (*Virginia Evening Chronicle* 1897). Based on these various primary accounts, the Daughters were beloved women on the Comstock and their various
charitable services, including the hospital, were looked upon with great gratitude and reverence.

In the late 1890s, Virginia City was hitting hard times as the bonanza years were ending. Due to lower population levels in the city, the hospital was no longer receiving enough patients to maintain the institution and the hospital closed in 1897 (Hannefin 1989:148; *Virginia Evening Chronicle* 1897; Butler 1998:148). “An unfortunate tension with the pastor, dwindling numbers in the school and hospital, and the press of new calls from other mission fields all combined to bring about the decision” that the Daughters of Charity should leave Virginia City (Butler 1998:163). The last of the Daughters of Charity left on September 8, 1897 (*Daily Nevada State Journal* 1897:3).

**Storey County Hospital**

After the Daughters of Charity left Virginia City, the hospital remained open to care for the sick “under the charge of a woman” (*Daily Nevada State Journal* 1897:3). In early 1899, the original Storey County Hospital burned down (Laferry n.d.). Later that year, St. Mary’s Hospital was purchased by Storey County to serve as the county hospital (*Territorial Enterprise* 1899:1). In April 1944, the hospital closed temporarily. The staff had resigned and the replacement nurse never reported for duty. The hospital never reopened (*Reno Evening Gazette* 1944; Laferry n.d.). The building lay unused for the next 20 years.

**St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center**

According to Pickering (1986), the Catholic Church once again took control of the hospital building in 1964. Father Meinecke, the priest of St. Mary’s in the Mountains
Church in Virginia City, took control of the building for restoration. However, he was unsure how to use the building. It became an art center due to the urgings of Louise Curran, an art patron. The first art class was conducted in May, 1964 by watercolor artist Richard Yip (Pickering 1986:13-14). Through the years, classes in printing, photography, sculpting, acrylics, pastels, and oils have been taught. The building is still used as an art center today and it has also been used as a retreat center for the community since 2005 (St. Mary’s Art and Retreat Center 2013).
V. Results of Archaeological Fieldwork and Artifact Analysis

This chapter will discuss the results of the fieldwork performed at the St. Mary’s Hospital site. This discussion will include a description of the site prior to and during excavations, as well as a description of the total station mapping of the site. It will also include a description of the shovel tests pits, test units, surface collection, and can inventory, as well as a description of the artifacts collected or recorded in those areas. This chapter aims to be largely descriptive; in the following chapter, Chapter VI, the information described in this chapter will be interpreted according to the research questions asked at this site, as well as interpreted using a theoretical lens of ideology.

Results of Fieldwork: Site Mapping

During the course of the field school, the site was mapped using a total station. Every structure and natural or cultural feature already present on the site was recorded, including the main hospital building and the associated laundry building. A shed located just north of the laundry building was recorded in conjunction with the laundry building, so they appear as the same structure on the site map. A shed north of the main hospital building and a waterhouse located west of the hospital building were also mapped. Multiple fence posts to the north, east, and southeast of the hospital building were also mapped because they appear to be remnants of the historic fence that existed during the St. Mary’s Hospital period (Figure V-3). The vegetation recorded and mapped on the site included fruit trees and other trees of unknown species. Disturbances on the site were reflected by a two-track through the site as well as a ditch located southwest of hospital’s
front yard. Excavations were prevented in this area because of this ditch disturbance. Two berms were also mapped as the landform where the site is located may have been artificially built up through the hospital’s history. The last significant feature mapped was the historic mine shaft located east of the site, which prevented excavations on that part of the landform.

Figure V-1. Site prior to excavation.

During the course of fieldwork, the four GPR grids were mapped (Daniels 2012). The Gravel Grid was located in the front yard of the hospital and was considered the possible location of any Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden remnants. Grids A and B were
located behind the hospital. Grid A was used to investigate a possible burn pile seen in historic photographs (Figure V-3). Grid B was used to investigate the area where the Daughters hung the hospital’s laundry behind the laundry building (Figure V-3). All of the test units located within these grids were mapped, as were the STPs excavated prior to the field school. The location of the surface collection and the can inventory were also mapped.

![Figure V-2. Detail of site during the excavation.](image)

One of the most notable aspects of the built environment that was recorded included fence posts located to the north, east, and southeast of the hospital building.
Based on a historic photograph, these fence posts may be part of the original hospital fence that existed during the St. Mary’s Hospital period (Figure V-3). See Figure V-4 for a map of the possible historic fence posts that were recorded and the predicted path of the fence line between the fence posts. This fence line was significant for the placement of TU 10, as well as where the surface collection was performed. TU 10 and the surface collection were intentionally placed in a trash midden located on the other side of the possible historic fence line to investigate whether or not that trash midden was associated with hospital. They were used to investigate whether or not the Daughters were disposing of the hospital trash over the fence.

Figure V-3. The backyard of St. Mary’s Hospital looking southwest. Photograph courtesy of the Joe Curtis Collection, Virginia City, Nevada.
Figure V-4. Site map showing the historic fence posts and the possible historic fence line.

Results of Fieldwork: Shovel Test Pits

A total of nine shovel test pits (STP) were excavated at this site. Eight of the shovel test pits (STP 1-8) were located to the east and southeast of the hospital building, while one shovel test pit (STP 9) was located north of the hospital building. The STPs were used to help determine the overall stratigraphy of the site and the location of artifacts throughout the site.
Shovel Test Pit (STP) 1

STP 1 was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located west of a small two-track on the eastern part of the landform where the hospital building stands. It was excavated to a depth of 30 cm below surface. The first ten centimeters produced the majority of the historic artifacts and the soil was a silty loam. The next ten centimeters produced a smaller number of artifacts and was a rocky clay loam. There was one prehistoric cryptocrystalline silicates (CCS) flake in this STP and it likely came from a depth of 10-20 cm. The first 20 cm of this unit revealed a total of seven historic artifacts. The only ceramic artifact found is a stoneware sherd and is a possible base fragment with five ridges in a circular pattern. The other six artifacts are glass fragments, including one aqua glass fragment, two flat aqua glass fragments, and three fragments of olive green glass. One of the flat aqua glass fragments may be a mirror fragment. There was also charcoal throughout the shovel test pit which was not collected. The last ten centimeters excavated was sterile and consisted of compact rock with a clay loam.

Shovel Test Pit 2

This STP was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located east of a small two-track on the eastern edge of the hospital landform. It was located west of the historic mine shaft to the east of the site. This STP was excavated to a depth of 15 cm below surface. One historic artifact, a small white improved earthenware (WIE) sherd, was discovered in the first ten cm. The soil in the first ten centimeters consisted of a loam. The last five centimeters excavated were sterile and consisted of a compact clay loam. Charcoal was found throughout the STP, but was not collected.
Shovel Test Pit 3

STP 3 was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located east of the small two-track closer to the center part of the landform. The STP was located west of the historic mine shaft. This STP was excavated to a depth of 15 cm below surface. The soil throughout the STP was a loam. The first twelve centimeters produced two historic artifacts, including one sherd of salt-glazed stoneware and one piece of flat aqua glass. The last three centimeters were sterile. There was charcoal found throughout the STP that was not collected.

Shovel Test Pit 4

This STP, a 50x50 cm shovel test pit, was located on the southeastern part of the landform near the southern part of the old fence line. This STP was excavated to a depth of 15 cm below surface. The first ten centimeters consisted of a loam and produced nine historic artifacts, including one Chinese brownware sherd and eight white improved earthenware sherds. At ten centimeters deep, the soil became a clay loam. The soil was sterile from 10-15 cm. There was charcoal throughout the STP, but was not collected.

Shovel Test Pit 5

STP 5 was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located on the western-center portion of the landform. It was excavated to a depth of 28 cm below surface. The soil throughout the unit was a loam. The first twenty centimeters produced historic artifacts. One small prehistoric CCS flake was found between 10 and 20 cm. Charcoal was found throughout the STP. Between 20 and 28 cm, the soil was sterile.
**Shovel Test Pit 6**

This STP was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located to the east of the laundry building and north of the small two-track. It was located on a slope on the southwestern part of the landform. According to historical photographs, the laundry was hung where this STP was located (Figure V-3). The STP was placed here in hopes of identifying remnants of that activity. The STP was excavated to a depth of 45 cm below surface. Historic artifacts were found throughout the STP. The soil in the first 14 cm consisted of a loam. The artifacts found in the first 14 cm included mainly metal and glass, and a small amount of ceramic. From 14 to 25 cm, the soil was a clay loam. The STP produced faunal remains, ceramic, and metal fragments at this depth. A chalcedony flake was also found at 14-25 cm. Between 25 and 45 cm, the soil was gravelly with a small amount of silty clay. Historic artifacts from this depth included a small amount of faunal remains and some metal.

**Shovel Test Pit 7**

STP 7 was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located near a pile of iron pipes on the southern part of the landform. It was excavated to a depth of 18 cm below surface. The soil was a loam down to 18 cm. Historic artifacts and a lithic were recovered at 0-18 cm below datum. The lithic was an obsidian tertiary flake. The historic artifacts include vitreous earthenware, oyster shell (*Crassostrea sp.*), glass of various colors, faunal remains, cut nails, paper, metal fragments and industrial porcelain. Industrial porcelain is a more robust form of porcelain that is used to make items such as sinks, toilets, and other durable, utilitarian objects (Brown 1982:8). At 18 cm, the soil changed to a clay
loam. There was an uneven surface at this depth and possible rodent and root
disturbances.

**Shovel Test Pit 8**

This STP was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located south of the ridge top on the
landform. It was located down the slope on a flattened area near the southeast corner of
the old fence line. The STP was placed here to investigate the remnants of historic
outbuildings that are apparent in historic photos of St. Mary’s Hospital (Figure V-3.). The
STP was excavated to a depth of nine centimeters below surface. The majority of the
STP was terminated at five cm when a packed clay-like surface was encountered. It was
possibly the interior of a building with a dirt floor. From 0 to 5 cm below surface the soil
was a silty loam. The STP contained two wood fragments and one colorless glass
fragment. The northwest corner of the unit had a final depth of 9 cm below surface. This
corner may have been an intrusion or an accidental removal of the clay-like surface with
the shovel before recognizing it.

**Shovel Test Pit 9**

STP 9 was a 50x50 cm shovel test pit located on the northern property line about
30 meters north of the hospital building’s north door. It was located on a flat area on the
edge of the slope. This STP was placed here to investigate what appeared to be a historic
trash scatter in that area. This STP was excavated to a depth of 50 cm below surface. On
the surface, there were brick fragments and a modern shell casing which were not
collected. Historic and modern artifacts were recovered to a depth of 30 cm. These
included WIE sherds, charcoal, slag, glass of various colors, metal fragments, nails, a
spike, a staple, and a tack. Between 0 and 15 cm, there were modern and historic artifacts, including office supplies, colorless and amethyst glass, and wire and cut nails. Between 15 and 30 cm, the artifacts appeared less modern and were more likely historic. There were coal and clinkers throughout the STP. One prehistoric basalt flake was found in this STP.

**Results of Fieldwork: Test Units and Features**

The following are descriptions of the 14 test units excavated at the site and their associated features, where applicable. In terms of stratigraphy, the upper levels appear to be more modern while the deeper deposits had earlier artifacts suggesting an historic date.

**Test Unit (TU) 1**

Test Unit 1 was a 1x1 meter test unit located in Grid G. It was located on a slope on the southeastern portion of the landform inside the remains of an old fence line, northwest of STP 8. TU 1 was placed near STP 8 in order to investigate artifacts related to the possible building that was located in STP 8. The unit was excavated to a depth of 40 cm below datum. The unit was terminated when it reached subsoil throughout most of the southern part of the unit. Five strata were encountered in this unit. Because of the slope, the stratigraphy is angled towards the southeastern corner of the unit. The stratigraphy descriptions are taken from a combination of the north and west wall profiles. Stratum I is associated with the A horizon. The B horizon begins in Stratum II. It is possible that the C horizon was reached, but it is not certain. The stratigraphy in this unit was relatively undisturbed. However, the strata are relatively thin, possibly due to erosion or due to the
removal of dirt from that portion of the site to flatten other parts of the landform. Bioturbation was apparent in all levels, as demonstrated by the insect casings found and the changes in soil color and texture. Historic artifacts from this unit include architectural materials, faunal remains, ceramics, charcoal and coal, green foam rubber, a bone object, glass of various colors, metal artifacts, shell, cloth, and wood fragments. One tertiary obsidian flake was the only lithic from this unit.

Figure V-5. Base of Test Unit 1.
Figure V-6. North Profile of Test Unit 1. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.

Test Unit 2

Test Unit 2 was a 1x1 meter test unit located in Grid G. The TU was located south of STP 8, on a slope on the southeastern portion of the landform inside the remains of an old fence line. TU2 was placed near STP 8 in order to investigate artifacts related to the possible building that was located in STP 8. The unit was excavated to a depth of 31 cm below datum. There were two strata in this unit. Due to the slope, the strata are angled downward toward the southeastern part of the unit. Stratum I is associated with the A horizon and Stratum II is associated with the B horizon. The strata in this unit are similar
to Test Unit 1, but the strata are thicker. This may be due to either a specific earth-moving attempt to flatten the landform and extend it to the southeast into the vicinity of this unit, or because erosion was purposefully prevented in this area and therefore the strata remained thick layers. Level 1 (0-10 cm below datum) contained a 2 inch diameter ferrous pipe which extended into the north wall of the unit. The top of pipe was 8 cm below datum in the north wall. The pipe extended far into the unit and ended 16 cm from the south wall. It is possible that the pipe laid on the surface of Stratum II and that historically this pipe was used to drain parts of the site to prevent erosion. The historic artifacts excavated in this unit include faunal remains, glass, oyster shell, charcoal and coal, metal fragments, a barrette, an eyelet, architectural materials, and one lead bullet.

Figure V-7. Base of Test Unit 2.
Test Unit 3

Test Unit 3 was a 1x1 meter test unit located in Grid A. The unit was placed closer to the center of the landform in the center of a two-track. This unit was used to investigate a dark spot, a possible burn pile, noted in a historic photograph showing the backyard of the hospital (Figure V-3). This unit was placed near the path of drainage erosion, which was apparent in the southern half of the unit. Level 1 was 0-10 cm below datum. About 4-5 cm below datum, the soil in the southwest corner of the unit became more clay-like. The soil at the base of Level 1 was a silty loam with rock inclusions.
Below that layer, the soil became a harder clay with rock inclusions. During the course of the excavation of Level 2, heavy rainfall caused mud and debris to fill the unit, collapsing the sidewalls. The fill was waterscreened and after a second rainstorm filled the unit again, the unit was terminated after Level 2 (approximately 18 cm below datum). Because of this, no profile was taken for this unit. Artifacts in this unit included lithics, historic artifacts, and modern debris. The modern and historic artifacts appear mixed in this unit, as demonstrated by the recovery of recent plastic in Level 2; this suggests that this unit's stratigraphy did not have good integrity. The historic artifacts recovered from this unit include glass, ceramic, oyster shell, wood, faunal remains, a prosser button, a bone button, one celadon rice bowl base, and green opaque depressionware. Celadon is “a classic Chineseware [oftentimes porcelain] with a beautiful translucent green glaze [and] a velvet-like texture” (Boger 1971:56). The lithics in this unit include flakes.
Test Unit 4 and Features 1 and 2

Test Unit 4 was a 1x1 meter test unit located in Grid A. The unit was placed closer to the center of the landform, east of the laundry building. It was placed above what appeared to be an L-shaped subsurface anomaly discovered with ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). The purpose of the test unit was to identify this anomaly. The unit was also placed here to investigate a black area, a possible burn pile, which was noted in a historical photograph showing the backyard of the hospital (Figure V-3). The unit was excavated to a depth of 52 cm below datum. Six strata were found in the east wall of the unit. Strata I and II are likely disturbed due to a bulldozer cut in the vicinity of this unit. Stratum II is likely the buried A horizon. Stratum III is possibly the beginning of the B horizon. This unit produced both modern debris and historic artifacts. Potentially modern debris, including plastic and rubber, was excavated from Levels 1-3, while Levels 4 and 5 did not produce modern artifacts. This suggests that the upper levels were more modern, while the lower levels appear to be historic. The potentially historic artifacts from this unit include ceramics, two buttons, a ferrous pipe fragment, a cartridge case, metal fragments, architectural material, glass, faunal remains, and coal and charcoal.
Figure V-10. East Profile of Test Unit 4.

Figure V-11. East Profile of Test Unit 4. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Feature 1 was located on the surface of TU 4. Feature 1 consisted of articulated bricks, possibly a single course brick foundation pier, with two of the bricks lying in situ on the surface of the southwestern corner of TU 4 and six additional bricks located on the surface surrounding the southwestern corner of the TU. One more brick lay on the surface of the TU, but it likely fell out of its original context. A scatter of bricks was laying around the south and eastern sides of the unit. The soil underneath the feature was a yellowish brown silty loam with 1-5 cm angular rocks.

![Figure V-12. Overview of Feature 1 looking north.](image)

Feature 2 was also located in TU 4. It appears that Feature 2 is the anomaly that was located by the ground-penetrating radar. At approximately 22 cm below datum, the top of a wooden feature appeared. The feature was comprised of pine (*Pinus*) (Scotty Strachan, personal communication, October 11, 2013). The bottom of the feature was at a
depth of 26 cm below datum on the west side and 38 cm below datum on the east side. The feature was pedestaled during excavation. The feature and associated pedestal were excavated to a depth of 50 cm below datum. The feature was made of seven wooden boards that were decomposed. The boards were oriented north-south in the unit and together they constructed a wooden feature that was oriented east-west in the unit. The feature extended into both the east and west sidewalls. A combination of four large wire nails and three small wire nails were located along the northern edge of the feature and were 15-20 cm apart. The nails appear to be holding the wooden feature together. The feature fill was a 10YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown silty loam. The feature profile in the east wall shows a channel-shaped profile, as shown in Figure V-11. The soil, a 10 YR 3/4 dark yellowish brown silty clay loam, was damp. In the profile, there were rock clusters surrounding the channel. This channel appears to have possibly been a trench associated with the feature, as the wood feature was located above the channel. Relatively large and intact faunal remains were found in the feature. Other artifacts in the feature include floral remains, coal, metal fragments, and small glass fragments. The pedestal of the feature includes such artifacts as faunal remains, charcoal, coal, metal and glass fragments, cut nails, and plaster. The function of this feature has yet to be identified. However, there were a couple of water-worn artifacts in this unit, including aqua and colorless glass, a button, and possible marble, and the feature had a channel shaped profile; this indicates that this was possibly a water feature, such as a natural erosional channel or an irrigation ditch. It is possible that the wood was placed across the channel or ditch to allow pedestrians to easily cross it. See Figure V-11 for the eastern profile of this feature. The channel is shown by Stratum IV in the profile.
Figure V-13. Feature 2 at the Base of Level 4.

Figure V-14. Plan View of Feature 2 at the Base of Level 4. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Test Unit 5

Test Unit 5 was a 1x1 meter test unit located in Grid B, to the east of the laundry building. According to a historic photograph, this area was used to hang the drying laundry (Figure V-3). TU 5 was excavated to a depth of 31 cm below datum and was terminated due to the lack of cultural features found in the unit and due to apparent disturbances in the test unit. These disturbances were demonstrated by modern debris and a possible rodent bioturbation disturbance at 26 cm below datum in the northeast corner of the unit. Three strata were found in this unit. Stratum II may be the buried A horizon and Stratum III may be the B horizon. Artifacts in this unit include one possibly Native American artifact, historic artifacts, and modern debris. The modern debris and historic artifacts are mixed in all levels, suggesting that this unit did not have good stratigraphy. The possible historic artifacts include a wine bottle finish finished with a lipping tool dating to about 1870-1920 (IMACS 1992:472.12), ceramics, a threaded jar cap, metal fragments, architectural materials, coal, and shell fragments. The artifact possibly associated with a Native American occupation of the site was a polishing stone.
Figure V-15. North Profile of Test Unit 5.

Figure V-16. North Profile of Test Unit 5. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Test Unit 6

Test Unit 6 was a 1x1 meter test unit located in Grid B. The unit was located to the east of the laundry building, north east of TU 5. According to a historic photograph, this area was used to hang the linens washed in the laundry building (Figure V-3). TU 6 was excavated to a depth of 22 cm below datum and was terminated due to the lack of cultural features found in the unit and due to apparent disturbances in the test unit, exhibited by modern debris in the lower level. This unit had four strata, as well as a disturbance labeled Stratum V. It is possible that Stratum II was the A horizon and Stratum III was possibly the B horizon. Based on the lack of uniformity in the stratigraphy of this unit, it appears that this unit was greatly disturbed, perhaps by machine-made earth-moving. This is also demonstrated by a potential rodent hole in the southwest corner of the unit in Levels 1 and 2. While excavating Level 2 (10-22 cm), a cluster of rocks was found in the southwest corner of the unit. It was investigated as a potential post hole, but was determined not to be a cultural feature. This unit produced such historic artifacts as bottle and glass fragments, architectural materials, charcoal, can fragments, Rockingham ware, two insulators, wire and cut nails, and butter or steamer clam fragments. Due to the disturbances, it also produced modern debris, such as plastic, aluminum foil, and cigarette filters.
Test Units 7, 8, and 13 and Feature 4

Test Units 7, 8, and 13 were contiguous. Each unit was a 1x1 meter test unit, and together they ultimately produced a 3x1 meter trench labeled Feature 4. All three units were located in the Gravel Grid. TU 7 was the southernmost unit; TU 8 was located just north of TU 7, and TU 13 was located just north of TU 8. These three units were used to investigate a circular pit feature, Feature 4, shown in the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). This feature is shown as “Circular anomaly” in Figures III-3 and III-4. On the surface, there was a large rock ring that outlines this feature. The ground-
penetrating radar also showed a linear anomaly bisecting a circular anomaly east to west (Daniels 2012). This circular anomaly appeared to be inside the rock ring. TU 7 was located on this rock ring and TU 8 and 13 were located within the circular feature to reveal this feature in cross-section.

Upon excavating this feature, it was determined that Feature 4 was comprised of two concentric circular pits. The inner circle was deeper than the outer circle which is bordered by the rock ring. These concentric circles produced a pit with two levels. The base of the pit feature is in the northern part of TU 8 and the southern part of TU 13. The pit fill was excavated until a natural, undisturbed volcanic tuff below the pit was reached. Some of the pit fill was actually a redeposited form of this volcanic tuff. Excavators found it difficult to tell when the redeposited tuff ended and the in situ tuff, which constituted the sides and bottom of the unit, began. The function of this feature has yet to be determined.

Profiles were drawn of the entire 3x1 trench for Feature 4 instead of by individual units. There were eight strata in the west wall profile. The deepest part of Feature 4 was excavated to a depth of 39 cm below datum. Excavations of the feature suggest that the rock ring on the exterior of the feature in TU 7 was held in place by mortar or cement. The excavation of the feature on the exterior of the rock ring produced three small (3-5 cm²) wooden possible post holes. These possible post holes suggest that small, vertical pieces of wood may have been used during construction of the rock structure to stabilize it. A piece of lead pipe protruded into the east wall of this feature in TU 8 between 30 and 40 cm below datum. It is unclear whether the pipe is part of the backfill or was purposefully placed. There was also a ferrous branch pipe discovered 4 cm below datum
in TU 13, that was intrusive to the pit feature. The main ferrous pipeline was found at 23-27 cm below datum. The pipe was left in situ. Stratum V represents the backfill from when the pipe was laid. This pipe was probably the linear anomaly found by the ground-penetrating radar. A decomposing plank of wood was found beneath the iron pipe at 37-38 cm below datum. It was oriented east-west and was approximately 17-20 wide and roughly 78 cm long. The wood is directly on top of the pit feature floor. Due to a noted soil change between the pipe and wood plank, they may not be associated. This feature yielded such lithics as three CCS secondary flakes, three CCS tertiary flakes, one fine-grained volcanic (FGV) secondary flake, and two FGV tertiary flakes. Historic artifacts included faunal remains, brick, plaster cast fragments, celadon, WIE, charcoal, numerous glass fragments, metal fragments, mortar, cut nails, a tobacco pipe bowl fragment, oyster shell, and a thermometer fragment.

Figure V-18. Base of Level 2 in Test Unit 13 showing the pipe trench.
Figure V-19. Overview of Feature 4 looking east.

Figure V-20. West Profile of Feature 4. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Figure V-21. Map of Feature 4. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Test Units 9 and 12, Features 3 and 5

Test Units 9 and 12 were contiguous 1 x 1 meter units located in the Gravel Grid. TU 9 was located south of TU 12 in the Gravel Grid. These two 1x1 meter test units created a 2x1 meter test unit. These two units were used to investigate a circular subsurface anomaly shown in the ground-penetrating radar at about 10 cm below datum (Daniels 2012). This feature is shown as “Possible pit feature” in Figure III-4. This entire circular feature was Feature 5.

Feature 3 was discovered in TU 9. Feature 3 was a circular clay pocket 16 cm in diameter found in the northern half of the unit midway through Level 1. The bottom of the clay pocket was at 15 cm below datum. It was potentially a post-hole. The feature fill was a 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown with rocks inclusions. The southern half of the clay pocket was excavated first. However, no artifacts were found and the rest of the clay pocket was excavated.

Figure V-22. Feature 3.
As described above, Feature 5 was a circular pit feature found in TU 9 and TU 12. It was excavated to a maximum depth of 51 cm below datum. TU 9 was located near the center of the pit feature and TU 12 was used to investigate the edge of the feature. The north wall of TU 12 sloped inward towards the pit and TU 9, indicating that this wall was the edge of the feature. The sloping wall was left in situ because it was natural tuff bedrock. Seven strata were found in Feature 5. Strata I-VI are fill episodes in the feature. Strata I-III appear to have been fill episodes to level the ground for the driveway and Stratum IV represented a fill episode that quickly filled most of the pit feature. Feature excavation was terminated when the majority of the feature fill had been removed and the

**Figure V-23. Plan View of Feature 3. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.**
base of the pit could be seen at least partially in the bottom of the units. Profiles were
drawn of the 2x1 meter unit and not of the units individually. Historic artifacts recovered
from this feature include faunal remains, ammunition, WIE, charcoal, coal/clinkers, glass
of various colors, bottle fragments, metal fragments, cut nails, oyster shell, tacks, sealant,
and a fragment of a German stoneware mineral water jug dating prior to 1886 (Robert
Leavitt, personal communication, January 8, 2013).

Figure V-24. Overview of Feature 5. Note the edge of the pit feature in the
foreground.
Figure V-25. North Wall of Feature 5 showing the sloping wall and natural bedrock.

Figure V-26. West Profile of Feature 5.
Test Unit 10

Test Unit 10 was a 1x1 meter test unit located outside of the ground-penetrating radar grids. TU 10 was used to investigate a trash midden on the southeastern part of the site on the opposite side of an old fence line, which is believed to be the possible remnants of the fence for the backyard of St. Mary’s Hospital. The unit was used to determine how deep the trash midden went below the surface. Because the unit proved that the trash midden was not much deeper than the surface, a surface collection in the trash midden was performed later. This unit had two strata. Stratum I was likely the A horizon and Stratum II was likely the B horizon. Stratum I was excavated to a depth of 40
cm below datum. Stratum I extends deeper than Stratum II in the northern part of the unit. This is possibly due to a disturbance caused by a tree which the Stratum I soil filled in. Stratum II was excavated to a depth of 30 cm below datum. Two different zones were discovered near the base of Level 2. Zones I and II correspond to Strata I and II. Half way through Level 3 (20-30 cm below datum), the unit was excavated by zone. Only Stratum I was excavated in Level 4 (30-40 cm below datum). Due to its placement in the trash midden, large artifact fragments were found in this unit compared to the other units. This unit produced historic artifacts including bottle sherds, ceramics, nails, linoleum, metal fragments, can fragments, a shanked button, and faunal remains. One obsidian tertiary flake was found.

Figure V-28. Surface of Test Unit 10.
Figure V-29. Base of Test Unit 10.

Figure V-30. East Profile of Test Unit 10.
Test Unit 11

Test Unit 11 was a 1x1 meter test unit located in Grid A. TU 11 was placed one meter west of TU 4. It was placed at what appeared to be the vertex of the L-shaped anomaly shown in the ground-penetrating radar which was investigated in TU 4 (Daniels 2012). The unit was excavated to a depth of 60 cm below datum and was terminated due to a decrease in artifacts in lower levels and due to the unit reaching subsoil. There were six strata in the south wall profile of this unit. Strata I-IV are likely disturbed stratigraphy. There was a bulldozer cut in a berm near the unit, and it is likely that the cut disturbed the upper strata. In Level 3 (20-30 cm below datum), the unit came down upon

Figure V-31. East Profile of Test Unit 10. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
two wooden boards oriented north-south in the unit. This is possibly part of the same feature that was found in TU4, although it is uncertain. Probable rodent bioturbation was apparent in Level 5 (40-50 cm below datum). This unit produced historic artifacts, such as faunal remains, architectural materials, Chinese brownware, stoneware, WIE, charcoal, glass fragments, a light bulb fragment, metal fragments, oyster shell, ammunition, among other artifacts. Due to the disturbances, modern debris, such as plastic, was excavated in Levels 1-3. There was also a possible chalcedony flake, a CCS arrow point fragment, and a CCS secondary flake excavated from this unit. Overall, there was a great quantity of faunal remains found in this unit compared to other units. Also, it is possible that this unit revealed the burn pile that TU 4 was also used to investigate. There were ceramics with pot-lidding, clinkers, charcoal, heat-affected glass, and burnt cut nails.

Figure V-32. Test Unit 11, Level 3 in progress showing the wooden boards in the southeastern corner of the unit and the associated bone scatter.
Figure V-33. Test Unit 11, Level 3 in progress showing the wooden boards in the southeastern corner of the unit and the associated bone scatter. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Figure V-34. South Profile of Test Unit 11.

Figure V-35. South Profile of Test Unit 11. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Test Unit 14 and Features 6 and 7

TU 14 was located in the Gravel Grid. This unit was used to investigate a subsurface anomaly discovered by the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). The unit was terminated when the features that the unit was investigating were fully excavated. Features 6 and 7 were found in this unit that had been dug into volcanic tuff. The part of the unit outside of Feature 7 was excavated to a depth of 20 cm below datum and Feature 7 was excavated to a depth of 49 cm below datum. Six strata were discovered in this unit. Strata II-V are associated with Feature 7 (See Figure V-38). Lithics and historic artifacts were excavated from this feature. The lithics include a mottled red CCS secondary flake, a mottled red CCS tertiary flake, and a brown CCS tertiary flake. The historic artifacts include construction brick, WIE, glass fragments, metal fragments, cut nails, plaster, unidentified shell, a shotshell husk, and painter’s tape.

Figure V-36. Base of Test Unit 14.
Figure V-37. North Profile of Test Unit 14.

Figure V-38. North Profile of Test Unit 14 and West Profile of Feature 6. Figure by Austin Offenbacher.
Feature 6 was a roughly circular post hole in the northwest corner of the unit. It was about 20-24 cm in diameter. The top of the feature was located at about 3 cm below datum and the bottom was at 21 cm below datum. The feature fill was a silty loam with small pebble inclusions. The feature was first bisected and then completely excavated. See Figure V-38 for the west profile of this feature. Only a small amount of wood was found in Feature 6.
Figure V-40. Profile of Bisected Feature 6.

Figure V-41. Feature 6 after complete excavation.
Feature 7 was a circular pit feature that was partially exposed on the east side of the unit. The top of the feature is at about 3 cm below datum and the bottom of the feature is at 49 cm below datum. At its widest, the feature extended about 95-100 cm along the east wall of the unit. There were two distinct zones found in this feature, Zones A and B. Beginning in Level 3, the zones were excavated separately. Zone A was the interior of the feature. It was a sandy loam with small pebbles and large rocks. Zone B was an ashy, silty loam with small pebble inclusions. The soil had four strata as described previously (Strata II-V in Figure V-38). This feature produced one obsidian tertiary flake and historic artifacts, such as faunal remains, architectural materials, WIE, charcoal, glass fragments, metal fragments, plaster, paint, oyster shell, a shotshell husk, tacks, and tape.

Figure V-42. Feature 7, Level 3 showing Zone B around the edge of the pit feature.
**Results of Fieldwork: Surface Collection**

A total of 141 artifacts was collected as part of the surface collection. Of the artifacts collected, 57 were sherds of glass bottles, jars, or some other kind of commercial container. A total of 82 ceramic sherds and artifacts was recovered, excluding ceramic bottles. See the artifact analysis for a more detailed description of the artifacts collected.

**Results of Fieldwork: Can Inventory**

A total of 35 ferrous cans, two unidentifiable flat metal fragments, and three barrel hoops were recorded during in the can inventory. Most cans with identifiable shapes were cylindrical, but one can was rectangular and was possibly an oil can. Identified opening methods included knife cut and hopper. The hopper-opened cans postdate 1999 (Hopper 1999). Eighteen of the cans were hole-in-cap cans; these types of cans date to 1823-1940s (Rock 1993:7-8). Seventeen cans could not be identified by can type, but had stamped ends. They date to about 1840s-1940s (Rock 1987:20, 22). Two cans had lap seams, and date to the 1840s to the early twentieth century, and 27 cans had internal rolled seams, and postdate 1888 (Rock 1897:4-6). One was identified as a possible oil can. One can was identified as a Hill Bros. Co. can and may have contained coffee, tea, flavoring extracts, or spices (Pendergrast 1999:124). Considering its rather large size, it likely contained coffee. The can dates to 1878 or later (Hills Bros. 2012). The two unidentifiable flat metal fragments may have been a crushed shallow can.

**Artifact Descriptions and Analysis: Flaked Materials**

A total of 31 artifacts presumably associated with a Native American occupation of the site were found during the course of excavation. It is possible that these artifacts
are prehistoric, but it is also possible that Native Americans produced them during the historic period. These artifacts were found in almost all of the test units, suggesting a wide distribution across the entire site. Some were found more than 10 cm below datum, suggesting that they could be prehistoric, but one piece of flaked bottle glass demonstrates that at least some are historic. The lithic artifact types include an arrow point fragment, secondary flakes, tertiary flakes, pressure flakes, and an unidentified possible flake. Tool stone materials include CCS, chalcedony, FGV, and obsidian. There were two non-lithic artifacts, including one polishing stone and one piece of flaked bottle glass.

**Shovel Test Pit 1**

This shovel test pit produced one lithic: a dark red-brown CCS tertiary flake with multiple flake scars. It likely came from 10-20 cm below the surface.

**Shovel Test Pit 5**

One very small fragment of a possible CCS flake was found in this shovel test pit. This artifact came from 10-20 cm below surface.

**Shovel Test Pit 6**

This shovel test pit produced one chalcedony tertiary flake. This flake had a bulb of percussion and two flake scars. This artifact came from 14-25 cm below surface.

**Shovel Test Pit 7**

One lithic was excavated from this shovel test pit: a smokey gray obsidian tertiary flake. This artifact was excavated at 0-18 cm below surface.
Shovel Test Pit 9

One FGV secondary flake was found in this shovel test pit. This flake had a platform and a bulb of percussion. This artifact came from 0-30 cm below surface.

Test Unit 1

In Level 2 of this unit, one obsidian tertiary flake was excavated.

Test Unit 3

This unit produced a total of five lithics. In Level 2, there was one mottled gray CCS secondary flake. In the unit fill caused by heavy rainfall during the excavation of Level 2, there were two CCS tertiary flakes, one FGV secondary flake, and one FGV tertiary flake.

Test Unit 4

In Level 4 of this unit, there was one red CCS pressure flake.

Test Unit 5

During the excavation of Level 2, one polishing stone was found.

Figure V-43. Polishing stone from Test Unit 5. Scale is in cm.
Test Unit 7 (Feature 4)

One brown CCS tertiary flake was excavated in Level 1 of this unit.

Test Unit 8 (Feature 4)

There were a total of eight lithic artifacts in Level 1 of this unit. These included the distal end of a mottled gray CCS secondary flake, a mottled white CCS secondary flake, a red-purple CCS secondary flake, a red-purple CCS tertiary flake, a black-purple CCS tertiary flake, an FGV secondary flake, and two FGV tertiary flakes.

Test Unit 10

In Level 2 of this unit, one obsidian tertiary flake was excavated.

Test Unit 11

A total of three lithics were excavated from this unit. Level 4 produced one possible chalcedony secondary flake. There was also one mottled gray CCS heat-affected arrow point fragment in Level 4 The arrow point dates to as early as 1300 B.P., but it cannot be assigned any definitive date or cultural affiliation (Geoffrey Smith, personal
communication April 30, 2013). In Level 5, there was one mottled gray CCS secondary flake. One edge has been bifacially pressure flaked and one edge has been unifacially pressure flaked.

![Figure V-45. Arrow point fragment from Test Unit 11.](image)

**Test Unit 14 and Feature 7**

There were a total of four lithics excavated from this unit. In Level 1, there was one mottled red CCS secondary flake and one brown CCS tertiary flake. In Level 2, there was one mottled red CCS tertiary flake. In Level 3 of Feature 7 in Test Unit 17, there was one obsidian tertiary flake.

**Surface Collection**

One artifact presumably associated with a Native American occupation of the site was located during the surface collection. It was a fragment of flaked glass. The glass fragment comes from the shoulder of an amber bottle of square or rectangular shape. It is
pressure flaked on one edge of the interior surface, and based on the shape, it may have been used as a spokeshave or as a scraper. It is unclear whether this artifact was flaked by a Native American individual during the historic period or a non-indigenous individual during this period.

Figure V-46. Flaked bottle glass from the surface collection.

Figure V-47. Detail of flaked bottle glass from the surface collection.
Analysis of the Assemblage

Lithic artifacts made up 93.5% of the total flaked material assemblage (n=31). Of the 29 lithic artifacts found during excavation, 17 were made of CCS (58.6% of the lithic assemblage), two were chalcedony (6.9%), six were FGV (20.1%), and four were obsidian (13.8%). Of these lithic artifacts, one was an arrow point fragment (3.4% of lithic assemblage), 10 were secondary flakes (34.5%), 16 were tertiary flakes (55.2%), one was a pressure flake (3.4%), and one was a possible unidentified flake (3.4%). The
only arrow point was made of CCS. The only pressure flake found consisted of CCS. Of the 10 secondary flakes found, six were made of CCS (60% of secondary flakes), one was made of chalcedony (10% of secondary flakes), and three were made of FGV (30%) of secondary flakes. Of the 16 tertiary flakes found, 50% were made of CCS (n=8), 6.3% were made of chalcedony (n=1), 18.8% were made of FGV (n=3), and 25% were made of obsidian (n=4). The two non-lithic artifacts (6.5% of assemblage) were a polishing stone and a piece of flaked amber bottle glass.

**Table V-1. Summary of Flaked Materials.**

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<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obsidian</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Possible Flakes</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Lithic Artifacts</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polishing stone</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Flaked bottle glass 1

Total Flaked Material Assemblage 31

Artifact Descriptions and Analysis: Historic Artifacts in the Shovel Test Pits

A total of 551 artifacts were collected from the STPs. Please see the section earlier in this chapter titled “Results of Field: Shovel Test Pits” for a description of the artifacts from STPs 1-4.

Shovel Test Pit 5

A total of 80 artifacts were excavated from this shovel test pit at 0-20 cm below surface. Metal artifacts were the most common artifact type, followed by glass artifacts, and then ceramics. The non-diagnostic artifacts include brick, charcoal, metal fragments, glass fragments of various colors, porcelain sherds, WIE sherds, and an unidentifiable redware vessel sherd. The diagnostic artifacts recovered from this STP include a copper alloy decorative element that may have attached to cloth. It is possibly a broach or some other piece used for personal adornment. There is also a colorless bottle heel that was possibly machine-made. This possible machine-made bottle suggests that some of these artifacts may predate c. 1905 (Miller and McNichol 2002).
Shovel Test Pit 6

This STP produced a total of 223 artifacts. Metal was the most common artifact material type, followed by faunal remains and glass artifacts. Non-diagnostic artifacts from this STP include ferrous fragments, faunal remains, glass fragments of various colors, unidentifiable wax fragments, construction brick, a cut nail, plaster or mortar, Rockingham ware, WIE, charcoal, unidentifiable shell, and rubber. The only artifact from this STP considered diagnostic was one red-brown unrefined stoneware tile with a painted underglaze and a salt glaze. No specific date or function could be assigned to this artifact, however.

Figure V-50. Red-brown unrefined stoneware tile sherd.
**Shovel Test Pit 7**

This shovel test pit produced a total of 64 artifacts from the first 18 cm below surface. The most common artifact material in this STP is glass, at 50% of the assemblage, followed by metal artifacts and faunal remains as the next largest groups. The non-diagnostic artifacts in this STP include glass fragments of various colors, ferrous fragments, faunal remains, industrial porcelain, vitreous earthenware, WIE, oyster shell, cut nails, and paper. No diagnostic artifacts were found in this STP.

**Shovel Test Pit 8**

There were a total of three non-diagnostic artifacts excavated from this shovel test pit at 0-5 cm below surface. These include one fragment of colorless glass and two fragments of unmilled wood.

**Shovel Test Pit 9**

This shovel test pit recovered a total of 162 artifacts recovered from 0-30 cm below surface. Glass is the most dominant material type at 46.7% of the assemblage, followed by metal artifacts and ceramics as the next largest groups. The non-diagnostic artifacts in this STP are glass fragments of various colors including one that fluoresced under a black light, ferrous fragments, an unidentifiable ferrous cylinder, a staple, a tack, WIE and porcelain sherds, a vitreous earthenware sherd, charcoal, and architectural materials.

There were seven diagnostic artifact fragments in this STP. These include fragments of at least two ferrous bottle caps, one showing a trace of a chopped cork seal. These caps date to 1892 or later (Lief 1965:17-20). The other diagnostic artifacts include
fragments of a J.L. De Steiger Fruit Jar lid, which dates to 1896 or later (De Steiger 1896). The last diagnostic artifact is a copper alloy envelope clasp, which dates to 1951 or later (Matthiesen 1951). Combined, these various artifacts suggest that many of the artifacts in this STP date to the twentieth century.

Figure V-51. Historic Artifacts from Shovel Test Pit 9.

Artifact Descriptions and Analysis: Historic Artifacts in the Test Units and Features

A total of over 17,000 historic artifacts, ecofacts, and modern debris was collected from test units excavated at the St. Mary’s Hospital site. Functional categories
represented include Architectural, Arms, Communications, Faunal, Food/Drink, Indulgences, Landscape, Mining, Other, Personal, Sanitation, Transportation, and Utilities. Material types represented include asphalt, bone, ceramic, coal/charcoal/clinkers/slag, composite/other, concrete, dung, fauna, flora, glass, leather, linoleum, metal (including aluminum, copper alloy, ferrous, lead, and tin), mortar, paint, paper, plaster, plastic, rubber, shell, silicone, styrofoam, stone, textile, unknown, wax, and wood.

There were numerous non-diagnostic artifact categories that were found in many of the units. Such non-diagnostic artifacts as construction brick, WIE, charcoal, coal or clinkers, glass fragments (including aqua, colorless, flat aqua, flat colorless, and olive), ferrous fragments, cut nails, oyster shell, and unmilled wood fragments were found in almost all of the test units. Faunal remains were also found in almost all of the test units. Such non-diagnostic artifacts as stoneware, amber glass, amethyst glass, wire nails, tacks, metal wires, and milled wood fragments were recovered from all, or almost all, of the units located in Grids, A, B and G (TU 1-6, 10, and 11). There were no non-diagnostic artifact categories that were unique to the Gravel Grid test units.

The following section will be a discussion of the major artifact patterns within each test unit, as well as a discussion of the diagnostic and notable artifacts in each unit. Table V-2 provides the historic artifact count in each test unit by function, and then by material type. If a function was known for the artifact during cataloging, then the artifact was placed in that functional category. If function was unknown, then the artifact was categorized by material type. Table V-3 provides the percentages of historic artifacts each
For a more detailed analysis of the artifacts in each test unit, see Machado (2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Group or Material Type</th>
<th>TU 1</th>
<th>TU 2</th>
<th>TU 3</th>
<th>TU 4 Feature 2</th>
<th>TU 5</th>
<th>TU 7, 8, 13 Feature 4</th>
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<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table V-3. Percentages of historic artifacts in each function group or material type.
Test Unit 1

A total of 1,053 historic artifacts was excavated in situ from TU 1. The majority artifact category in this unit was coal/charcoal/clinkers, followed closely by faunal remains and architectural materials. The quantities of faunal remains and architectural materials are maximized in Levels 2 and 3, suggesting that these levels, which roughly correspond to the B horizon and possibly the historic period, may represent the historic period when this area of the site was utilized most frequently.

The diagnostic artifacts from this unit include two fragments of Chinese brownware, a copper alloy eyelet possibly from a shoe, an unidentifiable bone object, and a red-brown terra cotta sherd. There is also a porcelain sherd with a pink glaze and a rough interior surface as though it is unfinished. It may be a doll fragment or part of another type of child’s toy.

Figure V-52. Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 1.
Test Unit 2

A total of 872 artifacts was excavated from TU 2. Some of the more interesting patterns in this unit are shown in Level 3. 95.3% of the faunal remains in this unit was found in this level. These faunal remains were found near a charcoal deposit; the quantity of charcoal, coal, and clinkers/slag, was also maximized in this level. This level also produced the most architectural materials than the rest of the unit. As Level 3 is mainly within Stratum II, this suggests that many of these artifacts are associated with the historic period and possibly the St. Mary’s Hospital period. This is supported by the fact that there were only cut nails in this level.

Diagnostic artifacts from this unit come from Levels 2 and 3. In Level 2, a copper alloy barrette and a copper alloy eyelet were recovered. One ceramic sherd with a pink glaze, which is a possible doll fragment, was also found. In addition to the interesting patterns in the faunal and architectural materials, Level 3 also produced various diagnostic artifacts. These include a lead bullet and a Winchester Repeating Arms .22 caliber single rimfire cartridge case which post-dates 1886 (Logan 1959:8). Other diagnostic artifacts include one WIE plate, one possible WIE serving bowl, a copper alloy strap or belt tip fragment. Due to their presence in Level 3, these artifacts are likely historic.
Test Unit 3

This unit produced a total of 546 artifacts in context. The majority artifact category in this unit is faunal remains, followed by architectural materials. Some of the non-diagnostic artifacts relatively unique to this unit include white opaque/milk glass, porcelain sherds, blue glass, and an aqua bottle finish. This unit also produced Rockingham ware. In addition to these artifacts, this unit, specifically Level 2, produced a variety of interesting diagnostic artifacts. These include such personal adornment items as one white four-holed prosser button fragment and one bone button, which was
originally covered with cloth (White 2005:69). It probably dates no later than about 1930 (Pool 1991:10-11). The only artifact positively associated with food service was a celadon rice bowl base with a Chinese character on the base. It is possible that this artifact dates to 1796-1820, the Jiaqing Era in China or to 1821-1850, the Daoguang Era in China (Joan K. Brand-Landkamer, online communication February 18, 2013). It was likely made in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, China (Jan-Erik Nilsson, email to author February 2, 2013).

Figure V-54. Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 3.
Test Unit 4 and Features 1 and 2

This unit, including the features, produced a total of 1920 artifacts. Excluding the features, a total of 904 artifacts were excavated from this unit. Apart from the features, the artifacts in this unit were relatively homogenous between levels. Less diagnostic artifacts relatively unique to this unit include buffware, Chinese brownware, refined earthenware, blue glass, and white opaque/milk glass.

This unit also produced a wide range of diagnostic artifacts. In Levels 1 and 2, which excavated the disturbed strata, there was a lead shot and a Winchester Repeating Arms .22 caliber single rimfire cartridge case with an “H” stamp which dates to 1866 to the present (Logan 1959:8). There was also a sherd of Bristol-glazed stoneware and a sherd of Chinese brownware in these levels. The only personal adornment artifact found was a water-tumbled ceramic button. There was also a water-tumbled fragment of unknown material; it is likely made of marble. In the lower levels, which likely date to the historic period because they are associated with Strata III, V, and VI, include a copper alloy eyelet possibly from a shoe, a lead shot, a copper alloy hinge possible from a jewelry box, a white prosser button and a Chinese brownware soy sauce pot fragment. The latter two artifacts may be associated with Feature 2 because of their probable location in the feature pedestal. The final artifact from the lower levels was a possibly machine made colorless crown bottle finish. If it was machine-made it postdates 1905 (Miller and McNichol 2002).
Figure V-55. Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 4.

**Feature 1**

The artifacts from Feature 1 include a total of 3 construction brick fragments. One piece collected was a large end fragment.

**Feature 2**

A total of 1016 artifacts were excavated from Feature 2. The majority of the artifacts cataloged from the feature include the pine wood fragments that constituted the
wood boards of the feature. Excluding these fragments, the artifacts excavated from Feature 2, which includes both the wooden board feature and its associated pedestal and trench, primarily include faunal remains, wire nails, metal and charcoal. Five water worn glass fragments were also excavated from the feature.

**Test Unit 5**

A total of 898 artifacts were excavated in situ from Test Unit 5. Unique artifacts in this unit include such floral remains as corn cobs and a possible pumpkin or squash seed, as well as such ceramics as industrial porcelain and buffware. The diagnostic artifacts include a ferrous continuous threaded cap which dates to 1924-present (Lief 1965:26-29) and an olive green straight wine bottle finish finished with a lipping tool dating to about 1870-1920 (IMACS 1992:472.12).

One pattern that is significant in this unit is the amount of artifacts from the first two levels possibly associated with construction of some kind. 94.4% of the architectural materials in the unit came from Levels 1 and 2. There are also numerous artifacts in these two levels that cannot be specifically defined as architectural which were possibly used in some kind of construction. The majority of the nails in this unit were found in Level 2 (95.7% of the unit nail assemblage). Also 93.5% of the total metal count in the unit was produced in Levels 1 and 2. Some of these fragments include possible nail fragments, suggesting more architectural materials. There were also red and white paint chips in the first two levels, as well as milled wood fragments with red and white paint. There was also paper in the first two levels, including wallpaper in Level 1. Window screen (n=80) fragments were found on the surface and in Level 2. Level 1 also produced four large chunks of tile. Levels 1 and 2 also produced three staples and six tacks.
It is likely that many of the artifacts from the first two levels are artifacts and modern debris from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This is supported by the presence of recent plastic in the first two levels and some possibly particle board and paper found in Level 3. It appears that the artifacts in the first two levels primarily represent some recent architecture or possibly remodeling.

![Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 5](image)

**Figure V-56. Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 5.**

**Test Unit 6**

A total of 2869 artifacts were excavated from the portion of Test Unit 6 that was not associated with a possible rodent bioturbation in the southwest corner of the unit.
Based on the artifacts found in this unit, this unit appears greatly disturbed. Evidence of this disturbance is shown by such artifacts as two cigarette filters, one plastic swizzle stick, a piece of artificial turf, tissue paper, and one fragment of unidentified paving material, possibly oiled dirt.

Despite these apparent disturbances, this unit did produce some interesting artifacts. Some artifacts that are relatively unique to this unit are corn cob fragments, a legume fragment, Rockingham ware, and an enigmatic ferrous star that may have fastened to a piece of cloth. Some of the diagnostic artifacts with likely earlier dates include a mouth blown colorless bottle base, which likely dates to pre-1905 (Miller and McNichol 2002), and a hole-in-cap can that dates to 1823-1940s (Rock 1993:7-8). The diagnostics also include a .22 caliber single rimfire cartridge case with a maker’s mark that reads “US” for the United States Cartridge Company from the Arms group. This company existed between 1869 and 1927 (U.S. Cartridge Company n.d.). There is also one ferrous crown cap which dates to 1892+ (IMACS 1992:472.12). The Utilities group is comprised of two insulators; one is a wire cleat insulator marked with a “P” that may have been made by the Pettingell-Andrews Co. which existed from 1890 until the 1920s (Wooden and Porcelain House Wiring Cleats n.d.; Maurath 2004). The last artifact with an assignable date is a rivet had an “S” on it, which indicates that it was produced by Levi Strauss & Co. in San Francisco between 1873 and the present (Davis 1873). The non-dateable diagnostic artifacts also include one can with a spouted cap that may have held lighter fluid or cleaning solution and fragments of butter or steamer clam (*Protothaca staminea*). This was the only unit to produce butter or steamer clams.
Like Test Unit 5, this unit also produced a large quantity of artifacts that may be associated with some period of building or remodeling. Artifactual evidence of this activity include paving material, linoleum, construction brick, mortar, plaster, cut and wire nails, laminar, and milled wood. The milled wood included possible shingle fragments, a triangular corner brace, and fragments which show signs of sawing or having been painted. Also, the vast majority of the glass in the unit was flat aqua or flat colorless, which may be window glass sherds.

![Artifacts from Test Unit 6](image)

*Figure V-57. Artifacts from Test Unit 6.*
**Test Units 7, 8, and 13 (Feature 4)**

This feature produced a total of 2059 artifacts in context. Feature 4 appears to have experienced at least two distinct fill episodes, one being the fill for the majority of the unit (represented by Stratum II among others) and one being a fill episode for when the ferrous pipe was laid in Test Unit 13 (represented by Stratum V). The latter appears to be a builder’s trench used to lay the pipe. Level 1 (0-10 cm below datum), however, is a mixture of various fill episodes because the artifacts were not collected by zone in this level. The artifacts from Feature 4 have therefore been divided into three main categories for analysis: Level 1, main feature fill, and builder’s trench fill. The third category has been subdivided into two categories: artifacts solely from the builder’s trench fill and combined artifacts from the builder’s trench and the feature fill.

Level 1 of Feature 4 produced a total of 477 artifacts. This largest artifact group in this level is glass, with the majority of the glass being flat glass. Unique non-diagnostic artifacts in this feature include various fragments of cranberry glass and a celadon sherd. The cranberry glass may be from the polygonal vessel found in the main feature fill. The only significant diagnostic artifact from this level is one tobacco pipe fragment, which is the only pipe fragment found at the entire site.
The main feature fill produced a total of 936 artifacts. Like Level 1, glass fragments made up the majority of the artifacts in this fill, with most of these fragment being flat colorless or flat aqua. Also, there were only cut nails, and no wire nails, found in this fill. The diagnostic artifacts in the feature fill include a terra cotta vessel sherd and cranberry glass from a polygonal vessel, possibly a tumbler. These sherds may belong to the same vessel as the cranberry glass from Level 1 and the builder’s trench fill. The most informative artifact recovered from the main feature fill were 69 plaster cast fragments that were likely once used for medicinal purposes.
Figure V-59. Plaster cast fragments from Feature 4.

Although there was an attempt to excavate the builder’s trench of the ferrous pipe separately (hereafter known as the builder’s trench) from the surrounding fill, some of the artifacts were mixed with the surrounding fill. Therefore, the artifacts from the builder’s trench will be analyzed separately from the artifacts from the mixed builder’s trench and feature fill. The artifacts from the builder’s trench alone number 213.

The majority of the artifacts from the builder’s trench were glass fragments of various colors, with the majority of those glass artifacts being flat colorless or flat aqua glass. It is also interesting to note that only cut nails, and no wire nails, were found in the builder’s trench. The most significant diagnostic artifact recovered from the builder’s
trench was a medical thermometer fragment. This fragment likely dates to the late 1800s or later considering that thermometer use became widespread in medicine in the late nineteenth century (Berger 1999:1).

![Thermometer fragment](image)

Figure V-60. Thermometer fragment from Feature 4.

The assemblage that included the combined artifacts of the builder’s trench and the feature fill produced a total of 434 artifacts. Cranberry glass was also recovered from this zone, which may belong to the same cranberry glass vessel described earlier. There was only one cut nail found in this zone, and no wire nails recovered.

**Test Units 9 and 12 (Feature 5)**

A total of 512 artifacts was excavated in context from Feature 5. These artifacts will be analyzed here roughly according to the strata from which they were recovered. Note that as the excavated arbitrary levels did not exactly match the natural stratigraphy,
it is possible that some of the artifacts discussed here within certain strata may in fact have been excavated from a nearby stratum.

Strata I-III are fill episodes, that were likely used to flatten the ground for the driveway. In these strata, the majority artifact categories were metal artifacts and then glass artifacts, with the majority of those being flat glass. The non-diagnostic artifacts include one aqua bottle kick-up fragment, leather fragments, and tan ceramic fragments. The only diagnostic artifact is from the Arms group and includes one .22 caliber cartridge case which appears to have been fired with a screwdriver or otherwise outside a weapon.

Stratum IV was a fill episode that filled the majority of the unit. This stratum also had numerous metal artifacts, as well as more charcoal and architectural materials than previous levels. This stratum also included a noteworthy quantity of shell, including oyster shell. This stratum produced the most important diagnostic artifacts including a mouth blown olive green bottle base with a post-bottom mold and an “N” mark in the kick-up. The best current information suggests that it is a British pint-sized stout bottle made between c. 1870 to c.1910. The “N” may indicate Nuttall & Co. which was located in St. Helens, Lancashire, England from 1872-1913 (Bill Lockhart, personal communication, November 25, 2012). One salt-glazed German stoneware mineral water jug body fragment was also found in this stratum. It dates to before c. 1886 (Robert Leavitt, personal communication, January 8, 2013). The other diagnostic artifacts include one .22 caliber cartridge case and one colorless bottle prescription finish, applied with a lipping tool, and a cork stopper which likely dates to 1870-1905 (IMACS 1992:472.12; Miller and McNichol 2002).
The bottom two strata in this unit (Strata V and VI) produced many more faunal remains than the previous levels. Many of these remains exhibit evidence of having been burned and/or calcified. There was also many more charcoal fragments and coal/clinkers recovered from these strata, as well as possible fire-affected shell.

Regardless of strata, only cut nails, and no wire nails, were recovered from Feature 5. This suggests a slightly earlier date and possibly a nineteenth century date (Adams 2002:70).

Figure V-61. Olive green bottle base with “N” mark from Test Unit 9 in Feature 5.
Figure V-62. Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 9 in Feature 5.

Figure V-63. Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 12 in Feature 5.
Test Unit 10

A total of 2949 artifacts was excavated in context from this test unit. The largest artifact group is by far metal artifacts, which includes both non-diagnostic can fragments and diagnostic cans discussed below. Other non-diagnostic artifacts unique to this unit include a possible walnut shell, a ferrous lid possibly from a coffee pot, and one fish can-shaped artifact. The latter artifact has one surface that seems stamped and the other surface seems internally lapped or soldered, suggesting this can may date to the 1840s-1940s (Rock 1987:7-8, 20, 22). Diagnostic metal artifacts include two Hopper-opened hole-in-cap cans. These cans, due to their characteristics, likely date to 1899-1940s (Hopper 1999; Rock 1993:7-8). There is also one hole-in-cap can that is puncture-opened and machine soldered with internal folded seams. Based on these characteristics it likely dates to 1883-1940s (Rock 1987:7-8; Rock 1993:7). All three cans likely pre-date c. 1911, when sanitary cans became the most widely used can in the region (Rock 1987:7-8). There is also a pour spout in the metal group; it has a valve-like closure and is possibly from a fuel or kerosene can. It likely dates to the 1890s or the early 1900s (Monique E. Kimball, personal communication, March 8, 2013).

Non-metal diagnostic artifacts include ceramics, bottle fragments, and an ore cart track spike. The ceramics include an unknown WIE vessel base with a maker’s mark of an “A” and a portion of the British Royal Arms. This group also includes a refined stoneware item with a blue glazes and a relief-molded floral pattern with the dark glaze removed to highlight the pattern on the exterior. This group also includes a WIE vessel base with a flow blue technique and relief molding, a refined stoneware item with a flow blue technique, and a refined stoneware rim with a flow blue technique and possibly
hand-applied gilding. The specific flow blue patterns have yet to be determined. The last diagnostic ceramics are a WIE bowl fragment and a refined stoneware rice bowl rim sherd with a bamboo pattern. Chinese ceramics with the bamboo pattern are usually found in Western contexts around 1860-1900; however, they can date to the mid-twentieth century (Hammatt 2013:53).

The diagnostic bottle fragments recovered from this unit include a mouth blown colorless bottle neck with a patent finish applied with a lipping tool, likely dating to 1870-c. 1905; and an amethyst bottle neck with a packer finish applied with a lipping tool, which probably dates to about 1870-1930 (Miller and McNichol 2002; IMACS 1992:472.12). This group also includes a colorless bottle shoulder and neck with a packer finish and a hand-applied lip which probably pre-dates c. 1905 and an amethyst bottle body with a cup-bottom mold and a possible “C” mark that dates to the 1870s-1920s (Miller and McNichol 2002; Munsey 1970:39-40,44; Monique E. Kimball, personal communication, January 31, 2013).

The Personal functional group consists of five artifacts. These include a shanked button possibly made of cloth, a red glass imitation ruby or garnet gemstone from jewelry or clothing, and two Levi Strauss & Co. rivets, as demonstrated by the “L S & CO/SF” mark on both rivets. These date to 1873-present (Davis 1873). The last artifact in this group is a mouth blown amber bottle base with a post-bottom mold. The base has a mark that reads “P.D. & CO./279.” This stands for the Parke, Davis & Co. which produced a wide variety of pharmaceuticals. The bottle likely dates to 1875- c. 1930 (Toulouse 1971:417; Whitten 2013). The original contents are unknown, but were likely medicinal.
Overall, the artifacts recovered date to the late nineteenth or to the early twentieth century. This suggests that most of these artifacts are associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital period or possibly the Storey County Hospital.

Figure V-64. Historic Artifacts from Test Unit 10.
Test Unit 11

A total of 1899 artifacts was discovered in situ in this unit. Metal was the most dominant artifact material type found in this unit. Interesting, but less diagnostic, artifacts from this unit include a small fragment of Chinese brownware and 17 fragments of glass that appear to be water or sand-worn.

There are two notable artifact patterns in this unit. The first being the large number of faunal remains. A large quantity of faunal remains (n=424) were recovered from this unit compared to the other units. The majority of the faunal material was in Level 3 (about 67% of the faunal remains in the unit). Faunal increased in quantity until Level 3 and then decreased in quantity until Level 6. The second noteworthy pattern is the amount of artifacts that exhibit signs of having been burned or heat-affected. These artifacts include two glass fragments showing possible heat-related cracking, three WIE sherds with pot-lidding, high quantities of clinkers and charcoal, charred wood, and burnt cut nails.

In addition to these artifact patterns, several diagnostic artifacts were found in this unit. The Arms group consists of one 20 gauge plastic shotshell husk found in Level 2. There was also an artifact in the Communications group: one hexagonal pencil lead fragment. This artifact is likely historic due to its provenience in Level 4, close to the A horizon. The only diagnostic can fragment recovered was a key and tear-strip; it dates as early as 1895 and is probably from a coffee can (Rock 1993:8). Another metal diagnostic artifact is a fragment of a crown cap which dates to 1892+ (Kimbal1 N.d.:1). The only diagnostic glass fragment was a colorless finish. Because it was possibly machine-made, it may date to c. 1904 or later (Miller and Sullivan 1981:3, 101). The last diagnostic
artifacts are in the Domestic and Utilities groups. The first is an anchor for a picture frame wire, which cannot be dated with any certainty. The second is a light bulb fragment found in Level 2. This type of light bulb was patented in 1885 (Edison 1885). However, the first electrical distribution plant in Virginia City was not built until 1900, suggesting that the artifact postdates that year (Hall 1902:285).

![Artifacts from Test Unit 11](image)

**Figure V-65. Artifacts from Test Unit 11.**

**Test Unit 14 and Features 6 and 7**

**Test Unit 14, Level 1**

Including Feature 6 and 7, Test Unit 14 produced a total of 992 artifacts. Excluding the features, the unit produced a total of 55 artifacts. These artifacts came out
of Level 1 (0-10 cm below datum). It is possible that some of these artifacts may have come out of Feature 7 because this feature was not excavated separately from the rest of the unit until Level 2. The majority of the artifacts from Level 1 are architectural materials, including construction brick, plaster and cut nail. It is interesting to note that only cut nails, and no wire nails, were excavated from this unit. Also, even though some of the glass was not labeled as specifically architectural materials, some of the fragments may have been; the majority of the glass was flat aqua glass, suggesting that these fragments may be window glass, and are therefore possibly architectural. The only diagnostic artifact found is from the Arms group and consists of one 12 gauge copper alloy shotshell husk.

**Feature 6**

Feature 6 produced a total of 8 artifacts. All of these artifacts were wood fragments. Although they were cataloged as unmilled, they are really too small to determine if they are milled or unmilled.

**Feature 7**

Feature 7 produced a total of 929 artifacts. The separate excavation of the feature began in Level 2 (10-21 cm below datum). Overall, metal artifacts constituted the largest artifact material group in the unit. Shell artifacts and architectural materials were also prominent groups. Wood and shell were the largest artifact groups in Levels 2 and 3 of the feature, with metal and architectural materials gaining greater prominence in Levels 4 and 5. The shell recovered from this feature was exclusively oyster shell. In fact, the shell artifacts that were recovered from this unit were the largest shells excavated from the
entire site; these artifacts included numerous intact oyster shells. The only diagnostic artifact from this unit is one intact brick that was found between Levels 4 and 5.

Figure V-66. Oyster shell from Feature 7 in Test Unit 14.

Artifact Descriptions and Analysis: Historic Artifacts in the Surface Collection

A total of 157 artifacts was collected during the surface collection located on the southeastern part of the landform, to the east of TU 10 and the possible historic fence line. Items collected were limited to ceramics and glass.

In addition to diagnostic bottles and jars, there were numerous fragments of non-diagnostic bottles. Colors represented by these bottle sherds include colorless, amethyst,
amber, olive green, and aqua. Other glass fragments were collected as well. They include the aforementioned colors as well as flat aqua and yellow.

Of the glass artifacts collected, 29 were determined to be fragments of diagnostic bottles, jars, or some other kind of commercial glass container. Glass colors included aqua, amber, amethyst, olive green, colorless, and blue. Body shapes include unknown, cylindrical, and elixir or handy. Three were determined to have cup-bottom molds; one had a post-bottom mold, and one had no seams. Bottle finishes collected included one amber patent finish, one blue oil finish, and one amethyst prescription finish. Of the bottle sherds collected, nine were determined to be mouth blown and none were confirmed as machine made. The mouth blown bottles likely dates to pre-1905 (Miller and McNichol 2002). One amber bottle shoulder sherd, from either a rectangular or square bottle, is pressure flaked on one edge of the interior surface. It is unknown if this artifact was knapped by a Native American individual during the historic period or was flaked by another individual during that period.

Two bottles had maker’s marks. A mouth blown olive green bottle sherd had a mark that read “…&CO” but the mark is indeterminate. A mouth blown amber bottle base had a mark that read “S (in a shield)/J.” This mark is also indeterminate. Three had discernible filler’s marks which could be identified to a high degree of certainty. One amber bottle sherd read “J. F. C…/ [TRA?]DE (shield around what looks like a star).” This mark stands for John F. Cutter and Edward Johnson Martin & Company, San Francisco. The sherd comes from a bottle of the company’s bourbon and dates to c. 1870-1880 (Thomas 1977:11,15; Heinemann n.d.).
An amethyst bottle sherd reads “…OU…/…VASE…” which may mean Chesebrough Mfg. Co. and may date to c. 1860s to 1908. This company produced Vaseline (Fike 1987:56; Correira n.d.). A large amethyst bottle fragment from a different bottle read “…TILLERY/…ROY, OHIO.” The filler's mark likely means Hayner Distilling Co. The company existed between 1866-1920 and produced whiskey from a distillery in Troy, Ohio (Hayner Distilling Co. 2013). The bottle may date to 1897-1916 because that is when the company embossed clear bottles (Wilson and Wilson 1968:79).

Two fragments of a mouth blown aqua jar with a continuous thread finish were also collected. These belong to the Food/Drink group because it was determined to be a canning jar. Only one bottle sherd was made of ceramic. This was the only bottle placed in the Food/Drink group, while the others had unknown functions. This sherd was a stoneware Bristolware bottle sherd. It is likely an ale bottle from the mid to late-nineteenth century due to its cream color (Robert Leavitt, personal communication, February 1, 2013).

There were also six unclassifiable fragments found. Three of the fragments appear to belong to the same cylindrical aqua vessel. This vessel has a “2667” mark on it, but the mark is indeterminate. The other three sherds include an aqua sherd with an indeterminate “…868” mark on it. This fragment is likely a panel from a panel bottle. It may be a patent medicine bottle marked "1868" to indicate the year the medicine was patented (Hunt 1997). The other fragments include an amethyst commercial container/tumbler rim sherd. It may have originally been sold containing peanut butter, jelly, mustard, or similar items and then reused as a tumbler. It is known as a commercial tumbler container with an anchor closure (Jones et al. 1989: 143). The other fragment is
Figure V-67. Glass artifacts from the Surface Collection.
Figure V-68. Ceramic artifacts from the Surface Collections.
aqua. It is possibly a closure for an internally threaded jar/bottle or possibly an elaborate jar or bottle base with vertical ridges near the base and horizontal ridges on the lower body.

In addition to the diagnostic ceramic sherds collected, there were also numerous fragments of WIE and refined earthenware that came from indeterminate vessels. A total of 48 ceramic sherds was collected and determined to be diagnostic. Material types found included white improved earthenware, vitreous earthenware, porcelain, and industrial porcelain. Identifiable items include a WIE platter, a vitreous earthenware plate, and two WIE chamber pot fragments. The chamber pot fragments were classified in the Sanitation group, while the plate and platter are in the Food/Drink group as food service vessels. None of these identifiable artifacts were decorated. The other Food/Drink artifact is a porcelain rim and body sherd with a handle. It is possibly a teacup or some other tea set vessel like a small pitcher. There is a gilded ring near the rim and gilding on the handle and body. There is also a hand-painted red and pink design on the body. On the remaining artifacts, various types of decoration techniques were discovered. These decorated artifacts include relief molded WIE sherd with a flow blue floral pattern and gilding, a relief molded WIE sherd with an indeterminate decoration pattern, a WIE rim with a gilded ring on the interior and exterior and minor scalloping on the body, a WIE rim with a transfer-print of unknown design on the interior of the vessel, a WIE rim with a floral transfer-print, a WIE rim with a flow blue decoration, and a WIE sherd with a floral transfer-print.

Eight sherds have maker’s marks. One WIE vessel has a mark that reads “D<RESD??>EN/ WHITE-GRANITE.” The mark stands for the Potter’s Cooperative
Co. and dates to 1875-1927 (Bagdade and Bagdade 1994:176). Another WIE base has a mark that reads “(British Royal Arms)…& G. MEAKIN/HANLEY/ENGLAND” which stands for J. & G. Meakin and dates to 1851-Present (Gibson 2011:111).

Another WIE sherd has a trace of the Royal Arms as well. This mark may represent J. & G. Meakin with a date of 1851-Present (Gibson 2011:111). One WIE sherd had a mark that reads “(indeterminate design)/…SO…/…ND” which may mean Wood & Son Ltd. The mark dates to 1865-c.1907 and the origin of the vessel is Trent and New Warf Potteries, Burslem, Staffordshire (Gibson 2011:134-135).

Another WIE base has an indeterminate mark that reads “(indeterminate design)/…ON/…”. One of the identifiable marks on a WIE sherd is one that reads “…NS (in a banner)/ (Royal Arms)/ [TRADE] MARK/ [EN]GLAND (in a banner).” This mark stands for Thomas Furnival & Sons and dates to 1876-1890 (Gibson 2011:79). The last artifact with an identifiable mark is a WIE base with a mark that reads “…E.P.O.CO./CHINA” which stands for the West End Pottery Co. in East Liverpool, Ohio. The sherd dates to c. 1893-1910 (Kovel and Kovel 1986: 223). One other sherd only has a trace of a maker’s mark and it is indeterminate. It is likely a trace of the Royal Arms.

**Artifact Descriptions and Analysis: Historic Artifacts in the Can Inventory**

A total of 40 artifacts were inventoried during the can inventory, including 35 historic ferrous cans, two flat metal fragments, and three barrel hoop fragments. These cans were not collected.
Of the 35 cans, 18 are intact hole-in-cap cans. Fifteen of the cans are intact or mostly intact, while two are only fragments. All of the hole-in-cap cans have internal rolled seams, except for one which has an unknown seam type. Of these 18 cans, six have been opened with a Hopper. These six cans date to about 1899-1940s (Hopper 1999; Rock 1987:20, 22). Three have been opened with a knife. Of the nine cans with an unknown opening method, five may be Hopper-opened. One other can may display a failed Hopper opening which was completed with a knife. This same can may have been hand saudered. Three of these cans have unknown opening types. One of the Hopper-opened cans with an internal rolled seam is machine saudered. The 11 hole-in-cap cans with internal rolled seams that are not Hopper-opened (they are knife cut or have an unknown opening method) date to about 1888-1940s (Rock 1987:4-6, 20, 22). The hole-in-cap can which has an unknown seam type and an unknown opening method dates to the 1840s-1940s (Rock 1987:20, 22).

Of the 35 cans, 17 of the cans are of an unknown can type, but they have stamped ends. Thirteen of the cans are cylindrical. Of these 13, ten cans have an internal rolled seam, two have a lap seam, and one has unknown seams. One of these internal rolled cans is Hopper opened. This can dates to 1899-1940s (Hopper 1899; Rock 1987:20, 22). The other ten cans have unknown opening methods. However, five of those cans may have been Hopper-opened and one may have been rotary-opened. These date to 1888-1940s (Rock 1987:4-6, 20, 22). One of the cylindrical cans with internal rolled seams and an unknown opening method has a filler’s mark. The lid of the can, which had been separated from the can, had the mark “PA…/ GUARANTEED BY/ HILLS BROS./ SAN FRANCISCO/ THIS SEAL OUT.” The contents of this can were produced by the Hills
Bros. Co. The Hills Bros. produced coffee, tea, flavoring extracts, and spices (Pendergrast 1999:124). However, based on the size of the can, it is likely a coffee can. The can dates to 1878 or later (Hills Bros. 2012). The remaining three cylindrical cans, two with lap seams and one with an unknown seam type, all may have been Hopper-opened. These three cans date to the 1840s-1940s (Rock 1987:4-6, 20, 22). One of the cans with stamped ends is rectangular with an unknown seam type and an unknown opening method. This can is about 9-10 inches in height and is possibly an oil can. It dates to the 1840s-1940s (Rock 1987:20, 22). Of the remaining three cans with stamped ends, they have unknown shapes, opening methods, and seam types. These three cans date to 1840s-1940s (Rock 1987:20, 22).

Of the non-cans inventoried, there were two flat ferrous metal fragments. These are possibly fragments of a crushed shallow can. There were also three barrels hoops recorded. These ranged from 2.7-2.9 inches in width and 57.1 to 67.9 inches in length. One of the hoops still had a wire nail in the hoop. This could indicate that this barrel hoop dates to the late nineteenth or twentieth century.
Figure V-69. Hopper-opened hole-in-cap can from Can Inventory.

Figure V-70. Possible coffee can lid from Can Inventory. The filler’s mark reads “PA.../ GUARANTEED BY/ HILLS BROS./ SAN FRANCISCO/ THIS SEAL OUT.”
VI. Discussion and Interpretations of Artifact Patterns and Site Formation Processes

This chapter will discuss the interpretations of various artifacts from the site, specifically diagnostic artifacts, as well as interpretations of land use around the site and site formation processes. The implications of these for an interpretation of ideology at the site will be discussed in Chapter VII.

Flaked Materials

The artifacts presumably associated with a Native American occupation were found dispersed throughout most of the site. They were found in five different shovel test pits and nine different test units located throughout the site to the east, west, and north of the hospital building. These artifacts were found on the surface and in contexts up to 50 cm below datum. The majority of the artifacts found outside of the Gravel Grid and below Level 1 in the Gravel Grid are likely in primary context. However, the 10 artifacts found in Level 1 of the Gravel Grid may not be associated with the site and may have been brought in with the gravel and dirt which constituted the driveway.

The majority of these artifacts are lithics, primarily secondary, tertiary, and pressure flakes; there is only one arrow point fragment in the collection. This suggests that the group who produced these artifacts were only using the site as a temporary occupation where they were retouching tools. The lack of large cores and bifaces suggests that this site was not a permanent habitation site where large amounts of lithic reduction occurred. It is not possible to assign any of the lithics to a specific group or to a specific historical period. The arrow point dates to as early as 1300 B.P., but it cannot be
assigned any definitive date or cultural affiliation (Geoffrey Smith, personal communication April 30, 2013).

There are only two non-lithic artifacts in the collection, including a polishing stone and piece of flaked amber bottle glass. The polishing stone cannot be assigned any specific date or cultural affiliation. The flaked glass sherd dates to the historic period and may have been used as a scraper. Based on the historical record, it is possible that this artifact may have been produced by a Native American living in Virginia City during the exploitation of the Comstock Lode (Spidell et al. N.d) or it may have been produced by a non-native individual. It is impossible to determine the cultural affiliation or a more precise manufacture date for this artifact.

**Historic Artifacts in the Shovel Test Pits**

The nine shovel test pits were intended to provide information about the overall stratigraphy of the site and to determine the locations of artifact concentrations. This information was then used to determine where to place future test units.

The artifact concentrations discovered in the STPs provided valuable insight into where to place the test units. The limited results of STPs 1-4 and STP 7 suggested that these respective areas are not fruitful areas of research so no test units were placed in these areas. Although excavation of STP 9 recovered a few dateable artifacts, the likely twentieth century date of this STP suggested that this area was not a fruitful area for research. However, the features and the greater depths and quantities of artifacts found in STPs 5, 6, and 8 suggested that these areas may produce meaningful results; test units were ultimately placed near these STPs to exploit this potential.
In addition to potential artifact concentrations, the STPs also provided valuable information about the site’s stratigraphy. Based on the various STP results, it appeared that the majority of the site had two main strata. The top layer, which may be the A horizon, was generally described as either a silty loam or a loam. The second stratum, which may be the B horizon, was typically described as a clay loam, or simply as a loam. This layer generally began about 10-20 cm below datum.

**Historic Artifacts by Test Unit and Feature**

The following test units were those located to the east of the hospital building in Grids A, B, and G. These units were used to investigate the St. Mary’s Hospital period of the hospital site. Because the Beer Garden or Pleasure was likely located in front of where the hospital building was built, the units located behind the hospital building were presumed to be associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital period or later.

**Test Unit 1**

Test Unit 1 was used to investigate remnants of historic outbuildings seen in historic photographs (Figure V-3) and specifically to investigate any artifacts related to the possible building located in STP 8. The relatively high quantity of architectural materials and the presence of flat glass and wood suggests the possible remnants of these historic buildings, but the artifacts do not indicate any particular use for these buildings. However, the high quantity of faunal remains may indicate that the outbuildings were either used to house animals or were used as areas to deposit food refuse. This is suggested by the evidence of butchered sheep (*Ovis aries*) and chicken (*Gallus domesticus*) remains in this area of the site (Sober 2013).
This unit has a lack of specifically dateable artifacts. However, based on the presence of at least one wire nail each in Levels 2-4 and the fact that the majority of the nails in the unit are cut nails, it is possible that many of the artifacts in this unit date to the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century (Adams 2002:70, 81).

It is likely that many of the glass and ceramic artifacts found may have been used in domestic context to store and serve food and beverages. However, the size and limited number of the artifacts does not indicate for what specific purpose these materials were used. A majority of the ceramics were relatively plain earthenwares. The few earthenwares with glazes exhibited blue-gray and white glazes, indicating plain ceramics. The non-earthenware ceramics included stoneware and terra cotta, although the vessel forms and functions of these artifacts remains unknown. Another non-earthenware ceramic was a sherd of Chinese brownware. This fragment likely came from a soy sauce pot or some other vessel used to store food. This fragment is also interesting because it is indicative of a Chinese presence at the site. The historic documentation only mentions one Chinese individual ever being a patient at the site (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). Therefore, this fragment may help indicate that there was a greater Chinese presence at the site than is indicated by the documentary record.

The only ceramic found that is likely not a domestic item, is a porcelain fragment, which possibly once was part of a doll or another child’s toy. This ceramic is especially meaningful because it may be indicative of the presence of children at the site. Although there is historic evidence that demonstrates that children were patients at the hospital (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897), there is little artifactual evidence, besides possibly this fragment and a similar artifact in TU 2, that supports the documentation.
Other items in this unit that may have been personal artifacts, include an eyelet, possibly from a shoe, a rivet, an unidentifiable bone object, and tan cloth. The exact use of the artifacts, however, is undetermined.

Artifacts that may indicate disturbances in the unit include a possible rodent’s nest and green foam rubber or plastic that were found in lower levels. The presence of these objects may indicate bioturbation, erosion, or possibly items that blew into the unit during excavation.

**Test Unit 2**

Like Test Unit 1, Test Unit 2 was used to investigate remnants of historic outbuildings seen in historic photographs (Figure V-3) and specifically to investigate any artifacts related to the building located in STP 8.

It is particularly interesting that in this unit, the majority of the charcoal, clinkers/slag, and coal and the majority of the faunal remains were found in Level 3. Because of their depth, it is likely that these artifacts are historic. This is supported by the lack of wire nails in Level 3 and the presence of only cut nails. In Level 3, there was also a charcoal deposit found next to faunal remains, indicating a possible connection between the two artifact types. It is possible that this area of the site was used to dispose of cooking refuse and then it was possibly buried by deliberate earth-moving activities to flatten the landform or by erosion. This hypothesis is strengthened by the prominence of bone in Test Unit 1, which was located near Test Unit 2, as well as the unique presence of fire brick in this unit.

Level 3, the lowest level, also saw the greatest number of architectural artifacts. Level 2 saw the greatest amount of metal artifacts. Because some of the unidentifiable
metal artifacts may be nails, and therefore architectural materials, the artifacts from these levels may demonstrate the remnants of the historic outbuildings seen in the historic photographs.

It is possible that the pipe in this unit was not associated with the outbuildings that were in this area. Based on its location on the top of Stratum II (the B horizon) and therefore on top of the possible historic ground surface, it is possible that the pipe was used for drainage during the hospital period. The backyard of the hospital currently has problems with erosion and it is possible that the pipe was used to divert water away from the landform to prevent erosion. Considering that there were gardens to the east of the buildings, it is possible that the pipe was used to prevent erosion so that it would be easier to garden in that area (*Territorial Enterprise* 1877:3).

In terms of notable ceramics, the two most interesting artifacts are Chinese brownware and one sherd with pink glaze that is a possible doll fragment. The Chinese brownware found in this unit, along with similar sherds found in other test units, may indicate a greater Chinese presence at the site than historical records indicate. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of the Chinese ceramic in Test Unit 1. However, it is possible that this artifact was simply deposited here as refuse and may not have been used at the site itself. The possible doll fragment may also represent the diversity of the individuals at the site, as it may indicate a presence of children. These types of artifacts support what the St. Mary’s Hospital *Record Book* already suggests: that the Daughters cared for a variety of individuals, ranging in both age and ethnicity (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). If these artifacts are associated with the Daughters of Charity period of the
site, then they demonstrate the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service, which will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

In the lowest level of this unit, there was also one WIE plate sherd and one possible WIE serving bowl sherd. This use of plain ceramics may demonstrate the Daughters of Charity’s preferences for plain utilitarian wares. According to Patricia Smith (personal communication, August 10, 2012) the Daughters would likely have preferred to use plain wares instead of using decorative wares. The implications for this regarding the Daughters’ ideology will be discussed in Chapter VII.

Test Unit 3

This unit was placed in the center of a two-track to investigate a dark spot seen in historical photographs from the St. Mary’s Hospital period (Figure V-3). It was believed that the dark spot may have been a burn pile and this unit was used to investigate this hypothesis. This unit did produce four artifacts which demonstrated evidence of burning, including one melted colorless glass fragment and three melted aqua glass fragments. However, because all of the units in the backyard of the hospital building produced melted or burned artifacts, the presence of so few melted artifacts does not suggest that this area of the site experienced high levels of burning.

This unit produced both nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts, suggesting that this unit has artifacts from both the St. Mary’s Hospital and Storey County Hospital period. The earliest dateable artifact in this unit is a celadon rice bowl base with an unidentified Chinese mark on the base. The artifact was found in Level 2. The exact date of this artifact has yet to be determined. It is possible that this artifact dates to 1796-1820, the Jiaqing Era in China or to 1821-1850, the Daoguang Era in China (Joan K. Brand-
Landkamer, online communication February 18, 2013). It was likely made in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, China (Jan-Erik Nilsson, personal communication, February 2, 2013). Because of the possible dates of production for this artifact, it is likely that this artifact was transported to Virginia City in the mid to late nineteenth century. It is unclear however, who used this particular artifact. It may have been a Chinese individual on the site, a Euro-American on the site, or may simply have been waste deposited here after the artifact was used elsewhere.

However, its presence on the site in Level 2 has to be considered. According to the Record Book from St. Mary’s Hospital, which has a record of supposedly every patient admitted to the hospital under the Daughters of Charity, there was only one Chinese patient admitted to the hospital, a cook named Charles Ton (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). Although it is possible that this artifact is associated with this man, it is more likely that Chinese individuals played a larger role on the site than is demonstrated by the documentary record. The brownware sherds found at other areas of the site support this possibility. As mentioned previously, this artifact, as well as the documentary record, suggests that the Daughters of Charity treated a variety of patients, which is discussed further in Chapter VII.

The two other diagnostic dateable artifacts excavated from this unit include a bone button and fragments of green opaque depressionware. Both were excavated from Level 2. The bone button was originally covered with cloth (White 2005:69). It probably dates no later than about 1930 (Pool 1991:10-11). This button therefore likely dates to the nineteenth or early twentieth century. There were also 12 fragments of green opaque depressionware. One fragment has a partial decorative pattern. These fragments possibly
date to the 1930s-1960s, and therefore might date to the Storey County Hospital period (Florence 1986:60-61,106-107)

The two largest artifact groups in this unit are glass and faunal remains. Based on the location of this unit, it is unclear why glass makes up the majority of the historic assemblage, but it is likely that these bottles were used in a domestic context. Alternatively, it is also possible that they are medicine bottle fragments. However, the small size of the glass fragments makes their function difficult to determine.

Faunal remains also make up a large proportion of the assemblage (18.4%). Other units close in proximity, Test Unit 4 and Test Unit 11, also had large quantities of bone. The majority of the bone was found in Level 2, which based on the soil descriptions, may have been a transition between the A and B horizons. However, because no unit profile was taken due to multiple rainstorms filling the unit with debris, it is difficult to verify this. Despite this, it is possible that at least some of these faunal remains came from the historic period because of their possible association with the B horizon. Perhaps, this area was used to dispose of kitchen waste during either the St. Mary’s Hospital or Storey County Hospital period. It is also possible that due to erosion on that portion of the site, some of the faunal remains may have been washed down slope from the area of Test Units 4 and 11.

**Test Unit 4 and Features 1 and 2**

**Test Unit 4**

This unit was used to investigate part of an L-shaped anomaly discovered in the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). See Figure III-5. It was also used to investigate the dark spot, or potential burn pile, seen in historical photographs (Figure V-3.).
unit, outside of Feature 2, did not find any convincing evidence of a burn pile. The only potentially heat-affected artifacts in the unit include one sherd of possible WIE and one melted glass fragment. The fact that melted glass was found throughout the backyard of the hospital suggests that this fragment may not be associated with a burn pile.

Based on the stratigraphy of this unit, it appears that the first two strata in this unit are likely disturbed. Close in proximity to this unit, there was a bulldozer cut in the berm. It appears that this disturbance, among others such as feral horses and the constant moving of heavy items such as snow plows across the surface, has disturbed the upper layers of soil. The discovery of plastic and rubber in Level 3 may be indicative of such disturbances, as well. Therefore, the context of the artifacts in the first two levels is questionable. This also explains the more modern artifacts in the upper two levels, including an aluminum pull tab for a can, a ring from a paper or cardboard tube, and potentially the Winchester Repeating Arms cartridge case dating to 1866 to the present (Logan 1959:8).

However, despite this questionable context, some artifacts are particularly worthy of mention. There were a total of three sherds of Chinese brownware found in this unit, one of which was identifiable as a soy sauce pot fragment. These sherds indicate a possible Chinese presence at this site. This sherd, along with the other Chinese artifacts, suggests that the hospital treated or employed patients of a range of ethnicities, as previously mentioned.

Another interesting discovery was the various fragments of mushrooms found in Levels 1 and 2. The species of mushroom has yet to be identified. It is unclear whether these mushrooms were specifically planted here or whether they are invasive; there is no
historic documentation to suggest that the Daughters grew mushrooms on the property. However, this is the only unit which produced mushroom fragments, suggesting that perhaps there is a purpose for their placement on this portion of the site.

The majority groups in this unit, excluding the artifacts from the features, are Metal and Glass. Metal is the largest group with 32.3% of the historic assemblage. This group is dominated by flat ferrous metal fragments and other ferrous metal fragments, including possible nail fragments. It is unclear why there is such a large proportion of metal artifacts in this unit. However, it is possible that they are associated with the feature. Perhaps some of these metal fragments were used to construct the wooden feature in Feature 2. This is supported by the fact that, after wood, metal artifacts were the majority of the Feature 2 assemblage.

The majority of the glass was found in Levels 1 and 2. Therefore, due to the disturbances in the unit, the association of the glass with this part of the site is questionable. It is likely that they were dragged from another part of the site or crushed in situ by one of the various disturbances prevalent on this portion of the site.

**Feature 1**

Feature 1 consisted of articulated bricks, possibly a single course brick foundation pier. Although it is possible that the articulated bricks associated with this feature served as a course brick foundation pier, it is unclear what structure they would have supported. There is no historical documentation suggesting a structure on that part of the site. However, if a structure was placed there, it is likely that it was an outbuilding associated with the Storey County Hospital period or later, considering that there is no structure in that location in historical photographs of St. Mary’s Hospital.
Feature 2

Feature 2 consisted of seven decomposed pine boards oriented east-west in TU 4. Based on its location, it is likely that this feature was the anomaly discovered in the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). Due to the use of wire nails in Level 4 of the feature, it is possible that the feature dates to the twentieth century. Considering that there were only wire nails used to construct the feature, it is possible that the feature was constructed after 1890 (Adams 2002:70, 81). If the feature dates to the twentieth century, it is possibly that many of the other artifacts found in this unit also date to that time period.

The wood used to construct this feature was some species of pine (*Pinus*) (Scotty Strachan, personal communication, October 11, 2013). The wood is “partially carbonized;” the wood is not yet charcoal, but the wood still shows evidence that it has been burned (Scotty Strachan, personal communication, October 11, 2013). Although the feature may date to the twentieth century, which would post-date the historic photographs suggesting that this area may have been used as a burn pile during the St. Mary’s Hospital period (Figure V-3), evidence that the wood had been burned and was turning into charcoal also supports the hypothesis that this part of the site may have been used as a burn area. It would suggest that this area may have continued to serve as a burn area during the Storey County Hospital period, due to the likely twentieth century date of the feature. The carbonization of the feature further supports the hypothesis that this part of the site was used as a burn area during the site’s history.

Besides wood from the feature, metal artifacts were the second largest artifact group. It is possible that these artifacts were used to construct the wooden feature.
Although faunal remains made up only 1.6% of the historic assemblage of the feature, the excavation of bones from the feature itself was particularly interesting. However, because the feature itself may have been a water feature, the function of the faunal remains in the feature itself has yet to be determined.

The channel-shaped profile of this feature under the wood may be an erosional channel or ditch. This suggests that the feature may have been a water feature of some kind. This is supported by the discovery of five water worn glass fragments associated with the feature, as well as one water tumbled ceramic button and one water-tumbled fragment of possible marble found in Level 2. Although this artifact was not found in the feature, its close proximity may suggest an association with the feature. It is unclear what function this feature served, although the artifacts and profile suggest an association with water. It is possible that this feature served as a water diversion device to help prevent erosion, which is similar to the possible function of the pipe found in Test Unit 2. It is also possible that the feature helped to irrigate part of the property that was used to plant vegetables (*Territorial Enterprise* 1877:3). The wood also could have been purposefully placed to allow pedestrians to cross an erosional channel.

**Test Unit 11**

This unit, like Test Unit 4, was used to investigate both the potential burn pile in this area of the site (Figure V-3) and the L-shaped anomaly discovered in the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). See Figure III-5. It is possible that this unit discovered both the potential burn pile and the L-shaped anomaly.

The artifacts excavated from this unit may demonstrate that a burn pile was located near this part of the site. The unit, and especially Level 4, produced artifacts that
are evidence of burning in this part of the site. Such artifacts include ceramics with pot-lidding, high quantities of clinkers and charcoal, charred wood, and burnt cut nails. It also produced a couple of glass fragments with cracking that is probably heat-related. Therefore, the artifacts from this unit suggest that the dark spot in the historic photographs may have been a burn pile. However, exactly what was being specifically burned is difficult to determine.

In addition, this unit may have discovered part of the anomaly discovered in the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). The unit discovered two wood boards in Level 3 that laid perpendicular to the boards found in Feature 2 in Test Unit 4. The boards in both units were found at similar depths. Based on their orientation, the wooden boards in both units may have comprised the L-shaped anomaly. The hypothesis that Test Unit 11 found the same feature that was discovered in Test Unit 4 is supported by the faunal remains found in close proximity to the wooden boards. In fact, Test Unit 11 produced the most faunal remains of any unit on the site. In both units, large faunal remains were found either in or near the wooden boards. The reason for the association of faunal remains and the wooden feature is still undetermined.

Other artifacts which support this possibility are the 16 glass fragments excavated from this unit that appear either sand or water worn. Based on the possible association of Feature 2 with water, it is possible that these glass fragments are water worn and are further evidence that the wooden boards covered some sort of water feature, perhaps as an expedient footbridge or attempt to fill the channel with scrap wood. It also may provide further evidence that the boards found in Test Unit 11 are associated with Feature 2 in Test Unit 4.
The stratigraphy and artifacts in this unit suggest definite disturbances. Strata I-IV are likely disturbed layers. These layers may have been affected by the same disturbances that Test Unit 4 appears to have undergone, including a bulldozer cut and the movement of heavy objects across the ground surface. This demonstrates why there is recent plastic, rubber, and artificial turf found in the first three levels of the unit. One of the few dateable artifacts from this unit comes from Level 1, from the disturbed strata. This artifact was a key and tear-strip, possibly from a coffee can, which dates to 1895 or later (Rock 1993:8). However, due to its association with the disturbed strata, this artifact cannot be used to date the first level nor can it be associated with any particular occupation of the site.

As Stratum V may be the buried A horizon and Stratum VI may be the B horizon, artifacts excavated from Levels 4 and 5 are likely historic. However, there was evidence of rodent bioturbation in Level 5. This explains why modern debris is mixed with historic artifacts in the lower levels.

One interesting artifact which is likely historic is a hexagonal pencil lead fragment from Level 4. Due to its shape and its provenience it is likely that this fragment dates to either the St. Mary’s Hospital period or the Storey County Hospital period. However, a date range has yet to be determined for the artifact to verify this statement because hexagonal pencil lead is still produced.

**Test Unit 5**

This unit was placed just behind the laundry building to investigate the area that was used to hang laundry in historic photographs (Figure V-3). This unit did not find any
artifacts that can be specifically connected to the use of this part of the site for hanging the laundry.

The context of artifacts in this unit is questionable due to the great amount of disturbance seen in this unit. These disturbances were demonstrated by modern debris, such as recent plastic in Level 2 and possible particle board in Level 3, and rodent bioturbation in the northeast corner of the unit, which can be seen in the north profile of the unit.

In fact, many of the artifacts from this unit suggest that this area was a waste area for some episode of remodeling. This is demonstrated by the large amount of architectural materials in this unit, including construction brick, cut and wire nails, and numerous pieces of window screen. Paint chips of various colors, including red and white, were also excavated, as well as four large fragments of tile and one piece of wallpaper. There was also milled wood in this unit, as well as staples, tacks, wires, and large amounts of unidentifiable ferrous metal fragments. Some of these metal fragments may be nail fragments, suggesting even greater quantities of architectural materials. It is possible that, at some point, the hospital or associated laundry building were remodeled and the trash from that period was deposited behind the laundry building.

Other interesting artifacts in this unit include three corn cob fragments and one possible pumpkin or squash seed. The corn cobs were found on the surface and in Level 2, while the seed was found in Level 1. Their provenience near the surface of the unit suggests that these seeds are more modern, but there is no evidence negating the possibility that they are historic.
Notable ceramics include one sherd of industrial porcelain, as this is the only unit that produced this type of ceramic. None of the ceramics in this unit were decorated, suggesting their utilitarian and not decorative use. This is appropriate for this site, considering that the St. Mary’s Hospital administration would likely have purchased plain, durable wares because of their use in an institution. Also, as this piece of ceramic is undecorated, it may also be material evidence of the Daughters of Charity’s preference for plain wares over decorated wares (Patricia Smith, personal communication, August 10, 2012). If this ceramic is associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital period, then it may also be a physical representation of the Daughters’ goals to live life simply in service of Jesus (Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul Province of the West n.d.), as will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

**Test Unit 6**

Similar to Test Unit 5, Test Unit 6 was a unit which was placed near the laundry building to investigate the area used to hang laundry (Figure V-3). This unit did not produce any specific evidence that this area was used to hang the laundry. Like Test Unit 5, this unit was greatly disturbed. Based on the stratigraphy, this unit was even more disturbed than Test Unit 5. The disturbances in this unit are exemplified by the fact that there are nineteenth century artifacts in Level 1 and modern debris in Level 2. For example, there is a possibly medically related mouth blown bottle base, which likely dates to pre-1905 in Level 1 (Miller and McNichol 2002). However, there are numerous sherds of plastic, including a swizzle stick, aluminum foil, tissue paper, and two cigarette filter fragments in Level 2. These disturbances make it difficult to assign a date to this
unit. However, the presence of both wire and cut nails may indicate that this unit dates to both the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Adams 2002: 70, 81).

Despite the difficulty in dating this unit, the artifacts with diagnostic dates include a cleat insulator, possibly made by the Pettingell-Andrews Co. and dating to 1890-1920s; a rivet possibly made by Levi Strauss & Co. dating to 1873 or later, and a United States Cartridge Company .22 caliber cartridge case which dates to 1869-1926 (Wooden and House Porcelain Wiring Cleats n.d.; Marauth 2004; Davis 1873; U.S. Cartridge Company n.d.). All of these dates would suggest a late nineteenth or early twentieth century date for at least some of the artifacts in the unit.

Like Test Unit 5, this unit also produced a large quantity of artifacts that may be associated with some period of remodeling. There are numerous ferrous metal fragments, paving material, linoleum, construction brick, mortar, plaster, cut and wire nails, laminar, and milled wood. The milled wood included possible shingle fragments, a triangular corner brace, and fragments which show signs of sawing or having been painted. Also, 88.8% of the glass in the unit was flat aqua or flat colorless. These fragments may be window sherds. All of these artifacts are either construction or possible construction materials. Due to its close proximity to Test Unit 5, it is likely that both units underwent the same waste deposition episode. It appears that the hospital or laundry building underwent some kind of reconstruction and the area behind the laundry building was the location where some of the waste was dumped.

In addition to the potential architectural materials discovered in this unit, other artifacts of note include a sherd of Rockingham ware. This sherd was found in Level 2. Although it is likely that this artifact dates to the nineteenth century, it could also date to
the twentieth century (Florida Museum of Natural History 2013). There was also a ferrous five pointed star. There is a slit in the center, suggesting that it may have been attached to a larger, potentially cloth, item. Although it is likely that this was a personal item, it is unclear what function this artifact may have served.

Other interesting artifacts in this unit include the faunal remains and the shell. This unit produced numerous bone fragments, the majority of them showing evidence of having been calcined. It is possible that this part of the site, similar to Test Unit 4 and Test Unit 11, may have been used to dispose of faunal waste. The shell excavated from this unit is also interesting, considering that this was the only unit which produced butter or steamer clam. This unit also produced a relatively large amount of shell fragments compared to other units. However, because of the disturbances in the soil, it is difficult to assign the shell to a specific period. Due to the lack of butter or steamer clam in any of the other units and to the prevalence of modern debris in the unit, this suggests that these clams were consumed relatively recently.

Like Test Unit 5, this unit also had interesting floral remains including corn cob fragments and legume fragments. However, it is unclear with which period these plants would have been associated. It is possible that they date to the twentieth or twenty-first centuries.

**Test Unit 10**

Test Unit 10 was used to investigate a trash midden on the southeastern part of the site. The midden lay on the eastern side of an old fence, visible in the form of the remaining fence posts on the landscape, which is believed to have been the backyard fence of the St. Mary’s Hospital that can be seen in a historic photograph (Figure V-3).
This unit was used to determine the depth of the trash midden. The excavation of this unit helped to determine that the trash midden had no significant depth below the surface.

It appears that a disturbance is the reason why Stratum I extends deeper than Stratum II in the northern part of the unit. Based on the amount of wood found in that Stratum in Level 3, it appears that a tree root may have disturbed the soil. The Stratum I soil appears to have fallen into the opening left by the tree root.

This unit produced the largest, most identifiable artifacts of any of the units placed behind the hospital building. This is likely due to the more isolated location of this midden away from the main building, and therefore the disturbances associated with the use of that building. Based on the artifacts which can be dated from this unit, it appears that the trash midden likely dates to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The date ranges from this unit either span the turn of the twentieth century or date to the late nineteenth century to the present. Because of these dates, the trash midden could be associated with St. Mary’s Hospital, the Storey County Hospital, or the Piety Hill mine located northeast of the trash midden. If the trash midden is associated with St. Mary’s Hospital, then it would appear that the staff was disposing of their waste over the fence line. If this is the case, then it demonstrates an attempt by the Daughters to keep the hospital grounds as clean as possible. This would be consistent with their beliefs that cleanliness should be prioritized in hospitals (Hannefin 1989:33, 52). However, it is also possible that this trash midden could just be an extension of the city dump, which is believed to be located south of the hospital site. This trash midden may also be an accumulation of waste from these various occupations.
The association of at least some of the artifacts from the trash midden with the nearby mining operation is supported by the fact that an ore car track spike was excavated from level 4. Therefore, although not all of the artifacts in this area may be associated with mining, it appears that at least some of the artifacts likely were.

Another argument against this midden being entirely associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital period is the amount of decorated ceramics found. Although there were a large number of undecorated WIE sherds excavated from this unit, there were also nine decorated sherds. Patterns and techniques included Rockingham glaze, flow blue techniques, gilding, and transfer-printing, among others. This unit produced more decorated ceramics than any other unit on the site. As mentioned previously, it is unlikely that the Daughters of Charity would have used large amounts of decorated ceramics. They would have more likely used plain, utilitarian wares (Patricia Smith, personal communication, August 10, 2012). Therefore, it is possible that many of these decorated ceramics are associated with the Storey County Hospital or were simply deposed of here and are not associated with the any specific occupation period of the site.

Another notable ceramic artifact from this test unit is a WIE vessel with a maker’s mark with a portion of the British Royal Arms. Although the manufacturer of this artifact is unknown, it appears that it was likely made in Britain. This suggests that St. Mary’s Hospital or the Storey County Hospital used ceramics imported from Britain. This indicates that during one or both hospital period's, the administration had access to British ceramics in the local market. This suggests that Virginia City merchants had access to British ceramics and those ceramics were utilized by the local population.
In addition to British ceramics, this unit also produced a Chinese ceramic sherd. It is a refined stoneware rice bowl rim sherd with a bamboo pattern. Chinese ceramics with the bamboo pattern are usually found in Western contexts around 1860-1900; however, they can date to the mid-twentieth century (Hammatt 2013:53). This sherd is further evidence of a greater Chinese presence on the site than is indicated by historical documentation.

Although many of the artifacts cannot be explicitly associated with St. Mary’s Hospital, at least one artifact is likely medically related and is possibly associated with one of the hospital periods. The marks on the Parke, Davis & Co. pharmaceutical bottle discovered in this unit dates to 1875- c.1930 (Toulouse 1971:417; Whitten 2013). However, as the bottle is mouth blown, it likely dates to pre-1905 (Miller and McNichol 2002). Based on its likely use as a pharmaceutical bottle and its probable nineteenth century date, the contents of this bottle might have been used to treat the patients of St. Mary’s Hospital. In addition to this medicine bottle, there was also one additional mouth blown patent finish found in this unit. Although it is indeterminate whether or not this bottle actually contained a patent medicine, it is possible. It appears that this trash midden may include at least a few medical artifacts from the St. Mary’s Hospital period. The latter artifact may also suggest that the hospital staff were using patent medicines in addition to proprietary medicines. If this were the case, then this use of patent medicines would contradict the historical accounts that the hospital was very advanced for its times period.
Gravel Grid Units

The following test units were located to the west of the hospital building in the Gravel Grid. They were used to investigate the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden occupation of the site. Because georeferenced historical maps indicate that the Beer or Pleasure Garden were likely located in the front yard of the hospital building, the units placed in the Gravel Grid were used to investigate this potential occupation. Units were also placed here because the GPR showed that multiple subsurface anomalies were present in this area (Daniels 2012). See Figures III-3 and III-4. As shown in these figures, there were additional anomalies in this area that we did investigate. Test units were placed in this area to determine if the subsurface anomalies were associated with the Beer or Pleasure Garden or with some other occupation of the site. Please refer to McPherson (2013) for a more complete discussion of the archaeology of pleasure gardens and beer gardens, as well as a discussion of the features and artifacts potentially associated with the Pleasure Garden at the St. Mary’s Hospital site.

Test Units 7, 8, and 13 (Feature 4)

These units were used to investigate a circular anomaly located almost directly in front of the steps of the hospital building. The anomaly was surrounded by a circular rock ring apparent on the ground surface. In the ground-penetrating radar results, there was also a linear anomaly bisecting the circular anomaly. The linear anomaly was oriented east-west, leading away from the hospital steps (Daniels 2012). These units were used to investigate the rock ring, the circular anomaly, and the linear anomaly.
Based on the results of the excavation, the circular anomaly was determined to be a circular pit feature of two concentric circles (Feature 4). The inner circle was deeper than the outer circle and the rock ring bordered this pit feature. The linear anomaly was determined to be a ferrous pipe which ran east-west through the pit feature.

Although the date of the pit feature has yet to be positively identified, it appears that the feature may date to the time of St. Mary’s Hospital or earlier. First, the only types of nails found in Feature 4 are cut nails. The absence of wire nails demonstrates that the feature was filled in at an earlier date, possibly during the nineteenth century, because the fill was not contaminated with wire nails or other later artifacts. Due to the absence of wire nails, it is likely that this feature dates to the nineteenth century and that it was filled in during the nineteenth century (Adams 2002:70). Also, an historical photograph of Virginia City, likely dating to the 1870s, supports this suggestion (VC Overview N.d.). See Figure VI-1. In the photograph, there appears to be an unidentifiable feature in front of the St. Mary’s Hospital stairs. This feature appears to be located in the same position as Feature 4. The feature does not appear in later photographs, which suggests that the feature dates to the early period of St. Mary’s Hospital.
The function of Feature 4 has yet to be determined. While excavating, some suggested theories based on the location of the feature were a garden, a fish pond, or a fountain. Whatever the function, the small postholes excavated in TU 7 may have helped to secure a frame around the feature that would have been used to support the rock construction. A field school student who had experience in construction indicated that this is a common method in masonry construction (Zebuel Stecker, personal communication, July 31, 2012). Based on the historical photographs it does seem possible that the feature was used to adorn the landscape. However, a garden seems unlikely. None of the artifacts excavated suggest the presence of purposefully planted flora that would indicate a garden. A fountain, however, is a possibility. An historical newspaper article may shed light upon the subject. A newspaper article from the *Virginia Evening Chronicle* dating to August 17, 1875, the summer before the hospital officially
opened, states that a “[c]onnection has been made [between the hospital and] the water works, and fountains, artificial lakes, etc., can easily be secured” (Virginia Evening Chronicle 1875). Although this article suggests that the hospital could have acquired artificial lakes, suggesting that a lake or fish pond was possible, the height of the object in the historical photographs makes a lake or fish pond an unlikely possibility. Therefore, based on the historical photographs, historical newspapers, and the excavation, the most likely theory is that Feature 4 served as a fountain for St. Mary’s Hospital. If this feature was a fountain, then this fountain may demonstrate the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service, which will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

The artifacts excavated from Feature 4 do not appear to be associated with the original function of the feature. They seem to be associated with various fill episodes used to flatten the original pit feature, including flattening the ground for the gravel driveway.

Level 1 of this Feature, which due to its association with both the feature fill and the various layers used to produce the gravel driveway, likely has very little primary context. However, some interesting and presumably historic artifacts were excavated from this level. This level produced a tobacco pipe fragment and a sherd of celadon. Both are possibly historical artifacts, but due to their questionable provenience, their date is unknown. However, this is the only tobacco pipe fragment found on the site, which deserves some note.

There are also interesting artifacts in the main feature fill, which is a result of possibly numerous different fill episodes or of one fill episode producing complex stratigraphy. The main fill produced 69 fragments of a plaster cast. These fragments were
likely used for the medical purpose of healing a fractured bone by either the St. Mary’s Hospital or the Storey County Hospital staff. The other medically related artifact in Feature 4 was excavated from the builder’s trench. This was a thermometer fragment. If this thermometer was used by the St. Mary’s Hospital staff, it would demonstrate that the hospital was using up-to-date technologies because thermometer use became widespread in medicine in the late nineteenth century (Berger 1999:1). If the Daughters of Charity used this thermometer, then it could reflect their ideology of Catholic service, as well as an ideology of capitalism. This will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

In addition to these artifacts, a ferrous pipe was also uncovered during the excavation of this feature. The ferrous pipe was laid in the feature after the majority of the feature had been filled. This suggests that the pipe is not associated with the original function of the pit feature. Based on the artifacts that came out of the main feature fill and the builder’s trench fill, it is possible that the ferrous pipe, which resulted in the builder’s trench, may have been laid soon after the feature was largely filled in. Both the main feature fill and the builder’s trench fill have large amounts of glass, especially flat aqua and flat colorless glass. They also both produced sherds of a possible tumbler made from cranberry glass. Based on their similarities, the various sherds may be from the same vessel. Also, both fill episodes produced medical artifacts. Based on the great similarities between the artifacts, it is quite possible that the pipe was laid rather soon after the Feature 4 was largely filled in. The function of the wooden board beneath the iron pipe has yet to be determined, although its association with the pipe is not definite due to a noticeable change in soil between the pipe and the wooden board.
Test Units 9 and 12 (Feature 5)

These two test units were used to investigate a circular anomaly shown in the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). Test Unit 9 was placed within the circular anomaly while Test Unit 12 was used to investigate the northern edge. Through the excavation of these units, the anomaly was determined to be a circular pit feature which was designated Feature 5.

Seven different strata were found in Feature 5. Strata I-III are likely fill that was used to flatten the surface of the feature over the years. These layers were likely used to level the surface for the driveway. This is supported by the excavation of two fragments of recent plastic from these three strata in Test Unit 12. The majority artifacts in these three strata are metal fragments and glass fragments. In Test Unit 9, the majority of the glass fragments from these strata are flat aqua and flat colorless. The metal fragments and flat glass could be debris from some construction period.

Stratum IV is the thickest stratum in the Feature. It appears to be a thick layer that was used to intentionally fill in the majority of the pit feature. In Test Unit 9, the majority artifact groups from this stratum are Metal, Charcoal and coal, and Architectural. In Test Unit 12, the majority groups are Wood, including milled and unmilled, Metal, and Shell. Although one piece of recent plastic was excavated near or in this stratum, the majority of the artifacts appear to date to the nineteenth century. One artifact appears to be a British stout bottle dating to c. 1870-1910. It may have been made by Nuttall & Co. in England between 1872 and 1913 (Bill Lockhart, e-mail to author, November 25, 2012). Another artifact is a salt-glazed German stoneware mineral water jug fragment which has a terminus post quem of 1886 (Robert Leavitt, personal communication, January 8,
This stratum also produced a colorless prescription bottle finish with a cork stopper. Based on these various artifacts, the fill may date to the 1870s-1890s. This dates to around the period of St. Mary’s Hospital or slightly earlier to the Pleasure or Beer Garden period.

Strata V-VII are also potentially fill episodes. However, it is unclear whether they were intentional to fill the pit feature or if they are just layers of accumulated soil that filled the pit feature over time. Either way, the strata appear invasive and are probably not associated with the original use of the pit feature.

Overall, Feature 5 was dominated by the Metal category, followed by Wood, Coal/charcoal, Glass, Architectural, and Faunal in that order. It appears that there were a large amount of architectural materials in this unit, as well as coal and charcoal. This may be indicative of when the unit was filled. As previously discussed, the two dateable artifacts from the fill likely date to the late nineteenth century. Also, there were no wire nails found in this feature, only cut nails, suggesting a nineteenth century date for the unit (Adams 2002:70).

Based on the nineteenth century dates of the diagnostic artifacts and the fact that all of the soils in this feature appear to be fill, there are two main possibilities for the function of this feature. This feature may have been either used as a trash pit during the Beer or Pleasure Garden period and filled in to flatten the ground during the construction of St. Mary’s Hospital, or was a trash pit dug during the construction of the hospital to dispose of debris and then completely filled in and flattened near the opening of the hospital. These possibilities are supported by the fact that this pit is not shown in any
photographs of the early period of St. Mary’s Hospital. It appears that this feature either dates to the earliest years of St. Mary’s Hospital or predates the hospital entirely.

**Test Unit 14 and Features 6 and 7**

This unit was used to investigate an anomaly located in front of the hospital building. Through the excavation of this unit, two features were discovered which likely represent the anomaly shown in the ground-penetrating radar (Daniels 2012). These were Feature 6, a post hole, and Feature 7, a pit feature.

**Test Unit 14, Level 1**

Strata I, II and VI were investigated in Level 1. Stratum VI was determined to be undisturbed soil, indicating that Strata I and II were the only cultural layers in Level 1. These strata were likely various episodes used to flatten the ground surface for the driveway. The majority of the artifacts excavated from these strata were architectural materials, glass, especially flat aqua glass, and metal artifacts. Many of the artifacts appear to be architectural debris. The excavation of a fragment of painter’s tape from this level suggests their more modern deposition.

**Feature 6**

It was determined that this feature was a posthole. The only artifacts recovered from this feature were wood, suggesting that the feature supported a wooden post. Based on the lack of wooden structures in historical photographs in front of the hospital in this location, it is likely that this posthole predates St. Mary’s Hospital. Therefore, it may have served to support a wooden structure associated with the Beer or Pleasure Garden. Alternatively, it may have been a posthole for the fence illustrated in the mineral survey
map showing “Van Bokelen Garden” (Browne 1875). See Figure III-1 for that map.
Either way it is more likely associated with the pre-St. Mary’s Hospital period of the site.

**Feature 7**

Feature 7 was a circular pit feature that was partially exposed on the east side of TU 14. It appears that none of the strata in Feature 7 are related to the pit feature’s original function. They all appear to be fill episodes. Feature 7 was excavated in levels. Levels 2 and 3 correspond mainly with Strata III and IV. Based on the color and composition of Stratum IV, it appears that it may be the same soil as Stratum IV in Feature 5. The artifacts from Levels 2 and 3 of Feature 7 include mostly unmilled wood, oyster shell, and metal. Level 3 produced the largest and highest quantities of oyster shell in the feature. In fact, the shell from this feature includes the largest oyster shells found on the site. This differs from the artifacts from Stratum IV in Feature 5, which are mostly metal, charcoal/coal, and architectural materials. However, as Stratum IV in Feature 5 also produced wood and shell, there are at least some artifactual similarities between the strata in both features. It does appear overall that these strata may represent the same period of fill. This would suggest that both pit features were intentionally filled at the same time. However, it is still unknown if the features are associated with the Pleasure or Beer Garden and were filled during the construction of the hospital. Alternatively, the pit features could have been intentionally dug during the construction of the hospital and used as trash pits at that time.

Level 5 mostly excavated Stratum V. This stratum appears to be the same soil that constituted the Zone B soil that bordered the edge of the pit feature beginning in Level 3. The Zone B/Stratum V soil appears to have formed a border around the entire edge and
bottom of the pit feature. Level 5 produced mostly metal, but also produced the most faunal remains of any level in this feature. This finding corresponds to the findings of Stratum V in Feature 5. Stratum V in both features is described as having very similar colors and compositions. Also, this stratum produced the most faunal remains of any stratum in both features. Therefore, it seems likely that both Stratum IV and Stratum V in both units represent the same fill episodes.

Based on the findings from Feature 7, it appears that Feature 5 and Feature 7 were filled at the same time. Stratum V may have either been an intentional fill episode or may have accumulated over time at the bottom of the pit features. Stratum IV appears to be an intentional fill episode used to fill in the pit features. Based on both the artifacts in Feature 5 and Feature 7, it appears that these features may have been filled about the time the hospital was constructed. It is likely that these pit features date to about the same time. They may have been used for some purpose at the Beer or Pleasure Garden and filled in to flatten the ground surface for the hospital driveway. Alternatively they may have been dug during the construction of the hospital and used as trash pits. However, it seems more likely that the features are associated with the Beer or Pleasure Garden. First, Feature 7 is close proximity to the posthole in Feature 6, which likely predates St. Mary’s Hospital. Also, most of the debris in the pit feature are tiny fragments, with the exception of the oyster shell in Feature 7. However, there appears to be a great amount of architectural debris, possibly associated with the hospital construction; if these pit features were used as trash pits used during the construction of the hospital, larger architectural artifacts would more likely have been discovered. Instead, the small size of the artifacts suggests that the architectural debris may have been deposited in the fill soil.
before the fill was deposited in the pit feature. Therefore, there seems to be a higher probability that the pit features predate the construction of the hospital and were filled in during that period with any available soil. It appears that at least Test Units 9, 12, and 14 may date to the Beer or Pleasure Garden occupation of the site.

**Historic Artifacts of the Surface Collection**

Based on the dateable artifacts collected, the trash midden located on the southeastern corner of the site dates mainly to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because this date range is so large, it is difficult to determine if this trash midden is associated with St. Mary’s Hospital, the Storey County Hospital, or the Piety Hill Lode mine; or if it was simply an extension of the city dump.

Only three bottles found in the surface collection suggest any specific association with St. Mary’s Hospital. Two potential medicine bottle fragments were found, including a mouth blown amber patent finish and a mouth blown amethyst prescription finish. Because both are mouth blown, they likely predate about 1905 (Miller and McNichol). Therefore, it is possible that these are fragments of medicine bottles used by the St. Mary’s Hospital staff. In addition to the medicine bottles, there was also a possible fragment of a Cheseborough Manufacturing Company Vaseline bottle. The bottle would date to c.1860s to 1908 (Fike 1987:56; Correira n.d.). Based on the date of this bottle, its contents may have been used by the St. Mary’s Hospital staff or may have been used by an individual not associated with the hospital and then deposited at the site.

One other bottle, specifically a bourbon bottle, was also found in the surface collection. This J.F. Cutter bourbon bottle dates to c. 1870-1880 (Thomas 1977:15). Therefore, it is entirely possible that the bottle and its contents were used by the St.
Mary’s Hospital staff for medicinal purposes or that the bottle's contents were consumed recreationally by anyone, staff or patient, at the hospital. However, it is also possible that this sherd may have been thrown away by a citizen of Virginia City that was not specifically associated with the hospital, such as a miner of the Piety Hill claim. In fact, these bourbon bottles “were common in the silver mines of Nevada” and specifically Virginia City (Thomas 1977:15). Therefore, it is quite possible that a miner dumped the empty whiskey bottle on the site.

The only other alcohol bottle in the surface collection dating to this period is a Bristolware bottle sherd which likely once contained ale. Due to its cream color, the bottle likely dates to the mid to late-nineteenth century (Robert Leavitt, personal communication, February 1, 2013). Therefore, the bottle dates to the St. Mary’s Hospital period and its contents may have been consumed recreationally by anyone at the hospital. However, there is also the possibility that it may not be associated with the hospital itself.

A few ceramics with maker’s marks date to the period of St. Mary’s Hospital. These include a WIE sherd with a mark that likely represents Wood & Son Ltd. The vessel would have been made in Straffordshire, England around 1865-c.1907 (Gibson 2011:134-135). Another vessel from this period includes a WIE vessel sherd made by Thomas Furnival & Sons from 1876-1890 (Gibson 2011:79). Although it is difficult to associate these artifacts with St. Mary’s Hospital period, their age and lack of decoration suggest an association with the hospital.

Although they cannot be explicitly dated, four ceramic artifacts suggest a possible association with St. Mary’s Hospital. These include a WIE platter, a vitreous earthenware
plate, and two WIE chamber pot fragments. The use of plain, utilitarian wares is consistent with the Daughters’ beliefs in charity and service, suggesting that these artifacts may have been used at the St. Mary’s Hospital (Patricia Smith, personal communication, August 10, 2012). Although they may simply reflect the utilitarian use of plates typical in an institution like a hospital, they may be further evidence for the Daughters’ beliefs in simplicity and service, and therefore their ideology of Catholic service. However, as they have no dateable characteristics, they may be associated with the Storey County Hospital or some other individual. The chamber pot fragments may also be associated with St. Mary’s Hospital. Although the hospital had toilets indoors, it is likely that they still had chamber pots for patients or other individuals who were unable to leave their rooms to use the restroom. However, it is also possible that these artifacts were also used in the early years of the Storey County Hospital.

There are also a few ceramic artifacts which have dates that overlap the St. Mary’s Hospital and Storey County Hospital periods. These include a WIE vessel made by the Potter’s Cooperative Co. in East Liverpool, Ohio dating to 1875-1927 (Bagdade and Bagdade 1994:176) and a WIE vessel made by J. & G. Meakin in Hanley, England that dates to 1851-Present (Gibson 2011:111). There was also another WIE vessel sherd which may have been made by J. & G. Meakin between 1851 and the present, as well (Gibson 2011:111). The last ceramic artifact with an overlapping date is a WIE base which may have been made by the West End Pottery Co. in East Liverpool, Ohio c. 1893-1910 (Kovel and Kovel 1986: 223). Although the lack of decoration on these artifacts suggests a utilitarian use, and therefore an association with one of the hospital
periods, the wide date ranges make it difficult to associate them with either hospital period.

In addition to the artifacts that may date to the period of St. Mary’s Hospital, there are also artifacts which may date specifically to the Storey County Hospital period. Another identifiable alcohol bottle found in the surface collection was a probably whiskey bottle of the Hayner Distilling Company. The bottle likely dates to 1897-1916, when the company embossed clear bottles (Hayner Distilling Co. 2013; Wilson and Wilson 1968:79). Because of this bottle's date, it may be associated with the Storey County Hospital period. Alternatively, this bottle may have been dumped on the site by an individual not associated with the hospital staff.

One artifact of note that may date to either the St. Mary's Hospital period or the Storey County Hospital period is an amethyst commercial container/tumbler fragment. Due to the fact that the glass is solarized, the terminus post quem for this artifact is c. 1880 (Miller et al. 2000:8). This artifact may have originally been sold containing peanut butter, jelly, mustard, or similar items and then reused as a tumbler (Jones et al. 1989: 143). Its potential reuse as a tumbler suggests adaptability and thriftiness among the users of these types of artifacts.

These non-dateable artifacts also include a wide variety of decorated ceramics. It is unlikely that many of these ceramics are associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital period considering their decorations. The Daughters of Charity would likely not have used such ceramics (Patricia Smith, personal communication, August 10, 2012); therefore, non-hospital individuals may have dumped these ceramics here, or they may date to a later
period than the St. Mary’s Hospital. However, as many of the sherds are white improved earthenware, it is unlikely that they date much later than the early twentieth century.

Overall, it appears that the majority of the ceramic artifacts in the trash midden were made in the United States or in England. This suggests that American and British wares were the preferred and most accessible ceramics during the St. Mary’s Hospital and Storey County Hospital periods.

**Historic Artifacts of the Can Inventory**

The artifacts inventoried overall suggest that this can dump dates to the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Based on this date, it is unlikely that all of the cans are associated with the Piety Hill mine which appears to have ceased operations in the late nineteenth century sometime after 1882 (Yale 1882:67; Overview of Virginia City from 6 Mile n.d.). However, based on the dates of the cans, they could be associated with St. Mary’s Hospital, the Storey County hospital, or the mine. Although, the can dump appeared to be in primary context suggesting that the cans were used close in proximity to where the cans were found. This may suggest an association with one of the hospital periods or the mine.

At least seven cans are Hopper-opened hole-in-cap cans and therefore date to 1899-1940s (Hopper 1899; Rock 1987: 20, 22). Because many of the cans share this opening method and are possibly Hopper-opened, this suggests that many of the cans were used by the same individual or group. Based on the date of the artifacts, this suggests that the contents of these cans were consumed by the Storey County Hospital staff or patients. However, the contents of the majority of the cans are unknown.
There are also 11 hole-in-cap cans with internal rolled seams and five cans with stamped ends and internal rolled seams, which date to 1888-1940s (Rock 1987:4-6, 20, 22). Many of the other cans date to 1840s-1940s, including a tall rectangular can which may have contained oil (Rock 1987:20, 22). Therefore, there are cans with dates that overlap the Piety Hill mine, St. Mary’s Hospital, and Storey County Hospital.

The only can with a filler’s mark is a Hills Bros. Co. can. The Hills Bros. produced coffee, tea, flavoring extracts, and spices (Pendergrast 1999:124). Based on the size of the can, it was likely a coffee can. However, it cannot be assigned any specific date.

**Site Formation Processes and Artifact Patterning**

Based on field observations and excavations, it appears that the majority of the units, including Feature 4, are associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital Period or later. Located in the Gravel Grid, Features 5, 6, and 7, which are a pit feature, a post hole, and another pit feature respectively, are possibly associated with the earlier occupation of the Pleasure or Beer Garden.

Despite these conclusions, the analysis of this site was made difficult by the lack of diagnostic artifacts and the small size of the majority of the artifacts. The small artifacts are the result of various site formations processes related to the almost constant use of the site since at least the 1870s. Individuals such as Beer or Pleasure Garden attendees, hospital patients, and Art Center artists have been disturbing the site for over 130 years. Over the years, vehicles have clearly driven over the site repeatedly, crushing many of the artifacts. This site has also been used by Storey County to store heavy
equipment. These complicated site formation processes also include the construction of the hospital building, which resulted in the moving of dirt across the landform. This is supported by the fact that the Gravel Grid exposed undisturbed volcanic tuff, which clearly indicates that the top of the landform was cut, probably for the construction of the hospital. Also, as Test Unit 1 and 2 demonstrate, there may have also been a purposeful shifting of dirt towards the southeastern portion of the landform to flatten that area. There have also been other disturbances over the years, including the erosion of dirt eastward off the landform, feral horses, the construction of the Virginia City High School football field, and the moving of large metal objects, including a snow plow, over the surface. All of these disturbances and historical events have crushed artifacts and helped to produce a site with small artifact sizes and some inverted stratigraphy in some areas.

In addition to the site formation processes, there is one artifact class which demonstrates a site-wide pattern. Shell was found in every test unit across the site. The majority of the identifiable shell was oyster shell. This finding appears to be consistent with general findings in Virginia City, as oyster shells are found throughout the community in various contexts and sites (Dixon 2005:94). Therefore, the fact that oyster shell was found at this site is not unique from other sites in Virginia City. It does, however, suggest that the individuals at the St. Mary’s Hospital and Storey County Hospital may have enjoyed the same delicacies as other residents of Virginia City (Dixon 2005:94). This theory is strengthened by the fact that there were some wealthy patients admitted to the hospital, as demonstrated by the higher prices charged for private rooms (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3; Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3). Therefore, these oysters could have been consumed by all, or most, of the patients or their consumption could
have been restricted to the wealthier patrons who could afford them. Either way, it appears that just because this was an institution, this did not necessarily prevent the staff and patients from indulging in such foods. An alternative theory is that the shell, most of which had been crushed into tiny fragments, was used as fertilizer at the site. Oyster shell has been scientifically proven to improve the productivity of soils, and it is a possibility that the Daughters used shell to improve the output in the gardens they planted around the hospital (Lee et al. 2008; *Territorial Enterprise* 1877:3). Therefore, it is possible that the oysters were consumed and/or used as fertilizer at St. Mary’s Hospital.
VII. Discussion and Interpretations of Research Questions and Ideology

This chapter will provide a discussion of the six research questions posed in Chapter I. It will also include a discussion of how the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service, as well as an ideology of capitalism, can be seen in the historical documents, architecture, and material culture of the St. Mary's Hospital site. The last section of this chapter provides a discussion of the capitalist ideology apparent at the site.

**Research Questions**

This section will discuss the interpretations and results of the seven research questions posed in the “Research Goals” section of Chapter I.

**Question 1: Are there any traces of the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden remaining?**

Although it cannot be confirmed with the current evidence, it is possible that Features 5 and 7, the pit features, and Feature 6, the posthole, are associated with the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden period of the site. The artifacts and historical photographs suggest that these features date to the nineteenth century. They either date to the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden period or date to the construction of St. Mary’s Hospital. See the previous discussions of these features in Chapters V and VI for more detailed interpretations of these features.
Question 2: What kinds of activities took place at the Beer Garden or Pleasure Garden?

Based on the current evidence, it is difficult to determine what kinds of activities took place at the Beer or Pleasure Garden besides those described in the documentary record, including dances, the drinking of alcohol, pantomime performances, tight rope walkers, and gymnastic performances (*Territorial Enterprise* 1872a:2; *Territorial Enterprise* 1873:2; *Territorial Enterprise* 1872b:3). However, one German stoneware mineral water jug fragment found in Feature 5 does suggest an association with German individuals. This may be support for the description that the Beer Garden served many members of the German community (James 1998:159). Overall, however, the artifacts excavated from Features 5, 6, and 7 are likely not associated with the Pleasure or Beer Garden. They more likely date to the period when the features were filled, possibly during the construction of St. Mary’s Hospital. Therefore, despite the identification of these features as pit features and a posthole, the original function of the features is still indeterminate. More research is necessary to determine the use of these features during the nineteenth century. Therefore, the excavations did not provide any conclusive evidence about the types of activities that took place at the Beer or Pleasure Garden. It appears that the excavations found features associated with this period, but their function requires further research. See Figures III-3 and III-4 for images of more subsurface features that we did not investigate that may shed more light on this period of occupation.

Refer to McPherson (2013) for a more thorough description of the archaeology of beer and pleasure gardens, as well as a more detailed interpretation of the features possibly associated with the Beer or Pleasure Garden period of the St. Mary’s site.
Question 3: Can evidence of the Catholic religion of the Daughters or the various religions of the patients be seen in the archaeological record?

There were no artifacts from this site which can be described specifically as religious. This lack of specifically religious artifacts could be due to a variety of reasons. It is possible that, although religious individuals often carry religious items, they did not bring such items to the hospital or did not lose them while at the hospital.

Although there were no explicitly religious artifacts found, the landscaping of the hospital does display Catholic symbols. If Feature 4 in the Gravel Grid was in fact a fountain associated with St. Mary’s Hospital, which is suggested by the documentary and material evidence, then this landscape feature may demonstrate the Catholic beliefs that constituted one aspect of the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service. Similar to the way that the Harmony Society constructed a pond in their own Garden of Eden to demonstrate the importance of water and baptism in their Christian ideology of millennialism (De Cunzo et al. 1996:105-106), the fountain may have also demonstrated Christian beliefs at the hospital. This fountain may have demonstrated the importance of baptism and the purification of water in Catholic theology (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1993). Therefore, this fountain may have been a physical representation of the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service.

The act of beautifying the grounds by planting gardens with various flowers, vegetables, and types of trees, including fruit trees (Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3; Territorial Enterprise 1877:3), may also demonstrate Christian influence. See Figure VII-1. As discussed previously, the Harmony Society constructed an entire Garden of Eden to demonstrate their ideology of millennialism (De Cunzo et al. 1996:105-106). The
Daughters’ attempts to beautify the grounds may have also been motivated by a belief in a Garden of Eden. The hospital’s grounds were seen as an “oasis” in the city and therefore were viewed as a kind of paradise (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). Perhaps the Daughters were attempting to produce their own version of a Garden of Eden by enhancing the hospital’s grounds.

Furthermore, historical photographs show that the architecture of the hospital itself and others aspects of the landscaping of the hospital’s grounds overtly displayed Christian symbols. A historic photograph (Figure VII-1 below) demonstrates that there was a Christian cross built onto the roof of the hospital building as part of the hospital's architecture. There were also Christian crosses constructed on top of the fence posts of the hospital’s front gate (St. Mary's Hospital N.d.). These crosses are important Christian symbols as they are meant to signify the cross upon which Jesus was crucified: the crucifix (John XXIII 1959). Inside the hospital itself, a chapel was built on the third floor, so that Christians could practice their faith while patients in the hospital (Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3). In addition to these elements, the front yard of the hospital was landscaped so that the pathway in the lawn was in the shape of a Christian cross, which again demonstrates the importance of the crucifix (John XXIII 1959). This is illustrated by a historic photograph (VC Overview N.d.) in Figure VII-2 below. The cross appears to be placed so that an individual must be standing at the base of the hospital’s front stairway looking west over the front lawn to see the cross correctly. It appears that the symbol was meant to be viewed by patients at the hospital, and not individuals entering the front gate.
Figure VII-1. St. Mary’s Hospital with Christian crosses located on the rooftop and on the front gate. Courtesy of Daughters of Charity, Province of the West, Los Altos Hills, California.

Figure VII-2. St. Mary’s Hospital, c. 1870s, showing the Christian cross in the landscaping of the front yard. Photograph courtesy of the Joe Curtis Collection, Virginia City, Nevada.
Based on all of these elements, it seems that there were a variety of Christian symbols displayed around the hospital grounds. These were possibly meant to be a constant reminder to both the patients and the other Virginia City citizens of the hospital’s Catholic association and of the mission of charity and service that inspired the hospital’s construction. These symbols were therefore a material representation of the ideology of Catholic service of the Daughters, as they demonstrate the motivating Catholic beliefs that constitute one aspect of that ideology. The use of landscaping to demonstrate ideologies at the hospital is similar to the way that the Harmony Society used landscaping to represent their ideology of millennialism, as described in Chapter I. The Harmony Society constructed a replica of the Garden of Eden to symbolize their belief in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ (De Cunzo et al. 1996:105-109). Similar to the way that the Harmony Society demonstrated and reaffirmed their ideology of millennialism through interactions with this landscape (De Cunzo et al. 1996:105-109), the Daughters demonstrated, and their patients internalized, their ideology of Catholic service through daily interactions with this Catholic landscape.

Both the architecture and landscaping of the hospital and its grounds would therefore have been physical depictions of this ideology of Catholic service. The patients would have had daily interactions with the hospital's Christian symbols, by either listening to Catholic services in the chapel or simply viewing the hospital's architecture or landscaping. The patients would have also actively walked the sign of the cross during their time wandering about the front hospital grounds, as the grounds were considered a "pleasant, comfortable and healthful place" where "patients who [were] convalescing spent much of their time" (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). This constant subtle reminder
of the Catholic faith would have likely influenced the patients, whether they were aware of it or not. As Bourdieu argues, ideologies can be imparted upon unknowing others through their daily bodily actions. He states that “the main mechanism of domination operates through the unconscious manipulation of the body” (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1994:269). By creating a landscape of Catholic symbols where "patients who [were] convalescing spent much of their time" (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3), the hospital's administration was "manipulating" the bodies of the patients into internalizing those symbols. According to the Catholic Church’s Office for the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff (2011), “human nature is such that it cannot be easily elevated to the meditation of divine things without external aids” and the physical Catholic symbol of the crucifix is meant to

“render more evident the majesty of such a great sacrifice and to introduce the minds of the faithful, with these visible signs of religion and piety, to the contemplation of the sublime realities hidden in this sacrifice.”

This demonstrates that Catholic symbols, and particularly the crucifix, are meant to bring individuals closer to God and are meant to remind them of the importance of Jesus’ sacrifice. By their daily actions of walking the Christian cross in the hospital’s front yard, the patients may have been unconsciously embodying these Catholic symbols, and internalizing their importance, and thereby being influenced by the Daughters’ Catholic ideology without their knowledge.

Although there is no artifactual evidence that this Catholic component of the Daughter's overall ideology of Catholic service influenced the hospital's patients, there is documentary evidence. In the hospital’s patient registry, three individuals were recorded as having converted to Catholicism and one patient was baptized Catholic while in the
hospital (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). Therefore, while historic accounts say that the Daughters never required patients to convert to Catholicism, some patients did convert (Territorial Enterprise 1897; Virginia Evening Chronicle 1897; Territorial Enterprise 1879). This may have been partially a result of the constant reminders of the ideology of the Daughters through the Catholic symbols in the landscape and the architecture, and interacting with those symbols on a daily basis. It was probably also a result of the daily health care given to the patients by Catholic individuals. Every day the service and charity of the Daughters would have been demonstrated to and received by the patients in material form, such as through medication and the other types of health care provided. The tangible benefits that the patients would gain through such positive interactions with these Catholic women would have likely contributed to a more favorable view towards Catholicism among some of the patients.

Some of these patients were so affected by the ideology of Catholic service at the hospital, that they adopted Catholicism as their new religion. This demonstrates how powerful such an ideology was at the hospital in actually affecting the personal lives of the patients. Based on documentary evidence, such conversion was an active goal of the Daughters' missions, as the sisters "used every power of mind, body and spirit to advance the Kingdom" and were responsible in helping the Catholic Church to become "a respected ecclesial body influencing the thought and moral fiber of the nation, an acknowledged leader in human services (Hannefin 1989:vii, 3). It appears that they definitely succeeded. The hospital thereby helped to further the Catholic Church's agenda of conversion in Virginia City. This active conversion shows that the Catholic Church did benefit from this ideology, as it became ever more influential among Virginia City’s
residents as more individuals joined the Church. This hospital, and the ideology that was reinforced there, served as a vehicle to strengthen the Catholic Church’s presence in Virginia City.

Although a total of four converts may not appear to demonstrate a large trend in conversion to the Catholic Church, it does demonstrate one physical manifestation of the Comstock citizens’ interactions with the religion and ideology of the Daughters. Although it is a limited number of converts, it still demonstrates a small increase in power for the Catholic Church in Virginia City. Also, this small number of converts does not take into account the other less tangible effects that the Daughters, and their ideology, likely had on Virginia City's citizens, and possibly even their religion. As discussed in Chapter IV, the Comstockers looked favorably upon the Daughters and their charitable services. They were thankful for all of the Daughters' benevolent institutions, including the orphanage, the school, and the hospital. They admired the sisters for their provision of these services, and lamented when the Daughters left the city (Territorial Enterprise 1875:1; Territorial Enterprise 1879:2; Virginia Evening Chronicle 1897). Based on these accounts, the four converts discussed in the St. Mary's Hospital Record Book does not illustrate the entire effect that the Daughters likely had on the city's population. Because of the benevolent services they provided, the citizens looked upon them with admiration and affection, as discussed earlier (Virginia Evening Chronicle 1897). This positive relationship probably led to a more favorable opinion of the Catholic Church in general as the Daughters were physical representations of the benevolent aspects of Catholicism. As “embodiments of Catholic charity” (C. Elizabeth Raymond, personal communication, November 19, 2013), or personifications of an ideology of Catholic service, the Daughters likely helped to
increase the prestige of the Catholic Church in Virginia City beyond what the *Record Book* demonstrates. Although their overall influence is rather intangible, the newspaper accounts suggest that the Daughters’ charitable services may have caused the local citizens to view the Catholic Church overall in a more positive light.

Although the artifacts excavated from the hospital cannot be specifically seen as religious, there are some artifacts that suggest a religious influence on the choice of artifacts used. Patricia Smith, a contemporary Daughter of Charity from the Daughters of Charity Province of the West who visited the site during the course of the field school, commented that the Daughters would likely have preferred to use plain ceramics instead of using decorative wares. They would likely have “passed on” any donated decorated goods (Patricia Smith, personal communication, August 10, 2012). Therefore, one would expect to find a limited number of decorated ceramics on this site.

A total of 556 ceramic sherds were excavated or collected from the backyard of the hospital building that may have served as either food storage or food service artifacts associated with St. Mary’s Hospital. The wares represented include buffware, celadon, Chinese brownware, industrial porcelain, porcelains, refined earthenware, stoneware, refined stoneware, vitreous earthenware, white improved earthenware, and unknown. Items include a bowl, a plate, a platter, rice bowls, a soy sauce pot, and unknown items and sherds. The majority of the ceramics and sherds are WIE. Many of the decorated ceramics were found during the surface collection and in TU 10, the unit located in the trash midden. The majority (about 92%) of the artifacts discovered that are potentially associated with the St. Mary’s Hospital period are undecorated wares. Although many of
these artifacts may be associated with the Storey County occupation of the site, the evidence suggests that the Daughters of Charity were using plain ceramics.

If so, these mundane ceramics may have been a subtle material demonstration of their religious beliefs in simplicity, charity, and service (Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul Province of the West n.d.). Therefore, these plain ceramics may be another material representation of the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service in that the Daughters cared more about the service of others than about material possessions. This is similar to the way that the founders of the Magdalen Society demonstrated their ideology of reform through such mundane objects as plain white earthenware plates; those plain ceramics were meant to symbolize morality, purity, and the moral domestic role of proper women. Through the daily use of the plates, the founders were attempting to reform the wayward girls at the Magdalen Society into virtuous women (De Cunzo 1995:73, 101-103). Similarly, through their constant interaction with these plain ceramics in their daily routine, the Daughters at St. Mary's Hospital would have been constantly reinforcing their ideology to themselves; these ceramics also would have been a material representation of the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service to the patients who were using those ceramics.

**Question 4: Is there evidence of class distinctions among the hospital’s patients or workers?**

Possible artifactual evidence for class distinctions found includes the numerous fragments of oyster shell found throughout the site. As these are generally considered to be examples of expensive foodstuffs in Virginia City (Dixon 2005:93), these artifacts
may be indicative of wealthier patients at the hospital who were able to afford these expensive foods.

There is also documentary evidence that suggests that patients were divided at least somewhat by level of income. The private rooms, which were more expensive and therefore only available to those of greater wealth, were on the first and second floors. These rooms were closer to the kitchen, operating room, and Daughters’ sitting room than the public wards which were located on the third and fourth floors (Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). The private rooms also had better furnishings including Brussels carpets and marble-topped sinks, while the public wards had floors made of ground cork (Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3). Therefore, there appears to have been a separation of social classes, between the wealthy and the poor, built into the very architecture of the building. Patients in the private rooms would have been closer to the hospital services on the first floor and therefore may have been better attended than the public ward patients. The patients would likely have noticed these differences and been reminded of their socioeconomic status in Virginia City. Although there were no artifacts found which support these class distinctions, it appears that the class differences were displayed and possibly even magnified by the layout of the hospital itself. Similar to how the constructed landscape of Binghamton, New York is a material representation of the class differences between the capitalist Kilmer and his workers (McGuire 1991), as discussed in Chapter I, the architecture of St. Mary's Hospital also demonstrates and magnifies class differences. Also, just as the architecture in Binghamton, specifically Kilmer’s factory and large mausoleum, displayed the capitalist ideologies of Kilmer to his workers
(McGuire 1991), the architecture of the hospital also demonstrates an ideology of capitalism that was an inherent part of the running the business of the hospital.

Although the evidence suggests that the Daughters were generally motivated by an ideology of Catholic service, the architecture of the hospital suggests that the Daughters were also motivated somewhat by an ideology of capitalism. As the hospital’s immediate administration, the Daughters were ultimately responsible for the financial stability of the hospital, as demonstrated by fundraising events that they organized to raise money for the hospital, such as the “ladies’ fair, given under the auspices of the Sisters of Charity for the benefit of St. Mary’s Hospital” (Territorial Enterprise 1875:1). The layout of the hospital’s interior suggests that the Daughters were prioritizing the needs of the patients in the private rooms, which would have likely been the wealthier patients; this architecture would have helped to reinforce such an ideology, as well. By prioritizing these patients, the Daughters would have helped to ensure that these wealthier individuals would continue to patronize the hospital. This would have guaranteed that the hospital would continue to be funded. Therefore, the Daughters appear to have been influenced by an ideology of capitalism. Although the Daughters may have generally prioritized service over making money, they would have been motivated at least somewhat by capitalist ideals because the hospital was a business; they would have had to invoke the capitalist ideals of making enough funds to keep the hospital financially stable and to maintain their mission in Virginia City.
Question 5: Is there evidence of ethnic distinctions among the hospital’s patients or workers?

In addition to possible class differences, there is also potential evidence for ethnic differences among the patients or workers. The only artifacts that are arguably non-Euro-American are potentially Chinese artifacts. A total of six sherds of Chinese brownware, two sherds of celadon, one celadon rice bowl base, one rice bowl rim with a bamboo pattern, and one soy sauce pot fragment were excavated from the units located behind (to the east) of the hospital building. These artifacts were found near the center, east, and southeast of the landform. The bamboo-pattern rice bowl may date to 1860-1900 (Hammatt 2013:53), suggesting an association with St. Mary’s Hospital or an earlier period.

There is very little evidence that Chinese individuals were patients at St. Mary’s Hospital; only one Chinese patient was recorded to have been admitted to the hospital. He was a cook named Charles Ton (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). There is no other record of Chinese individuals being treated at St. Mary’s Hospital or working on the hospital grounds. However, these artifacts, and specifically the bamboo-pattern rice bowl, suggest that Chinese individuals played a larger role at St. Mary’s Hospital than the documentary record would suggest. It is possible that Chinese individuals were patients or worked on or near the site as launderers, cooks, or laborers (James 1998:164). It is also possible that at least some of these artifacts are associated with the Chinese cook with whom Van Bokkelen lived on the site prior to the construction of the hospital (Nevada State Historic Preservation Office 2010).
Although it is possible that Euro-Americans at the site may have used the celadon bowls, it is unlikely that they would have used the artifacts represented by the Chinese brownware sherds. It is unlikely that they would have used such condiments as soy sauce. Therefore, although it cannot be confirmed by the current evidence, the artifacts suggest that Chinese individuals may have played a greater role in the history of St. Mary’s Hospital or the Storey County Hospital.

If Chinese or Chinese-American individuals were indeed patronizing the hospital, this would suggest the Daughters’ ideologies of both Catholic service and an ideology of capitalism. It demonstrates their ideology of service in that they were willing to provide health care to anyone, regardless of their ethnicity and despite the “growing anti-Chinese sentiment” amongst Euro-Americans in Virginia City (Axsom 2009:12). The Daughters’ mission was to provide services to anyone in need, including individuals not of European descent. Through daily interactions with objects like these ceramics, the Daughters would have displayed and reinforced this ideology to themselves and to others. Also, through the Daughters’ actions of caring for a variety of ethnicities, the Catholic Church would have proven itself to be caring, generous, and welcoming to these individuals; this could have led to new converts to Catholicism, as people came to see the Catholic Church as a caring institution. The simple act of admitting as many individuals as possible, regardless of ethnicity, allowed for greater opportunities for conversion, especially if those patients were non-Catholics. Therefore, this ideology of Catholic service would have promoted the agenda of the Catholic Church and that institution’s desire for converts to Catholicism. It would have thereby strengthened the Catholic Church’s overall presence in Virginia City.
In addition to demonstrating an ideology of Catholic service, these artifacts may also demonstrate an ideology of capitalism. If the Daughters were willing to treat more patients, despite their ethnicity, then they would have had more opportunities to earn money. If they admitted anyone willing to pay, regardless of ethnicity, then they would have been making a wise business decision. Therefore, this may suggest an ideology of capitalism. This ideology would have benefited the sisters as it would have kept the hospital open and would have allowed the sisters to remain in Virginia City and carry on their mission. As such, these types of artifacts may demonstrate that the ideologies of service and capitalism may have served similar interests in certain situations and were not always mutually exclusive.

**Question 6: What kind of health care did the Daughters of Charity provide their patients? Did they have advanced medical practices for their time?**

There was little evidence excavated from the site that can be potentially associated with medical practices of either the St. Mary’s Hospital or Storey County Hospital. Some artifacts which may demonstrate the type of care provided at the hospital include some faunal remains which appear to have been boiled. These include one cow (*Bos taurus*) rib shaft and five sheep (*Ovis aries*) ribs. The sheep bones show evidence of pot-polish and were likely cooked to make stock (Sober 2013). These bones, which were possibly boiled to make soups or stews, suggest that the Daughters may have been making these types of foods for the hospital patients. These types of foods would have been easier and cheaper to cook in large quantities and therefore would have been an inexpensive, expedient way to feed large numbers of patients at a time. The broth may
have also been used for medicinal purposes, similar to the modern practice of giving chicken soup to individuals with the flu or the common cold.

The artifacts which likely served a medical function include a Parke, Davis & Co pharmaceutical bottle likely dating to 1875-1930 (Whitten 2013), plaster cast fragments, and a thermometer fragment. Some of the many bottle sherds excavated from the site may be medicine bottle sherds, particularly the prescription and patent bottle finishes, but this cannot be confirmed. Based on its date, the contents of the pharmaceutical bottle were likely used by the staff of either St. Mary’s Hospital or the Storey County Hospital to treat the hospital’s patients. The plaster cast fragments were likely used to treat a broken or fractured limb, although it is not clear during which hospital period it would have been used. Its provenience in the fill of Feature 4 suggests that it may date to the St. Mary’s Hospital period. See Chapter VI for the analysis of Feature 4. The thermometer was excavated from the pipe trench in Feature 4. Based on this context, this artifact also may date to the St. Mary’s Hospital period. If this thermometer was used by the St. Mary’s Hospital staff, it would demonstrate that the hospital was using up-to-date technologies because thermometer use became widespread in medicine in the late nineteenth century (Berger 1999:1).

If the Daughters had used the thermometer, then it would be evidence that modern technologies were in use at St. Mary’s Hospital. This is supported by the documentary evidence which describes the hospital as a "state-of-the-art" institution (Butler 1998:161). The documentary record states that the hospital boasted a clean and pleasant atmosphere where patients received constant care and attention; it had such amenities as indoor plumbing, including hot and cold running water for showers and toilets, and proper
ventilation to reduce foul odors (Territorial Enterprise 1876a:3; Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3; Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). These amenities, including use of the thermometer, could be indicative of the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service, in that the thermometer may have been used as part of the quality and “skillful medical treatment and careful and kind nursing” (Territorial Enterprise 1876b:3) the sisters were providing to their patients as part of their services to the residents of Virginia City. Through the daily routine of administering advanced medical treatment, through such artifacts as the thermometer, the Daughters would have displayed their ideology to others and reinforced it to themselves. This ideology would have promoted the Catholic Church as a benevolent, charitable institution that could provide high-quality health care to the community; therefore, it may have helped the Catholic Church gain prestige within the community and assisted in the Church’s mission of conversion.

Furthermore, it may have helped the hospital as a business. The hospital was an institution that needed a constant income to stay open. Despite the Daughters’ best intentions to be charitable to the community, they still needed to charge fees for health care; this suggests that the institution was a capitalist one, operating within a capitalist ideology, as well as one of Catholic service. By providing quality health care, the Daughters would have helped ensure that residents of Virginia City would continue to patronize the hospital, if they found the care to be worth their time and money. So, while the thermometer may be evidence that the Daughters were attempting to provide the best charitable service to the community possible, it may also be evidence that they were attempting to attract more patients (customers) by providing good health care. More patients would have meant continued funding, which would have furthered the
Daughters’ agenda of continuing their mission in Virginia City and continuing to spread the word of God. The ideologies of Catholic service and capitalism may not have been mutually exclusive motivations in this case.

**Question 7: Considering that the hospital was administered by a group of women, how might this have affected the care of the patients and administration of the institution?**

As Daughters of Charity, the sisters were not cloistered nuns and therefore were not restricted to life in a Catholic convent. They had the ability, unlike Catholic nuns, to take their mission to the public and perform acts of charity within the community (Butler 1998:146). Virginia City was the perfect place to perform this mission. St. Mary’s Hospital was one manifestation of this ability to serve the community within the community itself. The hospital was a testament to the fortitude of these women and their intense desire to serve the community despite the harsh environment of a growing masculine mining town (Butler 1998:143-144, 164). As women religious, they played a significant role in Virginia City despite “long-standing gender constraints imposed by their church and by the masculine society around them” (Butler 1998:144).

The fact that the Daughters chose to be members of the non-cloistered Daughters of Charity, as opposed to a different group of women religious that are cloistered, demonstrates their ideology of Catholic service. The fact that they chose to be part of a group of women who actively went out to perform acts of charity in communities in need shows that they were driven by a desire to help people. This is evidence that the Daughters were driven by an ideology of Catholic service and a desire to help those in
need. Through their daily acts of charity, the Daughters would have reinforced this ideology to themselves and displayed it to others.

Despite historical accounts of the many accomplishments of these women religious, there were no artifacts excavated from the hospital site that can shed much light on how the Daughters’ gender impacted the hospital. In fact, there were no artifacts found that can be considered associated with a specific gender, either male or female. The only artifacts that may demonstrate a feminine gender include personal items such as a barrette fragment, an imitation gemstone from jewelry, and a coppery alloy decorative element that may have attached to clothing like a brooch. However, none of these artifacts can be positively associated with women or necessarily be associated with St. Mary’s Hospital. Therefore, there is no artifactual evidence that the gender of the Daughters drastically influenced the institution, although the documentary record shows quite clearly that gender played a role in the Daughters’ mission in Virginia City.

**Conflicting Ideologies at St. Mary’s Hospital**

As demonstrated by historical documents and the material evidence from the St. Mary’s Hospital site, the Daughters’ ideology of Catholic service was a powerful motivation for how they administered the hospital. This can be seen in the artifacts likely associated with the hospital, including plain ceramics, medical items, and Chinese artifacts, and in the historical documents from that period. Through the Daughters’ daily interactions with such artifacts, they would have been constantly reinforcing this ideology of Catholic service. Such an ideology would have furthered the agenda of the Catholic Church in Virginia City as the hospital was a vehicle to not only provide a charitable
service, but also to spread the word of God and Catholicism (Hannefin 1989:vii, 3). As the documentary record suggests, this agenda was successful based on the conversions and baptisms that took place at the hospital (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). Therefore, although this ideology would have helped the patients in terms of better health care, it ultimately would have strengthened the power of the Catholic Church, which was the institution that sponsored the Daughters' mission. By supporting the Daughters' acts of charity, the Church gained more followers and likely came to be seen as a giving and caring institution.

Despite the sisters’ apparent goals to provide charitable services to the Virginia City community, the Daughters had to deal with the real-world realities of running a business which charged fees for health care (Butler 1998:149, 152; Territorial Enterprise 1877:3). Although there is no solid evidence that the hospital was for profit, the Daughters would still have had to make enough money to maintain the hospital and to continue their mission in Virginia City. Therefore, the Daughters also had to adhere somewhat to an ideology of capitalism, as capitalist motivations are an inherent part of operating any successful business. Historical evidence suggests that the Daughters actively attempted to earn funds for the hospital through such events as ladies' fairs and such programs as miners' insurance, which is discussed further below (Territorial Enterprise 1875:1; The Footlight 1877). The Daughters would have benefited from such a capitalist ideology as the hospital’s income would have helped finance, and thereby maintain, their mission in Virginia City; the longer they continued their mission, the more they would have been able to spread the word of God to the citizens of Virginia City. This capitalist ideology can be seen in the architecture of the hospital and in the type of
health care provided, as well as in the diversity of the ethnicities and religions of the patients admitted. This ideology can also be seen in the miners' insurance program offered by the hospital (The Footlight 1877; Hannefin 1989:147).

In addition to the basic necessity of charging fees to continue their community service, the Daughters also provided certain services to the mining community to continue the mining moguls’ donations to the hospital. In order to earn money for the hospital, it appears that the Daughters may have been actively exploiting the wealth of the mining community by implementing a mining insurance program supported by the bonanza kings (The Footlight 1877; Hannefin 1989:147). Based on historical evidence, it appears that the Daughters and the bonanza kings were both agents in creating this program, actively working in their own self-interests (The Footlight 1877). It is known that the silver kings John Mackay and James Fair were important benefactors to the hospital, shown by Mackay’s continued donations to St. Mary’s (Butler 1998:161; Hannefin 1989:147). It is suggested by an historical newspaper that Mackay and Fair may have continued to support the hospital because the Daughters specifically provided benefits to the miners in the form of miners’ insurance. It appears that this insurance program was meant to financially benefit both the bonanza kings and the Daughters (The Footlight 1877). This program provided unlimited medical care to miners for one dollar a month (Hannefin 1989:147). The “superintendents said they would not pay for medical attendance, in case of an accident, when a dollar a month would cover the expense” (The Footlight 1877). The miners therefore could get cheap health care, and the mine owners did not have to pay for it. Some mine superintendents went so far as to force their miners to pay the fee for the insurance (The Footlight 1877; Hannefin 1989:147).
This insurance program would have provided a constant customer base for the Daughters and, because it greatly benefited the mine owners, would have likely convinced Mackay and Fair to continue their financial support of the hospital (*The Footlight* 1877). This theory is supported by the fact that Mackay “secretly matched” every dollar that the miners paid in insurance to the hospital (Hannefin 1989:147). Therefore, by continuing the insurance program, the Daughters guaranteed themselves continued financial support by important Comstock men like Mackay. Although such a program would definitely have served Mackay and Fair’s capitalist interests, the Daughters would have also benefitted greatly from such a program. By implementing programs such as the insurance, the mine owners would have saved money by not having to pay for their miners’ health care and the Daughters would have been ensured a perpetual customer base from the miners. Both parties profited from this program, which suggests that this capitalist ideology served the agenda of both the silver kings and the Daughters.

This demonstrates that the Daughters had to deal with the capitalist realities of running the hospital as a business in a capitalist environment; it thereby reveals that the sisters likely adhered, at least partially, to an ideology of capitalism, as they had to make business decisions that would ensure the financial stability of the hospital. This appears to have included a kind of alliance, in the form of a miners’ insurance program, between the Daughters and the silver kings that benefited both parties (*The Footlight* 1877). The Daughters themselves would have greatly benefitted from such an ideology, as it would ensure the continuation of their mission in Virginia City.
It appears that this site may differ somewhat from other historic archaeological sites often used to demonstrate an ideology of capitalism, in which the profit-hungry capitalists appear to be the only individuals benefitting from that ideology; this includes McGuire’s (1991) description of how the constructed landscape of Binghamton, New York helped to rationalize the power of the capitalist Kilmer. The St. Mary’s Hospital site demonstrates that various parties are benefitting from a capitalist ideology, as both the Daughters and the mine owners are using the situation to their advantage. Perhaps this site demonstrates Beaudry and colleagues' view of hegemony, which has been adapted from Gramsci: as a power which is never complete and is always being constantly accommodated by various parties (Beaudry et al. 1991:165; Gramsci 1999:145). The Daughters are taking advantage of this capitalist situation to maintain their mission in Virginia City, while the bonanza kings are using the situation to earn greater profits; both the Daughters and the bonanza kings are using this ideology to further their own agenda and are therefore both powerful players in this situation.

Although the artifacts and documentary record support the conclusion that the Daughters operated within an ideology of Catholic service, the documentary record and hospital architecture also suggests that they were operating within an ideology of capitalism. It is likely that the Daughters would have had to consider both of these ideals on a daily basis and would have had to regularly negotiate between them. They would have constantly had to balance making enough money to keep the hospital afloat and maintain their important religious mission, but not earning a profit so their service could still be charitable (Butler 1998:149, 152, 161). This site demonstrates that there are often conflicting ideologies at play within a community and even among the same group of
individuals. This site also demonstrates that seemingly conflicting ideologies can, at
times, reinforce and benefit each other. At this site, the Daughters had to negotiate daily
between an ideology of Catholic service and an ideology of capitalism. Despite the
Daughters’ powerful ideology of Catholic service, they still had to function within a
capitalist framework and maintain financial support from important capitalists in order to
continue to serve the mining community. The Daughters successfully balanced these
conflicting ideologies for over twenty years, effectively maintaining the hospital as a
business while still providing a charitable service.
VII. Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

The St. Mary’s Hospital site was excavated to find evidence of the religion, class, ethnicity, gender, and medical practices of the St. Mary’s Hospital staff and its patients. The site also lent itself to questions of how ideology contributed to the administration of the institution and how it affected the patients admitted to the hospital. The site was also used to investigate potential remnants of the Pleasure or Beer Garden that occupied the site before the hospital.

Despite the lack of specifically religious artifacts, the architecture and landscaping of the hospital building definitely display Christian symbolism and a Catholic ideology. By walking the Christian cross in the hospital's front yard, the patients may have internalized this Catholic ideology; this internalization of Catholic beliefs is demonstrated by the conversions and baptisms that occurred at the hospital (St. Louisa Hospital 1876-1897). In addition, the high quantities of plain white ceramics suggest that even mundane artifacts may have demonstrated the Daughters of Charity’s beliefs in simplicity and charity and their ideology of service. Although artifactual evidence of gender is still illusive, evidence of class can be seen in the hospital’s architecture and that of ethnicity can be seen in the archaeological record in terms of Chinese ceramics. Although it is possible that Euro-Americans used such ceramics, it is also possible that Chinese individuals may have served a greater role at St. Mary’s Hospital than the historic record suggests. This inclusivity may demonstrate the Daughters’ devotion to the ideology of service. The architecture and these artifacts also demonstrate the capitalist ideology of the Daughters, due to their possible prioritizing of wealthier patients as well
as admitting any individual in need of care. Possible soup bones, plaster cast fragments, a pharmaceutical bottle, and a thermometer may demonstrate the types of health care, such as the treatment of fractures and fevers, that the St. Mary’s Hospital staff may have administered to its patients. It is also material evidence for their ideologies of service and capitalism, in that these may have been the instruments that allowed them to provide quality service for which they could charge admittance. Lastly, this site is particularly fruitful ground to understand the interactions between seemingly conflicting ideologies, such as those of service and capitalism, and to demonstrate that these ideologies are not always mutually exclusive.

In addition to the artifacts potentially associated with the hospital period of the site, three different features were recovered which may be associated with the Beer or Pleasure Garden period of the site. These include two pit features and a posthole that likely predate the construction of the hospital. However, despite their likely association with the Pleasure Garden, the function of the pit features needs further research. Despite the mystery of these features, the discovery of them proved the necessity of the ground-penetrating radar performed on the site prior to excavations. Without GPR, these features would not have been excavated and the researchers would not have found any possible evidence of the Beer or Pleasure garden period of the site.

This site requires further research in order to produce more conclusive interpretations. Further excavations of the backyard of the hospital may provide more insights into the hospital periods of the site. Recommendations for further researchers targeting the backyard area of the hospital would include targeting the buried A horizon because some early living surfaces have been buried by earth-moving activities. Because
the site has been disturbed by various sources and because the surface artifacts may be associated with a multitude of individuals and periods, the author would suggest that future excavators be aware of the possibility of disturbed upper strata and focus more on the lower strata where more historic artifacts associated with the hospital are likely to be uncovered.

I would also recommend further research on the Beer or Pleasure Garden part of the site. There is great potential that more features associated with this period are buried under the gravel driveway and front lawn of St. Mary’s Art Center. Due to time constraints and an effort to preserve the landscaping, these areas were not excavated in full. However, the results of the GPR demonstrate that there are more subsurface anomalies under the gravel driveway and front lawn area than those investigated during the field school, including various anomalies that appear to be post holes (Daniels 2012). Based on the results of the test excavation, it is likely that these various anomalies are cultural features. Therefore, I would recommend that future researchers target these subsurface anomalies as likely cultural features.

Perhaps this site can also serve as an example for future researchers about the difficulties, and yet the archaeological possibilities, of public sites in an urban setting. Although such public sites can provide challenges for the researchers, they can still provide valuable historical and cultural information about the past peoples that occupied that urban setting.
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