Cooperation in the Wilds of the Idaho Territory: Interaction between the Jesuits and Coeur d'Alene Indians at the Cataldo Mission, 1848-1878

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AUTHORIZATION TO SUBMIT THESIS

This thesis of Alexander New, submitted for the degree of Master of Arts with a Major in Anthropology and titled "Cooperation in the Wilds of the Idaho Territory: Interaction between the Jesuits and Coeur d'Alene Indians at the Cataldo Mission, 1848-1878," has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates given below, is now granted to submit final copies to the College of Graduate Studies for approval.

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ABSTRACT

In building the Mission of the Sacred Heart, Jesuit missionaries established a paradigm for early Indian-White interaction reaching back to the earliest years of Idaho. As a testament to the longevity of the Jesuit and Coeur d'Alene Tribe relationship, the oldest extant building in Idaho has weathered a colorful history including treaties, prospectors, hobos, restoration, and school children. Although unaffiliated, early Jesuits were heralds of the Euro-American settlers in northwest during the United States' westward expansion of the mid 1800s. The artifacts of the Cataldo Mission collection, like those of other potential mission excavations, illustrate the cooperation of Jesuit missionaries with local Native Americans. The study of the Cataldo Mission's artifact assemblage will provide a historical and archaeological framework for the future research of similarly set missions in the Inland Northwest.

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Without the previous work conducted by Dr. Roderick Sprague, George Fielder, Dr. David Rice, and Robert Weaver during the Mission's second renovation, not only would this collection not exist, but as the sole representative of such a limited cultural overview, this perspective would not be available.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For thousands of years, the Coeur d'Alene looked to the natural landscape in order to navigate their life-ways and shape them as a people. It became all too apparent in 1806 how easily subsequent Anglo interaction would affect the delicate balance between the Coeur d'Alene and nature. Seemingly overnight, new peoples were introduced to the Coeur d'Alene's cultural landscape, bringing with them new technology, new ideas, new religion, increased land disputes, war, and an agricultural sedentary lifestyle—changes that both benefited and harmed the Coeur d'Alene people. At the same time the people of the United States came to foster a new perspective, namely that of Manifest Destiny. While Euro-Americans had diligently worked towards a notion of "America" and in doing so, had explored much of the continent, the Corps of Discovery, in particular, fostered a similar conviction of empowerment that quickly incorporated expansion and imperialism into the newly formed identity of the United States.

After the Corps, the primary carriers of Euro-American interaction with the indigenous tribes were explorers, traders, and missionaries. The Coeur d'Alene narrowly missed Lewis and Clark's expedition and while the tribe traded with the trappers and traders, they made it evident it was to be on their own terms (Dozier 1961:22). Missionaries on the other hand, in particular the Jesuits (the Society of Jesus) had a longer period of interaction and arguably, a more profound impact on the tribe since they were the only early group to settle. Even with the Jesuit's, somewhat nomadic nature, they still remained in the territories of only a few neighboring tribes. The Jesuits were not alone in facilitating change in what would become the western United States. Other groups such as the Spanish Franciscans of the southwest and the Protestant-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions were also actively proselytizing to indigenous peoples, though their approach was

quite different than that of the Jesuits. The Jesuits ultimately created a unique relationship with the Coeur d'Alene, a relationship that not only facilitated culture change, but also further understanding and accommodating of their traditions. Prior to contact with the Jesuits the Coeur d'Alene's had been subjected to considerable stress due to exposure to devastating European diseases, such as smallpox, and increased tribal strife with the Blackfeet, likely making them somewhat more open to change for practical reasons. The hope of medicine, firearms, and a new spiritual power to call upon must have been encouraging to most members of the tribe.

The objective of this thesis is to explore the relations between the Coeur d'Alene and the Jesuits in the second half of the nineteenth century based on a reanalysis of the materials recovered from Cataldo Mission during its 1970s excavation. The first part of the thesis will provide a historical background of the Coeur d'Alene people, the Society of Jesus, and their cooperation from 1842 to 1878. From there, I will discuss selected instances of Coeur d'Alene-Jesuit interaction that exemplify their relationship: one of openness and ongoing cultural exchange. In order to accomplish this, primary historic sources will be considered. Such sources include oral histories, personal correspondence, art, and official records. Further explanation will come by way of analysis of the mission movement, the Jesuit order, and the Coeur d'Alene tribe. After addressing the historical record, the focus will shift to archaeological aspects in order to illustrate this relationship.

Chapter four will present a detailed history of the archaeological undertakings at Cataldo, including the methods of survey, excavation design, and a summary of artifacts. After which, the focus will turn to the classification of different artifact assemblages and finally, an explanation of how the specific artifact groups were classified and the process

through which they were analyzed. This is necessary in the interest of future comparisons in order to give a more systematic baseline classification of the artifacts.

The archaeological interpretation will examine both the landscape of Cataldo Mission and its artifact assemblages. In regards to the landscape, the focus will be on the natural landscape surrounding Cataldo: the continued transhumance patterns of the Coeur d'Alene and the Jesuit reliance on the Coeur d'Alene. Coeur d'Alene traditional cultural practices depended on the many rivers of Idaho, Washington, and Montana. These waterways provided both food and transportation throughout their territory, leading them to the prairies for camas and up the mountains for berries and game. Since the Jesuits were so far removed from the kind of area they knew and given that they no longer had access to European goods or services, they were forced into accepting the wilderness, which of itself also demonstrates their willingness to change.

This reliance upon one another will be, in part, exemplified by a brief history of the Cataldo Mission site, covering specific information and dates of the Mission's construction. From there, the composition of the mission grounds and the structural components will be discussed. The grounds and buildings illustrate the constant dialogue between the Jesuits and the Coeur d'Alene. It was the buildings, the grounds as well was the smaller archaeologically recovered objects that help to shed light on this unique relationship. It is equally important to acknowledge the existence of traditional Coeur d'Alene perspectives as expressed through oral histories. While, as with primary sources and archaeology, oral histories are not all encompassing all three together would most aptly express the long history of Coeur d'Alene and Jesuit relations. However, at this time the focus is set primarily on the artifact assemblage, focusing on ceramics and glass vessels, fauna remains, and lithic

materials. Other selected items will be examined in further detail. In total, the collection consists of 6524 artifacts.

To fully appreciate the distinct relationship that Cataldo Mission represents, it is necessary to have an understanding of other associated missionary practices and how these methods, even within the same group, changed through time and from one location to another. Early missionizing consisted of missionaries accompanying European explorers and colonialists on expeditions throughout North and South America (Parkman 1888). Few missionaries established themselves with any group in particular, but later, as colonies were established, they instituted missions within the colonies in order to administer aid and religion. As more and more of the native world was progressively assimilated the predominant process for missionizing changed and incorporated two features: the consolidating of a tribe, or tribes, away from Euro-American influences to a sedentary lifestyle and the institutionalization of a strict agrarian lifestyle (Raufer 1966:83-84; Graham 1998:41; Frey 2001:1-73; Addis 2005:227, 234).

The early Franciscan missions throughout Spanish New Mexico and California followed such a doctrine during the 17th and 18th Centuries. An advantage the Franciscans held was that since they traveled alongside explorers, like the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776, and colonists, they benefited from the presence of standing armies and, for the New World, great logistical support. The majority of the Americas were not explored, let alone colonized, and while the Old World was a long way off, the Franciscans maintained a precious lifeline few other missionaries had the opportunity for. Early Jesuits, who proselytized New France during the late 17th and 18th Centuries, followed a similar process as the Franciscans. The Jesuits accompanied famous trapper/trader explorers like La Salle and though this relationship eventually became more of a hindrance than a help, such a

connection allowed the Jesuits to establish themselves more easily. The Jesuits initially opposed the process of French colonialism and the manner in which the trappers and traders interacted with the Indians. While core Jesuit beliefs were at odds with such capitalistic ventures (Parkman 1888:95-107), without a link to the trappers and traders it would have been far harder for the Jesuits to integrate within the northern latitudes of North America. Their mission efforts were further set back by tribal warfare and deep-seated aggression of northeastern tribes, fueled by the introduction of firearms by traders (Trigger 1965:43). Without the assistance of trappers and traders in the northeast, the Jesuits would not have indoctrinated the tribes of the Iroquois, and others. These Indian and European converts continued to spread the word of Catholic religion to western tribes, such as the Flathead and Coeur d'Alene tribes, while the Jesuit order was disbanded.

The activities of the Jesuits during this time in South America were quite different than what occurred in the northeast, but they are applicable to what ultimately went on in the northwest. The Jesuit missions of Old Paraguay during the 17th and 18th Centuries were somewhat different. Under Spanish rule, the Jesuits were able to establish a standard for missions that would later be called the Reduction Plan. This was the first time missions settled indigenous peoples together in large numbers, regardless of tribal affiliations, in order to acculturate the peoples to a strict agrarian lifestyle, with the overarching goal of "civilizing" them. Such practices came to an end in 1773 when Pope Clement XIV, under great pressure from Portugal, France, Spain, and the Two Sicilies, suppressed the Society. Most accounts surmise the Jesuits hampered the expansion of colonialism with their frequent land disputes and anti-slavery attitude. As a result of such actions, chiefly affecting the profit margins of early explorers and settlers, the Jesuits fell into disfavor with regional governors and representatives of the monarchs.

While the Reduction Plan primarily refers to missions of Old Paraguay, later Franciscan missions in Spanish California followed a similar method during the 19th Century. The California missions were in competition with Russian merchants to the north and utilized principles similar to the Reduction Plan to cloister indigenous peoples from what they saw as harmful influences. Due to decades of rampant disease and its differing impacts on geographically separate tribes, mission cultures were very diversified. For example, the Sonoma Mission boasted a roster of 693 individuals from 35 tribes (James 1913:118). This would seem to emphasize the removal of most Indians from their ancestral territories. In contrast, missions of the Inland Northwest such as Cataldo had as many as 320 individuals of a single tribe (Palmer 1998:322; Woodworth-Ney 1996:53).

With European wars and revolutions coming to an end by the start of the 19th Century, a society emerged where once again Jesuits were tolerated. In 1814, Pope Pius VII restored the order and the society once again spread throughout Europe and to the Americas. However things had changed, European powers were not as strong as they once were and there was an upstart in the mix—the United States, which had newly risen up as an aggressively expanding nation. During the time the Papal decree suppressed the Jesuit order, the United States had gained its independence. However, as evidenced by the events of 1812, the sovereign United States had a long way to go to truly be independent of European powers. In 1823, the United States articulated its first step towards true independence by drafting the Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine came in response to a series of revolutions in Latin America and was issued to keep Spain and Portugal from attempting to re-assert their power (Bemis 1928:56). Luckily for the United States, Great Britain was in agreement and while the United States issued the doctrine, it was actually Great Britain who would have to substantiate their posture of power (Bemis 1928:123). The doctrine perhaps had a greater

effect on Russia along the Pacific Coast, who along with Spanish colonials were the dominating presence.

The other missionary influence, specifically in the Northwest, consisted of Protestant coalitions like the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They answered what was termed at the time as the 'Macedonian Cry (Call)': a call to missionize the west and spread Christian faiths from the Eastern seaboard (Addis 2005:231). In addition, Reverend Lyman Beecher's *Plea for the West* fostered a movement for the salvation of the lost souls (Beal and Wells 1959:205; Addis 2005:230). Many Methodists and Presbyterians answered this supposed call such as Jason and Daniel Lee, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, and Rev. Samuel Parker, all individuals that would figure prominently in the mission history of the Northwest (Raufer 1966:54; Kowrach 1999:29; Addis 2005:231). The protestant missions adopted a missionary approach that was similar to early Jesuits. Even the Hudson's Bay Company considered the adoption of agriculture and the acceptance of Christianity as paths to acculturation (Addis 2005:227,234).

The reason that Cataldo Mission and other Jesuit missions from the mid 1800s in the Northwest are so distinct is based on their unique practice of working with predominantly one indigenous group in an ancestral landscape without forcing a strict adherence to their own model of Catholicism. The Jesuits of this time period had no standing army to protect them and since they first started working with the Coeur d'Alene six years after the Whitman Massacre in 1836, surely they knew the stakes and how tremulous tribal relations could be. The Jesuits sought to establish missions in one of the most remote regions of the time. This made regular communication and traditional methods of receiving supplies almost impossible, further differing this later period of proselytization. Perhaps this is why the Jesuits did not try to force a strict agrarian lifestyle on their 'neophytes' and did not interfere

with Coeur d'Alene transhumance rounds. Or equally plausible, the Jesuits may simply have had a more open approach to spirituality, one not shared by Protestant missionaries of the time.

Given the unique circumstances of the Jesuits and their relations with the Coeur d'Alene it is easy to see how the happenings at Cataldo Mission are distinct, even when compared with neighboring Jesuit missions. Almost through happenstance the excavations in the 1970s, brought on by building renovation, provided a unique opportunity to understand the life of the mission through the materials they left behind. This thesis is an opportunity to add to the knowledge collective of Indian and Jesuit relations where little research exists.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Prehistory and History of the Coeur d'Alene

At present, the Coeur d'Alene Tribe of Northern Idaho has approximately 2,000 tribal members. Their treaty-drawn reservation is 345,000 acres, a fraction of the nearly 4,000,000 acres their ancestors historically inhabited. Traditional practices of the tribe were focused around a dependence on the many rivers of Idaho, Washington, and Montana, a region that defined Coeur d'Alene culture. In the more recent history of the Coeur d'Alene, their sovereignty was gradually curtailed. This chapter details pre-contact Indian life, the early interaction of the Coeur d'Alene and Jesuits at the first Sacred Heart Mission on the St. Joe River, the intervening years that begins with the move to the Coeur d'Alene River and the following expansion of the United States' authority that necessitated the eventual move to Desmet.

As with all prehistoric research, there is a certain amount of ambiguity as to when an occupation by a particular culture group began. This is no different for the Coeur d'Alene who believe, as do most other native groups, they were present from time immemorial. This belief asserts their creation and arrival in a land of animal-people who chose to sacrifice themselves in order to sustain the new coming. The establishment of the belief centered largely on Coyote's interaction with the Monster, where, by his actions, he releases the animal-peoples who later take the form of animals. Where as Coyote helps with the formation of the new world to suit humans it was Chief Child of the Yellow Root, especially noted in Coeur d'Alene oral traditions, whose deeds establish cultural goods. Further, it is in Chief Child's growth and travels he symbolizes the Coeur d'Alene's reliance on both lake and root. From the perspective of archaeologists many understand the peopling of the region based on the Salish Migration Hypothesis. This hypothesis states that the Salish cultures

(Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Pend Oreille, and Kalispel) were more recent arrivals in the Columbia Plateau as compared to the Shahaptian groups such as the Nez Perce (Stryd and Rousseau 1996:199; Rousseau 2004). The theory also correlates with some oral traditions of the Coeur d'Alene's neighbors (Pinkham 2007) and comparison of their linguistic stem lists (Elmendorf 1962). The Coeur d'Alene, as a sub-group of the Interior Salish, focused their lives around water and its fisheries and while salmon was an important food product the Coeur d'Alene likely either traded for salmon or shared the fisheries along the Spokane River. This is a common trend with all Salishian tribes and following this pattern, the Interior Salish likely travelled inland via the major rivers following the end of the salmon's lifecycle. Still, there is little archaeological evidence for ascertaining an arrival time for the Coeur d'Alene. The archaeological record lacks carbon dates associated with relevant cultural materials for the Coeur d'Alene prehistoric occupation and while projectile point typologies exist for the Coeur d'Alene region of the southern Columbia Plateau, they are more general and vary across tribal cultures. While unfortunate, this absence of certainty is merely an opportunity for archaeologists to conduct more in-depth research and excavation in the future in order to answer such questions.

More than any other factor, the Coeur d'Alene Tribe was shaped by its ancestral territory be it by natural land formation or the First Peoples (Figure 2.1). Still, the Coeur d'Alene cultural presence further shaped their lands with unique practices of hunting, fishing, and gathering of resources, systematic burnings, and construction of habitation sites. To the north, Coeur d'Alene territory is said to have reached the north shore of Lake Pend Oreille but is more likely to have just included the southern lobe of the lake. To the east and south, their territory included the headwaters of the Coeur d'Alene River and extended over the Bitterroot Mountain Range between Idaho and Montana. Some feel they may have gone as

far as the Clark Fork River. To the south their territory included the entirety of the St. Joe River system and the headwaters of the North Fork of the Clearwater River. With no natural mountain divides or lateral flowing rivers to lend borders, the southern portion of the territory also included the noticeably smaller Potlatch and Palouse Rivers. From there, the territory skirted into present-day Washington, including the upper reaches of Hangman (Latah) Creek and the Spokane River. Aside from these major rivers, lesser-known waterways also played an important role for the Coeur d'Alene tribe, such as the North and South Forks of the Coeur d'Alene River, St. Marries River, Benewah Creek, Marble Creek, Latour Creek. Lake Creek, Coeur d'Alene Lake, Hayden Lake, Liberty Lake, Chatcolet Lake, Benewah Lake, and Round Lake. The tribe's dependence on waterways cannot be overstated (Sprague 2005). Although much of the named geographic area does not include notable mountains, they surround, or are encompassed by the lakes and rivers listed. While only summer campsites were located in or on mountains the three regional distinctions; prairie, lake, and mountain, suffice to distinguish the general geographic differences. The mountains lining the Coeur d'Alene and St. Joe rivers impart an impression of mountainous terrain, much in the same way as early trader-trappers were inaccurately termed 'Mountain Men'.

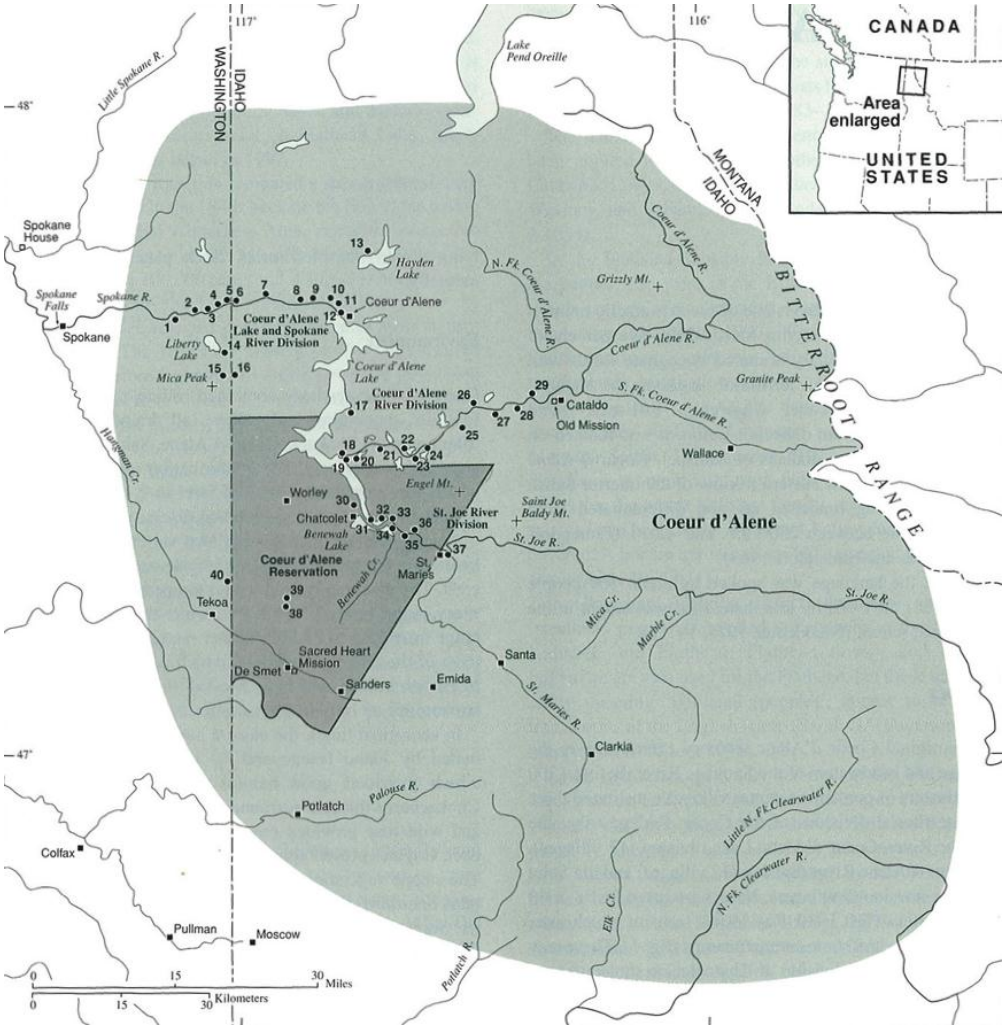

Figure 2.1: Map showing the Coeur d'Alene ancestral territory with major village sites [Note the "Old Mission" is erroneously labeled next to the town of Cataldo, south of the Coeur d'Alene River when it should be at village number 29 (S'q^{w}'tú)] (Palmer 1998:314).

While most of the tribes in the Columbia Plateau share similar cultural practices, their environments differ drastically. Compared to the surrounding area, the Coeur d'Alene and St. Joe river regions have some of the most mountainous and densely forested land, whereas the Clearwater River, located to the south, transitions from mountains to an arid environment with loose soiled rocky breaks. The flooding from Glacial Lakes Missoula and Bonneville created prominent landscapes such as the Eastern Washington scablands and Hells Canyon, however, such events did little to alter the mountain-lined Coeur d'Alene and St. Joe rivers. Surely the area suffered some ecological effects that stemmed from the floods, little of the

physical domain changed in comparison to that of the Clark Fork and Pend Oreille river systems (Bretz 1969).

The same mountain ranges that shrouded the area also fashioned its unique flora and fauna. The resulting ecosystem is comparable to coastal ranges. The increased precipitation and elevation of the mountains create the uncommon Plateau environment. Of the numerous plant species, a few are indicative of this region's varying environment. The largest and most obvious keynote species would be Western White Pine, Cedar, Western Larch, Hemlock, Pacific Yew, and Sub Alpine Fir. Shrubs like Nine Bark, Oceanspray, Syringa, Huckleberry, Snowberry, and Kinikinnik are even more specific to the area. In regards to the fauna, mammals in the area are similar to those of surrounding areas, save the additional presence of martens, wolverines, and mountain goats in the higher elevations. The presence of anadromous fish, or salmon, is the same as they thrived in rivers that cross into the surrounding areas up to the Continental Divide (Palmer 1998:316).

The environment, while somewhat distinct, offers a basic subsistence pattern that is similar to other Interior Salish tribes. For the intermountain Salish, a typical year-long pattern starting in winter begins with the tribes of the area condensed in larger groups along a major river where the mid-winter weather was more temperate. The villages would consume stored foods, incorporating some hunting or gathering. There would be little travel during this time. The salmon spring run consolidated tribes and provided fresh food. The consolidation around the salmon runs would bring together other bands, a large-scale aggregation that happened seasonally. Soon after the spring congregation, the Interior Salish would begin to gather plants in abundance, like camas, to prepare for the winter months. As spring came and the weather warmed, the tribes would start traveling up-slope, into the mountains. During the summer, they would camp in smaller groups further up in the

mountains, following the berries and plants as they progressively ripened in higher elevations throughout the season. In these periods, they would start storing food to transport down to their winter village site. In the fall, hunting increased along with the gathering of some late-yielding plants. Soon they would head back down to their winter village sites, hunting along the way and continuing to store food for the winter (Palmer 1998:315).

Tribal organization, while not defined by the environment, was certainly still influenced by the ecological setting. Traditionally, the tribe was made up of three main bands, with each comprised of a series of extended families (Dozier 1961:8). While they maintained a tribal structure, some feel the primary association was the village, or extended family system, rather than the tribe itself (Ray 1939:12). One band was located around the Spokane River, the north shore of Coeur d'Alene Lake, and Hayden Lake. The second and third bands inhabited the Coeur d'Alene and St. Joe river drainages. The three bands are thought to have totaled to more than 30 villages during the winter (Peltier 1975:6), where each village could have numbered in excess of 100 individuals (Dozier 1961:10).

Leadership of the tribe was constituted of honorary headmen who, through persuasive rather than absolute power, helped direct and guide the tribe. However, there was still a main tribal chief, who again had persuasive power that was centered at the main village. For example, out of 30 villages, there would be 29 sub-chiefs who were informal leaders of their villages within their bands. There was also the overall chief located at the main village that usually held the persuasive position through loose heredity as long as the chief demonstrated honesty, bravery, and benevolence (Peltier 1975:6). It would be easy to assume there was a much more formal hierarchy with heirs to power, but that would ignore the fact that the villages were all comprised of extended families. The leader's main duty was directing resource gathering and granting permission for other groups to utilize their territory. Again,

most of the units were extended families so their interaction was more from village-to-village within the same area, usually river or lake. Thus, in actuality the leaders were more of family headmen. In addition to the chief and "small chiefs" the tribe was counseled by other influential leaders and elders. While women were not commonly chosen for chiefs, those with leadership qualities were respected and could exert themselves by steering feelings within the group (Teit 1930:154).

In addition to leadership, some other elements of Coeur d'Alene tribal organization fell in line with other Plateau tribes. The Coeur d'Alene, due to their resource cycle and like their neighbors, practiced bilateral kinship which led to ambilocal residence. Since natural resources and seasons could quickly shift from feast to famine, families often switched their matrilineal or patrilineal residence as needed, in order that harder hit areas could spread their numbers during times of scarce resources. This helped to lighten the load on the environment and maintained familial ties. Even with this open relationship with either of the parent's families they clearly leaned towards patrilineal ties. Marriages were often conducted through various rites directly between the man and woman. The majority of marriages had some form of bride wealth with the exception of when a marriage was arranged (in which case nothing was exchanged). A woman's chastity was paramount previous to marriage. While polygamous marriages were common before the Jesuits arrival they were primarily a custom of the levirate (Palmer 1998:321), to support inter-marriage relations usually after the death of a family provider.

The other bond within the tribe is its language, a dialect of Interior Salish. The Coeur d'Alene language shares similarities with Spokane, Chewelah, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, and Flathead (Figure 2.2). However, their closest neighbor, as language is concerned, are the Kalispel who share fifty-five percent of their vocabulary (Palmer 1998:313). This would

support the Salish Migration Hypothesis in that the linguistic differences can plot the transformation of the Interior Salish groups and how contemporary tribes were established. In the case of the Coeur d'Alene the linguistic evidence indicates that they had once been part of a larger Salishian group and over time they segmented, both geographically and linguistically, into a distinct culture while still adhering to the commonalities of the Interior Salish.

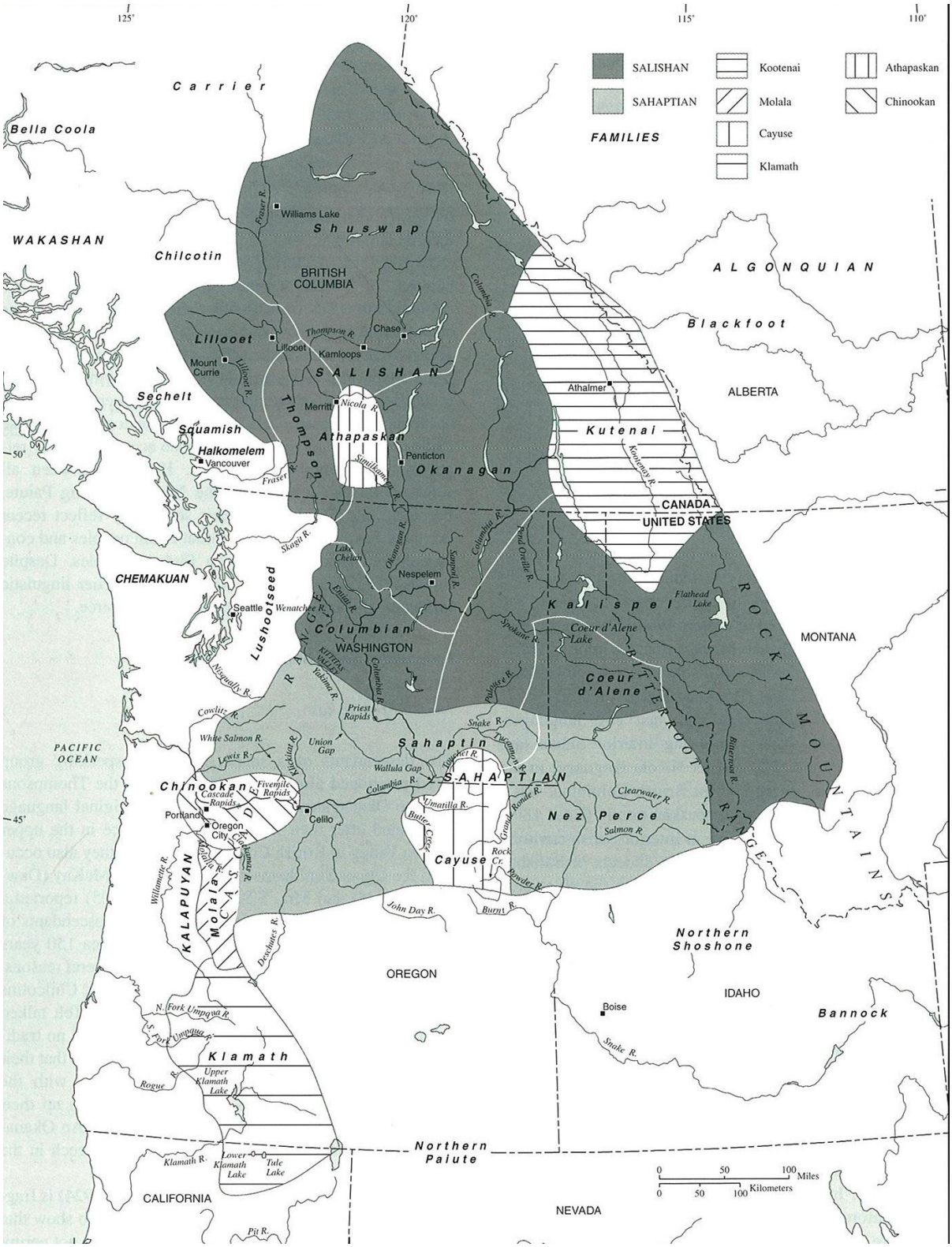

Figure 2.2: Map showing location of the Columbia Plateau language families (Kinkade et al. 1998:50).

As for the archaeology, relatively little can be said of the area's prehistoric period. While the Columbia and Snake River drainages had massive reservoir surveys in the 1950s and 60s, nothing of that scale took place around Coeur d'Alene Lake. In addition to the lack of large government surveys in the area, a combination of other factors has contributed to a relatively thin understanding of Indian life in the area. One such factor is that the Coeur d'Alene lakeshore has been heavily developed over the past century. Another factor was the construction of the Post Falls Dam project in the early 1900s which raised the lake and Coeur d'Alene River water levels, inundating untold sites. The elevated lake level created seasonal wave action leading to erosion that continues to degrade sites located in between high and low water levels. With limited habitable surface area due to the steep slopes of the surrounding hills in addition to an abundance of privately owned land, many habitation areas have gone unsurveyed. This is a situation unlikely to change without collaboration with private landowners. What this means for this study is that understanding of prehistoric Indian lifeways rests on ethnographic narratives rather than direct archaeological evidence.

In the protohistoric phase (ca.1780-ca.1810) of Coeur d'Alene history changes came fast and proved devastating to traditional culture. The first Euro-Americans to come into contact with the Coeur d'Alene were trappers and traders of the North West Company. During the company's early exploration of the Inland Northwest, David Thompson was the lead representative (Thompson 1962). Through his tenure, Thompson established and traded from three major fur houses around the edge of Coeur d'Alene country. The most significant fur house was the Kullyspel House of Lake Pend d'Oreille, followed by the Spokane House, and finally the Saleesh House located at present day Thompson Falls, Montana (Figure 2.3). While the Coeur d'Alene surely traded with the fur companies they made it abundantly clear that fur traders were not welcome to open up shop within their territorial boundaries (Dozier

1961:19). The Coeur d'Alene never let traders establish a commercial post within their land while they were an independent sovereign people (Dozier 1961:22).

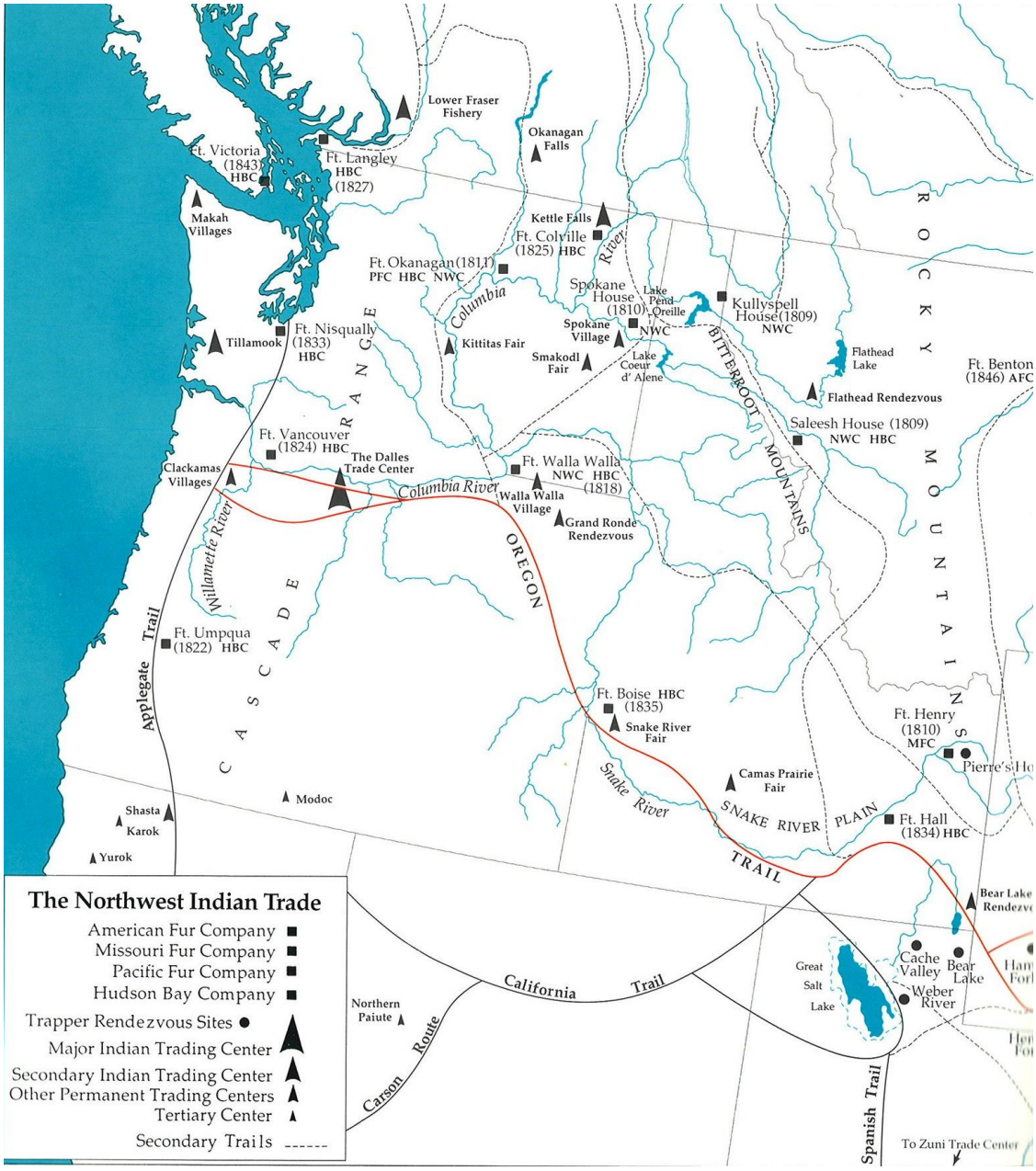

Figure 2.3: Non-missionary Euro-American establishments of the Northwest (Peterson 1993:76).

In the oral tradition or prophecy of Coeur d'Alene Chief Circling Raven, a chief residing near present day Kingston, Idaho, dreamt of a "Great Chief who dwells in the Sky" and men wearing Black Robes who bid his work and will teach the Coeur d'Alene (Palmer

1998:322). The legend says Circling Raven's first telling came nearly one hundred years before the Jesuits, a rather long time to wait. Following in his fathers place, Twisted Earth (Stellam) maintained the watchful eye of his people, until the fateful day near Post Falls, Idaho when the Coeur d'Alene finally met the Black Robes.

At the time of Lewis and Clark, population estimates for the Coeur d'Alene were between 2600 and 4000 people (Tiet 1930:39), but because of the spread of disease from 1820 to 1840 the population dropped to 400 or 600 individuals by the arrival of the Jesuits (Weaver 1976:33). The drastic reduction spurred the call for missionaries, who, the Coeur d'Alene hoped would succeed where native spiritualists were failing. Some diseases, like smallpox, had a more profound effect, while syphilis made little impact. The Coeur d'Alene policy of seclusion hindered the spread of syphilis—had they been more open, the disease would easily have run rampant in their polygamist society. The virulence of the smallpox epidemic from 1830 to 1831 was another story; this disease needed little more than personal contact to have a grievous effect (Scott 1928:149). It was at this time of extreme cultural strain, the Coeur d'Alene made the decision to invite the Jesuits into their community, an invitation for radical culture change. However, by the time the Jesuits arrived in 1842, the Coeur d'Alene were already rebounding from the various diseases and regaining stability (Weaver 1976:22).

History of the Jesuits

St. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Jesuit order in the mid-sixteenth century. St. Ignatius had begun life as a knight from the Basque countryside and, as some from the time did, found religion after being seriously wounded in battle. The order quickly gained recognition for its founding papers, the *Constitutions*, and grew under the consent of the Pope. It is likely that exploration of the Americas and the rebuffing of the Protestant

Reformation assisted this young order to rise to the socio-religious heights it did. Also Ignatius and the early founders of the order fostered a sense of adventure and enthusiasm for travel among the minds of the Order's members. The Order soon had plenty of both while establishing *reducciones*, otherwise known as the Reduction Plan (McNaspy 1982), in South America, often interfering with Spanish and Portuguese colonial efforts (Mörner 1965). The implementation of the plan lead to ongoing conflicts that would ultimately come to a head in the 18th Century, but not before the Jesuits also associated themselves with another colonial power in New France. The clergymen often accompanied the French explorers, who in that day were mostly trappers and traders (Parkman 1888).

These Black Robes had a unique history in comparison to the other Catholic and Protestant faiths that attempted to proselytize North America. As a small enclave of the Catholic Church, the Society of Jesus first came to the western hemisphere with French colonialists by the St. Lawrence River. From there the Jesuits established themselves in Montreal and Québec. From the major cities they adapted the "old Paraguay" mission Reduction Plan (Parkman 1999:63), which based missions near otherwise unpopulated areas and favored the consolidation of many tribes instead of searching out individual tribes in their ancestral homelands.

The Jesuit order went through a process of suppression during the period from 1741 to 1767 when the order was expelled from many parts of the world. Many of the prominent colonizing European countries were at the heart of this fury that started with the Pope in 1741. Subsequent suppressions took place in Portugal in 1759, France in 1764, and finally Spain in 1767 (Koebel 1912:31-355). The suppression order came about with military precision. Jesuits were imprisoned on a prearranged day so none could escape. Shortly after, each was returned to their nation where they remained in prison. The only exceptions were

Prussia and Russia where Catherine the Great used her influence to disregard the Papal decree. It was not until 1814 that the society was restored under the new pope, Pope Pius VII (Duignan 1958:731).

This period of suppression, 73 years in all, caused the order to lose its leaders, power, and direction. Upon restoration, the Jesuits started anew, looking to the past for guidance, but still striving to adapt to a new era. In their absence, an upstart country had risen up amongst traditional colonial powers: the United States. Although it is common knowledge that Protestantism had long dominated the spirituality of Euro-Americans in North America, the true depths of the Protestant Work Ethic are not always so obvious with implications reaching beyond the spiritual world into the secular. This left non-religious Americans with the opinions and drives shared by reformationists, those who also had specific goals in hopes of civilizing Indian tribes.

With seemingly the entirety of the U.S. government at odds with Catholicism, the efforts of the Jesuits were often affronted out of hand. The autonomous and often stubborn nature of the Jesuits only served to generate more resentment from the general public and politicians. In all, it is understandable that the Jesuits should feel oppressed, given their recent suppression, the rise of differing religious dynamics in their absence, and the replacing of royals with a democracy governing a vast area of North America. For the first time Catholicism was the newcomer with Protestantism the established religion. In practical terms one of the outcomes of this situation was that the Jesuits' missionary goals in the west did not align with the interests of the expanding United States government where the focus was on western progression and Manifest Destiny (Addis 2005).

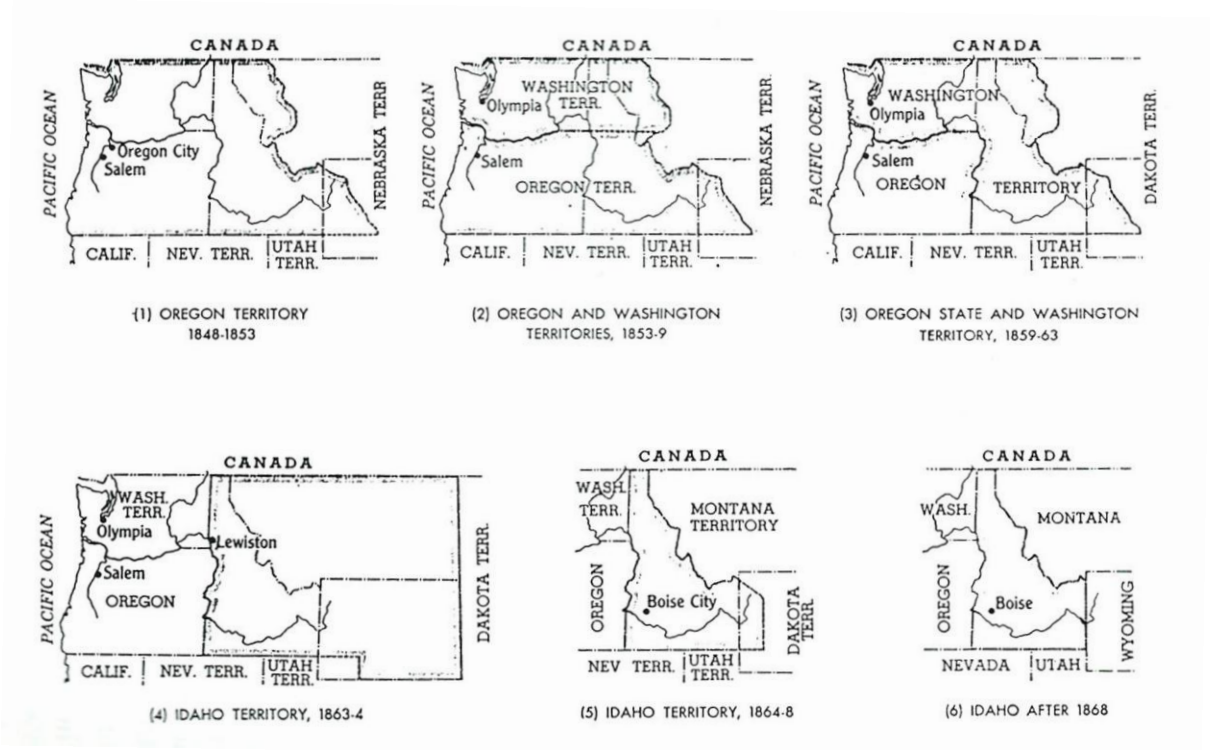

Figure 2.4: Maps showing the progressive boundary changes to western states and territories from 1848-1868 (Kowrach 1999:256).

These new Jesuits were predominantly European and often from countries that maintained strong Catholic traditions. Because of this, many western protestant figures of the time viewed Jesuits as actively subverting the United States government. This anti-Catholic sentiment is best illustrated by the events surrounding the Whitman Massacre with rhetoric empowered by the most notable Protestant missionaries of the period, Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Henry Spalding. In what would be one of Dr. Whitman's final letters he wrote "I have been held forth to the [by Catholics] as a sorcerer of great power" (Addis 2005:250). On the one hand this statement is possibly in reply to the ongoing battle of imagery between the Catholic "Tree" and Protestant "Ladder" (Figure 2.5 and 2.6). On the other hand, it is a commonly held possibility that the massacre came to be because a failure of Dr. Whitman's medicine, both literal and figurative. It was not uncommon for Plateau tribes to kill shaman who failed, so while not discounting all other socio factors at the time, it

would seem an Euro-American doctor would not have been excluded from this practice. Immediately after the news of the Whitman Massacre reached Reverend Spalding, he described the Jesuits as, "priests wet with the blood of my murdered associates" (Addis 2005:250). Reverend Spalding and his wife Eliza were so wrought with grief they remained embittered until their passing. So much so that Rev. Spalding wrote the following line in a two hundred-word epitaph on his late wife's headstone, "She always felt that the Jesuit Missionaries were the leading cause of the massacre" (Carlson 1998:238; Walker 2000:432).

Additionally, the Jesuit practice of arming the tribes they resided with did not encourage positive attitudes among settlers (Weaver 1976:20). Such sentiments loomed even larger over the Jesuits in the east, especially in Congress. While the European Jesuits were indeed a product of their Euro-Catholic upbringing, and required a semblance of acceptance from the United States, they cared little for the growth of United States power so long as they were free to carry out their proselytizing without persecution of themselves or their 'neophytes.' It would be wholly understandable that the Jesuits, having been previously oppressed, recognized the potential peril of their labor and the sanctity of those they sought to help. On the other hand, the U.S. government used Fr. DeSmet to help quell troubles with Mormon settlers and several Indian uprisings. Fr. DeSmet's status in the area allowed him to serve more as an impartial third party.

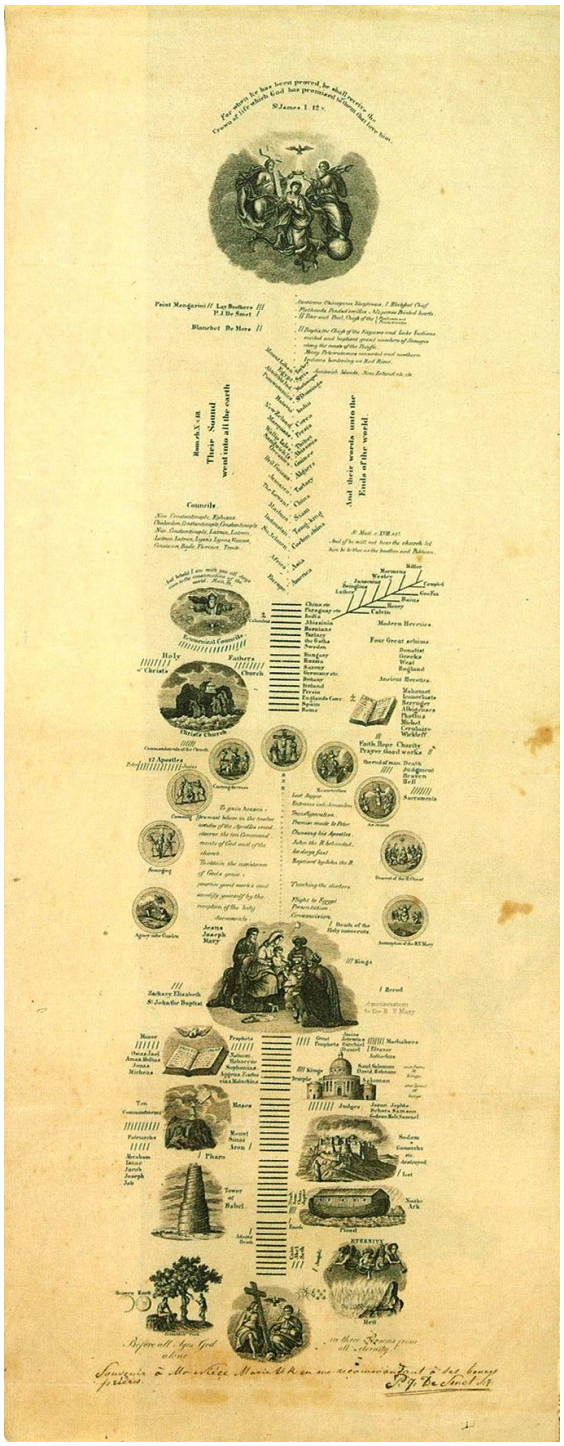

Figure 2.5: The Catholic 'Tree' created by Father Blanchet (Peterson 1993:110).

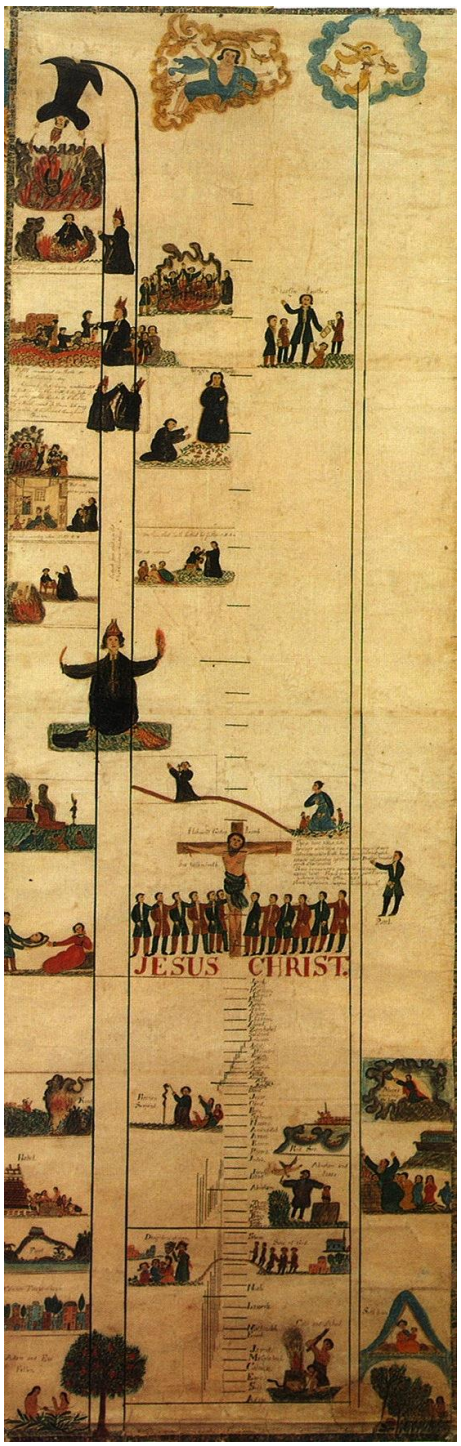

Figure 2.6: The Protestant 'Ladder' created by Reverend Eliza Spalding (Peterson 1993:111).

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE COEUR D'ALENE JESUIT INTERACTION

History of the Cataldo Mission

The Cataldo Mission of the Sacred Heart stands atop a knoll, with a firm heritage in light of its conflicted past. The Mission lies just outside the boundaries of the Coeur d'Alene Reservation in Kootenai County, deep in the wooded country of northern Idaho (Figure 3.1). Beyond its significance as the oldest extant structure in the state, the Mission has become a focal point for the people of the region who see it not only as a part of their heritage, but of their future as well. The National Register property, once a home to approximately 350 Coeur d'Alene and Jesuits in 1853, is now a place for school children to run, couples to pledge their wedding vows, and thousands of tourists to visit. For members of the local community, the Society of Jesus, and the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, there are several annual feasts and festivities that have turned the Mission into a center of regional identity. The cultural value of the mission was initially recognized in the mid 20th Century with the property's listing as a National Historic Landmark in 1962 and again in the 1970s when the Idaho Centennial Commission and the Idaho State Historical Society supported the restoration and archeological explorations at the mission.

The Coeur d'Alene Mission represents the Interior Northwest's early settlement period and a time of tremendous change for the Coeur d'Alene people. Over the next 29 years, the Jesuit brotherhood fostered a long-lasting relationship with the Coeur d'Alene tribe at this location. It is traditionally accepted that Catholics, and as such Jesuits, imposed European culture and principles on the tribes who had no defense, effectively, leaving the native cultures worse off and without any agency in the matter (Spicer 1962; Lightfoot 2005; Sunseri 2009; Voss 2010). While it is undeniable the Jesuits had a lasting effect on the

Coeur d'Alene and other tribes of the Northwest, it is equally appropriate to consider the effect the Coeur d'Alene had on the Jesuits.

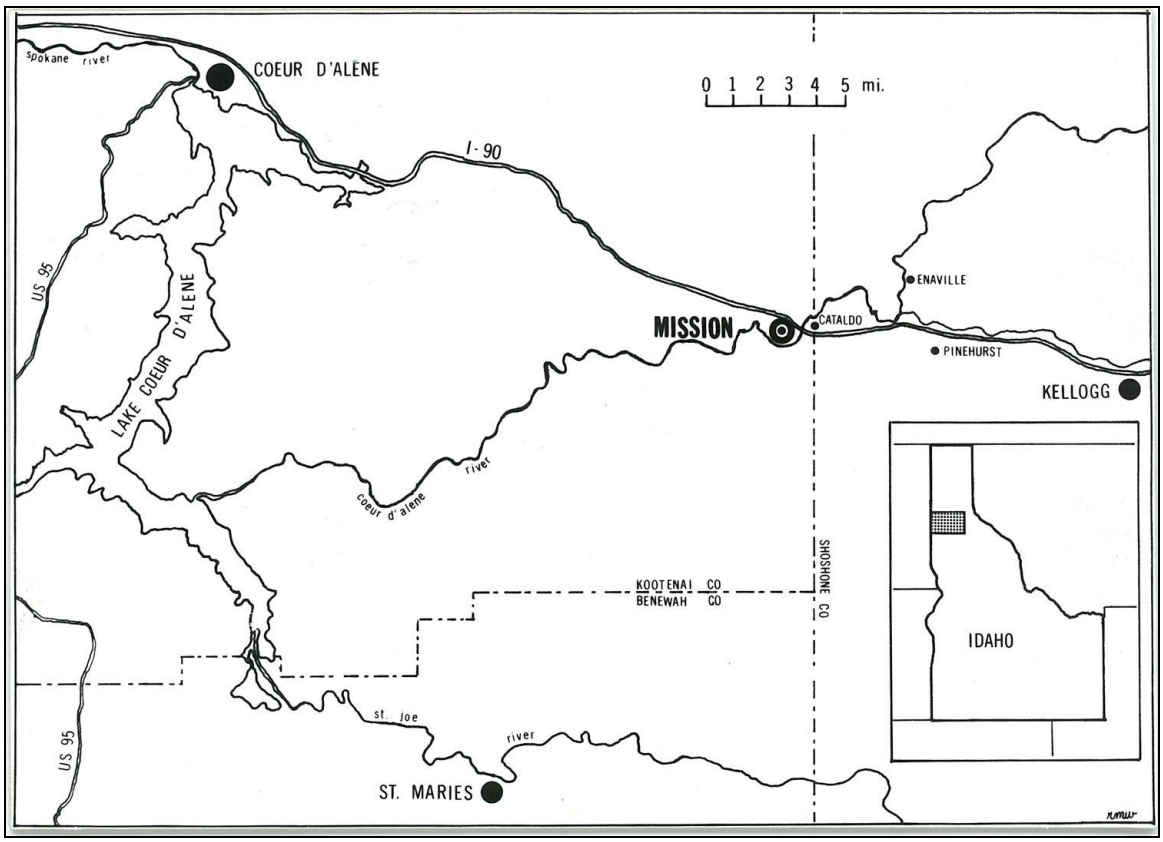

Figure 3.1: Map showing location of the Coeur d'Alene Mission and surrounding area (Weaver 1976:2).

From First Meeting to the Cataldo Mission, 1842 to 1848

According to oral tradition, it took four Flathead-Iroquois-Nez Perce delegations to St. Louis for the Flathead to be recognized by the Catholic Church. Had the fourth trip not succeeded, the Interior Salish would have waited far longer for Catholic or Protestant missionaries. Through this interaction, a mission was established amongst the Flathead which set the stage for initial interactions between the Coeur d'Alene tribe and Jesuit missionaries. This interaction would prove most important as it set into motion plans for a new mission among the Coeur d'Alene in what would become Idaho.

Until 1839, the furthest Jesuit missionaries had traveled up the Mississippi River was to St. Louis, with outposts nearer to Council Bluffs, IA (Kowrach 1999:268) while Protestants had largely concerned themselves with the eastern United States. It was only through a tenuous series of events that the Jesuits became aware of the Coeur d'Alene, a tribe far away, beyond the minds of the Jesuit Superiors in St. Louis, much less Vatican City. The chance connecting of the two groups was put into motion over 200 years prior with the first Jesuit mission in Acadia. This earlier Jesuit mission, before their suppression, culminated with the indoctrination of many eastern tribes to Catholicism. One such tribe was the Iroquois, some of whom would eventually, like many tribes, align themselves with early traders and trappers like those of the English Hudson's Bay Company.

In the years before Manifest Destiny, but after the Corps of Discovery brought attention to the Northwest, traders and trappers sought trade routes. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was one of the first companies to take advantage of the wilderness. With the establishment of HBC in the North America came a series of ongoing relationships with many nations and ethnicities, one of which was purportedly Iroquois who had left their often-warring ancestral lands. Some Iroquois eventually chose, for unknown reasons, to settle with the Flathead Tribe (Malouf 1998:306). Since some of the earliest missions were established by the Jesuits in New France along with the *coureurs de bois*, runners of the woods, or otherwise known as traders and trappers, Northeastern tribes developed a unique association with Catholicism driven by capitalism (Parkman 1888).

Once the basics of Catholicism were introduced to Flathead culture, there came an understanding that those who had aided the tribes of the northeast could aid them as well. The Flathead and neighboring tribes had recently survived a series of diseases. The cumulative effect was a crumbling of social and cultural structures which would provide an

opening for outside influences—such as the Jesuits. The Flathead Tribe of western Montana, who share Salish roots with the Coeur d'Alene, were the foundation for northwest proselytizing in early 19th Century as a direct response to their appeal for religious guidance. According to oral tradition, the Flathead sent four delegations to St. Louis—the first three either met with disaster or as in 1831, were simply turned away upon arrival (Beal and Wells 1959:205)

A noteworthy digression is that while the last few Flathead delegations had seemingly no effect on the Society of Jesus, many Protestant-based faiths in the east were made aware the 'need'. Methodist William Walker authored a sensationalized piece entitled the 'Indians Lament' (Walker 1833). The depiction focused on the un-Christian circumstances of the Northwestern tribes especially the Flatheads. Brothers Jason and Daniel Lee were the first to respond to the Flathead in 1834 when they travelled westward with the expressed intention of settling among the Flatheads. The Lees went to the Flathead, but were turned away because they were not "Black Robes" (Harrod 1971:24). Jason and David Lee chose then to settle in the Willamette Valley of present-day Oregon. A short while after settling in the Willamette Valley the Lees turned their focus of their missionary efforts from converting Indians to white settlers arriving from the east. Reverend Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman directed the next trip of eastern Protestants under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), one of many organizations that exemplified the monetary and support disparity with the Jesuits (Dozier 1961:46). Parker was the first to make it into the Inland Northwest, followed shortly by the Whitmans, Smiths, and Spaldings (Figure 3.2). Each group settled with Indian tribes and attempted to spread Christian teaching. In doing so, they far surpassed previous missionaries. Still, the tribes of the Bitterroot Divide did not see the prophesized Black Robes.

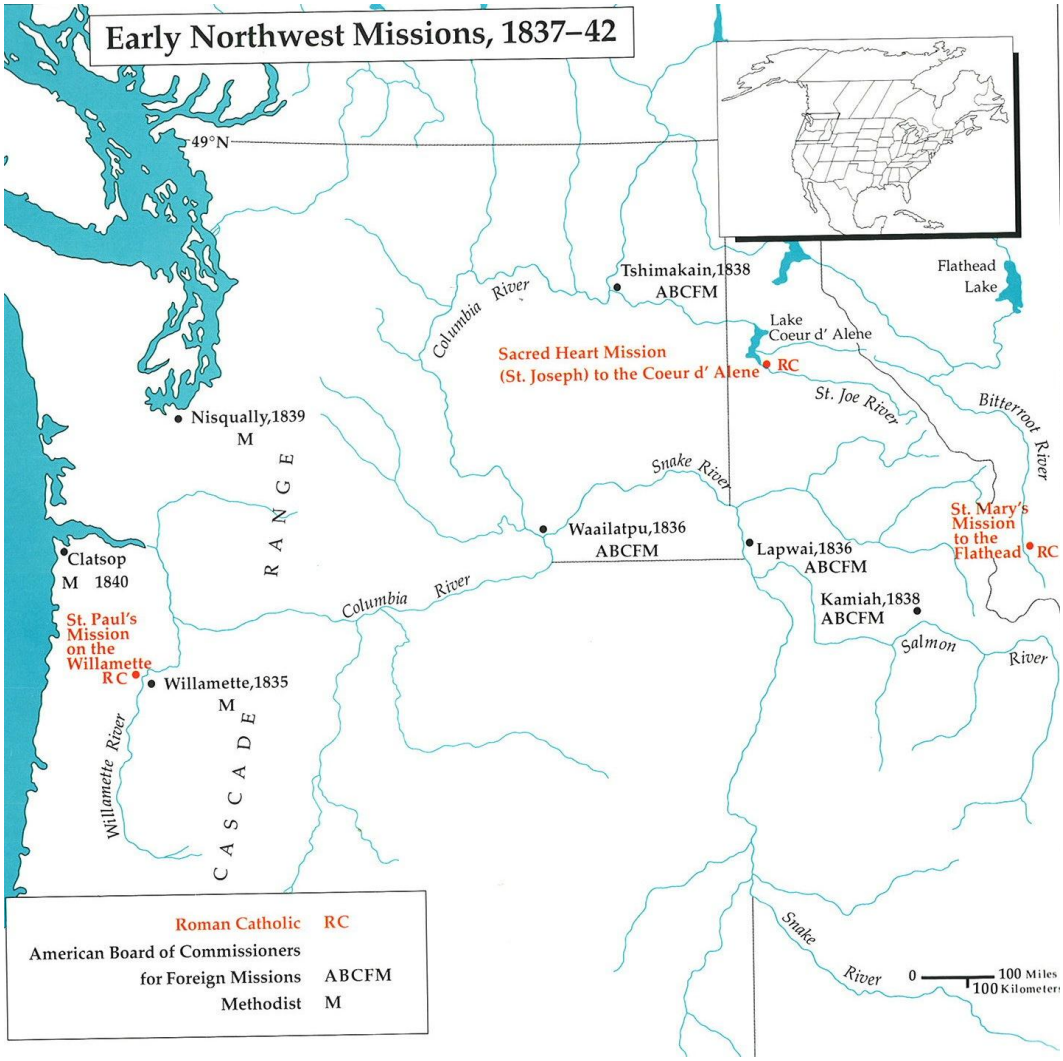

Figure 3.2: Map showing Northwest missions, 1837-1842 (Peterson 1993:94).

Finally, on the Flathead delegates' fourth trip, the Catholic Church recognized the call, not because of new directives or a change of heart, but because on the fourth trip, the party was put in contact with Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet. Father DeSmet was stationed at Council Bluffs, Kansas and was called upon to translate the French learned by the Flathead through their interactions with traders and trappers. As a result, Fr. DeSmet felt strongly about supporting the Flathead and requested that he be sent to their village to set up a mission. His superiors reluctantly granted him permission and in 1841, with one brother and another father, he left to establish a mission among the Flathead (McKevitt 1994:50). The first step of the Jesuit's westward expansion began with the founding of St. Mary's Mission

near present day Stevensville, Montana. While the mission was short-lived, it established a Jesuit presence in the region. It was during his subsequent time among the Flathead that Fr. DeSmet came into contact with members of the Coeur d'Alene tribe and, at their insistence, began making plans for a new mission in their territory.

The Jesuits had a disproportionately significant impact in the region because of their nationality (Figure 3.3). Americans, religious or not, tended to view civilization and Christianity together and saw the Macedonian Call as a grand gesture to direct tribes to Christian civility and, in their own way, to protect the neophytes from the unsavory fringe of Euro-American culture. The Coeur d'Alene initially perceived the Jesuits with a certain level of indifference: they were not Protestant, and they definitely were not American (McKevitt 1986:447). Often tribes throughout the Northwest did not invite in early Protestant missionaries and those Protestant missions that did get established furthered uneasiness among Indians. Reverend Jason Lee's mission, soon after inception, began to cater to weary settlers fresh off of wagon trains (Addis 2005:232). Such actions only served to further strain Indian-White relations as the missions were seen as helping the very people who were co-opting tribal lands. The events concerning Marcus and Narcissa Whitman's Waiilatpu Mission in 1847 is evidence of just how badly relations could disintegrate. An event like the Whitman Massacre was a very real possibility to any missionary so far from the protections of the military.

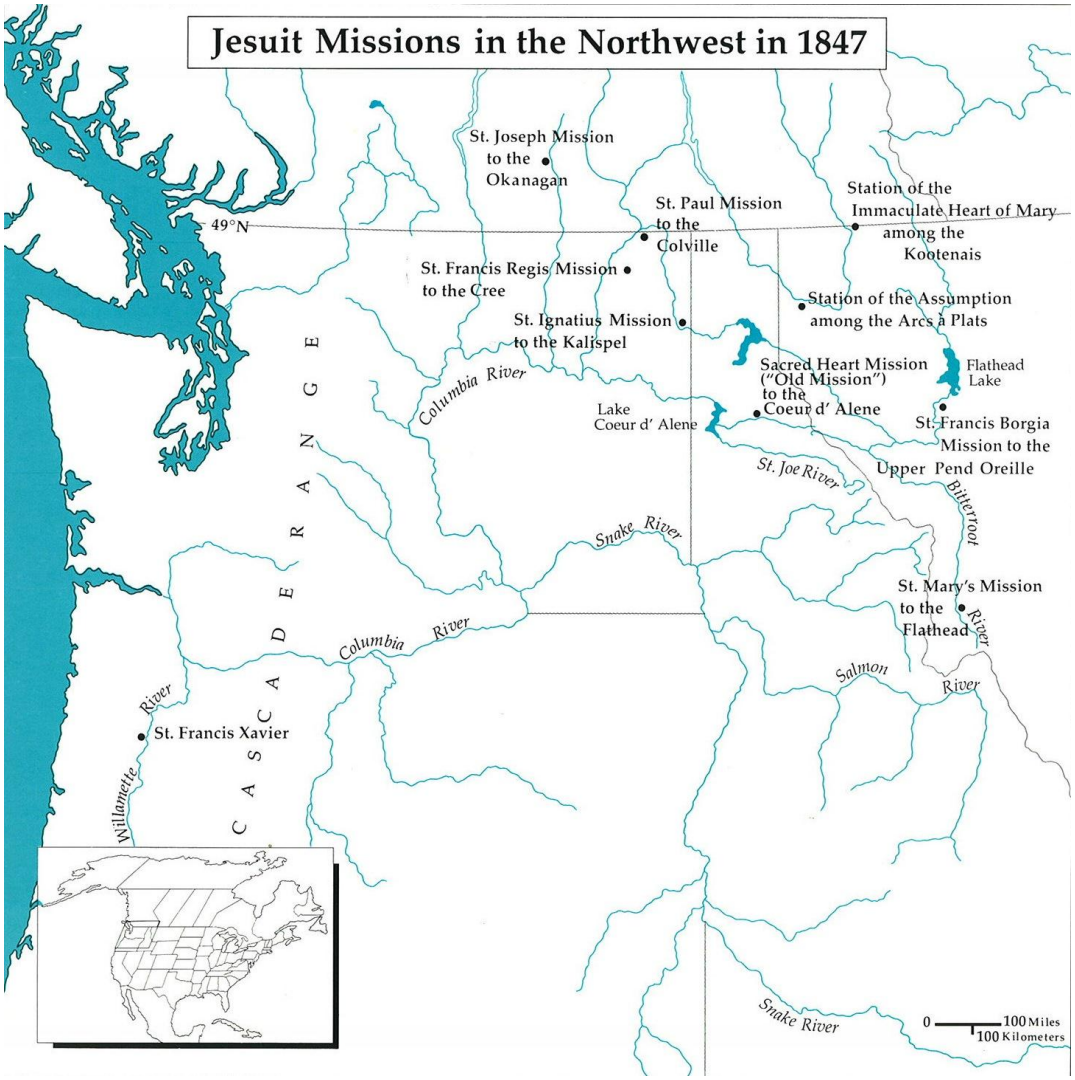

Figure 3.3: Map showing Northwest Jesuit Mission, 1847 (Peterson 1993:95).

For the Coeur d'Alene it is unlikely the arrival of the Jesuits was seen as the hand of God systematically working westward or even working in mysterious ways, but rather the fulfillment of an old prophecy. Circling Raven's and Twisted Earth's shared legacy provided the Coeur d'Alene with a means to accept the Jesuits as no more than the completion of a prophecy with the added benefit of attaining medicine, firearms, and additional spiritual power.

> My father looked for you for a long time. Many times he searched the entire Bitterroot Valley, and many times he went beyond the divide. Finally at an old age he asked me to

> continue the search for the Black Robe. It has been fully a hundred years since my father first sang the prophecy songs of the 'coming of the Black Robe.' (Kowrach 1999:33)

When Circling Raven, a leader at the Kingston village on the Coeur d'Alene River, revealed the prophecy of the Black Robes, custom says he had never been in contact with the Jesuits or Iroquois, nor had any other Coeur d'Alene tribal members. Fortunately for the Jesuits, this prophecy prepared the Coeur d'Alene to accept Jesuits into their lives. Circling Raven had said to listen to the Black Robes as teachers of a new way of life (Kowrach 1999:17). The story carries added importance for the Cataldo Mission since Kingston village was located just six miles to the east of the mission.

When the Coeur d'Alene party who had first met Fr. DeSmet returned home, news spread of the Black Robes. This prompted a formal expedition to Stevensville asking for Jesuit teaching. Father DeSmet was so compelled to assist the Coeur d'Alene that he asked for (and received) permission from his superiors in St. Louis to push on westward. As DeSmet himself had quite an expanse to cover, he began to employ Fathers Point and Joset in his duties. Father Point, Brother Charles Huet, and an interpreter named Louis Brown were chosen to meet and establish relations with the Coeur d'Alene in hopes of finding suitable grounds for a mission (Dozier 1961:28).

The selection of mission sites by the Jesuits offers insights as to how the Jesuits sought to proselytize the Coeur d'Alene tribe. The 30 groups were divided by location. The groups, though not bands, where categorized by location, such as: people of the mountains, people of the lakes, and people of the prairies (Stevens 1955). The lake people's response to Jesuit teachings was not the response the Jesuits had hoped for. They often participated in activities, but rarely took them to heart. However, this lack of enthusiasm was far better than what the Jesuits received from the prairie people of the Coeur d'Alene.

The lake people cared little about the Jesuits, although they were not decidedly against them. There had been a time of greater enthusiasm during the selection of the first mission site, seen in tribal competitiveness with Stellam and the other prairie groups. This competition was little more than a posturing for superiority between one another (Dozier 1961:29; Stevens 1955:47). Similarly, the prairie people nearly lost all interest after they realized they could not coerce the Jesuits into establishing the mission in their territory. Unfortunately more exacting records are not currently available to further differentiate early sentiments within the Coeur d'Alene.

The mountain people, where the first two missions were established, were the most receptive to Jesuit teachings (Stevens 1955:47). This may be the result of Circling Raven's prophecy of the Black Robes and whose mountain village was set near present-day Kingston. Cataldo was very close to Circling Raven's village, and his granddaughter Louise Siuxium, a perpetuator of the prophecy, moved to Mission Point and became an "apostle" of the Coeur d'Alene (Dozier 1961:30; Kowrach 1999:53).

By the time of the Mission's construction, a number of the Coeur d'Alene had converted to Catholicism under the Jesuits. The Jesuit's efforts ultimately reached as much as three quarters of the Coeur d'Alene population (Woodworth-Ney 1996:52). Baptismal records of the Jesuits show an overwhelming number of baptisms where she acted as godmother (Thomas Connelly, S.J. 2006, pers. comm.). She even went as far as to renounce her family and tribal status in order to follow and better serve the Jesuits and, more importantly, to combat the medicine men as only a native with insider knowledge could do (Chittenden 1905:1145). Her help was most useful in two instances where she influenced chiefs Nâtatken and Emotestsulem, helping further implant the Jesuits influence in the Coeur d'Alene tribe (Chittenden 1905:1149). This narrative of Indian women influencing religious

conversion within tribes is recorded elsewhere

After examining the Coeur d'Alene River drainage and not finding a suitable location, Fr. Point turned his attention to a spot were the St. Joe River entered Coeur d'Alene Lake, christening it the Sacred Heart of Jesus, later called St. Joseph, but properly known as Mission Point (Dozier 1961:29; Clark 1971:21). In the spring of 1843 Fr. Point directed the clearing of fields and the planting of both corn and wheat (Dozier 1961:30). By 1844 roads and a church were constructed. At the close of that year the mission had attracted one hundred 'Christian' families who lived nearby (Cody 1930:22).

Chief Stellam, a prominent chief from the north shore of Lake Coeur d'Alene was a most persistent provocateur of Point. It is important not to confuse him with Circling Raven's son Twisted Earth, also known as Stellam. First, Stellam was envious of the mission settled in his neighbor's lands. Stellam was not concerned with the religious aspect of the Jesuits, only the benefit their presence could provide him to establish power over other bands (Weaver 1976:34). This perspective did not mesh well with Point's stern personality. Furthermore, Stellam's habit of needling Point was little more than an attempt to obtain gifts and improve his status among the tribe. Stellam apparently learned such behavior from dealings with early fur traders who would often give gifts as bribes (Dozier 1961:30). In one such instance, when Stellam asked Point for tobacco, the father got so angry he called a council giving an ultimatum—either remove Stellam as chief or the missionaries would leave (Stevens 1955:49). Although the Coeur d'Alene had never deposed a chief, they readily supported Point and Stellam was ousted. The call to council likely was Point's genuine annoyance with Stellam and not part of a hidden agenda, yet the incident did show the influence the Jesuits had over the tribe.

The difference of religions played a key role in the indoctrination of the Coeur

d'Alene beyond the poignant 'prophecy' and the four Flathead delegations. The Protestant faiths incorporated an industrious lifestyle and cut out the rituals and ceremonies that were still central to the Jesuit order. Traditional Jesuit rituals fascinated the Coeur d'Alene and enabled them to be initiated while slowly changing their native religious practices (Dozier 1961; Weaver 1976; McKevitt 2005). The Jesuits included religious teachings in songs that were quickly learned and enjoyed. Aspects of these rituals, songs, and prayers were not too far removed from many of the tribes' own spiritual practices. Additional rituals of the Catholic practice that appealed to the Coeur d'Alene included incorporation of chants in prayers, ornamentation, water and incense to purify, celebration by way of exhibits and feasts (Frey 2001:68). The Jesuits tended to preach to the youngsters, trying to cultivate the next generation who typically are more receptive to change, and would more readily follow the Father's directions (Frey 2001 and Palmer 2001).

While the Jesuits implemented aspects of the Reduction plan, they did not tend to stress it as their predecessors in South America had (Figure 3.4). It is likely this reduced approach was a product of their past persecution in which the Jesuit Order had lost its leadership, something still distinctly felt by the new generation. This open-minded outlook may reinforce their motto, s*umus primo pro indianis*, or "we are here primarily for the Indians" (McKevitt 2005:710) in that they were not interested in assisting United States expansion. Along with the awareness that rapid acculturation could have adverse affects (Weaver 1976:19) as evidenced at the Whitman Mission.

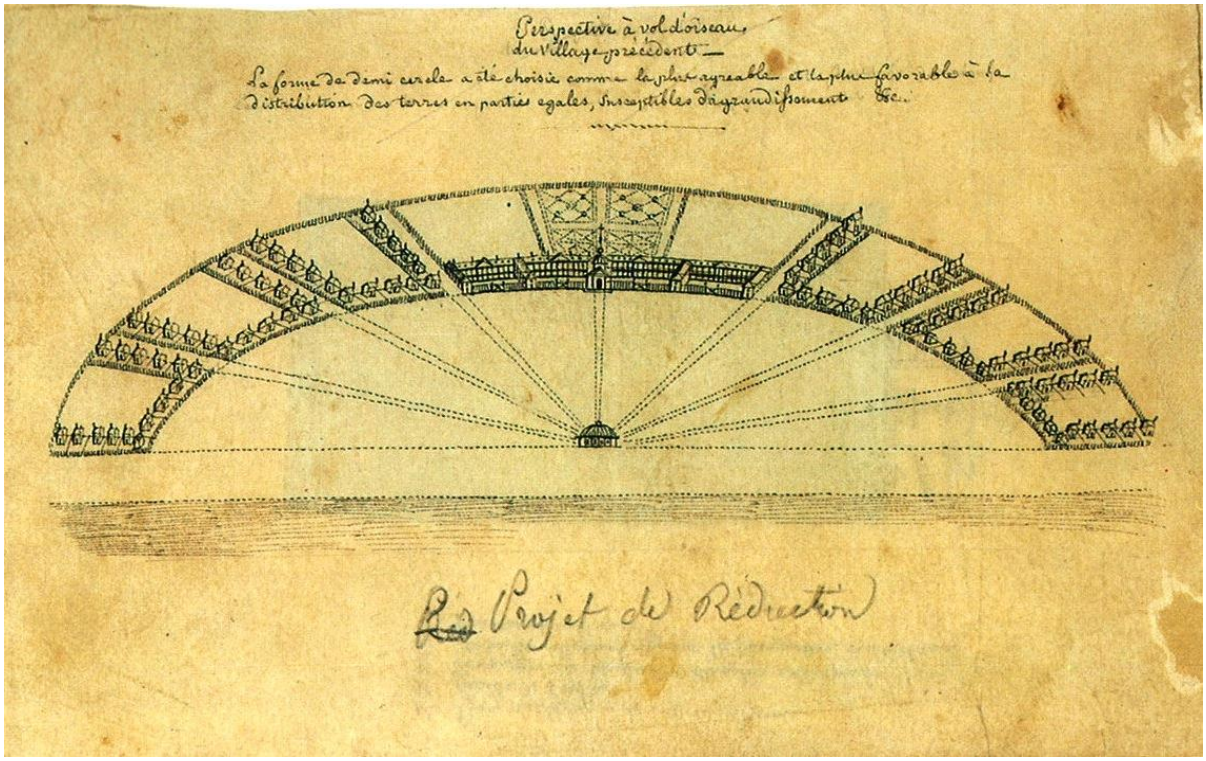

Figure 3.4: One of Father Point's early depictions of an intended Reduction Plan that would never see fruition (Peterson 1993:92).

Father Point's choice of the Mission Point site as the location of the first mission supports an argument that he and other Jesuits were not entirely focused on converting the Coeur d'Alene through agriculture. To Fr. Point, acculturation was based on Christianity more than agriculture or sedentism (Weaver 1976:29,36). The eventual move, as a result of the flooding, could foster the notion that Father Joset, perhaps under Fr. DeSmet's guidance, was attempting to acculturate the tribe through agriculture in contrast to Fr. Point. However, there may be a better explanation for the move north and the establishment of the Cataldo Mission by Fr. Joset.

An alternative interpretation for the move to Cataldo arises from the Father Adrian-Hoecken controversy. During one of the periods in which Fr. DeSmet was in Europe; Father Peter DeVos was vice-superior. This was trouble for Fr. Point who had had a past altercation with Fr. DeVos, which ended with Fr. Point's removal as the head of St. Charles College in

Louisiana (Weaver 1976:38). Father DeVos removed Fr. Point from Mission Point and had Fr. Hoecken take his place. Father Hoecken's inadequacy in working with the Coeur d'Alene was quickly evident. Although, Fr. Point had a short temper and strong sense of discipline, he was able to work with the Coeur d'Alene and gain their respect. Within six months Fr. Hoecken fled Mission Point in fear of physical abuse, in turn Fr. DeVos threatened the closure of the mission if the Coeur d'Alene did not come into compliance. This instance may have been the last chance the Coeur d'Alene had to successfully free themselves of Jesuit influence, however, the Jesuits gained yet another foothold for maintaining order. From the foundation set forth by Fr. Point and the recent interaction with Fr. Hoecken, Mission Point clearly had some contentious times and a new mission location would create a new co-opted identity. Ultimately, Mission Point was found lacking, the site was not central or readily available to all the groups which can be seen in part through Chief Stellam's attempted manipulations and while they grew crops seasonal flooding was an issue. Father Point, in apparent disagreement with his superiors over his treatment and that of the Coeur d'Alene, or the intended direction of the mission, had recalled himself to Canada.

The Move to the Coeur d'Alene Mission, 1848 to 1878

The second Mission of the Scared Heart, set above the Coeur d'Alene River, was established in 1848 and served for 29 years, during a time when the Coeur d'Alene and Jesuits formed a relationship centered on their unique location and socio-political conditions. The move north to the Coeur d'Alene River would unwittingly hasten conflict with encroaching settlers and the federal government.

Just as with Fr. Point, Fr. Joset was tasked to establish a new mission among the Coeur d'Alene, and he focused on the Coeur d'Alene River tributary, the very same area the initial Black Robe prophecy was born. As Fr. Joset had also learned something of the Coeur

d'Alene way of life, he went to the local chief in Kingston and purchased a 4 mile by 2 mile plot (Thomas Connelly, S.J. 2006, pers. comm.). Then in 1848, with an elevated parcel Fr. Joset and two brothers began preparing for the layout of the Cataldo Mission of the Sacred Heart with the help of the Coeur d'Alene tribe. A small chapel and several simple domiciles were initially erected as the focus was on expedience with the understanding that more intensive development of the land would happen during the following years. It is this later building of the Cataldo Mission that introduces another interesting clergyman, Father Ravalli, who would shape much of the early bonds between the Jesuits and the tribe through his architecture.

In these earlier years some of the most interesting information is found in requests of trade goods and how the Jesuit fathers set priorities based on needs. Since the Hudson's Bay Company was the only entity with size enough to ensure delivery of goods they were able to set their own prices. For the Jesuits of the Interior Northwest this meant a 200% markup of prices (Weaver 1976:20). Many fathers likely sought to avoid such increases and looked elsewhere to procure goods. Two such lists issued by Fr. Joset were sent to both Rome and England in 1849 can be seen in Figures 3.5 and 3.6. Of note is the apparent lack of either dining finery, like silverware or fine ceramics, or storage vessels that suggest somewhat of the Jesuits removal from their traditional lifeways in Europe. While there are eating utensils and plates in the general section of the list, all these items have the appearance of simple utilitarian use while the ecclesiastical service goods are the only grandiose items listed.

It also fosters the notion of unrealistic help from their kindred. Besides the obvious, Fr. Joset, who presided as the Superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions at the time, may have purposefully inflated his orders so that he may maximize his returns. While these lists are some of the best and only indicators of material use besides the archaeological material, it

is important to note that first, because of Fr. Joset's billet, the lists were intended to supply all the Northwest missions and that there is no knowledge of what he actually received. Chiefly, the orders outline the priority of goods requested.

In case there would be enough means to send a ship to carry us the necessary goods for the missions, which would be, I believe the most economically, I include here the list of objects to send.

1. Objects for the Indians
Powder, balls, small shot, rifles, flints, caps, axes, knives, flint and steel, fishhooks, combs, large tooth combs, coarse cloth (red, green, blue, black, and calico white and blue, awls, needles, kitchen boilers, shirts, and table things.

2. Smoking tobacco and snuff; coarse linen for spinning wheel; linen for ours, shirts, cravats, pocket handkerchiefs; flannel stockings; shoes and boots; cloth for cassocks; hats, I prefer the form of the Company; cloth for long coats, vests, lining, buttons, scissors (large and small); some razors and pocket knives; soap and sugar; coffee; medicine; materials for kitchen utensils, spoons, forks, dishes and plates of tin.

3. For the Church
Wine, linen and church ornaments, sacred vessels, censers, bells of two to fifteen inches in diameter, scapulars, rosaries, images representing the life of N.S. and in general the facts related in the saintly scripture, some paintings of the same type (NB they would be an immense help for the instruction of the savages), medels (large), and crosses

4. That which is indispensable to a farmer
Plow; mattocks (Strong and Large); spades, shovels, harness, and lines.

5. That which is necessary to a blacksmith and is not easy to manufacture here
Files of all types; vices; swages for the screws; tin; soldering irons; solder; nails; wires of iron of various sizes.

6. Tools of the Carpenter
Swages for screws of different sizes (1 to 2-½ inches), large augers to run through pipes, saws, planes, chisels, hammers, rasps, gouges of all kinds, the equipment to erect the sawmill and flourmill.

7. Seeds or seeds and grafts or pear trees, of cherries, grafts of prunes; lentils, and etc.

8. Spiritual manuals in the manner of the Institute
Vol. I of the history of the Company, The Life of St. Ignatius…, some works of natural history, manual of the arts and crafts most necessary in this country, manual of pottery, of brick making, and of weaving.

Figure 3.5: 1849 list of supplies sent to Rome (Courtesy of the Jesuit Oregon provincial Archives) (Weaver 1976:21).

Item	Quantity	Item	Quantity
Mass Wine	80 Gallons	Gunwars	1 Gross
An assortment of Wine		Wire of different size	
Blankets 4 points green	2 Dozen	Puter	20 Pounds
Blankets	6 Dozen	Iron bars (various shapes)	N/A
Blankets	2 Dozen	Door locks for churches	-
Blankets	3 Dozen	Pad locks for trucks	-
Lasting	14 Pieces	Small locks for tabernacles	-
Wool for making sockings		Screws of various sizes	-
Flannel	6 Pieces	Nails of various sizes	-
Strong dark coloured stue	20 Pieces	French nails	-
For making		(Pointes de Paris) [wire]	
summer/Winter cloths for		Screws of various sizes	-
our brothers		Axes for trade	4 Dozen
		Middle sizes	10 Dozen
Sacklet cloth for Indians	10 DO	American Axes	6 Dozen
Red Cotton	10 DO	American screw augers	-
Green DO	10 DO	Horse collars/harnesses	4 Dozen
Yellow DO	10 DO	Pocket knives for brothers	4 Dozen
Blue DO	10 DO	Trading knives	2 Grosser
White DO	10 DO	Canvass, strong	12 Pieces
Strong tin	Some Boxes	Thread, white/blue/black	-
Sheet iron	40 Sheets	Holland twine	-
Sheet brass	20 DO	Horse collars/harnesses	4 Dozen
Borax	20 Pounds	Rope 1-½	4 Rolls
Coppeross	20 Pounds	DO 1 DO	4 Rolls
Black silk handkerchiefs	40	DO ½ DO	4 Rolls
Powder	900 Pounds	Codliner	12
Balls	1200 Pounds	Packing rope	12 Bundles
Buck shot	200 Pounds	Scissors, small ones	24
Beaver shot	200 Pounds	Chisels, American and big	2 Dozen
Duck shot	200 Pounds	To be trusted to Indians	
Tobacco Canada twist	10 Rolls	Snuff, common	40 Pounds
Indian awls	6 Grosser	Strong packing canvass	20 Pieces
Flints for guns	6 Grosser	Paper and ink	-
Trading guns	4 Dozen		

Figure 3.6: 1849 list of supplies sent to London (Courtesy of the Jesuit Oregon provincial Archives) (Weaver 1976:21).

While Fr. Joset started building the mission in 1848 using Fr. Ravalli's plans, it wasn't until 1850 when Fr. Ravalli arrived (Clark 1971:22). At this point, many of the major building preparations had been started and outbuildings had been constructed for more

immediate usage. Little or no record was kept as to how long it took for these buildings to be finished or how many were actually built. Some components of the mission grounds known to have existed are the parish house, a cabin for the brothers, two cemeteries, a grinding enclosure, and, of course, the mission itself. With only an early sketch drawn by Father Joseph Gilmore and passed on to St. Louis by Fr. DeSmet, little is known of building placement and the location and use of the Coeur d'Alene encampment (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). What is known is that all the materials were procured locally and the entire structure was held together without a single nail. An auger, axe, and pulleys were the only tools available (Dehass 1963).

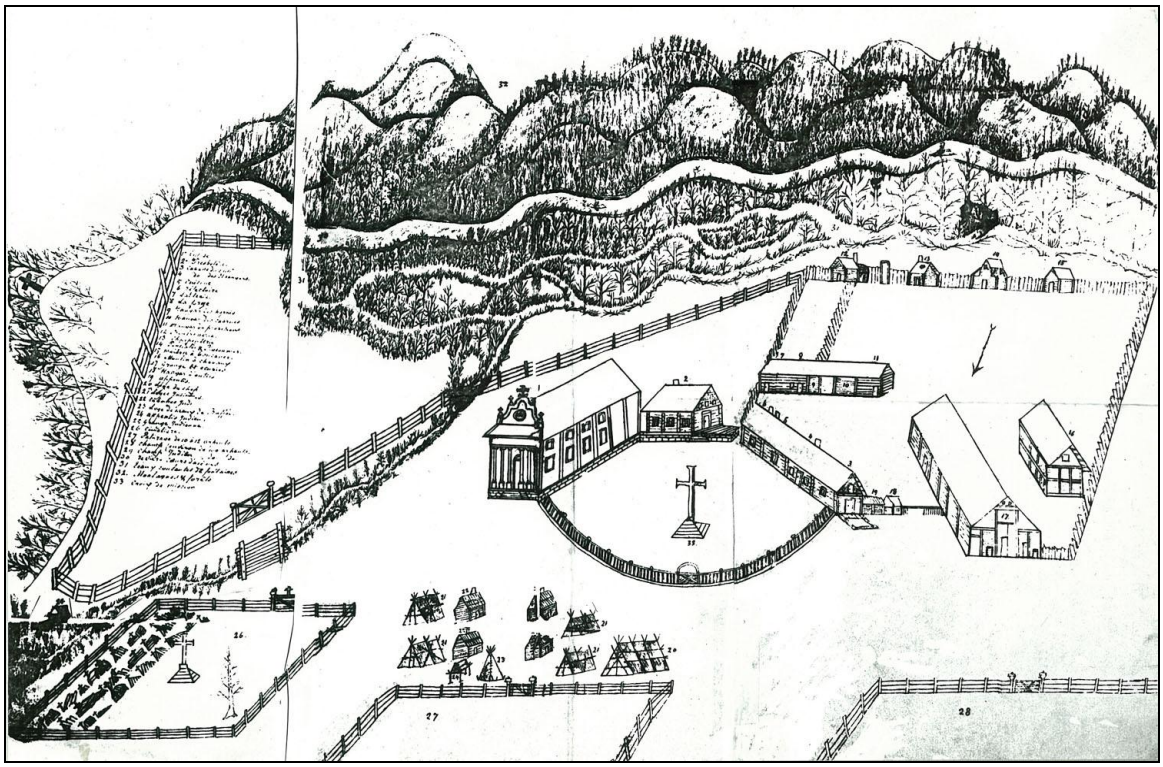

Figure 3.7: Father Joseph Gilmore's sketch depicting the circa 1860 layout of the mission grounds (Fielder and Sprague 1973:41).

Figure 3.8: Gustavus Sohon's circa 1860 pencil drawing of the mission (Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, District of Columbia).

Father Ravalli's design called for the mission to be aligned on a north-south axis, with the main entrance to the north. The basic building materials were taken from the surrounding hills and the rafters and columns were hand-hewn. With few beasts of burden, the Coeur d'Alene were employed with only the advantages of pulleys (Dozier 1961:32). The stone for the foundation was carried from over a half mile away, likely explaining why the building did not have an extensive foundation. Floor plans, elevations, profiles, and miscellaneous details were drafted by Montana State College under the direction of the National Park Service and its Historic American Buildings Survey in 1963. The Mission itself measured 81' 3" long by 40' 8" wide, with a maximum height of 44' 6" (Dehass 1963). A total of 320 Indians assisted with the construction and considered their participation to be a privilege (Stevens 1955:50). This cohesion would become a common theme throughout the use of the Cataldo Mission. After the Jesuits attention shifted from construction to

cultivation, a total of one hundred acres were broken in the flats surrounding the mission (Dozier 1961:34). It is said this process utilized between thirty and forty Coeur d'Alene throughout the summer (Dozier 1961:33) other sources state the fields were tended by the brothers and a small number of Coeur d'Alene, primarily youths (Kowrach 1999:60,82; Palmer 1998:322; Dozier 1961:34) similar to the practices overseen by Farther Point (Woodworth-Ney 1996:62-65). For the Coeur d'Alene who worked with the Jesuits the common practice was for workers not to be paid monetarily or in goods, but to receive vouchers redeemable for produce after the harvest (Dozier 1961:34). While some Coeur d'Alene clearly adapted to at least a partial agrarian lifestyle, they also maintained their transhumance pattern, with the apparent blessing the fathers and brothers. The Governor of the Washington Territory, Isaac I. Stevens, passed by the mission in 1853 and observed the Coeur d'Alene and Jesuits engaged in the farming activities and noted the presence of twenty cows, sixteen oxen, ninety pigs (Stevens 1900:389), a good number of horses and mules with a prairie of two to three thousand acres and five hundred inhabitants (Beal and Wells 1959:214). (Dozier1961:32). Father DeSmet brought in 12 pack animals from Fort Walla Walla in 1845 and Fr. Ravalli an additional 22 pack animals to outfit the growing mission system.

Along with their acceptance of religion, the Coeur d'Alene proved amenable to farming. They had always gathered plants such as camas, water potatoes, and various berries. With their quasi-horticulture practices of gathering and possibly transferring camas bulbs and wapato the Coeur d'Alene were well prepared for an agriculture lifestyle. A traveling German Botanist, Charles Geyer saw potato cultivation along the Coeur d'Alene River years earlier, before the Jesuit teaching in 1843 (Frey 2001:20). With the demonstration of successful agriculture by the brothers of the mission, the Coeur d'Alene

quickly saw the benefits of farming. As retold by Father Thomas Connelly of the Desmet Mission of the Sacred Heart, a tradition was begun in which the brothers usually would plow the grounds surrounding the mission and the young Coeur d'Alene would sow the seed (Thomas Connelly, S.J. 2006, pers. comm.). Later, during harvest, the Coeur d'Alene would slash and dry the crops, then tread it so that the cereals fell apart, and finally the process would end with the use of the mission's grinding wheel as supervised by the brothers. In this way, the Jesuits started the Coeur d'Alene's transition from old customs followed for many hundreds of years to farming which was deemed more practical and productive by Euro-American standards.

Even though the new mission site had all the indications of a harmonious future, the move north hastened conflict with the government and encroachment from settlers. In 1854, construction of the Mullan Road began; running from the Columbia River to the Missouri River, it barreled right through Coeur d'Alene country. The road construction ultimately proved to be a notable instance of unified tribal opposition to the wishes of the Jesuits (Dozier 1961:35), because the Coeur d'Alene knew what the road would bring.

In 1855 Governor Stevens arranged a gathering of western tribes in Walla Walla for what would be known as the Walla Walla Treaty. Governor Stevens envisioned a system of reservations in Washington and Idaho that consolidated various regional tribes. The Coeur d'Alene were not invited, because at that time Gov. Stevens was focused on establishing the first two reservations for the six tribes in attendance, the Nez Perce, Palouse, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Yakima. Governor Stevens later met with the Coeur d'Alene for the same purpose, observing two hundred and fifty tribal members processing camas, on his way to the Flathead, Pend Oreille, and Kootenai tribes for the same purpose. None of Gov.

Stevens' plans came to fruition, however, since the Yakima, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Palouse tribes threatened the peace (Dozier 1961:48)

The Mullan Road, and the railroad which was intended to follow, were openings for the mass immigration of settlers and pioneers. Lieutenant John Mullan and his crew of surveyors stopped by the mission looking for guides to assist their planning of routes. Fathers Joset and Ravalli agreed to help him and called upon tribal members. However, none would aid Lt. Mullan's efforts—the tribe would not even give verbal suggestions (Stevens 1955:35). The Coeur d'Alene loathed these men who represented white settlers coming to take their lands and the Jesuits feared the men would corrupt their work. Fr. Joset may have done something at this early time had he been able to foresee the events that would leave the Coeur d'Alene powerless in their homeland. This left Fr. Joset's only recourse to orchestrate just treaties and prepare the Coeur d'Alene for their eventual acculturation.

On the 16th of August 1859, the Mullan Road reached Cataldo Mission. The road was far from completed, but it had already affected the Coeur d'Alene. The tribes of the Inland Northwest felt the encroaching settlers and sought to retaliate. The Jesuits were constantly forced to act as mediators, which they reluctantly did, fearing the repercussions from alienating either side (McKevitt 2005). While the federal intrusions angered the Coeur d'Alene, Fr. Joset had them agree to withhold from hostilities. Though persuasive, the Jesuits were not always able to prevent hostile actions. With or without the Jesuits, the entire region was faced with a steady arrival of settlers, which began a period of wars and subsequent treaties, some of which the Coeur d'Alene participated in.

The constant conflict was sparked by the spread of non-natives, something that jeopardized the mission's peaceful co-existence with the Coeur d'Alene. Since the mission is just off the old and well-used Yellowstone Trail, it saw a good number of travelers, most of

whom simply continued on to the Pacific Coast. It was only a matter of time until men like Captain John Mullan would be assigned to map and make roadways through the Idaho Territory to accommodate more traffic. Captain Mullan's work began in 1860 and was a long and arduous process that was halted for the span of the Civil War and various Indian wars. After multiple delays, Mullan was reassigned to finish the road that ultimately saw little or no use and need for repeated repairs.

The Coeur d'Alene at the mission, Jesuits, and Capt. Mullan saw firsthand what the future beheld when Capt. Mullan's corps arrived at the mission and one of his men started a rumor of gold on the nearby knoll. Captain Mullan, who was afraid of loosing his men to gold rushes elsewhere, allowed them to prospect around the mission, but they would have no luck. By the end of the sudden craze the father at the time had hid the man (Charles Wilson) responsible for fear of a lynch mob (Woodworth-Ney 2004:81). So while the Coeur d'Alene had already experienced the practices of Euro-American trappers and traders, who were kept from their territories, they now witnessed Euro-Americans in search of something completely foreign to the tribe's culture.

The eventual steps towards total, forced, acculturation came about as the result of several Jesuit mediations with the Government. In this capacity, the Jesuits unintentionally established the foundation for power over the tribe in the years to come. It was not the Jesuits who actively sought ways to subdue the Coeur d'Alene, but rather the filling of gaps produced by government issues and policies. Although there are mixed opinions, the Jesuits are believed to have rejected more than one of the government's attempts to have the Jesuits assist in establishing control over the Coeur d'Alene (McKevitt 2005:693). Still, the Jesuit's role as mediators was broached with the Cayuse-Whitman Massacre in 1847. It is clear the

Jesuits held the peace and the protection of the Coeur d'Alene as their foremost concern. It is also abundantly clear that as time progressed, their influence markedly deteriorated.

The peace understanding between the Jesuits and Coeur d'Alene was suspended in 1858 when Lieutenant Colonel Edward Steptoe and a small troop proceeded into Coeur d'Alene territory without forewarning (Burns1966). Previously in 1855, Governor Stevens came to the mission to seek peace under the threat of growing hostilities. The result was an understanding the Coeur d'Alene would remain neutral so long as government forces did not cross the Snake River (Dozier 1961:49). Also during this time Yakima Chief Kamiakan had come east in order to rile up the Interior Salish nations (Dozier 1961:50). Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe's objective was the pacification of the hostile Yakimas and Palouse who had murdered miners near Colville (Kip 1859:68). In response, Lt. Col. Steptoe evidently felt a strong show of force could intimidate the tribes.

While traveling north, Lt. Col. Steptoe's small troop caught sight of a hostile band under Palouse Chief Tilcoax. Giving chase, the small army troop threatened Tilcoax's band as well as a Coeur d'Alene band digging camas. This proved too much for the Coeur d'Alene who then joined a multi-tribal coalition that would later decimate half of Lt. Col. Steptoe's command. After the Coeur d'Alene allowed the surviving column to retreat to Fort Walla Walla Lt. Col. Steptoe informed General Clarke who instructed Colonel Wright on the forthcoming reprisal (Frey 2001:81). While Fr. Joset had nearly assured a peace, not without reparations, the Battle of Steptoe Butte had embittered some Coeur d'Alene so strongly the father and Vincent had only fifty men who chose to seek peace (Dozier 1961:67). This separation, though minor in size, angered a prominent Coeur d'Alene, Milkapsi, who vowed to remove the Jesuits and their supporters after he had done the same to the Americans (Dozier 1961:67).

This conflict led to the march of General Wright's army through the Inland Northwest, beginning at Fort Walla Walla and ending at the Coeur d'Alene Mission with the tribe's unconditional surrender. His objective was the pacification of all the Indian tribes who participated in the Battle of Pine Creek. His march resulted in a few battles in which the army proved superior. On two occasions, Father Joset had tried to convince the tribe it was not wise to fight. The first occurred when Joset traveled to the Steptoe battlefield where Coeur d'Alene constantly warned he was not safe as many of the other tribes were intent on war. Pro-war factions influenced by Tilcoax hampered Fr. Joset's attempts at mediation. Even prominent Coeur d'Alene Chief Vincent was spurred to battle saying, "I had no intention to fight, but at seeing the corpse of my brother-in-law I lost my head" (Burns 1966:283). By this time, Joset had recognized defeat and returned to the Mission dismayed. The second time occurred when he tried to dissuade the Coeur d'Alene from joining the battles against General Wright. The tribe's joining the battles left the Jesuits with little recourse, having aggravated the government in a battle they could not win.

The disastrous campaign against Wright led to a "permanent" peace with the Coeur d'Alene and the United States. The Coeur d'Alene would later refuse to join two conflicts, upholding their agreement, the latter of which was Chief Joseph the Younger's war with the United States in 1877. Even the Father Gregorio Gazzoli blamed the United States for inciting the Nez Perce war, citing the lack of both truth and honesty (McKevitt 2005:693). Still, Fathers Joset and Ravalli along with Chief Seltice had a hard time convincing the younger men not to fight. The young men, angry from seeing their land disappearing and the government's lack of action would readily have participated in a battle, had the Steptoe debacle not had such a lasting affect.

Wright's treaty gave the Jesuits authority they had not sought and a role they disdained as the middlemen between their "neophytes" and the government. It was the Coeur d'Alene's ill-advised reactions to government policies that ultimately stripped them of their sovereignty. The only option left to them was to rely on the Jesuits for assistance with the government even though the Jesuits had little or no influence once the government had put the tribes onto reservations. The Coeur d'Alene were one of few tribes who actually sought a reservation. It was under the Jesuit guidance the Coeur d'Alene saw the possible benefits of life on a reservation. Oddly enough, for all their wants the Coeur d'Alene were unable to secure an agreement until much later.

The government's exertion of power started in 1867 with an executive order mandating that land was to be set aside for the Coeur d'Alene with designated boundaries. This first reservation treaty signed by President Andrew Johnson was only about 20 square miles. While the Executive Order was penned in 1867, it was not until 1873 that the Coeur d'Alene became aware of it (Dozier 1961:36,88) (Figure 3.9). They immediately petitioned the government and refused to accept such a small amount of land. In 1872 the Department of Interior's Office of Indian Affairs published a census of eight neighboring tribes of the southern Columbia Plateau. Of these tribes the Coeur d'Alene had the second highest population (n=700), marginally less that the Spokane (n=725) (Raufer 1966:136). Assuredly, the Jesuits played a role in drafting the Coeur d'Alene's terms, as the land boundaries would include the Cataldo Mission. At this stage, the Jesuits held no power or reassurance for the tribe. The tribe could only look to the government for answers. As such, the future of the Coeur d'Alene was finally held in the government's hands.

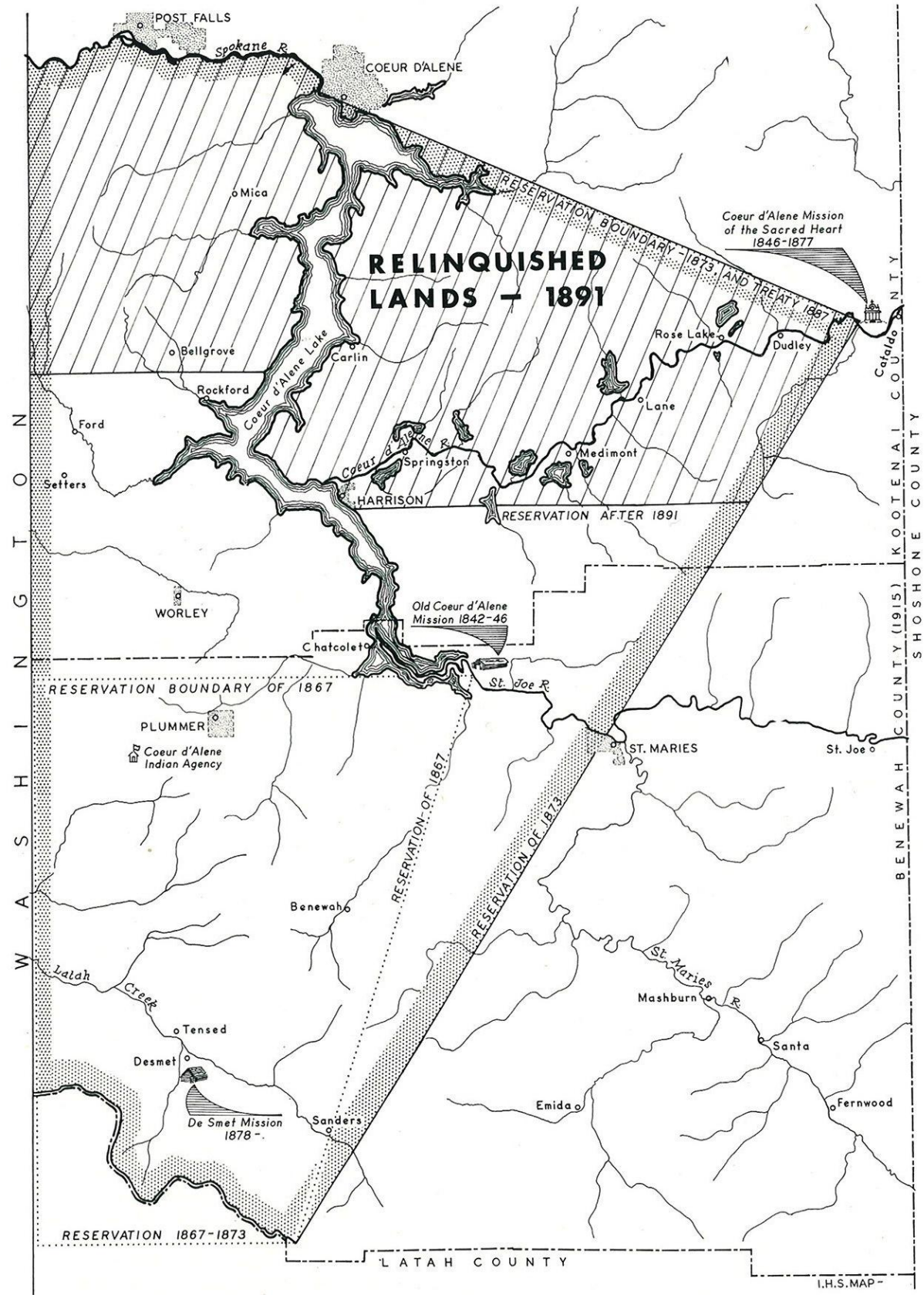

Figure 3.9: Map of the various Coeur d'Alene reservation boundaries (Dozier 1962:6).

After the Coeur d'Alene expressed discontent with the 1867 Executive Order, the United States government took steps to reallocate Coeur d'Alene land and policies, taking the tribe's requests into consideration. This revamped agreement was intended to be a treaty when it was completed in 1873. However, President Ulysses S. Grant signed it into effect as yet another Executive Order (Dozier, 1961:91). The Executive Order lacked constitutional recognition a treaty would have, setting the Coeur d'Alene up for future hardships and tribulations. The Coeur d'Alene recognized the problem and voiced it, but all they received was Grant's wish to enact the recommendations to protect the land from the whites.

The ever-increasing divergence of trust between the Coeur d'Alene-Jesuits and Euro-Americans forced the relocation of the Mission of the Sacred Heart a third and final time. The massive influx of white Euro-American settlers and prospectors following the Steptoe-Wright campaigns in addition to the frail political ties between the two nations necessitated the removal of the mission. Unlike the original Mission Point or later Desmet locations, the Coeur d'Alene Mission was nearer to earlier significant Euro-American influences. While the Jesuits distained interactions that could undermine their gradual pace of acculturation it is also noted that the growing Coeur d'Alene populace at the mission was believed to have reached the carrying capacity of the Mission Flats (Dozier 1961:37). This alone is a rather unfounded idea, considering the abundant flat acreage in the Mission Flats, nonetheless it served as another compelling force. The factor that most likely attributed to the move was the isolated nature of the mission that hampered access to markets. Though nearly all of North Idaho was still quite remote the Coeur d'Alene Mountains and River were no longer obstacles at Desmet.

Although the Jesuit's option for relocation was still within the Coeur d'Alene ancestral territory (in fact, it lay within a traditional camas digging area) the Coeur d'Alene at

the mission had no interest in moving. This may, in some way, indicate the continued reliance on their traditional territories and cultural practices when the norm set forth by South American Jesuits and American Protestants meant to establish strict agriculturally based societies. While the Mission Flats and riverbanks downstream offered good opportunity of their semi-agrarian pursuits, the prairies of the Palouse offered incomparable farmland and the possibility for relying solely on agriculture and animal husbandry in addition to horses. This final opposition to the Jesuits at the Coeur d'Alene Mission signifies the tribe's continued reliance on their cultural transhumance practices in the mountains around the mission. While, in the early days, the Coeur d'Alene would be able to fish salmon, dig camas, hunt big game, and pick berries from their new homes near Desmet, they would no longer have such easy access to the mountains or the bison on the east slopes in Montana. Indeed, to a lesser degree than before, the Coeur d'Alene were seen traveling east of the Bitterroot Mountains for buffalo well after the relocation to Desmet.

What is clear is that by the late 1870s the relationship between the Jesuits and the Coeur d'Alene had frayed. For many years the two groups had built a solid working relationship that incorporated both new and old subsistence methods, but by the time of the third move of the mission, there was considerable opposition from a good portion of the Coeur d'Alene. Certainly some of this tension is attributable to external factors; white immigration to the region and changes in government policies towards Indians placed both the Jesuits and the Coeur d'Alene in positions they had not chosen. The continued deterioration of the initial relationship would lead to the loss of cultural values that most people are now commonly familiar with, like the invention of the Soldiers of the Sacred Heart or the boarding schools restriction of cultural identity.

The Move to Desmet, 1878

In 1878 Fr. Alexander Diomedi removed members of the tribe to the town of Desmet. This was an act against the wishes of Fr. Joset (Palmer 1999:15, 22); even Fr. Cataldo was unable to order the tribe to relocate to Desmet. The proceeding thirty some years had allowed for the next Coeur d'Alene generation to come of age, those educated by the Jesuits and the ever-encroaching Euro-American settlers. After Chief Vincent observed the younger tribal members interest in the move he relinquished his position just so he did not have to give the order (Stevens 1955:52). This act allowed Andrew Seltis to ascend, becoming the first chief to reperesent the entire tribe (Manring 1912:124).

When it became apparent Fr. Cataldo was unwilling to carry out the order, the superiors sent Fr. Diomedi to persuade the Coeur d'Alene to relocate to the Palouse (Dozier 1961:39). While the tribe resisted at first, it only took a series of debates for the Coeur d'Alene to change their minds. After first failing to convince the Coeur d'Alene at the mission, Fr. Diomedi traveled to the Spokane Bridge and with relative ease convinced Chief Andrew Seltis and his followers to move. Still the Coeur d'Alene at the mission refused to leave. At this point Fr. Diomedi decided to transport the religious ornaments to Desmet, demonstrating his commitment to the move. It was then, on his return to the mission Fr. Diomedi was finally able to convince a majority of the tribe to relocate. Even this apparent victory is not without consequences, since the majority of those in favor of the move were a younger generation (Palmer 2001:34; Stevens 1955:52) and were disregarding the wishes of tribal elders who now sought a culture based more on subsistence and location.

The tribe's arrival at Desmet brought about a deviation from previous Jesuit practices. First, Seltis, who had arrived in the Palouse earlier and had distinguished himself during the Steptoe-Wright campaigns, was elected as the tribal chief; the first time a single Coeur

d'Alene represented the entire tribe (Dozier 1961:42). Following this the Jesuits sought the Sisters of Charity of Providence in Montréal, an Ursuline order, to found a school to educate the Coeur d'Alene youth. The move also brought the Coeur d'Alene into an environment where Euro-Americans were common along with their vices, allowing potential for some of the tribe to become ensnared in gambling and drinking. Ultimately, the work fathers Point, Joset, Ravalli, and Cataldo had conducted reverted in a short period of time, creating yet another avenue for the new Jesuits to pacify the Coeur d'Alene.

Although this statement may seem contrary to the perceived notion of the Jesuit order, it was not until 1877 when Father Alexander Diomedi, of a new breed of Jesuit, started enacting fundamental changes in the west. Father Diomedi strove to remove historically accepted cultural practices from the Coeur d'Alene culture, relying instead on strict agriculture. With the Coeur d'Alene move to Desmet in 1878, Fr. Diomedi did away with the modified Reduction Plan, and instead encouraged open settlement. On the one hand this appears to have offered the Coeur d'Alene more independence, but actually allowed the Jesuits consolidate their overall grasp on tribal activities. This is evidenced by the creation of the Soldiers of the Sacred Heart.

The later coming of Jesuits, during the late 19th and early 20th Century, utilized the authority, gained through tribal destabilization caused by federal government practices and policies to control the Coeur d'Alene. Such controls and stipulations had never been sent forth before (Stevens 1955:55). These later Jesuit fathers, Alexander Diomedi and Joseph Carnuana, appreciated such a quick turn of events as they busily set the Coeur d'Alene at Desmet on a course of rapid assimilation through boarding schools and policies enforced by their own standing army, the Soldiers of the Sacred Heart, much like other Catholic missionaries of the Southwest.

These later American Jesuits emphasized economic productivity as much as godliness. While the early Jesuits undoubtedly had strict, or at the very least, serious temperaments their main goal was to spread the word of God. The Coeur d'Alene living at the time of Cataldo were not forced to adhere to the Catholic faith or abandon large portions of their cultural identity; indeed the Coeur d'Alene came and went along their seasonal hunting and gathering cycles, utilizing the landscape, the one thing that bound their traditional culture (Dozier 1961:34; Weaver 1976:48; Kowrach 1999:189-191).

The Coeur d'Alene's case was revisited in 1885 by the House of Representative and the Senate who decided the Coeur d'Alene would keep the reservation lands established in the Executive Order of 1873 and that the government would pay $150,000 for ceded lands (Dozier 1961). Yet the plan fell through. The cause of the Coeur d'Alene was once again taken up in 1888. This time a treaty was more appropriate, still the Coeur d'Alene lost ownership of some lands, but at least this time they were paid. They also bargained for the stipulations of the Treaty of 1887 to be included. This treaty was more acceptable to the Coeur d'Alene for they had finally secured a future for their tribe that was at least partially under Coeur d'Alene direction.

The final step for the government's assimilation was the Dawes Act of 1877. The act was implemented on the Coeur d'Alene reservation in 1909; just one year after the Treaties of 1894 and 1908 finalized problematic issues of the 1889 treaty (Stevens 1955:77,78). The Dawes act is better understood as the General Allotment Act, a policy, which assumed Indians, would take more interest in their lands if they owned them (Stevens, 1955). White neighbors of the Coeur d'Alene reservation had called for private land ownership or the idea of land use in severalty as early as 1886. Whites felt the Jesuits were exploiting the Coeur d'Alene, forcing their own agendas of community and land ownership, and that the tribe

would be at an advantage if they owned their own land as white people (Dozier 1961:97). It is noted that after the removal to the Desmet area, the Coeur d'Alene demonstrated adept framing practices, even to the point many hired whites as laborers (Frey 2001:73-75). But still, the Coeur d'Alene were seen hunting in the Coeur d'Alene Mountains well into the 1900s (Frey 2001:67). The Coeur d'Alene farms were short lived; once the allotment act was finally instituted their infrastructure collapsed (Frey 2001:93-94). When, as "homesteaders," the Coeur d'Alene were unable to improve all the land they had, thus forfeiting more land to the United States Government and rendering them (Controneo and Dozier 1974).

The enactment of the Dawes Act in 1909 was the Federal government's last step in pushing the Coeur d'Alene and other Native Americans to assimilate. After the enactment of the Allotment Act, the Coeur d'Alene no longer had the ability to manage their lands. The House and Senate conducted the Dawes Act either in earnest to help the Coeur d'Alene progress culturally or to further exploit resources under the tribes' control.

Concluding Points

The history and culture of post-colonial contact in North America was shaped by those who were first to come. It was in this spirit that miners, trappers, homesteaders, traders, and missionaries were able to touch native cultures before mainstream of society could. While not all of these groups used this naivety for the best, no one group had a solely positive or negative impact. The Coeur d'Alene Tribe fulfilled their two main goals of Jesuit interaction, obtaining firearms and managing culture shock as a result of disease, Euro-American settlers, and an expanding government.

There are a few ways to observe the position of the Jesuits. First, is the realization on the part of the Jesuits that the Interior Northwest's geography was unlike South America where the Reduction plan was successful. The mountains, forests, and rivers made life

difficult, trade challenging, communication took time for responses from Europe, and the travel required to keep up with nomadic bands was exhausting (Weaver 1976:19,25). Then, there is the more personal attitude the Jesuits affected, something not present during the late 1500s in South America. The Suppression of the Jesuits was long enough to start the order anew, without the aid of experienced leadership they relied upon old theses and a renewed zeal for the task of mission work. This fervor was then surrounded with glamor, danger, and adventure (McKevitt 2005) that also harbored a *laissez faire* attitude. As a formerly persecuted order, the Jesuits surely, at some level, comprehended the Native American situation and were willing to assist whereas Protestant faiths (Dozier 1961:46), with their staunch application of religion and civilization, fashioned on the Great Awakening, were less inclined to sympathize.

Lastly, the Jesuits realized that pushing the Coeur d'Alene to acculturate too fast would have drastic cultural effects. A path that could either distance the pairing or risk open hostilities with a well-armed tribe. An additional aspect of rapid acculturation meant that the mission at Cataldo could only produce so much food by way of agriculture; without the food to feed a centralized populace there was no hope of fulfilling the a strict Reduction plan.

Perhaps the Coeur d'Alene and Jesuit relationship would have been more successful had the Jesuits not assumed more and more power through a series circumstances resulting from broader United States expansionism. While there are many reasons for this change, it is necessary to acknowledge the idea that the Coeur d'Alene were an autonomous people in 1848. The Coeur d'Alene were a people who made their own choices and in doing so were responsible for directing their future, as much as anyone can. The Coeur d'Alene did not blindly follow the Jesuits. The Coeur d'Alene chose not to assist Captain John Mullan's 1854-1859 road building in front of the Jesuits. Whether the Coeur d'Alene knew such an

act could generate goodwill or not they clearly saw the onslaught of settlement. Just as with the Jesuits, the Coeur d'Alene were undoubtedly aware of the events at the Waiilatpu Mission and the outcome bore on the Cayuse. When the Coeur d'Alene participated along side the Cayuse, Yakima, and Spokane, in the Steptoe Disaster of 1858, Fr. Joset's continued council put himself in harms way in open opposition with the Cayuse and Yakima where any manner of misfortune could befall him. However, after such a 'victory' why would the Coeur d'Alene listen to Fr. Joset's renewed pleas and not confront Col. Wright the following year in the Spokane Valley. Colonel Wright's subsequent treaty, after a resounding defeat, is what finally reduced the Coeur d'Alene to a ward of the Jesuits. While the change of events would have had unknown outcomes, it is likely the omission of a military campaign would have helped the Coeur d'Alene situation. Even with the rampant anti-Catholicism seen throughout the United States at the time, the Jesuits were able to mostly protect the tribe.

Of all the groups adventuring out west, the Jesuits were the only people unaffiliated with the governments of Canada or the United States, or its people, who endured the wilderness for any length of time. The missionary zeal for the wilds was a characteristic unmatched in the other, more Protestant, faiths scouring the Rockies. The benefit of the European Jesuit's perspective was the focus on religion for religion's sake, a representation of the apparent ideology that civilization did not require total acculturation. The Coeur d'Alene, through prophecy and need, looked to the Jesuits to assist them in a time of confusion and great change, while the Jesuits labored to fulfill their motto s*umus primo pro indianis*. In so doing, both parties formed a relationship early on with relative parity; the Coeur d'Alene held reverence for the Jesuits spirituality while maintaining sovereignty. Only after the inevitable expansion of the United States and its growing governance, did a series of federally mandated actions amend their relationship in a way that the Jesuits became

the stewards of the Coeur d'Alene with unjust powers the later Jesuits utilized once at Desmet.

The story of the devotion of the Catholic Coeur d'Alene continues today with their Feast of the Assumption Pilgrimage every August 15th to the Cataldo Mission. By this act, the Coeur d'Alene retrace their steps to the Old Mission in order to remember past days of sovereignty, because when they left Cataldo, their same familiar church did not follow them to the Palouse.

CHAPTER 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD OF CATALDO

From 1846 until 1877, the Coeur d'Alene-Jesuit relationship was intentionally cultivated with patience at what Jesuit historian Wilfred Schoenberg has identified the "St. Peter's Basilica for tribes of the interior" (Woodworth-Ney 1996:54). The Jesuits had come to realize a speedy acculturation would shatter their relationship and only distance the Coeur d'Alene (Weaver 1976:19). Ultimately, this relationship came undone in 1877 with the collaborative efforts of younger Coeur d'Alene, under the guidance of new American Jesuits, who decided to relocate to the fertile fields surrounding Hangman Creek near present-day Desmet, Idaho (Palmer 1998:322). While the deterioration of the sovereign Coeur d'Alene people had started years earlier, these changes accelerated after the move to Desmet. The marked difference between the Coeur d'Alene-Jesuit relationship before and after the move means that a study of the Cataldo mission provides insight to a time that adds to, or perhaps counters, contemporary remembrance stemming from the experiences of the tribe at a different place.

In the almost one hundred years that followed the relocation to Desmet, the lands surrounding the mission saw many changes, though the mission itself remained nearly unaltered. Early in the new era after the move, the Jesuits continued to use the site as a headquarters for their work in the Northwest under the guidance of the new Superior of the Pacific Northwest Missions, Father Cataldo. All the while the land south of the mission down on the flats had become a bustling, almost town. A group of hotels and stores opened that catered to the steamboats that worked their way up the river from the lake and the narrow gauge railroad that took settlers and prospectors further up the beginnings of the Silver Valley (Figure 4.1). Once the mission grounds outlived their usefulness as a headquarters, the land was leased to Mathew Hayden in 1883 with a contract for five years at

$400 a year (Hayden 1887:3). The agreement was short-lived as squatters soon came in to set up bars and boarding houses in order to service the prospectors and miners. The undertakings of these early pioneers led to an ecological disaster in 1912 when a spring flood broke a mining dam just south of Wardner, Idaho on the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene, littering the downstream farm land with mine tailings, decimating homestead viability. In 1918, six years after the incident, the Mine Owners Association, having lost a court battle, bought the impacted lands (Carriker 1987:9).

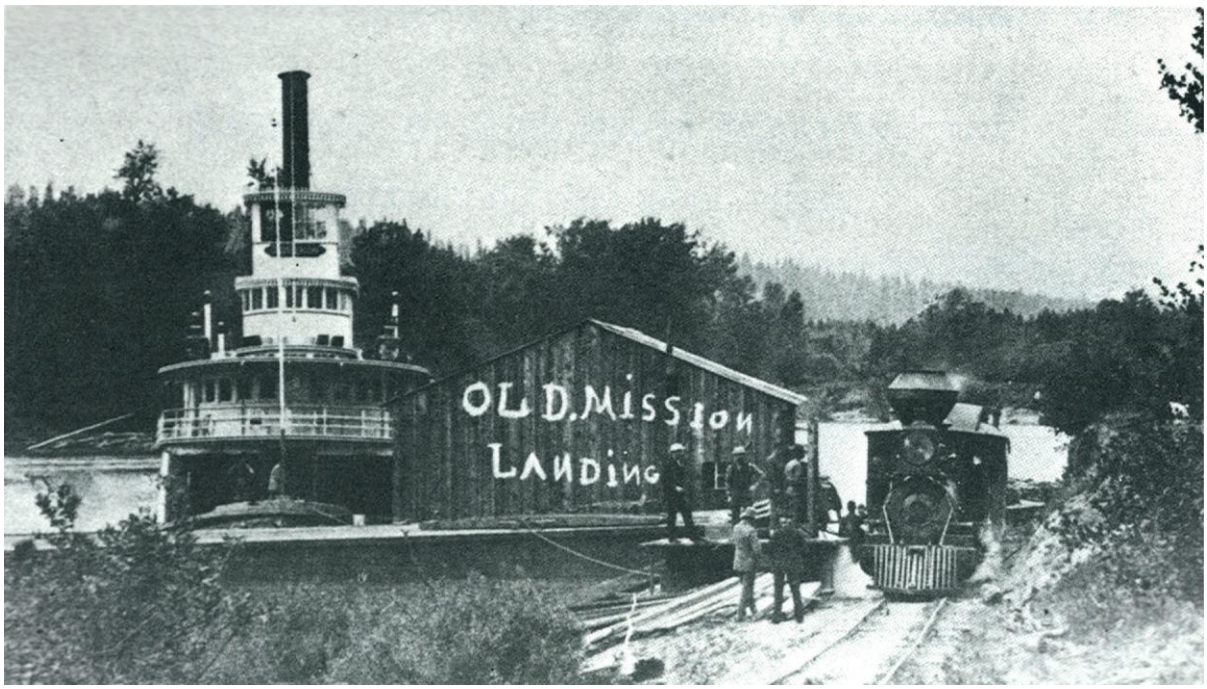

Figure 4.1: Historic photograph showing the meeting of a steamboat and a railroad engine at the mission landing (Kowrach 1999:261).

This was the final act concerning the mission as it once was. The lands now had no practical use after the decimation of its farming potential. The mission and lands soon fell into disrepair, often frequented by vagrants, adding yet another colorful page to the site's history and the archaeological record of the place. Much-needed restorations took place in 1926, including work on the foundation, floors, walls, paintings, and roof of the mission and the relocation of the adjoining parish house on to a new foundation (Weaver 1976:55). The

local community was responsible for the early restoration project. The Knights of Columbus of Idaho were the primary sponsors, but civic communities throughout North Idaho and Spokane contributed. However, without any constant presence or purpose, the mission once again began deteriorating during the 1930s.

Archaeological History

The earliest archaeological work at the Mission took place in 1958 when Donald R. Tuohy researched the proposed route of a natural gas pipeline. Though two articles were generated from the fieldwork, few artifacts were recovered (Figure 4.2) (Tuohy 1958a, 1958b) The articles were published in *Idaho Yesterdays'* "Horseshoes and Handstones: The Meeting of History and Prehistory at the Old Mission of the Sacred Heart," and *Tebiwa's* "An Archeological Survey of Several Natural Gas Pipeline Laterals in Washington and Idaho." The research and subsequent articles centered upon the transition from the prehistoric to the historic period on the Mission's grounds.

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTIFACTS

Sites and Suggested Dates

CONTACT GOODS	Present 1877-1850 Mission Area	1850-1800 Site 2	pre-1800 (?) Site 1
Metal Objects	X	X	
Door Lock	X		
Chisel	X		
Horse Shoe	X		
Ox Shoe	X		
Square Nails	X		
Bottle Glass	X	X	
Crockery	X	X	
Chinaware	X	X	
INDIAN ARTIFACTS			
Cracked Rocks		X	X
Pestles	X	X	
Hand Stones	X	X	
Mauls		X	
Celts			X
Abraders			X
Hammers	X	X	X
Knives		X	X
Choppers		X	X
Drills		X	
Points		X	
Scrapers		X	X
Sinkers	X		X

X Indicates presence of the trait.
Blanks indicate absence or no knowledge of the trait.

Figure 4.2: Donald Tuohy's 1958 findings during the pipeline project (Tuohy 1958a:25)

In 1962, the Mission once again garnered some recognition when the U.S. Department of the Interior designated it a National Historic Landmark. Following this designation, a brief archaeological undertaking took place in 1963, again under the direction of Donald Tuohy. The survey confirmed the presence of a Native American occupation area within the mission grounds (Fielder and Sprague 1974:24). The site is most probably the same location as depicted by Gustavas Sohon in his circa 1860 lithograph of the Coeur d'Alene at the Cataldo Mission. However, even with its new title, it was not until 1973 that the Idaho Bicentennial Commission decided to restore the Mission. Over the following two years, excavations were undertaken in conjunction with architectural restoration. The 1973 excavations were small and focused on architectural and renovation concerns, while the work in 1974 was more research-based. A latter addition to the site was a visitor's center built in

1978, which was managed by the Idaho State Department of Parks and Recreation. For years, the Mission on the knoll went unchanged, a place for school children to explore, couples to pledge their wedding vows, and thousands of tourists to visit.

1973 Excavations

The renovation efforts of 1973 were led by the Idaho Centennial Commission and the Idaho State Historical Society. The goal of this work was to return the Mission to something of promise and community significance. The renovation teamed Gerron Hite, an architect from the University of Hawaii with archaeologists David Rice and Roderick Sprague from the University of Idaho. Naturally the restoration focused largely on the architecture of the Mission. From an archaeological standpoint this meant that archaeological focused on determining the integrity of the church's post-in-sill foundation (Figure 4.3) (Fielder and Sprague 1973:iii).

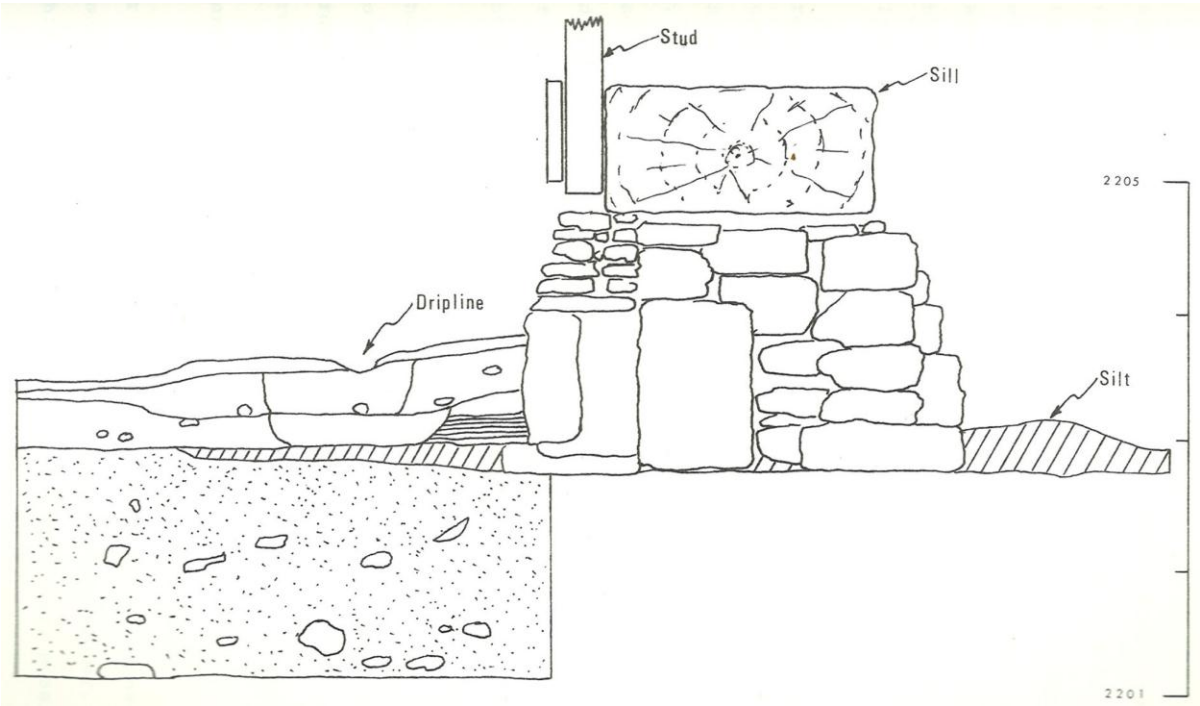

Figure 4.3: Profile of the mission's foundation, post-in-sill (Fielder and Sprague 1973:14)

In addition to testing the Mission's foundation the 1973 testing also excavated units around the Mission itself, the parsonage, two test trenches and a conducted limited surface survey (Figures 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6). The budget for the work totaled $2,583 (Neil 1974:1) and was followed by $5,765 for lab work at the University of Idaho (Sprague 1974). The excavation units were identified as Operations 1, 2, 3, and 4 after the Parks Canada method of documenting and excavating architectural features. Test pits varied in size and the exploratory trenches were 2 feet wide and as long as needed. To augment research, an additional aerial survey was used to look for evidence of buildings and remains of other construction.

Figure 4.4: A potentially undisturbed area in the process of being cleared during the summer of 1973 (Courtesy of the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology).

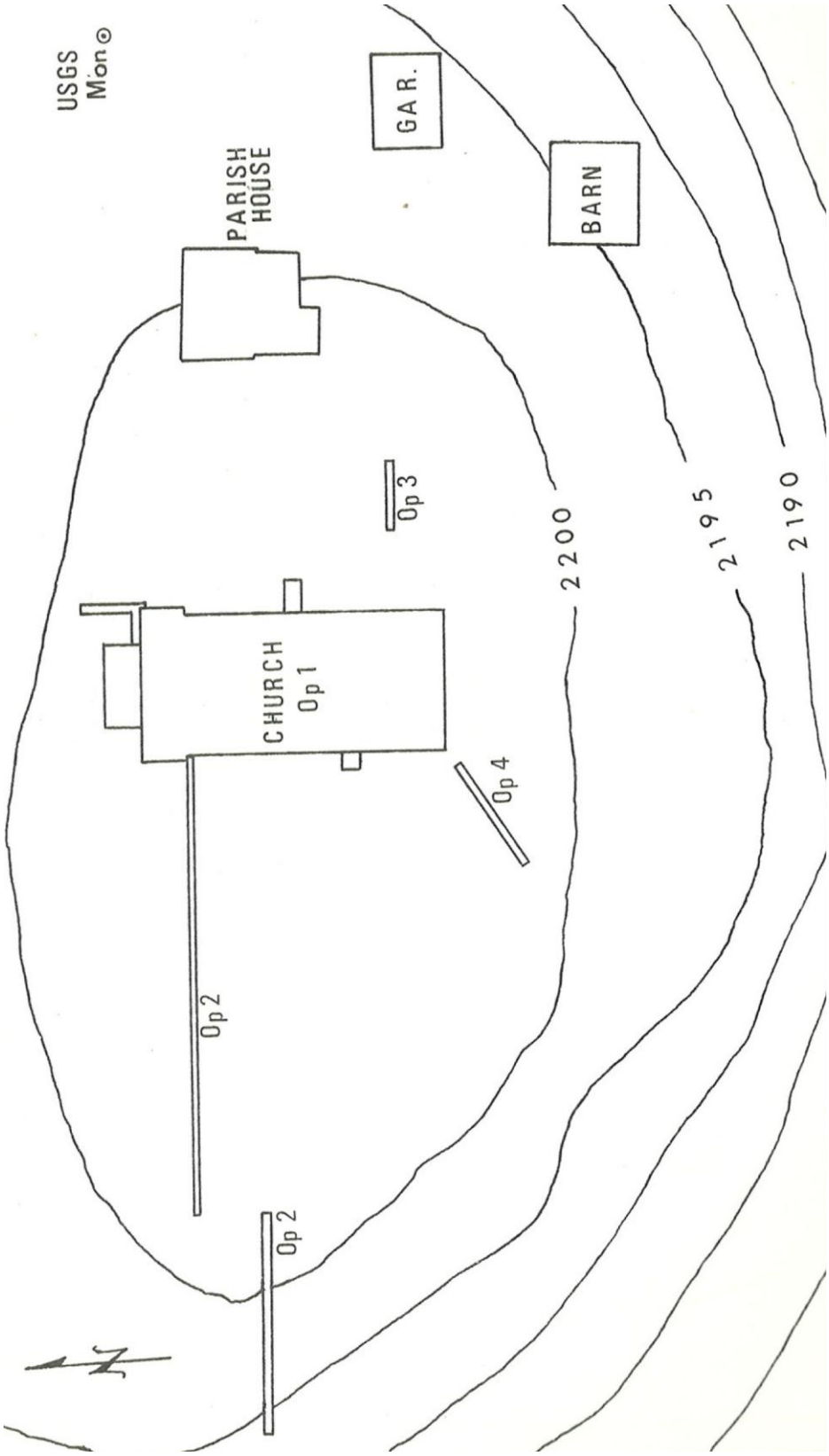

Figure 4.5: Map of 1973 excavation Operation locations (Fielder and Sprague 1973:6)

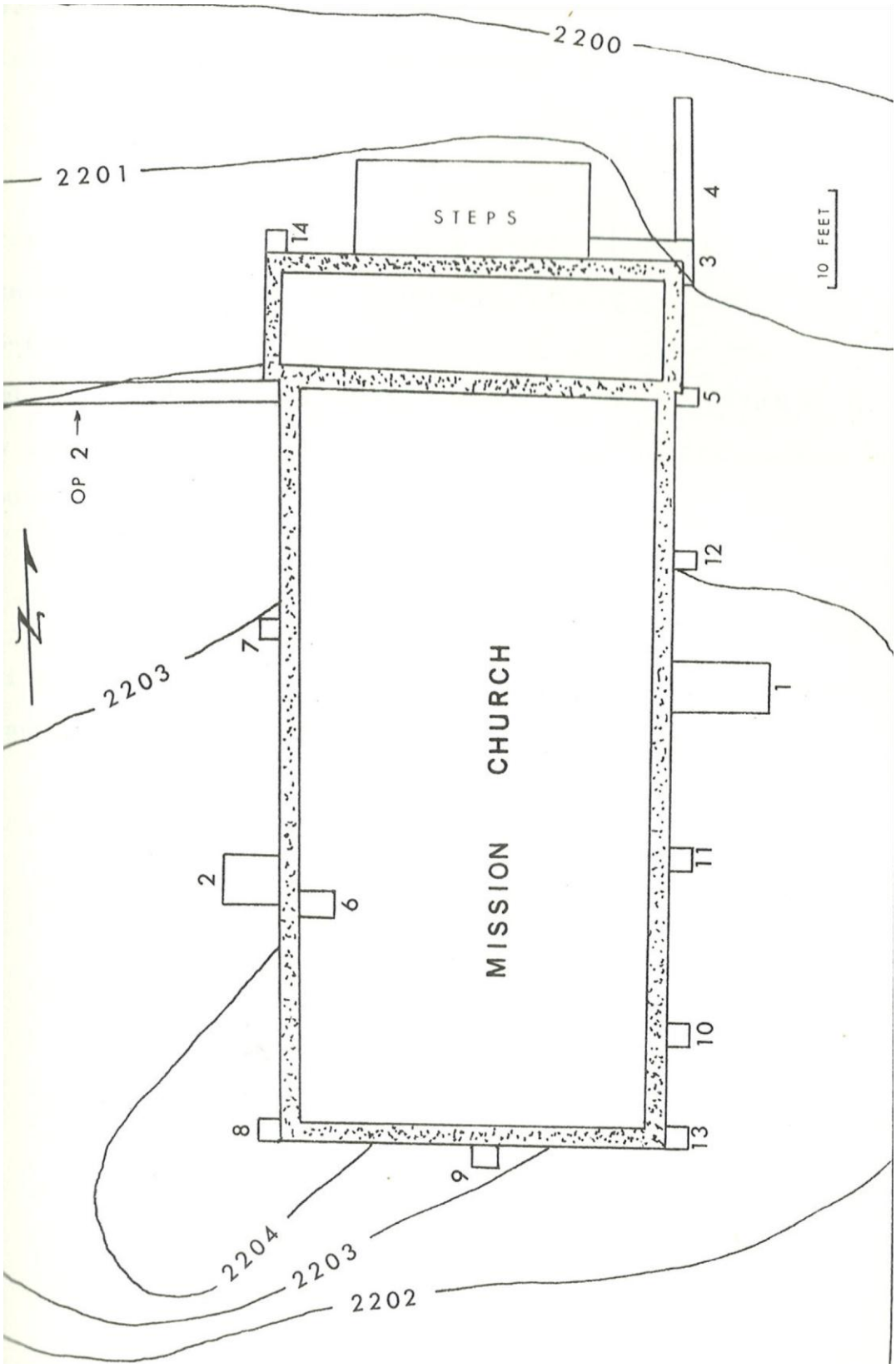

Figure 4.6: Map of 1973 Operation 1, location of 13 test units (Fielder and Sprague 1973:7)

The operation datum corners for operations 1, 2, 3, and 4 were based on a U. S. Geological Survey Sacred Heart monument marker at 2197.41 feet. Five archaeology students comprised the crew who primarily excavated with trowels but did not screen for artifacts due to time constraints. The field season took place over a 15-day period in August during which the crew noted structures, soil profiles, and visual survey observations.

Figure 4.7: An aerial overview of the mission grounds at the time of the 1973 summer renovations (Courtesy of the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology).

Operation 1, a series of 13 test pits located around the perimeter of the Mission, focused solely on the mission's foundation. This operation was the focus of all the test excavations and was used to establish the overall depth of the foundation, to determine the depth of the foundation when the Mission was constructed, to examine soil strata, and to recover any artifacts that might expose how the construction took place. Of the 13 units, one was located under the Mission's floorboards: it corresponded with an adjacent unit to create a cross-section of the foundation. The operation established that the foundation was made with

fieldstones, not river cobbles, and without a foundation trench (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). This would seem to corroborate the historical narrative of the Coeur d'Alene men and women that helped to build Cataldo who are remembered to have carried the stones from a half-mile away (Woodworth-Ney 1996:53; Kowrach 1999:48). The work was also seemingly done without mortar, although residual and alluvial silts may have been used as a plaster. The excavation under the Mission showed undisturbed soil indicative of a wooden floor early on in the building's construction.

Figure 4.8: Exploring the mission's foundation, Op 1, Lot 3 on the 18th of August 1973 (Courtesy of the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology).

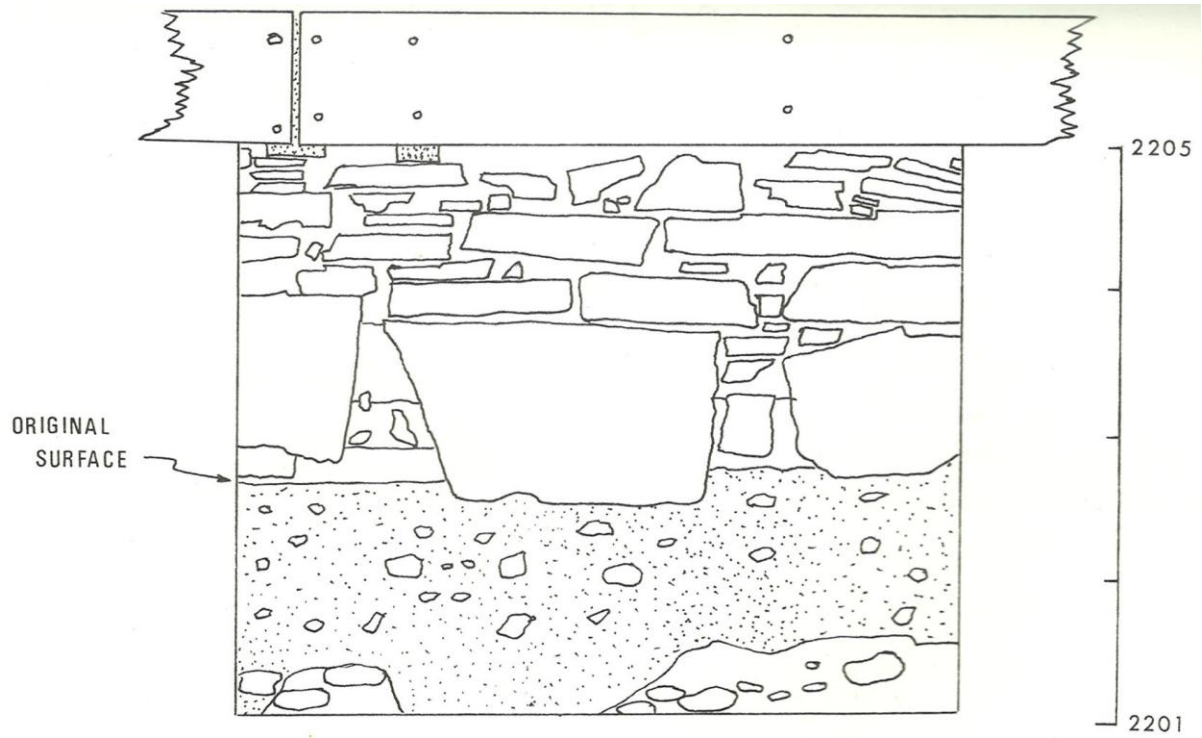

Figure 4.9: A profile of the mission's foundation, west face, Op 1, Lot 2 (Fielder and Sprague 1973:7)

Operation 2 was a two-foot wide trench anchored to the northwest corner of the Mission's foundation and ran perpendicular, westward, from the wall. The trench's first segment measured 135 feet long, the second segment started 19 feet south of the end point and continued an additional 60 feet. The combined distance of 195 feet consisted of 22 units that Rice and Sprague had hoped would contain intact archaeological materials. Numerous buildings were the targets of the exploratory trench including the parsonage barn, the brother's cabins, the kitchen, and a repair shop (Fielder and Sprague 1974:5). All of these buildings were depicted in Gustavas Sohon's circa 1860 sketch along with the parsonage, the Coeur d'Alene encampment, and the Mission itself (Figure 4.11).

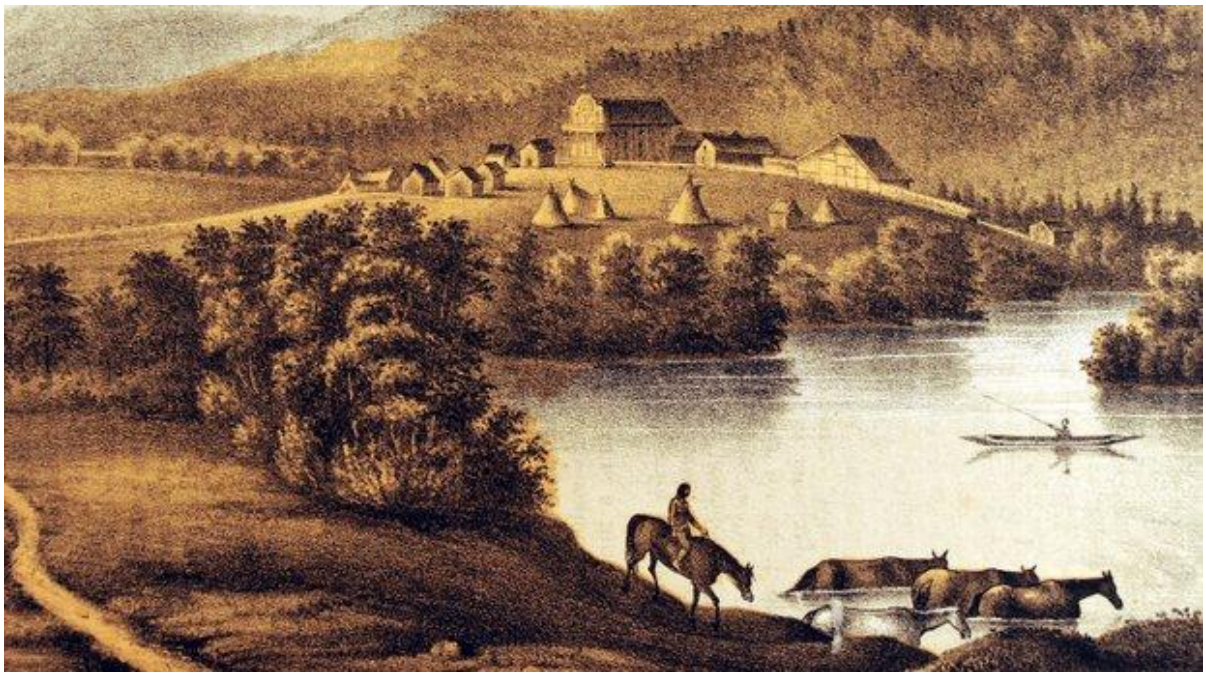

Figure 4.10: Lithograph of the Coeur d'Alene Mission by Gustavus Sohon, circa 1860, southeast aspect (Weaver 1976:42).

Some evidence of the brothers' cabins may have appeared in the trench. The timbers associated with the cabins were identified in the trench at 104 and 109 feet from the Mission. While it was assumed the timbers came from the cabins, further excavations were recommended to verify this tentative conclusion. Evidence of the barn was also surveyed in the caretaker's garden in 1973 (Fielder and Sprague 1974:5).

Operation 3 was another two-foot wide trench situated farther from the church where they hoped to uncover the remains of the well house water tank shown in a 1926 photograph. This exploratory trench ran 20 feet and succeeded in finding the reclaimed well with deposited artifacts. The excavation identified several levels of landscaping and fill from around the time of the discontinuation of the well. The deposition of artifacts suggests that the well was intentionally filled (Fielder and Sprague 1974:8).

Operation 4, another two-foot wide exploratory trench, extended from the southwest corner of the Mission across the presumed location of the parsonage that burned in 1864

(Fielder and Sprague 1974:8). The trench was 35 feet in total length and divided into seven units five feet long, excavated to a depth below the Mission's foundation. During the excavation, fieldstones like those used in the Mission's foundation were found, the apparent foundation of the parsonage. After exposing the foundation, no further excavating took place, leaving the foundation intact to be excavated at a future time (Fielder and Sprague 1973:8).

While the 1973 excavation at the Mission was focused on the architecture and locating older, raised buildings, it also yielded 1,117 artifacts; the majority of these were recognized as Euro-American. Artifact classes included ceramics, such as earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain, buttons, glass bottles including pharmaceuticals, alcohol, beverages, champagne, food preservation vessels, miscellaneous metal with coins, ecclesiastical medals, nails, and flat glass. Native American lithic artifacts recovered included projectile points, scrapers, cores, weights, flakes, pipes, pestles, and fire cracked rock (Fielder and Sprague 1973:47-52).

Fielder and Sprague's 1974 report on 1973's fieldwork had ten remarks, of which two are significant and not covered in the above discussion. First, some artifacts recovered were prehistoric in nature and some later ones show impacts Euro-Americans had on the Coeur d'Alene. An example of this would be pipes fashioned to replicate kaolin clay pipes which were popular with Euro-Americans. A second concluding remark of Fielder and Sprague was that further, and more detailed excavations were needed to best understand the questions drummed up in the test excavations. This would be fulfilled the following year when the project went from exploratory to more intensive excavations.

The work in 1974 was to be directed by George Fielder and Robert Weaver. Before the season started, however, Fielder and Weaver were called to the Mission, late February

after they were alerted that the burials of three Jesuits priests, interred under the Mission, may have been disturbed. The process of replacing the interior stone foundation with poured concrete came close to the graves. Both Fielder and Weaver decided the burials had not been disturbed and so they were covered further with dirt from the trenching along the walls. Fielder's report recommended the investigation of the burials to better locate them, troweling the areas until a lighter soil was encountered denoting the burial shafts (Fielder and Weaver 1974:2). During the visit Fielder also noted that the restoration was not adequately supervised and often conducted by unqualified persons, the foreman was not present and the only supervisor was a carpenter who was responsible for the "novice" restorers (Fielder and Weaver 1974:3).

1974 Excavations

After obtaining proof of intact archaeological deposits during the 1973 field season, additional excavations took place during the summer of 1974 in coordination with Idaho's Bicentennial Commission. That year, however, the scope was a full-scale field school of 20 students, two assistants, and a director with a budget of $23322 contributed by the University of Idaho and $20000 contributed by the Idaho Bicentennial Commission (Carter and Neal 1974:3). The season went from June 17th to August 15th, during which the community and visitors were allowed to visit the site throughout the excavation. The objectives of the season were to locate the buildings surrounding the Mission.

During these excavations, fifteen additional Operations were opened in previously unexamined areas. These include Operations 4a through 11, four of which were used as a basis for determining artifact concentration patterns. Unfortunately, a report was not compiled for this field season. A series of letters between Sprague and Henry L. Day, a wealthy and influential businessman from the Silver Valley, Idaho, best describes the

situation as a lack of follow-through by Dr. David Rice. Rice had admitted the summer's work had little return in the archaeological sense, with fewer artifacts and even less information than he had wished (Day 1976, 1977a, 1977b; Sprague 1977a,1978).

As a consequence, little information is available about how many and what kinds of artifacts were recovered. According to Sprague's field notes, 2721 artifacts were recovered from the 1974-75 season, for a total of 3838 items from the two excavations. Robert Weaver's 1976 thesis, *A Preliminary Study of Archaeological Relationships at the Mission of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to the Coeur d'Alene Indians*, helps to explain the archaeology of these two years, it is a de facto final report on the excavations. Without it the entire project, one of the few archaeological explorations to Jesuit Mission history in the northwest, would have gone largely unreported.

Under Rice's supervision, the 1974 project was to focus on the complex of structures around the Mission. Instead of supporting renovation, these excavations were intended to recover artifacts that would help interpret the history of the mission. At this time, an arbitrary boundary between sites 10KA45 (the Mission) and 10KA3 (the portion of the mission grounds that included the Coeur d'Alene's encampment) was created by the staff. The rationale was that even though the area was a single entity, the digging of a modern pipeline across the area to the south of the knoll had made the overall area confused (Weaver 1976:61). However, this separation of the site seems to have only complicated rather than clarified things. The end result is a supposed division of the Mission complex on top of the knoll and part of the Coeur d'Alene residence lower and to the north. This lower area, the possible location of the Indian encampment, is in need of further research in order to examine its relationship to the mission.

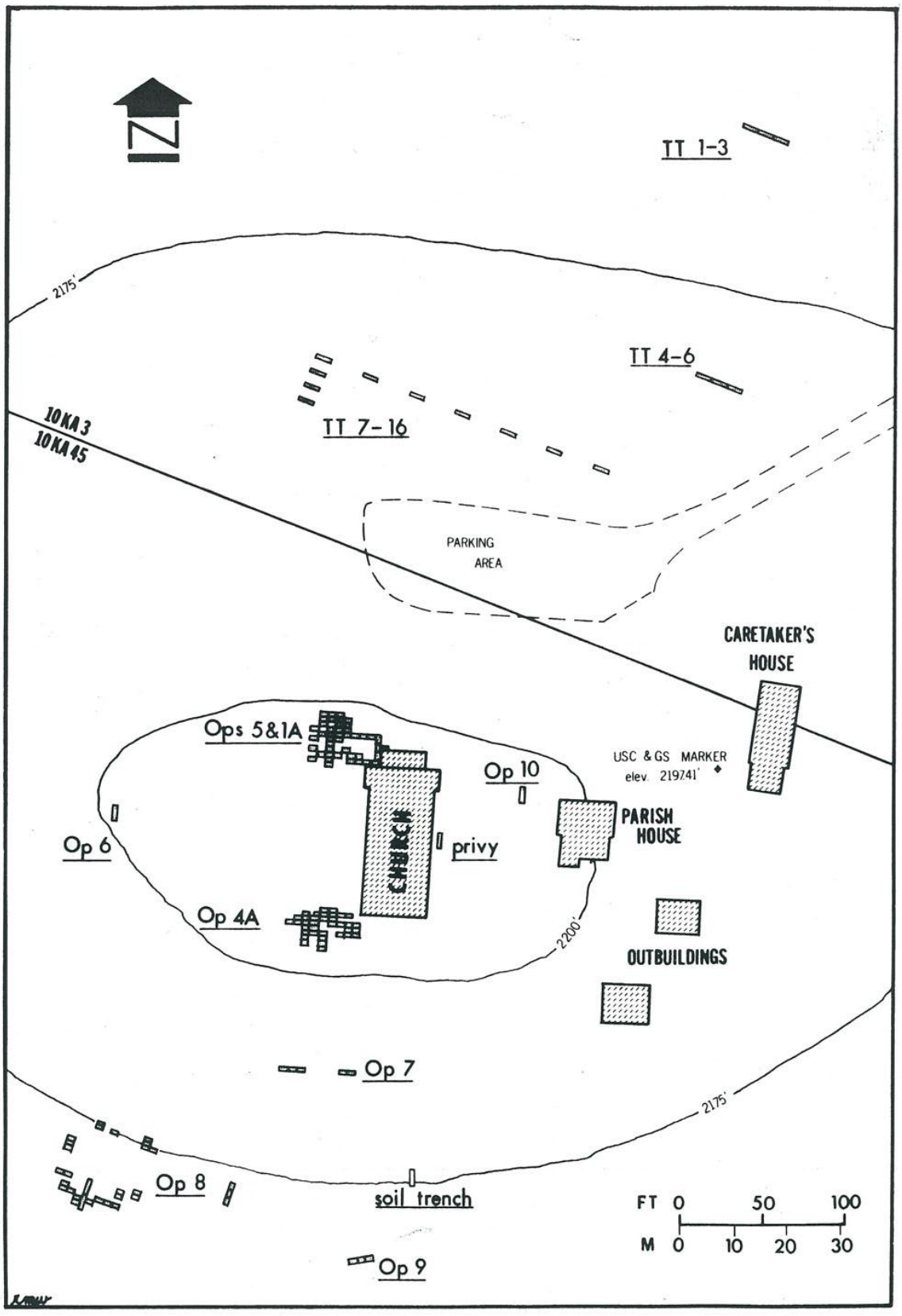

Figure 4.11: Map of 1974 excavation Operation locations (Weaver 1976:60).

The 1974 fieldwork maintained the previous methods of excavation with fifteen additional operations: 1A, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1g, 4A, 5, 6, 7a/7b, 8, 9, 10, and 11 and several test trenches 1-3, 4-6, and 7-16. Operation 4A was situated off the southwest corner of the Mission over the site of the Parsonage, or the residence of the mission Fathers. This location was identified in the 1973 excavations as a priority target for further excavation after the identification of the parsonage foundation.

Operation 5 was excavated at the request of the restoration project supervisor Gerron Hite. The hope was to locate the courtyard fence line as depicted in Father Gilmore's 1860 drawing. Remnants of the fence line were not found and it was decided the posts had been removed. However, the excavation revealed, an unexpected find: a charcoal ring with around a 23 foot external diameter, a ring width of 2-½ feet, and a depth of three to six inches. The charcoal ring's depth ranged from 9 to 15 inches below the ground surface. Archaeologists identified the ring but did not offer any possible interpretations about its purpose (Weaver 1976:65,84).

Operation 6 was located nearly 200 feet west of the Mission near the end of Operation 2 from 1973. Again, this unit was not part of Weaver's thesis, but its intention is probably tied to the recommendation of Fielder and Sprague in 1973, which was that further exploration of the area was needed where the two timbers were found (Fielder and Sprague 1974:5, 34).

Operation 8 was an area excavated close to 200 feet from the southwest corner of the Mission. The Gilmore depiction labeled the area as a blacksmith shop, harness shop, storehouse, and two unidentified buildings. Like the excavations in 1973, the objective was merely to find the complex. The excavation appears to have paid off when artifacts associated with horse drawn vehicles were uncovered (Weaver 1976:66,97).

Operation 10 was placed between the Mission and the extant Parish House. Again, little is known about this unit, but it may be related to determining the original location of the Parish House before it was moved to a new foundation during the 1928 restorations. As the Parish House was built in 1895, it was thought to be a worthy place to explore if the earlier renovations had not disturbed the archaeological record. Consequently, the building's late date was the reason this operation was not included in Weaver's thesis.

Test trenches 4-6 and 7-16 were an attempt to research the area the Coeur d'Alene are historically known to have inhabited. The area is said to have been the permanent residence of the Coeur d'Alene and was comprised of cabins and native lodges. The surface lacked any distinguishing features. The crew settled on three foot wide and two foot long trenches to explore the area from which concentrations of artifacts would denote the complex. An arbitrary unit of six inches was used for levels in units spaced 20 feet apart. The area had reportedly been disturbed by roto-tilling and plowing for crops (Weaver 1976:70,101).

Several additional operations do not correlate with the 1973 excavation and were not included in Weaver's thesis and as such, their goals cannot be ascertained. This includes operations 1A, 7, and 9 as well as Test trenches 1-3. Operation 1A was located off the northwest corner of the Mission. Operation 7 was located to the south of the Mission. Operation 9 was yet another unit far to the south of the Mission, due south of the Mission and due east of operation 8. Test trenches 1-3 were the northernmost test trenches. The intent of the trenches, like the above operations, is unknown, but as they seem to be beyond the historical area of the Coeur d'Alene encampment, the purpose may have been to find a barn at the base of the knoll. All of the operations are summarized in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

Table 4.1: Operation number, description, and locations as denoted in the summer of 1973 (Fielder and Sprague 1974:5,8).

Operation	**Association & Location**	**Time Period**
1	Mission Area – Along foundation (interior and exterior)	Mission
2	Nature and extent (Northwest corner of mission)	Mission
3	Well house	Post 1913-Pre 1920
4	Parsonage (Southwest corner of mission)	Mission

Table 4.2: Operation number, description, and locations as denoted in the summer of 1974 (Weaver 1976).

Operation	**Association & Location**	**Time Period**
1A	Mission Area – Exterior (west of the northwest corner of the mission)	Mission (Surface), Transitional (Block 7)
1B	West Sacristy	Unknown
1C	East Chapel	Unknown
1D	East Sacristy	Mission, Transitional
1E	West Chapel (Excavated in 1973)	Transitional
1F	Main Floor	Transitional
1G	Sanctuary – Alter	Unknown
4A	Parsonage (west of the southwest corner of the mission)	Mission
5	Fence line Test Area (west of the northwest corner of the mission)	Mission
6	Soil Sample Block (west of mission)	Unknown
7A/7B	Water Tank Area (south of mission)	Mid-20th Century
8	Plum thicket (southwest of mission)	Mission
9	Area southeast of thicket- near base of hill (south of mission)	Unknown
10	Strawberry Patch (between Parish House and mission, 1895 Parish House original location, east of the northeast corner of mission)	Unknown
11	Area east of thicket	Unknown

1975-1976 Fieldwork

In December of 1975, David Rice of University of Idaho was contracted for a 50-acre survey near the mission. Rice delegated the work to Mark Amara, another archaeologist at the University of Idaho. The project was for a land lease-sale proposed by the Bureau of Land Management office in Coeur d'Alene located north and west of the Mission. The area is described in Rice's report as having the greatest chance for finding prehistoric and historic sites (Rice 1976:1-2).

1977 Fieldwork

There has been little information gathered as to the history of the visitor's center. However, once again a few letters shed a little light on the situation. In November 1977 there was an exchange of letters between Bill Scudder, employee of the state's parks and recreation program and manager of Cataldo, and Roderick Sprague who discuss the proposed building of the center (Scudder 1977). The initial letter to Sprague asked if the intended site was acceptable. Scudder also said a letter from Sprague was needed, stating he was in communication and informed of the development of the project (Scudder 1977:1). Scudder's confidence in finally having preliminary plans for the visitor's center would promote the idea that it was built the following year. Sprague's reply again states the proposed locations do not require survey or test excavations, but he still stipulates that an archaeologist must be on hand to monitor any ground disturbing activities (Sprague 1977b:1).

The Noteworthy

In addition to this summary narrative there are a number of small side points worthy of note from the 1974 report by Fielder and Sprague. First, in the acknowledgments section, Sprague states how the project was the first time in his career that he worked with an

architect on site. In the same section he also recognizes the support of the project through Coeur d'Alene tribal chairman Hillary (Skanen) and the Tribal Council, even though the site technically belonged to the Roman Catholic Diocese of Boise. He also thanks Lawrence Ariba [Aripa] of the Coeur d'Alene Employment Office for trying to field tribal members for the project. Overall, the project shows a deliberate effort to incorporate the Coeur d'Alene Tribe in the project, a rarity for the time.

The report also discusses two nails that were removed from the second story of the parish house adjoining the Mission. They were examples of machine-cut nails believed to have been original from the building's 1895 construction. The two nails were taken to the University of Idaho's Laboratory of Anthropology and added to the comparative collection of historic artifacts. An aside to the historic preservation effort, the report identifies a large barn to the north of the Mission. Little remained beyond the foundation, which was significantly covered by dense vegetation. The report also gives the sense that the importance of the site is not solely based on the Mission itself. It reveals the archaeologists' hopes to uncover as many buildings and surrounding functions as possible in order to give the tourist a fuller picture of the happenings at the site.

Another issue in the same year reaffirms the role of Cultural Resource Management at the Mission. Rice and Sprague were asked to consult as to the impact of proposed waterworks. In a letter, Sprague is confident that while most of the project will have no adverse affects to the integrity of the record, that one pipe might adversely affect the site (Sprague 1976:1). However, Sprague stated the project was important enough to have an archaeologist present to monitor even if funds were not available (Sprague 1976:1). This attests to Sprague's devotion to the site and his desire to learn more from it.

2005-2007 Curation and Analysis

The Cataldo Collection, 10KA45, began curation in 2005 some 31 years after it was excavated. The priority was to bring the entire collection to a stable, protected state in keeping with 36 C.F.R. Part 79 standards of Curation of Federally-Owned and Administered Archaeological Collections. As part of the curation process additional analysis was conducted on many of the artifacts leading to further understanding of the site, the Native Americans and Euro-Americans who once inhabited it. The John Calhoun Smith Memorial Fund provided all finances for the curation over two years, totaling $12026. The fund also provided board and travel for a presentation on the Mission at the 2007 meeting of the Society of Historical Archaeology. During the curation efforts the previously recorded field specimen number of 3838 grew to 6524 cataloged artifacts, including single artifacts and "lots" of artifacts.

The archaeological materials from the Cataldo Mission are now inventoried, stabilized, and meet federal curatorial standards. Alexander New and Leah Evans-Janke conducted Minimum Vessel Counts (MVC's) for the glass and ceramic vessels in the collection and Jennifer Hamilton conducted an analysis of the faunal elements, including calculation of a Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI). Preliminary data gathered from these various analyses contributed to presentations by New at the Society for Historical Archaeology in Virginia (January 2007) and in an updated version at the Northwest Anthropological Conference (NWAC) in Pullman, WA in March of the same year (New and Evans-Janke 2007 and New 2007) New presented further findings at the 2008 NWAC in Victoria, British Columbia (New 2008).

In order to provide an accurate accounting of the items in each assemblage, New and Evans-Janke conducted a thorough inventory of the mission's materials. Curatorial processes are highly systematic and therefore performed in a straightforward manner. The following is a list of the steps taken in the curation of nearly every assemblage: 1) Retrieve collection, 2) Organize first by material type and then sequential catalog number, 3) Compare each item against extant databases, field notes, and records, 4) Catalog items not previously identified, 5) Replace all bags that do not meet code with 4mm archival bags, 6) Generate ACCESS database and enter all information, 7) Compare database to artifacts, correct any errors, 8) Print/apply archival labels, 9) Place collection in Buckhorn attached lid 20x12 archival storage box, 10) Enter bag/box labels into database, 11) Print box labels and replace collection on shelf and, 12) Boxes locked with zinc seals.

In addition to cataloging basic information from each item, curators also applied individual artifact labels on those items either unidentified or with labels in poor condition. All artifacts were labeled with Soluvar Varnish and India Ink, or white ink where necessary. Curators replaced all paper or damaged bags with 4mil resealable archival bags. They placed 1 x 2 5/8 inch archival labels on the outside of each bag, and an identical acid-free paper label on the inside of the bag. The archival tags contain the following information: site number, accession number, provenience, count, and item description.

After completing these tasks, curators bagged the items according to several hierarchical categories. First, they sorted the items into either historic or pre-contact materials, acknowledging the possible incongruity of arbitrarily defining an era based on manufacture techniques. They then organized the artifacts by material type, and then catalog number. After completing the remaining tasks on the list, they placed the collection in

storage. At this point, the collection meets federal curation standards and is fully available for any researcher to use.

Conclusions

After the Treaty of 1889, the Coeur d'Alene Tribe had little or no affiliation with the site, since most of the Coeur d'Alene's who had lived in the area had already moved to Desmet, Idaho with the Jesuits by 1878. The few elders who where not persuaded to move by Father Diomedi or Andrew Seltice in 1876 were deemed to be of no trouble in 1889 and were no longer bothered (Bischoff 1945:137). Even still, the tribe continued to celebrate the memory of Circling Raven each year on August 15th with the Feast of the Assumption Pilgrimage to the Mission where a dinner was held. For a long time, this seemed to be the extent of the Tribe's involvement at the Mission, but when the Roman Catholic Diocese of Boise returned the ownership of the site to the Coeur d'Alene Tribe in 2001, plans began to construct a new visitor center. One with upgraded facilities that could better display the Coeur d'Alene-Jesuit interactions and that currently exhibits Jacqueline Peterson's "Sacred Encounters: Father DeSmet & the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West."

The Mission was not left to fall into decay and on-going work continues to take place. Work remains to be done, such as replacing the west column on the front of the Mission. Bill Scudder, Cataldo Mission Park Supervisor, said during an interview with the *Kellogg-Shoshone News Press* in 1989, "this particular column got all the bad weather," (Pickard 1989). The original had been constructed of Ponderosa "Yellow" Pine and was replaced with a column made of White Pine. The column was replaced and secured in the same fashion as the Jesuits had. Interestingly, the column was dated using dendrochronology to be 71 years at the age of its harvest in 1853, a seedling in 1782. This sort of constant renovation is an

aspect of the Mission and of all historical sites. So long as such sites remain, information will continue to be learned through the ongoing process of renovation and development.

A steady interest in the Mission has continued to the present. The State Parks and Recreation visitor's center has seen thousands of tourists and interested persons, and in this sense has been incorporated into the culture of the region. The relationship between the Department of State Parks and Recreation and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Boise, which started in 1975, held fast until the 15th August 2001 when the Diocese relinquished all title and control to the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. Roughly a year prior to this, Raymond and Lois White, caretakers and owners of the property alongside the Mission, set two legal motions into order. The first was an agreement with the Diocese to terminate their option to buy the couple's land. The latter gave the Tribe control of their lands upon the death of the last of the couple. The relinquishing of the lands by both the White's and the Diocese of Boise once again established the Tribe's presence and control of the Mission site.

The change of ownership brought forth a face-lift to the mission grounds. The Mission itself was not altered, rather as with the new management of the Tribe, a new visitor's center was built on the grounds of the original one. The construction of the 5000 square foot visitor center project, coordinated by the Sacred Encounters Board, was completed in 2009 followed by a Sacred Encounters exhibit in 2011 (Buley 2011). It is the hope that the newer, larger space will better display the history of the Mission while at long last giving the grounds back to those who built it.

Recently the mission area has again come into the archaeological spotlight, if only briefly. In the spring of 2011, debate began on the East Mission Flats Repository, a dumping ground for mine and smelter waste from the Silver Valley's long galena mining past. The

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation stated that the Environmental Protection Agency, who established the site in 2009, did not fulfill requirements of Section 106 of the Historic Preservation Act. It is apparent the Coeur d'Alene Tribe was officially satisfied with the procedures and that the National Park Service and Idaho's State Historic Preservation Office both worked with the Idaho Department of Environmental Quality (Kramer 2011). At the heart of the issue is the acceptance of whether or not the project area was properly surveyed and the very real possibility artifacts and/or features, significant to the understanding of the overall site will be covered for an indefinite amount of time. While it is unlikely the ground under the project area will be seen in the near future, the fill will serve to protect the subsurface features that are potentially below, preserving them for further archaeological, research (Berger 2010).

CHAPTER 5: ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CATALDO

The Mission's artifact assemblage boasts a diverse series of artifact classes including stamps and other fragile paper goods, textiles, and even jewelry in addition to the more commonly researched classes of objects. These more frequently identified artifact types include lithics, beads, fauna, glass, ceramics, miscellaneous metal, organics, art, ammunition, foundry items, and construction materials. A total of 6524 artifact entries were identified in the reanalysis of the assemblage. While most of the entries are of a single artifact, some are lots of similar artifacts. For example, all cut nails of the same size or otherwise nondiagnostic glass of the same color, gathered from the same proveniences were cataloged together. Given the proximity of the excavations and the distinction of the Mission this assemblage does provide further insight into the histories of the Cataldo Mission in ways that historical texts cannot.

The focus of the analysis is the materials associated with the Cataldo Mission itself and buildings and structures utilized by the fathers and brothers (10KA45). The arbitrary separation of this site and the adjoining Coeur d'Alene encampment (10KA3) site in 1957 has created hurdles for present and future research. Namely, the materials generated from 10KA3 were not analyzed at the same time as 10KA45 due to grant and budget restrictions. Additional research on Cataldo must incorporate this data so as to better provide a background on the experiences of the Coeur d'Alene who co-operated the Mission with the Jesuits. Future research could also analyze other, smaller collections from temporally associated Jesuit missions in the Northwest like St. Mary's in Stevensville, Montana. That collection has seen some lamentable handlings that left it literally fragmented, without proper research and analysis of specimens, and with objects loaned out to institutions or sent for

analysis. While some documentation exists for at least a portion of the artifacts, it is likely some information will be lacking.

Of the artifact classes identified in the 10KA45 collection, four will be discussed. The glass, ceramics, fauna, and lithics help to shed light on the lives of both the Jesuits and Coeur d'Alene and have the potential to explore the relations between the Jesuits and Coeur d'Alene at the Mission. The glass assemblage can provide insight to various consumption and usage patterns seen locally and regionally as well as provide the most concise dates. On the other hand, ceramics can offer information on Indian and Jesuit identity. It is possible that faunal remains can identify the continued transhumance practices of the Coeur d'Alene, or the introduction of domesticates, but also the partial, at least, acceptance of traditional lifeways by the Jesuits. The lithics, possibly the assemblage with the longest temporal span, can identify the significance of the little knoll before the arrival of the Jesuits, or even the Coeur d'Alene's continued reliance on, and Jesuit acceptance of, traditional and cultural practices.

Analytical Procedures

As with the curatorial process, artifact analysis followed an established routine where each of the four main artifact classes were systematically analyzed. Further analysis was undertaken to better understand glass, ceramics, and faunal classes. Such analysis included glass Minimum Vessels Counts (MVCs), ceramic MVCs, and faunal analysis that included Number of Identifiable Specimens (NISP), and Minimum Number of Individuals (MNIs). The MVCs for both the glass and ceramics were analyzed under the supervision of Leah Evans-Janke, Collections Manager of the University of Idaho's Laboratory of Anthropology. Then-graduate student, Jennifer Hamilton, conducted the faunal analysis also while working

at the Laboratory of Anthropology. All of the other classes of materials recovered during the excavations were re-identified during the cataloging of the assemblage. Object group, object type, and raw material along with a recorded quantity, measurement, and other additional comments identified each artifact. In this way, the lithic analysis included basic description of each artifact and further identification of formal diagnostic tools. Since the glass vessels ultimately provided the best temporal data, with likely the shortest deposition period, they were used to denote specific units within the original undertakings that demonstrate stratigraphic integrity. These units were then compared with the ceramic artifacts and considered with the faunal and lithic data in order to determine trends in occupation and consumption.

Minimum Vessel Counts

Minimum vessel counts were conducted for the glass and ceramic assemblages in order to move towards a closer approximation of past human behavior. Sherd and fragment counts are not particularly reliable indicators of behavior as a bottle or a plate can break into two pieces or hundreds of fragments. Vessel counts represent an attempt to identify the minimum number of individual vessels that are present within the cultural material recovered. This method is a more accurate tool for comparison with other site collection assemblages. What follows is a summary of the process followed while conducting glass and ceramic MVCs for the Cataldo assemblage:

1. Each artifact was labeled with specimen numbers.
2. Set all of the labeled materials on tables, grouped by common attributes.
3. Reconstruct as many vessels as possible, separated by glass color or ceramic ware type.
4. For colorless glass vessels ultraviolet (UV) light was used to differentiate minerals used in the decolorizing manufacturing process.

5. Once identified, each vessel was assigned unique alphanumeric vessel numbers, CL-01 is equivalent to the first colorless vessel and WW-01 would be the first Whiteware vessel.
6. Determine functional category (tableware, pharmaceutical).
7. As appropriate conduct further research on particular vessels – such as if a trademark or markers mark is present or a distinct decorative pattern is identified.

The analytical methods were loosely based on Parks Canada (Jones and Sullivan 1989) and Mullins (Mullins 1988;1989) guidelines for preparing the glass and ceramic Minimum Vessel Counts. The functional categories used in the analysis of the glass vessels (Appendix A) include wine, beer, alcohol, food preservation, pharmaceutical, fresh beverage, personal, tableware, utilitarian kitchenware, decorative, lighting, miscellaneous, and unknown. Those items included in the food preservation category include all supplies used for home canning. Pharmaceutical items include medicine bottles as well as those items purchased for home health care like patent medicines. Personal care products (toothpowders, cosmetics) were grouped in their own category. Tableware items are those objects in the collection intended for use or decoration on the table (tumblers, compotes, candy dishes, creamers, tableware). Utilitarian kitchenware, not always intended for public view, includes mixing bowls and other implements for preparing food which often include crockery. Decorative items fall outside the normal range of behaviors involved with food service and serve as symbolically significant items in a household. The lighting category is limited to identifiable portions of bulbs, lamps, shades, or ornamental prisms. Miscellaneous items include vessels that fall outside other categories and occur in such low numbers that they do not warrant a grouping of their own. All items listed as unknown are recognizable as individual vessels, but are unidentifiable as to their function. For ceramic vessels (Appendix B), sorting categories include whiteware, porcelain, ironstone, earthenware, and stoneware.

Vessels were further defined by function and the presence or absence of decoration was noted.

The ceramic and glass assemblages were central to the analysis. While other artifact classes do offer interesting information, glass and ceramics are particularly suited for establishing a date range and occupation periods for a historic occupation of the site. The relatively short deposition period of glass vessels and their finite manufacturing periods are characteristics unique to this artifact class. Due to this, dates derived from the glass assemblage were used to identify mission period Operations and Lots for the site.

Artifact Assemblage

Glass and Ceramic

A total of 6524 items were curated as part of the Cataldo Mission collection's rehabilitation process. The most important aspect of artifact assemblage analysis was the identification of distinct occupation periods identified by diagnostic glass and ceramic vessels. The identification of the following three historic occupation periods also helps to cross date other associated artifacts that are not temporarily indicative. The process identified a total of 150 glass (Appendix A) and 127 ceramic vessels (Appendix B) from 1392 and 399 specimen entries of each respective artifact class. The three historic occupation periods extend over the historic life of the mission grounds beginning with the Jesuits, transitioning to a mining/agricultural phase, and ending with a tourist phase in the mid-twentieth century.

The first period of occupation is characterized by 32 bottles that date from as early as 1810 and up to 1920, with a median deposition date of 1865 and may represent the era of Missionary activity. The period is associated with Jesuit and Coeur d'Alene cohabitation and

the later presence of solitary Jesuits who continued to use the mission as a headquarters into the 20th Century. Eight vessels that date to the mission period were manufactured with manganese, a process that began in 1860 and nearly stopped by 1919. The dates for the second period of occupation were attributed to 33 bottles that consistently date from 1893 to 1931 with a median deposition date of 1912. These items are probably associated with squatters who used the land intermittently and harassed Mathew Hayden's lease of the property (Hayden 1887). Lastly, Operation 7a is a good example of the later occupation period, which contains the occasional item from an earlier occupation period, but primarily exhibits newer deposits that overlap intact materials from the intermediary phase of occupation. The 20 vessels in this group largely date to the mid-to-late twentieth century with a median deposition date of 1946.95. In addition to the total of 85 vessels, 65 vessels were removed from the sample: fifty-nine vessels had no diagnostic features and as such were unidentifiable and six vessels were removed because their date ranges (1904-1974/1850-1974) were too broad to further supplement the dataset.

Once MVC counts were established, use patterns became apparent. By using the diagnostic glass vessels to attribute context, 88 ceramic vessels were determined to be in the mission period, all of which had broad date ranges that do include the mission occupation period except for two porcelain vessels. These two vessels were located in Op 3, Lots 1 and 2, but as common with the 1973 excavation, had no assigned level. The two vessels have manufacture start dates beginning in 1890 and 1910; this puts them beyond the Jesuit occupation of the mission. Whiteware was the dominant ware type with 40 vessels, including unknown items (n=19), saucers (n=10), plate (n=6), various cups (n=4), and a bowl (n=1). After whiteware, porcelain is the most numerous with 25 identifiable vessels, two of

which were removed as previously mentioned. Within porcelain, subcategories include Asian rice bowls (n=11), undetermined vessels (n=5), saucers (n=4), cup (n=1), bowl (n=1), and a teapot (n=1). Following this, stoneware had 10 vessels (unknown (n=9) and jar (n=1)), ironstone had 9 vessels (cups (n=3), plates (n=3), unknown (n=2), and bowl (n=1)), and earthenware had 4 vessels (unknown (n=3) and flowerpot (n=1)). The ceramic assemblage utilized the correlation between dates and proveniences provided by the glass MVC count. Since only a few of the ceramic vessels had makers' marks the majority of vessels were assigned date ranges based on the context as formulated by the glass date ranges within the determined proveniences.

Faunal

As with the intent of the Minimum Vessel Counts for glass and ceramics the faunal assemblage was processed though a similarly minded Minimum Number of Individuals. In 2006, Jennifer Hamilton went through the faunal material (n=1993) weighing a total of 3974.42 grams. The analysis of the assemblage followed standard zooarchaeological analysis methods and coding as found in *Analytical Coding System for Historic Period Artifacts* (Azizi, et al. 1996). Whenever possible animals were identified to species or at least genus. If distinguishing features were not present on a particular bone the mammalian remains (which comprised most of the assemblage) were identified by class size, namely small, medium, or large. Bones broken during, or after excavation were refitted when possible and given the same entry and bagged together. Groups of bones of the same element of an unidentifiable species but within the same class size were assigned a single artifact number (Hamilton 2006).

Table 5.1: Identified mammal and avian taxa including counts and weight (Hamilton 2006)

Common Name (Scientific Name)	**Count**	**Weight (grams)**
Mule Deer	2	99.76
Deer	5	121.80
Elk	2	106.91
Unknown (*Artidactyla*)	49	158.08
Pig	18	246.88
Cow	12	614.80
Horse	1	5.65
Rabbit (Sylvilagus)	1	0.47
Hare (*Lepus)*	2	18.92
Woodrat (*Neotoma*)	4	1.55
Pocket gopher (*Geomyidae*)	1	1.33
Unknown (*Galliforme)*	4	5.66
Total	**101**	**1376.15**

Since the majority of the remains were highly fragmented, only a small amount of bone was identifiable to the species level. Mammalian remains dominated the assemblage: of the 1993 total fragments recovered, 97 remains were identified as mammal and only four were avian (Table 1). There were 101 elements that were identified at least to the genus level. Most notable are the numerous remains of mammals, both wild (n=12) and domesticates (n=30), and also the unidentified *Artidactyla* (n=49). A single horse element was also identified, but due to the role of the horse in both protohistoric and historic times, it has the potential for ambiguity between contexts. Likewise, the Furry Tailed Woodrat (n=4) and the Pocket Gopher (n=1), although native, were not included in the analysis because their deposition most likely represents natural consequence rather than human consumption. Domesticates include pig (n=18), cow (n=12), where wild game includes two deer species (n=7), elk (n=2), likely the Snowshoe Hare within *Lepus* (n=2), and possibly a derivation of the Cottontail Rabbit within *Sylvilagus* (n=1). The unidentified *Artidactyla* remains, although unspecified whether wild or domesticate, demonstrate the extensive consumption of

medium and large mammals (Table 2). While fish were a dietary staple for Interior Salish cultures, no fish remains were identified. However, with net sinkers in the lithic assemblage it possibility of fish consumption at the mission should not be discounted as the lack of fish remains may be the result of poor preservation, rather than a reflection of actual consumption patterns. Screen size used during the excavations may have also been a major factor contributing to the lack of fish bones. Likewise, it is possible that screen size may have affected the collection of avian and small mammal remains, making these groups also appear underrepresented. Common practice during historic excavations tends to dictate a larger screen size due to the larger size and volume of historic artifacts, as compared to prehistoric debris. Of the 1993 individual specimens identified in the MNI, 1736 are in Ops and Lots in association with the Mission (Table 3). The faunal analysis delves further into areas such as specimen age and human modification, which includes butchered unit and burning.

Table 5.2: Mammal remains size class (Hamilton 2006)

Class	**Count**	**Weight (grams)**
Unidentified mammal remains	1741	977.94
Small mammal	1	.10
Small/medium mammal	8	3.00
Medium mammal	8	8.39
Medium/large mammal	52	313.62
Large mammal	77	1275.66
Unidentified rodent	1	.20
Total	**1888**	**2578.91**

Table 5.3: Summary of bone distribution for operations (Hamilton 2006)		
Operation Number	**Count**	**Weight (grams)**
1	3	33.46
1A	138	384.65
1B	19	9.04
1C	34	9.39
1D	1	.93
1F	1	.49
2	4	.12
4A	1093	1140.41
5	272	709.58
6	14	1.25
7	8	90.39
7A	13	31.14
8	225	737.43
9	4	71.89
10	49	38.37
IF	78	417.35
SURFACE	6	80.19
LIME PIT	26	216.86
DRAINAGE	5	1.47
Total	**1993**	**3974.41**

Lithics

The presence of lithic materials in the form of debitage, cores, modified flakes, unifaces, bifaces, projectile points, pipe bowls, hammerstones, net sinker, and fire cracked rock is located across the Ops and Lots of the excavation and throughout each level . Naturally, the proveniences vary in how the lithic materials are located within, from quantity to stratagraphically. Some Ops, such as the northwest corner of the mission, the east sacristy, the parsonage, and the fenceline test area (Ops 1a, 1d, 4a, and 5), exhibit a prehistoric presence at the site prior to the Jesuit arrival as well as continued use during their occupation period. Portions of the lithic assemblages within these operations also appear with Euro-American goods suggesting coinciding practices of both cultural backgrounds.

The projectile points collected at the site provide a wide range of dates that include a number of points from the historic occupation of the site, others that extend back to the Archaic, and even a few that may date to a Paleoindian occupation (Table 4). The local area has a significant lack of projectile point typology consideration or cultural sequences, unlike areas of more popular research nearer to the Snake and mid Columbia rivers. Further, the later, independent invention of outliers or even the innate drive for humans to collect may have created a distorted view of the cultural artifacts.

Table 5.4: Diagnostic projectile points from across Operations, Lots, and Levels

Catalog #	Type	Provenience	Characteristics	Material	Dimensions L x W cm	Date Range
#007	Bitterroot	Op 1a/Lot 1/Level 3	Medium side-notched, horizontal transverse flaking	CCS	4.7 x 2.4 2.0 shoulder width 1.4 neck width 2.4 base width	7000-5000 BP
#024	Unknown	Op1a/Lot 7/Level 4	Small fragment ovoid with side-notch	CCS	1.9 x 0.9(inc)	No Date
#030	Unknown	Op1a/Lot 8/Levels 5-6	Corner-notched base fragment with random flaking	Grey Chert	1.7(inc) x 1.5 1.5 shoulder width 0.7 neck width 0.9 base width	No Date
#045	Unknown	Op 1c/Lot 2/Level 3	Corner-notched fragment	Brown Chert	1.8 x 1.2(inc)	No Date
#048	Rose Springs	Op 1d/Lot 2/Level 2	Corner-notched fragment with convex base	Reddish Mottled Chert	1.9(inc) x 0.9 (inc) 0.6 neck width 0.9 base width	1500-700 BP
#049	Unknown	Op 1d/Lot 2/Level 2	Corner-notched base fragment	Brown Chert	1.2(inc) x 1.3 1.3 shoulder width 0.8 neck width 0.9(inc) base width	No Date
#051	Unknown	Op 1d/Lot 3/Level 2	Shouldered lanceolate, stemmed flat base, nearly complete (one snapped barb)	Reddish Brown Chert	2.3 x 1.3 1.1 neck width	No Date
#059	Unknown	Op 1f/Lot 25/Level 1	Corner-notched medial/base fragment, missing tip and portion of base	Tan Chert	1.4(inc) x 1.3(inc)	No Date
#076	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 1/Level 2	Side-notched	White/Beige Chert	1.5(inc) x 1.0 0.8 shoulder width 0.5 neck width 1.0 base width	No Date
#097	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 11/Level 6	Side-notched medial/base fragment	Off-White Opal	1.1(inc) x 1.2 0.7 neck width	No Date

Table 5.4: Diagnostic projectile points from across Operations, Lots, and Levels

Catalog #	Type	Provenience	Characteristics	Material	Dimensions L x W cm	Date Range
#101	Columbia Plateau East Gate	Op 4a/Lot 12/Level 3	Corner-notched with basal notch base fragment	Dark Brown Chert	1.8(inc) x 1.3 1.3 shoulder width 0.5 neck width 0.6(inc) base width	700-200 BP 1500-400 BP
#162	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 114/Level 3	Stemmed lanceolate	Red Chert	3.5(inc) x 1.1 0.6 base width	No Date
#271	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 3/Level 4	Corner-notched, missing tang and portion of base	Grey/Black Chert	2.3 (inc) x 2.3(inc)	No Date
#191	Desert General	Op 5/Lot 5/Level 3	Side-notched with possible serrated edges	Dark Grey Chert	2.4(inc) x 1.5 0.8 neck width	1500-0 BP
#201	Desert General	Op 5/Lot 6/Level 3	Side-notched	Dark Grey Chert	1.5(inc) x 1.3 0.7 Neck width	1500-0 BP
#227	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 14/Level 5	Corner-notched medial/base fragment	Grey Chert	1.7(inc) x 1.1 1.1 shoulder width 0.6 neck width 0.7(inc) base width	No Date
#228	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 14/Level 6	Corner-notched medial/base fragment	Off-White Chert	2.4(inc) x 1.2(inc) 1.2(inc) shoulder width 0.6 neck width 0.6(inc) base width	No Date
#267	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 31/Level 2	Lanceolate with angular tip	Red-Pinkish Chert	3.6 x 1.2	No Date
#275	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 35/Level 2	Stemmed with basal thinning flakes	Dark Red Chert	2.5 x 1.2(inc)	No Date
#279	Bitterroot	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 3	Medium side-notched with shallow basal notch medial/ base fragment	Dark Grey Basalt	2.4 x 2.2 1.8(inc) shoulder width 1.4 neck width 2.3 base width	7000-5000 BP

Table 5.4: Diagnostic projectile points from across Operations, Lots, and Levels

Catalog #	Type	Provenience	Characteristics	Material	Dimensions L x W cm	Date Range
#302	Unknown	Op 8/Lot 523/Level 2	Corner-notched	Dark Grey Basalt	3.1(inc) x 1.8 1.8 shoulder width 0.8 neck width	No Date

Table 5.5: Op 1a and Op 5 levels and associated artifacts (~ Includes split Level artifact, Δ Found in wall void in the mission, * Multiple Lots within the Operation)

Level (6")	1a Debitage	5	1a Lithic Tools	5	Beads	1a Faunal	5	1a Ceramic MVC	5	1a Glass MVC	5
Surface						Hare (#457)Δ Hare (#458)Δ				AQ-08 AQ-10 AQ-11 AQ-13 BR-14 LGR-01 OL-01 R-03 CO-45	
Fill		1		Biface (1)				EW-03		BR-17 CO-41	
Level 1	2	91		Modified Flake (3) Biface (1) Proj. Pt. (1)	2		Pig (#330) Pig (#358) Pig (#343)		WW-26 WW-11 WW-69 WW-61 ST-02 ST-03 P-22 WW-12 ST-07	BR-04	AQ-03 BR-06 OL-04
Level 2	7	39	Hammerstone (1) Groundstone (1) Incised stone (1)	Modified Flake (2) Biface (3)	3			EW-02 ST-05 ST-06*~	WW-74 P-23	CO-02	SL-09
Level 3	4	23	Proj. Pt. (1)	Biface (1) Proj. Pt. (2)	5		Horse (#402) Cow (#305) Cow (#308)	P-17 WW-44	ST-06*~	CO-62	SL-06
Level 4	8	17	Proj. Pt. (2) Pipe bowl (1)		5		Deer (#317)				
Level 5	5	10		Biface (2) Proj. Pt. (1)	4						
Level 6	9	7	Modified Flake (1) Hammerstone (1)	Biface (1) Hammerstone (1)	2						
Level 7	1	-									
Total	36	188	9	19	20~	2	7	6	11	14	5

Table 5.6: Op 1d levels and associated artifacts

Level (6")	Debitage	Lithic Tools	Beads	Faunal	Ceramic MVC	Glass MVC
Level 1	1	--	4	--	--	AQ-09 BR-15 AQ-07 CO-04
Level 2	1	Biface (1) Proj. Pt. (2)	3	--	--	--
Level 3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	2	3	6~	0	0	4

Table 5.7: Op 4a levels and associated artifacts (* Multiple Lots/Levels within the Operation)

Level (6")	Debitage	Lithic Tools	Beads	Faunal	Ceramic MVC	Glass MVC
Surface	--	--	--	--	P-20*	
Level 1	24	Biface (1) Hammerstone (1)	6	--	P-20* P-24 WW-71 P-04	AQ-06 AQ-24* BR-03
Level 2	82	Modified Flake (4) Uniface (1) Biface (4) Proj. Pt. (2) Pipe bowl (1)	13	Pig (#46)	WW-67 IR-08 WW-70 P-26 ST-01 WW-23 WW-59	AQ-24* AQ-14 BR-07 WG-03*
Level 3	55	Modified Flake (1) Uniface (1) Biface (2) Proj. Pt. (2)	15	Cow (#313)		AQ-24* CO-49 WG-03*
Level 4	12	Biface (2)	10	Elk (#303) Pig (#304)	P-14	
Level 5	4	Net Sinker (1)	5	Pig (#120) Galliformes (#174) Gopher (#432)	WW-50	AQ-24* CO-05
Level 6	22	Biface (6)	--	Pig (#167) Pig (#172)	--	--
Level 7	3	Net Sinker (1)	--	Pig (#173)	--	--
Total	202	30	49	10	13	8

Table 5.8: Op 8 levels and associated artifacts

Level (6")	Debitage	Lithic Tools	Beads	Faunal	Ceramic MVC	Glass MVC
Surface	--	--	--	--	--	WG-02
Level 1	8	--	1	Cow (#48) Cow (#49) Pig (#63) Pig (#51) Pig (#52) Pig (#61)	WW-08 IR-07 IR-09 WW-31	CO-24 AM-03
Level 2	7	Biface (1) Projectile Point (1)	--	Pig (#62) Deer (#39) Deer (#71) Deer (#39)	ST-08	SL-08 AM-02 AM-01 SL-04 SL-02
Level 3	7	--	--	--	WW-10 WW-25	--
Level 4	2	--	--	--	--	--
Level 5	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	24	2	1	10	7	8

Findings

Glass

Of all the artifacts classes, glass has proved to be the most informative of the archaeological past at Cataldo. Of the numerous functions the various vessels types have, the pharmaceutical vessels have the most promising ties to the mission during the early missionary period. From a historical standpoint, it is apparent how much foreign diseases strained Coeur d'Alene society (Scott 1928).

Disease, one of the major Euro-American impacts that had a drastic effect in Native American cultures, is often seen as the initial reason many tribes accepted missionaries (Woodworth-Ney 2004:26). This is somewhat clearer, without being overtly stated, by the Coeur d'Alene's warm welcoming of the Jesuits in 1841, but not the likes of David Thompson or other traders and trappers in 1809 (Raufer 1966:4) or of Ross Cox's 1812 expedition for John Jacob Astor's Astorians (Woodworth-Ney 2004:17). This refusal of

certain Euro-Americans is clearly seen by simply observing a map of the North West Company's posts in the Northwest. The three fur houses (Spokane [1810], Kullyspell [1809], and Saleesh [1809]) in the area were literally established on the fringe of Coeur d'Alene territory, a testament to a lack of acceptance. This self-imposed isolation demonstrates the maintained sovereignty and will of the Coeur d'Alene during a time of tremendous cultural upheaval, likely with the added benefit of insulating their culture from disease to some extent. The struggle between traditional and western medicine as a response to illness and disease is best illustrated at the Wallipatu Mission that Marcus and Narcissa Whitman were administering (Addis 2005:225). The Whitman's mission serves as the primary example of a situation where Indian aggression was largely the result of cultural impacts brought on by disease and the observed acceptance of white settlers on the Whitman's behalf.

With the occurrence of the Whitman Massacre in 1847, just a year before the construction of the Cataldo Mission began, Jesuits would have been acutely aware of such a possible outcome. However, none of the Jesuit missionaries had such misfortune, aside from an incident with Father Hoeken at Mission Point. Whereas the Whitmans were located along a major transportation route, the Oregon Trail, and had an extensive backing in the East, the Jesuits were forced to achieve the best with the little supplies they could acquire. This may be a partial explanation for the relatively low number of pharmaceutical vessels around the mission based on availability and possibly the importance placed on them.

The exterior mission area (Op 1a), well house (Op 3), east sacristy (Op 1d), parsonage (Op 4a), fenceline test area (Op 5), and the Plum Thicket (Op 8) provided 24 vessels within the Missionary Period, out of 32 total vessels representing the Missionary

Period. While this is not an entirely impressive assemblage, the pharmaceutical (n=11) and alcoholic (n=9) vessels are the most frequently represented in the assemblage, with most of the alcohol and pharmaceutical bottles being associated with the area near the mission itself.

The majority of pharmaceutical vessels (n=8) were all found around the mission (Op 1, Op 1a, and Op 1d) with only a few occurring a short distance away (Op 4a (n=1) and Op 8 (n=2)). The amount of pharmaceuticals located near the Mission area may suggest it was used as a communal location to also administer the Coeur d'Alene. It is interesting that letters from Fr. DeSmet mention the Coeur d'Alene in particular as suffering less from disease than other tribes and makes a special point to address the efficacy of vaccinations.

However, Raufer describes a different scenario in 1853-54 when smallpox broke out in Eastern Washington and North Idaho (Raufer 1966:73-74). Sister Raufer states that Fr. Joset was pressed into doctoring the sick and preventing the spread without available vaccines. At the same time Fr. Hoeken wrote to Fr. DeSmet of how few of the 'neophytes' had died while many Spokanes and other unconverted Indians, who saw the medicine as a poison, had high death rates (Raufer 1966:74). At any rate, the simple Jesuit practice, as noted by Raufer, of quarantining the sick likely did the most good—actions that would fail to provide materials for the archaeological record.

Alcoholic beverages, the other major class of goods in the glass assemblage, include subcategories such as wine, beer, and alcohol, which total 11 vessels of the 32 identified vessels from the Mission Period. Like the pharmaceuticals, the alcoholic beverages are also mostly associated with the mission (Op1, Op 1a, Op 1d, and Op 2) (n=6) while other areas, the more recent Well House (Op 3) and Water Tank areas (Op 7a), may have older contexts associated with the various outbuilding behind the mission. Still, only a few (n=3) alcoholic

vessels were located in these two proveniences. Overall, the function falls in just behind the pharmaceutical function, but there are a few considerations.

First, of all the alcohol bottles are one of the most easily identifiable bottle types based on distinct colors and shapes. The iconic brown beer bottle to olive wine bottles and even some solarized colorless alcohol vessel fragments are easily identified. Secondly, while the alcohol vessels fall within the dates assigned for the Mission Period and have a range of mean manufacture dates from 1860 to 1895, all have manufacture end dates beyond the move to the Desmet Mission and possibly even the Jesuit removal. Still, it is possible that alcohol, like wine, was in use at the mission, at least periodically while supplies were available.

Sister Raufer addresses a situation among the Skoyelpis at Kettle Falls, a group within what is today known as the Colville Confederated Tribes, where in 1854 two white men introduced the sale of liquor in mass quantities. The Indians began to frequent the establishment lessening their original religious fervor (Raufer 1966:76). With such a strong attempt by the Jesuits at Cataldo at removing the Coeur d'Alene from the negative influences of the whites, it would follow that alcohol would have been eliminated for the most part. Still, the singular beer vessel (BR-15) found in the east sacristy may be indicative of someone being careless with the Eucharist, but also the reappropriation of goods. When considering its use in Holy Communion, its presence at the site, and Fr. Joset's request for "80 gallons of Mass wine" in 1849, there was probably some level of tolerance. While the numbers of alcohol bottles are substantial given the small sample size, it may just represent a regular or average presence of alcohol at the mission.

Ceramics

The ceramic assemblage has provided a few further interpretations; the most unexpected result is the porcelains where 12 of the 24 vessels are porcelain rice bowls. Eleven of the rice bowls were recovered in mission period contexts. While the mission was built in what would become the Silver Valley, there is little history of Asian cultures in this area. Whereas Chinese immigrants were prominent in the gold fields of Pierce, Elk City, and the Boise River and other parts of North and South Idaho, there is no documented presence at the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River. Given the proximity of such towns as Pierce and Elk City, such Asian goods could still have found their way to the mission. However, due to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the subsequent decline of Chinese in Idaho, the Chinese were likely absent from the construction of the narrow-gauge railroad that serviced the Coeur d'Alene mining district. Further, it would be unsound to assume that since there was a Chinese presence in the various mining towns and railroad lines in other parts of northern Idaho, that there were populations everywhere. The 1870 non-population census schedule for Idaho lists numerous Chinese individuals for Shoshone County at Pierce. However, this was earlier when Shoshone County encompassed a much larger area, including all of present day Clearwater County. Additionally, there is documentation of Chinese working the Prospect Creek mining district just over the Bitterroot Divide in Montana near Thompson Falls, but again nothing in that region of Idaho. While other major towns along both the Northern Pacific and Great Northern lines have a documented Chinese cultural presence, its distance from Cataldo, 75 miles, does not necessarily mean the same demographics were represented.

While it is possible the mission had an association with an individual, or small group, of Asian ethnicity, it is highly unlikely that there was ever a significant population at the Mission. Even in the case of the St. Mary's Mission (Colville) where a Japanese cook was employed circa 1908, there was no mention of any others (Raufer 1966:293). Raufer even states that when the cook mentioned evolution, the school children mocked him. The cook even went so far as to claim the Japanese empire would conquer China and then the United States, foreshadowing future events. Is it really feasible that, with such a controversial and ethnically charged atmosphere, historical records documenting the presence of Chinese or Japanese in the Coeur d'Alene District would be absent?

Ultimately, there is no single explanation of the rice bowls around the mission. Of the 12 rice bowls, four were collected just southwest of the mission (Op 2), three were collected from the parsonage, and the final four were collected from the fenceline test area and the exterior mission area. The remaining vessel was a surface find and offers no provenience. However, a lack of distinct decorations on the existing vessels does not lend itself to an overwhelmingly accurate time frame. The number of vessels and the fact they were spread out over a fair-sized area does not suggest a singular or infrequent usage.

Among the potential explanations is the possibility that a Chinese or Japanese cook worked at the mission either during the Mission Period or perhaps later for Father Cataldo while he resided as the Father Superior for the Rocky Mountain Missions and used the mission as his headquarters. Or in later times, after the Coeur d'Alene had relocated to Desmet, when the mission area served as a hub of transportation between the steamboats operating on the Coeur d'Alene River and the narrow-gauge railroad that ran up the Silver Valley, it is plausible a small enclave or individual took refuge at the mission for a short

period of time. It is questionable how the widespread deposition would account for a short occupation of the site of a single individual. This does not support the notion of a large number of individuals living at the Mission without the presence of any other artifacts associated with Asian ethnicities. Another option for the presence of these rice bowls is that an individual of Asian ethnicity did not necessarily possess the vessels immediately preceding their deposition and that Jesuits may have utilized them.

Since Jesuits are known as world travelers and have proven acceptance of other cultures, it is possible either a brother or a father was utilizing the vessels, perhaps more as decorative pieces rather than functional. In truth, a myriad of possibilities exists and with the lacking of historical material it is likely the presence of such a large number of rice bowls will remain an unexpected finding that warrants further research.

As an aside, while conducting this research, some time was also spent with the St. Mary's Mission collection (24RA146) located at the University of Montana with Dr. Kelly Dixon. The mission was the first established in the Northwest by Father DeSmet, a flagship in a sense, it was managed by many of the same fathers and brothers who also worked at the Cataldo Mission, and the location had a comparatively short period of time the mission operated (1866-1879). While there were comparatively fewer vessels, Asian ceramics were present and this aspect may prove an interesting future research topic.

As alluded to previously, the Cataldo Mission appears to differ markedly from other Protestant missions of the Inland Northwest with its distinct lack of finely decorated ceramic pieces. If only a cursory examination is given, the majority of mission period ceramics are in fact decorated, however upon closer inspection many have only the simplest of decorations. These usually include some form of edge moulding and rarely gilding, but without any mono

or polychromatic coloring of the vessel, no handpainting, transfer prints, or decals. Ceramics from the Willamette Mission are largely made up of decorated pieces with 41% of total vessels comprised of transfer-printed earthenware, 14% are hand-painted earthenware, and another 14% are shell-edged earthenware (Sanders et al. 1983:102). Comparatively, the 71 vessels of the Cataldo Mission's mission period ceramics (Op 1, Op 1a, Op 2, Op 3, Op 4a, Op 5, and Op 8) are mostly (n=46, 67%) undecorated or simply decorated with either a monochromatic glaze or edge moulding. The undecorated vessels (n=29) by themselves are nearly half of the mission assemblage. In examining the decorated ceramics there is no significant difference between simply decorated ceramics (n=17) and those with complex decoration (n=25). Of the complex decorated vessels, hand painted is the most common with nearly equal numbers of monochromatic transferprint, monochromatic decal, and polychromatic decal. This fact was discussed in Weaver's 1976 thesis. He suggested that while the Catholic faith utilizes ornate religious symbols carried out by subdued religious leaders the earlier Protestant missionaries and families were more ostentatious, utilizing fancier household goods (Weaver 1976:23).

Table 5.9: Decoration of mission period ceramics Minimum Vessel Count

Undecorated/Simple Decoration			**Complex Decoration**			
Undecorated	Moulded	Glazed	Handpainted	Monochromatic Transferprint	Monochromatic Decal	Polychromatic Decal
29	11	6	12	7	4	2
46			25			

While not overwhelming, the faunal assemblage indicates those of the mission period utilized domesticates, but also exploited the readily abundant populations of wild game, just as the Coeur d'Alene had for generations. The continued reliance on not only traditional food, including the seasonal gathering of camas, wapato, and berries, but these cultural

practices are unique to the Jesuit-Indian interactions of the Northwest during this earlier part of their history, up to shortly after the relocation to Desmet. While at a certain point this reliance on tradition transhumance is commonsense due to the rural surroundings, early missions in Paraguay and South America were just as remote and still practiced a strict removal of cultural practices, foodways (Livi-Bacci and Maeder 2004:187) and to a lesser extent tools (NcNaspy 1987:404). The entire purpose of the "civilization" techniques like the Reduction Plan of the early Jesuits in South American and the later Protestants of North American (though not named as such) was to remove the administered tribe to a central location and transform their economy to one based on agrarian pursuits.

When comparing the total number of specimens, or rather weight, four operations standout: the parsonage, the fenceline test area, the plum thicket, and the exterior mission area. All of which are proveniences identified by the glass MVC as associated with the Mission Period and represent identified features of the mission grounds during historic use. The parsonage (Op 4a) has a total count of 1093 specimens, 54% of the entire assemblage, or 1140.4 grams, but only 29% of the assemblage by weight. The combined fenceline test area (Op 5) and exterior mission area (Op 1a), represent a combined 410 specimens (21%), with 1094.3 grams (28%), and is being treated as a second deposition area associated with the mission. The final operation, the plum thicket (Op 8), had 225 specimens (11%) weighing 737.4 grams (19%), which may have been a dumping area as well. Given the lack of additional information it is also possible the two areas, the plum thicket (Op 8) and the mission's northwest corner area (Ops 1a and 5), in conjunction with the glass and ceramic vessels, are actually communal gathering places. Given the prominent location of Ops 1a and 5 it would be unlikely if such a spot were used when the back of the knoll is so close at

hand. Further, with flat, open space at a premium, it would be reasonable to dispose of garbage on an undeveloped, unusable slope, especially one covered in brush.

While a quick once over of the 10KA45 collection could provide a hint to its true nature, with artifacts including rare intact fabrics, iconic pickle jars, Chinese rice bowls, archaic points, and even a Hitler Head stamp, it was only after recording and processing the Mission's collection, that it became clear that the assemblage yielded significant information regarding not only the early use of the Cataldo Mission, but also one of the earliest instances of culture contact in North Idaho and the Inland Northwest.

Even so, until further research of the similarly administered Jesuit missions of the Rocky Mountains is undertaken, few other interpretations can be drawn. Due to the state of the existing collection, without comparisons of other Jesuit missions or even its neighboring Protestant missions, it would be difficult to make meaningful observations and interpretations about the Cataldo Mission. With what is known of the Willamette, Whitman, and St. Mary's missions' collections, there are already many new approaches for future study. After acknowledging the fact that of the more than ten different Jesuit mission locations dating from 1840 to the early 1900s, the two missions which have been excavated (St. Mary's and Cataldo) provide too small a sample to develop far-reaching assertions about Jesuit and tribal interactions in the Northwest, about the Cataldo Mission's role within the acculturation of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, or possibly the assimilation of the Jesuits. Nonetheless, the historical and archaeological research of these two missions has provided a starting point for continuing research.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It would be all too easy to single out the Coeur d'Alene as the sole owners of the cultural and spiritual property at the Cataldo Mission. While their wishes and views must be respected, it is also important to acknowledge others who have a vested interest in the mission. The legacy of the Mission deserves more than a narrow-minded view of meaning. Those Jesuits, few in number and long since passed, established the mission at the side of the Coeur d'Alene having had moved thousands of miles from home and braved new and wild lands with no hope of ever seeing their homeland again. The mission fine and odd placed architecture for the wilds of early North Idaho best demonstrates the collaboration between the Coeur d'Alene and Jesuits.

At present, the Cataldo Mission provides a connection to the past as well as a place for community cohesion. Even if the past is what ultimately promotes the mission, the mission serves as a focal point for numerous community activities. The public enjoys the mission for weddings, historic reenactments, nature walks, holiday ceremonies, and education. In is important to acknowledge the contemporary value of the mission as well as its histories. A faulty approach to preserving and interpreting the past would be to discount the present. It is also important not to lose sight of the locals when as well as the admittedly larger percentage of tourists that visit the mission on a yearly basis.

When talking with Fr. Connelly, of the Mission of the Sacred Heart at Desmet, he explained the progressive generations are becoming less and less interested in the importance of the Mission. Father Connelly related how Ernie Stensgar's (former Tribal Chairman) generation showed more appreciation for the mission. Another important point Fr. Connelly made, was that these older generations often revered the Cataldo Mission regardless of their

faith, either Christian or Traditional. One may think the older Coeur d'Alene were likely just attached to the land having lived there for a good period. However, this disregards their traditional transhumance cycles that they, of any current generation, would have best knowledge of. Further, since Desmet was still within their ancestral territory, and revered for the traditional natural resources it provided, there was likely more than simply sentimental attachment. Father Connelly identified a difference between the Cataldo Mission and the later Desmet Mission. Where the Cataldo Mission maintains an allure of history and of better times, the Desmet Mission is seen in a different light. Another facet may be when cultural memories are incorrectly associated with all time periods, overlooking the sovereignty of the past, in a search for empowerment today.

While it may always be true that further excavations would disclose more information about the Cataldo Mission there are other approaches to better understanding of the mission and Jesuit/Tribal interactions. The incorporation of the already excavated artifacts of 10KA3, the Coeur d'Alene's encampment at the mission would provide a more even understanding of Cataldo. Whereas the current research has identified spaces that were likely occupied both by Jesuits and communally, artifacts from further down slope would be invaluable in providing a fuller depiction. New archaeological research of other Jesuit mission sites of varying time periods would most likely add to the comprehension of the broader context. An interesting undertaking may be correlating the specific missions with the various fathers or brothers as they frequented the various missions throughout their careers. This could, perhaps indicate either specific Jesuits that were more open-minded or regions or times where the Jesuit hierarchy did not stress a strict acculturation plan.

The Asian ceramics, as potential outliers within the collection, could provide unique information of usage or presence of a minority group. Whether the vessels were utilized by an employed cook, visitors, Jesuits, or even the Coeur d'Alene, there is clearly more research potential when considering the possible connection to the St. Mary's Mission.

The research surrounding the mission represents the potential to better understand the past and to use it in the present not only to promote history, but also community cohesion and appreciation. With an established archaeological framework, the Jesuit missions of the Northwest can be better researched. Due to the specific practices the Jesuits promoted, the acculturation of Native Americans can be readdressed and explained more fully. Their more open approach to proselytizing stands out from other missions in the West and especially in comparison to Protestants. The Jesuit Suppression and subsequent Restoration ultimately had the biggest effect on their attitude of missionizing. The Jesuits still applied the much-revered Reduction Plan, and the name stayed the same, but these later Jesuits were more open to cultural differences and accepting of the Coeur d'Alene's traditional cultural practices and transhumance lifeways. Thus far, no research has indicated that any other missionaries, before or since, developed a similar relationship with their congregation. Without the strict adherence to dogma, as with other Catholic or Protestant faiths, the Jesuit fathers may have been uniquely able to change themselves.

This research provides a jumping off point and there is obviously room for more archaeology to be conducted, both at Cataldo and at other Jesuit mission sites in the west. Comparative studies with other Jesuit and Protestant missions in the area can only build upon this project and hopefully better clarify the relationship between Jesuits and Coeur d'Alene

and other Northwest tribes the Jesuits administered. Other mission collections would allow for further comparison of this assemblage to determine if the suppositions are accurate.

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APPENDIX A

Glass MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated date range and median date

Appendix A: Glass MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated date range and median date.

Vessel	Function	Provenience	Trademark	Manufacturer	Comments	Date Range	Median	Reference
CO-44	Tableware	Op 1/Surface	-	-	External press moulding, sunburst design, selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-07	Pharmaceutical	Op 1/Lot 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-35	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-70	Pharmaceutical	Op 1/Lot 1	-	-	Three-piece mould	1870-1910	1890	
EG-01	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1 Op 1/Lot 11	-	-	-	No Date	--	
WG-6	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-15	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-34	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 2	-	-	Peach additive	No Date	--	
PB-01	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 2 Op 2/Lot 7	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-36	Tableware	Op 1/Lot 3	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-76	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 3	-	-	Applied color label	1935-1974	1954.5	Deiss 1981:95
OG-01	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 3	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-20	Pharmaceutical	Op 1/Lot 4	-	-	-	No Date	--	
R-02	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 4	-	-	-	No Date	--	
SL-05	Pharmaceutical	Op 1/Lot 4	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
CO-42	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 5/Surface	Unknown	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-43	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 5/Surface	Unknown	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
EG-02	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 5	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-46	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 5/Level 3	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-37	Tableware	Op 1/Lot 10	-	-	External press moulding, hobnail design, selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-38	Tableware	Op 1/Lot 11	-	-	External press moulding, hobnail design	1915-1930	1922.5	
AQ-01	Fresh beverage	Op 1/Lot 13	-	-		1904-1974	1939	
AQ-08	Pharmaceutical	Op 1a/Surface	-	-	Two-piece hinge mould with pontil scar	1840-1870	1855	
AQ-10	Pharmaceutical	Op 1a/Surface	-	-	-	1840-1870	1855	
AQ-11	Pharmaceutical	Op 1a/Surface Op 1d/Lot 1/Level 1	-	-	-	1840-1870	1855	
AQ-13	Pharmaceutical	Op 1a/Surface	-	-	-	1810-1880	1845	
BR-14	Alcohol	Op 1a/Surface	R. & Co. 37	Roth & Company San Francisco	-	1879-1888	1883.5	Toulouse 1971:439
LGR-01	Food	Op 1a/Surface	-	-	Applied finish	No Date	--	
OL-01	Wine	Op 1a/Surface Surface 2	-	-	-	1870-1920	1895	
R-03	Unknown	Op 1a/Surface Op 1d/Lot 2/Level 1	-	-	Colorless with applied color label	1935-1974	1954.5	Deiss 1981:95
BR-17	Wine	Op 1a/Foundation-Debris	-	-	Mould blown	1870-1920	1895	
CO-41	Food	Op 1a/Foundation-Debris	H. J. HEINZ CO 7 D	H J Heinz Co.	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	Toulouse 1971:236

Appendix A: Glass MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated date range and median date.

Vessel	Function	Provenience	Trademark	Manufacturer	Comments	Date Range	Median	Reference
CO-62	Tableware	Op 1a/Lot 5/Level 3	-	-	Goblet base, Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-02	Unknown	Op 1a/Lot 6/Level 2	-	-	Two-piece mould with lead additive	1850-1875	1862.5	
CO-45	Tableware	Op 1a/Lot 7/Surface	-	-	External press moulding, diamond shapes, Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
BR-04	Beer	Op 1a/Lot 8/Level 1	-	-	"- 5 -"	No Date	--	
CO-06	Unknown	Op 1b/Lot 1/Level 3 Op 1b/Lot 4/Level 1	-	-	With lead additive	No Date	--	
CO-75	Unknown	Op 1c/Lot 4/Level 2	-	-	Applied color label	1935-1974	1954.5	Deiss 1981:95
AQ-09	Pharmaceutical	Op 1d/Lot 1/Level 1	-	-	"- - ARD - -"	1840-1870	1855	
BR-15	Beer	Op 1d/Lot 3/Level 1	W 2 W G	Massillon Glass Works	-	1881-1904	1892.5	Whitten 2005
AQ-07	Pharmaceutical	Op 1d/Lot 7/Level 1 Op 1d/Lot 10/Level 1	-	-	Two-piece hinge mould with pontil scar	1840-1870	1855	
CO-04	Unknown	Op 1d/Lot 10/Level 1	-	-	Lead additive	No Date	--	
OL-03	Wine	Op 2/Lot 2	-	-	Post-bottom mould	1825-1915	1870	Jones 1985
SL-07	Unknown	Op 3/Lot 1	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
CO-11	Unknown	Op 3/Lot 1	-	-	Horizontal band with diagonal rope design	No Date	--	
LGR-03	Unknown	Op 3/Lot 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-05	Pharmaceutical	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-17	Fresh beverage	Op 3/Lot 2	A	Agnew & Co.	-	1854-1866	1860	Toulouse 1969:16 Toulouse 1971:21
AQ-21	Fresh beverage	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	Cup-bottom mould	1870-1910	1890	
BR-01	Beer	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	Two-piece, hand tooled	1840-1920	1880	
BR-16	Pharmaceutical	Op 3/Lot 2	J W & B	Unknown	Two-piece with applied lip	No Date	--	
CO-02	Fresh beverage	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	Two-piece mould	1850-1974	1912	
CO-03	Tableware	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	Fluted tumbler with lead additive	No Date	--	
CO-08	Lighting	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-10	Unknown	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-19	Food preservation	Op 3/Lot 2	"KERR GLASS MFG CO/SAND SPRINGS OKLA/W PAT 4/AUG 3/1915"	Kerr Glass Manufacturing Co.	Peach additive	1912-1946	1929	Toulouse 1971:06
CO-20	Fresh beverage	Op 3/Lot 2	4	-	Peach additive	No Date	--	
CO-22	Alcohol	Op 3/Lot 2	Unknown shield trademark	Unknown	Three-piece mould	1810-1910	1860	
CO-26	Pharmaceutical	Op 3/Lot 2		Illinois Glass Co.	Embossed: "20 / 0" Peach additive	1916-1929	1922.5	Toulouse 1971:264; Lockhart 2004

Appendix A: Glass MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated date range and median date.

Vessel	Function	Provenience	Trademark	Manufacturer	Comments	Date Range	Median	Reference
CO-39	Unknown	Op 3/Lot 2	LAND O…	Unknown	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-40	Fresh beverage	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-54	Unknown	Op 3/Lot 2	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
WG-01	Personal	Op 3/Lot 2	MEA… TRADE MARK	Unknown	-	No Date	--	N/A
CO-56	Pharmaceutical	Op 4/Lot 3	-	-	Three-piece mould, Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
AQ-06	Pharmaceutical	Op 4a/Lot 6/Level 1	-	-	Two-piece mould	1840-1870	1855	
AQ-24	Other	Op 4a/Lot 15/Level 3 Op 4a/Lot 62/Level 1 Op 4a/Lot 19/Level 2 Op 4a/Lot 20/Level 5	-	-	Mould blown with hand applied finish	1840-1860	1850	
BR-03	Alcohol	Op 4a/Lot 33/Level 1	-	-	Two-piece mould	No Date	--	
CO-05	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 85/Level 5	-	-	Lead additive	No Date	--	
AQ-14	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 93/Level 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
BR-07	Beer	Op 4a/Lot 94/Level 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-49	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 27/Level 3	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
WG-03	Personal	Op 4a/Lot 15/Level 2 Op 4a/Lot 94/Level 3	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-03	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 36/Level 1	-	-	-	1840-1870	1855	Jones 1989, Sutton & Arkush 2001
BR-06	Beer	Op 5/Lot 24/Level 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
OL-04	Wine	Op 5/Lot 25/Level 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
SL-06	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 25/Level 3	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
SL-09	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 26/Level 2	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
CO-29	Fresh beverage	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Surface	7 FL U. 02 20 40 44 8-G 2	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	-	1940	1940	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004
WG-05	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Surface	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-22	Fresh beverage	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
BR-05	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
BR-10	Beer	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Multi parted post-bottom mould "12"	1825-1910	--	Jones 1983
BR-11	Beer	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	24 7 46	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	-	1929-1954	1941.5	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004
BR-12	Beer	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	20 47 10 E Duraglas 212	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	-	1947	1947	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004

Appendix A: Glass MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated date range and median date.

Vessel	Function	Provenience	Trademark	Manufacturer	Comments	Date Range	Median	Reference
BR-13	Beer	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	Duraglas 7 ⓘ 5 21 - E - 1596	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	-	1954-1974	1964	Toulouse 1971:403-404; Lockhart 2004
CB-01	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	-	1850-1974	1911.5	
CO-09	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Embossed "1/5 Quart"	No Date	--	
CO-12	Tableware	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Compote with external press moulding basket weave and diamond shapes along lip	No Date	--	
CO-13	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	5  390	?	Automatic "QUART 4/5 QUART 4/5"	1940-1955	1947.5	Toulouse 1971:335
CO-14	Fresh beverage	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Peach additive	No Date	--	
CO-15	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	7357 0 112	Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.	Peach additive	1920-1964	1944	Toulouse 1971:239
CO-16	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	4	-	Peach additive	1893-1926	1909.5	
CO-17	Food preservation	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	2267-I 6 	Olean Glass Co	Peach additive	1929-1942	1935.5	Toulouse 1971:400
CO-18	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Peach additive	1893-1926	1909.5	
CO-21	Fresh beverage	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Peach additive	No Date	--	
CO-25	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Peach additive	No Date	--	
CO-27	Fresh beverage	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Peach additive	1904-1974	1939	
CO-30	Other	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	4	Unknown	Peach additive	No Date	--	
CO-32	Other	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	8  3864	Glass Containers, Inc.	Peach additive, Embossed stars above heel	1945-1974	1959.5	Toulouse 1971:220
CO-33	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Peach additive	No Date	--	
CO-48	Tableware	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-50	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-53	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	 06532	Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.	Selenium additive	1920-1930	1925	
CO-55	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-59	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	12  1 19	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	Selenium additive	1929-1931	1930	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004
CO-63	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-65	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Applied color label	1935-1974	1954.5	Deiss 1981:95

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Trademark	Manufacturer	Comments	Date Range	Median	Reference
CO-66	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	◁▷ 02 2 4719-A 2A	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	Applied color label	1935-1954	1944.5	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Deiss 1981:95; Lockhart 2004
CO-67	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	G 2◁▷3 3	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	Re-used for ink	1929-1954	1941.5	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004
CO-68	Pharmaceutical	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	ILLINOIS 9. ◁▷ 4	-	Embossed graduated lines, "Duraglas" in script above heel, re-used as ink jar	1929-1954	1941.5	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004
CO-69	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Embossed "Fitch's" in script	No Date	--	
CO-71	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1 Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-72	Personal	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	DES PAT 23 ◁▷ 2 1105 5 04	-	"L.B./LAB INC/ HOLLYWOOD/CALIFORNIA/ IA/1 ¼ oz"	1929-1954	1941.5	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004
CO-73	Fresh beverage	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Applied color label	1935-1974	1954.5	Deiss 1981:95
CO-74	Tableware	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Tumbler	No Date	--	
GR-01	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	Mould blown	1870-1920	1895	
LGR-02	Food preservation	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
OL-05	Wine	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-51	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 2	I-20 4A 4102 2-G	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-52	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 2	1650 25 H 2	Unknown	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
SL-08	Unknown	Op 8/Lot 98/Level 2	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
AM-02	Unknown	Op 8/Lot 112/Level 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AM-01	Alcohol	Op 8/Lot 189/Level 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-24	Food preservation	Op 8/Lot 211/Level 1	...CO.	Unknown	Fluted, Three-piece mould	1904-1974	1939	
WG-02	Personal	Op 8/Lot 232/Surface	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AM-03	Pharmaceutical	Op 8/Lot 545/Level 1	-	-	Bottom hinge mould	1810-1880	1845	
SL-04	Pharmaceutical	Op 8/Lot 545/Level 2	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
SL-02	Unknown	Op 8/Test Trench 5/Level 2	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
CO-31	Unknown	Op 9/Lot 1/Level 2	25	Unknown	-	No Date	--	
CO-64	Fresh beverage	Op 9/Lot 1/Level 2	4510-G 20◁▷48 I10 L OZ S.	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	-	1948	1948	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004
BR-09	Unknown	Op 9/Lot 1/Level 5	-	-	Two-piece mould	No Date	--	
BR-02	Beer	Surface	-	-	"27 5 22"	1904-1974	1939	
CO-58	Unknown	Surface/Lot 4	6 O 5	Owens Bottle Co.	-	1919-1929	1924	Lockhart 2010:56

Appendix A: Glass MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated date range and median date.

Vessel	Function	Provenience	Trademark	Manufacturer	Comments	Date Range	Median	Reference
SL-03	Food preservation	Surface 1	P… KERR GLASS MFG	Kerr Glass Manufacturing Co.	-	1912-1915	1913.5	Toulouse 1969:166-171 Toulouse 1971:176
AQ-04	Unknown	Surface 1/SE Foundation Trench	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-23	Unknown	Surface 2/Lot 2	-	-	-	No Date	--	
OL-06	Wine	Surface 10/Lot 10	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-19	Pharmaceutical	Surface 14	-	-	Two-piece mould with "- - T SEP. 28' 1875"	No Date	--	
OL-02	Wine	Surface 14	-	-	Mould blown	1870-1920	1895	
AQ-12	Pharmaceutical	Surface 15	S. 17	American Bottle Company	-	1917-1929	1923	Toulouse 1971:30-33, 454
AQ-16	Fresh beverage	Surface 15	B. Co. 21	American Bottle Company	-	1910-1920	1915	Toulouse 1971:30-33
AQ-18	Unknown	Surface 15	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-60	Pharmaceutical	Surface 15	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
CO-61	Tableware	Surface 15	-	-	Selenium additive	1915-1930	1922.5	
OL-07	Unknown	Surface 15	-	-	-	No Date	--	
R-01	Unknown	Surface 15	-	-	-	No Date	--	
SL-01	Tableware	Surface 15	-	-	-	1860-1915	1887.5	
WG-04	Food preservation	Surface 15	-	-	-	No Date	--	
AQ-02	Unknown	Surface 15/Trenches	-	-	-	No Date	--	
CO-57	Other	Surface 18	Duraglas 7 5	Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	Embossed "THIS CONTAINS MRS. STEWART'S BLUING"	1929-1954	1941.5	Toulouse 1971:395, 403-404; Lockhart 2004

APPENDIX B

Ceramic MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated period within the mission's history

Appendix B: Ceramic MVC table listing each vessel by operation with its designated period within the mission's history (EW= Earthenware, IR= Ironstone, P=Porcelain, and WW= Whiteware)

Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
P-02	Muffin saucer	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
P-15	Rice bowl	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
P-27	Muffin saucer	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Geisha Girl, hand-painted transfer print Green, red, and white, Japanese	Begins in 1890	--	Litts 1988:11
P-29	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Undecorated		No Date	--	
IR-04	Cup	Op 1/Lot 1 Surface 2	Undecorated		1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
P-13	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Transfer print, brown	1829-1850	1839.5	Stelle 2001
P-29	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Undecorated	Possible Asian motifs	No Date	--	
WW-20	Coffee cup	Op 1/Lot 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-27	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-28	Cup	Op 1/Lot 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-35	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-39	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Decal, blue	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
WW-49	Saucer	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Gilded with edge moulding	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
WW-55	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
WW-58	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
WW-62	Saucer	Op 1/Lot 1	Decorated	Transfer print, blue, burned	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
WW-72	Muffin saucer	Op 1/Lot 1 Surface 15	Decorated	Edge moulding, unglazed	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
WW-64	Saucer	Op 1/Lot 3 Op 1/Lot 4	Decorated	Decal (orange), moulded	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
WW-76	Unknown	Op 1/Level 3	Decorated	Decal and edge moulding	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
ST-09	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 4	Decorated	White glaze	No Date	--	
EW-01	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 5 Surface 15	Undecorated		No Date	--	
WW-65	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 5	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-51	Unknown	Op 1/Lot 10	Decorated	Decal, aqua	1890-1974		Stelle 2001
EW-02	Flower pot	Op 1a/Lot 6/Level 2 Op 1a/Lot 9	Molded	Edge moulding	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
ST-05	Unknown	Op 1a/Lot 6/Level 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
ST-06	Unknown	Op 1a/Lot 6/Level 2 Op 5/Lot 13/Level 3	Decorated	Edge moulding	No Date	--	

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
P-17	Rice bowl	Op 1a/Lot 9/Level 3	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
WW-44	Unknown	Op 1a/Lot 9/Level 3	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
EW-03	Unknown	Op1a/Lot 9 Op1a/Lot 4	Decorated	Edge moulding	No Date	--	
WW-40	Unknown	Op 1f/Lot 14/Level 1	Decorated	Slip and glaze, blue, brown, and white	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
P-10	Saucer	Op 1F/Lot 43/ Level 1	Undecorated		No Date	--	
P-19	Rice bowl	Op 2/Lot 1	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
P-16	Rice bowl	Op 2/Lot 2	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
P-25	Rice bowl	Op 2/Lot 2	Decorated	Hand-painted, blue on white	Late 19th C	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
P-18	Rice bowl	Op 2/Lot 5	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
ST-04	Unknown	Op 2/Lot 9	Undecorated		No Date	--	
WW-54	Unknown	Op 2/Lot 10	Decorated	Transfer print, blue and white	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
WW-52	Table plate	Op 2/Lot 14	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
IR-01	Table plate	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
IR-02	Table bowl	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
IR-03	Cup	Op 3/Lot 1	Undecorated		1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
IR-05	Table Plate	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
IR-06	Table Plate	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
P-05	Saucer	Op 3/Lot 1	Undecorated		No Date	--	
P-06	Saucer	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated	Illegible makers mark	No Date	--	
P-07	Bowl	Op 3/Lot 2	Decorated	Hand-painted	No Date	--	
P-09	Cup	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		No Date	--	
P-11	Twiffler	Op 3/Lot 2	Decorated	Decal, two little brown dogs with kerchiefs and green ball.	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
P-12	Unknown	Op 3/Lot 2	Decorated	Gilding, green transfer print, edge moulding	No Date	--	

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
P-28	Tea cup	Op 3/Lot 1	Decorated	Transfer print, blue on white, Paulownia Blossom, Japanese	1910-1940	1925	Brown 1982; Wegars 2006
WW-01	Muffin Saucer	Op 3/Lot 2	Decorated	Edge moulding, "HR/W.S.C. - - - - P/RADI - - -" [makers mark]	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
WW-02	Cup	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-04	Table plate	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-14	Tea cup	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-17	Table bowl	Op 3/Lot 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-41	Muffin saucer	Op 3/Lot 2	Decorated	Gilded with decal, green and orange	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
WW-46	Saucer	Op3/Lot 2	Decorated	Decal, grey, floral pattern	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
WW-37	Bowl	Op 4/Lot 3	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-67	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 1/Level 2	Decorated	Glaze, green	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
P-20	Rice bowl	Op 4a/Lot 6/Level 1 Op 4a/Surface	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
WW-70	Saucer	Op 4a/Lot 11/Level 2	Decorated	Glaze, yellow	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
ST-01	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 15/Level 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-23	Table plate	Op 4a/Lot 18/Level 2	Undecorated	Burned	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
WW-59	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 18/Level 2	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
EW-08	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 21	Decorated	Glazed white outside, glazed rose inside	No Date	--	
WW-71	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 21/Level 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
ST-10	Jar	Op 4a/Lot 23	Undecorated		No Date	--	
P-04	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 28/Level 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	No Date	--	
IR-08	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 91/Level 2	Decorated	Edge moulding	1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
P-26	Teapot	Op 4a/Lot 103/Level 2	Decorated	Hand-painted blue on white floral pattern, late 19th Century Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
P-14	Rice bowl	Op 4a/Lot 104/Level 4	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
WW-50	Unknown	Op 4a/Lot 105/Level 5	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
P-24	Rice bowl	Op 4a/Lot 105a/Level 1	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
WW-74	Twiffler	Op 5/Lot 3/Level 2	Decorated	Edge moulding	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
P-23	Rice bowl	Op 5/Lot 20/Level 2	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
WW-26	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 25/Level 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-11	Muffin saucer	Op 5/Lot 26/Level 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-69	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 26/Level 1	Decorated	Glaze, green	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-61	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 28/Level 1	Decorated	Transfer print, blue and white	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
ST-02	Unknown	Op 5/ Lot 33/Level 1	Undecorated		No Date	--	
ST-03	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 33/Level 1	Undecorated		No Date	--	
P-22	Rice bowl	Op 5/Lot 35/Level 1	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
WW-12	Muffin saucer	Op 5/Lot 35/Level 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
ST-07	Unknown	Op 5/Lot 37/Level 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	No Date	--	

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
WW-66	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Surface	Decorated	Transfer print	1820-1860	1840	Stelle 2001
WW-68	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Surface	Decorated	Gilded and glazed, cream	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
EW-04	Crock	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	Undecorated		No Date	--	
EW-05	Crock lid	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	No Date	--	
EW-06	Crock lid	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	Decorated	Glazed	No Date	--	
EW-07	Crock lid	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/Level 1	Decorated	Glazed, brown with edge moulding	No Date	--	
WW-45	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 1	Decorated	Decal, blue	1890-1974	1932	
WW-03	Tea cup	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-29	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-30	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-36	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-42	Saucer, Deep	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 2	Decorated	Gilding with transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
WW-19	Coffee cup	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 3	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
WW-21	Unknown	Op 7a/Test Trench 1/ Level 3	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
ST-08	Unknown	Op 8/Lot 76/Level 2	Decorated	Glazed, red and brown	No Date	--	
WW-10	Supper plate	Op 8/Lot 98/Level 3	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-25	Unknown	Op 8/Lot 189/Level 3	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-08	Table plate	Op 8/Lot 233/Level 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
IR-07	Cup	Op 8/Lot 513/Level 1 Op 8/Lot 514/Level 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
IR-09	Unknown	Op 8/Lot 524/Level 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
WW-31	Unknown	Op 8/Lot 545/Level 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-16	Unknown	Op 9/Lot 1/Level 1	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-07	Coffee cup	Op 9/Lot 3/Level 2	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
P-08	Jar	Op 15/Lot 24/Level 2	Undecorated		No Date	--	
WW-77	Platter	Surface 1	Decorated	Edge moulding	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
IR-10	Plate	Surface 2	Undecorated		1842-1974	1908	Stelle 2001
WW-43	Unknown	Surface 14	Decorated	Decal, brown, beige, and black	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001

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Vessel	Function	Provenience	Decorated	Decoration	Date Range	Median	Reference
WW-47	Unknown	Surface 14	Decorated	Decal, blue	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
WW-53	Saucer	Surface 14	Decorated	Decal with floral pattern, red, yellow, and green	1890-1974	1932	Stelle 2001
WW-57	Saucer	Surface 14	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
P-03	Unknown	Surface 15	Decorated	Edge moulding	No Date	--	
P-21	Rice bowl	Surface 15/Trenches	Decorated	Bamboo pattern, hand-painted, blue on white, pre-1890 Chinese	Pre-1890	--	Wegars, Personal Communication 2006
WW-05	Coffee cup	Surface 15	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-06	Tea cup	Surface 15	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-32	Unknown	Surface 15	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-33	Unknown	Surface 15	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-34	Unknown	Surface 15	Undecorated		1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-48	Unknown	Surface 15	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
WW-56	Unknown	Surface 15	Decorated	Transfer print, blue	1820-1860+	1840	Brown 1982:6; Stelle 2001
WW-63	Saucer	Surface 15	Decorated	Gilded in floral pattern	1810-1974	1892	Stelle 2001
WW-73	Saucer	Surface 15	Decorated	Edge moulding	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001
WW-75	Unknown	Surface 15	Decorated	Edge moulding	1820-1974	1897	Stelle 2001