MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

Adult education and cultural invasion : a case study of the Salish and the Jesuits
by Elizabeth Louise White

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Montana State University
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Abstract:
During the decade beginning in 1840, an educational interaction took place which profoundly affected the lives of the Salish, a tribal group from northwestern Montana.

As a result of turbulent times accompanying initial contact with Euro-Americans, the tribe sought help which took the form of education. Catholic priests of the Jesuit order, became the teachers who wanted to "save heathen souls" by instilling values of a new religion.

The "blackrobes" determined other cultural elements that required change, in order for salvation to be effective and complete. This educational transaction represented a historical case in which the phenomenon of Paulo Freire'S cultural invasion could be studied.

A historical case study was the method used to research the problem of how adult education became a tool for cultural invasion. The results of this study show that the Jesuits attempted to impose their own. European culture upon the Salish. This imposition constituted cultural invasion. The conclusions in this research presented culturally relevant adult education principles, based upon contemporary philosophies. Although the Jesuits violated these principles in the historical setting, they cannot be expected to operate upon knowledge they did not possess. Instead, these principles are significant because they may sensitize adult educators to cultural differences, thereby avoiding invasion.

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by

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PREFACE

During the decade beginning in 1840, an educational interaction took place which profoundly affected the lives of the Salish, a tribal group from northwestern Montana. As a result of turbulent times accompanying initial contact with Euro-Americans, the tribe sought help which took the form of education. Catholic priests of the Jesuit order became the teachers who wanted to "save heathen souls" by instilling values of a new religion. The "blackrobes" determined other cultural elements that required change, in order for salvation to be effective and complete. This educational transaction represented a historical case in which the phenomenon of cultural invasion could be studied.

Methodology

This research employed a historical case study approach. "A qualitative case study is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit" (Merriam, 1988, p. 21). A case study is differentiated from other historical writing because parameters are established which isolate the case for study. The boundaries set for this study include time limits and the matter of cultural invasion. The distinguishing factor in a historical case study is that the phenomenon is investigated over a past period of time. The necessity of using this method was indicated because no persons were alive to report what occurred. This historical investigation relied on primary documents, secondary documents, and oral history as the main sources of evidence.

Philosophical assumptions in historical research can be characterized by two different views. One view, scientific history, claims to establish as objective truth what actually happened in the past while a second view, historical relativism, maintains that the truths of

history are true of a time and for a time and that they serve the particular needs of a particular age (Hexter, 1974, pp. 13-41). Another philosophical dichotomy distinguishes perspectival history and objective history. Perspectival history is written with the admission that individual historians write from a point of view, such as personal, national, racial, or gender. Objective history claims that an unbiased, factual truth can be found and written about in history (Dray, 1978, pp. 265-282). Depending upon the philosophy to which the historian adheres, the historical method may either restrictively rely on sources where information is accepted at face value and little attempt is made to disprove them or actively interpret the sources to better understand the feelings of the people and how their behavior was influenced.

The position reached in this study was to master the evidence and then to proceed to transform the original sources into meaningful historical interpretations (Hopkins, 1978, pp. 178-186). Carlson (1982) offered the following view of historical interpretation:

> Historians present a reasoned argument regarding the past, based on evidence and their own values....Historians interpret the past by sifting through the available relevant evidence and by

> mixing this information with their own values and philosophy. Through this sometimes agonizing process, they create or discover patterns in the thinking, action, motivation, and relationships that occurred in the past. Disciplined only by reality and their own common sense, historians tease out, dream up, and spin out their interpretation of why the events they are describing have occurred. (p.42)

In accordance with Carlson's view, the present historical research explored the context of the event, examined assumptions related to the topic, and analyzed the impacts on the lives of participants. The emphasis of this study was to actively interpret a fairly well-defined time period and a group of people in order to better understand the feelings of the people and how their behavior was influenced.

Sources

The historical research was conducted by obtaining primary and secondary sources. The primary documents consisted of writings of the Jesuit priests, early traders' and explorers' accounts, Salish oral histories collected by the Salish Culture Committee, Annual Reports to the Commissioner of Indians Affairs, and the Hellgate Treaty of 1855.

Shortly after the Salish Culture Committee was formed

in 1975, they began gathering stories told by tribal elders. The stories were organized according to activities that took place during each month of the year. This framework aided the informants' memories of how things were in the past. The information was recorded on audio tape. Since the elders spoke in Salish, the tapes were first translated to English and then transcribed and typewritten. In the absence of a sophisticated indexing system, the research was best conducted by reviewing a topical listing of each tape. Informants such as Pete Beaverhead (1899-1975), Mitch Small Salmon (1900-1982), and Blind Mose Chouteh (1891-1987) provided excellent information about pre-contact Salish culture, or that which was not directly influenced by Euro-Americans. As young children they experienced tribal life before the overwhelming influence from the influx of homesteaders to the Flathead Reservation in 1910. They were also accustomed to attending nighttime gatherings of their elders who spoke for hours reciting Coyote stories and telling of the ways things were done in their youth. The elders to whom they listened were alive in the mid-1800's. Because the Salish had no written history, children were trained to listen attentively, knowing that they in turn

would tell their children about their tribal heritage. These taped interviews became extremely important in establishing a context of pre-contact Salish culture.

While tribal primary sources relied on oral history, those of the Jesuits were written. Many of these writings have been translated and published. Chittenden and Richardson edited and translated Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet's writings and published them in four volumes in 1905. DeSmet was the first Jesuit missionary among the Salish. He wrote one book that was published in 1881. William Donnelly edited and translated Point's writings and published them with corresponding paintings in the book Wilderness Kingdom in 1967. Point, who lived with the Rocky Mountain tribe, wrote using the third voice and when he referred to himself he would usually say "the missionary" or " the priest". While reading his work, it can become confusing unless the reader remembers that Point was describing himself rather than a biographer writing about him. Father Gregory Mengarini wrote the least amount of the three priests who were associated with the Salish. His writings were compiled by Gloria Ricci Lothrop and published in 1977.

In the 1880's some writings of all three priests

appeared in the Woodstock Letters, a publication of the Society of Jesus. In one section of those publications an impression conveyed that DeSmet often relied on Points' firsthand accounts of the Salishan and Blackfeet tribes for his writings. Either an unnamed editor of the manuscript or Point wrote, "Father DeSmet drew largely upon the narrations and used the drawings of Father Point in his books relating to the Indian Missions" (Point, 1882, p. 298). On the journey from St. Louis, Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, DeSmet assigned Point the duty of official diarist. Considering that DeSmet was at St. Mary's mission for only the first year of its establishment, his writings concerning the mission in other time periods probably originated from Points' accounts.

The primary documents were assessed for their value and worth using the criteria of proximity, which is the preference for using accounts closest in time to the event, competence of the author or records written by a person trained to observe the matter at hand, and impartial purpose or those documents recorded without specific reason for bias (Merriam & Simpson, 1984, p.73).

The audio tapes recorded by the Salish Culture

Committee represent proximate accounts, considering that oral history was a tribal tradition of documenting facts and important events. The competence of the informants is assured because as children they understood the importance of listening and remembering. The accounts failed to meet this criterion completely in that only certain aspects of events may have been regarded as important. Those aspects sometimes do not coincide with research questions. As to the criterion of impartiality, the informants often stated that they wanted their knowledge to be shared with all of the tribal members out of the fear that otherwise their information would be lost. Of course, ethnocentrism was unavoidable; they related most of the stories from a tribal perspective. None of the informants received training in scientific observation.

The Jesuit writings of DeSmet, Point, and Mengarini meet the criterion of proximity. However, their competence by virtue of training does not exist and their recorded observations have limitations. But their writings are still valued because often they represent the only written documentation for such information. Although the Jesuits were partial and their writings were produced to defend their actions to their superiors or to appeal to

a wider audience for recognition of their good work and for fundraising, they inadvertently reveal much about their cultural and educational values that they took for granted.

The problems encountered when conducting historical research predominantly result from the unavailability and inaccessibility of sources. Problems associated with the primary material of the Jesuits is that it has been recorded in French, Italian, and Latin. In order to read the original documents, the researcher either needs fluency in those three languages or access to materials that have already been translated and published.

Special problems relating to this historical study also resulted from the fact that the Salish people did not record their history in a written form; therefore, the primary materials are limited to cultural artifacts and oral histories that have been collected. Cultural artifacts were not used in this study. The oral histories, collected much later than the time period being studied, were used mainly as a way to confirm or deny anthropological accounts of spiritual and cultural beliefs and practices. The practices that continue into the present time were assumed to derive from compatible

practices a century earlier.

The two anthropologists who spent the most time working among the Salish were James A. Teit and Harry H. Turney-High. Turney-High (1937, p. 6) admonished Teit for an over-reliance on a single informant, Michel Revais. However, Turney-High often concurred with Teit's findings. These scholars conducted most work with the Salish between 1927 and 1937. Although their accounts are more proximate than the Salish Culture Committee transcripts, they may not be as reliable. Turney-High (1937, p. 6) said that Teit spent one week with the Salish gathering information. Although Turney-High (1937, pp. 6, 28) spent eight years at the University of Montana, during which time he conducted field work with the Salish, the rapport established between himself and the Salish is uncertain.

Organization of Study

This dissertation is organized in a two-part format consisting of the historical case study and a script treatment. The case study research comprises the bulk of the manuscript. The final chapter contains the script treatment based on the initial research. This treatment differs from a script in format because it is written as a

narrative which includes the storyline but does not give complete dialogue or stage directions. The initial thematic organization of the script treatment begins with the Salish vision of the teachings of the Jesuits as inspired by a tribal prophet, Shining Shirt. Then, the Jesuit vision of a mission in the wilderness as inspired by the Paraguayan reductions follows. As the Jesuits began to interact with the Salish in the process of adult education, they experienced periods of Salish acceptance and resistance. The treatment culminates with this portrayal and the impact of the educational and cultural interaction between the Salish and the Jesuits. To ensure authenticity and credibility of the characters, the dialogue used in the treatment often drew partially or verbatim from primary sources. Since the creative writing involved in the treatment included part of an academic requirement, references for the dialogue were provided.

The doctoral committee for this dissertation, advised the use of a format with broad dissemination capabilities. A standard dissertation format normally does not reach as wide an audience as is possible through other media. For this reason, the format of this dissertation includes a script treatment which is based on the essential

historical research. Eventually, if resources can be secured, the script treatment will be used for the production of a film. Upon completion, this medium will appeal to a wide range of age levels and can be considered an appropriate resource for public schools. It should also raise questions about how adult education was used as a tool for cultural invasion, in addition to containing meaningful and contemporary parallels for the field of adult education.

In concluding this prefatory statement, I would like to acknowledge the outstanding advice and assistance received from my doctoral committee. With gratitude and appreciation I recognize the efforts of Dr. Irvin (Bobby) Wright, Co-Chairman, for sharing so much of his time and his expertise in research and writing on the subject of Native Americans; Dr. Robert Fellenz, Co-Chairman, for his assistance throughout my doctoral program and for sharing his expertise in the area of adult education; Dr. Joan Miles and Dr. Frank Seitz for their unqualified support and encouragement during the course of my program; Dr. Wayne Stein for agreeing to join my committee during the dissertation phase and for his overwhelming support; and to the Graduate Representatives Dr. Kathleen Long and Dr.

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ABSTRACT

During the decade beginning in 1840, an educational interaction took place which profoundly affected the lives of the Salish, a tribal group from northwestern Montana. As a result of turbulent times accompanying initial contact with Euro-Americans, the tribe sought help which took the form of education. Catholic priests of the Jesuit order, became the teachers who wanted to "save heathen souls" by instilling values of a new religion. The "blackrobes" determined other cultural elements that required change, in order for salvation to be effective and complete. This educational transaction represented a historical case in which the phenomenon of Paulo Freire's cultural invasion could be studied.

A historical case study was the method used to research the problem of how adult education became a tool for cultural invasion. The results of this study show that the Jesuits attempted to impose their own European culture upon the Salish. This imposition constituted cultural invasion. The conclusions in this research presented culturally relevant adult education principles, based upon contemporary philosophies. Although the Jesuits violated these principles in the historical setting, they cannot be expected to operate upon knowledge they did not possess. Instead, these principles are significant because they may sensitize adult educators to cultural differences, thereby avoiding invasion.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As increasing numbers of ethnically diverse adults obtain an education, adult educators must become aware of special cultural considerations. Many people acquiring education do so in order to attain citizenship in this country, to become eligible for the job market, or to achieve literacy levels required for effective participation in this society. A traditional approach has been to disregard the special needs of these ethnically diverse people by mandating, through legal and other types of pressure, that certain kinds of information be learned. For example, people who speak foreign languages as their first language, such as Hispanics and Asians, must learn and use the English language. These people also must conform to the dominant group's diet, dress, appropriate social behavior, and all other components comprising

culture. Ultimately, the dominant culture of the United States has compelled culturally different people to give up their own culture in exchange for the American way of life.

Cross-cultural adult education can easily become cultural invasion. In order to practice appropriate education, teachers and students must become aware of what constitutes cultural invasion. This chapter discusses such terms as adult education, cultural invasion, and culture, so that their use throughout this paper is understood. The final section in this chapter, provides a brief description of the historical case analyzed in this study.

Adult Education

The request for cultural change and the response to it are often made through an educational process. Public schooling has a socializing and acculturizing influence on children. Adults are influenced in a similar way through adult education programs (McLaren, 1989, pp. 9-10, 173). The education of adults first became a discipline of social science in the early 1900's (Knowles, 1962, pp. 154, 190; Stubblefield, 1988, p. x). That is not to say

that adult education did not exist before that time; rather it was not previously analyzed as a distinct field of study. With the first theories of the purpose of adult education, the field emerged as a very complex and ill-defined discipline. Even though adult education remains to be well-defined, patterns of emphasis have been shaped over time (Knowles, 1962, pp. 188-189, 263, 279-280).

Adult education is a process that engages adults rather than children. The definition of adult, however, is not universal. Little agreement among definitions of adults exists. Rather, adult status can be determined by any combination of biological, social, and psychological maturity. Most people in the field acknowledge adults as people who perform socially productive roles and who have assumed primary responsibility for their lives (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 8). The process of adult education takes place in both formal and informal settings but it does not include the traditional twelve years of public schooling.

A leader in the field, Cyril Houle (1972), defined adult education as "any process by which individuals, groups, or institutions try to help men and women improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill,

knowledge, or sensitiveness" (p. 229). The term is further clarified by Darkenwald and Merriam (1982). "Adult education," they maintained, "is a process whereby persons whose major social roles are characteristic of adult status undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values, or skills" (p. 9). Historically, then, a rationale for the education of adults has been to eliminate society's ills and to restore a sense of order and harmony. A problem with most definitions of adult education is that they describe goals rather than actual practice within the discipline.

The major aims which have evolved within the discipline are the cultivation of the intellect, the promotion of individual growth and development, the enrichment of personal development alongside social progress, and social change (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 69). Most American educational philosophers "see education as having a dual function of promoting individual growth and maintaining and/or promoting the good society" (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 50). Some people criticize this view because they believe it represents adult education as a benign institution in

which educators know best what people want and need, what will make society good, and how to help enhance the quality of human life.

Proponents of social change differ from other theorists in that they view adult education as an agency which serves either to promote change or to maintain the status quo. As critics of the existing system, they see a need for social transformation that would bring about a better society (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 58). One proponent of social change, Paulo Freire (1970, pp. 172-176, 93), conceived of adult education as a means to liberate and empower the oppressed. Freire maintains that systems of education have too often served to keep oppression in place. Freire (1970, p. 150) uses the term "cultural invasion" to describe the imposition of one dominant people's culture over another culturally different group. Cultural invasion contrasts markedly with Freire's concept of education for liberation and empowerment. His writings provide a framework which enables an analysis of the role of adult education within a context of historical cultural interaction.

Theoretical Framework

Freire was born in 1921 in Recife, Brazil. His mother was a devout Catholic. During Freire's youth Brazil suffered an economic depression, which deeply affected his family. As a result, when he was a young child, he experienced a transition from middle class life to one of hunger and poverty. This ordeal significantly influenced his adult life, because he realized from personal experience the devastating impact poverty had on learning (Mackie, 1981, p. 3).

The first words usually associated with Freire are "literacy" and "liberation." He spent a significant amount of time discussing the meaning and connection of these words. Another word that should be associated with his work is "respect," for there is an underlying respect with which Freire regards humanity (1970, pp. 79-80). His perspective is that teachers and learners should interact as equals where both have something to teach and to learn. Since respect is a universal element that every person wants from other people, it makes a good foundation for interpersonal relations.

Because of the basic respect Freire affords all of

humanity, he decried the oppressive social structure that dehumanizes both the oppressed and the oppressor. "This struggle [for humanization] is possible only because dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is not a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed" (Freire, 1970, p. 28).

Freire criticized the traditional education system for perpetuating that social structure. He insisted upon a transformation of this structure through an awakening critical consciousness of the oppressed because Freire (1970) maintained that "it is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free their oppressors" (p. 42).

The method Freire (1970, pp. 93-101) proposed for this awakening process was the formation of culture circles where people generated words and themes. These words have been engendered from within the people's own experiences. Through a process of dialogue, the words and themes take form, giving voice to the people's longings, concepts, dreams, and ideals. The evocation of intelligent and articulate dissent serves to break the oppressive silence and to empower the powerless.

Fundamental to Freire's notion of education is the

presence of dialogue (Escobar, 1981, p. 41-84). Both the educator and the learner communicate for mutual learning and teaching. Education is the process through which people learn to intervene and participate in creating their awareness of reality. This process is joined by both educator and learner in experience rather than in abstract intellectualism.

According to Freire, education must be undertaken with love and courage. Freire (1970, pp. 24, 77-79) encouraged people to eliminate violence, oppression, and exploitation, thereby creating a world in which it is easier to love. Problem-posing education is the method Freire recommends for this transformation. This method consists of naming important conflicts in the problem situations, analyzing causes of conflict within the system, and encouraging collaborative action to resolve conflicts (Alschuler, 1980, pp. 18-19; Freire, 1970, pp. 68-72).

As a system, education has historically placed the learner in an inferior role as though a receptacle for knowledge. Freire cried out against the "objectification" of humans and knowledge in this way, and he pointed out that knowledge can only be acquired with the admission of

knowing little. The traditional system presumed the teacher knew everything and the learner knew nothing. In the Freirean sense, both roles are engaged in teaching and learning, thus freeing individuals from maintaining the status quo (Freire, 1970, pp. 58-59). To Freire, education is not neutral; it is either for liberation of people or for their domestication. When knowledge is held in the hands of the few, the resulting power serves to maintain a structure of domination and oppression.

In Freire's writings this dominant theme of education's polar purposes continued to emerge. According to Freire, education which serves to domesticate is antidialogical. In this framework, information is known by the educated few and passed on to the ignorant. Education which serves to liberate is dialogical, meaning knowledge is created in unison with the educator and the learner.

Cultural invasion is a fundamental characteristic in Freire's theory of antidialogical action. It occurs when people penetrate the cultural context of another group and impose their own view of the world and culture upon those they invade. In the process of cultural invasion the invader assumes an attitude of superiority and projects

inferiority upon those who are invaded. Freire states that cultural invasion is always violent and that "all domination involves invasion--at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend" (Freire, 1970, p. 150).

The dialogical theory of critical action is contrasted with cultural invasion because domination and conquest are not present. Rather, people meet together in a learning enterprise of critical thinking in order to transform the world for the liberation of humanity.

Freire's views seem highly unorthodox and controversial to many people. However, he claims that the intellectual roots of his belief in a compassionate, active, and wholehearted struggle for the liberation of humanity on earth arise from his strong Christian beliefs (Mackie, 1981, p. 98).

Defining Culture

In order to determine how cultural invasion occurred at St. Mary's mission, it is necessary to define culture. The origin of the concept of culture can be traced to ancient Greece (Gans, 1985, p. 1). The use of the term referred to individuals who had knowledge of classic

wisdom. So a "cultured" person was an elite individual who could read and write and was educated in a school or university (Bernardi, 1977, p. 3).

An English anthropologist, Edward B. Tylor, first defined culture in 1871 (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1963, p. 11). "Culture or civilisation [sic]," according to Tylor, "taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1963, p. 81).

Prior to the early twentieth century, the concept of culture was more closely aligned with the humanist tradition which nearly equated culture with civilization. In this conceptualization people strived to attain a high degree of culture. People could be uncultured and progress through evolutionary stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The humanist view accepted racial determinism which upheld the notion of differing mental capacities among different races (Stocking, 1968, pp. 212-213, 229).

By the early 1900's Franz Boas and his students began using the term, culture, in the modern anthropological

sense which greatly influenced the field of anthropology. In this sense human behavior is determined by culture rather than by race. The anthropological use of the term is further distinguished from the humanistic usage in that anthropological culture was a plural term referring to "cultures of individual human groups" rather than a "singular phenomenon, present to a higher or lower degree in all peoples" (Stocking, 1968, p. 203). Humanistic tradition held that culture was absolute and "that every society through its culture seeks and in some measure finds values", while in the anthropological tradition, culture was relative and had an inherited hierarchy of values (Stocking, 1968, p. 198).

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963, pp. 77-156, 300-302) collected more than 160 definitions of culture written between 1871 and 1950. They divided the lists into fourteen categories. Rather than relying on such a complex organization, a simpler classification scheme dividing the definitions into three categories will be illustrated. This format included enumerative definitions, definitions by criterion, and those using a combination of both methods (Bernardi, 1977, pp. 11, 13-15). The first category, enumerative definitions, are

those which list phenomena considered to be cultural objects. Subclasses of these phenomena are grouped under mental states and processes such as knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs; regularly repeated patterns of behavior of individuals or groups such as habits and customs; part-mental and part-material acquisitions, such as methods of communication and skills; products of human activity which include material products such as tools and artifacts and non-material products such as songs and stories; and standardized behavior patterns and mutual attitudes of a group of people which relate to the concept of institution, such as law, marriage and religion. The second category referring to definitions by criterion include two types: empirical and theoretical. "Empirical criteria are those which can be established by observation" (Bernardi, 1977, p. 15). Theoretical criteria are those which presuppose knowledge of the subjects by which the characteristics of the objects, and relationships between them, can be explained. These criteria display a social and historical dimension in that "cultural objects belong to more than one individual at the same time and also to individuals of successive generations" (Bernardi, 1977, p. 15).

This brief discussion illustrates the complexity of defining culture. The selected definition clarifies the use of "culture" in this paper. Since Leslie White (1949, pp. 15, 46) first suggested that culture consists of a system of symbols, this idea has grown in acceptance within the field of anthropology. The symbol system is inherent in human attributes of intelligence and language. These two characteristics distinguish humans from animals. Intelligence refers to the fact that humans learn the bulk of their behavior, rather than deriving behavior from instinctual impulses. Building on these ideas, Robert Murphy (1979, p. 23) states that "culture is a body of knowledge and tools by which we adapt to the physical environment; it is a set of rules by which we relate to each other; it is a storehouse of knowledge, beliefs, and formulae through which we try to understand the universe and man's place in it." This definition includes the spiritual, economical, political, and social aspects of culture that will be analyzed in this study.

Historical Case Analysis

A case analysis of the interaction between Jesuit priests and an American Indian tribal group, the Salish, provides a historical setting to examine adult education and the way in which it was used. The Salish had a distinct, viable culture before contact with Europeans. When the Jesuits arrived, they attempted to change an Indian way of life that had survived hundreds of years. This attempt was possible through adult education. The missionization experience of the Salish beginning in 1841 involved an educational enterprise which taught such courses as agriculture and religion. These two primary subjects for the Salish educational program reflect the Jesuit expectation for broad cultural change to be imposed on the Salish. Contrary to rationales of adult education, which address empowerment of individuals, this case illustrates how the actual practice of adult education was an act of cultural invasion.

The purpose of this study, then, is to analyze a historical case setting where adult education served invasive purposes. While adult education is ordinarily bestowed with promises of societal improvement and

individual empowerment, in this historical situation, adult education negated that purpose. In order to understand how this transgression took place, it is necessary to examine the adult education practices of the Jesuits as well as the Salish responses to their teachings.

Jesuit historians wrote many of the histories of the Salish and Jesuit experience from a perspective which idealized the missionaries and their work (Corley, 1941; Davis, 1954; Garraghan, 1938; Laveille, 1915; Palladino, 1922; Donnelly, 1967; Schoenberg, 1957, 1960, 1962). The writers viewed the impact of Catholicism on the Salish and the Jesuit contribution to the development of this church as positive. Davis reflected this view when he wrote about mission progress:

> But all these things, good in themselves, were but the material foundations of a spiritual edifice rising day by day in the sight of, and to the glory of, Almighty God: the action of grace in the souls of the natives fashioning new men, living images of Christ. (1954, p. 34)

Palladino expressed the same attitude when he described the reaction of other priests in St. Louis to DeSmet's trip to the Salish:

> and on hearing from him of the good disposition of the Flat Heads [Salish] and of the field waiting ripe for laborers, several were desirous to help

him gather in the harvest of souls. (1922, p. 37)

Garraghan credited the mission with bringing civilization to the area when he wrote:

> The significance of the mission in the pioneer history of western Montana is in the circumstance that it was the earliest nucleus of ordered civilized life within its limits. (1938, p. 270)

The Jesuit and Salish roles in the adult education process require deeper analysis and further investigation in order to determine if, in fact, the mission experience was completely positive. Jesuit priests such as DeSmet, Mengarini, and Point interacted with the Salish in many capacities. Specifically their roles as adult educators will be explored.

This study will examine the impact of the Jesuits' efforts on Salish culture, especially in the areas of religion and economy. Many cultural changes, influenced by the Jesuits, took place within the generation beginning in 1841. To understand these cultural impacts, a historical analysis of the various motives of both groups as well as the successful and unsuccessful outcomes of this educational enterprise is needed.

While most previous histories praise both DeSmet specifically and the Jesuits in general for their efforts in educating the Salish, their culturally invasive

practices have never been examined. Ultimately the Jesuits abandoned adult education, and by 1864 the first Catholic boarding school for Salish children had been established (Bischoff, 1945, pp. 74-79). The cultural transformation expected of Salish adults never happened as it was envisioned by the Jesuits. They eventually decided it would be far easier to isolate the children from their cultural environment and implant a new culture in order for the transformation to occur.

CHAPTER 2

SALISH CULTURE BEFORE EUROPEAN CONTACT

Salish people had a distinct and viable culture which existed thousands of years before European contact. The aspects of Salish culture discussed in this chapter are religion, subsistence, marriage, and leadership. The Jesuits targeted theses areas for cultural change throughout the education process.

The Term Salish

Salishan is the anthropological term for both culturally related American Indian tribes and a broad language group. Salishan speakers peopled much of the Pacific Northwest several thousand years ago. The area experienced a drought approximately 4,000 B.C., driving separate bands to the south and east. One band, which migrated farthest east, settled on the border between the

western plains and the eastern Rocky Mountain plateau. This tribe became the interior Salish of present day western Montana (Fahey, 1974, pp. 6-7). Salish is an Indian word used by this tribe as a name for themselves which means "people" (Finley, 1976, Tape 75; Ray, 1939, pp. 1-3; Teit, 1928, pp. 295-6).

The Plateau region, encompassing western Montana, Idaho, and Washington as far west as the Cascade Mountains, was mainly comprised of Salishan-speaking tribal groups who share many cultural traits. The region, although sharing some characteristics, remains distinct from the Plains area to the east and the Northwest Coast region to the west (Fahey, 1974, pp. 6-7; Ray, 1939, pp. 1-3).

The Salish of western Montana were misnamed the Flathead because other tribes, referring to them in sign language, pressed both sides of their head with their hands. Although tribal members deny any practice of flattening their heads, the misnomer has continued in use (Fahey, 1974, pp. 6-7; Teit, 1928, pp. 295-6). In this paper, unless otherwise noted, the term Salish will refer to the group from the Bitterroot Valley in Montana.

Salish World View

According to Salish cosmology the Sun created the heavens, the earth, and all living creatures. However many of the creatures were evil monsters. So Coyote was sent by the Sun to make earth a better place. Descending from Coyote and his wives, Indian tribes peopled the earth (Fahey, 1974, pp. 3-5; Woodcock et al., 1983, p. 1). Coyote and his brother Fox created many geographical formations and gave people many skills. However Coyote also left behind imperfections such as greed, jealousy, envy, and anger (Woodcock et al., 1983, p. 1).

Religion

Coyote stories were, and still are, an integral part of Salish culture. They are told only during the winter months when the nights are long. Far more than simply entertaining, the stories often give creation explanations and moral lessons. They often provide a spiritual base from which religious practices are derived (Woodcock et al., 1979, p. 1). For example it was Coyote who learned the ways of the sweathouse and taught the people how to

build and use it (Chouteh, 1975, Tape 27).

The sweathouse is a religious ritual used for physical and spiritual cleansing. The Creator answers prayers for good health, abundant food, and healing of sickness in this lodge (Chouteh, 1975, Tape 27). In addition to prayers in the sweat, praying marked the beginning and end of each day. The way of praying long ago began each day when the sun was about to rise and continued until it was completely above the horizon. Then when the sun was about to set, prayers would begin again and last until the sun was beyond the horizon (Beaverhead, 1975, Tape 56).

Salish religion had a very practical orientation. The paramount issue was one of survival which centered on activities such as healing sickness and obtaining food. Although there was belief in a soul and afterlife, it was not a very elaborate concept (Turney-High, 1937, p. 27). Life on earth was the focus in tribal religion. Tribal elder Mitch Small Salmon (1977, Tape 144) explained that, "The religion of our ancestors was for their lives on earth," as contrasted to "the laws of God, because it is the laws from above for when you die".

Near the age of puberty, boys and girls went alone into the wilderness to obtain a guardian. Preparation

prior to the journey included bathing in cold water and rigorous fasting. The vision quest, as it is commonly known today, was considered successful when a guardian appeared in animal or human form. The guardian gives the pubescent child a song, an object which becomes part of a medicine bundle, and instructions on how to reach the guardian (Ray, 1939, pp. 70-72; Teit, 1928, p. 384; Turney-High, 1937, pp. 27-28).

Shamans, or medicine people, also acquired their powers during the vision quest. "A shaman is a person who enters an altered state of consciousness at will for the purpose of healing, gaining power, or acquiring knowledge" (Gray, 1989, p. 78). Healing refers not only to physical ailments, but to spiritual and emotional as well.

> All forms of suffering and disease are diagnosed as powerlessness. The remedy in all cases, no matter what the particular ritual or shamanic act, is to regain power for the patient by restoring a vital soul, retrieving a guardian spirit, or instructing in ceremonial practices that return power. (Gray, 1989, p.80)

The distinction between shamans' power and other people's was one of degree. All youth acquired power from their guardian during the vision quest, but this power could only help on occasion and was strictly personal. A shaman, on the other hand, could perform deeds for others

such as curing the sick, seeing events that were happening in another place, and calling the buffalo while hunting (Ray, 1939, p. 92; Turney-High, 1937, pp. 29-30, 33, 36-37).

Major tribal religious ceremonies focused on prayers requesting abundant food supplies and giving thanks for food that had been provided. The gathering which focused on the two primary roots eaten by the Salish, bitterroot and camas, was the First Roots ceremony (Teit, 1928, p. 341, 387; Turney-High, 1937, p. 34). The chief appointed two or three people to observe the bitterroot for its first bloom. When the time was right they would bring a root back to the leader. Then all the women and children would dig enough roots to hold a feast. As the food was being prepared blessings were asked for the food and all the people (Arlee, 1977, Tape 22). Bitterroot was, and still is, highly valued as a food and a medicine. In the center of the root is a red seed called the heart. This heart is the livelihood of the root, and when eaten, symbolizes the strength of each person and the whole tribe (Beaverhead, 1975, Tape 48). This gathering continues in importance today as tribal members dig bitterroot and hold a thanksgiving feast each year in the month of May.

The mid-winter ceremony was the most important one that was held at the first of the New Year. This ceremony was divided into two parts. The first part included prayers requesting that plenty of camas be provided in the coming year; and the second part provided a special occasion for healing the sick and answering all participants' prayers (Ray, 1939, pp. 102-103; Teit, 1928, p. 387; Turney-High, 1937, pp. 37-41). The modern counterpart for this gathering is the jump dance which is held in January and is the time when people give thanks for the past year and pray for good things in the next year (Arlee, 1977, Tape 22).

Animals, trees, plants, and rocks were attributed with supernatural powers. The Salish had a spiritual affinity with the earth and all living things. The gift of medicine power often came in dreams but also came directly from animals. These powers aided life in a variety of ways including healing sickness. Nearly every person had medicine power and there were many medicine men (Small Salmon, 1977, Tape 153; Teit, 1928, p. 384). Plants were used as medicine to treat a variety of health problems. Knowledge of plant uses was extensive and widely practiced (Beaverhead, 1975, Tape 53).

Subsistence

Anthropologist Harry Holbert Turney-High asserts that the Northwest Coast was the place where the Salish originated. Evidence he uses to support this claim, aside from the Salish language chain extension throughout the Pacific Northwest, is that fishing was an important part of subsistence for the Plateau Salish as well as for the Northwest Coast groups. Plains tribes, although having access to fish, rarely depended on it. Among the Salish, Turney-High (1937, p. 123) also found many more coyote stories dealing with fishing for salmon than hunting for bison. One of Turney-High's (1937, pp. 11-12) informants told a migration story that originally placed the Montana tribe on the Pacific coast. According to his version, two separate bands of Salishan people were camped together. Several people of these bands were fishing when an argument began between the two chiefs. The argument broke into a fight which lasted four days. After the death of many tribesmen, the losing chief suggested he settle the dispute by taking his band and moving away. This band was

to become the Salish band of the Bitterroot Valley in Montana.

The story told by Pete Beaverhead (1975, Tape 2) holds that the Salishan tribes were all one tribe hundreds of years ago. The Montana Salish, Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Shushwaps, and Colvilles all spoke the same language. However, because of a food shortage, young men of different families went to different areas in search of food. Each man reported what he had found. These men moved their families to areas that proved to have more plentiful food supplies. This was how the main group divided and became the separate tribes of today.

The Bitterroot Valley had a wide variety of food sources. Before the acquisition of the horse the Salish relied on roots, berries, fish, and game (Teit, 1928, pp. 344-345). Women gathered the vegetable and fruit staples while men hunted the animals. The importance of each item depended on the season. The summer months consumed the women's efforts with digging bitterroot in May, wild carrots in June, camas bulbs in July, and picking berries in August and early September. Although men conducted a summer hunt, hunting in earnest did not begin until late August when the animals began to fatten.

Once the Salish acquired the horse, around 1700, bison became the major hunting focus. The great bison hunt would begin in the winter as the majority of men headed east to the plains. The hunt lasted until early spring when the hunters returned home with large provisions of buffalo meat (Turney-High, 1937, pp. 111-116).

Meat from a slain buffalo belonged to the hunter who killed it. If some hunters were unsuccessful, the chief would assure an equitable distribution among everyone. Once the hunters returned to camp, the goods transferred to women, who prepared, processed, and preserved the meat and hides (Turney-High, 1937, p. 121).

Marriage

The products of women's work made valuable trade items. For example, the value of dried meat was equal to that of horses (Turney-High, 1937, p. 121). Since one buffalo provided enough work to keep three women busy, more wives and daughters per lodge usually indicated greater wealth. Polygamy, with two wives, was most common. Occasionally a rich, successful man was able to support three or four wives. Monogamy was rare except in instances where a man was poor or in some way unable to

support another wife properly. Each wife went through a marriage ceremony and was afforded equal status with one another, as well as with their husband. The term for wife, which designates this equality, literally means "one who sits beside him" (Turney-High, 1937, p. 94).

The introduction of the horse brought about an increased reliance on the buffalo for food, clothing, and shelter. The biannual bison hunts on the plains also increased Salish contact with enemy tribes. As warfare escalated the proportion of males to females decreased. This may also account for the practice of polygamy (Teit, 1928, pp. 314-315; Turney-High, 1937, pp. 115-116).

The marriage union received public acknowledgement in any of the major ceremonial dances. The women danced in one line facing the men in another line. A man would reveal his intention of marrying one of the women by placing his dance stick on her shoulder. If she did not remove the stick from her shoulder, a reciprocal interest was indicated and the couple were considered to be married (Teit, 1928, p. 388; Turney-High, 1937, pp. 90-91; Woodcock et al., 1981, p. 11).

Leadership

Political organization was based on a chieftainship. Most of the Plateau tribes follow a loose heredity system that is modified by an individual's achievement or ability. Some groups within the area follow a strict heredity pattern and others select a chief only on the basis of achievement. Verne Ray (1939, pp. 18-19) stated that the Salish were among those of the latter group who emphasized achievements in war. In support of Ray's contention Pete Beaverhead (1975, Tape 43) related how "if you are brave in battle, smart in stealing, if you are worthy in meanness against your enemy, it won't take long for you to be a great Chief." While James Teit (1928, pp. 376-377) claimed that the "chieftainship was never strictly hereditary", only one of the six chiefs he listed is not related to any of the others. Turney-High (1937, p. 49) disagreed with both Ray and Teit by asserting that the office was hereditary in all but extraordinary situations. In favor of this view, Mitch Small Salmon (1977) explained the procedure of selecting a new chief.

> When the chief knows he doesn't have much longer to live he will call on his sons. They will have

> a gathering, they will sit down and the chief will explain everything that they should know and learn about being a chief. Then the father will point at one of his sons and say I am choosing you for our next chief. I want you to think like I did and use the laws like I have. (Tape 116)

Based on these discrepancies it is likely that the practice of the Salish followed a loose heredity system that was modified by individual achievement, especially in war.

The tribe had a head chief, sub-chief, and several small chiefs. Although the head chief was the leader, "as a rule he consulted with other chiefs in matters of importance." The small chiefs regulated the safety and welfare of the camp including the designation of campsites, gathering of firewood, protection of horse herds, guarding people, and scouting during hunting (Woodcock et al., 1983, p. 4).

Salish culture emphasized individual and group endurance. The people's survival depended on physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being. Consistent with a view of holistic health, was a regard for the whole environment, the earth, and humankind's place therein. Gender roles were specialized but equally important. Leadership tended to rise upon demand and was not highly structured. Essentially, Salish culture was a tribal

response to continued livelihood within their surroundings. This way of life was to change as it encountered a different but equally rooted culture.

CHAPTER 3

JESUIT BACKGROUND

Philosophy of the Society of Jesus

The Jesuit order inspired the philosophical assumptions of the priests involved with the Salish missionization experience. The brotherhood to which they committed their lives must be explained. Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, founded the Society of Jesus in 1534 (Barthel, 1984, pp. 15, 20; Fulop-Miller, 1930, p. 65). His new order was based on a revolution in Catholic thought. Prior to this time, Catholic doctrine had held that perfection in this life was attained through union with God, achieved not by human efforts but by God's grace alone. The Jesuit doctrine Loyola advocated opposed that notion. He maintained that through great effort and pain, man could find perfection or divine will by conforming

man's will to that of God. In order to accomplish this feat, Loyola provided a book of spiritual exercises to help others make their choice between Satan and Christ (Burns, 1966, p. 39; Fulop-Miller, 1930, pp. 3-28).

Unlike the earlier mystical writings that taught people to extinguish all sensory perceptions in order to become united with God, Loyola's exercises employed graphic images such as pictures of Satan and torture scenes in hell. They prompted the use of all the senses to experience more fully "The Spiritual Exercises," a Jesuit handbook for training the spirit and the intellect (Barthel, 1984, pp. 71, 75). Many of the scenes were quite disturbing to the novices and intentionally elicited fear in them. The novice

> is taught to hear in imagination the howlings of the damned, to see their convulsive agonies, to feel the flames that burn without consuming, to smell the corruption of the tomb and the fumes of the infernal pit. (Parkman, 1867, p. 97)

The fear of God was not only thought to be a potent means of purification, but it was also considered an opening for conversion (Fulop-Miller, 1930, p. 8), and conversion of non-Christians was Loyola's primary goal. Subsequent Jesuits maintained the goal whether it targeted the "New World Heathen" or the "Oriental idolater" (Barthel, 1984,

p. 176; Boehmer, 1975, pp. 164-166).

As a young man, Loyola served in the military forces. Influenced by this background, Loyola fashioned the Jesuit order after a hierarchical, militaristic institution. There was a superior member called the general to whom subordinates reported. Instruction of the lower members consisted of practicing obedience as if the superior's will was one and the same with their own will (Barthel, 1984, pp. 48, 56-59; Burns, 1966, p. 37; Fulop-Miller, 1930, p. 20). The combination of militaristic obedience and an organized will proved to be very effective for the world-wide work of conversion. In practice, the concept of the organized will produced the independent action required for work in outposts located at tremendous distances from central authorities. The training in militaristic obedience was an assurance to those distant authorities that their commands would meet with compliance. The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus state:

> When an army is widely scattered, then the various bodies of troops must remain in close contact with one another and with their supreme commander in the field...so that the same spirit, the same purpose, the same sense of striving will everywhere prevail. (Barthel, 1984, p. 65)

From the beginning of his work, Loyola was committed

not merely to the salvation of his own soul but to saving others as well. The emphasis of the order was on action rather than contemplation. Ignatius directed the order to "Seek out the lost sheep, fight for the souls wherever you find them, and by any means at your disposal" (Barthel, 1984, pp. 47-81). The spiritual exercises were written in a way to reach the masses. Loyola and his followers initially preached to street crowds in a dramatic manner which appealed to the emotions. Later they relied on the confessional to strengthen the faith and promote the endurance of the newly converted. As a means to expand the territory and increase the numbers of Catholic converts, the Jesuits turned their efforts towards the influence of kings and princes in powerful positions (Fulop-Miller, 1930, p.75), and "for almost a century the Jesuits enjoyed a virtual monopoly as confessors to the Catholic monarchs of Europe" (Barthel, 1984, p. 87).

Catholic Education

The Jesuits did not hesitate to use the educational system to their advantage. The conversion endeavor most effectively worked through systematic public education programs extending from the elementary level to the

university and from academic education to technical education (Gildea, 1983, pp. 366-367). From the founding of the order, the Jesuits had been involved in education often as a way to protect their precepts from the attack of such rival, non-Catholic groups as the Jansenists, Reformationists, Gallicanists, Encyclopedist wing of the Enlightenment, and the continental Liberalists (Burns, 1966, pp. 36-40).

The first Jesuit college, founded in Portugal in 1542, began a wave of Jesuit dominated schools that soon spread across Europe. Although initially opposed to studies and reading, Loyola eventually stated, "The good that the Order can do to promote the Roman cause depends less upon preaching than teaching in our colleges." By 1580 the Jesuits had a monopoly on higher education in Catholic Europe (Barthel, 1984, pp. 113, 115, 116, 119).

The Jesuit schools wielded great influence throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Boehmer, 1975, p. 110; Schwickerath, 1903, pp. 173-175). This influence was believed to be one reason for the eventual suppression of the Order. According to this view the Jansenists and Huguenots, who were involved with the French revolution, considered the Jesuits their enemies. In order to

preserve peace with the Bourbon kings, Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society in 1773 (Schwickerath, 1903, pp. 173-175). Two explanations of the fall of the order, cited as contemporary to that time, were posed by both opponents and proponents of the Jesuits. One position held that the Society had become "a massive, completely self-centered, power-hungry, organisation [sic] bent on endless expansion." The other opinion was that the "Society was martyred by a conspiracy against it and engineered by the Devil." However, the Papal Bull, the decree of suppression, very clearly and strongly explained that the order "frustrated every papal effort to reform it" and that it was "a constant and grave source of dissension within the church" (Aveling, 1981, pp. 271, 284; McCabe, 1913, pp. 346-350).

Following forty-one years of suppression, the restoration occurred in 1814 through a papal bull issued by Pius VII. After the restoration the Jesuit networks of influence remained small. The society was not allowed back into France, Belgium, and Italy until 1830. Finally in 1847 the order had once again become a power in Europe (Aveling, 1981, pp. 299-300, 304-307).

Part of the restoration decree stated that "We declare

besides and grant power that they [Jesuits] may freely and lawfully apply themselves to the education of youth in the principles of Catholic faith, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries" (Schwickerath, 1903, p. 190). Within the original Constitutions the purpose of the Jesuit order was "the progress of souls in a good life and knowledge of religion; the propagation of faith by public preaching, the Spiritual Exercises and works of charity, and particularly the instruction of youth and ignorant persons in the Christian religion" (Schwickerath, 1903, p. 77). The first principle of this educational system was to adapt itself to the different times and countries (Boehmer, 1975, p. 166; Hughes, 1892, pp. 141-142; Schwickerath, 1903, p. 77).

The Ratio Studiorum details the Jesuit educational systems. Loyola began outlining the Ratio, but it was finally completed in 1586 by Father Claudius Aquaviva (Hughes, 1892, pp. 8, 147). The first rule maintained that religion was an important part of education and that teachers should expound upon "all branches of learning in such a manner that men should be led to the knowledge and love of their Creator and Redeemer" (Schwickerath, 1903, p. 590).

The Ratio listed a double purpose of education in dealing with both intellectual and moral aspects. Training the mind consisted of methods including lecture, memory lessons, compositions, and contests. These exercises were aimed at developing the intellectual abilities of memory, imagining, and reasoning (Hughes, 1892, p. 90; Schwickerath, 1903, pp. 308, 457, 521). Innocence and purity, the moral virtues, were preserved and augmented through morning prayers, night prayers, daily mass, confession of sins, receiving communion, and teaching the rudiments of faith (Hughes, 1892, pp. 99, 102). Sodalities were pious associations of various categories which admitted only the studious and virtuous as a degree of honor. They were intended to advance moral and intellectual education of the students (Boehmer, 1975, p. 112; Hughes, 1892, p. 103; Schwickerath, 1903, p. 561).

Johannes Philip Roothaan, elected General Superior in 1829, issued a new edition of the Ratio in 1838. Roothaan actually made few revisions, and instead maintained the outdated classical liberal arts curriculum, which was outdated by then. He believed in the "educative power of drill, minute regulation and exact obedience" (Aveling, 1981, p. 301). Roothaan regulated all areas of training,

prayer, and studies in order to provide discipline and stability to the society. During his term, which lasted until his death in 1853, the majority of Jesuits greeted his directives with "enthusiastic compliance" (Aveling, 1981, pp. 301-304, 315).

Three Missionaries

The Catholic educational system of the Jesuits had a direct influence on Fathers Peter John (Pierre Jean) DeSmet of Belgium, Nicolas Point from France, and Gregory Mengarini from Italy (Buckley, 1989; Laveille, 1915). The Catholic Church in Belgium and France had managed to gain control of the public system of education by the early nineteenth century, monopolizing the field until 1860 (Gildea, 1983, pp. 107-109). For DeSmet and Point, Catholicism was not only central to family life but also to national allegiance.

General Roothaan's conservative approach provided stability for the order. During his tenure he also emphasized the "development of the missionary spirit" and "an effective participation in apostolic work in pagan lands" (DeGuibert, 1964, p. 476). The task of missionaries was conversion of sinners to Catholicism

thereby producing a "multitude of souls of good will" (DeGuibert, 1964, p. 311).

Throughout much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Jesuits aspired towards the missionary life. In fact during that period, "three out of five [Jesuits] were missionaries." Owing to the suppression of the order, most Jesuit mission activity stopped or became severely curtailed. Finally when Roothaan became General Superior "he showed the open field, awakened holy desires and apostolic ambitions, invited the heads of provinces to generosity in regard to these works, and recalled the necessary training and qualities, especially the spiritual qualities, which are indispensable for the ministry among the pagans" (DeGuibert, 1964, pp. 466-467).

The missionary zeal also inspired the three priests who would later work among the Salish. Pierre Jean DeSmet was born in Flanders (which later became known as Belgium) in 1801 to Joost and Marie DeSmet. Pierre Jean was born from Joost's second marriage. From the two families Joost had twenty-two children. As a wealthy shipowner he was more than able to provide for such numerous offspring (Laveille, 1915, pp. 2, 5).

During Pierre's childhood he was nicknamed "Samson"

because of his stature and because he was a "fighter, and always in trouble." Probably inspired by his father's business, he often dreamed of "ships, sea voyages, and ship wrecks." His father predicted that he would either become a "soldier or a great traveler; he will never remain at home" (Laveille, 1915, p. 7).

At about age fourteen DeSmet entered boarding school and remained there for two years when he enrolled in a seminary. Two years later he had transferred to a college, then returned to another seminary. While he was at the seminary in 1821, he listened to a missionary recruiter speak about his work among the Indians in America. Inspired as he was, DeSmet made secret plans to sail to America. Fearing his parents disapproval, he left without notifying them of his plans. However, before he actually set sail, his brother had located him. Although his brother was unable to dissuade him from his journey, DeSmet's father at least became aware of his plans (Laveille, 1915, pp. 10, 12, 15, 19).

After arriving in America DeSmet entered the Jesuit novitiate at Whitemarsh, Maryland. DeSmet completed his Jesuit training at Florrisant, near St. Louis, Missouri, and was ordained in 1827 (Davis, 1954 p. 123).

Nicolas Point was born at the height of Napoleon's rise to power during the French Revolution in 1799. Point's mother became a widow in 1804 and was forced to provide solely for her three surviving children. Point went to school at the age of four and made his first communion when he was eleven years old (Buckley, 1989, pp. 5-8). In order to financially help the family, he took jobs as a clerk for which he had skills of legible writing and exceptional drawing. Between the ages of eleven to sixteen, Point continued to work and provide for his family during his mother's prolonged illness (Buckley, 1989, pp. 5-8).

At the end of 1816, Point enrolled in a Latin school designed to prepare boys to enroll in the seminary. He remained there for two years. One year later, at the age of eighteen, Point joined a Jesuit seminary. He entered the novitiate in 1822 but was sent home after seven months (Buckley, 1989, pp. 13, 21, 24, 32). Despite such a severe setback Point was still firm about becoming a Jesuit and a missionary in the "vast wilderness of America" (Buckley, 1989, p. 15). Point returned to the novitiate three and a half years later and was finally ordained in 1831 (Buckley, 1989, pp. 36, 58).

Point was sent to America in 1835 to serve as principal at St. Mary's College in Kentucky until "the French Province opened a mission among the Indians" (Buckley, 1989, p. 80). He later served as rector at St. Charles College in Louisiana before he left for Westport, Missouri to work among the Kickapoo Indians. Point joined DeSmet and others on a trip up the Missouri where they would eventually join the Salish. Throughout his life, Point was subject to bouts of severe depression and mental imbalance which profoundly affected his abilities to work with fellow Jesuits (Buckley, 1989, pp. 160, 169, 195-196, 207, 221).

Gregory Mengarini, an Italian aristocrat by birth, entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of seventeen. While in his second year of training he heard of a Flathead Indian delegation who sought Blackrobes in St. Louis. From that moment he decided his preferred vocation was to minister to the Rocky Mountain tribes in America (Lothrop, 1977, pp. 63-64).

By the time of his ordination in 1840 he had acquired skills in the areas of linguistics, medicine, and music. These abilities served well in the mission field. After requesting assignment to the foreign missions, permission

by the General Superior had granted Mengarini's desire to serve in a North American Indian mission in the Rocky Mountains (Lothrop, 1977, p. 72).

DeSmet was appointed to answer the Salish request for "blackrobes." DeSmet, Mengarini, Point, and Brothers William Claessens, Charles Huet and Joseph Specht travelled to the Bitterroot Valley alongside the Rocky Mountains (Davis, 1954, p. 3-4). In 1841 the Jesuits established St. Mary's Mission, the first Catholic mission in the northwest territory.

The respective nationalities influenced these three missionaries, as well as a deep Catholic inspiration. The Jesuit order was highly structured and hierarchical. In sharp contrast to Salish religion, Christianity placed man above nature. "Be fruitful and multiply, " God said in Genesis,

> and replenish [fill] the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." (The Holy Bible, 1897, 1:28)

In contrast to Jesuit culture, the Salish did not believe in dominion over the earth, prosyletization was unknown. In Salish culture there is no comparison with the Jesuit practice of worldwide conversion.

CHAPTER 4

SALISH INVITATION TO THE BLACKROBES

A Search for Power

Plateau people, both individuals and tribal groups, derived power from their spiritual relationships (Miller, 1981, p. 73). People complied to codes of behavior in order to maintain an equilibrium upon which both individual and group survival depended. The vision quest is one example of how individuals maintained spiritual balance. During this process a youth gained help, advice and protection from the spirit of an animal or object that had appeared in the vision. However, improper behavior could result in the loss of the spirit's aid (Miller, 1981, pp. 52-55, 58). Religious rituals involving demonstrations of and competition for power ascertained political power. Spiritual harmony imbued the victorious

contestants (Miller, 1981, p. 69). Gift-giving maintained economic balance. During certain gatherings participants contributed gifts. The greatest amounts of gifts were given by the sponsor and the shamans. Miller (1981, p. 71) declared that "economic strengths were possible only because of spiritual strengths." Individual and group power in all aspects of Plateau life came through the spiritual world.

Because religion interwove through all aspects of life, it was toward a spiritual source that the Salish turned their requests for healing the sick, provisions of abundant food supplies, daily well being, and power. The Jesuit priest Father Gregory Mengarini (Lothrop, 1977, p. 159) noted that the Flathead prayers usually "consisted in asking to live a long time, to kill plenty of animals and enemies, and to steal the greatest number of horses possible." Any problem occurring in the daily life of the Salish would be directed towards a central power source for resolution and that source was spirituality. However, beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Salish encountered problems that presented a grave challenge to their spiritual power source.

The concurrence of two major problems presented the

Salish with a crisis situation: the introduction of disease and an imbalance in warfare between the Salish and the Blackfeet. This dilemma resulted from both direct and indirect contact with Europeans. Prior to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Salish had never experienced such grave circumstances (Teit, 1927, p. 315; Turney-High, 1937, p. 116).

Compared to the Salish, the Blackfeet had few horses during most of the nineteenth century. Estimates of the number of horses per lodge for several tribes around the year 1830 revealed that each Blackfeet lodge possessed five horses compared to 50 per lodge among the Salish and Nez Perce (Ewers, 1943, p. 603, 607). Blackfeet informants stated that the average household needed between ten to twenty horses just for subsistence. The definition of what it meant to be wealthy in horses involved a greater number than those required for subsistence. "A man who owned merely enough horses to perform the necessary tasks required for subsistence, primarily hunting and the transportation of his tipi and household effects when camp was moved, might live well," Ewers (1943) concluded,

> but he was not wealthy. He possessed no surplus horses with which to purchase powerful medicine

> bundles or give away to enhance his social standing in the tribe. He was not a public charge. But he was definitely a middle class mortal. To be rich in horses a man had to own a considerable number of animals over and above those required for subsistence. (p. 607)

Because of the dearth of horses among the Blackfeet, they were in an "almost indefensibly exposed position" (Miller, 1981, p. 112). This economic and political disadvantage continued until the late 18th century. The tribes west and south of the Blackfeet, among whom were the Salish, had early access to the horse and, along with the horse, improved cavalry techniques for fighting their enemies. The eastern tribes acquired firepower from the British forts before western tribes such as the Blackfeet and Salish. They tried to maintain their advantage by preventing guns from spreading west beyond their control. The Blackfeet realized the advantage of having both the horse and the gun in fighting the tribes that had only one or the other. By the 1790's the spread of horses and guns had converged in their country, and they were able to use that advantage effectively against their enemies to the east, south and west (Miller, 1981, pp. 112-123). The Salish were profoundly affected by this overwhelming change, as a Salish man named Faro related.

"A great many snows past," he said,

> when I was a child, our people were in continual fear of the Blackfeet, who were already in possession of fire arms of which we knew nothing, save by their murderous effects. During our excursions for buffalo, we were frequently attacked by them, and many of our bravest warriors fell victims to the thunder and lightning they wielded, which we conjectured had been given them by the Great Spirit to punish us for our sins. In our numerous conflicts, they never came in reach of our arrows, but remained at such a distance that they could deal death to us without endangering themselves. Sometimes indeed their young warriors closed in with us, and were as often vanquished; but they never failed to repay us fourfold from a safe distance. (Ferris, 1940, p. 90)

The Blackfeet raided the Salish and other Plateau region tribes for horses. "Most of them [Blackfeet informants] credited the tribes west of the Rockies--the Flathead, Kutenai, Pend d'Oreille, Nez Perce, and Shoshone--with ownership of the best horses" (Ewers, 1943, p. 176). Firearms, acquired through horse trade, increased the efficiency of Blackfeet raids.

This imbalance, presented by increased Blackfeet power, posed a new problem for the Salish (Turney-High, 1937, p. 116). As the Salish were pushed further west out of the plains and into the Rocky Mountains, they witnessed the new superiority of their Blackfeet enemies.

"For several moons," reported Faro,

> we saw our best warriors almost daily falling around us, without our being able to avenge their deaths. Goaded by thirst for revenge, we often rushed forth upon our enemies, but they receded like the rainbow in proportion as we advanced, and ever remained at the same distance, whence they destroyed us by their deadly bolts, while we were utterly powerless to oppose them. At length, "Big Foot," the great chief of our tribe, assembled his warriors in council, and made a speech to them, in which he set forth the necessity (of) our leaving our country. "My heart tells me," he said, "that the Great Spirit has forsaken us; he has furnished our enemies with this thunder to destroy us, yet something whispers to me, that we may fly to the mountains and avoid a fate, which, if we remain here, is inevitable. The lips of our women are white with dread, there are no smiles on the lips of our children. Our joyous sports are no more, glad tales are gone from the evening fires of our lodges. I see no face but is sad, silent, and thoughtful; nothing meets my ears but wild lamentations for departed heroes. Arise, let us fly to the mountains, let us seek their deepest recesses where unknown to our destroyers, we may hunt the deer and the bighorn, and bring gladness back to the hearts of our wives and our children." (Ferris, 1940, p. 91)

Another major problem facing the Salish was decimation from new diseases for which they had no immunity. Based on tribal oral histories and recent research on disease, evidence showed that epidemics of smallpox, measles, bubonic plague, influenza, and other diseases that were unknown to Native Americans prior to European contact decimated native people (Burns, 1966, p. 13; Dobyns, 1983). The diseases apparently spread from tribe to tribe

through a complex but well-established intertribal trade network, so that the diseases transmitted to Plains and Plateau tribes in the eighteenth century without their having had face-to-face contact with European people.

The dates of the earliest epidemics among the Salish are still largely unverified. The first one dated around 1800, followed by successive outbreaks in 1825, 1830-32, and 1847 (Teit, 1928, p. 97). Oral history of the Kootenai tribe, neighboring the Salish to the north, told of an epidemic so severe that there were only three survivors from which the people repopulated (Franz Boas, 1918, p. 269-71). The story has no specific date other than "long ago."

When the Jesuits arrived in the Rocky Mountain West, they were told of epidemics that decimated large portions of the western tribes (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, pp. 245, 657, 952, 1135, 1235, 1475). A Coeur d'Alene tribal member, a Salishan-speaking group from the Plateau region, related the following story to Father DeSmet:

> The first white man they saw in their country wore a calico shirt, spotted all over with black and white, which to them appeared like the smallpox; he also wore a white coverlet. The Coeur d' Alenes imagined that the spotted shirt was the great manitou himself, the great master of that alarming disease, the smallpox--and that the white coverlet was the great manitou of the snow; that

> if they could obtain possession of these, and pay them divine honors, their nation would never afterward be visited by that dreadful scourge; and their winter hunts be rendered successful by an abundant fall of snow. (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 565)

Although it is impossible to determine precise numbers of Salish people prior to European contact, an estimate of the population around 1700 was 15,000. Between 1805-1806, Lewis and Clark estimated that only 600 Salish remained (Teit, 1928, pp. 314-315). With the loss of most or all of the people in a tribe, portions of the cultural and spiritual wisdom also would have been lost. Since the main method of maintaining tribal culture was through an oral tradition of storytelling (Fahey, 1974, p. 4), the sheer loss of numbers of people would be enough to dramatically reduce the amount of cultural transmission (Fahey, 1974, pp. 24-25; Teit, 1928, p. 97). The Salish religion was likely in a stage of transition resulting from the loss of spiritual wisdom indirectly caused by disease.

Two major problems, the loss of life due to warring and decimation due to new diseases, presented a crisis to the Salish. When they turned to their native religion for help, it failed to alleviate such tremendous problems. Out of despair, the Salish sought alternate solutions to

their predicament through a spiritual source of power that was strong enough to stand the overwhelming pressure caused by these problems.

Previous Knowledge of the Blackrobes

In addition to this crisis situation, two other occurrences encouraged the Salish to search for another source of spiritual power. A tribal prophecy of the "blackrobes" and introduction to Catholicism by a group of eastern Iroquois in the early 1800's, predisposed the Salish towards an interest in the "whiteman's religion." A story, passed down for several generations among the Salish, told of a prophet named Shining Shirt who had foreseen the coming of the "blackrobes." Shining Shirt admonished the Salish to learn of the blackrobes' teachings because of their potential benefit to the tribe (Turney-High, 1937, pp. 41-43). Because such visions held value in Salish religion, the prophecy established credibility for the blackrobes.

Besides foreseeing the Jesuits' arrival, the Salish welcomed into their tribe a group of Indians who had previous experience with Catholic missions. In the latter part of the eighteenth century a small group of Iroquois

from the northeastern part of the United States settled with the Salish and taught them Catholic catechism which they had learned from the Jesuit mission at Caughnawaga, New York (Fahey, 1974, pp.66-67; Garraghan, 1938, pp. 240-241). This preliminary instruction in Catholicism may have raised Salish interest and desire to learn more from the blackrobes.

Inspired by the hope-filled message of the ancient prophet Shining Shirt and the promptings of the Iroquois, the Salish interest to learn the religion of the blackrobes increased. The Salish probably believed that they could enhance their own spirituality with a new power provided by the blackrobes' teachings. It is reasonable to presume that, to the Salish, their religion seemed to have diminished in strength since it had to face such extreme pressures. This did not mean it would have to be replaced, just revitalized. The quest for Catholic teachings would potentially provide access to new spiritual power.

St. Louis Delegations

Although the Salish sought to learn the "power" of the blackrobes, it is not clear to what degree they were

involved in the delegations sent to invite the Jesuits. In 1831, a group of four Indians journeyed from the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis, Missouri. The purpose of the trip became widely publicized as a desire to learn how "white men talk to the Great Spirit" (Drury, 1939, pp. 286-287). Whether the delegation was comprised solely of Nez Perce or Salish or a combination of both tribes continues to be debated (Drury, 1939, pp. 283-287; Drury, 1963, pp. 50-60; Garraghan, 1938, pp. 237, 242; Haines, 1937, pp. 71-78; Jesset, 1951, pp. 224-241; Palladino, 1922, pp. 13-19). The group first went to see William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who was unable to understand their language. Then they went to the Catholic church, where the Jesuits also did not understand them. While in St. Louis, two members of the group became sick, died, and were buried in the church cemetery. Although the two survivors left St. Louis, they never returned to their home (Drury, 1939, pp. 283-284; Garraghan, 1938, pp. 237, 242-243; Jessett, 1951, pp. 227-228; Haines, 1937, pp. 77-78; Johnson, 1908, pp. 195-197; Palladino, 1922, pp. 16-17).

Based on publicity from this trip, Protestant missionaries went to work among the Salish in 1834.

Either because of Salish refusal to accept anyone other than those who wore "blackrobes" or because the Protestants wanted to work with a larger tribe in a less threatening environment, these ministers did not establish missions among the Salish. They eventually worked among other tribes further to the west (Drury, 1939, pp. 283, 286-287; Elliott, 1936, pp. 1-2; Haines, 1937, p. 71; Garraghan, 1938, pp. 244-246, 249-250; Johnson, 1908, pp. 197-208; Palladino, 1922, pp. 20-22).

Old Ignace LaMousse, an Iroquois from Caughnawaga, and his two, half-Salish sons, left for St. Louis on a second delegation in 1835. LaMousse's two sons were baptized as Francis and Charles Xavier. Before he returned to the Bitterroot Valley, Old Ignace asked Bishop Rosati to send missionaries to the Salish. Eighteen months later, Old Ignace, one Nez Perce, and three Salish prepared to leave for St. Louis again. En route, the Sioux attacked and killed them. Peter Gaucher and Young Ignace, both Iroquois, departed for St. Louis in 1839. This group successfully reached St. Louis and delivered a request for Catholic priests to be sent to the Rocky Mountains. The following year the Jesuit superior appointed Father DeSmet to make a trip to survey the Salish people and their home

for the possibility of establishing a mission there. After returning to St. Louis, DeSmet selected a group of five priests and brothers who accompanied him to Montana and founded St. Mary's mission in 1841 (Garraghan, 1938, pp. 246-248; Palladino, 1922, pp. 25-29).

It is logical to assume that the tribe wanted Jesuit help to strengthen and reinforce their spiritual power source. Spirituality was a hub for the Salish from which spokes of power emanated outward into every area of life. The reality of the time, complete with survival threatening situations, probably caused the native people to question the strength of their power source. Presumably, they did not intend to abandon their native religion, instead they hoped to find an addition with which to invigorate their spiritual power source. It is obvious they initially did not envision a conflict between Catholicism and native religion. Instead they likely viewed Catholicism as a spiritual source which would supplement or enhance, rather than supplant, native religion.

Jesuit Response

For various reasons, the priests ventured into Montana to apostolize among the Indians. Their primary desire was to save "heathen" souls, otherwise doomed to live a miserable life void of true religion and to suffer eventual damnation. "How beautiful is the faith which produces those valorous missionaries!" wrote Father Terwecoren in the preface to DeSmet's published letters.

> Armed with the sole standard of the cross, with no other compass than obedience, with no star of the ocean but Mary, they run fearlessly to their goal, which is the attainment of God's greater glory by the salvation of souls. (DeSmet, 1881, p. 11)

Parallel to this concern was the desire to further God's will (Bischoff, 1945, p. 26). The Jesuits viewed the spiritual beliefs and cultural practices of American Indians as the work of idolaters. In order for God's work to be done, they held, all remnants of these evil practices and beliefs must be wiped out. In his memoirs, Mengarini listed several obstacles to the successful conversion of the Salish. Each barrier was some component of culture, which if eradicated would render the Salish able to become Christianized or civilized.

"First of all," Mengarini wrote,

> the nomadic, vagabond life which they are forced to pursue as in times past, adhering to those ancient ideas, causes them to remain in their savage state. Furthermore, the passions which slumbered while they dwelt in villages are reawakened even more strongly during the hunt. Occasions of sin are not lacking, for the devil does not sleep. (Lothrop, 1977, p. 207)

Another motive for proselytizing the Salish, was to counter anti-Jesuit sentiment. The Jesuits suffered periodic censure due to their unpopular image of unrestrained independence and radicalism (Burns, 1966, pp. 31-33, 43). The most extreme case was the official papal suppression which Pope was declared in 1773 and which lasted for forty-one years. Missionary societies, spawned by both Catholic and Protestant groups, aided the process of Christianizing the Indians and aroused inter-denominational competition. The fact that the Salish spurned offers of Protestant missionaries was a tribute to the Jesuits who welcomed the opportunity for a more popular image.

"For some volunteers, missionary work was a 'call of the wild,' as one Jesuit suggested, not unlike the romantic summons to adventure that drew young men by the thousands into the American West in the nineteenth century" (McKevitt, 1986, p. 437). This sense of

adventure motivated some Jesuits to become missionaries (DeSmet, 1881, pp. 7-9; Schoenberg, 1982, pp. 6-7). Father DeSmet was one of these adventurers. In 1821, at 20 years of age, DeSmet heard Father Nerinckx (another Belgian native) speak on a recruiting trip. Nerinckx had left his Belgian home in 1804 to seek a "vaster field of action in the United States" (Laveille, 1915, p. 13). Nerinckx described the "state of ignorance in which the Western tribes were languishing" and asked for "a handful of devoted men to save an entire people and extend the reign of God" (Laveille, 1915, p. 14). On this trip, nine missionaries had been recruited from their European homes to work in a far off wilderness. "They wait but for the opportunity of saving one soul," wrote DeSmet's biographer, "to fly to unexplored countries, to ever-growing dangers of death" (Laveille, 1915, pp. 11-12). Despite the hardships that he would encounter in a new and remote land as well as the difficulties in getting there, DeSmet made preparations to leave home and sail to North America secretly, thereby avoiding parental opposition (Laveille, 1915, p. 17). Thus, DeSmet exemplified this adventuresome spirit, for he travelled between Europe and North America more than 30 times for the purpose of

fundraising and recruiting novices (Davis, 1954, p. 123).

DeSmet was a central figure in the Salish tribe's exposure to Catholicism. Many histories of DeSmet and the founding of St. Mary's mission portray a man approaching sainthood in his aspirations for his work with the Salish (Corley, 1941; Donnelly, 1967; Evans, 1975 & 1981; Hopkins, 1958; Laveille, 1915; Magaret, 1940; Palladino, 1922; Pfaller, 1962; Schoenberg, 1957, 1960 & 1962; Sanders, 1910; Terrell, 1964). Historians considered him a leading missionary and government agent in his time. During the 1860's, he agreed to represent the United States as a negotiator for peace with the Sioux tribes (Laveille, 1915, pp. 326-327, 343-358). However, he also functioned as an adult educator. The impact of his efforts was powerful and long lasting. Although most published histories of St. Mary's focus on DeSmet, he actually spent only one year continuously with the Salish while establishing the mission. It was Fathers Point and Mengarini who remained at the mission over a period of several years.

The Paraguayan Model

Indian missions established in South America by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century greatly influenced the plans for establishing St. Mary's among the Indians of the Rockies. DeSmet wrote that the Paraguayan example would serve as a good model for the Jesuits' work with the Salish. "The end those Fathers had in view, and the means employed to attain that end, were approved by the highest authority. Furthermore, the results obtained called forth the admiration even of our enemies" (Laveille, 1915, p. 127). DeSmet wanted to imitate the Paraguayan reductions as closely as possible (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 306). These settlements were originally called "reducciones" in Spanish. The term derived from the root word "reducir," meaning to bring together (Barthel, 1984, p. 202). The basic plan was to have the church centrally located, surrounded by neat rows of houses and cultivated land. Another approach used in Paraguay, and one that the Montana Jesuits would try to emulate, was to separate native people from bad European influences such as drunkenness (Thwaites, 1959).

A passage from the historical account that so influenced DeSmet attributed the idea of segregation to the early church. The Paraguayan historian, Muratori, wrote:

> At last experience has too sensibly convinced the Missionaries, that it is next to impossible to convert the Indians, who have opportunities of being aquainted [sic] with the Spaniards way of life; and that they must seek out other nations, which by their situation had no intercourse with Europeans. (Muratori, 1759, pp. 49-50)

The mission system DeSmet modeled after the Paraguayan reductions consisted of four steps: the nurturing of a simple, firm faith; a respect for authority; industry and a love of labor; and flight from all contaminating influences or from what the Gospel calls the world (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, pp. 328-329; Lothrop, 1977, p. 95). This system, as described in Muratori's history, also included pressure on the native people to conform culturally to a European standard.

> The first step taken by these ancient sages was to bring the barbarians into society, and to convince them how much a civil life was to be preferred to the brutish life they had led hitherto, whether they considered their present maintenance, or their habitations, or even the wars so frequent among them. (Muratori, 1759, p. 59)

One historian of the Paraguayan missions criticized the paternalistic behaviors of the Jesuits for contributing to the eventual demise of the villages because the Paraguayan

natives were trained to depend so greatly upon the Jesuits (Neill, 1966, p.203).

CHAPTER 5

ASSUMPTIONS OF SUPERIORITY

Jesuit View of Salish

The Jesuits based their view of the Salish, and of Indians in general, on both preconceptions and actual experience with the tribal people. Evidence of the preconceptions is indicated in Jesuit use of derogatory terms in referring to native people. DeSmet and other Jesuits used such words as "barbarians," "savages," and "heathens" when referring to all American Indians in general and to the Salish in particular. Examples of such usage prevailed throughout the writings of Fathers DeSmet, Point, and Mengarini (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905; Donnelly, 1967; Lothrop, 1977).

The terminology used by the Jesuits conveyed their cultural bias. The word "heathen" was based upon

religious criteria that derived from ancient Jewish and early Christian beliefs. Anyone who did not practice Jewish or Christian religion was referred to as a "heathen." "Barbarian" stemmed from usage in ancient Greece to denote someone who was uncivilized or whose language was unintelligible. Both terms, came to be used interchangeably because civility and Christianity were synonymously enmeshed. The Latin root word, silvaticus, had the general meaning of a forest person or man of the woods. Silvaticus gave rise to the words "saulvage", "salvatich", "salvage", and "savage", which in their fullest essence implied everything contrary to Christian norms and society (Berkhofer, 1979, p. 13). The priests' frequent use of these terms to reference the Salish, indicated their stereotypical views portraying a deficit image at best. The terms described what the Salish did not have: Christianity and civilization. The terms also implied a Jesuit attitude of cultural superiority and they became predictive of methods the priests would use to impose their lifestyle upon the Salish.

Another assumption of superiority is evident in the Jesuit preconception of saving souls. This mission implied that the Salish needed salvation and that without

Jesuit intervention they would suffer damnation. When Father Mengarini requested permission to work in an American Indian mission, he wrote his superior, "But my heart has been there, where the poor souls have no one to help them escape the hands of the devil" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 230).

Jesuit views formed from actual experience with the Salish were more positive than their preconceived images of Indians. When the Jesuits first met the Salish, they attributed these people with "the virtues of modesty, frankness, courage, goodness, and generosity" (Donnelly, 1967, pp. 11-12). However, they did not extend the same praises to another Plateau tribe, the Coeur d'Alene. In fact Point's description of them is extremely critical. "Dirty faces, hair in disorder, hands serving as comb, handkerchief, knife, fork, and spoon," he wrote.

> While eating, foul sounds came from the nose, the throat, from the mouth; in fact, from any part of the body capable of producing them. This gives some idea of the visible squalor, but it is a feeble image of the pitiful state of their souls. For even at this time there still prevailed an idolatry which went so far as to render homage to the vilest of animals. There was a shamelessness of habit which knew no check other than caprice or passion. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 50)

Since the Coeur d'Alene were Salishan speakers, neighbors and allies to the Salish, it is curious that such a

discrepancy existed between the descriptions of the two tribes. One possible explanation for the different appraisals of the two tribes is that Salish values and morals that were influenced by the Catholic Iroquois in the early 1800's meshed better with the Jesuit moral code. Another possible explanation is that, since the Salish had the "superior wisdom" to choose Catholicism in preference to Protestantism, the Jesuits endowed them with wonderful virtues. According to the Jesuits, no matter how advanced the Salish might be in comparison to other tribes, they still needed improvement. Evidence of this attitude occurred in the statement Point made in reference to the Salish, Coeur d'Alene and Blackfeet. "Common to all three," he wrote,

> with some exceptions among the Flatheads [Salish], is an unrelenting spirit of independence, laziness, a passion for gambling, cruelty to the vanquished, very little regard for women, forgetfulness of the past and improvidence for the future. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 12)

The Jesuit view of the Salish reflects a superior attitude held by the churchmen towards the tribesmen. This conception of Indians as inferior applied to many cultural aspects.

Demands of Christianity and Civilization

The Jesuits targeted several areas of Salish culture for change through their educational interaction with the tribe. The missionaries attempted to impose Catholicism, agriculture, monogamy, and a structured leadership system upon Salish tradition.

Native Religion Versus Catholicism

The Jesuits believed that, without benefit of Christianity, Indians had no religion. After dispelling this preconception by living among the Salish for several years, the missionaries realized that native religion existed but held it to be, nonetheless, inferior to Catholicism. "It is a well-known fact," Mengarini wrote, "that every savage and heathen nation practices magic, whether true or false, never for the good of others, and almost always evil" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 161). About the spirits of Salish vision quests, he explained, "Whether these spirits be false or real, it is very possible that in many circumstances the devil intervened at least in part. Many events preceding the arrival of the missionaries, if true, make it difficult not to believe

that there was some diabolical fraud" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 162).

Point also revealed a denigrating attitude toward native religion when he explained the term medicine as "the name given to the idolatry practiced by these savages, who know no cares other than the needs and ills of the body and, therefore, ask of their manitou only what is required to meet these needs and cure these illnesses" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 15).

After a cursory survey of "medicine," Point discounted the value this concept held in Salish religion. He listed three powers to which the term medicine applied. They were the power to acquire abundant sustenance and livelihood, the power to impress others through prestige, tours de force, and sleight-of-hand tricks, and the power to harm others or their fortunes (Donnelly, 1967, p.15). Although this is a Jesuit interpretation of actual tribal beliefs, it may be granted that native people did value the ability to provide plentiful harvests of bison, game, fish, roots and berries as indicated in the first application of the term "medicine". The second application coincides with Miller's (1981, p. 69) description of how political power was acquired through

competition for power in religious rituals. However, the third use of the term is only marginally supported by Turney-High (1937, p. 41) in his statement "The Bluejay shamanism is the only note of malevolence I have ever found in the phenomenon as practiced by the Flathead [Salish]." Point's understanding of the use of medicine was limited and inaccurate.

Point held native spiritual beliefs to be inferior to Catholicism. He described the "infirm intellects" of the "savages" in their conceptualization of spiritual beliefs:

> They called "manitou", that is, "spirit" such apparently animated objects as the sun, thunder, and so forth, and the cult they practiced they called "medicine," "instrument of medicine," "strong in medicine," and so on. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 15)

Further experience with the Salish convinced the Jesuits that Salish religion was a diabolical practice that should be eradicated. An example of the Jesuits' attempt to destroy native religion occurred when Point was missionizing among the Coeur d'Alene. When the previously abundant fish and animals became scarce, Point attributed the scarcity to native religion. "It became necessary to find a victorious answer," he wrote speaking of himself as "the missionary",

> to the question of what was the cause of a result

> so contrary to our expectations. The missionary could only attribute it--at least in some cases--to secret opposition to the public cult. This opposition had to be overcome for the glory of God and for the good of souls. The missionary dwelt on the sinfulness of hearts that forget, on the effort made by the evil spirit to hold them in his net. Reviewing the events between the serpent in Paradise and the temptation of Christ in the desert, he brought out vividly the ruses and the malice of the one whom Scripture calls the father of lies, stressing the severity of divine justice against those who lend an ear to his deceitful promises. From then on, every day, medicine sacks, an animal's tail, a feather, or some similar object--which, until then, had received the veneration due only to the Sovereign Master--were brought to the missionary's lodge to be thrown into the fire. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 67)

So, the Jesuits arrived in Salish territory, convinced that Catholicism was the one true religion that led to God. This conviction allowed the Jesuits to work zealously towards teaching the Salish Catholicism. The fervor with which the Jesuits approached religion magnified to include an invasion of native culture.

Hunting Versus Agriculture

The Jesuits did not consider hunting an industrious way to live. Since the Salish subsisted by hunting, the Jesuits began by teaching the first cultural lesson about agriculture. "But the missionaries had come to teach the Indians not to pray only," wrote one historian,

> but also to work, toil being next to godliness,

> and, after piety, the best aid to good living for fallen man. Hence after the first lessons in manual labor given to the Indians by the building of the chapel and winter quarters, others were given them in cutting and splitting rails and fencing in a piece of land, preparatory to putting it under cultivation with the opening of spring. (Palladino, 1922, p. 45)

The Jesuits saw the Salish livelihood, the bison hunt, as a nomadic way of life and because it did not conform to a more sedentary agrarian way of life it was considered dangerous to the Indians' morals. "Therefore, it was our first concern to introduce them, little by little," wrote Point,

> to a much more sedentary existence. This could be done only by substituting the fruits of agriculture for those of the chase, the innocent pleasures of the fireside for those offered by the varied life of a hunter. Above all, religion had to assume an important position in their lives. Hence, the construction of a chapel first; then the cultivation of fields. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 43)

Father DeSmet assigned Point to accompany the Salish on their first winter buffalo hunt because the Jesuits believed hunting bison was detrimental to the conversion and education process. The hunt "was full of perils because it took them into enemy territory," Point explained,

> and it was fraught with inconveniences because of the hardships imposed on the aged and the very young, who had to be carried from place to place. It was also dangerous to the morals of the

> Flatheads, since it brought them into contact with strangers unsympathetic to religion. A third danger arose from the Indian's rapid transition from dire poverty to great abundance. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 43)

According to Father Mengarini, the bison hunt alone was "enough to render completely useless and without fruit all the efforts of a missionary to train their souls and to civilize them" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 207). He added that

> whether a missionary accompanies them or not, it is impossible for them to receive new instructions. The leaders, even if they attempted to, cannot at all oversee their subjects during this time. Consequently, upon the savages' return, the missionary discovers numerous spiritual scars, many of them incurable, incurred during the hunting season. In disappointment he is forced to begin everything all over again as if it were the first day of instruction. (Lothrop, 1977, p. 208)

While recognizing the importance of the buffalo to the tribes, Point stated, "The buffalo is for the Indian, at least insofar as he is superstitious, something more than manna in the dessert [sic]." In contrast to this recognition Point believed the only means to prevent "demoralization and annihilation" of the native people was "to make of them good and true Christians," which to Point included an agricultural subsistence (Donnelly, 1967, p. 121). In the remolding of the Salish into civilized

Christians, the Jesuits considered it necessary to replace the buffalo hunt with agriculture.

Polygamy Versus Monogamy

The Jesuits viewed the practice of polygamy immoral. While the Jesuits criticized this Salish practice on a moral basis, they did not recognize the economic purpose it served. Because the women were instrumental in processing food and hides for clothing and shelter, the material wealth of a particular lodge corresponded with the industriousness of the resident women (Lothrop, 1977, pp. 170, 216). Still, the Jesuits outlawed polygamy. The priests denied baptism to those individuals who desired the sacrament until they complied with monogamous standards. DeSmet wrote a letter in 1847 stating how "the rehabilitations of their [the Salish] marriages succeeded baptism, but not without great sacrifices on their part, because until that time the poor Indians had been ignorant of the unity and indissolubility of the conjugal tie" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 341). When Mengarini wrote his memoirs in 1848, he stated that, "Polygamy has not existed for years," indicating that the priests succeeded in wiping out the practice (Lothrop, 1977, p. 218).

Consensus Versus Hierarchy

The leadership system of the Salish contrasted greatly with that of the Jesuits. The tribal political structure, described as a "loose heredity system," was quite informal compared to the highly structured and regulated hierarchy of the Jesuits. Mengarini described tribal governance as "a monarchy, it is anarchy; that is, call it what you want. It could be defined as an anarchic monarchy" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 201).

Although the Salish chiefs had differing degrees of authority, they rarely took action without consultation among all of the leaders. When the tribe planned a hunting or war trip, a leader would be designated temporarily for that specific purpose. After returning to the village, all powers conferred upon the appointee were revoked. Mengarini wrote that the functions of these leaders "consisted of marching at the head of the rest when hunting and of making some inspirational observations to the others each morning and evening" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 202).

Considering the Jesuit vow of obedience, the Salish system probably generated irritation among the Jesuits.

Mengarini observed that "there is no punishment, instead each person is absolute master over himself; to do whatever he wants, going wherever he pleases, and treating others according to the impulse of his passions without fearing revenge from those he has offended" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 202).

The Jesuits attempted to instill a more structured, government, but they were not successful. "From the beginning the missionaries directed all their efforts toward encouraging submission to the tribal leaders," wrote Mengarini,

> making clear to the latter their obligation to watch over the conduct of their citizens, and expounding upon the power of these chiefs before the citizens. But despite all their efforts, only in recent times have they been capable to obtain some slight results, but it really is on the one hand the native indolence of the savage which forces the chiefs to almost constant inaction. On the other hand, the obstinacy of the citizens trained since childhood to do always as they please does not favorably dispose them toward the simplest admonitions. (Lothrop, 1977, p. 203)

Mengarini attributed the eventual demise of St. Mary's, in part, to the lack of leadership exhibited by Salish chiefs. "Foreseeing that things would get worse if the chiefs continued to behave as they did," wrote Mengarini,

> I began instructing them in particular and exhorting them strongly to do their duty so that

> calm would reign over the community and it would not be seduced. (Lothrop, 1977, p. 234)

Gambling Versus Materialism

Stick game, or hand game, was a game where contestants on one team staked their worldly possessions against those on the other team for the winners' prize. The Jesuits considered the stick game to be gambling and an occasion during which individuals could lose all of their worldly possessions according to chance. In addition to barring gamblers from receiving baptism, DeSmet claimed that the games were against God's commandments. He declared, "Ye shall not covet anything that is your neighbors" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, pp. 227,370).

Michael Harner (1980), a shamanism scholar, described stick game as "power practice" for shamans (p. 103). The Salish viewed it as more than a game of chance. They regarded it as part of a whole system based on spirituality. The individuals or groups who won were in spiritual harmony, and the victory proved that harmony (Harner, 1980, p. 104; Lothrop, 1977, p. 116). Even if an individual lost, the tribal system of gift-giving and economic exchange insured that no one went destitute (Turney-High, 1937, p. 134).

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATIONAL INTERACTION

The previous chapter illustrated Jesuit assumptions of cultural superiority. Initially, while the Salish were receptive, the Jesuits wanted to instill acceptance of Catholic doctrine and certain cultural practices. One way to instill this acceptance was through the education process which included specific instructional methods and content employed by the Jesuits.

Jesuit Educational Methods

The educational method and content employed by the Jesuits for instructing the Salish must be analyzed. This analysis will explain how adult education was used as a tool for cultural invasion, as defined by Freire.

After the establishment of St. Mary's, DeSmet's contribution to the mission resulted from his fundraising

and recruitment efforts. While his station was in Missouri, he traveled to Europe and to the Rocky Mountain West on several occasions. Although he wrote many manuscripts and letters seeking human and financial resources, he often gleaned information describing the Indian missions from Father Points' writings. Points' primary role at the missions was that of educator; his writings offer the most educational information.

At the age of 32, while Point was still a novice, he entered the French college of Fribourg. During his two-year stay, acting as house consultor to other students, he played a significant role in implementing the "Fribourg system." From its inception, Fribourg had attracted an international student population, which helped explain how it eventually became a worldwide educational system in Jesuit institutions (Buckley, 1989, p. 59). The system included instruction and education which was a process of "joining culture of the mind with that of the heart" as a way "to form lasting attributes of virtue" (Buckley, 1989, p. 147). Instruction involved cultivating "the habit of mind necessary for learning the traditional Jesuit literary and scientific studies," while education, which emphasized the "culture of the heart", utilized the

effects of music, drama and art to bring about transformations in attitude, emotion, values and morals (Buckley, 1989, p. 62).

The methods learned at Fribourg were ones Point used throughout his career. One method of instruction he used among the Indians, was to teach the prayers to those with better memories and then to use the accomplished students as assistants to teach those who were less intellectually gifted. Another method was to test the moral fiber of the baptismal candidates. "Then it was a question of making sure about the disposition of heart," Point said.

> To this end: Three days before baptism, in the morning and in the evening, the names of those who had been sufficiently well instructed were called out in the chapel and each one, upon hearing his name, had to show he was present by standing. Then the assembly was informed that if anyone knew any reason why the person named should not receive baptism, he should inform the missionary. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 71)

In 1841, before leaving to the Rocky Mountains, Point spent one year at Westport, Missouri. He began a system of instruction with those residents who were primarily "French Canadian trappers married to native women" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 7). The instructional method he used there, and would use again in the Bitterroot Valley, involved the use of his artistic ability. Therefore, he

"decorated his little chapel with pictures of Christ, His Mother, and the saints."

> He made little pictures of holy scenes which he used as awards for those children who excelled in learning their prayers and their catechism. He instituted pious societies for the various age groups to induce them, by mutual good example, to lead better lives. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 7)

The pious societies, or sodalities, which divided the people according to age, gender, and achievement were not unlike tribal societies. The native people readily accepted the sodalities because of their compatibility with tribal tradition. Point explained that in order,

> to increase this devotion [to the Sacred Heart], as well as the devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary,we founded four societies in which the best from among the fathers and mothers and from among the young people of both sexes were soon enrolled. The great chief of the tribe was the prefect of the Society of the Sacred Heart; his wife was the president of the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and their children were at the head of the other societies. All were elected by majority vote. Proof that merit alone was the determining factor in the elections is the fact that the head of the men's society also became grand chief, succeeding the one who had died the preceding winter. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 46)

In the fall of 1842 the Jesuits chose the mission site in the Bitterroot Valley. Again, Point used his art for instructional purposes. Referring to himself in third person, as he customarily did, Point wrote,

> He entertained the Indians by his sketches of them

> at work and at play as well as by doing portraits of individuals. He also employed his talent to produce charts and scenes which would help the Indians to learn the truths of religion. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 7)

In later years, when Point was working with the Blackfeet, he continued the strategy of artistic entertainment. "It constantly remains true that, of all the means employed for the conversion of the savages," wrote Point,

> the most efficacious were certainly those which appealed to the sense of sight. Since most of the drawings then used, and others made later, were given away as tokens of friendship or gratitude, I had only a few sketches of the Blackfeet when I arrived at Fort Louis. But since, fortunately, I had an opportunity to follow the Piegans on their great autumn hunt, and later to visit other camps of those who came to trade, I saw that my new companions were attracted no less than the other Indians to anything that extolled their persons or their customs. Accordingly, I again took up my pencils and attempted to depict for them the more striking scenes from the hunt and the most sterling characteristics of their great men. This amazed them so much that any of them who thought he possessed some physical attribute which made him a particularly good subject lost no time in paying his respects to the Blackrobe in grand style. Hence the variety of types which are to be found in the pages of the first and second volume of this account. In return for their courtesy, they had the pleasure of seeing their portraits included among the great men of their nation. This was their sole reward, for the mission treasury had nothing to offer them. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 13)

In fact, Point admitted that he based his entire system of

instruction upon the expression of ideas through pictorial images. Even the spoken word was usually aided by sign language. Point, again describing himself in third person, stated how,

> he made pictures which represented, by means of various hieroglyphic forms, what is necessary to believe to be saved, what one had to do, and so on.Then, with a long pointer in hand, he explained each one of these truths and tried, through the interpreter, to bring the explanation within the comprehension of the least intelligent. This was repeated, first, by the interpreter at the end of the meeting; second, by the parents in the individual lodges; third, in the public addresses of the chiefs; fourth, at the opening of the following meeting by the missionary himself, in order to rectify whatever defects might have crept into the presentation by the others. There was unity in the plan, clarity of explanation, insistence on the principal points, and everyone sought to follow the instructions. (Donnelly, 1967, pp. 94-95)

The educational process, which included religious instruction, followed a rigorous schedule.

> From the first evening the chiefs assembled for prayer asked that the expedition be dedicated to Mary. It was accordingly agreed that twice a day all would assemble for prayers. After prayers, they would hear an instruction, preceded and followed by hymns. Every morning, at sunrise, before leaving for the hunt, and every evening, before retiring, they would recite the Angelic Salutation three times, together with their families. And, finally, it was decided that on Sundays and feast days there would be religious services, as circumstances permitted, There was no mention made of superogatory prayers, which each one was free to multiply and prolong

> according to his own devotion. (Point, 1967, p. 43)

The most effective and efficient educational activity occurred at the mission.

> At the end of a five months' trip on horseback, we had to turn our attention to the task of Christianizing the savages. One might think that then no further opportunity for sketching would arise. However, brief experience showed that the savages learned more quickly through their eyes than through their ears, whereupon I made a great effort to speak to them through pictures. In order that there might not be any lack of decorum in our instructions, silent preaching was elevated to the dignity of scenic representations. Some scenes showed the mysteries; others, the sacraments; some represented the precepts; others, prayers. Still others depicted the great virtues and the vices. Finally, there was one large scene, called the "Way of Heaven" because in it one saw, together with the important series of laws given to man, the succession of periods from the Old and New Testament, all of which summarized Christian doctrine. This method of instruction had two noticeable advantages. While the truths entered their souls through their eyes, the great virtues were infused into their hearts. The inspiration for these drawings came, for the most part, from the great religious ceremonies enacted before them and from the most noble actions of their great men. These pictures tended, naturally, to impress the Indians very vividly. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 12)

The "Way of Heaven" scene to which Point refers is also known as the "Catholic Ladder". The ladder, made by Father Blanchet in 1839, was a board marked with 40 lines representing 40 centuries before Christ, 33 dots representing 33 years of Christ's life, 18 lines

representing 18 centuries since the crucifixion and 39 dots representing 39 years to the date 1839 (Drury, 1963, p. 221). The ladder, depicting biblical and Christian historical scenes, was used by the missionaries in the educational conversion process. After visiting Father Blanchet at Fort Vancouver in 1842, Father DeSmet had some ladders printed and circulated for use at the missions in the Rocky Mountain West. Father Point drew a picture of the Indians using a ladder with the accompanying script: "During the days assigned for the learning of prayers and the study of the Catechism the Indians helped one another" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 85).

One method used to portray the ladder debased non-Catholic religion. A particularly controversial scene showed Protestant leaders such as Martin Luther and John Calvin leaving the main road to heaven and going on the path to hell. The Protestants retaliated in 1846 when Reverend Spalding graphically depicted biblical scenes where leaders of Catholicism were on a broad road which eventually led to hell, and where Luther broke off of the broad road and entered a narrow road leading to heaven (Drury, 1963, p. 221). Father Cataldo felt that Spalding "made but few converts, for the Indians hated him, still

he succeeded in poisoning their minds against the Catholic religion" (Cataldo, 1880, p. 44).

The Catholic and Protestant conflict also surfaced when a group of Nez Perce wanted to receive instruction in Catholicism. Point thought that "they had been half civilized by Protestantism; that is, they were more difficult to lead to the true faith than the idolaters themselves" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 99). When the Nez Perce returned home there was a division between those who remained Protestant and those who were converted to Catholicism. Point believed those who were newly converted, those disposed to Catholicism, were "the most influential and most esteemed in every respect, there is reason to hope that soon all will walk in the right way" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 99).

The methods employed by the Jesuits can be summarized as optimal use of cleverly devised procedures. Another ingenious method designed to impact learning was the catechism bee that awarded prizes to the winners. A second method involved sports. "After catechism on Sundays and holy days came sports. The Missionaries' method was to mix the difficult with the pleasant" (Bischoff, 1945, p. 31). The Jesuits seemed to realize

that an emotional impact in addition to intellectual growth prolonged the influence of the learning experience. Whether conscious or not, the Jesuits also utilized strategies that complemented Native American tradition. One example was the way fast learners were encouraged to teach others and to help them learn. This practice exhibited a tribal concern for the entire group. Gathering people into circles, according to Indian tradition, was a method DeSmet used to teach prayers. "He assembled the Indians, ranging the children in a circle," wrote DeSmet's biographer,

> with instructions to keep the same place at every reunion. Then each one was made to learn a phrase of the prayer by heart. Two children repeated the Hail Mary, seven the Our Father, ten the Commandments, and twelve the Apostles' Creed. After repeating to each child his particular phrase until he knew it by heart, the missionary then made them recite the phrases each in turn. This made a continued prayer, which the tribe listened to night and morning. After a few days one of the chiefs knew all the prayers by heart, and from that time he recited them for the tribe. (Laveille, 1915, p. 144)

The Jesuits also incorporated contests into their educational methods. These games were similar to those the Salish used to improve survival skills. In all, the instructional methods used by the Jesuits were often compatible with the Salish way of life.

Jesuit Educational Content

The content of the education provided by the Jesuits was less sophisticated than their methods. The basic principle was that Catholicism was the one true religion and native practices were idolatrous. Catholicism was good, true, right, and divine while native religion was bad, false, wrong, and diabolical. Priests of the Catholic faith were considered to be doing God's work. The medicine men of native religion were not considered to be so inspired. As a subscript to one of his paintings, Point wrote, "Understandably the missionaries regarded the medicine man's antics as Black Magic" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 133). The Catholic church was regarded as a sacred building and a sanctuary or dwelling place for God. Usually the first efforts of a mission went to the construction of the church. However, a comparable structure in native religion, the medicine lodge, was a place "where so many abominations had been committed" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 67).

Through the educational content, the priests claimed Catholic ascendancy over native religion. Despite the

differences between the two religions, many parallels can be discovered. These similarities among tenets, practices, and religious paraphernalia may have been palatable to the Salish when they considered accommodating Catholicism to their own ways. However, in most cases, the Jesuits held native religion inferior and unequal in regard to Catholicism. They never learned Salish beliefs with an intention of accepting another valid religion. They presumed Catholic superiority. The next section considered similarities between the following: priests and medicine men, church and medicine lodge, crucifix and calumet, visions inspired by Catholicism and those inspired by native religion, baptism and sweat lodge, blessed medals and medicine objects, saints and manitous, and Catholic prayer and Salish prayer.

Crucifix and Calumet

The priests used instruments, like the crucifix, and ceremonies as a way to convey profound spiritual meanings. The cross symbolized man's salvation extended by God through the sacrifice of His Son. Among the Salish the pipe represented people's prayers rising with the smoke which would be heard and answered by the Creator. In both examples the common theme was the connection between

humankind and a supreme being as signified by the use of an important religious object. During one Sunday ceremony in 1842 Point described the festivities at St. Mary's. Point wrote this passage with respect for the occasion.

> With the crucifix leading the procession, and with all that might solemnize the ceremony, they assembled, before proceeding to the chapel. The silence was so profound, their meditation so deeply religious, and their pace so solemn, that it was impossible not to be very deeply moved. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 46)

In the following illustration of a ceremony which used the calumet, a comparison can be drawn between instruments used similarly in both Catholic and native religious occasions. The description of the crucifix in the preceding quote is not unlike the following one describing the calumet.

> After the dance ceremony came the procession of the calumet, which went in a circle to the left until it had reached its point of departure. This procession was made up of three officiating priestesses of distinction, led by a high and powerful personage whose function was to control the speed of the group. The principal priestess was in the middle, bearing the calumet. The one to her right carried a fan, and the third, to her left, bore a kind of cymbal. The whole thing together seemed to express the thought that peace, concord, and harmony ought to be the fruits of victory. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 193)

The calumet may be the one instrument of native religion for which the Jesuits did not have an extreme aversion.

At least they did not attempt to abolish its use. In fact, the following lines, written by Point, portray at least a recognition of this aspect of native religion. "The guardians of the calumet are especially honored members of a tribe" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 131). "The horse that carries the calumet on the march is exempt from all other use and she who leads him is the most honored woman of the tribe" (Donnelly, 1967, p.134).

> Smoking time is during conversations. The speech of the Indian under these circumstances has something solemn about it. He gives each word the proper intonation and the words are always accompanied by a gesture. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 147)

All except the first sentence in this quote and the term "Indian", could be about a Catholic mass. While the passage referred to a calumet, parallels between the use of these two religious instruments were seemingly overlooked by the Jesuits. Point mimicked the calumet in this reference to a Crow calumet ceremony.

> To judge from their calumet ceremony, however, their poor souls were certainly still in a profound darkness....This ceremony is observed so seriously that one would be tempted to laugh if one was not truly sorry to see how far from the truth these poor souls are. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 170)

While the Jesuits did not call for a complete disavowal of the calumet, its use was modified. Salish behavior in the

following example, may have conformed to a standard the Jesuits considered acceptable, while the former ceremonial details were avoided due to Jesuit consternation.

> It is commonly known that among the Indians the calumet, the symbol of amity, is still the principal instrument of the cult. Formerly, the Flatheads would not have failed to offer the first fruits to the Sun and the Earth and they would have considered themselves blameworthy, indeed, if, in passing the sacred calumet from one to the other they failed in even the slightest proper ceremonial detail. But now all they attempt while smoking is to maintain with decorum the rules of civility. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 147)

Native and Catholic Visions

In describing a vision quest of the native people, Point described the seeker as being in a "state in which he is wretched, ignorant, worthy of pity." In discounting the possibility of a vision, he said, "you can be sure that his [person seeking vision] genius for invention will be able to make up for all deficiencies." Then he referred to the quest as consisting of "deplorable aberrations of spirit and of heart" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 17, 18).

However, Point found some visions acceptable, especially in the instance of an Indian rejecting tribal culture. When a young Salish girl was about to die, for example, she asked to receive baptism. Near the time of

her death, she had a vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a message that the Jesuits were the true blackrobes. Later St. Mary's was built at the place she had died (Donnelly, 1967, p. 42). The Jesuits spoke of this vision with complete reverence. The implications are that not all visions are bad. It just depends on whether or not the subject of the vision is "appropriately" Catholic.

Baptism and Sweat Lodge

Both baptism and the sweat lodge symbolize purification and rebirth to their respective adherents. Point believed strongly in the powers of baptism. He told of a sick woman who was near death. After he tried to revive her in vain, he baptized her. At that moment, "she began to breathe, opened her eyes, sat up on her mat, made the sign of the cross and began speaking, thanking Heaven for the double favor she had just received" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 82). Point also believed that baptism was capable of completely changing the American Indian. After a description of the negative characteristics of the Salish, Point wrote, "While all of these traits were true of them before their conversion, since their baptism an admirable transformation has taken place in their entire manner of life" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 12).

To Catholics, baptism symbolizes purification with the use of water and renewal or rebirth. Similarly, the use of water in the sweat lodge facilitates physical cleansing and represents spiritual cleansing. The interior of the sweat lodge when enclosed becomes completely black and signifies rebirth by simulating a mother's womb. However this comparison was completely lost to the priests who considered the lodge a place where evil things occurred (Donnelly, 1967, p. 67). In fact the term "medicine," which Point equated with native religion, he defined as "the name given to the idolatry practiced by these savages" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 15).

Blessed Medals and Medicine Objects

The Jesuits attributed powers of healing, such as those witnessed through baptism, to a medal of the Blessed Virgin. A young girl was dying and Point instructed her mother to put a medal around the girl's neck. As soon as the woman followed his instructions,

> The child took to its mother's breast again, fell into a peaceful sleep and returned to health, so soon and so completely, that no one who had seen her dying could doubt for a moment that her recovery was due to the protection which had been invoked. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 94)

The priests believed that the cross also held powers. Merely making the sign of the cross could save one's life. In a battle between the Crow and the Salish, nine Crow were killed and fourteen were wounded. On the Salish side only one Nez Perce was killed. The reason given by the priests for this single death was that "he had not made the sign of the cross before going into battle" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 192).

The Salish religion endowed all animals and objects with spirituality. From these things the Indians obtained knowledge, remedies, assistance, and protection. While similarities exist between blessed medals and medicine objects, the Salish view of humanity's position as equal to rather than superior to the environment contrasts markedly with Christian doctrine. Symbols used in Points' drawings often portray sin as a serpent (Donnelly, 1967, p. 45). This alienation from the environment must have been a very strange concept to the Salish, especially since native prayer could also include invocations to trees. "For their particular necessities, in their afflictions, etc., etc., each Flathead [Salish] prayed to the first object appearing before him even if it would be a tree or a stone" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 158). For example,

a Kalispel (a Salishan speaking Plateau tribe) child, remembered praying to a tree by saying, "Oh, old and ravaged pine, grant me that I may live as long as you" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 158-159). Powers of blessed medals and other objects were taken for granted by the Jesuits. Yet, when compared to the similar Salish belief of power in supernatural objects, the priests labelled them superstitious (Lothrop, 1977, p. 165).

Saints and Manitous

Both the Salish and the Jesuits believed in spirit helpers. The Catholics called them saints and the Indians called them manitous. Persuaded by the priests' influence, Point explained how the Catholic manner of addressing saints took precedence over Salish tradition.

> A hunting or fishing expedition is never undertaken before the leader has invoked the assistance of whatever power he places his confidence in. Formerly he would trust in one of his manitous. Today, by the grace of God, Who has finally been revealed to these poor idolaters, it is to the Creator of Heaven and earth, to Jesus Christ, or to the Blessed Virgin that they address themselves. This year, for the first time, in spite of what has been said of the apostate chief, the invocations to obtain success or the thanks given for aid received were addressed to the true God. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 62)

The Salish were taught to invoke the assistance of Saints Michael, Raphael, and Hubert rather than the manitous.

> These three were chosen because they had learned that St. Michael was the protector of the brave; St. Raphael, the guide of travelers; and St. Hubert, the patron of hunters. They were well aware that during the hunt they would have need of heavenly protection. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 181)

Of course, the Salish may also have been aware of what was acceptable practice to the Jesuits, and with that awareness, continued their older tradition of requesting spiritual assistance for the hunt in the "proper" way.

In a virtual competition between native religion and Catholicism, Point recounted how,

> the medicine men, recalling the time of their supposed efficacy were pleased to repeat, "one day, after having invoked our manitous, we bagged one hundred eighty deer."
>
> "And we," replied the true believers [the missionaries], "by the power of Him Who created and redeemed the world, have, almost without the aid of our bows or guns, in less than six hours bagged as many as three hundred." (Donnelly, 1967, p. 67)

As testimony to the help prayers provided for the hunt, Point offered the following:

> The camp halted; the hunters assembled and knelt to invoke the help of their patron. They then set out, and before the sun sank they had taken one hundred fifty buffalo. It must be admitted that if this hunt was not miraculous, it at least resembled very much the catch of fishes which was miraculous. Peter had cast his net in the name of the Lord and caught one hundred fifty-three fishes. The Flatheads had observed Sunday in the name of the Lord and bagged one hundred fifty-three buffalo, a wonderful catch. It was also a hunt wonderful to behold. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 155)

While Point attributed the successful hunt to Catholic prayer, he did not recognize that praying, to either the saints or the manitous, was the same form, merely using different labels.

Catholic Prayer and Salish Prayer

Not only at stake was the issue of appropriate powers to whom prayers should be addressed, but also the quality of the invocation. For example, Point disdained the Salish mode of prayer, as he conveyed in this statement, "Converted Indians added prayers to the customary harangue before a battle" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 156).

On the winter hunt of 1844 the Salish went, out of desperation, into Blackfeet territory to search for game. When four days had passed and still no game had been sighted, Point had them say prayers to help them find food. However, he cautioned them to use God's gifts only to serve Him better if they wished their prayers to be answered.

> The very next day it was announced that many herds of buffalo had been sighted in the vicinity. During the following two days, the Friday and Saturday of Ember Week, so many buffalo were killed that every lodge was full to overflowing. Such are the fruits of persevering prayer in the midst of difficult trials. [Point also included two pages of paintings] (Donnelly, 1967, pp. 181, 184)

The fruits of the hunt may have been due to sheer perseverance as well as to persevering prayer. No matter what form of prayer the Salish used, they prayed for the same things they traditionally had requested.

When the Jesuits first encountered the Salish at Fort Hall, Idaho and they headed to St. Mary's, they had to cross the Snake River. During the crossing, the wagon and a couple of people were almost lost in the swift current. With the aid of the Salish, all but three mules were saved. Point attributed the accident to their failure to recite a set of prayers that morning. "On this day, as a result of certain difficulties which we had not anticipated, we had set out without the customary recitation of the Itinerarium. After this telling lesson, we never again failed to do so" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 38).

Point offered the following conclusion about prayers: "God always hears prayers when they are humble and persevering, and always in a manner best suited to confirm the faith and increase the devotion of those who invoke His aid" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 180). The Jesuits' determination of the "best suited manner" undoubtedly prescribed a Catholic form of prayer. By so doing, the Jesuits actually confirmed and increased their own

validity and influence. As proof of the power in Catholic prayers Point summarized the second winter hunt with the Salish in 1844:

> Every day we had prayed to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The first Friday and first Saturday of March, which were especially dedicated to them, had been the two most beautiful days of the hunt. We had prayed to the patron of the hunt, and our hunt had been very good. We had prayed to St. Michael, the model of the warriors, and our warriors had never showed themselves greater. We had prayed to the Apostle of the Indies for the conversion of the idolaters, and two war parties, one which had fallen into our hands in spite of itself and another which had visited us in a friendly manner, had left us saying, "The prayer of the Flatheads shall be our prayer." Finally, we had prayed to St. Michael, the guide of travelers and, in spite of more than a hundred falls on the ice, into the water, or on the slope of some mountain, not a single serious accident had occurred during the entire course of the hunt. No one had died of illness, though for forty days an ailing woman had to be tied to her horse to get from one campsite to another. During all that time, over the worst terrain, her husband had led her mount by the bridle. Everyone was impressed by the constancy of this protection and everyone thought to show God his gratitude through a good Communion. On the last Sunday of the hunt, which was Passion Sunday, one hundred three persons approached the Communion rail. The hunt ended, as had that of 1842, with the erection of a cross, our usual monument to our pious gratitude. To Jesus, Saviour of men, and to Mary, their refuge and their mother, honor and glory! (Donnelly, 1967, p. 188)

Although many Catholic prayers were used in ways that were compatible with Salish tradition, the overriding Jesuit

message was that traditional Salish prayers were not acceptable.

Overall, the content taught by the Jesuits, while appearing similar to Salish tradition in some ways, was seemingly more difficult for the Salish to accept than the priests' methods. Whether or not the blackrobes completely understood the parallels between Catholicism and native religion, they appeared to be intolerant of Salish tradition. The educational content introduced the idea of sin and an alienation to the environment, both of which were totally foreign and difficult for the Salish to incorporate into their world view. Considering the initial reason for the Salish invitation to the Jesuits, enhancing their spiritual power, it is easy to understand why the Salish were unwilling to totally supplant their own religion with Catholicism in order to fulfill Jesuit expectations.

CHAPTER 7

CLOSING OF ST. MARY'S

The Jesuits closed St. Mary's mission in 1850, just nine years after its establishment. Authors of this mission's history cite various reasons for the closure. Moyer (1961, p. 10) believed there was a period of Salish alienation from the missionaries beginning in 1846, the year DeSmet had visited St. Mary's and left with no definite plans for a future return. Because the Salish liked DeSmet so well, they may have felt he was abandoning them. Before he left, DeSmet did commit an indiscretion by giving the Blackfeet some tobacco which he had previously promised to the Salish. Although it was not a diplomatic gesture, it was probably not enough to cause the Salish protest of the missionaries presence (Moyer, 1961, p. 20; Schoenberg, 1982, p. 42).

Moyer (1961, p. 12) cited the missionaries lack of

tact in dealing with the Salish enemies, the Blackfeet, as the major cause of tension at St. Mary's. Examples of the missionaries transgressions were Point's insistence on the Salish's sparing captured Blackfeet, Mengarini's instruction to the Salish to forgive an intruding Blackfeet as well as dressing his wound and loaning him a horse, Mengarini's sponsorship of a feast for the Blackfeet at St. Mary's mission, Mengarini's insistence on leaving a battle before the Salish could take their reward from the vanquished Blackfeet encampment, and Mengarini's request for a Salish man to return items taken from a Blackfeet in battle (Moyer, 1961, pp. 12-18).

A transition in Salish attitudes toward the Jesuits, from receptivity to increasing tension, began in the mid-1840's. In 1847 Point began his missionary work among the Blackfeet. Considering Salish animosity towards the Blackfeet and how they perceived the role of Catholicism in that ancient conflict, they probably felt betrayed by Point's new mission (Forbis, 1950, p. 70; Moyer, 1961, p. 12). An additional affront to the Salish occurred when the Blackfeet stole 120 of their horses and out of respect for Point, who was living with the Blackfeet, the Salish did not demand restitution (Garraghan, 1938, p.377).

Moyer (1961, pp. 15-16) provided evidence that on the spring hunt of 1846 the Salish did not want Mengarini to accompany them. When Mengarini told the group he wanted to go with them, he said that the chiefs "merely glanced at one another and said nothing." On the trip, one pack horse separated from the others and Mengarini saw it "darting down the steep incline and plunging into the river." Mengarini lamented that the pack, which got lost in the river, contained his "blanket and provisions, and all the necessaries for saying mass." He explained further that,

> somebody had conceived the idea of transferring my things to the back of this wild horse, and now I was left in a state of destitution. I knew nothing of the change, and now knew as little what to do. (Mengarini, 1889, pp. 144-145)

Mengarini believed this incident was an accident, but Moyer pointed out three reasons to question his belief. First, the misfortune happened on the second day of the trip, making it convenient for the priest to return to St. Mary's, but not convenient enough to catch up with the hunting party without a four-day delay. Second, the "coincidence" of transferring the blackrobes things to the "wild" horse might have been intentional. And third, under normal conditions, pack horses follow each other on

trails unless they are startled. The accident was so well timed and so unusual that it might have been planned to prevent Mengarini from continuing along with the Salish. Instead he firmly resolved to go ahead despite the circumstances.

Whatever the initial cause for tension between the Salish and the missionaries, both priests remaining at St. Mary's, Mengarini and Ravalli, noticed a change in the Salish after the fall hunt of 1846.

> But we were not a little astonished when on their approaching this reduction last fall, their camp, which was broken up in various bands, took different courses. Part of the Indians were unwilling or afraid to come up to their village, while the others on entering the village took up again their old-time barbarous yells, which had not been heard since we came among them. They gave a chilly salute to the missionaries and then drew off with their lodges far from the latter nor did they show themselves to see the priest except rarely and then only to smoke in his cabin. They sold us grudgingly a little dry meat and that of the worst quality. We heard a little later that on Father DeSmet's departure from their hunting-camp to descend the Missouri they had given themselves up to their old war-dances, to savage obscenity and to shameless excesses of the flesh. In our amazement we did not fail to have recourse to fatherly rebuke, to exhortation, to prayer. We had placed them under the protection of the Blessed Virgin by distributing the Refugium Peccatorum of Paris. We knew that we were not to blame for such a change and we bewailed it all the more when we saw that they went on constantly getting worse. (Garraghan, 1938, pp. 376-377)

Another factor in the developing tension was a result

of fur traders' influence. Angus McDonald, a well-known fur trader, established Fort Connah in 1847 in the Mission Valley some 100 miles north of the Bitterroot Valley. This trading post brought the Salish into contact with traders more often. This was precisely the type of outside influence the Jesuits wanted to avoid. The priests believed that the traders negatively influenced the Salish by introducing alcohol, money and a disrespect for the Jesuits and their creed (Forbis, 1950, pp. 77-78; Moyer, 1961, p. 23; Palladino, 1922, pp. 64-65; Schoenberg, 1982, p. 46).

Regional events displayed a pervasive anti-white sentiment among various tribes beginning in the late 1840's. The Marcus Whitmans, Protestant missionaries at Waiilatpu in Oregon Territory, were killed in 1847 by the Cayuse to whom they had ministered. This event was considered a trigger for the Cayuse Indian war and other conflicts in the Plateau region. A possible cause for the brutality was the white intrusion sponsored by the invitation of the Whitmans. After many more subtle attempts, the Cayuse expressed outrage, and in this way were attempting to regain control of their homelands (Smith, 1987, p. 16). Likewise at St. Mary's, white

settlers had begun to crowd into the valley. Father Ravalli, in 1851, related that the Salish had been upset "by the annual immigration of people from the United States" (Garraghan 1938, p. 380). This eventually caused distress among the indigenous people.

Another interpretation of what happened at Waiilatpu is that it marked the beginning of a nativistic movement in the Plateau. The movement, begun in 1850 by a man named Smohalla, was an appeal to native people to return to their former way of life and refuse all teachings of the white man. According to Forbis (1950, pp. 73-74), this same movement influenced the Salish resistance to the missionaries.

Some Jesuits blamed other members of their group for the closing of St. Mary's. Buckley (1989, p. 418) claimed that "there was also a morale problem among the missionaries for which DeSmet placed the blame on the new batch of Jesuits." DeSmet felt that the "new" Jesuits, those that arrived after 1843, had developed nationalistic rivalries. Father Anthony Ravalli arrived at St. Mary's in 1845. He "pointed the finger of blame for St. Mary's woes at DeSmet and, by association, at Point" (Buckley, 1989, pp. 418, 419).

> From his first arrival in the Mountains he had beguiled them with promises and hopes of a village, animals, plows, etc.... We are expecting other distressing things to occur very soon by reason of the lavish promises which Father DeSmet scattered about him everywhere in his last journey and which neither he nor others will be able to keep. (Garraghan, 1938, p. 377)

Father Joset was General Superior of the Oregon province until February 18, 1849. Father Roothaan, Jesuit general in Rome, "blamed Joset for it [the closing of St. Mary's] because, he said, Joset had not sent help to St. Mary's in time" (Schoenberg, 1982, p. 48). Father Vercruysse of St. Ignatius mission, another Indian mission north of St. Mary's, blamed Mengarini for not standing firm and weathering the storm at St. Mary's (Buckley, 1989, p. 419; Schoenberg, 1982, p. 48). Vercruysse also criticized Mengarini's treatment of the Salish.

> I have heard from whites and Indians that Father Mengarini did not handle the Flatheads [Salish] properly, that he spoke to them too imperiously. I witnessed it here (at St. Ignatius) myself in a talk he gave the Kalispels and I spoke of it to Father Hoecken. The Kalispels also do not like him. I think that if he replaces Father Hoecken and his companion warns him about this defect he will do good there. On account of their haughty character the Flatheads and Kalispels wanted to be treated with gentleness so that one gains nothing by being brusque." (Garraghan, 1938, p. 385)

Since Vercruysse was never stationed at St. Mary's, his criticism is debatable. However, Palladino (1922, p. 64)

suggested that Mengarini's thriftiness was contrasted to DeSmet's generosity in a way that caused Salish displeasure. Still, he denied that this was a cause for closing St. Mary's.

In Mengarini's memoirs, he placed the blame for closing St. Mary's on an incident involving a Salish man named Little Faro. Apparently whites in the area set up camp near St. Mary's and began gambling with those Salish who were willing. Then the offending Indians continued the games within St. Mary's village. Mengarini tried to persuade the chiefs to discipline the offenders, but they did not. According to the memoirs, the Salish leaders also wanted to be rid of the negative influence, but they wanted Mengarini to deal with the problem. Apparently Mengarini attempted to correct the situation, and Little Faro, one of the Salish that had joined in with the whites, took offense. Little Faro then began a very noisy and disruptive protest of the missionaries. Mengarini asked the chiefs to intervene, but again they remained silent. The missionaries discontinued saying masses as a punishment of Little Faro. But Little Faro continued his badgering tactics for three weeks through an outbreak of smallpox and the death of his son. Eventually an elder

conferred with the chiefs and decided to address Little Faro himself. Little Faro accepted penance proffered by the elder and discontinued harassing the missionaries (Mengarini, 1977, pp. 233-236). Although this incident clearly indicates a problem between the Salish and the Jesuits, Mengarini dates it in 1847, three years before St. Mary's closed. There are also reports of the tensions being alleviated in the interim. More than the likely, the cause of closing St. Mary's does not rest solely on Little Faro's shoulders.

Mengarini, also felt that the faithful, converted Salish were dying and the new generation did not share the same loyalties that the elders had. He bemoaned that,

> the best of the Indians began to be snatched away by death. One by one they disappeared, until the Indians themselves began to marvel at the fact and asked me what I thought of it. To them I gave evasive answers, but unbosoming myself to Very Reverend Father General, I wrote: "It is my firm belief that God has established this mission for the salvation of certain chosen souls, and that when these are saved the mission will be no more." (Mengarini, 1880, p. 149)

Ravalli conveyed the same impression in a letter to the Jesuit General:

> From all the set-backs and losses which, taken together, rendered our efforts of no avail and from the calamities we experienced mainly in the course of the last five years, it became only too evident that Divine Providence was little by

> little paving the way for the end of this mission and had, so it appeared, called the missionaries thither only for the sake of a few good people, who had followed from their tender years the natural light of reason. We have observed that of the numbers who died every year, the Lord called chiefly such as were best in the matter of conduct and conscience. The only Indian (Lolo) who still remained well-disposed and really attached to religion was horribly mangled by a bear a few days before I left. (Garraghan, 1938, p. 380)

As the situation between the Salish and the missionaries grew more tense, Mengarini decided to make a trip west to inform his superiors of the crisis. Ravalli remained at St. Mary's with a small group of elders and children while most of the Salish left on the fall hunt. Ravalli's main worry was disturbance from the Blackfeet when the mission was so vulnerable. He gathered all the remaining people and horses within the mission enclosure. Subsequently, the Blackfeet raided the fortress, but the loss was not as extreme as it might have been. They stole some horses and killed one young Salish person. This vulnerability to raids appeared to be the final threat that caused the Jesuits to leave St. Mary's (Burns, 1966, p. 67; Garraghan, 1938, p. 381).

Palladino (1922, pp. 65-66) and Schoenberg (1982, pp. 45-46) believed the closing of St. Mary's may have been hastened by the General Superior, Father Accolti.

Accolti was more interested in paying off mission debts with money obtained from mining gold in California than sinking more money into the isolated Indian missions of the Rocky Mountains. The Jesuits expected the closing of St. Mary's to be temporary. As it happened the mission remained closed until 1866 (Burns, 1966, p. 85; Garraghan, 1938, pp. 388-389).

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Educational Influence on Closure

Although an abundance of reasons for the closure of St. Mary's has been provided, there remains one that needs to be examined in depth because of its relevance to this study. This reason is essential to understand how adult education was an instrument of cultural invasion. Specifically, when adult educators presume to impose their culture upon groups of learners without understanding learning needs and interests, adult education becomes cultural invasion.

The Salish and the Jesuits had conflicting interests in the educational enterprise. For the Salish, an interest in power prompted an invitation to Catholic missionaries. There is no evidence to presume that the

Salish intended to give up their religion. Since the focus of their religion was on abundant provisions, healing, and safety from their enemies, these practical every day problems were what they wanted to alleviate. The Jesuits were convinced of the superiority of their religion and believed that the Salish were willing to give up their native religion for Catholicism. They interpreted the Salish invitation as evidence of that willingness.

This conflict of interest resulted in the Jesuits' need to convince the Salish of the superiority of Catholicism. In order to do so, they attempted to show the effectiveness of Catholic power in dealing with Salish problems. Difficulties arose when the Catholic approach was inconsistent or created new problems, for the Salish then questioned the value of Catholicism in comparison to their own religion. Since the Jesuits would not allow both religions to coexist but instead insisted on the supremacy of Catholicism, the Salish initially suppressed their own religion for a period while they assessed the merits of total conversion to Catholicism.

During the conversion attempt, the Jesuits became aware of Salish religious beliefs held prior to Catholic

influence. They were also aware of the focus the Salish religion had on protecting, healing, and well-being. Mengarini reflected this awareness when he said,

> Since all the efforts of the savages had been directed toward living a long life on this earth, their greatest concern was to secure a guardian spirit for themselves, and to learn from him all the secrets which would lead to a cure of their infirmities. (Lothrop, 1977, p. 165)

As the Jesuits set out to prove the superiority of Catholicism, presumable they had no intentions of reciprocally learning the tenets of native religion.

The Jesuits initially were satisfied with outward signs of conversion, as indicated by this quote stating that the priests Christianized a small group of Coeur d'Alene in seven days.

> On the seventh day, when the entire island [a group of Coeur d'Alene that lived on a river island] had become Christianized, with the winds at our back and our provisions once more replenished, we took advantage of the opportunity to continue on our way, after both the Fathers and the new children of the Faith had expressed their hope of seeing each other again where there shall be no more separations. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 100)

As has been shown great power was ascribed to baptism. Point wrote, "An Indian woman, apparently dead, showed signs of life when the formula of baptism was whispered to her" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 89). According to the Jesuits, this sacrament proved the power of Catholicism, especially

in the areas of healing and longevity, which greatly interest the Salish.

The sacrament of extreme unction also helped to prove Catholic power. "The recovery of a man who had received the sacrament of extreme unction demonstrated its twofold effect of health for body and soul" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 89). The Salish became convinced of the power of Catholicism. "Three Indians escaped from captivity by singing their enemies to sleep with hymns" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 164). The Salish Chief Victor revealed his convictions when telling the Blackfeet of the benefits received from Catholicism. Point related how Victor "spoke of the last battle with the Crows, not neglecting to recall the sign of the cross and to give all honor for the victory to the God of the Christians" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 199).

The Jesuits advanced the notion that they had great powers of healing to share with those who were converted.

> During the late prevalence of the small pox, there were hardly any deaths from it among the neophytes, as most of them had been previously vaccinated by us, while the Spokans [sic] and other unconverted Indians, who said the "Medicine" (vaccine) of the Fathers, was a poison, used only to kill them, were swept away by hundreds. This contrast, of course, had the effect of increasing the influence of the missionaries. (DeSmet, 1881, p. 302)

However, it did not take long before the Jesuits had to face unexpected consequences as a result of their proselytizing and educational methods. Referring to the Salish, Mengarini wrote,

> Now that they are abandoning their superstitions, consequently their medicine, which in many cases consisted of anything but roots and herbs, they expect the missionary to satisfy the need, while savages adopting Christianity will not abandon their guardian spirits if they are not convinced that the missionaries are much more practitioners of medicine than they. The savages, as a result, call the Catholic priests the men of high medicine. Therefore, a missionary who seeks entry into a savage nation without possessing medicines, or worse yet, having no knowledge of them, would have no better reputation among the savages than the uninitiated to whom the Tlekuisch give the appellation ikueu, which means as much as dunce or dullard. (Lothrop, 1977, pp. 165-166)

Point also found among the Gros Ventre tribe the same expectations of the Jesuits for healing. "As we were about to leave," he wrote,

> they brought in their sick. The most common malady of the Gros Ventres is an inflammation of the eyes, caused by their custom of plucking the eyelashes and painting the lids red. To remove the paint, I gave them a few drops of zinc ointment, which they believe to have miraculous healing powers. But how difficult it is to live up to a great reputation! Soon they were calling on me for all of their illnesses, future as well as present, internal as well as external. They even brought me cripples, hoping that I could cure them. Finally I had to tell them that such cases were beyond my power, but it was difficult to convince them. Fortunately, goodness of heart, with which the Gros Ventres are liberally endowed,

> prevented this situation from arousing in them anything other than disappointment. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 102)

And in certain cases, as with the following Gros Ventre man, the exchange of healing powers for devotions literally became a transaction. Point reported that the tribesman said,

> "For a long time I have been troubled with a sickness which prevents me from hunting as well as I should like. Do me, therefore, a favor. If you heal me, you can be sure that I shall be more devoted to you than ever."

Point wrote about himself that,

> I was thankful that I had a certain drug with which I had been supplied. I took leave of my host and his family, sharing with them a hope that, while taking the medicine I had left with him, the sick man would fervently invoke the true Mother of Life. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 106)

The Jesuit battle for Catholic supremacy did gain a foothold at various times. Point believed that, "Whatever the old power of these medicine men may have been, it is certain that their unwilling admissions of helplessness in our presence greatly disposed the Indians to the true prayer" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 204). "One medicine man admitted that a power greater than his own--that of the Blackrobe--prevented him from working his magic" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 138).

Outward signs of conversion led the Jesuits to believe

that their educational attempts were successful. "Before a large-scale running hunt those who were to participate knelt and recited their prayers" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 139). When inner signs of change occurred within the native belief system, the Jesuits were convinced of the Salish conversion. "Constantin, a Great Chief, truly converted, mercifully pardoned those who had massacred his two sons" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 165). "An Indian who had stolen some horses escaped punishment when he returned them and asked to be baptized" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 164).

In addition to persuading the Salish of Catholic power, the Jesuits also tried to show them the powerlessness in native religion. When a Salish man named Paul told how a crow forewarned him that the Blackfeet were stealing all the horses, the Jesuits told him not to pay attention. Some hours later the Blackfeet did steal the horses just as the spirit bird had told him. The Jesuit response was, "Do you not see" said Father DeSmet to Paul, "how impotent is your former genius? He can tell you the evil when it is done, but cannot prevent the Blackfeet from doing it" (Mengarini, 1880, p. 28). In another example among the Coeur d'Alene, Point explained that the absence of fish and game was due to the people's

continued belief in their old ways:

> You see, it is neither the Cross, nor baptism, not the prayers of the Blackrobes which bring sickness to those who listen to them. Proof of this is that those who have listened most attentively have returned from the portals of death, precisely because they placed their confidence in the power of our prayers, the Cross, and the sacraments. As for the results of your hunting and fishing, if they have not been what they used to be, or more abundant still, blame no one but yourself. God does not love deceitful hearts, and before God your hearts have been deceitful. On the one hand you have spoken as we speak and on the other you have spoken as the enemy of God and man. But you know what God's punishment is; you may well tremble lest you be so punished. Search your hearts and your lodges to see whether there does not remain something of the old superstitions. And if something does still remain of them, make haste to bring it to me that I may burn it to remove the cause of the misfortunes threatening you. (Donnelly, 1967, p. 178)

The Jesuits took outward signs of Salish conversion for granted, believing the words the Salish mouthed mirrored their inner feelings. Mengarini's translator, Gloria Ricci Lothrop, posed the idea that the Salish only set aside their traditions while they tested the blackrobes' power. However, she indicated that Mengarini only understood that the Salish apparently embraced Catholicism.

> At the time of his writing, he [Mengarini] discounted the possibility that faith in the traditional rituals as well as those absorbed from the plains were held in abeyance while the "High

> Medicine" was being tested. (Lothrop, 1977, p. 136)

The Salish sought spiritual power. If, in order to gain that power, they had to concede to odd strictures placed on them by the Jesuits, they were willing to set aside their native practices for appearance sake while they investigated the potential benefits of Catholicism.

> The Indians would submit to the ceremonies of "the medicine" with good grace until they found that those who had passed through all the ceremonies of religion had no better luck in hunting and war than they had had before. The only conclusion the Indian could accept was that "the white man's 'medicine' is not so strong as his own." In their disappointment the priest becomes no more than an impotent herald of a meaningless creed. (Lothrop, 1977, p. 120)

During the decade of the 1840's, the Jesuits missionized the Salish and attempted to change tribal culture in the targeted areas of religion, subsistence, marriage, and leadership. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say to what extent cultural change occurred in Salish lives during that decade. However, it is clear that the imposition of Catholic religion and European culture was not complete. The fact that in 1937 anthropologist Turney-High could write about Salish religion as distinct from Catholicism attested that native religion remained intact beyond 1850. Tribal subsistence

also did not transform to the agrarian base in the way the Jesuits had hoped. By the closing of St. Mary's, the missionaries still lost the bison hunters for a significant amount of time every year. The federal government first introduced farm implements to the Salish in 1865 (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865, p. 431). But even well into the 19th century, there is no evidence to indicate that the tribe relied upon agriculture. In the area of leadership, Mengarini partially blames the chiefs' inability to discipline tribal members as a reason for closing the mission, indicating that the traditional method of governing remained characteristically Salish. These three areas of native culture changed as a result of Jesuit influence, but they continued into existence with some vestige of unique Salish quality. In the fourth area of marriage, monogamy appeared to have been successfully instituted. Regardless of what success the Jesuits had in changing Salish culture, the fact remains that they made an attempt at cultural invasion.

Cultural Relevance and Adult Education Principles

Although it may be neither fair nor fitting to impose current frameworks of adult education onto a historical context, it is helpful to examine and compare adult education principles that are considered culturally appropriate. These principles are based on the philosophies of proponents for social change. In assessing the needs and interests of learners, the first principle maintains that their background, culture, and values must also be considered (Adams, 1975, p. 207; Conti & Fellenz, 1986, p. 8, 10, 11). In other words, learning arises from the questions of the people; therefore, education must connect with their lives (Adams, 1975, p. 3). Second, the use of dialogue as an essential methodology in adult education requires that people join in a mutual process of teaching and learning rather than in a process of imposing and receiving knowledge (Adams, 1975, p. 208; Freire, 1970, p. 58, 67). The dialogical process implies that learners have an awareness of a need to change and grow rather than having techniques for change and growth inflicted upon them (Freire, 1970,

p. 74). Third, adult education is a human enterprise, not a system designed solely to change behavior (Adams, 1975, p. 208; Freire, 1970, p. 134, 135). Without recognition of the uniqueness of the individuals involved, the system is vulnerable to failure. Fourth, teaching must work within the experiences of those being taught (Adams, 1975, p. 206; Freire, 1970, p. 126, 144). Good teaching is comprised of listening to people and honoring and respecting them as individuals (Adams, 1975, p. 214; Conti, 1977, p. 41; Freire, 1970, p. 101). Finally, people's experiences comprise a valid education from which to learn. One way of validating those experiences is by empowering people so that they become the source of their expertise (Adams, 1975, p. 209, 215; Freire, 1970, p. 116).

Jesuits in this case did not acknowledge the first principle of assessing learners' needs and interests. They initially were unaware of the underlying needs and interests the Salish had for power or coping mechanisms. The priests presumed a tribal interest in conversion to Catholicism.

The second principle which advocated dialogue instead of a mere transfer of knowledge never took place.

Granted, the real language barrier between the Salish speakers and the Belgian, French, Italian, and English speakers presented a challenge to the occurrence of dialogue. However, even when they overcame that obstacle, true dialogue never existed. Many examples have been offered that show how the Jesuits had a preexisting curriculum that did not change direction even after knowledge of Salish beliefs and interests.

The third principle allowed for the uniqueness of individuals rather than systematically imposing change. However this case study has shown how Jesuits perceived individual Salish beliefs from their own, ethnocentric point of view that cast tribal beliefs and practices into the category of idolatry. This judgement of native religion paved the way for the activation of cultural invasion.

The fourth principle relied on the ability to listen and to respect individual experiences of the learner. It is difficult to determine to what degree this may have been done. However, most examples provided evidence that the Jesuits had contempt instead of respect for the Salish lifeways.

The fifth principle allowed people to use their experience as a source of expertise. The violation of this principle is the most ironic. The Jesuits very survival in the Rocky Mountains depended on tribal ingenuity that was based on thousands of years of living comfortably and compatibly with the environment. Yet, for the Jesuits this very existence was determined to be wrong and in need of change. The right way of survival, agriculture, was to be imposed upon the indigenous people.

While only recognizing Catholicism as the one, true religion, Point said, "he who would seek, in one way or another, to vilify religion would instigate a horrible war against humanity" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 225). The cultural invasion practiced by the Jesuits did constitute a censure of native religion and a "conquest of souls."

Pattern of Cultural Invasion

A pattern that emerged from this study began with the introduction of European trade goods to the Salish. The horse, cloth, weapons, were all items that changed Salish culture, which increased a dependence on those materials of the white man. A result of acquiring trade goods was an interest in the European sources of power. Curiosity

probably arose because of the problems created by trade items such as the gun, or because the Salish marvelled at the "creator" of these objects. Whatever the reason, the interest led to an initial acceptance of Catholic religion. Even though embracing the Jesuits' faith also meant accepting foreign construction and arrangement of a modified town along with the beginnings of agriculture, the Salish were willing to accommodate the strangers only up to a point. When the Jesuits offered to share their religious power with the Blackfeet, the Salish protested. Finally, when the Salish dismissed the missionaries, they also rejected the mission village, agriculture, and Catholicism. Salish response to the Jesuits followed a pattern of interest, enthusiasm, acceptance, disillusion, resistance, and rejection.

Evidence of Salish acceptance of Jesuit teachings is provided by the praise bestowed upon the Indians by the priests (Bischoff, 1945, p. 21; DeSmet, 1881, p. 275-281). The Jesuit correspondence among themselves indicated an immense satisfaction with the willingness proven by tribal members to renounce traditional ways for those of the Catholics (DeSmet, 1881, pp. 282-284, 293).

However, there were periods of Salish resistance to Catholicism. Two factors help to explain the Indian response. One factor was the spread of Catholic missions to the Blackfeet. The expansion represented a betrayal to the Salish, who had hoped to maintain a position of strength against their enemies (Bischoff, 1945, pp. 86-87; Garraghan, 1938, p. 143; Schoenberg, 1982, pp. 42-43). Another factor was the unacceptable cultural sacrifice the Salish were being asked to make in the conversion process. The Jesuits asked the tribal leaders to become disciplinarians. They insisted that men give up their wives. They persuaded medicine men to give up their power. Apparently, the Salish decided the sacrifice was too great.

The philosophical assumptions of the Jesuit priests working with the Salish in the 1840's differ markedly from those of Paulo Freire. Religious obedience that sought to conform people rather than to instill critical reflection was the base of Jesuit ideology in the early 1800's. This form of domination contrasted significantly with Freire's idea of education for liberation.

Jesuit education consisted of the imposition of pre-existing Catholic knowledge upon the Salish without

recognition of the value of their own experiences and beliefs. Freire deplores this type of knowledge transfer because it is a dehumanizing process which only serves to silence people.

When the Jesuits referred to the Salish as "children of the mountains," the paternalistic relationship was apparent. Paternalism is antithetical to critical action. It keeps people dependent, as children are dependent upon a parent, while the process of critical action empowers people. The process of empowerment instills within people a reliance on themselves and their own resources rather than a dependence on external authority figures.

The Jesuit priests and Paulo Freire who were similarly influenced by the Catholic Church responded in very different ways to the challenge of adult education. The greatest difference in their philosophical assumptions is with the idea of cultural superiority. However well-intentioned the Jesuit priests may have been in 1841, they were practicing cultural invasion, which in the mind of Paulo Freire was a violent act.

APPENDIX

SCRIPT TREATMENT

Prologue

Agnes Vanderburg, a respected Salish tribal elder, speaking in Salish, describes the Jesuits' treatment of school children. "There were a lot of Kootenais and a lot of Indians from here. When we would get together and talk our language we would have to stand in the corner. The Blackrobes would tell us, 'Do not talk your language.' Sometimes they would make us stand up together and they would spank us. And that's why I said they're all down below now."

Father Dunbeck, a ninety-seven year old priest who spent most of his life on the Flathead reservation, explains the Jesuit education program. "Our effort was to instruct them in Catholic faith. We didn't make an effort to learn the Indian faith. We were trying to teach them the new gospel, our whole effort was in that direction. We had boarding schools. One of the main things is that

they must learn to talk the English language, and if they're living at home, why, they're talking Indian all the time. But they took on, after six months or more, they would be oriented to the white ways."

While images show various aspects of contemporary Salish culture, the narration defines cultural invasion as the imposition of one people's culture upon another culturally different group of people. The narration continues to describe the Salish response to the Jesuits as one which began with interest and acceptance and ended with disillusion, resistance, and rejection. This historical portrayal involves the Jesuit educational practices which they used as a tool for invasion of Salish culture in the 1840's.

THE JESUIT INVASION OF SALISH CULTURE

Act One

Scene One

The film opens with a small Native American boy of the Salish tribe. Special effects create a mystical setting on the open plains of Montana some time in the late 1700's. The vaporous, cloudy quality gives the first act a sense of mythic time rather than recorded, historic

time. Battle noises sound in the background, signifying that, at this date, most fighting is done with bows and arrows. Two tribal groups, the Salish of the plateau region and the Blackfeet from the plains, are at war with one another. The Blackfeet have a handful of guns, but these are enough to overpower the Salish, who are armed only with bows and arrows, knives, and clubs. The clash is over the prized plateau horses. A small group of plains warriors round up the coveted herd and drive them towards their home.

The boy is with women in camp not far from the battle scene. He cries silently with tears running down his face. The women try to explain that his parents have both been killed in the fight, and since they are his only surviving relatives, they will take care of him now that he has been orphaned.

Scene Two

The scene shifts to a different, more settled home camp surrounded by mountains. The same group of Salish have returned from the buffalo hunt where the battle with the Blackfeet took place. The orphan boy still looks very sad. He starts walking by himself towards a mountain peak. When he is very near the top a man appears and says

in a kind and gentle voice, "You poor boy, you have become a pitiful orphan. Come with me and I will take you to the top of the mountain." The boy is not surprised by the man, as if he expected someone to help him.

When they get to the top of the mountain, the man leads the boy through a hole in the ground. The entrance is like a dark cave that goes down some distance before it opens into a small lake that is bright and sparkling gold. Before the man left he said, "You must stay here for several days and I will come back for you when it is time." After several days he receives a vision which shows him many things. The sight includes people with white skin wearing long black robes. The voice of the man who had led him there was identical to the visionary voice which said, "The blackrobes will teach your people about the man up above, Amotkan, and the man below, Emtep. They will teach the way to pray to the Man Up Above, and the way of living on this earth. Your people will learn to plead to Amotkan for their soul whenever they die. Emtep, the man below, is evil and no one should ask him for anything." The vision revealed medicine ways such as how to heal sick people. The boy heard what songs to sing and saw how to dance. He was told that certain signs would

foreshadow his death. Seven rainbows, a whirlwind, thunder, rain and hail would appear shortly before his time and after he was buried they would vanish. At last the man who initially directed him to the mountain top returned and said, "Now I am going to take you back to your fellow tribesmen. This is to be your shirt and your rock." They sparkled from the gold on them. "When you doctor someone, wear this shirt and place this rock inside it. When you are done take care to put them both away." Then the man said, "From now on your name will be Shining Shirt. You must always remember what you have been told" (Chouteh, 1975, Tape 30).

Scene Three

When Shining Shirt emerges from the cave-like opening in the ground, we realize he has been gone much longer than several days. A full grown man with long black braids is wearing the shirt that looks as though it is made of buckskin and covered with gold dust. When Shining Shirt returns he says, "Listen, my people, I have something to tell you." And they listen because they recognize him as the small boy who left so long ago. He continues, "Men with white skin wearing long black robes will come among us and teach us another religion. You

must obey their new laws. You must try to understand them and do as they say. Amotkan, the man up above, has created the world and all the people, and to him all those who live good lives must return. Emtep, the man below, must be avoided. Whoever lives a bad life will go down below to live with him. After these blackrobes get here the wars will stop. But be careful, it marks the beginning of the end for us. Other men with white skin will take over. They will overrun our people. We can not fight them. It will kill too many of us. This is what I was told. Hear these words and remember. Tell your children so they know when this time comes that I have spoken the truth."

Scene Four

Later Shining Shirt is asked to help the sick ones at Pest Camp. This is the name of the camp where many are sick and dying. He doctors people the way he was told. But the pox kills them quicker than he can help. Finally, we see seven rainbows, rain, hail and we hear the sounds of wind and thunder.

Scene Five

Some twenty years later, in 1812, a small group of

four or five Iroquois arrive. Several of the original Salish are in this scene but have apparently aged and there are many new faces in the group. Through sign language, the visiting Indians tell how they have travelled from their homes far to the east. The group's main spokesman, Ignace LaMousse, says, "We come from the Iroquois nation. We have been travelling westward searching for furs to trade with the white skinned men" (Ferris, 1940, p. 89). He continues talking into the night. The Salish learn that the eastern home of this tribe is overrun by those light-colored people. Through further conversation they find out that these Iroquois know about the blackrobes of Shining Shirt's vision.

Scene Six

The visitors remain among the Salish and become accepted as members of the tribe. The Iroquois realize the mountain Indians' interest in the blackrobes, so they begin teaching prayers such as "Hail Mary" and "Our Father." The Salish experiment with making the sign of the cross and with pronouncing "Mary." The letter "R" is difficult for the Salish to say, and "Mary" sounds more like Mahlee. Initially not understanding the significance

of the sign of the cross, they are teasing each other as they try to make the sign. The gestures look silly because they could also be interpreted through Indian sign language to mean "Headdress, breechcloth, medicine bag, pipe." But progress is made and voices can be heard reciting the two prayers in the Salish language.

Scene Seven

A large council is held in 1831 and Ignace LaMousse begins the speeches. "Your people are dying. The disease that wipes out great numbers at once is no worse than the destruction brought by your enemies." Big Face, the Salish chief, says, "My heart tells me that the Great Spirit has forsaken us. He has furnished our enemies with this thunder to destroy us. The lips of our women are white with dread, there are no smiles on the lips of our children. Joyous sports are held no more, glad tales are gone from the evening fires of our lodges. I see no face but is sad and silent. Nothing meets my ears but wild mourning for departed heroes" (Ferris, 1940, p. 91). LaMousse responds, "No, the Great Spirit has not forsaken us. The blackrobes have great power. One among your people told of these white men. Did you forget your prophet's words? I know where we can find them. They can

help us with their High Medicine. Who will go with me in search of the priests?"

After the council meeting a group of four set off towards St. Louis, Missouri to persuade the blackrobes to return with them to the Rocky Mountains. A painting shows the Indians in the Jesuit office trying to communicate their request.

Act Two

Scene One

The setting is in Italy in the late 1830's. A photograph of Father Mengarini is shown first and then he is seen wearing the Jesuit habit while he is seated at his desk writing a letter. His voice is reading the letter as he writes. "I am certain of my desires and therefore request the foreign missions of your Paternity. And if you should ask where, I would answer any place, but my heart has been, and always remains there, where the poor souls have no one to help them escape the hands of the devil, and where there is the greatest hope, in fact to give both life and blood for love of Jesus, our Captain. I implore Your Reverence, grant me this favor in the name of the passion and death of our Divine Captain, Jesus

Christ, and of this most precious blood which He shed for many poor souls who are irreparably lost because they have no one to guide them" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 230).

Scene Two

Next we see an illustration of Father Point with the setting in France. He is saying, "Today I feel, as I have always felt, that my heart is like a needle on a compass, it can be stopped by a strong, outside force, but when left to itself it points only to one direction, the conversion of the Indians in America.... God is my strength.... To encounter death by being drowned, burned, massacred is no less than the death the apostles met. God calls me to work for the conversion of the Indians, all my efforts must be directed there.... This I will do when and how my superiors will it" (Buckley, 1989, pp. 79-80).

Scene Three

Father DeSmet is pictured aboard a ship on the shores of Amsterdam. He has a Dutch bob hairdo and a Belgian accent. He is writing a letter to his father. "Father, I have answered God's call to serve in the foreign missions to the Indians in America. I know you would have refused

permission for me to leave. That is why I left secretly and am explaining it all now. Believe that I love you, the best of all fathers. But God calls me and I must obey" (Laveille, 1915, pp. 19-20).

Scene Four

Stories in eastern newspapers like "The Christian Advocate" and the "Missionary Herald" tell of a group of Indians pleading for the word of God. "Hear! Hear! Who will respond to the call from beyond the Rockies? Four Flathead Indians travelled on foot 3000 miles through thick forests and extensive prairies, sincere searchers after truth. No apostle of Christ has yet had the courage to penetrate their moral darkness. Let the Church awake from her slumbers and go forth in her strength to the salvation of these wandering sons of our native forests" (Josephy, 1965, pp. 100-101).

In unison the voices of DeSmet, Point and Mengarini respond, "Let us accomplish one day in the forests of North America what they had achieved in the forests of South America along the banks of the Paraguay. The nation of the Flatheads appear to be a chosen people, the elect of God, it would be easy to make this tribe a model for other tribes, the seed of 200,000 Christians, who would be

as fervent as were the converted Indians of Paraguay; and that the conversion itself would be easier" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 327). Pictures are seen of pack horses and blackrobes loading a barge headed up the Missouri.

Scene Five

The first meeting between the Salish and the Jesuits is a joyful occasion. Big Face says, "This day the Great Spirit has accomplished our wishes and our hearts are swelled with joy. Our desire to be instructed was so great that three times we had sent our people to the great blackrobe in St. Louis to obtain priests. Now, Father, speak and we will comply with all that you will tell us. Show us the way we have to go to the home of the Great Spirit." DeSmet said, "Praise the kind Providence which in His infinite mercy deigned to send me to these children of the forest. My only object is the salvation of your poor souls" (Palladino, 1922, p. 32).

Pictures of St. Mary's are seen while sounds of construction are heard. As the Indians seem disinclined to fell the trees and haul them to the building site, Father Mengarini says, "You will earn your bread by the sweat of your brow" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 77). He grabs an

axe and begins the work. Soon Big Face joins in followed quickly by the others. The church is built and the enclosing grounds have been fenced. The first seeds are planted. Several Salish are sitting on a fence watching the plowing and planting. Among themselves they are saying, "This is foolish, they are spoiling the grass for the horses and they are destroying the bosom of our mother earth." "What good is it? They are burying seeds to rot that we could be eating." The priests counter their scorn by saying. "Let this illustrate the lesson of the resurrection of the dead, soon these seeds will reappear and multiply." When the crop came up, the Salish ate the carrots, returned the onions and left the greens for the horses (Palladino, 1922, p. 47).

Scene Six

The priests are instructing the principles of Catholicism. The Catholic Ladder, an illustrated board, is used to depict biblical and Christian history. One scene on the ladder shows Protestant leaders such as John Calvin and Martin Luther leaving the main road to heaven and going on the path to hell. Salish are seen gathered in groups and in circles memorizing prayers and information they have heard. They are helping each other

learn the catechism. As they learn, the Jesuits question them, "Do you believe firmly in all that is contained in the Apostles Creed?" They answer, "Yes, very much."

After the basic principles were learned the priests began baptizing the faithful ones. As a prerequisite to baptism the catechists affirm the sacrament. "Yes, I love the Great Spirit with my whole heart. I wish to be his child forever." Priests say, "May all things be made new. Thou shalt cleanse them and they shall be whiter than snow" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 41).

Reporting to his superior DeSmet says, "On my trip to the Rocky Mountains in 1841, I had the consolation of baptizing 60 Pend d'Oreille, 82 Kootenais, 100 Coeur d'Alene, 106 Okinagan, 500 Flatheads and Kalispels, with 196 I baptized on Christmas day and 350 baptized by Fathers Mengarini and Point the total is 1,654 souls wrested from the power of the devil" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 392).

Scene Seven

The Jesuits believe the practice of polygamy within the tribe is one of the greatest obstacles to true conversion. DeSmet says, "We hold that there are no valid marriages among the savages of these countries. After

marriages contracted in their own fashion, the men believe themselves justified in sending away their first wife and taking another" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 332). Baptism is withheld as a punishment for those who maintain polygamy and whoever adopts monogamy receives the sacrament as a reward. In rearranging families, the blackrobes suggested, "May you select your first wife or the woman who has bore most of your children for the marriage ceremony. That will allow the younger wives and those without children to seek a proper union." One husband hesitated making the very difficult decision. The oldest of his wives said to him, "You know how much I love you, and I am also certain that you love me, but you cherish another more; she is younger than I am. Well, remain with her; leave me our children, and then we can all be baptized." The men of cloth stated, "Let us pay homage to the pious spirit which has occasioned the great sacrifices of these men and women. Praise the mighty effects of the sacrament of baptism in their souls" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 341).

Writing to the superior about the progress made so far, DeSmet relates, "Their confidence in us is unlimited. They believe without any difficulty the most profound

mysteries of our holy religion, as soon as they are proposed to them, and they do not even suspect that we might be deceived or even could wish to deceive them" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 322).

Scene Eight

A group of Salish, numbering 60, are threatened by 800 Blackfeet warriors. The converted Indians began praying, imploring the aid of heaven. Their confidence thus bolstered, they proceeded to defeat their enemies, leaving 80 dead while only one of their own was injured.

The improbable defeat prompts the Blackfeet to say, "Their victory is because of their prayers, we want to hear the words of the Great Spirit of the whites. We will follow the ways He sets for life on this earth" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 579).

In his journal DeSmet writes of the Salish, "Their unbounded confidence in the God of battle is well rewarded; a truth which their enemies acknowledge. 'The medicine of the Blackrobes,' the Blackfeet say, 'is the strongest of all.' The universally held belief is that Almighty God visibly protects them in the wars they are compelled to wage with the hostile tribes" (Chittenden & Richardson, 1905, p. 573).

Scene Nine

As part of the daily schedule Father Mengarini takes medicine to the sick. The medicine, as well as a powerful faith, yield astonishing results. A number of Indians who were seriously ill recover suddenly and completely. Ministering the sacraments of baptism and extreme unction is instrumental in healing. Point is trying to revive a woman who is near death. When he finds his attempts are in vain he baptizes her. She begins to breathe, opens her eyes and sits up. As she makes the sign of the cross she says, "Thank God for the blessings I received" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 82, 89).

Scene Ten

Penance, the confessing of sins committed, is done publicly as preferred by the tribesmen. Confession is offered for men one week, the second week for women, the third week for young people and the fourth week for children. The division is required in order to prevent the entire group from fervently confessing every week or each day. The penance list for the Indians is read by Father Mengarini. "Patrick, recite one pair of beads

every day for as long as you live. Isabelle, say one pair of beads every Saturday for one year and avoid anger. Mary Frances, pray two pairs of beads every day and every Saturday keep your tongue" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 223). Even while people were away from camp, penance was often administered.

Scene Eleven

Prior to the missionaries' arrival, hunting and fishing expeditions began only after the group leader prayed for assistance from a guardian spirit. The missionaries instituted the practice of kneeling and reciting prayers which replaced the former tradition. Before a hunt Father Point says to the group, "He nourishes those who revere him" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 59).

After several days of hunting unsuccessfully, the indigenous people begin to grumble about the effectiveness of Catholicism. They say, "When we used our own religion we got 180 deer in one day." But Point responded, "By the power of Him who created and redeemed the world, we bagged 300 deer in less than six hours" (Donnelly, 1967, p. 67).

As the missionaries sensed growing opposition towards their teachings, Point preaches, "The father of lies is tempting you as Christ was tempted in the desert. Hearts

that forget commit a grievous offense against the glory of God. Remember the severity of divine justice brought on those who listen to deceitful promises." The priest is seen in his lodge burning Indian medicine in the form of feathers, tails, and bundles (Donnelly, 1967, p. 178).

Act Three

Scene One

The initial acceptance of the blackrobes begins to wane. On a buffalo hunt in 1845, the Salish captured seventeen Blackfeet. The prisoners asked for mercy and Point replied, "In a Christian manner we must forgive our enemies, let them be spared" (Palladino, 1922, p. 52). Although the request was granted the Catholic Indians say among themselves, "What of our right to protect ourselves? Without some penalty those hell hounds from the plains will only destroy us."

At the mission a Blackfeet is wounded while trying to steal horses. He is tracked by his blood trail into the woods and brought back to the village. The guards ask Mengarini, "What shall we do with him?" Mengarini preaches, "Let him who has never slain anybody cast the first stone at this captive. Forgiveness is divine and so

we must love even our enemies." They dress the injured man's wounds, lend him a horse, and allow him to leave in peace (Mengarini, 1889, pp. 30-31).

Scene Two

Point then leaves to work with the Blackfeet. A new priest, Father Ravalli, replaces Point at St. Mary's. He is the most medically skilled priest at the mission. However, the healings that initially seemed so miraculous and consistent are now the rare exception. The Salish eventually accuse Ravalli of malpractice. "You only use your medicine to kill us so you can fill your greed with our land" (Lothrop, 1977, p. 120). Now many others openly attack the missionaries by saying, "You are just like the other whites that lie. You have taken sides with our enemies."

Scene Three

As a hunting party gets ready to leave, Mengarini decides to accompany them. When he informed the group of his plans, they say nothing while exchanging glances at one another. On the second day of the trip, one of the pack horses charges down a steep hill and into the river. Mengarini relating the story in his memoirs writes,

"Imagine my feelings when I found that the articles thus lost were my blanket and provisions, and all the necessaries for saying mass. Somebody had transferred my things to the back of this wild horse, and all was lost. I had to decide whether to go forward or go back. Maybe it was God's will that I not go on the expedition. Believing the accident a result of carelessness I resolved to go ahead" (Mengarini, 1889, pp. 144-145).

The hunt ended successfully with a victory over the Blackfeet and loads of buffalo meat. However, Mengarini had undiplomatically released the captives and prematurely caused the Salish to leave the defeated village. When the group returned to the mission they camped far from the priests and avoided contact. One old man, Lolo, speaking privately to the priests says, "Father, the people are behaving as they did before you ever came. They are bringing back the songs and dances and ceremonies that you restricted" (Mengarini, 1889, p. 151).

In church Little Faro, begins yelling at the missionaries, "We want you to leave. No one will say anything to you, but we know we were better off before you ever came here. When you arrived, you asked us to give up our bundles and when we did you burned them. When you

ripped our families apart we went along and did not strike out at you. You wanted us to change our whole way of life and become like you. If we could have peeled the color from our skin and made it white we might have allowed that too. But we have given too much and we can change no more."

Scene Four

St. Mary's closed in 1850. Five years later the Hellgate Treaty was negotiated and a Jesuit priest, Adrian Hoecken, was present. He stated that the interpreter was not very precise and each side had only a limited understanding of the proceedings. As a result of this treaty and a second document the boundaries of the Indian reservation were established 100 miles north of the Salish homelands. In 1876 Chief Charlo made this speech about the white man:

> Since our forefathers first beheld him, more than seven times ten winters have snowed and melted. We were happy when he first came. We first thought he came from the light, but he comes like the dusk of the evening now, not like the dawn of the morning. He comes like a day that has passed, and night enters our future with him.
>
> To take and to lie should be burned on his forehead, as he burns the sides of my stolen horses with his own name. Had Heaven's Chief burned him with some mark to refuse him we might have refused him. No; we did not refuse him in his weakness. In his poverty we fed, we cherished

him; yes, befriended him, and showed him the fords and defiles of our lands.

His laws never gave us a blade, nor a tree, nor a duck, nor a grouse, nor a trout. How often does he come? You know he comes as long as he lives, and takes more and more, and dirties what he leaves.

The white man fathers this doom; yes, this curse on us and on the few that may see a few days more. He, the cause of our ruin, is his own snake which he says stole on his mother in her own country to lie to her. He says his story is that man was rejected and cast off. Why did we not reject him forever? He says one of his virgins had a son nailed to death on two cross sticks to save him. Were all of them dead when that young man died, we would all be safe now, and our country our own. (Turner, 1973, pp. 253-254)

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