



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
© Copyright by Elizabeth Louise White (1990)

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.

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
Bozeman, Montana

May 1990

D378
W5829

APPROVAL

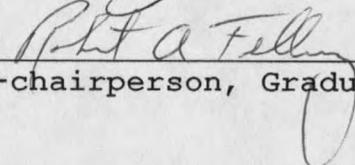
of a thesis submitted by

Elizabeth Louise White

This thesis has been read by each member of the thesis committee and has been found to be satisfactory regarding content, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style, and consistency, and is ready for submission to the College of Graduate Studies.

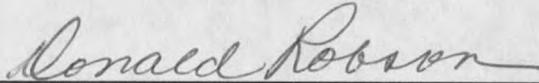
May 15, 1990
Date


Co-chairperson, Graduate Committee


Co-chairperson, Graduate Committee

Approved for the Major Department

5-24-90
Date


Head, Major Department

Approved for the College of Graduate Studies

June 8, 1990
Date


Graduate Dean

STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a doctoral degree at Montana State University, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under rules of the Library. I further agree that copying of this thesis is allowable only for scholarly purposes, consistent with "fair use" as prescribed in the U.S. Copyright Law. Requests for extensive copying or reproduction of this thesis should be referred to University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, to whom I have granted "the exclusive right to reproduce and distribute copies of the dissertation in and from microfilm and the right to reproduce and distribute by abstract in any format."

Signature Betty L. White

Date May 16, 1990

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.

Arnold Craig for their generous support. Finally, I pay special honor to my husband, Ron, for his love and his uplifting disposition; also to my son, Joe, for his love and acceptance of me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Adult Education	2
Theoretical Framework	6
Defining Culture	10
Historical Case Analysis	15
2. SALISH CULTURE BEFORE EUROPEAN CONTACT	19
The Term Salish	19
Salish World View	21
Religion	21
Subsistence	26
Marriage	28
Leadership	30
3. JESUIT BACKGROUND	33
Philosophy of the Society of Jesus	33
Catholic Education	36
Three Missionaries	41
4. SALISH INVITATION TO THE BLACKROBES	47
A Search for Power	47
Previous Knowledge of the Blackrobres	55
St. Louis Delegations	56
Jesuit Response	60
The Paraguayan Model	64

TABLE OF CONTENTS - Continued

	Page
5. ASSUMPTIONS OF SUPERIORITY	67
Jesuit View of Salish	67
Demands of Christianity and Civilization	71
Native Religion Versus Catholicism	71
Hunting Versus Agriculture	74
Polygamy Versus Monogamy	77
Consensus Versus Hierarchy	78
Gambling Versus Materialism	80
6. EDUCATIONAL INTERACTION	81
Jesuit Educational Methods	81
Jesuit Educational Content	91
Crucifix and Calumet	92
Native and Catholic Visions	95
Baptism and Sweat Lodge	96
Blessed Medals and Medicine Objects	97
Saints and Manitous	99
Catholic and Salish Prayer	101
7. CLOSING OF ST. MARY'S	105
8. CONCLUSION	116
Educational Influence on Closure	116
Cultural Relevance and Adult Education Principles	126
Pattern of Cultural Invasion	129
APPENDIX	133
Script Treatment	134
BIBLIOGRAPHY	157

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 antialogical. 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 antialogical 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 these 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, Spokan^ges, 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). Sodalties 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).

