Jesuit Missions Among Interior Salish Tribes

As the Origin Story of Gonzaga University

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ABSTRACT

The establishment of Jesuit missions among the Interior Salish tribes is the prelude to the development of Gonzaga University and its sister high school, Gonzaga Preparatory. Contemporary Jesuits and lay people who work with them are increasingly seeking better answers to questions about the history that's been told since Gonzaga's doors opened in 1887. Several issues contribute to this inquiry: Publicity regarding abuse among Native communities by Jesuit missionaries, Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and growing awareness of the impacts of North American colonization, including the assimilation of Indigenous peoples. As Jesuit organizations learn the harm caused by mission work among Native tribes, priests, lay people, and students may seek to work toward repaired relationships.

Critical to contextualization is awareness of the parallel efforts of the U.S. government to assimilate and displace Native peoples. Thus, the period of research (1800-1900) incorporates the government policies, westward expansion, and wars that impacted the Interior Salish peoples whose ancestral homes were in current-day western Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington.

Original documents of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) were reviewed as primary sources, including the reports of Father Peter DeSmet who began the first missions, and Father Joseph Cataldo who served as provincial of the Rocky Mountain Mission. Contemporary Jesuits who live and serve in Spokane also have indicated great desire to understand their order's history more completely, unpacking the generational harm caused by missionary tactics and boarding schools. While this project points to the past, it's aim is for Gonzaga to provide a proper context for students receiving a Jesuit education now and in the future.

TERMINOLOGY

Assimilation
- the absorption into the cultural tradition of a population or group (Merriam-Webster.com)
- the process of members in a subordinate group adopting aspects of a dominant group (Sociology Dictionary)

Colonialism
- domination of a people or area by a foreign state or nation; the practice of extending and maintaining a nation's political and economic control over another people or area (Merriam-Webster.com)

Decolonization
- freeing a people or area from colonial status; to relinquish control of a subjugated people or area; to free from the dominating influence of a colonizing power (Merriam-Webster.com)

Genocide
- the deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group (Merriam-Webster.com)
- the systematic and widespread extermination of a cultural, ethnic, political, racial, or religious group (SociologyDictionary.org)

Settler colonialism
- a distinct type of colonialism that functions through the replacement of Indigenous populations with an invasive settler society, that, over time, develops a distinctive identity and sovereignty. (Adam Barker and Emma Battell Lowman, GlobalSocialTheory.org)

Reconciliation
- the state of having restored a friendship or harmony; or having settled/resolved differences; or causing to submit to or accept something unpleasant (Merriam-Webster.com)

Reparations
- the payment of damages; the act of making amends, offering expiation, or giving satisfaction for a wrong or injury (Merriam-Webster.com)

Restitution
- an act of restoring, such as giving something to its rightful owner; making good or giving an equivalent for some injury (Merriam-Webster.com)

A Note about Language

"Native," "Native American," "Indigenous," "Indian," and "Tribe" and "tribal community" are used interchangeably throughout. Specific tribal names are used where appropriate, with common modern spellings, except when quoting a primary source with an alternate spelling.

INTRODUCTION

In 1885, a Blackfoot chief, Painted Red, addressed Jesuits, whom he considered friends, at a gathering at St. Ignatius, Montana, saying:

> "You see how so many whites have come, all of whom are envious of our lands, and push us always farther away. We are, at the present, like a herd of buffalo surrounded by hunters, for the buffalo there remains only a small bit of space; if the hunters make one more advance their (the buffaloes) only alternative is to jump off the cliff and die. We are this herd of buffalo, the whitemen are the hunters. They have hunted us from all of the land and now all we have left is a strip of land here and there. The whiteman even wants the little we have left and they surround us from every part and lead us to our ruin." (Bigart, 2008, p. 179).

This Indigenous perspective is a gateway into a study of the establishment of missions to the Interior Salish tribes of the Northwest, which are critical to the origin story of Gonzaga Jesuit missions among a University (and Gonzaga Preparatory School, originally a department of the college). While portions of the college and mission histories are well-known – Father Pierre DeSmet as a "friend of the Indians," Father Joseph Cataldo as a catalyst for building schools in Spokane, both of them serving to translate and preserve the Salish languages – contemporary Jesuits and lay people who work with their organizations increasingly desire a more complete context surrounding the story that's been told since Gonzaga's doors opened in 1887.

Several issues contribute to this inquiry: Discoveries of abuse among Native communities by Jesuit missionaries, Canada's Truth and Reconciliation among its own Indigenous peoples, a growing field of scholarly work assessing the impacts of North American colonization, and coordinated efforts among Native communities to heal from generational trauma.

At the root of that trauma is forced assimilation, genocide, displacement, and abuse – all of which occurred at the hands of the U.S. government with assistance from settler-colonial religious groups seeking to christianize the Natives. This capstone report presents identifies the patterns of mission establishment with overlapping national events (trading, expansion, wars and treaties, and congressional acts) that impacted tribal communities. While this study places focus

on the Jesuit works, other missionaries contributed to the harm, and the competition between Catholic and Protestant groups created additional challenges for the Native peoples. The specific timeframe is 1800-1900 to set the groundwork for the arrival of the Jesuits among the Salish peoples through the century of the most significant regional developments, specific to modern-day western Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington. This project demonstrates the harm to Native peoples, up to the day when Indian students were rejected at a school that had been envisioned with them in mind. It offers greater contextualization to the story of how Father Cataldo wished for a school to serve Native boys, but the Gonzaga's first president, Father Rebmann turned away Indians when they arrived the first year of operation.

Also important to the presentation of this story is a snapshot of moments in church and national history where leaders have issued apologies – or at least acknowledgments of harm – to Native communities. This may serve as additional context for the work Jesuit organizations are undergoing to achieve greater racial equity, and for the Spokane institutions specifically to develop a framework of repaired relationships with the Interior Salish peoples.

DISCIPLINARY GROUNDING

Of the communication theories and related sociological theories that apply to this work, symbiosis emerges with intercultural communications and co-cultural theory, cultural studies and ethnocentricity, and Paulo Freier's pedagogy of the oppressed. Following a short introduction of each, relevance will emerge in the following section on ramifications of the Jesuits' approaches to their missions among the Native communities.

Intercultural Communications

At the core of the co-cultural theory is recognition that members of co-cultural groups (often labeled as marginalized or minoritized) have less power than members of the dominant group whose hopeful outcome is assimilation of those on the margins. For the co-cultural members, this means "fitting into the dominant culture while at the same time shedding the speech and nonverbal markers of their group," which can occur through nonassertive, assertive, and aggressive means (Griffin, Ledbetter, and Sparks, 2015, p. 465). Since its inception, co-cultural theory has been paramount in studying the intersection of culture, power, and communication (Oxford University Press, 2021).

William Lewis, whose 1917 history of Spokane Garry (considered an informal chief of the Spokane Tribe) has served as primary source material for later studies, failed to include insights from members of the tribe themselves. In 1916, seven Spokane elders met with Lewis and provided him with useful facts and requested to have their perspectives represented on the occupation of their territories (Nation-Knapper, 2015). Though Lewis recorded the Indians' statements, he did not mention them in his manuscripts and failed to share what they most wanted his white readers to know (p. 120). His decision "had a lasting historiographical legacy, continuing to color our view of early 20th-century Spokane people today," notes Nation-Knapper.

Juana Borda's text, "Salsa, Soul, and Spirit" (2007) asks of leaders in intercultural communication: "The story of the settling of America is a cultural construct. …Are we going to refer to this as the discovery and settling of America or are we going to call it a conquest, colonization, attempted genocide?" (p. 31) Modern texts are increasingly using the latter vernacular to represent the realities of U.S. domination of the Indigenous communities, and a retelling of the history of the Jesuits among Indigenous people must likewise.

Cultural Studies

While not communications-specific, the cultural studies theory developed by sociologist Stuart Hall adds dimension to implications of intercultural storytelling. He charges that the field of communications continues to be "stubbornly sociologically innocent" (Griffin, et. al, p. 339) and draws attention to the role of mass communication in the U.S. in fostering the dominant ideology of the culture (p. 340). "Hall was suspicious of any cultural analysis that ignores power relationships" because he "believed the purpose of theory and research is to empower people who live on the margins of society" (p. 340).

While extensively exploring the basis of culture and society, Hall indicates that some groups (he points to the English) have greater difficulty understanding the concept of a social collective due to "individualistic forms of social reasoning … deeper and longer than most other civilized peoples" (2018, p. 895). In an essay the same year seeking to define "pop culture," Hall asserts that an appropriate perspective is not on practices or activities, but relationships – "which groups interact and relate to one another and the practices through which they do it," (p. 931).

That's critical, Hall says, because of unequal exchanges in "a field which has dominant and subordinate poles or elements within it" (p. 932). "There is always a sense in which, as it were, one area of the cultural field has become a privileged or preferred area and there is always

some sense in which other activities or poles of the field have become the non-preferred, non-privileged elements" … resulting, he says, in "areas of preference [that] always imply areas of marginalization and subordination" (p. 933).

Ethnocentrism

Essential to each of the named theories – and specific to the research at hand relating to the Jesuits among the Native peoples – is ethnocentrism, "people's tendency to view their own group being the center of everything and to judge other groups based on its standards," viewing themselves as strong and superior and non-members as "inferior and weak" (Neuliep and McCroskey, 1997.) "In intercultural interaction, high levels of ethnocentrism can result in misperceptions of people from different cultures and misinterpretations of their behaviors, thus, high levels of ethnocentrism are considered dysfunctional" (Gudykunst & Kim 1997).

"The higher the level of ethnocentrism and the higher the degree of intercultural communication apprehension, the lower the degree of intercultural willingness to communicate" (p. 68) – a pertinent reason to consider the pedagogical approaches and related communication of the Jesuit priests among the Indigenous communities they sought to serve.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed

University of Montana doctoral candidate Elizabeth White deduced in her dissertation, "Adult Education and Cultural Invasion: A Case Study of the Salish and the Jesuits," that the missionaries used their well-established adult educational models as a tool for cultural invasion, citing the groundbreaking work of Paulo Freier in "Pedagogy of the Oppressed."

Freier analyzes how dominant cultures transform their subjects through conquest, division, manipulation, cultural invasion, cooperation, unity for liberation, organization, and cultural synthesis. "Invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the

latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression" (2014, p. 152). Further, Freier notes, "For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority" (p. 153). It should be noted that for one group to be inferior, another must be superior.

"I & Thou" as a Solution

Exploring dialogue as a means of constructing reality, the coordinated management of meaning theory emerged in 1980 by communication scholars Barnett Pearce and Vernon Cronen who suggest the term coordination as "an ancestral term for interpersonal action. Because coordination is inherently transpersonal, it orients inquiry away from two less productive lines of inquiry: intrapersonal management of meaning, and the interpersonal management of other peoples' meanings" (1980, p. 149).

Their work hastened to Martin Buber's classic dialogic ethic, "I and Thou" which, based upon the Hebrew scriptures, called for people to consider the "other" as one would view God: apropos for examination of a religious order such as the Jesuits, whose Latin signature is *ad majorem Dei gloria* – "for the greater glory of God."

CONSIDERATIONS FOR JESUIT-MISSION CONTEXTUALIZATION

Key to this study, from the co-cultural communication theory, is a focus on the perspectives of the co-cultural or non-dominant group members themselves (Griffin, Ledbetter, Sparks, 2015). Research represented in this project has endeavored to balance (or favor) Native scholarly perspectives, and Indigenous authors representing a wide variety of disciplines have contributed to a greater understanding. These range from historians Laurie Arnold and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz to attorney Pamela Palmater and theologian George Tinker, as well as members of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes as represented in a history of the Salish people with Lewis and Clark.

Exposure to the insights of Indigenous authors is critical for the final project to acknowledge how the power and influence of the Christian missionaries effectively served to strip the Native peoples of their culture. It's also important to clarify that such language demands proper context, avoiding implication that Indigenous peoples accepted the assimilation passively.

Assuming "the pretext that one group was subjugate to the force, will, and control of the other, more dominant group," writes Exarhakos (2012), "does a disservice to both Natives and missionaries, as well as to future historians" (p. 49). Still, the assimilation occurred even with resistance from Indigenous adults and children, the latter of which were prone to running away from the mission schools near their parents, out of fear they would be forced to go to the government-sanctioned Carlisle school across the country. Father Cataldo himself attested to the occurrence of children hiding in the woods to avoid such a transaction (McKevitt, p. 158).

However appalling it may be to a 21st-Century mindset accustomed to the separation of church and state, the government paid religious institutions for their services as central to the effort of disempowering and displacing tribal communities. The Indian Civilization Act of 1819

authorized up to $10,000 per year to support religious groups willing to live among and teach Indians (nationalarchives.gov). In 1824, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established (and placed, perhaps tellingly) within the Department of War, to oversee funding allocation (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). As late as the 1890s, Cataldo's reports on his Rocky Mountain Missions continued to include documentation necessary for government funding (Jesuit Archives & Research Center).

Cataldo and other missionary leaders – Protestant and Catholic – followed the state's strict attendance policies to receive payment. They were "partners with the federal government in an ambitious program of native assimilation," says McKevitt in *Brokers of Culture* (2010, p. 149).

The Jesuits stated that their boarding schools were preferable to day schools in order to "withdraw the children sufficiently from the influence, habits, and traditions of their home life" (McKevitt, p. 156). However, Father Cataldo's personal papers indicate such statements resulted from appealing to the government's strict oversight of his missions, and his penchant for ensuring they would not lose students to the Protestant schools: "…the persecution of the American government against our Indian missions forced us to build the schools everywhere, so our Indian boys would not have been brought by the government to the schools of the Protestants" (Cataldo,1892). This is sense of competition is prevalent throughout Cataldo's personal papers. "Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power" (2003) by Spokane history professor Larry Cebula offers thorough insights on how this ultimately fostered among native religious leaders a path of resistance.

"The experience of generations of Native Americans in on- and off-reservation boarding schools, run by the federal government or Christian missions, contributed significantly to the

family and social dysfunction still found in Native communities. Generations of child abuse, including sexual abuse … traumatized survivors and their progeny" notes Dunbar-Ortiz (2014, p. 211-212). While the topic of residential schools is not a specific focus of the mission research at hand, a comprehensive history of the Jesuit work among tribes will ultimately be necessary for the order's own integrity and hopeful healing in relationships with Indigenous peoples.

Along with the appropriate criticism of the government's funding of these institutions is reproach of the way students in the U.S. – at all levels – continue to misunderstand tribal history according to the versions written by colonial-settler institutions. "Inherent in the myth we've been taught is an embrace of settler colonialism and genocide," writes Dunbar-Ortiz (2014, p. 2). "The myth persists, not for a lack of free speech or poverty of information but rather for an absence of motivation to ask questions that challenge the core of the scripted narrative of the origin story. How might acknowledging the reality of U.S. history work to transform society?"

Assessing the origin story of Gonzaga and how it is taught should model what White proposes: "Learning arises from the questions of the people; therefore, education must connect with their lives; education requires that people join in a mutual process of teaching and learning rather than in a process of imposing and receiving knowledge" (1990, p. 127).

Jack Lee Downey, Catholic scholar of self-described settler identity, writes:

> Centering Indigenous communities – the original inhabitants of the Americas – within American history, rather than as something peripheral to the conventional triumphalist narrative of European expansion, means becoming receptive to reckoning with Indigenous dispossession at the hands of Christian (Catholic and otherwise) settler colonialism. For much of the evolution of the discipline, historians have cast Catholics as quintessentially American, as *both* outsiders to mainstream Protestant power who assimilate into the U.S. melting pot, *and* by virtue of their antiquity as the among the first wave of European settlers. The former narrative is a vessel for earnest American Dream immigrant fantasies, while the latter is more morally fraught with the overt implications of empire. (2019, p. 17)

He continues, “There are moral consequences of being insufficiently attentive to Indigenous lives in the telling of Catholic histories” (p. 18).

Tinker puts it in context of the damage inflicted on Indigenous spiritual practices, saying the “pressure of missionization destroyed the ceremonial life of the community” (2008, p. 9) as the European missionaries “wrestled Indian peoples away from their ‘savage’ and ‘pagan’ tribal ceremonial traditions (p. 114).

All of these topics are necessary for telling a complete history of the Jesuits and their lasting impact on the Interior Salish peoples, as well as for serving as a model to contemporary students at their institutions of higher learning.

RELIGION'S ROLE IN A SETTLER-COLONIALISM AS SUPREMACIST IDEOLOGY

Father Peter DeSmet followed the guidebook of earlier Jesuits who established "reductions" among Indigenous people in Paraguay, which consisted of a planned community with a European-style church in the center, and included training the people to adopt an agricultural lifestyle (Peterson, 1993, p. 23). In Paraguay as with the U.S. West, missionaries failed to ask Natives whether they *wished* to change their way of living. This is but one example of the missing obligation to human dignity.

This anecdote serves as a prelude to what is now identified as settler-colonialism, which is "not only a structure but also a process, an activity for assigning political meanings, and organizing material structures driven by forces of power," writes Rita Dhamoon (Bruyneel, 2020, p. 145). Bruyneel adds that as such, "the invasion of Indigenous lands should not be contained as a phenomenon of the past, but rather is continually reproduced throughout the history and present of settler societies."

Religious missionary groups are inextricably linked to both the history and the present realities of colonization, assimilation, and white supremacy. Growing numbers of scientists in the 1800s came to believe that certain races were innately inferior, and the hierarchy extended "from the dark-skinned savage to the civilized white man" (Coleman, 1980, p. 41). As the superior race, Christian missionaries "relentlessly denounced the ways of the Indians," and "paternalized Indian people and wrote of them as depraved, ignorant, and mired in heathen darkness" (p. 42).

To "save" the "savages" (a term widely used by colonial-settler groups of the Indigenous people), missionaries first had to strip the Natives of their spiritual and communal traditions. In a

modern-day review of documents from the St. Ignatius Mission among the Salish, Bigart introduces the Jesuit records as clearly demonstrating "the bigoted and ethnocentric ideology that permeated nineteenth century European and American society" (2008, p. 8). Father Alexander Diomedi, who worked among the Kalispell and Coeur d'Alene peoples, in 1894, described the Indians' winter dances as "undoubtedly a most successful means, invented by the devil, for the corruption of morals….fruitful sources of unspeakable evils" (Kowrach, 1978, p.15).

Tinker says missions "encouraged Indian converts to develop an individual relationship with Jesus at the cost of the inherent Indian cultural commitment to the community as a whole and to a communitarian value system" (2008, p. 89). "Christianity has been from the beginning and continues to be divisive of Indian communities. In every case, the first missionary to win a convert in an Indian community effectively split the community into two campus that have not been reconciled to this day" (p. 92).

The Confederation of Salish and Kootenai Tribes website acknowledges: "The missionaries were intent not just on bringing their teachings to the people, but on getting rid of the traditional Salish spiritual practices, which they regarded as the 'work of the devil.' In a larger sense, the Jesuits sought to transform the entire culture of the Salish."

Even so, the Jesuits tended to be more amenable to accommodating aspects of Native culture than Protestants. Jesuits were "less concerned about shamanism, long hair, or attendance in aboriginal ceremonies" notes McKevitt (2005, p. 145). As a result of their receptivity, some missions displayed a Native Catholicism that blended Euro-Christian doctrines with Indigenous beliefs and practices," albeit through "subtle manipulation, cooperation, and resistance" (p. 8).

It's critical that contemporary efforts to share the context of Jesuit-Native relationships acknowledge these perspectives, and facilitate learners' understanding of appropriate

memorializing moving forward to properly represent organizational history at Jesuit institutions.

"Objects and signs aimed to memorialize a past are not neutral relics of a bygone age; they are invested in maintaining certain power relations," writes DeLucia (2018). Block, who reviewed DeLucia's publication, notes the potential for chronological narratives to "wrongly impose a particular order on the threads of history, perhaps too often reflecting white supremacist and settler colonial perspectives. Indeed, ethical history may require redemptive or reparative frameworks" (2021, p. 18-19).

Acknowledgment of Harm

As early as 1969, the U.S. government had begun to see the failure and tragedy of the boarding schools, as published in the Kennedy Report (Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, 2020). Apologies came much later: From the Jesuits at the Coeur d'Alene Mission in 1993 (Bigart); in 2000 from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Dunbar-Ortiz); in 2009 as a resolution of apology to American Indians by Congress (Dunbar-Ortiz); and by Pope Francis in 2015 for the Catholic Church's sins against all Indigenous peoples (Dunbar-Ortiz).

Another acknowledgement by Catholic leaders came in 2018 by the U.S. bishops who urged examination of violence to Native Americans. It has come with strong criticism:

> "The letter's treatment of race and racism not only hides but *legitimates* the United States' colonial history and present by offering an account of racism that stresses individual—and not structural—depravity. In this way, the bishops' letter not only overlooks the structural dynamics that directly form white disrespect toward Indigenous peoples, it also fails to attend to the responsibility that church as well as state bear in their maintenance." (Downey and Holscher, 2019)

Such acknowledgements and their receipt should be carefully considered as Jesuit organizations in the Northwest work toward a better contextualized understanding of their history and their current practices which hinder right relationships with Indigenous communities.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

"Our nation was born in the horrific traumas of genocide and slavery. Because we have neither fully acknowledged nor reckoned with these twin traumas, much less worked to heal them, they perpetually reenact themselves transgenerationally," writes Fania Davis (2019).

Thus, central to the capstone project exploring how the origin story of Gonzaga University is told – specifically regarding the Jesuit missions among the Indigenous peoples of the Northwest – is the inspection of how the history has been told heretofore.

- How did the early historians portray the endeavors of the Jesuits?
- How did the Jesuits themselves reflect or deny the dignity of the Native American peoples where they constructed their missions?
- How does a contemporary education shift understanding of the story of Northwest missions as it has existed for roughly 150 years, and what realities demand a recontextualized narrative of the Jesuit-Native relationships?

These questions serve as a starting point for determining how Jesuits, their lay partners, and students at their institutions may work toward reconciliation and even envision what restitution and reparation might look like in the future.

Human Dignity

"The Ethics of Being in a Communications Context" (Traber and Christians, 1997) presents the sacredness of life as the foundation of ethical storytelling, activated through the precepts of human dignity, truth-telling and nonviolence. The foundations of such are Martin Buber's 'I-Thou' dialogic, later expressed by Paulo Freire in this way: "I cannot exist without a not-I; in turn … There is no longer 'I think' but '*we* think' " (p. 9).

If "Language has the same human home as morality in the center of our being" (p. 11), then a communications ethic must not privilege an individualistic rationalism, but a shared view of reality and an established human community (p. 12).

Truth-telling

Human dignity, as a principle of communication, then, necessarily follows with truth-telling, a "basic ethical principle that follows from the ontological grounding of ethics in the sacredness of life (Traber and Christians, p. 13).

Truth-telling in the story of a community such as the Jesuits, who have educated hundreds of thousands of students through 27 colleges and universities in the U.S., naturally must include exposure to the failures of the Jesuits in the missions that preceded these institutions of higher learning.

At Gonzaga University specifically, the origin story has included a mention of Father Cataldo's intentions for the college to be a school for Indian children, while the presiding Jesuit at the opening of Gonzaga – Father Rebmann – denied entry to Indian boys during its inaugural year. But this short reference has generally lacked further context, and instead, focus has been placed on the request of the European colonial settlers dubbed the Spokane "fathers" who promised funding to Cataldo should he choose to ensure the enrollment of their white children.[1]

As monuments and stories hail Father Pierre DeSmet and his companions as "friends of the Indians," students may place reverence and esteem on the missionaries without understanding the role the Jesuits played in the assimilation of the Indigenous peoples (which they received government funding to accomplish) and ultimately the displacement of the tribes. How Gonzaga leaders tell the story has had – and will continue to have – influence on the understanding and attitude of the school's faculty, staff, students, and broader community.

[1] A brief history on the university website (https://www.gonzaga.edu/about/in-the-community/gonzaga-history) starts with opening day and includes no references to the Jesuits' original intentions to serve the Interior Salish tribes. Monuments on campus also lack specific references or context. While uncited, Father Winifred Schoenberg's editorialized histories of Gonzaga and Northwest missions have often served as the source for stories of the university's founding.

Organizational Identification

"Leaders shape affective events within organizations and these events 'transfer' the emotional state of followers. Events trigger emotional as well as impulsive behavioral reactions among employees. Over time, long-term attitudes can be affected," (Brown and Mitchell, 2010, p. 592). "Organizational identification" – the loyalty that personnel and constituents may have for an institution – can lead to overcommitment to it, resistance to change, tolerance of unethical acts, and inability to challenge decisions and practices, say Brown and Mitchell (p. 599).

While these may be considered as extreme examples for Gonzaga community members, a more basic ethical premise is certainly at risk: "misrepresenting the truth to make the organization look good … or concealing damaging information about the company from the public" (Brown and Mitchell, p. 600).

Goals

With these ethical considerations in mind, the goal of this capstone is to present a more full context of the Jesuit-Native relationships of the missions that preceded the opening of Gonzaga University. This work holds potential impact on curriculum at both the University and its sister institution, Gonzaga Preparatory School, as well as benefits for the Jesuits West province in its endeavors to work toward racial equity, which must begin with awareness and acknowledgement. In this proceeding, following the thinking of Davis at the beginning, it may be more possible to work to heal the transgressions and prevent their reenactment in future generations. At the core of this work are the ethical imperatives to honor human dignity, truth telling, and responsibility to organizational identification that places value on authentic demonstration of remembering and recognition.

DEI CONCEPTS, CONCERNS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Claiming what belonged to the Indigenous peoples, enslavement of Africans, and the pursuit of profits are "interwoven into the very texture of what would become America," writes Eddie Glaude, Jr. (2020). In an essay in "The Atlantic," the Princeton professor continues:

> Here, neat perfectionist tales are thrown to the wind, and out of that complex history we tell a consensus story that binds us one to the other, because we no longer have at the center of our national imagination the value gap—the belief that white lives matter more than others, an idea that has distorted and deformed our democracy from the start.

While Glaude's essay is largely focused on suffering of African Americans and discussions of reparations specifically for ancestors of the enslaved, all of the proposed actions could well apply to Native Americans as well: a national apology, and acknowledgement of the systemic racial and economic discrimination against them.

The history of the Jesuits' establishment of missions among the Native American communities is written by the Jesuits themselves who documented endeavors for reports to their superiors. While there is some benefit to the tribes to have a written record in archives of their languages, cultural practices, community life, and education, authorship from a European perspective naturally misrepresents the Indigenous reality and contributes to inadequate stereotypes. Bradford Hall in "Among Cultures: The Challenge of Communication" (2005) includes five points of variance that result in stereotypes: direction, intensity, specificity, consensus, and accuracy (p. 195). Specificity refers to how broad or vague a description may be, and accuracy of course calls into question whether a description of another's culture is correctly interpreted.

"Although stereotypes are grounded in our human desire to understand the world, they can easily be tools in our efforts to build up our own group or community at the expense of others," Hall notes (p. 198). These then lead to ethnocentrism and prejudice, both of which are

apparent in the records of the Jesuit missionaries and other historians representing the Indigenous peoples.

One needs not look far or long to see references of Indians as "savages" – a common description that held with it a notion that the Natives must be tamed.[1] For missionaries specifically, the implication was also that the Indigenous peoples must be "saved." Answering the common question of whether "savage" had the same connotation to the Italian Jesuits as it carries today, Elizabeth White observes the Latin roots and a conclusion that its fullest sense "implied everything contrary to Christian norms and society" (1990, p. 68).

Father Diomedi's 1894 "Sketches of Indian Life in the Pacific Northwest" referred to the "pagan Indian" dancing as not only "peculiar" but also "undoubtedly a most successful means, invented by the devil, for the corruption of morals … fruitful sources of unspeakable evils (p. 15). The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribe's understanding of the Jesuits' intentions is stated on its website: "The missionaries were intent not just on bringing their teachings to the people, but on getting rid of the traditional Salish spiritual practices, which they regarded as the 'work of the devil.' In a larger sense, the Jesuits sought to transform the entire culture of the Salish."

Jesuits were not alone. The Protestant missionaries "relentlessly denounced" the ways of the Indians, paternalized them, and described them as "depraved, ignorant, and mired in heathen darkness" (Coleman, 1980, p. 410).

[1] English translations of Father Joseph Cataldo's personal papers, housed at the Jesuit Archives and Research Center in St. Louis, Missouri, include countless uses of "savages." These were reviewed in person, Feb. 25, 2022. Chittenden and Richardson's 1905 publication translates the "Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J." which includes this priest's regular use of language that describes the Natives disparagingly.

While these examples are few of many issues that could be explored in reference to diversity, equity and inclusion concerns within research of the Jesuits and their missions among the Native peoples, they are sufficient to harken back to the conclusion of Glaude's in this introduction: The notion of superiority of whites has "distorted and deformed" our nation's history and democracy.

Exploring this history, grappling with its presuppositions and inadequacies, will help Jesuit students achieve what Glaude aims for within his work specific to African American histories as well: "With a different story, our national greatness will not reject some grand lie that hides our evils and protects us from shame, but will be a consequence of our acknowledgment of what we have done and the ongoing work to do better" (2020).

It is paramount that Gonzaga's institutional history and ongoing education amplify the voices of Native community members whose stories have been misrepresented. The failures of the past have continued to have impact on Indigenous communities, as Tinker so well describes:

> Five hundred years of conquest and domination, the ever-lingering trauma of mass murders, the loss of land, and thus, of a self-sustaining economic base, and the continuing experience of racism and marginalizing disempowerment, combined with living in rather intimate closeness with our abuser and feeling constantly the colonizers' pressure to accommodate their culture and values has left Indian peoples in a state of chronic poverty and suffering a community-wide dysfunctionality that is similar in many ways to the typical psychological profile of the adult survivor of child abuse so common in north America today. That is to say, Indian people are, as a community, damaged merchandise. (p. 154)

JESUIT HISTORICAL RESOURCES

For centuries, the Society of Jesus has maintained archives of the writings and artwork of priests who documented their journeys through diaries and letters to their superiors. Access is readily available to the detailed recollections of Father Peter DeSmet – who first arrived in the Northwest and settled among the Salish tribes before serving as a chaplain for the government's Indian Affairs bureau. Also available are sketches of fellow missionary Father Nicolas Point, who used his drawings for teaching among the Indians. The Jesuits' Archives contain some of the only documented histories of Native tribes who otherwise passed on their traditions orally.

DeSmet's documents have served as the source of many historical and scholarly reviews, which add perspective to his lengthy records. Other sources include historians' review of documents specific to the tribes included in this project's artifact (digital timeline): Flatheads, Confederated Kootenai-Salish, Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes.

For a contemporary Jesuit perspective, McKevitt's *Brokers of Culture* provides a scholarly review of the order of which he was a member. Experts in history and theology from outside the Jesuit circle provide an Indigenous voice and critique of missions as well.

In addition, Jesuits living in Spokane indicate great desire to understand their order's history more completely, with contemporary awareness of the generational harm caused by missionary tactics and boarding schools. While this research project focuses on 1800-1900 – the period representing the arrival of the Jesuits among the Interior Salish through the establishment of Gonzaga – it's encouraging to know that Jesuits are eager to gain a proper context and to influence that development among the students at the university and the high school. Within Jesuits West, regional groups have developed Communities Organizing for Racial Equity (CORE), and the Spokane CORE has specifically selected Native relations as an area of focus.

ARTIFACT STRUCTURE

The artifact of this research is a digital timeline that provides a fuller context of the history around the time the Jesuits were establishing missions among the Salish Tribes, specifically, the Flathead or Bitterroot Salish, the Kootenais and Upper Pend Oreilles, the Coeur d'Alenes, and the Spokanes. Unlike other documents that tell one part of the story of an era, this timeline layers Tribal moments with Jesuit work, and national matters of import, providing the viewer with a more complete perspective.

Important to this artifact is a clear attestation of why specific terminology is used for the population being discussed. Other critical notes will acknowledge the discrepancies of dates and spelling of names that appear in some materials, and citing of original sources.

Color-coding references to specific tribes/missions helps to clarify the Jesuits' focus of work among the Interior Salish. Images and artwork from Jesuit, Catholic, and public archives will add visual interest. Of chief importance are call-outs referencing important themes for consideration or discussion to engage viewers in identifying themes or acknowledging how material may be perceived from a contemporary lens. These may include the schools as tools for assimilation, compensation by the government for mission work, and the competition between Catholics and Protestants. A presentation for educational purposes, according to Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, should help students and teachers "identify and recognize continuities of colonialism in our present structures" and "compel teachers and students to reflect on their identities and consider what it would mean to reframe their ethical orientation to past, present and future" (Miles, 2018, p. 94).

Hopeful Use

The timeline will be a resource for Gonzaga University, Gonzaga Preparatory School, and St. Aloysius Church – the three Jesuit institutions of the Inland Northwest. A hopeful outcome is the education of members of the dominant community, and long-overdue acknowledgement of our regional Native community's suffering, as a step toward improved relationships between the two. There may also be opportunities through Spokane Jesuit CORE (Communities Organizing for Racial Equity) and Gonzaga's Commission on University Response to Catholic Sexual Abuse Crisis.

A critical acknowledgment in the artifact is a statement of this author's identity as a white student whose interpretation of materials may differ from someone more directly acquainted with the Native experience. An attitude of humility in this work is imperative.

In a 2022 lecture series called "Unpacking Histories: The Graces and Gifts of Native Spirituality and its Impact on the Jesuits," Father Pat Twohy, S.J., who has lived and worked among Native communities for 50 years, said, "I belong to a Jesuit history of many mistakes and I know that – I feel it. What divided us in the past hurt us – and still does." Friendship, he proposed, is "the key to a beautiful encounter in which we're honest with each other."

A sense of hope for this friendship is strong. May it expand in depth and reach in some small way through learning the full contexts of the Jesuit-Native relationships in the Northwest.

SUMMARY OF LIMITATIONS

Limitations of this project and opportunities for further research include the following:

1. White superiority/supremacy. How did the European mindset of settler-colonizers contribute to American understanding of tribal histories?
2. Religious power. To what extent did Catholic and Protestant missionaries effectively strip the Indians of Native spiritual traditions and theologies? What role did the government's funding of religious groups to educate and assimilate Indians play in future changes related to separation of church and state? How did territorialism between Catholics and Protestants contribute to tensions between tribes?
3. How did Father Cataldo's disdain for Chief Garry impact relationships with the Spokanes, and ultimately the founding of Jesuit institutions in Spokane?
4. Theology and church history. What shifts in theology have taken place, and what papal changes and Vatican II outcomes have impacted mission endeavors among Native communities and contemporary relationships between Jesuits and
5. How might Jesuits in the U.S. learn from Canada's Truth and Reconciliation work and move forward in relationships with the native communities through restitution, reconciliation, reparations, and restorative justice, and how to educational institutions such as Gonzaga build this work into its curriculum?

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