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Interviewee: Carling I. Malouf

Interviewer: G.G. Weix

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G.G. Weix: This is September 21, 2004, and we are interviewing Professor Carling Malouf from the University of Montana's Department of Anthropology. Here today we have Sharon Small, graduate student in the department, Betty Matthews, also a graduate student in the department, and G.G. Weix, associate professor in the department. We're going to interview Carling on his life's work at the University of Montana, beginning with his early days at the University, and range widely in our discussion over a discussion of his ethnology work on the Plains Indians, his teaching at the University of Montana, and his mentoring of Native American students beginning in the Indian Club and into the Kyiyo Club.

So starting with topics of your early days of ethnology, Carling, maybe you can begin talking with Betty and Sharon about how you got interested in doing the ethnology and archeology work you did at the University of Montana, and particularly, the articulation between the different subfields—what moved you from archeology into ethnology and integrating the four fields in a Boasian approach?

Carling Malouf: My father's from the Middle East, a Christian group in Lebanon-Syria, they called it in older days, and they were driven up into the mountains up to the time of his generation in the late 1800s and early 1900s. He came as an immigrant to the United States when he married my mother, why, I've always had this reaction to different cultures. I was always interested in geography, and that got me into things like studying Native Americans and archeology and so forth. Not only just the local area, but the whole world for that matter. We've done a lot of work among Native Americans, for example, but I've also been in Micronesia. When I went to Guam, for example, and went up and down those islands like Yap and Pohnpei...It was taken by the United States then as trust-territories—they're still called trust-territories. I was interested, for example, in the schools. Had we learned anything from having teaching sessions for Native Americans over the years? Are they profited by it or are they using that, and somebody else is there and they're starting all over again the way they did with Native Americans, right? So questions like that that came to my mind. But mostly in Native Americans, and of course, they're so much richer than the archeology you find like pottery, projectile points, tools, and maybe in the Southwest where it's dry still woven things out of organic skins, plants, the kind that can be woven into various things—basketry so forth.

So I found it very fascinating to see too the effects of the Europeans on the Native Americans. Well, just as an example, the Flathead, Kootenai, and Pend d'Oreille, when the Jesuits came—and I don't think you'll find this in any history books—but they looked at the Jesuits coming in

as an addition too to help strengthen them, because they were having so much difficulty with the Blackfeet. They were warring all the time and making (unintelligible). The Blackfeet were originally from back East, just west of the Great Lakes, and were pushed west gradually by colonization of the whites. Then when they got to the foot of the Rockies, they moved a little bit to the south too. Now, the Kootenai were in Southwestern Alberta, but then the Blackfeet pushed them over the mountains. They [Kootenai] came into north of us in British Columbia, and then they finally moved south, kind of joined up with the Pend d'Oreille who helped them out a lot. You can see this in the map on that slide number one, with all those arrows, how the arrows go west up over the Canadian border and then they shift south. They had effect on Indians almost clear down to the Southern border; although, they didn't actually set up their own living there, but the war efforts, the battle efforts. Because they were being pushed from the other side, they had to do something to feed the kids and keep their culture going and getting the raw materials.

But what the white culture did...The Jesuits were not too bad with them, but once in a while they'd have one that would really bear down on a particular medicine bundle. "Give me that medicine bundle, or I'm going to burn it up. It's a thing of the devil." So, it didn't turn out quite that they were getting what they had hoped they'd get out of it, but they did go into it to some extent.

GGW: With that history, you must've, when you first moved to Montana, had a difficult time establishing relationships and beginning your ethnology work. What was it like when you started some of your early research work? You were also teaching Native students at the University.

CM: Well, they didn't know how I'd treat the material, whether I'd just pick out things that would depress them or be against them. I was just interested in the psychological aspects that tied to the economics. For example, supposing you were gifted through the spirits to be a warrior or a hunter—better hunter—or lead hunting parties, or curing, and so on, but here come these whites and the medicine man just ignoring, and how it made them feel—these shamans. It's like having a college degree and you're having a lot of success, but then here comes somebody, "What college degree? Teach you something about history, but you don't know the real world." Those are some things I've heard from businessmen around Montana and other places too about college professors—they don't know the real world and so on. So that gives you a little feeling about how the things that could have bothering them and their culture. Just think about it; how important it was, and then they're trying to be made to ignore all that and how it made them feel.

GGW: So you had a great deal of rapport with them, even in the early '50s, when it was very different.

CM: Actually, I began to look for similarities. For example, they have a high source of this power, but they usually have less literature on it, about God and all the things that maybe some people claim they saw God and so forth. That power is either complete absolute creator of it, and yet his son, the devil, has taken up...It's interesting that this power look like physics today, or something like that. It's just particles, smaller than what you find in chemistry where you have a nucleus and a bunch of little particles going around it. The lighter ones like helium and hydrogen, I imagine, you only have one or two or three particles, and you get down to uranium and you have a whole bunch of them going around the nucleus like the moon going around the Earth. Maybe hundreds and hundreds of moons if you get... Even those particles are made up of particles, so you get down to neutrinos. But I'm saying this to try show you that this power business, that there must be another physical thing in the whole world. Your speech is particles. They're sending vibrations through the air that gets to your ear who can interpret those waves, because as it goes through the waves...Light, for example, travels 186,000 miles a second. So it takes a very fast split second for it to get across the table here, but it's still moving. Sound is a lot slower, but then still pretty close. The wavelengths, when these particles hit the air, which is also particles, they begin to wave and that's how they break up. We've known that for a long time.

Way back when they started breaking these things up in Sir Isaac Newton's day, pointed out that for every force there is an opposite force and that's important too, you see. You have this high source, there isn't really much difference in the way we look at it in the long run. Still there's a lot less to talk about, because they don't have that much oral literature, and so forth, on it. The spirits, tell you how to use it, but they've been given...they call them gifts when they talk in English. Just as we use the word "gifts," in this case. It's a gift. The shaman or the medicine man would call them, but most of their powers were not for medicine. A lot of it's for just about everything—curing, or specialized curing, maybe some things but not others. The problem might be a female has those powers (unintelligible) so forth, or diseases or whatever else. Hunting. You could be a leader of a hunting party, or you can be a better hunter yourself.

It's that little extra *oomph*, let's say, that makes you success in life or help your people too. Is that any different than priesthoods, and all that sort of thing? Those extra gifts, or you yourself that might believe strongly in it. So, when you look for basics, there really aren't so many differences. A lot of cultures, they might include dancing as part of the ceremonies, but we don't do that in Christianity, as far as I know of any place. The arts, I mean, using the arts that's just one thing, I'm not asking why, or I'm not saying it's good or bad, I just saying some of the differences, because dancing is an art and singing is an art and so forth.

GGW: When students began to study with you in the '50s, and they would come to the University, there weren't any pow-wows or Kyiyo Club.

CM: No, there wasn't.

GGW: How did you encourage and work with them, and what were they interested to study about their own cultures or about anthropology?

CM: We had only 12 students that were Native Americans at that time because there were only 3,500 students at the University at that time. Only 12 of them were Native Americans. Geneva Whiteman, the daughter of (unintelligible) Whiteman who was chairman of the Crow Council, was one of the students. She had a good personality, and they would meet together once in a while with something—the 12 or as individuals. I began to invite them down to the house once a month for an evening with the wife at the house. We lived over on 5th then. (unintelligible) on some snacks and so forth, and talk about various subjects and so forth. I was trying to help them become students, and what's expected, but they wanted to get some skills where they could make a living and things like that.

GGW: There also weren't any archives at that time at the University. There was a museum, but—

CM: There was a museum that Paul Philips had developed with some artifacts, quite a few artifacts. The museum's just falling apart now. The Art Department wanted the museum space, and the president didn't see any sense in letting it dwindle away. So I took all the anthropology collection, and, because I was an assistant director, I was an assistant (unintelligible) under Paul Philips and so on, moved all the anthropological stuff to the Anthropology Department in the basement where I could lock it up and so forth. I had to be very careful trying to set it up, because every once in a while some student would walk off with a pipe or something like that, which you could get away with. You get that with anything, if you're in History or something else. (laughs)

GGW: You established the first classes, though, at the University in anthropology, so—

CM: Actually Turney-High preceded me, and he taught an elementary class—a beginning class on Native Americans—but he mostly had to do anthropology. That was my problem too. As a matter of fact, they hired me because it was a joint department in sociology and anthropology, and my master's degree was in both sociology and anthropology. The department at the University was established three different subjects—sociology, anthropology, and social welfare—with Gordon Browder as the chairman, who was very good. He was very fair with the budgets, and books in the library, and other budgetary things, if we needed supplies of these kinds and so forth.

GGW: What did you feel was most important during those days to set up for the Native students for—

CM: Well, I organized them into a club, well, Ginny (?) did. She really got it going. Many years later, by the way—I think it was about eight years ago or so—the Kyiyo Club honored her for

that beginning. I don't know whether members are told that anymore, but they have recognized her (unintelligible) if they have their notes of the meetings.

GGW: What did you feel was most important that the Anthropology Department could set up for curriculum or offerings for Indian students?

CM: I felt we came closest to understanding a little more about what the Native Americans students should have, because they have such crazy ideas about Native Americans that actually—

GGW: They being other students who aren't Indian?

CM: Well, we have general common beliefs about them, and there were a lot of things they recognized—arts and so forth. I won't say it was all negative, but when it came to work, there were just some special skills. Down in the lower levels, of course, a lot of it's mechanical—carpenters and so forth, technical school—but then when it came to being like a manager of a business or things like that, why, that would require a lot more training. If they were going to be a position where they could better manage the tribe, little things like bookkeeping and the financial aspects and so forth, understand it.

GGW: Coming from a background in business, you probably appreciated the need for those practical—

CM: Yes, I came out of a business family, and my bachelor's degree was in business. I had a whole year of accounting, and went in banking, corporation, finance, taxes. (laughs)

GGW: You were also very entrepreneurial in working with tribes on grants and projects. How did that begin? I mean, you were hired as a professor at the University, but you were quickly involved in a lot of projects working with the tribes at a time when most professors probably weren't.

CM: Well, a lot of them were federal...there were suits, some of them even as high as federal court cases. Back in the 1950s, early 1950s, a lawyer who kind of specialized in Indian things here, had an office in Washington D.C., Ernest Wilkinson (?), or Wilkerson, and his brother and a couple of other men. Well, the Utes put up a suit, and I forget how much they asked for, maybe 30 million dollars or so, maybe more. And they lost other than what was lost in the treaty with the reservations set up. Then over the years, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they kind of were encouraged by congressmen or others to open up land that wasn't actually being used much by the Indians, except the open land that maybe there'd be a chance of having some deer on and all that. They figured the Indians should be farmers that could raise cattle and so forth, and that space, they were kind of letting go to waste. They opened it up for the whites—a lot of

it. So, they sued for the loss of land, and they won millions and millions of dollars. I forget what it is. I've got newspaper clippings, maybe I could look it up and see.

GGW: So they received compensation, but not actually the access to the land back?

CM: That's right. They got money for it. Of course, I was interested in how they used the money; did they just blow it into the... (laughs) That's the way the whites might do it too.

GGW: We now know that the Indian Trust was corrupt and bankrupt all those years. So it might have been that that was—

CM: Well, the Tribal Council, just like our Congress, would twist the things that they wanted more than the general public would.

GGW: You also worked with many, many tribes across Montana. You weren't just specializing in the study of just one.

CM: That's right. Yes.

GGW: So back in the '50s when you had the Institute, there would be people from five, six, ten tribes coming to the University for a conference. What was that like dealing with a very international atmosphere among the tribes?

CM: They had common problems, and they could talk over how we can handle this and handle that and so forth. What happened on that suit is that when they won those millions of dollars, it seemed like every reservation in the United States sued. (laughs) There were so many court cases pending that the federal courts couldn't handle them. They were six years behind, or five years behind, when they come up with it. It was a tremendous number. So Congress passed a bill creating the Lands Claim Commission. It lasted about 15 years or so. With the powers and the understanding about the level that these lower-middle type of federal court. So suits were put in through the Lands Claim Commission. When they made treaties starting out in the colonial days back east, they used the same forms they used in Europe with treaties, in which their tribes were called "nations". Words like "forever", so it appeared in the treaty. So today, when I look at some of the Shoshone groups in the Great Basin, they were not even to the level of a tribe, because there'd been bands, and the bands would be no more than about 1,500 or 2,000. Then the bands, when they got bigger, they could join together and become a tribe, but the bands were still there too, so there'd be chiefs in the bands, and a chief...Of course, in the Pueblos, they began clans, too, under that, because they had a whole different system that led them (unintelligible) it more.

GGW: You continued research in the Southwest while you were teaching in Montana.

CM: Right. I'd started at Utah. I was a ranger, a naturalist, at Grand Canyon. Once a week I was to do archeology. Go down and look for sights that hadn't been found and walking around on those cliffs and so forth. Working with the Navajo, which is the biggest reservation in the United States, and most of the people that joined is right on to the Canyon. The Hopi Reservation is in the middle of it. Once a week too, I could do work with them. I have notes about their views of the Canyon or things like that.

The Pueblos, their sacred place was called a *kiva* in the Hopi. Opposite the entrance to the kiva, which is partly underground, and an altar, then opposite there's a hole in the ground called a *sipapu*, where the spirits can come up, too, when they're having their rituals. So, Grand Canyon was a great big sipapu. (laughs) A big hole in the ground. They recognized it too. Although, there is a lot of sanctity to it. They'd still go down into the canyon. There was a trail down there that was still being used by the whites, the National Park Service, because they didn't have any roads down at the bottom to walk around. So there was just a question of how to best prepare the Native American students, and try to give a little feeling for the white culture, and the similarities and differences. Just like I've tried to get the whites to learn that there are a lot of similarities rather than...It's just like this. Now, when you're at church, you fry your eggs, but our church we boil our eggs. Now, you better start frying your eggs or we're going to have a war, we're going to have trouble. (laughs) Is that a little different (unintelligible)?

GGW: There was a strong religious studies program here through to the early '80s.

CM: Should you sprinkle or dunk, for example, in baptisms? Well, I could go on and on.

GGW: You were teaching in anthropology, and then in the University as a whole there was a strong religious studies program that had some interest in the Native American religion traditions, but essentially—

CM: Well, a lot of that was aimed at converting (unintelligible) stronger and getting rid of this—

GGW: But essentially, there was no Native American Studies program.

CM: No.

GGW: So, students, and Indian institutes, all of the efforts that you had—

CM: We had courses in it, and when we got into modern Indian affairs, I set up a course on Indian affairs, and then we eventually...I can't remember who our first Native American was—

Interviewer 1: Alums (unintelligible) first director?

CM: Christine Whiteman of Cheyenne, and she's become a remarkable person in relationship...She was a southern Cheyenne, I think. Finally, we separated it, and we led to that. I had that in mind—a separate department—but we'd want somebody too would know something about the white culture not just the bad stuff that you can belly-ache about. (laughs) There's a lot of it there, but there's a lot the other way too. Politicians only talk about the other guy, "What's wrong with him?" (laughs)

GGW: When you began your ethnology (unintelligible) research, you talked at my class two weeks ago about working with Ellen Big Sam and gathering place names for the lawsuits—for the legal efforts—but it led you to certain relationships with them where you could also learn a lot from them about the past.

CM: Well, since the government side has already gone through a lot of cases, so the lawyers that represented the Indians realized that some of the questions they might bring up is that they didn't use the land above 4,000 feet. Actually, it was easy enough for me to point out that we'd found archeological sites up on the top of the Bitterroot Mountains where they drove caribou. See, Montanans don't know that caribou, up to 1875, were extending down atop the Bitterroot Mountains. By the 1890s, they were gone. All gone up into Canada, and that elk came in to replace them and things like that. That was pretty tough. Little things that you won't find in any history books of Montana. I've pointed this out to some historians now, more recently. The bottom lands, the valley, was important, because in the wintertime the deer would come out of the mountains. The elk were a plains animal, and there weren't many elk around but there were other animals. There were berries. Of course these crops that matured in the valleys first would mature in smaller little flat clippings clear on up to the Divide. Take camas, for example, that root. Camas, which was one of the basics, they gathered bushels of those for the use in the winter. By August or so, they would be as high as Lolo pass! That camaus field up there, Lewis and Clark noticed it when they went over it. He wrote about that beautiful part, and it's still a nice, beautiful camas field, just where the road starts going, finally, over the pass into Idaho up there. Bitterroot, same way. Animals, same way, would go up into the mountains. So, they'd move their camps up, and also eastward, where they got different things. There were berries, huckleberries for example, still enough that there are companies that people go out and gather huckleberries on their own. So, when you buy huckleberry jam, you're buying the wild ones that people collected up canyons and so on.

GGW: You were documenting practices that may have extended far back in time—

CM: Yes.

GGW: —but might not have left much archeological trace, but still though through oral history you could confirm them.

CM: Seasonality. As a seasonality difference. I haven't heard anybody explain it, it's so obvious, is that after the white man came and they took all those flatlands and put fences around them and put cattle in them, the deer had a hard time coming down. Now they still, a few of them, come down. I can take you out into the backyard and show you right now a little piles of droppings from the deer and deer tracks around that apple tree out there and so forth. I'm only a block, or two away from the mountain up here. I remember last winter we had a problem where...It happened during the day, when a doe came along with two fawns, and one of them was hit with an automobile out here on the road, just a house away from us. She came down this alley, and the doe was so badly injured it just dropped, out there where you see that opening and that green fence there, and was dying. Well, we went out there and the mother and her fawn sat down across the alley here (unintelligible). I tried to see if we could do something. We called the police, and we called—

GGW: Animal Control?

CM: —Animal Control people. Finally, the fawn died right underneath me. Just couldn't do anything about it, and the mother couldn't do anything about it. They just called a garbage—

[Break in audio]

—where they collected Bitterroot, and so on. Camas. Where some of the earliest and the biggest supplies were. Because that's something they used year around.

GGW: Sounds like the value was both economic and cultural and spiritual.

CM: Well, I think a white man grows up to think that all they ate was buffalo, and maybe some other animals once in a while, a few things. I don't think they realize that over half the food is what women collected—plants and things like that. Men would help on it. Like building a fire—roasting pit—where they'd dig a pit and put stones in it to roast the camas and covered it with rocks and so forth. That was one of the contributions of the women in the culture, but look where it leaves them.

GGW: Well, and the contribution of your ethnology in this region, it was a long time before anthropology gave up the myth of man the hunter in pre-history or the present. It was an insight that took a long time to really break through.

CM: That's what they figured. That they didn't have to hunt. They could go out and raise cows. (laughs) Which they went into. I've got pictures of men in horse-drawn machines on crops and so forth.

GGW: You were also meeting and documenting a lot of lives that were between and showing the transition of different livelihoods. So the students you met, the Indians you worked with for

your ethnology, you were also documenting the transition of their lives through the '60s and '70s.

CM: Well, a sacred place is, as I said, there are spirits everywhere, but there are just certain places that are, you might call it a *sikh* (?)—a gift. A couple of the Native American would tell me that they looked at it as equivalent to what we look at a college degree. (laughs) That extra oomph to help themselves with something, or help their people. Young men might want to have some special oomph in hunting, or things that will help all the people, or him. Whether it's hunting, love-powers, of course. It might be for you, or somebody else. Curing—specialized curing. Lots of times getting curing powers, for example, the spirit might not give them everything. Might have to find out for yourself whether you can cure this or that. A lot of details, I could go into that type of thing.

Not only her, but other old timers. Ellen was one of the...she was 11 years old, when they were kicked out of the Bitterroot Valley, finally—the last of the Flathead—in 1891, and herded up into the reservation because there were quite a few of them that remained down there. Most of them, about two-thirds of them at least, had already gone up to the reservation when it was created, but some of them just stayed down there. So she was willing to talk about some religious things, to show what it meant to them, and I could equate it with what we have in our own culture. Maybe in a different form and different things, but the basic things.

There are a lot of common things all over the worlds. Take the Greeks and Romans for example, with their gods. They weren't really gods. I think they come closer to apostles and things like that. They weren't the source of the power. They were the ones that just handle the war, just handled hunting, or whatever other power these had. The Hopi, for example, had over, I think, around 80 *kachinas* for their...and that's Christian, isn't it? (laughs) Well, the Greeks and the Romans and the Persians and what not and their multi-gods. So it's what you call them.

Bands, by the way...the Shoshone, the Goshute, when I studied them, they never had a group larger than about 800. They were around the Great Salt Lake Desert! The Salt Flats alone is 10,000 square miles of solid, over 90 percent salt! You lick your lips when you're out there, and you'll have to have salt in your lunch and you've already had a lot of it. (laughs)

GGW: Harsh environment.

CM: I happened to be stationed out there. I didn't know I'd ever go out there when I was drafted in the Army-Air Force—World War Two. They sent me to the Wendover Air Base, which was right near the Goshute Reservation where I had spent months living with them and learning Shoshone and their culture and so forth. I wrote my master's thesis on them at the University of Utah.

GGW: That was in the early 1940s?

CM: The late '30s, when I was out there. Late 30s and '41 and thereafter.

GGW: Was that unusual for people to go into field research for a master's thesis then?

CM: Yes, it was kind of expensive to go out if you don't have money to...I paid informants, for example, so much an hour.

GGW: Did you have grants supporting your master's work?

CM: Well, no. My father was running a dress manufacturing business and so forth. We weren't wealthy, but we were making money. And I—

GGW: So your success in the private sector after (unintelligible) able to support your research.

CM: —was working in the factory at the time too, I learned the business, both the retailing, because they had stores too. Finally wound up with over 250 stores, including one here in Missoula. My dad set up, it was called a rosanna (?) shop. It was right next to where Smith's Drug used to be, down on the corner of Broadway and Higgins. It's now a small mall, they call it. Tiny little mall right next to what used to be the drug store there.

GGW: So you never had any inclination to leave Missoula because your field-site was right here.

CM: Yes. I figured I'd been living out here, and I wouldn't have to pay for rents and have to do all that sort of thing. I had a family. I came out here because I had a job teaching here. I put applications in. I got my Ph.D. at Columbia University. I sent applications all over the west—Utah and Wyoming and other places—but because I had sociology it just happened to click with them. So when I came here I taught sociology. Elementary, and social problems were the two classes I taught for seven or eight years. Plus, I had anthropology.

GGW: It must have been unusual for them to have someone who was specializing in Indians as well.

CM: Yes, that's it, because my Ph.D. didn't cover sociology, but it covered sociology and anthropology. My bachelor's was in business; although, I went pretty heavy into economics—specialized in that—which is of course a general social science, in a way.

GGW: The other major program I wanted to mention or ask you about was the Head Start program that you helped...You were on the national committee in the '60s for establishing Head Start. I understand Head Start really, in some sense, had some of its first pilot projects in Montana.

CM: Yes. There was a meeting held in Washington D.C. by President Johnson. President Johnson had been a teacher at Texas, so he had a special interest in education. They'd asked the different states to send in a representative to meet on this. He was going to found Head Start or these pre-school programs. Of about 140 from the 50 states, there two or three from Montana. I've got a list of those and all their names, by the way. I'd have to go and look them up. I can't remember where that list is, but it was published and handed to us. He [President Johnson] called us over to the White House. They paid for our flight and the airplanes and the housing and the rooms in a hotel fairly near the White House. They had some bus come over and pick us up. We met in the Rose Garden, and he gave us a talk, in which he said he felt that they needed to have something preceding the first grade to get the kids a little better ready for education and things of that sort. That they're starting this Head Start program, and then they're going to have one for after school too. That developed into things like these post-professional trainings, like the Job Corps, for example, is another one.

GGW: This wouldn't have been considered at all Indian education for all.

CM: It would be involved in it.

GGW: Yes, but today in the constitution we have this commitment to all Montanans studying Indian heritage. This was, in effect, the opposite where the Head Start was for students and children to get a head start in learning the mainstream culture.

CM: Also, he said that they'd have programs for in-between the early one, but they never got around to that one. I want to point that out to you that—

GGW: Was there any indication to you that there might be some need for mainstream culture, or Montana education system to in turn learn about Indian heritages? Where did that emerge because—

CM: Well that became part of this state too—

GGW: In 1972, so only seven years later.

CM: See, they organized this thing in all the states, including a branch in Montana.

GGW: But Montana is unique in having that commitment to studying Indian heritages. It's interesting that Head Start, in 1965, was interested in sort of assimilating all children into one culture system.

CM: Well, there was probably already some interest in that subject. That matter of—

GGW: Yes, Indian heritage.

CM: Yes, and, of course, it's important that teachers learn more about Native Americans, more than just what you get in popular stuff—the books and geographic magazines, pictures of (unintelligible), wars and the—

GGW: When that was happening with the question of training teachers, for instance, on Indian heritage, did you find there was support on campus for your courses and your efforts?

CM: Yes, there was some. Of course we started the Indian studies thing in the department. In fact, we might even been still part of sociology at that time. I had in mind setting it up separately after a while, and we were all...but then I wanted to make sure they knew what they were doing too. That they had training on the other side, because they'd had probably equal things about white man and his greediness and things like that.

GGW: The program was established in 1973, the Indian Studies Program, then it became renamed the Native American Studies Program, but it didn't really have full funding and directorship and autonomous minor and major for curriculum until the 1990s.

CM: Yes. The Indians still have some of their extremists. Everything has extremists. Physical professions, professional doctors, lawyers, businessmen, but that doesn't mean everybody's that way. Don't matter what his religion. As I said, in the Catholic Church, it wasn't all the Jesuits, it was just some of them that would...I got their names too, by the way. I can't remember which one of the Jesuits it was. Boy, was he...! Actual stories like some from Sophie Moise and other ladies because they were old enough to remember when they were living in the Bitterroot Valley. It's something about their culture. They still used to go out and dig camas up the mountains east of here. They got places with campgrounds where their pits were where they roasted them out in the field. Of course, what came earlier was the bitterroot. That was the first thing they collected.

GGW: Did you think, when you were speaking with these ladies, of taping or interviewing or filming their life stories?

CM: Let's put it this way. The whites were so misunderstanding is that they would just get rid of everything. Just join our church. It's not only become a Christian, but it has to be our church. There are, by the way, 300 Christian churches in the United States. Most of them are in the top 10 or 12 big ones, but each one a little different. It's not only a churches, but it's got to be in "our church" too, if possible, instead of somebody else's church. So, there were this overactive whites in that area. The same thing with the Indians too. They didn't want to talk to the whites, because they might find out that their father's a shaman, and the priest would find out about it—somehow the news would get to him—and he'd come and demand that he get rid of it—the thing of the devil or... (laughs)

GGW: So did you find, in talking to these people, they must have been very cautious towards anthropology?

CM: Yes, that they didn't really understand or appreciate it, too. If you start looking at the differences in the churches, because they are somewhat different, okay, I mean they don't have a pope and a head of all the Indians in the country, do they? (laughs)

GGW: What did they allow you to document when you were doing ethnology?

CM: Well, it was not only that, but there was a federal suit against the federal government, and the lawyers wanted to include religious lands too, because they're going to show that they used, like a hill top, for example. It isn't necessarily the highest mountain by the way it just might be a hill. Corvallis, for example, when you go down to Corvallis in the Bitterroot Valley you see that great big C on the mountain on the side of the valley, that's students at the Corvallis High School put that up there, like we have this big M up here. That's just a hill in front of the range itself and it's only half as high as the mountains, so it isn't necessarily that very highest peak. It might be sometimes, because the spirit, you're more apt to have a spiritual visit there. The proof is is that when somebody was told by a spirit to go there, and by the way too, little things like this were explained to me, that this was one of the few places in the United States where we know what the pictographs are that you see on the cliffs. Like there's some thirty miles south on the highway. I could take you down and show them to you. It's not a big (unintelligible). The great big one on Flathead Lake, on the west side, called *Painted Rocks*, a higher up than Elmo, it's just where the big bay goes in there on an extraordinary cliff. There's also a big one, used to be a lot in the cave near Billings, called *Pictograph Cave*. In those days, because the Crow and the Blackfeet and those Indians weren't in there, actually, the Flathead got as far east as Billings. But by the time history begins, they've been pushed west of the mountains by these plains tribes that came in—the Crow and the Sioux and the Cheyenne and Blackfeet and so on. Although there remained country still that was inter-mountain, including the other side of the Divide and those mountains along Great Falls and Helena and so forth.

The sacred places...the government side was going to try to at least reduce the amount of acreage or square miles by including things above 5,000 feet, so they could show that their religious importance, even, things like that. So that's why the lawyers wanted, so they were willing to cooperate. By the way, they won millions of dollars on that case. (laughs) I've got all my testimony too. (unintelligible) wrote a little paper. I showed it to you the other day that economic and land use. That's when I took Ellen Big Sam down on the east side of the valley down the road there and got their place names because often they...What they did, where they lived, houses, cabins, because a lot of them are still there. A few of them might be pigpens and chicken coops, but they're still there. Then crossed over about where we got to Hamilton, and then back on the west side, (unintelligible) areas on this side of the Bitterroot Range. The stories she'd tell me about the families of this guy and that guy just—

GGW: When she told you these stories—

CM: —about herself.

GGW: —you were interested in knowing something of their cultural history, of the region and the territory, but did you talk at all with her about the documentation of her stories for the future? Was she telling these stories for—

CM: Well, she understood it was for this court case, because others understood too. I was asked by the tribal council to do it to make (unintelligible) because their lawyers—

GGW: It was information that was being marshaled for a public use?

CM: Yes. I think that...Always had a little variation in them. Like Tom McDonald (?), he was for the Indians, but he also...In other words, he was—what would you say—diplomatic. Diplomatic. But you get somebody, I'll just give you his first name as Bear Head (?). I was going to ask him one time, "Is Bear Head on the outside or the inside," but (laughs) I didn't get around to it. Well, he's one of these extremists, you see.

That's one of the problems today, because if they look at themselves as a nation, and you see nations are made up of tribes, and there were some nations, the Iroquois for example, made up of...What? Mohawks, Senecas. They had a 53-person council. *Sachems* they called it—s-a-c-h-e-m-s—for the members of the council between the tribes. Most of them then were cultures in the agricultural era. The Crow, for example, had clans too, but they were part of those earth-lodge dwellers. They were part of the Hidatsa in North Dakota and Fort Peck Reservation. Their language the same. They still intermarry a bit. They still have a slightly different language than it was. Not much different than British English (unintelligible). (laughs) So, they still have clans, and we think of them as a hunting and gathering tribe. Then the tribes are made up of bands. They still are. It's in the Bible. They have the 12 tribes of Israel—ten in Israel and two in Judea. Maybe I got them mixed up—ten in one and two in the other. It was a kingdom at times.

GGW: For the court cases that you worked on, you did oral history with the members, and then you would transcribe—

CM: Well, it depended on the kind of case, because some of them, like with the Crow there's a case of a murder where they have something of the culture the lawyers want to know to defend the person that might...that they had a reason for it that was acceptable for this or that or something like that. The best I could tell on that is that murder is murder whether it's Crow or English. Those are the kind of things too. There are others (unintelligible) they were testifying, but they were little different kinds of cases, not necessarily the Lands Claim Commission involvement.

GGW: What was your most memorable engagement as you worked as a professor here and also worked consulting with these tribes?

CM: I'd say working with Native Americans and other cultures too. I also continued an interest in the Pueblos. Before I had a job up here, I was still finishing my Ph.D. at Columbia, and I was a ranger naturalist at Grand Canyon and I got interested in the Pueblos. Even more so, because in Utah, those Pueblos we call them, they're called Anasazi today. In Utah, they're called the Fremont culture. They got as far as the Idaho border.

I published an article after Wendover Air Base and working with the Goshute, I found a Pueblo site right on the land near where their main office was. So, the Anasazi got to the Nevada-Utah border. So I was interested in those and other tribes too—clans and what not.

GGW: I think that's a good place to pause. Maybe we can end the tape here and continue next time.

[End of Interview]