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Interviewee: Carling I. Malouf
Interviewer: Sharon Small, Betty Matthews
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Note: It isn't possible to determine which interviewer is Small and which is Matthews. Both have been identified as Interviewer, "I", throughout the transcript.

Interviewer: Today is October 5, 2004. Interviewers are Betty Matthews and Sharon Small, and we are interviewing Dr. Carling Malouf at his home. We will be talking about applied anthropology.

Interviewer: Earlier in some interviews, you talked about the development of Head Start. We would like you to reiterate that story, and go more into depth about your trip to Washington D.C. and establishing (unintelligible).

CM: Well, that was an interesting experience to get into. I'd been working a lot, of course, with Native American groups besides those in Montana. I was able to work a little bit with the Hopi Indians when I was a ranger naturalist at Grand Canyon, because one day a week that was part of my job—working with the Navajo and the Hopi, getting information about them so it could be passed on to tourists and others for research. Moving into Montana brought me closest to the tribes around here in the Plains region, but I still had learned so much about the Eastern tribes at Columbia University where the instructors would work with Native Americans in the Eastern States, or Southern States, or Canada, or whatnot. So it was a good background. Even working with museum collections, when it came to the material culture, non-material culture—the social status, the social systems, the families, and so forth. It gave me a good idea of what are the things in common among the people, and I think that's important, because when you look at even a hunting and gathering tribe, I can see that humans all came from a common center and a common culture. They have a higher source of this spiritual power, or the origin of it, or who handles it, or who has control, or who teaches you how to use it—the knowledge down to people they might ordain: a shaman, or priest, or whoever they might be. Well, you look at those common, and sure they've developed a lot of differences since then. When all people began to be farmers—the great cultures in the Middle East—then those what were shamans in the hunting and gathering cultures in Asia, and Africa, and Europe were given a little higher status, a little more things, and sometimes they were referred to as gods, that were even outside the human element—the god of war, of Rome, or Greece, or Persia, or the god of this, or the god of that. With the Hopi, they had *kachinas*, around 80 *kachinas* that were very common.

So you looked for those common denominators, and you can see what's happened. Even in Christian denominations, there are over 300, as I understand it, different Christian churches in the United States. A lot of them are very close together from common origin, but they still have

some preacher that wanted to get off by himself and set up something of what he thought should be better off with the people and so forth. It's the same thing with other religious groups. Islam, even when Muhammad died, the question of who should be his successor—that's where your Sunnis and Shiites begin to differ even then. Look at Asia, where there's what might be Buddhism, or Confucianism, or what not. In India, you see a lot of these common denominators that go back to early man's history.

I like to kid people about it too, how we make a difference that ours is the true religion and you better join up. Or, "Now, in your church you boil your eggs, but in our church we fry our eggs. Now you better start boiling you eggs, or we're going to have a war." [laughs] Sort of that element a bit. So look at the common denominators, and maybe there is one that's a little more...(unintelligible) be able to just boil it all down to one single thing, of course, I won't deny that, but still, look at the similarities. Males and females, how we exaggerate the differences there. Or racism, where one person has a little different colored skin than another, and how we exaggerate the differences there. We can just go on and on. Or social status (laughs) or whatever else it might be.

Anyhow, learning from practical experience in business, I came from a business family in retailing and manufacturing dresses, selling millions of dollars to chain stores like J.C. Penney and so forth. I got my bachelor's degree in business. I had a lot of accounting and corporation finance and so forth, but I enjoyed working with people of different cultures. I found that there are little differences in cultures, in a way—a degree, an intensity. They might look at their mother or their mother's sister. The Hopi, for example, the mother's sister, she even is called by her nieces and nephews, she's even called mother, because their mother and her are sisters. That really reflects some of their feeling. It's how you feel about each other that you have to think about when you're dealing with people in other cultures. In a clan for example, a clan can be very strong. If a matrilineal clan that's one of the clans that's always seems to wind up over the others. Well, look at the bible. The Levites in twelve tribes of Israel became the priests and whatnot and kind of overdid it, and Christ overturned their loot. They were trying to sell in temples to make money on, and he overturned the tables because they were looking out what's good for them and not necessarily for the people as a whole. You get a lot of that, you see. But it puts it in its place there. The whole world...I think I see in our Christian churches, it's several churches that are watched on TV shows, for example, how to live together. Even people that we're hostile to, the people that you hate, and they're pointing out now to forgive and forget about it and treat people well. Christ, for example, when he's hanging on the cross, and he asked his father in heaven to, "Forgive them for they know not what they do." Things of that sort, you see, that were being taught by him. You find so much of it being talked about in churches today. So that's the type of thing I've found from experiences is in a lot of different fields, where you can enlarge it and put not just one status of people, but others and not worry so much about little differences, too.

Now patrilineal clan, there were some tribes along Nebraska, for example, where the descent was stressed through the male line, but if a husband had to kind of...not just with his kids and

his wife, and beat her up sometimes. Her brothers can come and beat up on her husband, but you won't have to find that in a clan situation. That's a different set of feelings. So it's how you feel about each other and the intensity of it in dealing with other peoples in the world.

I just bring these things up. It's fascinating that you find these things that are happening in human lives that are in common. It's experiences in so many different things, so many different fields, and doing archeology, mapping out the pictograph sights, for example, "What are those figures doing on the rocks? What are they for?" There are some variations, and here in Montana we found where they were still doing that type of thing a little bit. So we know what the pictographs are in this area. The *kachinas* in the Southwest appear...that would be primarily the Hopi. The other Pueblo tribes were quite similar, they had similar spirits and so forth, but they might have quite a little different view—who, and what, and things of that sort that you find, say, along the Rio Grande River as opposed to the Colorado, or some other...where you have a Pueblo farming group in the Southwest.

These contacts...I spent some time out in trust territories in the Pacific Ocean when the United States took over from these Micronesian islands, like, all the way from Saipan and Guam, and down to Yap and Pohnpei, and so forth. I went there, when they were beginning to set up schools, if the United States had learned anything about teaching Native Americans in reservations around this country and so forth. There seemed to be a little bit, but since it's a different bureau, why, the teachers and the heads of it were a little different. But they were fixing up textbooks but putting it in their native languages, but using the English script to have them read the books and have it in their language. I have a copy of one that I got from...up near the Guam area. Right? Because that was the headquarters for the trust territories that the United States took over and still have there.

All of these experiences just add up, and I think the diversity has been wonderful and it's fun experience. It's like watching a TV show. It starts out with a problem, and some detective comes in, or great person who knows a lot about this, and pieces start fitting together a little bit. Then toward the end they all fit a nice great big cake, (unintelligible) after a whole hour of doing this and doing that to try to find out what went on. You enjoy watching such shows. Well, that's life, isn't it? Haven't you found in your own experiences where you just keep wondering and wondering and wondering, and suddenly the pieces all fit together? No matter what your field is, there's a little bit of that, and it's enjoyable. So I certainly enjoy life. I'll tell you that much. (laughs)

I: You use this anthropological background to help create the Head Start system that we have today?

CM: Yes. I was also fortunate enough to have a wife who had her degree in education, teaching from kindergarten to fifth grade primarily. She had taught in Salt Lake City around three years before we got married. As we moved around the United States, she would get kind of active, because we had children. We had four all together, finally. When we got to Montana, they had

not kindergartens in Montana in those days in the school systems. Started with the first grade, and that was it. They did have one at the University and it was kind of run by the Home Economics Department, but she was hired to teach there because she had a teaching certificate and had experience in it. The kids that were there, a lot of them were faculty members' children, like if the mother was working at the University too or working somewhere. Others as well put their kids in the kindergarten, and so it started there. So I found her, of course, very useful when it came down to practical things.

When we were going along with that direction, President Lyndon Johnson, in his term as president, had been a teacher himself in Texas in younger years, and he was trying to improve the education system in the United States and getting the kids prepared for school a little bit better before they actually got into a kindergarten. Lots of times the teachers would have no training or experience with younger kids. He was going to set up, too, even before they had kindergartens, a Head Start, the idea of giving them a chance. I look at a family this way; when a baby is born, the mother is, of course, the closest thing, even in her uterus the mother's voice can be heard, the father's voice, because there are vibrations that can pass through the body and so forth. When they're born, the mother furnishes milk (unintelligible) for it, bottles, or whatever else she might do to feed it, and what she might feed them. That's very close with the loving care that the body needs too when they're growing up. Just think though. They have no acquaintance with light or dark or humans. Their eyes can't focus very well...adults or people walking around. Anyhow, their close...I have to hurry up on this. Their siblings—their brothers and sisters—are close to them too. They find their world's expanding, is it not? Other relatives, the father gets close to them, but then cousins, aunts, and grandparents, and uncles, and so forth down the line. Then they get out and start playing with the kids. Their world is expanding to neighborhood kids. Finally, they go to school. What a big thing that is, expanding their world. We have to know that it. We have to kind of realize that.

So, this pre-school thing too, could be of some help if you know what you're doing and why, and so on. So he was planning on this, but he also was thinking in terms of even while after they're out of school, in a job-seeking level, but they need skills for this or that. So out of this came Head Start, pushed by agencies, course under the aegis of the president and afterwards, the Job Corps. Then he, of course, realized that he'd have to organize this system out of the offices in Washington D.C. to the states. He was having a meeting of the state heads, that few that had been found to set up this type of thing. They got people from various specialties—150 of them—the whole United States were put in this organization. He had them come to Washington D.C. so he could talk to them.

There were four from Montana. There were only two anthropologists, professionally, in the whole United States. So I was one, and another one was a fellow from Arizona. At least 50 percent of the people were educators—special educators. There were some medical doctors, there were technicians in psychology, of course, and a lot of other fields represented—an efficiency of those that were among that 150. They called the meeting in Washington D.C., and they flew us there. They also put us in a hotel, taken over temporarily for it—our use. Then put

us on four or five busses the next morning to go to the White House. Of course, a big crew like that, you wouldn't have enough space inside, but it was in the Rose Garden just outside of the White House. He gave a talk about setting up this organization and what he had in mind, but he was also thinking in terms of in-between. They never got around to setting up the organization to do more with that in-between. That's where you're specialists would have come in handy, too. Then the states set up organizations, and I was one of the four or five that was on the committee that advised it, or ran it. That, or gave suggestions to those who were working full-time at managing it. Out of Washington, they wanted us to go around to different schools. In this area, they had me go to reservations in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming. Go to reservation schools to talk to the teachers, because those teachers were brand-new, and a lot of them were fresh and had no idea about Indian cultures and so forth.

Just to give you an idea of what a difference it made. In Wyoming—the Wind River Reservation—when we got there, they had a fifth-grade teacher that had been assigned in Wyoming to take over the kindergarten on the reservation. She had all her chairs lined up, little chair-desks like you have in fifth grade, when in kindergarten they have a little table that they sit around, and learn how to...because that's a new world for those kids. They're outside of the neighborhood and the children are their age too. Of course, my wife was able to do a lot, that practical type of thing was...Actually in many ways, she was more valuable than I was, I can say, but I learned too as we went around and I would see how she would handle it. She had a feeling for the Native Americans after hearing me gab with visitors, and so forth, a lot. She had courses in it when she was a student that made her acquainted with the culture of the Native Americans and so forth.

It does help to understand it, especially on the relationships between the parents and the teachers. There were many subjects like that, that were (unintelligible) out—how to handle this, what to do about that. We came out with...(unintelligible) anthropology came out with a lot of information that they could use from Native American studies, for example, and anthropology, or maybe courses that might be given in a Native American set-up. These are later. They didn't have those things in those days in universities and colleges. In anthropology in the United States, they set up an educational anthropology thing. I found, for example, if you're talking about Native Americans with non-Native American kids, for example, you can first get their interest in things like a tipi, or moccasins, and beadwork, and so forth. They love to run their hands over the beadwork, or (unintelligible). Show them how a tipi is set up with the poles, or make a little model of it, or talk about little things you see. Or give them little sticks, little things that'll show them how to set up their tipis. They love playing like that. We had a lot of suggestions that came out, and I have a lot of that still in some of my records and so forth. But you see the importance of that and helping the little kids, too. It's all right to let them know about the white-man's culture, because their parents are going to have complaints, too, about what's wrong, just as Americans have their belly-ache, sometimes, about Native Americans. It's a two-way street that needs to be cleaned up a little bit. (laughs) That's what's happening, and that's just one of the things that'll help. Have the kids begin...You can go from there into the cultural things, that aren't material culture, to relate to the tipi. How they always have the door

facing east or the entrance wherever this or that. Some tribes might have in their traditions and cultural things that are why this and why that. If you want to, able to get their interest, you play some Indian dance music and teach them a little Indian (unintelligible). Some steps are relatively easy to learn to the beats of the drum and so forth. They've a lot of energy, and they can get rid of it in the classroom that way diddling up and down dancing. That's the type of thing that brought all these things together. Done, of course, for the advanced culture. Native American had been through the school system and so forth. That was brought out too, but they never did...Well right now, seems to be kind of slacking off. I'm not sure what's going on, because I haven't been working on it lately. See what lately the thing that's happening on reservation's schools.

I: As part your background in anthropology, you talked about the establishment of a journal, an anthropological journal. Can you talk a little bit about the development of that?

CM: At universities, they usually didn't have anthropology courses yet. A few of them were setting up, like at Columbia University. Franz Boas, who was the biggest name in anthropology, I guess, in the history of the field, and other big universities. It didn't get down to the colleges. It didn't get down to the universities for years and years. Sociology was very similar. They were set up a little earlier than anthropology. The social sciences came quite a bit later. Economics, for example, would be one of the earliest ones of the social sciences. Political science, too. In Montana, they did set up a Sociology and Anthropology Department way back in the early 1900s, and even added a third one—social work. What later became three different departments were put in one department. The man who headed it, in anthropology—Turney-High, Harry Holbert Turney-High—got his training at Wisconsin where they had a sociology-anthropology mixed department in those days. So he did the same thing here. Started sociology-anthropology, but he wasn't here very much longer and took off. But there was a department, and they hired a young man, Gordon Browder, to take over. He was a sociologist, and he really had anthropology and social welfare to worry about too. The social welfare man had really obtained his training in an entirely different field, but he began to break into the social work a little bit. It began to grow a little bit, too, outside of his field. The two weren't awfully close together in those days, but Harold Tascher was the man in that field. The classes were big enough, so they had at least a couple of more sociologists. Then, I was hired as an anthropologist full-time to teach. Of course, this was in anthropology, so I had the opportunity to set things up in a growing department.

In those days, the University only had about 3,500 students when I first came here in 1948. The University began to grow real fast, especially after the war when veterans, under the G.I. bill that had been passed to help pay their expenses going to school if they wanted to go the universities and so forth, came in great numbers. It was growing quite fast. Maybe, 4,000 two months later; 5,000, 6,000 the year later. They're way up to about 35,000 now. That meant the classes got bigger and bigger. When I first came here, because I had a degree, a master's in sociology and anthropology, at another university we had a joint department. (Unintelligible) I could teach them some sociology courses too. So I taught elementary sociology, and a course in

social problems. The combination really was great in my mind too, because I like to understand sociology well enough so it gives me better understanding of white man's relationship with Native Americans. They're living together. You have to have an idea about both of them and what their cultures are.

We soon grew big enough in anthropology, we were able to hire somebody within a few years, few short years—

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[Side B]

CM: —about a decade later we were able to set up a separate department. I was one of the first chairman to run the department. I didn't particularly want the job, because it's a lot of paperwork and doesn't pay much more. They added, if you're a chairman, maybe 500 dollars more a year, and I didn't feel it was worth staying up ten o'clock at night doing paperwork. (laughs) I guess that's one thing I could say about anthropology they've given to the world—all over the world—the stone-age, the New Stone Age, then comes the Copper Age when they began to use metals in the old world. A similar history went on through the United States, too, with copper being used in the Great Lakes region. Then, mixing copper with something else to get bronze and the Bronze Age. Then, here comes the Iron Age. For a long time we had the Iron Age. Now, with all the paperwork, I think we ought to call it the Paper Age. Stacks of paper no matter what you're at, banks. Even go to the grocery store, how the clerk has to ring this and that and clink clank, and run your check through machines, all that sort of thing. Sometimes I'm sure grateful for that paper mill we have outside of Missoula, keep the efficiency of the local business going somewhat.

Anyhow, you learn a lot as you grow up in your life, too. The world, it does change. Finally we were even able to offer a master's degree, and we began a little bit to offer a Ph.D. At the time, I was still teaching at the University, I think we did give one Ph.D. in anthropology, but it keeps growing. Of course, it's growing around the United States. They've set a little anthropology at Bozeman, for example, in the college there—at least teaching courses in it. May not be able to give a degree in it, yet. So that's what's happening to the field as a whole, and I had a part in that, of course. (unintelligible) because a lot of competition between the departments. They don't mind seeing another department close, if that means there's money now to...I saw that in the Art Department, for example, where they got the museum closed up so that they could use the space to put in their art classes, but actually they turned it into a museum where they could sell their paintings and teachers could make money off of it. There's other departments, too. Athletics, money has to go into that now. (laughs) Well, look at the TV shows on athletics. The football game is a lot more attractive than a TV show made of a buffalo jump or something.

I: Did the anthropology journal just kind of evolve with the department?

CM: Yes. I did that using a mimeograph machine. I was in the Sociology and Anthropology and Social Welfare Department at the time. So I set it up as Sociology-Anthropology Papers [*Anthropology and Sociology Paper*], but only three times did I get a paper from the faculty in the sociology to print. They were welcome, but we did mostly descriptive material. When you've worked in a site, if you don't dig it or work on it, someday it might be dug up when they build a highway across it or a sewer pipe or who knows what else. They'll destroy it. That's all you have left of the world, in the future—what was found there. Of course, I know, there are lot of things that you learn later that you wish you'd looked for and done a little bit better with at the time you were working there, at first, but that's true of everything. How many times have you gotten information in your particular fields, and then as you learn more and more you wish

you'd asked this question. Or your family, about your family, if you'd asked your grandpa about this and about that, or whatever else. It's that kind of feeling, you see? Maybe, you (unintelligible) paper describing the tools, equipment, or the animals, or plants, food, how they cook, whatever. Even some social arrangements, dwellings—whatever it might be. So, set it up for that purpose, and I don't think people view it that way. They look at a magazine, and it has to bring in enough money to give them a profit. The *Montana Magazine of History* has gone into that area now. If there weren't a murder and things like that, it's not going to attract...Look it right now, the big flare going up on the Lewis and Clark expedition in his journals. The things you're getting on TV are the extraordinary things. You read Sergeant Goss' journal, you don't hear much about him, because all he has in so many...There's a little bit in the Lewis and Clark journals, but Goss says, "Well, it rained today, so we didn't go out hunting, so were going to have to go without meat in our meal today." The next day, "It snowed instead of rained. The snow was pretty wet. It's hard finding animals. We didn't have any luck finding animals." How is that going to sell books? How is that going to sell? (laughs) Just put it as a footnote, practically, in selling the thing and making money. That's the thing about it when you start up these journals is you design it for the records, and you're not really making money off of it.

In fact, in Montana, universities all have their journals and things that they publish on university presses, and we had one here. But then a man who owned a printing company, he inherited it from his father in Helena. His name was Ed McCaffey (?), and he was an amateur archeologist. (laughs) He got in touch with us, and we found a site he'd found that dated back 10,000 years so we named the site after him. It now appears on National Geographic maps, where they have Indian maps maybe on the backs of well-known archeological sites, because this site dated back over 10,000 years. Then he gets elected to the state legislature, and he gets a bill passed that universities can't print those anymore. It has to go to a business. The bill is passed. That hurt. It really did hurt. I had to sneak these things out somehow without having to go to a little local company and pay hundreds of dollars, especially when a lot of the money was coming out of my own pocket to buy paper. The department using a little of their budget to get the printing and not have to pay the labor, just using it beyond the department or putting them out. So it really hit hard in this state, and it's still that way. I've often wondered if we should change the McCaffey site name to the owner of the site, because we discussed that quite thoroughly at the time the site was named, what should we name it? We felt that he'd done a nice thing to call attention to an important place like that, but then his business ego got the best of him. I don't think they got more money from the universities for that.

I: In some of the papers that you supplied to us, there were some minutes from a Governor's Task Force for Native Americans?

CM: Yes. There were quite a number of organizations, too, that were set up. There was a teacher's organization. There was a state agency set up, and it's no longer...Here in Missoula, for example, they had an office. It was over...I was just looking at it yesterday, but they're no longer even in the phone book. (laughs) It was called a culture center—Native American culture center, something like that, and who was running it—but they're no longer there.

I: What was your role on that task force?

CM: As a consultant. Maybe a committee that (unintelligible) because we could give them ideas to work on and things to watch out for and so on. After all, they might have had some skills, and things I didn't have. They had managing...It's a two-way street. I'd managed a department and so forth, but in a different area—different field. You get to the practical. In archeology...working with the Native Americans, especially, when I got the good fortune of being able to talk to old-timers among the Native Americans. There were still two or three Native Americans who were with Chief Charlo when they were kicked out of the Bitterroot Valley in 1891 and sent up to the reservation. They were supposed to go up there earlier, the 1870s and so forth, and a good part of the Flathead went up at that time, but Chief Charlo decided, no, this is ours. We've been here for ages. Their whole economics was set up, the places where they went to get these things, and they enjoyed it too, because they would sometimes meet some of the Shoshone friends down south of them. Have a (unintelligible) and play stick games and other things at night, and have a dance. They even intermarried with the women or men from the Shoshone that were living in Idaho just south of them. They understood. It was hard to get into all these complicated things like, not only riding horses, but hooking them up to machinery and cutting down hayfields and razing hay and stacking it up and all that sort of thing. You don't get that thing overnight, because what are you going to do with it afterwards too? Selling it, or using it to raise cattle and cows and so forth. It can't come in just one or two years when you get there and put a little money out to train them, and expect them to take over a job. It's just like supposing you're a high-school kid, and you want to be an astronomer. You just don't go buy a three-inch telescope, and you've got it. (laughs) You got to know a lot of mathematics, you got to know this, you got to know that—physics, so forth, chemistry. It all adds up.

We have to look at their fields too. If you're especially skilled...Supposing you had what we'd call a college degree to be a professional in the field, but you were given a spiritual power to cure or leading a hunting group, you could go hunting and do extraordinarily successful at it. Heading war parties, many other things. Gifts they called it, as we would call it too, from the spirits. Now you're a nobody. They come in, and now you're sent to the doctor at the hospital. They had their own people who had knowledge of plants or something else that could cure. If they'd been used, still used, for what they did know—work them in—they wouldn't do that. They just assumed it, they just...Hocus-pocus, and that's about all they did. Hope to cure through hocus-pocus or magic.

See, magic is different from religion, in that it's mechanical. You go through a certain ritual, a certain prayer, all that or whatever it is. Wherever you are in the world, that's where your magic takes over, too, in some places and some things. We still have a little bit of it, but we deny it's magic. We don't want to say it, that's what it is. When we analyze our own culture, aspects—some stronger than others. Anyhow, it's a very interesting thing to know about other cultures.

I: You reference the Salish, and the effects of the government policies of reservation assimilation. Different things had a great impact on their culture. During the Claims Commission era, you did a lot of work for the Salish to assert their rights in the Bitterroot Valley. Can you tell us how you were contacted in your work on that?

CM: In that period, 1950s...in fact the late '30s, '40s, the Ute Indians in Utah and Colorado sued the federal government for millions of dollars—I think it might have been 60 million or something like that—in the federal court, and they won some 30 or 40 million out of it. Indian reservations all over the United States, oh wow, we got to get some of that money too. You could file lands claim that was for land lost, other than what they lost through treaty with signatures. Like, when they opened it up to whites, up here for example. If it wasn't being used much by a Native American, why, the white man come in and buy it up of them, and they didn't get the permission of the Tribal Council to do it either. Bureau of Indian Affairs just used their authorities, especially at that time, some eager beavers that they might have had at that time. They sued the United States, and the total amount that they were suing for...Kennedy had become President, and he appointed his brother to (unintelligible) the branch—one of the departments that handles federal court cases. He wrote an article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, which I read at the time, and said that the many millions and millions and millions of dollars that had accounted, and a number of court cases that went to the court, became so great that they were five or six years behind in court cases. (Unintelligible) the court cases, they couldn't get to the judge for six years, because there were so many cases ahead of them.

So Congress created a bill to create the Lands Claim Commission to take these court cases over, and it wasn't a permanent thing. It would just get those court cases settled, and then it would be dropped. It lasted about 15 years all together, finally. They also found, when treaties were signed, starting with the colonists, they'd asked the tribal authorities what their boundaries were. Well, it's Hookey lake on the east, and the Hunkey-Dunkey mountains on the north—this river and that and so forth. They'd write that down, make that the thing in the treaty, and they used the same words that they used in the treaties in Europe, like forever, they'll do this and that. It turned out after all these court cases; the Indians were claiming half again as much as there was in the whole United States, because they overlapped. You go to a tribe (unintelligible) they'd overlap considerably. Native Americans in Wyoming claim clear up to the Yellowstone River, and the Blackfeet and the others were claiming down clear down to the Wyoming border.

You find that coming up in these court cases. What are you going to do about that? Some of the court cases, the government lawyers were hired to represent the federal government, of course, were looking for things to help the government. They tried once, for example, elevations above 5,000 feet. "We don't use them much, just deduct that from the amount of land, square miles and the acreage, or whatever it is that they said in their claim. Reduce it down." How they used the land, and all that sort of thing. There were other things that they tried out. One reason, then, is their lawyers had already handled some court...Matter of fact, the ones that handled the case here were the ones that won the Ute case—Wilkinson, Cragun,

and Barker—company out of Utah. Ernest Wilkinson became president of Brigham Young University years and years later, by the way. I had a lot of discussions with Barker and Cragun, and to some extent...Ernest Wilkinson's brother had a lot to do with working for that company out here, too. At first it was a man named Tunison [George M. Tunison], who'd specialized in Indian cases, he was out of Omaha, Nebraska. Tunison was the one that had me do it, because he'd recognized how the anthropologists could testify. I was, of course, getting some kind of a reputation for (unintelligible) Native Americans, teaching courses in it. Gave a lot of talks and local clubs, for example. They loved to hear me. One of my topics was...I went to Butte—"Butte Economic Primalness 10,000 Years Ago." (laughs) This was put on by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, young men—businessmen—down there. (laughs) I gave it that title. Little things like that, you see, had me acquainted, already, around the state. I was hired to find out how they used the land and how much and so forth. Of course, the tribal council was interested in it too.

I was able to do something that I don't know if it had not been possible earlier, because in the early days the Blackfeet were being pushed west, and sure they can find themselves being wiped out, so they had to rub their elbows and shoulders and bump against the tribe west of them. The Kootenai were halfway, way out in the Great Plains, in those days. A lot of them were out there at that time. Those in Montana were here already, had been here a long time and in Idaho. They were being pushed through Alberta, over the mountains, and finally were squashed clear over by the Blackfeet. They were having so much trouble—the local Indians in this area—their horses being stolen, damage to their camps, deaths, and all that sort of thing. They fought back, of course. Blackfeet had some losses, but it was tremendous pressure. They were far outnumbered, and by the horses of the Blackfeet, too, because they were able to get guns better or faster than the Indians out here, and things like that, too. But the Flathead had horses...the horses came to the Indians in this area from the south via the Spaniards at first.

When they heard about the Jesuits, the Jesuits were talking about coming west, they were welcome, because they felt that it would give them additional spiritual oomph—a spiritual strength—to cope with this problem of the Blackfeet. Now, that's just one of the reasons for their happiness and accepting the Jesuits, but when the Jesuits came in, just like any other church...I'm not pointing the finger at the church at all. Every one of them you might get some guy or some woman, that might be a little more of an extremist than the others, I'm only pointing at couple of Jesuits, or three of them, that might have been overbearing or important in their monastery work—over did it. Doing away with shamans. If they found a shaman, they would demand his medicine bundle and really bear down on him verbally, maybe somewhat physically. Handing out supplies, "They don't get anything," for example, if they're starving. Anyhow, little things like that that was over-bearing. I was able to get stories about them. I wasn't seeking them, but they would just come out how it had been handed down.

Like, they were living at a cabin at the time, because they were finally settling down, the local Native Americans, a bit. That's off-reservation. They hadn't quite all been set up yet. When they saw...If their husband...Well, they had a husband who was a shaman, or a son, or something, anyhow, if they saw a Jesuits would come in, they were afraid that they were going to demand

his medicine bundle. They'd use expressions like this, "Give me that bundle. It's a thing of the devil!" (laughs) Really get (unintelligible) on it and threatening. So then he'd take it and burn it up—destroy it. Look what that would do if your college degree, all of the sudden, was found worthless? Get out there, and maybe you get a job at emptying garbage cans, or something, I don't know, if you're lucky.

So, you see why they'd go quiet. Their shamanism had a little bit existed down today, but there's still a fair amount of it when I was able to work with them. I was able to find out through, on religion, their sacred places, because we could get it above 4,000 feet. Not only that, but economically. I'd already found archeologically, on the very highest mountains west of them on the Bitterroot Range, pits or little compounds where they drove elk and deer, in those days, caribou too. It was as late as 1875 that there are still caribou, which you find in Canada and Alaska still nowadays. They loved eating this kind of foliage that grew in the forests in these mountains, but they were driven out and they just disappeared. All killed off by the whites and so on.

A sacred place wasn't necessarily the highest mountain, but a hill where they—spirits are every place—but they there might be places you can...In other words, I was able to get into the religion, considerably, the use of the sacred places and the useful (unintelligible) pictographs that they wrote nearby after they had that experience—their name, number of days they stayed there. A lot of places, like the Great Plains, the number four was very widely used. Dances for example...Blackfeet, for example, face four different directions and blow a whistle and maybe various other things they'd do four times. They'd start setting up the compound where they're going to have the dance, and on the fourth time they finally get it started, getting it up. Four times they sing the songs.

I: Dr. Malouf, we're going to run out of time. So, maybe we can start on this the next time we meet.

CM: Yes. Well, I wanted to say how those things...All that I'll add on would be that Ellen Big-Sam was one of these little girls that at the time they left. I was able to take her down and pay her money, which the tribal council would pay when I sent the bill to them...and the gas and oil. I didn't ask for any money myself, because when I was working with the Goshute and I was using them as a master's thesis in sociology and anthropology—the Shoshone in the Great Salt Lake Desert—that was quite an experience. Salt Flats, lick your lips, and you didn't need any salt on your food. You had plenty no matter what you cooked, it seemed like.

It was at one time, they had a big wind storm came and just like a blizzard—white snow like—and yet there wasn't a cloud in the sky. It's 90 percent salt—the Salt Flats out. That's why, earlier, they were driving cars as fast as 200 miles an hour—10, 12 years ago. In those days, nothing was above 80, 90 miles an hour. We go that fast, nowadays, it seems like. When I'm on the highway. (unintelligible) the speed limit at 75, I get passed up by a lot of cars.

We can get along some of that about her experiences and others—Sophie Moise, some of the men, and their stories.

I: Well, thank you for today, and next week we'd like to address those.

CM: Yes.

I: Thank you very much.

[End of Interview]