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Interviewers: 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 7, 2004, and Betty Matthews and Cherie (?) Small will be interviewing Dr. Carling Malouf, and we will be continuing applied anthropology.

I: We left off on Tuesday talking about your work with a Salish and the Claims Commission, and we'd like you to get more in depth about your use of—

Carling Malouf: Informants?

I: Yes, of informants, and how you selected these people and the information that you received from them.

CM: Well, of course, when selecting the people, why, the members of the tribal council and so on were anxious to win the case. They told me the names of some of the informants—the old-timers—that might be able to answer some of the questions of the problems that might come up in the court case. They were suing the federal government for millions of dollars—I can't remember what it was, maybe 60 million or something—for land lost other than through the treaty, which just left them a reservation and everything else was out of their hands after that. The lawyers that took the case had been in Native American law cases earlier, so they were kind of proficient—knowledgeable about how to handle it. They knew that on the government side they would try to claim that the Indians didn't use the land above 4,000 feet and all kinds of excuses to take away, because in the suit they, and in the treaties, or at least in the suit they had a number of square miles of the land that they used to use back in their aboriginal days. It's by taking all these acreages or square miles away above 4,000 feet, why, if the government lost, then they'd have a lot less money to have to pay and things like that they had seen in previous cases. So they wanted to have somebody come and gather all kinds of information. They also always brought up how the land was used. Just because they lived there didn't mean it did anything with it. So they were going to deduct that if they could get away with it, of course, on the government side, from previous cases where these issues that come up.

That meant getting informants, getting people who are knowledgeable, and there are few old-timers who were very young when the...finally the last of the Flathead were kicked out of the Bitterroot Valley, the last couple hundred or so. Earlier, most of them had been moved up to

the present reservation, some 100 miles north of where they lived before in the Bitterroot Valley. There one, Ellen Big Sam, she was from the Pierre (?) family—her father's last name. The Indian Bureau and so on set him up with the word *Pierre* which is Peter in original Latin-ish languages. She married a Native American named Big Sam. Ellen was 11 years old when they left the Bitterroot Valley, and was the oldest one. Her sister was much younger, might not even been born yet, but anyhow. Sophie Moise was also a little younger but she was still living, and she was a granddaughter to one of the old chiefs. Even so as they grew up—they, only 11 years old—they still continued to hear stories about their life from their older parents and grandparents and old-timers too. So they acquired other knowledge because…but they had some of their own. Lot of ways they used to live and going to the mountains in the springtime. So they wanted information, and they were willing to be an informant to bring in information on the economics, not only of the reservation but most of the rest of western Montana. In aboriginal times they used to live very, very much…The three tribes east of the Continental Divide clear up at the southwestern Alberta, for example, was Kootenai country. It's regarded as Blackfeet now, but it was Kootenai then. The Flathead, or a lot of those, were east of the Divide. They did a lot of hunting east of the Divide going way beyond Helena, out into the plains. The Flathead farther south would go sometimes as far east is what's now Billings and down there near Yellowstone Park. They kind of avoided Yellowstone Park, and all Indians avoid it. The geysers and things scared the Flathead, the Pend Oreille. So they stayed away from it because they were terrified of it, spiritually, go to the Yellowstone Park.

Anyhow, they had been constricted, in their territory, by the time this information was gathered, and the land that they could use—that were using. So, I took her [Ellen Big Sam] over down to the Bitterroot Valley. I used her son as interpreter because she could speak very little English, and I wanted to have some of the place names. I, of course, found out as we do in English, sometimes the place need to have something to do with its economics—Copper Town or whatever it might be. Allocative (?) in their language, place name is a prefix that to you use is *sin*: s-i-n. Means *place of*. So you add the Salish word for bull-trout: *T'bsheh, sint'bsheh* (?). That's now Butte, because that's where the bull-trout used to go up the Clark Fork River. I did give this is an example of the type of thing they're doing. So, going down the Bitterroot Valley, I get the native names too, because of sometimes it gave a good indication of its use—economically or spiritually. Even in religion, sacred places up on the mountains, where they went to seek a visit from a spirit that might give them some extra ordinary spiritual powers and make them more useful to themselves and their families. You call them medicine men in English, or you hear the word shaman, or shahman. Pronounced *shaman* originally, which is from one of the Eastern tribes, where they picked up the whites picked up their name, but the Salish and Kootenai names are different. Blackfeet and others have a different name in their language for…*wakan* or *sumesh, napika*. Well, a *wakan* would be the Siouan languages, and we could go on and on with that.

Up in the mountains, archaeologically we'd found, way up in the top the Bitterroot Range some, archeologically, some old corrals where they used to draw caribou even as late as 1875.

The mountains were occupied by the caribou, which we no longer talk about among the white because they didn't even know, then, much about what was there. They were driven extinct because the elk came in. The elk were plains animal actually. Hunters today always think of them as mountain animals, but they were plains. The elk were driven out of the plains, and they went up into western Montana, into the mountains, then started eating up the same foliage as a caribou did—the undergrowth below the forests. So, they contributed, also, to the loss of the caribou. A lot of things like that we learn.

Sacred places, which they don't usually talk about to the whites, because often they feel they go and disturb them or they didn't want them to know a lot of these things anymore, because they're yelled at and hollered at by super-Christians—the extremists. Not necessarily every Christian, of course, but sometimes, "That medicine bundle, give it to me. I'm going to burn it up. It's a thing of the devil." That's the type of words that they actually used to hear a lot at times. So, they decided not to talk about it. The Flathead, and Kootenai, and Pend d 'Oreille, had actually invited in hoping that the Jesuits could come in (unintelligible) Catholic, because they were having such a lot of trouble fighting the Blackfeet. The Blackfeet were having a lot of trouble on their side being pushed farther and farther west. So you can't necessarily blame the Blackfeet for doing what they had to do for their own survival. Anyhow, they thought that the Jesuit would give that little extra spiritual strength to cope with the problems, whether fighting someone. The Crow, also, were doing a lot of pushing westward through Eastern Montana, pushing the Flathead, in particular, farther and farther west. That's the type of thing you see.

I went down one side with her [Ellen Big-Sam] and her son. He interpreted the talking when they talked about how they used this, what they did. Even spiritual sacred things and sacred places, because it shows the use of the land, too. It's part of it. Then other places, too, farther away, it would be difficult to drive to it because the expenses and so forth, because I was paying him so much an hour as interpreter and as an informant. Then I'd billed the tribal council for it, and then they'd return...I didn't ask for any money myself, but I did keep track of the costs of the gasoline and so forth, which they (unintelligible) for these purposes.

Going much, much farther away we just (unintelligible) a lot of verbal information, and this is where Sophie Moise, and her younger sister, Mary-Ann Coombs [Mary Ann Pierre Topsseh Coombs]. She was, of course, a Pierre girl before she got married a man from the Coombs family. A few other sources from old-timers like Pierre Pichette, who had always been interested in the history of the tribes. He was able to give us a lot of the story of the wars, and the history, and the uses, and of some of their own experiences too, because they still were going (unintelligible) at that time. Still might be doing it today a little bit in the mountains in the spring, or to dig bitterroot, and so on. It's a long, complicated story so we won't take time to go through that right now, but the use they've made of it seasonally, changing their moving around. You can see that they just didn't have a place where they were at work two miles away and came home at night where permanent home. There's much more moving around that. (laughs) Even in pre-horse days.

That was the thing that we did. I wrote it all up in, oh, about a hundred pages of this economic description—the animals, the plants that they gathered, and what they're used for. Some of them like some of the roots of some of the plants—one of them was used, for example, curing cuts, wounds, and so forth, on horses that might have injured themselves scraping up against something, maybe a sharp limb sticking out of tree and cutting their hide a little bit and things like that, that they could take care of it. These medicines about really worked too, plus the spiritual powers they felt were reliable too. Ellen Big Sam, for example, had horse curing powers or an animal curing powers, which she used only a couple of times in her life, because she didn't…She rarely talked about her experiences. When she was revealing it to me and my wife were talking to her at that time, her son says "I've never known that." Her own son hadn't known that she had those powers. That's part of the culture. Sometimes they do…Sometimes you have to know, sometimes you do know. Like curing powers, if person is good at it or otherwise, sure people are going know about it and go and ask for help. Their reputation becomes very great for it. That's just part of the culture, which we could elaborate on quite a bit, too.

I: Previously you touched on some research that Thain White had done with the use of the trees and the bark. Could you go more in depth on that?

CM: Thain White, he wasn't tremendously educated. As a matter of fact, he never even graduated from high-school, but he had a good-thinking mind. He just amazed me at times, what a thinker he was. He was acquainted with a number of Kootenai, because he lived up…he lived on Flathead Lake. He was a sheep rancher himself, and of course, he was just living blocks away, or maybe a mile or so or less, from Kootenai. They were his neighbors, and some of the old-timers became interested in him and he learned from them. Things about how they used the bark off of trees to eat. That's the ponderosa pine, not every tree, of course, would work this way. The layer, between the outside layer of bark and the tree itself, inside there's a softer layer called the *cambium* layer by botanists. It's kind of a softer one, because it furnishes the distance of the bark on the outside and its connection with the inside of the tree, however they relate to each other. But that's where the sap is, mostly. In maple trees, for example, you cut into the bark down to the level that…They put a bucket underneath, or where they have the maple trees back East on the coast where the syrup comes from, because it's very rich and will just flow right into the bucket and becomes a syrup. Well, the Ponderosa pine had a little of that capacity, more than some of the other pines and a lot of the other tree's. It was a favorite. They equated it with going to a store buying some candy for the kids and all that sort, or they are eating it themselves. Nice, good, tasty, sweet, flavor of the syrup, and that's the nice, soft thing to chew on—the cambium layer. What they did…He learned that how they got it, how they acquired it. They'd cut a horizontal notch through their…primitive, stone tools in those days. Of course, after the axe of came, it was much easier to whack away a little slit. Then pry the bark away by inserting a limb underneath it. They'd cut it to look like the kind of tool that we have shaped down in a v-shape. Then pry open the bark. It might open up, and then

(unintelligible) down for three or four feet above, and take out all that bark that's on it between the outside bark and the inside layer of the tree. You couldn't preserve it very long, but they could eat it for a while afterwards. So, they have a special kind of…Usually, they…sometimes didn't come out the same way, but they would leave on this bark. You could see that kind of thing on a tree that's different than the bark that's been removed through accidents or wind blowing trees always against it, stripping off the bark, or an animal that it might have stripped off a little bit someplace, or whatever—that were natural causes—but you can tell most of these trees. So he began looking around and locating these as he was traveling, especially herding his sheep in the forests around or something like that. Why, he would watch for these trees, and we were still looking for them. I still can go out and pick out some of these trees that where maybe 100 years ago had been debarked a little bit (unintelligible), maybe even longer ago.

He had a lot of other things that he had learned from them [Kootenai] too. He introducing me to some of these older men that really had a knowledge of the older days of the Kootenai, so of the three different tribes—the Flathead and the Pend d 'Oreille. Now, they spoke the same language as the Kootenai. It's the Salishan language. That's where your Salish comes from, which is a language spoken by Coeur d'Alene in Idaho and tribes clear on down to the Pacific Coast, down the Columbia River and so on. Two separate languages, but the difference between Pend d 'Oreille, Salish, and the Flathead is about like this—[speaks in a Native-American language]—word-differences and course [speaks in a Native American language. If you go Australia, you've got even more differences so you have those differences too—some word differences, some pronunciation, and sounds. Even in English, in America [speaks with Southern accent] "Y'all go down south I reckon you're gonna have to understand the language. Ya gonna be a furigner." [speaks with a New York accent] "You's guys what do you tink about New York talk. All you's guys, oh you (unintelligible)." I learned that in New York, living there for four years, when I went to Columbia University. [speaks with a Southern accent] "Walk in a store (unintelligible) about 40 miles nor' a Sweetwater." So, I wouldn't be a foreigner, [but the] owner of the store, of course, would be a local person. When we say there's a little differences, that's the type of thing you're going find. Algonquin languages or the…

Actually you boil Indian languages down on whole North America, there were six basic languages, but breaking them up there over 150 languages of Indian tribes in the whole North America. Even in the United States, variations in their languages. The Southwest, for example—Uto-Aztecan. Usually linguists take the two extremes—the Ute language and the Aztecs of Mexico. Well, our languages has that extreme named Indo-European. In other words, the languages spoken in India to the one extreme, and the European languages on the other extreme. A lot of them in between—Persian. That's, you see, the type of thing why we learned these things and how it can help us understand, too, even the meaning of words is useful. And place-names, we could utilize getting the economic, or spiritual use, or whatever, or just because it's nice-looking or whatever it might be—a spooky place and so on.

I: You did some work to try to preserve bison jumps?

CM: Yes. Bison jump archeology was getting pretty popular in the West at that time. Amateurs were really tearing them apart. Loot them for the relics they could get out of these jumps and so on. Of course, they're destroying information that we want to find out what we can about their culture and things like that, because someday it's all going to be gone. Maybe it's on the edge of a river that, sooner or later, we'll get wearing it away, or somebody will build a highway across it, or just destroy it. So we began working archaeologically, and there's another reason I did buffalo jumps in those early days when I started teaching at the University. I'd done my archaeology in the Southwest where they have these rather magnificent buildings in cultures that go way back to the early hundreds before 1,000 AD or 1,200 AD such as Mesa Verde National Park and Chaco Canyon National Park. Lots and lots of other communities with buildings and pit lodges and *kivas* for their ceremonies and what not.

When I got to Montana to teach, there was nothing like it, to train the students in archeology, to map out the buildings of foundations, and all that sort of thing. The most elaborate sites at that time seemed to be a buffalo jump and the deposits down below—the layers—to give you an idea how long ago they might have used that jump. Because if it was used 1,000 years ago the projectile points and the knives and the scrapers would have a different shape than they did later. That's how we can date a site out, because they changed their weapons. For example, before, or maybe well after time of Christ, a long time afterwards the Aztecs, for example, continued using what's called the *atlatl.* That's a word from the language of the Mexicans, Indians, Native Americans. Other elaborate cultures, they have down there with big pyramids, and things—*atlatl* It's a spear thrower, where they take a stick, on the end of it and there's a little hook or a groove. Then you put the end of your smaller spear in it, and when you throw it you extend your arm out from your fingers. You keep it the same direction. You don't bend your hand, but the arm length, and you use that *atlatl* the same length. Look at when you extend your arm out, say, couple feet more, how much faster is going than if you just throw spear. You're adding speed to it and power. So it became one of the major weapons of the Native Americans in Mexico at that time. Very, very long ago—tens of thousands, or ten thousand years ago, was what they were using as their main weapon. No bow-and-arrow yet, but it finally came out of Asia and Siberia, and it moved down through North America. The bow and arrow replaced it. The points they used on the *atlatl* are quite a bit bigger than an arrowhead, but you also find little tiny arrowheads, they might be only inch long or two. You wonder, what the heck, how they're going kill buffalo with a little arrowhead like that? Well they must use them for birds, they might not need a great big arrow for out shooting big birds like turkeys or grouses or whatever else or ducks or geese.

Turns out from the informants who still could remember, in a buffalo jump, they were usually near where buffalo liked to graze—big fields—maybe a mile or two away from it. Then they'd have a lane of rocks leading toward the jump, where the cliff, was. Now, they didn't use any old cliff. If you only have about a ten-footer they're not going to get injured enough…short cliffs like

some of them. Might get hurt, and you can go in and shoot them with an arrow afterwards, but if you get a 100-foot cliff, why, they're not only going to break up their bones, but you're going destroy or damage the hides which is what you want. Whatever animal you're driving over, they weren't just buffalo, but deer, antelope, others sometimes too, were used for this technique. They will be big enough to bother using them to make tipi hides or clothing or all sorts of things. These lanes would just have a post sticking out of it. They might be 10, 20, feet apart. First, when they're still a mile way, they kind of herd the animals toward their cliff but keep them in that lane. If they start moving toward the lane, someone will come out between, kind of yell and move their hands, wave them around a bit so they'll go back to the herd, and keep the pointing the direction or the cliff is, because there's a big (unintelligible) of hunters that are herding them down. Then as they get closer to the cliff, they begin to speed them up, and the drive lanes might be a little closer together too. Then, finally, really get them wild, just going crazy with their fear. They're still going the same direction, and by shooting them—one of them or two of them, maybe more—with a small arrow, it disturbs them, and they really speed up. The ones that are hurt, they're not killed. They really get moving faster, and then the others join up. Here you got this big herd of animals. Imagine yourself a buffalo. You can't see where you're going, because ahead of you all you hear, or you see, your whole scenery there's just nothing but the rear end so somebody in front of you. Finally, when they go over the cliff, you don't see them going over the cliff, and finally you're there. If you slam on your brakes, then you're shoved over by somebody in back of you, and down you go. That's one way of explaining it, the psychology behind it too—the knowledge of the animals that they could utilize. These layers, the older layers, will show the older type of projectile points, and you can date the site.

You find a lot of other things. Sometimes you find whole skeletons where they never bothered to use any of it, or certainly didn't engage the bones off that they'd detach like a limb to cut the meat out of it. Sometimes the parts of the bones are used. The ribs could be made into cutting devices or knives or so forth, and other bones used for punches and so forth. Especially a smaller calf might give you a smaller bone that have uses.

[End of Tape 1, Side A]

[Tape 1, Side B]

CM: They were the most useful things too. You can see where the bones have been cut, you can see how they cut the hide, or what parts of it their still doing like they did in historic times that the old-timers can remember—still might do today—things like that you see. It is interesting though, that so many of the animals weren't even utilized. When I hear people today, the extremists, some extremists among Native Americans that say they utilized everything, and it's white man who is the one…so forth. They had their extremists too, because you don't just single out the animals you want to utilize. You put the whole herd over, but in those days they reproduced fast enough, it wouldn't bother them on their next hunts, because they were smart enough to realize some of these things—overdoing it. Like every culture, you always have somebody overdoing it, and extremists howling about others that they themselves have problems that need to be remedied in the world. Look what's going on in Middle East today, for example. They've got the right culture and so on. Going to bring what the world needs.

I: Did you specifically work on getting the Madison Buffalo jump—

CM: Well, that was one of the bigger ones. There were several other jumps in the area, too, that we worked on across the river. It gives us ideas of the, maybe, seasonality and so forth too, when they did most of that type of thing, and all kinds other information. At any rate, they are the most elaborate ones, and that's about all one of the most elaborate kinds of sites we had. With it you'll have teepee rings stretched up, and they're along the ridges. Take in the Great Plains, for example, in the hills that are just below the mountains going on the Great Plains on the east side of the Rocky Mountains and out past Great Falls and toward the towns thee in eastern Montana, the tipi rings are mostly along the ridges. You'll wonder, what the heck they are doing up on ridges? In the wintertime, for example, didn't seem to find them much in gullies down below. Well, the answer is that in the wintertime if they put their tipis in the lower part the little valleys that might lead down to a side stream going into a major river or some major river. You don't know when a blizzard comes what wind direction is going to come from. So you might be on the wrong side when the blizzard comes, and you wake up after a blizzard and you got about ten feet of snow from the snowdrifts around your tipis and so forth. So you move to the other side, but then the next storm comes from the northwest, and they get one there. When you get up on the ridge the, wind blows the snow away. So, I asked Ellen, for example, how come they put these rocks around the bottom of their tipi when they use pegs to stake them down?

Well, she says that the wind blows so hard sometimes that it in that little space, which between where the pole reached the ground, and where you might have the stakes, too, there and then maybe one or two between, but the wind blows so hard so hard it begins to vibrate the whole hide—or if it's some other thing like canvas in later days—will wave up and down, and the un-pegged parts will open up. Here you're sleeping on a place right next to the base of the teepee, and the snow and wind is coming in on you, and freezing and so forth. So you put rocks there,

and you put rocks all the way around the bottom of the teepee to hold that space down between the stakes, because they're so (unintelligible) that they just, maybe, couldn't put in enough stakes in to do all job or whatever. That might have some disadvantages, too, because sometimes your raise up your tipi a bit because you want a little breeze or for other reasons too, when there're ceremonies going on or so forth, where you can sit inside and look out. So many other reasons for wanting to raise the bottom of the tipi up. Those things we learned, not through archaeology, but it gave us an explanation of why tipi rings are ringed along ridges. There's a whole string of them. There're about 30 of them on a ridge just to the west of the Madison Jump, and some just below it. It's in the lower part of the valley, just below where the buffalo…On that particular jump, there's about a 75-foot cliff way up above it. Then over 150 feet, where it rolled down the mountainside, I still wonder if it was injured enough so it had a hard time crawling down, or stumbled, or was just rolling down. By the time we got down to the bottom, it was all torn up, and the bones off broken, and the hide all ripped up, and so forth. So, at the base of the cliff, they wouldn't necessarily go through that much damage, but down below the meat still might be usable. So, we could dig down below, too, and map out the tipi rings, because the layout of the tipi rings, why, and so forth.

Well, it's like, really…Talking to old-timers, they can give us explanations. It's like finding a skeleton, and oh, how you'd love to talk to them, but how are you going to get the chance to talk to anybody, a white man or whoever they might be. But getting us additional information just made it interesting, just fascinating to be able to reconstruct more of why this and why that. Not only that, but pictographs, for example, in the cliffs of Western Montana especially. Some of those pictograph panels are pretty large. On the west side of Flathead Lake, for example, *Painted Rocks* it's called, everybody up there can tell you how to get to it. (laughs) You can get to it easily with a boat. In fact, you can take pictures of it from the boat, it's that close to the lake. It must be about 15, 20 feet high, and maybe about 30 feet long just filled with pictographs. Or where canyons narrowed down, like around Helena at Canyon Ferry, where the layers of the rocks, geologically, are limestones, and they tend to be like having a layer cake and turning the layer cake edges down so that it's standing up sideways instead of flat on the dish. Then the river comes and cuts through it, and that leaves a little narrow gorge. There might be a couple of cliffs in there. But unusual geological places become spiritual places, where the spirits are more apt to be. It's the place where you might go and seek your spiritual power because the spirits are there. Then the Flathead, and remember they occupied all that area, back in historic times, and the Pend d 'Oreille, and the Kootenai and Coeur d'Alene and a lot of other tribes in this area, they would put their name down in a pictograph form, in red paint. Sometimes a different color, but mostly it was red.

If they didn't have any paints available in their area where they could get the pigments to get red paint…Usually it's an iron oxide or iron that decomposes geologically, and it makes a nice basic paint. Mix it up with water and so forth, and make a powder out of it. Then you'll do a *petroglyph*, which you peck it in or scratch it in the cliff. You put your name there, and maybe the spirit—ecause sometimes the spirit comes in the form of an animal, but spirits could be just

a rock talking to you, could be a stick, or bug, or bird too—and the number of days you spent there to get the spiritual power. In the Plains tribes, the rituals, the number four is so much in everything. Putting up the Sundance, for example, four times they try to get the poles up to build their structure that which they hold the Sundance. The fourth time they finally get it up. Then their whistles are blown at four different directions of north, east, south, west, and so on. Face the other direction, and blow or toot the whistle, and then the other direction. Four this, four that. That magic number wasn't so much with the Indians in this area—the magic number. The number of days could be more than the four, but it'd be a straight line up and down about maybe an inch or two long, or less, or a little circle, maybe about a quarter-inch in diameter, or something, or just a little circle that you do with a pencil on a piece of paper, or something, to show the number of days at which you spent there, or others.

One of the few places where we know what…We assume they're historic this or that. They did use it like the Native Americans in the Plains, pictographs on roads, which they show some of their own personal life. Like a warrior might have battles in which he participated and he killed somebody, or he was wounded or hurt or shot off a horse. He might show the horse and him off of it on his rope and so forth. Or little pits, if they killed three or four enemies that were in a battle pit.

We've also located battle pits. Bigger ones that are used by the local Natives, Kootenai for example. Thain White, the man who did this early discoveries of treaties, had located a lot of them west of, for example, west of Flathead Lake. But even stories of how in which they were used have been handed down the generation that was still living at that time, and maybe even present-day could…Because they hand it down other grandchildren, and great-grandchildren get it and then the next generation.

Coming out of the Southwest, the buffalo jump was about the biggest thing, because the others we just mapped out, of course, very carefully and photographed, because who knows how long they might last. Even with just plain old weather and natural things. So why do away with a pictographs, or do away with this, or do away with that, and so on.

Archeology was interesting and I did teach classes in it, and we did a lot of original work in it too. Of course, when the newcomers who came in, why, things changed. Around the Flathead Lake area, being the reservation, they were able to keep a lot of things that were aboriginal. But when tribes were hauled away outside of Montana long before there were even whites coming much to Montana, they were dumped into a reservation set up. They made Oklahoma the place to dump the tribes from a lot of the Eastern states. They might be all the way from Florida, and over to Oklahoma to this, and that's, why, in Oklahoma, of course, they have quite a sizable Native American background now and there are generations and intermarriages and so forth, too. Tribal intermarriages are very extensive down there.

I: The battle pits that you talked about that Thain White researched, can you tell us a little bit of background on those?

CM: One set of them up in Flathead Lake…west of Flathead Lake where there's a highway that moves away from the lake-side highway west through the mountains to another valley to the west. Camas Prairie, for example, is on the maps. Be about 40 miles west of the Lake, in part anyhow, probably a little closer. The rock walls are about—it's partly a pit, too—but then there are a lot of rocks available there so they just built a wall. Nowadays, it's totally about maybe three, or four feet high. It might have been a little bit higher. You could tell from the rocks that have been falling off of it how high it was. It's something they can lay down behind, and then shoot the arrows out of—some protection if they're attacked by a superior force. There are a couple of pits that even have a trench going between them that we were able to map out. So that's the type of thing that we did on that (unintelligible trench. The pits are about, oh maybe, 20 yards apart. There's a little rock wall that goes along, so they could crawl on their hands and knees at least, or even if just their head's exposed, if it was a little higher, they could run between one pit and the other and so on.

I: We've been talking about your applied anthropology. Is there a project that we haven't touched on, or you haven't talked about much, that you'd like to go more into detail?

CM: Part of my training experience lent a lot toward physical anthropology—the body and the biology factors. As an undergraduate at the university, I was working on my business degree, I was a business major, but I had become interested in archaeology and all that stuff. I wound up with my bachelor's degree in economics in the school of business at that university. At Montana, it's in the arts and sciences—economics—not in the school of business here. I went on some field trips in archaeology to the Southwest…down to Southwestern Utah along the Colorado River tributaries like the Green River with buildings and pictographs of the Pueblo, or *Anasazi,* they call it today. In Utah, they changed the name to *Anasazi*, which is a Navajo word for the *ancient ones*. Archeologists picked up that name from them, because they're the biggest tribe in the Southwest—over a hundred thousand. They have the largest reservation of any tribe. They have a lot of influence on what goes on there in modern times, no matter what it might be. So they…and other places—Barrier Canyon in Utah, which goes into the Green River, which goes into the Colorado River in northern Arizona. Some of those pictographs are several feet high! Almost high as a human being on that level—human figures that they put up on the cliff sides. So they have different meaning there, probably.

We know in some places, the Hopi, for example, still use a lot of symbols like that for *kachinas*, which are their spirits. They're not high…Well, might be equal to the gods of Assyria or Persia or Rome—the god of war, the god of the agriculture, the god of this, the god of that. In Greece, too, except they [Native Americans] didn't necessarily regard them as gods, but they did have a higher force though above them like the Greeks had, except they didn't have as much oral literature on it as the Greeks and the Romans and all those had, because they didn't have

writing system and so forth to preserve it, especially among the hunting and gathering tribes. The Hopi, a lot of them were farmers and they elaborated more on these spirits. Then the spirits pass on some of their gifts of the powers…a layer…a category of men and women under that, that would have spiritual powers or something or other.

It gets a lot more elaborate with those Pueblo groups in the Southwest. Tribes back East, the Iroquois for example, were farmers too. They had clans, too. The (unintelligible) clans, the Crow for example, broke away from what's now the Hidatsa in Eastern Montana their reservation (unintelligible) pick. Their language is still close enough that they can talk to each other and they still intermarry a bit, but they like to hunt more. They were always out hunting, and when the government came in the late 1800s and had a lot of food and stuff to pass out, or gifts to give them, they gave it to the chiefs to distribute. They gave it all to the tribe or tribes-people, who were still there on the reservation at that time where they were living, and didn't give any of it to those who were out hunting, and that angered the Crow a bunch. So they kind of stayed away after that, but they still keep contacting each other, speaking a Siouan language—distant relative of the Sioux.

These things, of course, were what we got at, too in the ethnology, and getting into the physical. I took a course at the University of Utah, in the medical school in anatomy. It was a course for non-medical students—those who weren't working for an M.D. degree, or get a doctor's degree in it—but were artists, or for other reasons, wanted to learn more detailed anatomy. We only had four cadavers to paw through instead of cutting up, like you get if you're a medical student you cut up one yourself as you were learning all the muscles and the bones and their insertions and where the muscles attach to the bones, and blood vessels. I remember I had an awful lot of bones there're over 200 of them in the body. The muscles that attach, the fancy terms, I've forgotten a lot of the terms, but sometimes but I want to show off, like for the muscles around the eye—*orbicularis oris*—it makes me sound like I'm smarter than I really am. Or (unintelligible) because the other one's around the mouth—you can smile, grin, or perk up your lips together and so forth from that muscle. Or where your muscles in your upper legs join onto, and a lot of other fancy words you could use. It was a real good lesson to learn this anatomy, because when we found skeletons, I knew to recognize a bone like the metatarsals—the bones in the fingers—and the carpals in the feet, and what they should look like if they look deformed. Did that person have a disease or something about it they broke it and got deformed? Or, cuts or bends or whatever, or some diseases.

Of course, physicians can do a lot for that I ever learned to. A few times when we've run across skeletons, I've taken them to some physician in town here that might be a specialist in bones or whatever, to tell us if it's a disease that caused it, for example—the changes in the bones, body. Or was it an injury that caused an infection that did some disruption to the osseous tissues in the bone. That helped a lot.

When I came to Montana, I'd already done a lot of working. Of course, when we found a skeleton, we'd always report it to the police so that they have a record of it. Let a physician go through it too. As time went on, if a skeleton was found sometimes when they were building a highway, they might run across a skeleton in the rocks they are digging through, the rock slides are digging the edge of the mountain slope and so forth, or ground, or somebody else building a house, or…Someone would call me so they could find out a little more about it, whether it was a murder case, for example, or whether it was buried there in that odd place to get it out of the way. They would call me—the county coroner would call me up—to look it over, to get information, because I'd learned to tell whether male or female.

Now, if you had 300 skeletons, nearly hundred of them you couldn't tell whether they're male or female, because it's not a hard and fast thing exactly between the males and females in the anatomy. Some females are a little more masculine, and some [speaks in an effeminate tone] males are a little bit effeminate (unintelligible) way in which their body structure (unintelligible). (laughs)

The age at the time the person died. I'd learned that at Columbia University and taking courses in physical anthropology. To do that, you take a skull and you look inside of the brain area…and you can tell from the outside too, but it's better or a little more accurate to go up through the bigger hole where the spinal column enters the brain. It's (unintelligible). You can see where the bones come together, because on the side of the head that parietals come together at the top. Then, the back there's the occipital bone—where you feel that bump in the back of the head is the center of it—and it also comes up near the top and stops. The frontal bone stops about here, and it zigzags. They call them sutures where the bones come together, and as you're growing up they're just cartilage in between. The bones haven't joined together as a bony structure yet. You can see it beginning a bit in teenagers, and finally at about age 18 that there might be in the female and 21 for the males—there are a lot of differences in individuals—but it gives you one chance of determining the age of the person that died. As late as 40 years old, it might finally be all closed up where the cartilages become bony tissues, and they're together as one great, big old bone in the head at that time, or maybe some of it still loose where the cartilage is still joining them together so forth.

There are many things like that that I've been trained in, and I'd be called every once in a while. Sometimes, though, they'd have…it wouldn't be a skeleton, it might be a body that been buried there, still a lot of soft tissue even with obviously white people. I never got used to stinky smells that you have too much of on that, but it did teach me a lot of it.

It's kind of interesting that when I was drafted in the army, I was never given a basic training. They sent me right to go to Army Air Force hospital, because in those days the Air Force was in the Army, then they had a separate bunch of them in the Navy for their planes. One hundred and twenty-five bed a hospital at this airbase, and the planes would, once in a while, crash or be (unintelligible) crash. One time I saw a crash in the Great Salt Lake Desert where base was

headquartered, because there are hundreds of square miles where no people lived. In the Salt Flats, for example, with 90 percent salt. You just lick your lips, and you never had to salt your food, somehow got in the food without having to bother with it. Their base, good kitchen. When this plane crashed, for example, I watched it crash, and of course, immediately was sent out an ambulance to pick up, but we saw that breaking into pieces and the fire break out in front of it. But when they came back there wasn't a piece left no bigger than a big dish—part of a ribcage, just pieces of body. We didn't know which piece belonged to which guy. We knew there were seven men on the plane, so we had to divide up the pieces as best we could into seven people whether it was their piece or not. We did find a hand with a ring on it, with initials, so we knew the hand belong to the captain that was a pilot of the plane. Of course, we were expected to ship the bodies back home—to their homes. So we just put them on stretchers in the receiving room, where we received patients and so forth. Heat from fires heats the blood up and makes it softer, and it would leak out pretty easy. These pieces of bloody parts of the body leaked down through the litter—the stretchers—roll across the floor and so forth.

A lot of things I found didn't bother me a lot. Working in the hospital, too, you know. Bedpans and vomit pans and whatnot didn't bother me a lot. Didn't necessarily like, it but still didn't make me feel I'm going to throw up or something. Old smarty Malouf, I couldn't resist it, so I finally pointed a pile out, "This pile over here on that stretcher, there must be a piece from the guy from Illinois, and another piece from Indiana. There could be another piece from a guy from Ohio, another piece from California, another piece from Utah. None this (unintelligible). What's going to happen when the Millennial comes, and these pieces back home are starting to fly it around through the air—"

[End of Tape 1, Side B]

[Tape 2, Side A]

I: This is Tape B of the interview done on October 7, 2004, with Dr. Carling Malouf, and we're going to continue the discussion when he was in the Army and doing physical anthropology there.

CM: After I was drafted in the Army, it was very early in the war. The Army was going from around 250,000 to just a couple million or so, and they didn't even give me any basic training. They sent me to an Army hospital, at an Army air base on the border of Utah and Nevada, on the edge of the Great Salt Lake Desert where they had B-17 bombers and B-24 bombers training men to bomb, because the Great Salt Lake Desert, tens of thousands of square miles where nobody lived or even had any work. I mean, what they're going to do in thousands of square miles of salt flats—90 percent salt. (laughs) Sometimes when the wind started coming up, the salt would even blow across our hospital area. It would be like a blizzard of snow, horizontally, and you lick your lips and get a nice tasty salt. We didn't have to salt our food. (laughs) We had plenty of it without it.

Anyhow, it's a 125-bed hospital. Every once in a while, there'd be a plane crash, and they put me the medical corps at that time this hospital. I really had no training in medical corps requirements. I did have this anatomy courses and I did have experiences, but whether that was one reason they sent me to the medical corps. I like to say [to] people, I did have a Boy Scout merit badge in the first aid. I didn't find it quite useful though, and I can talk about that a bit. When the doctors saw me (unintelligible) up a broken arm one time, somebody had a broken arm, and look at my splint *à la* Boy Scouts style, he shook his head and clipped it off and put on Army style with a couple kind of frames they had set up to do it. I never got that kind of training, except for the experience, in the Army Medical Corps.

Then a plane had crashed—and I don't think I mentioned that before did I? These were seven men on this bomber, and it blew up when it hit the Salt Flats. We have no idea how come it crashed, but we knew who the men were. When the bombs exploded…Because the bombs they use for practice were just little five pounders they weren't the real full size pounds, because didn't use up as much powder and cost as much money to learn how to drop them on targets. (Unintelligible) for example, if it was in lime they might make a big battleship out lime with guns on it, and all that sort of thing. From the air, it looked like a battleship. Bomber on the things too, targets that they were put down on the ground for them to aim at. These few five-pounder bombs they still had on the thing blew up, and of course, the fire started out, too, to burn. These bodies were soft and a little bloody, because heat from fire will thin the blood up a bit. As these pieces were out on the floor…pieces, maybe a hand, or few ribs joined together, or something, a lot of little pieces. We didn't know which piece belonged to which person, because they blew up. They were blown up, explosions. We'd put pieces on them to ship back home to these seven families, but we didn't know which piece belonged to which person so we just would put enough pieces to have the ribs and the arms and the legs and this and that.

Maybe sometimes they wouldn't quite know which what piece of body it came from. If it's a small piece, sometimes it's hard to tell. The blood was running across the floor, coming out of these pieces, the bodies. It's a real sad thing to have to remember, because when they're called up at home, and they (unintelligible) all their phone numbers and told about it, and they want to know what happened. Or they might learn through other sources and call us on the phone and want more details on how it happened, but here were these bodies. A real sad thing. It wasn't just a messy thing, it was just sad in knowing what you're going to have to do to explain to the parents how come when you don't know yet.

Then, to relieve a lot of the tension…I think this is a good thing for people remember, in whatever fields they're in. A lot of humor is based on sad things, actually. I remember one patient coming into the hospital, he'd actually then, he shot his big toe off when his pistol went off accidentally. He came in, and it was not pleasant when he came in. They (unintelligible), but it was a pretty bloody messy big toe. Few weeks later, when he's leaving the hospital, he was laughing, "I shot my big toe off!" What relieved the tension? The release of the tension, and jokes come up too. Well, I couldn't resist with these bodies on the floor. I pointed to one, "Now this pile, this group here, there must be a piece of a guy in Ohio, another piece from a guy in Indiana, there could be another piece from California, Utah. This stretcher over here, this litter," I called them, "a piece from California, a piece from Ohio, a piece from this one over here. What's going to happen when the Millennium comes, and these have been sent back home, but they're not…and these pieces start flying through the air going back home to get to the right body." Then I started ducking and that relieved a lot of the tension. I suspect that in a lot of professions, especially like policemen, they have to deal with a lot of untidy and unpleasant events. I bet they have their things to release it. Car accidents and so forth they have to get involved in. Lawyers, doctors. No matter what your field is. If you're a schoolteacher, I suspect there are times when you're laughing. Things weren't so pleasant when they were happening, but you laugh about it later in your life. I've never seen this written up as an article in social psychology, but those are some of the things that I learned and occurred to me while I was in service. There are a lot of things I also learned in the Army, too, through experiences.

Anyhow, I was released after the war. I stayed in the Reserves all during the Korean War. I went for a private, and I had just got married and my wife was already pregnant. I got married just before the war started, but they assumed at the draft boards—any man that got married in December or late November, got married—because it looked like we might be involved—got married so that they could avoid the draft. If you were married and had a family, then you weren't drafted, at least at that time in the war. They assumed that we got married so I wouldn't get drafted. In the Army I went. (laughs) I had bad eyesight. They did put me on limited service, but I didn't go and have to go into a battle.

Actually, I had a lot of training. I was interested, being a kid, growing up after World War One, and boy, the American Legion really ran the country. Popular politicians, every time they were

running for office they wore their American Legion hats to show they had been in the war. They will helped win the war, and all that type of philosophy. Well, look what's going on now with one of the men running for president. Have more experiences that they can bring out, or Bush do it too. (laughs) Well, there was a lot more of it then. I had ROTC [Reserve Officers' Training Corps] and infantry, even in shooting, and riflery, and of course, the manual arms was World War One-type. I became a lieutenant. I had learn how to be a lieutenant. My uniform was boots, and manual of the sword—how to salute with a sword—all that sort of thing which we didn't learn in World War Two. Even officers didn't get trained in that anymore. Later at the university, I took ROTC and field artillery. We had at horse-drawn World War One cannons. Then the winter quarter with the snow, we did haul these cannons around learned a lot about handling them too, and the signs that you make to make turns or commands to the horses. They were horse-drawn. (unintelligible) was just cavalry. The sergeant by the way, was a regular army sergeant, but he kept calling it *calvary.* Kind of confused me for a while if I wasn't thinking. If I was in church, I might—Christ was at *cavalry,* or I mean… (laughs)

There were some of those things happening to a lot of people, but when I got drafted I really didn't suffer. I had already had…In fact, my certificate after high school ROTC recommended me for a technical sergeant in the Army. Somehow or other, the Army expanding so fast, in ten weeks I was a corporal, and my pay had gone from 21 dollars a month. That's pre-war pay. Here I was married, my wife was pregnant. In fact, the baby was born not too long after. I was still in the medical corps at that time. But when I was raised to a corporal, my pay went clear up to 55 dollars a month. Congress had increased the pay of privates, and the corporals got a little more than that. Wow, 55 dollars a month too! I didn't know how I was going to raise a family at 21 dollars a month. (laughs) I sent her home to her family to take care of…As a draftee, there wasn't much I could do about it.

Then I was able to take my selection of officer candidate schools which were wide open, because the army was expanding so fast. They didn't have enough trained in their Army training schools like West Point and so on. I was sent to an Army training school for personnel work—personnel officers. That's in general corps is what I wound up in, dealing with personnel work. That was at Fargo, North Dakota. A year after I was drafted, less than a year afterwards, 11 months I was a lieutenant. Even more pay so I could have my wife live with me now. I was sent to Fort Douglas, Utah, at the induction center—personnel center—but I was only there a few weeks.

Then I was sent to California to an Army prison, to be a personnel officer there, because they saw my records that I had a degree in sociology and anthropology—a master's degree in a combined…They put me on a clemency board with a psychiatrist, and the third person on that board was a lawyer. We were to go over the records of every prisoner who had had a general court-martial, the highest type of court-martial the army gives. The simpler ones, where they can't give them more than six months was, and the lesser court-martials, company commanders that could give them where they have to go on KP [kitchen patrol] for a month or

two, or empty garbage cans, or whatever else to do. I was sent to this prison where we got the records of every prisoner. We got the family records through American Red Cross—the family history, and prison records, jail records if they had them in the local…I talked to each prisoner, and get their stories of their lives—schooling and so forth. We were able to get police records for the local police, write to them, the police if they had police records. Well, we did it anyhow, just to see if there were police records in their home]. We had all that information, plus they may not say these things if we talked to them personally, but we might bring it up with them afterwards. The company commander, if they'd had trouble already with the lesser court cases, because their general court-martial cases gave them dishonorable discharges, and there were sentences from maybe as high as 15, 20, years. Things like desertion. Actually, I'd been trained in Officer Candidate School, handling court-martials too. So I was trained to be a defense counsel or prosecution side of a TJA—trial judge advocate they call them. TJAs, in the Army, shortened down the word to letters.

I was on the defense once of a guy who had gone in desertion, in the face of the enemy, in the face of the Philippines. He deserted, and he got into Manila where there was a guy who kept it as quiet as he could, where deserters from the services could go. He would make out a fake leave of absence, and even wrote in it to his plane fare to fly back to San Francisco. Then he took a train from San Francisco to Salt Lake City. Then he lived in a town north of Ogden, Utah, and took the train up there. Of course was caught up with and arrested and court-martialed in the desertion in the face the enemy. They put me on defense counsel. (laughs) He was married. At the council, which is at Fort Douglas, Utah, they had sent me there for the defendants…I wasn't the defense counsel. I was the assistant, just an assistant, but I had to do some of the defensive (unintelligible) of the work and so forth. I remember when the TJA was talking to him, he was yelling at him and asking questions, “Desertion…” Because at the end, too, he had asked for, “Desertion in the face of the enemy is death! I give you death I tell you.” The final things, when he was given a final analysis, his recommendation to the people on the court-martial…I mean on the court-martial board. I know women, if they were officers, too, could go on them. But his wife was there. They didn't have any seats for her in the room, but there was a window you could look through and hear and see what was going on. So, the trial judge had me go out because she was crying all that time. Every time, “Death I tell you,” she’d [mimics sobbing] To keep her peaceful down, told her, the defense counsel, they’ll find ways. They did get him off of the death sentence. I think he got about five years or something like that out of it, because we found some ways of… (laughs) At defense counsel, we look for loopholes or gimmicks or legalistic things that were wrong, and that's where your experience with army court-martials.

I was is on a lot of court-martials, some 80 of them at one time or another. Not only that, but I knew what happened in the prisons. (laughs) But getting the records, there was so big a need for manpower that they were reconsidering that we suspended…had the power to do it, suspended the lifetime cases, suspended desertion death cases of desertion parts, and the time limits on their court martials. We just suspended them under the legal (unintelligible). The Army will want to do that because if they're going to get back in the Army they should have

learned their lesson. It was brand-new, opened it up, and it was out in California. That's about the time I was drafted. They just started it, and they had about 1,800 prisoners come from various prisons. Even some places they had to lease public (unintelligible).

I was out there then to serve on a clemency board with them. Then we'd give a recommendation on why they could suspend it. The nature of the sentence, for example, if it was a murder or attempted murder, we didn't get those kind of cases. Usually, well 50 percent of them at least were AWOL [absent without leave] and desertion, and mostly in the United States. Not one AWOL case, but if they had several of them, they might be given a general court-martial. The more often they were only sentenced for 3, 4 weeks for something, why then, we had the idea that sentencing people…We do that in the civil life too, that by making them serve in prisons and so on, that they've learned a lesson they're going to not do these things anymore, because they don't want to go back to this and that. They keep changing their names, so at the time when these prisons became penitentiaries, that is they would make men penitent. But then after decade or so then they found that they weren't penitent. Would rather commit crimes in banks and things like that again. (laughs) They changed the names to something else.

I remember when I first arrived at this place, that they would just called it a detention center. Detention centers weren't just for being or wild prisoners or so forth. The commanding officer wanted us to cook up a new name for it. What would we call it? Incidentally, this colonel in charge had been an immigrant and came with his family. He was just a boy then. They immigrated in the United States, and they became citizens, United States. So, he could, finally, be an officer even though he was a German. Of course, they couldn't put him in the infantry and so forth where he had been trained, because if was sent to Germany what's he going to do? He might have a lot of relatives there. So they put him in charge of this prison, where that danger wouldn't come up. So he still had a German accent. He asked us to (unintelligible) a new name, because to get them in a mood, we had to train them so they would be better soldiers afterwards and wouldn't commit these things again. He says [mimics German accent], "Besides it's too damn hard to say." That was his accent—disciplinary. Well, we kind came up with the word *rehabilitation*, to rehabilitate, so that's what we were doing on this committee. After they had been rehabilitated, they were going to be restored to duty. So we'd make a recommendation as to what the chances might be. But I felt from the records and reputation of the crimes committed by civilians, that 90 percent of them weren't worth rehabilitating. The commanding officer felt…He gave us another talk one time, too, that he wanted a higher percentage of people being restored to duty to show that we were rehabilitating them, which we really weren't, but it looked like we were doing a good job out there. So that was another reason. He wanted to have a higher percentage of…I felt that 75 percent, at best, should be restored. The recommendations I put in…Because we don't agree on those things, sometimes if we all agreed on one, he would dismiss him after all. His recommendation came from the commanding officer. He reported to higher headquarters. So he would recommend them for restoration to duty, and 90 percent of them were being recommitted after a while. Before the

year was over, they were back in jail house again. That's going on in our prisons, that we're making them penitent, and other names that they've had before then and after then. Jailhouse, well that's not too bad of a word, but (unintelligible) out in some of our music. [sings] He's in the jail house now," might show up. So, what are we doing about it? Repetition again against them, but we would meet—the three of us together, we'd meet—and come to a decision and then send the recommendation on. Usually, we would agree.

It was interesting working with a psychiatrist. He was an M.D., and he was an M.D. that had gone on and got this psychology training. So he was a psych…official psychiatrist out of the medical field, combining the two different fields in which he'd been trained in. So I learned a lot about psychology from him, just when we were discussing things. I sometimes wondered though about his skills, because some of his recommendations were so Freudian, involving sex and things like that. Incidentally, I couldn't resist it being a sociologist, keeping case histories. One letter I have, for example, was a letter that was written by a prisoner to a prisoner who had been released and allowed to go home. They were still communicating with each other. Then I was put in charge of it, and I appointed some noncommissioned officers, some sergeants, to do this job—to read the letters before they were mailed out for anything—because they were arranging for escapes, too. Maybe it was somebody to make sure their car is a block away or something when they go over the fence, so they could get away faster or whatever else they might put in to arrange or just part of escape, or other things too. I ran across this letter, so I made a copy of it and I still have it. I won't go into the details, but they were gays (laughs) and the nature of the letters is laughable. About how much they miss each other. They didn't really get down to details in it.

I: Well, we would like to thank you very much for this interview today, and it's very interesting to listen to all of your applied anthropological work in keeping with the true Boasian four-field approach. So thank you very much.

[End of Interview]