

of English, and were cut off from the patterns and patterned reinforcements of the traditional Papago ways of coping with the world.

By 1928 the situation of ranches, boarding schools, and mission activities from Protestants as well as the longer established Catholics, had worked to fractionate Papago political orientations. There were two factions: the "Good Government League," which was the more "progressive" in terms of adaptive concessions to the Anglo society. These people tended to be Presbyterian. There was also the "League of Papago Chiefs": tradition-oriented and largely Catholic.

In 1918, by executive order, a reservation of some two million acres was established for the Papago. It lay between Tucson and Ajo, and ran southward to the Mexican border. There were two important exclusions: a strip of territory through the center, which was dominated by white ranchers on some of the better grazing lands, and the rights to the minerals under the reservation land. This exclusion of the mineral rights once again placed the Papago in a unique position vis-a-vis other American Indians. It was felt politically necessary to do this in order to create the reservation at all.

Government programs for the Papago were established with creation of the reservation. In the 20's the major expenditure was for deep wells. These wells were held to be mystically dangerous, and the location of them in relation to villages was a further source of factionalism—creating tensions between the progressives and the traditionalists.

In 1931 "the strip" of land through the reservation was restored to the Papagos, in part through the activities of the League of Papago Chiefs. This group and the Good Government League were active in removing a hostile superintendent. As political activity of this sort increased on the reservation, it became apparent that the locus was not reservation-wide, but was confined to the southeast corner of the reservation. This area had the most contacts with Anglo society, and had the highest wage-employment rate in Tucson and, to a lesser degree, Phoenix.

In 1934, under the new Indian Reorganization Act, the Papagos were encouraged by the reservation superintendent to form a Tribal Council. A constitution was adopted in 1937. The Papago were, by this constitution, divided into eleven districts, each having two representatives in the Tribal Council. As well as being political divisions, these districts were worked out to be cattle grazing areas.

The districts included two outliers from the main Papago Reservation: San Xavier and Gila Bend. Leadership in the Tribal Council was assumed by the southeastern part of the reservation (the Baboquivari District).

The political organization of the Papago brought together Indian groups who were not, in general, in contact with each other: the reservation is large, the transportation poor, and so there had been a high degree of internal isolation. Another event which brought widely scattered Papago together was the establishment, at the height of the depression, of Civilian Conservation Corps camps. Spicer analyzes the development of Papago political and social reservation-wide networks as leading to both a sense of contentment with the progress in the economic development of the reservation, and a tendency to withdraw somewhat from the non-reservation social world.²

2. Recent Conditions and Present Context

a. General Economic Trends

In the post-war period, and through the 1950's, Spicer (op. cit.) finds two important trends in reservation life:

(1) *Wage Work*.—There has been a steady growth of off-reservation wage work, particularly in the cotton-growing ranches. The Papago seem to establish semi-permanent connections with particular ranches, so that particular groups of Papago will return to the same ranches over the years.

The great majority of Papago had by 1960 made this a permanent adjustment, so that the overwhelming portion of Papago income has now derived from off-reservation sources. At the same time they maintained residence in their home villages and returned several times a year there for ceremonials or other matters (Spicer 1962:145).

(2) *Schools*.—The second important trend is the increasing number of Papago children attending school. By 1958, almost all Papago school-age children were enrolled in either a BIA, a mission, or a public school. Public school enrollment accounted for one-third. As the educational level of the Papago rises, so does the level at which they are integrated into the surrounding economy.

² See Spicer (1962: 143).