

The Papago, in short, are in the process of developing an adjustment to Anglo society that is satisfactory to both themselves and the Anglos. This adjustment seems to be based on steady, if periodic, employment; a reservation to return to; and a few groups who are interested and active in building understanding and mutual adjustments between Indians and whites. The Papagos have been helped constructively in their adjustments to the surrounding Anglos since the 1930's, when a BIA social worker helped the Papagos employed in Tucson. Which is not to say that Papago/white relations are wholly satisfactory, but rather to point up the virtues of any constructive work in this difficult area. This is especially important as the expanding population forces the Indians to look outside the reservation for income, and to do this in ways that neither require them to sever themselves from the reservation completely, nor to renounce the attempt to adjust to the "great society."

The Papagos had escaped the sort of close government control which characterized the other Indians of the state, having come under Government supervision relatively late and undergoing the brunt of such supervision only after the new policy of the Indian Reorganization Act was put into motion. While a certain small proportion of Papagos developed the characteristic attitudes of dependency apparent on other reservations, the majority continued as before the establishment of the reservation in 1917 to rely on their own efforts to supplement their small-scale farming and cattle raising on the reservation. As resources became increasingly insufficient at home, they increasingly sought work for wages among the surrounding people, so that their primary economic adjustment was by 1960 no longer on the reservation (Spicer 1962:146).

b. Sociopolitical Organization

(1) *Religion*.—It is difficult to make generalizations about Papago religion since the several kinds of belief—aboriginal, Sonora Catholic, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian—vary greatly in different districts and from generation to generation. Parts of the old religious pattern are still important to all the Papagos except the strictest Presbyterians.

Survival of the Aboriginal Religion.—Today in most parts of the reservation people say that the old men who know the ancient ceremonies are dying off and that no one else has learned how to conduct them. Papago ceremonial life seems to be concerned with two things: rain and health. Though many of the old practices have disappeared, the emphasis on these two all-important areas continues.

Many of the old Papago ceremonies were one way or another connected with bringing rain. Today the principal means directed to rain-bringing centers around the annual wine ceremony which occurs after the fruit of the saguaro cactus has been picked in June. Syrup is made from the pulp of the fruit and carried back to the villages to be fermented for use in the ceremony. When the time has been set, each family donates syrup for ceremonial use, about four quarts. This syrup is sent to the ceremonial round house in the village for fermentation in large jars. During the fermentation period of four nights the syrup is carefully watched and tested by men. Each night the villagers gather to participate in the songs and dancing which aid the process. They sing of clouds, wind, rain, and the growing crops and perform a simple circle dance around a small fire. Everything is done four times, since the number four has a magic quality in Papago belief. While the people sing and dance the medicine men rise and stand quietly, waving their sacred eagle feathers. If the feathers gather moisture or drip, the rain will come soon; if they stay dry, the rain is many days away.

After the medicine men announce that the wine has reached the proper stage of fermentation, they and the singers make speeches. Then the wine is ceremonially served to each adult in prescribed order. It should be noted that intoxication is not the objective of the wine ceremony. It is a means to an end. Papagos feel that the wine brings happiness and song which helps to erase the evil and ill feeling of the past year.

Sonora Catholicism.—In most of the larger Papago villages there is a little adobe building with a rickety wooden cross over the door—the Sonora Catholic church. Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on the reservation today. The beliefs and practices of Sonora Catholics are remnants of the teachings of early Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from Padres, or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papaguera, the faithful carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions of the church. With the absence of priests and the passage of time much of the original Roman Catholic creed and ritual has vanished.