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# THE PAPAGO

THE Papago are a strong branch of the Piman family living in the narrow valleys of south-central Arizona as far north as Tucson, and the broad desert stretches of northern Sonora. They were among the first of the Indians of this section to come under the influence of the Spanish missionaries, and early proved their friendliness toward Christianity; that is, as with Indians generally, so far as its outward form is concerned. The Papago certainly proved tractable enough, under the efforts of the Franciscans, to build one of the most beautiful mission churches in the United States, and while all similar edifices of the region have fallen into decay, they have kept this wonderful old structure at San Xavier del Bac in a good state of preservation.

The recorded history of the village of Bac, situated ten miles south of Tucson, may be said to begin with 1692, in September of which year the celebrated German Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Kino, or Kuehne, visited the spot. He probably again visited it two years later, as he certainly did in 1697, in January and November. It was perhaps in this year that the saint name San Xavier was first given. The population of the settlement at that time was 830 persons, living in 176 houses, being the largest village in all Pimería, as the southern Arizona country was then called. In the autumn of 1699, and again in the spring of 1700, the indomitable Jesuit was again at Bac, late in April or early in May of which latter year he founded a church, although it is not impossible that some beginning was made at the time of his next preceding visit. Kino died in 1710; but even without the guiding spirit of its founder the mission prospered until the Pima uprising of 1751, when the building was sacked by the natives, but was reoccupied in 1753. Twenty-two Jesuit padres served San Xavier from 1720 to 1767 (in which latter year the Jesuits were expelled from Mexico), followed in 1768 by Fray Francisco Garcés, its first Franciscan. In the period from 1760 to 1764 the population reached 399, but by 1772 it had dwindled to 270. In 1783 the erection of the present edifice was begun, the work continuing for fourteen years, until 1797, — the date still legible over the entrance. The mission records reveal the names of Balthasar Cavillo, from May 22, 1780, to 1794, and Narciso

Gutierres, from 1794 to 1799, so that there is every probability that this noteworthy structure was begun by the former and finished during the ministration of the latter friar. In 1822 their bones were removed from Tumacacori, where they had died, and reinterred in the church that still stands as a monument to their zeal.

The following description of the church is quoted from the late Archbishop J. B. Salpointe's "Soldiers of the Cross," 1898:

"This church, as can be seen by its arches exceeding the semicircle in height, and the ornamental work in half relief which covers the flat surface of some parts of its inside walls, belongs to the Moorish style.

"The first thing to be noticed is the space formerly occupied by the atrium, a little square 66 by 33 feet, which was enclosed in front of the church, and was used, as we have seen, for holding meetings relating to matters not directly connected with religion. The walls of this place crumbled down a few years ago. On the front, which shows the width of the church with its two towers, is placed in relief the coat-of-arms of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscans. It consists of an escutcheon, with a white ground filled in with a twisted cord, a part of the Franciscan dress, and a cross on which are nailed one arm of Our Saviour and one of St. Francis, representing the union of the disciple with the divine Master, in charity and the love of suffering. The arm of our Lord is bare, while that of St. Francis is covered. On the right side of the escutcheon is the monogram of Jesus the Saviour of man, and on the left that of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The front was surmounted by a life-size statue of St. Francis, which has now almost gone to pieces, under the action of time.

"The church, which is built of stone and brick, is 105 by 27 feet clear inside the walls. Its form is that of a cross, the transept forming on each side of the nave a chapel of 21 feet square. The edifice has only one nave, which is divided into six portions marked by as many arches, each one resting on two pillars set against the walls. Above the transept is a cupola of about fifty feet in elevation, the remainder of the vaults in the church being only about thirty feet high.

"Going from the front door to the main altar, there is on the right-hand side wall a fresco representing the coming of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples; opposite to it is the picture, also in fresco, of the Last Supper. Both paintings measure about 9 by 5 feet. In the first chapel to the right hand are two altars, one facing the nave with the image of Our Lady of Sorrows standing at the foot of a large cross,

which is deeply engraved in the wall, and the other one with the image of the Immaculate Conception. In the same chapel are two frescoes representing Our Lady of the Rosary and the hidden life of Our Saviour. The opposite chapel is also adorned with two altars. One of them is dedicated to the Passion of our Lord, and the other to St. Joseph. There are also two paintings, the subjects of which are: Our Lady of the Pillar and the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple.

"The main altar, which stands at the head of the church facing the nave, is dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the patron saint the Jesuits had chosen for the first church they had established in the mission. Above the image of St. Francis Xavier is that of the Holy Virgin, between the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, and at the summit of the altar-piece, a bust meant to represent God the Creator. The pictures on the walls near this altar are: On the right-hand side, 'The Adoration of the Wise Men' with 'The Flight into Egypt,' and on the left, 'The Adoration of the Shepherds' with 'The Annunciation.'

"The altars, and especially the principal one, are decorated with columns and a great profusion of arabesques in low relief, all gilded or painted in different colors, according to the requirements of the Moorish style.

"Besides the images we have mentioned, there were yet in 1866, when we visited the mission for the first time, the statues of the twelve apostles, placed in the niches cut in the pillars of the church, and other statues representing saints, most of them of the Order of St. Francis. Many of them have since been broken, and the pieces removed to the vestry room. There are in the dome of the cupola the pictures in fresco of several personages of the Order, who occupied high rank in the Church.

"Going again to the front door, there are two small doors communicating with the towers. The first room on the right, in the inside of the tower, is about twelve feet square, and contains the baptismal font. A similar room, of no particular use now, but which corresponds to the mortuary chapel of the old basilicas, is formed by the inside square of the opposite tower. From each of these rooms commence the stairs, cut in the thickness of the walls and leading to the upper stories. Starting from the baptistery, the second flight reaches the choir of the church. A good view of the upper part of the church can be had from that place. There are also some frescoes worth noticing. These are the Holy Family, facing the main altar; St.

Francis, represented as rapt up by heavenly love, in a fiery chariot; St. Dominic, receiving from the Blessed Virgin the mission of promoting the devotion of the Rosary in the world; and the four

Evangelists, with their charasteristic attributes. Two flights more lead to the belfry, where there are four home-made bells, of small size but very harmonious. Twenty-two steps more bring the visitor to the top story and under the little dome covering the tower, an elevation about seventy-five feet above the ground. Here a glance can be cast on the beautiful and extensive valley of the Santa Cruz River and on the surrounding country."

The church and mission stand on a slight elevation overlooking the lower valley, dotted with the little farms of the Papago. These people are strictly agriculturists, their principal crops being wheat and barley, which they plant in midwinter and harvest in spring. Few of them live on their farms, nearly all having their homes in the village near the mission. Outwardly they are far advanced in what is called civilization, and are professed members of the church; but the student does not find it difficult to see that overalls do not make civilization, nor baptism Christianity. In acknowledging the Christian faith the Papago merely follow the line of least resistance, for by adding a little more ceremony to their life, even if it be the ceremony of the white man, they do no violence to their primitive religion, and at the same time escape the danger of punishment by fire and brimstone threatened them in a Christian hereafter.

The larger part of the Papago are semi-nomadic; that is, they wander from place to place as occasion necessitates. One week they may be harvesting their little crops of grain; the next they have taken the trail to the mines to work for a time, or gone to the hills or river valleys to gather cactus fruit or mesquite beans. Many of them in the Fresnal valley have cattle upon which they depend wholly for support; others till small desert farms, irrigated with freshet water. Little settlements depending on scanty crops and small herds are scattered throughout south-central Arizona and northwestern Sonora.

The native houses at the Papago village of San Xavier del Bac consist almost entirely of rectangular huts of adobe mud filled in between posts and wattle. A few of the old-time circular houses are also seen there, and the scattered bands build this type almost exclusively. For summer they require only a brush shelter to protect them from the blazing sun.

Nothing of food value escaped the keen eye of the primitive Papago. Seeds of many plants, the fruit of several varieties of cactus, and mesquite beans, mescal, and tuberous roots were supplemented with various game animals and birds. The bear was never killed nor eaten, for it was believed once to have been human.

The basketry of the Papago, though somewhat less skilfully made, resembles that of their Pima cousins, as does also their pottery. They make practically all their own earthenware utensils, which with use soon change from their original bright red color to the black of old iron pots.

There are five gentile groups, though it can hardly be said that any strict gentile organization now exists. Children belong to the father's group. The creation myth tells how, when Chüwutumáka's destroying horde marched up into this world from the east, the firstto come were those who were to call their fathers Ápap; then camethose whose fathers were to be Apk, Mam, Vaf, and Âkuli respectively. These names were no doubt totemic in their origin, but only the first and third can be identified. Ápap is associated with the coyote, Mam with the buzzard. There is no general word for father; to each individual "father" is simply the name of his gens, if such groups may be so called. A member of the Apk gens, for instance, calls his father *nyúapki,* of the Mam gens, *nyúmam, nyu* meaning "my." Collectively the members of the gentes are called Apápakam,Ápkikam, Mámakam, Váfakam, and Âkulikam.

Of so little importance are the gentes that marriage within them is not prohibited, or even regarded as unusual. Marriage arrangements in early days were rather peculiar in that acceptance or refusal lay with the father of the young man. When a girl became of marriageable age, her father found a suitable young man and went to his parents to arrange the match. If the girl seemed satisfactory to the youth's father, during the next four nights he instructed his son in the duties of a husband, and on the fifth sent him to the home of the girl, where he warmed himself by the fire, saying nothing. He remained there all night, returning home early in the morning. This was repeated three times; then the girl and her father went to the youth's house, where she was formally intrusted to his care. If, in their married life, the husband made accusation of infidelity against his wife, she was brought before the head-chief and publicly arraigned. The husband might refuse to take her back, in which event she became an outcast. If, however, he

consented to receive her, relying on her promise not to err again, she was publicly whipped on the bare back.

Each branch or band of the Papago had its chief, whose principal assistant, selected by himself, was a herald or crier. Each also had a council, to which all adult men were admitted, and which decided all matters of importance. The office of chief was hereditary, but the succession was always confirmed by the council. The chief's duties were by no means nominal; he had to keep peace among his people and inflict punishment on the guilty. One of his principal responsibilities was to see that parents called their children long before day light, for the Apache always made their attacks just before dawn and it was necessary to be ever on the alert. The parents were also required to see that the children went to bed early, and each morning both boys and girls practised running, that they might be swift of foot either in retreat or in pursuit.

The Papago dead were wrapped in cotton blankets, wound with rope, and buried, in the same manner as the Pima, in a niche under the side of the grave. Sometimes the body was taken to the mountains, where it was laid upon the ground, surrounded with a rude stone wall about four feet high, and covered with brush, logs, and stones. The crier for the chief was always buried in this way, but in a sitting posture, with the lower part of his face painted red and the upper part white. In front of him were placed charred ends of firewood, representing the council fire, as if he were talking to the people. Some of the deceased's best horses were killed, his property was burned, and food scattered about in the house.

The medicine-men receive their power through dreams direct from divine sources, and are considered by the people god-taught. Failure to cure disease is not taken to mean that the medicine-man has not the power to heal, but rather that he has made malign use of it. This explains the practice of destroying unsuccessful medicine-men. Disease first came through the anger of Chüwutumáka, who left it as a curse to the people as he descended into the under-world; but in compensation he placed medicine stones in the mountains and commanded the spirits of animals to instruct men how to effect cures. To a young man destined to be a medicine-man come four dreams on as many successive nights, followed on four other nights by the appearance of an animal, who speaks to him, — not an apparition, but a real animal. At the fourth appearance the young man is commanded

to arise and follow; his spirit is led through four mountains, and shown what medicine is there to be found. Then the animal changes itself into a small pebble, which the young man supposedly swallows, and in later years, when all other means of expelling sickness have failed, he pretends to bring up this stone and by incantation to transform it into a spirit animal, which lends him potent aid.

In treating sickness the medicine-man uses a rattle, eagle feathers, cigarettes of native tobacco, and medicine songs. The songs and the smoke enable him to detect the seat of the disease, which he at once begins to remove by sucking. Singing, smoking, and waving of the eagle feathers continue throughout the night, and in the morning he asserts that a certain animal has caused the sickness, advising that some man who knows the songs of that animal be brought in to sing them.

The medicine-man is known by the name of the animal which instructed him, as, Medicine-man of the Eagle, Medicine-man of the Bear. In case of war the medicine-man of some animal possessing keen sight was selected to accompany the war party. After the usual jugglery he sent his spirit animal away to determine the strength of the enemy, and quickly reached up his hand to receive it on its return, showing the people the medicine stone. So implicit was their faith in these sorcerers that the movements of the war party depended absolutely upon their predictions of success or failure. The same custom prevailed when preparing for important games between rival divisions of the tribe. The medicine-man who mistakenly prophesied success, and thereby caused the loss of much property to those who relied on his predictions, was usually in danger of being killed by the angry losers.

A peculiar belief of the Papago is one called *ââk*. If a bird, or almost any animal, especially the coyote, is encountered in one's path acting at all peculiarly, as fluttering the wings in the case of the bird, or sitting up and whining in the case of the coyote, it is regarded as an infallible sign of the approaching death of whomsoever one happens to be thinking of at that moment. An educated young Papago related the following story:

"One day I was ploughing my field, when a road-runner got in front of the plough. It seemed to be frightened, but instead of get ting out of the way it simply ran along ahead of me. After a while I grew tired of seeing that bird always running in front of me, and threw a clod of earth at it. It fell over, kicked a few times, and before I came up to it, had died. That night when I went home I said, 'A strange thing

happened to me to-day.' 'What was it?' asked my father. I began to tell, but had only mentioned the bird when he said, 'That is enough; stop right there!' The next day he asked whom I was thinking about when I saw the bird. I told him of my sister's little boy. His face became very sad. 'Father, what makes you so sad?' I asked. 'Why do you feel so bad?' Then he told me about *ââk*. From that time the family began to treat the little boy with the greatest kindness; he wanted nothing that he did not get. Nobody told him of what had happened, but from that day he began to grow thin and pale, and in less than three months he died."

Not a few of the religious observances of the Papago still persist even among those supposedly civilized, though they are kept from the knowledge of the whites. The maturity ceremony for girls is yet in favor, its whole purpose being to make the girl a strong, healthy, industrious, and virtuous woman. It consists of a four-nights' dance, beginning soon after darkness and lasting until daybreak, with a brief intermission at midnight. Two lines of dancers, men and women alternating, face each other, opposite dancers being of opposite sex, with a singer standing at the head of one line and the girl beside him. The dancing consists of a few steps, forward and back. The songs used are intended only for this occasion, and during the four nights none may be repeated. On the morning following the fourth night the girl bathes, and in the afternoon goes with her parents to see the medicine-man. Her parents stand on either side of her, while the medicine-man waves his eagle feathers over her to invoke divine blessing. Then he mixes a little clay with water and she drinks, thus ending the cere mony. To sleep during the four days would cause the girl to develop into a lazy woman; to eat food containing salt, or to touch meat or fire, would bring sickness upon the family.

One of the most striking of the old dances was the War Dance, culminating on the fourth night in the ceremony known as T*â*twóhli, "We Tie." The Ghost Medicine-man held up a deer skin bag to catch the spirits of enemies killed in battle. The spirit of a man who had killed an Apache came rushing through the air, pursued by that of the slain Apache. The former was allowed to pass, while the latter was caught in the bag, which was quickly tied and passed over the Ghost Medicine-man's shoulders to four old men sitting behind. Thus the souls of many enemies were kept from entering the good land of the hereafter. If an inexperienced medicine-man were allowed to lead in

this ceremony, he might become frightened and entrap the spirit of a tribesman, causing him to lose his reason in a few months. Hence men of high repute were always selected to conduct the War Dance.

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