INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WW-2
The Papago Way

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14 July, 1971

Mr. Richard H. Nolte
Institute of Current World Affairs
535 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Nolte,

The emergence of a nation out of separate parts occurs gradually and invisibly. But sometimes, I think, a particular event in the history of a nation gives material evidence that the potential for shared authority and a national consciousness has been realized. It was a treaty council that marked the birth of the Iroquois Nation in the sixteenth century. The mystic-philosopher Deganawidah conceived a Great Peace that would be the salvation of the tribes of what is now New York State. He enlisted the peerless diplomacy and oratory of the statesman Hiawatha to persuade the warring Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onandaga, and Mohawk tribes to send chiefs to meet with him. They adopted a charter of alliance that foreshadowed the best of the U. S. Constitution, framed 200 years later, and supported the most powerful and sophisticated Indian nation north of the Aztecs.

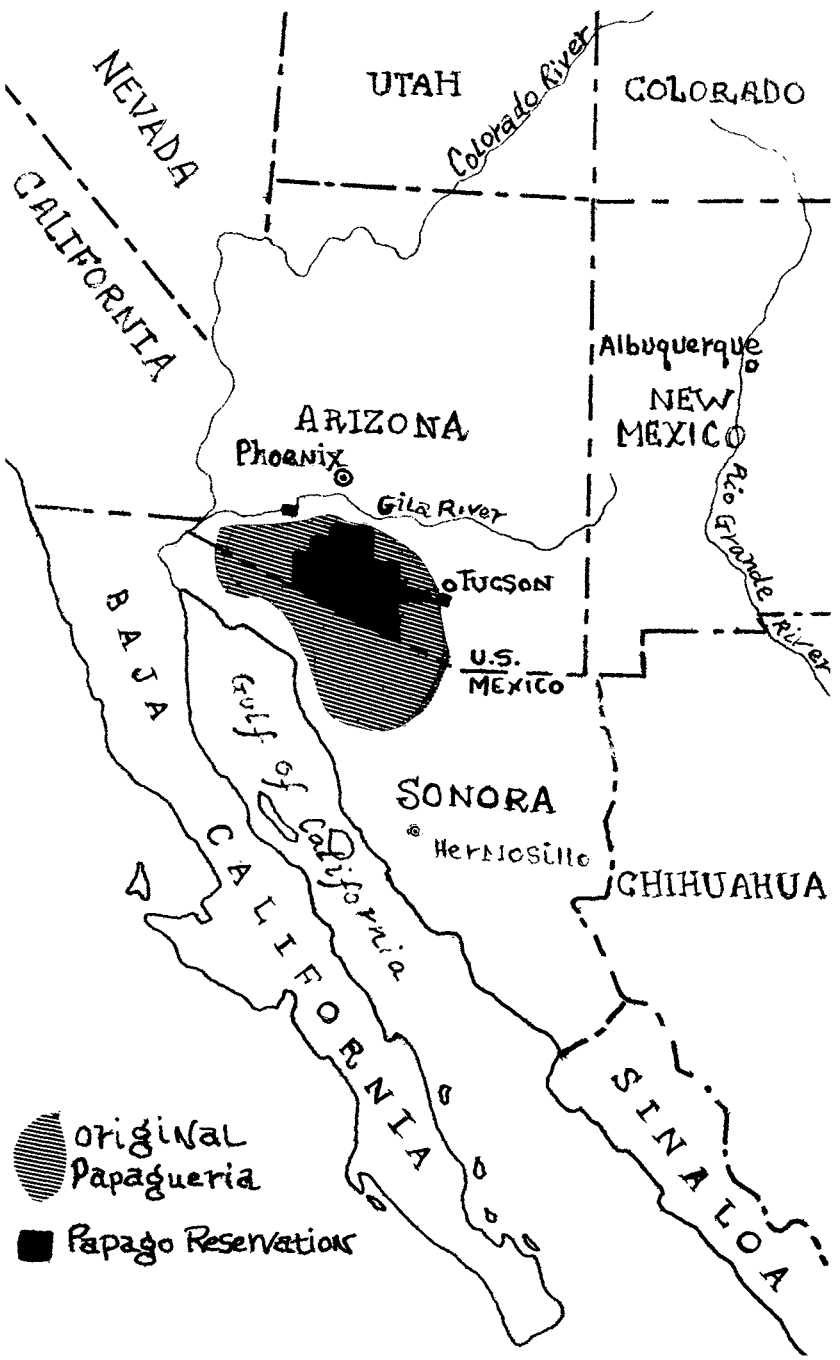
Another such signal event recently occurred in the formative history of a nation here in Arizona, and it, too, centered on a rare, visionary leader. For centuries, a people that outsiders call "Papagos" have lived in independent villages scattered widely through the desert of northern Mexico and southern Arizona. In this century, the Papagos have been concentrated on a reservation about the size of the State of Connecticut, roughly one quarter the size of their original Papagueria. Occasionally, in the past, men of several villages banded together to defend their people against Apaches or Anglo frontiersmen. But when each crisis passed, the Papagos returned to their respective villages with their autonomy intact.

The ordeal of surviving in twentieth-century America has challenged that classic independence. A nation has appeared where there were only kinship and intermittent alliance before. I saw evidence of their new national spirit on May 12, 1971, when 7,000 people, mostly Papagos, assembled at the principal town of the reservation. More Papagos gathered together at that time than ever before in their history, and their purpose was thoroughly nationalistic. The event was the funeral of the man who had led them in cooperative action that even dogged separatists approved, the man who had unwittingly become what Papago history indicates no man could become: chief of all the Papagos. Their common grief and massed presence at Thomas A. Segundo's funeral forcibly expressed the emerging Papago national spirit.

It was the quality of Tom Segundo's leadership and his people's remarkable survival in this desert that drew me to Arizona and the Papagos a few months ago. He welcomed me then, because he thought I might help him tell the Papagos' story. This newsletter presents what Tom Segundo always asked outsiders to understand first about his people: their long history and their distinctive conservative technique for surviving in the desert.

Talking to Tom Segundo, I used to feel that he had a clear vision of the future of the Papagos (or Tohono O'odham, as they call themselves— the Desert People). He communicated his confidence in their survival by his astonishing patience with the slow pace of the Papagos' participatory government and in his exquisite public speeches, in Papago or English. His conviction that the Desert People would endure, changing slowly, must have accounted for his tireless personal efforts as Tribal Chairman for ten years, in the late 'forties and the last four years.

I once asked him why the affairs of the Papagos moved so slowly, whether the tribe did not lose opportunities by their insistence that every matter of importance be subject to scrupulous review by the Tribal Council, the District Councils, and the people of the villages. He enjoyed answering. "The Papagos have a way of doing things that is all their own. To understand it, you should know the history of the Papago people. Then you must spend a long time among them, out in the villages. Remember," he said gently, "we were here in this desert 8,000 years ago. The Spanish came and ruled, and then they disappeared. The Apaches, they came and went. Now the United States is here. That will change, too, one day. But 8,000 years from now, the Papagos will still be here."



As tribal Chairman, he served his people and gained unprecedented trust among them by reminding them of the Papago Way of living— cautiously, unhurried— and by applying it in tribal government. The Papagos made giant strides toward better health, education, and income under his leadership, without swerving from their traditional Way.

Tom Segundo enthusiastically interpreted and defended the Papago Way before non-Papagos, who, depending on their point of view, saw it as passive resistance, xenophobia, or enlightened conservatism. As chief executive of a nation of 6,000 Papagos on the reservation and another 4,000 off, as principal advocate of their cause among Anglo potentates in Phoenix and Washington, as first line of defense against encroachments by non-Papagos on the rights of the Desert People and the 3,000,000 acres they inhabit, he was often pressed for quick decisions. He generally declined, deferred, postponed. Quick decisions without the counsel of his people ignored the tradition of caution and unanimity.

Once when I was the one who wanted a quick decision (permission to present a free educational program on the reservation), he told me that I should not be offended that the offer was being scrutinized and debated, because the tribe always deliberated most carefully over the most savoury opportunities. He recalled that some years before, a Public Health Service officer had announced that the Papagos would soon receive a splendid new health program, including radio-assisted field operations, comprehensive personal health histories, and so forth. The Chairman thanked the PHS doctor and said the Council would be informed of the request to install such a system. The Council ruled that the system would have to be reviewed in detail at a series of meetings between all of the PHS personnel involved in planning and implementing it and the health officials of the Papago Tribe. Accordingly, in fifteen consecutive day-long meetings, the planners presented the system to a dozen Papago medicine men. Finally the Council gratefully accepted the system. The medicine men had determined that the new program, far from hindering their work, would perfectly complement it. The Papago diagnosticians, herbalists, and practitioners would continue to deal with the spiritual origins of disease, while the doctors treated the painful physical effects.

First European Intrusions— For Christ and Cartography

Where the Papagos got this caution the history Tom Segundo pointed me towards helps explain. By the end of the seventeenth century, in all but the inmost regions of North America, Indians had met, traded, and warred with Europeans. In 1680, the medicine man Popé led the New Mexico Pueblos in a fierce war of reconquest against the Spanish, killing hundreds of settlers and friars and returning the whole territory to its former inhabitants. Popé set himself up in the Governor's quarters in Sante Fe, and back in the Pueblos the headmen washed the evil effects of baptism from their Christianized brothers with incantations and yucca suds. In the same year, the Ottawas near Lakes Huron and Erie had such extensive trade contacts with Europeans that they supplied the French with two-thirds of all the beaver they purchased. In Plymouth of 1680, the colonists were displaying the head of the Wampanoag chief King Philip, a trophy of their recent victory over his powerful native coalition. Yet at this time, barely 200 miles north of the province of New Spain, the Desert People had oddly escaped European contact. Perhaps partly because European culture arrived in the Papagueria 200 years later than it penetrated other North American Indian groups, the Papagos remain remarkably close to the life they are reported to have lived when they greeted the first foreign interloper, a Jesuit missionary-explorer named Eusebio Francisco Kino.

In 1698, Father Kino set out from what is now Sonora, Mexico, to visit the isolated Pima Indians to the north, to bring them baptism, and incidentally to find a land-route to California. Mexican Indians warned him of natives that roasted people and ate them, but he was determined to map that unknown area around the Gulf of California. Within a few leagues of the first Papago village, he noted in his journal, "suffering extreme thirst," he and his party discovered that these Desert People were scarcely hostile cannibals. Village headmen brought them precious water in giant clay ollas, and welcomed them with singing and dancing. Thus began the reputation the Papagos still have as a generous, open people, quiet and peace-loving. (Nineteenth-century authors refer to the "fierce Apaches," "industrious Pueblos," and "gentle Papagos.") Though they have been provoked often enough, as we shall see, they have preferred long-suffering patience over violent retaliation. In the desert, the tortoise outlives the rattlesnake.

The Papagos welcomed everything Kino brought them: grains, horses, cattle, and Catholicism. Eventually, all but the grains caused them some disappointment or disorientation, taught them what they know of change— that it is never painless.

Kino wrote to his superior in 1698 that his journey among the Papagos had been a "singular consolation and alleviation," because he had baptized 400 Indians, said Mass every day, and found the Indians in "uniformly good health and cheerfulness." That work among them was the beginning of what is still the dominant Christian sect in the Papagueria. But Roman Catholicism soon failed the Papagos, setting them on their guard against later new forms of the white man's religion. By 1767, fledgling Catholic Papagos had begun depending on the missions for spiritual and material support. Then their clergy abruptly deserted them when the Jesuits were expelled from Mexico. For the next 50 years, the Indians made the best of their loss by imitating the forms of worship they remembered from the Jesuits. By the time the Franciscans brought back orthodox Catholicism in 1827, the Papagos had established what is called the Sonora Catholic Church, a hybrid sect disowned by the Church as an irritating, apostate maverick.

At Home in the Sonoran Desert

When horses reached the Indians of the Great Plains, many tribes quit farming and became nomadic hunters (and created an anthropological chesnut, "the Buffalo Economy"). Horses also transformed the life of the Gran Chacos tribes in South America; originally fishermen and gatherers, they became horse- and cattle-thieves. What the arrival of horses meant to the Papagos— indeed how every innovation influenced them— we can understand only in light of their life before Europeans visited them. Their early life-style explains something of their caution, too.

The Desert People's stingy natural environment exacted scrupulous attention to principles of conservation. They got their living from the subsistence nature vouchsafed; they never divided the land, diverted the water, or altered the distribution of flora and fauna. The ingrained conservatism of the Papagos today flows naturally from their success in evolving techniques for survival in the narrowest of ecological niches.

The sun shines over southern Arizona more days per year than over any other area of the country. Water evaporates at the rate of almost a foot per month. One expects no more than two inches of rain during the first six months of the year in most Papago villages, and no stream on the reservation runs year-round. Ninety-five per cent of the reservation's arroyos (stream beds) are dry all but two months of the year, and in those two months they are dangerously flooded. Not surprisingly, the pattern of life among the Desert People when Kino visited them, and until World War II, reflected their need to exploit every source of the region's niggardly water supply.

They spent their summers in the broad valleys of the desert, where they grew their few crops during the time of flash floods. In mid-July, following months of drought, masses of serried cumulus would move north from Mexico. Virtually every afternoon, cloudburst after cloudburst, then as now, overflowed the arroyos and drenched the rich soil. Then the Papagos would cultivate their squashes, maize, and beans.* In late August and early September, the Moon of the Short Planting, they planted the varieties

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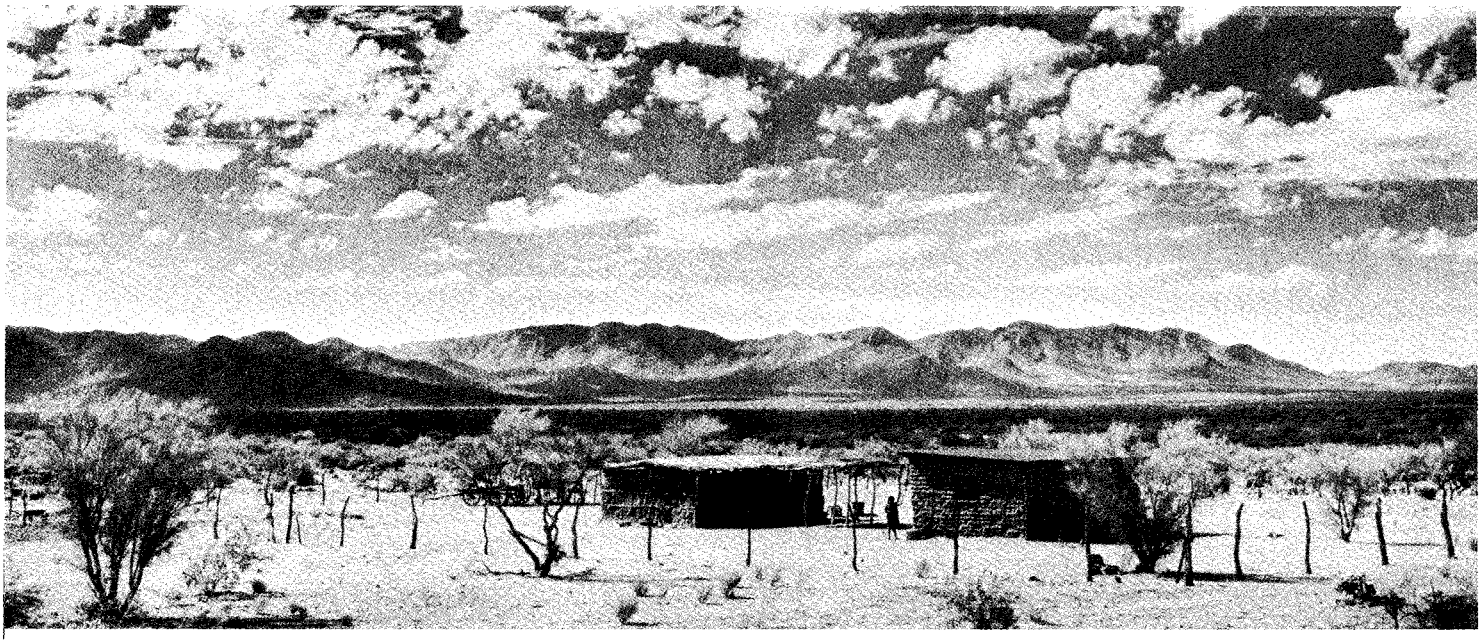
* Papagos means "Bean People," literally. The Spanish borrowed it from the Pimas, northern cousins of the Papagos, without knowing its meaning. The Papagos called the Spanish from Mexico Juhkam, "Rain People," presumably because the summer rains came into the Papagueria from the south.



that grow to maturity in shorter term. In Dry Grass Month, the moon of mid-September to mid-October, when the sun had baked the valley floors hard again and parched the arroyos dry, the Papagos harvested their crops and moved to their Cold Season villages in the mountains. There a few streams were still running in the autumn, and natural springs provided water for almost all the winter months.

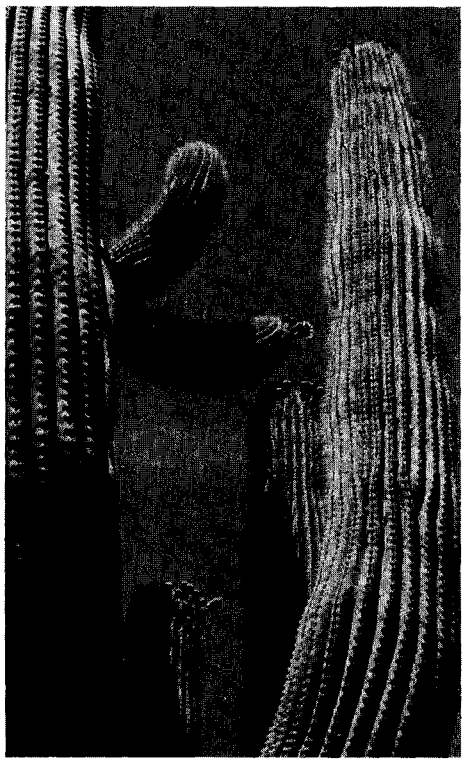
In valley and mountain villages alike, the Desert People scattered their mud dwellings widely, so that no one could see his neighbor's house. In the valleys, a village of ten families would be distributed over a square-mile area, near a major arroyo and several collection pools. This physical separation of families assured each householder plenty of land for cultivation and certain privacy for living much of the time— as they do today— outdoors in the shade of open-sided ramadas. Scarcity of water and the requirements of flood-farming kept the villages widely separated, too, by ten to twenty miles.

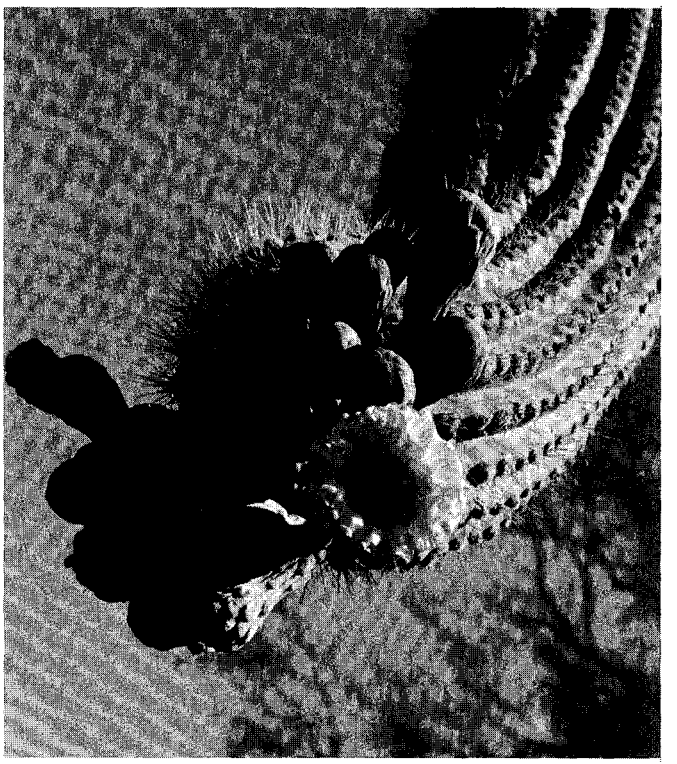
Living and, in the Hot Season, sleeping outdoors under the breezy ramadas allowed the Papagos maximum comfort when daily high temperatures averaged between 100° and 120°, and low nighttime temperatures rarely fell below 80°. In the mountain villages during the Cold Season, daytime temperatures were pleasant, but at night it might be 15° and snowing. Note that because they had to pursue water wherever it was, and could farm only in the floods of midsummer, the Papagos were subjected to the most punishing heat of summer in the valleys and the bitterest cold of winter in the mountains. Furthermore, wherever one lives in Papago country, he experiences extreme variation in temperatures in a single day. The average daily difference between high and low on the reservation is 31.4°.

In their mountain villages, the Papagos would cultivate the few plants hardy enough to withstand the frost, gather wild foods, and hunt deer, peccary, and small game. They called the difficult six months between harvest and spring:

Wi'Ihanig Mashad (Surviving Moon)
Kehg S-Hehpijig Mashad (Fair Cold Moon)
Ge'e S-Hehpijig Mashad (Severe Cold Moon)
Gi'ihodag Mashad (Lean Moon)
Sko'ok Mashad (Pain Moon)
Kohmagi Mashad (Gray Moon)

The beginning of the year and the first signs of the season of abundance came with the Month of the Ripe Saguaro Fruit (Hashani Bak Mashad), the moon of





late June to late July. By then, the Papagos would have returned to the valleys. As the first fruits of the giant Saguaro cactus ripened, families moved to temporary camps in the foothills where these strangest of desert flora thrive. (Pictured above are the buds and blossoms that appear just before the fruit. An expedition to harvest the Saguaro fruit will be the subject of my next newsletter.)

The Papagos carried on this semi-nomadic life over vast distances and forbidding terrain. The original Papagueria, like the reservation today, consisted of broad valleys marked by venous networks of arroyos. The valley land supported a sparse growth of cholla cactus, mesquite and palo verde trees, some perennial grasses, and, in greatest profusion, the virtually useless creosote shrub. Dividing these basins into northwest to southeast swaths are several mountain ranges that rise steeply to 7,000 feet. The Papagos made the annual trek to and from the mountains, often more than 75 miles, on foot. Until Father Kino brought them horses.

Francisco Eusebio Kino was a crack missionary. He elicited warmth and loyalty among the Indians, and always succeeded in persuading the Church to send more missionaries to continue his work among the newly baptized. His technique for winning both native and ecclesiastical support was to drive herds of horses and cattle before him through the desert, leaving some with each band or tribe. Soon the Indians wanted more missionaries to come with more creatures, and the missionaries sent in response were assured a decent supply of food at their bleak posts.

The reader can guess what horses did for the Papagos of 1700. They reduced travel time between neighboring settlements from a day's walk to an easy morning's ride. The trip to the mountains and back each spring and fall began to give way to a more truly nomadic pattern. Families moved far south or north to the fertile country of year-round rivers, especially during periods of drought that would have pinned them to their scantily provisioned villages before they had horses. The Desert People

began a period of contact with the Spanish to the south, their relatives the Pimas (Akimel O'odham, the River People) to the north, and with others of their own tribe. Seasonal migrations waned, villages coalesced into districts, and the scarce resources of the Papagueria gradually came to be distributed more evenly among the inhabitants because of the transportation advantage Father Kino introduced. But even this God-send gave the Papagos good reason to look later gift horses in the mouth. In years to come, horses caused disruptions in Papago life and beliefs, and involved them in the only war they ever fought.

Itoi, the Spirit of Goodness in Papago myth, sat molding men from the rich brown mud left by the Great Flood. Pahn (Coyote), the embodiment of mischief, wanted to help. Itoi said he might. So Pahn molded men, sitting with his back to Itoi, and as he worked, he laughed. (Pahn the Coyote can still be heard laughing on the desert.) When Itoi looked to see why Pahn was laughing, he saw that all of Pahn's men had only one leg. When they came to life, they were filled with the Spirit of Mischief, so Itoi set them in the mountains toward the east and called them Ohb, that is, "Apaches." And to this day they are mean and mischievous, as Pahn made them.*

Coyote's progeny had always harrassed the Papagos; but when the Apaches were equipped with Spanish horses— long before the Papagos were, the Desert People had to fight in self-defense as never before. The men of several villages would join together, concentrate their people in a few special villages, and wait out the attacks. These measures were apparently sufficient until the Papagos themselves acquired horses. Then every village had herds of valuable horses to attract the Apache raiders. The

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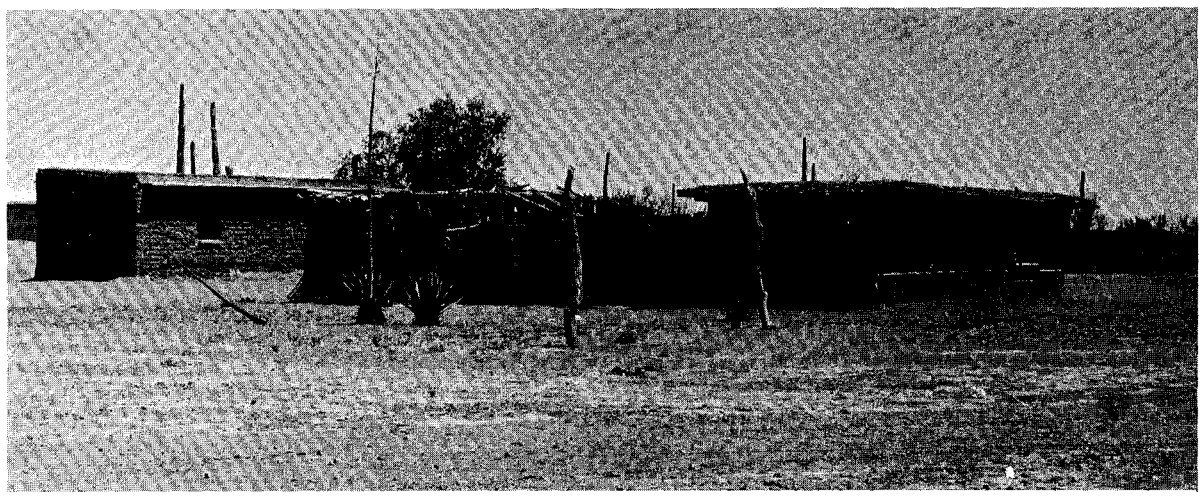
* Ohb in O'odham, the language of the Papagos and Pimas, means both "Apache" and "enemy." The Romans used the word Vandalii (our vandal) similarly.



Papagos still live in small, scattered villages. Their houses are still built of the mud and wood that occur in the vicinity, although in most new construction they add an outside layer of cement to prevent the mud from dissolving in heavy rainstorms. An extended family of fifteen or more persons lives typically in a cluster of buildings like the one pictured here. The structure at left is of adobe brick. The older buildings, center and right, have Saguaro ribs as upright members and mud and brush for the roof. Most villages have water piped into all homes, but electricity is rare.

hostilities lasted more than 100 years, until 1875. As they fought, the Papagos had to develop elaborate sanctions through their native religion to free the warriors from the evil effects of killing.

Horses further disturbed Papago life by contributing to the introduction of the principle of private ownership. The people traditionally believed that, except for a few household items, property belonged to all the members of a community. It was used according to need, but not owned by any person. Perhaps because of their unique marketability among non-Papagos, horses became the first property to be treated as private wealth. They are still the Desert People's most prized possession, so strongly symbolic of their owner's prestige that attempts to reduce the horse population for the common good met with violent resistance.

Indians Into Cowboys

For many years after their introduction, cattle were allowed to run wild over the Papagueria. They were hunted like other animals as needed for food. Later, each family kept a few head to be slaughtered or sold for spot cash in emergencies. Through the 1850's and '60's, the Apache raiders drove off plenty of Papago cattle, but because cattle were only supplements to the Desert People's essentially agricultural livelihood, the depradations did not cripple them. Then, about 100 years ago, non-Papagos began helping them become cattle-ranchers, helping them remake their land and lives to suit that occupation. That change has finally been nearly accomplished, even though the Papagos resisted and hesitated, in their distinctive Way.

In 1849, after about 75 years of treating Indians as military objectives, Congress transferred the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the War Department to the new Department of the Interior. The drive to assimilate Indians began. Vanquished tribes were herded onto reservations, where, if they had been fishermen, they were taught to farm, and if they had been hunters, they were taught to farm. Like most advances of Anglo culture, this form of Federal attention to Indians barely penetrated the Papagueria at first. In 1863, an Indian Agent was appointed for the Papagos. His job, he reported, was just to hand out hoes.

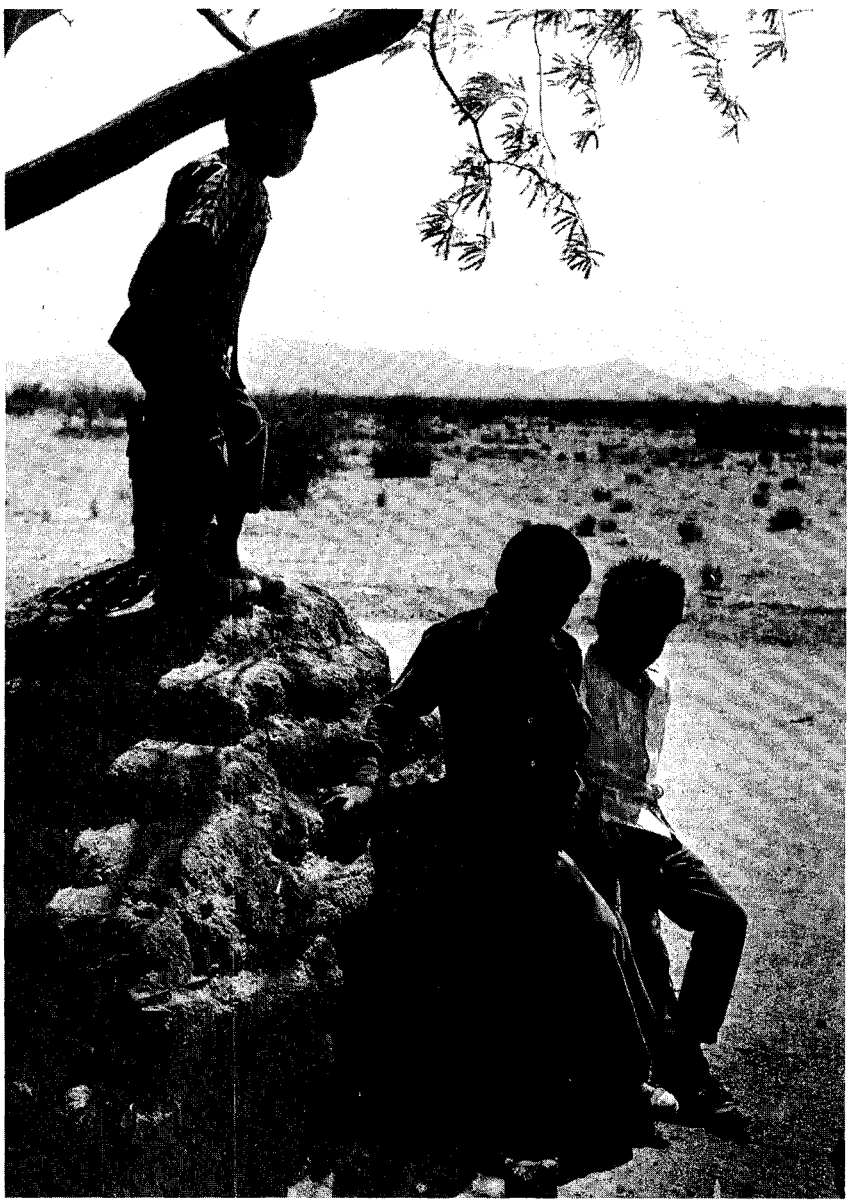
Towards the end of the last century, the Indian agents began urging the Papagos to learn the cattle business. Stimulated by the examples of local Anglo ranchers, Papagos began to turn from farming and work for stockmen in the region. Gradually the shift was made. It caused rare discord in the Papagos' internal and external relations, as we shall see, and threatened the harmony they had cultivated between their own lives and the physical world. Its effects appear today— especially in time of drought— as smoldering grudges and ecological snafus.

Anglo ranchers and BIA Agents antagonized the Desert People from the beginning, and justified their growing skepticism about help from Anglos, by committing the classic violation of Papago natural principles. Anglos would not regard land as inalienable. In the 1880's, settlers from the East drove cattle through Texas into southern Arizona and fenced off the best of the Papagos' forage land. By 1892, Pima County was producing 121,000 head for sale annually, of which an ever-increasing percentage was coming from white ranches in the Papagueria.

According to a Papago calendar stick, the major event of 1885 was the Papagos' first battle against Anglo ranchers. They resorted to force to protect the land from

those who tried to own it. Land belonged to the Spirit of Goodness, Itoi, who allowed men simply to use it. Consequently, according to Papago belief, the Papagueria could not have been owned by the Spanish or bought as part of something called the Gadsden Purchase or carved into pieces for ownership by pioneers. As other native Americans had a hundred years before, the Desert People reacted with righteous violence when Anglos tried to dispossess Itoi of his land, the Center of All Things.

Elsewhere in America at this time, tribes whose land was being purloined by settlers received legal and military protection from Washington, because Congress had given them their land. Those tribes had been promised security on their reservations by treaties between the Indians and the United States. The Papagos had never fought against the United States over land or anything else. Indeed, they had been allied with the U. S. Cavalry against the Apaches. Because they had no treaties with the United States, the Papagos had no standing in Washington. Ironically, these non-belligerents were at the mercy of pioneer land-grabs until the reservation was formed in 1918, long after most tribes were safely ensconced.



The Papago boys at left are leaning on the family oven. The middle boy wants to be a drummer in a dance band. Half the population of the reservation is under 21.

The young men of fifty years ago, when the government began intensively helping the Papagos, are tribal elders today. In the 1920's, the Agency increased its efforts to convert the Papagos from agriculture to cattle-raising. They were certain the Papagos could improve their lives only if they began trading in the cash economy of twentieth-century America. Yet many Papagos resisted as if the plan were exactly opposite to their own best interests. Eventually, the tribe has become cattle-dependent. So if the elders counsel caution now, if they delay and deliberate at exasperating length, understand them in light of their experience with the cattle programs sponsored by the Agency.

In 1920, the BIA tried to drill wells for stock and domestic needs at critical locations throughout the main reservation.* Local villagers prevented some crews from working and denounced the Agency's plan. Determined to benefit the Indians, the Agency either moved the well to a less antagonistic location or, playing upon a political schism within the village, proceeded to drill with the support of the younger, pro-Agency faction of villagers. Papagos opposed this drilling because such tampering, they said, would rouse and set loose evil spirits that dwelt underground. Over these objections, the Water Resources teams installed, over the next 13 years, 32 deep wells to serve the rapidly expanding cattle and horse population.

The opposition between these powerful forces— the traditional wisdom of the native elders and the technological wisdom of the BIA— still characterizes discussions of cattle on the reservation. As I write, a fleet of trucks borrowed from the Army and manned by Army, BIA, and tribal personnel are working seven-day weeks to deliver water and feed to cattle in trouble all over the reservation. Only 300 have died of thirst and starvation so far, and the summer rains are due. But for the tribe's emergency planning, many thousands would have been lost as they were in 1969. To avert a crisis of even these moderate proportions, experts are saying cattle management practices will have to change. The Papago stockmen, many of them, disagree. They remember what past changes have brought on.

For example, as the new wells supplied water to stock over more and more of the reservation in the 1930's, cattlemen increased their herds to such an extent that by 1935 the ranges were loaded to twice their capacity. (One historian writes that the grazing practices of native stockmen were learned by them from the first Agents, at the turn of the century.) As the herds increased, the overgrazing denuded the land. Indigenous perennial grasses disappeared. Erosion then stripped the land of top soil needed to support new growth.

Today stockmen particularly remember the experts' response to that problem of overgrazing. Late in the 1930's, Papagos were ordered to sell off their good horses and slaughter weak ones, to reduce the horse competition for forage. A jail sentence awaited those who refused. By this edict, the Council and Agency reduced the horse:cattle ratio from 3:1 to about 1:3. Contemporary accounts allude to bitter fighting over this program, but I have not been able to get an eyewitness to tell me about it.

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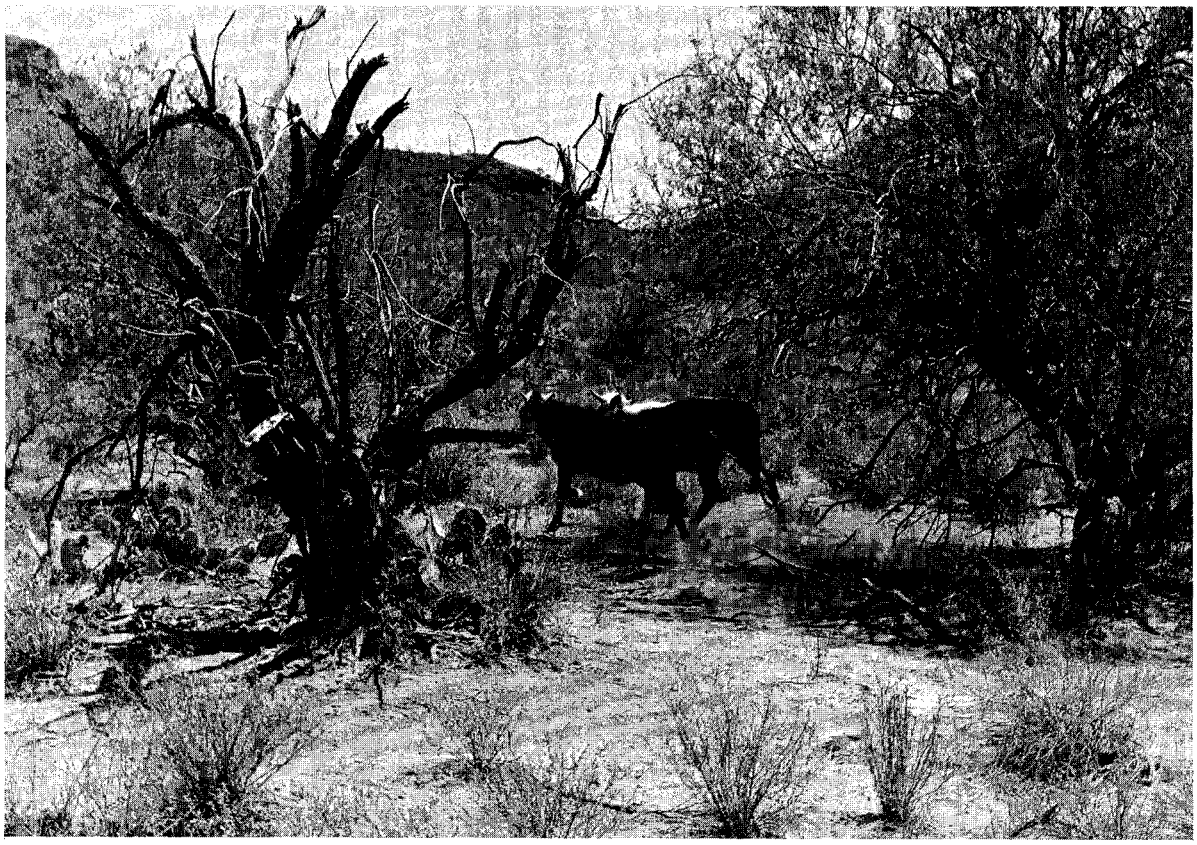
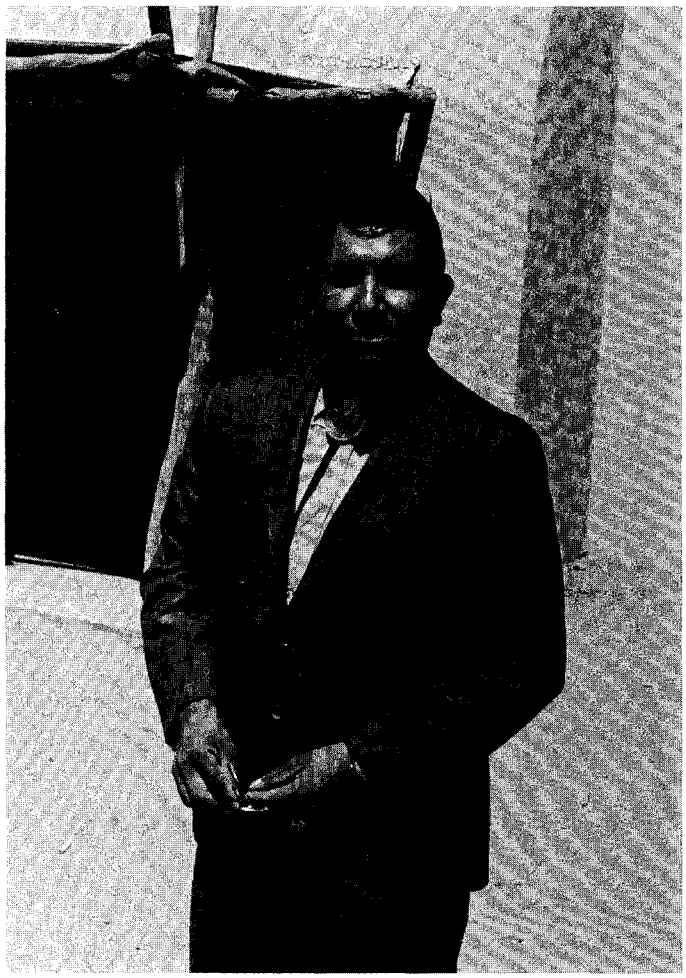
*The main reservation, including Sells, the headquarters of the tribe and the BIA, is 2.7 million acres. In addition, Papagos inhabit and control two smaller reservations: Gila Bend to the north (10,000 acres) and San Xavier, bordering Tucson (71,000 acres).



By 1942, the alleged overpopulation of horses had been reduced, the cattle quality was improved, but the land was still deteriorating. In order to raise revenues to improve the range, the Tribal Council ruled that a 3% tax would be imposed on all Papago cattle sales. At this, the Papago stockmen dug in their heels. The native stockmen declared themselves opposed to the tax, as to any intervention by the Council or BIA, because all such meddling in the past had made the situation worse. They looked around them at their three-million acre reservation: half of it deprived of its rich humus topsoil, 10% of it eroded to a depth of nine inches, all of it capable of sustaining less than three head of cattle per square mile. The disastrous condition of the range, they explained, was the inevitable result not of their own management practices but of the forced sale and slaughter of horses in the preceding decade. Horses were endowed, like all animals, with magical meaning and power that men could not ignore with impunity. In time, the stockmen gave in to the Council and began paying the tax. But they remembered that it was imposed despite their opposition.

Today cattle is the chief source of revenue for Papagos, after employment with government agencies. If there was ever a moment to reverse the trend toward a cattle economy, it has passed. As erosion destroyed the holding capacity of the land along the arroyos, where the Desert People traditionally farmed the flash floods, they found that one year in three they could not produce a decent crop. The Bean People still cultivate their calabash and tepary beans, but most of their food comes from the food conglomerates via the trading posts. A return to their ancestors' delicately balanced agrarian life seems impossible, even if it were desirable.



Augustine Lopez
is the new Chairman of
the Papago Tribal Council.
Like Tom Segundo, his
predecessor, he wears a tie-
clasp decorated with the
Man-in-the-Maze, a Papago
design representing human
existence. You can get through
it, if you work slowly enough.

When Tom Segundo first became Chairman in 1948, one of every three babies died before its first birthday. Running water was unknown in homes outside of the three largest villages. He was one of a handful of college graduates. Since then, this tribe that was considered among the most backward in the country has made striking progress toward material sufficiency. But the pace has been slow, controlled by the Papago Way of doing things. The pace has cost the tribe some opportunities, some jobs and programs. If it were not the natural outgrowth of the history and setting of the Desert People, the Papago Way might seem inefficient. To Tom Segundo, it seemed just right. He could see that the tribe had reached the end of its deliberation and the beginning of its implementation of a great new program of development in health, employment, education, etc. After months of painstaking planning and conferring, he had presented it in Washington and won solid support. He must have seen that it would all come true; he knew the people were behind it. He was 51 when he died, in the crash of an Apache Airlines plane.

Sincerely,

Woodward A. Wickham

Received in New York on July 21, 1971.

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

Though not an Institute Fellow, Miss Rosen, who is a writer and author of children's books, has fashioned a newsletter on Papago basketry in the best ICWA tradition. It is sent herewith for your interest.

R.H. Nolte