

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS DERIVED FROM A
SURVEY OF PASCUA VILLAGE AND ADELANTO ADDITION

by

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PREFACE

Beginning in 1944 and continuing each spring the principal asked how many children I was expecting to enroll in Grade 1C, the grade I was teaching, the following fall. I could not make a very good guess because no one knew how many pre-school children were in the district that the little Pascua School served. In 1947 the need for more schoolrooms was definitely felt. The administrators of the Tucson Public School System wondered about the practical size and location of the new building. An adequate census was needed.

Several times a week prospective employers, social workers, peace officers, and school nurses asked the school teachers where certain individuals lived. A directory was needed.

The Tucson Y.M.C.A. expressed an interest as to how many aliens in Pascua Village and Adelanto Addition would care to take a citizenship-training course. A canvass of the area was indicated.

The referral sheets of the fairly recently founded Guidance and Counseling Department of the public schools required a listing of the siblings and other relatives in a household, their occupations and other pertinent information. The need of cumulative record cards of the families seemed desirable as most of the teachers would have difficulty in conducting interviews with the parents

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of the school children because of the language handicap and the general reticence of many Indians. A beginning of a card system was suggested.

The data from the questionnaires were first tabulated in May, 1948, brought up to date in January, 1949, and revised again in January, 1950.

I am grateful to the public school administrators for the encouragement they gave by providing the materials needed for the questionnaires and the interest shown in the progress of the survey. I am indebted to Dr. James W. Clarson for the help he gave and patience he had while I compiled my data into a thesis. I thank Dr. Glenn H. Nelson for his aid after the death of Dr. Clarson. I am especially grateful to Dr. Edward H. Spicer for reading a draft of the manuscript and for making several suggestions for improving it.

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Chapter I. INTRODUCTION

Reasons for the Study

Since 1923 it has been the judgment of teachers and administrators that it was difficult to teach the Yaqui Indians in Pascua Village near Tucson, Arizona. The Yaquis appeared to be deficient in abilities, knowledges, skills, interests, attitudes, and ideals common to average children in our public schools in the City of Tucson.

In 1944 the administrators of the Tucson Public School System pronounced this idea invalid. The Yaqui children were showing satisfactory achievement in school. This opinion was expressed when the authorities laid out plans for increasing the faculty and classrooms in the Pascua School (now called Tamar Richey School).

This study was undertaken to learn if the environment of Pascua Village had changed between 1923 and 1944-and-1950 and if such a change had made for easier learning on the part of the school children from that village.

The purpose of this study is to make a survey of Pascua Village and its adjoining neighbor Adelanto Addition to determine if scholastic achievement has been encouraged by a change in the environment of the children.

Method of Procedure

In the spring of 1948 a questionnaire was sent to the households of Pascua Village and Adelanto Addition through

the school children in the Tamar Richey School.

The questions asked on the inquiry were about the names of the people who lived in the house; the ages; whether the residents were Mexican, Yaqui, Mayo, or other nationality or tribe; the occupations; the citizenship status; and whether a person who was not a citizen would care to take instructions for naturalization procedure as provided by the Tucson Y.M.C.A.

Visits were made by the investigator to the homes of the people who did not return their questionnaires or did not receive a copy through the school children.

None of the residents of Pascua Village knew what their addresses were or realized there was a street plan. Most of the residents of Adelanto Addition knew there was a street plan but did not remember what their house numbers and street names were.

The next step for the investigator was to set up an address system for the two subdivisions and inform the residents of their addresses. This was based on plat books in the Pima County Court House.

The chief difficulty of this phase of this particular project was to determine the house numbers in Pascua Village. The Indians found the original lot boundaries too small for their use so they built fences encompassing approximately two or three lots. Many lots were left unfenced and covered with desert growth. According to the plat books several lots were uneven in shape, and the widths varied.

The investigator issued the addresses in person to the

residents. At this time she asked the adults if they would be interested in attending night classes in the fundamentals of reading and writing. She noted, too, the construction of the houses, the number of rooms, and the number of wells.

With the exception of one household, the writer was cordially received in the homes, and the questions were cheerfully and efficiently answered. One Yaqui man was very suspicious of the visitor and stated that he did not like to answer the questions of strangers. After some persuasion and the assurance of the outcome of the information, the man changed his mind and conversed freely.

Forty-five home calls were made for filling out the questionnaires. One hundred and twenty-three papers had been returned to the school to the writer.

In all cases the writer was told the ages of the members of the household without hesitation from failure of memory. Without any prompting the scribe in a household gave the ages descending from the oldest to the youngest in correct sequence. Where more than one family lived in a house each family was listed individually without prompting from the investigator.

Since other researchers of similar studies remark in their theses that the Mexicans usually were uncertain about the ages of their children, this fact could be given special consideration. One probable explanation offered by the writer is that the local "grapevine" informed the people that the writer was coming to ask certain questions.

Limitations

At various places in the thesis comparisons and contrasts will be made to illustrate the assertion that the educational problems of Pascua Village vary from the educational problems of the Mexicans.

The Mexican-Americans mentioned in this dissertation live in Adelanto Addition. They could be considered as typical examples of the class of uneducated and unskilled Mexican-Americans in the Southwest--their homes are small, rough, and of mud bricks; they are in the low-income, laboring group; the families are large and close in ties; formal education is inadequate; most rent their homes; ✓ drunkenness is prevalent; Catholicism is general; they are bi-lingual; many have gone to California to work or visit relatives at some time.

No Anglo-Americans live in the sixteen-block area included in this study.

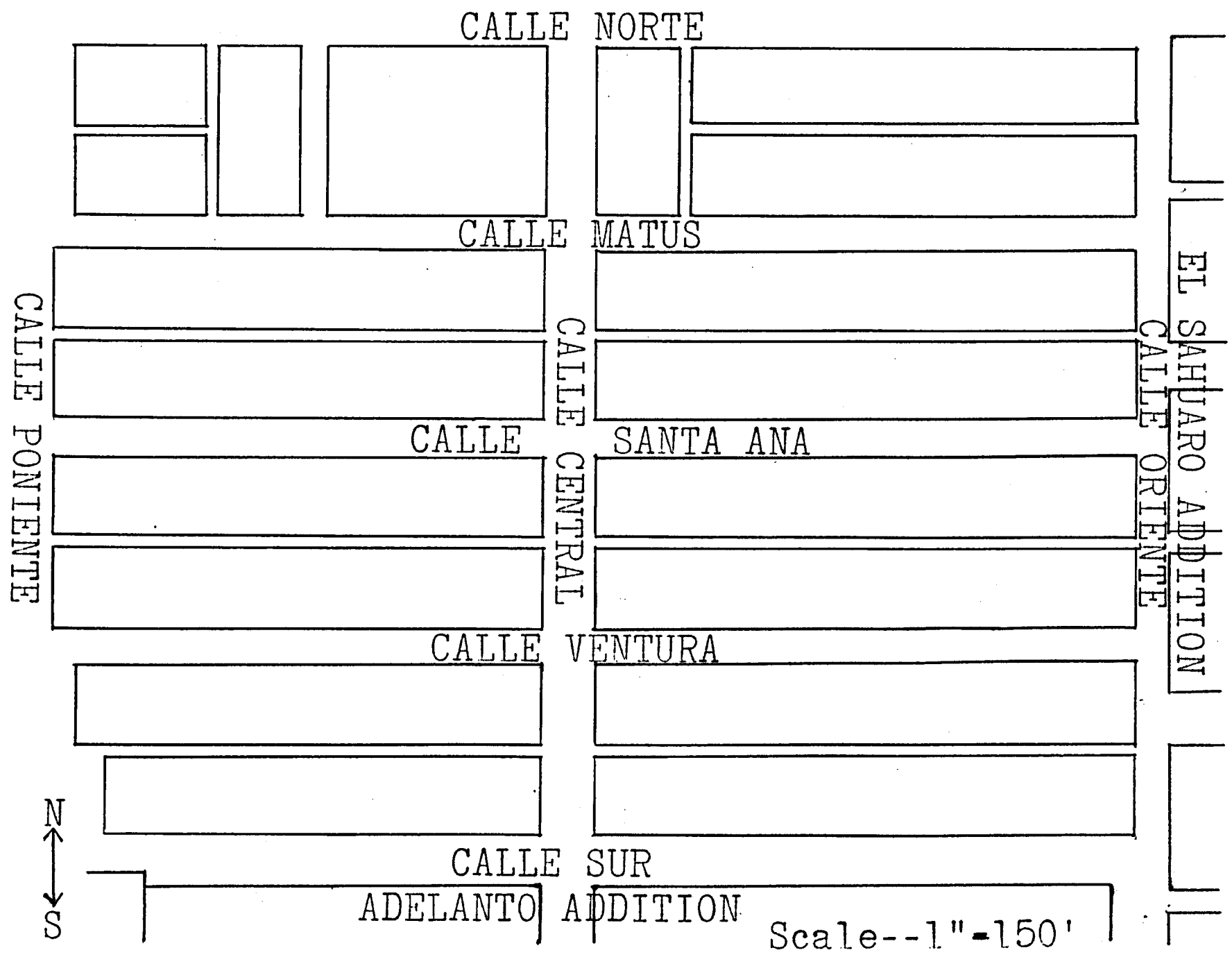
Definitions of the Terms

Pascua Village is a forty-acre, eight-block subdivision of Tucson in the northwestern part. It is often ✓ called "Yaqui Village." The northern boundary of the Village is two-block-long Calle Norte, a block south of DeMoss Petrie Road. The eastern boundary is Calle Oriente, a continuation of North Fifteenth Avenue. The southern line is Calle Sur. The western boundary is the now-abandoned Tucson Farms Company irrigation ditch.

Adelanto Addition is a forty-acre, eight-block subdivision immediately south of Pascua Village. In a book by

The first map

PASCUA SUBDIVISION



ADELANTO ADDITION

CALLE SUR

CALLE SIERRA

CALLE

CALLE RETAMA

CALLE ADELANTO

CALLE CENTRAL

CALLE ORIENTE

EL SAHUARO ADDITION

CALLE PONIENTE

Tucson Farm

Company

Ditch

Right

of

Way

Southern Pacific R.R.



Scale--1"=150'

Edward H. Spicer it was called "Barrio Belen." The northern boundary is Calle Sur; the eastern is Calle Oriente or North Fifteenth Avenue; the southern is Calle Adelanto, a continuation of West Elm Street; the western is the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks and Calle Poniente.

The Mexicans are called mestizos in Mexico. They cannot identify the group of Indians whose blood they possess. In this paper they will be referred to as "Mexicans" and not as "Indians" or "Mexican-Americans."

The Yaqui Indians are a tribe originally found in the valley of the Yaqui River in southern Sonora of northwestern Mexico. Some are from Hermosillo.

The Mayo Indians are from the valley of the Mayo River in Sonora, Mexico, south of the Yaqui River.

The Opata Indians have their origin in northeastern Sonora.

The Thamar Richey School referred to in this study was known before 1948 as Pascua School.

The words married and marriage will mean common-law wedlock as well as lawful wedlock.

Review of Related Studies

Phoebe M. Bogan's book, Yaqui Indian Dances of Tucson, Arizona, was devoted to that subject. She briefly described the cultural background in order to set the scene for the dances. No mention was made about the educational implications of the ceremonies of the Yaquis, just the religious aspects.

Kathleen R. Busby's thesis, An Adaptation of the Arizona

Course of Study to the Fourth Grade of Pascua School, Tucson, Arizona, was centered exclusively on the curriculum recommended for the fourth grades in the State of Arizona. In her brief description of the cultural background of the Yaquis she was liberal in quoting Spicer's book compiled in 1937-38. The data on population figures and tribal distributions written in her thesis were credited by her to a survey made by me in 1948. Her hypothesis was that the pupils of the fourth grade could learn more provided that the course of study was adapted to the children's needs and abilities. I am attempting to go into greater detail about the background but not to be technical about the course of study.

Frances Densmore concentrated specifically on the music of the Yaquis in the bulletin she wrote titled, Yuman and Yaqui Music. She very briefly described Guadalupe Village near Phoenix when she defined some of the situations in which she studied the music of the Indians. Her book is generously illustrated with photographs of Yuma and Yaqui Indians with their musical instruments and the music and words of their songs. No reference was made to the educational background of the Indians.

Ernest Henry Gruening discussed the Yaquis in regards to their conflicts with the federal and state governments of Mexico in his book, Mexico and Its Heritage. He described their physical characteristics, their surroundings in Rio Yaqui country. He mentioned that the Yaquis were given refuge in the United States but he did not specify under what legal provisions they were permitted to stay here or how they lived

in this country.

Rachel T. Riggins interviewed twenty-five Mexican families selected for their location in each general section of Tucson for her thesis, Factors in the Social Background Which Influence the Mexican Child in School As Revealed in a Study of Twenty-Five Mexican Families in Tucson. She described the interviews in great detail and gave the reader insight into how the social background influenced Mexican children in general. The families she reported on were at least one, and in some cases, two generations removed from the original immigrants. The people interviewed were carefully selected from specific areas of Tucson. None of the families interviewed had homes and other conditions quite like those in Pascua Village.

Edward A. Ross's book, The Social Revolution in Mexico, described clearly the typical characteristics of the social classes in Mexico. His description of the general characteristics of the peon class revealed how much like the peon class of Mexico is the laboring class in Pascua Village and Adelanto Addition.

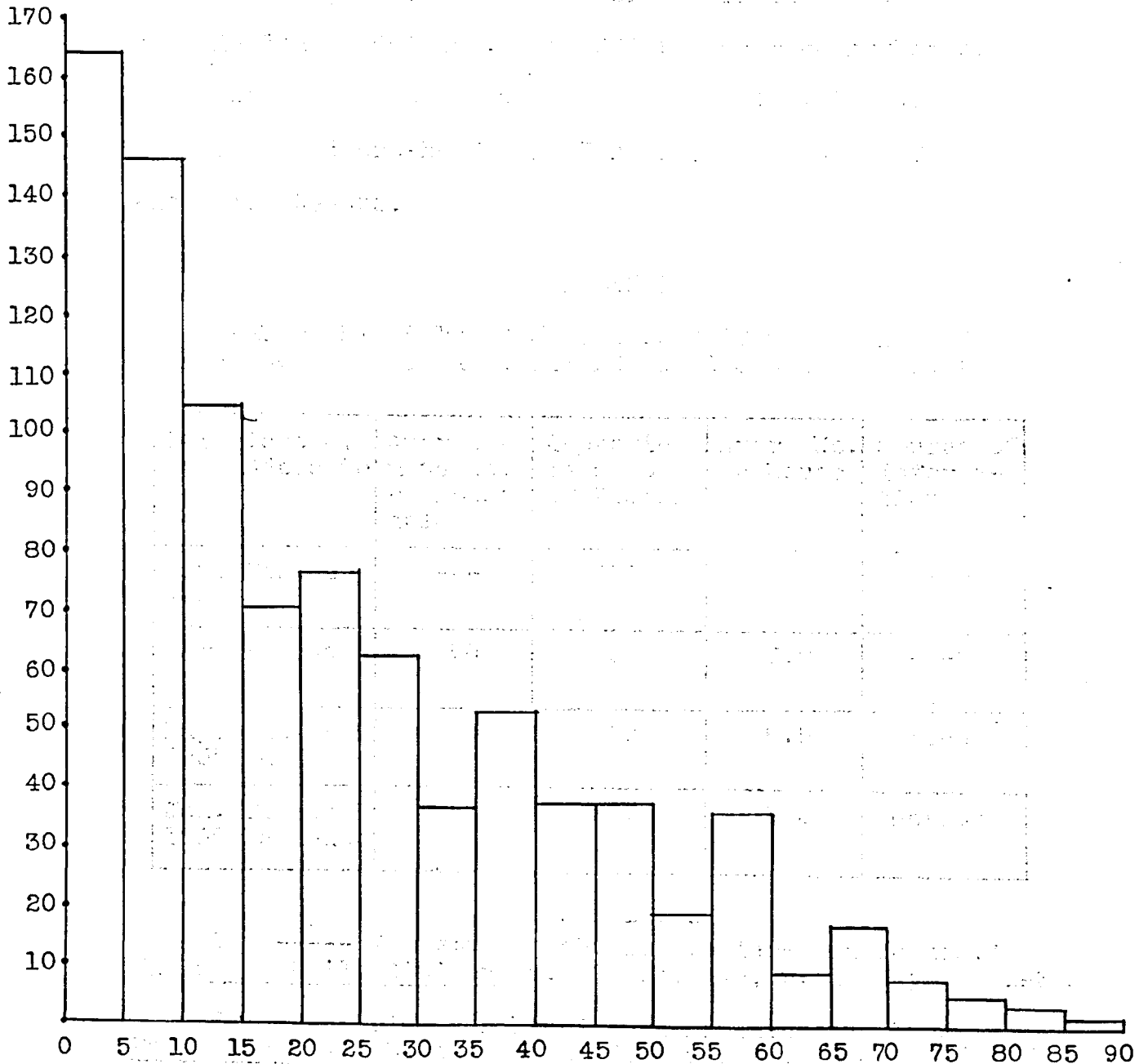
Edward H. Spicer wrote as an anthropologist in his book, Pascua, a Yaqui Village in Arizona, while living in the Village during the year 1936-37. His book described in great detail the history of the Yaquis who are in this country. It provided a study of their economics, their kinship terms, their ceremonial system of societies and sponsorship, the relationship between the church and Village, and in its final chapters a detailed study of the Easter

ceremonials. Dr. Spicer concerned himself with the education of the children in the Village to the extent that he commented on the approximate school enrolment and the extent of literacy among the adults. He emphasized the relationship between the church and the Village. My emphasis shall be on the relationship between the Village and the school.

Chapter II. HOME ENVIRONMENT

Table Number 2 shows the age distribution of the 870 residents of Pascua Village and Adelanto Addition in January, 1950.

TABLE 2
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE 870 RESIDENTS IN JANUARY, 1950



During the depression years when the food supply for the Yaqui villagers was definitely inadequate and irregular the average population was the same as the relatively prosperous years of the post-war period. Table Number 3 shows this relationship. In 1934 all the Indians referred to in a newspaper article lived in Pascua Village. By 1937 some of the Indians had moved into Adelanto Addition. In 1934 the average number of occupants in a household was five. In 1937 the average was eight and one-half. In January, 1950 it was five and three-tenths.

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIAN POPULATION AND NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS IN A HOUSEHOLD IN PASCUA AND ADELANTO

Date	Pascua, Adelanto	Approximate No. of Households	Approximate No. of Indians	Aver. No. in House	Source of Information
May, 1931	Pascua	---	450	---	--- ¹
Mar., 1934	Pascua	70	350	5.0	--- ²
May, 1937	Pascua & Adelanto	60	429	8.5	Spicer ³
Jan., 1950	Pascua & Adelanto	73	387	5.3	Nevitt

1. -----"Amnesty Sought for Mexico-Born Yaquis." In Tucson Daily Citizen, v. 92, no. 149, p. 1, May 28, 1931.

2. -----"Plea for Yaqui Fund Explained." In Arizona Daily Star, v. 93, no. 86, p. 7, March 28, 1934.

3. Spicer, Edward H. Pascua, a Yaqui Village in Arizona. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1940, p. 7.

The Houses

Pascua Village and Adelanto Addition are isolated from the rest of the City on three sides by vacant lots and on the fourth side by the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks and pasture land. Sierra Street, or Calle Sierra, is regularly maintained by a County Highway Department grader. The other roads are rutty and trash-strewn. Mesquite and creosote bushes are growing undisturbed. Cacti grow outside of the fenced areas. Vegetable gardens are totally lacking. Flower beds are rare in Pascua, usual in Adelanto.

In Pascua the clusters of houses are of a conglomeration of material from the nearby dumping grounds and of adobe. A few of the adobe houses are plastered on the outside. By looking at a house one can almost guess the principal occupation of the adults in residence. The migrant cotton pickers' homes are of sheet iron, old signs, discarded lumber, flattened-out tin cans, and cardboard. The workers who stay in the settlement the year-round and work in Tucson have adobe houses with tar-paper covered roofs. Fences enclosing each yard, rickety outhouses with burlap curtained doorways, and wood-encased wells are the rest of the structures on the landscape. Most of the yards are neatly raked, but litter is accumulated in the corners away from the houses. The houses are small, usually of one or two rooms, and the interiors are dark and cool. Commonly, curtains separate the rooms. The Yaquis usually have about two small windows in a house. The window openings are covered with wood slabs and nailed shut during the cool

months of the year. During the heat of summer days the windows are removed for ventilation. Somewhere near the front door of each house is a cross of artificial flowers. The cross is there for religious purposes.

Three of the sixty-three houses in the Yaqui settlement have cement floors. The remainder of the houses have hard-packed, well-swept dirt floors. A hut rarely has more than one throw rug. Carpets are completely absent. Some of the dirt floors are partially covered with linoleum. The average house has two rooms.

The houses in Adelanto, where the majority of the Mexicans live, do not look as shabby as those in Pascua, where the Yaquis and other Indians prevail. Many are plastered inside and outside. About twenty-five of the one hundred and eight houses have cement floors. Here the average house has three rooms.

TABLE 4

TYPES OF HOUSES IN PASCUA AND
ADELANTO JUDGED BY GENERAL APPEARANCES

	brick	good stucco	good adobe	fair adobe	fiber- board	shack	total
Pascua	0	2	0	33	0	28	63
Adelanto	4	39	20	16	2	27	108
Total	4	41	20	49	2	55	171

Invariably, a visitor in a hut, no matter how humble, can find spots of attempted beauty--potted plants, caged colorful birds, bright bunches of artificial flowers, embroidery work, a decorated lampshade, or colored pictures torn from magazines and put on the walls. Attractive art work brought home by the school children is put on display

by the homemakers where there is space.

Most of the houses have open-walled brush-topped porches or ramadas in which the cooking is done. Open fireplaces outnumber the cooking ranges. Cast-iron stoves with ovens are usual in the main part of the house. Heaps of live coals on the floor or in pans in the part of the house where warmth is desired is another method of heating a house.

Metal bedsteads are commonly used. Platforms for sleeping upon are not unknown. Several houses have divans. These are used for sleeping at night. The custom is for individuals to roll up in a blanket or large coat without undressing and sleep on a bed or the floor or platform. The school children sometimes admit to teachers that they are listless in school following a night when all were cold or had to share a bed with two or three other children, one of whom was sick during the night.

Each house has at least a small kitchen table and a few chairs. The men eat first, the women and children last. Crowded conditions in the home at sleeping and eating time are reflected in the behavior of the children at school. During the war, when the classrooms were very crowded with furniture and children, no child expressed irritability over the closeness of his classmates. The Indian and Mexican children resemble the Mexicans described by writer Ernest H. Gruening¹ in his book when he wrote:

1. Gruening, Ernest H. Mexico and Its Heritage. Century Company, New York and London, 1928, p. 407.

"Thirty children may be seen playing harmoniously together where a similar gathering of small Caucasians would soon result in discord, fight and tears."

Each house has a clock or watch. Still, nearly everyone can tell the time by the sun. Whistles from establishments in the city are depended on, too. None of the Richey School children have time pieces. Not all rooms have clocks, Yet, all the children, even the small children in Grade 1C, know when it is time to get in line to enter the buildings and when recess and dismissal time have arrived.

Each house has a chest of drawers and a manufactured cupboard or one made of wooden crates. Boxes and suitcases are popular storage places. Most houses have sewing machines within them.

A few of the Yaquis have iceboxes, as do the Mexicans. Two Mexican women in Adelanto Addition have electric refrigerators. In the fall and spring when the weather is hot, frequently the children vomit while in school. A cause is the consumption of spoiled food, a result of the lack of refrigeration. Four women in Adelanto Addition have modern electric or gas-motor washing machines. One woman has at her disposal a liquid gas water heater. The rest heat their water over open fireplaces outside. The family laundry is done by the women and girls in the yard. Manufactured bar soap is used in conjunction with washboards.

In 1940 Spicer wrote in his book about Pascua Village that the Yaquis ordinarily purchased enough clothes only

for immediate use.¹ This custom still prevailed in 1944 to the extent that if the family washday was on a school day the children in the family stayed home all day. The teachers in Richey School remedied this handicap by soliciting clothing from people in Tucson and distributing the clothing so the needy would have a change of clothes when desired.

No houses in Pascua have electricity. Twenty per cent of the houses in Adelanto have electricity. Most of the Mexican women who have electricity possess electric irons. The rest of the women use heavy sad irons. The sad irons are heated in the fireplace under the ramada or on the range in the hut. The ironing board is ordinarily an apple crate or small table. This applies to the Mexicans as well as to the Yaquis. It is the custom to iron the clothes before the first wearing after the laundering.

A stone metate, a food-grinder, metal pots and pans are customarily used by the Indian women in preparing meals. Spoons are common tableware, but knives and forks are not. The food usually served by the housewives need not be eaten with anything but fingers or rolled tortillas or spoons. In order to contribute to the food supply of the numerous dogs the Indian dishwashers frequently do not use soap in their dishwater. The soupy water that is left after dishes are rinsed is given to the dogs.

Most of the houses have either a battery set radio or

1. Spicer, Op. cit., p. 35.

a phonograph. Guitars are commonly considered as another article of household furnishings. Much of the furniture is old and in need of paint, as most of it has been reclaimed by the Yaquis from the city dump. That which has been purchased is simple, inexpensive and is purely for utility purposes.

Frugal living is reflected in the activities of the children in school. The school furniture and equipment are not marred or broken by thoughtless boys and girls. The textbooks are well taken care of. A minimum of paper is wasted. Pencils are rarely lost and are used to the stub. Playground equipment is not needlessly abused or lost.

Several Mexican and upper-class Yaqui homes have make-shift showers. One Yaqui who lives in Adelanto Addition near the school has an indoor toilet and shower with sanitary plumbing. One Mexican home in southern Adelanto Addition is as modern and attractive as one could hope to find in a modest middle-class cottage anywhere in this country. There is no correlation between the progress made in school and the background of coming from a home with sanitary plumbing in that the children from these two homes are a little below average in their rate of learning.

Water is provided to the dwellers of Pascua by fifteen hand-dug wells. Adelanto inhabitants have outdoor faucets at their disposal. Usually one in front of each house on

the streetside is found.

The Yaquis do not bathe their bodies as often as the Mexicans do, but their clothing is customarily comparatively clean at the beginning of the school week. The teachers in Richey School try to grade the children in health-hygiene according to the accessibility of the source of water to the children's home. In other words, the teachers are more lenient in their grading of the children who have to haul water several yards.

Clothing

The Yaqui men characteristically dress like the laborers of the Southwest--blue denim shirts and trousers, heavy work shoes, and broad-brimmed felt hats. The Yaqui women keep their heads covered with black shawls or towels. The robozo conceals long, neatly braided dark hair. The middle-aged and elderly matrons wear full, ankle-length, black cotton skirts and loose calico blouses. The younger Indian women wear dark well-fitting dresses and black head shawls. The girls wear multi-colored ready-to-wear dresses and have brightly colored ribbons twined into uncovered long braids. Anklets and sweaters are common, but coats and long hose are not. Foundation garments are not worn.

The school children are acclimated to heat and cold. They wear the same type of clothing the year round. When cold weather comes the teachers have to urge the children to wear wraps to school. Often the children will not admit that they are cold. However, most have running noses from

the time cool weather commences until warm spring days come.

Because of an inherent pride in small feet both sexes wear shoes that orthopedically are not long enough. It is not for thrifty reasons only that they take off their shoes when they are in their houses. The shoes are low-heeled for all. The children usually wear shoes to school. Mere possession of shoes seems to be more important than the condition or looks of the shoes.

Since poverty is common in Pascua and Adelanto, most of the clothing is faded and worn. Much of it is purchased in second-hand stores and at rummage sales. Before the City dump was abandoned by the City for the sanitary-fill method, the dump was a generous source of clothing.

The men consider themselves well-groomed if they have a small mustache, sleek hair, sideburns, and colored glasses. The morale of the women is bolstered if they have a plentiful supply of perfume on their persons, well-oiled and braided hair, and a black dress that shows the figure to best advantage.

Sometimes one sees an Indian or Mexican female wearing a brown, blue, black, or red robe-like dress and rope girdle. A man or boy might be wearing a hand-made robe-like tunic of one of the four above-named colors. This garment is a symbol that the wearer is fulfilling a promise. The person had been dangerously ill recently. The patient had been dedicated to a saint or to Christ for restoration of good health. One who wears a brown habito is for Santo Francisco; a black habito is for Santo Niño; blue for Santa

Rita; and red for Cristo, Christ. The author is indebted to a Mayo woman in Pascua Village who gave the information about the colors. When the writer tried to check the data by telephoning to a Catholic church in Tucson, she was told by three of the priests that they were not familiar with the belief and presumed the Indians and Mexicans brought the practice with them from Mexico. The cleric clothes are worn by the individuals until they are worn out from ordinary use.

With the Yaquis a common fulfillment of a vow is to dance or sing in the tribal ceremonials. With the Mexicans the usual pledge is to buy certain talismans from Catholic priests and to make a pilgrimage to San Xavier Mission.

Tribes Represented

Tucson has two settlements of Yaquis. The colony in southwestern Tucson is not distinct until the Easter season; then the Yaquis separate themselves from the Papagos and Mexicans with whom they intermingle during the rest of the year. The boundaries of the settlement northwest of the city are distinct because Pascua Village was planned in 1921 by the Selim Franklin Real Estate Company for the homes of the Yaquis.

Sixteen families, twenty-one households, of Yaquis have moved from Pascua Village to Adelanto Addition. The writer does not know of any Indians who have moved to South Tucson in recent years.

Table Number 5 shows the distribution of tribes and Mexicans in Pascua and Adelanto.

TABLE 5

RACIAL AND TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
IN PASCUA VILLAGE AND ADELANTO ADDITION
IN JANUARY, 1950

	Pascua Village	Adelanto Addition	Totals
Mexican	4	440	444
Yaqui	232	118	350
Mexican-Yaqui	16	4	20
Mayo	10	0	10
Chinese	0	8	8
Navajo	1	1	2
Mexican-Navajo	4	4	8
Mayo-Opata	5	2	7
Mexican-Opata-Pima	0	6	6
Pima-Mayo	4	0	4
Mexican-Mayo	0	4	4
Mexican-Mayo-Opata	3	0	3
Pima-Opata	0	1	1
Opata	1	0	1
Mayo-French	1	0	1
Mexican-German	0	1	1
	281	589	870

Four of the ten Mayo Indians are adults. Two are man and wife. The third is a woman who was married to a Mayo man, but is widowed now. The fourth is an elderly widower.

There are three Mayo-Opata adults. One, a man, is married to a Pima-Mayo woman. The other two are women; one is married to a Mexican man; one is married to an Opata man. The rest of the Mayo-Opatas are the children whose parents are the Mayo-Opata woman and Opata man.

The Mexican-Opata-Pimas mentioned in the table are the children of a Mexican man and a Pima-Opata woman.

The two Navajos are middle-aged sisters. They came to Tucson as young girls with their mother. Both women are

married to Mexican men and have four children each.

Before the questionnaire for this survey was sent to the homes of the Richey School district the school officials did not know that school children with Pima and Navajo blood attended the school. Now the Tucson Public School system receives about fifteen dollars a school year for each child because these children are at least quarter-degree United States Reservation Indians whose parents do not own real estate.

The Mexican-Yaquis, the Mayos, Mayo-Opatas, Pima-Mayos, and Opata live in the same type of houses and the same section as the Yaquis. In school they do not differ noticeably in ability or deportment from the Yaquis.

The children of Navajo extraction live as the Mexicans do.

The Opata Indians were from northeastern Sonora. Unlike the untamed, warlike Yaquis the Opatas submitted to serfdom. Thus they are not the refugees that the Yaquis are.

The Opata man in Pascua came to the United States for economic reasons. The two middle-aged Mayo-Opata women immigrated to this country with their Mayo men.

In school there is no observable rivalry among the tribes in the majority groups and minority groups, but there is dissension between the Yaquis and Mexicans. For example, the Mexicans taunt the Yaqui children by saying "Yaqui." The Yaquis make withering remarks alleging cowardice on the part of the Mexicans.

History of the Yaquis

The revolutionary governments of Mexico wanted the land of the Yaquis for various land reforms. The Indians objected to giving their ancestral lands for governmental purposes; they retaliated by killing those who would intrude upon their lands. Beginning in 1825 and flaring up sporadically through the next sixty-year period¹ the Yaquis became well-known for their organized hostility toward the Mexican soldiers who tried to wrench their property away. While Porfirio Diaz was dictator of Mexico the army planned to exterminate the Yaquis or deport them to the plantations in Yucatan where the torrid climate and cruel masters meant a slow, tortuous death. It did not matter if the Yaquis were defending their land or seeking livelihoods; they were to be captured wherever found and regardless of sex.^{2,3}

The oppressed Indians sought refuge in the United States. They immigrated from 1882 to 1937.⁴ The greatest movement was between 1890 and 1895; many came in 1927.

In 1931 provisions were definitely made for allowing the Yaquis to stay in the United States--

1. Kurath, William and Spicer, Edward H. A Brief Introduction to Yaqui, a Native Language of Sonora. University of Arizona, Social Science Bul. 15, Tucson, 1947, p. 7.

2. Hoyt, Andrew Milligan. "A Plea for the Yaqui." In Overland Monthly, n.s., v. 52, pp. 122-123, August, 1908.

3. Roberts, Walter Adolfo. "The Tragedy of the Yaqui." In Overland Monthly, n.s., v. 52, pp. 119-121, August, 1908.

4. Spicer, Op. cit., p. 4

"[As long as the Yaqui Indians of Barrio Pascua] respect and obey the laws of the land and do not permit themselves to become public charges they may remain in the United States the Department of State and Department of Labor advised Chief Cayetano Lopez through the Arizona governor's office."¹

The Yaquis do not feel free to permanently return to Mexico. Those who fought in Mexico would not be especially welcomed now. Those born in the United States have no desire to leave.

Citizenship

The United States Congressional Act of June 2, 1924 which proclaimed the Indians of the United States citizens did not apply to the Yaquis because of their foreign origin.

Of the eighty-eight Yaqui male adults counted in 1949 thirty-nine were citizens of the United States. Citizenship was by birth. Of the ninety-two Mexican men eighty were citizens. Citizenship was by birth, too. Twenty-six of the forty-nine non-citizen Yaqui men said they wanted to take a citizenship-training course. Four of the twelve Mexican aliens said, "Yes."

Of the eighty-seven Yaqui female adults fifty-five said they were citizens. These fifty-five women were born here. Eighty-two of the ninety-three Mexican women are citizens. All eighty-two are citizens by birth. Sixteen of the thirty-two Indian women said they wanted to take a citizenship training course. Two of the eleven Mexicans said, "Yes."

According to the answers given on the questionnaire none of the Yaquis in Pascua under the age of thirty-two

1. -----"Yaqui Indians Given Right to Remain in U.S."
In Tucson Daily Citizen, v. 92, no. 265, p. 3, September 22, 1931.

were born in Mexico. Five of the Mexican children under sixteen years of age were born in Mexico.

Every few years the Yaqui children refuse to salute the flag at school. They contend that they are people without a country. Of course, the teachers try to correct this idea.

Since 1946 the school teachers have especially urged the adults who were eligible to vote to go to the polls. When transportation was provided for registration and voting a few Mexicans went. No Yaquis went with the teachers. The nine Mexicans who went to the polls in 1946 had never voted before. Their attitude seemed to be that they voted to please their teacher friends more than to be exercising their prerogative. In 1950 the writer asked five of the nine if they had ever voted after the first time. None had. They said that they did not know when to go again.

The Indians seem to know their rights by law in some cases and not in others. For example, all know that they do not have to send their children to school until the children are eight-years-old and that the children may withdraw when sixteen. Consequently, most of the Yaquis are over-age in comparison with the other school children of the City schools.

When the county dog-catcher comes to the Village to pick up stray dogs the Indians frequently round up nearby dogs and refuse to surrender them. Although they evidently had shown no interest in the dogs before to the extent of feeding the gaunt animals, the Indians argue that the dogs are useful property and must not be taken away. The dogs

protect their belongings from theft. The dogs give warmth during the night when the bed covers are not sufficient. The dogs are pets for the small children.

Ignorance of the law has been demonstrated in cases of desertion, wife-beating, practicing medicine, and collecting on policies involving insurance.

Of the cases of cruelty to animals brought to the attention of the teachers in the local school it seems that the Indians tend to neglect the dogs and cats present in the Village while the Mexicans abuse as well as neglect the animals. The Indians do not care how many strays are around. The Mexicans feel more of an obligation to feed their pets, so they are merciless toward the ones for which they do not want to be responsible.

Before 1946 the school and county nurses did not find the Yaquis and Mexicans willing to have their children immunized against certain communicable diseases. Through education of the parents by the school staff as to the necessity of immunization, inoculation of school children is now one hundred per cent. The Yaquis have not responded well to the well-baby clinic conducted by the Pima County Health Department. The younger Mexican women have. Most of the Mexican children three-years-old and younger have had clinical attention.

Another example of the recognition of the Yaquis of law became evident in 1947. A school-age girl fell off a bicycle and received a compound fracture of her leg. A school nurse went to the home of the girl. The parents

were slow to let the nurse see the child's leg. An Indian medicine woman had treated the leg according to her custom and the family wanted no interference in their choice of medication. After much persuasion, though, the nurse was permitted to examine the injured leg. When she found the child sitting on the edge of a bed with the leg covered with gray salve, badly swollen, and unsplinted she impressed upon the parents the necessity for doctor and hospital care. Reluctantly they sanctioned the transfer of the girl to the hospital.

In two weeks the Indians carried their daughter without a cast from the hospital. They took her home by bus and taxi. They were disgusted because the doctor in charge of the case wanted written permission to re-break and re-set the leg. It was not set satisfactorily the first time. The Indian parents refused to accept the explanation that the swelling around the fracture was so great that the setting was improper. They accused the doctor of being incompetent and threatened to start a lawsuit. All concerned let the matter drop immediately and hoped for the best for the sake of the girl.

As for tribal government, Bogan explicitly states the form adopted by the Yaquis when she wrote¹:

"Tribal government as practiced by them... is vested in the Council composed of a Captain General, or Jefe; a Commandante who is a lieutenant or understudy of the Capitan; a Juez de Paz

1. Bogan, Phoebe M. Yaqui Indian Dances of Tucson, Arizona. Published by the Archeological Society, Tucson, 1925, p. 13.

or constable; the Maestro or lay-leader who officiates at all religious festivals; the Monarca who has charge of the dances and ceremonies and the Secretario who keeps the records of the tribe. These men constitute a Council who settle all tribal disputes that may arise among the people and intervene in all questions regarding either the members of the tribe or their relations with the outside world."

Spicer wrote regarding a tribal chief¹, "...What authority exists [for the chief he] derives entirely from the holding of a ceremonial office."

The writer of this study found Spicer's assertion true when she sought the chief of the Village in 1949 to ask for permission for a booth for a school girls' club at the Easter dance. She had to wait until the Council selected a man who was suitable to its purpose. After a week of indecision a father and son were selected for the post. (They granted the permission.)

"Villagers say that they do not need any courts, because they are satisfied with the operation of those in Tucson. They do believe that they need a police force, but no effort is made to establish one except during the Easter ceremonies, when the fariseos society acts to some extent in that capacity."

This fact stated by Spicer² is as true today as it was ten years ago.

Food

The people have a rather monotonous diet. Beans, tortillas, and coffee are the chief foods of the diet.

1. Spicer. Op. cit., p. 146.

2. Spicer. Ibid., p. 170.

The other foods favored by both the Indians and the Mexicans are garbanzas or ceci or chick peas, white potatoes, white bread, chili peppers, rice, tamales, enchiladas, dried beef, eggs, boiled tripe, wheat and corn pinole (meal), watermelons, cantaloupes, oranges, prickly pear fruit, Mexican brown sugar, white sugar, garlic, and lard.

Several years ago a visiting health nurse told the villagers to eat oranges and gelatin as much as possible to prevent eye tissue disorders. The people still eat oranges and lemons as often as their incomes permit and eat sweetened gelatin in the dry, undissolved form.

Vegetables are not raised by the people. The lack of water, the prevalence of caliche soil, and the seasonal migrations for work prevent gardens.

To eat two meals a day is the accepted custom. The evening meal is the main one. The other meal is either at breakfast time or lunch time. Many of the children are given vitamins at school by the teachers as prescribed by the school physician. Most of the children found with vitamin-deficiencies are the Yaqui children. Certain children have to be fed at school by the teachers when there is a shortage of food at home. The food has been donated by friends of the teachers or public-spirited church groups and civic organizations.

Family Influence

The Yaqui children obey their parents and teachers better than the Mexicans do. The village and family organizations may be reasons. The strict religious

training may be another reason. In school the children reflect the punishment meted out at home. At quick movements of a teacher the children of all ages duck or flinch. Occasionally the children ask for first aid for cuts and bruises received when irate parents beat them with sticks or throw rocks at them if they are out of reach.

Every child is welcomed by the mother in the home regardless of the economic status of the family. The women take pride in the number of children they have borne. The women give the appearance of being serene in the belief that their men or their own parents will provide for the children.

The Mexican women seek and receive public welfare aid for their dependent children more often than the Yaquis.

This affection for children is mirrored by the children in school. The teachers find each child responsive to friendliness.

The writer has heard employees of the United States Indian Service schools express the opinion that Hopi, Navajo, and Apache Indian children shy away from cuddling by the teachers and dormitory matrons because the children are not petted at home. The infants are kept isolated in their cradle boards until they are of toddling age. By that time a business-like older sister takes over the rearing of the young ones.

The Maricopa, Pima, and Papago Indians carry their infants in shawls across the back or in the arms of the mothers or older sisters. When the adults sit down to visit the small children are free to intermingle socially, too.

Relations between the Sexes

Two civil marriage ceremonies have been recorded as far as this writer knows. They occurred in 1945 and were in the Mexican settlement, not the Yaqui area. Of the ninety-nine couples in Adelanto Addition ninety-three are not legally married.

Legal divorces have not been resorted to by any Yaqui or Mexican couple in Pascua or Adelanto. Desertion by the men is the practice when partners separate.

Gruening explained the marital acts of the Mexicans in Mexico as not being immoral but as being amoral. He said that the agricultural peons are employed only three months a year. During that season they earn so wretched a wage that it hardly suffices for a miserable existence.

"Their existence in this manner without household goods, without home, with scarcely a blanket as their entire wardrobe, and the consequent impossibility of becoming domesticated and living in that ordinary comfort which society should afford everyone through his labor has formed in them a character of idleness, abandonment, and licentiousness responsible for all sorts of vice and disorder..."¹

Although the Indians in Pascua Village live in houses and have a few comforts of life, the children know the facts of life--procreation and birth.

When the children first enter school they overtly exhibit their consciousness of sex. It embarrasses the boys and girls to have to sit by each other in class. The girls are very discreet in keeping their skirts down and carefully arranged. The boys are not as discreet in their

1. Gruening. Op. cit., p. 119.

behavior.

The first weeks of school are characterized by small boys masturbating during class time. During recess there is little repression of sexual play among the boys. The most evident reason for this freedom of sensual play is the deviation of the moral code of the Yaqui from that of our culture. Another reason is the Yaqui and Mexican mothers' method of soothing restless babies. The scarcity of preoccupying toys and ignorance of organized recreational games may be conducive to suggestive, stimulating sex acts.

Usually the Grade 1C teacher can untrain the masturbation habit during the children's first year in school by reminding the offenders that their conduct is not acceptable. But children of all ages have to be reprimanded often on the school ground for sex play that is not approved in the American culture.

The boys do not show respect for the rights of girls. This is a direct carry-over from the relation between the parents at home. The women are subservient to the men.

Wife-beating is not as common among the Yaquis as it is among the Mexicans. The Indians are quick to have arrested a wife-beater.

From her familiarity with the domestic life of the inhabitants of this area the writer has found that more Mexican men than Yaqui men have deserted their families. Of the fifty-two Yaqui households, only one is a broken home resulting from desertion.

It appears that an ordinary cause for desertion is the emotional instability of the Mexican male when coping with economic responsibilities that have become too great. This induction is derived from the observation that the Mexican women who have been deserted have several children. Ill health of the women is a contributing cause, too. In three or four cases families were deserted when the men were deported to Mexico because of illegal entry.

Stressed before was the fact that the majority of the unions are common-law marriages. The women of the common-law marriages usually use their own names, but have the children baptized under the father's name. Between 1944 and 1949 approximately one out of every thirty children registered in the fall term with the LC teacher presented a certificate that has the father unidentified. In these instances the mothers said that they did not name the men because the men were "living in another house with another woman."

The older mothers of the Yaqui children have given the fathers' names to the children while the younger women have given the mothers' names. The Mexicans have given the fathers' names in most cases. If the natural father is replaced in the home by another man, the Mexican children commence using the new man's name in most situations. The Indians do not.

The Yaquis and Mexicans have not inter-married as extensively as thought by those working with the Indians and Mexicans of Pascua and Adelanto. Table 6 shows there are only six or seven such cases.

TABLE 6

THE NUMBER OF MATES AND THEIR RACIAL OR TRIBAL STOCK IN PASCUA VILLAGE AND ADELANTO ADDITION IN JANUARY, 1950

Yaqui		Mexican		Mex-Yaq		Mex-Mayo		Mayo		Mayo-Opata		Opata		Opata-Pima		Pima-Mayo		Nava-jo		Mex-German		Chi-nese	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
69	69																						
		71	71																				
	2	2																					
4			4																				
	1			1																			
								1	1														
			1																		1		
		1									1				1								
		1									1												
		2									1	1									2		
						1	1																
		1													1								
																						1	1

Each separate line represents the number of couples and their respective race, nationality, or tribe. For instance, line one shows there are sixty-nine couples where the husbands and wives are both Yaquis. Line two shows there are seventy-one couples where the husbands and wives are both Mexican. Line five shows there is one couple in which the woman is Yaqui and the husband a Mexican-Yaqui. The other lines are interpreted similarly.

In 1927 an article in one of the Tucson papers mentioned the social isolation of the Yaquis, "...The Yaquis mingle but little with the neighboring tribes [in Mexico], or with the Papagos [in Arizona]."¹ On a previous page it has been remarked that in school relations the children reflect

1. -----"Yaqui Indians Now Wait Act of U.S." In Arizona Daily Star, v. 80, no. 128, pp. 1 and 3, May 9, 1927.

dissension between the Yaquis and Mexicans when they have disagreements.

Education

Before 1940 the school had one teacher and offered 1C and first grade. This had been the situation since 1923 when the school was first organized. The second graders and other pupils had to go to some other school in Tucson. In 1940 another teacher and the second grade were added. In December, 1943 a third teacher was added and the 1C grade was separated from the first grade. In the fall of 1944 the third grade pupils were located in Pascua School. In 1945 the fourth teacher was added and the fourth grade was taught in this district. In 1946 the fifth teacher was employed and the fifth grade work was done here. In 1947 the school added its sixth teacher and retained the sixth grade. In 1949 the seventh teacher was employed for the sixth grade. Now that each grade has a teacher, there are no combined grades in one room.

The Yaqui Indians were responding to educational facilities by attending in greater numbers and maintaining more constant attendance. In 1940 more Mexicans moved to Adelanto. This increase in population justified expanding the school. 1942 more of the families who had been leaving Pascua to follow the crops were able to obtain jobs in Tucson during the labor shortage. This trend of better economics for the Yaquis continued until 1948. In 1948 the babies of the war period enrolled.

In the thesis by Kathleen R. Busby¹ it was reported:

"Only twelve men and two women spent any time reading. Fifteen households received regularly the Spanish language newspaper El Tucsonese [Tucsonense] of Tucson. Two families take the English language newspaper. Some of those who can read, leaders in the village religious services, spent much time pouring [poring] over the paper-bound books of Spanish papers, Catholic ritual, and their own note books of prayers and chants, written in Spanish, Yaqui, and Latin. No one understood the Latin, although they could read and recite it.

"...Today most of the males and females under twenty can use English fluently. Nearly all of these individuals are able to read and write. Some of the older ones do so with difficulty."

Edward H. Spicer commented in his book that only one Pascua Yaqui had reached the sixth grade.² This fact remained true until 1946. In that year two Yaqui girls reached the sixth grade before they became sixteen-years-old. One withdrew from school a year later. The other is in attendance in high school now in the Tucson Indian Training School. In 1947 four children from the local school attended junior high. In 1948 six villagers enrolled in junior high. In 1949 and 1950 respectively eight and five Yaquis enrolled.

Most of the Yaqui children do not enter school until December and January after the cotton is picked. In May they leave school to work in the lettuce fields or to thin out the excess of new cotton plants. During the war years many of the families who ordinarily picked cotton obtained construction-laborer positions. Then the children's school

1. Busby, Kathleen R. An Adaptation of the Arizona Course of Study to the Fourth Grade of Pascua School, Tucson, Arizona. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1948, pp. 12-14.

2. Spicer. Op. cit., p. 11.

attendance was uninterrupted.

In 1947 the school population of 154 was officially distributed as follows:

Yaqui and Mayo	60%
Mexican	38%
Chinese	2%

In 1948 the school population of 174 was distributed as follows:

Mexican	57%
Yaqui	35%
Mayo, Opata-Pima, Navajo	5%
Mexican-Yaqui	1%
Chinese	2%

In 1949 the school enrolment of 184 was distributed as follows:

Mexican	47.3%
Yaqui	40.8%
Mayo, Opata-Pima, Mayo-Opata, Mayo, Opata-Pima, Navajo	5.9%
Anglo	3.3%
Mexican-Yaqui	2.2%
Chinese	.5%

The change in Indian terms was the result of the survey made for this thesis. Before this research the school teachers did not know that some of the pupils possessed Navajo, Opata, and Pima blood. The Anglo children live northwest of the Village.

The beginners enter Grade 1C speaking no English. Most of the Mexicans understand some English.

From the first grade through the sixth grade the Richey School children have the same standard curriculum recommended for the rest of the state and city public schools. The children are polite, obedient, and industrious in school. The parents co-operate with the teachers as much as possible.

The amount of truancy has been negligible. Tardiness is centered upon a few chronic offenders.

But when the children from Pascua Village and the Adelanto Addition attend junior high school they become discontented. Reasons usually offered by the pupils are: The Caucasian children are not too friendly; the Yaqui and Mexican children are ashamed of their clothes and lunches; they grow tired of walking three miles to school and three miles back home everyday; they need to find employment in order to contribute to the family income.

Rarely, such reasons are volunteered by the children as: The elders desire to keep the family ties close and uninterrupted; the parents hesitate to urge the children to enter a field totally strange to the parents--secondary education--and therefore unappreciated.

In 1948-49 three Yaqui girls and one Mexican girl were given the opportunity to leave the Village and live with Anglo families in modern homes and be sent to secondary schools in order to improve themselves. One of the girls wanted to be an artist; one was interested in beauty culture; one wanted to be a secretary. The Mexican girl was not happy with the aged grandmother upon whom she was dependent. All of the girls were discouraged by their elders from leaving home to obtain an education.

Intelligence of School Children

In the classes in Richey School whose test results are recorded in Table 6 approximately fifty per cent of the children were Indian and fifty per cent were Mexican.

(In the two lower grades the Mexicans dominate in number.)

An examination of the test medians in Table 7 reveal that the Thamar Richey children are intellectually and scholastically inferior in comparison to other pupils in the city school system. The cultural environment of the children evidently handicap the Indian and Mexican children. This assumption is based on information gleaned from research by many writers. Examples are:

O. K. Garretson¹ concluded from his survey of a small school system in Arizona that the Mexican child was fourteen months below the average mental development for the American child of the same age and school environment.

George Peak² concluded in his thesis that the lack of a broad silent reading vocabulary was a limitation to Spanish-English children in achievement tests.

Lura Kinsey² found that the Mexicans in the Flagstaff School had an average IQ of eighty-seven and the English-speaking children averaged one-hundred-and-eight.

James A. Elliott⁴ found that in comparison with the

1. Garretson, O. K. "Study of the Causes of Retardation Among Mexican School Children in a Small Public School System in Arizona." In Journal of Educational Psychology, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 31-40, January, 1928.

2. Peak, George. Relative Achievement of English-Speaking and Spanish-Speaking Children. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1931.

3. Kinsey, Lura. A Comparison of the Achievement of American and Mexican Seventh and Eighth Grade Pupils. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1936.

4. Elliott, James Alton. The Language Handicap in Spanish-American Children in Intelligence and Achievement. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1942.

TABLE 7

A COMPARISON OF TEST MEDIANS OF THE
CITY SCHOOLS AND THAMAR RICHEY SCHOOL.

INGRAHAM-CLARK READING READINESS TEST, administered to
third grades in 1948-49

	Chronological Age	Achievement
City	9-6	3-8
Richey	11-10	3-8

KUHLMAN-ANDERSON INTELLIGENCE TEST, administered to first
grades in 1949-50

	Chronological Age	Mental Age	Intelligence Quotient	Percentile
City	7-2	6-9	96	44
Richey	8-2	6-8	84	23

METROPOLITAN ACHIEVEMENT TESTS, administered to sixth grades
in 1948-49

	Chronological Age	Achievement
City	11-10	6-6
Richey	13-3	6-2

NEW CALIFORNIA SHORT-FORM ON MENTAL TESTING--PRIMARY,
administered to third grades in 1948-49

	Chronological Age	Total Mental Factors	Lang. Factors	Non- Lang. Factors	Percentile
City	9-5	72	38	35	40
Richey	11-0	69	34	34	10

STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TESTS--INTERMEDIATE BATTERY--FORM E,
administered to sixth grades in 1949-50

	Chronological Age	Achievement
City	11-6	5-2
Richey	13-0	4-9

Americans, the mean score for the Mexicans was ninety-three as compared to one-hundred-and-two for the Americans of the same age and grade group.

Allison Davis wrote, "...Findings indicate that the usual intelligence tests measure the cultural and economic opportunities which the child or adult has had, not his real intelligence."¹

A collection of newspaper clippings dated from 1899 to the recent years about the Yaquis is in the Arizona Pioneer Historical Society archives. The sources of many articles are incompletely or incorrectly identified. But in all that mention the superiority of the Yaquis over other Indians in Mexico words of praise are used. Two typical accounts were published in 1899 and 1927:

"While even more fierce in their natures than the Indians of other tribes, the Yaquis are intellectually far above the ordinary, to which factor is doubtless due their characteristic success in battle ..."²

"...The Yaquis, most warlike and in some opinions, most advanced of all Mexico-dwelling Indians, have defied government from without for centuries."³

When there is a great change in the background of the pupils of Pascua and Adelanto, perhaps test results will be more favorable; when better tests which take into

1. Davis, Allison. "Poor People Have Brains, Too." In Phi Delta Kappan, vol. 30, no. 8, pp. 294-5, April, 1949.

2. _____ "Invincible Yaquis." Publication unknown, August 5, 1899.

3. _____ "Yaqui Indians Now Wait Act of U. S." In Arizona Daily Star, vol. 80, no. 128, pp. 1 and 3, May 9, 1927.

consideration the limited experiences of under-privileged pupils are constructed, perhaps test results will be more favorable.

Meanwhile, the pupils in Richey School respond eagerly to instruction and on the whole achieve more than the minimum essentials of the curriculum.

Attitude toward Property

The writer had learned from the plat books in the Pima County Court House in the County Engineer's Office who owned property in Pascua and Adelanto. But as an experiment as to the attitude of the Indians toward real estate she asked those she interviewed personally if they owned the land upon which they lived. All were honest in their answers. Those who owned lots wanted to show the deeds immediately. Some who did not possess deeds sullenly answered that when they bought any land they would buy it elsewhere. Most did not say more than, "No."

The writer was amazed at the changed attitude from one of congeniality to reserve when the question of ownership of property was asked. One of the last of the Yaquis to be interviewed explained that he wondered when he would be approached about the survey. His neighbors asked him to be spokesman for them as to the interviewer's motives.

This suspicion was a surprise to the interviewer because previous relations between the Indians and her seemed to her to be based on confidence. But the Yaqui leader explained that a dairyman who has property on the west side of the Village asked the Indians to move away because he wanted their land for pasture. A real estate company that owns a tract of land north of the Village expressed intentions to make the Indians move away since their houses were unsightly. Two real estate promoters who

own property on the west let the Indians know that they, too, wished the Indians would improve their houses or move away. At the same time the woman superintendent of the Yaqui Community Center of the Marshall Charitable Foundation informed the Yaquis that they could live in the houses they built undisturbed, but they were not to build any more houses unless they had her permission. The narrator of this situation complained that they were threatened with deportation by the real estate men if they did not leave the site. The superintendent did not specify what would happen if she was not obeyed.

The investigator asked the spokesman what the Indians intended to do about the threat of being evacuated from Pascua Village. He said, "We will wait and see, but we are not very scared because there is some law against making us give up our homes." When the writer referred to the Squatters' Rights law the middle-aged Yaqui man believed that it was the law he had in mind.

It was several months after this interview that the writer learned about the provision made in 1931 by the United States Departments of State and Labor which granted the Yaquis the right to live in this country. She did not return to the leader's house to ask him if this was the proviso that gave the Indians a sense of security.

In Pascua Village three of the two hundred and seventy-nine lots are owned by three Yaquis. Two hundred seventy-three lots are owned by the Marshall Charitable Foundation, one lot by a real estate company, and two by School District Number One.

Sixty-three per cent of the residents in Adelanto

rent their houses from landlords who reside in Adelanto. Rent varied from eight to twenty dollars a month in 1948. School District Number One owns a lot in Adelanto, too.

The Chinese and Mexican storekeepers told the writer that the Yaquis were good about paying their bills. The Mexicans did not manage their money so well. They were frequently slower in paying bills because they were behind on other bills for such things as furniture or a car or they had taken a trip to visit relatives in California.

The superintendent of the Yaqui Community Center, who was also a Protestant missionary, reported that the Yaquis were faithful in returning money that was borrowed from her.

When migrant families leave the Village to a season of work and the house is to be unoccupied the doors are usually padlocked from outside and the gates wired shut. Sometimes tubs, baskets, wash basins, and benches are left outside under the ramadas. There seems to be no fear of theft.

Once the public school in Adelanto wanted to get rid of some benches, chests, and a ladder. One of the administrators suggested leaving the furniture outside to be taken by anyone that wanted it. The furniture was left untouched for several days. Finally, the teachers designated which children should take away the property. School books, library books, scissors, and playground equipment are rarely lost. Two different officers from the Pima County Sheriff's Department were asked by the writer if any stolen bicycles have been found in Pascua Village. None have been to date.

In 1948 five ~~seventeen-~~ and eighteen-year-olds were apprehended by the sheriff's force for stealing tools from homes in northwestern Tucson. They were arrested when they tried to sell the stolen goods to a second-hand dealer. The plea made by the boys for leniency was that they were unable to find work because they did not know how to do anything but pick cotton. They wanted some money for entertainment purposes. (They were put on probation.)

The writer does not know of any trouble occurring between the Mexican boys in Adelanto Addition and peace officers within the last six years.

The Indians act more proudly than the Mexicans when accepting donated clothing or food. The Yaquis appear embarrassed but grateful; the Mexicans are exuberant in contrast.

Transportation

There are about ten cars in the possession of the Yaquis in Pascua Village. No Yaqui claims to use his car for joyriding. The cars are used for transportation to and from work and for wood-hauling.

Usually some ranches near Tucson send trucks daily to the Village to collect anyone who will go to work in the fields; but most of the cotton pickers live on the ranches until the season is over.

There are approximately twenty automobiles and three trucks owned by the Mexicans in Adelanto. The writer has concluded from conversation with the school children that the Mexicans use their cars for recreation as well as for

business. The business and shopping center of Tucson is about two miles away. Most of the people of this area walk to and from town.

Recreation

The writer has had the opportunity to live for a few weeks in Adelanto Addition in the Yaqui Community Center which is immediately south of the Yaqui settlement. Consequently she has visited Yaqui homes in the evenings. A great handicap, though, on these visits was the inability to speak Spanish or Yaqui.

A purpose of these visits was to learn what forms of recreation the Indians preferred. Neighbors conversing together, music, and drinking wine appeared to be the most popular. When the evening meal was completed the neighbors began to congregate in various yards. The children alternately drew near to listen to the adults and wandered off to play spontaneously and without direction or plan. Very young children had toys usually, but older children did not.

Small groups of men would gather under a ramada and with expressionless faces play native tunes on flageolets or flutes, guitars, an accordion, reeds, gourd rattles, harps, and violins.

Shortly after dark most of the Yaquis retired. The Mexicans appeared to stay up later and use lamplight more than the Yaquis.

The younger men of Pascua and Adelanto wandered late in the night serenading the girls while strumming on guitars. Yaqui ballads are matched to Mexican tunes by the Yaquis.

The Mexicans sing the traditional Mexican songs. Most of the music is about love. A few are about work. Many are lewd, according to their standards as well as to general American standards.

Those who have phonographs have supplies of Mexican records. The young people like to collect near a phonograph for an evening of companionship and music. Regardless of the season, the residents of this district express their love for music by splitting the air at four o'clock in the mornings with the Spanish-American programs of the local radio stations. When English-speaking programs take over the airways at seven a.m., the Yaquis and Mexicans turn off their radios. Many go back to sleep, not having got out of bed yet, to arise at their convenience if the weather is warm; to arise when it seems imperative for work or school when the weather is cold.

The Yaqui boys practice dancing for the ceremonials if they aspire to belong to a dance society. The girls learn to sing for the singing society. The younger Mexican boys learn from the older how to play the guitars and to sing the plentiful verses of the songs. Both boys and girls learn early to do the folk dances that most Mexicans of Tucson dance when they have the opportunity.

The Yaqui youth do not care for ballroom dancing. The writer believes that this is because the Indians would have to go to a public dance hall and they would feel self-conscious out of their own society. Ballroom dancing is popular with the Mexicans. But those in Adelante do

not go dancing as often as they would like, evidently because of their distance from Spanish-American dance halls. During warm weather on Saturday nights a Mexican woman in Adelanto conducts a dance complete with a small orchestra. The dance floor is a large concrete platform adjoining her backyard.

Intoxication on Friday and Saturday nights is a form of recreation for those who can afford it. The cheap wine the men and women like is bought in package-liquor stores and carried to the Village. A deputy sheriff unofficially told the writer that the County police do not bother if the "vino" drinkers stay in the Village. If they leave the Village and become troublesome elsewhere the police return them to the Village. The deputies do not want a Yaqui to get a taste of the comforts in a jail because, "He might make arrangements to be a guest more often." However, a few young Yaqui men have been arrested. The charges have been for narcotic offenses, murder, and attempted murder. The Mexicans are frequently arrested for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. Money for fines is raised from their paychecks, friends, or relatives. Playing dice and gambling with cards are common. Even the children are adept at such games.

The Yaqui children are not taken out of the Village on shopping excursions very often. When they go to the fields to work they are not trained to observe their surroundings. Consequently, the children lack concepts of distance; annual seasonal phenomena, such as spring, summer, autumn, and

winter; climatic differences; an accurate knowledge of the flora and fauna of their environment; and familiarity with modern, well-equipped homes and buildings. A few of them have gone to San Xavier Mission and Magdalena, Mexico, on pilgrimages.

The Mexican children are not much better equipped with educational experiences derived from traveling. They, too, are not taken anywhere to see things other than shopping or to ranches to visit or work. A few of them have gone to San Xavier Mission on religious errands.

Two Yaqui and three Mexican girls have attended Girl Scout camps near Globe and on Mount Lemmon during the summers. None had been out of the environs of Tucson before.

As noted elsewhere, the amount of joy-riding done is negligible.

Motion pictures are a favorite diversion for both the Yaquis and Mexicans. The writer has surmised from the conversations of the children in the classroom that the Mexican children see more films than the Indian children. The children discuss only the pictures depicting cowboys, violence, and horror. Since the children relate what certain motion picture characters said in particular episodes, the writer concludes that the children generally attend Spanish-speaking films. The children enjoy watching the screen of the outdoor theater that is near Pascua.

Carnivals are patronized by both groups when the source of money is ample.

For the last two years a service men's club has

provided the Yaqui and Mexican boys with basketballs, footballs, baseballs, bats, and soccer balls for recreation. Boys in key-locations throughout Pascua and Adelanto have been placed in charge of keeping tab of the equipment. When a piece of equipment is worn out or broken it may be replaced through the school, which has reserves on hand.

The boys and young men have made a baseball diamond in Pascua Village and formed teams. Negro and Mexican scrub teams play games with the local scrub teams. Because of the lack of baskets for basketball, nothing much has been done with this game.

During warm weather a popular pastime is swimming in the irrigation ditch in the Flowing Wells area of Tucson.

For several years boys and girls over ten years old have been given opportunities to participate in the Y.M.C.A., Gra-Y Club, and Y.W.C.A. summer day-camp activities. A Girl Scout troop in the school has been well attended.

The Yaqui youth have not responded as well as the Mexican to these outlets for recreation. The typical hesitancy, timidity, and unprogressiveness of the Indians have been deterrents to their recreation.

Chapter III. RELIGION

Catholic Influence

When registering in the public school all the Yaqui school children born in Tucson present baptismal certificates from one of the Catholic churches in Tucson in lieu of birth certificates.

Practically all the children wear rosaries of wood, metal, or paper on ribbons around their necks.

Many are absent from school for various Catholic religious exercises on such church holidays as All Souls Day on November 2, Saint Francis Xavier's Feast Day on December 2, and Holy Week at Easter time.

Frequently children wear to school habitos patterned after Catholic priests' attire.

Yaqui Influence

The religion of the Yaquis is not wholly Catholic. It is partially pagan.^{1,2} This is most evident when the annual Passion Play is enacted in Pascua Village from the first Friday of Lent to Easter Sunday.

School attendance is interrupted during the Easter season. Some of the girls stay out of school in order to perform as angels or singers. A few boys are dancers and

1. O'Mara, Roger. "Yaqui Indians Will Re-Enact Colorful Easter Pageant at Pascua Village This Week." In Arizona Daily Star, v. 108, no. 100, p. 1B, April 10, 1949.

2. Spicer, Op. cit., p. 97.

participate in processions. Other children remain at home to rest and sleep after staying up late the previous night while watching the ceremonies.

Before Lent in 1948 and in 1949 there was doubt on the part of the native officials as to whether the Easter dances would be presented. The members of the five ceremonial societies were not responding to the calls to meet together. There were conflicts in selecting leaders. There had been disputes over the dividing of the food-subsidies given by the Tucson Chamber of Commerce to encourage the presentation of the Passion Play. When the pageant commenced in 1949 several of the dancers were from Phoenix and a few Mexican boys were helpers in the processions. The young man who served as the secretary of the tribal council in 1949 informed the writer of the difficulties when she consulted with him about space for the Richey School Girl Scout Troup booth on the dance grounds during the evening ceremonies.

The residents do not make pottery, weave baskets, do beadwork, paint, or carve. Their artistic talents are expressed in their religious ceremonies. Bright paper flowers, quaint masks, and painted chapayeka sticks are the products of their love for color and design.

Superstitions

Both religion and ignorance bear upon the superstitions of the pupils in school. Examples are:

The children are skeptical of a teacher who contra-

dicts what their revered grandfathers have pronounced as the truth. An eclipse of the moon results when the moon sleeps. People should shout loudly at the moon to awaken it. When there is an eclipse of the sun no one should be surprised if the world comes to an end. Insanity and feeble-mindedness are caused by air getting in the head. Air can get in during times of great illness, through holes from injuries, or because of a witch's curse. It is no disgrace to have head lice. The manure of the lice fertilizes the hair and enables it to grow thick and glossy. (White people have sparse, lack-lustrous hair because their scalps are kept too clean.)

There are ghosts. A common ghost is Miss Thamar Richey's, the veteran school teacher who was the first teacher to the Pascua Yaquis and who served in their school for thirteen years, between 1923 and 1936. The Indians avoid going near the school grounds at night, so strong is their belief. The only vandalism ever done to the school was at Halloween time six years ago. The culprits were Mexican boys who were new to the district and did not hear about the legend of the ghost.

Chapter IV. ECONOMICS

Occupations

Spicer wrote in 1937:

"Tucson contains nearly half of all the Yaqui Indians in the state, the majority of the others living near Phoenix. There are not less than 2,500 in Arizona...Nowhere is there to be found a Yaqui who owns agricultural land or who is in any way independent of American or Mexican employers."¹

In 1949 this student found this still a fact as far as Pascua Yaquis were concerned.

In the following tabulation of occupations an account of the Mexicans is given for the purpose of comparison.

TABLE 8
OCCUPATIONS GIVEN BY THE BOYS AND MEN
OVER 16 YEARS OF AGE ON SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

	No. of Yaqui, Mayo, Opata	No. of Mexi- can	Total
Adobe Contractor		2	2
Army		1	1
Carpenter		2	2
City of Tucson		1	1
Cotton Picker	65	10	75
Ditch and Cesspool Digger	13	62	75
Gardener		4	4
Irrigator and Ranch Laborer	15		15
Laundry Worker	1	1	2
Mechanic		1	1
Miner		1	1
Pinsetter	1		1
Plasterer	3	1	4
Plumber		1	1
Printer		1	1
Railroad Laborer	3	4	7
Store Worker		1	1
Taxi Driver		2	2
Truck Driver		2	2
Welfare Aid	1	2	3
Wood Seller		1	1
	102	100	202

1. Spicer, Op. cit. p. 4.

Table 8 shows that the chief occupations of the Indian men are picking cotton, irrigating and doing other ranch work, and digging ditches and cesspools.

The chief occupations of the Mexican men are digging ditches and cesspools, and picking cotton.

The school-age children of the migrant cotton pickers do not attend school until they enroll in Richey, usually in December. Of course, the task for the teachers is made difficult by this influx. In April there is a migration back to the fields by the irrigators and their children.

The women put on the survey questionnaire that their occupations were either "housewife" or "none." The young women who did not have families to rear usually put "none."

When the writer asked some of the women why they did not write down "housework", "chambermaid," or "laundry," they answered in effect that their work was so temporary that they were really either housewives or were unemployed.

Nurses from the Pima County Health Department have requested the teachers to make note of the newborn babies mentioned by the school children. The nurses visit the homes where there is a new arrival in order to learn who the midwife was as well as to certify the birth. The purpose of checking on the midwives is to give lessons on midwifery to the women who are not registered for that type of work.

Practically every family in Pascua and Adelanto owns a small flock of chickens. Several Mexicans raise rabbits for their meat. Ragpicking and raising flowers are also ways of augmenting the family income.

On the average the people in this area do not seek very remunerative work.

It is a common belief that the Yaquis and Mexicans are still retarded as a result of the economic conditions under which they lived in Mexico and the attitude of employers in this country who want cheap labor. It is possible that psychologist Klein offers a reason for the lack of ambition and industriousness.

Klein explained the simple schizophrenia type of patient as lacking ambition and industriousness because he is afraid to fail.

"By not trying he guards himself from the ignominy of failure...The apathy of the schizophrenic of this type may consequently be a defense mechanism...It is commonly held that many chronic drifters, ne'er-do-wells, prostitutes, hermits, and hoboes are really victims of schizophrenia of this simple type. Occasionally initial contact with patients of this type will cause one to suspect feeble-mindedness as a diagnostic possibility. However, more careful probing into the case history will enable one to make a differential diagnosis. The present mental dullness will be revealed as the outcome of years of indifference to opportunities for learning and mental growth."¹

An article appearing in a Tucson newspaper in 1899 referred to the Yaquis as having the reputation of being workers.² An article in another local paper gave a similar viewpoint in 1911.³

1. Klein, D. B. Mental Hygiene. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1944, p. 66.

2. -----"The Yaqui Outbreak." In Arizona Daily Star, v. 36, no. 84, p. 1, July 31, 1899.

3. -----"The Remorseless Yaquis and Their Three Centuries of Warfare." In Arizona Daily Star, v. 48, no. 292, pp. 1-2, December 17, 1911.

Influence in School

Indigence is evident wherever one looks in Pascua Village. The school teachers are constantly reminded of the limited financial resources of the children. The home environment lacks many of the opportunities for personal experiences common to children in the United States elsewhere. Extra-curricular activities that require expenditures for bus fares, dues, or tickets have to be omitted from the school program unless a benevolent individual or organization contributes the money. The Mexican mothers usually send notes to school asking for aid for the children when their families are in extreme need. The Indians are considered proud and independent by the school employees. Perhaps this independence is in consideration of the terms of the permit from the Department of State and the Department of Labor in 1931 which states that the Yaquis should not ask for financial aid.¹

Influence in Tribe

To the casual observer of the Indians in Pascua Village it appears that two or three families live together in one house as an insurance against poverty; the neighbors look as though they are merely being friendly when they send food and money to the home of an unfortunate breadwinner. But Dr. Spicer explains in his book about Pascua Village that these gestures of good will are based on a definite tribal code.²

1. Supra, p. 23.

2. Spicer. Op. cit., p. 145.

The Yaquis have three basic resources to turn to in time of stress. First, an indigent person's kin are obliged to aid him. Second, the padrino (comparable to the godparent system) is pledged to provide support. If the first two means cannot meet their moral duty then the third is employed--the ceremonial society of which he is a member will canvass the Village for help.

Dr. Spicer also asserted that there was no social stigma against one who was unemployed and who lacked necessities. A stigma was placed upon one who shirked his ceremonial duties.

A large proportion of the Yaquis carries health and accident insurance. The author does not know the extent of insurance coverage of the Mexicans.

Manner of Expending

Although the Yaquis have cause to be economical they do not buy their staples in large quantities at a time. They rarely purchase more than a day's supply of groceries at a time. The stores commonly sell the beans sacked in two-pound and five-pound lots. Canned milk for infants is bought a can at a time. Coffee is bought by the pound.

The purchase and use of intoxicants is a vital factor in the economics of the people in both Pascua and Adelanto.

In 1911 there appeared in one of the Tucson newspapers a lengthy article¹ about the Yaquis and their three

1. -----"The Remorseless Yaquis and Their Three Centuries of Warfare." Op. cit., pp. 1-2.

centuries of warfare in Mexico. Eugene P. Lyle, Jr., an author, was quoted as expressing the opinion that the Yaquis were not drunkards and their morals were clean.

In 1928 Gruening's book, Mexico and Its Heritage, brought out the point¹ that habits of intoxication have become rooted in the natives of Mexico because of customs of prehistoric times and the availability of the agave plant.

In the United States in Pascua Village the Yaquis are overly indulgent in their consumption of alcoholic drinks, especially of wine and whiskey. Of course, the poverty of the children is often intensified by drunken, irresponsible fathers and mothers.

During the last war, when the Indians had more money than before, they dug more wells and improved the ones they had. New or better fences were built. Wardrobes were expanded. The children were given more spending money. Several men bought bicycles to use for going to and from work.

No one used his money to improve the house in which he lived. It has been said before in this manuscript that the Indians have the fear of being denied the use of the property upon which they have placed their homes.

1. Gruening. Op. cit., p. 539.

Chapter V. THE COMMON GROUND OF
PUBLIC HEALTH, SOCIAL WORK, AND EDUCATION

Health

The writer attempted to get from the Pima County Health Department statistics on the diseases and deaths in Pascua and Adelanto. She was informed that such data are not available because records are kept on a county-wide basis and not on a district basis.

As is common among the people on this scale of living, the infant mortality is high. Dysentery, pneumonia, and malnutrition kill the babies.

Dysentery is a result of the numerous flies, unscreened windows and doors, uncovered outdoor toilets and unwashed babies. Pneumonia is prevalent among children because of neglected respiratory infections and drafty abodes. It is prevalent among the adults for the same reasons and sometimes because of acute alcoholism. Malnutrition is not caused by inadequate food but improper food.

Since 1944 there has been no eye disease of school children diagnosed as trachoma. An article in a Tucson newspaper in 1930¹ reported that there were six children in Pascua who were blinded by trachoma. Evidently they were cured through treatment and operations as there are no trachoma-blinded in Pascua now. However, an elderly

1. -----"Yaqui Village Has School for Deaf and Blind." In Tucson Daily Citizen, vol. 91, no. 58, p. 2, February 27, 1930.

man and woman are blind.

From her familiarity with the Yaquis in Pascua the writer has concluded that accidents, tuberculosis and pneumonia are the main cause of death among the adults.

The same ailments discussed above apply to the Mexicans, too.

Usually when the Mexican school children become afflicted with communicable diseases such as measles, mumps, whooping cough, and chickenpox, they are much sicker than the Yaquis. Seemingly, for the Yaquis it is survival of the fittest.

Ordinarily when the Yaqui children enroll in school during the fall term they have impetigo lesions. This skin disease is more commonly found on the younger than the older children. It is not as prevalent among the Mexican children as it is among the Indians.

The most common cases presented to the school nurses for treatment are small cuts from knives, injuries from stepping on broken glass and nails, impetigo, third degree burns, and badly chapped lips and knuckles.

This inference is based on the number of children the writer has observed while teaching for seven years in Richey School.

In a span of six years five children have been awarded certificates for sound teeth. The children given this recognition were twelve and thirteen years old.

In 1945 the dentist for the Tucson Public Schools stated in conversation with the writer that the high

frequency of caries among the baby teeth of the children was an indication that the mothers did not have proper nutrition during pregnancies; the caries in the permanent teeth are caused by an abundance of carbohydrates in the diet of the children.

Two children in the Village are crippled. One is clubfooted; the other had tuberculosis of the hip. The adults questioned by the interviewer did not recall that any other school child before 1944 has been physically handicapped. A small Mexican girl had polio in infancy, but she was not left crippled. A school girl limps slightly from a leg fractured four years ago.

Some of the older Yaquis are crippled from injuries incurred while battling with the Mexican army. A few have been in car and train accidents.

There might be more deformed people if it were not for Dr. F. W. Allan. When he was the Pima County Physician he visited the homes of the Yaquis often to treat the sick and injured and, thus, detected early patients who had conditions or tendencies toward becoming handicapped and provided for necessary specialized treatment. He held the position for many years. (His successors do not make home calls.)

Within the last three years other agencies that have been markedly concerned with the health of the indigent Indians and Mexicans are: Pima County Clinic, Pima County Hospital, Pima County Public Welfare Department, Comstock Hospital, the Arizona Crippled Children's Society, and

the Crippled Children's Division of the State Department of Welfare.

Social Work

Social workers through the Pima County Public Welfare Board, American Red Cross, service clubs and church groups, the Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association have helped to elevate the living conditions of the Yaquis and Mexicans.

Vital links between these public health-social work agencies and the residents of this specific area have been the staff members of the Tucson Public Schools health department and the teachers. Much credit is due Mrs. Dolores Wright, recent superintendent of the Yaqui Community Center, who enabled many to seek and receive aid when the adult Indians and Mexicans counselled with her.

Social Work and Education

Approximately nine per cent of the households in Pascua Village are on welfare. About sixteen per cent of the households in Adelanto Addition are on welfare. The large majority of these are receiving charity because the women have dependent children but no husbands. The other cases are results of illness or old-age of the men. One family receives welfare because the man is unemployable since he is a habitual drunkard. Practically everyone in these two subdivisions may receive free medical treatment in the County hospital.

It is difficult for the teachers to instill in the

school children the goals of self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility when the Welfare Department employees seem to encourage pauperism by keeping the indigents on the dole without the recipients doing anything to change their standard of living in order to raise themselves above the need for public funds. It is the opinion of the writer that the case-workers might follow the idea that the reform of society could be achieved by helping the individual to help himself.

Chapter VI. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE EXPERIMENTS

Child Education

Four aims and objectives of education according to the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association¹ are:

1. Self-realization--Attainment of this goal would include an inquiring mind, sound health, effective speech, normal sense faculties, intellectual interest, and character.

2. Human relationships--Attainment would be through the development of friendship and cooperation. This would be a difficult one to achieve outside of the Village if the Indian cannot meet his associates upon an equal basis.

3. Economic efficiency--The Pascua Village Indian children should attain satisfaction in good workmanship; should have the opportunity to select and be trained for wise occupational choices; they should learn to exercise good judgment in buying merchandise; they should be taught to manage their personal economies.

4. Civic responsibilities--Experiment to learn if the Yaquis respond to civic responsibilities after they attain the first three educational objectives.

Since 1947 the children have had the advantage of having a sixth grade nearby. The holding power of the

1. Baker, Harry J. Introduction to Exceptional Children, Macmillan Company, New York, 1947, p. 15.

school has been increased through this convenience and school attendance has been more compulsory by statute and the insistence of the teachers.

A survey could be conducted within ten years, more or less, to learn if there is improvement in the social and economic and material standards of living that can be traced to the effects of more education.

An important experiment to be enacted is the creation of valid intelligence and achievement tests for bilingual children with the type of environment that uneducated and unskilled people in the Southwest have.

Adult Education

Another experiment suggested is adult education. Lessons could be based on the problems of language, illiteracy, housing, legal information of value to the layman, consumer education, nutrition, wider social relations, recreation, vocational preparation, health, and alcoholism.

Incidents in the past have shown that the adults are not too averse to education. The children are encouraged to attend school regularly while living in the environs of the school; inoculations are now accepted as necessary and desirable; oranges and gelatin are recognized for their nutritional value.

Community

The agents of the county might do well if they initiated physical and social improvements in Pascua

Village and Adelanto Addition such as: sanitary disposal of garbage and sewage, regulation of construction of domiciles, provisions for wholesome recreation, making and enforcement of rules that those people on public welfare would have to elevate their ideals and standards to certain degrees in order to receive welfare money.

The community in general should nurture an economic system whereas the people who want to work regularly and at satisfactory wages may find employment.

Chapter VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A knowledge of the number and range of ages of the children in Pascua Village and Adelanto Addition in Tucson was needed for planning school-expansion programs. A directory of names and addresses seemed to be a desirable convenience to community workers who dealt with the residents of these two adjoining subdivisions. Consequently a questionnaire was sent to each house to be filled out. The data collected from the questionnaire answers and personal interviews gave an insight into the educational implications of the family, nationality, occupational, and citizenship influences upon the school children. The directory was made but is not a part of this thesis.

Previous to 1944 the Yaqui Indians of Pascua Village gave the general impression of being practically uneducable because of irregular and unenthusiastic attendance in school. By 1944 a marked improvement in the scholastic achievements of the Indians was noticed by those working with them. Since the cultural environment of the children had been a recognized handicap in regards to schooling, a study was indicated to learn if it had changed measurably.

The cultural environment of Pascua Village in 1950-51 has not changed appreciably from the environment that Edward H. Spicer found and described in 1937 and Thamar Richey found in 1923. Adelanto is of more recent development but the cultural environment is a few degrees better than Pascua's.

The cultural environment of the Yaquis and Mexicans has retarded the children in school in the past and still does. The program of the school must be an enriching one. The teachers must assume the primary task of supplying experiences and opportunities which should have been the children's natural heritage in good homes.

Some characteristics of the cultural setting of the Yaquis are: The economic institution is typically that of the migrant, unschooled, unorganized, seasonal harvester of the Southwest. The social institution is marked by strong family and tribal units, homogeneous racial group, urban and rural life, and low social status. The political institution is democratic and centered around their religion. The religious institution is dominated by pagan and Catholic influences.

Some characteristics of the culture of the Mexicans in Adelanto Addition are: The economic institution is typically of unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. The social institution is marked by strong family units of patriarchal nature, heterogeneous racial groups, urban life, and low social status. The political institution is of passive submission to United States political units. The religious institution is dominated by Catholicism.

The Indians who claim Mayo, Opata, and Pima blood do not live any differently than do the Yaquis. The Navajo Indians and their children live as Mexicans. There is no friction among the different tribes in school, but there is contention between the Yaquis and Mexicans. Each of

the two groups feels superior to the other.

The Yaquis were permitted to live in the United States by permission granted by the Department of State and Department of Labor in 1931. They were political refugees from Mexico.

Twenty-two per cent of the Yaquis in Pascua and Adelanto are not citizens of the United States. Twelve per cent of the Mexicans are not citizens. Those who are citizens were born in the United States. The Yaquis and Mexicans have not become effective citizens yet. They have to be educated to comprehend and discriminate facts and then act.

Beans, tortillas, and coffee are the chief foods of the Yaqui and Mexican. Usually two meals a day are consumed by the people. The diets of many school children are supplemented at school by vitamins and food donated by charitable groups and individuals.

Of the one hundred and fifty-seven marriages the writer has knowledge about, two are civil marriages; the rest are according to tribal custom or are common-law unions. None of the divorces have been legal.

The boys do not respect the rights of girls. The men domineer the women. More Mexican men than Yaqui men have deserted their families.

The Yaquis have continued their custom of not intermarrying with the Mexicans or other tribes to any considerable extent.

The free play of the boys at school is often lewd

and daring. The little girls are immoderately modest.

The first generation of Yaquis did not have any formal schooling in the United States, the second generation attained at least a primary education. The third is going through the intermediate grades. There are definite hopes and expectations that the fourth generation might go through high school.

The school children are on the average well-behaved and apply themselves well to their work in the classroom in elementary school. Intelligence and achievement tests have not shown the Richey School children in a good light. The cultural and language background of the Yaquis and Mexicans have been great handicaps. The educators of the school children should emphasize word-meaning and vocabulary-development. The children need many wide, direct experiences.

In Pascua Village only three Yaquis have purchased the land they occupy. The other Indians live on the land through the squatters' rights law. In Adelanto Addition nearly five per cent of the population is Yaqui. These Yaquis own their lots. Sixty-three per cent of the Mexican residents in Adelanto rent their houses.

Juvenile delinquency is rare in Pascua and Adelanto. The lack of temptations in the community may be one reason. Because the people are fairly primitive, they have fewer wants. The wants they have can be satisfied in socially acceptable ways. Adult delinquency prevails less

among the Yaquis than among the Mexicans since the Indians are rarely arrested for intoxication and traffic violations. The Mexicans are frequently arrested for drunkenness and reckless driving.

More Mexicans than Yaquis can afford cars. Most of the migrant Yaqui workers live on the ranch where they harvest the crops. The Indians seem to be more easily satisfied with working conditions and locations than the Mexicans so they return to the same ranches to work year after year.

General conversation, music, and intoxication are the most popular forms of recreation. The lack of wholesome recreational facilities in the neighborhood and the indifference to organized games and sports have been a handicap to the mental and emotional health of the individuals.

The children need to be taught how to play. Play and games should be an integral part of the school curriculum for the children of these people who have neglected for generations the ideal aspects of recreation.

"...Play, especially the competitive type, ...presents the opportunities to teach the individual habits and attitudes falling under the heads of self-initiative, alertness, ingenuity, self-reliance, self-control, will power, courage, persistence, and consciousness of individual worth; ... play can promote loyalty, cooperation, respect for the rights of others, respectful submission to a chosen leadership, and the many qualities of sportsmanship--and all these are the civic and social virtues desired in a patriotic citizenship."¹

The theory commonly held for elementary grades is

1. Mitchell and Mason. Op. cit., p. 284.

that play at this grade level is mainly individualistic. Since the children of Richey are over-age in comparison to English-speaking children, the cooperative element of play customarily reserved for seventh and eighth graders could be introduced as low as the fourth grade.

The Yaquis are best known in Arizona for their annual Easter Passion play. The religion of the Yaquis is not wholly Catholic; it is partially pagan. Their religion has a considerable influence on their superstitions.

None of the Indians of Pascua Village make arts and crafts items for domestic or commercial uses. Their artistic talents are expressed in the paraphernalia used in their religious ceremonies.

The chief occupations of the Indian and Mexican men are cotton picking, irrigating and doing other ranch work, and digging ditches and cesspools. If the women are not homemakers they consider themselves unemployed.

Poverty is evident wherever one looks in Pascua Village. The Mexicans in Adelanto live on a scale a trifle higher. Frequently the school children are prevented from participating in extra-curricular activities that other public school children in the City enjoy because of the scarcity of money.

In general the Indians are thriftier with their money than the Mexicans. They are more honorable in paying their debts, with the exception of paying for the lots upon which they live. Neither group spends its money.

too wisely for food and clothing. The residents of Pascua and Adelanto live from day to day as far as their purchasing of food and clothing is concerned in their economics. Much of the poverty in this area is intensified by the intemperate use of wine.

The infant mortality is high among the Indians and Mexican population. Dysentery, improper feeding, and pneumonia are the chief reasons. The adult mortality is not particularly high. It is usually caused by accidents, tuberculosis, and pneumonia.

The Yaqui school children are more resistant to disease than the Mexican children. They are well-formed physically. Dental caries in baby and permanent teeth are prevalent as a result of faulty diet. As a part of their heritage the majority of the Yaquis and Mexicans have sound bodies; but they need to develop good health habits and sound mental and emotional attitudes.

Social work services have been very adequate for the Mexicans and the American-born Yaquis. There have been many cases where there was such a dependency on financial and medical assistance that the people permit themselves to be paupers for years at a time.

Some psychologists regard schizophrenia as being a poor man's disease.¹ In this case the teachers of these children should take what preventive measures they can. The proposed Mental Hygiene Clinic under the auspices of the Pima County Health Department should be of great help

1. Klein. Op. cit., p. 200.

to the adults.

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