

**RELIGION, CULTURAL ETHOS AND
POPULATION CHANGES**
— A Study of Social Factors Affecting
The Diegueño Demography —

Yasuko Amemiya Wachi

Introduction

Native Americans in the United States are known as “Indians”. The name is a generic term given for hundreds of different groups of people, called ‘tribes’, who are considered to be the native inhabitants of the American continents. And this name is not their own. When Christopher Columbus reached the New World, he mistook the land as part of India, and called the inhabitants of this part of the world as “Indians”. The mistake is well known, however, people have not corrected it nor have felt it necessary to do so, until very recently that people began to use different terms when these people themselves expressed their preference to be addressed by their own names. Still many people use the generic term “Indians” for daily use, mass media use, or library taxonomy, and even a term “Amerindo” is used as one of the US census categories.

The Problem: Two Notions on the Religious World View

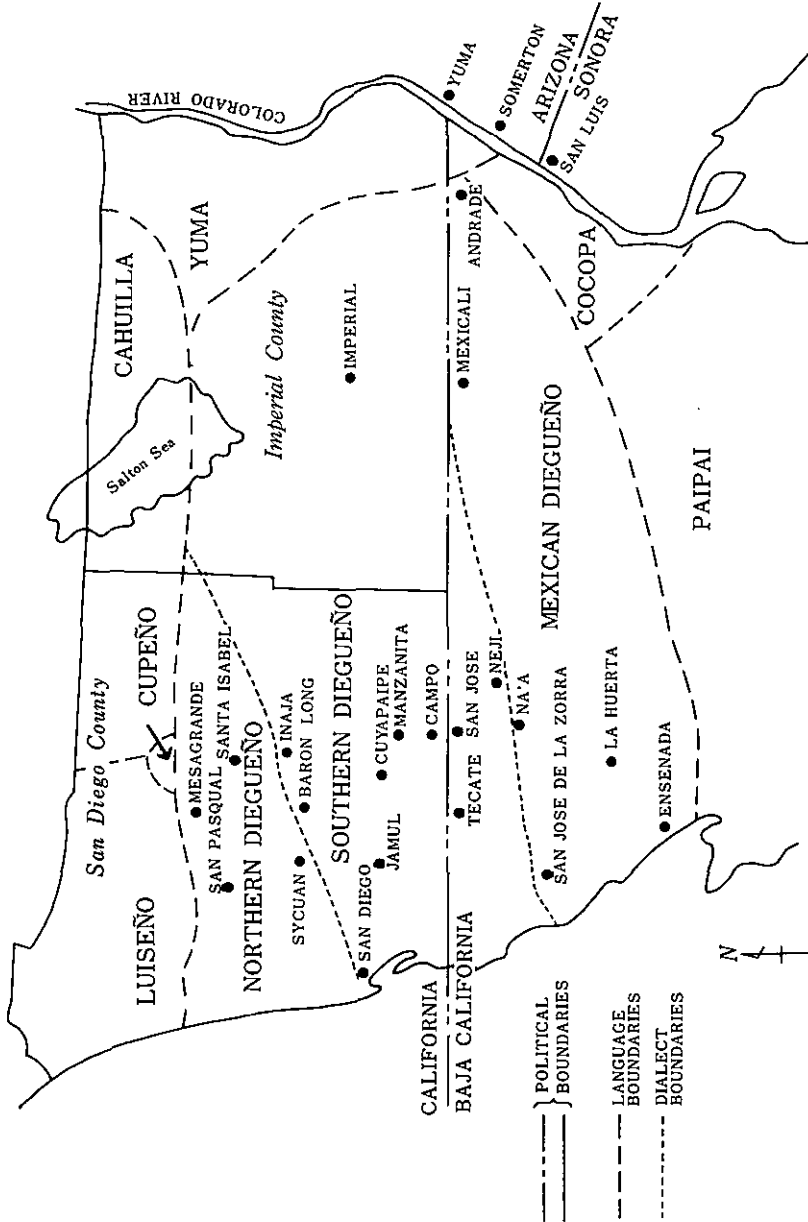
In the study of human population, asking relations between the facts of life and the social logic underlying those facts, there are two notions widely held about the religious world view affecting the human adaptive strategies to the environments. (1) One is that ‘irrational’ folk religious restrictions prevent effective production activities. A few examples to this notion are: the relationship between the cattle and the Hindu population in India and Nepal who

keep and take care of their domestic cattle only for religious reasons and do not agree with the Westerners who use them in labor or who kill them as a supply of meat or as a form of entertainment in bull fighting; the avoidance of a beef diet among the Shilluk in Africa who spend considerable time and energy in shaping the horns of their domestic cattle, still must depend on the hunting of wild animals for a supply of meat; and the spread of 'Cargo Cult' among the famine struck tribes of New Guinea. (2) The other notion is that ritual and religion are cultural devices to be manipulated to alleviate anxiety which would otherwise lead to social disorganization. The examples to this notion are: the concept of martyrdom and sainthood among various religions of the world; and the custom of potlatch of the Northwest Coast Indians. In the latter notion, "a sociocultural system works best when it makes people want to do what they have to do." (Carneiro, 1968:554) Thus Weber attributes the rise of the rational capitalism to certain Western religious ideas which gave the psychological sanctions to people's practical conducts. (Weber, 1958)

The Diegueños

The word Diegueño designates both the language and the people of the native population distributed over San Diego County and Imperial County of California in the United States and the northern portion of Baja California of Mexico. (See Map 1) The word has a historical background that when the Spaniards arrived in California and began to settle, they needed the laborious hands of the native people and at the same time they also had a mission to fulfill: 'to save the souls of the Indians'. The Spaniards entered California in 1769 and found a large number of native population with a density of about 10 per square mile. When they began their settlements in the Upper California, they wanted to utilize these people for building missions with fortresses. In that manner the construction of Mission San Diego de Alcalá was completed in 1774 and became the first mission in the Upper California. There they began recruiting the

Map I: Distribution of Diegueños by dialectic differences



Source: Langdon, 1970

native people in the work of mission construction and maintenance of their settlements including pastures with thousands of sheep, cattle and horses.

Thus the name "Diegueños" came to be associated with the San Diego Mission Indians. Sometimes, a generic term such as "Mission Indians" is used for them but these native people resent such a term. In their own language, the Diegueños in the Northern San Diego (Northern Diegueño) approximately applies to the "Iipay" people, the Diegueños in the South and Southeastern San Diego and in the Imperial County (Southern Diegueño) can be applied to the "Tipay" and "Kumeyaay" people, and the Mexican Diegueño roughly applies to the "Matipay" people. Today, although many, including the author, prefer and feel comfortable with the name Kumeyaay, the major publications the author used for this paper as references use the name "Diegueño". Thus for a reference reason, the title of this short paper uses the term "Diegueño". The language spoken by these people belongs to the Yuman family of which the distribution extends from the west coast (Californians and Mexicans) to the Grand Canyon (Havasupais).

The Historical Demography of California

In studying the historical demography of California, two features of the Native American population struck the author: (1) short life expectancies; and (2) low population increase rates throughout a period of 400 years since their contact with the Europeans. As California to the general public now is — and to the early settlers then was — a 'good land' and the number of inhabitants increased from a handful initial settlers to more than 18 million by 1965, it is worthwhile to question that how it happened and why the Diegueños with at least about 10,000 population (some sources give as high figure as 300,000 for the native population in San Diego before European contact) 400 years ago ended with less than 14,000 (probably) today with the expectation of life less than 35 years while the average life expectancy for the total US population now is over 70

years.

Another issue about the Native American population is that the number of children born of the men of the minority groups is lower than the number of children born of the men of the dominant social groups. Luker (Luker Lecture notes: 1984) gave a particular terminology for this: 'paternal fertility'. Traditionally in the study of population, only women's fertility is counted and the reproductive rate of the male population is usually not considered. In the various documents and anecdotes of the contacts between the American Indians and the Europeans, the pattern of crossethnic conjugal relations is mostly between Indian women and European men, and the opposite combination was very rare. The former combination pattern is exemplified by numerous cases such as Malinche, Powhatan, and Dona Isabel de Montezuma, and the latter case is rare but there is a case of Carobeth Laird (the former wife of J. Peabody Harrington, a linguist-ethnographer who studied the California Indian languages) married to George Laird, a Chemehuevi Indian man who worked as an informant to Harrington and Carobeth worked as a fieldwork assistant to her then husband, Harrington.

The social disadvantages of the male population of the minority groups can be hypothesized to result in decreasing the number of children born of the men of the minority groups. In the US censuses, however, the ethnic identity of the multiethnic origin population is accorded to the mother's declaration of primary ethnic origin. This will not give the full picture of the reproductive chances of the ethnic minority men which would be probably smaller than those of women of the same group. In other words, one is expected to find more mixed blood children of black women, Oriental women and of Indian women, than those of black, Oriental, or Indian men.

The Task

From the two notions on the relationship between the role of religion and belief system and people's adaptive strategies to the

environments in their economic activities, we can ask two sets of questions: (1) Did Indians waste their goods and property in their religious activities? Corollary to this, did the religious or ritual values sanctioned these people for psychological reward for taking their energy away from productive economic activities and putting it into religious activities? (2) Did the imposition of 'rational' religion by the missionaries increase the productivity of economic life of the Indians? In collocation to this question, we will ask what are the consequences of the imposition of 'assimilation' upon Indian population by the 'rational capitalistic' culture of the dominant non-Indian Americans?

The task for this paper then is to design a problem for demographic analysis of the Native American population with the above mentioned questions in mind.

The Setting

The pre-missionary period settlement patterns of these native people have recently been reconstructed by archaeologists and anthropologists. According to their findings which had been largely based on ethnographic information, their settlement pattern is characterised by various types of "Wandering Pattern" within a territory. For example, there were patterns of (1) central based wandering pattern in which people have their central permanent residence as the main base, and have their temporary houses or camps to occupy while moving in search of animals or other types of food; (2) bipolar settlement pattern with a summer and a winter permanent settlement; and, (3) seasonal food quest round without any permanent camps. (True and Waugh, 1982:34-54)

At the time of the contact with the Europeans, the Diegueños numbered about 10,000 (White, 1963:117). They had been numerous as described by Pedro Fages, Commander and military governor of California in the early days of Spanish rule, as follows:

...this tribe, which among those discovered is the most numerous, is

also the most restless, haughty, warlike, and hostile toward us, absolutely opposed to all rational subjection and full of the spirit of independence. The truth is that by the indefatigable tolerance and prudence of the missionaries together with their constant gentleness and other apostolic traits and supported by the corresponding and opportune solicitude of the government, the Indians have been kept quiet, peaceful and subdued for seven or eight years. Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that a considerable armed force must need to be at hand in sufficient numbers to repress their natural and crusty pride (Quoted in Pourade, 1976:4)

According to the records of the Mission, the number of Indians including infants who had been baptized up to 1772 was only 55, and by the end of 1774, it was only 116. The records describe that these Indians were baptized as two Spanish "soldiers" witnessed each conversion to neophyte (the term the Spaniards used for the Indian converts). While the military governor, Pedro Fages, spoke of the 'tolerance' and 'apostolic gentleness' of the missionaries and of the Spaniards' main aim was to 'subjugate' the Indians in order for them to 'acquire a sense of civilized living', to the native people it meant to live as servants of the Spaniards, or slave laborers of the missionaries. Others who fled from the missionization or escaped from the Spanish reach maintained their own way of life and religious belief system.

The autobiography of Delfina Cuero (Cuero, 1968), a Diegueño (Kumeyaay) woman lived on the Campo Indian Reservation in southern San Diego, describes how the Diegueño women had learned the hygienic practices and dietary knowledge as well as the moral of sexual conducts at the traditional native initiation ceremonies for women. But these practical and useful knowledges of the traditional customs were denied by the Spanish missionaries. The Europeans believed that by destroying and forbidding the 'heathen' ceremonies they could save the souls of the Indians. To them, the God or the gods of the Indians were 'demons'. What they did not know was that by denying and punishing the native religious expressions, they

were perhaps destroying the total educational, moral and ethical system, which was often completely integrated into their native religious ceremonies and customs. (Sweet and Nash, 1981:40, 131-136)

Delfina Cuero also tells of her grandmother's memory of the missionary period as follows:

My grandmother told me she was under the priests at the mission ... The Indians did not like them because they had to work too hard for the priests. The women had to make a lot of things. They wove blankets and bedding, made ollas (pottery), and learned how to make mud houses. The Indians either learned and did it or they were punished. The Indians left whenever they could. They said the priests were all bad because they made the Indians work. (Cuero, 1968:53)

She was complaining that the Indians were made to work not for themselves, not for their social or economic advantages, not for their own procreations nor for sustenance of their tribal populations. It is a well known fact to the people of San Diego, that the huge logs that were used to construct Mission San Diego de Alcalá were hauled from Palomar Mountain about 60 miles away from the mission construction site by the Indians gathered at the mission, and that priests flogged the Indians in order to 'discipline the savages' and Spanish soldiers raped the Indian women were taken as 'part of mission life'.

During the Mission period, the priests also denied the Indians to prepare their traditional foods and the Indians at the mission had a diet nutritionally inferior to what they used to have.

As the due consequences, the Diegueños resented the missionization with aggression. There are records of Indians raiding the missions. In 1775, at Mission San Diego de Alcalá, in one such incidence of Indians' attack, one priest was killed and the church made him the first martyr of California but the two Indian converts who were also killed in the same incidence were not recognized as the martyrs by

the church. The Indians destroyed the gates of the living quarters of the Indian women and children to make them escape and set fire to the quarters.

The native people not only resented the missionization but also showed a rapid social disorganization as seen in their serious depopulation. As seen in Table 1, the birth rates of the missionized Indians steadily decreased while their death rates fluctuated through time. The important facts are that not only were their deathrates always greater than their birthrates, but the birthrates were constantly decreasing. This is a strong indication of their rapid population decline. The high deathrates have been often attributed to the epidemic diseases the Europeans brought in and to which the Indians were not immune. There is no doubt about the effect of the epidemic diseases on their mortality. But in addition to the physical morbidity, there seems to be more to their high mortality and low fertility. The decreasing birthrates shown in Table 1 are indicative of social disorganization among the mission Indians resulting from the imposition of slavery works by the missionaries which took their energy and resources away from the social, economic and pro-creative activities. Their serious depopulation due to disease, malnutrition, abuse, and a reduced birthrate is a tragic fact.

Table 1. Birthrates and Deathrates in the California Missions

Period	Mean birthrate/1000	Mean deathrate/1000
1771-1780	49.0	75.0
1781-1790	36.9	69.6
1791-1800	43.4	80.9
1801-1810	35.9	90.0
1811-1820	37.5	76.3
1821-1830	33.1	77.4

(Source: Cook, 1976:107)

Thus in 1988, when the Vatican attempted to appoint Father Junipero Serra, the founder of the mission in San Diego, to

sainthood, many of the descendants of the missionized Indians, who are devoted Christians now, expressed their outraged opinions against this. They were outraged because Serra's effort to convert Indians was based on his belief to save 'the savages'. Therefore to canonize him is to admit that their ancestors were 'savages' and to hide the reality of the mission system in the past which in fact meant 67 years of slow death and destruction for the Indians.

Indians in the Modern American Society

February, 1821, Mexico broke away from Spain. In 1829, the president of the Mexican Republic declared that slavery is abolished in the Republic, but its effect was very slow to reach to California. In 1833 the new governor Figueroa decided to divide and distribute the mission land among the people appointed by the government and also among the mission Indians. According to the decision, half the mission land should have been divided among the Indians. But those appointed by the government were very corrupted and took much of the land that should have been given to the Indians to themselves. Many mission Indians were left without land, home, or animals. It meant death from hunger and sickness. Some became servants of white men, others followed and joined the non-mission Indians who were wandering in quest of food.

Unlike Spain, Mexico took liberal attitude for those who came to California to stay or trade, thus came whalers, cow hide traders and shoemakers attracted by the rich oceanic resources and the large herds of cattle in California. Merchants from New England also came. As long as they became Catholics and Mexican citizens, people were allowed to stay in California. People like trapper Jedediah Smith came to California through the land routes which the Indians had used for their trade networks. Then in January 1848, one of these settlers in California, James Wilson Marshall, found gold. News of gold in California attracted even more great number of people. On September 7, 1850, president of the US signed the bill that made California a state of the United States of America.

Delfina's parents and family were moved from one place to another without knowing that their territory was being divided between Mexico and the USA. They were used to the wandering pattern of living, but they were ignorant of the changes that were taking place in the political and economic sphere of their life. Such ignorance made them fall right down to the lowest social stratum of the modern American society without sufficient awareness. Delfina describes it as follows:

My father and mother left Mission Valley...when a lot of Chinese and Americans came into the Valley and told them that they had to leave. They did not own the land that their families and ancestors had always lived upon. They moved east into wia ka kap (Mission Gorge). There were many Kumeyaay villages all through that way, up the canyon, and in Lakeside and El Cajon valleys...My mother and father went to one village, and then the next one, and on and on. After they had to leave their own place, they lived around wherever there was work or wild food to be gathered...We just worked at a place and then my father would tell me we had to move again...The men they worked for never told them their names...I was very young but the whole family was working for him (Maxfield), my father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, and I...The men cut trees and they did many other things while we carried, piled and burned the brush...while the men worked, my mother, grandmother and I used to go all over looking for wild cherries...or wild wheat, or different kinds of Indian food...This old man (Maxfield) gave us some food too. The ranchers...gave us some food or sometimes some old clothes for the work. They never gave the Indians money. (Cuero, 1968:23-25)

Until 1910, many Diegueño Indians lived in Mission Valley and other places of San Diego downtown. A favorite place for them was between 13th and 17th around K Street. Other favorite places were 5th Street, the Silver Strand, Rose Canyon, Ocean Beach and Mission Bay. By 1910, the white and oriental population of San Diego was increasing and filling those areas occupied by the Indians. These Indians to the modern American legal system were technically

'squatters' and did not own the land they occupied. From their wandering pattern of gathering food resources, they did not live permanently in one 'squatting' location on a year-round basis. They moved around in order to gather wild fruits at 'the right time of the year'. They knew nothing about the existence of the international border between Mexico and the USA. Many were left in the Baja California, Mexico, while moving around the Kumeyaay territory visiting relatives, attending funerals, other ceremonies, and gathering wild foods of the proper seasons.

Today, the Census figures and the Vital Statistics do not give data broken down to the tribal names. There are only figures for a group called 'Indians'. This group includes Diegueño, Kamia, Luiseño, Cupeño, Yuma, Mohave, Cocopa, and others residing in San Diego County numbering 14,616 in the year of 1980. (US Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1980) This gives a serious problem to any demographic study of Indians. The US censuses traditionally showed little interest in breaking down the data for the native tribal groups. Also the historical experience of the social and physical disruption on the Indian life by the Europeans and white Americans caused undercount to a considerable degree in the demographic data of the Native Americans. The organization and composition of the Indians on reservations are also problematic. Not all the natives were gathered into the reservations. Indians regarded these institutions as nothing more than concentration camps. As the living conditions were extremely poor, any one who could escape would seek shelter elsewhere. Sometimes, all of the total population on one reservation fled, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs would have to close out such reservations and activate new ones. Therefore, not only did the reservations contain a minority of the native population, but also the number of the native population on reservations fluctuated widely from year to year.

Another source of confusion was migration. This may be easily predicted from the wandering settlement patterns of the natives who moved freely in and out of the state or international boundaries.

Also, the migrant workers in the mining areas made it difficult for assessing the 'natural' increase.

The increase in birthrates after 1950 and rapid decline in the deathrates among the Indians after 1960 mark the demographic transition. (See Table 2) Table 3 compares the transition of infant mortality among the Indians with that of the State total. The summary observation from Tables 1-3 is that of a significant increase in births and a decrease in deaths, particularly in infant mortality. However the aging in the adult population has not kept pace with that found in the total population. Between 1911-1913, the expectation of life among the Indian adults at birth was 32.46, and that of 1961-70 period was only 34.79. (Cook, 1976:136) In other words, despite their increase in reproductivity which can expect an accelerating increase in aggregate population, they do not live long.

The questions will be asked as to what social factors cause such demographic characteristics of the Native American population. To do so, a quick review of the history of US demographic interests shown in the categories of the US census schedules in connection with the history of land holding and the degree of assimilation enforcement would benefit our purpose.

US has the longest unbroken census records in the world since 1790. The categories of census schedule have changed over time. For example, in 1790, they counted free white females of all ages, but for the free white males they differentiated those of 16 years of age and up and under 16. They also counted the number of slaves. In 1800 and 1810, they counted only white heads of family with age, sex and race and the number of slaves. In other words, they were interested in counting that portion of the total population which could pay tax and could supply soldiers. Starting from 1830, they counted the number of deaf and dumb, blind, insane and idiotic, in other words, those who should take guardians for their property control. (Guardianship was a popular form to take over the control of the properties of minors and minority groups.) From 1850, they ask the value of real estate property and the year of school

Table 2. Birthrates and Deathrates of the Total California Population and the Indian Population of California and San Diego County in the Census Years 1860-1970

Year	<u>Total California Population</u>			<u>Indian Population (California)</u>			
	Population	Birthrate	Deathrate	Population	Birthrate	Deathrate	Life Expectation
1860	-	-	-	17,738	-	-	-
1870	-	-	-	7,241	-	-	-
1880	-	-	-	16,277	-	-	25.67
1890	-	-	-	16,624	-	-	22.50
1900	-	-	-	15,377	-	-	24.20
1910	2,377,549	13.5	13.6	16,371	1.0	9.5	-
1920	3,426,861	19.6	13.6	17,360	7.1	13.9	38.54
1930	5,677,251	14.9	11.7	19,212	17.1	21.7	-
1940	6,907,387	16.2	11.6	18,675	24.1	20.7	-
1950	10,586,223	23.1	9.3	19,947	42.5	16.1	-
1960	15,720,860	23.7	8.6	39,014	44.5	7.7	-
1970	19,953,134	18.2	8.3	91,018	20.5	8.5	34.79

Sources: Cook, 1976:57-58, 113, 126, 136 and 138.

<u>Indian Population (San Diego County)</u>			
Year	Population		
1860	3,067	-	-
1870	28	-	-
1880	1,702	-	-
1890	478	-	-
1900	2,197	-	-
1910	1,516	-	-
1920	1,352	-	-
1930	1,722	-	-
1940	1,650	-	-
1950	1,693	-	-
1960	3,293	-	-
1970	5,880	-	-

The sources of the census figures are as follows:

1860. The Population of the United States in 1860: compiled from the original returns of the 8th census. State of Cal., Table No.1 pp.26-7 Washington, 1864.

1870. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870. Statistics of Population. Tables I-VIII inclusive, Table II, California, Washington 1872.

1860, 1870, 1880. Census of 1880, Vol. I, Part 2, Table V (p.382), Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, California.

1880, 1890. Report on Population of the United States at the 11th Census, 1890, Vol. I, Part I 1895. California, Indian Population by Counties.

1890, 1900. Twelfth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1900. Census reports, Vol. I, Population, Part 1, Table No.19, p.531

1910. Thirteenth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1910. Abstract of the Census...with Supplement for California, Table No.17, p.596.

1900, 1910, 1920. Fourteenth Census, State Compendium, California, 1924, Table No. 7, pp. 109-110.

1930, 1940. Sixteenth Census of the United States:1940. Population, Vol.II, Characteristics of the Population, Part I. California. Table No.25,pp.567-8.

1950. Seventeenth Decennial Census of the United States. Census of Population:1950. Vol.II. Characteristics of the Population, Part 5, California. Table No.47, p.179.

1960. Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States:1960. Vol. I. General Population Characteristics. California. Table No.28, pp.195-199.

1970. Nineteenth Decennial Census of the United States:1970. General Population Characteristics, California. Table 34.

Table 3. Infant Mortality among the Indian Population with California State Total

Date	Indian Population		State Total
	Births	Infant Deaths	Deaths per 1,000 births
1926	221	39	176.5
1927	236	47	199.2
1928	315	41	130.2
1929	314	44	140.1
1930	329	56	170.2
1931	329	48	145.9
1932	336	51	151.8
1933	376	46	122.2
1934	362	60	165.7
1935	401	44	109.7
1950	848	42	49.6
1953	889	37	41.7
1956	1,282	31	24.2
1961	1,756	33	18.8
1963	1,841	22	11.9
1964	1,826	28	15.3
1968	1,687	23	13.6
1969	1,799	10	5.6
1970	1,868	19	10.2

(Cook, 1976:138 Table 29)

attendance. School attendance is an indicator of the degree of cultural assimilation of the diverse ethnic groups. Only in 1890 did they start to ask for the number of 'Indian' population as a supplemental schedule. In 1900, they ask 'ability to speak English' as one of the schedule categories. This could be interpreted as another

criterion for the degree of assimilation. In 1910, they ask the number of 'Indian' population along with the number of blind, deaf, feeble-minded in institutions, insane in hospitals, paupers in almshouses, prisoners and juvenile delinquents in institutions. (Shryock and Siegel, 1976:16)

In 1887, the Dawes Act, or the General Allotment Act provided for the automatic assumption of the citizenship for the Indians only after 25 years of federal trust in the land of Indian holding. Deloria says that citizenship for those Indians at that time was a function of the status of real estate the Indian might possess, rather than the individual's right. (Deloria and Lytle, 1983:220- 221) What Deloria meant was that the important consequences of this Act was not the Indians' right of citizenship, but that this Act favored private land ownership to communal land ownership; the former was the landholding system of the whites and the latter was the landholding system typical of the native Americans. The whites only recognized the ownership over the land which is under use by the owner, but not 'the absentee landownership'. This was certainly unsuitable for the traditional Indian concept of 'territory' commonly owned by a tribe for hunting and gathering with seasonal moving of their settlement. As the due consequence, the Indians lost 86 million acres out of their holding of 138 million acres between 1887 and 1934. The year of 1934 was another important year for the transition of landholding for the Indians. The private landownership was enforced with a 'good intention' to change the Indians into real Americans with an aggressive capitalistic cultural ethos. But since they did not know how to manage the land to pay tax with sedentary agricultural industry, which was totally foreign form of industry to them, they rented their allotted land to the white farmers or the estate agents. Also the institution of guardianship was provided in order to 'protect' the interdicts or quasi-incompetent Indians and Indian minors. One white guardian even tried to obtain the guardianship of as many as 161 Indian infants with their allotted land of forest with valuable lumber. Others provided 'pseudo' husbands or wives for the

Indian minors because 'married' Indians were allowed to 'sell' the allotted land that were inherited from their parents to the estate agents even if they were minors in age. According to Hagan, the Indians lost 86 million acres of the allotted land and the remaining 52 million acres were mostly desert or semi-desert unsuitable for agriculture or forestry. (Hagan, 1979:192-3)

Another measure for assimilation was granting citizenship for the voluntary military services. Hagan describes how heavy alcoholism destroyed heroic Indian soldiers and how the measures of assimilation weakened the economic foundation of the Indian population. (*ibid.*: 198-212) All these years until 1940s, the deathrates of the Indian population were always greater than the birthrates. (Table 2) The Reformists among the whites who had been conscious of the social misery tried to improve the economic conditions for the Indians. The inception of the New Deal enabled John Collier to bring about reforms for the Indian problems. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 prevented the transfer of Indian land other than to the tribe itself. It also provided for a credit fund for various tribal economic development programs. The immediate effects of this reform was that for the first time the birthrate became higher than the deathrate. The native Americans began to recover from the destructions on their population. However the economic impact of the Second World War resulted in the general budget cuts and this program ended. Collier had to resign facing the criticism that what he attempted was to 'institute socialism on the reservations.' (Deloria and Lytle, 1983:16) But the reforms under Collier worked in the long run to lower the deathrates and increase the birthrates of the Indians and gave the springboard effect for the Indian reproductive recovery.

In 1952, Indian Commissioner Dillon Myer sent out a memo to the White House for Termination of federal supervision and protection. Hagan detected the capitalistic interests in the oil and lumber behind this Termination policy. (Hagan, 1979:215) Also it was the time of the rise of the neo-Malthusianism when people were increasingly

talking about the population problems of an inadequate stock of capital per head, a poorly trained labor force, and a low per capita income with high fertility with low mortality. It was noted that the increased poor section will swallow up whatever economic gains and resources of the society. (Jones, 1969:1) Myer started the policy of relocation which was intended to relocate the Indians from the reservations into the urban industrial sector so that they will contribute to the society as labor force. However the inability of the unprepared Indians to function in the new environment resulted in a large number of poor urban Indians and one third of them returned back to the reservations. By the mid 60s, these Myer's policies became unpopular. Instead, Self-Determination became the fundamental policy for the Indians. Indians themselves achieved more degree of assimilation and local institutions to serve the Indians became stronger. However, Deloria criticises that the recent budget cuts 'short-circuited' most of the progress of the Indian programs of the 60s and 70s. It is hard to judge the effect of the Self-Determination policy at this moment. Also since 1970, the US census and Vital Statistics ceased to trace down the ethnic identity, it is even more difficult now to assess the effect of the various programs for social welfare and educational improvement.

Conclusion

For a large number of immigrants to the USA, assimilation was brought about without government pressure, but for the native population of the Americas, the assimilation was systematically forced by government and society. (Colson, 1953:1) The reservation land belongs to the federal government and the Indians do not have to pay tax for the reservation land. To some Americans this seems 'unfair'. Some express their irritation against cultural non-assimilation by the Indians, too.

The history of Spanish missionary shed lights on the religious assimilation forced upon the California Indians. The history of the land holding and its ownership changes in the United States in

parallel with the history of the native American demography spotlighted the cultural, social and political economic struggle of the American native population within a larger and dominant cultural and economic surroundings. The basic structure of the conflicting factions are demonstrated in the ideological differences among them. In other words, it is 'survival of the fittest' from the view point of the dominant class which enforces the assimilatory measures. The established dominant class will hold to the principle of 'free competition' and the struggling minority class will hold to the principle of 'equal rights'. The former have had a greater head start in the economic and demographic transitions than the latter. The landholding system of the dominant class gave the minority Indian class a grave disadvantageous position for the American Indians. This is pertinent to the Ainus, or Koreans in Japan, or to the 'minority' social stratum of any society. To them, remaining to be non-assimilated and maintaining their own religion actually helped to maintain social integrity and prevent social disorganization. When they were denied to hold to their own religion, in the Mission period for example, their fertility declined rapidly. Rev. T. Malthus proclaimed with a proposition of 'superior power of population'. This gave the rich and dominant sector of the population a big alarm. According to Malthus, population tends to increase in geometrical ratio if unchecked by restraint upon marriage or by the social and physical misery which shortens human life in natural conditions. To quote him, these checks on population growth are "unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine." (Malthus, 1803:14) The native Americans in California experienced all of these social factors restraining its natural population growth.

REFERENCES:

- CARNEIRO, Robert
 1968 "Cultural Adaptation" in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 3:551-4
- COLSON, Elizabeth
 1953 *The Makah Indians*, Manchester University Press
- COOK, Sherburne F.
 1976 *The Population of California Indians 1769-1970*, Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley
- CUERO, Delfina
 1968 *The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero, A Diegueño Indian*, Dawson's Book Shop, LA
- DELORIA, Jr. Vine and Clifford M. Lytle
 1983 *American Indians, American Justice*, Univ. of Texas Press. Austin
- HAGEN, William T.
 1979 *American Indians*, The Univ. of Chicago Press. Chicago
- JONES, Gavin W.
 1969 *The Economic Effect of Declining Fertility in Less Developed Countries*, The Population Council, New York
- LANGDON, Margaret
 1970 *A Grammar of Diegueño*, Univ. of Calif. Press. Berkeley
- LUKER, Kristin
 1984 Lecture notes of Sociology 107; Demographic Methods, UCSD
- MALTHUS, Thomas Robert
 (1803) 1958 *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Second Edition, Everyman's Library, London, New York
- POURADE, Richard F.
 1976 "The Fate of the Diegueños" in *The People Cabrillo Met*, Third Annual Cabrillo Festival Historical Seminar, Vol. 1, No. 3
- SHRYOCK, Henry S. and Jacob S. Slagel
 1976 *The Methods and Materials of Demography*, Academic Press, New York
- SWEET, David G. and Gary B. Nash
 1981 *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, Univ. of Calif. Press. Berkeley
- TRUE, D.J. and Georgie Waugh
 1982 "Proposed Settlement Shifts During San Luis Rey Times: Northern San Diego County, California", *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 34-54.
- US Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census

- 1980 *1980 Census Tracts San Diego County Race and Hispanic Origin*
WEBER, Max
- 1958 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Charles Scribner's
Sons, New York

宗教、文化エートスと人口変化

— ディゲーニョ族の人口に影響を与えた
社会的要因に関する研究 —

〈要 約〉

和 智 綏 子

米国南カリフォルニアのサン・ディエゴ・カウンティ（郡）の南部、インペリアル・カウンティの西部、およびメキシコ側の北部バハ・カリフォルニアに住むディゲーニョ族（Diegueños）はホカン語系のユマ語に分類される言語を話すが、16世紀以来、スペイン文化（後にメキシコ領となる）との接触でスペイン語も話し、1852年以来、米国統治圏に入ってから英語も話すようになっている。白人との接触以来1950年代まで、その人口は減少の一途をたどり、常に死亡率が出生率を上まわっていた。スペインからメキシコへ、そして米国へと統治者の変化にかかわりなく、常に減少し続けたのである。その人口統計の特徴は、(1)短い寿命と(2)低い増加率である。現在の米国の平均寿命が70歳を越しているにもかかわらず、その中で彼等のそれはわずか35歳に満たないのである。高い幼児死亡率は幼児が生きのびるために必要な世話に欠けるような社会的要因を浮び上らせる。常に死亡率が出生率を上まわるのみでなく出生率が減少を続けたということは子供を生き育てるような生活を送れないほどの過酷な社会的要因を想起させる。またインディアン側に立って書いた歴史的史料が少ないにもかかわらず、それらを跡付けるに充分である。唯一の変化は米国の公民権運動で少数民族の平等権利主張が認められた後に起きたエスニック伝統文化を再活性化する運動と時を

同じくして、はじめて人口増加の傾向がみられるようになったことである。白人との接触以来の人口統計の記録と歴史上の社会要因の変化の関係をみる。