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Matrons and Maids: Regulating Indian Domestic Service in Tucson, 1914–1934. By Victoria K. Haskins. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. 240 pages. \$50.00 cloth.

Victoria Haskins makes a solid contribution to a growing historical literature that analyzes relationships between white and indigenous women, focusing in depth on a few women situated at a particularly complex point of intersection between gender, race, class and colonization: those employed in the early twentieth century as outings matrons for the United States Indian Service in Tucson. The outings matron supervised young Native women working as servants in white households, an urban variant of the classically maternalist reservation field matron who also trained Indian women in white gender norms. With a somewhat progressive spin, the outings matron's home was also envisioned as a miniature settlement house, providing a safe place for Indian girls to stay between jobs and to socialize in a dangerous multicultural city.

As mediators between mostly Tohono O'odham young single women and the white women they worked for, Haskins notes that outings matrons were expected to play a "role as both bridge and boundary between the two groups, while exercising the coercive powers of the state" (11). Since racial lines had hardened after Arizona achieved statehood in 1912, evidenced by a 1913 law against cohabitation that reinforced the territorial-era prohibition of interracial marriage, an outings matron could indeed be coercive, threatening sexually active Indian servants and their partners with arrest. While ideally an outings matron would "reshape and perfect not just Indian people but also the broader settler society" (13), in practice, Haskins explains, outings matrons in Tucson generally acted as "custodians of colonization's racial order" (7), primarily focused on "controlling Indian women's sexuality" (28). She concludes that they were "among the most active agents of colonization" (163).

This book is solidly researched, relying heavily on government records since bureaucracy required each matron to document her activities frequently and in great detail; Indian Office correspondence and personnel files also proved fruitful. Haskins' early chapters set the outings matron program in its historical context and provide a thoughtful and wide-ranging review of relevant secondary literature. Haskins uses her sources particularly well, creatively reading between the lines to tease as complete an understanding of the motivations, attitudes, and actions of Tucson's outings matrons as seems possible.

Since Tohono O'odham girls and women had been doing domestic work independently in Tucson dating from at least the late 1800s, first for Mexican and later for American households, Haskins challenges the presumption that they actually needed outings matrons' assistance, an assumption that "concealed the agency of Indian women in their own past." While she hoped to show

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the Tohono O'odham maids as "flesh and blood working women" (162), they generally appear only through the eyes of the matrons, although some of their stories are especially interesting.

The four women who occupied the post of outings matron in Tucson during its relatively short life span each had a different approach to her job, as Haskins demonstrates in a chapter on each of them. The first, Minnie Estabrook, was a forceful young middle-class divorcee from Massachusetts whose initial attempt to furnish a proper "rest and rescue home" where she could house and supervise the Indian maids of Tucson was thwarted through lack of funds (58). Instead she sought dual appointment as a deputy sheriff and began "patrolling and policing the domestic workers' sexual lives" (67), arresting the non-Indian men she found with young Indian women, and attempting to force Indian couples to marry. Generating criticism from her supervisor and both the Indian and white communities of Tucson, she lasted less than two years, from 1914 to late 1915.

Her replacement, Janette Woodruff, came close to fulfilling the maternalistic ideal policymakers had envisioned for an outings matron, and served the longest, from 1915 to 1929, when she was forced to retire at age seventy. She arrived as a divorcee with fifteen years of Indian Service experience, most recently as a field matron, and with the interpersonal skills to help her succeed both within the bureaucracy and the Native community. Wise enough to listen to her first long-term Indian woman houseguest, Woodruff established her home as something of a social center for the Native domestics of Tucson. She advocated for the maids with their employers, and professionalized the hiring process with pre-employment interviews to clarify mutual expectations. The earnings of young Tohono O'odham domestics became "the economic mainstay of their community" (106). Yet Woodruff's memoirs reveal that she continued to hold judgmental ethnocentric attitudes about the alleged immorality of the young women she worked among.

Libbie Light, wife of a retired agency supervisor, had nearly twenty-five years of Indian Service employment when she replaced Woodruff in 1929, hoping to finish her career in Tucson with a full pension. She displayed her blatant racism immediately, maintaining a stiff distance from the maids and focusing her attention on employers' needs. However, uncharacteristically, in 1930 Light did intervene on behalf of "Lena," a young Indian woman imprisoned for infanticide. Haskins cleverly presents several possible scenarios explaining Light's actions in this case that she bases upon fragmentary evidence, such as letters other maids had sent regarding similar incidents. Haskins decides that the most plausible hypothesis was that Light had surmised that the local Indian Service physician had been providing abortifacients to Indian domestics. By vouching for Lena's truthfulness and her story that she had blacked out as her

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baby was born dead, and by encouraging the doctor to retire and leave town, Light could help settle the case without it reflecting badly on her own work as the young woman's supervisor. While I admire Haskins' courage in taking an interpretive leap and her successful engagement of her readers in her creative analysis, I wish she had included more discussion of the relevant Tohono O'odham cultural attitudes to enrich this compelling story.

After Light was forced to retire in 1932 at the newly set retirement age of sixty-five, Gracie Taylor, a widow with many years of Indian Service experience then serving in a similar position in Phoenix, was transferred as Tucson's outings matron due to bureaucratic reorganization. Demoralized by what she saw as a demotion and confronting diminished demand for domestics due to the Depression, Taylor, pessimistic and fearful, was an ineffective advocate for her job when it became a target for the budget axe. When the Collier administration abolished the Tucson outings matron position in 1934, no Tohono O'odham protested; an era had ended.

An Australian scholar, Haskins comes to this subject from a great geographical distance, but her previous work prepared her well for clarifying the complexities of relationships between settler and indigenous women. With Anna Cole and Fiona Paisley, she coedited *Uncommon Ground: White Women in Aboriginal History* (2005), a collection that included Haskins' essay on her great-grandmother Joan Kinglsey-Strack, a white women who worked for Aboriginal rights in the 1930s. Haskins' monograph *One Bright Spot* (2005) expands the story of her great-grandmother's relationships with Aboriginal women who served as "apprentice' servants" in her home between the 1920s and 1940s, and whose revelations about their experiences aroused Kingsley-Strack's activism. Given this background, one might have expected Haskins to delve more deeply into the attitudes of the white women of Tucson who employed the Native servants, but she keeps her focus solidly upon the outings matrons who left considerably better records of their experiences.

I detected only one factual error in the book. Haskins stated that in 1912 Arizona was "the first state for female suffrage" (44), but women had voted in Wyoming territory since 1869, and Wyoming became the first woman suffrage state in 1890. Several other western states joined the list of woman suffrage states before Arizona did in 1912.

This book deserves a place on an expanding shelf of recent books that provide significant insight into the complex situations Indian Service employees faced as they worked to apply the assimilationist policies the nation then espoused. *Matrons and Maids* serves as a case study illustrating points Cathleen Cahill made in her excellent recent study of Indian Service employees, *Federal Fathers and Mothers* (2011). While Haskins does not draw out the comparisons between the United States and Australia that Margaret Jacobs did in

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her award-winning study, White Mother to a Dark Race (2009), both authors share a commitment to exploring the deadly consequences of maternalism in a colonial context.

I join Haskins in encouraging further work presenting perspectives of the other groups of actors in the complex drama she approached here from the outings matrons' point of view. Haskins goes as far as she can to extrapolate from her sources, and notes the importance of the absence of outings matrons from the remembrances of Tohono O'odham people who were their contemporaries. I sincerely hope that soon someone will find a way to tell the Native side of this story.

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Museums and Māori: Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice. By Conal McCarthy. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2011. 334 pages. \$99.95 cloth; \$36.95 paper.

Museums and Māori is a superb case study of the transformation of New Zealand public institutions as a result of Māori political challenges in the 1980s and 1990s. Conal McCarthy explores museums and museum professionals with a story that could be told in similar terms for a wide variety of other institutions and professional groups. New Zealand's health sector, schools, and welfare system experienced similar demands and accommodations. As McCarthy shows, it was not just that the institutions changed, but also that the professional practice of those involved was substantially redirected. In the 1980s New Zealand faced a time of dramatic social and economic reform, as several decades of a protected economy and a welfare state were dismantled and replaced with an open, market-based economy. Māori raised long-standing criticisms of the public sector, finding allies among those keen to reduce the size of the state and shift responsibility to individuals, families, and, in this case, tribes.

Māori demands combined decolonization with market responsiveness, and indigenous sovereignty became strongly linked to consumer sovereignty, an alliance that greatly strengthened Māori political aspirations for self-determination. Paralleling these growing market emphases was the rediscovery of the Treaty of Waitangi as a defining event in reforming relationships between Māori as an indigenous minority and the non-Māori settler majority. The Waitangi Tribunal began a process of revitalizing the 1840 treaty, which formed the basis of British sovereignty and the long-standing focus of Māori grievances.