Title
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Publication Date
2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Unsettling Domesticity: Native Women and 20th-Century U.S. Indian Policy in the San Francisco Bay Area

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ethnic Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Summer 2019

Abstract

Unsettling Domesticity: Native Women and 20th-Century U.S. Indian Policy
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My dissertation centers the experiences of Native women who negotiated the oppressive conditions of outing programs designed to assimilate them through gendered labor. Established by the U.S. federal government as an extension of boarding school policy, the Bay Area Outing Program contracted Native women and girls to work as domestic laborers in private homes as part of the U.S. government's "civilizing mission." Scholars have largely focused on boarding school labor. My study examines the Bay Area Outing Program, an off-campus labor program that proliferated from these institutions. It asks: *Within the confines of domestic labor, how did Native women comply, resist and negotiate their circumstances? What was the Bay Area Outing Program's impact on Native families in community contexts?* To answer these questions, I closely analyze Bureau of Indian Affairs records at NARA San Bruno, NARA Washington D.C. and special collections at UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library, including letters from concerned parents of outing girls and women advocating for commensurate wages. I analyze these alongside primary sources including California Indian indenture policy, boarding school curricula, and early 20th-century Bay Area newspaper articles. Theoretically, I situate the program within California's long colonial history of Indian labor exploitation, and I center Native women's resistance within a framework of settler colonialism.

At the heart of my study are Native women's voices uncovered from the archive. I use qualitative data analysis software to examine more than 4,000 outing-related documents. My sources reveal that Native women challenged their liminal standing and resisted outing in various ways including fighting for wages, running away and fighting to keep their children. The chapters of my dissertation chronicle a history of gendered, racialized labor and its effects on Native women and their families; I show how Native women navigated a system of oppression and reworked into these systems, potential and possibility. Chapter 1 traces national and California-based Indian labor and education policies from the 19th and 20th-centuries analyzing how and why Native bodies were used for settlement. I illuminate the connections between these eras and argue that the "domestication" of Native peoples was integral to the settler colonial project. Chapter 2 brings the reader into the world of the Outing Program capturing the daily experiences of Native women, tracing the good and the bad—subpar working conditions, surveillance, low wages, grueling schedules as well as women's vibrant social lives in the diverse Bay Area and the growing Indian community. Chapter 3 uncovers Native women's

discontent and criminalization by tracing runaways and those incarcerated in detention homes. In these instances, I show that Native women refused to perform and reproduce social and sexual norms mandated by Matrons, their employers and the Outing Program as a whole. Chapter 4 expands the focus to the Indian family to analyze how outing mothers and their relatives fought the program's practice of Indian child removal and adoption. Through close analysis of powerful and painful case files I argue that diverted mothering was a prevailing feature of the Bay Area Outing Program and pre-dated midcentury Indian adoptions programs.

This research expands the scholarship on labor in U.S. colonization, and documents the essential and understudied intersection of gender and labor in the assimilationist project. My research departs from existing outing scholarship, which has focused on the 1930s era and white women Outing Matrons. Instead, I situate the program within a longer history of Indian servitude in California and center Native women's experiences, thus enriching this labor history with voices that challenge the notion of Native women as passive subjects. Moreover, my analysis of Indian child labor mandates and the state's creation of an artificial labor market reconceptualizes the California story and establishes a significant connection between 19th-century Indian labor practices and 20th-century outing programs. Also, in contrast to scholarship that argues such labor programs dissolve after the 1934 Indian "New Deal," I demonstrate a prolific outing regime that existed into the 1940s, well beyond the ostensible end of the assimilation era. Finally, outing in the Bay Area provides insight into the creation of the intertribal Bay Area Indian Community. In this way, my project contributes to emerging scholarship on the history of Native California and the ways it broadly challenges our understanding of Native American history. "Unsettling Domesticity" deepens the outing story.

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Acknowledgements

I have many people to thank for their love and support which has made this dissertation and my Ph.D. journey possible. To my amazing committee for intellectually challenging me and supporting me during my time at Cal. I consider each of you a mentor, an inspiration and a friend. Shari, thank you for giving me the space to learn and grow and especially for pushing me to a higher caliber of work. Your guidance has been exceptional. Tom, thank you for your unwavering support and enthusiasm. It was a pleasure teaching with you and I am grateful for all that I learned in your classroom. Evelyn, thank you for writing *Issei, Nissei, War Bride* and for showing me firsthand how community and family history is done. Your scholarship paved the way for this dissertation and I am forever grateful. Mark, thank you for your steady guidance over the last years and opening your door to an interdisciplinary historian. You knew my project better than I did and helped me bring it light. Tsianina, thank you for writing *They Called It Prairie Light*. You taught me to think critically about my family's history and its entanglements with policy. Your scholarship and encouragement has been instrumental. It has been a privilege to have such a stellar committee and I am truly grateful.

I want to express my gratitude for my immensely supportive friends I made while at UC Berkeley. Especially, Olivia Chilcote, Jen Smith, John Dougherty, Kim Tran, Angela Aguilar, Rachel Lim, Tito Callejas, Bayley Marquez, Meredith Palmer and Sarah Whitt. Special thanks to my cohorties Will Gow and Ina Kelleher who offered guidance on this project. And to the incredible Dana Linda Carballo for your steadfast friendship, advice and encouragement. These two East Bay women are Doctors! Immeasurable thanks to my Graduate Fellows Program cohort, Christyna Serrano-Crenshaw, Miriam Solis, Yang Lor, Dani Carrillo, Peter Nelson, Carlos Penilla and Heather Arata. Also, to the Happy Space writing group—I could not have done this without you! Dani Carrillo and Juliet Kunkel, words cannot express how grateful I am for your love, compassion and enthusiasm. I learned so much from both of you. And to my phenomenal undergraduate research assistants, Marina Cuneo, Daniella Dane and Bryce Lennan—a million thanks for your curiosity, talent and dedication. Each of you brought something special to the project and I am in awe of what we were able to accomplish. You taught me so much. I would also like to acknowledge Linda von Hoene and Sabrina Soracco for their guidance in the Student Mentoring and Research Teams (SMART) program.

I am also indebted to the unwavering support of the Native community at Cal. Thanks especially to Carmen Foghorn and Cindy Andallo of the American Indian Graduate Program (AIGP) and Phenocia Bauerle at Native American Student Development (NASD). Thanks to Beth Piatote for sharing your love of language and inviting me to be a part of the Designated Emphasis in Indigenous Language Revitalization. It was such an honor! Thank you also to the Native American Staff Council, the American Indian Graduate Student Association and the Native American Studies and Ethnic Studies Libraries. And thank you to the undergraduate students I came to know at Cal, especially, Sarah Medicine Crow, Jo-Joe Lee, Joel Sedano, Ursula Lopez, Antonio Isabeles, Skye Fierro, Sean Brown and Nic Spencer.

Special thanks to all of the librarians, archivists and staff at UC Berkeley and the National Archives in San Bruno, Washington D.C. and St. Louis. I am especially grateful to Corliss Lee, Theresa Salazar and Deborah Osterberg. My work on *Unsettling Domesticity* has been supported by generous grants from the Ford Foundation, The American Council of Learned Societies, the American Indian Graduate Center, the Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues, the Native American Studies Program at UC Berkeley, the Center for

Race and Gender, the Graduate Fellows Program, the Student Mentoring and Research Teams program, the Yerington Paiute Tribe and the Pinto-Fialon and Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowships. I am eternally grateful for the support of Christine Trost, Deborah Lustig and David Minkus at the Institute for the Study of Societal Issues. Without you three I may have never survived my qualifying exams or the job market. I am so fortunate to know each of you.

And finally, thank you to my family for supporting my life as a perpetual student. In the difficult times and in the best, I am comforted by your love and laughter. To my husband Donny, thank for believing in me. I am eternally grateful for your love and couldn't ask for a better partner in crime. Special thanks to Doo—my dad—for stepping up to the challenge of raising four loud girls. You are doing a *wonderful* job. *Le ʔáŋawiʔ*! To my moo—*a minha querida mãezin*—I hold your spirit and tenacity deep in my heart. Thank you for paving the way and fostering a love of education within me. *Amo-te sempre*. And to my grandma Helen—my *hutsi'i*—for inspiring this project. I am thankful for all that did to bring me into this world.

Introduction |

Historically Connecting Domestic Workers' Lives

In 2018, Indigenous women's domestic work was thrust into the spotlight with Alfonso Cuarón's *Roma*. *Roma* is Cuarón's semi-autobiographical take on his upbringing in Mexico City. In the film we are introduced to an early 1970s middle-class household in Colonia Roma, painstakingly designed to replicate Cuarón's childhood home. We follow the lives of absent husband, Antonio, his wife, Sofía, grandmother Teresa, and their four young children. At the center of the story is Cleo, a Mixtec live-in maid, inspired by Cuarón's real-life nanny, Liboria "Libo" Rodríguez. Rodríguez began working for the family when Cuarón was nine months old and played a profound role in raising the filmmaker. *Roma* is a love letter dedicated to Libo.

In stunning black and white cinematography we see firsthand the experience of a young Indigenous domestic worker charged with running a full household. In the early morning, Cleo is first to rise, serving breakfast, waking up the children and readying them for school. She coaxes them awake with Mixtec songs and dresses them—all well before the mother of the house, Sofia awakes. Throughout the day Cleo makes the beds, cleans the rooms does the laundry, and picks up the youngest from school. She manages these tasks on top of those that arise, such as dropping off and picking up the dry cleaning or carrying luggage. In the evening, Cleo puts the children to bed, singing lullabies in her native Mixtec. Cleo develops a strong bond with the children, especially Pepe, the youngest who she regards as "*mi niño*"—my son. In the midst of an impending divorce, Cleo mothers the children in ways their own cannot; yet, she is often reminded that she is still a servant. No matter how intimate and "like" a family member she is, Cleo is first and foremost a domestic worker.

In the evenings after shutting off the lights and washing the last dish, Cleo exits the house to her separate quarters in an adjacent building. There, Cleo and her friend Adela—also a live-in maid who manages the cooking—share a cramped room. In one scene the two shut off the lights and light a candle joking that Señora Sofia will be upset if they waste electricity. Cleo might be intimately familiar with the family and like a mother to the children, but relegated to the servants quarters, she will always be a domestic. She bears Sofia's emotional highs and frequent lows—her work constantly being dictated and affected by the whims of her employer

Cleo loves the children as her own and as the film attests, is even willing to risk her life for them. But in her role as a live-in domestic worker, a great chasm will always separate her from the family. As if in a kind of purgatory, she is intimately close and familiar, but never family. *Roma* beautifully illustrates, that these tense relationships between domestic workers and employers are complex, rife with racialized power dynamics, and also familial bonds with temporary moments of affection. While *Roma* tells the story of an indigenous live-in domestic worker in 1970s Mexico City, Cleo's story is not far away nor unfamiliar. Indeed, domestic workers across the globe, especially live-in workers, experience the same tensions as Cleo. Working almost invisibly from dusk until dawn, managing an entire home, a whole family and the demands thereof. Often for little pay and rarely, if ever, commensurate wages. And of this workforce most are women of color and immigrant women.

From the United States to Europe to Korea, domestic workers span the globe performing a double load of physical and emotional labor. While past scholars have carefully documented

the lives and histories of Latina, Filipina and Japanese domestic workers in the United States,[1] few have illuminated the labor of Native American domestic workers in the United States. Largely, these women and girls labored within the confines of U.S.-based Outing programs throughout the late 19th-century and well into the mid-20th-century. And like, Cleo, they too faced labor exploitation, physical and emotional abuse and surveillance, all under the auspices of Federal Indian assimilation. My study focuses on the Northern California iteration of Outing in the San Francisco Bay Area. Relying on over 4,000 outing-related archival documents, I detail the personal lives of Native women and girls' who "outed" in the 1920s, 30s and 40s. My analysis focuses on their working conditions and they ways they frustrated the confines of domestic labor and the Outing program as a whole. I center Native women's localized resistance to federal policy and illuminate a longer history of Indigenous servitude in the region. In doing so, I highlight how Outing in the Bay Area capitalized upon California's long history of state-wide Indian labor exploitation. Native domestic workers negotiated and frustrated the oppressive conditions of the Bay Area Outing Program. They fought for their wages, their autonomy, their families and ultimately, helped create the Bay Area Indian community as we know it today. Despite the oppressive structures they worked within, Native women managed to forge social connections, strategize relationships with Matrons and their employers and unsettled a program meant to "domesticate" them.

The Nature of Domestic Work

Historical and contemporary studies, establish that domestic work is a gendered, racialized profession made more complicated for immigrant and migrant women and women of color.[2] Historically, from the mid-nineteenth century until 1930, domestic service was the largest field of paid employment for all women in the U.S.[3] However, following these years, the work declined among non-immigrant white women who turned to other jobs such as factory work and teaching. In their absence, women of color and immigrant women were relegated to the profession. Fundamentally, domestic labor is part of an underregulated, underground economy. And many women of color find themselves in such menial work because the work provides entry into the urban labor market and there is less competition from white women domestics.

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[1] Glenn, Romero, Parreñas and Hondagneau-Sotelo to name a few.

[2] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, Warbride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Pr., 1986). Judith Rollins, *Between Women: Domestics and Their Employers* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987). Phyllis Palmer, *Domesticity And Dirt: Housewives and Domestic Servants in the United States, 1920-1945* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991). Mary Romero, *Maid in the U.S.A.* (New York: Routledge, 2002). Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001). Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*, 2007. Susan Tucker, *Telling Memories Among Southern Women: Domestic Workers and Their Employers in the Segregated South*, Unabridged Version (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2002). David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America*, New Edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

[3] Glenn, 99. For a brief time, Chinese and Japanese male servants were common in California, but the lion share of the field was and continues to be comprised of women.

Because factors of gender, class, race and ethnicity shape the social organization of care, women—especially marginalized women—are assumed responsible for providing care. Therefore, care has been historically coerced, particularly from marginalized communities.[4] Moreover, racial hierarchies are reproduced and intensified through domestic work. Indeed, among privileged, typically white women employers, subordination is prevalent. Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo argues, that "by subcontracting to private domestic workers, these women purchase release from their domestic responsibilities to other women who are distinct and subordinate by race and class, and now also made subordinate through language, nationality and citizenship status."[5] Not surprisingly, in colonial contexts, domestic labor fulfilled a crucial role in maintaining colonial rule.[6]

While certainly a profession in and of itself, for some women—especially, in both colonial and settler colonial contexts—domestic labor attempted to "domesticate."[7] Whether through reform among women prisoners or through Americanization programs for the newly immigrated, domestic labor was designed to indoctrinate. Domestic work attempted to conform marginalized women to middle class standards of femininity and pacify and control them while asserting an Anglo-American social order. Glenn asserts, "the domestication of subaltern women operated as an essential element in larger projects for incorporating potentially disruptive groups into a stratified social order."[8] For these marginalized women, domestic work intended to "domesticate." Ultimately, whatever form of domestic service, in the United States, domestic service stratifies our society both racially and ethnically.

Generally, the conditions of domestic work are consistently difficult, and can be exploitative, especially for immigrant and undocumented workers. In the home, workers may have a good rapport with their employers, but scholars reveal that feelings of anger and resentment are commonplace. Mary Romero found that while working in white, middle-class women's homes, Chicana domestic workers experienced humiliation and exploitation. They quickly learned that their employers were not "comrades" or their "sisters." While working intimately in the homes they were starved for respect and positive social interaction.[9] Additionally, domestics across the board experience low wages, as well as non and underpayment of wages. While the job is difficult and arduous, it is especially worse for live-in workers. Even during breaks and off time, live-in domestics are expected to respond to employers' needs as they arise. Evelyn Nakano Glenn asserts that with live-in positions, "there [is] no clear line between work and non-work time." [10] In Hondagneu-Sotelo's study, domestics felt that live-in work was depressing and expressed that they were frequently abused or taken advantage of. For one woman, live-in work necessitated "social isolation, morning-to-midnight

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[4] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Forced to Care: Coercion and Caregiving in America* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2012).

[5] Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*, 2007, 22 – 23.

[6] Victoria K. Haskins and Claire Lowrie, eds., *Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, 1 edition (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2014).

[7] Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900–1985*, First Edition (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

[8] Glenn, *Forced to Care*, 86.

[9] Romero, *Maid in the U.S.A.*

[10] Glenn, 141.

work schedules, and additions to cleaning tasks without commensurate raises in pay." [11] Indeed, live-in work is most egregious, and such workers regularly face non and underpayment of wages. [12] Even so, many were compelled to remain for the sake of a good reference. While times have changed, women still endure long hours and low wages. In fact where in most sectors long term employment means higher wages over time. For domestic workers, it is the opposite.

While Cleo is not an immigrant, she experiences the same racialized, gendered barriers in her live-in work. Cleo is constantly at the beck and call of Señora Sofia, quickly meeting her demands and working extremely long days. While menial in nature, her labor is psychically demanding and at times emotionally as well—especially in her care for the children she so adores. Moreover, in the fictional home the racial dynamics are tangible. An Indigenous, Mixtec woman serving a white, middle-class, Mexican family echoes the domestication of "subaltern" women. What Cleo's story indicates is that Native women's domestic labor is unique for its place in ongoing colonization. Her position as an Indigenous woman serving the settler reinforces settler hierarchies. These structures create entry for Indigenous peoples through low-paid and physically demanding menial labor. Indeed, in these intimate spaces of the home, racial hierarchies and divisions are reproduced and intensified through domestic work. Therefore servitude itself serves as a metaphor for the colonial project. Predictably, domestic service is a consistent feature of colonialism. Accordingly, for Indigenous women, domestic servitude is not simply an occupation, but a site of control and exploitation. Similar to the conditions of Native women nearly a century ago, Cleo is bound to an entrenched system.

Native Women's Labor in the United States

Indigenous women have a long, colonial history of indenture that spans well into the 20th-century. The concept of a live-in Native woman domestic worker, laboring for a white middle to upper-class home is not remotely foreign. In fact, in certain areas of the United States, especially in California, it was quite common. Colonial policies intertwined with coercion and control established a thriving culture of Indian servitude. Under these systems, Native women were treated as especially useful in domestic service and were relegated to such positions. Outside of colonial law and practice, national Indian policies in the late 19th and early-20th century championed the profession among Native American women. These determined efforts led to the creation of the Bay Area Outing Program.

My analysis of domestic labor focuses on the Bay Area Outing Program for its insight into gendered, racialized labor. The Bay Area-based iteration of Outing was established by the U.S. federal government as an extension of boarding school policy. In practice, it contracted Native women and girls to work as domestic laborers in private homes—thus shirking federal responsibilities and placing them in the hands of white homeowners. Though outing was implemented nationwide, the Bay Area Outing Program was unique in that it extended beyond Indian educational institutions. Unlike many federally-run outing programs that operated out of Indian boarding schools, the Bay Area Outing Program funneled Native girls and women laborers from both the region and western-based Indian boarding schools. In whole, the program established a far-reaching, regional system that was entirely independent and not affiliated with

[11] Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*. University of California Press, 2007. 65.
[12] *Ibid*. 241.

any particular boarding school. Also, where boarding schools operated their own Outing programs for boys and girls, the Bay Area Outing Program was *exclusively* for girls and women. Consistent with national programs, Bay Area outing positions were solely in the field of domestic work. Because the Bay Area Outing Program lasted for two decades into the 1940s, it demonstrates the lack of change in the advent of major Indian policy shifts such as the 1928 Meriam Report and the 1934 "Indian New Deal." Moreover, the Bay Area Outing Program is a crucial element in the history of Indigenous labor in California. In the West, this institution capitalized on preexisting processes of Indian labor exploitation. This program thus illustrates the *longue durée* of settler colonization. Furthermore, analysis of this particular program reveals the ways in which Native American women negotiated oppressive labor conditions. Finally, outing in the Bay Area provides insight into the creation of the intertribal Bay Area Indian Community.

Outing Programs and Labor Assimilation Context

Outing and Indian boarding school education began as an experiment in the late 19th-century and flourished well into the 20th. Boarding schools were compulsory institutions that attempted to solve the "Indian Problem," at its root—with Indian children. David Wallace Adams' underscores the shift from expensive bloody wars with Indians towards efficient, cost-effective, civilizing schools. Indian boarding schools, Adams declares, could civilize in "record time," and it was "less expensive to educate Indians than to kill them."[13] During the school year, these institutions operated to transform Indian children into responsible, thrifty, male-centered, laboring households. Students received a half-day of academic instruction and were required to labor the remaining part of the day. Young men were instructed in masonry, roofing or electrician work and would be expected to perform these tasks on campus. Young girls were trained in domestic science. They were taught to cook, clean sew and learn such household skills. Practical hands on training meant that children performed these tasks on campus. Indian boys would construct the dormitories while Indian girls would clean them. During summer breaks and often into the school year, "Outing" programs contracted student labor into white homes, extending the process of assimilation and removal.

In recent decades, scholars have taken up the question of Indigenous child labor at global and national levels.[14] On-campus Indian boarding school labor and off-campus Outing labor are

[13] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 19–20.

[14] See K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*, Reprint edition (University of Nebraska Press, 1995). K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1989-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996): 5–31. K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. L McCarty, *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006). Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1995). Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (July 1, 1982). Margaret D Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia,*

two of the most prevalent examples. Tsianina Lomawaima and Brenda Child have both examined exploitative in-school and off campus labor at the institutions that shaped their relatives and families. Victoria Haskins has examined Native American outing in comparison with similar Aboriginal labor programs in Australia. Kevin Whalen and Katrina Paxton have both focused on the impact of Sherman Indian School's expansive Outing program in southern California. In addition to Abigail Markwyn, Margaret Jacobs—who has also explored Aboriginal Australian labor connections—has offered a sharp analysis of the San Francisco Bay Area Outing Program. Overwhelmingly, these scholars argue that Indian child labor in and out of boarding schools was damaging, exploitative and yet vital to the upkeep of the federal institution.

Encoded in boarding schools and particularly in Outing programs were regulations of control and surveillance aimed at Indian children, especially young Native women. Lomawaima argues that authorities were much more focused on Indian girls than boys. Within the schools, "Educators attempted complete surveillance of and control over female Indian bodies." Boys were generally granted more free reign in their attire and work details. And where boys could delve into blacksmithing, printing, carpentry, masonry and more, Native girls were limited to domestic work. Similar to Americanization programs for immigrant women, domesticity intended to "domesticate" Native girls and women. Katrina Paxton's study on Sherman Institute draws upon her theory of "gender assimilation" to underscore that young Native women were targeted for indoctrination in Protestant gender and domestic ideals. Through the school's Outing program girls were to gain "civilization" working in American homes.[15] Gendered notions of Victorian morality paired with the cult of domesticity or true womanhood underpinned both boarding school curriculum and Outing programs.[16] Victorian ideals emphasized industrial work ethic, personal improvement, morality and chastity. It required Indian children to adhere to strict codes of conduct, discipline and order. The cult of domesticity, enforced Euro American notions of femininity among Native girls and women. A woman's domestic role in the home was central to this idea, emphasizing domesticity, piety, submissiveness and male authority. While largely

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1880-1940 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016). Victoria Haskins, *Matrons and Maids: Regulating Indian Domestic Service in Tucson, 1914--1934* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

[15] Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907–1925," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: Bison Books, 2006), 182.

[16] For more on Victorian morality and true womanhood see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 227–40. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995). Robert A. Trennert, "Victorian Morality and the Supervision of Indian Women Working in Phoenix, 1906-1930," *Journal of Social History* 22, no. 1 (1988): 113–28. Eric N. Olund, "Public Domesticity during the Indian Reform Era; Or, Mrs. Jackson Is Induced to Go to Washington," *Gender, Place & Culture* 9, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 153–66. Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907–1925," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: Bison Books, 2006), 182.

contradictory in nature, these means were considered especially useful for controlling and shaping Native women.

Indeed, school administrators and Outing Matrons upheld these notions in their management of Native women. In her study on Tucson Outing, Haskins finds that Matrons were formally agents of state surveillance and control. Truly, the Tucson program worked to override Indian interests and was "designed to constrain indigenous power and autonomy."[17] However, for Haskins, Tucson's outing matrons were "complicated and refracted in their role."[18] Nonetheless, while power dynamics functioned in multiple capacities, Matrons certainly exhibited great authority over Native women. For example, in the Phoenix Outing program, Matron Chingren had the power to place, punish or jail outing women—including those from adjacent reservations.[19] Certainly, non-Native women were subjected to rigid standards of the time. However, for Native women, discipline was unevenly applied—indeed disproportionately on the basis of race and gender. From a young age, these women were actively trained for labor exploitation. In effect, domesticity served as a disciplinary method. This federal assimilation tactic normalized domestic work among generations of Native women.

In addition to power structures, Outing work was exploitative in nature. Margaret Jacobs' study on the Bay Area Outing Program revealed various forms of exploitation and surveillance. Because women boarded in private homes, they were subjected to the rules and morals of their employers and Matrons. They also suffered conditions consistent with modern-day live-in domestics—feelings of loneliness, being abused or taken advantage of and long hours but low wages. In this way, the BIA continued its long established wardship over Indian people, and therefore rendered Indian children what Beth Piatote calls "unnatural children"—an invention of the state with material consequences. In Piatote's analysis, Indians are rendered unnatural children in two senses: first, their unnatural federally-invented racialized "ward" status presumes Indian people are childlike and simple; and second, Indian wards were not permitted to "grow up," and were to remain in the custody of the government. [20] This concept played a role in the making and managing of the national Outing programs and further established settler dominance.

In its beginning, the first-ever Outing program as operated through the Carlisle Institute had visions of being more than just a labor program. Under Richard Henry Pratt's direction, employers homes were carefully selected to ensure that students would be treated like family members and not servants. The program did unannounced site visits at Outing homes to ensure children's welfare. While still a labor program, Pratt's vision imparted educational values and he truly believed it would produce equality among whites and Indians. However, western based schools and Outing programs largely departed from Pratt's assimilationist outing ideals. For instance, in the Southwest, Anglo-Americans, "perpetuated and refined" long standing Indian labor exploitation and slavery through the outing program.[21] In this region, Outing was simply a child labor system.

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[17] Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 166.

[18] Haskins, 166.

[19] Robert A. Trennert, "Victorian Morality and the Supervision of Indian Women Working in Phoenix, 1906-1930," *Journal of Social History* 22, no. 1 (1988): 123 – 124.

[20] Beth H. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects* (Yale University Press, 2013), 87.

[21] Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 21. Throughout Northern and Southern California for example, outright peonage and slavery were commonly practiced throughout the Spanish, Mexican and

For instance, upon its establishment, the Phoenix Indian School was backed by the support of local businesses who were keen to secure cheap Indian labor. Local Orchards capitalized on Superintendents who were quick to meet labor demands. Where Pratt's program held on to education and assimilation ideals, Phoenix's outing program was solely for labor. So much so that Superintendent Harwood Hall admitted, "The hiring of an Indian youth is not looked upon by the people of the valley from a philanthropist standpoint. It is simply a matter of business."[22] Business it certainly was. Native domestics were certainly not treated "like family." Phoenicians so relied upon Indian child labor that as many as 400 children outed per year. In 1909 for example, 37 girls employed as domestics, grossed $5,000 in wages. And Outing girls were so common that having an Indian girl servant was fashionable. Indian child labor was fully integrated into the Phoenix economy. Over the decades, the program experienced its ups and down including scandalous "wild" girls, gambling, drinking and "moral delinquency" which lead to compulsory marriages. Ultimately, the program proved much too large to manage and overwhelmingly, locals did not treat students well. Robert Trennert argues, "In some cases deep attachments developed between patron and student. In other cases, Indian children were abused. Some pupils complained that their employers swore at them, restricted their freedom, and worked them so hard they were in pain…They were simply workers supplied by the government and were expected only to be efficient and docile" [23]

Sherman Indian School had a remarkably similar start to Phoenix. Superintendent Harwood Hall was similarly invested in gaining local support with the promise of Indian labor. In an attempt to relocate the school from Perris, CA to Riverside, he flooded the citrus-laden neighborhoods with low-wage outing laborers. Hall's idea worked and Sherman's Outing program grew to sustain the burgeoning agricultural industry. Many young men worked on local orchards as farmworkers. Women were exclusively engaged in domestic work. Kevin Whalen argues that "at worst" the Outing system turned schools into "employment agencies, sending young Indian people to perform dangerous, physically demanding tasks at discount wages."[24] At Sherman, women were regarded as superior representatives of the school and yet were traded as commodities. Indian girls between the ages of ten and thirteen worked for as little as one dollar a month and Superintendent Hall assured one labor recipient, "if the girl is not satisfactory, you may return her at once."[25] Overwhelmingly, western patrons of outing were not concerned with education, but solely with cheap menial labor. Western-based Indian boarding schools delivered.

Amidst, exploitation and profound coercion Native women resisted officials attempts to mold and shape and control them. Lomawaima's examination of Native women's agency in boarding school illuminates counter resistance from the ground up. In her study on Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma, Lomawaima found spaces of resistance.[26] In these spaces policy makers worked to mold, shape, discipline and control Native children's minds and bodies.

American periods and was galvanized in 1850 with the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians.

[22] Robert A. Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930," *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (August 1, 1983): 280.

[23] Trennert, 287.

[24] Kevin Whalen, "Labored Learning: The Outing System at Sherman Institute, 1902-1930," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 36, no. 1 (2012): 152.

[25] Whalen, 156.

[26] Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools," 237.

Focusing on "bloomer stories" Lomawaima uncovers Native girls' subtle and collective resistance to boarding school uniforms and dress policy. Collectively through complex networks, bonds and friendships young Indian women united to outwit school matrons and frustrate stifling boarding school regulations.[27] In these instances, Lomawaima maintains that students "successfully exercised their own power in their resistance." [28] Indeed, in the face of boarding school and Outing institutions, Indian children rejected, refused, and frustrated these imposed labor structures.

The Bay Area Outing Program

The Bay Area Outing Program was a once thriving project of government assimilation. The Office of Indian Affairs program launched in 1916 and officially gained traction in 1918. [29] Outing in the Bay Area complimented and tapped into California's long history of Indian indenture. Each year the program recruited dozens of Native women from U.S. boarding schools including Chemawa Indian School in Salem, OR, Sherman Institute in Riverside, CA and Stewart Indian School in Carson City, NV, among others. The sole purpose of the program was to contract Native girls and women to work as live-in housemaids in homes across the San Francisco Bay Area region. In exchange for room, board and menial pay, young Native women—as young as fourteen—cooked, cleaned and served as caretakers in the private homes of their employers. Easily, thousands of Native women were recruited throughout the duration of the program and its later iterations. For roughly two decades, the Bay Area Outing Program was part of the federal government's "civilizing mission," establishing a readily available exploitative labor market.

Native women in the Bay Area Outing Program may have shared experiences similar to Cleo. They too were live-in domestic workers, largely responsible for the upkeep and day to day management of the home. In practice, domestic work of the era was difficult. Laundry, ironing and housecleaning were arduous tasks. Similar to Cleo, these young women would have done the laundry by hand. They would have been scrutinized at the quality of wash and if they singed a tablecloth while ironing, their employer would dock their wages. They too experienced the crucial difficulty of live-in domestic work—the "on call" nature of employment at all hours of the day. Meaning they hardly had down time and only one day off a week. Some girls labored from 6:30am to 9:30pm, averaging about 90 hours a week. We can assume that Cleo had some form of wage as she dined out and frequented the theater. If those wages were similar to Native women in the Outing Program, they were certainly low.

Cleo's experience as an Indigenous woman serving a white, middle-class, family precisely mirrors the Bay Area Outing Program. Outing was designed for Indigenous children to interact with whites and learn to emulate their culture. In practice however, it established racial hierarchies and made Native women subordinate to her white employers. Whether on screen or

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[27] The fact that Native girls and women worked together collectively to resist assimilation doctrine speaks to the fact that runaways often traveled in groups and worked together to resist policies meant to control and marginalize them.

[28] Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 96.K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*, Reprint edition (University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 96.

[29] The Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) was later known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

in the 20th-century Outing home, these racialized dynamics maintained the message that Indian women were not only best suited for housekeeping but should conform to the subservience of the profession. Outside of the racialized dynamics and social differences between domestic worker and employer, demanding work was at the core. On average, Native women worked in modest three and four bedroom homes like Cleo. However, some worked in large, eleven bedroom mansions that were certainly challenging to clean. And where Cleo had Adela as her friend and confidant, working in the same home, many Native women in the Outing Program did not. Some, if advocated successfully, were able to secure a home adjacent to their friend or sister. However, overwhelmingly girls were isolated in the homes of the employers with no friends or acquaintances nearby. Like Cleo their families were hundreds of miles away.

While Cleo becomes very much a mother to the children in *Roma*, women in the Bay Area Outing Program appeared to be less intimately involved with their charges. In fact, some women outright requested homes without children for they found it so demanding. However, occasionally, girls liked the idea of caring for children and specifically, sought homes with youngsters. Others still, complained of disobedient children and requested transfers when they could no longer tolerate it. Moreover, Cleo's presence in the household is long-term. It appears that over the years she continued to labor in the home, raising the children well into their adolescence. However, women in the Bay Area Outing Program were far less permanent. Their official tenure in the program, was more characterized as short stints—often during summer and winter school breaks. While some women and girls remained throughout the school year, none appeared to stay in the same home for much longer than a year or so. In fact, women who stayed in a home for even three years was certainly less common. Perhaps all the more reason intimate relationships like Cleo's were less apparent. It must also be said that because Native women came to Outing through a federal program, the goal of their assimilation through labor was ever-present. And coercion colored Outing. Native women did not always have a choice as to whether or not they outed. Cleo however appears to have taken the job of her own accord.[30] Even so, maybe Cleo would have experienced more job constraints than women who at least in the best of situations could have relied on an Outing Matron for intervention. All the same, Outing Matrons made it their duty to initiate distinct forms of surveillance and monitoring of Native women in the Bay Area Outing Program.

Amidst the ills of live in work, the racialized dynamics and low wages, both Cleo and Native women in the Outing Program could partake in city life. Cleo arrived in Mexico City from a small village in Oaxaca. Similarly, many of the women in the Outing Program came from rural boarding school and reservation communities. Their time in the San Francisco Bay Area would have been a sea change—marked by bright city lights, a diverse new array of people and lots to see and experience. Indeed, Cleo relishes in the cinema, joining Adela and their boyfriends. Many Native women delighted in the city life of Oakland and San Francisco. They enjoyed picture shows, plays and even trolley car rides. Like Cleo they socialized with their friends and dated in the diverse Bay Area, meeting Latino, Filipino and African American men. In the interwar years, they socialized with Indian men through Oakland's YWCA, in an organization known at the Four Winds Club. Just like Cleo, they were Indian girls in the city, experiencing new things and trying to build a life for themselves. The Bay Area Outing Program

[30] Perhaps similar to other Indigenous workers seen in the film—fellow domestics, drivers and garbage men.

was many things—ultimately a promise of new experiences, wages and freedom from boarding school, yet the predicament of federal control, Outing Matron intervention and exploitation.

The Project

"Unsettling Domesticity" centers the experiences of Native domestic workers who negotiated the oppressive conditions of gendered assimilative labor. I uncover how Native women struggled to survive the Bay Area Outing Program during the early 20th-century. I do so in the context of an enduring history of colonial labor policies directed at Native communities. My project interrogates two overarching questions: Within the confines of domestic labor, how did Native women comply, resist and negotiate their circumstances as workers and mothers? What was the Bay Area Outing Program's impact on Native families in community contexts? Specifically, I investigate how Native domestic workers negotiated and frustrated the oppressive conditions of the Bay Area Outing Program, and its enduring legacy in the Bay Area Indian community.

A substantial body of research on Indian boarding schools interrogates the schools themselves but rarely the off-campus labor programs that proliferated from these institutions. The origin and history of outing is underanalyzed and neglected. A close analysis of outing uncovers the geographic and temporal reach of federal Indian boarding schools and reveals how outing extended the labor relations and constructions of domesticity and settler colonialism. In the context of my project, outing research especially explores the paternalistic and maternalistic relationship—manifested by the role of Matrons—between the government, Native women and their families. Therefore, an analysis of outing also uncovers the feminization of settler colonialism. In turn, I interrogate how Native women navigated the systemic effects of entrenched gendered domestic labor.

Not until recent years have scholars taken up the study of these regional and school-based programs. Only two books have examined outing at an in-depth manuscript length: Victoria's Haskins *Matrons and Maids* (2012) and Kevin Whalen's *Native Students at Work* (2016). However, these focus on white women Outing Matrons (Haskins) and argue that outing ends after the supposedly transformative 1934 Indian "New Deal" (Whalen). By contrast, my project centers Native women's experiences and considers their agency and resistance. Significantly, few scholars have examined my site of analysis, the San Francisco Bay Area. A focus on the Bay Area enables us to consider the ways in which outing—not tied to any institution—brought increasing numbers of Native women into the labor market especially after the Indian New Deal and prior to Indian Relocation. Apart from Abigail Markwyn's master's thesis, "'It was a place for the Girls to Meet': Community, Native Americans and the Berkeley Outing Center 1927 – 1933 (2000), and a sub-chapter of Margaret Jacobs' book, *White Mother to a Dark Race* (2009), no scholars have explored the Bay Area Outing Program in depth, nor connected Native women's organizing as the first ever intertribal Native hub in the Bay Area.

While Markwyn and Jacobs offer meaningful and significant contributions regarding maternalism, agency and community, I build upon their work and develop a nuanced understanding of the Bay Area Outing Program. By investigating the whole body of outing records including newly released data, I consider crucial yet unanalyzed records that demonstrate the material consequences of outing concerning Native women's health, safety and well-being. In my analysis I have also interrogated surveillance of Native women's sexuality and bodies and the ways they were criminalized and incarcerated in the Outing program. Scholars have

considered the carceral elements of boarding school life; the presence of "jails" at schools, military atmosphere, harsh forms of discipline including corporeal punishment and constant surveillance and confinement.[31] Yet, the carcerality of outing programs remains largely unexplored. Broadly, this analytical shift changes our understanding of assimilation labor policies as a whole. Understanding Outing as a form of carcerality highlights how Indian children and young adults were simply transferred from one form of incarceration to the next. Simultaneously, I do not center my analysis heavily on white women Matrons. Instead, my focus on Native women's actions and correspondence centers Native women's experiences.

Also, where the majority of outing scholarship has been limited the study of the early 20th-century, I situate my analysis of the Bay Area Outing Program within a longer history of Indian servitude and exploitation in California. My analysis of Indian child labor mandates and the state's creation of an artificial labor market reconceptualizes the California story and establishes a significant connection between 19th-century Indian labor practices and 20th-century outing programs. Most California histories begin with the 18th-century arrival of the Spanish missionaries in southern California and skip the Indian labor policies in the American period that grew from both Spanish and Mexican practices. This omission overlooks the traces of history that give rise to Indian labor—especially Indian child labor—that proliferated in the state. This project thus examines the *longue durée* and settler colonial manifestations of the program. Situating my project in the context of California and the American West broadens our knowledge of gendered Indian labor in the San Francisco Bay Area. In this way, my project contributes to emerging scholarship on the history of Native California and the ways it broadly challenges our understanding of Native American history. Overall, my project expands the scholarship on labor in U.S. colonization, and documents the essential and understudied intersection of gender and labor in the assimilationist project. My study provides a woman-centered history of Outing in the San Francisco Bay Area—expanding gender-specific knowledge of Urban Indians prior to mid-century Indian Relocation. By considering contemporary community, my project reveals the long-lasting effects of Outing and its impact. "Unsettling Domesticity" deepens the outing story.

At the heart of my study are Native women's voices uncovered from the archive. I use qualitative data analysis software to examine more than 4,000 outing-related documents. My study draws upon Bureau of Indian Affairs records at NARA San Bruno, NARA Washington D.C. and special collections at the UC Berkeley Bancroft Library. These archives include letters from concerned parents of outing girls, women contesting adoption and women advocating for commensurate wages. To echo Brenda Childs, "Letters are at the heart of this story."[32] Recent scholarship on the Bay Area Outing Program or "Outing Center" has only taken into account a third of the archival data available.[33] Therefore, my research expands the Outing story by

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[31] Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*, Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. *They Called it Prairie Light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*, Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, and Teresa L. McCarty. *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education*. See also *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* by Elizabeth Graham for a Canadian context.

[32] Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

[33] Margaret D. Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier: American Indian Domestic Servants in White Women's Households in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1920-1940," *Frontiers: A*

examining the whole and larger body of Bay Area Outing records including newly released data. This rich set of government files reveals the program's larger structural framework and captures a complicated network of local organizations, social services agencies, and institutions affiliated with the Bay Area Outing program. These records also trace the change of administration over time, including Matron Van Every's transition from Outing to "Social Work." Among the bulk of Outing records are rich "employee" files that reference Native women's' places of employment, respective wages, tribal affiliation, blood quantum and other such details that illuminate their circumstances and conditions. Overwhelmingly, these records demonstrate the government's detailed, day-to-day management and exploitation of women in the outing program—but most importantly Native women's resistance to it. While certainly rife with correspondence *about* Native women from Matrons, employers and BIA officials, these files also include Native girls and women's testimony. Even where testimony is less available, I highlight Native women's agency accordingly.

While the archive is certainly revealing, it does not capture the full weight of the Outing Program. Ultimately, unless documented, we will not know the stories that women chose not to share. Conversely, there are issues in the archive that women may have intended to conceal from their relatives which are painstakingly detailed and revealing. Nonetheless the deficiencies prompt Michel-Rolph Trouillot's notion of the "absences in the archive."[34] These silences are laden with power and speak to the fact that certain histories are privileged and upheld while others are obscured. As Danika Medak-Saltzman contends archival materials are "repositories of colonial privilege." [35] Indeed, Outing Matrons' predispositions imbue the data. Nonetheless, the archive offers a glimpse into the complex lives of Native women. That said, because Native women's experiences are not adequately represented, I also draw from a few select interviews with my great aunt—a woman who attended an Indian boarding school, performed outing labor and became a domestic worker. Regrettably, oral history interviews were not a larger component of this project. Many of the women I had hoped to interview passed away long before I started this project and the other few I knew of chose not to reveal their experiences. Nonetheless, in addition to these sources I analyze further archival documents including California Indian indenture policy, Indian boarding school curricula, and early 20th-century Bay Area newspaper articles. Theoretically, I situate the program within California's long history of colonial Indian labor exploitation and I center Native women's resistance within a framework of settler colonialism. In doing so, my project examines the long history of labor policies directed at Native communities while considering settlement not as only place-taking but place-making.

My sources reveal that Native women challenged their liminal standing and resisted outing in various ways including fighting for wages, running away and fighting to keep their

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Journal of Women Studies 28, no. 1 (2007): 165–99. Margaret D. Jacobs, "Diverted Mothering among American Indian Domestic Servants, 1920–1940," in *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism* (University of Illinois Press, 2012), 179–92. Abigail Markwyn, "'It Was a Place for the Girls to Meet': Community, Native Americans, and the Berkeley Outing Center, 1927 - 1933" (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2000).

[34] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1997), 48.

[35] Danika Medak-Saltzman, "Transnational Indigenous Exchange: Rethinking Global Interactions of Indigenous Peoples at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition," *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2010): 594.

children. The chapters of my dissertation chronicle a history of gendered, racialized labor and its effects on Native women and their families; I show how Native women navigated a system of oppression and reworked into these systems, potential and possibility. Chapter 1 traces 19th and 20th-century gendered Indian labor practices and policies enacted in colonial California and nationally in the United States. To this end I analyze how and why Native bodies were used for settlement. First and foremost I provide a survey of California Indian labor history throughout three colonial systems; the Spanish, Mexican and American periods. Within this section I examine forms of labor practices such as slavery, convict leasing and Indian child indenture. Second, I analyze 20th-century Indian education policy as an extension of that history. I link the overarching connections between these labor systems to argue that outing in California emerges from both a long history of state-wide Indian labor practices as well as national federal Indian policy. By illuminating the connections between these eras I also argue that the "domestication" of Native peoples—and Native women in particular—was integral to the settler colonial project. Largely, this first chapter describes the historical and material consequences of Indian labor in the West. This chapter asks; How were Indian children and adolescents imagined by reformers? How and why was their education gendered? How did their labor contribute to the boarding school institution? How did these national projects mimic or complement existing California Indian labor policies?

Chapter 2 brings the reader into the world of the Outing Program detailing Native women's' experiences. I trace the good and the bad—subpar working conditions, surveillance, low wages, grueling schedules as well as women's vibrant social lives in the diverse Bay Area and the growing Indian community. I explore the first iteration of outing in the San Francisco Bay Area as documented in 20th-century newspapers. I then examine the process through which Native women were recruited and the ways they were policed and surveilled by their employers and Outing Matrons. In my analysis I consider forms of coercion and the fact that few Native women could find jobs outside of domestic work. I also describe the contracts that Native women were required to sign in the early 1930s and provide an in-depth analysis of outing labor, wages and conditions. Finally, I explore Native women's organizing through the Four Winds Club—the first ever intertribal Native hub in the Bay Area. Ultimately, I argue that Outing presents a predicament—the promise of wages and public schooling, bound to the likelihood of undesirable conditions, surveillance and lack of agency. Questions that fuel this chapter are: What is the history of the Bay Area Outing Program? What were Native women's conditions in the outing system? How were their bodies policed and surveilled? What choices did they have and how did they respond?

Chapter 3 uncovers Native women's discontent and criminalization by tracing runaways and those incarcerated in detention homes. In doing so, I frame runaways in a broader sense and consider the various ways that women exited the Outing Program. My analysis engages three central themes; labor, incarceration and sexuality. I argue that while seemingly distinct categories, these themes are interconnected and work together to create substantially difficult circumstances for Native women and girls in the Outing program. The first section is informed by early 20th-century Bay Area newspaper articles. I observe how localized rhetoric sought to both convey the charity of the Outing Program while justifying the control of Native women. In the second section I closely examine powerful stories of women and girls who expressed their dissatisfaction, ran away, stayed out past curfew and wound up in Bay Area detention homes. While some women left permanently, others would return to the Bay Area to work in Outing homes and continue the profession boarding schools had trained them in—domestic

housekeeping. Ultimately, I show that Native women refused to perform and reproduce social and sexual norms mandated by Matrons, their employers and the Outing Program as a whole. This chapter asks; How did Native women frustrate the outing system while exhibiting agency and autonomy? What were the circumstances that created runaways? How were runaways treated? Did Native women's forms of resistance change over time?

Chapter 4 expands the focus to the Indian family and analyzes how Outing mothers and their relatives fought the program's practice of Indian child removal. In the Bay Area Outing Program, Native women's sexuality and pregnancy were two of the most pressing issues. Pregnant Outing women or women with young children were particularly risky for their child would become a barrier to their employment as live-in housekeepers. Therefore, the Outing program was not simply isolated to securing domestic work for Native women. Outing Matrons made it their duty to address the whole Native family. And Matrons' assumptions of Indian mothers and Indian families as "unfit" informed their regular interventions. To this end, I closely examine painful stories of Native women involved with the Outing Program who had children, were feared to be sexually active and became pregnant in the Bay Area. Through such files, Matron's management of Native women's bodies, sexuality and their children are thoroughly evident. In doing so I highlight the ways that Matrons assumed Native women to be promiscuous and how they both feared pregnancy and policed Native women's sexuality. Ultimately, I describe Outing Matrons' three central methods of removal; boarding infant children, enrolling children into a federal Indian boarding school and finally, attempting and at times succeeding in the fostering or adoption of Native children. Because most Outing mothers were forced to choose between outing wages and their children, I argue that gendered domestic labor was designed to break the Native family and allow mothers entrance into society through labor exploitation. Questions that fuel this chapter are: Broadly, how did the Bay Area Outing Program affect the Indian family? How did Native women fight against Indian child removal? In the early 20th-century, what were the circumstances and challenges for Indian children of outing mothers?

Chapter One | California Indian Policy: Training and Working Indian Bodies

"Our friendly Indians … they tilled our soil, pastured our cattle, sheared our sheep, cut our lumber, build our houses, paddled our boats, made tiles for a houses, ground or grain, killed our cattle and dress their hides for market, and Main are burnt bricks, while the Indian women made excellent servants, took care of our children, made every one of our meals... Those people we considered members of our families; we loved them and they loved us; our intercourse was always pleasant…"

- Salvador Vallejo, 1844

Introduction

For Native families in California and across the United States, the institutionalization of domestic labor is well-known and familiar. Ancestors from the recent and distant past, especially women are remembered for their work as laundry workers, housekeepers, hotel maids and otherwise domestic laborers. This collective memory reveals the remnants of settler practices and federal policy that entrenched a vibrant and thriving market of Indian labor—especially domestic labor for Native women. Locally in the west, long histories of colonialism established a gendered division of labor among California Indian communities. Across the Spanish, Mexican and American eras, Indians were put to work. They were forced to labor in an entrenched, enduring system that continued to thrive into the 20th-century. Native bodies were used for settlement on the California frontier and into the burgeoning California metropolis. Throughout this process, among varying colonial systems, labor served as a means to "domesticate" Indian people. Whether in 1769, 1850 or 1930, Native labor in all its forms was integral to the settler colonial project in the state we now call California. Indigenous servitude was one a fact of Native life.

Local Ohlone families, descendants of the original peoples of the San Francisco Bay Area, recollect their own grandmothers and great grandmothers who proudly served as housekeepers in affluent Bay Area homes. Famed Washoe basket weaver Dat So La Lee's skills were said to have been discovered by her employer when she worked as a domestic worker for the Cohn family. My own grandmother and her sister—as many of their peers—were housekeepers and hotel maids, often supplementing their own income with other kinds of jobs as necessary. Perhaps it is no surprise that every Native woman in my family who attended boarding school was once a domestic worker. Though my grandmother's career was never a secret, I recognized it was a sensitive subject. While some women remember being treated as members of the family, others were treated poorly and left domestic work with aversion. Within this multi-layered and complex history, the simple fact remains that domestic work was once an ever-present part of Indian life and livelihood. Across regions, and tribes Native women were contracted into domestic wage work and this practice led well into the 20th-century.

While scholars have examined such domestic work in the scope of national Indian assimilation policy,[36] they have yet to examine the overarching connections between these

[36] Paxton, Katrina A. "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907–1925." *Boarding School Blues, Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (2006): 174-186. Trennert, Robert A. "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (August 1, 1983): 267–91. Olund, Eric N. "Public Domesticity during the Indian Reform Era; or, Mrs. Jackson is Induced to Go to

policies and early colonial practices in regions such as California and the Southwest. In these areas, colonial Indian labor practices thrived at least a century before federal Indian assimilation labor policies existed. To overlook these connections, renders an incomplete picture of Indian labor and colonial labor for that matter. Certainly, domestic and "outing" labor as it is understood in the late 19th and 20th-centuries was essential to creating an entrenched national policy of domestic servitude for Indian women, but it was not solely responsible. Therefore, to consider Indian outing labor in California as a product of the 20th-century or even the late 19th-century eclipses the region's longstanding reliance and exploitation of Indian labor—especially domestic labor of Native women.

This chapter traces gendered Indian labor practices and policies enacted in colonial California and nationally in the United States. I link the overarching connections between these labor systems and I argue that outing in California emerges from both a long history of state-wide Indian labor practices as well as national federal Indian policy. Further, I contend that outing is an extension of labor policies designed to "domesticate" Indian people and Native women in particular. Largely, this chapter analyzes California-based Indian labor policies and practices within a framework of settler colonialism. The goals of this chapter are twofold: first and foremost I provide a survey of California Indian labor history throughout three colonial systems; the Spanish, Mexican and American periods. Within this section I examine forms of labor practices such as slavery, convict leasing and Indian child indenture.[37] Second, I analyze 20th-century Indian education policy as an extension of that history. This chapter brings to light connections between colonial Indian labor policies and 20th-century Indian policies and describes the historical and material consequences of Indian labor. To this end I examine two major policies: California's 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians and Indian boarding school policy. For the latter, I focus on the emphasis of labor in the late 19th- and 20th-century curricula and outing as an extension of labor policies designed to bring Native Americans, especially women, into the work force in subordinate positions. To analyze these

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Washington." *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 9.2 (2002): 153-166. Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian schools, 1898–1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land." *Journal of American Indian Education* 35.3 (1996): 5-32. Prucha, Francis Paul. *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian."* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1973. Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, and Teresa L. McCarty. "To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education. New York: Teachers College Press, 2006. Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body." *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 227–40. Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (July 1, 1982): 281.

[37] In the scope of this chapter I will use the term "slavery" to discuss the various forms of Indian slavery in the Spanish, Mexican and American periods. In doing so I also take up California Indian scholar, Stephanie Lumsden's treatise to frustrate the language of the colonial archive. Lumsden argues, "the failure of historians to deploy the language of slavery consistently in their analyses of California Indian genocide upholds the narrative of the settler state and erases the violence of captivity while replacing it with the sanitized langue of state benevolence." Stephanie Lumsden, "What's in a Name?: An Examination of Historians' Reluctance to Use the Word Slavery in the Context of California Indian Genocide," *Center for the Study of Women* (blog), October 18, 2018.

questions, I examine primary sources including California indenture and Indian policy documents along with compulsory Indian boarding school curricula. I place these in the context of scholarship on California Indian history, settler colonialism and Indian education and assimilation literature.

Thematically, my analysis will engage three central themes; incarceration, labor and gender. Primarily, I engage incarceration to examine how colonial systems employed punishment, and confinement to control Indian populations. In regard to labor I consider how Native people's labor was exploited in California to extend settler settlement and also how Native communities came to depend on wage labor. Finally, I examine the gendered consequences and the ways Native women were exploited in California's longstanding culture of Indian indenture. While seemingly distinct categories, I argue that these themes of incarceration, labor and gender are interconnected. These are not isolated, distinct categories, but in fact work together to create substantially difficult circumstances for Native women in the California "frontier." This chapter asks: How did Colonial labor systems operate in California and what are the relevant policies with regard to labor? How have those policies been gendered? What was the importance of gendered labor in relationship to Indian boarding schools as a whole? How did boarding school education extend historical labor policies especially in California?

Settler Colonialism

In the context of this project, settler colonialism is broadly defined as the replacement and or erasure of Native peoples and values including but not limited to traditional home and familial practices, gender roles, language, identity, and sovereignty with Euro American values. Patrick Wolfe succinctly asserts, "Settler colonialism destroys to replace."[38] Wolfe famously maintains, "[I]t erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base—as I put it, settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event."[39] This chapter examines the nature of this new colonial society, founded upon genocide and the exploitation of Indian laborers. While I briefly engage California Indian genocide, this chapter centers on California settlers' extraction and exploitation of Indian labor often disguising forms of slavery as indenture programs.

Lorenzo Veracini make similar claims to Wolfe on the significance of land, arguing "'American Freedom'" includes the "right to settle anywhere…" [40] However, Veracini furthers analysis to include a "settler psyche," establishing that though settler projects are "inevitably… violent," the settler psyche needs to "disavow any foundational violence."[41] Veracini unpacks settler denial and its constant search of a clean conscience. Moreover, Veracini establishes a kind of shape to settler colonialism. Contrary to traditional colonialism, which he identifies as circular, Veracini finds settler colonialism linear in nature and irreversible. He states, "the settler colonizer moves forward along a story line that cannot be turned back…."[42] In such a way,

[38] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4. New York: Routledge 2006. 388.
[39] *Ibid*.
[40] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndmills, Basingstoke ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 67.
[41] Veracini, 75.
[42] Veracini, 98.

settler colonial projects are specifically interested in turning indigenous people into "refugees."[43] Lastly, Veracini articulates the fact that settler colonialism is always in the interest of capital gain. He states, "Capitalism is at the service of settlement."[44] Later sections of this chapter will closely examine how early California settlers adopted policies and practices to build empires at the expense and detriment of California Indian laborers.

Where Wolfe and Veracini address settler colonialism globally, Walter Hixson takes up the issue within the U.S. nation state. Hixson's argument is similarly predicated on Indian removal and the settler's desire of "complete control of land."[45] Hixson boldly asserts that the American brand of settler colonialism is in fact the "most sweeping, most violent and most significant example of settler colonialism in world history."[46] In accordance with Wolfe, Hixson asserts that because it was, "*structural* rather than contingent, settler colonialism extended widely and outlasted colonialism and European imperialism."[47] That is to say the architecture of settler colonialism is a vast and comprehensive network, rather than a unique, singular event. In practice, it is that much more detrimental. In his analysis of micro and macro levels of ethnic cleansing across the land, Hixson declares the term "boomerang of violence," to reference the violence that exploded throughout the borderlands. [48] Here Hixson rejects the notion of the "frontier," and opts for the fluidity of organic borderlands.

Where Wolfe, Veracini and Hixson examine the elimination and removal of the native, Jacobs centers her analysis on the indigenous child. In her comparative study Jacobs argues that Indigenous child removal, "constituted another crucial way to eliminate indigenous people, both in a cultural and biological sense."[49] Removing Native children from their families made U.S. boarding schools and homes and missions for Aboriginal children in Australia, "instruments of violence, punishment and control, and in fact, often more effective ones than military conquest alone."[50] Moreover forced removal practices were often tricky, brutal and traumatizing. Jacobs maintains that although "government officials and reformers touted *assimilation* in the United States and *protection*[51] in Australia as compassionate policies designed to lift indigenous children out of poverty and give them greater opportunity, the approach by which they set out to accomplish this goal undermined their claims of benevolence."[52] The destructive means to reach Indian "assimilation" or "protection" outweighed any supposed benefits these children were to receive. Compared to "traditional" colonialism, Jacobs argues that, "…settler colonialism was

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[43] Veracini, 35.
[44] Veracini, 61.
[45] Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1.
[46] Hixson, 1.
[47] Hixson, 5.
[48] Hixson, 1. Hixson's "boomerang of violence," aligns with *Violence over the Land* wherein Blackhawk highlights Indians' use of violence as a learned method and survival strategy in the face of settler incursion.
[49] Margaret D Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 4.
[50] Jacobs, 149.
[51] My emphasis on both italicized words.
[52] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 193–192.

anything but benign and may have been even more deadly to Indigenous people than more classic types of extractive colonialism."[53]

Prior to Wolfe's now famous words—that invasion is a structure not an event—he articulated settler colonialism's role in establishing structures of race. Wolfe's argument is seated in the context of Australia, the United States' and Brazil's struggles over land, labor, culture, and power—especially through the eyes of miscegenation discourse. In this text, Wolfe argues "[American Indians and Aboriginal people's] relationship with their colonizers—as both parties to the relationship would presumably agree—centered on land. In contrast, blacks' relationship with their colonizers—from the colonizers' point of view at least—centered on labor."[54] Wolfe finds that "the antebellum United States encompassed both settler-colonial relationships (between whites and Indians) and relationships of slavery (between whites and blacks)."[55] To put it plainly, Indians relationship to settlers was one of land and African Americans' relationship was one of labor.[56] But what happens when Indigenous people's relationship to settler colonizers is one of both land *and* labor? What happens when colonizers seek to both replace Natives on their land and extract their "surplus value" through exploitative labor? What if the subordinated labor force is not "geographically alienated"? What if that labor force is Native? California colonialism enacted a distinct brand of Indian indenture and servitude that capitalized on Indian labor and built it into the fabric of the state. Colonists stole Indian land and forced Native people to labor their stolen land—farming, cultivating and expanding white settlement. The theft of Indian land and the laboring of Indian bodies worked to "domesticate" Indian people.

Domestication, Empire and Household as Nation

Settler labor practices in California were underpinned by *domesticating* the Native. In practice, Indian labor indenture intended to domesticate and make compliant Indian people. Evelyn Nakano Glenn's research on elite women's public caring in the late nineteenth century reveals that "domesticating," projects meant to "produce subjects who willingly undertook their gender-assigned duties and obligations."[57] In short domestication, especially through caring labor was also gendered.[58] Amy Kaplan's literary research on empire underscores the power dynamics of domestication. Kaplan asserts domestication, "entails conquering and taming the wild, the natural and the alien. Domestication in this sense is related to the imperial project of civilizing, and the conditions of domesticity often become markers that distinguish civilization from

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[53] Jacobs, 4.
[54] Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (2001): 867.
[55] Wolfe, 868.
[56] Interestingly, Wolfe's footnotes argue that the "pure" settler colonialism of Australian and North American variety, "should be distinguished from so-called colonial settler societies that depended on indigenous labor" as found in southern Africa or South Asia.
[57] Glenn, *Forced to Care*, 43.
[58] Evelyn Nakano Glenn's *Forced to Care* offers a thorough analysis of the gendered and racialized reality of caring labor, which has induced women to assume responsibility for caring for family members, and especially poor, racial minority, and immigrant women into positions of caring for others.

savagery."[59] Kaplan's main argument stems from understanding the domestic as both household and nation, therefore imbricating what is "foreign." In the interest of settler colonial studies, Kaplan examines domesticity and race as "structural to the institutional and discursive processes of national expansion and empire building."[60] If Wolfe maintains that settler colonialism is structural, then Kaplan might agree that domesticating labor is embedded in settler colonial expansion. Overwhelmingly domestication in settler California would take place in the home. Whether in 1850 or in 1930, the home played a prominent role in this domesticating space.

To further unpack the domestication of the home, we can look to the work of interdisciplinary scholars. Margaret Jacobs identifies domestic space between Indigenous children servants and white families as "domestic frontiers," where "colonial relationships continue to play themselves out."[61] This frontier she argues was not merely meant to reflect the "new colonial order imposed upon Indian peoples but also to reproduce and perform it in a kind of long-running theatrical production."[62] This *long running* production is at the heart of this chapter, considering the long lasting structure of settler colonial labor practices in California.

On the home front, Victoria Haskins argues the home as a historically significant "space for a white woman's intervention in and negotiation with colonization… both symbolic and literal."[63] Haskins' research on half-caste Aboriginal domestics in Australia illuminates how white women galvanized to "domesticate the frontier" through their work with Aboriginals. Amid the power struggle and attempts to "absorb" the "hybrid women," the home had become a "battle ground."[64] This battleground is what Ann Laura Stoler calls the "domains of the intimate"; the places and spaces one can identify and locate colonial politics and colonial rule.[65]

Janet Momsen considers these domestic spaces as, "contact zones."[66] Momsen argues, "Domestic space can be seen as a contact zone within which negotiations over 'otherness' and identity, based on race, class, religion, age, education, sophistication and citizenship are constantly underway."[67] Therefore whether in the 19th century or the 20th-century, these California "domestic frontiers"—these intimate spaces—were not simply neutral spaces, but political grounds, productions of colonial rule, maternalist regulation; long running extensions of the settler colonial domesticating project. These domesticating spaces played a part in establishing and maintaining this new settler colonial society. In settler California, this brand of colonialism takes upon a distinct character throughout three historical eras; the Spanish, Mexican and U.S. periods.

Three Colonial Systems of California

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[59] Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature*, 1998, 582.
[60] Kaplan, 583.
[61] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 166.
[62] Jacobs, 190.
[63] Victoria Haskins, "Domestic Service and Frontier Feminism: The Call for a Woman Visitor to 'Half-Caste' Girls and Women in Domestic Service, Adelaide, 1925-1928," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 28, no. 1/2 (2007): 124.
[64] Haskins, 142.
[65] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 7.
[66] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 172.
[67] Jacobs, 172.

Spain

Spanish explorers arrived in San Diego, California in 1542 at the arrival of Cabrillo. Spanish authorities in Mexico saw great potential for the coastal land. As Spain's trade in Manila, Philippines flourished in the late 1500s, the Spanish saw Alta California as an ideal location for ports and trade routes. For a hundred years the Spanish abandoned these plans but the "second coming," arrived in 1769 and would change the lives of California Indians forever.[68] Very quickly, as the Spanish further encroached, a new life would be forced upon California Indians—one of coerced labor, incarceration and little choice.

In 1769, Junipero Serra along with Military personnel Capt. Gaspar de Portolá travelled on a "sacred expedition," which led to the founding of the first of twenty-one missions in the state, Mission San Diego.[69] In this year "stability was shattered."[70] From this first act, the Spanish government left the responsibility of colonizing the region to Franciscan missions.[71] With the control of San Diego and Monterey, the Spanish Empire began to take hold over the region. At the mark of invasion, Spaniards came to the land from an authoritarian state with a long legacy of warfare and conquest.[72]

Many scholars have observed the simple yet poignant fact that missions operated for the purpose of Indian control.[73] And coerced labor or slavery was a form of establishing and maintaining that control. Edward Castillo finds the "coercive" and "authoritarian" mission system as the, most significant institution used to control Indians and their land.[74] While many argue the mission system was simply a religious endeavor, Castillo affirms these the institutions served as the "primary instrument of conquest," solely for the benefit of the Spanish Crown.[75] Other scholars have called the mission system as a "catastrophe of indescribable magnitude."[76] Lisbeth Haas recognizes the mission's systematic and calculated conquest employing tactics to gain more Indian converts and expand settlement.[77] Architecturally, these standardized quadrangles compartmentalized Indians under mission guards—the *escolta*—surrounded by industrial work areas. The mission "enculturation" program was the foundation of the missionary

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[68] Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Univ of California Press, 2005), 50 – 51

[69] Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," *California*, 1978, 100.

[70] George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 20.

[71] Phillips, 21.

[72] Jack D. Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, Revised edition (Happy Camp, Calif: Naturegraph Pub, 1982), 37.

[73] Lightfoot, Forbes, Castillo, Costo and Costo, Miranda, Rawls to name a few.

[74] Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," 101.

[75] Castillo, 102.

[76] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, 41.

[77] Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (University of California Press, 1996), 21. For example, Haas notes how the missions recruited *padrinos* regionally to gain more converts, contribute to mission diversity and to expand Spanish settlement.

enterprise.[78] Franciscans fully intended to Christianize local Indians and forced them to dramatically change their language, cultural habits and subsistence practices, in the name of god.

Scholars Rupert and Jeanette Henry Costo argue that the California missions instituted a legacy of genocide.[79] The two assert that California Indians, sophisticated, intelligent and diverse were subjected to the disastrous and oppressive force of the mission system. As a whole the authors challenge the myth and delusion of the mission system's supposed "benevolence" by shedding light on rape, murder, slavery and imprisonment as the foundation of the mission system. In defense of this "benevolence," often ignored are well-documented accounts affirming that missions were built upon forced labor and punishment. One example is testimony from a Franciscan padre, Antonio de la Concepción Horra who in 1799 declared, "the treatment shown to the Indians is the most cruel I have ever read in history…"[80] [81] Citing feudal domination, physical punishment and forced labor Castillo refers to it as the "mission-plantation system"[82]

If not by rampant diseases or ecological shifts, corporal punishment is a well-known mission practice inflicted upon California Indians. Kent Lightfoot emphasizes that the padres enacted various forms of abuse such as whippings, solitary confinement and stocks and leg chains to punish neophytes for infractions against the labor program or moral code.[83] California Indian scholar of Costanoan and Esselen descent, Deborah Miranda whose own ancestors survived Mission San Carlos Borromeo, confronts the darker reality of what many California Indians experienced; sexual abuse, lynching, Indigenous language attrition and gendered violence. Miranda who refers to missionization the "end of the world," identified the most commonly practiced punishments, flogging, whippings with the cat-o'-nine tails, hobbling with the *corma*—actually intended for livestock—and beating with the cudgel. Miranda underscores Indian leaders like *alcaldes* administered some of these forms of punishment.[84] In this way missions facilitated brutal Indian on Indian punishment.

Significantly, the missions had gendered consequences. Sexual segregation was a way of life and California Indian men and women suffered gender-specific constraints and punishments. Dormitories not only separated women from men, but also unmarried women from married women—as a means to separate the virginal "spiritual daughters" to be protected of the mission "'fathers.'"[85] In turn this segregation restricted courtship, ceremonial practices and stifled Indian

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[78] Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 59.

[79] Rupert Costo and Jeanette H. Costo, *Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (Indian Historian Pr, 1987), x.

[80] Costo and Costo, 69.

[81] After these disparaging comments, Padre Conception Horra was deemed insane.

[82] Costo and Costo, *Missions of California*, 77.

[83] Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 60.

[84] Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, First Edition (Berkeley: Heyday, 2013), 13.

[85] Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 202. Hackel's citation of "fathers" and use of "daughters" recognizes and seems to reify the perverse ideology that women were considered objects of sexual conquest necessary of protection from missionary *padres*. While Costo and Costo and others cite rape committed by missionaries, Hackel only cites Spanish soldier's often-unpunished rape attacks against Native

livelihood.[86] Furthermore, confining so many women to small crowded dormitories undoubtedly led to the spread of rampant diseases. In fact, upon invasion California Indians suffered staggering mortality rates. According to Castillo, forty-five percent of population decline during the Spanish period was a direct result of disease and sickness.[87] Therefore, systems meant to control and limit California Indians also lead to their downfall.

Moreover, forced sexual violence was terribly common. Castillo affirms that Native women were forced to "entertain" Spanish soldiers.[88] Hackel finds that these rape attacks against Native women often went unpunished. In fact it was understood that a Spanish soldier—a *gente de razón*—would have lenient punishments if he committed rape against a non-*gente de razón*—a *neofito* (neophyte) Native woman. Where Hackel does not implicate the priests themselves, other scholars do. In her heritage language research, Deborah Miranda finds an anecdote about a Native woman who was raped by Father Real at the very mission where Hackle centers his research—San Carlos Borromeo. In "letter to Vicenta," Miranda powerfully reconciles the injustice while shedding light on the hidden abuse.[89] Undeniably, the missions had gendered effects grounded in the exploitation and abuse of California Indian bodies. Labor was at the root.

Albert Hurtado argues that the mission system functioned "as a magnet, drawing Indian workers who established and maintained settlements where labor was otherwise scarce." [90] Indian laborers at the mission were the foundation for California's economy. Neophytes constructed buildings, herded cattle, worked fields and performed all the labor that contributed to Spanish crown and the proliferation of the mission system. Labor at the mission followed the seasons, where California Indians were responsible for planting, harvesting crops, breeding, shearing and livestock slaughter and manufacturing woolen and leather goods. Cattle were key to the mission system and through the hide and tallow trade, the commodities produced by California Indian labor entered the international economy.[91]

According to Steven Hackel, Indian laborers worked roughly seven to eight months of the year on the mission's agricultural and pastoral economy. Indians worked at the mission five to eight hours a day, five to six days a week. Essentially, at least twenty five hours a week and up to forty eight hours a week. [92] James Sandos argues that hourly demands of work was seasonal. For example, during the summer harvest mission Indians worked five to six hours a day but during the winter they worked four or five hours a day. Usually no more than half of the neophytes worked at the same time. Sandos finds that "piecework proved the most common form of labor, and those few Indians who were enterprising had release time when they finished.[93] Mission production also required quotas. For example at Mission Santa Barbara, during construction, the

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women and one case of a neophyte convicted of rape and murder against a Spanish soldier's daughter.

[86] Hackel, 203.

[87] Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," 103.

[88] Castillo, 102.

[89] Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 25.

[90] Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 24.

[91] James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 95.

[92] Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 282 – 283.

[93] Sandos, *Converting California*, 91.

daily production quota for a team of nine men was to make 360 adobes a day. A crew of sixteen men were required to make their quota of 500 tiles a day. Those who superseded their daily quota, especially weavers received beads for their labor.[94] Though Indian laborers were not paid for their labor, Franciscans believed they were sufficiently compensated with food, housing and clothing.[95] Of course this "compensation" was wholly produced by Indian labor.

The gendered division of labor at Franciscan missions meant that men were trained and performed work in trades like masonry, carpentry, leather work or manual labor in the fields. Women on the other hand were charged with domestic tasks such as sewing, washing, culling wheat, and grinding *pinole*. This division of labor essentially kept Indian women inside the mission compound. They could not be vaqueros nor or field hands.[96] Among this division of labor, children were especially targeted for they could be "taught with ease and without violence"[97]. This understanding continued into the Mexican and American periods.

Paseos or time away was tied to labor and production at the mission. For example, during the demanding wheat harvest, Indians were not allowed to leave, but once the labor was complete all Indians were given two weeks off. Hackel maintains that during the summer harvest—reaping began in July and went until August—baptized Indians spent their time between traditional subsistence fishing and Franciscan crop production. Leave in the form of *paseos* was a way for Franciscan missionaries to strike a balance between production and contentment among neophytes. Father President Fermín Francisco de Lausén found occasional leave necessary for, "If we absolutely denied them the right to go to the mountains I'm afraid they would riot."[98] While Franciscans were concerned with balance, production itself was paramount. Therefore amid staggering mortality rates within the mission Franciscans necessitated nearly continuous recruitment of Indian labor to keep up with ranching and agricultural work.[99]

Within the mission, Franciscans and *alcaldes* ensured that Indian laborers were present and performing their assigned tasks. Those who avoided work were first scolded, and if it continued, they were whipped or imprisoned. Therefore, many ran away and attempted to escape.[100] Since prolonged absence negatively affected the vital mission harvest and labor programs, priests sent neophyte auxiliaries accompanied and commanded by soldiers, to capture and return neophyte runaways.[101] Vasali Turkano, a Russian prisoner, reflected on the harsh punishments inflicted on mission runaways. He described the captives as "bound with rawhide

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[94] Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 284.
[95] Hackel, 281.
[96] Sandos, *Converting California*, 101.
[97] Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 285.
[98] Hackel, 84 – 87.
[99] Deana Dartt-Newton and Jon M. Erlandson, "Little Choice for the Chumash: Colonialism, Cattle, and Coercion in Mission Period California," *American Indian Quarterly* 30, no. 3/4 (2006): 422. Furthermore, the authors find that on top of continual labor demands, a Colonial Edict of 1803 declared that converted Indians could not reside in their home villages. Therefore, requiring them to return to the mission and affirming their incarceration.
[100] Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 281.
[101] Sandos, *Converting California*, 161.

ropes…some were bleeding from wounds, and some children were tied to their mothers." [102] The next day these captured deserters were beaten and tied to stakes. The chief of the group was sewn into calfskin and tied to a stake until he died. Despite the consequences, desertion was persistent demonstrating that conditions in the mission—including those related to labor—were horrendous. James Sandos finds that approximately ten percent of these runaways stayed away permanently, indicating that only ten percent were able to forgo capture.[103] Within the missions incarceration and punishment were consequences of diminished labor productivity.

Outside of the missions, Indian labor was equally crucial at presidios. Franciscan missionaries provided these military institutions with convict labor. Indians accused of crimes, sent to labor the presidios were known as "*presidarios*." Franciscans charged presidios a daily fixed rate for each laborer. Therefore, missions earned money on convict labor in the amount of at least 1.5 reales per day, per worker.[104] Convict workers received no compensation for their labor. Outside of this convict labor, it was common for officers to hire laborers directly from the mission. While soldiers were increasingly interested in hiring female domestic servants, Franciscans were reluctant to provide the presidios with women laborers, fearing that soldiers would coerce Native women into sexual relations. Nonetheless, Indian women hired at the presidios performed domestic tasks as wet nurses, nannies, and laundry workers.[105] Compared to the hours worked at the missions, Indian laborers at presidios worked ten or twelve hour days. When they completed their work they could not leave and were essentially incarcerated—compelled to stay and labor for a fixed amount of time. [106]

Kathleen Hull and Barbara Voss' work on the San Francisco Presidio sheds light on Indian labor outside of the mission. The authors argue that colonial labor relations at the Presidio of San Francisco included both "compensated and forced labor, but the threat of colonial military force meant that even compensated labor was not entirely voluntary."[107] The Presidio of San Francisco's reliance on California Indian labor increased over time. During the 1770s and 1780s records indicate at least five to twenty Indian laborers. During the 1790s through the 1810s, Indian labor skyrocketed to seventy to one hundred laborers. While these numbers indicate a reliance on Indian labor, they also indicate the various ways in which Indian were "recruited" to the presidio. While convict labor from the missions was common, Presidios like San Francisco forced hard labor upon Indian prisoners-of-war in addition to harsh punishment like flogging and shackling. Initially, these prisoners of war included those accused of killing colonial livestock, but by the mid-1790s onward these Indian prisoners—including some whole villages—were captured for refusing missionization. They were sentenced for a couple of months to upwards of two years of hard labor.[108]

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[102] Robert Archibald, "Indian Labor at the California Missions Slavery or Salvation?," *The Journal of San Diego History* 24, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 5.
[103] Sandos, *Converting California*, 163.
[104] Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 297.
[105] Hackel, 308.
[106] Sandos, *Converting California*, 91.
[107] Kathleen L. Hull and Barbara L. Voss, "Native Californians at the Presidio of San Francisco: Analysis of Lithic Specimens from El Polin Spring," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20, no. 2 (June 2016): 267.
[108] Hull and Voss, 268.

In the mission system, Native labor was readily exploited. Kent Lightfoot declares, "Sometimes we forget that the neophytes were the very foundation of the mission system."[109] Quite literally, the mission adobe quadrangles were built on the backs of California Indians. Missions, Lightfoot argues resembled "penal institutions."[110] Similar to Castillo, Lightfoot equates the institutions to plantations therefore underscoring their likeness to black code institutions in the antebellum south.[111] Even conservative scholars argues that for most Indians, the Franciscan labor regime remained "simply oppressive…"[112] Both Hackle and Forbes agree that the Spanish *gente de razón* relied intensely on the products of Indian labor. Moreover, outside of the missions, the Spanish initiated institutions that equally relied upon and exploited California Indian labor—*presidios*, and *encomiendas*. For example the colonial *encomienda* system, required Indians to labor for Spanish citizens.[113] This "feudal-manorial labor system," as Castillo calls it, would absorb Indians into Spanish colonial society at its lowest rung, through labor exploitation.[114] Overtime the pueblo and rancho extended these original tools of conquest and Indian labor continued a mainstay integrated into the Hispano economy.[115]

Mexico

Under Spain, the missions were the primary economic institution in California. The Franciscans controlled land, livestock, Indian labor and the products thereof. However in 1821 when Mexico achieved independence from Spain, that once thriving economy became available to settlers, namely "*Californios*."[116] 1821 – 1823 marked the creation of a Mexican republic that regarded Indians as mere occupants to the land.[117] Though Indians had actual citizenship through the 1821 Plan of Iguala, Indians were still seized for forced labor and exploitation.[118] Therefore, during the Mexican period, the attitude towards Indians was essentially the same as the Spanish. Mexican California established a kind of palimpsest; an exploitation of California Indian labor, capitalizing on mission Indians who had been thoroughly trained in the mission system.

Significantly, Mexican independence brought forth secularization. In 1833 at the cusp of the U.S. takeover—less than two decades before California statehood—secularization caused a major shift for California Indian communities. From roughly 1834 – 1836, secularization dismantled the colonial mission system releasing roughly twenty thousand mission Indians into the uncertain California frontier. For many California Indians, this instated a new era of labor exploitation.[119] Those born and raised in the Mission system were especially affected.

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[109] Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 80.
[110] Lightfoot, 62.
[111] Lightfoot, 66.
[112] Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 286.
[113] Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," 100.
[114] Castillo, 101.
[115] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, 41.
[116] Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*, writing in Book edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 22.
[117] Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," 104.
[118] Castillo, 105.
[119] According to Sherburne Cook, "secularization of the missions created a vast population of wandering, vagrant Indians." While perhaps not "wandering" these Indians that had been born and raised within the structure of the mission system, had no other means aside from entering

During the Mexican period California Indians' marketable skills, relationships with Franciscans and *Californios* and kinship networks of support meant the difference between economic independence, peonage and reasonable survival or poverty.[120] While scholars such as Hackle argue that Indians had more freedom in post secularization California,[121] overwhelmingly, Mexican policy further divested Indians of their land and rights. Therefore, without the missions some Indians were left with nowhere to turn.[122] For those who remained near white settlements, some could find work as domestics, "ruthlessly exploited by their employers."[123] Edward Castillo maintains that this "hacienda-peon" society continued and developed into the Mexican rancho system ranging from coercion to slavery.[124] Generally, Mexican Indian policy continued California Indian dispossession, particularly on a class level, again juxtaposing the *Californio, gente de razón* against *indios*.[125]

The California rancho period was born after Mexican Independence in 1821 and peaked 15 years following the 1834 secularization.[126] After the Bear Flag Revolt (1846) the American Annexation of California (1848) and U.S. Statehood (1850) ranchos continued into the American period but remain largely a feature of Mexican California. Because secularization freed California Indian land and labor for *Californios*, Mexican ranchos continued to rely on Indian domestic servants and agricultural laborers.[127] In fact, many well-known *Californios* built their empires on the backs of Indian laborers. For example, post-secularization, military commander Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, was granted mission lands and resources including former mission Indians. These ex-neophytes[128] had little choice but to labor for authorities like Vallejo. In 1834, Mariano Vallejo became the administrator of Mission Solano and its new civilian settlement,

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into the market of labor exploitation. Moreover, as California Indian policy developed, the issue of "vagrancy" meant that Indians not employed could be arrested or punished and forced to labor.

[120] Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 370.

[121] Hackel, 370.

[122] It must be stated that in some cases, mission Indians were excited at the prospect of independence from the Franciscans. In 1826, in response to Governor Echeandía's Decree of Emancipation in Favor of the Neophytes, three Chumash men from Mission San Buenaventura petitioned the governor for their freedom—of which the mission determined their emancipation—asking for the mission to be converted into a pueblo advised by a missionary who would provide them food and clothing and not punish them.

[123] Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," 105.

[124] Castillo, 105.

[125] Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936*, 43.

[126] Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma*, 1 edition (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 12.

[127] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, 54. Interestingly, these rancho demands mirror Indian education policy decades later which through Indian boarding schools, institutionalized Native women domestic workers and Native men ranch hands. Moreover, Hurtado notes that for those who did not become "peons" for Mexican rancheros, they moved to California's interior where they lived more freely with independent Indian communities.

[128] Also known as *neofitos*, were converted California Indians who resided in a mission.

thereby granting Vallejo control of the greater Sonoma and Napa valleys and Santa Rosa region.[129] No other *Californio* had access to as many Indians as he, and none were as wealthy.[130]

At both Vallejo's home in Sonoma, CA—built upon the old mission—and at his 66,000-acre Rancho Petaluma, Vallejo retained numerous California Indians servants. Stephen Silliman's work on Rancho Petaluma, sheds light on the labor conditions in Mexican California. Rancho Petaluma for example included more California Indian workers than any other rancho. Rivaling Sutter's New Helvetia. Vallejo's Rancho was diverse including various tribes from the region and at least four different ethnolinguistic groups. Rancho Petaluma was the largest rancho in Alta California and conducted a business in hides, tallow, agricultural products and manufactured goods such as blankets, candles, and shoes.[131] The booming business matched the production of the wealthiest missions. During missionization, no rancho could compete with mission production of hide and tallow, but after secularization, ranchos were free to capitalize on Indian labor and land. Hide and tallow production was the most lucrative and marketable and the demand was greatest in the Eastern United States.[132] Between 1826 and 1847, California produced and exported more than six million hides, and seven thousand tons of tallow.[133]

Large ranchos like Petaluma were essentially *haciendas* with enormous livestock herds and extensive fields. These large scale productions required a great deal of labor, of which California Indians largely performed. In exchange for labor, most received goods rather than money including beads, tools, alcohol and items manufactured at the rancho such as blankets. [134] Silliman argues that rancho labor was largely "indebted peonage" that mirrored labor in the missions."[135] Though, unlike the missions, Indians had more of an opportunity to co-reside at ranchos and rancheros were not interested in proselytizing their labor force.[136]

Rancho Petaluma had hundreds if not thousands of California Indian laborers. In the 1840s Vallejo's ranch had 700 Indian workers described as "badly clothed" and "nearly in a state of nature." [137] The labor force was "recruited" in various ways including indebtedness—which characterized many ex-neophytes. These former mission Indians with little resources were

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[129] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, 54.

[130] Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios*, NED - New edition (University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 173.

[131] Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California*, 13.

[132] Silliman, 22.

[133] Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 414.Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 414.

[134] Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California*, 22 – 23. According to Gordon Bakken, at Rancho Cañon de Santa Ana, Bernardo Yorba retained twenty-six Indians as domestic servants and over one hundred as livestock workers and fourteen for wool combing, tanning and household entertainments. They were paid in silver dollars.

[135] Silliman, 23 – 24.

[136] Sherburne Cook argues that in these wealthy ranchos, Indians were treated well, providing Indian laborers with food, clothing and cash payments when possible.

[137] Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 248.Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston ; New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 248.

essentially forced into the indebtedness and protection of "overlords" like Vallejo.[138] And when in need of more labor, Vallejo carried out seasonal expeditions to seize and kidnap local Indians for slave labor. By the 1830s these expeditions turned slave raids were common to meet labor demands on Mexican ranchos and regularly resulted in manslaughter.[139] In 1834, for example Vallejo attacked a Wappo village, killing 200 and taking 300 captives.[140] In 1843, Vallejo along with nearly 300 men raided the Clear Lake region for more slave labor. The raid ended in a bloody massacre.[141] Vallejo was especially good at acquiring Indian labor through military and political alliances. Using what Jack Forbes calls a "colonialist strategy," Vallejo forged local Indian alliances and employed Indian auxiliaries to war with local Indian communities and thus produce more laborers. Finally, local Native communities were actively incorporated into the rancho through Indigenous social and political life—including seasonal work.

In the rancho, prior work experience mattered and former mission Indians worked as artisans, specialized laborers and subsupervisors. Ex-neophytes trained in mission crafts were often vaqueros, house servants, plowers and harvesters.[142] Non mission Indians, often referred as "gentiles" worked as menial laborers and assistants, often performing heavy manual labor in the fields. Life at the rancho was organized around production including slaughtering of cattle, herding, sheep shearing, planting and harvesting crops and manufacturing goods.[143] The focal point was cattle ranching of which Vallejo had up to tens of thousands of heads of cattle.

Much of this labor was seasonal. For example, vaqueros rounded up cattle in the rodeo during February, March and April. The high season, the *matanza* began in July or August and involved slaughtering thousands of cattle for lucrative hides and tallow. During this process, Indian women gathered tallow and lard in bags made of skin.[144] In the fall, Native laborers produced candles from the tallow. Such Native artisans involved in manufacturing likely lived and worked permanently on the rancho. Household servants were also year-round. These would have been ex-neophytes who had training in domestic tasks and would have been considered trustworthy.[145] During the demands of seasonal work, it was not uncommon for entire villages to move nearby, settle temporarily and work seasonally at the rancho.

Overall, life at Rancho Petaluma strongly resembled the Franciscan Missions. Native workers started their day at sunrise. After roll call, they would have had a breakfast of *atole* and labored until their midday meal, followed by a siesta. They continued to work until early evening or dusk. The rancho emulated a gendered division of labor found in missions. Women generally performed cooking, cleaning, grain processing, weaving, basketmaking and hide working. Men plowed fields, herded, butchered livestock and cared for horses. Similar to mission life, both men and women constructed adobe buildings and corrals, worked the crop fields, processed hides and rendered tallow. Overall, Silliman argues "Some Native people may have lived at Rancho Petaluma comfortably, voluntarily and relatively content with the situation, but others probably

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[138] Reséndez, 249.
[139] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, 59.
[140] William Bauer Jr, "Native Californians in the Nineteenth Century," *A Companion to California History*, 2008, 196.
[141] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, 55.
[142] Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California*, 69.
[143] Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California*, 67.Silliman, 67.
[144] Silliman, 68.
[145] Silliman, 69.

resented Vallejo and all that he stood for and were constantly on the watch for ways to escape[146] the rancho's hold.[147]

Where Indians on the rancho may have waited for their escape, *Californios* believed in their own benevolent paternalism. In the quote that opened this chapter, Salvador Vallejo, Mariano Vallejo's brother reflected on "our friendly Indians," who performed back breaking manual labor as well as domestic work. Vallejo claimed these Indian laborers were considered "members of our families; we loved them and they loved us; our intercourse was always pleasant." As if to claim mutual dependency and respect, in the same sentence Vallejo asserts his power, "the Indians knew that our superior education gave us a right to command and rule over them." From dominance he deftly he returns to friendship, "we…always did our best to strengthen the bond of friendship that bound the two races together."[148]

Californios built their ranchos on exploited labor and Indians were integral to Mexican California life. The few Anglo rancheros of the time were well aware of the value of Indian labor. In 1846, John Marsh admitted, "throughout all California the Indians are the principal laborers; without them the business of the country could hardly be carried on."[149] While coercion peonage and hard labor was a reality in Mexican California, Indians created opportunity in the matter. For example, for Indians who worked seasonally on Vallejo's ranch, goods and foods they received supplemented their traditional economy. In effect these provisions replaced that which *Californio* livestock and Spanish and Mexican settlement had destroyed.[150] Though conditions for California Indians under Mexican rule were challenging and exploitive, Anglo American rule enacted a more dangerous brand of servitude. As the California climate quickly changed with the influx of more American immigrants, hostilities that had developed between *Californios* and Anglos intensified in May 1846 when the U.S. went to war with Mexico.[151] The incoming Gold Rush, the flux of immigrants with it and American militia campaigns would bring forth a malicious force throughout California. As William Bauer asserts, "The worst… was yet to come."[152]

United States

According to Andrés Reséndez, Indian slavery and labor exploitation in California—what he calls nationally, the "other slavery"—was a "distinct brand of bondage," perpetuated by colonial Spain and inherited by Mexico.[153] Where Mexican ranchers pioneered Indian slavery in California, "American colonists readily adapted to it."[154] Compulsory labor in the form of state policy as I will later discuss, was used to satisfy the state's high demand for domestic servants

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[146] Silliman argues there were more Native people living and working at the Rancho than could be restrained by physical force. Suggesting, that for some the rancho was the best option for their livelihood.

[147] Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California*, 72.

[148] Sánchez, *Telling Identities*, 172.

[149] John Marsh, "Letter of Dr. John Marsh to Hon. Lewis Cass," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1943): 321.

[150] Bauer Jr, "Native Californians in the Nineteenth Century," 206.

[151] Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents*, 34.

[152] Bauer Jr, "Native Californians in the Nineteenth Century," 196.

[153] Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 1.

[154] Reséndez, 249.

and agricultural laborers—not dissimilar from the colonial demands in Spanish and Mexican California. These forms included minor custodial wardship, indentured servitude or "apprenticeship," convict leasing, and debt peonage.[155] In many respects California Indian labor policy was a response to the Gold Rush, yet it also pandered to the rancho elite—like Vallejo—whose industry depended on the continued control of Indian labor. Indeed, contemporary scholars note that California Indian labor policy would sustain the rancho economy while also launching California's commercial grain industry.[156]

Across the nation, Reséndez affirms, Indian slavery never went away but rather "coexisted with African slavery" from the sixteenth century into the late nineteenth century.[157] Where the African slave trade was constituted of mainly adult males, the Indian slave trade was majority women and children with a preference for children who were understood as malleable.[158] Comparatively this other slavery was never formally abolished which meant that it continued, in some cases into the 20th-century. Reséndez argues that this other slavery was often disguised as debt peonage and generally exhibited four common characteristics; forced removal, inability to leave, (threat of) violence to compel labor and nominal to no pay. Reséndez finds Indian slavery a "defining aspect" of North American societies.[159] This was certainly true for California. American settlers in the "free state" had a zero tolerance policy for "slavery"—yet hypocritically "enshrine[d]" Indian slavery into law and actively enslaved California Indian men, women and children. [160] The process started early on, before U.S. statehood.

In September of 1846, two years before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Captain John Montgomery, commander of the Northern Department of California declared a twofold proclamation stating, first that the general public should desist holding Indians against their will and should not regard them as slaves. Second, and quite contrary, the Montgomery proclamation declared that Indians in settlements across California could not be "idle" and were required to obtain employment. In 1847, Henry Halleck, secretary of state of California initiated a certificate and pass system. The system required all employers of Indians to furnish their labor force with certificates of employment. Also, while traveling throughout the region, Indians were required to obtain a pass, which monitored and controlled the California Indian labor force. Those without such documents were liable to be arrested. These legal statutes formalized an Indian peonage system throughout the state intertwined with surveillance and incarceration.[161] Within just a few years, the system boomed.

In the mid 1800s, California's landscape experienced a great deal of transformation. On February 2, 1848 Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo thus ceding the land of California and northern territory to the United States. The shift from Mexican to Anglo-

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[155] M. Magliari, "Free Soil, Unfree Labor," *Pacific Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (2004): 349 – 350.

[156] Magliari, 353.

[157] Reséndez, 4. Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 4.

[158] Reséndez, 6. Although this might have been true of the slave trade proper, it was not true of African slavery more broadly where the children of slaves would effectively become property. Therefore, women slaves would have been both coveted and integral.

[159] Reséndez, 8.

[160] Reséndez, 246.

[161] Reséndez, 263.

American rule would mean a dangerous, exploitative frontier for California Indians.[162] While Anglo California settlers quickly occupied and dispossessed Indian land, they pined for Indian labor. On January 24, 1848, gold was discovered in Coloma, California at Sutter's Mill.[163] Subsequent years brought forth a massive immigration of gold hungry settlers eager to mine and acquire Indian land.[164] For interior Indians, the flood of immigrants forced them to negotiate the land they had protected for over eighty years. Harwood Phillips calls this a shift to dependency.[165] Significantly, the start of the California Gold Rush initiated settlers' high demands for the state's plentiful Indian workers.[166] So, the demand for California Indian slave labor skyrocketed.

According to Albert Hurtado, just before the mid nineteenth century, national Indian policy was concerned with separating Indians from settler populations, sequestering Native peoples to reservations where the government could easily assert more control over Indians. However, in California these national policies were incompatible with settlers' workforce interests. In fact the state, "demanded access to Indian labor…" to settle and exploit the land.[167] Nonetheless, while labor extraction was rampant so was violence on the California frontier. The Indian "problem" in California was symptomatic of settler incursion. Miners drove Indians into the high Sierras to starve. Indians in return would steal settler stock for survival. Consequently, settlers retaliated and murdered Indians.[168] At the time the Anglo-American brand of violence produced a devastating plunge in the California Indian population.[169] A large part of this violence on the frontier was California Indian labor exploitation. During U.S. military rule in the territory 1846 – 1849, it became clear to officers that the state infrastructure depended on Indian labor. The demand was so high that Indian bondage became commonplace. In 1848, the estimated 100,000 California Indians living in the state could be traded as if livestock.[170] Anglo-American California settlers and their legislative body continued "old patterns," of Indian relations from previous periods—that is a fierce requirement of California Indian labor.[171] From these ideologies stemmed a legislative solution that entrenched the institution of labor and domesticity among California Indians.

The 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians

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[162] James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image*, Reprint edition (Norman; London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 81.
[163] Rawls, 116.
[164] Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 104.
[165] Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents*, 190. This "dependency" quickly became a reality. New immigrants changed the landscape of California while the new economy reduced traditional foods and subsistence. Food shortages lead to theft, which caused a cycle of violence.
[166] Madley finds that in 1845 California's Indian population, estimated at perhaps 150,000 people.
[167] Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 126. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 126.Hurtado, 126.
[168] Hurtado, 127.
[169] Rawls, *Indians of California*, 81.
[170] Benjamin Madley, "'Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls' Systems of California Indian Servitude under US Rule," *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2014): 638.
[171] Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 128–29.

On April 22, 1850 the California legislature approved the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians. The Act passed at the San Jose state capitol, in the legislature's first session five months prior to California statehood. [172] Lawmakers, reports James Rawls, understood that California Indian labor had long benefited both Anglo and Hispano settlers in the state.[173] Moreover, during the Gold Rush the immense demand for Indian workers reflected the scarcity of white wageworkers.[174] In operation the new Anglo-American law legalized the peonage system that had existed during the Mexican period.[175] Lawmakers notes Rawls, "understood that [California Indian labor] had long been beneficial to the Anglo and Hispano settlers in the state."[176] Many *Californios* like Mariano Vallejo had built their empires upon Indian labor and resolutely advocated for the Act. Indians therefore took the position between free labor and chattel bondage.[177] The culture of Indian slavery was in fact unbreakable.

Ostensibly for the "protection," of California Indians, in effect the law facilitated the removal of California Indians from their communities and enacted a formal code of Indian especially Indian child slavery. Major tenants of the law made *all* Indian convicts available to whites to serve as laborers.[178] Additionally, whites could legally obtain the rights of any number of Indian males under the age of eighteen. The same could be done for young Indian women under the age of fifteen.[179] For consent, the Act required "parents or friends" of the child to consent to custody.[180] William Bauer declares the law, "opened the door for white men to attack Indian villages, steal Indian children… and sell them to the highest bidder."[181] According to Sherburne Cook this law may have affected twenty thousand former mission Indians, apart from thousands of non-mission Indians.[182] Michael Magliari finds that three to four thousand Indian slaves were indentured children kidnapped from their parents and employed as domestics and farm laborers.[183] Robert J. Chandler and Ronald J. Quinn both maintain that the 1850 Act and its

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[172] Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, "Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians," California Research Bureau (California State Library, 2002), 5, California State Library. Madley, "'Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls' Systems of California Indian Servitude under US Rule." Michael F. Magliari, "Free State Slavery: Bound Indian Labor and Slave Trafficking in California's Sacramento Valley, 1850–1864," *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (2012): 157.

[173] Rawls, *Indians of California*, 88.

[174] Michael F. Magliari, "Free State Slavery: Bound Indian Labor and Slave Trafficking in California's Sacramento Valley, 1850–1864," *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (2012): 157, https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2012.81.2.155.

[175] Rawls, *Indians of California*, 87.

[176] Rawls, 88.

[177] Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 159.

[178] Rawls, *Indians of California*, 87.

[179] Rawls, 87.

[180] Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 168.

[181] William J. Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941*, 1st Edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 33.

[182] See *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* by Sherburne Friend Cook, 1976.

[183] See "Free Soil, Unfree Labor" in the *Pacific Historical Review* by Michael Magliari, 2004

subsequent revision "made people property," and indenture amounted to "term slavery." [184] In these forms, Indian slave labor was strictly supplemental. Much of that labor was performed by Native women and especially bound Indian children who often filled the labor gap of white women and white children on the frontier.

Native Women

Across the state settlers' high demand for Indian labor was rampant and a majority of slave labor involved Native women. On the spectrum of desirability, Native women were considered quite valuable. In 1854, former gold miners, the Asbill brothers, took to the trade of trafficking Indian slaves. The brothers learned that for each Indian girl they could supply, they could exchange her for a horse. The sibling slave traders ventured to Round Valley in Northern California to steal Indian women with the hopes of training them for service.[185] After raiding the region, the Asbills traded their woman captives for the high profit of 105 horses.[186] The Indian slave economy was a booming business that tore apart Indian communities across the state. Because of their profitability, Indian women were especially targeted and stolen from their communities.

In especially high trafficking areas, existed a spectrum of worth. William Bauer Jr. found a particularly high demand of Indian laborers in the Sacramento valley within the same region as Colusa County. There, buyers classified Indians according to their "age, gender, health and for girls," their "virginity."[187] Prices for Indian women and children also considered their "usefulness," ranging from thirty to two hundred dollars.[188] According to Rawls Indian women had their own distinct classifications of "fair, middling, inferior [and] refuse." Rather repulsively, settlers desired Indian women as sex slaves. For example, in 1861, the *Marysville Appeal* noted that young Indian women were indentured to serve for purposes of both, "'labor and lust.'" Settlers willingly paid higher prices for a "'likely young girl.'"[189] Outside of the slave trade, sexual assault, molestation and the rape of Native women was frequent, especially since settlers could not be prosecuted as Indian testimony was inadmissible in California courts.[190] Indeed, the 1850 Act and its later amendments rendered California Indian women legal sex slaves. The settler state was a dangerous territory for Indian women.

Children

Reséndez reveals that nationally the illicit Indian slave trade was partial to Indian children. In California, Indian children were similarly preferred but the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians made Indian child indenture entirely legal and terribly convenient. Under the Act, white settlers could easily obtain a certificate that authorized them the, "care,

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[184] Robert J. Chandler and Ronald J. Quinn, "Emma Is a Good Girl," *The Californians*, February 1991, 34.
[185] Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 34. "Service" referring to domestic service—to train these girls to work as housemaids.
[186] Bauer, 35.
[187] Bauer, 35.
[188] Rawls, *Indians of California*, 97.
[189] Rawls, 99.
[190] Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 180 – 182.

custody…control and earnings of an Indian minor until their age of majority."[191] In exchange for total control of Indian bodies, settlers were to treat their "Indians humanely and …. properly clothe and feed them."[192] However, the Act lacked provisions to establish legal rights for Indians, thereby making the stipulation of humane treatment hardly enforceable.

Domestic Labor

Enslaved Indian domestic workers, who cleaned and cooked in settler homes, were a common consequence of the Act. Moreover, it became usual for traffickers and custodians to train young Indians as domestic servants, as the Asbills attempted. In 1861, the *Marysville Appeal* found that the majority of settlers who indentured Indian children were unmarried men who used their servants to cook and "wait upon them."[193] Sometimes married men sought Indian children to assist their wives with household chores. Washing dishes, doing laundry and caring for white settler children were common tasks for Indian servants. Because children were understood to be easier to train, control and could be kept longer than adults, many indentured domestic servants were children.

Under the practices of the 1850 Act, white settlers had exclusive right[194] to petition Indian wards from local courts. Across the state, some communities had a greater desire for Indian children. Compared to ranchers and vinyardists in southern California who relied on leased Indian convicts and indebted peons, white settlers in the Sacramento Valley and other parts of Northern California relied on Indian child labor.[195] In Colusa county a collection of Indian indenture records reveals that some children were indentured as young as three-years-old and contracted until maturity at twenty-one. Moreover, in light of age limits petitioners had a strong incentive to underestimate the ages of their would-be wards to keep them longer.[196] The practice of "apprenticing" Indian children was incredibly common and California settlers from all likes were eager to acquire free slave labor.

In 1855, Colusa county settler Henry Bailey and his wife Harriet, eagerly acquired Lopez, an Indian boy of seven or eight years old. Apparently his guardians were "only too glad" to surrender the boy and Bailey happily reflected, "we went home an Indian richer."[197] Lopez was responsible for both domestic household chores and assisted Bailey in the fields. Bailey found the "experiment" of binding Indian children to domestic labor a success. In retrospect he conceded that boys like Lopez usually protested household drudgery but that "young servants," "lightened the burdens of the women of the house."[198] Lopez and the labor of other Indian children allowed white women settlers to free themselves of domestic duties.[199] Not surprisingly,

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[191] Johnston-Dodds, "Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians," 33.
[192] Rawls, *Indians of California*, 87.
[193] Rawls, 99.
[194] Mexican, Chinese or other non-white immigrants were unable to petition Indian wards or "apprentices."
[195] Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 168.
[196] Magliari, 174.
[197] Magliari, 177.
[198] Magliari, 177.
[199] Michael Magliari argues that in rural households, young married white women settlers played a major role in the demand for bound Indian labor. In fact, Henry Baily admitted, "all the early female settlers of California were overworked," and "found little respite from never-ending

but to Bailey's frustration, these captive child laborers remained unwilling and discontented servants. Upon maturity—"manhood" or "womanhood" as Bailey explained—nothing could encourage them to remain bound. In fact, within two years Lopez ran away back to his Rancheria. Though Bailey whipped the boy into submission, Lopez escaped for good just a few days later.[200] Where Indian boy domestics were somewhat typical, Indian girls domestic servants were much more commonplace.

In 1864, the Chase family in San Francisco acquired an eight-year-old Diegueño girl they called Emma. The family procured Emma from a friend after seven years of back and forth letters on the topic.[201] A few months before her arrival Chase wrote to his friend, "When do you think the Indian girl will be ready for shipment?" [202] Though Chase regarded Emma similar to a piece of merchandise in his wholesale business, the family believed they were undertaking a charitable act. After some time with Emma, Mr. Chase wrote, "I am very glad I heeded your advice in taking her, not only because of the assistance I receive from her (for she has been also a great care) but because I find her worthy to be redeemed from the life of degradation which she would have led with her own people."[203] Though the Chase family benefited from Emma's labor the family believed that by contracting her from her father they were saving her from ills of her own community. Much like maternalists—or paternalists for that matter—the Chase family felt that they were literally parenting their Indian servant. Under contract the family insisted on her indenture until the age of eighteen. During that time, Emma washed dishes, sewed and performed domestic housework while Mrs. Chase taught her reading and arithmetic.

Though the family acquired Emma under the 1850 Act and its 1860 amendment, the notion that they participated in a form of bondage was completely lost upon the family. In April of 1865 as Confederate Robert E. Lee surrendered, Mr. Chase wrote "Glory Hallelujah…. The people are free." [204] California may have entered the U.S. as a "free" state, but Chase and other settlers like him thrived upon the enslaved, exploited labor of Indian men, women and children. By touting California exceptionalism and ignoring the hypocrisy in their own homes, California settlers ignored and denied their part in slavery.

1860 Amendment and Slavers

Because the 1850 Act advanced settler development of California, the state legislature made amendments to the Act. The 1860 amendment significantly extended the period of indenture well into adulthood, allowing settlers to keep their laborers and servants longer. [205] If over fourteen, but younger than twenty, Indian men could be held until the age of thirty.[206]

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household cares and grind of cooking, washing, scouring, milking, churning and all the other tread wheel attachments of the time." (176) White women played a significant role in the settler colonial project.

[200] Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 184–85.

[201] Mr. Chase desired an Indian servant early on but his wife, untrusting of her husband in his early 40s refused the idea. Her refusal underlies fear that her husband might make sexual advances on the girl and take advantage of her.

[202] Chandler and Quinn, "Emma Is a Good Girl," 35.

[203] Chandler and Quinn, 37.

[204] Chandler and Quinn, 35.

[205] Johnston-Dodds, "Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians," 8–9.

[206] Johnston-Dodds, 9.

Indian women could be indentured until the age of twenty-one.[207] Moreover, for apprenticed minors, indentures could now be obtained without the actual presence of 'parents or friends of the child' in court.[208] Worse, the amendment allowed for the indenture of "orphaned" children.[209] Effectively, the law created a culture of kidnapping Indian children across the state. Therefore, "slave hunting," became a known occupation in California.[210]

The Amendment to the law instituted what Bauer calls a "wave of kidnapping" throughout the state."[211] In 1861, California Indian Superintendent George Hanson recounted a story of Indian abduction. A man Hanson met had in his custody nine proclaimed orphans. When Hanson asked how the man knew they were orphans, he declared, "I killed some of [their parents] myself."[212] In addition to capturing and indenturing Indian children the law readily allowed for the murder of Indian parents. No doubt accounting for the historic nadir in the California Indian population. Kidnappers and slavers were subject to fines, but the trafficking of Indian children continued unchanged. Abductors and slavers were granted settler immunity and regularly evaded any charges.

On the Round Valley reservation in northern California, the 1850 Act allowed reservation squatters to, "force Round Valley Indians to work."[213] By 1860, settler squatters held over two hundred Indian children in bondage—nearly half of the Round Valley reservation population. Similar to settlers throughout the state, Round Valley squatters found much use of Indian labor. However, settlers still regarded useful working Indians as "inferior."[214] Like many in the American west, Indians were looked down upon and believed to be only capable of agricultural or menial work.[215] Moreover, Indians were regularly subject to violent punishment, not unlike chattel slavery. When squatters subjected Indians to violent treatment, whippings and bondage, they literally believed they "owned," the Indians who worked for them.[216] Nonetheless, ownership of Indians was held in high regard. In especially cash poor areas of California, Indians as personal property became a kind of status symbol.

In April 1863, after Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the California legislature repealed the Act and abolished Indian indenture and apprenticeship.[217] In 1867, President Andrew Johnson instated the Anti-Peonage Act that ended Indian indenture

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[207] Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 51. Though the story of Emma is lost in the historical record, it is interesting to consider whether her contract extended past eighteen into twenty-one years of age.
[208] Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 169.
[209] Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 52.
[210] Michael Magliari finds that Indian trafficking was not a full-time occupation but supplementary. He argues that in the 1850s and 1860s, slave raiding was a major "cause and effect" of the "chronic warfare between white settlers and Native Americans along "mining and agricultural" frontiers. (180)
[211] Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 52.
[212] Bauer, 52.
[213] Bauer, 45.
[214] Bauer, 48.
[215] Significantly, these settler ideologies fixed on Indians as only capable of labor stayed mostly unchanged throughout federal Indian policy in and around the turn of the century.
[216] Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 48.
[217] Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 190.

nationally.[218] However, years after the California appeal, Indian slavery was still commonplace in the state as it had been in the Spanish and Mexican eras before it. Magliari argues that the lingering slave traffic ended in 1870 on account of the collapse of the California Indian population paired with the rise of Chinese and European immigrants, thus taking the place of positions once held by bound California Indians.[219] Resendéz finds that such practices continued into the 20th-century. Even so, the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians successfully created a culture and demand of Indian servitude while providing settlers with the legal ability to enslave Indian men, women and children. For thirteen years, the "free state," depended on Indian labor to farm, cultivate and expand white settlement on Indian land. It created a culture of slavery that could not easily be stopped, securing the institution of exploitative labor and domesticity among California Indians.

The labor institutions established by the Spanish, Mexican and American periods in California devastated Indian communities, intertwining labor, gender and incarceration. Franciscan missions established control, incarcerating California Indians and subjecting them to demanding, exploitative slave labor tied to cruel, corporal punishment—especially for runaways. Sexual violence in the missions was well documented and gendered labor meant that men worked skilled trades or in the fields while women were confined to the mission compound charged with domestic tasks such as sewing, washing, and grinding *pinole*. Post-secularization Mexican California operated a palimpsest—exploiting both trained neophytes and gentiles. The rancho institution thrived after secularization making enterprising *Californios* like Vallejo quite wealthy. These men believed in their own benevolence yet conducted slave raids to "recruit" more Indian labor. Again, California Indian workers were at a time of little choice. Thousands worked seasonally for the rancho engaging in similar domestic and agricultural labor. But the worst was yet to come. During California's U.S. military rule from 1846 – 1849 state officials initiated proclamations and pass systems that demanded and required Indian labor with the threat of incarceration. Upon U.S. statehood, elite rancheros like Vallejo supported the 1850 Act that would further ravage Indian communities. The policy made legal slaves of California Indians leading to attacks and kidnappings. Amid frequent sexual assault, Native women were desirable for the purposes of "labor and lust." Children were most desirable for they were submissive and could be kept longer until their age of majority. Domestic labor was a common consequence as realized for both Lopez and Emma. The 1860 Amendment not only extended the period of indenture but included "orphaned" children thus leading to mass murder of Indian communities. State and federal policies sanctioned these atrocities.

National Federal Indian Policy

Where Spanish, Mexican and American practices and policies established Indian slavery and servitude in California—especially domestic servitude for Indian girls and children—federal Indian policy would put these settler labor ideologies into practice nationally. Here, I will provide a brief analysis of Indian assimilation policy followed by a discussion of Indian boarding school labor practices. Through this analysis I will focus largely on experiences of students at the California-based Sherman Institute in Riverside, CA.

[218] Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 57.
[219] Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 191.

Allotment

In the late 19th-century, ideologically, U.S. policy makers believed Indian communities to be uncivilized and lacking the necessary educational foundations to reproduce settler norms. Land, labor and education policy would pave the way for the Assimilation Era. In this era of national Indian policy, gendered labor was understood to be the solution to solving the "Indian problem." Indians need only to be "domesticated"—to learn civility through labor.

The 1887 "Dawes" Severalty/General Allotment Act marked the start of the Assimilation Era. Largely, the Act intended to open up massive amounts of Indian land for white settlement and attempted to break up collective tribal use of land, a practice that reformers saw as wild and uncivilized. Individual Indians were allotted parcels of their own land intended for nuclear male-led households. Therefore, Allotment was also a gendered project; Indian men were intended to labor as yeoman farmers aside their Indian wives, who were expected to be virtuous, moral housekeepers. Both husband and wife were to learn civility through reproducing Euro American gender and domestic roles that were integrally male-dominated, thus reducing Native women to male dependency and subordination.

Similar to colonial labor institutions in California, Allotment was intended to create responsible, useful and industrious Indians through labor. The policy prioritized male-led head of households who were granted the lion share of plots. Each "head of family," ideally the "husband or father",[220] was allotted the largest share or one-quarter of the land.[221] "[S]ingle person[s]," typically children were allotted one-eighth of the land. All land not allotted was considered "surplus" and sold cheaply to encroaching settlers. The disparaging Act is responsible for stripping Native people of ninety million acres of land in forty-seven years. [222]

More than the loss of land, Allotment was devised to coerce the "domestication" and "civilization" of Native people. Interior Secretary Carl Schurz declared in 1881 that Indians had the option of "extermination or civilization."[223] Extermination was certainly a brand of U.S. California Indian policy as well as Indian policy nationally. Instead, "civilization" in reformers' logic meant that Indians were to be saved from their "savage," tribal traditions. Beth Piatote underscores that private property in the way of Allotment could "do the work of domestication that military conquest could not."[224] While military conquest could murder or imprison Indian bodies, domestication could transform them to replicate settlers and exploit their labor.

Fundamentally, these imposed patriarchal structures intrinsically divested Native women. Scholars regularly look to Allotment as an Act wholly about dispossession of Indian land. However, equally important is Allotment's parallel destructive effects upon the disempowerment of Indian women. As Allotment worked to "civilize," Indian people—not dissimilar from Franciscan missions—it undercut the significance of Native women in and out of tribal

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[220] Government officials acknowledged that widows, single men or women or older women caring for siblings could be considered heads of household.

[221] Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, 1st edition (New York: Routledge, 1994), 160.

[222] David E. Wilkins, *Hollow Justice: A History of Indigenous Claims in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 38. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) officially ended Allotment.

[223] Eric N. Olund, "Public Domesticity during the Indian Reform Era; Or, Mrs. Jackson Is Induced to Go to Washington," *Gender, Place & Culture* 9, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 154.

[224] Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 102.

communities. Allotment initiated the first stages of the Assimilation Era and eventually led to the emergence of Indian boarding schools where land dispossession and Indian education were intertwined. Where Allotment targeted the Indian family unit, boarding schools continued the work of "domestication" targeted at Indian children.

Indian Boarding Schools

In California, where policies legally instituted farming and domestic work, especially among children, federal Indian education programs upheld the same policies and practice. In effect, these schools continued to fill the labor demand and practices long established in California. Notable schools in and adjacent to California were the Sherman Institute in Riverside, CA and Carson Indian School in Carson City, NV. These schools operated on the same national Indian boarding school curriculum that continued Indian child labor exploitation.

After Allotment, reformers looked to a universalized, compulsory education system as the next step solution for the "Indian Problem." The schools were meant to extend the process of transforming Indian children into responsible, thrifty, male-centered, laboring households. These off-reservation "civilizing" institutions meant to "uplift" Indian children by upholding the logics of settler replacement—to *transform* the Native into productive laborers. Boarding school education began as an experiment in the late nineteenth century with Lieutenant R. H. Pratt's "civilization" program. Pratt exposed Native prisoners to a half-day plan of basic education, pairing reading and math with manual labor among whites through his "outing" program.[225] Pratt defined "outing" as "getting [Indians] away from their reservations."[226] In short, Pratt extended the notion that Indians needed to be separated from their tribal communities and labor among whites for them to successfully assimilate. Pratt's curriculum became the standard for Indian education and was officially institutionalized in 1879 at the first U.S. off reservation boarding school, Carlisle Institute in Pennsylvania.[227]

In fact Pratt's "happy results" at Carlisle served as proof that civilization among Indians was possible and with only 250,000 Indians remaining in the U.S., achievable.[228] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan envisioned a detailed plan for schools and believed it would give the "innocent papoose […] the possibility of a sweet and gentle womanhood or a noble and useful manhood."[229] Morgan's gendered assessment assumed Indian boys and men to be ignoble and Indian girls and women callous and unpleasant. Indeed, reformers believed Indian women were mistreated and overburdened by their communities thus inspiring gendered education intended to encourage docile and ladylike Indian women.

Children were targeted as the future of their race—especially young women as procreators of that race.[230] Instead of regarding Native women as complex, contributing members

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[225] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 5.
[226] Diane Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 103.
[227] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 6.
[228] Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900*, New Edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 276.
[229] Prucha, 242.
[230] Interestingly, the "future of the race," is actually intended to be the disappearance of the race. This foremost contradiction highlights the paradoxical nature of Indian boarding schools. These

of their communities, this assertion solidifies them as simply childbearing mothers. Indeed, Morgan insisted that co-education was the only way Indian women could be "lifted out of […] servility and degradation […]."[231] Native women were thusly targeted for domestication through gendered education. Morgan's successor, Estelle Reel became Superintendent of Indian Education in 1898. For the next twelve years, Reel upheld Victorian values that demanded "practical" training for Indians while securing their social status as America's laboring class.[232]

In 1901, Reel, authored *Uniform Course of Study*, establishing a detailed curriculum that endured long past her tenure. The carefully designed curriculum outlined nearly three hundred pages of step-by-step, grade-by-grade, practical instruction.[233] Reel's curriculum covered everything from reading, sewing, engineering and evening hour activities.[234] Just as California settlers sought the use of Indian bodies for labor and industry, Reel's curriculum would accomplish it.[235] Under Reel, Indians were to be trained as "worker[s], not thinker[s]."[236]

In order to be redeemed Reel prescribed Indian bodies with industry, usefulness and practicality. Reel states, "When the Indian children shall have acquired a taste for study and a love for work[237], the day of their redemption will be at hand."[238] Undoubtedly the "education," that Indian children received was grounded in their labor use and establishing their "place" in society as wage laborers. Reel emphasized practical training for Indian children and specifically domestic education for Indian girls. She stated, "If there is no time for nothing else, housekeeping must be taught."[239] Reel's *Course of Study* treated Indian women as only capable

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schools were presented as a benevolent act, for the good of Indian people. However, in reality, these schools sought out the end of Indian people, their communities and way of life.

[231] Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians*, 226. Morgan's use of "servility" here is ironic, for his plan of action for Indian schools emphasized outing with hopes that it would allow Indians to mingle with whites and thus absorb the habits of a civilized life. However, for Indian women, outing rendered them nothing more than menial servants.

[232] Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*, 52 – 53. K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. L McCarty, *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006), 52 – 53.

[233] While not the first standardized curriculum in Indian Education—Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan instated the first—Reel's curriculum was most enduring.

[234] Estelle Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 3.

[235] In fact, W.T. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs congratulated Reel on her thorough manual for it endeavored to "make the Indian schools more useful."

[236] Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907–1925," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: Bison Books, 2006), 179.

[237] Reel's word choice summarizes the true aim of Indian education. Children would receive a "taste" of academics and would be trained to have a passion for labor. For supposed educational institutions, the academic side seems decidedly secondary.

[238] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*, 151.

[239] Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1989-1910," 6. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1989-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996): 6.

of domestic labor—strikingly similar to Spanish, Mexican and American Indian labor policy in California.

Coupling her analysis on land and education, Tsianina Lomawaima argues that both school and Allotment homes were, "conceived of total institutions where Indian people, child and adult would learn through actual work."[240] Therefore, labor through domestic training became the common denominator between both federal programs and California Indian policy. Moreover, similar to colonial divisions of labor, Reel's *Course of Study* outlines particularly gendered subject matters. Boys were especially trained on the school farm, learning carpentry, ironwork and animal husbandry. Girls were specifically trained in cooking, sewing, scrubbing, sweeping and housekeeping. Cooking for example was the "most important" department in the school to teach "the girl" lessons in homemaking.[241] Reel's discussion on standardized outing curriculum further sums this gendered objective, "After a few years' [outing] experience […] the boy will be more able to return to his home and conduct a farm in all its departments…The same is true with the girl. She is trained in the practical everyday life of the household; gains the ability to cook, to sew, and to wash; forms those habits of cleanliness and order so necessary to a comfortable home; and becomes in every respect a thorough house-wife."[242] Reel's curriculum holds Native women responsible for establishing and maintaining what reformers hoped would be the newly imagined Indian home.

Though Indian boys were also subjected to hard labor, their skills allowed them greater access to a variety of trades in public spaces. Also, comparatively, boys were not as targeted or controlled as Indian girls.[243] So while Native women were relegated to private, controlling, domestic(ating) space—similar to Native women in Spanish and Mexican California—Native men were allowed more freedoms.

Lomawaima argues that domestic training was "Training in dispossession under the guise of domesticity, developing a habitus shaped by messages about subservience and one's proper place." [244] Ostensibly domestic training worked to uplift Indian women's lives, and create good Americanized citizens, however in reality, domestic training worked to divest Indian women from social and economic mobility and isolate her to her "place" in society. Lomawaima plainly declares, "Indians were not being welcomed into American society, they were being systematically divested…"[245] Indian boarding schools taught Indian women that their personal value was dependent upon their subservient labor, both in and out of school. Though seemingly benign, domestic training engendered a power shift. Through enforced domestic labor, Native women were relegated to poorly paid, marginal roles, especially in comparison to their white counterparts. Inherent to service work, Indian girls were forced to occupy a lower, subservient social position—both economically deficient and lacking in autonomy. In practice domestic training and outing programs created an artificial labor demand for Indian girls as live-in housemaids. This tremendous shift disempowered Native women and deprived them of their potential and promise.

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[240] Lomawaima, 10.
[241] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*, 90.
[242] Reel, 190.
[243] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 232.
[244] Lomawaima, 231.
[245] Lomawaima, 236.

In-school Labor

Recent scholarship affirms schools *relied* on Indian child labor and it was vital for institutional upkeep.[246] At Haskell and Flandreau, Brenda Child found that young women manufactured their own dresses, uniforms and cloaks.[247] They labored in the school kitchens, laundries and on-site practice cottages. "Industrial" or "practice" cottages were modeled after Hampton[248] and Tuskegee Institutes.[249] Eric Olund argues that these model cottages, "operated in tandem" with Allotment, "reinforce[d] the cult of domesticity" and treated Indians as "agents of assimilation."[250] Most significantly, in these cottages Indian women were trained to work as domestics in the outing program. Robert Trennert notes that though domestic training meant to acculturate students, the purpose of outing would change to supply cheap labor for local white homes. Schools literally became a job placement business.[251] Therefore together, Allotment and boarding schools established citizen-making labor intended to civilize and domesticate Indians.

Kevin Whalen's study on Sherman Indian School in Riverside, CA reveals that Reel's intent on putting Indian children to work also meant providing budget relief to the schools. During Reel's tenure, in 1908, Sherman received $157 per year for each enrolled student. However, into the next two decades, that level of funding failed to cover the rising costs of education.[252] From just 350 students in 1902, Sherman's enrollment grew to over one thousand students in the 1920s. As the campus expanded over the years to accommodate the influx of students, student laborers were put to work literally building student and employee dormitories, a hospital, farm buildings and more.[253] In fact, in 1927 E.B. Merritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs celebrated Sherman's student labor calling it, "remarkably efficient construction work … at about one-third the cost of the open market."[254] According to the board of Indian Commissioners student labor in constructing school buildings saved the government an estimated $78,000 between 1910 and 1923.[255]

Cheap and essentially free student labor was a regular practice at boarding schools. At Sherman, school officials trained Indian children in vocations that would provide them with experience and most importantly, the ability to perform labor central to the upkeep of the

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[246] See Whalen, Paxton and Adams for example.

[247] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 79–80.

[248] Alice Fletcher in fact assisted the WNIA to raise money for such cottages at the Hampton Institute.

[249] In 1906 Reel visited the Institute and brought the concept to Indian schools

[250] Eric N. Olund, "Public Domesticity during the Indian Reform Era; Or, Mrs. Jackson Is Induced to Go to Washington," *Gender, Place & Culture* 9, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 163, https://doi.org/10.1080/09663960220139662.

[251] Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (July 1, 1982): 271–90, https://doi.org/10.2307/969414.

[252] Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 44.

[253] Whalen, 4.

[254] Whalen, 163.

[255] Whalen, 163.

school.[256] All Indian boarding schools operated on a "half-day plan", a long-entrenched school schedule that required a half-day of academic instruction followed by a half-day of manual labor on campus. At Sherman student schedules started at 5:30am and ended at 9:00pm.[257] Therefore, young men taught in masonry, roofing or electrician work, would be expected to perform these tasks on campus. Young girls who cooked, cleaned and hemmed would be expected to do the same. Indian boys would construct the dormitories Indian girls would clean them.

Other boarding schools across the nation operated on the same curriculum that mandated in-school Indian child labor. At Michigan's former Mt. Pleasant Indian School, Alice Littlefield found similar forms of settler labor exploitation. Like Sherman, at Mt. Pleasant, Indian boys were trained as industrious yeoman farmers and Indian girls trained to become "good … housekeepers… and …wives."[258] Like Whalen, Littlefield finds that these children were vital to the upkeep of the school, "To balance the books, the schools had to maximize internal production of food and other goods and rely on student labor for routine maintenance."[259] In fact, girls did much of the routine cleaning of their own accommodations and produced much of the schools clothing and linens—in one year producing over $2,600 of products. Littlefield critiques the schools for "chanel[ing] Native Americans into the wage labor force."[260] Moreover, she argues that agricultural vocational training students received was entirely irrelevant to the emerging labor market.[261]

Native Women's Testimony

The life story of Viola Martinez, a Bishop Paiute woman and former student at Sherman Institute traces the history of California Indian indenture and national Outing policy. Her story also demonstrates how Native women's freedom and education were tethered to their ability to labor as domestics. Martinez was born around 1917. Her mother died in the 1918 flu epidemic and she was raised by her maternal widowed aunt, Mary Ann Brazanovich.[262] Martinez fondly remembered her aunt and in her youth, traveled with her regularly throughout Eastern California on horse and buggy. Her Aunt Mary Ann traveled a great deal, especially in the summer to reconnect with relatives and trade with local settlers. She also worked for them too. Brazanovich regularly visited Bridgeport where the townspeople knew her well. Martinez recollects, "It was a natural thing for her to do the laundry for them and do the ironing and even help in the cooking. She would be paid in food or money, or even in material."[263] This notion of domestic servitude

[256] For more information on student labor production at Indian boarding schools see Whalen, Paxton and Adams.
[257] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 64.
[258] Alice Littlefield and Martha C. Knack, *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives*, First Edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 103.
[259] Littlefield and Knack, 117.
[260] Littlefield and Knack, 101.
[261] Littlefield and Knack, 102. For example among the father's occupations of interviewed students, only one was a farmer on his own land and Allotment plots proved too small to provide a living.
[262] Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez, California Paiute: Living in Two Worlds* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 17.
[263] Bahr, 41.

as "natural" shows how Native women were innately tied to domestic labor. Indeed, her labor was probably essential for these settler families. On her travels to Mono Lake Martinez's Aunt Mary Ann worked for two families, one that operated a shop and another that ran a lodge. Even if traveling to visit family, Brazanovich was required to work. She had been raised in the 19th-century culture of Indian domestic work, so these travels and the labor she performed for settler families were common and apparently expected. Brazanovich was always working within the confines of domestic labor and always providing.

Martinez enjoyed her life with her aunt, but it would be cut short in her youth. She attended public school in a small schoolhouse and excelled, but would not be able to continue there much longer. In due time her uncles decided to send her to boarding school. Not only were Indians not accepted in the school at Bishop, but her uncles felt she needed to "learn the white man's ways."[264] Her Aunt Mary Ann was very upset and feared she may never see her niece again. Documents indicate that her uncle signed off on her enrollment, but Martinez believed the signature to be forged. In 1927, a government car picked up ten-year-old Martinez and five other children. All six were delivered to Sherman Indian School. Martinez would not return home for another twelve years.

At the school, Martinez relished in the indoor bathroom facilities, running water, and electricity. These were impressive conveniences for her. Yet, school life was extremely regimented. Martinez recollected, "Everything was done by the clock… it didn't govern us at home, but there [at Sherman Institute] it definitely did. I did not like the routine because it was so regimented."[265] Martinez experienced Pratt's half day plan, some days learning in the morning and laboring in the afternoon, while other days, the opposite. She was very aware of the fact that her labor on campus made the school function, "You would go to school in the afternoon and in the morning you would do all the necessary chores to keep this big institution running like a home, an everyday place of living…" In her recollections, children were responsible for much of the labor, "You learned to cook. You washed, you ironed. You did the sewing and you did the cleaning…"[266] Boys worked in the dining room doing the heavy cooking in the kitchen preparing meals for a thousand students. Girls waited on the tables and prepared some of the meals.

Students experienced military regimentation daily and performed it for large crowds of the local community on Sundays. Martinez remembers the uniforms girls wore for marching—white tops and navy pleated skirts. Students were divided into companies and paraded around the grounds behind a marching band. She recollected, "Your companies made sure they did their thing [properly]. You had to perform just like you would, I guess, in the military service."[267] The performance aspect of the parade was not lost on Martinez. She knew that the performance was attempting to prove something, "There were huge, huge groups [of spectators]. [Sherman Institute was] showing off, I guess, supposedly doing something good for the Indians, [demonstrating that] we brought the children here, and we're educating them, teaching them how to act. Discipline."[268] While promoting assimilation doctrine, these Sunday parades served as evidence that said doctrine was working.

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[264] Bahr, 47.
[265] Bahr, 54.
[266] Bahr, 54.
[267] Bahr, 55.
[268] Bahr, 55.

During her summers at Sherman, Martinez labored in homes for the school's outing program. She outed each year, caring for white families in homes throughout the Southern California region. Early on she overheard a Matron tell a prospective employer, "This is what we train them for, to take care of other people's houses and toilets."[269] The comment was upsetting for Martinez and exposed the underlying truth of her labor. Even so, Martinez had little choice in the matter and continued outing. Once, at a home in San Bernardino, she was accused of stealing a wristwatch. The Matron searched her belongings demanding she produce the watch or a pawn ticket. The Matron found neither, but vowed that Martinez would never go outing again. Low and behold, the next summer as they called out the outing names, Martinez made the list again. Undoubtedly, her labor value was essential to the school and outweighed notions of morality and reprimanding.

Overall, Martinez found most of the families she worked for "wonderful." And she took advantage of the time away from Sherman to explore parks, museums and read in the evenings.[270] Even so, these small privileges came at a heavy price. Outing work was fundamentally exploitative and live-in work was especially demanding. In practice, outing thrust young women into the intimate lives of their employers where they performed both physical and emotional labor. Whether willingly or not, Native women's lives became intertwined with the lives of their employers in all of their complexities. As settler colonialism destroys to replace, outing effectively severed and dismantled Indian women's' family structures and replaced them with the families of their employers. In these intimate spaces, settler colonial relations manifested in the day-to-day. The relationship of labor exploitation was covertly nested in ideas of care and home.

Where Martinez had a fairly good experience outing, her good friend Clara Moorhead Moran did not. She once worked for a husband and wife who were generally nice, but required her, as a young woman to manage their dysfunctional household. Moran's job was essentially to restrict the wife's drinking while her husband was away—keeping her from hard alcohol and making sure she did not hurt herself. Young Moran worked for a drunkard and was forced to perform emotional labor, and manage the family's intimate, hidden dysfunction. While certainly a less than ideal home, the position was better than the previous job. There the family was very demanding and wanted her to learn gourmet cooking to entertain guests at parties. Moran was against it. Further, she realized that the man of the house was a peeping Tom. During her one hour break in the day, she found him peering in through her bedroom keyhole. It is impossible to say how long he had been spying on her and in what contexts. Moran officially had enough. She quit.[271] Considering her experience with difficult and lewd homeowners, it is not surprising that working for an alcoholic seemed decent. Children in the outing system had to weigh their decisions and choose the less offensive of undesirable options. Through outing, Native women earned wages and could enjoy new experiences. But the work came at a cost. These small

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[269] Bahr, 63.

[270] Bahr, 64.

[271] Bahr, 62. As the following chapters reveal, quitting was fairly common and the consequences varied. If under reasonable circumstances, Native women could easily return for a future outing placement. If they quit by running away, the possibility of their return to the Bay Area Outing Program was less certain. However, more often than not the value of Native women's labor was essential. Therefore, Outing Matrons often overlooked transgressions and gave many women a "second chance."

freedoms were tethered to racialized, gendered labor exploitation that benefitted settlers more than it did Native women. When asked about her experience Outing, Martinez consciously declared, "We were being trained primarily to take care of white people's houses…"[272] Not unlike her Aunt Mary Ann, Martinez and her friend Moran were confined to domestic labor. Whether in the 19th or the 20th century, the culture of Indian domestics was a prevalent feature throughout California.

About decade after Martinez was born, another California Indian woman had a similar experience that further illuminates the domestic training that Indian girls received. This story also elucidates a larger theme of Indian child removal. Julia Parker, Kashaya Pomo and Coast Miwok, was born Florence Domingues in 1929 in Graton, California. Her parents were migrant farmworkers as was common among Indian communities of the time. Parker's father died in 1933 when she was just four years old. Her mother, Lily Pete continued to raise her five children as a single mother until the government revoked her custody. Upon which her children became wards of the court. Parker and her four younger siblings were placed with a nurse named Eva, and her husband, a farmer. She had fond memories of her foster mother who she described as a "wonderful" person who really "cared about us." Life with Eva was fairly stable. None of the children were separated and they lived on a farm and regularly attended public school, church and Sunday school. Eva also encouraged the children to learn and experience as much as they could, and embrace their Native heritage. While Parker refers to herself an orphan during these years, her mother was very much alive. In fact, she occasionally visited the children at Eva's home. Parker recollected these visits with some confusion, "My mother, she would come out and see us… But my mother would cry. That's what I remember of her—crying. I think the last time I remember seeing her is when she came out to Eva's. I must have been about eleven or twelve. And I guess shortly after that, she passed away." [273] Parker's mother was clearly heartbroken and could only visit her own children at a distance. After she passed, Eva did not allow the children to attend their mother's funeral services. Later in life, Parker learned that among her community was a story that "Lily's kids disappeared." They had no idea where the children were taken. Clearly, Parker and her siblings were forcibly removed from their mother, against her will. And at such a young age, the children could not fully comprehend why.

After some time, Eva could no longer care for the children and as wards of the court, they were sent to Stewart Indian School in Carson City, NV. On Parker's behalf, Eva advocated that the children not be separated, and fortunately they were not. There, with her siblings near, Parker learned to acclimate to the regimented life of boarding school. When reflecting on her five years at Stewart, Parker remembers that she was not to speak of Indian ways, not to speak Indian languages nor sing Indian songs. Parker recollects, "We had to learn what they wanted us to be. They were what you might call reconditioning us—or retaining us—to live in the outside world." This reconditioning underpinned the settler logic of transformation. Parker and fellow students were being trained to replicate Euro American standards. In practice this curriculum attempted to produce docile, obedient subjects while extracting their labor.

In her daily boarding school life, Parker started the day at 6:00 am and had four hours of reading, writing and arithmetic followed by on-campus labor for the remaining four hours. Just like Martinez, she followed Pratt's long-established half day plan. Parker reflected, "[W]e had to

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[272] Bahr, 69.

[273] Deborah Valoma, *Scrape the Willow Until It Sings: The Words and Work of Basket Maker Julia Parker*, First Edition (Berkeley, California: Heyday, 2013), 53.

do things they wanted us to learn. When I tell people about my education, of course a lot of people say, 'they taught you just to be maids.' I thought about that too, yes, that is the truth. But you know what? Not everybody knows how to clean a house and set a table right. And I say 'Well, there's nothing wrong with being a maid—making a room clean and shiny. There's nothing wrong with that.' At least that was an honest living." Parker was proud of her skills and appreciated her time at Stewart learning through gardening, baking, working at the school laundry in the hospital or filing in the offices. Generally, she had a positive experience at Stewart, "while I was in school, they always treated me well, except when I was late and didn't get home in time from off-campus."[274] Remarkably, Parker benefitted from the niceness of her foster family and even the staff at Stewart. These niceties aside, within an exploitative system they do not negate the larger structure. Indeed, niceness had an expiration. Like other students at Indian boarding schools, Parker was not excluded from discipline and retribution.

While on campus, domestic work was foundational to Parker's "retraining." She recalled darning socks as a form of punishment and recollected laboring in the campus practice cottage. She lived in the home for a whole semester and learned to care for it—scrubbing the windows and baseboards on her hands and knees. There she learned to set a table. Parker explained, "I never questioned it, except I would think 'Why do we have to learn all this?"[275] Parker was not lost on the fact that few students would ever have an opportunity to set such a table for themselves. Skills acquired in practice cottages were impractical for the average Indian home and more suited to serving white homes. During her time at Stewart, Parker outed in the summer months living and laboring at various homes in Northern California. As a "helper" she was a housekeeper and sometimes took care of children. She reflected "I liked it, but I thought I had to get out and do something on my own." Independence for Parker was still tied to domestic labor. After Stewart, she found work in Yosemite Valley where jobs were plentiful. There, she was put to work in the laundry because as she explained, "that was the only thing I could do."[276] Indian boarding schools actively trained Native women in subservient domestic work. Predictably, few could venture outside of these limits. When the laundry was removed from the park, she became a maid again and cleaned the nearby cabins.

Parker had always wanted to join the military, become a doctor, or even a secretary. She knew there was something greater for her in life.[277] But the training she received at Stewart suppressed these aspirations and did not give her the proper education to achieve such goals. As Parker admitted, the "truth" was that she and her peers were taught to be maids. Despite these limitations, Parker did reach for something more. There, in the Yosemite Valley where she worked as a laundress and a maid, she began her studies of basketry. Under the tutelage of her husband's grandmother, renowned Paiute and Miwok basket weaver, Lucy Telles, Parker embraced Native forms of domesticity and culture. Throughout her life, Parker honed her craft and became a world renowned basket weaver in her own right. From being disappeared as a child to indoctrinated in her adolescence, Parker was able to carve out a life of her choosing. Like Martinez and countless other Native women, boarding school education communicated that Parker's value was dependent upon her subservient labor, both in and out of school. As a California Indian woman, this message complimented the culture of Indian domesticity

[274] Valoma, 58–59.
[275] Valoma, 60.
[276] Valoma, 62.
[277] Valoma, 38.

throughout the state. However, Parker was able to break away from the constraints of her Stewart education. Not all women would be as fortunate to escape such an intrenched system.

As these stories have explicated, throughout the 19th and 20th-centuries domestic labor among Native American women was "natural" and expected. In boarding schools, domestic science curriculum trained Indian girls to be maids. And while girls had larger aspirations for themselves, the education they received suppressed such dreams. Furthermore, Indian child removal was part and parcel to boarding school education and thus domestic training. And while institutional Outing labor might afford a young woman wages and new experiences, there was a cost. Such labor was fundamentally exploitative and covertly nested in ideas of care and home. Live-in work not only thrust girls and women into the intimate lives of their employers but required these women to choose the less offensive of undesirable options. While generations apart, three California Indian women, Mary Ann Brazanovich, Viola Martinez and Julia Parker experienced first-hand the grip of domesticity. Their stories reveal that in 19th and 20th-century California, the culture of Indian domestic servitude was ever-present.

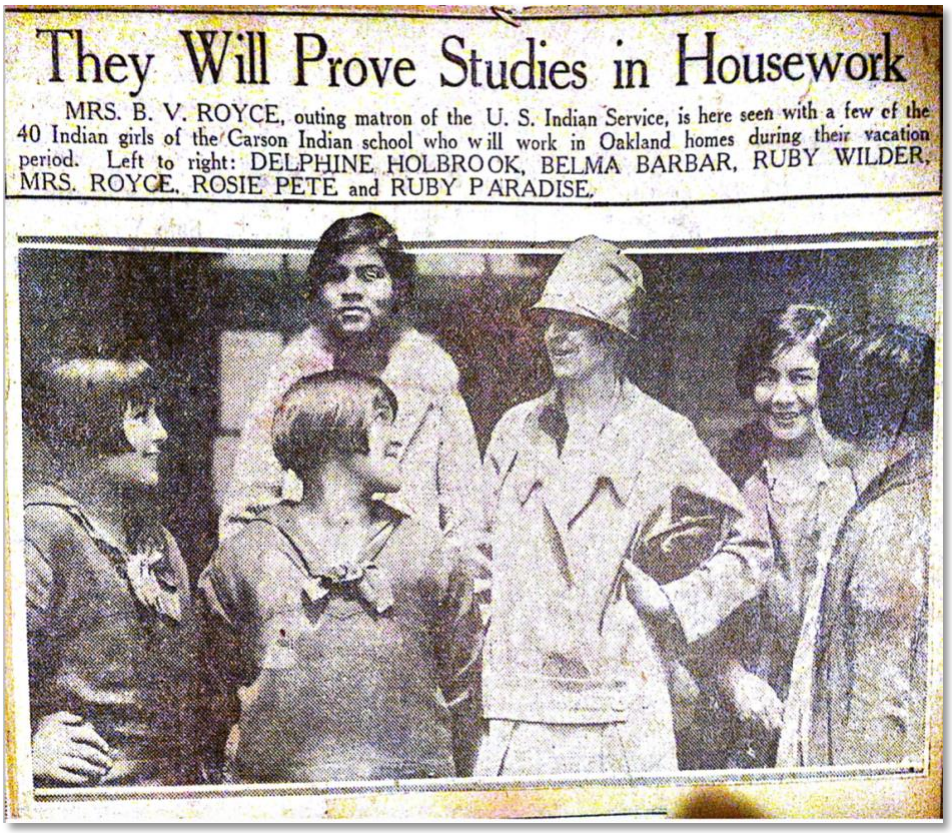
Conclusion

This chapter has traced gendered Indian labor practices and policies enacted in colonial California and nationally in the United States. Through close analysis of these labor systems, I argue that outing in California emerges from both a long history of state-wide Indian labor practices as well as national federal Indian policy. Outing labor in California does not arise simply from federal assimilation policy, but is built upon the region's longstanding reliance and exploitation of Indian labor. In the mission compound, on the *Californio* rancho, or in the Anglo settler home, domestic labor was thrust upon Native women. In these intimate spaces, domestic worked played a part in establishing and maintaining a new settler colonial society. Furthermore, domestic outing labor is an extension of labor policies designed to "domesticate" Indian people and Native women in particular. Thus attempting to producing docile, obedient subjects.

Woven throughout California's Spanish, Mexican and American periods are underlying themes of California Indian control, punishment and imprisonment and coerced gendered labor/slavery. The arrival of the Spanish and their mission system incited an apocalyptic "end of the world," dramatically altering California Indian culture and way of life. As the landscape around them yielded fewer traditional resources, many had to seek refuge in the adobe quadrangles. Behind these walls, California Indians were brutally punished, confined and put to work. Upon Mexican independence and secularization, Indian bondage continued, incorporating California Indians into the labor economy. Though Indians had legal citizenship under Mexican rule, they were nonetheless relegated to the lowest rungs of society. Mexican ranchos flourished on Indian labor and became a mainstay among *Californios* like Vallejo who built their personal empires on the backs of Indian labor. The American period proved most detrimental to California Indian livelihood and survival. Anglo ideologies supported high demands for Indian labor during the Gold Rush. However, the massive influx of new gold hungry settlers relegated Indians into peonage and slavery. Presumed disposable, setters in the American period held little regard for Indian lives and murdered, kidnapped and trafficked Indian bodies throughout the state. Amidst this dangerous time, the state's first policies entrenched a practice of Indian slavery and indenture.

Together, Allotment and boarding schools enforced Euro American ideals of domestic space through labor, devastating Indian Country and sequestering Native women. From their

inception, boarding schools targeted Native women, stripped them of their power and agency and made servants of them. Not unlike California Indian labor policy, domestic science assimilation curriculum turned young girls into labor commodities, readily available for consumption. These inextricable, reverberating policies established regimes of domination and control over Indian people, uniquely affecting Native women. Colonial California Indian labor policy was a unique brand of bondage and when paired with federal Indian policy, targeted Native communities, exploited their labor and through "domestication" attempted to dispossessed Native women.



They Will Prove Studies in Housework

MRS. B. V. ROYCE, outing matron of the U. S. Indian Service, is here seen with a few of the 40 Indian girls of the Carson Indian school who will work in Oakland homes during their vacation period. Left to right: DELPHINE HOLBROOK, BELMA BARBAR, RUBY WILDER, MRS. ROYCE, ROSIE PETE and RUBY PARADISE.

On Tuesday, June 7, 1927, the *Oakland Tribune* published an article in tall prominent font announcing, "They Will Prove Studies in Housework." Below, a photo of five young Indian girls with short bobs surround a tall women—Matron Bonnie Royce—featured front and center. One young girl, Ruby Wilder looks up, almost adoringly to Matron Royce. To her left, Delphine Holbrook smiles past. A lofty young girl, Belma Barbar stares off in the distance towards the camera. A pair on the right—Rosie Pete and Ruby Paradise—smile, as if just having exchanged a joke.

The brief article declares, "Indian Girl Students Here" and reports, "Forty Indian girls from the Carson Indian school at Stewart, Nevada will put their knowledge of domestic science to good use in Oakland during the vacation period. They arrived here today as the guests of the U.S. Indian service and will do housework in various homes of this city to add to their practical knowledge along domestic science lines and to earn spending money for the next school term. Mrs. B. V. Royce, outing matron of the U.S. Indian Service, assisted in finding places for the Indian girls. The average age of the members of the group is 17 years, and they are completing their first year of high school work. Most of them belong to the Paiute or the Washoe tribe. They plan to return to the Carson school on September 1."

The very image of the girls, some in uniform, is analogous to the famous "contrast" photos from Carlisle Institute. These before and after images documented the progress of the

government's civilizing mission. Indian children with long dark hair and dark complexions, wrapped in blankets, some barefoot or wearing moccasins and adorned with jewelry were transformed. Subsequent photos were void of all tribal aesthetics. Administrator's cut children's hair and dressed them in carefully pressed uniforms with shined boots. Their complexions markedly lighter and postures more giving to the camera. Ruby, Delfine, Belma, Rosie and Ruby are presented as the "after" product of Indian Boarding school education. Their cut hair, modern clothing and laidback attitudes amid the city backdrop reinforces the message of assimilation. Moreover, the image establishes their consent into a "benevolent" project.

The article's particular choices of words such as "good use" and "guests" convey the outing program as a charitable act of goodwill. Young Indian girls were simply working to apply their "practical knowledge" to earn spending money and Matron Royce was simply "assisting" them. In fact, girls were not "guests," in the homes of their employers—they were child laborers. They were not under the compassionate "care" of Matron Royce—but under her wardship and surveillance. The Outing Program though positioned as benign or beneficial was coercive and exploitative. Ostensibly domestic training worked to uplift Indian women's lives and create good Americanized citizens. In reality, outing equated labor exploitation and enforced servitude, and Native women overtly resisted this domesticating assimilation project.

Introduction

This brief glimpse into San Francisco Bay Area history describes a once a thriving project of government assimilation known as the Bay Area Regional Outing Program. As discussed in Chapter 1, "outing," a term coined by Richard Henry Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian School, was a means to transfer Indian children "out" of their communities to work in white homes. The system was designed for students to abandon their Native practices and embrace "civility," which included, as Superintendent Reel later articulated, a "love of manual labor."[278] Through these systems boys were often sent to perform manual labor on farms and ranches while girls were exclusively employed in domestic service. Pratt's curriculum became the standard for Indian education and Outing became the cornerstone of nineteenth and twentieth century Indian policy.

Because acculturation and assimilation ideologies dominated Indian policy at the time, outing was meant to transform Indian children and thus Indian people into hardworking, thrifty individuals who worked within the capitalistic nation state.[279] While Native children performed outing labor in city homes and rural farms they also provided in-school labor on campus. Cheap and essentially free student labor was a regular practice at boarding schools and provided budget relief. In fact, Indian child labor sustained the national boarding school system. At Midwest based boarding schools young women manufactured their own dresses, uniforms and cloaks.[280] Girls performed much of the routine cleaning of the facilities and produced much of the schools clothing and linens. These same women would have labored in school kitchens, laundries and

[278] Whalen, "Labored Learning," 153.
[279] Robert A. Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930," *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (August 1, 1983): 268.
[280] Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 79 – 80.

on-site practice cottages.[281] Women in western-based schools largely performed the same kind of labor. In southern California, young men taught in masonry, roofing or electrician work, would be expected to perform these tasks on campus. In fact, these same young men were largely responsible for building the majority of campus structures including expansion projects as the school grew. At boarding schools, it was expected that Indian boys would construct the dormitories and Indian girls would clean them. Such gendered labor persisted in outing.

Following Pratt's 1878 outing experiment, outing programs were commonplace. By 1900, at least a dozen outing programs developed across the nation at Haskell Institute in Kansas, Sherman Institute in southern California, Stewart Indian School in Nevada, Fiske Institute in New Mexico, Phoenix Indian School and Fort Mojave Indian School in Arizona and Genoa Industrial School in Nebraska.[282] Schools that were close to their students' tribal communities like Chilocco in Oklahoma, had minor outing programs simply for the fact that students often went home during break.[283] Outing programs also operated through lesser known schools such as Grand Junction Indian School in Colorado, Seger Indian Training School in Oklahoma and the on-reservation Mescalero Indian Boarding School.[284] In these Outing programs, boys were generally subjected to hard labor working as farm hands or in trades such as blacksmithing, printing, carpentry and masonry among others. Their skills allowed them greater access to a variety of trades in public spaces. On the contrary, Outing relegated Native girls and women to private, controlling, domestic(ating) spaces. They were exclusively tasked with cooking, sewing, childrearing and housekeeping. For this reason, an analysis of Outing focused on Native women illuminates the especially gendered terrain of labor in colonialism. The Bay Area Outing Program emulated the same principles established in the abovementioned school-based outing programs. However, whereas Carlisle and other off-reservation boarding schools operated their own outing programs for boys and girls, the Bay Area Outing program was *exclusively* for girls and women. Moreover, this program was entirely independently run by the Office of Indian Affairs and not affiliated with any particular Indian boarding school.

Chapter 1 laid the foundation for establishing California's long history of Indian labor exploitation and the U.S. government's insistence of domestic labor for Native American

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[281] For more on practice cottages, or "industrial" or "model" cottages for Native children see W. Roger Buffalohead and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "'A Nucleus of Civilization': American Indian Families at Hampton Institute in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35 (April 15, 1996): 59–94. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1989-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996). Jane E. Simonsen, "'Object Lessons': Domesticity and Display in Native American Assimilation," *American Studies* 43, no. 1 (2002): 75–99. Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (July 1, 1982): 271–90. Pedro Tamesis Orata and Olive Galloway, "Promoting Boy-Girl Relationships through the Practice Cottage," *Journal of Home Economics* 30 (May 1938): 321–23.

[282] Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix," 282 – 283.

[283] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*, Reprint edition (University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

[284] House United States. Congress., *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900. Indian Affairs. Report of the Commissioner and Appendixes*, United States Congressional Serial Set; Serial Set No. 4101 (Washington, DC, 1900).

women. This chapter moves onto an analysis of the Bay Area Outing Program—a system where both histories converge. A program that operated as an Indian labor agency, developing upon California's longstanding culture of Indian indenture. In the early 20th-century, impoverished Native communities had little access to employment or wage work. Therefore many Native women gravitated to outing in the Bay Area for an income and some became breadwinners for their families. City life was also attractive—bright lights, new people, movie theaters, shops, and trolley cars. After the 1906 earthquake rocked San Francisco, the East Bay became a new destination for Bay Area residents. Roughly 200,000 homeless San Franciscans fled east and three quarters chose to stay. Communities developed quickly and cities like Berkeley and Oakland became main hubs thoroughly connected to railroads and ports. Young women who outed in the Bay Area labored in middle class and upper class homes—often in newly established streetcar suburbs. Victorian, Craftsman and bungalow homes scattered the landscape in the predominantly white neighborhoods. In the advent of WWII, the Bay Area shifted yet again. The defense industry boomed in the region creating jobs in shipyards and factories while funneling service men and women to the area. Native women who outed in the Bay Area found themselves among the working class during a time of change and population boom. From their rural tribal communities that largely lacked jobs and infrastructure, outing in the Bay Area was a beacon of possibility.

My research focuses on the Bay Area Outing Program for its unique ability to provide insight into gendered labor in colonization. This women-run program started in the San Francisco Bay Area, tapping into a large network of reformer organizations. Through Outing Matrons, the Bay Area's growing nonprofit and social services arm sought to oversee and sanction Native women placed in the Outing program. Moreover, the Bay Area Outing Program endured long past many boarding school-based Outing operations. Where some campus based programs ended in the 1920s and 1930s, the Bay Area Outing Program continued long past the Great Depression and into WWII. And while the program staff morphed into a Social Services Agency, women continued domestic outing work well into the 1940s. I therefore demonstrate a prolific outing regime that existed well beyond the ostensible end of the assimilation era, and thusly challenge scholarship that argues such labor programs dissolve after the 1934 Indian "New Deal." [285] Overall, this distinct labor program speaks to the feminization of settler colonialism in the West and its effects on Native women and their families. Furthermore, my research departs from existing outing scholarship, which has focused on the 1930s era and white women Outing Matrons.[286] Instead, I situate the program within a longer history of Indian servitude in California and center Native women's experiences.

Questions that fuel this chapter are: What is the history of the Bay Area Outing Program? What were Native women's conditions in the outing system? How were their bodies policed and surveilled? What choices did they have and how did they respond? To this end, I closely examine the Bureau of Indians Affair's (BIA) Relocation, Training and Employment Assistance records. These rich files illuminate Native women's circumstances and conditions. I thus analyze powerful and painful stories of women and girls who labored in the Bay Area Outing Program.

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[285] Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix." Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

[286] Victoria K Haskins, *Matrons and Maids: Regulating Indian Domestic Service in Tucson, 1914--1934* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

First, I describe the archival data considering its limits and possibilities. I then explore the first iteration of outing in the San Francisco Bay Area as documented in 20th-century newspapers. From this framework, I delve into my analysis of the Bay Area Outing Program. I examine the process through which Native women were recruited and the ways they were policed and surveilled by their employers and Outing Matrons. I also highlight the prevalence of women leaving and quitting their outing positions. In my analysis I consider forms of coercion and the fact that few Native women could find jobs outside of domestic work. I also describe the contracts that Native women were required to sign in the early 1930s and provide an in-depth analysis of outing labor, wages and Native women's organizing through an organization called the Four Winds Club. Ultimately, I find that amid coercion Native women challenged their liminal standing and frustrated the Bay Area Outing Program.

The Archive

The Bay Area Outing Program files are archived in a series of records catalogued as "Relocation, Education and Employment Assistance Case Files, 1926 – 1946," and "Case Records of Relocation, Training and Employment assistance, 1928 – 1951." The former account for the majority of Outing specific files—fourteen boxes in total—while some are also found in the latter—one box total. Recent scholarship on the Bay Area Outing Program or "Outing Center" has only taken into account the first four boxes of data.[287] Therefore, my research expands the Outing story by examining the whole and larger body of Bay Area Outing records including newly released data. This rich data set of government files reveals the program's larger structural framework and captures a complicated network of local organizations, social services agencies, and institutions affiliated with the Bay Area Outing program. These records also trace the change of administration over time, including Matron Van Every's transition from Outing to "Social Work." The latter cases continue to document Native women's labor in the Bay Area and impacts on the Indian family. Largely, the same women who participated in Outing are present in Social Work case files, demonstrating change—or lack thereof—over time. Indian women found it difficult to venture into new industries even with federal assistance.

Among the bulk of Outing records are rich "employee" files that reference Native women's' places of employment, respective wages, tribal affiliation, blood quantum and other such details that illuminate their circumstances and conditions. Existing Federal forms also reveal how Outing Matrons quantified the lives of Native women, commenting on her training, characteristics and morals and whether she might be "good," "attractive" or "big headed." Outside of these documents, the archive contains letters from concerned parents of outing girls, and women who advocated for commensurate wages, appealed to the Matron for assistance or refused the doctrine of the Outing program. Overwhelmingly, these records demonstrate the government's detailed, day-to-day management and exploitation of women in the outing

[287] Margaret D. Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier: American Indian Domestic Servants in White Women's Households in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1920-1940," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 28, no. 1 (2007): 165–99. Margaret D. Jacobs, "Diverted Mothering among American Indian Domestic Servants, 1920–1940," in *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism* (University of Illinois Press, 2012), 179–92. Abigail Markwyn, "'It Was a Place for the Girls to Meet': Community, Native Americans, and the Berkeley Outing Center, 1927 - 1933" (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2000).

program—but most importantly Native women's resistance to it. While certainly rife with correspondence *about* Native women from Matrons, employers and BIA officials, these files also include Native girls and women's testimony. I excavated this partial view into the archive from thousands of federal documents, with the help of a team of undergraduate research assistants. I highlight these firsthand accounts to uncover Native women's crucial agency and autonomy. I thus reveal Native women's subtle and overt forms of resistance to domesticity and assimilation.

While the archive is certainly revealing, it does not capture the full weight of the Outing Program. For example, only in rare cases are Outing girls' letters to family and friends present in the archive. We will never fully know what they personally revealed to relatives and confidants. Likewise, unless mentioned in correspondence, we do not know the extent of relationships women forged in the Bay Area—whether professional, amicable or romantic—or their personal reflections on city life. Ultimately, unless revealed in these formal governmental documents, we will not know the stories that women chose not to share. Certainly, this deficiency recalls Michel-Rolph Trouillot's notion of the "absences in the archive."[288] These silences are laden with power and speak to the fact that certain histories are privileged and upheld while others are obscured. Indeed, recognizing the power of the archive, Danika Medak-Saltzman argues that archival materials are "repositories of colonial privilege."[289] Amid the silences and privilege, are stories that remain outside of the historical record. Conversely, there are certainly issues in the archive that women may have intended to conceal from their relatives such as an unplanned pregnancy, or incarceration. Such events are often painstakingly detailed in federal letters and reveal much more than Native women may have intended.

Because the breadth of Native women's experiences are not adequately represented in the archive I also draw from a series of interviews. At the start of this project, I planned to interview a larger group of Native women elders who experienced outing firsthand. However, many of the women I had hoped to interview passed away long before and the other few I knew of chose not to be interviewed. Instead, I relied on one-on-one semi-structured interviews with my great aunt, Esther Wasson. As a young student, Wasson labored on the grounds at Stewart Indian school and also participated in outing. She later worked as a domestic throughout California and Nevada. In fall 2013 through fall 2016, I conducted interviews with her at her home in the Portola district of San Francisco. In these interviews, Wasson gave a partial view of her experience at Stewart—much of it scrubbing on her hands and knees. She recollected Matron Van Every as someone who got Indian women jobs. And she recounted how she managed domestic work among other side jobs to provide for her family. Because the Bay Area Outing Program stems from Stewart administration and a network of Indian schools that relied upon and produced Indian laborers, Wasson's story is representative of the experiences of thousands of other Native girls and young women placed in the Outing program. Moreover, her experience directly illuminates the pre-Relocation Urban Indian community in the Bay Area.

Early Traces of Bay Area Outing

[288] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 48.

[289] Danika Medak-Saltzman, "Transnational Indigenous Exchange: Rethinking Global Interactions of Indigenous Peoples at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition," *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2010): 594.

The body of this research focuses on the history of the Bay Area Outing Program. However, federal Indian outing in the Bay Area began nearly a decade prior. This early iteration ran through Stewart Indian school, also known as Carson Indian school in Carson City, Nevada. Matrons at the school managed the placement of Native women students as live-in domestics in the San Francisco Bay Area. Because this early version was the product of and administered by an Indian boarding school, it was characteristic of most national outing programs. During these early years, the student body at Stewart was the sole workforce for the school's outing program. The majority of students would have been Washoe, Paiute and Shoshone from the Great Basin region of Nevada and California. However, while most school-based outing programs were co-ed, this early iteration of the program was still, solely for Indian girls and would remain so for the next two decades.[290] Scholarship on this early iteration remains incomplete, yet early 20th-century Bay Area newspaper articles reveal Native women's on the ground experiences. One of the first documented articles chronicles the story of a runaway.

In September 1911, the *San Francisco Call* reported, that Minnie Rook a student from Stewart Indian School was employed in Oakland as a domestic worker.[291] That year, Rook ran away from Stewart Indian school with two other girls. She fled to an Oakland home where she was employed as a domestic. Rook was arrested and turned over to Mrs. S. Barnes of Stewart and sent back to the school. The article reported that the two other girls were still at large. A year later in August 1912, the same paper reported that a cohort of twenty-five girls from Stewart Indian School worked as domestics for families in the "bay cities" earning their railroad fare.[292] That summer, T. T. Waterman, Professor of Anthropology at UC Berkeley arranged for the girls to meet Ishi, a Yana man who had been captured a year prior and extensively researched by the academics.[293] At the reception Ishi exchanged songs with the Shoshone, Washoe and Paiute girls. Further inspection of Bay Area newspapers also uncovers a number of "situation wanted" ads in the classified sections initiated by a Matron at Stewart Indian school. One advertisement for example ran for a week in the summer of 1913 and listed "Wanted – Positions as general help in house for a number of Indian girls from Carson school, Nev., in private homes; ages 12 – 18; wages $10 - $20 per month."[294] Interestingly, these advertisements were sometimes found adjacent to ads seeking Japanese domestics and day workers, which at the time were

[290] Arguably, lack of farms in the Bay Area influenced the absence of male workers in the Bay Area Outing Program. However, in the early 20th-century, large swaths of agricultural land existed just outside of the city. In effect, the program could have integrated male outing labor similar to Sherman's Outing program. Ultimately, it did not.

[291] "Escaped Indian Girl Located in Oakland: Minnie Rook Will Be Returned to School," *The San Francisco Call,* September 26, 1911.

[292] "Ishi Host at Reception to Indian Maids: Builds Primitive Fires; Sings Songs to Entertain Fair Carson Students. First Native Girls He Ever Saw; They Warble Love Notes; He Grows Sad," *San Francisco Call,* August 26, 1912.

[293] Anthropologist Alfred Kroeber sent his protégé T.T. Waterman to capture Ishi. In 1911 Ishi was found at a slaughterhouse in Oroville, CA where he was promptly arrested and then turned over to the Anthropologists. For a critical account of Ishi's life and legacy, see "Stop Hunting Ishi" by William Bauer Jr. in *Boom: A Journal of California*, Vol. 4 No. 3, Fall 2014.

[294] "Situation Wanted," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, June 16, 1913.

commonplace in the region.[295] Subsequent references to this early iteration of the Bay Area Outing Program surfaced in classified ads and articles. All mentioned of the outing girls referred to them as residents of the Carson Indian reservation[296] or students from the Stewart Indian school.[297]

The Bay Area Outing Program

The Bay Area Outing Program officially launched in 1916 and gained traction in 1918. From 1918 to roughly 1942, the program recruited thousands of Native women from both federally-operated Indian boarding schools and the greater region to work as live-in housemaids in affluent homes. Each year, Outing Matrons placed hundreds of Native women in homes in Alameda, Berkeley, Oakland and the greater Bay Area. In exchange for room, board and menial pay, young Native women—as young as fourteen—cooked, cleaned, and served as caretakers in the private homes of their employers. Young women and girls direct from boarding school received one third of their monthly wages. The majority two thirds were sent back to her respective boarding school. The remaining one third of her earnings were managed through the Outing Matron. In the early years cohorts were small; about sixty students labored during the summers. Over time the program grew to include school-aged students who worked into the school year. The Outing Matron was responsible for arranging young women's transportation to the Bay Area and securing live-in positions in a local home. Boarding Native women within the home facilitated a "perfect" form of discipline and released the program from having to secure women's housing. Within the home young women were responsible for several physically demanding chores. Due to the low level of technology before and after World War II, laundry, ironing and housecleaning were arduous tasks. Through this program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) perpetuated its goal of assimilation: to supplant Native values and traditions with western substitutes.

In 1918, the program was headquartered at a home on Prince Street in the "streetcar suburb" of Elmwood in Berkeley, CA.[298] This inaugural location was roughly a mile south of the UC Berkeley campus and central to local reformer organizations including the Indian Defense Association of Central and Northern California and Berkeley and Oakland's highly active Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A) centers. The Salvation Army and Catholic Charities

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[295] For more information on Japanese domestic workers in the Bay Area, see *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* by Evelyn Nakano Glenn.

[296] In fact, there is no such thing as the "Carson Indian reservation." The author of this article confused "reservation" for "school." Contemporaneously, there is federally recognized reservation land in Carson City, Nevada, known as the "Carson colony" of the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California. However, this land acquisition occurs decades after publication of said article.

[297] "Lost Indian Girl Sought By Police," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, October 22, 1914.

[298] Michael Southworth and Eran Ben-Joseph, *Streets and the Shaping of Towns and Cities* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003), 109 – 113. The neighborhood was developed after the 1906 earthquake, away from the central city and overtime became enveloped by it. Original homes in the area were built on a lot-by-lot basis suggesting that the home's 1918 build was financed by the Office of Indian Affairs.

were also in close proximity and through the Outing program became entangled with the lives of Native women. Importantly, the home was adjacent to a number of middle and upper class neighborhoods where the Outing Matrons could secure positions for Native women.

Outing Matrons and other federal officials funneled student labor from Indian boarding schools in the greater Pacific Northwest Region including Chemawa Indian School in Salem, OR, Sherman Institute in Riverside, CA and Stewart Indian School in Carson City, NV. From its inception the program was intended to domesticate Indian girls and women through housework in white homes. It continued the long-standing belief that laboring Indians—especially Indian women in domestic work—would eventually solve the "Indian problem." In whole, the program established a far-reaching, regional outing system.

According to Margaret Jacobs, the Bay Area Outing Program began with a "disgruntled" employee—Bonnie V. Royce—the same "Royce" from the *Daily Gazette* article that introduced this chapter. Royce had worked alongside her Superintendent husband at Stewart as a Field Matron. Apparently dissatisfied with the work, Royce and her husband advocated that she work in the decidedly more cosmopolitan Bay Area. One federal official backed her selection for the newly created Outing Matron position. In what Jacobs calls "true maternalist fashion," in September 1918 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells officially declared that Royce was to

> "give special attention to procuring [employment in] homes for Indian girls after they have left school or for any other Indian women of Nevada and Northern California . . . in order that they may be protected from the degrading moral conditions which are found in the small mining towns[299] of Nevada and the country adjacent thereto."

Sells clarified further, that as Outing Matron, Royce should "ascertain the character and reputation of the parties wishing Indian help and make regular visits to the homes where such employment is given so that no mistake may be made in placing these girls in homes only where helpful influences are radicated [radiated]." He had full confidence that Royce was able to "give the girls the motherly advice and encouragement which will prove an uplift to those placed in her care."

Commissioner Sells' final words epitomize the goals of the Bay Area Outing Program. Native women, especially those from "degrading moral conditions," needed protection, helpful influences, motherly advice and encouragement. Certainly, these aims also reveal that federal officials believed Indian families were incapable of providing such aspirations. So "out" and away from their families and their tragic conditions, Native women could be uplifted by the promise of interaction with whites and domestic wage labor.

Outing Matrons

Federal officials like Sells believed that Outing Matrons and white women employers were aptly capable of inculcating Native women with decidedly civilized, "American" values.

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[299] Sells' reference to mining towns alludes to the lawlessness and chaos brought forth by California's Gold Rush (1848–1855) and Nevada's Comstock Lode (1859 - 1881). As described in Chapter 1, while fairly brief moments in history, these events brought forth thousands of fortune-seeking settlers notorious for unruliness and disorder. Saloons, gambling houses, brothels and the like created an unsavory and dangerous environment. Moreover, Sells' reference to "degrading moral conditions" was code for promiscuity, prostitution and sex. Therefore Commissioner Sells sought to remove Native women from these demoralizing environments.

These Matrons were middle-class women, who strongly identified as wives and mothers and intended to pass down their own "civilized" norms to Native girls and women. In doing so, they entangled notions of nationhood, civilization and domesticity. In his analysis on the Women's National Indian Association and white women reformers, Eric Olund argues "by turning the nation into domestic space," the WNIA took the responsibility to "inculcate knowledge and morality, the prerequisites of civilization."[300] Olund maintains, "It was the task of women reformers to civilize the savage both bodily and spatially."[301] Indeed, federal policy intended to create a "new" kind of Indian. For Indian girls, this meant "a process of civilization derived from the Victorian model of middle-class white domesticity[…]"[302] Lomawaima contends that federal vocational and domestic education for Indian women was "an exercise in power, a reconstruction of her very body, appearance, manners, skills and habits. Federal educators hoped to manufacture civilized obedient souls in civilized and obedient bodies[...]"[303] Patriarchal domesticity underpinned the notion of American civilization and white women were central to the project.

Though largely marginalized from politics in the 19th and 20th centuries, white women reformers throughout the United States found their calling in Indian reform. Through their own activism and political participation, these women sought to gain public legitimacy and authority while simultaneously undermining indigenous communities. Margaret Jacobs' comparative study on white maternalism in Native American and Aboriginal communities sheds light on the feminization of settler colonialism. Jacobs defines maternalists as white reformers who imagined themselves as solving the 'Indian problem' by "metaphorically and literally mothering indigenous people and their children."[304] Where the state became the "father" to indigenous children, white women were imagined to raise these children as surrogate "mothers." Maternalists eagerly campaigned for greater roles in indigenous policy issues often serving as matrons facilitating Indian removal practices or schoolteachers, responsible for socializing and assimilating Native children. Jacobs posits that while the state was the legal or imagined guardian of Indigenous children, it nonetheless "subcontracted", "guardianship responsibilities… education, discipline, punishment, affection and emotional support to white women."[305] White women maternalists were thus deeply woven into the fabric of the settler colonial project.

Throughout the history of the Bay Area Outing Program, two Outing Matrons and one assistant controlled operations. Bonnie V. Royce served as Outing Matron until the early 1930s. During the 30s, she relied on the assistance of Jeannette Traxler. And in 1934 Mildred Van Every entered as the final Outing Matron.[306] In the outing system, white women viewed their

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[300] Olund, "Public Domesticity during the Indian Reform Era; or, Mrs. Jackson Is Induced to Go to Washington," 161.
[301] Olund, "Public Domesticity during the Indian Reform Era; or, Mrs. Jackson Is Induced to Go to Washington," 157.
[302] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 230.
[303] Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 99.
[304] Margaret D Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 88.
[305] Jacobs, 282.
[306] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 173 – 174.

matronly duties as a charitable and necessary effort in addressing the "Indian problem." In their maternalist positions of power, they wielded much control over the lives of Native women. For example, Matrons embraced Victorian ideals and lauded sexual restraint [chastity] and maintained strict codes of conduct. Mid to late 19th-century Victorian ideals, though somewhat passé at the early 20th-century start of the program, were considered especially useful for controlling and shaping Native women. Through these values, Matrons commended individualism and personal improvement. Victorian gender ideologies were intended to give girls purpose, ambition and drive. In return Native girls and women were meant to gain "civilization" through their work in American homes.

In her own words, inaugural Outing Matron Royce desired girls to "make good" while in the Outing Program. Overwhelmingly this meant sticking to the aforementioned standards. Yet, in some cases, this meant reaching further. In one case Royce pleaded with a young woman who left nurses training, "I am so interested in you and know there is a great deal to you and with the proper incouragement [sic] you can make something of yourself. Do'nt [sic] allow your school training to be wasted."[307] In typical situations Royce claimed "I will always do all I can for her or any other Indian girl…" but more often than not, "all she could" was limited to the restraints of the program—Americanization, civilization and above all domestication. Presented as compassionate, benevolent, charitable work, the Outing Program belied its oppressive nature and Native women pushed back.

"When I graduated…I could not get any other job but as a housekeeper"

Because the program was regionally based in Berkeley, CA, and not tied to a specific school, all Indian women—students or not—were considered for employment.[308] However, among these cohorts, young girls in schools had less of a choice about whether or not they would participate in the program and their integration into the Bay Area Outing Program—especially in its early years—was coercive. In contrast, women who had previously graduated Indian schools had the opportunity to decide whether or not to apply for work through the outing program. Nonetheless, many women found that domestic outing work was all that they were deemed qualified for. In August of 1933, Irene Tungate wrote directly to then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier to express her frustrations about her education and inability to find jobs outside of domestic work. Tungate wrote from her employer's home in West Hollywood, "I am an Indian girl and a graduate from Sherman Institute, Riverside, California. I was sent out to that school to get an education. When I graduated, I found I could not get any other job but as a housekeeper. Any girl knows how to do that sort of work, I'm sure. My four years wasted. I found I could have accomplished more if I had attended a regular public high school."[309] Where

[307] "Bonnie V. Royce to Ivora Nelson," September 17, 1929, File: Ivora Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[308] As an interesting point of comparison, the Phoenix outing program, which grew from Phoenix Indian school, controlled all Native women in the Phoenix area, including non-student, reservation based women. As Robert Trennert has found, Phoenix outing matron Chingren had the power to place, punish or jail local Native women.
[309] "Irene Tungate to John Collier," August 6, 1933, File: Irene Tungate Spinks, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

Native women had difficulty getting work outside of domestic labor, they all experienced difficulty based on their race. In fall of 1942, Lois Godawa wrote Van Every in search of government work in Oakland's factories. Godawa had little luck finding work in Beatty Oregon, "You see they are pretty strict around here with the jobs. They only hire the white women. It's pretty hard to explain."[310] Largely, many women who outed briefly had little choice but to return to the BIA-run program for employment. Thus, lack of choice colored most Native women's experiences.

Outing Process and Policing Sexuality

Margaret Jacobs argues that Native women learned of and engaged the Bay Area Outing Program in three main ways; through referrals from boarding school or reservation officials, through Outing Matron recruitment efforts and finally through word of mouth. Largely, recruitment through boarding school and word of mouth were the most common. In addition to these methods, women were at times sent by their parents or relatives who likely learned of the program through local Indian agents, field nurses or word of mouth. In the fall of 1940, Harry H. Meyers, wrote Mildred Van Every in search of employment for his seventeen year old daughter Dorothy. Dorothy had just returned from the Albertinum Convent, a boarding school and orphanage in Ukiah. He hoped to find her work in a private home caring for children. The family of six lived in a "dilapidated" two bedroom apartment in San Francisco. So the household would certainly benefit from her wages.[311]

For those coming by way of boarding school, the Bay Area Outing Program was affiliated with mostly western-based boarding schools such as Stewart Indian School in Carson City, Nevada, Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon. However, girls also ventured from Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and other Midwest Indian boarding schools. Matron Mildred Van Every who served the program from 1934, conducted recruitment trips to Sherman Indian School every summer. And in general, Matrons kept regular contact with boarding school staff and Superintendents for recruitment purposes.[312] Their presence was seen and efforts well known. For example, In 1939, Helen Kibby a young Hoopa woman wrote Van Every in search of childcare or housekeeping work, "I am the girl you spoke to at Stewart last spring. About a job in Oakland or elsewhere. I would like very much to have a job about the middle of November."[313]

By the 1930s Indian girls and women were well aware of the Outing program and knew to contact the Outing Matrons for work. Often, girls referenced the kind of placement they desired, and occasionally set pay rates. Adult women well out of boarding school were more

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Tungate continued in domestic work for nearly a decade after her appeal to Collier. In 1942 she completed a training to become a hospital attendant.

[310] "Lois Godawa to Mildred Van Every," August 15, 1942, File: Lois Godawa, Case Records of Relocation, Training and Employment Assistance, 1928 – 1951, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[311] "Mr. Harry H. Meyers to Mildred Van Every," November 28, 1940, File: Dorothy Meyers, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[312] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 175.

[313] "Helen Kibby to Mildred Van Every," August 20, 1939, File: Helen Kibby, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

vocal in asserting commensurate wages.[314] For example in 1936, twenty-six-year-old Freda Eleck, a Pomo woman from Potter Valley wrote to Matron Van Every in search of domestic employment,

> Dear Mrs. Van Every: Will you please try and secure employment for me. I have very little experience. It has been a long time since I worked for families. I would like to do housekeeping of some sort, take care of babies and I can do a little cooking. Will your write me to the above address if you find a place? Yours Truly, Freda Eleck [315]

A month later Eleck established her salary stating, "I am willing to start at either $20 or $25 a month. I will get my report as to my physical condition and general health on February 15. I would rather not go down there until I know for certain there is a job for me. Please let me know when you find a job. Then I will let you know the day I will arrive." [316] Eleck's mention of a health report references a post-1930 requirement that women and girls submit a health clearance prior to placement.

For example, in 1933 prior to laboring in the Bay Area eighteen-year-old Hazel Emm, a Washoe and Paiute girl from Schurz, Nevada was required to submit a health clearance.[317] Similarly, fifteen-year-old Alice Marshall Nix, a Hualapai and Hoopa girl, received a doctor's note of clearance just days before her start of employment in San Anselmo, CA. She was reportedly "free from all and any communicable diseases."[318]

On the surface these clearances were meant to protect homeowners from contracting illness from these Native women—which frames Indian women as pathologically unhealthy. However, further records demonstrate how health clearances attempted to locate promiscuity and gauge whether girls might be sexually active. For example, Marcie Martin, a twenty-three-year-old Mono woman from North Fork, California, participated in outing in 1931. Martin's record includes a note from a Madera, California, physician certifying a negative "Wassermann" test for syphilis.[319] The test results dated a year prior suggests that Indian girls might be expected to have these results on record and that some other agency or institution may have requested them.

Moreover, women and girls were required to have current health clearances throughout their time in the program. In 1934, about two years after her first stint in the outing program,

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[314] "Commensurate" as in wages relative to other Native women doing similar domestic work and/or relative to Native women's established pay rate based on their skill set.
[315] "Freda Eleck to Mildred Van Every," January 20, 1936, File: Freda Eleck, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[316] "Freda Eleck to Mildred Van Every," February 11, 1936, File: Freda Eleck, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[317] "Dr. Eagleton to Ray R. Parrett, Superintendent of Walker River Agency," October 21, 1933, File: Hazel Emm, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[318] "Physician's Note Re: Alice Nix," December 28, 1933, File: Alice Marshall Nix, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[319] "Complement Fixation Test for Syphilis (Wasserman Test)," October 16, 1930, File: Marcie Martin, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. The "Wasserman" test, developed in 1906 is an antibody test for syphilis, which takes its name after the bacteriologist August Paul von Wassermann. Though tests for syphilis have developed exceedingly in the last hundred years, this test was incredibly common for the time yet it also had a tendency to result in false positives to other diseases.

Martin wrote to Matron Royce in search of another domestic job promising to be "good."[320] She was also interested in returning to her old employer in Berkeley, Mrs. Gurnett. Martin wrote to Royce, "But find out whether if Mrs. Gurnett wants me back or not...I do really want to find a job if you do want to place me. I'll be good if I got to Oakland. I['ll] be willing to get on [a] bus back soon." [321] In return Royce's assistant Jeannette Traxler wrote Marcie reminding her that "before we can go further in regard to a position for you, you will have to send us a Doctor's certificate stating that you are in good physical condition...."[322] Accordingly, Native girls and women had to keep current health clearances with the outing program prior to living and laboring in outing homes.

In other exchanges, Matrons were more explicit about the fear of contamination among white outing homeowners. In 1935, Matron Mildred Van Every made notes of an outing girl who had contracted and recovered from syphilis stating, "I told her to get the medical certificate from the Yolo County Hospital, where she had last been treated, and if she was non-contagious she could be recommended for work."[323] Records reveal a few confirmed cases of syphilis and other venereal diseases present among the outing women, however overwhelmingly the agency was tracking promiscuity and placing judgment on sexually active girls—or girls who they perceived were sexually active. Because all women post-1930 were required to submit health clearances, all women were implicated.[324]

Once in the Outing system with health clearance, girls were prompted to formally "apply" for work. Forms like "Application to Bay Region Employment Agencies for Employment," or "Application for Older Girls" gathered relevant data about the young Native woman in question—her education, years in public school or at Indian schools, weight, height and skills. [325] In particular, this form calculated her abilities in training in home economics, nursing and practical experience especially regarding housekeeping, cooking, serving a table and answering a doorbell. Such documents also gauged the applicant's personal appearance, her

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[320] Presumably because Martin left her previous outing position in 1931 "without consent or knowledge" of the employers. Though she returned to the Gurnett household in 1932, this one infraction seems to have colored her perceived character.

[321] "Marcie Martin to Matron Bonnie V. Royce," February 9, 1934, File: Marcie Martin, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[322] "Jeannette Traxler to Marcie Martin," February 15, 1934, File: Marcie Martin, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[323] "Re: Patricia Ince, M. Van Every Notes," 1935, File: Patricia Ince, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. In her notes, Van Every refers to Circular 3051 from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that details the processes of quarantining Indians with contagious or infectious diseases. Although boarding schools were a hot bed for disease, school officials often ironically blamed their Indian students for the spread of contagions.

[324] Interestingly, records indicate that women had to be county residents in order to receive care at local clinics. While emergency services were accessible, women in need of long term care were often sent to their respective tribal hospital or sanatorium.

[325] Specifically, the form in 1936 lists "Graduate of Stewart, Haskell Inst., Sherman Inst. or Chemawa," thus illuminating the official ties between these Indian boarding school institutions and the young women they transferred among them for domestic employment.

"neatness," "alertness," and cheerfulness." Throughout similar assessment forms Matrons sometimes took liberties to expand further on their praise or disdain of said young woman. In short, Native women's sexuality was controlled; they were monitored and policed, and also their general appearance and emotional state were scrutinized.

"I would like a thirty dollar girl"

On the other side of the Outing program, employers had a much simpler process for applying for "girls." At the height of the program in the 1930s, an official Department of the Interior, United States Indian Field Service form entitled "Application for Girls" facilitated the placement process. For example, in February of 1936 Mrs. W.A. Henderson of Oakland applied for a Native girl to do general housework in her one-story home. At the time, Henderson was seven months pregnant and had a little girl in need of caretaking.[326]

Because she indicated that she was good with children, Matron Mildred Van Every arranged for Freda Eleck to work in the home. Eleck worked for the Hendersons for about five months that summer. Overall, Matrons facilitated the placement process, which more or less appears haphazard. If girls noted they wanted to work with small children, they were often placed in a home with children. If they requested not to work with children, that was often honored as well. In general, the Matron was an intermediary between the employers and these Native women. However, it seems employers' desires were often placed above girls' needs.

Though Indian girls' application forms collected minute details about her skills and abilities, applications for homeowners did not. Homeowners were not required to respond to the suitability of their home nor their ability to care for Indian girls. In some cases, the Matron noted conducting an interview with prospective employers.[327] However records reveal that no site visits were made to ensure the safety of outing girls and women.

Moreover, within the structure, many girls were regarded as disposable labor commodities. For example, Hazel Emm periodically engaged in outing work in Berkeley, Oakland, San Mateo and Richmond until 1935. Matron Van Every commended Emm as "one of the best girls with children."[328] In November of 1933 during her first stint in the program, Emm decided to leave her placement on account of loneliness. Leaving one's outing position was fairly common and the consequences varied. If under reasonable circumstances, Native women could easily return for a future outing placement. Undoubtedly, Native women's labor value was essential. Emm's decision prompted a concerned letter from Dorris C. Taft to the Girls' Placement Officer, Mrs. Traxler. Taft explained that Emm expressed loneliness working in San Mateo, far away from other outing girls in the East Bay. Taft wrote "she would rather work in Oakland where she knows someone ... she said her good girl friends had gone home and that seemed to upset her a bit." She continued, "I am dreadfully disappointed; she is an excellent girl,

[326] "Application for Girls," February 17, 1936, File: Freda Eleck, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[327] "Eleck, Freda," 1937, File: Freda Eleck, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[328] "Index Outing System - Hazel Emm," 1935, File: Hazel Emm, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

as clean and neat as possible, very capable and apparently well trained... Would it be possible for me to get another Indian girl as good as Hazel?" [329]

Employees similarly coveted Kathryn Jones, a Paiute and Shoshone girl from Owyhee, Nevada. Jones was fourteen years old when she started outing and worked at six homes intermittently from 1926 – 1935 in Alameda, Berkeley, Oakland, Piedmont and San Francisco. Her record notes Jones was "very dependable and an excellent worker."[330] In the summer of 1930, Jones worked for Lettie Holland in Brookdale, California, and had to leave to return to Stewart Indian School. In August Holland wrote to Matron Royce explaining that she was sad she could not keep Katie through the summer, "I am hoping you will bring me a nice girl as a helper for the three more months we expect to remain down here after we return to Oakland. I would like a thirty dollar girl if possible."[331] As girls transferred homes and left to return to school, they were often treated as material goods—replaceable and exchangeable.

Finally, once through the process of securing employment, women were also responsible for reimbursing their transportation to the Bay Area. This was especially true for women who were of age. In a February 1932 letter, Supt. McNeilly from the Western Shoshone Indian Agency wrote to Matron Royce in interest of funds he loaned two outing women, Josephine Marsh and Lucy Egan. The Superintendent explained that he let Marsh borrow money from his accounts to travel from Elko to California to get work. He wrote, "since she did not have money for her transportation I furnished it." He continued, "in December I took Lucy Egan out for the same purpose and let her have $15, which was to be returned in the same manner…these girls could not get work here and they had no way to pay their expense unless someone advance the money, so I felt it was justified."[332] McNeilly's letter reveals two things. That few jobs existed in rural tribal communities and that Native women, especially those of age, would have had to furnish their own transportation to the Bay Area for outing work. Considering the figures the Superintendent referenced—$15 and $20—Native women would have had to spend and in some cases reimburse at least half a month's wage on transportation to the Bay Area.

The Nature of Outing Labor

Though the outing program offered no training to young women, in all boarding schools women were instructed in "domestic science": basic household skills, cooking, ironing and laundry. In fact, many would argue that it is all they learned. Esther Wasson, a Yerington Paiute woman from Smith Valley, Nevada, attended Stewart Indian School in the 30s and 40s. In her youth, she was employed in domestic work and later settled in the San Francisco Bay Area. At Stewart, Wasson recollects, her education was divided equally between classroom time and industrial work—what Tsianina Lomawaima recognizes as Superintendent Reel's "half-day

[329] "Dorris C. Taft to Jeannette Traxler," November 13, 1933, File: Hazel Emm, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[330] "Outing Certificate - Kathryn Jones," June 1931, File: Kathryn Jones, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[331] "Lettie Holland to Bonnie V. Royce," August 7, 1930, File: Kathryn Jones, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[332] "Supt. McNeilly to Bonnie V. Royce," February 23, 1932, File: Lucy Egan, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

plan." [333] Considering the labor-intensive schooling Wasson received at Stewart, she wholeheartedly believes that the boarding school prepared her for future domestic work. Even with a ninth or tenth grade education from a boarding school like Stewart, women were more experienced in labor activities than formal schooling. And many, like Wasson, felt that the need for employment superseded any scholastic ambitions. Wasson states, "My reading [or spelling] was never [very] good …so I figured I might as well go work."[334]

Significantly, the crucial element of live-in domestic work is the "on call" nature of employment. Even during breaks and off time, live-in domestics were expected to respond to employers' needs as they arose. Evelyn Nakano Glenn asserts that with live-in positions, "there was no clear line between work and non-work time."[335] In contemporary interviews with domestic workers, Hondagneu-Sotelo was regularly warned of the ills of live-in work. Many domestics felt the work was depressing and they were frequently taken advantage of. For one participant, live-in work necessitated "social isolation, morning-to-midnight work schedules, and additions to cleaning tasks without commensurate raises in pay."[336]

The nature of outing positions varied from employer to employer but Native women were generally required to at least clean house, cook, do laundry, and take care of any children within the home. Live in positions required work at nearly all hours of the day and women typically had one day off a week—usually Thursdays. Boiler plate outing forms show that outing "applicants" were surveyed of their "special capabilities" related to domestic work, including, care of children, cooking, ironing, answering the door bell, answering the telephone and serving the table. Earlier forms from the 1930s called "Outing Certificates" delved into more specific details. Matrons and boarding school Home Economics teachers were required to indicate the applicant's ability in regard to domestic tasks. This thorough assessment covered a great deal indicating that in the home Native girls and young women would have been charged with an abundance of responsibilities, including bathing, entertaining and putting children to bed, vacuuming, dusting, bedmaking, laundry, cooking, baking bread, cakes, pies, planning, organizing and serving meals throughout the day, dishwashing, sewing and mending as necessary. For instance, Stella Healy's record, a seventeen year-old Paiute student from Stewart Nevada, indicates that she made "good rolls" and was an "excellent worker and is very anxious to please."

As discussed in Chapter 1, this kind of manual domestic labor was considered imperative for Indian girls' transformation into a "thorough house-wife." Federal officials touted "domestic science" as a means to inculcate Native women and girls in Euro American standards. With these skills they would better emulate their white counterparts. Superintendent of Indian Education, Estelle Reel was especially adamant that girls be trained in the "practical everyday life of the

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[333] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1989-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996): 8. This half-day plan started with Pratt, and became entrenched in official boarding school policy.
[334] Interview with Esther Wasson, December 7, 2013. Victoria Patterson and Robert Trennert have both found that Indian women in outing regularly sent remittances home to their families living on impoverished reservations. In fact, for the Phoenix outing program, Trennert maintains that financial benefits were the main reason Indian women joined the program.
[335] Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, Warbride*, 141.
[336] Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Doméstica*, 65.

household."[337] The ability to cook, clean, serve, sew and wash would unravel her tribal teachings and prove a Native woman's "domestication." Reel declared, "The art of housekeeping, as learned in the home under the mother's eye is what we want to teach our Indian girls, assuring them that because our grandmother's did things in a certain way is no reason why we should do the same."[338] Reel's emphasis on the "dignity" of labor as "practical training" was hinged upon her belief that the Indian race was intellectually deficient. Therefore, above all, labor was imperative for Indian children's "redemption" and boarding school curriculum and outing programs reflected this.[339]

While not all homes demanded the full range of domestic tasks, outing women were regularly forthcoming with their needs and experience. For example, in March of 1932, twenty-four year old Harriet Cleveland wrote Matron Royce requesting a position for $65 or more a month. She specifically requested no child work and indicated she was a "good plain cook" and a "good housekeeper." [340] Unfortunately, the scarcity of jobs during the depression meant that Cleveland had no choice but to accept a job with children.[341] In April she started at a remote home three miles outside of Napa. Cleveland tolerated the job for about two months. In June of 1932, she wrote to Royce to explain her departure and air her grievances,

> I'm leaving my place the 11th of June—I do not like it here. She will not let me have a day off or one Sunday a month even. The work is too much for the money she pays me. I also sleep in the same room as the baby and I'm up all hours of the night—I never get through with my work till 9:30 in the night. So if you have any place in view by the 11th would you call me at the telephone number in the city […?] I will be there after I leave here.

As promised, Cleveland left Napa on the 11th. Records show that though she left her outing position, she was not prohibited from returning. In fact, two years later she resumed outing work at a home in San Francisco. There she earned a whopping $80 a month, or over three times the average outing wage. [342] Native women like Cleveland knew their value and rarely suffered through difficult outing conditions. While some had very demanding tasks, other

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[337] Estelle Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 190. For more analysis on Reel, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1989-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996). K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. L McCarty, *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006), Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "The Movement to Reform Women's Caring," in *Forced to Care: Coercion and Caregiving in America* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2012), 42–87 and Kevin Slivka, "Art, Craft, and Assimilation: Curriculum for Native Students during the Boarding School Era," *Studies in Art Education* 52, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 225–42.

[338] Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1989-1910," 149.

[339] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*, 151.

[340] "Harriet Cleveland to Bonnie V. Royce," March 4, 1932, File: Harriet Cleveland, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[341] "Bonnie V. Royce to Harriet Cleveland," March 8, 1932, File: Harriet Cleveland, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[342] "Index Outing System - Harriet Cleveland," 1932, File: Harriet Cleveland, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

positions were more lenient. For example, in February of 1941, Van Every—then a Social Worker—wrote to Helen Williams to explain the details of an available position. The household had two adults and one eight year old child who was "not spoiled" and "able to look out for herself." The duties included general housework, preparation of vegetables and evening meals and childcare. The housework was "simple" with light laundry and no entertaining. Apparently the last Indian girl in the home had no practical experience but Mrs. Krieger was "patient."[343] The position was fairly easygoing with a tolerable employer. Williams who desperately needed a job for herself and "the ones that … depend[ed]" on her, happily accepted.[344]

Women who outed in the Bay Area Outing Program often did so on short stints. Teenaged girls mostly outed during summer and occasionally winter breaks from their respective boarding schools. Some adolescents were able to continue outing throughout the school year, only with officials' permission and usually at the behest of their employers. For instance in August of 1925, a Mrs. Alice Davies Endriss of Oakland desired to "retain" her domestic worker, Ruby Paradice—the same Ruby from the *Daily Gazette* article that introduced this chapter. While officials were fairly open to the students staying throughout the school year, Assistant Superintendent Beahm at Stewart Indian School was not copacetic. On August 17, 1925 he wrote to Endriss declaring, "this arrangement would not be at all satisfactory for us. Ruby is one of our very bright students and is really a leader amongst our student body and is a girl whom we believe has a future before her if she will continue school… it will not be satisfactory for Ruby to drop out of school at this time."[345] Teenaged girls who did work throughout the year usually enrolled at a Bay Area-based high school. Largely these young women typically attended Oakland High School or Alameda High School.

Among all ages, outing positions lasted as short as a few days and more regularly at least a few months. It was not uncommon for women to have several outing positions over a few years. While some women and girls remained throughout the school year, none appeared to stay in the same home for much longer than a year or so. In fact, women who worked in the same home for even three years was certainly less common. Outside of outing, Native women engaged in seasonal labor, such as hop picking with family and selling Indian baskets through the Outing Matron. During and after outing positions, some women obtained domestic work on their own accord laboring independently of the Matron's authority.[346] Some transitioned to work in local canneries and during wartime they ventured into local shipyards. Ultimately, those who transitioned out of outing sought more permanent, lucrative work elsewhere that was less tied to surveillance and did not garnished their wages. Generally, Native women used the Outing program as a stepping stone into the Bay Area labor economy.

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[343] "Mildred Van Every to Helen Williams," February 28, 1941, File: Helen Williams, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[344] "Helen Williams to Mildred Van Every," January 31, 1941, File: Helen Williams, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[345] "Assistant Superintendent S. E. Beahm to Alice Davies Endriss," August 17, 1925, File: Ruby Paradice, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. Beahm's mention of "drop out" here suggests that in the early years of the Outing program, not all women enrolled in public school while working throughout the year.

[346] To be clear, Matrons did not receive any kind of recruitment fee for the placement of Native women, whether Outing related or otherwise.

Contractual Surveillance and Obedience

In a brief example from the archives we learn of further surveillance of Native women and their forms of agency through outing contracts. Throughout the Bay Area Outing Program files, these contracts were especially common in the 1930s. In 1930 and 1931, Josephine Natchez, a seventeen-year-old Pyramid Lake Paiute student at Stewart Indian School worked for the outing program for two summers. In June of 1930, upon starting the program, Natchez signed a contract between herself, the Outing Matron and her employer for the summer. The contract declared four main points regarding; wages, how young women would be monitored and checked for disobedience and the program's gendered and supposed "educational" intentions.

In exchange for her paid services, Natchez was offered "suitable quarters," and the contract stated that the employer will "extend proper interest in the advancement, welfare, and safeguarding of the pupil."[347] The contract also established that "at no time will the pupil be allowed to leave the homes of the employer at night without proper escort."[348] Importantly, the contract included disobedience clauses threatening the removal of Indian women if they did not abide by the rules of the program, "…disobedience or misconduct on…part of the pupil, or absence without permission will be promptly reported to the matron in charge who may return the girl to the school." While the contract asserted surveillance of Native girls and the permission and approval they required from matrons and homeowners,[349] it extensively affirms young women as "pupils"—students of their respective Indian boarding schools. This seemingly insignificant language demonstrates how outing was ostensibly educational and yet clearly oriented for labor exploitation. Furthermore, identifying young women as apprentices could justify discount wages, given the supposed educational nature of the work.

Additionally, contracts further decreed the outing program's civilizing, gendered intentions. Natchez's contract states,

> It is also agreed and understood that the pupil will at all times conduct herself in a ladylike manner and always endeavor to improve herself in every possible way and earnestly endeavor to make a good record for herself.

In this way, contracts established the goals of the outing program as an assimilationist "improvement" tool. Simple words, "ladylike," "improve" and "good," accentuate a feminine form of inculcation. Moreover, these words highlight the patriarchal underpinnings of outing derived from preceding policies. Outing for example continued the work that Allotment—as discussed in Chapter 1—had initiated. From typically, egalitarian and communal extended kinship networks, Native families were forced into reproducing Euro American hetero patriarchal nuclear norms. Under this foreign system, Native women became subjugated and subordinated. Purportedly, outing was for the benefit of Indian girls and yet woven through the program was what Lomawaima calls, "training in dispossession." Bay Area Outing Program contracts made this goal visible.

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[347] "Contract," June 1930, File: Josephine Natchez, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[348] "Contract."

[349] In practice, placing Indian children to work as live-in domestics in the private homes of American citizens meant that the Office and later Bureau of Indian Affairs was effectively transferring the responsibility of the "Indian problem," from federal hands to private hands. In this way, the OIA/BIA reneged on its responsibilities to Indian communities.

Aside from daily surveillance and gendered intentions, contracts also established pay rates. Natchez for example agreed to $25 a month for services with room and board and free time on Sunday and Thursday afternoons. However, women only saw one third of their actual monthly pay. Two thirds of this amount was paid "through" the Superintendent of one's respective boarding school. The operative word "through" stressed that the outing program funneled Indian children's wages back into the schools that sent them.[350] Ostensibly this safeguarded students' earnings and cultivated thrift. However, at the heart of this arrangement was the assumed incompetency of Indian students. Furthermore, the remaining one third of funds that these women received were managed through the Outing Matron. Overwhelmingly, Native girls and women required the Matron's approval to withdraw her personal earnings. So whether her monies were managed by the Superintendent or the Matron, Outing program practice assumed Native women incapable. Nevertheless, outing contracted these apparently naïve young women with physically demanding labor fit for an adult. Presumably, in the Bay Area girls had a greater range of freedom than they had within the confines of a boarding school, yet they were nonetheless put to work around the clock on a daily basis, laboring into their own dispossession under the surveillance of a Matron or employer. On the question of agency there was little, and yet some Native women were able to advocate for themselves.

Returning to Josephine Natchez, we find evidence of agency and also some semblance of hopes for a life outside of domestic work. During her brief time in the program, both school and outing officials advocated for Natchez to stay working in the Bay Area instead of returning to school. Upon receiving a petition letter from her employer, asking to keep Natchez through the winter, Stewart Indian School Superintendent Frederic Snyder approved the arrangement. Not long after the agreement, Natchez was eager to return to Stewart so she could finish her education and become a nurse. Her bags were packed for some time, suggesting that she unwillingly stayed due to the school's and outing officials' recommendation.[351] While only paid meager wages, during her employment, Natchez was docked $4.50 of her pay for ruining a bedspread and waited nearly a year to be paid her full wages. Natchez's outing record reveals the lack of agency many school-aged girls had within the program. It also demonstrates her strong will and determination to return to home, continue her education and follow her dream of becoming a nurse.

Considering the gendered constraints, daily monitoring and low-wage servitude imposed upon her, Natchez's will is significant. Moreover, it is crucial to note that while contracts established disobedience clauses for girls, it made no mention of house visits or inspections to determine whether employers provided girls with good housing and meals. It did not establish crucial details such as work hours, the kind of responsibilities or tasks required in the home nor paydays. Ultimately, Outing matrons trusted the private, unmonitored homes that girls were sent to labor in, and checks and balances in the program were inherently one sided—aimed at young Native women. While this brief discussion of contracts demonstrates Natchez's agency and will it also highlights the limits and constraints she was subjected to. One common issue amid these constraints were wages.

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[350] "Contract," June 1930.

[351] "Bonnie V. Royce to Frederic Snyder, Supt. of Carson Indian School," October 12, 1931, File: Josephine Natchez, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

Wages

In the early 20th-century, Native communities were overwhelmingly impoverished with little access to employment or wage work. Therefore, some of these women and girls were breadwinners for their whole families. Rosaline Patterson made it her priority to send her mother five dollars a month of her wages. Outing allowed her take care of her family and have enough to buy things for herself.[352] And frankly, there were few opportunities outside of outing work. Previous scholarship on the Bay Area Outing Program stresses that in the 1930s, Indian domestic servants in the Bay Area averaged just twenty dollars a month, or as much as forty-seven percent below the national average of thirty-eight dollars a month.[353] While the national average maintains, new data on outing wages is illuminating. Bay Area Outing Program wages varied, but generally fell between $10 at the lowest end and $50 - $75 a month at the highest. Teenaged girls were regularly paid around $15 a month or lower, especially if they were enrolled in public school. In rare cases, wages were so low that matrons indicated them as such. Elaine Johnson, a twenty-four year-old Ho-Chunk woman worked briefly at a home in Alameda for so insignificant a sum the Matron denoted her wages there as "small." Johnson was primarily in the Bay Area to train her voice, so perhaps the minor sum was allowable.[354] In only one record, an outing girl received no wages for her labor. In 1931, sixteen year old Grace Boone, a young Pomo woman received no earnings while "training" for a month at the Schmidt home in Berkeley. The next year she only received room and board for working over nine months at the Rose home in Oakland. Simultaneously, Boone somehow managed five days at a Burlingame home, thirty-five miles away, across the Bay at the rate of $20 a month.[355]

Aside from these meager earnings, the average monthly wage for outing girls and women was roughly $25 a month. However, young women still enrolled in boarding school only saw one third of their actual monthly pay. Two thirds of this amount was paid "through" the Superintendent of one's respective boarding school. Therefore, on average, some women only received $8.30 of their monthly wages—all of which was managed by the Outing Matron. Graduates of boarding schools and women of age would receive their full wages but were still subject to the Matron's financial guardianship. For example Lucy Egan, a Paiute woman from Owyhee, NV began outing in 1926 at the young age of fourteen. The Stewart Indian School student outed on summer and winter breaks. During her outing tenure she worked for eight homes in Berkeley, Piedmont, Oakland and San Francisco garnering $25 to $50 a month in wages. In 1930, when she was eighteen years old, Egan gained access to her full wages. On her outing contract—which was especially common during 1930—Matron Royce crossed out the

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[352] "Rosalie Patterson to Mildred Van Every," December 28, 1936, File: Rosalie Patterson Pike, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. Like most women in the program, Patterson was troubled by her need for wages and her desire to further her education. While considering a cosmetology program in Oakland, she was discouraged by the lower wages that would preclude her from sending remittances home. Dismayed, she contended, "I just have to continue sending mother money."

[353] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 334.

[354] "Index Outing System - Elaine Johnson," 1933, File: Elaine Johnson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[355] "Index Outing System - Grace Boone," 1932, File: Grace Boone, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

stipulation, "two-thirds of the [wage] to be paid through the superintendent of the school."[356] While Egan now received her full wages, she still had to petition the Matron for access to them.

In August of 1930, Egan wrote Matron Royce from her outing placement at a Presidio home in San Francisco, "I wanted to ask you last Thursday if I could have all this month paid… If you say 'yes' I'll be very much obliged. Will you phone and let [my employer] Mrs. Wright know…?"[357] Not only did Egan have to request access to her funds, but she also had to inform her employer. Certainly, a young Indian woman with money was considered a dangerous thing. She might be frivolous and spend it on a cab fare or a night out in San Francisco. In return, Matron Royce responded, "You may have your month's pay if you need if for clothing. However, I expect you start a bank account next month."[358] Royce's comment on clothing shows that Matrons and employers both had assumptions about "good" and "bad" ways Native women spent money. Her final note about the bank account shows that Royce was willing to let Egan control her own funds. This kind of olive branch was extremely rare and is more suggestive of Royce's annoyance of having to manage Egan's funds.

High wages

A smaller percentage of women in the Outing program earned considerably higher monthly wages. These were usually women who were at least eighteen or older and typically more experienced. Such higher wages were especially prevalent in the late 1920s up until about 1932. For example, in 1928, Theresa Williams, a Yurok and Tolowa women from Klamath began working for the Outing program when she was twenty one years old. For about seven months Williams worked at home in Berkeley earning fifty dollars a month. Thereafter, in 1929 she transitioned to another Berkeley home earning $70 a month. And for the fall of 1929 she earned a very high sum of $75 a month at a home in Ross, CA. Williams enjoyed these high wage into 1931. However, by 1933, her wages fell drastically. While working a few months at a home in Oakland Williams earned $25 a month. And by December of that year her wages increased slightly to $30 at a Hillsborough home.[359]

Thana Thompson similarly enjoyed higher wages in the late 1920s. In 1929, just shy of her 19th birthday, Thompson began working for a Piedmont home earning $50 a month. She continued in this same home until November of 1932. Thereafter, in January of 1933, Thompson began working in Oakland for $30 a month, or sixty percent less than her previous wages.[360] In March of 1933, Matron Royce wrote to Thompson's mother, commenting on the decrease of wages, "I am wondering how the depression is affecting you folks up there, it is rather bad here.

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[356] "Contract," June 11, 1930, File: Lucy Egan, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[357] "Lucy Egan to Bonnie V. Royce," August 9, 1930, File: Lucy Egan, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[358] "Bonnie V. Royce to Lucy Egan," August 15, 1930, File: Lucy Egan, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[359] "Index Outing System - Theresa Williams," 1935, File: Theresa Williams, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[360] "Index Outing System - Thana Thompson Mitchell," 1933, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

Wages are much lower than they were several years ago, so Thana is not making as much as she used to."[361] Indeed, the depression largely effected Outing wages. Where in the 1920 women could earn fairly large sums, that all changed, especially in 1933. In fact, overall, monthly outing wages failed to recover. Post 1933, wages essentially remained around $25 a month. In only few cases did women achieve their 1920s wages in the 1930s.[362] By the late 1930s, some wages improved, but in 1939, wages further stagnated with the Golden Gate International Exposition. The flood of laborers to the San Francisco Bay Area effected outing wages. On May 1, 1939, Mildred Van Every—in her capacity as Indian Service Social Worker—wrote to Mabel Whipple about a position. She regretted the pay explaining, "We have been under great difficulty in getting more than $30 to $35 a month for household employees since the fair opened. So many women are here from the middle west looking for employment."[363]

Non-payment of Wages

Where some women in the outing program enjoyed higher wages than their peers, others were pressed with lack of payment of wages. It was fairly common for Outing employers to "forget" to pay their servants and delay or settle those payments. For example in the summer of 1929 Delphine Holbrook—the same pictured in the 1927 *Oakland Tribune* article—worked at an Oakland home earning $30 a month. By August of that year, Holbrook and her friend Phyllis Washoe had not been paid their last month's wages. The two Washoe women worked together to secure their earnings. On August 27, 1929, Holbrook wrote, "We are writing and asking you for our money of the last months payment. We are in need of some clothes and we could buy them much cheaper here than we could there. Please reply soon as possible and let us know if we are entitled to our last month's payment. Yours truly, Delphine Holbrook and Phyllis Washoe."[364] Interestingly, Holbrook conveyed not only her need but also defined that need as clothing—something that was deemed an acceptable expense in the eyes of Outing Matrons and employers. By October, the debt remained. In a letter to Supt. Snyder at Stewart, Royce explained that Holbrook's employer claimed that she assumed that her husband had paid the debt and would be mailing a check in the full amount shortly.[365]

Similarly, other women in the Outing program had to plead for their due wages. Velma Fred, a student from Chemawa worked for the outing program in 1929 and returned home to Redwood Valley California in May of that year. Thereafter she had no received payment of her wages. On May 21, 1929, Fred wrote Matron Royce for assistance, "Mrs. Royce please get that

[361] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mr. Allen Thompson," March 9, 1933, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[362] "Index Outing System - Thana Thompson Mitchell."
[363] "Mildred Van Every to Mabel Whipple," May 1, 1939, File: Mabel Whipple, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[364] "Delphine Holbrook and Phyllis Washoe to Mr. Blish," August 27, 1929, File: Delphine Holbrook, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[365] "Bonnie V. Royce to Frederic Snyder," October 11, 1929, File: Delphine Holbrook, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

money from Mrs. Sirard and send it to me. As she don't know my address. And Mrs. Royce I did everything for her. I mean did all the cooking, made the beds, clean all the rooms. And I think I should get over $7.00 anyway. I may not worth it in my behaving. But Mrs. Royce please do help me to get it." A month had passed an Fred still did not receive her wages. On June 24th 1929, Fred wrote Royce again pleading for her assistance, "Dear Mrs. Royce I am writing and asking why Mrs. Sirard hasn't sent me my pay for working for her. I certainly would appreciate it very much if you would kindly look into it for me as I am very much in need of it."[366] Weeks later, Royce sent a check to Fred with her remaining balance from Sirard. However, the Matron took the liberty of garnishing $1.50 of those wages for Fred's subscription to the Community Chest of Oakland.[367]

In the summer of 1929, twenty-one year old Clara Shaw, a Paiute woman and Sherman graduate had a similar issue. She was at home, in Nixon, NV, in-between placements and was still waiting on unpaid wages from her employer Mrs. Armstrong. On August 29, 1929, Shaw from Royce, "And I also worked for one week. She did not pay me for that. I supposed to get that. I worked hard that week and I think I should get that. If she gives the money to you, please keep that for me."[368] Nearly two months later, Royce wrote Shaw informing her that Armstrong was mailing a check shortly.

Where Holbrook, Fred and Shaw were able to secure their due wages, some women were less fortunate. For example, Stewart Indian school student Bertha Daniels, Blackfoot and Maidu worked for the Outing program worked at various Piedmont, Oakland and Berkeley homes from 1931 to 1932. One of the employers was a Mrs. S. West in Piedmont where Daniels worked for roughly seven months at $15 a month. Daniels' file reveals that she was not paid once during her time at the West home. Instead the homeowner gave her occasional petty cash and paid for a pair of shoes, a perm and her monthly carfare. A detailed document shows that Daniel's seven months of wages in the amount of $105 minus the abovementioned expenses of $47.38 equaled to roughly $58 worth of wages owed to her. Though a clearly established debt remained, Daniels was forced to settle with the employer for $30—about fifty-two percent of her full wages.[369]

Fighting for Commensurate Wages

Many young women had to personally negotiate with their employers to set a monthly pay rate. In some cases, this was arduous. For instance, Sue Andrews Morgan, a member of the Colville Confederated Tribes and graduate of Cushman Indian School, relocated from Los Angeles to work near her husband who was stationed in Vallejo at Mare Island. At the time, Morgan was about 32 or 33 years old and was accustomed to a $40 a month wage working at a

[366] "Velma Fred to Bonnie V. Royce," June 24, 1929, File: Velma Fred, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[367] "Bonnie V. Royce to Velma Fred," July 10, 1929, File: Velma Fred, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. The Community Chest was a kind of local fund-raising and philanthropic organization.
[368] "Clara Shaw to Bonnie V. Royce," August 29, 1929, File: Clara Shaw, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[369] "Bertha Daniels Against Mrs. S. West, 101 Oakmont Ave. Piedmont. for Wages from December 1931 to July 1932. At $15 per Month.," 1932, File: Bertha Daniels, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

Los Angeles refuge center. In the summer of 1935 she wrote to the Bay Area outing matron, Mildred Van Every, asking to meet local Indian girls and had some interest in working in the Bay Area. After a series of letters between the two and a possible picnic meeting with the Native women in the outing program, Morgan agreed to work for a Miss Ellis at a home in Berkeley.

At the start of her employment, Morgan wrote Van Every a "short note," to clarify her pay rate demands. In regard to her meeting with Miss Ellis, Morgan wrote: "I found her very pleasant….One thing[,] I couldn't get her to promise to pay me $40.00. And in the future if she still doesn't see to pay me my price; I am only going to promise you that if she don't I don't want [to agree] to stay with her for only $35.00."[370] Morgan agreed to a week trial in the Berkeley home, but insisted that she would not stay past the trial if she were not paid her accustomed rate of $40 a month. Ellis' disregard for Morgan's pay meant a $60 reduction of annual wages or nearly two months of docked pay. Moreover, that Morgan worked for the outing program during the Great Depression speaks to the fact that every dollar contributed to her survival and wellbeing. And if Morgan were anything like other Native women working in the Bay Area, she would have sent some of her wages back to her family at Pyramid Lake, underscoring that her additional $5 a month was more than just a wage, it was a means of support for an entire family.

Morgan's refusal in her letter to Van Every is a subtler form of resistance but resistance nonetheless. Morgan was well aware of the value of her skills and insisted that if she was not paid her "price," then she would go elsewhere. In fact, that's what Morgan did—she held true to her promise. After her week trial in the Ellis household, Morgan stayed only three days longer and terminated her employment on August 1st. Her outing record indicates she was only paid a $35 rate for the ten days of her service, which reveals that she did in fact leave for lack of commensurate wages. While it is not clear what employment Morgan had in the interim, nearly two months later her husband was transferred to San Pedro, California, and the two returned to Los Angeles. Presumably she was able to return to her long-time position and paid her accustomed rate. It is certainly understood that Morgan would have greater agency and experience than her teenaged outing counterparts, yet her case demonstrates that Native women outright refused to keep themselves in less than ideal situations and fought for the wages they deserved. The same could be said for Leona Godawa.

In 1932, Leona Godawa, Modoc worked for a Mrs. Marston in North Berkeley for $20 a month. The twenty-two year old was responsible for a large family in a six bedroom, three bath home. The work proved difficult for Godawa and she did not want to stay in the home. On October 28, 1932 Godawa wrote Royce, "Dear Madam I have told my lady that I would I leave on Sunday. I wish you would come for me, I shall be waiting. These people are swell but I think it is such a large family for me. I would be more pleased if you'd find me a place near my sister if you can. I don't really care to do cooking. I'll be waiting for a reply." Godawa received no word from Royce. A month later she was pushed to the brink and wrote Royce again this time venting her frustration about the low pay. On November 21, 1932 she wrote the Matron,

> I've been very disappointed with the children here, and I really think the work is little too much for me for so little amount of money. At first I understood that I was to get $30 a

[370] "Sue Andrews Morgan to Mildred Van Every," July 19, 1935, File: Sue Andrews Morgan, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

month but I am only working for $20. If Mrs. Marston really wants help I should think she should cut out giving parties and pay her helper at least $25.

Child rearing along with the house duties were demanding and for only $20 a month, unacceptable. Godawa continued, "I'm sorry that I cannot stay here any longer than this month. If you could only try and get me a place where there's only three or four in a family, and all adults I'd probably be glad to assist the lady. But if you couldn't do that my sister and I would gladly return to San Francisco. Mrs. Royce do you place the girls in San Francisco?" Ever the concerned older sister, Godawa also inquired about her sister's Lois' wages, "I'm very sorry for my sister at Mrs. S[…]'s for she has complained about many things that she didn't like. How much is she supposed to get at the end of the month? She's done most of the cooking and laundry, and housework. I'll be very glad to hear from you." True to her word Godawa left the Marston home and briefly transitioned to a temporary placement in San Anselmo. Shortly thereafter, both Godawa sisters moved on with their lives and left outing work in the past.

Four Winds Club

Throughout the early years of the Bay Area Outing Program, little community existed for Native girls and women to participate. Live-in domestic work was already quite isolating and girls were lucky if they and a friend were placed in nearby homes. Though generally this was rare and usually only if girls advocated for close placements, which they certainly did. Towards the end of Matron Bonnie V. Royce's career with the Outing Program, new organizational opportunities arose for Native girls and women in the Outing program. This was especially true when Matron Mildred Van Every replaced Royce. Van Every was closely affiliated with the Y.W.C.A. in Oakland and realized the Outing program's need to offer social activities for Native women working the Bay Area. Indeed, the "Y" as it was affectionately known had various clubs and organizations for working women in Oakland and the greater Bay Area. One of the first official clubs formed at Oakland's Y.W.C.A. was the Four Winds Club.[371] The club regularly met on Thursdays when domestic workers had their day off. It became a central meeting place for Native women in the Bay Area. Within the organization, women held leadership roles and had the opportunity to delve into community organizing. Though always subject to the will of Matron Van Every, Native women in the club wielded a kind of power and authority—quite different from their daily lives as domestic workers. Through the Four Winds club, Native women created one of the first Intertribal organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area—one that would grow over time. Moreover, the formation of such an organization meant that assimilation was not working as planned. In addition to creating a community space for outing women and girls, this club grew to include Indians from other realms of the Bay Area, including college students and military personnel. Native men were also involved in the Four Winds Club.

[371] The year the Four Winds Club started is debatable. Victoria Patterson attributes the creation of the organization to Mildred Van Every who started working for the Outing Program around 1934. However the Oakland Tribune documents Four Winds Club activities as early as 1932. Moreover, in a 1946 article the same paper reported that the club was organized in 1926. Finally, Ginny Mitchell understood that the club began in 1924. These debates aside, it is clear that the Four Winds Club was always affiliated with the Y.W.C.A and that it was a thriving organization under Mildred Van Every.

For example, in December of 1932, the *Oakland Tribune* published an article announcing the Four Winds Club's upcoming Christmas party. The spread included a prominent photo of Marie Penrose, Paiute and Allen Hunt, Pueblo, both in what appears to be traditional dress. The article announced, "Eastbay Indians representing 20 different tribes will come to Oakland next Thursday night to participate in their annual Christmas celebration at the Oakland Y.W.C.A., 1515 Webster Street. The program which will proceed games and dancing will feature an Indian interpretation of 'The Christmas Story,' in tableaux presented by members of the Four Winds Club under the direction of Mrs. Clarence Blackman." Certainly, the "Indian interpretation" would have fascinated local white socialites and women reformers of the time.[372]

The article further explained that the special program featured "the appearance of Allen Hunt in a dance, "Chant Unto the Great Spirits." Hunt, grandson of the famous war chief "Red Fox" of the Pueblo tribe is known to members of his tribe as "Spyawaka" or "Whitefeather." Also participating in the tableaux and dances will be Marie Penrose also known as "Nashua" or "Running Deer," a member of the California Piute [sic] tribe." Others in the cast included women from the Outing program, "Elaine Johnson, Singer, Savina Scott, President of the Four Winds Club; Lucy Egan Avis Hooper, Esther Babb, Mary Srk, Marie Penrose, Winifred Nelson, Lucy Nixon, Tony Rodriguez and Rose Primrose." While certainly captivating the interest of *Tribune* readers, the article demonstrates a very involved Four Winds organization that tapped into the Native women and girls outing in the Bay Area as well as Native men. Furthermore, in such spaces, Native cultural representations were not only acceptable but celebrated.

By the mid-1930s the Four Winds Club gained further traction in Bay Area based newspapers, demonstrating a lively social calendar. In November of 1934, the Oakland Tribune announced that the Committee on Indian Girls' work would host a Thanksgiving dinner at the Y.W.C.A. for the ladies of the Four Winds Club.[373] The dinner, hosted on Saturday December 1, came two days after Thanksgiving, suggesting that Outing girls would have had to work the holiday and celebrate at a later time. Certainly, the dinner would have been welcome respite and encouraged community participation. Such commitments would have been formally recognized by employers who would have felt obliged to grant women time off. A few months later, in February of 1935, the *Oakland Tribune* reported that the Four Winds Club at the Y.W.C.A. would host an event the following day to "welcome all Indian girls who have recently come to the Bay region." Over afternoon at tea, the guests to be greeted were "Mrs. Agnes Malts, and Misses Mary Williams, Florence Elliott, Virgie Brittain, Pauline Mesket, Elfie Davis, Bernice Williams and Marjorie Peters." Evidently, some of the members of the Four Winds Club were affiliated with the "Y"'s Industrial Clubs Council and planned to attend the upcoming Industrial Girls' Conference in Fresno.[374] In effect the Four Winds Club acted a reception center for Outing women and girls and a conduit into larger organizational efforts across the state of California. It was a place where women could connect locally as well as the regionally.

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[372] Lomawaima and McCarty's "safety zone" theory aptly notes that in some cases, reformers allowed Indigenous cultural representation that was deemed "safe" for the they posed no threat to American identity. Such a fascinating tableaux would have certainly been acceptable. For more on this theory, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. L McCarty, *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006). Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*.

[373] "Four Winds," *Oakland Tribune*, November 28, 1934.

[374] "City Club Plans Dance," *Oakland Tribune*, February 6, 1935.

In addition to afternoon teas, dances and dinners, the Four Winds Club hosted events for the Native children. In 1938, the women of the Four Winds Club held a Halloween party at the Y.W.C.A. for Native children in the East Bay.[375] Members assisted with games and refreshments and created space for Native children where there was none. Initially, the Four Winds Club was exclusive to single or newly married women in the Outing program. However, as more Indian people came to the Bay Area for educational pursuits and military jobs, the Bay Area Indian community grew and so did the club. Frances Jack, a Pomo woman who worked in the Bay Area in the 1930s, fondly recollected the Four Winds Club. On Thursdays, when most domestic workers had their day off "everyone"—all the Indians in the area—would go to the "Y" for the Four Winds Club. Once a month the women in the club hosted a dinner and dance for the Native men attending UC Berkeley. Jack also recalled annual Christmas parties and dances. During the holiday season the "Y" began a tradition of delivering Christmas baskets to the Indian community living in Oakland.[376]

By World War II, the club grew even further and became more identified as an organization for both women and men. Genny Mitchell, Karuk, worked for a telephone company in Oakland in the late 1930s. She recalled the Four Winds Club's monthly gatherings for those in the "service" including social dances once or twice a month. Mitchell reflected, "That was my only social life. I didn't know of any other way of going about it. I was never one to go to bars or dance halls or anything."[377] The club offered a safe, contained space to socialize and meet other Indian people. After she married, Mitchell and her husband became more active in organizing Four Winds Club programming. They were likely involved in the planning of the club's annual holiday events. In November of 1944, months before the war ended, the Four Winds Club hosted their annual Thanksgiving dinner at the Y.W.C.A. The one dollar dinner was free for all servicemen. A month later the club hosted a Christmas party for servicemen, not unlike the one held twelve years prior. At this especially intertribal event, Native men and women dressed in regalia and exhibited dances from their communities.[378] When the war was over, Mitchell noticed that more families came to the club instead of single people. There were also at least 150 members representing 27 tribes.[379] In due time the organization "outgrew" itself and paved the way for the future of the Bay Area Indian community in the form of the Intertribal Friendship House (IFH) in Oakland.

Reflecting on the ebb and flow of the club, Mitchell exposed the underlying intentions of the organization, "In the beginning, the Four Winds Club was supposed to be for working girls from reservations or from the schools. They brought them down here to work in homes, in rich people's homes."[380] The club, she felt, was "one way they were trying to keep control of them, too, so they wouldn't be running off to the bars and places they shouldn't be going." Mitchell herself found the Four Winds Club gatherings to be a harmless way to socialize without venturing off to a precarious bar or dance club. Undoubtedly, Matron Van Every and the

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[375] "Y.W. Plans Industrial Girls' Work," *Oakland Tribune*, October 28, 1938.
[376] Victoria D. Patterson, "Indian Life in the City: A Glimpse of the Urban Experience of Pomo Women in the 1930s," *California History* 71, no. 3 (October 1, 1992): 409 – 410.
[377] Susan Lobo, ed., *Urban Voices: The Bay Area American Indian Community* (Tucson, Ariz: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 12.
[378] *Oakland Tribune*, December 18, 1944.
[379] "Wild in a Nice Way," *Oakland Tribune*, February 24, 1946.
[380] Lobo, *Urban Voices*, 12.

Y.W.C.A. felt that Indian girls were best socializing among one another in a controlled environment under the Matron's watchful eye. So while certainly a vital space for the Native community and a testament to the intertribal identity that grew in the Bay Area, the Four Winds Club was established as a means to control the social lives of Native women. Nonetheless, in return Native women organized and created new possibilities for their children and their families.

Conclusion

The problematic history of the Bay Area Outing Program and others like it demonstrates how domesticity becomes what Beth Piatote has called a site of "struggle."[381] Outing presented a predicament—the promise of wages and public schooling, bound to the likelihood of undesirable conditions, surveillance and lack of agency. For Native women of this time, domestic work was quite literally woven into their boarding school "education." When not laboring school grounds daily, on summer breaks or after graduation, the "natural" occupation was live-in domestic work. Moreover, the disciplinary-driven trade was fraught with issues. Engaging the Bay Area Outing Program system meant taking an automatic pay cut from already meager wages—in some years this was as much as forty-seven percent below the national average.[382] While adult women had more of a choice than their teenage outing counterparts there was hardly another option aside from domestic work. Teenaged or not, at all times women were subject to the Matron's surveillance, approval or consent. Engaging this system meant subjecting oneself to the Victorian morals of the outing matron and her employer. Live-in work often demanded isolating, around the clock labor and surveillance. Ostensibly, the workforce might afford Native women freedom and independence. Instead, the Bay Area Outing Program treated these Native women like wards—unnatural children—and continued a system of government paternalism or in this case, maternalism.[383] Despite the calculated assimilative mechanics of this settler project, Native women challenged these circumstances and resisted. They negotiated for better wages, fought to keep their children, left undesirable situations (when they could) and created a Bay Area community that remains today. They navigated this contentious program and profession while asserting their individual needs. Faced with the pervasive force of the assimilation doctrine on Native bodies, Native women complied, contested and actively unsettled domesticity.

[381] Beth H. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects* (Yale University Press, 2013).
[382] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 334.
[383] Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 87.

Chapter Three | Runaways, Dissatisfaction and Detention Homes: Why Native Women Left the Outing Program

Indian Boarding School: The Runaways
by Louise Erdrich

Home's the place we head for in our sleep.
Boxcars stumbling north in dreams
don't wait for us. We catch them on the run.
The rails, old lacerations that we love,
shoot parallel across the face and break
just under Turtle Mountains. Riding scars
you can't get lost. Home is the place they cross.

The lame guard strikes a match and makes the dark
less tolerant. We watch through cracks in boards
as the land starts rolling, rolling till it hurts
to be here, cold in regulation clothes.
We know the sheriff's waiting at midrun
to take us back. His car is dumb and warm.
The highway doesn't rock, it only hums
like a wing of long insults. The worn-down welts
of ancient punishments lead back and forth.

All runaways wear dresses, long green ones,
the color you would think shame was. We scrub
the sidewalks down because it's shameful work.
Our brushes cut the stone in watered arcs
and in the soak frail outlines shiver clear
a moment, things us kids pressed on the dark
face before it hardened, pale, remembering
delicate old injuries, the spines of names and leaves.

In the summer of 2017 I attended a Washoe Basket Making workshop at the Intertribal Friendship House (IFH) in Oakland, CA. "IFH" as it's affectionately known is the backbone of the Urban Indian community the East Bay. There the Native community gathers for community feeds, Christmas parties and cultural events like traditional cooking classes, and clapper stick making workshops. And though less known, in the early 20th-century, on their afternoons off, Native women domestic workers organized the East Bay Native community through a group called the Four Winds Club. This club, affiliated with the Oakland Y.W.C.A was created in the 1920s as a social organization, comprised of Native women domestic workers and later Native men enlisted in the military. Nearly a century later, we know this organization as IFH. The current building on International Boulevard has housed the community for over six decades.

On a warm June afternoon, amid colorful community murals, friends of mine and community language activists instructed youth and elders on how to create their own pine needle basket. At the tail end of the event, I sat with community elders who had all attended Indian

boarding schools in their youth. These elders had come from various tribes, including Washoe and Shoshone. They were children of and, in some cases, themselves the women who worked in outing programs. Among other boarding schools, these elders had attended Stewart in Carson City, NV, Sherman in Riverside, CA and Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas. As a I happened upon their group they were reflecting on their time in boarding school. One woman cherished those years saying, "If somebody came up to me today and said I'll take you back anywhere you want to go, I'd say take me back to High School 'cause those were the best damn years of my life." Another joked, "You won!" A few others were less forthcoming and quiet.

Quite organically talk of boarding schools brought up stories of runaways. One woman who attended Stewart told a story about how she and some friends ran away from the school. They somehow managed to secure a car and drove 15 miles into Washoe Valley until turning themselves in. Amid laughs and exclamations, she admitted that they just wanted to see what the "hoopla" was about running away.

A second woman who had attended Sherman but lived around Stewart in her youth recalled the time her parent's car was stolen. Apparently, a few boys in Stewart decided to run away and stole her family's station wagon. They were trying to get back to Arizona. They boys made it over 220 miles from Stewart but were pulled over by Highway Patrol in Tonopah, NV. Her parent's car was eventually returned, if mud covered and beaten.

As the event wrapped up their conversations returned to the present day—off reservation tribal meetings, their grandchildren and the next A's game. But what this moment proved to me is that runaways are in fact still alive in the cultural memory of Native people. In a rather regular social setting at IFH, these elders reflected a communal memory of resistance. They celebrated the runways and were eager to know what the "hoopla" was all about. They excitedly shared their stories and laughed about the few hours of freedom they and other Native students enjoyed away from Indian boarding schools. Some were caught while the others turned themselves in. But their conversation is embedded in a long history of colonial processes that bleed into the present and demonstrate a collective memory of resistance.

Introduction

Runaways, sometimes referred to as deserters by federal officials, have captured the mind of scholars, historians, indigenous communities and relatives of escapees.[384] Indian children, running away from rural boarding schools to the safe sanctuary of home and family personify a spark of resistance that gives light in the often-dark reality of Indian assimilation programs enacted on children's bodies. In Erdrich's poem, a powerful yearning for "home" surfaces as Indian children dream of their loved ones and their ancestral homeland. At night, separated from

[384] For the purposes of this chapter I use the term "runaway" to indicate women who ran away from the Bay Area Outing Program. Within this definition I consider a spectrum of runaways—women who had very hasty, public departures and also those who quietly absconded in the night, often not garnering the Outing Matron's attention until days or weeks later. Therefore, this term also considers those who left without permission or knowledge. At times I use the term "deserters" as this was largely the official term used for runaways by the Office of Indian Affairs/Bureau of Indian Affairs—a term decidedly criminal in nature. I occasionally use the terms "escape" or "escapee" to highlight the carceral, confining nature of boarding schools and outing programs.

their families, they leave the boarding schools in groups, hopping on boxcars, riding the tracks—lacerations across Native land—heading north. At each stop, the threat of the sheriff looms. Punishment to be served if caught. The payment for these transgressions is shame and discipline—new injuries that would become old, remembered and embodied.

Much like the runaways in Erdrich's poem, Native women and girls from the Bay Area Outing Program would run away in a similar fashion, often in groups, though sometimes alone. Many would travel the journey home by a train. And if the Matron got word, a police officer or federal official might be waiting at the station closest to their home. Sometimes a Matron's long-standing search for a runaway might last for weeks or even months. If caught, these girls and women would be apprehended, sometimes arrested, and incarcerated or returned to the outing matron. Unlike Erdrich's runaways, outing girls would not have experienced corporal punishment for their disobedience. Nor would they be marked by shameful clothing. Instead, they would have been especially targeted by the Matron. Girls who ran away or left without permission were sometimes chastised and treated differently. Some had trouble securing a future position in the outing program. And in rare circumstances, with an extreme offense, some women were prohibited from returning. This prohibition would make it difficult for them to earn a living for themselves and also their families.

As discussed in Chapter 1, in the early 20th-century, Native communities were overwhelmingly impoverished with little access to employment or wage work. Therefore, some of these women and girls were breadwinners for their whole families. And frankly, there were few opportunities outside of outing work. As discussed in Chapter 2, wages in the Bay Area Outing Program varied, but fell between $10 at the lowest end and $50 - $75 a month at the highest. Within that range, the average monthly wage was roughly $25 a month. However, young women still enrolled in boarding school only saw one third of their actual monthly pay. Two thirds of this amount was paid "through" the Superintendent of one's respective boarding school. Therefore, on average, some women only received $8.30 of their monthly wages—all of which was managed by the Outing Matron. Graduates of boarding schools and women of age would receive their full wages but were still subject to the Matron's financial guardianship. Therefore, the outing program presented a predicament—the promise of wages bound to the likelihood of undesirable conditions, surveillance and lack of agency. In many ways the act of running away was a clear sign of dissatisfaction and unhappiness.

This chapter aims to tell the story of these "runaways" and illuminate Native women's strong discontent in the Outing Program. In doing so, I frame runaways in a broader sense and consider the various ways that women exited the Outing Program. I therefore include women who quit by means of running away, highlighting these similar acts of resistance. Furthermore, while some women left permanently, others would return to the Bay Area to work in Outing homes and continue the profession boarding schools had trained them in—domestic housekeeping. To this end, I closely examine powerful and painful stories of women and girls who expressed their dissatisfaction, ran away, stayed out past curfew and wound up in Bay Area detention homes. My analysis will engage three central themes examined in previous chapters; labor, incarceration and sexuality. In regard to labor I consider how women are exploited in California's longstanding culture of Indian indenture. I then examine how the Outing Program operated on an assumption of Native women's promiscuity and thus attempted to police their sexuality. Finally, I consider how Native women and girls were disproportionately criminalized and incarcerated within this system. While seemingly distinct categories, I argue that these themes of labor, incarceration and sexuality are interconnected. These are not isolated, distinct

categories, but in fact work together to create substantially difficult circumstances for Native women and girls in the outing program.

The first section is informed by early 20th-century Bay Area newspaper articles. Here I examine how localized rhetoric sought to both convey the charity of the Outing Program while justifying the control of Native women. The second section is informed by the BIA's Relocation, Training and Employment Assistance archival records. These government files reveal the program's larger structural framework and capture a complicated network of local organizations, social services agencies, and institutions affiliated with the Bay Area Outing program. Moreover, these rich "employee" files reference Native women's' place of employment, respective wages, tribal affiliation and other such details that illuminate their circumstances and conditions. Overwhelmingly, these records demonstrate the government's detailed, day-to-day management and exploitation of women in the outing program—but most importantly Native women's subtle and overt resistance to it. While certainly rife with correspondence *about* Native women from Matrons, employers and BIA officials, these files also include Native girls and women's testimony. Therefore, in this chapter I highlight these firsthand accounts to uncover their crucial agency and autonomy.

The following stories demonstrate the force of the Bay Area Outing Program—a precarious institution hinged upon not just labor and exploitation but also incarceration. Scholars have considered the carceral elements of boarding school life; the presence of "jails" at schools, military atmosphere, harsh forms of discipline including corporeal punishment and constant surveillance and confinement.[385] Yet, the carcerality of outing programs remains largely unexplored. Broadly, this analytical shift changes our understanding of outing labor and assimilation policies as a whole. Understanding outing as a form of carcerality highlights how Indian children and young adults were simply transferred from one form of incarceration to the next. Certainly, there might be more freedom in the city, but largely, Native young women were transferred from the walls of a government Institution—likely built by Indian child labor—then contained in the private residence of their employers. Though "outing" in name sounds quite ambivalent, locally, in the Bay Area and nationally, outing looked more similar to convict leasing systems than schooling. As discussed in Chapter 1, convict leasing was a feature in the Spanish Mission system as well as the early U.S. period. Through policy and practice, prisoners were made available to labor for settlers and sent to live and work there—not unlike the Bay Area Outing Program.

And within an overwhelmingly coercive and exploitative system, Native women found ways to resist this assimilative structure. Contrary to the expectations of Outing matrons and federal officials, Native women and girls were not passive and seldom put up with poor conditions, low wages and restrictive outing policies. Quite simply, many refused to perform and reproduce the social and sexual norms established by the Bay Area Outing program. Within this restrictive institution, Native women and girls persisted and created potential and possibility. As this chapter will examine, when met with meager, sometimes unpaid wages and poor conditions

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[385] Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*, Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. *They Called it Prairie Light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*, Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, and Teresa L. McCarty. *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education*. See also *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* by Elizabeth Graham for a Canadian context.

Native women expressed their dissatisfaction, ran away, stayed out past curfew and resisted in the ways they knew how. It is through these forms of resistance in both mind and action that Native girls and women frustrated an oppressive structure that shaped their everyday lives. Native women's testimony tells us that Native women and girls were not passive. On a daily basis or when they simply could not take it any longer, Native women and girls who were subjected to the outing program, engaged in refusal. They refused to accept poor conditions or poor unpaid wages. And they refused to perform and reproduce social and sexual norms mandated by Matrons, their employers and the Outing Program as a whole.

Runaways in Broader Contexts

Runaways are often thought of in the context of Indian boarding schools, as scholars such as Brenda Child, Tsianina Lomawaima or David Adams have examined. In her research on the Haskell Institute in Kansas and the Flandreau School in South Dakota, Brenda Child found that Indian children who lived and worked at boarding schools lived many unhappy years and running away was common. Boarding school runaways or "deserters" left for a number of reasons including, lack of viable vocational training, malnourishment, being overworked, mistreatment, abuse or discrimination by personnel, and confinement. Students were also regularly homesick and family visits were deliberately made difficult and discouraged.[386] Interestingly, Child found that long-term boarding school students ran away in order to maintain family and tribal ties. And surprisingly, runaways were often well-behaved students, many of whom were remarkably resourceful.

Nonetheless, the act of running away was difficult and usually a last resort effort. Girls and young women, for example, as runaways, were likely subject to more dangerous threats than boys and young men. Generally, in school, girls were granted fewer privileges and chaperoned in public spaces. As runaways they were more obvious than their male counterparts.[387] And without refuge Native women would be caught quickly. Indian agents were often sent to capture runaways and rewards were offered to local townspeople to turn over deserters.[388] Native communities were known to shelter Indian runaways, and fostering deserters was a kind of protest against schools and their deficiencies. Such rebellions, Child affirms, were a "permanent feature" of boarding school life.[389]

In California at Sherman Indian school students in and out of state ran away and found their way home. Samuel Shingoitewa, a Hopi student broke campus policy and school officials punished and humiliated him. In response, Shingoitewa ran away and hitched a ride on a Santa Fe bound train back to his home in Northern Arizona.[390] Those closer to home took other means. Frances Morongo, Serrano and Cahuilla escaped Sherman Institute by cover of darkness. She walked over 20 miles to her home at the base of the San Bernardino Mountains. "Desertion" was

[386] Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 89.
[387] Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 92.
[388] Child, 87.
[389] Child, 94.
[390] Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (University of Nebraska Press, 2010), xxvii–xxviii.

a serious offense and some administrators corporally punished runaways. In New Mexico at the Santa Fe Indian School, runaways were whipped and incarcerated in the school jail.

At Chilocco Indian school in Oklahoma, Tsianina Lomawaima found that the most overt resistance of all was to run away. "Deserters" were especially troublesome for administrators who strived to maintain enrollment. Full capacity enrollment at Chilocco ensured that federal administrators had the proper operating funds to continue. In fact, schools purposefully overbooked each new year to account for those students who they expected to run away, become ill or other such causes. In her study, Lomawaima found that desertion rates were high, especially in the first months of school when students were most homesick. Chilocco offered a reward of $3 - $5 for information or assistance with apprehending a runaway student.

Often overlooked are the runaways from outing programs, especially city-based programs like the Bay Area Outing Program. Because these programs were often so large in scope and region, perhaps narrowing in on runaways presents challenges. Nonetheless, this vein of research illuminates new facets of Indian labor exploitation and assimilation. In rural Pennsylvania, students at the Carlisle Institute were loaned out across the state. In his youth, Jim Thorpe, later famously known as one of the world's greatest athletes outed while a student at Carlisle. At a farm roughly twenty-five miles from the boarding school, Thorpe was forced to scrub floors and eat alone. He eventually ran away, back to Carlisle.[391] In the robust outing program at Haskell, Childs found that Indian girls were seldom enthusiastic for outing. Parents too, had reservations about the program. While some encouraged their children to "out", so they could earn spending money and gain new experiences, some parents criticized the outing program that required their children to work long, laborious hours. Whether in school or while outing, parents believed their children became ill because they were physically overworked.

Under the circumstances Native girls in Haskell's outing program "rarely tried to suffer through positions they clearly found unsatisfactory."[392] They signed student contracts agreeing to being industrious, helpful and to 'bathe once a week.' Girls promised not to go out unchaperoned and were subjected to the stifling surveillance and supervision of their employers. These "spirited" girls broke the rules of their contracts and tested their employers by staying out late, smoking and refusing abstinence (celibacy). Similarly, some of these girls hung around other Indian girls of "bad influence." Some women also left the program because of low wages. In 1932, girls in the Haskell outing program received $1- $4 a week with room and board. The wages into 1936 raised a bit at $3 - $5 a week. In exceptional cases, students were given half of their salary, yet most was sent back to Haskell.[393] Less than desirable conditions also influenced runaways. Some girls had private rooms and toilets. Others had to share a room with their employers' children. Moreover, these Haskell girls felt burdened by their overly demanding

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[391] Jeff Gammage, "A Search for Native Children Who Died on 'Outings' in Pa.," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 2, 2018, http://www2.philly.com/philly/news/indian-school-carlisle-native-quaker-cemetery-outing-20180502.html.

[392] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 84.

[393] Comparatively, wages in the Bay Area Outing Program were more generous than that of Haskell's Outing Program. Where girls at Haskell earned $4 - $16 a month in 1932, the average Bay Area Outing Program wage was $24. And in 1936 when Haskell girls earned $12 - $20 a month, young girls and women in the Bay Area Outing Program earned an average of $29 a month. Outing women would receive at least one third of these wages.

employers. Independent and rebellious girls often quit their jobs, returned to school or went home.

In Riverside, California, the Sherman Institute managed its own Outing Program—like boarding schools across the nation—and contracted out student labor across southern California. Naturally, outing for girls equated domestic work while boys were contracted to local agricultural farms and orchards. At Sherman, Kevin Whalen found similar occupational difficulties presented in the Bay Area Outing Program. It was difficult to maintain social lives and community, but archives suggest that young Indian women fought to maintain romantic contacts, socialize and build new relationships. They explored their new surroundings, socialized, met new acquaintances and at times young women were romantically involved. For those seeking interaction and escape beyond the confines of outing, they ran away.

One chronic runaway in the Sherman outing system constantly ran away with another girl. Together, they frequented bars in a nearby city and enjoyed freedoms they would otherwise have not.[394] Moreover, Whalen found that girls and women sometimes desired to return home. The possible threat of these women running away, meant that they had more agency in negotiating leave and family time. Officials were more inclined to grant Native women permission to leave so they might not resort to running away.

Similarly, Whalen found disgruntled Native men in the outing program who took to running away. In some cases—as was common in the Bay Area Outing Program—these young men were apprehended by the police and jailed until returned to Sherman. Young men in Sherman's outing program largely contributed to the agricultural business in southern California. Most labored at one of the largest agricultural operations in North America of its time. These school-aged children lived in migrant worker conditions, performed backbreaking labor and worked as many as eighty-four hours per week. Under these conditions, their attempts to run away from the outing program are not surprising.

Negative Consequences

These runaway narratives whether from boarding schools or outing programs capture a form of resistance that was so prevalent for Indian children who simply had had enough. Across Native communities, these narratives form a communal memory of resistance. Yet, these narratives are not always a beacon of light. Children who chose to frustrate the system by evading it altogether were often met with police, powerful authorities, and punished whether mildly or severely. If apprehended these children might face a grim reality. Students were always at the mercy of administrators who had the free reign to dole out punishment without any oversight or consequences. At boarding schools, flogging and such forms of corporeal punishment were common. And most campuses had a kind of jail to reprimand and incarcerate students.

The dangerous consequences that boarding school runways suffered was not common for girls and young women who ran away from the Outing Program. Perhaps the limitations of one Matron attempting to manage the lives of dozens of schoolgirls equated a limited capacity to inflict hard punishment. In fact, in most cases, Native women and girls who fled the outing program were given another chance. For in this program, utility in domestic labor was paramount

[394] Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 48.

and often second to punishment of runaways and deviants. This practice belies the program's goals of assimilation and supposed betterment. Instead it reveals that outing was fundamentally interested in Indian girls and women for their usefulness in the workforce.

Tracing Outing Runaways

The following section closely examines newspaper articles from the summer of 1922 that report a high occurrence of runaways, highlighting overt forms of resistance in the program's infancy. In these early years, runaways were common but also more public than the peak outing years in the 1930s. These public accounts of runaways were reported by none other than Outing Matron Bonnie V. Royce. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, these articles are not the only coverage the program received. However, they articulate the lengths Native went through to escape the Bay Area Outing Program. We cannot know what led to Native women's high level of discontent, but during this summer a series of young women escaped the grasp of Matron Royce. My analysis of these early 20th-century articles expands our understanding of outing in ways that BIA files alone cannot. These articles capture local historic discourse on Native women and reveal the social anxieties of the time. As illuminating cultural texts, they demonstrate how social discourse shapes Native women's material conditions and uncovers the on-the-ground, local consequences of the program. As a whole these articles expose how localized rhetoric sought to justify the control of Native women.

In 1922, over the course of several summer weeks, the Berkeley *Daily Gazette* published three articles that uncover runaways in the early years of the Bay Area Outing Program.[395] Apparently, these publications were prompted by Outing Matron Bonnie V. Royce who sought assistance with apprehending runaways. In these years, the Bay Area Indian community was quite small, and girls were isolated from any sense of community and also each other. Some Bay Area Outing Program runaways may have been characterized as the social type, looking for amusement in the big city, but their circumstances are closer to the experiences of "deserters" from Indian boarding schools. As my analysis will reveal, women who socialized late into the night may have missed curfew but were not precisely the type to runway. Challenging circumstances created runaways.

Whether on account of homesickness, mistreatment or being overworked, these girls sought what they felt to be their only viable option—running away. Even so, early twentieth century newspaper articles created a specific rhetoric that justified the control of Native women through domesticity and assimilation projects. In the following articles, the writers do not question the circumstances that created runaways.

[395] The Berkeley *Daily Gazette*, formerly the Berkeley *World-Gazette* operated from 1899-1975. It was a daily newspaper (except Sundays) that covered the local news of Berkeley and the greater San Francisco Bay Area.

INDIAN GIRLS PREFER PARK TO HOUSEWORK

OAKLAND, August 16.—The call of the open was stronger than the city home for four Piute Indian girls who were placed in Berkeley and Piedmont homes for the summer. They deserted their temporary homes and camped out in Lakeside Park, where they were discovered yesterday by Policeman George Morrison. The girls were turned over to Mrs. D. V. Royce, government Indian matron, who is responsible for their welfare.

In 1922, the Thursday evening edition of the Berkeley *Daily Gazette* declared, "Indian Girls Prefer Park to Housework." Reportedly "…[t]he call of the open was stronger than the city home for four Piute [sic] girls..."[396] Allegedly, these young Native women camped out at Oakland's Lakeside Park before they were discovered by a police officer and "turned over."[397] The last words of the article explain that the girls were "placed" in Berkeley and Piedmont homes for summer work, under the care of Indian Matron Mrs. B. V. Royce. In this article Indian women are read as unassimilable, "wild" and needing discipline.[398] The title alone maintains that these four Paiute girls *preferred* the outdoors to domestic work, conveying the notion that they are not only disobedient, but also primitive and undomesticated. This particular language cast the outing program as necessary and benevolent, rather than exploitative, and thus buoyed assimilationist rhetoric.

[396] "Indian Girls Prefer Park to Housework," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, August 17, 1922, Thursday Evening edition.
[397] "Indian Girls Prefer Park to Housework."
[398] "Indian Girls Prefer Park to Housework."

This particular choice of words harkens back to the kind of Indian that Allotment and boarding schools were meant to contain and civilize. The "call of the open," asserts the same rhetoric and "call" itself, suggests these young girls were uncontrollably driven to the outdoors. The article asserts that they "deserted their temporary homes," as if to say they abandoned outing—this supposed charitable act of goodwill. Therefore, the girls are deemed ungrateful deserters—essentially criminal enough to warrant police involvement.[399] Interestingly, the article ends on the claim that Matron Royce is responsible for their "welfare."[400] Here "welfare," is an apt expression to underscore the child/ward relationship of the government program. It is claimed that Matron Royce is a *maternal* caretaker looking after the best interest of the Indian girls and thus enforces their deviancy as counteractive to the project. In just twelve quick lines, this article works to encourage the outing project as a necessary tool to discipline and contain Indian women's bodies.

TWO INDIAN GIRLS REPORTED MISSING

The police of the bay district today were asked to locate Ella Bender and Lena Piper, 16-year-old Indian girls who disappeared from Berkeley and Oakland earlier in the week. The Bender girl was employed as a domestic in the home of M. S. Barnett, 648 Colusa avenue. Mrs. R. Royce, 2476 Prince street, government employe in charge of Indian girls assigned to the bay district, appealed to the police.

In her report Mrs. Royce said the two girls were members of a party of 65 from the Nevada Indian School that came to the bay district to work during the summer. They went to San Francisco with two other Indian school girls earlier in the week, but the other two returned to their temporary homes in Oakland. It is believed the Bender and Piper girls were homesick and started on foot for the Indian reservation.

Two months prior, the *Daily Gazette* published a similar article. In boldface, the Monday edition of the paper read "Two Indian Girls Reported Missing." The article reports that two 16-year-old Indian girls "disappeared" earlier in the week. Both were "employed" as domestic workers and came from a cohort of 65 young women from Nevada to work during the summer months.[401] Of the four, only two returned to their live-in workplaces. The article reports, "It is believed the…girls were homesick and started on foot for the Indian reservation."[402]

This article contains much of the same rhetoric from the month's prior but establishes a good/bad binary between Indian girls that are obedient and those that are deserters. The article declares that these two runaways, Ella Bender and Lena Piper were "employed," as domestics, underscoring that they were hired and committed to the wage work. Such a term implies that this was a contractual arrangement rather than an exploitative one. So, as runaways they are disloyal and fickle, fleeing from this supposedly respectable government work. In fact, where two returned, Bender and Piper did not, thus establishing the two as deserters. These girls are thusly marked deviant.

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[399] As an interesting point of comparison, Brenda Child found the same common use of the word "deserter," to describe Indian children who ran away from Flandreau and Haskell in the Mid-West.

[400] Royce's regular mentions in the periodicals suggest and confirm in at least this one instance that she herself was personally reporting runaways. More research is needed to gauge whether other outing matrons were similarly involved in such reports.

[401] "Two Indian Girls Reported Missing," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, July 31, 1922.

[402] "Two Indian Girls Reported Missing."

And, in the same way that the previous article underpinned "wild" rhetoric, this article accuses the girls of running "on foot" to their Indian reservation in Nevada.[403] "On foot," establishes their "primitive" nature and declares the two as "untamed," unlike their obedient counterparts. According to the archives, all 65 girls would have travelled by train or bus to the Bay Area. Yet, this account inspires the image of Indian girls running hundreds of miles, barefoot. The language supposes that Indian women are uncivilized and especially in need of domestication. Finally, the article affirms that Matron Royce is "in charge of the girls," similar to the previous article underscoring her supposed interest in their well-being.

INDIAN GIRLS ARE REPORTED MISSING

Tired of domestic life, five Indian girls under the care of Mrs. B. V. Royce, outing matron, U. S. Indian Service, 2426 Prince street, have disappeared from various Berkeley homes. Three of the girls have been away at least two weeks. It is supposed they have started on foot for their reservation in Nevada.

The girls are pupils in the Blackfoot Reservation Indian school and were part of a delegation of 50 who came to the bay district for the summer, each being placed in a good home where they paid for their board by doing housework. The police were asked today to locate the girls.

A third article in the *Daily Gazette* reports another disappearance. The August 25, 1922, article read, "Indian Girls Are Reported Missing."[404] Allegedly, five Indian girls "tired" of domestic work, have "disappeared," from their "good homes" where they were "paid for their board by doing housework."[405] Once again the paper alleges that the girls have "started on foot" to their reservation. Similar to the two previous articles, Indian girls are read as idle, even ungrateful for their "good" homes and pay. "Tired" specifically evokes, laziness or indifference, as if the girls were simply bored of the vocation and chose to take a leave of absence. There is no mention of the fact that they might be physically exhausted from the arduous housework they were forced to perform. Moreover, the fact that they were "paid" marks them "ungrateful" for wage work.

And just like the second article, it is supposed that the girls started "on foot" for their reservation. Similar to the "call of the open," these girls are read as wild and undomesticated. Nonetheless, these "pupils"—boarding school students—are from the Blackfoot Indian Reservation in Montana or roughly 1,200 miles away from Berkeley, California. The accusation that these girls would be "on foot" to Montana is laughable and improbable. In fact, if these runaways like many than ran from boarding schools, would have been highly resourceful and may have even train-hopped home.

Like those published before it, this article states that the girls were under the "care" of Matron Royce. While asserting wardship over the girls, this precise word highlights Royce's supposed compassionate intentions for the girls. Yet, the article reveals otherwise. The same word found in the second article, "disappeared," is repeated—as if these girls just simply vanished. Yet in this case, the article reports that three of the girls have been gone for at least two weeks. This begs the question of whether or not Matron Royce actually tended to the girls and whether or not they were in fact safe and protected. If anything, this delayed report reveals the

403 "Two Indian Girls Reported Missing."
404 "Indian Girls Are Reported Missing," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, August 25, 1922.
405 "Indian Girls Are Reported Missing."

federal government's outright neglect and mistreatment of Indian girls. They may have been monitored and controlled, but not protected.

Interestingly, this article reports a sizable group of five runaways, demonstrating that Indian girls banded together to outwit boarding school matrons. While we cannot know their specific intentions for running away, we can imagine some of the circumstances: homesickness, physical demands of domestic work, isolation of live-in positions or culture shock of the urban city when so many of these girls came from rural boarding school communities. The articles do not reveal how Native women were in fact under constant surveillance from their employers as well as outing Matrons. And to reiterate, during this period, there is no evidence of house calls or home-visits to ensure the safety of the households girls worked for and if they were given proper care. These private unmonitored spaces could be dangerous.

Altogether, these runaway articles tell a one-sided story apparently crafted by Royce herself. In these three instances, Native women are read as primitive, lazy, ungrateful, wild and disobedient. In fact, the constant police involvement highlights the fact that they were treated like criminals. As these articles do not question the difficult conditions of forced domestic work, readers are led to believe these acts of resistance are proof that Indians girls *must* be disciplined, contained and assimilated. Therefore, the outing program and Royce's work is read as necessary—a beneficial program to *civilize* Native women.

Nevertheless, this one-sided account belies the program itself. The portrayal of Native women as childish, primitive wards is a total contradiction to the domestic labor they are contracted to in the outing program. These supposed "deserters" were being used as inexpensive servants in charge of housework, child rearing and caretaking—hardly the kind of work one might entrust to a child, and yet most are children. This foremost contradiction highlights the nature of the program. Outing is presented as a charitable act, for the good of young Indian women. Employers likely feel gratified in "doing their part." Ostensibly domestic training worked to uplift Indian women's lives and create good Americanized citizens. In reality, outing meant labor exploitation and enforced servitude, and Native women overtly resisted this domesticating assimilation project. Considering the mechanics of the Bay Area Outing Program, a young woman's escape is neither unreasonable nor surprising. We cannot know why these young women ran away in the summer of 1922. However, remnants of the archive tell us a fuller story.

The Criminalization of Indigenous People and Native Women

The following section documents powerful and painful stories of women and girls in the Bay Area Outing program. Through revealing letters, Native women show how profoundly they were affected by their outing experience. These girls and young women expressed their dissatisfaction, ran away, stayed out past curfew and wound up incarcerated in Bay Area juvenile detention homes. Though the early 20th-century criminal justice system was not yet the massive machine as we know it today, records demonstrate that Native women were nonetheless victim this system. Though seemingly unexpected policing and incarceration of Native communities is nothing new. In fact, Native Americans have had a historically strained relationship with the U.S. criminal justice system since the creation of Anglo-American jurisprudence. Centuries long erosion of tribal sovereignty and unequal access to justice color the landscape of Federal Indian

Law.[406] Within this terrain both historically and contemporaneously are the impacts of disproportionate policing. Barbara Perry finds that in modern times there is the issue of both over and under policing. On one end Perry argues is the willful blindness toward Native American victimization and on the other violent police brutality.[407] Moreover, where much contemporary research largely examines policing on reservations[408], this phenomenon is found in urban centers.

Modern statistics demonstrate that compared to any minority in the United States, Native Americans experience the highest victimization rate for crimes of violence, including rape, sexual assault, robbery and aggravated assault.[409] This rate is more than twice as high as the national average and exposure to violence is consistent among Native men and women and across regions—whether rural, suburban or urban. In these violent crimes, the perpetrator is mostly likely white and under the influence of alcohol at the time of the crime.[410] Native women are less likely to be victims compared to their male counterparts, but the rate of violent victimization among Native American women is more than double that among all women. The arrest rate among American Indians for alcohol violations, including DUI, liquor law violations, and drunkenness, was higher than the rate among all races.[411] Overwhelmingly, Native people comprise disproportionately high percentages in the nation's jails, prisons and other such correctional facilities.[412] On a given day, an estimated 1 in 25 American Indians age 18 or older

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[406] For more on Federal Indian Law and Policy and access to justice see Barker, Joanne. *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*. Biolsi, Thomas. "The Birth of the Reservation: Making the Modern Individual among the Lakota." *American Ethnologist* 22, No. 1. Deloria, Vine, and Clifford M. Lytle. *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. Gunther, V. Ann. *Ambiguous Justice: Native Americans and the Law in Southern California, 1848-1890*. Prucha, Francis Paul. *Americanizing the American Indians*. Wilkins, David E. *Hollow Justice: A History of Indigenous Claims in the United States*. Wilkins, David E., and K. Tsianina Lomawaima. *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law*. Wilkinson, Charles F. *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*. Williams, Jr. Robert A. *Like a Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights, and the Legal History of Racism in America*.

[407] Barbara Perry, "Nobody Trusts Them! Under- and over-Policing Native American Communities," *Critical Criminology* 14, no. 4 (November 1, 2006): 411–44, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-006-9007-z.

[408] Reservations themselves a form of carcerality.

[409] Lawrence A. Greenfeld and Steven K. Smith, "Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) - American Indians and Crime," American Indians and Crime Series, February 14, 1999, https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=387.

[410] Greenfeld and Smith.

[411] Steven W. Perry, "Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) - American Indians and Crime: A BJS Statistical Profile, 1992-2002," American Indians and Crime Series, December 2004

[412] For more information on the criminalization and incarceration of Native American people and Native Women see Bhattacharjee, A., Silliman, J. *Policing the National Body: Race, Gender and Criminalization in the United States*. Sarah Deer et al., *Sharing Our Stories of Survival: Native Women Surviving Violence*. Luana Ross, *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality.* Gould, L. Allen., Ross, J. Ian. *Native Americans and the Criminal Justice System: Theoretical and Policy Directions.* Nielsen Marianne O. and Silverman, Robert A. eds., *Criminal Justice in Native America.* Lumsden, Stephanie. "Reproductive Justice,

is under the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system. This statistic is 2.4 times the per capita rate of whites and 9.3 times the per capita rate of Asians. [413]

Historically, Indians have been perceived as behaving outside the law and receive harsher sentences for these racialized infractions. Luana Ross asserts that Native criminality is tied in a complex and historical way to the loss of sovereignty. Pre-contact, tribal criminal justice was a system of restitution and mediation between parties. Yet under Anglo American jurisprudence, "criminal" meant to be other than Euro-American. And to resist was to be criminal.[414] Within these systems, Native Americans—similar to African Americans—are more frequently arrested and processed than whites and are discriminated against at all levels of the criminal justice system.[415] Ross argues that Native women "face overwhelming odds at every stage of the criminal justice system…extralegal factors such as race and gender influence not only incarceration rates but treatment of prisoners while incarcerated.[416] Racism and sexism influence how women of color are treated in the criminal justice system.

Stormy Ogden, a Pomo women reflected upon her experience as a California Indian woman in the California Prison system. From a young age, Ogden was a victim of sexual violence and assault perpetrated by the people closest to her. The trauma led her to a life of alcohol and substance abuse and multiple suicide attempts. While none of her rapists went to jail for their crimes, Ogden was sentenced to five years at twenty-two years old. She served her time at the California Rehabilitation Center in Norco, CA, roughly ten miles from Sherman Indian School in Riverside. Citing Mary Gilfus, Ogden contends that violence perpetrated against women and girls can put them into the criminal justice system, "where they are not seen as victims, but as offenders in the eyes of the state.[417] Indeed, Native women in the Outing Program who became incarcerated were thusly regarded.

Furthermore, woven throughout these stories is an undercurrent of fear of promiscuity and the need to control Native women's sexuality. Jean Barman's analysis on gender and race in 19th-century British Columbia argues that "Indigenous sexuality struck at the very heart of the colonial project."[418] Barman found that that Indigenous women's sexuality was a dilemma to colonizers who on one end treated Native women as sexual objects yet regarded their sexual independence as a threat to the patriarchal family and evidence that she was wild and out of control. These assumptions proved so pervasive that for Native women, "their every action

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Sovereignty, and Incarceration: Prison Abolition Politics and California Indians." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal.* Washburn, Kevin K. "American Indians, Crime, and the Law." *Michigan Law Review.* Teran, Jackie. "The Violent Legacies of the California Missions: Mapping the Origins of Native Women's Mass Incarceration." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal.*

[413] Greenfeld and Smith, "Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) - American Indians and Crime."

[414] Ross, Luana *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality*. 1998, 29. Luana Ross, *Inventing the Savage The Social Construction of Native American Criminality*, 1998, 29, https://utpress.utexas.edu/books/rosinv.

[415] Ross, 78.

[416] Ross, 79.

[417] Sarah Deer et al., *Sharing Our Stories of Survival: Native Women Surviving Violence.*

[418] Jean Barman, "Taming Aboriginal Sexuality: Gender, Power, and Race in British Columbia, 1850-1900," *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 0, no. 115/6 (1997): 241.

became a sexual action."[419] Indeed, they were hardly ever allowed any other identity and the fear of this sexuality led to the further control and management of Native women. As the following stories reveal, the same could be said for Native women in the Bay Area Outing Program. Outing Matrons and outing employers feared potentially promiscuous Native women and desired to control and manage them further.

Much like the Outing Matrons in the Bay Area Outing Program, these British Columbia settlers subscribed to Victorian ideals of chastity and when possible, attempted to marry off Native women as a means to "tame" their sexuality. Citing George Stocking, "marriage proper," in Victorian logic, was "intended to 'control human (and especially female) sexuality...'" [420] Barman thus argues that "Marriage became both symbol and institution of women's containment."[421] Therefore, as girls homes and residential schools developed, their interest lay in the transition from pupil to wife, rendering Native women commodities to be married off. Maintaining the same Victorian ideals, Matrons in the Bay Area Outing Program similarly attempted to unify presumably sexually active girls with their suitors.

Finally, as Chapter 1 explored, exploitative Indian labor was a defining feature of the California frontier. Three eras of (settler) colonialism developed a distinct brand of bondage—first perpetuated by colonial Spain, then inherited by Mexico. Finally, as legitimate slavery—especially in regard to children—in the early parts American period. These forms of bondage derive from a legacy of control of Indian labor, essential to settler California. Moreover, in the same vein as Barman's taming indigenous sexuality, these enforced labor practices were *domesticating* in nature and intended to control and make compliant Indian people. Amy Kaplan's argues that domestication, "entails conquering and taming the wild, the natural and the alien. Domestication in this sense is related to the imperial project of civilizing, and the conditions of domesticity often become markers that distinguish civilization from savagery."[422]

Submissive, "domesticated" Indian people are easier to control. Control equated usefulness and the ability to dispossess Indian people from their land and resources. And settlers—whether Spanish or Anglo—could use Indian bodies to settle Indian land. Decades after the colonial frontier, the Bay Area Outing Program attempted to accomplish the exact aims. Controlling Native women through domesticity meant controlling the future of Indian communities. Outing endeavored to produce a docile workforce that remained in the lower rungs of society. Control was then shrouded in wage work and enveloped in Euro-American norms and standards. Whether in the missions, the ranchos or on the American frontier Indians were compelled to work. The Bay Area Outing Program and others like it extend this same history of colonial labor exploitation into the 20th century.

Although California operated as a "free soil" state, with a zero-tolerance policy for "slavery" or "involuntary servitude," it nonetheless established such a policy for California Indians. Therefore, whether California Indian or not, the women coming to the Bay Area to labor in the Outing Program arrived in a longstanding culture of Indian indenture and a history of controlling Indian people—especially women—through exploitative labor. Consistent with modern day statistics, these stories will reveal that Native women in the Outing program were criminalized and subject to unreasonable policing from local authorities. They were assumed

[419] Barman, 266.
[420] Barman, 251.
[421] Barman, 251.
[422] Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature*, 1998, 582.

sexually promiscuous which inspired even further restrictions on their already regimented lives. And they entered into California's longstanding culture of Indian indenture and exploitative labor.

Native Women's Testimony

Seven years after the summer of runaways, Vivian Cooper, a young Pomo woman from Guidiville Rancheria entered the Outing Program in the spring of 1929. She was 16. Her father arranged her summer placement through Mrs. Lucy Keenan a Ukiah based Public Health Nurse. Keenan contacted Royce about the "intelligent" high schooler and Cooper was placed shortly.[423] She worked at various homes in Richmond, Oakland, and Alameda with a monthly pay ranging from $15 - $25 a month.[424] Within a month of her arrival, Matron Royce informed Keenan that Cooper, "seems to be a nice girl but has no training at all; she had three places in all of which she has failed. I am hoping she will improve with experience." [425] Indeed, Cooper spent just days at a couple of homes and then 2 and 4 weeks at two other homes. Though employers colored Cooper as inexperienced and "untrained" Cooper equated her displeasure with the demands of the work.

On July 9, 1929, Cooper left without knowledge or consent. Matron Royce reported her departure to Keenan in hopes of locating her, admitting, "I [believe] she has gone home as she appeared to be dissatisfied in each home in which she worked."[426] After a series of correspondence between Matron Royce and Mendocino County officials, Cooper was located at her aunt's home in Santa Rosa. In August of 1929, Cooper had the chance to tell her side of the story. Cooper wrote Matron Royce, wrote asking for her clothes she left at Mrs. Muldown's Alameda home where she worked. Cooper was very forthcoming with the details of her departure:

> I left that place because I did not like her children and also that I have to work too much just for fifteen dollars a month. …When I left that place I did not tell or say any word to her…. I am awful sorry, leaving that place without letting you understand why I left. Please send my clothes to Hopland Calif.[427]

Significantly, Cooper was not apologetic for leaving but for not explaining *why* she left. As Royce had noted, Cooper was dissatisfied in each home that she worked. And for so little pay—

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[423] "Lucy Keenan to Bonnie V. Royce," May 15, 1929, File: Vivian Cooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[424] "Index Outing System - Vivian Cooper," 1932, File: Vivian Cooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[425] "Bonnie V. Royce to Lucy Keenan, Public Health Nurse," June 10, 1929, File: Vivian Cooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[426] "Bonnie V. Royce to Lucy Keenan, Public Health Nurse," July 13, 1929, File: Vivian Cooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. "Bonnie V. Royce to Lucy Keenan, Public Health Nurse," July 13, 1929, File: Vivian Cooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. "Bonnie V. Royce to Lucy Keenan, Public Health Nurse." "Bonnie V. Royce to Lucy Keenan, Public Health Nurse."
[427] "Vivian Cooper to Bonnie V. Royce," August 6, 1929, File: Vivian Cooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

two thirds of which would be sent back to Sherman—the arduous work was simply not worth it. Interestingly her 1929 departure did not appear to hinder Cooper's brief return to the Outing Program in 1932. Ultimately, Cooper was not the only one to leave for wage issues.[428]

Bernice Hunter was nineteen years old when she came to the outing program in the fall of 1930.[429] As a student at Stewart Indian school, she arrived with a cohort of young women and girls from the boarding school. She started off in a Piedmont home at $15 a month and worked her way up to $30 a month in homes in Berkeley and San Anselmo. Significantly, Hunter's file is one of the few that indicates a "raise."[430]

Moreover, Hunter's file is special in that throughout the duration of the Outing Program, she interacted with Matron Royce, her assistant Jeanette Traxler and finally Matron Van Every. Interestingly, where Traxler and Van Every were cordial with Hunter, Royce washed her hands of the girl. During her roughly five-year stint in the Outing program, Hunter became ill and was taken to the Stewart Sanatorium to heal. Records indicate she contracted a venereal disease while outing. Once recuperated, Royce was hesitant to take Hunter back. On February 10, 1932, in a heated letter to Supt. Frederic Snyder of Stewart Indian School, Royce called Hunter a "moron" and a "moral degenerate." As if through gritted teeth, Matron Royce agreed to place her once again, "I … appreciate your taking the time when she needed treatment; and will therefore place her again, but I know that she will never be able to hold a place for any length of time and will probably become infected again if she comes here."[431]

In fact, Hunter was able to hold a place and for quite some time. After a nine-month hiatus she returned to the outing program and was situated at the Huber home in San Anselmo. Records indicate that though she and a friend occasionally stayed out late and socialized with Filipino men, the family was "well satisfied with her," and she was "treated like one of the family."[432] Though the family was apparently content with Hunter, the feelings were not mutual. After working nearly three years at the Huber home, Hunter left. In a letter dated July 5, 1935, Hunter wrote Matron Van Every from San Rafael explaining why she chose to leave.

> I know you are angry at me for leaving all the sudden. I guess you don't blame me if you had to work from 6:30 in the morning until [around] 9:30 at night. There is one thing I like to talk about; I wonder if you could come over. See I mean Mrs. Huber never paid me for two months. I tried to ask her but she said she paid me. This is how it happened; she'd pay in the middle of every other month. I wonder if you'd get it for me and I'd appreciate it very much if you do. The following are as it come. For December she paid

[428] According to Margaret Jacobs, in some years these Native women's wages in the Bay Area Outing Program were as much as forty-seven percent below the national average.
[429] Hunter's file describes her as a "digger" Indian. An enduring term from 19th century California—often attributed to Maidu peoples, though could refer to an adjacent Northern California Indian community
[430] "Index Outing System - Bernice Hunter," 1935, File: Bernice Hunter, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[431] "Bonnie V. Royce to Frederic Snyder," February 10, 1932, File: Bernice Hunter, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[432] "Index Outing System - Bernice Hunter."

> me January 4th, never paid me for January. February 28th for February. April the 18th March. May 23 for April, never paid me May if you come I'll explain it to you...[433]

Hunter left the home so suddenly because of lack of payment for wages. Though there was no policy for when employers were to pay girls, they were certainly obliged. Moreover, as a live-in maid, Hunter worked some grueling 15-hour days. Though she received a raise from $25 to $30 in the Huber home, a demanding work schedule and lack of payment was the final straw. Records do indicate that Matron Van Every was able to secure one month of wages due to Hunter. However, her file also reveals a rift in understanding. Though Hunter was forward with Van Every, the Outing Matron's notes indicate that Hunter "left Mrs. Huber's suddenly—did not give an intelligent reason to Mrs. Huber."[434] Therefore, despite knowledge of unpaid wages Van Every seemed to give little credence to Hunter's reason for departure. Nonetheless, Hunter's experience demonstrates that dissatisfaction, particularly wage-related was common throughout the Outing Program. Native women continued to pushback.

Ida Moore, a Mono woman from Auberry, CA was twenty-three when she came to the outing program. She started at two homes located in Richmond and Oakland at $45 and $35 a month. In February 1931 she returned to have a brief stint at a Piedmont home at $40 a month.[435] After about a week she worked for a Mrs. Maurice in Pleasanton for $30 a month. On February 22, 1931 Moore wrote to Matron Royce appealing for better pay:

> My dear Mrs. Royce, just a few lines to let you know that I do not like it out here, and I am staying out here only a month. So I wish you to get me a job in Oakland. Also I want more than $30 a month as I need it very badly. I will be over about the 10th of next month. Have you seen my sister yet? How is she getting along? If you have a place now I would like to know. You know Mrs. Royce I need a better-paying job than this one. Mrs. Maurice is a dear woman to work for, but I do have to have something better. I hope to hear from you real soon.[436]

Much of Moore's urgency for a higher wage was due to the fact that she was pregnant and would deliver her son by that summer. But it is also clear that however brief her previous positions, she had a history of high wages—as much as $15 dollars a month more than what she was paid at Mrs. Maurice's in Pleasanton. Records indicate that that despite her appeal, Moore's wages were not raised nor was she placed closer to Oakland. In fact, Mrs. Maurice's home would be her final place of employment in the outing program. In spring of 1932 Moore sent a few more letters to Royce on her own personalized stationary reporting a healthy 10-month-old baby boy. She and baby were well taken care of the Fort Bidwell Indian Hospital.[437] Though she requested domestic work in Oakland in a separate letter, Royce explained that work was "scarce" and wages were

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[433] "Bernice Hunter to Mildred Van Every," July 5, 1935, File: Bernice Hunter, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[434] "Index Outing System - Bernice Hunter."
[435] "Index Outing System - Ida Moore," 1931, File: Ida Moore, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[436] "Ida Moore to Bonnie V. Royce," February 22, 1931, File: Ida Moore, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[437] "Ida Moore to Bonnie V. Royce," March 30, 1932, File: Ida Moore, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

"much lower" than before. Moreover, the Matron mentioned she would need at least $25 for one month of board for her baby.[438]

In lieu of work in Oakland, Moore beaded a belt that she arranged for Matron Royce to sell.[439] In times when wage work was scarce, many women and families affiliated with the Bay Area Outing Program used their connections with the Matrons to sell Indian crafts like beaded objects and especially baskets. Where Moore was able to use her Outing connections to secure supplementary income, not all women and girls were as fortunate. In fact, some would be burdened by debts—especially health related—while in the Outing Program.

Lucy Queep, a Paiute woman from Schurz, NV worked for the outing program in the fall of 1929 and the spring of 1930.[440] In July of 1929 the twenty-year-old wrote to Matron Royce in search work to "earn a little money" for herself. She had received permission from her mother and wondered if Matron Royce would "kindly recommend me as one of your girls."[441] Upon arrival in September, Queep briefly worked in homes in Piedmont, Berkeley and Mira Vista—modern day El Cerrito bordering Richmond. Queep's wages ranged from $35 - $45 a month. However, her time outing came to a halt on October 6th when she was struck by an automobile while exiting a street car.

Less than a mile from her employer's home in Mira Vista, Queep reportedly "stepped in the path" of an Essex motor coach while crossing the intersection. She suffered a lacerated scalp and contusions to the right ear. Queep was immediately rushed to a Richmond hospital. Matron Royce claimed Queep was "under the influence" of liquor, but the police report makes no such claim.[442] After her hospital stay Queep accumulated a fair amount of medical debt; $10.50 for treatment at the Cottage Hospital in Richmond[443] and $7.50 in dental services conducted in Oakland—possibly related to the accident. Both debts remained unpaid and the latter was pursued by the Oakland Collection Agency.[444]

By the end of October Queep was released from the hospital. Matron Royce brought her into her home with the intention of "put[ting] her to work if she appears strong enough."[445] Roughly a month after the auto accident, Queep had enough and chose to return home. She left

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[438] "Bonnie V. Royce to Ida Moore," March 4, 1932, File: Ida Moore, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[439] "Agustin Maldonado to Bonnie V. Royce," March 22, 1932, File: Ida Moore, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[440] "Index Outing System - Lucy Queep," 1930, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[441] "Lucy Queep to Bonnie V. Royce," July 13, 1929, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[442] "Police Report by Sgt. Kinstrey & Officer Crangle," October 6, 1929, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[443] "Cottage Hospital Bill," October 6, 1929, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[444] "Oakland Collection Agency to Lucy Queep C/o Bonnie V. Royce," December 20, 1929, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[445] "Bonnie V. Royce to Ray Parrett," October 26, 1929, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

while Matron Royce was on a one-month long vacation. On November 30, 1929 Queep wrote to Matron Royce from Schurz:

> Dear Mrs. Royce, I'm letting you know that I got here alright. Haven't had any trouble getting here at all. I'm not going back and would like for you to kindly send what little money I have there and of course my dentist bill was $ seven and half (7.50). I have paid $1.50 before I left. With many thanks I am, Lucy Queep Schurz, Nevada[446]

Similar to Vivian Cooper, rather than explain why she left, Queep maintained she would not return. In January of 1930, Matron Royce paid off the hospital and dentist—a total of $16.50 or nearly half of Queep's monthly wages. After the outstanding debts, only $8.50 remained from Queep's earnings.[447] Surely the fall of 1930 was a tumultuous one for Queep. Yet, it did not stop her from returning for one week in the spring of 1930. For this brief stint, Queep would have earned roughly $10 assuming she received full access to her wages. For a young woman just out of debt from hospitalization incurred while outing, these wages must have been welcome, but it was not enough to keep Queep. She left for home, never to return to the Outing program.[448] Though Queep chose to return home, some women and girls had little choice in the matter—especially those whose outing term was marked by late night socializing and accusations of theft.

A year after Vivian Cooper fled from Mrs. Muldown's, seventeen-year-old Martha Graham was placed in the same Alameda home. Martha Graham, a Chukchansi woman from Coarsegold, CA worked for the outing program from 1930 to 1933. She worked in homes in Alameda, Oakland and Lafayette earning $15 to $20 a month.[449] At her first home of employment, Mrs. Muldown's, Graham wrote to Matron Royce requesting winter break leave:

> Just a few lines or two in asking you if I could go home on the 19th of next month for my Christmas Vacation. Oh yes did Mr. Snyder send the money to you…?[450]

Interestingly, Graham's letter included an annotation undoubtedly from Matron Royce reading: "Do Not allow to go if it can be prevented. Tell her she will have to get permission from Mrs. Martin." Though such annotations were rare, this statement captured the regular practice of keeping girls at work as often as possible and in cases like this, especially to keep from reuniting with family. Records do not reveal if Graham returned home for break but do show that she requested funds. In this case, Snyder, the Superintendent of Stewart Indian school managed her financials though she had attended public school. It took requests like these for girls to take advantage of their hard-earned money.

Though Graham had a spotless record, over the next four placements, she had a rough patch. In January 1932 she was hospitalized for a gall bladder operation and when she returned to the Outing Program that fall, she ran away. Reportedly Graham "went wild" and was found inebriated in a park. She was accused of stealing and the whole incident was reported in local

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[446] "Lucy Queep to Bonnie V. Royce," November 30, 1929, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[447] "Bonnie V. Royce to Ray Parrett," January 4, 1930, File: Lucy Queep, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[448] "Index Outing System - Lucy Queep."
[449] "Index Outing System - Martha Graham," 1933, File: Martha Graham, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[450] "Martha Graham to Bonnie V. Royce," November 25, 1930, File: Martha Graham, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

papers. [451] Like the runaways apprehended earlier in this chapter, Graham was likely detained or arrested. Despite this record, Placement Officer Jeanette Traxler gave her one last chance. Graham worked in Lafayette at the home of Mrs. Whittaker with the prospect of a raise. It was the final home Graham worked for in the Outing Program.[452] Across Outing Program records, accusations of theft and desires to return home were often the impetus for running away or challenging the Outing Matrons. Where some women experienced lenient consequences for their actions, others did not.

Della Smart, a Paiute girl from Winnemucca, NV was a student at Stewart Indian school when she arrived at the outing program in the summer of 1929. That summer the fourteen-year-old worked at two separate homes in Oakland and Niles for about three days. On August 1st, 1931 Smart returned to the outing program to work briefly at a Berkeley home.[453] By August 26th Royce reported that Smart along with Lottie Cleveland and Catherine Snapp were missing for two days and nights.[454] Once recovered, Cleveland and Smart's employers refused to take them back. Both girls were promptly sent back to Stewart Indian school. According to Royce, Smart "staid [sic] out late whenever she had an afternoon off" and the last time did not return to her position. Royce further asserted, "I hold Della responsible too for the absence at the same time, of Catherine Snapp and Lottie Cleveland."[455] Girls assumed to be ringleaders were especially disciplined.

Smart had a track record for staying out late at night. That paired with the fact that she went missing and her employer was unwilling to take her back, Royce was left with little choice than sending her back to Stewart. Whereas some girls and women were considered redeemable and given a second chance, Smart was not afforded the opportunity. At least not until two years later when she returned to the Outing program in the fall of 1931 with her sister. These four months were Smart's final stint in the outing program. Yet, she was not the only Native woman to suffer consequences for her transgressions.

Loretta Crabtree, Pomo,[456] came to the outing program with her sister Evelyn Joaquin in 1935. She was 18 years old when she joined the program and worked in Piedmont and Oakland homes for $25 a month. In December both sisters left their jobs without giving notice and

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[451] "Index Outing System - Martha Graham."

[452] Similar to Ida Moore, after her time in the program the Graham family relied on the Outing Program to sell their homemade crafts. In December of 1933 Martha's father Willie sent a basket to Royce's assistant, Jeanette Traxler. In a letter he thanked Traxler for her help with his daughter and informed her of his desired price of $5 for the basket. He instructed Traxler to reduce the price to $4 if not sold in 10 days. Perhaps the family was working to have funds for the holiday season or at least take advantage of the holiday market for gifts.

[453] "Index Outing System - Della Smart," 1931, File: Della Smart, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[454] "Bonnie V. Royce to Frederic Snyder," August 26, 1931, File: Della Smart, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[455] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mr. and Mrs. Bob Wright," August 26, 1931, File: Della Smart, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[456] Crabtree's file also lists an illegible tribe. Possibly "Malibu" or "Maidu."

returned to Covelo, CA. [457] A year later in December of 1936 both sisters wrote to Matron Van Every in search of outing work. The two sent separate letters. Joaquin was especially adamant to return to the Bay Area so she could see her son who was hospitalized at Stanford Hospital. Her letter from Santa Rosa read:

> Dear Friend, Miss Van Every I must write to you dear. I want you to find me a job please. I have not seen my boy for a month now and it is worrying me to death. I will do everything you wish me to do, that is in obeying your orders… oh! my, I must be near my poor little son. He seems more happier when I see him often. I'd tell you lots of things on why I quit before but it is best to tell you in person. I am glad that I took my sister home when I did. My mother was sick and [there was] no one there so we went. She is with mother now taking care of her. Please Mrs. Van Every if you can get me work in San Francisco or Palo Alto any place near I'd be so glad. I never gave you any trouble did I? And my wages were so small for the work I did…. I am well and strong as ever before. You can depend on me so please do not turn me down…my little boy needs me.[458]

Joaquin's letter is incredibly apologetic, remorseful and her language attempts to befriend Van Every. Though she writes to explain why the two sisters left, her son becomes the driving force of her desire to work in the Bay. Significantly, Joaquin has to market herself to the Matron appealing that she's "dependable", "strong as ever" and with such insignificant wages would not be much of a burden. Her sister Loretta had a similar but short appeal conveying her regret and fond memories of the Matron. Crabtree's letter from Covelo, CA read:

> Dear Miss Van Every, I'm sorry to bother you again. I just have to work. I'm very sorry that I came home the way I did. Now I have more sense. If you would please find me work the last of the month, please. How are you sis [?]. I often think how nice you were so kind. I'll try not to disappoint you.[459]

Crabtree appeases the Matron in the same way as her sister and goes a step further stating she will "try not to disappoint." These letters reveal some of the strategies Native women had to perform to reconcile with the matron after running away. Before responding to the sisters, Matron Van Every reached out to Edith A. Murphy with the California and Mendocino County-based Federation of Women's Clubs. Matron Van Every wondered if the girls were "stable enough to adjust themselves…"[460] In response Murphy fervently discouraged the Matron from taking on Joaquin. And though Crabtree was "not a boarding school girl"—referring to her lack

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[457] "Index Outing System - Loretta Crabtree," 1935, File: Loretta Crabtree, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[458] "Evelyn Joaquin to Mildred Van Every," December 1936, File: Loretta Crabtree, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[459] "Loretta Crabtree to Mildred Van Every," December 7, 1936, File: Loretta Crabtree, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. "Mildred Van Every to Loretta Crabtree," January 6, 1937, File: Loretta Crabtree, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[460] "Mildred Van Every to Edith Murphy," December 21, 1936, File: Loretta Crabtree, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

of domestic training—Murphy endorsed her.[461] On Jan 6, 1937 Matron Van Every wrote to Crabtree offering her the opportunity to out, "I feel sure that I can find a suitable place for you, however, since you are willing to try harder, after you experience last year. Please bring a medical certificate[462] with you, which will be of real help in securing a place…."[463]

Though Joaquin demonstrated a great deal of remorse and need to see her son, Murphy's disapproval prohibited her from returning. And while Matron Van Every moved forward with Crabtree, records do not indicate that she returned. Perhaps Crabtree did not want to work without her sister or maybe she found work elsewhere. Nonetheless the case of these two sisters demonstrate some strategies runaways enacted and how they were received by Matrons. However, in more extenuating circumstances, women who challenged the Outing Program were met with police and forced into juvenile detention homes.

In 1934, Marjorie Peters, a Klamath girl and Chemawa student came to the outing program when she was seventeen. She had short stints at three homes earning $15 to $20 a month. Her first placement at the Brill home proved difficult. She had the arduous task of carrying wood and coal to the home and could not get the 10 and 12-year-old children she was charged with to cooperate. After about a month Peters left the Brill home. Thereafter in the Harney home, Peters was accused of stealing a fountain pen and umbrella. The latter was returned. She was placed in a third home in Mill Valley and stayed there for some months. [464] In the summer of 1935 she became ill and returned to Humboldt county to recover. Though Matron Van Every discouraged her from returning on account of her after hours socializing she returned in November of that year. Like most girls, especially in the 1930s, Peters was permitted to return after a medical clearance confirming that she was "free from evidences of venereal or other infectious or contagious diseases."[465]

In late November, upon her return Peters was placed with Mrs. Seifert at $25 a month. Reportedly, Peters stayed out all night on December 10th. On account of her transgressions, she was promptly taken to detention home the very next day. Authorities recommended she be returned home to Humboldt county immediately. Matron Van Every chose to give Peters another chance. On Dec 15th she was placed with Mrs. Whitaker in Lafayette. Matron Van Every saw the position as Peters' "last chance to try to make good in the Bay Region" with the threat of being sent back home should she fail.[466]

In January 1936, Peters stayed out all night twice. She was given a third chance and by March, Peters decided to return home. Though she was scheduled to return on March 10th, Peters

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[461] "Edith Murphy to Mildred Van Every," December 24, 1936, File: Loretta Crabtree, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[462] The "medical certificate" Van Every mentioned refers to health clearances discussed in Chapter 2. While seemingly interested in the general health of the Native woman or girl in question, these clearances were purely intended to police Native women's sexuality and gauge whether or not they had venereal diseases.

[463] "Mildred Van Every to Loretta Crabtree."

[464] "Index Outing System - Marjorie Peters," 1936, File: Marjorie Peters, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[465] "Doctor's Note - H.G. Leland," November 4, 1935, File: Marjorie Peters, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[466] "Index Outing System - Marjorie Peters."

stayed with her half-brother in San Francisco. The next day, Matron Van Every apprehended Peters and took her back to the Detention home. The Oakland Probation officers insisted that she leave the county and alerted authorities in Del Norte County. Peters was sent back home on a Greyhound bus. She arrived safely.[467]

Peters' file reveals the that in some cases, women who left, or stayed out late socializing were treated like criminals. Though not all women were taken to Detention Homes, many were met with authorities, probation officers or police who rarely advocated for Native women. Significantly, aside from late night socializing—which was common for outing girls—Peters' file reveals nothing particularly damning or deserving of a detention home. She committed no crime and all records indicate that she was a capable worker who no doubt enjoyed city life.

Similarly, Sadie Sam a Paiute girl experienced police intervention and was incarcerated at a Detention home. Sam entered the outing program around 1923 as a student at Stewart Indian School. On July 3, 1923, in a lengthy letter to Stewart Superintendent Snyder, Matron Royce reported that Sadie had been hanging around with "bad company." Reportedly, Lena Donnely, a Stewart student and former outing participant had been "taking some of the other girl to San Francisco and keeping them out late at nights." Sadie was one such girl and left her outing placement for four days in a row, only to return to her place of employment. Royce pleaded to Snyder, "of course, I know that she is living an immoral life, but I have no proof of it."[468] Sam continued to work at the Thayer home but left again a few days later. She was given another chance and stayed out all night a third time, upon which Sam began to pack her bags to leave. At this, Matron Royce convinced Mrs. Thayer to call an officer to apprehend Sam and send her to the Detention home. She was sent home to Yerington, NV that evening.[469] Matron Royce was especially apt to send young Native women to the local Detention home as a last resort before sending them home. Especially when she felt the young woman in question was uncontrollable or reprehensible.

Daisy Plumer Emm, Sadie Sam's cousin was one such young woman.[470] In spring of the 1928, the Paiute student from Stewart Indian School came to the outing program. She was eighteen. Plummer had a brief first stint and was apparently sent back to Stewart. Records do not reveal the particular infraction but on May 20, 1929, Plummer wrote from Stewart Indian School professing her apologies to Matron Royce. Plummer admitted "what a mistake" she had made while in the Bay Area,

> I am awfully sorry and sad today and I really to goodness don't know what I'll do if I stick around here. I'd rather work that's all. I miss the girls there now. Seems to me I am in a serious trouble or put in prison.[471]

For Plummer the outing program was a freedom compared to the "prison" of boarding school life. She pleaded, "I just can't stand it here any longer. It's awfully lonesome for me no matter if the girls are nice to me. Every time I think of Oakland I had to cry and cry I was not even sick

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[467] "Index Outing System - Marjorie Peters."
[468] "Bonnie V. Royce to Frederic Snyder," July 3, 1923, File: Sadie Sam, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[469] "Bonnie V. Royce to Frederic Snyder."
[470] "Daisy Plummer to Bonnie V. Royce," November 25, 1927, File: Daisy Plummer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[471] "Daisy Plummer to Bonnie V. Royce," May 20, 1929, File: Daisy Plummer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

when I was at Mrs. Linden's. Only thing bother me was the cold. But now I feel over it." Apparently, the conditions were poor at her outing placement, but even worse at Stewart.

Plummer begged the Matron for another chance, "I have disobeyed you Mrs. Royce … please could you let me go back there and work. I will promise you I will listen to you …. I am real sorry for not doing what is right. It's because I stick around with bad girls and I do what they wanted to do. But if I can go back with you it would sure make me happy again."[472] Plummer was very calculated in her appeal, and must have said all of the right things, for Royce granted her another chance.

When Plummer returned to the outing program later in the year she became pregnant with her first child. In January of 1930 she delivered a healthy baby girl name Verna Jean. Plummer and baby recovered at the Salvation Army Home in Oakland. In a letter to Royce, Plummer was apologetic again, but this time inspired to advocate for better wages, "…Mrs. Royce I really do hope that I will get better money this time so that I may bring my baby up in a right way. And I often get so discouraged sometimes but I am trying to forget the past and I know that I am going to be a better girl, I realize my mistakes and I know better now."[473]

However, by June of 1930, Plummer was in trouble again. And Royce who was often aggressive towards sexually active girls was particularly livid. On June 21, 1930 in a letter to Supt. Parrett of the Walker River Agency, Royce accused Plummer of being "irresponsible" and "slovenly in her work." Apparently, the new mother was socializing out late among "bad company." Royce added, "a negro is the latest." Reportedly, Plummer was unable to keep a place and Royce forced her to labor at a neighbor's home. There Plummer apparently "sulked and refused to come out of her room." Royce was compelled to act. The Matron declared, "I was therefore forced to place her in the Detention Home where she is at the present time."[474]

As if a disposable commodity, Royce felt that Plummer was no use to the outing program. An uninhibited, untidy housemaid was a barrier to all the civilities the Outing Program was envisioned to impart. Without the prospects of wage labor, the promise of "uplift" would be lost. And so like many girls and women before and after her, Plummer—separated from her child—was incarcerated. She and baby were sent home shortly thereafter. Plummer's efforts to turn a new leaf were insufficient for Royce who saw the young woman as uncontrollable and reprehensible. When faced with resistant Native women who challenged the Outing Program, Matron Royce continued to incarcerate them in Juvenile Detention Homes.

Winifred Nelson, a Klamath girl was fifteen when she came to the outing program in the fall of 1932. She worked in homes in Oakland, Berkeley and Piedmont. Similar to her sister Bernice, Winifred's wages averaged $15 a month—to be expected during the depression. However, one brief home in Oakland earned Nelson a low $10 a month—one of the lowest monthly wages found in the program.[475]

Nelson had a troubled time in the outing program starting with her first placement at the Benninghoven home in Oakland. There Nelson walked half a mile to Oakland High School for

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[472] "Daisy Plummer to Bonnie V. Royce."
[473] "Daisy Plummer to Bonnie V. Royce," January 14, 1930, File: Daisy Plummer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[474] "Bonnie V. Royce to Ray Parrett," June 21, 1930, File: Daisy Plummer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[475] "Index Outing System - Winifred Nelson," 1932, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

her studies. She was overwhelmed by the large student population and disliked the trek. Within a few months Nelson ran away from the Oakland home and was apprehended in San Francisco where she was detained at a Detention Home.

On January 4, 1933, Matron Royce wrote Winifred's parents to inform them of their daughter's unannounced departure, "we made every effort to locate her and finally asked help of local authorities. They have just notified us that they found her in San Francisco and that she is now in detention there." She continued, "considering Winifred's behavior I do not feel like being responsible for her and therefore ask you to let me know your wishes regarding Winifred… I think she would be better off with you at home."[476]

Relatedly, on the same day Royce wrote to Nelson's parents, she reported the runaway to Superintendent O.M. Boggess of the Hoopa Valley Indian Agency stating, "She is so young and a very attractive girl and she needs close supervision."[477] Indeed, Nelson had just turned sixteen and yet was responsible for managing a household.

Matron Royce's letters demonstrate that the Outing program required and desired "docile" servants, and resolutely refused Native women and girls with any "behavioral issues." Quite quickly this reveals the hypocrisy of their supposed interest in Native girls' health and well-being. Moreover, that Royce commented on Nelson's attractiveness, she exposes the undercurrent of the program's fear of promiscuity and the need to police Native women's sexuality.

While Royce washed her hands of Nelson, the sixteen-year-old shared similar sentiments of the Matron. In intimate apparently unmailed drafts of letters to her sister[478], Nelson expressed her grievances. In one such undated[479] letter she reflected on her week in a Detention Home and her terrible time in the Outing Program.

> Greetings sis received your letter last week was sure glad to hear you folks are well … what did you all do New Year's Eve night and evening? I celebrated in a big way. I'm attending the Oakland High School taking business, math English, Spanish 2 two periods PE and... instead of sitting at the school I come home and work like a slave. These people I work for are the berries[480]—they are Jews—What people. Royce said that she'd get me another place but I suppose that is after I graduate. Today is Saturday so I'm taking it cozy… I don't get Thursdays off. Just Sunday afternoon till 6, and I have to be home, sez Lillie, but if I get in earlier than 11:30 something is wrong. Spent a week in the Juvenile Detention Home, are those good girls there. Say, they sure are tough, they use to smoke tea … anything to [be] disobedient. I got sassy twice. It isn't a bad place, we have court

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[476] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mrs. George Nelson," January 4, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[477] "Bonnie V. Royce to Supt. O.M. Boggess," January 4, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[478] Matron Royce no doubt confiscated these unmailed letters and also went through the expense of transcribing them.

[479] Nelson's letter was undated so I made an educated assumption on its date. Her reference to New Year's Eve and mention of Saturday indicate the letter was most likely this letter was written on January 7, 1933.

[480] Meaning "unusual."

> everi Friday and do they ask questions, & they sure examine a woman. Boys stay there too also babies. One nurse said there are babies there from 1 day to 18 years old. They sure believe in balling a person out…. How is Jeanette Beaver & her wagon tongue (?) and the rest of the [g]ossipers including Mrs. Nelson…[481]

At the offset, Nelson proudly lists her course schedule at Oakland High—certainly a more thorough education than she received at Chemawa. But the promise of schooling was eclipsed by the domestic work she was obliged to. Instead of school she comes home and "work[s] like a slave." And though she had expressed her misgivings with Matron Royce, the Matron did not secure her an alternative home. Unlike some girls in the program, Nelson did not get Thursdays off. Instead she had Sundays off—less than 12 full hours of freedom. Where some girls might be able to catch a matinee or window shop, Nelson was subjected to one of the quietest days of the week. Moreover, the Benninghoven family did not care for her to spend that time at their home. Meaning Nelson would have to be out and about all day with no friends or acquaintances for a small bit of respite. Amid her frustrations Nelson described her week-long stay at a Detention Home in San Francisco.

Nelson's time in Detention inspired her to reflect on the times that she was "sassy." Apparently most recently from a celebrating New Year's Eve in a "big way." Though she surmises it "isn't a bad place," she reveals the gendered surveillance and scrutiny. Girls like Nelson who were thrown in Detention were often assumed promiscuous degenerates. Detainees were yelled at or "balled" out. She may have received an over extensive pat down or strip search and grilled her about her sexuality. There's no telling if a young Native woman like Nelson would have undergone more scrutiny than her non-Native peers. Moreover, Nelson mentions that infants and children were common in the Detention Home, perhaps children of young mothers. In her tongue and cheek farewell, Nelson reminds us that there's a world outside of the Detention Home and the outing program. Her family, friends and loved ones are living their lives while Nelson is stuck. She's alone, desiring connections and trying to stay positive.

Shortly thereafter, Nelson's first and former employer Mrs. Benninghoven who recently relocated to Bakersfield, CA mailed Matron Royce Nelson's final $5 wage. Mrs. Benninghoven was sorry she could not convince Nelson to relocate with her. In response, Royce wished Mrs. Benninghoven success and happiness and ended her note with, "so sorry that Winifred was a disappointment."[482] In this instance, Royce regards Nelson as a commodity and reveals the true nature of the outing program.

Midmonth of January 1933, Royce gave Nelson another chance and arranged for a second outing home in Oakland adjacent to Oakland High. Nelson managed just one week at Mrs. Fiene's home. The homeowner accused her of theft—a slip, some toothpaste, cigarettes and aspirin. On January 15th while Royce and Fiene met with Nelson to confront her, Nelson ran to her room in the home and perhaps in protest drank from a bottle of Lysol. [483] She was

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[481] "Winifred Nelson to Sister," January 7, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[482] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mrs. Benninghoven," January 13, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[483] "Bonnie V. Royce to Supt. O.M. Boggess," January 20, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

immediately rushed to the hospital and had her stomach pumped. Nelson's cry for help seemed to clearly reflect her need to go home yet Matron Royce insisted on keeping her in the Bay Area. Under the Matron's watchful eye, Nelson was sent to recover at the Outing Program headquarters and Royce's own home in Piedmont. This decision may reflect Royce's guilt in the situation and her desire to set things right. It was not uncommon for the Matron to bring in girls she felt needed close supervision or care[484]. The specialized attentiveness was entirely unwanted.

On January 15th in an apparent unmailed postcard entitled "took Lysol" Nelson wrote to an unknown addressee assuaging them, "had my stomach pumped and I was sick. Staying at Mrs. Royce's she sure is grand to me. Kissed me good night last night. Reported to school this A.M. and I do feel terrible [.] Can't stand it in a close room. Out here in front of the gym at present."[485] Amidst her anxieties of her overcrowded and claustrophobic-inducing High School, Nelson tried to comfort the recipient. However, three days later in another letter addressed to her sister Nelson was more forthcoming.

On January 18, 1933 she wrote, "… spending a week here with Royce, maybe longer… I'm also going to school … are we crowded. Boy I almost died last Sunday. Don't tell anyone, had my stomach pumped up Highland Hospital. Was I sick—I took Lysol. ole Royce made me so mad. Now she tries to be so damn nice to me."[486] A day later Nelson wrote a fourth draft of the letter to her sister airing her complaints about outing and meddlesome Royce,

> Greetings sis. Here goes the fourth time I started to answer your letter which I was indeed very glad to receive…You probably have heard all the mess I've been in, it sure was tough. I sure had a lousy place & ole Royce insisted I should stay there, but nothing doing, I'm here at her place at present, what a life, I sure hate it here. I'm going to school ... It's O.K. there is over 3,000 students attending the O. Hi. (Oakland High) … & it is crowded… it sure is raining down here…I have to walk to sch[ool] that's what I hate.[487] Mrs. Royce took me this am...[488]

In this final letter to her sister, Nelson is overwhelmingly honest about her complete hatred for Royce, the outing program and even her overcrowded school. Indeed, Nelson had enough. That very evening Nelson did not return home from school. She stayed out all night with fellow outing girl, Blanche Nixon. Reports say the girls had been drinking and hanging out with "Mexicans." In the early morning of January 20th police apprehended the girls and Nelson was brought home at 5am.[489] For a second time, Nelson was sent to a Detention Home and awaited federal officials' conclusions on the situation.

About a week later on January 28th Nelson was sent home. Though her first five-month stint in the Outing Program was over, she would return in December 1933 and work periodically

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[484] Lucy Queep for example to convalesced at Royce's home

[485] "Winifred Nelson to Sister - Took Lysol," January 15, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[486] "Winifred Nelson to Sister," January 18, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[487] At this point in the Outing Program, Nelson was walking over a mile each way from Royce's home in Piedmont.

[488] "Winifred Nelson to Sister," January 19, 1933, File: Winifred Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[489] "Bonnie V. Royce to Supt. O.M. Boggess," January 20, 1933.

in 1934 and 1935 when her sister joined her.[490] Considering all that she went through, Nelson's homecoming must have felt like a relief. Yet her decision to return only proves how some girls and their families depended on wages from the Outing Program. And perhaps with her sister along, it would be a less painful experience.

Nonetheless, Nelson's story reveals the dark side of this supposedly benevolent institution. For Nelson, outing work was akin to slavery. Laboring away in the Outing Program extended California's 19th-century labor policies and practices—including the enslavement of Native people. Nelson's hard work eclipsed the promise of school life and she had very little choice in where she was placed. She was lonely and desired independence from a meddlesome Matron and accusatory employer. Yet she craved real connections. And when she'd had enough, Nelson made found ways to blow off steam—ignoring her curfew and socializing into the night. In such instances, the Outing Matron was quick to throw Native girls into jail and detention. And in Nelson's case, the outing program pushed one young girl to the brink—drinking Lysol. An all too apt metaphor for what domestic work thrust Native women into—a toxic, sometimes dangerous place. In the short span of five months Nelson experienced a double form of incarceration—once through being in the Outing Program and a second time for each stint in Juvenile Detention. The assumed criminality of Native women in the outing program meant the continued threat of police involvement.

Bernice Nelson, Winifred's older sister by two years, came to the outing program when she was eighteen. She worked in 1933 at the height of the depression. Her low wages of $15 a month reflect the economic slump. At the first home in Richmond, Nelson was awful lonesome and "cried all the time." The second home in Berkeley at Mrs. Scott's was the longest she was employed at roughly five months. Nelson's file indicates she was "well liked" at the Scott's but she apparently left for "no reason."[491] Thereafter Nelson transitioned to the Harvey home in Oakland. Again, Nelson got on well with the Harvey family, but like other girls in the outing program she had difficulty securing her wages. On February 13, 1934, Nelson's mother wrote Mrs. Traxler to this effect:

> … and about Bernice. I wish you would find her another place. I understand the people are very nice to her and like her very much but that just cannot be helped as Bernice needs her money the same as the other girls. I should think it wouldn't be any trouble to find her another place. Mrs. Harvey just gives her about a dollar or so on her days off and she can't buy anything with that. Is she placed just for her room and board? I understand thru Mr. Boggess that you are there to see that the girls one and all get a square deal.[492]

In response, Mrs. Traxler notified Nelson's mother indicating that her daughter and Mrs. Harvey came to a "satisfactory arrangement." Traxler added that she was aware of the lack of payment and advocated she take another placement.[493] It's not clear what the arrangement was,

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[490] "Index Outing System - Winifred Nelson."

[491] "Index Outing System - Bernice Nelson," 1933, File: Bernice Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[492] "Mrs. George Nelson to Jeanette Traxler," February 13, 1934, File: Bernice Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[493] "Jeanette Traxler to Mrs. George Nelson," February 16, 1934, File: Bernice Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

or if Nelson received her total pay, but she continued to work at the Harvey home. That fall, in the midst of the usual, outing work Nelson her sister Winifred learned what it was like to be vulnerable Native women in the city.

On September 20, 1934 Bernice Nelson and her sister Winifred were abducted shortly after attending a dance lesson. The two were forced into an automobile with the threat of violence. The driver promised to drive the girls home but abducted them further east to Moraga Road in Oakland. The culprit pushed Bernice down a hillside while Winifred screamed for help, thankfully attracting attention. Though the two were victims, they were promptly arrested and taken to the Oakland city jail. Reportedly they were intoxicated while the driver was sober. As no charges could be made against the girls, they were dismissed from jail the next day. Their employers willingly took them both back. [494] Perhaps Nelson and her sister left relatively unscathed, but their run in with a predator and the police demonstrate how dangerous the city could be for young Native women. The fact remains that though they were victims the sisters were treated as criminals. To echo Ogden, violence perpetrated against women and girls can put them into the criminal justice system, where they are not seen as victims, but as offenders in the eyes of the state. Though girls and women who were met with police force, jailed and detained were quite common, rarely was there a case where a woman would have not suffered much recourse at all for her actions. Such is the example of a Klamath woman who came to the Outing Program to become a nurse.

Thana Thompson Mitchell, a Klamath girl from Hoopa, CA was nineteen when she came to the outing program in the summer of 1929. She was a recent graduate of Sherman Institute and desired to enroll in nurses training. That fall, Thompson and a cohort of girls from Sherman, including her friend Ivora Nelson[495] promptly enrolled at the Children's Hospital in San Francisco. At the start of the program Thompson earned $50 a month at a Piedmont home—an impressive sum for the average outing wage.[496] On top of domestic outing work, Thompson was engaged in practical training at the Hospital across the bay. Her demanding schedule was filled with regular and sometimes daily exams, and in-depth instruction on respiration, anatomy, nutrition and even nurse's cookery. Days were so arduous that Thompson was once shocked to learn she and her fellow students had an hour or two to themselves.[497]

The toll was too much for Thompson's friend Ivora Nelson, also Klamath and Hoopa from Eureka, CA. Reportedly Nelson was dissatisfied, and her mother advocated for her to return home. By early September of 1929, Nelson chose to leave nurses training and left the Bay Area. She would return a few months later to continue outing work. Meanwhile, Thompson continued her training. On April 14, 1930, Thompson wrote a letter to Matron Royce at 1:20 am during her night shift. She spoke upon the difficulties of the demanding work:

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[494] "Re: Bernice Nelson, M. Van Every Notes," 1934, File: Bernice Nelson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[495] Bernice and Winifred Nelson's older sister.
[496] "Index Outing System - Thana Thompson Mitchell," 1933, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[497] "Thana Thompson Mitchell to Bonnie V. Royce," undated, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

> My dearest friend, I was told to tell you that there is to be a meeting. Dr. Glazer told me to tell you to be sure and come. I think he wants to talk to you (Wednesday). It rained so hard yesterday didn't it? How are you? I haven't seen you for a long time. Come over to dinner after the meeting or before if you possibly can. I am so sleepy I could gladly go to bed and enjoy it. I am through with my charting—I'm going to make supplies as soon as I finish this little note to you. Excuse my terrible writing please—but—you know how full of energy one is when they're drowsy. Being on night duty is like living in the land of upside down—you eat your largest meals at 12 at night and sleep in the daytime.[498]

Without the company of her good friend, letters reveal that Thompson felt lonesome and regularly sought visits from Matron Royce who had a strong relationship with her and her parents. In fact, on some occasions, Thompson addressed letters to the Matron "Dear Godmother." Their relationship was a rare example of what appeared to be an amicable friendship with an Outing Matron. Moreover, throughout Thompson's outing years, Royce facilitated the sale of her family's baskets to help them make ends meet. On one occasion, Matron Royce advanced the Thompson family $17.50 for baskets she planned to sell for them—a very generous sum.[499] Though Thompson received much support and encouragement from the Matron, nurses training proved difficult. In May 1930 Thompson wrote to her parents informing them that she left the hospital.[500]

This news was quite regrettable for both Thompson's parents and Matron Royce. But both parties hoped she would return to nurses training in the fall. Records do not indicate that she did. But, Thompson did return to the outing program in September 1930 and continued working at the same Piedmont home for $50 a month.[501] Matron Royce called her a "girl to be proud of" and consistently advocated for the young woman.[502] This longstanding relationship seems to have colored the way in which Matron Royce responded to Thompson's eventual departure from the outing program.

On February 2, 1931 Matron Royce reported to Thompson's parents that she left without her "permission."[503] Though the Matron encouraged Thompson to contact her parents first, the young woman left for Los Angeles on her own accord. Reportedly, she asserted to the Matron that she was of age, taking care of herself and desired no supervision from anyone. Where most

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[498] "Thana Thompson Mitchell to Bonnie V. Royce," April 14, 1930, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[499] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mr. and Mrs. Allen Thompson," October 1, 1930, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[500] "Mr. Allen Thompson to Bonnie V. Royce," May 19, 1930, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[501] "Index Outing System - Thana Thompson Mitchell."

[502] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mr. and Mrs. Allen Thompson," October 18, 1930, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[503] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mr. Allen Thompson," February 2, 1931, File: Thana Thompson Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

girls and women who left without permission were met with some kind of reprimand from the Matron, Thompson was not. Though the Matron was unaware where such behavior had arisen, she nonetheless told the Thompson family, "don't worry too much about Thana for after all she is 21 years old and we cannot restrain her if she wants to be on her own."[504] Few women in the outing program earned such acknowledgment of their freewill, much less escaped chastisement from the Matron. Undoubtedly the apparent genuine friendship between Royce and Thompson and Royce's pride in the woman influenced her independence. Thompson's file reveals that if women honored the aims of the program, to attempt improve themselves and had ambition—and most importantly a very friendly relationship with the Matron—they could be afforded freedoms other girls and women had not.

Conclusion

Understanding the limits of the program as discussed in the previous chapter, there could be a number of reasons why Native women and girls chose to exit the Bay Area Outing Program. In the earliest years, homesickness and loneliness was quite apparent. However, later in the program, women ran away or left without permission or knowledge to reunite with their families—often to care for a loved one. They left to gain independence, increased wages at other Bay Area jobs, and better living conditions outside of outing work.

In the case of the Native women and girls in this chapter many left due to poor wages or lack of payment of wages. Less than ideal conditions also colored their departure. Some had the arduous task carrying wood and coal or caring for defiant children. Others tried to make due with no heat. Others still were accused of theft or punished sternly for staying out late and socializing. A common failure in the early iteration of the program was a lack of social space for Native women. So, girls and women who hoped to blow off steam and experience the city made opportunities for themselves. But in these cases, they were almost always met with police intervention, jailed and detained. In fact, the Matron Royce's final disciplinary action of choice was a Juvenile Detention Home. Here women became doubly incarcerated—once through being in the Outing Program and a second time for each time in Juvenile Detention. And because Native women were often criminalized and assumed promiscuous they were quick to be arrested even if they had committed no crime. And only in a rare case was a Native woman allowed freedom to leave the Outing Program without suffering any consequences. This of course depended on her friendship with the Outing Matron.

From its inception the Bay Area Outing Program was intended to lift Native women from "degrading moral conditions." And within the reformist vision of the time, Victorian gender ideologies were woven into the fabric of the Outing system. Strict codes of conduct honored chastity, individualism and personal improvement. Girls were meant to gain "civilization" through their domestic work in American homes. And the Outing Matron was intended to provide Native girls and women with protection, helpful influences, motherly advice and encouragement. Yet all of this came at a price—meager, sometimes unpaid wages, poor conditions without the promise of a change and the threat of police intervention and incarceration.

The Bay Area Outing Program presented itself as a charitable, benevolent and compassionate project meant to "uplift" Native American women and their communities. But in

[504] "Bonnie V. Royce to Mr. Allen Thompson."

practice it was a stifling, exploitative, disciplinary apparatus that granted few freedoms for Native women. Moreover, in this program, utility in domestic labor was paramount and if a girl was no longer "useful" she was discarded and sent home. Native women were peddled the promise of uplift and domestication through interaction with whites and domestic wage labor. But when met with meager wages, lack of payment of wages, less than ideal conditions and incarceration Native women pushed back. They expressed their dissatisfaction, ran away, stayed out past curfew and resisted in the ways they knew how. Native women's testimony tells us that when faced with a contradictory and oppressive system these women fought back.

Chapter Four | Breaking the Family: Outing Mothers and Indian Child Removal

"My Friends: Do you know that one Indian baby out of every three dies before it is 3 years old because it does not have the right kind of care?

The reports which I received from superintendents, doctors, field matrons, and other show this to be true.

Do you know that a great many of these deaths can be prevented? It is not natural for a baby to be sick. Health is its normal condition. It is a pity, therefore, that so many Indian baby lives have been lost because *their mothers did not know how to keep them well*.[505] Almost every sickness your baby has had could have been prevented.

You are very much interested in the welfare of Indian babies, and I am, too. I hope you will read this pamphlet and faithfully follow the suggestions it contains. Possibly you will find that some of these differ from what you have supposed to be the best rules for taking care of your baby. It is because so many Indian mothers follow wrong ideas and caring for their children that so many of them die.

I am sure, therefore, that if you will endeavor to care for your little ones as suggested in this pamphlet you'll be rewarded with the best and most wonderful possession any of us may ever hope to attain—healthy and happy children…"

- Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs
  Excerpt from *Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well*, 1916

Introduction

Whereas Chapter 3 focused on outing runaways, dissatisfaction and incarceration, this chapter examines how the Bay Area Outing Program affected the Indian family. Throughout the roughly two decades of the program, Native women and girls including their cousins and sisters sought a vibrant, better life through domestic wage work in the Bay Area. But what happened to young mothers or their children in the outing program? What circumstances effected Native women and their children uniquely? The main research questions this chapter addresses are; Broadly, how did the Bay Area Outing Program affect the Indian family? How did Native women fight against Indian child removal? What was the circumstance of Indian children of outing mothers in the early 20th-century? In practice, the Outing program was not simply isolated to securing domestic work for Native women. Outing Matrons made it their duty to address the whole Native family. And Matrons' assumptions of Indian mothers and Indian families informed their regular interventions. In the Bay Area Outing Program, Native women's sexuality and pregnancy were two of the most pressing of issues. Pregnant Outing women or women with young children were particularly risky, for their child would become a barrier to their employment as live-in housekeepers.

To this end, I closely examine powerful and painful stories of Native women involved with the Outing Program who had children, were feared to be sexually active and became pregnant in the Bay Area. I do so with a continued analysis of the BIA's Relocation, Education and Employment Assistance Case Files, 1926 – 1946. In these files, Outing Matrons heavily scrutinized Native mothers and especially those who became pregnant while in the Bay Area. Through such files, Matron's management of Native women's bodies, sexuality and their

[505] Emphasis in original

children are thoroughly evident. In turn, I highlight Native women's acceptance or rejection of the Matron's intervention. Such records also reveal parental mediation. On occasion, the fathers of Outing women—a recognized source of authority—advocated for their daughters. Such letters reveal that the Outing program was not in a vacuum. Its consequences reverberated across Native families. While the archive is revealing—sometimes in painstaking detail—it does not capture the full story of the Outing Program. For instance, with regard to pregnancy, records do not take up the notion of consent. Largely, Matrons were concerned with women marrying the men who were "responsible" for their "condition." Therefore, while sexual violence was common in the boarding schools girls came from, as well as a fact of domestic service, the archive is predictably less forthcoming on the subject. Moreover, because these are federal documents, they cannot represent an unmediated reflection of women's lives. Also, where letters from Native women and their relatives may be more reliable, their appeals remain in the scope of respectability politics of the era. Ultimately, the archive only tells a partial story from a refracted lens. Nevertheless, these records provide a glimpse into the lives of Native women and their families.

This chapter chronicles the experiences of women who were threatened with and fought child removal, their concerned fathers who intervened, as well as women who chose not to raise their children. Amid these tensions are Outing Matrons who largely directed Native mothers into three possible scenarios. First, mothers were encouraged to board their young and infant children at a local nursery or similar form of childcare. Second, if the child was of age—six years or older—Outing Matrons worked to enroll the child into a federal Indian boarding school. Third, and the most heinous of scenarios—Outing Matrons encouraged Native mothers into fostering or adopting their children. Though not always achieved this final scenario was regularly a looming threat. Therefore, Outing Matrons and BIA officials paired with Bay Area-based institutions sought to uphold diverted mothering. Sau-ling Wong defines diverted mothering, as a process wherein "time and energy available for mothering are diverted from those who, by kindship or communal ties, are their more rightful recipients."[506] Instead mothers are separated from their children often to care for others. While certainly a contemporary issue, especially in the field of caregiving, diverted mothering has historical roots and can be traced back to at least slavery when the care of white slaveowner's children took precedence over the care of black women's own children. In the Bay Area Outing Program diverted mothering was achieved through institutional parenting in the way of infant boarding, enrollment in Indian boarding schools and adoption and fostering.

First, I briefly historicize federal notions of Indian families and Indian mothers in the early 20th-century. I seat my analysis in an illuminating 1916 BIA text, *Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well* written by Cato Sells, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs. From this broader analysis I then examine the context of sexuality and pregnancy in the Outing Program delving into a discussion of boarding schools, domestic labor and sexual assault. Finally, employing the BIA's Relocation, Training and Employment Assistance archival records, I closely examine ten files that speak to the experiences of outing mothers and the outing family. Specifically, I discuss Native resistance from the perspective of mothers and their families through correspondence with federal officials. I thus highlight Native testimony recovered from the archives. These representative files demonstrate the ways Outing Matrons and federal officials threatened Native women with separation from their children and in some cases,

[506] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Chang, and Linda Rennie Forcey, eds., *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, and Agency*, 1st Paperback Edition (New York: Routledge, 1993), 69.

succeeded. Because their child would become a barrier to their live-in employment most women were forced to choose between outing work and their children. Largely these files reveal how mothers struggled to survive in the Bay Area under the constraints of domestic work. As a whole the stories of these ten women describe Outing Matrons' three central methods of removal; boarding infant children, enrolling children into a federal Indian boarding school and finally, attempting and at times succeeding in the fostering or adoption of Native children. While distinct means of removal, sometimes Native women and their children experienced intersecting methods. For instance, officials may have coerced new mothers into boarding their infant children and later, may have insisted on fostering or adopting the child. The Bay Area Outing Program imposed a great deal of power over Native women and their children.

Unfit Indian Mothers, Unhealthy Indian Families and Assimilation

In 1916, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells authorized Bonnie V. Royce with managing the newly established Bay Area Outing Program. In that same year Sells authored *Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well*. Within the publication is Sells' "Save the Babies" treatise—a document he read in August of 1915 at the Congress on Indian Progress in San Francisco. In light of OIA infant mortality statistics, these two documents argued for informing "ignorant" Indian mothers the proper way of caring for their infants.

With the help of the Northern California Auxiliary, Sells organized the San Francisco based conference in Indian issues. The Congress on Indian Progress comprised of officials and employees of the U.S. Indian Service. Reportedly upwards of 300 – 400 people attended.[507] Here, Sells gave his treatise arguing "It is our chief duty to protect the Indian's health and to save him from premature death. Before we educate him, before we conserve his property, we should save his life." Sells stated, "We can not solve the Indian problem without Indians." Though seemingly more concerned with the stability of his vocation, Sells continued,

> The new campaign for health in which I would enlist you is first of all to save the babies! Statistics startle me with the fact that approximately three-fifths of Indian infants die before the age of 5 years.[508] Of what use to this mournful mortality are our splendidly equipped schools? I earnestly call upon every Indian Bureau employee to help reduce this frightful percentage. Superintendents, teachers… everyone can do something by instruction or example, the physician with his science, the nurse with her trained skill, the matron with her motherly solitude, all of us by personal hygiene, cleanliness and sobriety.[509]

In these last few words, Sells arrives at what he believes to be the real issue—dirty, unclean, drunken Indians. Sells easily places the blame on Indian families yet neglects to acknowledge the settler colonial circumstances that shaped Native health and issues in the Indian

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[507] "Congress on Indian Progress," *The Indian's Friend*, September 1915, Vol. XXVIII No.1 edition.

[508] In 1917, a year after this statement, Cato Sells declared "the Indian is no longer a vanishing race." The mortality rate for Indian children under the age of three had declined by more than fifty percent from 1914 figures. Sells' statistics could have been hyperbole or perhaps by 1917 were more accurate. And also, may have reflected efficacy of the "Save the Babies" campaign.

[509] *Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well.* (Washington: Dept. of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, 1916), 27.

home. For example, poverty created by colonial policies, lack of access to health care and nutritious food and inadequate sanitation to name a few. Yet, the Commissioner continued on. He then argued that motherhood applied under "intelligent and friendly direction" would save Indian babies from their "untimely graves." That as Indian Service agents, "we must … get rid of the intolerable conditions that infest some of the Indian homes on the reservation, creating an atmosphere of death instead of life."[510] Quickly, Sells assumes Indian mothers to be unintelligent, uninformed and their homes harbingers of death. He further chastises the uninformed condition of the Indian arguing "it would be great if we could…induce him to see that the natural and beautiful love he has for his children will not keep them alive and well and joyous unless supplemented by a rational use of food, clothing, fresh air and pure water." These "good results" cannot be achieved "Unless the Indian parents exchange indolence for industry and are awakened to the use and beauty of personal and environing cleanliness."[511]

In a final gendered plea Sells placed responsibility on young girls and women. For the proper education of Indian girls he added emphasis on home nursing, child welfare, motherhood, sanitation, management of the home, and unsurprisingly "intelligent housekeeping" and "attractive home making."[512] As ever, the argument targeted Native women and girls and domestic work. Sells believed that if Native women accepted and reproduced Euro American domesticity they would be assimilated and thus capable of properly raising their children. Only then could Native women earn the right to mother.

Returning to the excerpt that opened this chapter, Sells continued similar arguments. *Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well* is a thirty-page guidebook Sell's developed to combat infant mortality rates in Native American communities. It was designed to instruct Indian women in best practices for child-rearing. The manual filled with illustrative photos of an Indian mother and baby included instructions on prenatal care, proper nursing, clothing, bathing, sanitation and treating illnesses. The pamphlet was widely distributed across Indian Country and was the kind of material available at federally sponsored "Better Baby Contests" held in various tribal communities.[513] The pamphlet largely reflected federal officials' broad understanding of Indian families and coincided with the "Save the Babies" campaign.

Lisa Emmerich argues that the campaign regarded tribalism as a "retrogressive force." Traditional Native family patterns and medical practices were considered "antiquated and dangerous." Ultimately, the campaign maintained that Indian women as individuals "had to accept the sore responsibility for the health and welfare of their children."[514] In turn, the

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[510] *Indian Babies*, 28.
[511] *Indian Babies*, 28.
[512] *Indian Babies*, 28.
[513] Lisa Emmerich's study on the Save the Babies campaign reveals that technologically advanced, large scale baby fairs and baby shows were a focal point. At these popular events, Native women dressed their babies in the finest "citizen's" dress and competed among one another for the best baby award. At the event Native women were lectured on "civilized" family life and health care. While these contests targeted Native American communities, Better Baby Contests could be found across the United States, as part of a national infant welfare movement, which also sought to combat high rates of infant mortality and morbidity.
[514] Marian Perales et al., *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, 1st edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 399.

campaign upheld the notions of "scientific motherhood," hinged upon imposing patriarchal gender roles.[515] Federal officials hoped that Native women would discover the superiority of Western medicine and thus shun tribal practices. Instead of seeking assistance from their extended family networks, Native women would look to field matrons and physicians. Western medicine thus allowed the settler nation to assert its colonial power while undermining Native families and communities. Intentions aside, Emmerich reveals the failures of the Save the Babies campaign. For example, field matrons did not have any special qualifications or training for their work, nor were they required to. Furthermore, the campaign could never reach traditional women. And though child rearing was still largely communal across tribes, "Save the Babies" did not involve fathers or extended families. Most pressing, the Save the Babies movement did nothing to remedy poverty or cultural instability. Emmerich argues that the campaign "was little more than an assimilationist Band-Aid."[516]

While contemporary scholars have challenged the assimilative basis of such campaigns, during its time, *Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well* was likely perceived as innovative and necessary. From the offset of the pamphlet, Commissioner Sells' foreword begins with grim statistics and admonishes the Indian mother for following the "wrong" practices. In the interest of their children's livelihood, mothers only needed to follow the outlined steps to have "healthy and happy children." Conclusively the Commissioner pleaded, "Tell your friends about this pamphlet and explain it to those who cannot read."[517]

Similar to his "Save the Babies" treatise, Sells' text is based upon derogatory assumptions about Indian mothers and their families. Indian mothers were understood to be neglectfully socializing into the night, dirty, uninformed and dimwitted. At the offset, Sells warns, "If you are going to have a baby you must have plenty of sleep. Do not stay up late and dance all night."[518] He then advises to "Eat clean, well-cooked food," supposing that Indian people—especially young mothers—did not. The nursing section of the text condescendingly advises "If you love your baby, nurse it for the first 12 months." Yet too much nursing was uncalled for and "bad," "Some Indian mothers …nurse their babies for two or three years. This is a bad practice for both mother and baby."[519] In fact, many indigenous communities relied upon longer term breastfeeding as a method of birth control.

On diet, Sells calls for no solid foods, emphasizing, "*Do not feed it tea, coffee, melons, candy or any solid food*." Yet many mothers likely gathered this point. Continuing on nursing the text gives strict detailed instructions with a chart on giving the baby "breast by clock" and supplementing their diet with water. Sells again puts the onus on Indian mothers stating, "If you follow this rule there will be fewer dead babies."[520] As the text continues to advise on diet and feeding, Sells again jumps to notions of filthy, unclean Indians. On feeding from the bottle, he stresses, "*absolute cleanliness*[521] is essential."[522] And if using cow's milk, he advises mothers ensure the cow is not "dirty" and that "the milk must be clean and free from germs."

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[515] Perales et al., 397.
[516] Perales et al., 404.
[517] *Indian Babies*, 3.
[518] *Indian Babies*, 5.
[519] *Indian Babies*, 6.
[520] *Indian Babies*, 9.
[521] Emphasis by Commissioner Sells.
[522] *Indian Babies*, 10.

After the thorough nursing section, is a picture of an Indian child propped up against a tree trunk with the caption "A Navajo Cradle." The child looks glaringly at the photographer. Critiquing the practice Sells argues, "Many Indian babies when very young are strapped by their mothers to boards and cradles. This is not good for the baby as it restricts the baby's movements." He further asks, "How would you like to have your arms and legs tied up so you could not move them?"[523] In fact, many of the women he lectured were likely raised in a cradle board and had fond childhood memories of being swaddled and protected in it.

In a later section on clothing, the Commissioner chides again, "Later when the baby learns to walk he is often allowed to run about naked. This is not good either."[524] Following this brief section are pages that warn against trachoma, impetigo, lice, scabies, flies, and tuberculosis. Consumptive patients Sells warns "should drink no whiskey or alcohol in any form." Moreover when "there are many persons in one room without ventilation" tuberculosis is easily infectious. "Do not practice overcrowding," he cautions. "Stay away from those houses where you know Indians have tuberculosis."[525] In the final pages Sells urges for vaccinations and seeking treatment at reservation hospitals—"if all Indians would be vaccinated every five years there would be no smallpox on Indian reservations."[526] While often under the pretense of humanitarian concern health was racialized, facilitated social control and imposed of colonial notions of gender and sexuality.

Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well, no doubt included useful advice to new mothers, yet it seethed with stereotypical assumptions about Indian mothers and their families. Indian homes were unclean, overcrowded, hotbeds for disease. Indian mothers had been taught and perpetuated "bad" practices that led to wild, naked babies. Traditional baby-carriers were restrictive and bad. Infants were liable to be surrounded by alcoholic Indians poised to spread disease. Indian mothers—their negligence and ignorance—were the cause of "dead babies." The fact of that disease and malnourishment was brought forth by settler incursion was absent from Sells' guidebook. The fact many tribes could no longer rely on traditional subsistence and were forced to lean on inferior foreign foods was lost on the Commissioner. He did not explain that the theft of Native land and resources left Native communities destitute.

Altogether, the "Save the Babies" campaign, Commissioner Sells' "Save the Babies" treatise and *Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well* and claimed that Indian women were unfit mothers. That Indian homes were backward and deplorable. The arguments held fast in these documents were foundational to the Indian Affairs operation. Unless a Native mother could properly assimilate and embrace "scientific motherhood" Indian children were better off raised in an institution than by their own mothers. Whether fostered, adopted or sent to an Indian boarding school, Indian children would have a better life. Certainly, some Native women may have believed their child could have a better life without them. Therefore, Indian women while capable of procreating, were rendered mere surrogates. In the absence of their competence, the government would properly parent and raise their children.

Policing Sexuality, Pregnancy and Unspeakable Violence

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[523] *Indian Babies*, 15.
[524] *Indian Babies*, 16.
[525] *Indian Babies*, 23.
[526] The irony is that Native communities would never have had to fear smallpox without the arrival of European colonists.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Outing Matrons who operated the Bay Area Outing Program embraced Victorian ideals that lauded sexual restraint and maintained strict codes of conduct. Mid to late 19th-century Victorian ideals, though somewhat passé at the early 20th-century start of the program, were considered especially useful for controlling and shaping Native women. Moreover, federal programs designed to fix the Indian problem targeted Native children as the future of their race and *especially* young women as procreators of that race. Consequently, Federal officials maintained a series of fears grounded in Native women's reproductive rights. Outing Matrons therefore policed Native women's sexuality in various ways, monitoring who they socialized with and seeking health clearances intent on detecting venereal diseases.[527] Such health clearances attempted to locate promiscuity and gauge whether girls were sexually active. Because all Native women were required to submit health clearances, all women were routinely implicated. As Chapter 3 briefly examined, Native women who frustrated these standards—especially in regard to sexual activity—were reprimanded and incarcerated. Matrons especially feared Native women's sexuality. While sexually active Native women were deemed "promiscuous" they were especially dangerous for the fact that such acts led to pregnancy.

Pregnant Outing women were particularly risky for two reasons. First, their child would be considered a barrier to their live-in employment. Second, officials believed Indian mothers posed a threat to their own children. In the eyes of the government, Native women were negligent, unfit mothers. Because not all generations of the family had learned the graces of civilization, Indian homes were supposedly unclean, overcrowded and hotbeds for disease. In turn, federal officials believed that Indian children needed to be saved by institutional intervention. Intervention in the form of diverted mothering—a social reality for many women of color. The Outing Program ignored Native women's maternal and reproductive roles in favor of their roles as workers. Consequently, women who became pregnant in the Outing program were often forced to make difficult choices.

This history of controlling Native women's bodies, particularly their reproductive rights contributed to the more contemporary phenomenon of forced sterilization. Decades after the Bay Area Outing Program in 1960s and 1970s, the federally operated Indian Health Service (IHS) sterilized thousands of Native women, often without their knowledge or consent. In fact, IHS facilities singled out full-blood Indian women for sterilization procedures and women generally agreed to procedures when threated with the removal of their children or loss of cash aid.[528] During the 1970s, IHS sterilized at least 25 percent of Native American women between the ages of fifteen and forty-four.[529] While the Outing Program appears to have not wielded the weapon of sterilization, it was fiercely interested with Native women's reproductive rights.[530]

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[527] Given that sexual relations in employers' homes was imaginable, it is possible that these health clearances were especially in the interest of male homeowners—men who might take their liberties with the help and become sexually involved with outing workers.

[528] Jane Lawrence, "The Indian Health Service and the Sterilization of Native American Women," *The American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (2000): 411.

[529] Lawrence, 400.

[530] For more on the sterilization of Native women in the United States and Canada, see Myla Carpio, "The Lost Generation: American Indian Women and Sterilization Abuse," *Social Justice* 31, no. 4 (2004): 40–53. Meg Devlin O'Sullivan, "Informing Red Power and Transforming the Second Wave: Native American Women and the Struggle against Coerced Sterilization in the

While Outing Matrons were especially concerned with Native women's ability to "properly" mother, they rarely concerned themselves with the notion of consent. Sex itself was a transgression, therefore—as records substantiate—officials did not distinguish between consensual sex and assault. While not explicit in the archive, it is entirely possible that some Native women in the Outing Program became pregnant as the result of sexual assault. The connections between (settler) colonialism and sexual assault on Indigenous women are highly documented.[531] In the U.S. context, Sarah Deer finds that many tribally initiated conflicts and "uprisings" were in fact responses to kidnapping and sexual mistreatment of Native women.[532] The control of Native women's bodies and abuse thereof was central to the process of territorial expansion—both nationally and internationally.

In Australia, Indigenous women's sexuality was a "frontier resource" and the sexual use of Aboriginal women and girls was a "necessary evil" amid irrepressible settler desires and the absence of white women.[533] Indeed, Liz Conor argues that white men's access to Aboriginal women's bodies is a tenet of settler colonialism—the "right of extraction."[534] Sexual relationships between white settlers and Aboriginal women were incredibly common and known by the phrase "Black Velvet." While specific to Australia, the phrase derives from long-established notions of black women's inherent lasciviousness. Aboriginal women were presumed "amoral," and "easy for the taking" yet were often imagined to be "seduced" by white men.[535]

1970s," *Women's History Review* 25, no. 6 (December 2016): 965–82. Karen Stote, *An Act of Genocide: Colonialism and the Sterilization of Aboriginal Women* (Black Point, Nova Scotia ; Winnipeg, Manitoba: Fernwood Books Ltd, 2015). Sally J. Torpy, "Native American Women and Coerced Sterilization: On the Trail of Tears in the 1970s," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 24, no. 2 (January 1, 2000): 1–22. For more on sterilization and policing the body broadly, see Anannya Bhattacharjee and Jael Silliman, *Policing the National Body: Race, Gender and Criminalization in the United States* (Boston, Mass. : London: South End ; Turnaround, 2002). Rebecca M. Kluchin, *Fit to Be Tied: Sterilization and Reproductive Rights in America, 1950-1980*, Critical Issues in Health and Medicine (New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 2009).

[531] For more on (settler) colonialism and sexual assault, especially as a weapon see Behrendt, Larissa. 2000. "Consent in a (Neo)Colonial Society: Aboriginal Women as Sexual and Legal 'Other.'" *Australian Feminist Studies* 15 (33): 353–67. Hurtado, Albert L. *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*. Yale University Press, 1988. Sarah Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*, 3rd edition (Minneapolis: Univ. Of Minnesota Press, 2015). Miranda, Deborah A. 2010. "'Saying the Padre Had Grabbed Her': Rape Is the Weapon, Story Is the Cure." *Intertexts*, no. 2: 93. Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence And American Indian Genocide.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005. McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

[532] Sarah Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*, 3rd ed. edition (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2015), 33.

[533] Liz Conor, *Skin Deep: Settler Impressions of Aboriginal Women* (Crawley, WA: UWA Publishing, 2016), 157.

[534] Conor, 141.

[535] Conor, 143.

Interracial sexual relationships in Australia existed within a spectrum including consensual marriage, but also abduction and aggravated rape.[536]

Amid certain violence on the "frontier," the settler home itself was a colonial space. Conor builds upon Mary Louise Pratt's notion of "imperial contact zones" arguing that "colonial thresholds—doorways, stoops, verandas, gates were contact zones where exclusions and inclusions were enacted and enforced."[537] The settler domicile itself was contact zone. Victoria Haskins argues that domestic service experience is quintessentially a site of colonial encounter.[538] Haskins maintains, "The private households of well-to-do suburban women can be regarded as a colonising 'contact zone' if we consider an ongoing process of colonisation in the encapsulation of female Aboriginal bodies by state direction."[539] Therefore, if the domestic Outing home emulated colonial space—where sexual violence enacted on Native women certainly occurred—sexual violence within the Bay Area Outing Program was undoubtedly possible. This reality compounded with the prevalence of sexual abuse in Indian boarding schools renders abuse very likely. Sexual violence was a general fact of everyday life and affected both adults and children.

Only recently has the discussion of sexual abuse of Native children in boarding and residential schools come to light. Overwhelmingly, there are absences in the archive—such as the case of Outing records—official archives of these federal institutions made little explicit mention of sexual abuse. Moreover, victims of such abuse are often unable to address the violation until much later, so documentation is still limited. However, various studies have explicitly addressed sexual abuse experienced by survivors of Indian boarding schools. For example, a recent study interviewed nine Ojibwe[540] and Sioux women who attended the same upper Midwest mission Indian boarding school during the 1950s and 1960s. Of the nine, two revealed that they had been raped by a priest, and three recounted incidents in which they were sexually violated by a nun. Though she did not reveal any specifics in regard to sexual abuse

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[536] For more on Aboriginal domestic workers in Australia see Russell, Lynette. 2007. "'Dirty Domestics and Worse Cooks': Aboriginal Women's Agency and Domestic Frontiers, Southern Australia, 1800-1850." *Frontiers - A Journal of Women's Studies*, no. 1–2: 18. McGrath, Ann, and Elizabeth Windschuttle. 1980. "'Spinifex Fairies': Aboriginal Workers in the Northern Territory, 1911-39." *Women, Class, and History: Feminist Perspectives on Australia 1788-1978*, 237–67. Bell, Diane. 2002. *Daughters of the Dreaming.* North Melbourne, VIC : Spinifex Press, 2002. Victoria Haskins, "On the Doorstep: Aboriginal Domestic Service as a 'Contact Zone,'" *Australian Feminist Studies* 16, no. 34 (March 1, 2001). Haskins, Victoria. "From the Centre to the City: Modernity, Mobility and Mixed-Descent Aboriginal Domestic Workers from Central Australia." *Women's History Review* 18, no. 1 (March 2009): 155–75. Jacobs, Margaret D. 2009. *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940*. Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, 2009. Haskins, Victoria K. 2005. *One Bright Spot*. Houndmills [England] ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

[537] Liz Conor, *Skin Deep: Settler Impressions of Aboriginal Women* (Crawley, WA: UWA Publishing, 2016), 114.

[538] Victoria Haskins, "On the Doorstep: Aboriginal Domestic Service as a 'Contact Zone,'" *Australian Feminist Studies* 16, no. 34 (March 1, 2001)

[539] Haskins, 18.

[540] Officially, the study used the term "Chippewa" for which I have replaced with Ojibwe.

when the topic arose, one woman fell into inconsolable sobbing. Clearly, there are instances of abuse that that elders still cannot bring themselves to discuss. Of the women who spoke of sexual violence, the abuse was not a one-time incident but rather something that occurred several times over the years. The priests and nuns designated to protect these children threatened them with violence if they spoke of the abuse.

Where survivors of U.S. based institutions have individually come forward to expose the violence they experienced, in Canada, there is a broad, national effort to uncover rampant abuse in the Indian residential school system.[541] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission report highlights the forms of neglect and abuse students experienced—including accounts from very early on. For example, in 1899, the Principal of Rupert's Land school in Manitoba was dismissed when members of the Peguis First Nation community accused the Principal of kissing girls and beating students. In 1914, at the Crowstand school in Saskatchewan, the farm instructor was fired for having sexual intercourse with female students in his room and the student dormitory. Aside from such accounts, much of what we know of this abuse comes directly from survivors' testimony.

For instance, Phil Fontaine a former Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs spoke of the sexual abuse he experienced at Fort Alexander school in Manitoba. When asked about the extent of the abuse, he estimated "If we took an example, my Grade 3 class, if there were twenty boys in this particular class, every single one of the twenty would have experienced what I experienced." At Kamloops school in British Columbia, a female student was sexually assaulted by a staff member. She reported the abuse and in turn, a priest told her to keep quiet. When the abuse continued, she and several girls banded together to protect themselves, "We made a plan that all ten of us would stick together and not leave each other anymore. If we hung out together no one would bother us, so that's what we did, because none of us were allowed to speak."[542] Where girls in a school setting might be able to thwart off predators, individual Outing girls in the homes of their employers would be isolated. Overwhelmingly, residential school survivors were ordered to secret their abuse. On rare occasions church officials prosecuted perpetrators, but mainly offenders were dismissed or transferred. As the Truth and Reconciliation report argues, the sexual and physical abuse students experienced represents "the most extreme failings of the residential school system. In an underfunded, undersupervised system, there was little to protect children from predators."[543] Outside of Indian boarding schools and into the Outing home, Native women were in danger of abuse from predators.

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[541] While not every student was abused, nearly half of the estimated 80,000 living residential school survivors made a claim to the Independent Assessment Process (IAP). Through the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement the IAP assesses monetary compensation to students who suffered sexual and severe physical abuse in the schools. Maegan Hough, "The Harms Caused: A Narrative of Intergenerational Responsibility," *Alberta Law Review*, March 25, 2019, 848 – 849.

[542] In addition to staff on student abuse, student on student sexual abuse was common.

[543] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "They Came for the Children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and the Residential Schools" (Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), 41 – 45.

Indeed, scholars have found that in the private homes of their employers, sexual violence was and is widely experienced in live-in domestic service as well as day-work.[544] Nonetheless, there is still little scholarship on the topic, particularly in the U.S.[545] Perhaps largely due to the fact that sexual abuse is stigmatized and underreported. Moreover, many domestic workers face unique challenges including isolation or immigration status that may hinder reporting. Outing records are predictably less forthcoming on the subject. There are discussions in the archive about women in love and in what appears to be consensual relationships with the fathers of their children, but largely Matrons and federal officials were concerned with women marrying the men who were "responsible" for their "condition." Such neutral terms leave little room for interpretation of consent.[546] Moreover, it was assumed that Native women were ultimately responsible for engaging in sexual intercourse. One example in this chapter reveals that federal officials often suspected Indian girls of falling for a "false" love affair. So whether consensual or not, the blame was placed upon them. Consequently, as some scholars have argued, women domestics did not speak of sexual abuse for they would certainly be implicated.

Whether or not women reported the abuse, contemporary scholarship reveals the prevalence of sexual abuse among domestic workers. The 2019 Human Rights Watch World Report found that globally domestic workers—largely migrants and many children—experience sexual abuse largely due to a lack of protection and vulnerability.[547] And among types of domestic workers, live-in workers suffer the worst working conditions.[548] Living in the private homes of their employers, they are more likely victims of sexual abuse. In a recent study of sexual exploitation of domestic workers in the U.S., Catherine Weiss argues that domestic workers' experiences—including sexual exploitation—should be seen as "embedded in the

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[544] For more on domestic workers and sexual violence especially in regard to migrant domestic workers see Chandler, Robert J., and Ronald J. Quinn. "Emma is a Good Girl." *California* 8.5 (1991). Ullah Akm Ahsan. 2015. "Abuse and Violence Against Foreign Domestic Workers. A Case from Hong Kong." *International Journal of Area Studies*, Vol 10, Iss 2, Pp 221-238 (2015*)*, no. 2: 221. Liz Conor, *Skin Deep: Settler Impressions of Aboriginal Women* (Crawley, WA: UWA Publishing, 2016). KAFA. Dreams for Sale: The Exploitation of Domestic Workers from Recruitment in Nepal and Bangladesh to Working in Lebanon; 2014. Zahreddine, Nada, Rima Hady, Rabih Chammai, François Kazour, Dory Hachem, and Sami Richa. 2014. "Psychiatric Morbidity, Phenomenology and Management in Hospitalized Female Foreign Domestic Workers in Lebanon." *Community Mental Health Journal* 50 (5): 619–28. Ghaddar, Ali, Sanaa Khandaqji, and Jinane Ghattas. 2018. "Original Article: Justifying Abuse of Women Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon: The Opinion of Recruitment Agencies." *Gaceta Sanitaria*, November 2018. Pothiti Hantzaroula, "Public Discourses on Sexuality and Narratives of Sexual Violence of Domestic Servants in Greece (1880–1950)," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 18, no. 2 (2009)

[545] Catherine Weiss, "Absent Men: Paid Domestic Work, Sexual Exploitation and Male Domination in the Family in the USA," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 348.

[546] Relatedly, Liz Conor found that Aboriginal women's consent is almost impossible to gauge. Similar to BIA officials, Europeans usually, failed to distinguish between consensual sex and rape since the real transgression was interracial sex.

[547] Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2019: Human Rights Trends Around the Globe" (New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, 2019).

[548] Weiss, "Absent Men," 345.

patriarchal environment created by male household heads." Weiss focuses on heterosexual nuclear families or families of white, Western origin—not dissimilar from the outing homes that Native women were sent to. Weiss maintains that domestic workers labor in an environment "shaped by male domination."[549]

Kristi Graunke asserts that live-in domestic workers were especially at risk of sexual abuse for the mere fact of their "constant and intimate interactions with their employers."[550] Moreover, live-in dynamics meant that employers enjoyed "tremendous power" over their servants. Therefore, if a women resisted her employer's sexual advances, she may lose both her job and home. Even among non-slave servants, sexual harassment and abuse was widespread. And notions that domestics were "promiscuous," "libertines" only fueled employer's interest in sexual access of their servants. [551] Ultimately, the nature of abuse is shaped by a woman's race, ethnicity and more recently her immigrant status.[552] So where white immigrant women were certainly taken advantage of as live-in domestics in the 19th -century, assault on women of color domestics by a white male head of household was racialized and colonial in nature. Therefore, white notions of the "inherent immorality" and "seductiveness" of black women and perceived white men's rights to their bodies influenced labor relations and abuse throughout the 19th and 20th-centures.[553]

Indeed conditions of domestic work is heavily influenced by U.S. slavery and the history of sexual abuse of black slaves and domestic workers by white, male slave owners is thoroughly documented.[554] After chattel slavery was abolished, African American women in the South continued domestic work and experienced the same sexual and physical abuse they endured during slavery. As David Katzman argues, "Domestic service seemed to compound white male sexual exploitation because it placed young girls even more directly under white power within a

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[549] Weiss, 352.

[550] Kristi Graunke, "'Just Like One of the Family': Domestic Violence Paradigms and Combating On-The-Job Violence Against Household Workers in the United States," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* 9, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 138.

[551] Graunke, 137.

[552] Graunke, 135 – 136.

[553] Graunke, 141.

[554] See for example Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present*, 2nd Edition (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2009). bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, 2 edition (New York: Routledge, 2014). Angela Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *The Massachusetts Review* 13, no. 1/2 (1972): 81. Susan Tucker, *Telling Memories Among Southern Women: Domestic Workers and Their Employers in the Segregated South*, Unabridged Version (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2002). Katherine Van Wormer, David W. Jackson III, and Charletta Sudduth, *The Maid Narratives: Black Domestics and White Families in the Jim Crow South*, 1st edition (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2012). McGuire, Danielle L. *At The Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance: a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010. Hine, Darlene Clark. "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West." *Signs* 14, no. 4 (1989): 912-20.

system that condoned white male/black female relations."[555] Indeed, in African American communities, young women were constantly warned about white male employers in the home. Parents were especially concerned for their daughters. One father gave his daughter a razor, "for any man who tries to force himself on you."[556]

White men's persistent violation of Black women throughout slavery and into reconstruction meant that she was often in danger of being attacked whether in public or private or spaces. However as Jacqueline Jones argues, for the Black domestic worker, "her employer's home remained the source of her greatest fears."[557] In one example from 1912, a Georgia servant held off the sexual advances of her employer which prompted action from her husband. In return, not only did her white employer slap and arrest her husband, but he was fined $25. The judge overseeing the case argued that "a colored woman's virtue in this part of the country has no protection." While admitting that some foul play occurred, he was not concerned with her "virtue" in the slightest. Therefore, women domestic workers suffered sexual abuse on the basis of her class and also her race.[558]

Native Women's Testimony

As a system, the Bay Area Outing Program was a racialized, gendered labor construct intent on the control of Native women's bodies. And where the outing home may have been shaped by "male domination," the everyday operations were managed by Outing Matrons. This decidedly feminized labor force was envisioned to instruct Native girls and women in "civilized," "Americanized" values. In practice, Matrons wielded a great deal of power, surveillance and management over Native women's lives and bodies—particularly in regard to their reproductive rights. The following stories speak to this detailed management and describe how the Bay Area Outing Program affected the lives of Native women and their children. These stories extend the histories of abuse of Native women during the process of territorial expansion, the removal of children from Native homes and the sterilization of Native women. While seated in the 20th-century, these stories are part of a much longer history that illustrates the effects of settler expansion.

I analyze these representative files for several reasons. Broadly, they reflect how Native women were threatened with separation or factually separated from their children simply so they could work. Gendered domestic labor was designed to break the Native family and allow mothers entrance into society through labor exploitation. Most outing mothers were forced to choose between outing wages and their children. These files also demonstrate how Outing Matrons feared pregnancy, interracial relationships and how they regarded Native women as

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[555] Graunke, "Just Like One of the Family," 216. Kristi Graunke, "'Just Like One of the Family': Domestic Violence Paradigms and Combating On-The-Job Violence Against Household Workers in the United States," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* 9, no. 1 (January 1, 2002):
[556] Graunke, 142 – 143.
[557] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present*, 2nd Edition (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2009), 150.
[558] After the Great Migration, African American women who continued in domestic work reshaped labor relations. They sought greater control of their personal lives and did so through by ending live-in work. As Graunke argues, "living out" was a means for Black domestics to combat exploitation of their bodies and their labor.

"promiscuous," on occasion doubting the paternity of their children. These cases also reveal how Outing Matrons would "force a marriage" if necessary. Additionally, these files show how single mothers struggled to survive in the Bay Area under the constraints of domestic work. And how fathers advocated for their daughters. My analysis of these stories thematically engage Outing Matrons' three central methods of removal; first, boarding infant children, second, enrolling Native children into a federal Indian boarding school and third, attempting and at times succeeding in the fostering or adoption of Native children. While these methods are distinct, at times Native women and their children experienced overlapping and intersecting methods of removal. For example, a child may have been forced into an infant boarding home and later sent to boarding school or adopted. Regardless of the method these were ever present risks in the Bay Area Outing Program.

Boarding Homes

Agnes Dyer's story speaks to the common pressures of infant boarding homes placement, especially among young single mothers with multiple children. Dyer was involved with the Bay Area Outing Program in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In the summer of 1931, Dyer had reportedly left the McDonald home in San Francisco where she was employed. The Children's Agency, a subsidiary of the Associated Charities of San Francisco was involved with the Dyer family and intended on intervening in regard to the children. On August 28, 1931, Elizabeth Peterson of The Children's Agency wrote to Matron Royce. In regard to Dyer Peterson proclaimed, "… there is a grave suspicion that [Agnes] is again pregnant. I think you had better be sure about this before placing her…. will you please impress upon her the fact that there is no place in California where her children can be cared for. She insists they can be sent to Fresno. …."[559]

Peterson continued and began to question the parentage of one of her children, "She dislikes me very much on account of the attitude I took in [regard to] the affair between her and [a younger man]. I felt that she, as an older woman, was the one to blame. Also, I find there is a grave suspicion that the father of that baby was not [his], but the brother who is married to the maid in Mrs. Graupner's home. What do you think?" [560] Very quickly Peterson discredited Dyer and reduced her to a soap opera worthy drama. Matrons and such officials of the time were highly concerned with chastity and morals and held Native women to a sometimes-impossible standard. They regularly questioned the parentage of Indian children and whether or not these children were "illegitimate" or the product of an affair. Meanwhile women like Agnes were simply trying to earn a living in the big city.

A year later Dyer's children were again the subject of BIA administrators. On October 9, 1932 Esther Adamson, Stewart's School Social Worker, wrote to Dyer's once-again employer Mrs. J.R. MacDonald. It seems MacDonald was inquiring whether Dyer's children could be boarded. Adamson explained, "I have made several inquiries regarding a possible boarding home for Agnes Dyer's children, the youngest especially, but nothing has come up." She continued commenting on the state of local Indian homes, "The families are unusually crowded by their

[559] "Elizabeth Peterson, The Children's Agency to Bonnie V. Royce," August 28, 1931, File: Agnes Dyer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[560] "Elizabeth Peterson, The Children's Agency to Bonnie V. Royce."

own children and grandchildren's return to the parental roofs that the suggestion of an additional one is not even considered, much less found acceptable." Perhaps the "additional" she referred to is the child Dyer was suspected to be carrying the year prior. Adamson then admitted that even Dyer's oldest child, a four-year-old, could not be enrolled at Stewart until she was at least six. She concluded, "The only suggestion that seems at all possible would be to try to get a more agreeable relationship between Agnes and the court officials who supervise the placement of the children."[561] Dyer like many other Native women—especially with more than one child—were often targeted by county, city and BIA officials. Ostensibly, these bureaucrats feared that Native children would be neglected or abandoned by their own mothers. But in practice Native women were separated from their children, so they could properly labor as live-in domestics.

Sadie Sam, a Yerington Paiute woman discussed in Chapter 3, is another example of what was expected of mothers with young children. Sam entered the outing program around 1923 as a Stewart Indian School student. She was a former runaway and incarcerated at a detention home in her early outing years. Later, Sam, turned wife and mother continued outing work in the good graces of Matron Royce. In the summer of 1927 Sam was back in Yerington with her family. She wrote Matron Royce requesting funds from her account noting her son Bobby "is [a] fine big boy now." [562] In return, Royce sent the funds. In an October 1927 letter Sam thanked the Matron and gave her regards to the fellow outing women, "Give all the girls I know my love." Sam expressed her longing for the Bay Area but recognized the fact that she'd be forced to leave her son if she returned,

> I just get the longing to go back there sometime. But it's my boy. I don't like to be dragging him about all the time. If I go I have to leave him here and I don't like to. He likes my mother and father and talks good Indian now. I sometimes think he'll forget his English but I talk to him he understands. But always wants to answer in Indian.

The promise of wage work came at a cost. Sam, like other women in the program were often forced to choose between their children or the outing program. Sam was unhappy "dragging" her son about, but then longed for the friends she made in the Bay Area and wages that could support her family. In the fall of 1928 Sam planned to return to the Bay Area Outing program. Her husband was not well nor working, so Sam was intent on providing for her family. She planned to keep her son at home with her parents in Yerington, NV. On November 10, 1928 she wrote Matron Royce, declaring "I am not taking Bobby with me because my mother and father give him good care. I don't think he would like it if I take him away from them because he likes to be with them all the time."[563] While Sam had to work far away from her baby and family, she was fortunate to leave her son with his grandparents. Comparatively, many young mothers outing in the Bay Area would have to board their children in a home or institution until they were old enough for boarding school or worse—be encouraged to adopt out or foster their child. And with the Outing Program's strong ties to Catholic Charities, the Children's Home Society of California and similar adoption-driven institutions, the latter was certainly possible.

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[561] "Esther Adamson to Mrs. J.R. McDonald," December 9, 1932, File: Agnes Dyer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[562] "Sadie Sam to Bonnie V. Royce," August 1927, File: Sadie Sam, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[563] "Sadie Sam to Bonnie V. Royce," November 10, 1928, File: Sadie Sam, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

In 1931, Amy Bethel, a young Mono woman from Northfork, began working in the Outing Program at sixteen years old. For the next few years Bethel worked at various homes in Oakland and Piedmont earning $10 to $15 a month while attending Oakland High School. After a brief hiatus she returned to outing work in 1935, 1936 and 1937. After enrolling in courses at the Merritt Business College, Bethel briefly worked as a typist in San Francisco at the Indian Warehouse. There, she garnered a whopping $120 a month.

In September of 1941, Bethel gave birth to a baby girl named Charlene. She and her daughter recovered at the Salvation Army Home in Oakland. Due to postpartum complications, Bethel convalesced for a few months before regaining enough strength to return to work. In the winter of 1942, Bethel worked as a domestic at a Piedmont Pines home in Oakland. She was forced to board her baby and did not care for the isolated home. On January 7, 1942 she wrote Matron Van Every to vent her frustrations, "Things get pretty lonesome way up here out of civilization, when you look out the window and all you see is a great big ugly water tank. Oh well, can't be surrounded with all the bright lights all the time." Bethel explained that she had not heard from her daughter's father since November of the previous year when he sailed off to war. She was managing the monthly boarding fee but living on a tight budget. She explained to Van Every, "…I have my baby paid up to February 1st. She's cost me $55 so far. I pay $20 plus her clothing a month. I make $45 so you can see what I have left." Indeed, after paying nursery fees the single mother earned less than $25 a month. Roughly half of her monthly wages went to boarding her daughter—simply because her job demanded it.

In the summer of 1942, Bethel, transitioned to a new home in the Rockridge neighborhood of Oakland. There she cared for a family with three children while managing a four bedroom, three bath house. The former typist found the work tiresome and especially difficult for she longed for her baby. Worse, in the midst of the war, she was unable to locate her daughter's father, Frank Murphy. On June 22, 1942, Bethel wrote Matron Van Every formally requesting her assistance in locating Murphy. The new mother told the Matron last time she saw him was at the Salvation Army Hospital after she had given birth. Bethel explained, "…at that time we talked of my baby's support. I told him it would cost $30 a month plus her clothing, to have her taken care of. He told me then he would send me the money." Bethel lamented, "We had planned to marry, but my being in the hospital so long prevented our marriage. Also we did not know if his Squadron was being transferred to Foreign Service."

In the post script, Bethel expressed her desire to reconnect with and her daughter transition out of domestic work, "I've been sort of thinking of changing jobs where there is less work. You know I tire very easily. There are three children here and also a large house. So you can see there's plenty work. Now that school is out the children sort of get on my nerves—you see I get so lonesome for my baby—thinking of how she's getting along (I worry a lot over her father—not knowing where he is) putting it all together just any little thing upsets me. It sort of makes the lady here feel bad because she doesn't know what's wrong with me. My mother has told me so many times if I could get support for my little girl to come home and take care of her myself—that any child needs their own mother."

Bethel felt guilty for not being in her daughter's life. And while she cared for three children at the Rockridge home, she was prevented from caring for her own. Bethel's predicament, diverted mothering, was a social reality for many women in the Outing Program. The Outing Program ignored Native women's maternal and reproductive roles in favor of their

roles as workers.[564] A single mother like Bethel was forced to make a difficult choice and regretted that her wage work was tied to her inability to mother. Just like Sadie Sam, "dragging" around her son Bobby, Bethel had little choice in the matter. Shortly after these letters to Van Every, records reveal that Charlene's father was sent overseas. Reportedly he was captured but there was no word if he survived. By November 1942, Amy transitioned to clerical work at an office job, working long nights and weekends. She considered leaving to work in the shipyards where "the rest of the gals" made all "that do-ra-me."[565] Yet even outside of domestic work, Bethel was still without her daughter. While Charlene was now living with her relatives in Northfork, she was even further away from her mother. And Bethel was ever "lonesome" without her. At the time, the young mother was in the midst of applying for federal support for her daughter so she might be able to regain custody locally. Records do not reveal if Bethel was able to secure these funds or if Charlene's father was ever found.

These three cases demonstrate the prevalence of Indian child boarding practices. Whether through Outing Matron intervention, county officials or the young mothers themselves, Native women were pressured and encouraged to board their children in local homes or institutions. Separation from their children was largely a requirement of live-in Outing work—forcing mothers choose between their work and their children. For Dyer, boarding school officials attempted to remove her youngest child into a boarding home. Already her older children were being raised by Stewart Indian School. Native women like Dyer who had more than one child were often targeted by county, city and BIA officials. Sam was unhappy "dragging" her son about but needed Outing wages to support her family. Where some women had no family to turn to, Sam's parents gladly raised her young son. Surely, if they had not he would have been sent to a boarding home. Initially, Bethel boarded her infant child in a home so she may continue Outing work. But she was so lonesome for her baby and at least half of her monthly wages went to boarding fees. Ultimately, Bethel felt guilty for not being able to care for her daughter. Instead, she was busy raising her employer's children. In practice the Outing program facilitated diverted mothering and prioritized Native women's roles as workers—not mothers. While these young mothers struggled to maintain relationships with their children, boarding Native children was the least invasive scenario imposed upon outing mothers.

Boarding Schools

Maude Mitchell's story reveals the prevalent threat of child removal in the form of boarding schools. Ultimately, her daughter is threatened with both removal to a boarding home and removal to Stewart Indian School. In 1931 thirty-two-year-old Mitchell, a Pomo woman, arrived in the outing program.[566] She was a single mother raising two children one of whom was enrolled at Sherman Indian School during her outing career. While employed for many years in the outing program, Mitchell had some brief instances where she reportedly "Did'nt [*sic*] fit in" at some homes and left after a couple days. However, she had regular employment with a Mrs. Baxter in Oakland.

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[564] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Racial Ethnic Women's Labor: The Intersection of Race, Gender and Class Oppression," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 17, no. 3 (September 1, 1985) .
[565] Slang for "money."
[566] "Index Outing System - Maude Mitchell," 1934, File: Maude Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

In 1936 while working for Mrs. Baxter, Mitchell had difficulty raising her daughter Vera while working as a live-in domestic servant. In the fall of that year, Mitchell terminated her employment at the Baxter household. One month later, an angered Mrs. Baxter wrote to the Superintendent of Stewart Indian School pleading for them to enroll Mitchell's youngest daughter, so her maid could return to work. Baxter believed this was for Mitchell's "betterment" and that of her daughter. She implored,

> Maude Mitchell, Vera's mother worked for me for six years…I needed her at night, but it was impossible to leave Vera alone…she is having much difficulty in supporting both Vera and herself…I believe it would be a solution to this problem if Vera were accepted into the Indian school and educated as other Indian girls are educated.[567]

Despite terminating employment on her own accord, the issue of Mitchell's daughter continued to be seen as a barrier to employment and ultimately her successful assimilation. In fact, Matron Van Every researched the feasibility of placing Mitchell's youngest daughter in a county home against Mitchell's will.[568] Van Every's ill-considered assessment did not consider the financial needs of the Mitchell family, nor Mitchell's wishes to raise her own child. Mitchell did not take kindly to Van Every's interference.

During an office visit to the outing program, Mitchell declared to the Matron, "I do not want to send my child to the boarding school…You are to leave me absolutely alone and keep me off your list."[569] According to the records, Mitchell's daughter was not sent to a home or an Indian boarding school. In the end, the family severed their ties with the outing program and never returned. Nonetheless, Mitchell's case suggest the larger intentions of the outing program. Gendered domestic assimilation was designed to break the Native family and allow parents entrance into society through labor exploitation. Moreover, these women's experiences demonstrate that Outing Matrons and BIA officials regularly disregarded Native women's wishes for their children.

Other women's stories demonstrate the power matrons held over Native women and their children, particularly in regard to boarding school placement. Gertrude "Gertie" Wasson, a Paiute woman from McDermott, NV was raised at Stewart Indian School before coming to the Bay Area Outing Program around 1925. She was twenty-two. Wasson's file starts in the early years of the program's record keeping, so while less complete than others, it still captures the Outing Program's incredible effects on the Indian family. During her outing tenure, Wasson worked at a home in Oakland, and later two homes in San Francisco. From her arrival, Wasson regularly butt heads with Matron Royce and wanted nothing to do with her while working in the Bay Area. In letters to her father, John Wasson, she openly complained about the Matron.[570] Wasson's complaints appear to be warranted.

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[567] "Mrs. Frank S. Baxter to Ross B. Wiley, Education Division for Alida C. Bowler, Supt. of Carson Indian School," October 30, 1936, File: Maude Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[568] Ibid.

[569] "Mildred Van Every to Alida C. Bowler, Supt. of Carson Indian Agency," November 30, 1936, File: Maude Mitchell, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[570] "Frederic Snyder to Daniel E. Robertson," May 15, 1925, File: Gertrude Wasson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

On July 6, 1925, John Wasson wrote a lengthy two-page letter to Matron Royce in defense of his daughter. She was pregnant and intended on marrying. Her father fully supported the marriage and desired no further interference from an apparently meddlesome Matron. His letter is an impressive example of a father's love for his daughter. After the formalities Wasson opened his letter with, "I wish you would leave Gertrude alone. She's all right when you leave her alone. She old enough to look after herself." He continued, "If that boy love her and she loves him, leave them alone. We can't pick out her husband and his wife for them, so just leave them alone. Let them get married if they love each other." [571]

Wasson then noted that he did have any opinions on white people getting married, so why should Royce about Indian people, "You know that our [Indian] people don't say anything to your children. We can't pick out your son in law. Same with me. So just let her alone…. These people here [Indians] just leave the young paleface alone, they don't bud in … They just let them get married." He argues, "I thought any people, I mean Indians could get married any time, just as long as they're old enough. If they have their folks consant [*sic*] But I'm mistaken I see." At the close of his letter, Wasson warns the Matron one last time, I hope I don't hear anything like that again from you. I'll write again from some friends if you interfere again." That fall on November 5, 1925 Wasson gave birth to her first child, William. William was given his mother's maiden name and it appears she did not marry. Perhaps Matron Royce's interference worked. After giving birth Wasson continued outing.

Over the next year Wasson's father and sister Norma wrote Matron Royce occasionally to check in on Gertie. On October 27, 1926 Royce assured Norma that Wasson was still working in Oakland and the Matron had secured a place for her nephew in a nursery. Reportedly, "The baby is a fine one, healthy and fat."[572] Like other babies in the outing program, William was separated from his mother to ensure she could continue her live-in domestic work. While continuing to work in the Bay Area Wasson became pregnant again. She delivered her second son Benson on November 7, 1927. William and his baby brother were born exactly two days and two years apart.

The next few years of Wasson's life are absent from the archive, but by 1931 the family was involved with The Children's Agency, a subsidiary of the Associated Charities of San Francisco. In practice the agency worked to change conditions in orphan and foundling asylums and also had an extensive record in placing babies and children in foster homes. On January 24, 1931 Elizabeth Peterson of The Children's Agency reported to Matron Royce that Wasson's children were committed by the Juvenile Court to the care of the agency. They planned to place William and Benson in a foster home thus, "leaving Gertrude free to go to work and contribute to their support…" Consistent with similar cases, once they became mothers, many Native women like Wasson were separated from their children simply so they could labor.

Furthermore, in this letter, Peterson claims that Wasson had a "rather borderline," "mental rating" and stated that her colleagues intended to commit Wasson in due time.[573] As

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[571] "John Wasson to Bonnie V. Royce," July 6, 1925, File: Gertrude Wasson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[572] "Bonnie V. Royce to Norma Wasson," October 27, 1926, File: Gertrude Wasson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[573] "Elizabeth Peterson, The Children's Agency to Bonnie V. Royce," January 24, 1931, File: Gertrude Wasson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

Margaret Jacobs has argued, in some cases Native women who fought the removal of their children were deemed "feebleminded" and committed to institutions.[574] Such claims of low intelligence and incompetence worked to discredit Wasson and prohibited her from being able to advocate for her children. By the summer of 1931 the boys were transferred to the Infant Shelter in San Francisco. Though Wasson objected sending her boys to Stewart Indian school, the shelter planned to care for the boys until they were old enough to enroll at six years old.[575]

A year later, on June 10, 1932 a Miss F. Baringer on behalf of the City and County of San Francisco's Chief Probation Officer wrote to BIA officials in regard to the Wasson family. Reportedly Wasson had four "illegitimate" children and one—William—was now six years old and eligible to be enrolled at Stewart. However, Baringer noted, "Gertrude is most unwilling for this placement, stating that she had been very unhappy there and that she could not possibly consider placing her child there." Baringer wondered if there was some other recourse.

Nearly a month later, Frederic Snyder, Stewart's Superintendent learned of Wasson's dissatisfaction. On July 2, 1932 Snyder who was Superintendent during Wasson's years at the Stewart wrote Matron Royce stating, "I am surprised to learn that Gertrude states that she was very unhappy while she was a pupil at our school, and, therefore, could not possibly consider placing here children here. I was not aware that she was unhappy, but on the other hand I felt that she was old enough to appreciate the protective advantages that were given to where while here."

Whether or not Wasson would agree on the "protective advantages" it was not the first time she expressed her reservations. In fact, if she had no other options, she preferred the boys be sent together—even if they were two years apart.[576] Despite Wasson's wishes, Royce mailed Baringer an application for William's enrollment.[577] Within a month The Children's Agency confirmed that William would be transferred to Stewart at the beginning of the school year.[578] Outing records do not reveal how William fared at Stewart or whether his brother Benson joined him. However, Gertie Wasson's brief but difficult time in the Bay Area Outing Program demonstrates the profound forces that Native girls, women and their families experienced. Outing Matron intervention was but one element that could be joined with city and county officials and still, further BIA administrators.

These two cases demonstrate the pervasive practice of Indian child removal in the form of Indian boarding school enrollment. If the children of outing women were of age, they could easily be taken away. To the dismay of her employer, Mitchell freely chose to terminate her outing position. Working with her daughter in the home while attempting to manage the demands of her work was too much. In turn, Baxter meddled just enough and influenced Van Every's efforts to send Vera into a county home. So while Mitchell is officially no longer tied to

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[574] Carol Williams, ed., *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism* (University of Illinois Press, 2012), 188.

[575] "Mrs. Mary Paige, Infant Shelter to Bonnie V. Royce," July 14, 1931, File: Gertrude Wasson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[576] "Mrs. Mary Paige, Infant Shelter to Bonnie V. Royce."

[577] "Bonnie V. Royce to F. Baringer," July 22, 1932, File: Gertrude Wasson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[578] "Ida Sinai, The Children's Agency to Bonnie V. Royce," August 17, 1932, File: Gertrude Wasson, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

the Outing program, she is still threatened with Indian child removal. Where Mitchell was successful in thwarting the Matron's efforts, Wasson was not. Not only was Wasson at odds with Royce, but the Matron succeeded in breaking her engagement, despite her father's intervention. Thereafter, Wasson's children were targeted by early social welfare efforts simply so she could work. Together with the Matron these organizations worked to discredit Wasson and institutionalize her. Meanwhile, they sought to enroll her oldest into boarding school, despite Wasson's wishes—she had been terribly unhappy there. Yet again the Outing program prioritized Native women's roles as workers and did so by attempting—and in one case succeeding—to remove Indian children to boarding school. Outside forces judged Native women and their families, made efforts to separate Native children from their mothers, continued the cycle of boarding school trauma and undermined Native communities. Amid these difficult times for Native women and their children, some women—especially young, first time mothers—felt the pinch of trying to survive and work in the city with a newborn.

Fostering and Adoption

Where boarding school placement was certainly undesirable, especially for those who had been raised by the institution, it was largely preferred over the fostering or adoption of Outing women's children. The latter severed all ties between mother and child and sent a young Native child into a non-Native home.[579] However, where most women rejected the fostering or adoption of their child, some accepted it. Certainly, they were encouraged by Matrons and other officials. Perhaps they believed that their child would have a better life without them. While their true motives will never be known, adoption and fostering was common tactic of removal. One

[579] Historically, the practice of fostering and adoption of Native children was extensive even in the 19th-century. However, post WWII the BIA officially established the Indian Adoption Project and began adopting Indian children into non-Native, typically white American homes. As evidenced in this chapter, state child welfare and private adoption agencies also contributed to removal. These children grew to experience abuse, trauma, loss of cultural identity and led many to substance abuse. The endemic of shattered families and children severed from their culture, rallied Native Americans across the nation to fight for a solution. In 1978 the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) was enacted in response to the crisis. For more on this history, see Chandler, Robert J., and Ronald J. Quinn. "Emma is a Good Girl." *California* 8.5 (1991). Margaret D. Jacobs, *A Generation Removed: The Fostering and Adoption of Indigenous Children in the Postwar World*, First Edition, (Lincoln: London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014). Harman Bual, "Native American Rights & Adoption by NonIndian Families: The Manipulation and Distortion of Public Opinion to Overthrow ICWA," *American Indian Law Journal*, no. 2 (2018): 270. *Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-Fifth Congress, Second Session, on S. 1214 ... Hearings Held in Washington, D.C., February 9 and March 9, 1978* (Washington : U.S. G.P.O., 1981., 1981). *Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978: Questions and Answers* (Washington : Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Human Development Services, Administration for Native Americans, 1979., 1979). Allyson Stevenson, "Vibrations Across a Continent: The 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act and the Politicization of First Nations Leaders in Saskatchewan," *The American Indian Quarterly*, no. 1–2 (2013): 218.

women vehemently fought it. In spring of the 1928, eighteen-year-old Daisy Plummer, a Paiute student from Stewart Indian School came to the Outing program.[580] Plummer, discussed in Chapter 3, had a colorful experience in the outing program for so short a tenure. Plummer had a brief first stint and was apparently sent back to Stewart for some kind of transgression. After a two year hiatus, Plummer returned to the outing program and became pregnant with her first child. In January of 1930 she delivered a healthy baby girl name Verna Jean. Plummer and baby recovered at the Salvation Army Home in Oakland. Plummer had a tense relationship with Matron Royce who was particularly hostile towards sexually active girls. Her run ins with Royce likely colored the Matron's intervention.

Within two months of her daughter's birth, Plummer got word that Royce intended to take her child away. Records reveal that Royce found Plummer to be irresponsible and foolish. The Matron believed that Verna Jean would be better off in someone else's care. In a March 25, 1930 letter Plummer scolded the Matron,

> …I was told about two weeks ago that you said you was going to take my baby away to some institution. Now Mrs. Royce, I really don't like that. But I'm going to stand by my baby no matter what happens. You have to write soon to Mr. Parrett [Supt. of the Walker River Paiute Agency] or my father right away. Because I can't stand it any longer. I am just worried. I cry myself to sleep every night for that. I guess you don't know how I love my baby. I am old enough and know better and can work and get more money by now. You may think it's best but not with me. I can't do that by giving up my baby. If [you] try that misses Royce, I'm going to write soon to father and he will probably come down and help me out. Because my father doesn't want me to do that at all. Well Mrs. Royce I hope you and I will have a talk whenever you like. When I am trying <u>so</u> hard to start all over. But seems as if though no one won't let me have a chance.

Despite Plummer's warnings, Royce continued to intervene with her daughter. By May 1930 she had arranged for Verna Jean to board at the Ladies' Relief Society nursery. But like most Native women in the outing program, Plummer appears to have not taken up the offer—much to Matron Royce's disapproval. By the summer, Plummer was again Royce's target. On June 21, 1930 in a letter to Supt. Parrett of the Walker River Agency, Royce accused Plummer of being "irresponsible" and "slovenly in her work." Apparently, the new mother was socializing out late among "bad company." Royce added, "a negro is the latest." Outing Matrons frowned upon interracial relationships, especially with African American men. And because Native women were assumed promiscuous, these fears were rooted in miscegenation. Eventually, when the new mother was unable to keep her outing position, Royce forced her to labor at a neighbor's home. Plummer refused to work in that home and apparently "sulked and refused to come out of her room." Royce was compelled to act. The Matron declared, "I was therefore forced to place her in the Detention Home where she is at the present time."[581]

As if she had no choice, Royce washed her hands of the young mother and had her incarcerated in a detention home. Records do not reveal if baby Verna Jean was sent with her mother to be detained or separated from her during this time. However, the incident appeared to be the last straw for Royce. And rather positively, Plummer and her daughter were sent home

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[580] "Daisy Plummer to Bonnie V. Royce," November 25, 1927, File: Daisy Plummer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[581] "Bonnie V. Royce to Ray Parrett," June 21, 1930, File: Daisy Plummer, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

shortly thereafter, never to return to the Outing Program. Plummer's experience reveals that an infraction early on in the program could mean a rocky outing tenure. And a young unwed mother would be closely scrutinized, judged and likely threatened with the losing her child. Plummer's case also demonstrates that in their defense, Native women had to submit to patriarchal standards and petition the assistance of men in their life. Apparently, Matrons responded to male authority, but did not honor the authority of Native mother's themselves. Ultimately Plummer was not the first nor the last woman to be threatened with the removal of her child.

Josephine Green's story speaks to the common pressures of adoption, as well as the complexities of single motherhood. Green, a Wintu woman was nineteen years old when she began working for the Bay Area Outing Program in 1930. Green, a public-school student from Redding, CA worked in homes in Piedmont, Oakland and Berkeley for roughly $40 a month. In early April 1930, Green and her sister Thelma contacted Matron Royce in search of work. The Shasta County Laundry had recently burned down and the sisters who were financially responsible for their younger siblings and ailing father were left unemployed. On account of their familial obligations Green requested wages of $50 month and her desires for the "public" job, "I would like to have a job in a small store, or in an ice cream parlor or even washing dishes for a hotel. I would rather work in a public place than for a family."[582] Of course, only housekeeping positions were available in the Outing Program.

In response, Matron Royce advised, "Times as you know are hard and work [is] next to impossible to find…housework is always available, so if you and your sister are willing to go into homes and work we will be glad to help you. We will get the highest possible wages for you."[583] Interestingly, Royce rarely made such wage promises to prospective outing employees. Perhaps she took pity on the high school siblings who were thrust into such responsibility. Rather coolly, the two replied "We are both perfectly willing to do housework until we can find something we like better."[584]

At the end of the month on April 22, 1930, Green started outing at a Piedmont home. Shortly after she transitioned to the Leydecker home in Oakland where she was employed for some time. In early January of 1931, Green became pregnant. According to records the father of her unborn child was a married man with his own children. Whether or not this child was the product of an affair or assault, the records do not reveal. As previously discussed, Outing Matrons and federal officials did little in the way of discussing consent, and were more concerned with holding Native women responsible for sexual intercourse. Green continued working nearly up to her due date and on October 8, 1931 she gave birth to a baby boy named

[582] "Josephine and Thelma Green to Bonnie V. Royce," April 5, 1930, File: Josephine Green, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[583] "Bonnie V. Royce to Josephine and Thelma Green," April 7, 1930, File: Josephine Green, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[584] "Josephine and Thelma Green to Bonnie V. Royce," April 8, 1930, File: Josephine Green, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

Daniel, or "Danny" for short.[585] Like other outing girls and women, Green gave birth and recuperated at the Oakland Salvation Army Home.[586] While still outing and earning roughly $40 a month, Green somehow managed to pay off a $25 "maternity fee" as well as a $20 monthly fee for the care of her son while at the Home. In an undated letter to Matron Royce Green discussed the debt and ended her letter with a curious final statement, "I am trusting you to do your best and say nothing to no one for my sake. But more for the sake of my baby."[587] Perhaps she desired to secret the debt or the nature of it. After giving birth, Green continued outing.

Records do not indicate precisely when, however sometime after Danny was born, Green married and became Josephine Ford. In the summer or fall of 1932, she delivered her second child. Sometime after the birth of her second baby boy, Ford decided to board Danny with a sixty-year-old woman by the name of Bernice Upson. Upson raised Danny with the help of her daughter Beryl under the understanding that she was to be paid for her services. However, the recently married Ford, busy with her new family was indebted to the Upson's in the amount of $300. But rather than press Ford for back wages, the elderly caretaker continued caring for Danny without pay for over a year. Perhaps because Danny was considered an "illegitimate" child, or her new husband did not want to raise him, Danny maintained outside of the Ford family circle.

In March 1934, Matron Van Every sought to address the issue. In a visit with Van Every, Ford expressed her desire to keep Danny, but had financial issues. Her husband had little steady work and though he apparently did not object to raising the child, they could not afford it. At the visit Ford maintained that she did not want her son placed in an institution. Roughly a week later on March 26, 1934, Matron Van Every and her assistant Jeanette Traxler returned to the home. There they met Ford's two-year-old son and noted that while the Relief Commission paid the family's rent, they were "comfortable." When Van Every questioned Ford about her son Danny, Ford decided she would have to adopt him out stating, "I've decided this is what I have to do. I want to get it settled." Van Every believed that Ford was aware of the steps involved and informed her of the Children's Home Society of California.[588]

Three days later Matron Van Every spoke with a Mrs. Marie White of the California Children's Home Society. White argued that unless Ford assume the responsibility of her son Danny, "the child must be adopted out." She further directed Matron Van Every to ask for Ford's "full cooperation in the case." Largely Native women and their families fought federal efforts to foster or adopt out their children. But at times Native women succumbed to these wishes.

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[585] "Amy Braden, The Salvation Army, SF to Bonnie V. Royce," February 10, 1932, File: Josephine Green, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[586] "Amy Braden, The Salvation Army, SF to Bonnie V. Royce," February 17, 1932, File: Josephine Green, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[587] "Josephine Green to Bonnie V. Royce," undated, File: Josephine Green, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[588] In 1891 by Dr. J.R. Townsend and his wife found the Children's Home Society of California (CHS) to help homeless and abandoned children, prioritizing adoption over institutions. Though it was founded in the Los Angeles area within a year CHS expanded into the Bay Area. By the mid twentieth century, the organization was influential in the establishing of public and county adoption agencies. And by 1966 CHS became the largest private adoption agency in the world.

Whether they lacked the stability to raise their child or believed their child could have a better life without them, we'll never truly know. Over the next month Matron Van Every and Mrs. White worked together to ensure Danny's adoption. By April 12, 1934, Ford, who was pregnant with another child signed the relinquishment papers. The aging Mrs. Upson who had clearly cared for Danny agreed that adoption would be best and was charged with delivering the boy to the Children's Society Home. It is hard to know what lay in Danny's future. Whether he knew he was Native or if he one day contacted his biological mother. What is clear is that the Outing Program was invested in adopting out Indian children and destabilized Indigenous families and their communities. Sadly, Danny was not the only child to endure this fate.

Other women's stories demonstrate adoption practices in the Outing program as well as mothers who chose not to raise their children. Avis Hooper, a Shoshone woman from Owyhee, NV was twenty-one years old when she began working for the Bay Area Outing Program. The former Stewart student was employed at eight different Bay Area homes from 1927 – 1934, working in Oakland, Richmond, San Francisco and Berkeley. She earned an average wage of $40 a month in each position. Within a year of Hooper and her sister Hattie's arrival, their father, Sam Hooper wrote to Matron Royce to inquire about his daughters. On March 7, 1928 their father wrote, "I would like to have a long letter from you telling me all about my daughters…. How are they getting along? What are they doing? And why do not they write to me?" In response Royce reported that both were well, but that Avis had been hanging around with "bad company."

Nearly a month later on April 11, 1928 Matron Royce wrote Sam Hooper again informing him that his daughters had given her "considerabl[e] trouble lately." Reportedly both had been going with soldiers and Royce warned, "I think Avis will be a mother this fall sometime." In an attempt to evaluate the match, Royce found the soldier to be a "mean, unprincipled young man" who "refuses to do anything for Avis." She continued, "He says he is not responsible for her condition." Royce who often advocated marriage in the case of pregnancy admitted to Hooper, "I might be able to force a marriage but do not think it advisable under the circumstances. He has no funds and would surely not live with her or support her." Thankfully the Matron, trusted the decision with Hooper, "I would like to have your opinion of the case and we will do whatever you think best. We will be able to take care of Avis and her child here if you want her to remain here. She has had her lesson and I think it has made an impression on her." As ever, Royce established a teaching moment.

On September 21, 1928, Hooper gave birth to her daughter Jacqueline at the Salvation Army Home in Oakland. In a letter to Royce Hooper elated, "I am very happy with her she is the dearest little darling, wish you could see her." Hooper reported that fellow outing employee, Amy Tuohy also had delivered a baby girl, and both were well taken care of at the home. And as if with a newfound purpose, Hooper declared, "I sure am very anxious to get out and work for her as soon as I can get back my strength again."[589] Rather than wait for Royce, the two mothers found assistance in a San Rafael-based woman named Genevieve Martinelli. In October, Martinelli pulled both Hooper, Tuohy and their babies from the home.[590]

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[589] "Avis Hooper to Bonnie V. Royce," September 25, 1928, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[590] "Genevieve Martinelli to Bonnie V. Royce," October 23, 1928, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

Royce found Martinelli "splendid" and appreciated her generosity with Hooper and Tuohy. However, she feared the baby's health in San Rafael and was concerned that the mothers paid Martinelli "so little" for food and care for their daughters. While not officially engaged in the Outing Program, Matron Royce still involved herself in their affairs and most importantly maintained control over their wages and bank account. When the Hooper requested her wages from Royce, the Matron forwarded all $51.53 to her home Agency in Owyhee, NV. Royce knew perfectly well that Hooper was located in the Bay Area and that her administrative move would make things difficult for the new mother.

In a letter to the Indian Agency at Western Shoshone, Royce admitted that Hooper was infuriated when she learned her wages were far from her reach. Undoubtedly, Hooper needed and income to care for her child. In this same letter Matron Royce, apparently wounded and fed up, implored, "Avis is the first girl to positively refuse my supervision."[591]

Ever the concerned father, Sam Hooper who got word of his daughter's disagreement with the Matron wrote Royce to hear her side of the story.[592] In response Royce explained that Hooper refused to go home, that she was still in San Rafael and had treated the Matron with "great disrespect."[593] Royce had essentially washed her hands of Hooper and found her to be one of the greatest challenges she experienced to that point in her career. Hooper hung out with the "bad company", was not chaste, became pregnant and navigated the Bay Area in her own way, disregarding the help of the Matron. In many ways Hooper's time in the Bay Area was an outright affront to Royce's authority. Within the year, Hooper was back home in Owyhee, NV but was not yet done with the Bay Area.

On October 2, 1930 Avis wrote to Matron Royce declaring her desire to return to the Bay Area. As ever, with the few economic opportunities available, Native women were driven to outing labor. Hooper, so aware of the animosity she once shared with the Matron strategically apologized for her previous behavior. Hooper declared she wanted to work "under" the Matron's "guardian" and said, "I apologize to you Mrs. Royce from the way I did with Amy Touwhy. She was cause of everything." Hooper assured Royce, "I sure will be [a] good girl and mind you cuz I love to work hard and earn money and support my little girl."[594] Royce was quick to accept Hooper back and agreed to another trail.[595] Hooper continued working in the Bay Area for the next few years and became pregnant again.

Hooper gave birth to a baby boy, named after his father, James Haas. While she continued outing work, she boarded him with a Mrs. Louisa Dalen. Dalen cared for the baby

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[591] "Bonnie V. Royce to McNeilly," February 16, 1929, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[592] "Sam Hooper to Bonnie V. Royce," February 23, 1929, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[593] "Bonnie V. Royce to Sam Hooper," March 12, 1929, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[594] "Avis Hooper to Bonnie V. Royce," October 2, 1930, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[595] "Bonnie V. Royce to Avis Hooper," October 7, 1930, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

since he was 10 days old.[596] In the spring of 1934 Hooper's sister was very ill and she returned to Nevada to be with her family. On March 16, 1934 Hooper wrote from Owyhee, NV to Royce's assistant, Jeanette Traxler. Hooper was wondering what to do with her son, Jimmie who was still with his caretaker Mrs. Dalen. She felt awful for "neglect[ing]" him and knew that Dalen could not always care for the boy. She suggested that his paternal aunt and uncle care for him—for they "wanted him long ago." Hooper gave Traxler Jimmie's father's address and left Traxler to make the arrangements.[597]

After an institutional shift in the Outing Program, Matron Van Every took over for Royce and Traxler. In the fall of 1934 Van Every searched for James Haas but was unable to locate Jimmie's father.[598] [599] The Matron further intervened to find that Hooper was in debt with Mrs. Dalen for well over a year of unpaid caregiving. In a letter to Supt. McNeilly, Van Every urged "We shall need to make some plan for this little boy, not 3 years old."[600]

On October 25, 1934 Mrs. Dalen became ill and bedridden and could not take care of Jimmie. With no other recourse she asked Van Every if arrangements could be made for his temporary removal.[601] At this, Van Every wrote to Patterson urging him to make a plan for the boy. At three years old, he was too young for boarding school. Reportedly, Hooper never came to see him and "completely ignored his existence." Moreover, the monthly child support from his father stopped the month prior and he was nowhere to be found. While Mrs. Dalen gave Jimmie excellent care, she could no longer afford to care for him. Van Every explained, "The first plan any of the social agencies will suggest is to send a little boy home [in Owyhee, NV] to his mother. … I fear that Avis would never help him much but we shall probably need work along this line."[602]

With little institutional memory on the case Matron Van Every sought to research the prospects of adopting Jimmie in a home, "In the past 10 days, I have gone to the various agencies … concerned with children's social welfare. The child placement Bureau has [made] Indian placements … in the past and… found them very difficult, in fact impossible, especially when

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[596] "Mildred Van Every to Supt. L.B. Patterson," October 26, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[597] "Avis Hooper to Jeannette Traxler," March 16, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[598] "Mildred Van Every to Commanding Officer, Presidio of San Francisco," October 18, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. "Mildred Van Every to Commanding Officer, Presidio of San Francisco," October 18, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[599] "D. P. Frissell, Presidio of San Francisco to Mildred Van Every," October 19, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[600] "Mildred Van Every to Supt. Emmett E. McNeilly," October 18, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[601] "While You Were Out," October 25, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[602] "Mildred Van Every to Supt. L.B. Patterson."

the child is of such a Indian cast of features as is this little boy." Jimmie, and apparently phenotypically Indian children like him were impossible to place. Moreover, Van Every admitted that no agencies were "willing to have him assigned to an orphans home" as McNeilly had suggested. According to her Van Every, "the man [Jimmie's father] in the case has carried the financial responsibility well for over two and a half years, especially considering his doubtful parentage" therefore, Hooper should take responsibility and Jimmie should be sent home.[603]

Over the next winter months, Van Every and BIA officials worked to get Jimmie reunited with his family. On January 5, 1935, Jimmie was sent to his grandmother's house in Owyhee, NV. The story seemed to have a happy ending. However, by springtime, Van Every got word of some unfortunate news. Jimmie not only was not with his family but had been cared for at the local Hospital since the day of his arrival. In a March 4, 1935 letter, to Mrs. Dalen, Jimmie's former caregiver, Acting Supt. L.B Patterson informed her he "has won the hearts of all the Hospital personnel" but "his mother has no desire to care for him, and since we have been unable to place him with a private family our medical personnel is taking care of him."

It is unclear what happens to young Jimmie after this final letter in his mother's file. Did his family ever take him in? Once he was of age, was he sent off to boarding school as so many other Indian children had been? Did he ever meet his older sister Jacqueline? All of these unanswerable questions nonetheless reveal the complexities of the life for Indian families in the Outing Program. We'll never know what motivated Hooper to distance herself from her son, or why her family also kept him at bay. However, this brief yet heartbreaking file shows that in such circumstances, BIA officials like McNeilly and Van Every would have preferred he be sent to an orphanage or "placed" with a family—that is adopted out or fostered.

While much of the Outing Program's concerns focused on Native women and girls employed by the program, at times, it dealt with non-affiliated Native women—especially related to their reproductive rights as mothers. For example, in the winter of 1943, Lillian Penrose, a Yerington Paiute student at Stewart Indian School became pregnant at the young age of seventeen. On January 20, 1944, Ernest C. Mueller, Principal of Stewart Indian School wrote to Mildred Van Every reporting "One of our girls is found to be pregnant and it is necessary to find some place more suitable for her than the Carson Boarding School..." Apparently Penrose's mother had passed away and she had no home to go to. Moreover, in the past the school had sent at least one other student to San Francisco with a similar pregnancy case. The Principal continued, "she is three months pregnant with a negative Wasserman one month ago. The boy responsible is located at the Reno Army Air base she thinks and is willing to marry him."[604] As ever, federal officials sought to marry off Native women, especially once they became pregnant. Marriage itself was a method of containment for Native women and idealized among Outing Matrons and various federal authorities. Moreover, Mueller's mention of a Wasserman test indicates that authorities were concerned that Penrose may have contracted syphilis or other venereal disease.

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[603] "Mildred Van Every to Supt. Emmett E. McNeilly," November 13, 1934, File: Avis Hooper, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[604] "Ernest C. Mueller to Mildred Van Every," January 20, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

On February 5, 1944, Mueller wrote again with new information. While Penrose was one of Stewart's "nicest girls," he surmised that "… girls of her age often get into difficulty through some false love affair which this happens to be."[605] Reportedly, there would be no financial remuneration from the "boy" involved. He was a First Class Private in the Army and married, with a family to support. Therefore Mueller petitioned the Matron to assist with transferring Penrose to the Booth Memorial Hospital in Oakland.[606] There Penrose could offset the hospital fees by doing domestic work for a few hours a day.[607] Finally, Mueller stated that provisions would have to made for the child as according to his contacts, "Indian babies are not adoptable in the State of California." In response, Van Every advised that she had a great deal of experience with Indian girls at the Hospital and thus Penrose's expenses could be paid once she was employable. And further that Mueller was misinformed, "because Indian children have been legally adopted whenever there is one available for adoption." She added, "it is quite possible that a foster home can be found for this baby."[608]

By April of 1944, Penrose was getting along nicely at Booth Memorial Hospital. At this time Penrose informed Van Every that she wished to keep her pregnancy a secret from her father and planned to place her baby for adoption.[609] Near the end of the month, the hospital secured authorization from Archie Penrose to treat his daughter for "diagnostic tests."[610] While Penrose appeared to have a normal pregnancy, she did suffer from a swollen gland that led doctors to believe that she might have Tuberculosis. If so, she posed a danger to other patients at Booth Memorial Hospital which was unequipped to handle such a case.[611] Moreover, because she was not an Alameda County resident, Highland Hospital was unable to provide a full diagnostic test. Penrose was running out of options. On May 5, 1944, Muriel Smith informed Van Every of the situation, "You will remember that there is a social problem also involved, that if possible, Lillian's community remain ignorant of her pregnant condition."[612] Another letter two days later

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[605] "Ernest C. Mueller to Mildred Van Every," February 5, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[606] A Salvation Army Hospital

[607] At the time, California State Welfare, prohibited out of state girls from receiving services without remuneration. Therefore Penrose's labor would act as payment.

[608] "Mildred Van Every to Supt. Don C. Foster," February 9, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno. Not long after Penrose's case, Mildred Van Every transitioned from the Bay Area to work for the Sacramento region. There she was regularly involved in the placement of Native children, especially related to Indian tribes of Northern California.

[609] "Re: Lillian Penrose, M. Van Every Notes," April 13, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[610] "Consent Form," April 29, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[611] "Muriel Smith, Social Worker to Mildred Van Every," April 27, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

[612] "Muriel Smith, Social Worker to Mildred Van Every," May 8, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

indicated, "Lillian is very hesitant to return to a hospital where she may run into people who she has known formerly."[613] Where normally Penrose would have been sent to the Stewart or Schurz sanatoriums, these were not an option to keep her secret safe. And keeping her secret safe meant keeping on track with plans for adopting the child.

Shortly after, doctors confirmed that the mother to be was in fact tubercular. They arranged for her hospitalization at the Hoopa agency—very far from her community in Nevada. Reporting to Van Every, District Medical Director Hunt added, "Lillian seemed to be an intelligent girl, and it might be possible to keep her around the hospital and train her as a hospital employee…."[614] As ever, Penrose's labor becomes a product for consumption. Not long after the exchange on August 12, 1944, Penrose delivered her baby in the Hoopa Valley Hospital. Rather than give her baby up for adoption as she initially planned, Penrose chose to return to her community and raise her child at her aunt's home.[615]

In late September of 1944, a disgruntled Superintended Ralph Gelvin wrote to Van Every, "It almost floored us to have this information as we have been trying so hard to protect this child and keep in secrecy all her troubles, then she left the hospital and came right in the area where we had been so careful to keep the news from. We thought we were helping her to meet the situation of life easily, but she has taken the old Indian way and shows no shame or disgrace, but feels quite proud of the fact that she has a baby. She will keep her baby."[616] Clearly for Gelvin, Penrose's life and that of her baby would have been easier and better had she had adopted out her child. And the fact that Penrose was proud of her baby is a personal affront to the Superintendent who believed she should be ashamed of herself. Instead she took the "old Indian way" as if rejecting the civilities of Euro American values that dictated. The same ways that the "Save the Babies" campaign attempted to dismantle.

Gelvin continued his letter to Van Every, "After the baby is old enough, she plans to go to work in Fallon. We do not like this idea, but perhaps we can assist her into some other line of work. As you know, Fallon is in the defense area, and we have found too much immorality, especially from Indian girls. We shall try to protect her." Yet again Gelvin is concerned for Penrose and her potential to fraternize with degenerate Indian girls. His concern remains with Fallon's Naval Air Station and undoubtedly the many servicemen situated there—so close to local Native women. In so few words the Superintendent fears promiscuous, sexuality active Native women.

While records do not include Penrose's personal testimony her actions speak loudly. Initially she may have believed that it best to keep the pregnancy a secret and adopt her child as she was likely encouraged to. Federal officials must have agreed that adoption was best as they worked ever so carefully to manage the mother-to-be and keep her secret safe. Yet, once Penrose delivered her baby she chose to keep it. Thus asserting her rights to motherhood. And this action

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[613] "Mildred Van Every to Supt. Ralph M. Gelvin," May 10, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[614] "Dr. Donald J. Hunt to Mildred Van Every," June 3, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[615] "Supt. Ralph M. Gelvin to Mildred Van Every," September 28, 1944, File: Lillian Penrose, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[616] "Supt. Ralph M. Gelvin to Mildred Van Every."

so incensed Superintendent Gelvin. Revealing that his anger was not limited to the painstaking details and resources it took to manage Penrose's clandestine matters but that she affirmed her ability to mother and took pride in it. Certainly, Gelvin would have preferred Penrose to accept that her child would be better off adopted. For an Indian child born of a young, single mother, BIA officials preferred "placement" in the form of adoption or fostering. In the case of women who chose not to raise their children, this was commonplace.

While much of the Outing Program's concerns were focused on the Native women and girls employed by the program, it at times dealt with Indian issues generally.[617]For example, in the fall of 1930, Matron Royce got involved in a case regarding a Cherokee woman who lived in Marin County. While not an employee of the outing program, the woman and her son became the subject of much correspondence between BIA and county administrators. On July 26, 1924, twenty-one-year-old Frances Pensotti gave birth to her son Joseph at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in San Francisco. Pensotti relinquished her son on December 10, 1924. A Mr. Ryan, acting as "agent" for Joseph's father made visits to the hospital to pay for Joseph's care. On February 15, 1927 Joseph outgrew the hospital nursery and was sent to the Little Children's Aid Society of San Francisco. Mr. Ryan's payments for the child stopped and reportedly a "mysterious man"—perhaps his father—covered Joseph's board. Records reveals that no family visited him at the Society.[618]

As he grew older, the Little Children's Aid society secured a foster home for Joseph. He was cared for by a Mrs. Margaret Michael in San Francisco. According to BIA officials, "efforts were made to have him adopted," but they were never able to secure a permanent home. Like Jimmie, phenotypically Indian children were difficult to place. BIA records report, "no one wanted a child as dark as he." With apparently little recourse, officials waited for Joseph to reach the proper age, so he would be sent off to an Indian boarding school. Like other Indian children in the Bay Area, the natural step was to have Joseph sent to boarding school once he was of age.

In the fall of 1930 Matron Royce researched the feasibility of placing Joseph at Stewart Indian School in Carson City, Nevada. Though "over-crowded", the school opened its doors to seven-year-old Joseph and another Indian child by the name of Rosita Elliot—a twelve-year-old Pomo girl who would grow up to work in the outing program. [619] On November 19, 1930 Royce wrote to Stewart's' Superintendent Snyder arranging for their transportation.[620] Within a year's time, BIA administrators sent reports to Joseph's foster mother. Records reveal that his foster mother was "exceptionally fond of him" and "greatly upset" when he was taken from her and sent to Stewart. However, officials felt it was convenient and cost effective. According to an

[617] For example, after WWII, it was common for young veterans to petition Matron Van Every for assistance with seeking employment or enrolling in college. Furthermore, in one instance, an elderly Native man petitioned the Matron to assist with securing aid.
[618] "Supt. Alida C. Bowler to Mildred Van Every," September 25, 1934, File: Joseph Pensotti, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[619] "Carl M. Moore to Frederic Snyder," November 1, 1930, File: Joseph Pensotti, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.
[620] "Bonnie V. Royce to Frederic Snyder," November 19, 1930, File: Joseph Pensotti, Relocation, Education, And Employment Assistance Case Files 1926 – 1946, RG 75, NARA San Bruno.

internal letter, "the Indian School plan was made because it was so difficult to secure the board money for the child and there was no other way to support him."[621]

Joseph remained at Stewart for about four years until yet again, he became the subject of much correspondence between BIA and county administrators. On November 25, 1934 Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of Indian Affairs wrote to Matron Van Every in search of more information on young Joseph. Apparently, Bowler and various administrators were unable to verify Joseph's life story. They doubted his parentage and uncovered disparaging gossip, reporting, "the mother's reputation is such that probably no one will ever know who was the father." Worse, after a federal inquiry, they realized that Joseph's mother was 3/8ths Indian meaning her son's degree of Indian blood was now insufficient for him to remain enrolled at Stewart. Bowler, determined to further investigate the truth in the case concluded, "He is quite a fine little fellow and we would like to give him the best chance possible. He should be in a home rather than an institution."[622] Bowler's use of "institution" in this letter is curious. "Institution" may have referred to Stewart or possibly an orphanage. Nonetheless, once confirmed that he was less than one quarter Indian, Bowler believed the young boy now worthy of a home. Joseph Pensotti's blood quantum would free him from the confines of Indian boarding school life. Did that also mean that his Indian blood was so inconsequential that he was worthier than his Native peers at Stewart?

On October 1, 1934 Matron Van Every responded to Bowler with little more information. Her predecessor Royce had recommended the child based on a letter from Carl M. Moore, then Supervisor of Indian Education. But no further documents improved his case. In the first ten years of his life, Joseph Pensotti was abandoned, cared for by hospitals and institutions and after a brief foster home was sent to an Indian boarding school. Perhaps there he was finally feeling some kind of stability. But his life would yet again be disrupted. Joseph was sent to Stewart because no one wanted to adopt a child as "dark" as he, yet he would be pulled from Stewart simply because he was not Indian enough. Joseph's file ends after this final letter suggesting that he was in fact removed from Stewart. We may never know what happened to this young man or if he or his descendants connected with his birth family. Nevertheless, Joseph's first ten years of life demonstrate the precarious state of Indian children in the early 20th century. Children could be passed around from institution to institution and county and BIA officials simply waited for them to reach of age, so they could be sent off to boarding school. Moreover, children like Joseph who were "dark" or Jimmie whose features were too "Indian" were often impossible to place. These children had especially difficult lives.

These five cases demonstrate the ever-present threat of Indian child removal in the form of fostering or adoption. For Plummer, almost immediately after her daughter's birth, Royce threatened to take away her newborn. The new mother was livid and threatened her father's intervention. Where the Matron's efforts were not successful in this case, they were for Green. Records do not reveal whether Green's son Danny was the product of an affair or assault, but it is clear that she distanced herself from her newborn. First through infant boarding and later—after much encouragement—adoption. Van Every and the Children's Home Society worked diligently on the issue. Mostly, Native women fought efforts to foster or adopt out their children. But at times they yielded. Much like Green, Hooper distanced herself from her son Jimmie and his father. Adoption efforts did not work nor family reunification. Like Hooper, federal officials

[621] "Supt. Alida C. Bowler to Mildred Van Every."
[622] "Supt. Alida C. Bowler to Mildred Van Every."

initially sought to marry off the recently pregnant Penrose. In lieu of marriage, officials sought to secret the student's pregnancy with intent to adopt out the child. To their disdain, Penrose did not yield to their wishes. She took the "old Indian way" and rather than hide in shame, she proudly chose to mother her newborn. Where Penrose rejected adoption, Frances Pensotti embraced the possibility and relinquished her infant son Joseph. After a nursery, brief fostering, and a failed adoption, Joseph was passed around until he was old enough for boarding school—only to be ousted for not being Indian "enough." For Indian children, Outing Matron and BIA intervention was at times encouraging. In some cases, these officials worked hard to help abandoned or neglected children like Jimmie and Joseph. Yet this assistance came at a cost, subject to the standards of the BIA. In this best-case scenario Outing Program intervention equaled government-based childrearing. However, in the case of many mothers and Indian families, BIA intervention amounted to threats of child removal and separation from their Native family.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the Bay Area Outing Program effected the Indian family and particularly Indian mothers and their children. My analysis of these stories thematically engage Outing Matrons' three central methods of removal; first, boarding infant children, second, enrolling Native children into a federal Indian boarding school and third, attempting and at times succeeding in the fostering or adoption of Native children. Aside from low wages and poor conditions, Native women in the outing program faced unique issues directly related to live-in work. Women who labored in the program were in a predicament. While cooking, cleaning and living in the home of their employer, Native women experienced great difficulty in attempting to raise their own children within the home. They were chastised by both employer and outing Matron for having the audacity to raise their own. Women with especially young children and some first-time, single mothers had it worse.

Outing records reveal that women with children—especially young children—were encouraged to board out their children in local nurseries or similar institutions. And, if the child was at least six years old, Matrons, employers and BIA officials advocated for enrolling children of outing mothers to an Indian boarding school. Finally, in the most precarious of situations, Matrons attempted to and sometimes succeeded in adopting or fostering Native children. While the latter was not always achieved this final scenario was regularly a looming threat.

Where Indian children were seen as an obstacle to employment, officials assumed Indian women to be unfit mothers and Indian homes to be unhealthy and backwards. Commissioner Sells who authorized the outing program claimed that Indian mothers simply did not know how to keep their children well. They were ignorant of best practices and raised their children in dirty, overcrowded, unkempt homes. The government decided that Indian women were not meant to be mothers but surrogates. Adoptive and foster homes, Indian boarding schools and other institutions would better parent Indian children. Particularly, women who had not yet assimilated to Euro American norms, need only to relinquish their child and he or she would have a better life. Amid overwhelming messages of inferiority and incompetency, it would not be surprising if Native women internalized these ideas. Especially if young, single and with their whole lives ahead of them.

Some women like Ford, Hooper and Pensotti felt their children were better off in the hands of the government. Perhaps because of economic hardship, lack of stability and a potentially unplanned pregnancy, these women felt their baby had needs they could not meet.

And some women in similar circumstances still imagined a better life for their child. Wasson for example did not want her son William sent to Stewart where she had been raised. As a product of the boarding school she knew too well the suffering he would endure. And where some women consented to board their children out or relinquished them, others fought against it. Mitchell and Plummer were outright vocal with Matrons Royce and Van Every and refused to have their children taken away. Plummer and Mitchell threatened to get her fathers involved in the matter, and when Mitchell had enough, she outright left the outing program. Where some women could afford to board their children in local nurseries or were fortunate enough to leave their children with relatives others could not.

As this chapter has examined, the early 20th-century was a precarious period for the Native outing family in the Bay Area. Outing Matrons heavily monitored Native women and made it their business to manage many aspects of their lives especially when it came to their children. At times Outing program officials worked hard to help abandoned or neglected children, but consigned children to Indian boarding schools to be raised by the state. Yet overwhelmingly Outing intervention amounted to threats of child removal and separation of Native children from their mothers. For many Native women outing in the Bay Area there was a promise of city life and wage work. But this came at a cost.

Native women, especially as young single mothers, were often forced to choose between their children or the outing program. While some mothers were able navigate the demands of live-in work and raise their children, others were not. Their experiences demonstrate that BIA officials regularly disregarded Native women's wishes for their children, often intervened with the help of city and county agencies and made efforts to separate Native children from their mothers. In the face of these profound forces Native women both complied and contested.

Conclusion |

"Getting us to cities was supposed to be the final, necessary step in our assimilation, absorption, erasure, completion of a five hundred year old genocidal campaign. But the city made us new, and we made it ours. We didn't get lost amidst the sprawl of tall buildings, the stream of anonymous masses, the ceaseless din of traffic. We found each other, started up Indian Centers, brought out our families and powwows, our dances, our songs, our beadwork. We bought and rented homes, slept on the streets, under freeways, we went to school, joined the armed forces, populated Indian bars in the Fruitvale in Oakland, and in the Mission in San Francisco. We lived in boxcar villages in Richmond. We made art and we made babies and we made way for our people to go back and forth between reservation and city. We did not move to cities to die. The sidewalks and streets, the concrete absorbed our heaviness. The glass, metal, rubber and wires, the speed, the hurtling masses—the city took us in."

- *There There*
  by Tommy Orange

This epigraph from Tommy Orange's *There There* speaks to the urban Indian experience in all of its complexities. When the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 encouraged and coerced Native people off the reservation and into urban areas, federal officials believed that the city would assimilate Native peoples. Just as countless policies before—like the Dawes Act and Indian boarding schools—they believed they could transform us. That we would cut ties with our tribal communities, become absorbed and rendered invisible. But the city made us new. Instead of shedding our cultures and blending in, we shared our languages, dances and experiences. In the city we met other Native people and created community and intertribal babies. Native people went on to earn college degrees, create non-profits and succeeded in ways they weren't supposed to. No one expected Indian people to thrive in the city.

These are the unintended consequences of federal Indian policy. Many Native women who outed in the Bay Area grew to love the city and worked hard to create new futures for their children. Several continued careers in domestic work, but ultimately broke the cycle of domesticity. Their children were not forced into domestic labor or boarding schools. Many attended public school, graduated from college and delved into new careers. And with them grew pan-Indian families and intertribal communities that would come to welcome newly arrived relocatees. The common misconception is that Urban Indians and Urban Indian communities were created with the advent of the Indian Relocation Act. Today, in the Bay Area, most people accept this as truth. In fact, the history of the Bay Area Outing Program affirms that an Urban Indian community, while small, existed decades before Public Law 959. And this community was largely Native American women.

In the early 20th-century Native domestic workers organizing on their day off created one of the first Native hubs in the San Francisco Bay Area. "Hubs" is Renya Ramirez's geographical and virtual concept of Urban Indian belonging. Ramirez argues that the hub, "suggests how landless Native Americans maintain a sense of connection to their tribal homelands and urban spaces through participation in cultural circuits and maintenance of social networks, as well as

shared activity with other Native Americans in the city and on the reservation."[623] Indeed, Native women who outed in the Bay Area, did not sever ties with their families and tribal communities. They ventured back home for gatherings, ceremonies and family-oriented seasonal labor. Through the hub women sustained connections with their tribal communities and shared their cultures and experiences with other Native people in the Bay Area.

Native women's leadership and organizing through the Four Winds club is one prominent example of the hub in action. Socials, dances and feeds created space for local Indian children, Native college students, and Native military personnel. In these spaces, Native people embraced one another in their shared experience as Urban Indians. They shared songs, dances and began to create a truly intertribal community. These efforts agree with Ramirez's argument that Native women in particular are "central" to sustaining urban Indian community life. Native women specifically assert their own notions of culture, community, identity and belonging.[624] The hub that Native domestic workers created strengthened Native identity in the Bay Area and provided a space of belonging for other Urban Indians. I would argue that Native domestic workers not only sustained the early 20th-century Urban Indian community, but actively created the Bay Area Indian community as we know it today.

The Bay Area Indian Community and the Founding Generation

As Susan Lobo has argued in the seminal text on the Bay Area Indian Community, California Indian people have always been in what is now the San Francisco Bay Area. They traveled, traded and intermarried and enjoyed the fruits of their land that millions of people now call "home." In the 18th-century Ohlone peoples were especially affected by Spanish colonization and Missionization as discussed in Chapter 1. However, in these institutions, Ohlone peoples continued their songs, cultural practices and languages. Many blended Catholicism with their Indigenous culture and to this day rightfully protect and revere the missions their ancestors built. Today, the Ohlone community continues to thrive throughout the Bay Area, in cities like Niles, Sunol, San Lorenzo and Oakland. Recently, in the East Bay, community members have fought to protect their ancestral Shellmounds, developed a Land Trust and championed the revival of Ohlone food traditions. Since time immemorial, Ohlone presence in their homeland has been constant. The Bay Area has always been Native.

But the early 20th-century would bring forth a new kind of inter-tribal community. As early as 1911 Indian girls from Stewart Indian School were sent to labor in homes across the Bay Area through the school's Outing program. This early iteration did not have a home base in the Bay, and because it stemmed from Stewart it was largely comprised of Washoe, Paiute and Shoshone students. However, in 1918 with the advent of the Bay Area Outing Program, girls from all over the nation sought outing work and new experiences in the big city. City lights, street cars, music and motion pictures promised a vibrant urban life and attracted Native girls and women across the West. Simultaneously, veterans of the First World War and those enlisted in the interwar years also came to live and work in the Bay Area.[625] Shortly thereafter, in 1922 the Santa Fe Indian Village was established, just outside of Richmond, CA. The hundred or so

[623] Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007), 3.
[624] Ramirez, 3–4.
[625] Lobo, *Urban Voices*, 10.

Laguna and Acoma families that lived there performed the same traditions they would have enacted at home—including a tribal council, their language, dances and traditional feasts.[626] During WWII, many Native peoples in the armed forces were stationed in or at least passed through the greater Bay Area.[627] This was the beginning of the intertribal foundation of the Bay Area urban Indian community. These largely young population was unmarried with their whole lives ahead of them. Some returned home to rural areas and reservations, but others stayed in the city and became the "founding generation of the Bay Area Indian community."[628]

Decades before Indian Relocation, this population while small was actively carving out a space for other Urban Indians in the Bay Area. In these early years Native people found each other at local bars or more frequently through organizations like the Four Winds Club operated out of Oakland's Y.W.C.A. As explained in Chapter 2, this hub started as early as the 1920s as an extension of the "Y". In the early years it was a central meeting place for Native women in the Bay Area, particularly outing women. Members of the club met on Thursdays when domestic workers had their day off. By the mid-1930s the Four Winds Club established a lively social calendar, hosting afternoon tea, socials and dinners. While very much a product of the "Y" and managed by Outing Matrons, Indian women made the organization very much their own. In addition to creating a community space for outing women and girls, the Four Winds Club grew to include Indians from all over the Bay Area, including college students and military personnel. By World War II, the club grew even further and became an organization for both Native women and Native men. Eventually, as Lobo notes, "these first inter-tribal migrants to the city formed voluntary associations." In addition to the Four Winds, local Native people began to create organized sports including basketball, bowling and softball teams. Decades after its humble beginnings the new generation of the Four Winds Club organized to establish a long lasting community that would embrace the incoming influx of Native people.

In 1954, under the Indian Relocation policy, Indian people from across the country migrated to the San Francisco Bay Area. Relocation was part and parcel to Termination policy, in which the government literally terminated and dismantled tribes across the nation. The goal of both policies was assimilation. Policy makers believed that if Indian people were taken from the reservation and sent to urban areas, assimilation would be complete. One of the initial relocation sites on the West Coast was Oakland. Here, the relocatee population was largely comprised of young and unmarried people, many from Plains and Southwest tribes. Government assistance through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was only temporary; usually just a few months of assistance locating and paying for housing and sometimes—especially later in the program—assistance in job training. As relocatees settled in the Bay Area the BIA encouraged non-clustered housing to facilitate assimilation. Such dispersed housing was considered "a step toward 'melting into" the population at large. Lobo argues that BIA assistance was "inadequate" to meet the "complex, diverse and immense" needs of relocatees who were far from home in a foreign environment. Temporary, inadequate assistance and isolation meant that newly relocated Indian people had great need. Particularly because of the culture shock. For many relocates, this

[626] Lobo, 14.
[627] Susan Lobo, "Oakland's American Indian Community: History, Social Organization and Factors That Contribute to Census Undercount," Preliminary Report for the Joint Statistical Agreement (Washington, D.C.: Center for Survey Methods Research - Bureau of the Census, May 1990).
[628] Lobo, 8.

was their first experience living off reservations, out of state or in urban areas. Moving into the city was like "stepping off into the unknown and actual arrival to the city was often a sudden jolt of urban reality"[629]. Not surprisingly, the Native community from decades prior expanded very quickly. Ginny Mitchell, of the preceding generation explained that in the 1950s the Four Winds Club "outgrew itself."[630] An increased urban Indian population, required a larger community space. This new space drew from the "founding generation" to create the Intertribal Friendship House.

The Intertribal Friendship House, affectionately known as IFH was founded in 1955. The inaugural building was situated on Telegraph Avenue in Oakland. This Native hub was one of the first of its kind in the United States, providing not only a main community space, but a variety of social service, cultural and recreational programs.[631] Mitchell recollects that IFH had a vibrant weekly calendar, and pulled people from the Four Winds because "it was what people needed then." The center was open three or four nights a week, with Saturday activities and Sunday services. Ruth Sarracino Hopper, who grew up in the Santa Fe Indian Village recalls that IFH "was a good place for gathering and welcoming for all Indian people." It was one of the "hot spots," in addition to Indian bars, and the Oakland Y.W.C.A. They had rock 'n roll dances on Friday nights and regular socials.[632] One of the most notable was the Single's Supper Club. On Wednesday nights in the late 50s dozens of diners paid fifty cents for a meal and a chance to meet other eligible singles. One woman called it a "dating bureau."[633] Similar feeds, for romance or otherwise have continued to this day.

By the 1960s a new pan-Indian consciousness within the Bay Area American Indian community had begun to emerge. As the Bay Area Indian population grew, so did specialized organizations that responded to everyday Urban Indian needs addressing housing, food, education, economic stability and cultural expression. Some of the organizations that still exist today include the Native American Health Center, the American Indian Child Resource Center, International Indian Treaty Council, Hintil Kuu Ca, and California Indian Legal Services. In the absence of ethnic neighborhoods, these organizations and their events "provided the locational nodes in the developing community network." Lobo's concept of "nodes" echo Ramirez's hubs. Indian community centers, organizations and events sustained tribal connections in a decidedly urban environment. Indeed, while Urban Indians made the Bay Area their home, their ties to their tribal communities were not broken. Rather, as Lobo argues, "one simply extends the territory…" The Bay Area Indian community is characterized by a geographic mobility as people move in and out of the city, make return visits to their rural home territories or reservations, or sometimes return there for good."[634] Just like Native women in the Outing program, this next generation of Indian people journeyed back and forth from their communities and reservations. And in the city the hubs provided. For a largely spread out community across the Bay, these Native hubs were and are essential to fostering and maintaining the Bay Area Indian community.

Overtime the Bay Area Indian community diversified in tribal representation, age and occupation. Socioeconomic diversity also occurred as Indian people gained seniority in the

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[629] Lobo, 9. See also Ramirez's *Native Hubs*, Chapter 3.
[630] Lobo, *Urban Voices*, 12.
[631] Lobo, 49.
[632] Lobo, 14.
[633] Lobo, 42.
[634] Lobo, 6–12.

workplace and took advantage of opportunities in higher education that became available after the mid-60s. Some even moved out of the inner city and had greater access to better public schools in safer communities. [635] The new generation of Indian people in the Bay Area gained access to new opportunities. Simultaneously, the children of Native domestic workers tapped into these prospects and created new futures for themselves and their families. Long after the Bay Area Outing Program, some Native women continued laboring in the business of domestic work. After all, it was what they were trained for, and largely what they could find work in. However, in the city, their children, the following generation were not forced into domestic labor or boarding schools. Instead, many attended public school and graduated from college. These children contributed to the growing Urban Indian community participating in sports leagues, pow wows and centers like IFH. All that which came into existence with the help their mothers who organized the first intertribal hub in the San Francisco Bay Area. Indeed, the same women who came to labor in the early 20th-century created and sustained community and fostered Indian identity in the growing intertribal urban environment. Those Thursday meetings in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s developed into a thriving Bay Area Indian community for generations to come. Their efforts serve as a testament to the failure of assimilation and open resistance to it.

This project has explored the rich and complicated lives of Native women who experienced the weight of federal assimilation through the Bay Area Outing Program. I interrogated two overarching questions; *Within the confines of domestic labor, how did Native women comply, resist and negotiate their circumstances? What was the Bay Area Outing Program's impact on Native families in community contexts?* The chapters in this study revealed that the Outing program was structurally oppressive, requiring regular surveillance of the lives and bodies of Native girls women and subjecting them to labor exploitation. Outing Matrons imposed strict regulations on live-in domestic workers—but hardly their employers. Few were able to successfully navigate the Bay Area Outing Program, and those who did often worked diligently to befriend the Matron and foster an amicable relationship. The latter were few and far in between. As a whole, this study has chronicled a history of gendered, racialized labor and its effects on Native women and their families. Through their own voices and actions, I demonstrated how Native women navigated a system of oppression and reworked into these systems, potential and possibility. Close examination of those who frustrated the system reveals that Native women challenged their liminal standing and resisted outing in various ways including fighting for wages, running away and fighting to keep their children.

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This project has been inspired by women like my grandmother who was raised in a system invested in her dispossession. Yet, in a way like only Native women can, she made the best of it. After a life of Outing through Stewart Indian School in Nevada, my grandmother briefly worked at a laundry in Yosemite. There, Native women were a majority of the workforce. WWII brought her and her husband—my grandfather—to the Bay Area, where they became involved with the Four Winds Club. Before the war came to an end, their first born, my father, was born in Yerington, NV. The city called again and they set roots in the East Bay. Throughout her time in the Bay Area, my grandmother continued domestic service, but on her own terms. She worked independently of any Outing or employment placement program and secured live-

[635] Lobo, 14.

out positions on her own accord. Her insistence on refusing any kind of placement program meant that she wasn't under any Matron's thumb. She could set her wages and measure the home to her own standards. I learned that my grandmother was quite successful in securing employment for a number of Native women; her sister, Esther Wasson and their cousins and friends. One family was very well off—meaning they undoubtedly paid competitive wages and treated their workers well. Apparently, various Native women worked for that same home for many years. These instances remind me that Native women are often able to find stability in even the most precarious of situations. Despite the "education" she received at Stewart, my grandmother worked hard for her family and created new possibilities for her children. They attended newly built schools in Hayward, CA and went on to attain college degrees and make families of their own in the Bay Area. I attended those same Hayward schools and benefited from the sacrifices she made.

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