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The position of woman in China

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THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN CHINA

A Thesis

by

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Preface

In spite of the scattering contributions of western scholars, the study of the Chinese Woman remains a new task; newer to the author inasmuch as he does not belong to the fair sex, still newer because he, being an Oriental, has less opportunity to mingle socially with them. Nevertheless he endeavors in this thesis to trace the history of the Chinese Woman from time immemorial up to the present moment. The purpose of this work is not propaganda but an unbiased account of the real situation. Facts both beautiful and homely must be presented. History allows no room for sentiment.

The division of the periods used herein, is from the author's point of view, the most satisfactory. The terms "Prehistoric Woman", "Age of Struggle", "Age of Suppression", and "New Era", are of the author's own invention; while the title, " Legendary Period", is adopted from F. Hirth and J. Mac-Gowan, and the others, "Golden Age", "Age of Vanity", and "Age of Simplicity", from the current notions of Chinese scholars.
THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN CHINA.

Chapter I. ------------------ The Prehistoric Woman
Chapter II. ---------------- Woman In The Legendary Period
Chapter III. ---------------- Woman In The Golden Age
Chapter IV. ---------------- Woman In The Age Of Struggle 206 BC - 221 AD
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Chapter VI. ---------------- Woman In The Age Of Simplicity 1644-1894
Chapter VII. --------------- Woman In The Age Of Suppression - Qing Dynasty
Chapter VIII. -------------- Woman In The New Era 1895-1912
1. High Position of Woman in Primitive Society

**The conditions**

So far as the author can find all the historical evidences tend to establish the fact that woman occupies an exalted place in primitive society.\(^1\) The line of succession is traced through the females and the estate inherited by the daughters only. No sale or purchase can ever take place without the consent of the wife or mother who is the head of the family. No authority corroborates us that woman has voice in political government, but in the dawn of our history we find two virgin sovereigns Nu-Hwang and Nu-Wo.\(^2\) Scholars disagree concerning the sex of the rulers of this obscure age. Some even attempt to identify the latter with Noah, but the argument is far from convincing.\(^3\) We can regard, just as well, all rulers as women without danger of being disputed.

**Reasons for high position**

One of the reasons for the high position of woman is the precedence of the metronymic family over the patronymic. The statement that promiscuity existed for 44,000 years before matriarchal government finds no support.\(^4\) The duration of the last institution has been estimated to extend two million years, but scarcely have we any reliable authority to confirm this statement save the last legend.\(^5\) Approximately we may say that the metronymic family makes its last appearance in the twenty-ninth century B.C.\(^6\)
Another reason is the long association of the children with the mother. The fact that the father spends most of his time outdoors, that he plays an unimportant part in the domestic affairs, and that the children feel economically less dependent, in fact independent of him, makes him an unimportant and uninteresting figure in the household. Even in the reign of Ki-Ku, who is supposed to be a male ruler, the grown people are described to know the mother only.

The third reason is the existence of the custom of polyandry. Modern Chinese historians agree that the Pamir Plateau, the so-called "North-West," is the original habitat of our race. But no tradition has been given as to the emigration of our ancestors from any other region. The attempts to connect them with the Summerians and the Akkads meets the denial even of Occidental scholars. Consequently Kansu, Shensi, on account of economic and geographical causes, polyandry prevails even up to the present day. The scarcity of the fair sex has therefore contributed to the power of woman in accordance with the law of demand and supply.

A surviving evidence of the high position

The most convincing evidence of the high position of woman is in the etymology of the Chinese Character Hsing, meaning "Surname or Family name." Hsing is formed by the combination of two characters Nu and Sheng, meaning "female" and "birth" respectively. In other words family name is the name of the female or mother by whom the child is given birth. Thus Emperor Sheng Nung (2737-2705 B.C.) and Emperor Huang Ti
Both being descended from Shou-Tien, the rulers of a small principality are surnamed Chiang and Hsi respectively according to the name of the mother. 14

II The Changing Position of Woman

The conditions. 15

The twenty-eighth century sees the fall of woman's position. She is no longer honored but considered as a slave and property. While the surname is still inherited from her, she is deprived of the real power. She is no longer consulted in sale or purchase. Her life and death reside in the will of her lord. With this fall the metronymic government comes to an end.

The causes of decadence

The causes of the downfall of woman's position are both ultimate and proximate. Of the former are physical weakness of woman and sexual impulse of man. Handicapped by child-bearing and overburdened by domestic drudgery, woman leaves herself to the mercy of the barbarian who scarcely dreams of or knows anything about chivalry. 16

Working with this is the sexual impulse which grows with the advance of culture. Polyandry fails to satisfy the carnal desire of the barbarians. Jealousy of husbands often leads to duel and the victor takes by force the spoil, the woman whom he cares for. 17

Turning to the proximate causes we find in the first place economic struggle. The unproductive soil of Tibet and Kansu, where there exists a considerable number of petty principalities, leads to
the "struggle for existence" which too often results in warfare. The wives and daughters of the conquered become the captives of the conquerors whose chief interest here is the labor of woman. Thus the captured woman is degraded from the rank of a matron to that of a slave. She receives harsh treatment, being furnished with meagre food, scanty clothing, and uncomfortable abode. In short nothing is more deplorable than the fate of captured woman.

In the second place the custom of courting married women contributes no less a share in this downfall. As primitive woman has greater freedom to make her appearance outside of the house, wooing by the other sex becomes common. Primitive people, especially in the age of polyandry, lay no emphasis on virginity or purity, and consequently in their eyes marriage with a deflowered woman appears as attractive as with a virgin. A man can, with the consent of the married woman, bear her off by force from her husband, if she cares to love him; but he is obliged to pay her husband some economic goods, preferably cattle. Thus woman degrades herself for the sake of love.

Lastly, courting of married women develops into the custom of "taking by surprise". If we analyze the Chinese character Huen, meaning "wedding", we find that it is composed of two other characters Nu and Huen meaning "female" and "night" respectively. Wedding is nothing but the taking of a female by surprise at night time when she is unguarded.
III The Marriage Bond and the Match-Making Agency

The Bond and the causes of its invention

The decadence of woman's position is perpetuated by two inventions of Emperor Fu-Hsi (2852-2738 B.C.) namely, the marriage bond and the match making agency. The bond does not consist in any written document but a rite which requires the male's family to present the female's family two sheets of sheepskin, this being the medium of exchange of the time and number, two, signifying the couple to be united. Thus the stage of wife capture passes into that of wife purchase. 20

It may be noted what motives lead to this invention. These are threefold, First to make an end of the custom of wooing married women above mentioned. Many a wife has been borne away without any adequate compensation. This naturally results in warfare. Second to make an end of the practice of taking females by surprise, or wife capture, which involves dangers to the lives of the other members of the female's family, i.e. bloodshed. But the chief motive is to lessen warfare. Over the chiefs of all the principalities Fu-Hse stands as the supreme ruler. To him belongs the duty as well as the authority of securing peace and tranquility. To mitigate economic distress, the chief cause of constant warfare, he moves his capital to the present province of Honan with the expectation that immigration may serve as a remedy. But the failure of the policy stimulates him to resort to invention. 21

The Match making agency and the causes of its invention

It comes to pass that despite the invention a strong customer too often compels the father of the girl to accept his offer of the sheepskin; for if the girl lacks brothers and her father is
frail on account of age, intimidation by the young bachelor with a crowd of friends and relatives usually succeeds. Consequently the father has, against his will, to sell the daughter to one for whom neither he nor she cares. To guard against this practice Fu-Hsi invents the custom of the matchmaking agency, consisting in the prohibition of the direct bargaining of the parties and the introduction of a middle-man or woman called go-between, through whom the union is brought together. With this matchmaking agency formal marriage begins.
CHAPTER II. WOMAN IN THE LEGENDARY PERIOD

1. Rising Position of Woman.

The Legendary Period embraces the reigns of seven emperors and the first two dynasties of the Chinese history extending from 2697 to 1122 B.C. Mention has been made in the last chapter of the fall of woman's position at the end of the twenty-eighth century. With the rise of Huang-Ti the Yellow Emperor, whose reign is marked by the tide of civilization, she is brought to a more elevated plane than the period preceding. One of the greatest achievements of the time is the invention of Chinese Characters, though Dr. Camus advocates the theory that the Chinese writing is introduced from ancient Mesopotamia.

According to etymology Chi or wife means "equal", especially equal to husband. As a daughter little is known to us concerning her save that she possesses unlimited freedom of outdoor life instead of being confined in a semi-zenana apartment, and that upon marriage she received a dowry consisting of cattle, especially oxen and sheep, and granaries of wheat and grain, thus inheriting a share of her father's property. As a wife her advice is sought in the decision of both domestic and political affairs. Upon her death the child has to observe the mourning period of three years.

II. Inferior Position as Compared with that in the Primitive Society

Preference of male offspring and reasons

Nevertheless in actual practice woman scarcely obtains the
state of equality. Under no circumstance can she succeed her parent as a ruler. We hear of no more queens like Nu-Huang or Nu-Wo. While her advice is sought in political affairs it is rather an act of courtesy than an established custom. Male offspring is always preferred to the female as illustrated by the following incident.

"Emperor Yao while visiting Mountain Hua receives a three-fold benediction from an inhabitant of the adjoining locality: 'Yea, wealth to the sacred man, long life to the sacred man, and many sons to the sacred man.'"

Not many daughters, nor many children, but "many sons" drops from the lips of the inhabitant. The preference for the male has its ground not in the fact that he is able to offer sacrifice to ancestors but that he possesses greater physical skill to be utilized in labor and military engagements; while woman, being excelled in both cases, needs the service of man in time of conception and birth of a child. She never bears arms nor acquired any territory by her own effort but lives at the expense of the male.

**Prevalence of polygyny and causes**

Polygyny follows the "preference of the male", comes to prevail, and receives public sanction. Thus Emperor Chuang-Hu is in possession of two consorts; Ti-Ku four; Shun two; Shou-Kan of the Hsia Dynasty two; Tang and Ti-Yi of the Shang Dynasty nine and three respectively. At the beginning among the several wives of the same man no rank and file exist; concubinage has not yet appeared; very often these women are sisters. Neverthe-
less in marriage the father makes all the arrangements without any consultation with the daughters.  

Students usually assign wife capture as the prelude to polygyny. Pedantic as the Chinese are, they have presented us, thought scattered here and there, three causes, in none of which can the author find any connection with wife capture. In the first place polygyny serves as a means to an end, that is, to secure a male offspring. Emperor Ti-Ku marries four empresses in succession for no other reason than the fact that none of the first three gives birth to a son before the marriage of the fourth wife. In the second place polygyny constitutes a governmental policy. In a country under the feudal system the overlord, King, or emperor encounters great difficulty in subduing the petty states with either virtue or armed force. By marrying a plurality of wives, one from each state a strong tie of kinship would bind them to allegiance. In case the marriage is between the two ruling families of different states of equal rank more peace than war can be expected. Thirdly, polygyny has its underlying cause in economic circumstance. Careful scrutiny tells us that the few select, or aristocrats, alone possess plural wives. The majority in ancient society, when economic struggle is keen, never succeeds in supporting more than one consort. To the author it is logical to add another cause, that house industry, especially clothing, needs manual labor when the weaving process is still in its infancy. 

Gestatory education and maternal principle.

As the purpose of polygynous marriage is for the propagation of male offspring, so the purpose of female education is the preparation for motherhood. This is often entitled "Gestatory education and maternal principle," the former to be applied pre-
natally and the latter postnatally. Gestatory education is the
observance of certain rules by the mother during pregnancy and can
be no better expressed than by Professor Headland in the following
passage. 19

"When a woman becomes pregnant she should separate
herself from her husband until the birth of her
child. While sleeping she should lie on her back; while
sitting or standing her body should be in an
upright position, and the weight equally distributed.
She should not laugh loudly. She should not eat
food of bad flavors, nor anything that is not cut
properly. To eat hashed-up food will give a care­
less disposition to the child, as it is an
indication of a careless disposition on the part
of the mother. She should not sit down on a mat
that is awry, but first turn it square about, for
the same reason as above. Her eyes should not see
bad colors, nor should she see bad sights, nor
look at obscene pictures. Her ears should hear no
obscene sounds, nor should she gossip or listen to
improper conversation. Her mouth should utter no
bad words, and she should be careful of all her
language. When about to retire at night she should call
in blind story tellers to recite poetry and tell
beautiful tales so that while sleeping her mind
may dwell upon these things. All the months of her
pregnancy she must be watchful of the things by
which her mind is affected, and keep a strict guard
upon her temper. If she is affected by good things
the child will be good; if by bad things the child
will be bad. If she is careful to obey these
rules, when her child is born it will be physically,
mentally, and morally in a perfect condition."

"Maternal principle" consists in setting virtuous ex­
amples before the child, training and building up its habit and
character, and teaching it what the mother knows, provided it
is advantageous and serviceable in future. 20

The best example of motherhood in both prenatal and post­
natal education is furnished by Tai-Yin, the grandmother of Wu-Wang
or the mother of Wen Wang, who has inherited from her so high
mental capacity that "Give him beginning, he will find out the
end himself," or literally, "Give him one, and he will know
hundred." He distinguishes himself as the author of the "Canons of Changes" and a moral ruler. Other virtuous mothers are Chiang-Yuen who teaches her son Chu arboriculture especially of mulberry and hemp, and succeeds in causing him to be honored as the god of agriculture; Chien-Ti, the mother of Chi, who learns from her the science of astronomy and fragments of ethics and distinguishes herself as minister of education; Chiao, the wife of Yu and mother of Chi who receives his entire moral education from her, the father being occupied with the regulation of the great flood; Tai-Chiang the grandmother of Wen-Wang educating her three sons to such a perfection that no fault can be deducted from their characters; and finally Tai-Szu, the mother of Wu-Wang, training ten sons none of whom ever shows a trace of depravity.

**Domestic and filial duties**

We have studied woman of the Legendary Period as a mother. Let us turn to her as a wife. Her domestic duties consist in cocoon feeding, cloth weaving, cooking, laundry, and gathering vegetables, herbs and tea. Cocoon feeding for the manufacture of silk is distinctly the contribution of woman to civilization, the inventor being Empress Si-Ling, wife of Huang-Ti. The discovery of fire, quickly followed by the invention of cookery, is attributed to man rather than woman. History gives no more trustworthy account than the "Disertation on the Roast Pig," in which Bobo represents the first cook. In case the wife lacks the knowledge of household industry the husband employs a female tutor to give her instruction. In addition to these lines of home economics the tutor imparts to her the wifely virtues, such as
harmonious relations and good terms with other wives, avoidance of jealousies, and modesty to her lord, or in other words obedience to his will. We find a typical wife in Queen Yu Hsin of Tang, the first King of the Shang Dynasty. Her house is characterized by a systematic organization. Through her power of osmosis other wives become so virtuous that jealousy is unknown among them.

To the mother-in-law the wife also owes her filial obligations. This is not an established rule in the Legendary Period till the mother of Wu-Wang (Tai Szu) takes the initiative. Beyond all doubts her purpose is the winning of her husband's high estimation and love, but unfortunately it incidentally casts the germ of the custom of the duties of daughter-in-law, which becomes firmly planted in the Li-Ki, the "Books of Rites," resulting in the outrageous dominion of the mother-in-law—fore milleniums to come. As to the contents of these duties, details will be given in the next chapter.

**Burial of Woman**

Having traced woman's position under this period during her life time let us study her as deceased. The termination of the life of a virgin constitutes no traditional significance any more than that of a bachelor or a premature child. It is the death of the wife or the mother that calls our attention. It is still held in China that the burial of husband and wife should be in the same tomb if they were properly married. The denial of this practice is the indication of the inequality of sexes. This is exactly what it is in the Legendary Period. Emperor Shun, for example, is buried in the present province of Kwangsi in South China; while his two wives in the northern part of the country.
Woman the cause of political trouble.

It is rather unfortunate that both dynasties Hsia and Shang terminate with the most infamous women in history, most infamous if history is not guilty of exaggeration, thus creating the opinion that woman is the cause of dynastic destruction. Mei-Elì of the Hsia Dynasty is described as a woman without a single redeeming virtue, her whole purpose in life being the desire to do evil. Emperor Kieh, infatuated by her, builds for her palace and gardens of the most expensive materials. In one garden a host of at least three thousand drunkards or dissolute people are gathered to participate in the orgies she has instituted. A forest of dry meats i.e. the trees are hung with all kinds of meats, and spirit pond on which boats may sail. When the drum sounds every drunkard jumps in to drink and sport while Mei-Hi and the emperor look on watching with delight how many get drunk and how many get drowned.

Still more wicked is Ta-Ki, of whom not a single feature shows that any womanly instinct exists. Extreme licentiousness and excessive cruelty are her chief characteristics. King-Chou-Sin orders the minister of Music to compose for her the most indecent dances. The famous "Stag Tower", which takes seven years in erection and covers more than a mile square, surrounded by a magnificent and filled with the rarest animals is merely for her pleasure. The spirit pond and Dry Meat Forest in imitation of Emperor Kieh are also built. No public opinion enters into her...
consideration. Heavy taxes are levied. When the people murmur, she urges the King to inflict the most severe punishments ever invented. She personally divided two punishments, the "Heater" and the "Roaster". The former consists of heating a piece of metal which the unfortunate is compelled to hold in his hands; the latter of a copper pillar well spread and laid over a pit fall of burning charcoal, on which the unfortunate have to climb up thus being roasted. Ta-Ki is delighted to see such agonies.

Story speaks of the dispute of the King with Ta-Ki over the fact that the old man's leg contains less marrow than the young man's so that the latter is more sensitive to cold. This happens when an old and a young man are wading across the stream. To settle this both have their legs cut off by the King. Such is her cruelty.

The excessive cruelty of both Mei-Hi and Ta-Ki is reckoned as the cause of the fall of both dynasties. So says Cheng Yung Hsing, "The three dynasties lost their empire by wicked women. Hsi by Mei-Ei, Shang by Ta-Ki and Western Chou (1122 B.C.-770 B.C.) by Pau-Sze, one of the thirteen wantons."

III Summary

The equality of sexes is a mere theory. Woman is always treated as a means, never an end, whether she be wife or mother.
T'A KI, CHOW SIN'S EMPRESS.
CHAPTER III. WOMAN IN THE GOLDEN AGE

I. A period of supression

With the advent of the Chou Dynasty 1122 B.C.-248 B.C., a period characterized by the highest watermark of Chinese civilization, woman's position is so down-trodden that she never regains her former status. It is the purpose of this chapter to enumerate the causes of suppression, its measures and their results.

II. The causes of suppression

With the unlimited freedom of outdoor life of woman, it happens that the physically weak girls while travelling unaccompanied frequently encounter the danger of falling into the hands of savages and aborigines. This gives rise to the pretext of protection by rules imposed upon them in the "Books of Rites". Another evil arises from the facts that boys and girls hold private conference in the open air, that guided by impulse not infrequently wreck their lives, and that in happier cases unite with each other in wedlock, without the consent of the parents. To prevent these, elaborate measures are wrought for the poor woman, to bind, to fetter and in fact to imprison her both physically and intellectually.

But there is a greater cause, the perpetuation of polygyny entirely regardless of the life condition of woman. Moral teachings even go so far as to estimate absence of jealousy among the wives of the same husband as one of the greatest virtues.
III The measures

To "upright" the custom as they call it there grows up a series of measures of which the first one is the rules prescribed in Nei-Zeh, or the "Pattern of Family," the tenth book of Li-Ki, or the "Books of Rites." This gives a detailed description of the relation between the sexes, especially their separation from each other, filial duties of daughters-in-law, female education, age of marriage, and cause of divorce. Here only the first three will be considered, the rest in their place.

Relation between the sexes

Separation of the sexes begins as early as seven when boys and girls do not occupy the same mat (seating bench) nor eat together. At ten the girl ceases to leave the woman's apartments. As they grow up the rules become more rigid. The following quotation illustrates the point.

"The men should not speak of what belongs to the inside (of the house), nor the woman of what belongs to the outside. Except at sacrifices and funeral rites, they should not hand vessels to one another. In all other cases when they have occasion to give and receive anything, the woman should receive it in a basket. If she have no basket they should both sit down, and the other put the thing on the ground, and she then take it up. Outside or inside, they should not go to the same well nor to the same bathing-house. They should not share the same mat in lying down; they should not ask or borrow anything from one another; they should not wear similar lower garments. Things spoken outside should not come in. When a woman goes out at the door, she must keep her face covered. She should walk at night (only) with a light; and if she have no light, she should not stir. On the road a man should take the right side, and the woman the left."
Even between husband and wife separation rules exist. They are not to use the same stand or rack for their clothes. The wife is not to hang anything on the pegs or stand of her husband, nor to keep anything in his boxes, or to share his bathing-house. It is not until seventy that they can deposit these things without separation. Unless the concubine reaches the age of fifty she should not be with the husband more than once in five days.

Duties of daughters-in-law

With regard to the duties of daughters or daughters-in-law they will appear to Westerners to be very intolerable. In many instances they share them with their brothers and husbands.

("Sons") wives should serve their parents-in-law as they serve their own.9

"Thus dressed they (sons and their wives) should go to their parents and parents-in-law. On getting to where they are, with bated breath and gentle voice they should ask if their clothes are (too) warm or (too) cold, whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any part, and if they be so, they should proceed reverently to stroke and scratch the place. They should in the same way, going before or following after, help and support their parents in quitting or entering (the apartment). In bringing in the basin for them to wash, the younger will carry the stand and the elder the water; they will beg to be allowed to pour out the water, and when the washing is concluded, they will hand the towel. They will ask whether they want anything and then respectfully bring it. All this they will do with an appearance of pleasure to make their parents feel at ease. (They should bring) gruel, thick or thin, spirits or must, soup with vegetables, beans, wheat, spinach, rice, millet, maize, and glutinous millet,—Whatever they wish in fact, with dates, chestnuts, sugar and honey, to sweeten their dishes; with the ordinary or the large-leaved violets, leaves of elm trees, fresh or dry, and the most soothing rice water to lubricate them; and with fat and oil to enrich them. The parents will be sure to taste them, and when they have done so the young people should withdraw.10

"When the parents wish to sit the sons and their wives should carry their mats, and ask in what direction they shall lay down. When they wish to lie down the eldest among them should carry the mats and ask where they wish to place their feet, while the youngest will carry a (small) bench for them to lean on while they stretch out their legs."
But there are also regulations upon the daughters-in-law alone.

"When her father in law is dead, her mother in law takes the place of the old lady, but the wife of the eldest son, on all occasions of sacrificing and receiving guests, must ask her directions in everything while the other sons' wives must ask directions from her. When her parents-in-law employ the eldest son's wife, she should not be dilatory, unfriendly, or unpolite to the wives of his brothers (for their not helping her.) When the parents-in-law employ any of them, they should not presume to consider themselves on an equality with the other; walking side by side with her or giving their orders in the same way or sitting in the same position as she. If any one give the (son's) wife an article of food or dress, a piece of clath or silk, a handkerchief for her girdle, an iris or orchid, she should receive and offer it to her parents-in-law. If they accept it she will be glad as if she were receiving it afresh. If they return it to her, she should decline it, and if they do not allow her to do so, she will take it as if it were a second gift, and lay it by to wait till they may want it. If she should want to give it to some of her own cousins, she must ask leave to do so, and that being granted, she will give it."  

**Education**

Taking up the subject of education we find that the "Pattern of Family" does not give a full account, save concerning that of the early part of the child's life. I have therefore to supplement it from other sources, especially "Biographies of Women". We have studied about the prenatal education in the last chapter.
Here the discussion will deal with only the postnatal. The period of instruction is divided into three stages, from birth to ten, the small learning; from ten to twenty, prematrimonial learning; and from twenty ad infinitum postmatrimonial learning.

From birth to ten education lies mainly in the hands of parents. They take care to see that their little daughter is free from danger, at the same time properly dressed, well nourished, behaves in the appropriate manner and observes what the elders do, especially with regard to filial duties. Such education in fact applies to both sexes. Thus the "Pattern of Family" runs.

"When the child was able to take its own food, it was taught to use the right hand. When it was able to speak, a boy (was taught to) respond boldly and clearly; a girl submissively and law. The former was fitted with a girdle of leather; the latter, with one of silk."

"At six years they were taught the numbers of the cardinal points; at the age of seven, boys and girls did not occupy the same mat nor eat together; at eight, when going out or coming in at gate or door, and going to their mats to eat and drink, they were required to follow their elders: The teaching of yielding to others was now begun, at nine they were taught to number the days."

Again

"Youths who have not yet been capped and maidens who have not yet assumed the hair-pin, at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands, rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, brush the dust from that which is left free, bind it up in the shape of a horn, and put on their necklaces. They should all hand at their girdles the ornamental (bags of) perfume; and as soon as it is day break, they should (go to) pay their respects (to their) parents and ask what they will eat and drink. If they have eaten, they will (remain to) assist their elder (brothers and sisters) and see what has been prepared."
"The children go earlier to bed, and get up later, according to their pleasure. There is no fixed time for their meals." 

It is clear that with the exception of rudimentary mathematics the content of education is here wholly uncultur-al. The method of training is mostly direct imparting of knowledge on the part of the teacher and direct imitation and obedience on the part of the pupil.

At the age of ten begins the prematrimonial education, in charge of which is the governess. The contents of the curriculum are the arts of pleasing speech and manners; virtues of docility and three obediences—to father when a daughter, to husband when a wife, and to son when a widow; domestic works such as handling hempen fibers, feeding cocoons, weaving silks, forming fillets and making garments; and finally sacrificial ceremonies such as supplying liquors and sauces, filling the various stands and dishes with pickles and brine, and assisting in setting forth the appurtenances for the rites.

At the age of fifteen the ceremony of "Fixing hairpin" takes place. This consists of selecting a date on which a woman dressed up in formal costume puts the pin in the hair of the girl as a sign of recognizing her maturity.

After her marriage the education goes on. During the first three months the husband instructs her on four points: first womanly virtues such as filial piety (for the purpose of marriage is, in addition to progeny, to serve the parents), chastity or purity, and observance of rites and etiquettes (which are guards for purity); second, womanly language (pleasing speech), such as gracefulness in expression, avoidance of
boisterous utterance, and self-depriciative and other-appreciative terms, third, womanly demeanor or countenance, such as polished smiles toward mother-in-law, mildness toward other sisters-in-law, graveness toward the other sex, and self-reservedness toward the younger generation; and fourth womanly works which are mainly domestic. In short the four points are simply the repetition or summary of what was taught in childhood and the pre-matrimonial period.

The husband does not educate her in everything personally but entrusts the task to a governess or nurse, or both. The governess is in charge of instruction while the nurse acts as a guard. In less aristocratic families only one, usually the former, is employed. In addition to the assigned duties, she is often the intermediate agent who carries the massage of one to the other, husband to wife and vice versa. Care must be taken in the selection of the governess that in her, gay and licentious traits are absent and high age (at least fifty), an index of vast experience and sound character passes her.

As to the contents of education we lack information. From the "Biographies of Women" the majority appear to be conversant with the Books of Rites, the Books of Poetry and History.

We have dwelt long enough on the Pattern of the Family. Let us turn to the second measure, the writing of the Books of Poetry. The bards of the Chou Dynasty are the spokesman of the age. Every line or word once carved on the bamboo serves as the
criterion of one's character. Unfortunate is he or she who is attacked by poets with satirical lines which are to be read for ages. Out of the three hundred and five odes re-edified from three thousand odes by Confucious, one hundred and sixty deal with "Lessons from the States." Of these a considerable portion is devoted to women both moral and licentious and more of the latter. So runs the Confucian Analects, "The master said, 'In the Book of Poetry are there three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in one sentence—Having no depraved thoughts.'" This simply means that upon reading the Book of Poetry the reader should learn the lessons out of it rather than to enjoy himself by dwelling upon the description of the wanton women and their attractive physical features. With a territory of fifteen states and history of over four centuries should the cases of licentiousness amount to thousand, it is, by no means a horrible figure (in comparison with the 1326 divorces in Polk County, Iowa in 1915). While many an ode ridicules the man of the time, not a few condemn women. Here are a few specimens:

"On a beautiful day
On the plateau of the south
Instead of weaving hemp
They dance in the fair"

"The quiet (quiet from the lover's viewpoint)
Beautiful maid
Should be waiting at the corner of city walls,
I love but see her not;
Scratching my head, stagger around."

"Returning from suburb she gives me a young rush
Oh, how beautiful and wonderful is the rush
Not that you are beautiful
But that you are the gift of the beautiful (girl)"
The following are taken from Legges' translation.27

1. An unfortunate woman, who has been seduced into improper connexion, now cast off (after three years' union), relates and bemoans her sad case. "A simple looking lad you were, carrying cloth to exchange it for silk:— you came to make proposals to me. I conveyed you through the Khi, as far as Tun-Khiu, 'It is not I' (I said), 'Who would protract the time; But you have no good go-between. I pray you be not angry, and let Autumn be the time,' I ascended that ruined wall, to look forwards Tukwan: and when I saw (you) not (coming from it), my tears flowed in streams. When I did see (you coming from) Tukwan, I laughed and I spoke. You had consulted, (you said), The tortoise shell and the divining stalks, and there was nothing unfavorable in their response. 'Then come,' (I said, with your carriage, and I will remove with my goods.'"

2. Another stangae indicates "The grossest immoralities prevailing in the court of Wei". "How rich and splendid is her pleasant figured robe! Her black hair in masses like clouds, no false locks does she descend to. There are ear plugs of jade, Her comb-pin of ivory, and her forehead, so white. She appears like a visitant from heaven! She appears like a goddess."

The third measure is found in the law that under no condition is woman permitted to use her own judgment to transact any business, no matter how pressing it may be, without the consent of the husband. Should any violation of this occur, the woman is condemned as an outlaw. 29

Closely connected with this is the fourth measure, the deprivation of the honor of using the mothers' name, 30 as surname, which is used in transacting business. The name of the father becomes the family name ad infinitum. Besides woman is reduced to anonymity. Her name consists of only two characters, the first being the canonized name of the husband, and the last that of her family. Thus Chuang-Chiang 31 means the daughter of the Chiang family and wife of Marquis Chuang of Wei.
The fifth measure is the regulation of marriage. Here six things enter into consideration: 1. The custom of fecundity. 2. The custom of polygyny. 3. The custom of exogamy. 4. Fixation of the age of marriage. 5. Invention of the six rites of marriage. 6. Divorce. These will be taken up according to the above order.

**Fecundity**

Says Mencius "There are three things which are unfilial and to have no posterity is the greatest of them." Ancstral sacrifice should in no wise be permitted to discontinue, and to insure continuation male offspring must be secured. The birth of a son is celebrated, but never a daughter.

"When a son and heir to the ruler of a state was born, and information of the fact was carried to him he made arrangements to receive him at a feast where the three animals should all be provided, and the cook took in hand the (necessary) preparations.

"In all cases of receiving a son, a day was chosen; and if it were the eldest son of the King, the three animals were killed (for the occasion). For the son of a common man, a sucking pig was killed; for the son of an officer, a single pig; for the son of a great officer, the two smaller animals, and for the son of the ruler of a state, all the three. If it were not the eldest son, the provision was diminished in every case one degree."

**Polygyny**

Fecundity is necessarily connected with polygyny, as barrenness of women usually occurs. Although the Great Sage (Mencius) is never known as polygynous, marriage of several hundred women to a single husband does not meet his objection certainly not his disapproval. "Food spread before me over ten cubits square, and attendant girls (literally concubines) to the amount of hundreds:"
these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. The marriage of the two daughters of Emperor Yao to Shun however receives his approbation on more than one occasion. Never does he attempt to fight against the custom.

Polygyny is not only approved by the so-called sages of the time but even ordained in the Books of Rites, which provides as follows: The King marries twelve girls, the prince nine, the great officer three, the inferior officer two, and the common man one. In case of the sterility of the wife whose the common man does not always divorce he may take a concubine, but not another wife. The Pattern of Family does not disapprove plural marriage of a common man as will be seen under the subject of divorce. The first wife of the King is called queen, of the feudal prince helpmate, of the great officer attendant of the inferior officer service woman of the common man mate. This nomenclature is more or less arbitrary owing to the absence of equivalent terms in English vocabulary. All the others besides the wife, subordinated to her, are concubines. In case of her death one of the concubines is promoted to the vacancy, more often the one who win her husbands' attention—hence "sipping vinegar" meaning in Chinese, harboring jealousy. For this practice in the marriage of a ruler concubines are usually the sisters or cousins of the wife. But during her life-time due respect to her is expected from the concubines. Duke Hwan of Tsie, the most powerful of the five chiefs, is the first man who gives an injunction to the effect that a concubine is not to be exalted to the rank of wife.
It must also be noted that the title of mistress is not conferred upon any bride until three months after the wedding,\textsuperscript{45} when she has been accompanied by the groom to pay a visit to the ancestral hall.

There is however, another force cooperation with the custom of pecundity to perpetuate polygyny,— the fear of the growth of power of neighboring states.\textsuperscript{46} Take the state of Yue for example. In order to revenge the state of Wu for the defeat Yue suffered, the King of Yue (when the King of Chou falls in power, all the powerful princes assume the title of King) resolves to train up armies of enormous size. This leads to the thought of denser population, and as a mean of acquiring it, the marriage of plural wives is encouraged.

\textbf{Exogamy}

Before or even in the leading part of the Chou Dynasty endogamy and exogamy coexist.\textsuperscript{47} Emperor Shun, who marries his aunts, the two daughters of Emperor Yao, is descended from the same male ancestor. So is Emperor Shou-Kan marrying two daughters of the Yan family. Beginning from the Chan Dynasty exogamy is widely preached. Occidental scholars, who consider this practice a wise or salient project for eliminating the mentally unfit, have highly praised\textsuperscript{48} the originator of this institution. Nevertheless Chinese exogamy differs from the western in meaning. In the Annals of Spring and Autumn, it runs: "Marriage of male and female of the same surname (family name) will not result in pecundity. The history of Cheng states, "Like offspring, when united, do not perpetuate."
Thus it appears that exogamy as a social policy for the multiplication of the race lacks biological or scientific basis as its support, since marriage between families of only the same surname is forbidden, while that of the first cousins of different surnames is tolerated. Moreover in case of purchasing concubines, should their surnames be unknown, divination is consulted. Exogamy is by no means insured. That endogamy will result in nervous diseases is unknown to the originator of the custom, Chin-Kung, granting that it is established for fecundity woman’s position is degraded by taking marriage as a means to an end, i.e. to secure abundant offspring. It is further debased inasmuch as exogamy constitutes a policy of securing peaceful diplomatic relations with people of other tribes or states. Again exogamy offers no opportunity for the parties involved, to get acquainted with each other, thus resulting in unhappy marriages. The author is not repudiating exogamy, but tracing it as an indirect, if not direct, cause of the decadence of woman’s position.

Fixation of the age of Marriage.

This, as found in the Pattern of Family, is thirty for man and twenty for woman, and in case of the death of a parent three years (mourning period) should lapse before wedding i.e. twenty three. While late marriage will probably result in producing robust offspring, and in efficient or at least reliable maternal nurture and education, the difference of a decade in age necessarily subjects one sex to the other. Leaving out the question of the difficulty of mutual adaption (which probably constitutes the main cause of the high note of divorce in America) we can easily see that should the husband be first gathered to his fathers, which is naturally expected on account of his higher age, --widowhood inevitably takes place.
Invention of six rites

This is an exceedingly elaborate form of betrothal and wedding. The first rite is "giving a choice," taking place after the acceptance of the proposal of the boy's father by the family of the girl. In a case of this kind the parents of the boy select the day and receive the consent of the parents of the girl to allow her to become their daughter-in-law. The second rite is the "inquiry into her name," which the go-between (match-maker in Chapter I.) reports to the boy's family to be divined. The pseudo-science of divination reaches its climax during the Chou Dynasty when everything finds it the last court of appeal. The meaning of the name according to the "Cannon of Changes", accompanied by the reading and interpretation of tortoise shell and divine stalks, is related to one's life in future. The eldest son of a marquis by the name of Hostility falls into the hands of his younger brother, MILITARY SUCCESS. As the eldest son is legally entitled to the marquisate the younger brother fights for it resulting in fratricide and Military Success inheriting the territory of the state. When the result of divination turns out favorable, the boy's family within a limited number of days should, through the go-between "give the lucky result," the third rite. The fourth rite is called "giving engagement presents," consisting of ten pieces of black silk and two animal skins offered by the boy's family to that of the girl. The fifth rite is called "inquiry about the wedding date," a date being divined to be favorable for both of them. This consists of consultation with calendar and astrologer. The last rite is called "personal receiving,"
consisting of the bridegroom's riding in a black carriage to the bride's family to take her home on the day of the wedding. With the exception of the fourth rite, each of the five is accompanied by a goose offered by the boy's family.

With such a complicated system of ceremonies the facility of marriage is reduced to the minimum. The practice of offering a goose is indicative of the survival of the custom of wife purchase in a modified form. Purchasing of concubines has been mentioned under the subject of exogamy. Again the arrangement, in every occasion, of marriage is in the hands of the father and carried out through the go-between. The parties involved are forbidden to play any part. The go-between who reaps wages by lying is the cause of many a domestic war. Thus runs the proverb: "Be no go-between be no guaranttee, and you will have no trouble throughout your life." Besides everything is trusted to divination, which alone decides the propriety or impropriety of union.

Divorce.

From the very tongue of the wife of Pan Hsu, we learn that under no condition is a husband to be divorced by a wife, while a wife may be divorced or deserted on seven grounds. 1. Jealousy, especially when the husband loves other wives, or is unfaithful to her. 2. Adultery. 3. Thieving, i.e. stealing husband's articles and giving them to her parents' family. 4. Nagging, talkativeness, or literally "long tongue," expressing her dissatisfaction. 5. Arrogance and scornfulness, that is, proud of her father's family and neglectful of his parents or being disphrased by his parents. Thus says the Pattern of the Family:


"If a son have two concubines, one of whom is loved by his parents, while he himself loves the other, yet he should not dare to make this equal to the former whom his parents love, in dress, or food, or the duties which she discharges, nor should he lessen his attentions to her after their death. If he very much approves of his wife, and his parents do not like her, he should divorce her." 56

6. Barrenness. 7 Leprosy

Nevertheless there are also three qualifying conditions:

1. If she has duly passed through the period of mourning for his parents. 2. If he has grown rich since their marriage. 3. If she has no longer any home to return to. 57

IV The Resulting Conditions

As violent reaction follows a momentous exertion of force, so lamentable results follow coercive measures, lamentable from the pessimistic and conservative Confucian scholars' point of view. It must not escape notice that some do bear copious fruits. Let us turn our attention to both of these according to the prearranged order.

A. Effects of the first measure, the rules in the Pattern of family.

Relation between the sexes

The separation between the sexes may be said to produce the most unfavorable results despite the fact that the custom still persists to-day as will be discussed in the seventh and eighth chapters. Among the common people of the state of Wei it is not infrequent in the period we are discussing for boys and girls to meet along the "path between fields or in the "forest of mulberry trees." Elopment not uncommonly occurs. Scarcely less licentious customs prevail in the state of Cheng where the girls wait on the roadside to stop the passengers. So runs the ode,
"Not that I care not for you
But that you approach me not."^59

Again

"Though you care not for me
Are there no others?"^60

The state of Chen^61 ranks next to the two above mentioned.
The girls neglect the weaving loom and are deeply absorbed in
dancing and singing parties where both sexes commingle. Sexual
love grows so intense that girls waste their time by lying on
the bed and shedding tears (thinking about boys.)

If we examine carefully we see that the situation is
even worse among the upper classes. In the "Biographies
of Women" of the thirteen wantons all belong to the aristocratic
families. While both sexes prove guilty, the male as a matter
of fact, shares greater blame.^63 Six princes appear to debauch
their older generations,--three stepmothers, a grandmother, an
aunt and a mother. Two princes by force wed to themselves the
brides of their sons, one great officer by force weds to himself
the bride of his brother; two great officers debauch each the
other's wife by an agreement; two princess voluntarily per-
mit themselves to be cuckolds; a prince debauches his own
sister; a prince and his minister debauch the same fascinating
woman; a queen and two ladies hold illicit intercourse with their
brothers-in-law, or younger brothers of the husbands. Some mur-
der the husbands of beauties; others absorb states by military
expeditions for a Helen or a Cleopatra. Hence the proverb, "First
smile ruins a city; second smile ruins a nation."
Duties of daughters-in-law

Filial duties as a whole are fulfilled by both daughters and daughters-in-law except in the state of Chin where mother- and daughter-in-law usually hold oratorical contest. From the Biographies of Women we find two filial daughters and two filial daughters-in-law. A brief sketch of each may be given as follows:

1. The daughter of Yen. Yen, a native of Tse in a state of drunkenness kills the favorite tree of the sovereign and according to mandate is to be put to death. His daughter argues in the court of the premier defending her father's innocence, charging the sovereign for his higher estimate of the life of plant than that of a human being, and entreating that she be allowed to die for him. Upon the persuasion of the premier the sovereign forgives the father and repeats the mandate.

2. The daughter of the ferryman. The chief of the ferryman of the Hwang River being intoxicated fails to keep his promise to carry a prince across on a certain day. With a fire of indignation, the prince is about to make an end to his life, when the daughter argues that it gives her father no chance to comprehend his guilt and carries the prince over. Her wit and filial piety win the prince who afterwards make her his wife.

3. The wife of Pan-Hsu. Pan-Hsu, a native of Sung, being in the governmental employ of the state of Wei marries another wife, leaving the first at home. Despite the infidelity of the husband, she serves his mother with extra care, repudiating the advice of the wife of the elder brother of her husband to ask her to leave the house.

4. The wife of an officer of pottery. The officer being employed in the state for three years, his wealth increases by leaps and bounds. At the end of the fifth year he comes home with a hundred wagons full of articles. While all his relatives are extending their congratulations to him, his wife, who has several times advised him in vain to stop embezzling is weeping bitterly, saying that
while his house grows rich his country grows poor. The mother-in-law, full of indignation, expels her with her little son. Soon the husband is charged with corruption and receives the capital punishment. His mother, however, is spared for high age. In this time of emergency the wife returns to serve her till her death.68

As recorded in the "Annals of Spring and Autumn," which takes the place of the "Books of Poetry," to chastise the rebellious vassals and sons, as the writers call them, parricides and regicides swell in number. Although in some instances the connection can be traced to women, so far as the author can see, the sons play the most important role (within a period of 242 years regicides amount to thirty-six) Matricide, which has closer connection with woman's position, does not happen.69 One son, Prince Chuang of Cheng, banishes his mother and is reconciled with her afterwards.70 Another son, King Chao of Shin dethrones his mother as queen mother.71

True it is that the mother holds a high position in the Chou Dynasty, but never does it equal that of the father. For the death of a mother who has been divorced by the father or who has remarried after his death no mourning ever takes place.72 Perhaps this can be justified on the ground that the children belong to the father, that second marriage means not only unfaithfulness to the father but also neglect of his children, and that in case of divorce her debased character debars her from the honor. Thus runs one of the comments in literature about Marchioness Wen-Chiang of Lu, an adulteress:
"Her parentage is denied, not that she is the enemy of the son, but that she is the enemy of the father."

But in case of the licentiousness of the father, neither the children nor their mother have the right to refuse the observance of mourning ceremony. The charge is against them, not the father. This however is not the worst. The following incident illustrates how unquestionably a patriarchal authority presides over the house.

"The father of Chang beat to death his mother (father's wife) for an offense and buried her in the stable as a matter of revenge. When Chang (the son) became general, the King asked him to reburry his mother in a better constructed tomb. So replied the general: 'Thanks, your majesty, but inasmuch as it was the wishes of my father to bury, in the stable, my mother who offended him despite his death, I would not attempt to do anything contrary to his will.'"

**Education**

So far as education is concerned it seems to be crowned with success. Out of the ninety seven women in the Biographies eighty five receive highest honors by being classed in the following types: 1. Typical mothers, eight. 2. Virtuous wives, fifteen. 3. Wise women, fifteen. 4. Polite women sixteen. 5. Faithful wives, twelve. 6. Eloquent women, thirteen. It must be remarked that only the most eminent women enter the list. This number, when compared with that of the wantons, thirteen, becomes significant.
The typical mothers are represented as extremely conversant with the "Books of Rites" and usually bring up eminent children whose conduct, guided by rules of propriety, make them the models of the ages. As an example the mother of Mencius serves. Two of them, a mother-in-law and a governess make contributions to the "Books of Poetry" still read to-day.

Four out of the five chiefs of the five supreme powers possess a virtuous wife each. It is the ambition of the female that achieves the reputation of the husband. The wife of one of the others writes an address for her husband, of which essay none of her husband's pupils succeeds in correcting a single word.

All the wise women are far sighted; their prophecies are all fulfilled. Besides they are conversant with History, The Books of Rites, and the Books of Poetry. One of them makes an immortal contribution to the last named. From the modern point of view nearly all the polite women are servile in their observance of rites. Some of them surely die unnecessary deaths.

1. According to the Books of Rites, the lady never leaves the house without the company of both nurse and governess. A lady, on one occasion, when the house is on fire, refuses to leave on account of the absence of the governess, and surrenders herself to the flames.
2. The queen of Chu makes an agreement with the King that she answers to no summon without a symbol. One day the high flood of the Yangtze River is about to overflow a building in which the queen is left by the king to enjoy sight-seeing. A messenger in great hurry requests her to leave in order to escape drowning. She persistently refuses for absence of the proper symbol accompanying the message. Before the messenger can secure the symbol the flood destroys the building and carries the queen away. 82

A considerable number of polite women contribute to the Books of Poetry.

The faithful and benevolent women too often commit suicide for husbands unworthy of them and sacrifice their own children in order that others may live. A stepmother would rather let the court execute her own son than the son of the first wife, which son is the real criminal; 83 while a country woman forsakes her own son in order to save, in time of war, that of her sister-in-law, 84 and of course, as Biography runs, both are spared by the soldiers.

The following are two women's contributions to the Books of Poetry:

1. Book IV Ode 1. The Cypress Boat (a protest of a widow against being urged to marry again, and her appeal to her mother and to heaven.)

"It floats about, that boat, of Cypress wood, There in the middle of the river. With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead, He was my mate, and I swear that till death I will have no other. O mother, O Heaven, Why will you not understand me?" 85

2. Book X Ode II. The Ko-Shang (A wife thinks of her husband who is on a military expedition.)

"The dolichos grows, covering the thorn trees; the Convolvulus spreads all over the waste. The man of my admiration is no more here;—with whom can I dwell? I rest alone." 86
From the Biographies of Eloquent Women it appears that even a ferryman's daughter, a mulberry-plucking girl, or a common country woman is exceedingly learned. Not only does she convince the man with her arguments, but even in a few moments composes literature beautiful and worth reading. Her interpretation of historical facts, of the meaning of the Books of Rites, of the Books of Poetry, never fails. Most of them present policies to the rulers who, after adopting them, achieve political success. The policies, however, appear to be essentially moral, based on the teachings of those books mentioned above. Thus women when able to assert themselves cannot be denied opportunities even in such a period of suppression.

But education has also its failures. None of the thirteen wantons fails to receive high education, and prove herself intelligent. The more they know the more wicked they become. They are the causes of murder, war, and destruction, and the fall of nations.

B. Effects of the second measure, the criticism of Poetry

As soon as the capital of the Chou Dynasty is moved to the east (Lah-Yang in Honan), poetry ceases to appear. As has been stated, in place of it Confucius writes the "Annals of Spring and Autumn." The influence of the "Books of Poetry" is momentary, nor do they reap the result intended. The annals deal more with the duties of vassals and sons forward sovereigns and parents respectively. Even though there are scattered records about licentiousness, they do not constitute the main theme.
C. Effects of the third measure, the law

The law regarding the transaction of business is not known to be violated by woman and it seems to promise a successful measure.

D. Effects of the fourth measure, the deprivation of the honor of using the mother's name as surname.

The honor of using the mother's name as surname is withdrawn and lost forever. Nevertheless given names are often retained. Here the measure to reduce woman to anonymity fails. Besides, the ruler of Sung state confers a canonized name to the wife of Pan Hsu, thus breaking the effort of the measure. In written documents, in case of the death of the father, the son's name is used, and in case of marriage after the death of the father, that of the uncle, and never of the mother.

E. Effects of the fifth measure, the regulation of marriage.

Fecondity and polygyny together debase woman's position more than anything else. The King of Wu spends five years to build a shop for dancing.

"When the breeze scents the lily of the water palace The King of Wu appears on the stage, Where the fascinating girl Si-Sze fails in dancing after drunk and exhausted, Smiling she leans against the bed of white jade by the east window." 96

In the state of Yue the eminent travelling scholars are invited by the King to go into the mountains to debating widows. He himself also fills his palace with girls:

"Where the King of Yue returned from defeating Wu, All the patriots (soldiers) came home with embroidered customs (spoiled) The maids beautiful as flowers once filled the palace But now only the partridges are flying about." 97
In the state of Yen the high officials entertain their guests with concubines company just for a few nights as a matter of hospitality. In the state of Chu there is a surplus of girls who are usually to be married to any guest or traveller, or sold to the highest bidder.

Women are also employed as political machines or toys. The sovereign of Tse sends beauties to the sovereign of Lu to kill his ambition. The King of Chin presents a fascinating woman to the King of Chu who listens to every advice of hers and suffers loss of territory and battle and finally his own life. The prince of Yen gives numerous girls to a swordsman in order that he may be willing to assassinate for him the King of Chin, who finally consolidates the empire.

Exogamy

The custom of exogamy operates successfully with the exception of the sovereign of Tsew, Marquis Hsieh, who marries three wives of the Chi family to which he himself belongs. The disastrous calamities befalling in the state of Wsen resulting from fighting for legacy are ascribed, by uncritical minds, to the endogamy of the father, while as a matter of fact the cause is found in the wickedness of the third wife, who is one of the thirteen wantons.

The Age of marriage.

No authority informs us whether the age of marriage as a custom is extensively violated except by Confucius himself, whose wedding takes place at eighteen. From inference it seems the majority of men marry before thirty, while women marry from eighteen to twenty. The fact that those nobles could de-
The older generation, as described above under the subject of separation of sexes, is indicative of earlier marriage than the age assigned.

The Six Rites

With regard to the betrothal and wedding ceremony the so-called six rites are widely violated. Personal receiving never takes place in the state of Tse. While the conservative Confucius strongly advocated it, his sovereign tends to invalidate it. A man of the state of Hung fails to observe the six rites, and when the girl refuses to marry him on this account he appeals to law and causes her to be imprisoned. Thus even the law does not recognize this custom. Although the custom seems to be in favor of the girl the fact she plays no part in the arrangement of her own business makes the condition so intolerable to her that she elopes, and unites with her lover before wedding and without any go-between (as illustrated by the ode of the forsaken woman of Wei and the mother of Hsing-Du who is married with neither the rites nor the go-between). With the go-between unhappy marriages abound in number. The following stanza is one of the thousand instances of the ill-treatment of the husband:

Book III Ode 4. The Sun and the Moon (the complaint and appeal of Shuang Chiang, a marchioness of Wei, against the bad treatment she received from her husband:

"O Sun, O Moon, which enlighten this lower Earth! There is this man, who treats me not according to the ancient rule. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not regard me?"
Again, the officer who insists upon the observance of the marriage by "go-between" has impeded the free union of the lovers:

Book VI ode 9 Stanzas 1 and 3

"His great carriage rolls along, and his robes of rank glitter like the young sledge. Do I not think of you? But I am afraid of this officer, and dare not (fly to you).

"While living we may have to occupy different apartments; but, when dead, we shall share the same grave. If you say I am not sincere, by the bright sun I swear I am." 107

After marriage, of course, no equality of sexes obtains. There exists a double standard of morality. Thus in case of the death of the husband public opinion disapproves the second marriage of the wife. So runs the proverb, "Chaste woman serves no more than one husband." 108 In case of his death either suicide (sometimes burial alive) or widowhood for life is expected of her. She mourns for her husband as long as a child does for her parent, i.e. three years, while never does the husband mourn for his deceased wife. Nor is he required to pledge faith toward his wife during her life time.

So says the ode:

"In case of licentiousness of man it can be explained; But in case of woman, how is explanation possible?" 109

Even Confucius himself believes in this statement, since he, in reediting does not correct it. Besides he says,

"Woman is to be submissive to man, for her there are three obediences." 110

Wife-beating seems to be not uncommon. As has been stated the father of general Chang beats his wife to death and buries her in the stable. In the Kingdom of Chou a great officer
beats to death his wife (who after having found a lover attempts to poison her husband) and his concubine (who refuses to explain why she spills away the poisonous wine prepared by the wife) 111

General Wā-Chi kills his innocent wife to entertain soldiers in a feast. 112

**Divorce**

Divorces do not take place so frequently as expected. Divorces for adultery may be said never to happen, in unfortunate cases the offense is punished by death; but she is often let alone, as explained under the subject of separation of sexes in this section. Divorces for want of children do not happen since the husband can marry more than one wife. The trouble in the case of a barren woman is the loss of the husband's love, which is usually won by a concubine or another wife who bears a son. Chuang Chiang is a barren marchioness, yet she is never known to be divorced. Neglect of parents alone leads to more divorces than other causes. Confucius is one of them, and probably the first one. His disciple Tseng-Tze 114 divorces his wife on the ground that she fails to cook well the pears for his parents, and is exalted as extremely filial. Nagging, theiving, and jealousy are not known causes. Mencius tries to divorce his wife on the ground of impropriety of manner when alone, but is reproved by his mother who holds that Mencius himself gives no sign when he enters the apartment. 115 It may be said that the causes for divorce are so binding upon woman that she shudders at violating them. It is coercion, not persuasion.
V THE TWO PHILOSOPHERS AND WOMAN.

The reader will suspect that why the author omits entirely Lao-tse and partially Confucius in the discussion, two great names which cannot be passed over even in the history of thought. The author wished to confirm that the former has practically nothing to say regarding women. "Mother" has been used as a metaphor in the fifty second chapter of his Tao-incident Teh-King, being the only incident throughout his writing. The latter is rather a composer than an originator of ideas. All those means of suppression are approved by him, merely because they are institutions of the past. One will find that Confucius work is a compilation or a restatement of the "ancient" teachings. He edits Li-Ki, books of Poetry and others. Westerns have often taken the two terms "Light" and "Darkness" in the canon of charges as a proof of the absolutely low position of woman in China and lays such a blame on Confucius. As a matter of fact the author of the canon is Wen-Wang who take the two terms to indicate two poles of the same thing not exactly as the zoroastrians use them, but also in the sense of double aspects as some philosophers call it.

VI Summary

Such is the status of woman of the Chou Dynasty, scarcely less barbarous than that of the modern primitive woman. It may be said the saddest pages of the history of woman are directly written by those so-called sages of this period, erroneously called "The Golden Age."
VII WOMAN IN THE FIRST EMPIRE

The reader will also notice that the author does not devote a chapter on the woman of the Chin Dynasty (248-206 B.C.) a period between the Chou and the West Han Dynasties. The fact is the Chin Dynasty being an age of constant warfare lays little or no stress on the woman question. In practice the position of woman merely indicated the surviving institutions of the golden Age rather than the invention of the time, and for this reason the author chooses not to condemn the first empire in spite of the extreme atrocity which the conservative Confucian scholars, use to characterize its history. To one who desires no gap between the history of woman of the Chou Dynasty and that of the West Han Dynasty the following facts may suffice.

First of all marriage is arranged by the father without consultation even with the mother. Thus the district magistrate of Huang marries his daughter to general Ying-Pu entirely at his will, and Mr. Lu, the Physiognamist, despite the protest of the mother, marries to Emperor Kao-Ku has daughter who—later becomes the most powerful empress ever known during the period. The palace of Ho-Fang which extends one hundred square miles is filled with beauteous damsels of the empire for fulfilling the lust of the emperor, Shih-Hwang. In banquet these girls play music in front of the tables. Laxity of sexual relations inevitably exists. In one occasion five hundred boys and girls are conveyed in the same boats which are sailed on the East China Sea in search for the life medicine, i.e. drug which according to the Taoist would,
it taken, make one immortal. Emperor Kao-Tsu or rather Mr. Liu Pang enjoys the freedom of constant communication with the wine dealer's wife.¹²⁰

Mother, unless the son is humane, is not highly regarded. As has been mentioned the mother of Chin-Shih Hwang is banished by him.
CHAPTER IV WOMAN IN THE AGE OF STRUGGLE

Introduction

The period 206 B.C.-221 A.D.\(^1\) covering the two Han Dynasties (The West Han and the East Han) may be termed the "Age of Struggle of Woman," a term of the author's own invention.

The causes of the struggle are twofold: the absence of restraint and the growth of self-assertion. No human being prefers bondage to liberty. The inextricable ties of the usages of the Chou Dynasty grow so intolerable that Emperor Shih Hwangti cuts the Gordian Knot by giving all the literature to flames\(^2\) and decapitates 460 of the most conspicuous of the Confucian scholars. Even Emperor Kau-5su (Lin Pang) of the West Han Dynasty has insulted the Confucian scholars on more than one occasion,\(^3\) and "remodelled the laws of etiquette for his officials, so as to make them less oppressive and exacting."\(^4\) There is no reason that woman should remain in the harem when the stronger sex soars out of the assigned boundaries.

Self-assertion has at its bottom, the spur of ambition, ambition in securing political authority; ambition in achieving reputation; ambition in fighting for freedom of marriage, of divorce, and of love; ambition in striving for conjugal love; and finally ambition in the attempt to procure property in the form of dowry. This order will be followed in the treatment accordingly.

1. Political Authority

The Political authority of woman becomes more obvious when we realize that in the ancient despotic government no division of three powers exists. The first woman that puts the whole empire under her feet is Empress Lu\(^5\) who reigns at first as a
mother regent, and finally as a sovereign for a period of eight years. As a daughter she is admired by her father as an extraordinary girl. Before ascension she puts to cruel death two able generals for fear of their military genius, and exterminates all the three generations of their families; kills by poison the son of the favorite concubine, Lady Tsi, of her husband Kau-Tsu; vests her two brothers with the military authority of the whole empire, and dethrones the infant emperor, the legal successor to the Crown. During the reign of her usurpation (for in China the husband alone is entitled to the throne) she makes princes of the members of her clan (Lu's family) in utter violation of the law that none can be elevated to this rank save those of the same clan of the emperor and those who have achieved some merit in either building or saving the empire from disunion. While she reigns no measure can ever be taken to dethrone her. It is only after her death that the empire is restored to Liu's family.

Following her example in the same dynasty Empress Ho, the daughter of the Great General and Commander-in-chief, Ho-Kwang, rebels against the government, attempting to over-throw the dynasty, though resulting in failure; Empress Dowager Wang succeeds in making successively each of her four brothers and Nephew the Great General of the empire. In the East Hau Dynasty Empress Teng, as a mother regent, makes her brother the Great General; Empress Yen instates her brothers and their friends in court; Empress Liang, as a mother regent makes her brother the Great General, who afterwards becomes a regicide; and two Empresses Tou and Empresses Ho and Fu all make their brothers the Great Generals.
Although no other empress dowager usurps the throne, yet in every case the tendency is constantly toward the founding of a new dynasty to supplant the existing one. The emperor becomes a mere figurehead. The power resides in the hands of the mother and the maternal uncle. Scarcely any Great General is known to be loyal and judicious in conducting the government. In the case of Empress Dowager Wang, above referred to, the most disastrous calamity culminates in her nephew, who actually overthrows the West Han Dynasty and declares himself emperor, ruling for a period of fifteen years. The history of the two Han Dynasties is a history of struggle for political control between the emperor's family on one hand and the empress's families or ennuchs on the other. The West Han Dynasty is terminated by the empress' family; while the East Han Dynasty by both, directly by the ennuchs and indirectly by the empress' family. One third of the pages of the history deals with the political supremacy of the Empress Dowagers. No mother regent above mentioned hesitates to create a great general out of her kinsman. This is the most coveted office in the government and thus endangers the life of the dynasty. It is on this account that Emperor Wu-Ti orders the execution of Lady Chan. Says he to his ministers:

"She has done no wrong, but her son is only seven years old, and when I die she would become regent. I fear the intrigues of a woman in the palace during the minority and the dangers she might bring to my dynasty, so I have had her executed."
While only the above-mentioned disturb the peace of the Dynasties, other empresses are not known to keep silence and have no voice in government. No Empress Dowager appears to be left without consultation by emperors in various affairs. Emperor Wen-Ti of the West Han Dynasty informs the Empress Dowager (the wife of his half-brother) of the guilt of a thief, stealing the jade ring of the ancestral hall of the Emperor, before his execution; and Emperor Chang-Ti of the East Han Dynasty fails to create princes of his maternal uncles for lack of his mother's endorsement.

**Effects of the struggle for political authority**

In politics woman surely gains a stronghold despite the strenuous effort to shake it. The precedence of Empress Lu is followed by Empresses Dowagers for milleniums, even up to the end of the Manchu Dynasty. Empress Ma of the East Han Dynasty, as a virtuous woman, refuses to make princes of her brothers. This is the first case where woman blocks her own advance in politics. In the kingdom of Wei in the Sze-Chwan Han Dynasty woman is denied political power. This is the first step taken by man to block her advance, and it is followed in several dynasties. But despite these efforts she enters into politics whenever her opportunity comes.

**II Achieving Reputation**

Woman achieves her reputation both directly and indirectly: directly when she herself plays on the stage of life; and indirectly when she acquires it through her relation with others, usually men.
Directly she distinguishes herself as either an author (a literate) or a moralist. As for authors, the two Han Dynasties may boast of immortal writers. In the West Han Dynasty the favorite concubine of Emperor Kau-Tsu, Lady Tsi is the author of the "Songs of the Frontier" while another concubine, Lady Tang, the "Songs of the Chamber." Even the sailor's wife exhibits her genius as a poetess:

"Don't swim across the River, My Lord! But you finally swim across, O Lord! If you lose your life in the River, How can I help you, O Lord!"

In the East Han Dynasty Madame Cho, Lady Pan and Madame Ton, of whom the contributions of the last two will be quoted under the subject "Striving for Conjugal love" distinguish themselves as poetesses of the foremost rank. Likewise with Maiden Wang whose epicedial poems find few rivals. But the greatest of all writers is found in Lady Tsao or the sister of the Historian Pan, she finishing his work after his death. Of all the hundred and sixty five historians in the two millenniums beginning from the West Han Dynasty and ending in the Ming Dynasty (end of the Age of Simplicity), the two Han Dynasties produce the three greatest and among the three Lady Tsao is reckoned one. The History of Chinese Literature alleges that of the original works of Historian Pan few survive; the choicest portion of the history is the labor of his sister rather than the work of the great historian himself.

While the contributors to literature do not amount to legions, no woman appears illiterate. Even the poorest weaving damsel of the seacoast province is conversant with the art of
rhetoric practised by the scholars of the Chau Dynasty at its evening period. This woman, refused the right to share the candle lights of a sister weaver, convinces with the following argument:

"The increase of a participant does not make the candle darker, nor does the decrease make it brighter."37

As a moralist we find her performing taska impossible from modern point of view.

1. Ti-Ying--The district magistrate Chun-Yu is condemned to the punishment of mutilation (branding of the face excision of the nose, chopping off the feet, castration, and beheading). Turning to his five daughters (for her has no son) he sulkily says, "Should I have begotten a son instead of all these daughters, he would be of more service to me in time of emergency." One of the daughters, Ti-Ying, hearing the reproach, and weeping, follows her father to the capital where she presents a petition to the Emperor (Wen-Ti) asking to have herself sold as a public bond-servant to redeem her father. The Emperor not only pardons her father and exempts her from being sold, but also abolished all the punishments mentioned above except the last one.38

2. Kao-Heng--Kao Heng, famous for her rare beauty and strict morality begins her widowhood when a young woman. To stop the courting of the nobles and princes, who try to take her by force, she cuts her nose off. She is canonized "Kao-Heng" meaning superior conduct.39
3. **Chiek-Ku—Chiek-Ku**, while the house is on fire, seeks for her nephew but can find only her own son. To prove that she cares for her nephew even more than her own son, she throws herself to the flames and is canonized Chiek-Ku, meaning "Virtuous Aunt." ④⁰

3. The two virtuous women of the Jewel Mountain Edge District—A daughter and her stepmother upon the death of the father, the district magistrate of the Jewel Mountain Edge, while on the way returning home pass over the custom house, where the latter is charged with the penalty of death for keeping jewels in the luggage, an illegal act, as all jewels belong to royal families. Now neither the stepmother nor the daughter, but the little son, is the real criminal, for he secretly kept them in his mother's dresser; but the daughter ascribes the crime to herself and alleges she should receive the punishment, while the stepmother insists that she herself should be executed. The commissioner of the customs, overcome by sentiment, sheds tears and holds himself responsible for the crime rather than inflicts punishment upon either of them. ④¹

4. The faithful wife and filial daughter—In order to revenge upon the life of the husband, the enemy needs the assistance of the wife. To obtain this he arrests her father for surety, knowing her to be extremely filial.
The wife, seeing that the choice is between the death of the father and that of the husband promises the enemy to open the door of the sleeping chamber at night; but sending her husband away she sleeps in his bed. The enemy chops off her head thinking it to be that of the husband. At daybreak after identifying it as hers, he repents and leaves the husband unrevenged.

Nor are moral women absent in the court. Although the three immoral women, the only immoral women out of the twenty four in the Biographies, belong to the palace, seven ladies stand out as paragons, especially Empress Ma of the East Han Dynasty, who, frugal, industrious, studious, and in short virtuous, continues to be praised up to the present moment.

It may be questioned whether these women really care for reputation or for the effects of their deeds; for the real names of those women are mostly unknown if not concealed, while only canonized ones appear. To depend his argument the present author appeals to the fact that canonized a name, a royal donation, has a much higher estimate in China than the real name. All the emperors are known to us in their canonized names. Wen-Wang for example is better known than either his given name Chang or surname Chi. Moreover to name a person by her locality such as "The two virtuous women of Jewel Mountain District" is an honor of the highest degree. It is a greater honor than the burial in Westminster Abbey, for she is the locality, and locality is she. And the same is true of men similarly honored.

Indirectly woman achieves reputation through the medium of some man, her son, her husband or others.
1. Piao-Mu, or the Laundry Mother—This woman, seeing that General Han-Sin, afterwards butchered by Empress Lu, is a man of parts, feeds him when poor, for about three score of days. When the latter becomes prince he offers her fifty pounds of pure yellow gold. A temple is finally erected for sacrifice to her and her tomb is built directly opposite to that of the General.

2. The mother of Pang-Bong.—The mother of Pang of the East Han Dynasty, when her son is arrested as a leader of a patriotic party, says, "Inasmuch as you have achieved a reputation parallel with that of Li and Tu I would not mourn over your death."

3. The mother of Chien Pu-Yi.—The mother of Chien Pu Yi of the West Han Dynasty always shows her cheerful countenance when her son, as a prefect, succeeds in reducing the number of capital punishments. On one occasion when her son spares no life, she ceases eating.

4. The mother of Yen.—The mother of Yen of the West Han Dynasty refuses to see her son for his cruelty as, a prefect, in treating criminals.

5. The wife of Wang-Chang.—Wang Chang of the West Han Dynasty, as a student, encounters financial distress. While caught by a disease he faces to his wife weeping over his poverty. His wife, instead of showing her sympathy reproves him for his inability to adapt himself to circumstances, and blames him for lack of strong will. The husband responds to this strong stimulus, and finally becomes the mayor of the capital city.
6. The mother of Hsu-Shu.—Hsu-Shu is employed as the counsellor of Liu-Pei, later Emperor Chau Lieh Ti, of the Szechuan Han Dynasty. Premier Tsaæ-Tsaæ, the most infamous minister of the East Han Dynasty, failing to secure the order of the mother of Hsu-Shu to ask him to leave Liu-Pei, by strategic means obtains her penmanship, thereby imitating her manuscript, and writes a letter in her name to order Hsu-Shu to leave for home immediately. The mother is so vexed at her son's ignorance of the trick and after giving him a rebuke commits suicide. While she apparently has contempt for death, her name is established at the expense of her son rather than her own effort.47

Results in achieving reputation

In achieving reputation both in literature and morals woman is crowned with success. In literature her place is unquestioned. No man dares to allege of her incapacity of learning. The average woman of the two Han Dynasties is approximately one and a half grades above the modern Chinese woman.

In achieving reputation through her relation with others, she is still more successful. The Laundry mother, for example, overshadows Lady Tsaæ and shines in the history with more light than any empress of the highest character (probably due to the fact that the West Han Dynasty owes its birth to General Han-Sin), though her name is carefully omitted in the Biographies of Women (for the author fears to offend the Han Dynasty that executed General Han-sin). Here is a poem about her tomb:48
The ancient genius forgets not his meals,  
This happens thousand years ago.  
This old tomb every hewer knows,  
But where is the Han Dynasty but in water?"  

The mother of Hsu-Shu is equally noted:  

"Virtuous is mother Hsu  
Her fragrant name lasts milleniums."48

III Freedom of Marriage, Divorce and Love.

1. Marriage.

Two examples of free marriage witness the ambition of woman in her struggle along this line. Poet Hsu-Ma Hsüng-Yü, while feasting in Mr. Cho's parlor, plays an organ. The daughter of Mr. Cho, a young widow, fond of music, falls at once, in love with the poet and weds him that very evening.50 Another example is furnished by Mrs. Liang-Hung,50 one of the most homely and unattractive woman, yet one of the most virtuous. She retains her virginity till thirty, refusing the courtship of half a dozen men who care for her morality. When her father asks her what type of husband she cares for, she names Liang-Hung, who has refused the courtship of several women. They marry each other and live happily till death separates them.

2. Divorce.

This happens more among the common mass as illustrated by the following incident:

"Mr. Chu, a destitute scholar, learns so painfully that he studies while hewing and carrying fuel on his way home. Unable to share the wretched condition, Mrs. Chu asks for a divorce, while Mr. Chu requests her to wait, assuring her that he will become a high official at fifty. The wife sulkily replies, 'I shall die of hunger if I stay with you.' Poor Mr. Chu, being so humiliated, let her have her own way. Sometimes after the divorce Mr. Chu is recommended to be the prefect of Hui-Chi department living on a high scale. Mrs. Chu asks for reunion but is refused and hangs herself." 51
3. Love

Despite the custom of marrying with a member of one's own generation, in countless cases aunts and uncles marry nephews and uncles for the sake of love. These are frequent not only among the common people but even among the royal families. A further departure from the old ways is the illegal relation of widows with their lovers. Thus Princess Tao of the West Han Dynasty, as a widow, falls in love with Mr. Tung for more than ten years. In every respect the princess is his wife except the legal one. After death they are buried in the same tomb. Another princess, Kaiby name, as a widow, falls in love with Mr. Ting, who is finally decreed to be her servant for life in order to perpetuate the companionship. Princess Shih commits adultery with Mr. Ho, the son of the premier. Still worse the prince of Tse and his elder sister have constant illicit connection with each other. Chastity becomes rare. Few widows fail to drink a second cup of wine, i.e. to remarry. This commences with Princes Hu-Yang of the East Han Dynasty and is followed by Prince Tu of Yen who remarries his niece to a second husband. Perhaps the illicit connection between the eldest sister and her brother in the state of Tsi may find justification in the fact that the custom of that region demands the eldest daughter to remain single for life. This custom owes its origin to the Chou Dynasty when Wen-Chiang commits adultery with her brother after her marriage, and causes the murder of her husband; and it is considered a misfortune to marry the eldest daughter. It is a great
difficulty for the virgin to restrain her sexual impulse. But free love of this nature is immoral. It lowers woman's estimate in the eyes of man.

**Gain and Loss**

1. In the struggle for freedom of marriage.

The struggle for freedom of marriage is distinctly a failure with the exception of a few cases. Homicide (or murder of husband) which will be discussed in the next section, is an index of unhappy marriage. The reason is clear. Neither the mother nor the parties involved are consulted in the arrangement, unless the husband has attained certain age. The power resides in the father and the father alone. Mr. Lu\(^5\), in spite of the protest of his wife, marries to Emperor Kau-Tsu (when he was still a plebian), his daughter, later the notorious Empress Lu. Emperor Kwang-Wu-Ti of the East Han Dynasty goes even so far as to initiate the barbarous custom of "Prenatal Engagement."\(^6\) So he says about his favorite general Chia-Tu:

"I am informed of the pregnancy of his wife. Should she beget a daughter, my son will be her husband; should she beget a son, my daughter will be his wife."\(^6\)

When woman is utilized as a means to secure peace between two nations her lot is even more miserable. She has to be the wife of a man not only whom she never knows but also who belongs to another race, different in language, customs, and
everything. Thus Poet Li of Tang Dynasty writes of Wang-Chou-Kung, a lady of the court of the Western Han Dynasty, married to the Mongolian royal family:62

"Chan-Kung brushes the saddle of the jade; And while mounting tears run down her pink cheeks, To-day she is the lady of the court of Han, (But) To-morrow the concubine in the Northland."

It may be questioned why the girl makes no protest against her father in her life affair. The answer is because of young age. Early marriage of the girl prevails in every part of the empire with a few exceptions like that of Mrs. Liang Hung. Thus Wang Chou-Kung leaves for Mongolia at the age of fifteen,63 a virtuous widow in the "Biographies of Chinese Women," marries at sixteen,64 Empress Ma is selected as a lady of the court at thirteen;65 and Empress Xi is offered to the King at the age of nine.66 In the latter two cases though the ceremony does not take place the union is destined. As to prenatal engagement the destiny is fixed at no age. Homicide can happen only when her age advances.

2. In the struggle for freedom of divorce.

In the struggle for freedom of divorce likewise woman fails. Divorce initiated by woman has no legal recognition and consequently only the death of her husband will give her freedom. As will be seen in the next section, man takes the initiative not on the seven causes but on his desire for a newer mate. Homicide again supports this argument.
3. In the struggle for freedom of love.

Here woman gains what she wishes. In big cities, especially the two capitals, boys and girls have free communications with each other. Illegal intercourse and fornication in forests and obscure places too often happen. But as has been remarked free love lacks moral support. Consequently her sex is condemned as licentious in general. Thus the proverb in History says; "Whatever woman says is incredible." This simply means she does not live up to her words.

IV Conjugal Love

Probably the greatest effort of woman is in the direction of monopolizing conjugal love. Where polygyny prevails jealousy arises and domestic warfare takes place. Fighting in vain for the lord's affection especially in court results in many tragic deaths. Jealousy causes Empress Lu to revenge upon Lady Tsi by mutilating her till she dies a slow death. Jealousy causes Empress Chen (of Emperor Wu-Ti) and Empress Kuo (of Emperor Kwang-Wu-Ti) to be dethroned. Jealousy causes Empress Liang (of Emperor Hwang-Ti) and of Empress Sung (of Emperor Ling-Ti).

But jealousy is a poor policy; it is not the means to secure conjugal love. The cause of the loss of love is either barrenness or lack of attractiveness, wit, or virtue. No remedy can be suggested for the first; but for the last three the author does not venture to say that any one will meet success. He would not encourage attractiveness which means vanity rather than anything else.
Wit and virtue can surely be cultivated. The election of Lady Ma to empresshood is entirely due to her character without the slightest hint of attractiveness. As to the wit, the following story will illustrate the point:

"Lady Feng follows Emperor Ngai-Ti to the Zoo. By chance a bear escapes from the inclosure and is about to pounce upon the emperor when Lady Feng immediately puts herself before the beast to free His Majesty from danger. Lady Feng is, however, uninjured and receives the approbation of the Emperor; but she arouses the jealousy of the other ladies in a successful plot against her life."

The tragedy of the struggle for conjugal love may be illustrated by the following allegorical lines of Lady Pan.

Of fresh new silk, all snowy-white,
And round as harvest moon,
A pledge of purity and love,
A small but welcome boon.

While summer lasts, borne in the hand,
Or folded on the breast,
'Twill gently soothe thy burning brow,
And charm thee to thy rest.

But ah! when autumn frosts descend,
And autumn winds blow cold,
No longer sought, no longer loved,
'Twill lie in dust and mould.

This silken fan, then, deign accept,
Sad emblem of my lot,
Caressed and cherished for an hour,
Then speedily forgot.

Here the beautiful fan of double layers signifies the union of husband and wife, perfect as the moon is the love which is cherished in heart; but the third person, like the autumn breeze, chills the love off and severs the relation of the couple.

Another poem of the same thought is written by Lady Tom, whose husband divorces her in order to marry the princess
of the court.

"As lonesome as a white rabbit
Run eastward but still looking at the west
Though no coat is more desirable than new,
Yet no person is more preferable than old."

Among the common mass the struggle is no less keen.
In the year 63 B.C. parricides, matricides and himicides
(murder of husband) amount to 222 cases. Though no exact
figure of the last one is available, the order has no signifi-
cance. The causes of murder are chiefly the disappoint-
ment of the wife in winning her husband from either his concubine
or some other women, and the unfaithfulness of the wife who has
secured a lover besides her husband.

Results in struggling for conjugal love.

In individual cases the struggle is a success; in
the sex as a whole no gain is made. With the exception of Tung-
Fang Shuo who gives his wife sacrificial meat, and Chang-Chang,
who draws the eyebrows of his wife, conjugal loves does not find
expression in any other way than writing. Here is what General
Hsu-Wu says to his wife:

"We unite with each other as consorts;
Our love to each other---there is no doubt.
We can enjoy together only at this night,
For at daybreak we depart.

Should I survive I shall come to you
Should I die we shall think of each other."

Conjugal loves does not take the form of caressing hair and
other manners of physical contact. It means "respecting each other
as a guest." Thus Mr. Liang-Hung never dares to raise his head too high to stare at the face of his beloved but homely wife.\textsuperscript{76} The eyebrows, while both are eating at the table, are on the same level, meaning equality. Hence the term "Equal brows." So it is with Sung-Hung,\textsuperscript{77} who refuses to divorce his wife in order to marry a princess who falls in love with him. "The wife who ate grains and husks with you," says he, "is not to be degraded (from her place in) the hall". Emperor Swan-Ti,\textsuperscript{78} when ascending the throne, "seeks for his old sword," meaning his wife who suffered with him. To these men conjugal love is mutual respect.

But in general or for the sex as a whole conjugal love does not exist. So long polygyny among the rank and file of women prevails no conjugal love is possible. It takes ages to convince man of the worth of woman's soul. When Emperor Wan-Ti sits with Lady Seng on the same mat, one of the ministers Yuan reproves him on the ground that only the empress, not the concubine, has the right to be with him in that manner.\textsuperscript{79} Emperor Wu-Ti expressly declares his attitude for woman, saying, "Should I be able to ascend to Heaven like Emperor Huang-Ti (The Yellow Emperor), I would cast my wife and children aside like sandals."\textsuperscript{80} General Pan-Chau divorces his wife merely to show the Emperor his determination to devote himself to the military expedition,\textsuperscript{81} an act less
barbarous than that of General Wu-Chi who kills his wife to entertain the soldiers, as described in the preceding chapter. Liu-Pei, later Emperor Chou-Lieh Ti of the Szeducan Han Dynasty, expresses his opinion regarding woman as follows:

"Brothers are like hand and feet; while wives and children are like coats and trousers. When coats and trousers become torn, they can be repaired; but when hands and feet are cut, they cannot be replaced." 82

Repair means remarry.

There is, however, a natural cause for polygyny, viz. the surplus of women especially in the south, where they always wait for men to be their husbands. Shen-Ping, one of the military counsellors, manages to congregate 2,000 girls from a city at a single night and send them out from the east gate for the enemy to attack in order to escape from the west gate. In the court of Emperor Huang-Ti 6,000 girls are accommodated. The palace for ladies covers an area of thirty square miles.

V Property

Inasmuch as the real estate is partitioned among the sons, leaving nothing to the daughters regardless of whether they remain single or be married, woman sees that such a gross injustice can be repaired only in costly dowry. In the provinces of Shensi, Shansi, and Honan, every girl demands dowry of excessive cost. In dress extravagance is marked. She wears sarcenet hats;
colored flowers; diamonds, embroidered coats and shirts; bracelets of precious stones, gold, and silver. Should one of the articles be unfurnished, the girl refuses to go to the wedding ceremony.

Consequence of the struggle for dowry

Despite the surplus of women, marriage is always accompanied with costly dowry. The essayist Hwang-Kwang says, "Retinues of wagons follow the bride to her new home." As a result fathers inefficient in finance leave their daughters unmarried, not that they fail to comply with the demands of the daughters, but that they cannot stand for the criticism of others for inability to observe the usages. Historians Hsu-Ma Chien and Pan-Ku repeatedly preach economy in dowry but without result.

General Remarks

The author finds that he cannot close the chapter without several pressing remarks.

1. In the first place, despite the struggle, woman gains less than she really deserves. The trouble lies in the fact that she fights as an individual not as a sex or a class.

2. Again she does not go to the fundamental problem, such as polygyny, which she has the opportunity to abolish, especially when she holds the reins of administration in the government.
3. A third problem, most important of all, is female slavery, which she never fights against. Perhaps a more extended discussion may be desired here. Female slavery begins at the end of the Chou Dynasty, but prevails in the two Han Dynasties. Originally a female slave is a captive, but later a criminal, criminal not for her own offense, but that of her family, whose property as well as children enter into confiscation; still later, a commodity, to be purchased from the market. So numerous are females employed as slaves that one of the ministers of Emperor Cheng-Ti of the West Han Dynasty petitions to reduce the number of man-and maid-servants to thirty for each of the princes. It is not woman but man that legislates for the maid-servant. Emperor Kwang-Wu Ti of the East Han Dynasty issues four edicts to prohibit (1) selling girls as slaves, (2) punishing maid-servants with death (3) scorching maid-servants with fire (4) and to permit a maid-servant to appear before law as a civilian. Emperor Ngan-Ti later abolished the law of confiscating the daughters of the criminals as slaves. Nevertheless no step forward the abolition of female slavery is ever initiated even up to the present moment. Woman never fights for emancipation, but directs her attention to envy the concubines of her husband and to cause domestic warfare.

4. Another very unfortunate problem is her morality. With the exception of the capable Empress Lu, whose reign is characterized by prosperity, every empress dowager, as a mother regent,
disturbs the peace of the empire merely to satisfy her own wishes. Constant danger threatens the nation as a whole. Gynecocracy comes to be believed to be the government of anarchism, anarchism in the sense that Chaos reigns. Empress Lü is, despite her wise administration, canonized "Lü the Hen", owing to usurpation. Hence the proverb, "The crowing of the hen is the misfortune of the house." 91

5. In conclusion let me say that woman as a whole enjoys more freedom in the two Han Dynasties than she did in the Chou Dynasty, the only stains being polygyny and female slavery, which however is counterbalanced by male slavery.
CHAPTER V WOMAN IN THE AGE OF VANITY

1. The Period

The Age of Vanity—(221-960 A.D.) characterized the Dynasties Sze-Chwan Han, Western Tsin, East Tsin, Sung, Tse, Liang, Chen, Sui, Tang, Later Liang, Later Tang, Later Tsin, Later Han, and later Chou—bears a close resemblance to that of the Dark Ages in Europe in the respect that with the exception of Western Tsin, Sui, and Tang, from three to sixteen powers partition the empire. For the purpose of the study of woman, the division of China into south and north, with the Yangtze River as the line of demarcation, is sufficient. Geographical situation rather than political division creates the difference. From time immemorial the northerners have considered the region below the River unfavorable for habitation. Consequently with the exception of the exiles few people care to colonize further than the present provinces of Chekiang and Hopeh. But the multiplication of the population (from 18,885,150 in the Western Tsin to 70,000,000 in the Tang) forces the migration to even the extreme south and make it a paradise, paradise from the point of view of the northerner. With this preliminary remark the author now turns to the subject proper.

II A contrast Between the Women in the North and the South

A. Woman in the North

All the data collected tend to show the higher position of woman in the North. In the first place monogamy is insured
to her. In the second place she is gradually liberated from being treated as a toy. In the third place real estate is allotted to her though not in the same amount as to man. In the fourth place her political power reaches its zenith. In the fifth place she distinguishes herself as a soldier. These will be traced accordingly.

1. Monogamy

Three forces cooperate to abolish polygyny: first the parents, second the children, and third the woman herself.

a. The parents. Upon betrothal the parents always train up their daughter to be a tigress teaching her how to set up a petticoat government. Her aunts and sisters likewise counsel her with various tricks out of which no husband can escape.

b. The children. The children, especially the sons, consider it a disgrace to be the offspring of a concubine, both the children and the mother having a lower social status, and they go as far as to spoil the reputation of the father.

c. The woman. The woman herself, if she is a princess, or the daughter of an officer, is so exceedingly jealous that a newly made officer hesitates to have any conubial relation with the royal or noble families. The great officers of the Northern Tse (Contemporaneous with the Tse) find it impossible to take a concubine. Scarcely less jealousy is found in the daughter of a common subject. It costs Liu-Wen-Cheng his life to have a concubine (the daughter of a common subject), who after finding that Liu grows tired of her indirectly murders him and renders the confiscation of his estate.
Justice is not done to man in monogamy unless woman maintains her purity, or in other words, is faithful to her husband. As a matter of fact, few women in this period, when opportunities come to them, fail to indulge themselves in fornication and incontinence.

(a) Empress Chia, taking advantage of the ignorance of her younger husband, Emperor Hwei-Ti of the Western Tsin, seduces thousands of fair lads to satisfy her lust until exhaustion, according to the legend, ends the life of every one of them.

(b) The Empress of the later Wei (Contemporaneous with the Sung) is characterized by her wantonness; Empress Swan-Hua of the Sui permits herself to be abused by her stepson, and later becomes his concubine; Empress Wei of the Tang, the murderer of her husband, submits herself to Wu San-Su, an officer; Princess Kao-Yang of the same dynasty commits fornication with several marks; and the famous Empress Yang Kwei-fei, the most beautiful woman of the Tang Dynasty as well as of many ages, is debauched by her adopted son, a barbarian.

It must also be noted that third marriage is not uncommon during these periods.

As a contrast to these the author does not wish to omit mentioning the virtuous women who attach themselves to their husbands as firmly as "gum and Lacquer." Thus Mrs. Chia Hung of the West Tsin, upon her husband's death, commits suicide, saying that under no circumstance would she live without him; Empress Mo of the Later Chin (existing between the Eastern Tsin and the Sung Dynasties) after a terrific battle with the enemy, refuses to be the wife of another husband and is killed by the enemy; Maiden Han Kiu-Ying of the Tang soils herself with refuse so as to escape from the rope of the robber; the four women of the same dynasty kill themselves by falling from a precipice in order to escape the insult of the bandits; Empress Yang
of the later Liang puts herself on the sword when a rebel kills her husband; and empress Chang-Suen\textsuperscript{17} possesses virtue of so high order that the emperor upon her death cannot refrain from deep mourning.

It may be questioned which type of women exceeds the other in number. The fact prostitutes fill the two Northern capitals Chang-An and Lah Yang, as is so often mentioned by poets, helps to establish that the licentious type really out numbers the other.

2. Liberation

The liberation of woman from the condition of toy owes its cause to man rather than woman herself. The emperor of the North Chou\textsuperscript{19} takes the initiative to decrease the number of the ladies in the court. Despite this his minister Loh\textsuperscript{20} reproves him for denning the right of marriage to these women. Emperor Kam-Ssu\textsuperscript{21} of the Tang Dynasty sends out 3,000 girls from the palace. His son Emperor Tai-tsung,\textsuperscript{22} upon the advice of his aged minister consents. Another successor of his, Emperor Hien-Tsung,\textsuperscript{23} upon hearing the rumor that people condemn him for trying to increase the court ladies, turns out a considerable number from the palace to prove his integrity. Emperor Wen-Tsung\textsuperscript{24} returns two girls after receiving the reproof of a censor.

This emancipation of woman is not, however, indicative of the belief that she has her value or soul, rather than that she is pernicious to the life of man, especially that of the emperor, the soul of the empire. Some emperors however, try to purchase a reputation by sacrificing their carnal desire, i.e. literating ladies of the count.
3. Property

For the first time in history woman is entitled to real estate. In all the northern dynasties every woman receives land, no matter whether or not she is free or bound. In the later Wei every girl fifteen or above owns twenty acres. The north Tse increases it to forty. The Western Tsin Dynasty, on the other hand, offers a medium between the two, viz. thirty.

4. Political power

With regard to political power she is even more formidable in this age than in that of struggle. The Kingdom of Wei in the Szechwan Han Dynasty has suffered so much under the reigns of the Empresses that the government finally establishes a law that no empress nor her kinsman is thereafter to share in administration. Chao-Yao, after being made heir apparent of the throne is rendered motherless, i.e. his mother is executed.

In the western Tsin Dynasty a greater disaster visits the royal family. Empress Chia, too strong a woman to be executed, is the chief cause of national disturbance. It is she who dethrones the Empress Dowager Yang, puts her to death, and massacres all her relatives. It is she who murders the heir apparent. It is she who employs two men in government and who afterwards assassinates these very two men. She is the cause of the contention of the eight princes, the Peloponasion War of the West Tsin Dynasty; and the fall of that dynasty can be traced to no other person than her.

The same is true of the Empress Dowager of the Later Wei. Soon after she becomes mother regent, she condemns the
premier to death. All her lovers with whom she indulges in licentiousness are employed. The national treasury is so much ransacked that heavy taxes give rise to bandits. Finally she murders the emperor and appoints another one in his place. The rule of the Empress Dowagers must have been intolerable as nearly every one of them is executed as soon as her son is made legal successor to the throne.32

In the north Tse the Empress Dowager dethrones the emperor without any reason.

In the Tang Dynasty the famous and infamous empresses, both enjoying scarcely less power than Empress Lu, are found. Empress Wu,33 as a lady of the court, accuses her predecessor as the murderer of her child and dethroned her, whose place she fills herself. The emperor being seized by headache, Empress Wu too often transacts, for him, the political affairs at her own discretion, though in his name. Soon after the death of the emperor, she dethrones the legal heir, and appoints his son whom she subsequently murders; and reappoints another heir whom she also murders. She massacres the clan of the emperor, employs cruel officers, and shows no mercy to anybody having sympathy with the family of the Emperor. Finally she usurps the throne and reigns for twenty one years (684-705 A.D.) Her capacity being admired, the capable men are willing to be at her service.

After her death Empress Wei,34 after assassinating the Emperor, comes to the throne. She is defeated by the family of the Emperor; but unfortunately the Emperor, who owes the restoration of the throne to his family (Li) to one of the princesses of his own family, is nearly thrown aside by that very princess.
Later on, however, only one Empress, Chang, of the Tang Dynasty, meddles with the governmental affairs; but all the power concentrates in her hands.

In the Later Tang Dynasty, when the actors dare slap the face of the Emperor, they remain quiet and submissive to Empress Liu. These actors are the cause of the fall of the Dynasty, having the emperor in their hands as a toy. Nevertheless they have to please the Empress; and it is only after her death that the Empire is disunited.

Thus far the power of the empress alone seems undisputable; but woman's political control does not culminate in the empress only. Beginning from the Western Ts'in a woman officer is established called "Tsai Yen" into whose hands falls the power of regulating the internal affairs of the royal family. She is usually acquainted with political policies before they reach the court, and these enabled to hold the throat of the whole empire.

5. Woman as a soldier

Not only is woman holding political power but military control as well. Empress Mo of the Later Chin, as a general and mounted archer, commands an army, which, in a battle with the Former Chin, lay several hundred soldiers of the enemy in the camp. In the Western Ts'in Dynasty the mother of Prefect Chu foresees the arrival of the enemy from the northwestern corner long beforehand, and gathers all the women of the
city to build a new city wall, calling it the "City of Ladies." Her prophecy is fulfilled when the enemy attacks the northwestern, find their effort ill spent, and fail to take the new city guarded by women soldiers.

Princess Ping Yang, of the Tang Dynasty, after her marriage organized an army of more than ten thousand women called the "Legion of Ladies" which helps her father to found the Dynasty. In the same Dynasty Lady Yang, when the district magistrate is about to abandon the city, enlists the "Dare-to-die Band" which keeps the rebels from entering the district. Lady Shao is even more valiant. When her father Liu-Hia is besieged by more than ten thousand rebels, she leads half a dozen mounted soldiers and succeeds in rescuing him.

But the most notorious is Maiden Mu-Lam who, disguised as a boy, fights in place of her father for ten years in Mongolia.

So runs the narration:

"Say, maiden at your spinning-wheel, Why heave that deep-drawn sigh? Is't fear, perchance, or love you feel? Pray tell—oh, tell me why!"

"Nor fear nor love has moved my soul— Away such idle thought! A warrior's glory is the goal By my ambition sought."

"My Father's cherished life to save, My country to redeem, The dangers of the field I'll brave: I am not what I seem."

"No son has he his troop to lead, No brother dear have I; So I must mount my father's steed, And to the battle hie."
At dawn of day she quits her door,
At evening rests her head
Where loud the mountain torrents roar
And mail-clad soldiers tread.

The northern plains are gained at last,
The mountains sink from view;
The sun shines cold, and the wintry blast
It pierces through and through.

A thousand foes around her fall,
And red blood stains the ground,
But Mulan, who survives it all,
Returns with glory crowned.

Before the throne they bend the knee
In the palace of Changan,
Full many a knight of high degree,
But the bravest is Mulan.

"Nay, Prince," she cries, "my duty's done,
No guerdon I desire;
But let me to my home begone,
To cheer my aged sire."

She nears the door of her father's home,
A chief with trumpet's blare;
But when she doffs her waving plume,
She stands a maiden fair.

But with the manly qualities suited for military engagement woman goes astray. Women assassins gradually appear in history. Of these may be mentioned Lady Nieh-Yung, Lady The Thirteenth, the wife of the peddler, and the girl in the carriage, - all of whom possess skill of the highest degree and conceal their real names in order to escape punishment or rather vengeance.
W. Woman in the South

Woman in the South apparently occupies an inferior position to that of her northern sister.

1. Polyandry and Polygyny

While jealousy prevails in the south as well as in the north, woman in the south fails to see that polyandry disgraces her position no less than polygyny. Princess Sang-Yang of the Sung may be cited as any example. In her court she openly stations a score and ten handsome men who are not only her husbands but servants as well. She is for China what Catherine is for Russia.

Polygyny prevails among all classes of people especially in Nanking where beautiful women are abundant.

2. Woman as a toy: Footbinding

Polygamy necessarily reduces woman's position to that of a toy. Doubtless on the whole woman in the south excels her northern sister in physical beauty. But it is this very beauty that debases her status. It is beauty that leads Emperor Wu-Ti of the western Tsin (a northerner who makes his capital in the northwest) to fill his palace with five thousand girls of the present Kiangsu province. The southern emperors, likewise, indulge themselves in continence. Emperor How-Chu of Chen erects three most magnificent palaces to hold his toys.

In the south Tse Dynasty a most marked event takes place, the binding of the feet of woman. Emperor Tung-Huan-Ham, one of the most frivolous sovereigns, the inventor of the custom, bandages the feet of his favorite concubine Pan Fei: compressing each to the length of three inches. Paving the floor of one room
"with golden lilies that have been made with utmost care by the best goldsmiths of the capital," he orders Pan-Fei to step over them, calling the progress, "Lily on every step." Hence bound feet acquire the name, "Golden Lilies." The staggering movement of Pan Fei excites the pleasure of the frivolous sovereign, who compares it to the wavering of the willow trunk.

Whence this infamous emperor acquires this idea has been a subject of dispute. Some allege that this custom begins at the end of the Shang Dynasty, with Emperor Chou Hsing, who invented it to keep his beloved Ta-Ki from running away. Others believe it to have begun in the Chou Dynasty in the state of Honan, for the "Widow Tradesman" found clogs of jade; but no mention has been made as to the length of the clogs. Still others maintain that it started from the West Han-Dynasty, as history records that the girls of Shantung wore pointed clogs. But "Pointed clogs" is no evidence of footbinding for the Occidental girls also wear shoes with pointed soles. Moreover, throughout the history and the novels of all the dynasties up to this emperor no woman is represented with bound feet. From the Sui Dynasty down to the modern period in all novels the writers never omit mentioning small feet as a criterion of beauty. It cannot be other than Emperor Tung-Hwan Hau of the Tse Dynasty that initiated this barbarous practice.

3. Woman in Politics

Woman in the South does not distinguish herself in Politics. Although Lady Chen of the East Tsin Dynasty murders Emperor Wu-Ti, she makes no effort to secure political control.
for the purpose of the regicidal act is merely to revenge him for the loss of love. Emperor Wen-Ti\(^5\) of the south Sung Dynasty, following the policy of the government of the Later Wei, puts to death the mother of the heir apparent; but throughout all the dynasties in the south no mother regent ever assumes any power in government. Chang Li-Hwa,\(^5\) indeed does exercise a fatal influence over the dissipated monarch, Emperor How-Chu of the Chen Dynasty; but there is nothing political about her that endangers the life of the Dynasty.

4. Real Estate

Nothing about the allotment of real estate for woman in the south is mentioned in history save in one passage, which says "The system of the distribution of land appropriated in the Western Tsin Dynasty fails to operate in the south."\(^5\)

5. Woman as a soldier

With the exception of Empress Suen\(^5\) of the Szechwan Han Dynasty no woman in the south ever bears arms. Even Empress Suen does not appear on the battle field. Woman in the south is generally characterized as timid. Thus when Sze-ma-i of the kingdom of Wei takes a defensive position, or rather resorts to the Tabian tactics, the southern commander Chu-Ko Liang sends him the attire of a woman, as an insult to him.\(^5\) One of the reasons why the southern woman does not distinguish herself as a warrior is her fragile physique, or more specifically small stature, owing to both geographical condition and extravagance in personal comfort.
III General Situation in the Empire

There are however certain situations common in both North and South during this period, which are as follows:

Marriage

1. In both north and south marriage is arranged by the parents, especially the father. Thus Liu-King⁵⁹ gives his daughter to his horseman, after finding him a literary genius in conversation. Emperor Tai-Tsung⁶⁰ of the Tang marries Princess Heng Shan to the son of Premier Wei-Chen as a compliment of friendship, and Princess Sing Hing⁶¹ to Hsueh Yeng-Tao as a political policy.

2. Among the masses besides literary capacity and personal friendship between the man and the parent, marriage is planned with a view to economic improvement⁶² of the parents. Woman is a commodity to be sold to the highest bidder, in case of a virgin the payment being in cash, in case of a widow, in silk.⁶³ In addition to this the groom is required to present to his parents-in-law nine articles, each having its meaning: the love plant which tells its own meaning; the ears of fine corn meaning division of happiness between the couple; the gum pillar and the dry varnish meaning the close connection between the couple; the acorus spurius and red rush (reed) meaning the flexibility of heart the cotton meaning soft-heartedness; the two marble stones meaning security of the couple; and the long thread meaning long life.

There are however two exceptional cases of marriage widely known for their peculiarity: that is the marriage of the
daughter of Premier Li Ling-Hu of the Tang Dynasty, and of Mr. Chang Chia Chen. The suitors are to appear before the window where the girl selects the choicest one from her point of view. This practice resembles that of the Laplander who upon the wedding day however chooses the bride out of those that pass over his door.

Another peculiar type of marriage is that between a deceased girl and a living boy. This custom, initiated by Empress Wei-Hou of the Tang Dynasty, who has a strong affection for her sister in law, has been followed up to the present moment by superstitious mothers who take it to mean that woman, being dependent upon man, needs a man for her soul to rely on after her death so that her spirit may not wander around to infatuate young boys. The boy however is not forbidden to marry a living wife also.

One factor not to be neglected in marriage is the caste consideration. The prosperous families of Shantung, Cheng, Lu, Tsui, Li, and Wang, have produced eminent men both officers and scholars. To be a relative of any one of these families will raise one's social standing. A common man considers it an honor to be the husband of a woman of even a confiscated house of any of the above mentioned families. But these families, proud of themselves for their wealth and official positions, take it a disgrace to be related with common people, and intermarry only among themselves until forbidden by Emperor Kan-Tsung of the Tang.
Certain marriage ceremonies are of interest and may be mentioned here. Upon receiving the bride the husband's family fills the mortar with three pints of grain, covers the well with a mat, decorates the window with three pounds of male nettle hemp plant, and puts three arrows on the window sill. When the bride mounts the carriage the groom mounted on a horse, goes round the carriage three times. These rites are rather miraculous and the author fails to find their real meaning, especially the number "three". When the bride enters the house of the groom, all, with the exception of Parents-in-law, are to enter the house by the front gate but leave by the side doors. This means, as they call it, "Besieging the traces of the bride." The first thing the bride does in the groom's house is to prostrate before the Board (used for cutting meat), and the hearth, with her husband. Then they tie the love knot together with silk in the following form:

The family of the groom comes at night to the bride to play tricks upon her. This is called "shouting in the nuptial chamber," which will be discussed in detail in the seventh chapter. On the second day of the wedding her own parents' family make the broth of panicked millet. On the third day she starts her domestic duties. Thus runs the poem:

"On the third day she enters the kitchen,
Having washed her hands, prepares the broth
Not knowing the taste mother (in law) prefers
She asks the little sister-in-law to try it first."
In case the wedding takes place in the last month of the year she is exempt from paying a special visit to the mother-in-law. Ordinarily she prostrates herself upon her with the groom on the wedding day.

Position of wife

There is no doubt she is still considered as the property of her husband. Thus in the south in the Szechwan Han Dynasty the prince of the Northland kills his wife and two children with his own hand before he commits suicide, the enemy having seized the country. Woman is everywhere neglected if not deserted by man, and is often called the "Widow of a living husband." The merchants of the Age of Vanity are the most hardhearted husbands. They care more for "profits" than for their "wives" as the long and famous poem of "The Guitor" says:

1. A woman is said to have tried in vain to detain her husband from going to trade, and according to mythology was converted to stone called the "Stone of Husband Expectation," expecting him to see her before her death. Two of such stones are found at the present time, one in Wu-Chang, the other in Tai-Ping, near Nanking. Though the legend itself is incredible, it illustrates the point.

2. Another story is told of a disappointed wife who failed to keep her husband from sailing away for trade and declared before her death that her spirit would take the form of a storm to impede the advance of all the mercantile boats. This is called, the "Storm of Shih Yao" Shih being the surname of the lady and Yao that of the husband. Whenever some tornado, cyclone or any storm unfavorable for navigation arises, the superstitious sailors believe it to be the spirit of Lady Shih operating, and offer her sacrifices.

The following poem is a complaint against the husband who rarely stays at home:

"Married to a merchant of Ku-Tang. Never does he come home in time. If I knew the tide so faithful I would have married a surf-rider."
The next hand-hearted husband is the soldier, who spends years away from home; The famous poem of 840 words embroidered by Lady Hsu and forwarded to her, husband, who acts as a guard in Kabi, the Desert, is one of the most tragic pieces of literature. Woman has so few occasions to see her husband that she expects to meet him in dreams:

"Strike at the yellow oriole, Let him not sing on the branch; For singing arouses me from dream And prevents me from getting to Liao-Si (when husband is in expedition)." 78

Again

"(Showers of) tears fall (while) silently watching flowers; Many springs passed since departure. (Though) know she not the way beyond Yu Meng; (Yet) in dream in the eve she arrived at Frontier." 79

Still another hard hearted husband is the scholar. Though the "Long Life Tragedy," concerns Empress Yang Kwei-Jei, yet it can be applied to many a scholar's wife.

"Heaven and earth will pass away; But this tragedy never has an end." 80

These concluding lines of the famous tragedy, though much abused, have been quoted in many a novel.

"At fifteen I was engaged to you; At twenty I entered your house. Since I came to your family You have always been leaving home. In the morning I see you escort a friend; In the evening I see you escort a friend; Should you spend the time to pluck willows No root would have remained-----ς1

Here is a husband who marries another one during the life time of his first wife:
"The husband being faithless
cares for a new woman pretty as jade.
Alas flowers are together
And mandarin ducks sleep not alone.
Sees he only the smile of new girl
Hears he not the weeping of former wife." 82

Two quotations tell the anxiety of the wife:

"Before departure I catch hold of his coat,
Where are you going, my lord?
I would not resent if you return late
But go you not to Ling-Kung (where Sze Ma Hsiang
Yu married Madame Cho)" 83

"With a grievous heart I lean against door
Watching him crossing the front stream
May not his heart resemble flowing water,
On seeking a new level, newer returns to the old."84

Divorce and prostitution

Divorce is rare in the Age of Vanity owing to the wide spread of prostitution. Only two cases of divorce can be found in the sources.

1. Mr. Yen intended, for lack of make descent, to divorce his wife, but she wrote an allegorical poem which caused him to give up his intention.85
2. The wife of Yang demanded a divorce from the husband and the prefect could not but consent to her request, though he inflicted upon her twenty blows. 86

The fact that the husband so often deserts his wife is due to the ignorance on the part of the wife concerning the way to please
the husband. Instead of giving him comfort she requires his service in the household. Besides, she has little notion of conjugal love. The great writer Wang-Hsi-Chih, while practising penmanship with his fingers on the back of his wife, receives the reply, "Can you not practice it on your own body?" Henceforth run the infamous proverbs:

"Wife is less desired than concubine, concubine less than maidservant, maidservant less than prostitute, prostitute less than illicit intercourse, and success in illicit intercourse less than failure." 87

The last clause apparently is not so much cherished as the others. As both success and failure in illicit intercourse involve the hardship the only alternative is prostitution. Consequently this social evil prevails in both north and south. Hsieh-An, the pillar of the East Tsin Dynasty, accompanies himself with a prostitute before touring in the mountains. In the five dynasties before the Tang prostitutes grows in number, but are more abundant in the south, especially in Yang-Chou and Nanking; while in the North they center in Loh-Yang and Chang-An, some being native products, others imported. In the Tang Dynasty they multiply with the time. The causes are two fold: First the surplus of the fair sex in the south; second in both north and south orphans, daughters of confiscated and wretched families, and divorced or deserted wives and concubines, being imposed or sold during the reigns of the many extravagant and dissipated monarchs whose taxes are intolerable. To free herself, the prostitute pays an enormous sum of money to the woman known as foster mother, who purchases her.
In the North assassinations are frequent in order to obtain liberty. Mention has been made that man thinks more of prostitutes. As a matter of fact he does, especially in the Tang Dynasty. In the poetry, poem after poem, is dedicated to her. By the city of Nanking is the Lake Mo-Chou so-called in honor of a woman by the name of Lu Mo-Chou. Although there has been much dispute regarding her social status, she is still believed to be a prostitute. About her alone 130 poems have been written merely every newly made doctor of the Tang Dynasty writes poems in praise of prostitutes. Poets Pai-Loh-Tien and Tu-Mu-Chih make the greatest number of contributions in which "prostitutes" forms the main theme. Of the former:

"With flowery cheeks and cloudy hair sits she in jade tower. All the thirteen harps express her grief. I request you to stop playing Lest it whiten the head of the prefect." 89

Of the latter:

"The mist rests on the cold water, the moon shining on sand. At night my boat anchors by wine dealer in Chin-Hwai. Prostitute knows not the misery of dynastic perdition. Across the water sings she the "Flower of backward." 90

The three religious lasses and six dames

Prostitution debases woman's status to a large extent; but the three religious lasses and nine dames debase it still more. The three religious lasses are the fairy, the Toaist nun, and the Buddhist Nun. The fairy is merely a fascinating girl who
aims to satisfy her desire by seducing boys to high mountains where she indulges herself with them. Sometime the boys lose their lives and the fairy declares that he has ascended to heaven. Of course the attractiveness of the girl wins the boys, but she has also certain charms and drugs which she calls life soups or life pills, by taking which immortality is insured. The Toaist Nun has not the least knowledge of the "High Contemplation," "Nihilism" or "Return" to nature doctrines of Toaism. She preaches of a western royal mother in the Heaven, possessing a kind of "flat peach" by taking one of which one's life would be increased three thousand years. To obtain the peach a woman must have a pure heart which the nun herself never has. She makes the nunnery more or less a brothel where not only she herself but other women are induced into improper connection with men. The Buddhist Nun appears first in the East Tsin Dynasty. The Buddhistic teaching, according to Archibald Little in his "Gleanings from fifty years in China," favors an exalted position of woman; but the author doubts whence that idea comes, since in India, the birth-place of the religion, woman is scarcely better treated than a beast. Of course every nation reacts to a foreign religion; but whether it is the first hand or second hand notion that woman who begets a child is a great criminal, and that by making a nun of herself she would, be transmigration, become a male, is beyond the knowledge of the present writer. What is sure is that these two teachings are not only an index of the low estimate of the fair sex, but are contradictory statements which are hardly worth consideration. Justice must be
done to the first women who worship Buddha by sacrificing their arms, legs, noses and eyes in order to redeem themselves; for it is the husbands, especially those who so often desert them, that disappoint them and compel them to seek refuge in religion. Thus in the Tang Dynasty a certain census gives a figure of 2,000,000 Buddhist monks and nuns. But later on, when these nuns make a brothel of the nunnery as the Taoist nuns have done, the author does not see how their crime can be forgiven.

Ignorant women, not knowing that Buddhism adopts the exterminating medical method of exterminating human species by forbidding marriage and preaching the doctrine of the crime of motherhood, as mentioned above, visit the nunneries, where they offer sacrifice and burn incense with the expectation of favoring conception. There they are often kidnapped or abused by the male friends of the nuns.

The six dames are 1. the match-maker, 2. the druggist, 3. the sorceress, 4. the midwife, 5. the fortune teller, and 6. the florist. The match maker is not only a cause of unhappy marriage but the wrecker of one's life, especially the girls. She, for the sake of financial gain, arranges improper connection between a girl and a married man of even more than one wife, which man really has no intention to make the girl his life companion, but to satisfy his sexual thirst and then desert her. The druggist stimulates the sexual impulse of both sexes with drugs and thereby becomes the cause of incontinence. The sorceress or witch really appears—the Golden Age, but has become very popular by this
time. She claims the power of expelling evil spirits, healing diseases, and securing felicity. She is in the five dynasties and the Tang, honored by the monarch who orders her to offer sacrifice to the gods, to solicit rain and a good year for the empire. Often she becomes so wicked that she is sent to the various parts of the empire, followed by a few dozen cruel young men to collect gold and silver, silk and other valuables. When the families fail to meet the demand, she orders the arrests of the young women of the inhabitants. She is backed in this act by both the imperial authority which permits her, in return for her service, to be so rewarded, and the spirits which the ignorant mass dread. When these women are arrested they are often raped and made slaves. The midwife often describes to the man the secrecy, i.e. the attractive condition, of the genital organ, of woman, and excites his sexual impulse. The fortune teller usually advises woman to become a concubine or slave in order to redeem herself in transmigration. The florist enters one house after another, when she sells not only flowers but her physical beauty. Thus all the three classes and the nine cameras are corrupting their own sex.

**Education**

In three phases however woman wins recognition. The first is education. The education of the Age of Vanity aims at nothing more than the writing of beautiful compositions, poetry or prose. As an art literature reaches its perfection. The education of woman therefore consists in training her to write poetry or prose. With the exception of Empress Chang-Suen, the author of thirty
volumes of the "Pattern of Women," women produce nearly everything in poetry. Four literary women, Hwang Chung-Ku of the Eastern Tsin, Madame Hu of the Later Wei, Maiden Kung Kwei-fei of the Chen, and the prostitute Hsueh are reckoned as worthy of the highest literary degrees. Madame Hsus' poem of 840 words mentioned above is a wonderful production. It can be read lengthwise, crosswise or any other way with the meaning retained (since the Chinese language is abrupt). Miss Hsu-Hwe-fei of the Tang is such a born genius that she is able to write essays at eight. To Emperor Tai-Tsung she presents a memorial asking him to stop building palaces for the sake of economy. This memorial is incorporated in the Annals. Although women writers dwindle away when they enter into comparison with Lady Tsao, their number is not surpassed by, in fact exceeds that of, the Age of Struggle. Even the prostitutes contribute to poetry verses which are still widely read. Pau-Kung Hui, Yu Yuen-Ki, Tu Chi-Niang Ko-A-Ur, Chang Wen-Hsi, Liu Yao, and the girl in the Dream are names not to be passed without attention. Maiden Chao Yung and Chai Wen-Hsi compile the most beautiful music. Mythology speaks of the music of the girl as still heard from the beams of the parlor three days after she played there. Hence the "Remaining sound encircles the beam:"

"I advise you care not for gilded gown
I advise you to care for your youth (time)
Pluck the flower when ready to be
Wait not till it fade and break the bough."
"Above the branch is flower
Below the branch is maid
Pity for both in the spring of their life.
Yesterday flower fed as flame
But today is about to efall.
Better beneath the flower let us enjoy
Before spring breeze carry it away.
Enjoy the oriole song, butterfly dance, and find day,
Enjoy the red stove boiling rosin tea.
Pride and admire your own manner,
And treat thyself as a flower." 107

Motherhood

Though as a wife woman is less desired than a prostitute, she is honored as a mother. That all these notorious empresses acquire political control, as discussed in the second section is owing to their motherhood. Upon the death of the mother, the son leaves his office, if an officer, and mourns even for the stepmother for a period of three years, at the end of which only he may resume his service. Emperor Wei of the Later Wei is even more filial. Upon the death of his mother not a single drop of water enters his mouth. Emperor Tai-Tsung does not celebrate his birthday with feasting, believing it to be the day his mother suffered for him.

Goddesses

Another phase in which woman wins recognition is in theology. As has been pointed out, Lady Shih is worshipped by sailors as a goddess. Besides her, several others have been deified. The so-called "Eighteenth Sister-in-law of Fung Family"
receives imperial recognition as the spirit of woman who dominates the wind, the zephyr or any kind of air movement, which has long been believed to be the result of the yawning of the Absolute. 112 Another one is Kwangin, 113 who was really a man, but mistaken as a woman, worshipped though by woman only, honored also by man.
Lu Mo Chou, Woman in the Age of Vanity
CHAPTER VI  WOMAN IN THE AGE OF SIMPLICITY

1. The Causes of Decadence

The Age of Simplicity,—Simplicity, which characterizes the social condition of the Age, begins at 960 A.D. and ends in 1644, and embraces the Dynasties North and Southern Sungs, Yuan, and Ming. With the exception of the Southern Sung Dynasty during which Liao and Khing, two northern barbarian tribes, share the territory in the North east, one succeeding another, the empire is solidly unified. Consequently in the position of woman little difference between the north and the south exists. In the leading part of the ninth century frequent migrations of the Northern people, especially those of Honan and Shensi, into the south following the conquerors, modify the institutions and usages of the native tribes of the south, still in the semi-barbarous state. Furthermore the several movements of the capital to the southern provinces (in the southern Sung Dynasty) leaves traces of northern practices, as in China the above is usually the radiant point of conventionality. Returned southern students, moreover, implant the northern civilization in the southern sail, thus unconsciously subscribing to the unity of woman's position.

The general tendency of this period is a gradual sloping downward and culminating in the suppression of the weaker sex in the Manchu Dynasty. In this chapter the old subjects, marriage, education, political control, witchery, prostitution and footbinding will be followed in order.
II The Situation

Marriage

In marriage the loss of choice on the part of woman is nearly complete.

1. Prenatal engagement and infant betrothal

Prenatal engagement, initiated by Emperor Kwang-Wu-Ti in the Age of Struggle, becomes common; and infant betrothal, i.e. betrothal when both are babies, prevails. Two forces cooperate to establish these customs; they go hand in hand. First is the friendship of the fathers of the parties involved; and second the insurance of the economic conditions of both families. Only the second one needs explanation. The so-called match maker, usually a woman, is taking matchmaking her occupation with a view of acquiring income regardless of the sentiments of the parties. As the parents, who make marriage arrangement chiefly take wealth into consideration, the son's parents expect dowry, while the girl's expect, in addition to purchasing money, the boy to be full of resources,--the go-between (as the watchmaker is called) usually concentrates her attack upon this point. To the son's family she would promise an ample supply of dowry even in numerical figures, and to the daughter's family she would say that the son's family would even be willing to contribute to the preparation of dowry for them. But upon or after marriage, when the real situation is uncovered, the husband and the wife begin to wage domestic warfare resulting in either divorce and desertion, or lifelong hostility and suicide, while the go-between has already reaped her harvest. Considering such
The father who has more confidence in his friends may have their children to each other with or without the go-between. Besides, the parents of the girl expect a fair treatment of their daughter, especially from the mother-in-law, who, as a rule is permitted to see the husband's best friend, who will on that occasion take the opportunity to entrust her with the education of his daughter.

That the sentiments of both parties are neglected needs no comment. But in addition to this these two practices may lead to four disastrous results. First upon their growth especially of the husband, he might become a prodigal son; or secondly he might be seized by some incurable disease; or thirdly he might be financially incapable of supporting even himself; or fourthly he might change his mind and break his promise despite the parents' authority in making arrangements. Lawsuit thereby always takes place regarding the marriage question as the novel, "King-Ku Xi-Kwang." 

2. Early marriage

Formal marriage usually takes place at sixteen. Early marriage is due to the desire for sons, in the south to increase the fighting force in tribal wars, and in the north for honor. In the south a handful of the northern immigrants are surrounded by the majority of the native tribes with whom intermarriage take place only gradually. Tribal wars too often happen in regions inaccessible to the governmental forces. To guard against the attack of the native tribes, the northerners hasten their marriage,
while the southerners themselves imitate their policy. In the north, where the people are despised as cowards by the northern barbarians, on the other hand, the incentive is different. There a person with children of four or five generations is revered as a beneficiary of heaven. The government confers upon him the privilege and honor of setting up a wooden board in the parlor with inscriptions of four characters, "Five Generations Simultaneously Living," or "There is one more reason for the speedy marriage in the south, that is, for the purpose of tilling the ground in a region which is thinly populated. A story tells of an ancestor of the Ling family in Foochou, a devoted worshipper of a goddess who asks him to make his choice, as a benediction, between abundant offspring and wealth. The answer is the former. To-day the Ling Family number a half million, most of them living together in the same region.

The effects of early marriage are twofold: first weak health, especially the southerner, who, on account of the luxurious food in the south, becomes short-statured (this theory is not scientific, and the author obtains it only from the common sayings in China); and second high infant mortality, on account of the ignorance of nurture on the part of the mother.

3. Marriage between first cousins

As has been stated in the third chapter, exogamy in China means marriage outside the family of the same surname. The marriage between first cousins, that is, children of the mother's brothers and sisters and children of father's sisters, is therefore
permissible. Thus Dr. Hsu makes his daughter to the son of his brother-in-law (wife's brother) to strengthen the tie of blood relationship, and Mr. Lu is married to the daughter of his maternal aunt.

There is a belief that intermarriage between the children of the brother and the sister is injurious to the family, especially if the daughter of the sister is married to the son of the brother, since it brings home the same blood and will check the propagation of his house. On the other hand it is believed that there is no danger if the sister's son marries her brother's daughter.

4. Wedding

Wedding which is accompanied with music and feast is called "Demanding for wife," taking her as a commodity purchased by the groom. There is a custom called "Mounting the high seat." This consists of putting the backs of two chairs against each other and placing on the conjunction a saddle on which the groom sits and drinks three cups of wine. The bride's family will then ask him to come down. This is observed in the groom's family and is practiced by even the best educated families.

Education

Education for woman in literature is practically neglected. The author finds that the daughters of only the higher class of people, especially officers or great literary men, can read and write. Only a few names, such as Ling Miao-Yu, Han Lang-Ying, Chu Su-Ting, Hsu Siu Mei and others are known.
as literary women. Several names appear in the novels of the Sung and the Yuan Dynasties to be highly scholastic; but whether or not they really exist, or if they do, are so gifted as portrayed, is a question hardly answered in the affirmative. Besides, novelists are too often guilty of exaggeration. In the higher type of literature (for the Chinese never reckon the novel and drama as literature), fragments of their writings appear. Maiden Chu, the niece of the famous sage Chu-Hi, before she suffers unhappy marriage wrote the following lines:

"On the bough of Interlocking plant flowers are just blooming,
But the inimical storm (which envies flower for beauty).
Presses upon them instantly,
I wish the god of spring perpetually reigns
So that they will not be scattered on green moss."

Many pieces of beautiful literature of the minor kind have been ascribed to women but they appear more often in manuscripts which differ in contents to a greater or less extent and under different names.

Education for the common woman, however, takes the form of weaving cloth and feeding cocoons. Empress Chang of the Ming Dynasty personally feeds cocoons in the northern suburb of Peking. In Sung Dynasty cocoon feeding becomes exceedingly common, since it is encouraged by the monarch.

"When Nightjar sings thru the fourth watch
She notices the abundance of worms and scarcity of leaves."

Feeding cocoons and weaving are held sufficient for women in education. She needs no knowledge in literature. "For a woman to be without talent, is a virtue (on her part),"
such is the prevailing belief of the time. When she is educated in
literature she becomes powerful. She makes husband hen-pecked. "The
roaring of the lioness of Ho-Tung" is a phrase that originated
in the Sung Dynasty in Chen-Chih-Chang.

Still another belief is that a highly educated girl is
usually envied by the god of fortune. It is the old conception
of compensation. When the bird lacks feet he is endowed with wings.
So when girl is favored with education she is destined to suffer,
especially such conditions as early widowhood, desertion by her
husband, faithlessness of her fiancee, and kidnapping by fraud.
It may be remarked that, in China, unfaithful husbands are more
abundant than faithless wives. The double standard of morality
has been long prevailing. The so-called "Life Long Tragedy" has
been written by more than one or two women.

Politics

In politics woman is more innocent than she was
in both the "Age of Struggle" and the "Age of Vanity".
"In Sung Dynasty," says the historian Liu Shih-Chu, of the four
regent mothers, Kao, Tsao, Hsiang, and Meng. All these empresses
prove themselves much more capable rulers than the emperors them­
­selves who are the cause of the loss of territory and the over­
throwing of the Dynasty. All these empresses employ the best min­
isters, expel the traitors, and pursue the best policies suitable
for the time. The "Peaceful Reign of Yuan Yao" is entirely the
work of Empress Kao, the "Yao and Shun" among the females."
Yet the emperors and the ministers have been exceedingly irreverent and unchivalrous toward them. The emperor orders no mourning over the death of Empress Dowager Sung. Her burial is delayed for three years. When a minister advises him to observe his duty toward her, he is banished to a distant part of the empire. Even one of the best ministers very rudely demands Empress Kao to return the reins of administration to the weak minded son, with the resulting unnecessary fear of usurpation thus suffered the mother who has so wisely reigned. The political power of woman, especially of the empress, thus begins to fall.

In the Yuan Dynasty the several infamous empresses who indirectly overthrow the government, or rather the Mongolian power in China, are of Tartar origin and hardly worth consideration.

In the Ming Dynasty Emperor Tai-Tsu issues a decree that no empress shall hereafter meddle with political affairs, for her business is confined to the household; and since then she never becomes mother regent. With Ming Tai-Tsu the political power of woman comes to an end.

**Prostitution**

On account of economic difficulty, husbands sell their wives and parents sell their daughters to the disreputable houses. After the death of officers their daughters, weak, helpless and having learned no trade, may, acquainted with any domestic management, are usually purchased to become prostitutes. At the same time they are quite scholastic. Hence the belief, "Infelicity counterbalances intellect." Scholars generally consider it an
honor to communicate with these unfortunate but educated creatures; while the girls take this opportunity to select future life companions.

In the Yuan Dynasty, when the husband is in economic difficulty, he usually accompanies his wife to the market to wait for a customer to spend a night with his wife. In other words he wears a green cap as a sign that his wife may be jilted. Hence cuckold means with green cap, and thus comes the proverb, "The black turtle wears green cap," for turtle is known to cross with other species. It is therefore a hardship for a Chinese student to be a freshman in an American College, and be compelled to wear the green cap, as he will be the subject of ridicule from his country-men, especially when he is married.

Witchery

Sorceresses abound in number, with the so-called three lasses and the other five dances. So immoral have they become that Chu-Hsi declares, "The three lasses and the six dames are the agents of debauchery and adultery." But the sorceress is especially noted, for her healing power superior to the modern Christian Scientist, and her foresight into the future as well as into the other world. Her gross immorality finally induces the magistrates to punish her and burn her temple.

Footbinding

The length of feet is now reduced from three inches to one inch. The custom is introduced to the north when it becomes
a more universal practice than in the south. All the women of the official families bind their feet as a sign of distinction. It must be mentioned that footbinding now begins in childhood, usually from four to eight. The evil of this practice cannot be overestimated. In time of war the immobility of woman becomes the cause of great massacre, not only of her sex but also of the stranger which trying to save one loses both.

Thus the invasions of the Kins and the Mongol's slaughter reduces the population from 100,000,000 to 58,834,711. The great robber Li Chu-Cheng is believed to have massacred more women in the Ming Dynasty than any general. Story runs that on one occasion he chops off the feet of women and with them builds eighteen towers on which he sets fire. His slaughter and the massacre of the Manchus have reduced the Chinese population from 46,750,000 to 28,605,716.

Bill of Divorse in the Age of Simplicity

Chang-Teh, Native of Tung-Yang County, Hsiang-Yang Department, Hupeh Province, hereby divorces his wife on one of the seven grounds which he declines to mention to save her honor, and is willing to return her to her parents who may remarry her to any man without the protest of the above signed.

June 30, Chen Hua the second year

Evidence: Hand print

a. Translated from King-Ku Ki-Kwang Vol IV page 5.
A Wedding in the Age of Simplicity
CHAPTER VII WOMAN IN THE AGE OF SUPPRESSION

Introduction

The Age of Suppression begins about 1644, when the Manchus overthrew the Ming Dynasty though not completely till twenty two years later, and ends in 1896, when the Anti-Footbinding Society was established. The two limits set by the author are rather flexible, as the conditions at the end of the Ming Dynasty overlap, with those of the Tsing or Manchu Dynasty; while even after 1896, numerous instances indicate that the Age of Suppression is not all over.

The causes of the transition from one status to another constitute the old story, which may be repeated as follows; First that the announcement of the morning by a hen signifies the misfortune of the house is witnessed by the usurpation of the throne by the powerful empresses and the wickedness of the mother regent in the previous dynasties. Second, the history of the few wicked women has unfortunately strongly planted the belief that the fair sex is by nature corrupted. Third, the old teaching of the inferiorty of woman, or that she should be submissive to man, following the age of simplicity, has gained firmer and firmer conviction among men. This chapter will present woman in various phases supplemented with views of the western scholars who have spent parts of their lives in the Middle Flowery Kingdom.
1. Woman in Politics

As woman is denied the privilege of taking examinations for literary and military degrees and thereby attaining both civil and military offices, although some offices can be purchased, she has no chance to play any role in politics. As intermarriage between the Chinese and the Manchus is prohibited no opportunity is open to her to be an empress or the wife of a prince so long as the latter race is dominating in the empire. While some Chinese girls have been selected as maidservants in the court, the flower of the sex, having bound feet, is denied the privilege of entrance into the palaces. Lady Tung-Siu Wan, a Chinese beauty, who has exercised a tremendous influence upon the life of Emperor Shih-Tsu, is on account of racial difference and bound feet denied by the Empress Dowager the privilege of promotion to the rank of empress; although she obliged the Emperor to abandon the throne and spend his life in a Buddhist Monastery.

This woman is disguised under the name of Ling Tai-Yu in the "Dreams of Red Chamber," for the Chinese historian is under the penalty of death to give no account of the uxoriousness of a Manchu Emperor. Indeed "Empress Dowager Tze-Hsi has for forty years shaped the policies of the whole country" as will be noted in the next chapter; but she is of pure Manchu origin, although rumor runs that she has a stain of Chinese blood in her veins. Woman, therefore, as mentioned in the last chapter, never rises again in politics so long as monarchy, especially despotism, rules.

II. Woman in Law

In the letters of the law woman has certain recognized rights; but in practice she is humiliated to a great degree.

The Legal Wife and Tung Shih

The Chinese law allows no man to have more than one legal wife although he is free to take as many concubines as he can afford to
once selected she is recognized. In general
the parents select the wife while the husband selects the
concubines himself. But in practice in many cases the hus­
band goes with the go-between hunting one house after another
to select a wife. On many an occasion parents select even concubines
for their sons. One boy at Shanghai swore to live the life of a
bachelor after the death of his fiancée, but was compelled by
his mother to marry a concubine for the propagation of the
house. But no matter how a man comes into possession of
a wife or concubine, once engaged with a contract the law
recognized it. 7

This law is often violated by the practice of Tung­
Shih, literally "Equal Chamber," in which one man marries
two wives or more all of whom are in the eyes of the
husband of equal rank. This often happens when the
first legal wife proves herself barren and her husband's
affection for her is still intense and he would not like to lay her
aside. At other times the husband marries the friend of his
wife, according to the wishes of the latter. Thus the son
of Admiral Liu 8 was married to two wives on account of the
sterility of the first one; while Miss Fang, in the "Stories
from a Chinese Studio," induced her husband to marry her
friend Miss Feng. 9

Age

The law does not provide for the limitation of age. 10
While sixteen is generally recognized as a marriagable age, a
healthy and robust husband may marry at fourteen, as in the
case of Mr. Chieng 11 in the MingChinghien in Fukien.
Blood Kinship

The law recognizes blood kinship, that is exogamy in the sense of marrying people of different surnames. It also forbids "The marriage of a brother's widow, of a father's or grandfather's wife, or a father's sister, under the penalty of death." Marriage should be with one of the same generation. In practice in both Kansu and Chekiang the younger brother is required to marry his elder brother's widow, provided she is below fifty or the ages of the two (widow and her brother-in-law) are not too widely apart. Marriage of the same generation is widely tolerated, as in the case of Mr. Hsu who was married to the niece of his sister-in-law. In Kiangsu endogamy is widely practised especially in the Woosung District.

Violation of contract

When the contract has been made and signed (as will be discussed in the next section) by both parties, if either bride or bridegroom refuses to live up to the agreement the person, generally father or uncle, who has authority to enforce the contract will be punished with fifty blows. Further decisions will be made by the magistrate himself. This law has often been enforced, as cases like this are most common in China.

Deceptions

The law does not tolerate deceptions such as the promising of enormous dowry by the go-between, exchanging brides, false age, and other impositions. A widow of rare beauty has been married to a wealthy man for seventeen years, bearing him, two sons; but after having discovered from his own lips that
he drowned her first husband in order to unite with her, she appealed to the law, which at once imprisoned her second husband.

Another young man of nineteen was fascinated by the attractiveness of a woman of twenty-four. By tricks and practices he made the law condemn her husband to imprisonment and to sell him the woman. From his own tongue the woman learned the whole story. She appealed to the court and the young man was arrested and imprisoned till death.

While these cases seem to commend the virtue of the laws, unfold number of deceptions are unknown to the court, as man, by various devices, closed to woman the opportunity of appealing to law. Even during six years stay in Foochow the present author witnessed marriage by deception. One of his own teachers of Mathematics was deceived by the go-between in exchanging a homely bride for a handsome one, and he never appealed to law.

Concubines

In the eyes of the law concubines are of inferior rank.

"Whoever degrades his first or principal wife to the condition of an inferior wife or concubine, shall be punished with one hundred blows. Whoever, during the lifetime of his first wife, raises an inferior wife to the rank and condition of a first wife, shall be punished with ninety blows, and in both cases, each of the several wives shall be replaced in the rank to which she was originally entitled upon her marriage."

Although this law is rarely violated, when the marriage of a concubine is not for the sanctity of the first wife, the
husband usually cares more for the concubine and leaves the wife to take care of herself. This has often given rise to jealousy and domestic warfare.

**Marriage of officials**

An official is prohibited to marry a woman under his jurisdiction or out of a family that has an interest in the performance of his official duties. This however has seldom been observed. Since a Chinese official always centers in his hands the three powers, and since provincial and local government is liable to be autonomous, he often marries the woman within his jurisdiction, or even the one who has some connection with cases before his tribunal. The perambulating officer of Soochow married his sweetheart, who was condemned to death though proven to be innocent.

The official is not allowed to marry an actress or a singing girl. The punishment is degradation in official rank. This law is by no means operative, as many officers marry even prostitutes.

**Marriage of slave and free man**

A male slave cannot marry a free woman. A female slave however can be freely given away by her master to his friend who is a freeman. A runaway female slave is denied the privilege of formal marriage no female slave has the right to sit in a red sedan chair to be carried to her bridegroom's house.

**Buddhist or Taoist Nuns**

No nuns of either religion are permitted to marry. In case they do, their private property is confiscated.
Divorce

Divorce may take place under the following conditions:

a) "If both husband and wife are willing to dissolve marriage". This usually happens when the husband is economically unable to support his wife, who likewise is unwilling to stand the separations resulting. Under this condition they agree to separate from each other. It is very often known to take place on account of disharmony as Jernigan says. Usually the husband writes by his own hand a bill of divorce which he gives to either the wife herself or his father-in-law. The same is true in other causes. It must be mentioned that divorce does not take place in court. Of course no alimony is provided, especially with divorce on economic grounds.28

b) "If the wife leaves the home against the will of the husband, should she marry whilst absent she is strangled."29

c) "If the wife beats the husband...."30

d)"If the marriage contract contained false statements."31

e)"If the wife has one of the seven faults" as described in the third chapter.32 Of these the inability to serve his parents" has more often led to divorce, than any of the others. Divorce on account of barrenness is exceedingly rare, if it does take place at all. A grand aunt of the author's gave no birth to any child but she lived with her husband in perfect harmony and they were satisfied with an adopted son, for barrenness means "giving birth to no son." In case of adultery of the wife, if the husband catches her in the act, he may kill both,
but if the wife is not killed she must be sold and the money forfeited. If the adulterer is killed but the wife is set free the husband is liable to be charged with murder. If the adulterer in the combat kills the husband, the wife is to be strangled. The husband, should, in the combat, do his best to cut the cue or hair-braid of the adulterer. Nagging rarely results in divorce. A nagging woman is usually a talkative, impulsive and offensive woman. Very likely both husband and his parents would be the subjects of her petticoat government. Theiving has never, as far as has been heard, led to divorce. Leprosy is a shared disease often spread by both parties unless it is acquired through contact with an adulterer. When both acquire such disease they will simply have to leave for the House of Leprosy established by the government. Jealousy more often leads to murder and suicide than divorce.

While the husband is surely on the advantage ground in the matter of divorce, woman is not absolutely forbidden to take the initiative in divorce, if it does not meet the objection of the husband. On four grounds woman may take the action against him, but must appeal to the law in so doing. These are:

a) If she has been deceived by false statements in the marriage contracts.
b) If the husband has become a leper.
c) If the husband has not been heard of for three years.
d) If she has been cruelly beaten by her husband.

The law is apparently ridiculous, for if the woman is deceived and cruelly beaten, she will surely meet the objection of the husband when she appeals to law for divorced.
Corporal punishment

The law does not provide for the corporal punishment of woman; but Mr. Johnston alleges that she is exempt from it. The present author, contrary to the idea, believes she is given corporal punishment just the same. The "Stories from a Chinese Studio" mentions that a woman is pressed upon her fingers with wood until she tells the truth to the officer. The author's friend, Mr. Chen Ngoh-Seng, speaks of a Foochow doctor, who as a district magistrate in Shensi beat a girl of seventeen, condemning her as the murderer of her fiance. The girl finally killed herself with her scissors in the presence of the magistrate.

Surety of the Father for her conduct

If a woman is unfilial to her parents-in-law, her own father can secure her future good conduct in the presence of the magistrate and thus restore her position. If she continued in her tyranny she is to be divorced.

Recapitulation

Thus for woman does not appear to play a direct part in the law, even she is above adolescence. The law when it attempts to protect her is often inadequate and inoperative. It, moreover, does not provide for the age of marriage, alimony, or the legality of the future child of a divorced pregnant woman.

III Woman In the Customs.

The Child

As a child she is not so highly valued as the son. The dream of a bear predicts the birth of a son; while that of a snake, a daughter: meaning strong and weak respectively.
The birth of a son is celebrated on the third day, or the thirteenth day, or his first birthday, with a feast. In case of the daughter, only the first one is so celebrated. On the first birthday of the baby of either sex articles are usually placed in front of it on a table giving it the freedom of taking hold of any of them at random to test its intelligence. In front of the girls are usually placed needles, threads, scissors, and foot-stick. In front of the boys are usually placed bow, arrow, paper and pen. Thus they predict the future calling of the youngsters. Bows and arrows if, caught by him, foretell that he will be a military man; pen and paper, a scholar. On the other hand if the girl grasps the needles she is expected to be skilled in embroidery; if she takes kitchen utensils, in cookery. The boy is expected to be a general or civil officer, while the girl a spinster or a cook.

1. It has been remarked that if a Chinese is inquired of concerning the number of children, he will tell you that of the sons, omitting the daughters altogether. To do him justice the author must say this is far from being the fact. It depends upon how the question is put. One has to know the Chinese language before he is able to converse and understand. "Child" in Chinese is synonymous with son, unless specifically mentioned, as in the benediction of the inhabitant near the mountain Hua as quoted in the second chapter above. A father will surely answer, if he is questioned, the number of his daughters. This is therefore hardly any criterion of the inferior position of the girl.
2. Westerners are surprised to find that the Chinese woman has no given name, and thus conclude her inferiority in position. This observation is, likewise, far from being accurate in characterizing the Age of Suppression. There is a superstition among the illiterate class that by giving children names of ugly objects, such as "grass sandals" they will not incur the jealousy of nature against their lives and thus be able to survive. Not only the girls but even the boys have very ugly names. These of course, cannot be placed in writing, though used in appellation; and the westerners will find their names to appear as Mrs. Liu, Hse and so on. Besides, where ugly names are not used the daughters of the illiterate class as usually named Big Sister, Little Sister, Second Sister; and the sons A-San, A-Sze, A-Wu meaning number one, number two, and number three respectively. The literary class usually name their daughters "Plum Flowers," "Red Stones," "Beautiful Moon" and so forth. To them they are like Mary, Helen, or Ruth. Again in China every person's name consists of a surname, usually of one character, and a given name usually of two characters. There are also the school name, official name, generation name, and milk name, in addition to the given name. Every name consists of two characters as before said. In order to have the wife's name in parallel with the husband's name, both must have their names reduced to three characters. Since the wife has a surname of her own, her name in full would
Female infanticide

The subject of female infanticide has been one of much dispute:

1. On the one hand, Miss Fielde in her "Pagoda Shadows" says, "I find that 160 Chinese women all over fifty years of age had borne 631 sons and 538 daughters. Of the sons 366 or nearly sixty per-cent had lived more than ten years; while of the daughters only 205 or thirty-eight per-cent lived ten years. The 160 women according to their own statements had destroyed 158 of their daughters; but none had ever destroyed a boy."^46

2. On the other hand Professor Giles alleges that infanticide in China is no more prevalent than in the Christian communities of the West. "It is curious to note how recent careful observers have several times stated that they can find no trace of infanticide in their immediate districts, though they hear that it is extensively practised in some other, generally distant part of the country."^47
3. The author does not deny the practice of this evil; for even during his childhood he heard of two women in his own district drowning their girl babies. It is a strange thing that it is practised not by man but by woman herself. No statistics have ever been available regarding this practice. In South China a stone tablet is usually set up bearing an inscription to the effect that "Female children may not be drowned here," or "Drowning of female children perpetually prohibited." Western missionaries basing their notions upon prejudice conclude that the practice must be common, seeing the abundance of such tablets; but as a matter of fact, as Giles says, the rich man who does no charity work and is met with disapprobation by his poor neighbors prints and circulates all kinds of religious tracts against gambling, alcohol drinking, opium smoking, female infanticide and sets up the tablets regardless of whether infanticide has been practised or not. In North China baby towers have been built for receiving dead and unwanted babies. This has also led some to overestimate the prevalence of infanticide. From the author's own observation female infanticide seems to have taken place, if not prevailed, more in the north than in the south, owing to economic conditions (for a female there is nearly an absolute dependent rather than a producer). In the south the cause is rather moral than economic, for the infanticide of illegitimate children exceeds in number that of legitimate; if it is a means to shelter their illegal conduct. At any rate this practice is a great curse to the nation.
Infant wife

On account of economic difficulty, for the wedding of a grown bride usually involves enormous expense in purchasing money, feast and dowry, a baby girl of below five years is often handed over to the baby boy's family to be raised for his wife. Marriage however does not take place till their characters are formed, that is when they attain adolescence. The little wife or petite daughter-in-law, innocent but helpless, is too often brutally persecuted by the mother-in-law, even to death. In cases like this the mother-in-law fails to secure a second baby daughter-in-law. The parents of the baby girl are no less unkind, especially the mother. She is glad to acquit herself of the burden of raising her own daughter by giving her over to the boy's family. When she occassionally returns, she is not welcomed. The author personally witnessed two mothers outrageously abusing their own baby daughters. One of these, however, after her daughter was thus persecuted to death, revenged herself upon the family of the baby boy by sending her kinsmen to tear down the furniture and utensils of his house. This practice, while seen widely practised in the country in the south, is not unknown in the north, as the author's school mate, Mr. Li En-Ko, has remarked it in his speech in an oratorical contest in Tsing Hua College, Peking.

Footbinding

The practice of footbinding is so universal in the north that it is found even among maidservants. In central and southern China it is practised mostly by the women of the upper class, as it is the custom throughout the country for all of them, especially when they are members of an official family, to bind their feet as a sign of aristocracy. The Mohammedans, and the aborigines
however retain their natural feet. In Canton and Foochow the custom does not widely prevail. It took Professor Ross five days to find a woman of bound feet in the former city.50

As has been mentioned the purpose of footbinding was originally delicacy or elegance. But in the Age of Suppression, in addition to this there are two reasons:

1. Suppression of women as a whole, as Suh-Ho51 has remarked:

"But the dangerous barbaric spirit of independence among woman cannot be held in check merely by throwing barriers across one and another avenue of expression. What you need for the civilizing of women is a mere simple and radical strategy. Bind their feet."

2. Closely connected with this, prevention of elopement.52 History speaks of a scrupulous husband scattering lime in front of the doors of the house as a means of detecting his wife running away from the house. With the compression of feet, elopment is made extremely difficult.

In 1644 Emperor Shih-Tsu issued an edict prohibiting the practice,53 but four years later withdrew it, either because of its inability to operate, or because of his having been advised that such a practise would result in producing a weak race less capable of bearing arms to resist the government of the Manchus, and that the Chinese would be handicapped in time of war,--an advantage to the Manchus.

Ross has estimated that in the process of compressing feet one girl dies out of ten.54 From the author's own experience he has neither heard of nor seen a single girl dying out of a thousand. He has seen several mothers starting to bind the feet of their daughters, who cried for pain, which, however, was not intense enough to cause death. As Williams says,
The practice of compressing the feet, so far as investigation has gone is more an inconvenient than a dangerous custom, for among the many thousands of patients who have received aid in the missionary hospitals, few or none have presented themselves with ailments chargeable to this course. 55

To be sure this inconvenient custom has checked the growth not only of the feet, but also of the legs especially the part below the knee. That she is unable to take physical exercise or walk well is self evident. But it has also its merit. While women were butchered in the Mohammedan Revellions by the barbarous soldiers on account of inability to escape, they were spared in 1900 by the western soldiers, who, believed that women of compressed feet would injure health if they came in touch with them, but raped all the Manchu women in the palace, women who had unbound feet. 57

An approximate estimate of women of compressed feet would be somewhere near 150,000,000 toward the end of the Age of Suppression. The pictoral play, "Red Lantern," which shows a woman demanding her granddaughter to cut her unbound feet however is a misrepresentation of the social life of China.

Betrothal

1. The custom of prenatal betrothal still exists. Post-Natal betrothal takes place not much later, from above one year old. In either case exogamy is strictly observed. But in the Age of Suppression exogamy has some additional meaning. 58 On the one hand marriage between the families of the same surname but of different origins is permitted. For example Emperor Kao-Ti of the West Han Dynasty conferred his surname Liu to general Hsiang whose descendants may therefore intermarry with those of Emperor Kao-Ti.
Again some families of different surnames made an agreement with each other, such as that between Liu and Lu, that in case the Liu's family grow in abundance, all the members of the Lu's family will change their surname to Li (the purpose being mutual protection against other clans). In such a case intermarriage is again permissible. On the other hand families of the same ancestry but branching from that ancestry under different surnames are denied the privilege of intermarriage. For example General Sze, and account of murder, changed his name to Kwan, which all his offspring retain. Consequently these two families are of the same blood. The same is true of Hsu and Chiang whose ancestor changed his surname from the latter, the name of the mother, to the former, the name of the state belonging to the father.

A still more complicated system is that of King, Chieng, and Liu, which do not intermarry because these characters contain a common radical, marriage between cousins of different surnames is allowed but in certain localities it is not recognized as commendable. Thus exogamy is a great handicap to kin-marriage.

2. Procedure—In betrothal a go-between, either man or woman, who has passed the age of sixteen and has names, is desired. He (more often she) first consults with the girl's family and then asks the boy's family to write the card with eight cyclinal characters to be delivered to the girl's family. The family of the girl writes in return her card with eight characters. The family of the boy asks a fortune teller, presenting him these eight characters, to compute her fortune; while the family of the girl does the same thing with his. When the prognostics agree the two families will fix a day to exchange the contracts. On that day both families will prepare red cards and a dinner for the go-between.

She received presents of money, wrapped in red paper, and meats of various kinds as a return for her service.
It remains to be told what these eight cyclical characters are. They are characters governing the year, the month, the day and the hour of birth, two representing each. Each of the ten characters so-called "heavenly stem," combined with each of the twelve characters called "earthly branches," going round six times for the former and five for the latter, constitute a cycle of sixty. There are also twelve animals, corresponding to the two characters. These are rat, bullock, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog and boar, in the order named. The animal of the year in which the child is born may be the goat; the month, the tiger; the day, the cock; and the hour, the boar. The animals of the boy must not conflict with those of the girl, or else no betrothal should take place. Animals which cannot go together are as follows:

1. Horse vs bullock
2. Goat vs rat
3. Cock vs dog
4. Dragon vs hare
5. Tiger vs snake
6. Boar vs monkey

After the exchange of the computation cards the boy's family writes down the betrothal contract or age contract for the go-between to bring over to the girl's family, which in return writes hers down and sends it to the boy's family through the same person. In this betrothal contract made of a red paper box the name of the boy or girl together, with their .is made out of golden leaves or velvet.
cloth. The age in year, month, day and hour is designated. A golden needle and a red silk thread is attached signifying that the parties will join in harmony as the thread will go through the eye of the needle. The red silk was originally the engagement ring in the Western Han Dynasty.

After the betrothal the boy's family offers an amount varying from thirty dollars to three thousand, depending on the financial situation of the family, as the purchasing price or in addition to a money of the girl in the form of a gold ring, a set of bracelets, or something else. The girl's family in return gives the boy a gold ring, and a few valuable articles; it also makes, if the girl has grown to the marriageable age, cakes of ceremony of the size of pie to be distributed among the kinsmen of the girl's family. Thus far we can see the girl's fate is determined by the fortune teller whose pseudo-science earns him money at the expense of the domestic happiness of many a poor girl. The purchasing money, so long as it is demanded, makes woman a kind of property.

3. Chastity of fiancee to fiance - In Fukien, especially in the country, after the death of the betrothed husband, the girl's parents often force her to commit suicide by strangling herself on a rope hanging around a beam of a stage built especially for that purpose. The girl is dressed in white, a sign of mourning. After an offering is made to the deceased fiance the parents escort her up to the stage. With the exception of the parents all people related to her kneel down before the stage till the girl ceases to breath. After her death her body is carried over to the boy's
family to be buried together in the same grave though in a different coffin. In case the girl is unwilling to die her parents and kinsmen very often scold and curse her. The purpose of this custom is to secure an imperial consent for building a monument, a sign of distinction to the family for producing a moral girl.

In the reign of Emperor Shih Tsung, Mr. Chao, the Provincial Treasurer, strictly forbade this practice. Since then it has disappeared in towns and cities; but in the sparsely populated districts of Lieng-Kiang, Ing-Hok, and Lo-Yuan it still recently prevailed.

In the reign of Emperor Suan-Tsung a boy of the Chou family, engaged to Miss Fu, died of disease. Miss Fu was compelled to mourn for her betrothed husband for three weeks and in the afternoon of the twenty-first day to attempt suicide. The district magistrate, instead of commending what the parents did, arrested them and tore down the newly built stage just in time to save the girl from being strangled. In this respect the Chinese parents are not very far away from the Indians, who burn their widows alive.

Marriage

Procedure— After betrothal neither the girl nor the boy is allowed to see the other, the purpose being the prevention of sexual indulgence. Besides, the girl is prohibited from seeing any boy or man who calls on her parents. Meanwhile the parents arrange for the time of marriage. The month is selected by the girl's family; while the day by the boy's, month or moon representing female, day or sun representing male, and star representing a concubine. In both cases the calendar and the fortune teller are consulted.
When the date is fixed the boy's family sends the card to the girl's family in order that it may prepare the outfit before the wedding day. The nuptial chamber is prepared and plastered like a new one, and decorated with antithetical couplets and signs written on red scrolls. These may say, "As harmonious as guitor with flute; as comfortable as fish with water." The top of the paper roll is white in remembrance of Chwang-Lieh-Ti of the Ming Dynasty, an emperor who died for China. The signs usually read, "Three abundances" i.e. abundance of wealth, of life, and of sons as mentioned in the second chapter, or "I-Nan," meaning "May she bear a Son."

A few days before the wedding the son's family sends a box of at least four articles, pork, vermeceil, flour, and rice, at the cost of about ten dollars, to the girl's parents. This ceremony takes the place of the so called six rites. It is a sign of ancestor worship rather than honoring the woman.

On the wedding day the girl's family sends first the outfit consisting of tables, mirrors, quilts, cases, stools, chests, clothes, sometimes the deeds of land and cattle. This custom has been one of the causes of many a domestic warfare, as will be discussed under the subject of dowry.

A sedan chair clothed in red flannel, and carried by from four to thirty two people accompanied by musicians, is sent to the girl's family the day before the wedding. On the next day when people are feasting in the girl's family the girl cries, partly because she does not like to leave the parents, partly because
it is a means to get pocket money, which all the elders of the family, including uncles, aunts, grandfathers and others, must give. When she is ready, that is she is dressed in red the whole body over, the door of the chair is opened and she goes in. The fire crackers are exploded. The music is played while in procession. The red color, the first of the five (red, black, white, green and yellow), is worn by no widow or twice married woman. Even a virgin can wear only half red, if she is to be the second wife of a man.

When the chair arrives at the boy's house two boys bearing decorated lanterns come out with the husband, he sitting in a chair to meet the bride. This practice is somehow neglected in the south where the husband does not believe in condescending to meet the "inferior sex."

When the sedan chair enters the yard, a woman, called the "Person of good fortune", is selected to open the door of the chair. This woman must have a husband and children both male and female, and her animals, i.e. the animals of her birth hour, day, month, and year must not conflict with those of the bride. From the time she enters the sedan chair and when she comes out she is wrapped from top to bottom, even in hot weather, and handled as if she is a sheep going to the butcher. Thus they often say, "They carry you away like a hog."

The ceremony takes place with the boy dressed up in official costume, accompanied by a servant, the girl by a maid, sometimes two. Those servants and maids are professionals hired especially on such occasions. The couple first worship heaven
and earth, then grandfather and mother (if deceased their tablets), Father and mother, and lastly any person of parents' generation, who must in return give the couple presents mostly in money. After the ceremonies the couple enter the nuptial chamber. The bride sits on the lap of the bridegroom, a sign of submission, eating vermicelli (meaning long life) and drinking wine from the same cup, a promise that she is willing to enjoy and suffer together with her lord. They then go to the parlor where the groom eats with the man guests to whom he makes apology for preparing such a poor feast, while the bride, directed by the maid, makes apology to the woman guests, but does not, herself, eat. In the groom's apology he himself speaks, but in the bride's the maid holds up her hands (the brides) to thank them all, and does all the speaking for her.

In the evening the guests enter the nuptial chamber. Those who are of the same generation as the grown tease the couple demanding them to perform certain acts. For the groom it is not very embarrassing; but for the bride it is one of the most trying moments in her life. Wicked youths devise as many as 120 acts all of which are unbecoming for the girl. Unless the couple obey their order, they will all stay till day-break.

On the next day the bride is to salute all people of the father and mother-in-laws' generation in the same clan, or guests from some other clan, by presenting to each a cup of sugared tea with a red date in it. The tea may be drunk, but the date is to be left.
In some places, sometimes on the wedding day, sometimes the day after, certain nuts are scattered on the ground,—Melon seed, dragon eyes, hazel nut, chesnut, and cocoa nut,—meaning "Five sons", which are expected of the bride. Again the lanterns lighted on that night bear the insignia "hundred sons" and "Thousnad grandsons." These are all the indications that marriage is a means to an end.

2. Returning to the parents' house.— Sometimes after the marriage, either within a few days or more often in the new year, the newly married couple are invited with a card to visit the family of the father-in-law or mother-in-law to get better acquaintance with them. If the father-in-law is financially strong he will on the first day prepare him a feast and then every-day secure a table of viands from his kinsmen for a period from ten to thirty days, depending upon the number of kinsmen able to offer it. On the last visiting day the father-in-law will prepare as many tables as the number of feasts at which his son-in-law has been entertained. (During all these feasts the son-in-law is entertained as the first guest; but tricks may be played by cooks upon him by serving him with slender chopsticks and dumplings with tobacco in it.) The bride, however, is not entertained, though she comes with the groom. During these days she lives in seclusion from her husband. She complains, as she usually does, to her parents of the real character of the husband and his situation. Sometimes she even commits suicide in her parents' house or refuses to return the husband's family.
3. Dowry - Many parents marry their sons on account of the coveted dowry which they expect to get from the wife's family. Under this condition marriage becomes economic in motive. It has been a custom for the girl's family to make a splendid display of the outfit. It very often amounts to such a figure that the family has to sacrifice some of their daily necessities. Consequently people do not desire to rear daughters. This has been one of the contributory causes of female infanticide. One of the officers, Chang Po, issued a declaration prohibiting extravagant dowry; but he did not set any limit as to the amount of expenses. Thus his declaration runs:

For the purpose of expounding proper rites, of increasing the wealth of people and of correcting the customs I hereby issue this declaration. It is the purpose of the government to augment the wealth of the people; and the method of augmentation is to prohibit extravagance. Fukien is a highly civilized province. But of late the people are normally degenerated. All of them are striving to display their extravagance. Not only do they forsake their occupation to be engaged in minor affairs, being dressed up in bright and fresh colors, and drinking and playing all the time, but even in wedding and funeral do they not conduct the ceremonies according to proper rites. They have no respect for fundamental things, but care only for display. Not only are the rich extravagant, but even the poor imitate what the former do. Thus they sell their real estate in order that in marrying their daughters and in funerals they can make a showing. The rich thus becomes poor; and the poor become wretched. The national strength is thus weakened. The reasons for this prohibition are as follows:

(For Marriage)

Marriage is a sacred institution. According to the teachings about human relationship "personal receiving" should be observed. At present in the eight departments excepting Chang-Chow it is entirely disregarded. In the provincial
capital the parents are willing to spend thousands of dollars for the daughter's dowry, but unwilling to spend a few dollars to educate their sons. Boxes, chests, beddings, clothes are displayed in procession along the street. If one article is lacking the daughter refuses to enter the sedan chair. The son's family demands so copious articles as to compel the daughters family to furnish trains of wagons, sell farms and real estates. Those who are unable to furnish let their daughters remain in virginity long after the marriageable age. To have a hundred wagons of dowry without any official title attached to either of them is trespassing the social barriers to imitate the extravagance of "Red Dust" without bushels or pickles of harvest in the granary is ignorance of one's own financial ability. The father and mother-in-law do not inquire about the character of the daughter-in-law, but bases their love on the abundance or scarcity of dowry. This is not parental. The father and mother do not teach their daughters to be upright but wish her to be proud to her husband (for abundance of dowry). This is not righteous. After the wedding music goes on for even from three days to a month, and feasting and theatrical shows for more than a decade. This is an extreme waste of expense. In the sight of wedding the friends of the bridgroom make fun of the couple practising a custom called Bustling Nuptial Chamber, a great curse to modern civilization and usages. Economy in marriage and funeral has been decreed by his majesty. In the national capital it has already been obeyed. Why should Fukien alone violate the imperial instruction? After this proclamation in marriage only a few tables and chairs are allowed, bedding one set, clothes one box. If any dowry should exceed this number the parents shall be arrested and sentenced as to violate the imperial decree. All the elders of the villages should cooperate to stop the custom of "Bustling Nuptial Chamber," the scholars teaching the same, and in case of violation arrest them to be punished by the departmental and district magistrates. Be cautious and do not neglect.

In Kiangsu province magistrate Chen-Hung issued a similar proclamation of the same nature. He limited the number of boxes to six, purchasing money to eight strings (about eighty dollars a feast of no more than eight courses at the cost of at most a dollar a table.

Dowry, as has been said, is one of the causes of domestic warfare. When meager, the parents-in-law persecute the daughter, whose own parents, being of meager means, have simply to let her suffer. When abundant the wife becomes arrogant, and depending upon
the wealth of her own parents, she disobeys her parents-in-law and even despises or quarrels with them when they attempt to live at her expense.

4. Marriage of concubines and maidservants. If the concubines are married together with the wife; they go at the same time, only not sitting in a red sedan chair. They perform ceremonies with the wife. If they are married separately they have to pay homage to the wife when they enter the house.

A maidservant may be married as the daughters are if her master cares much for her. Otherwise she is merely transported away with very simple ceremonies performed.

5. Second marriage of woman. Second marriage is not prohibited but the public sentiment is against it. In case of the death of the husband if the father-in-law's family is unable to support her she is either sold or induced to remarry. When she is remarried she cannot bring anything from the first husband's family to that of the second husband. But more often she is asked to remain in widowhood. Mr. Wang Eng-Tien in his essay on second marriage says,

"Unless the woman is willing to be chaste, it is dangerous to compel her to live in widowhood or to deny her second marriage; lest adultery may be secretly committed."

Mr. Chin, in his comments on this essay, says,

"It is mean and obstinate to adhere to the prevailing usages regardless of consequences. It is a great kindness to let the widow and widower remarry. Mr. Wang is an excellent expounder of the old beliefs."
Both Mr. Wang and Mr. Chin are right; for the author himself knows of two widows accused of committing adultery. But it is a puzzle why more widows refuse to remarry despite the encouragement of the parents-in-law. The author sees that there are two reasons. In the first place, the material instinct is too powerful a factor to be neglected. It is impossible "to sell the cow and leave the calves behind", without a protest from the former. In the second place, as the arrangement of marriage is not in her own hands, there is hardly any choice between widowhood and second marriage. In the latter case it is a mere change of masters.

It has often been remarked that in China women who commit suicide are five times as numerous as men.72 The cause is usually allotted to cruel treatment by the husband. To do the Chinese husband justice the author agrees with Mr. Johnston in saying that this is rather a generalization far from facts. Out of 100 suicides perhaps eighty per cent is due to the woman's own ambition to secure imperial approbation and monument, stane archway, or board as a sign of her honor for purity or chastity; eighteen per-cent may be due to the cruelty of the mother-in-law; and two per-cent to the ill-treatment of the husband. Before 1729 according to the estimate of Mr. Johnston, suicides were exceedingly common in Weihaiwei. In 1729 an imperial
decree proclaimed that no more official honors would be conferred; since then suicides decreased in number. Mr. Johnston has mentioned a great number of cases of suicides in Wei haiwei. The parents-in-law have in many occurrences watched their daughter-in-law in her behavior after the death of their son. They wanted to save her life, but she sought every opportunity to die. On some occasions when the parents-in-law are of high age they have asked her to take care of them. To this demand she consented; but soon after their death she took her own life.

Does woman love her own husband? The author has seen many a woman quarrel with her husband; but after his death she either remains in widowhood or commits suicide. What is the underlying cause? The author might not get the right answer. But one thing is sure: She loves her reputation, nay, honor, more than her husband or even her own life. To her nothing material is desired. Widowhood, second marriage, or suicide is equal in her eyes, she being treated as property. The author of "The Ten-Day Masacre of Yang Chou" once said to his wife, "If a Manchu soldier touches you, you must commit suicide." "Yes" answered the woman, "I will." So ready is she to die at any moment.

The imperial archways usually bear these characters, "Chaste as ice frost," "Pure as white snow," Hard as Cypress Boat." There are also couplets, all praising the woman who committed suicide or widow who lost her husband before thirty. In case the widow commits adultery after the erection of the archway anybody may destroy it.
6. Virginity. In Peking there is a barbarous custom called "Proof of Virginity" of the bride. On the second day after the wedding, if the groom finds the bride deflowered before his union with her, she is to be returned to her own parents' family. For faithlessness on the part of the man, no charge is made against him.

7. Wife Pawning. In one of the districts of Foochow when a man is unable to marry a wife he usually makes arrangement with his friend to let him hire his wife for a period until a son is born to him. This custom debases woman's position to a great degree. The people of that district, the sons of such a woman, have often been ridiculed even by the author himself.

8. Polyandry and other forms of marriage. Polyandry exists in the Ting-Chou Department of Fukien Province, in Kansu Province, and in Tibet. In Fukien it is caused by sensuality; in Kansu scorn of the fair sex; but in Tibet both scarcity of women and female ascendancy. The family in Tibet is exceedingly small. Two children are common. There are few nuns. The offspring from polyandrous marriage treat as father whomever their mother teaches them to recognize by that name. The other husbands of the mother are uncles. Family name is unknown. The wife however is secured by purchase; but as soon as she enters the husband's house she has the control of almost all of his affairs. She is the head of the family; without her consent no buying or selling could be made. There are also temporary marriages contracted for six months, a month or a week.
Marriage of deceased girls to deceased boys and living boys is widely practised by superstitious people who believe that the daughters soul needs an abode in a man's body. The parents of the girl usually have to pay the living boy for marrying their daughter. If the girl is just dying the boy is required to embrace her before she enters the coffin.

Wife

So far woman is suppressed in every case. As a wife, in theory she is to be obedient to her lord; but in practice she struggles quite successfully to gain her wishes. According to the "Harmony between husband and wife," Woman must first submit to her husband's command; second, rear the silk worm and weave cloth, and in that be economic and industrious in household affairs; and, third, live with him in harmony which really means submission. From the author's own observation as well as from treatises concerning woman both by Westerners and Chinese, the following facts witness that she rarely fails to trespass the barriers put for her.

A) In the first place she too often regulates her husband's conduct toward the other members of the family. Frequently a son becomes unfilial or a brother unfraternal when he listens to his wife. In the past it has been considered a virtue to live together with brothers for generations. Generally brothers consent to this plan; but after their marriage they very often demand the partition of property. The author knew of a man who, after listening to his wife, made an attempt to murder his brother with an axe. When two or more sisters-in-law live in the same house not infrequently
fraternal

wars take place. A cruel daughter may even outrage her
mother-in-law reducing her to the position of a maidservant, as
illustrated by the story of San-Hu, or Coral, in the
"Stories From a Chinese Studio." 87

6) In the second place she often establishes a
petticoat government under which not only the husband but also
the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law, the other sisters-in-
law, their children, and even her neighbors are her subjects.

"Eight men out of ten are afraid of their wives," says Johnston
in his "Lion and Dragon in North China." 88 The wife with a
flexible tongue is too powerful for the husband. Very rarely
has any husband inflicted corporal punishment on wife. In the
experience of Mr. Johnston, no husband has ever been convicted of
wife beating. But very often has he seen a wife, by blows and
threats, driving her husband out of the house and following him
out into the road. The author does not understand what Mr.
Johnston means by "Convicted," for one is not necessarily a
convict in China on account of wife beating, but he agrees with
him that a cruel wife is not uncommon. The punishments inflicted
upon the husband are formidable. Beating him with a bamboo stick,
requiring him to kneel at the bedside for the whole night with
a lamp on his head, scratching his face with fingers nails and
applying vinegar on the scars, and various other kinds of torture,
some indescribable, especially when he is discovered to be
disloyal to her majesty by relating himself to concubines and
other women. Two vivid pictures of cruel women in the "Stories
From a Chinese Studio*. have been portrayed; and no reader who does not shudder at the extreme barbarity of their government. The author will not stop to mention these and will conclude this subject by quoting a passage from the "Harmony Between Husband and Wife":

"I have constantly seen the women of the present time (cursed with) dispositions harsh and violent, haughty and puffed with self importance; if anything occur that does not exactly jump with their humor, then they commence to speak loudly and to bawl out; going even to the length of cursing and abusing (people); wishing to strike and desireing to be uproarious!" 84

But not all women are cruel. Cruelty, whether innate or acquired, is equally distributed among both sexes. Cruel husbands are not unknown. The author personally knows of a man who never spoke nor associated with his wife after a quarrel. She cooked for him and he supplied the food. The only person to whom she could apply for redress of his grievances was her son, who, however, was unfilial to her. Another wife was just a little less cruel than her husband. Consequently they constantly quarreled with each other and their bawling could be heard from the school-room of the author. So said his school mates, "Every third day a little quarrel, and every fifty day a great quarrel." 85 The husband usually won but he did not care to divorce her as he needed her domestic service; the wife did not leave for she had nowhere to go. One day he was about to strangle her, but his kinsmen intervened.
Again, in case of economic difficulty, imprisonment of the husband, or adultery of the wife, she is usually sold, to clear up debts, to keep the husband alive in jail (for in old times the convict lived at his own expense), and to revenge her for her disloyalty. The sale of wives became exceedingly common after the importation of opium by Great Britain. In concubinage, in slavery, in the brothel, and everywhere, the unfortunate woman was the wife of an opium smoker.

Certain misunderstandings on the part of the Western scholar however should be cleared up. These are as follows:

1. The fact that husband and wife do not talk with each other in the public or walk along side by side in the street but follow each other is no sign of the inferior sex of woman, but rather the strict separation of sexes in the public eyes, as a matter of propriety. The fact that woman goes by sedan chair while the man goes by foot, though due to the bound feet of the former, would according to uncritical observers mean the superiority of the wife, if not carefully studied for its cause. That inquiry about one's wife is improper, is held to avoid suspicion of love. Propriety in China has great weight. Woman of the upper class never exposes her elbow or breast to induce the impulse of the other sex. Courtship is unheard of, lest adultery might result. In Peking, where people abstinately adhere to the old civilization, woman is seldom seen in street.
2. True it is that when the husband is an official the wife wears the same insignia, and wears clothes of the same official rank as he does; but the fact she keeps keys and official seal does not mean she is given advantage over her husband, but rather that she is more careful in preserving articles. Moreover the insignia and clothes are more nominal privileges. No power is given to her in transacting external affairs.

3. Although the wife is buried in the same tomb as the husband, it must be mentioned that her death is not mourned over by husband with funeral ceremonies; while for his death she has to mourn for from 100 days to three years. Moreover on the mourning card her name does not appear as a mourner (for only the names of the males are entitled to this privilege). She has duties but not rights.

**Woman as mother or mother-in-law**

Probably the only high position woman holds is that of the mother. Even here she is restricted in authority both in practice and in theory. In theory she is to obey the son after the death of her husband. In practice she is subject to the father's leadership in the family. The honor of the mother is coexistent with her motherhood. The more sons she can bear the greater honor is ascribed to her. The virtue of filial duty is owed to her no less than to the father. As a mother she can be a tyrant to her child. After her death sacrifice is offered to her as well as to the father.

As a mother-in-law she is usually a tyrant. She has been the cause of many suicides and divorces. The "Suicide clubs"
and the "Anti-Matrimonial organization" in Canton are formed against them, not against husbands. Eight Cantonese girls drowned together one night with one of their members compelled to marry. Usually the members of the "Anti-matrimonial organization" stay for three days with their husbands, and then return to their own houses forever. If they were sent to the husbands after that date or compelled to leave their own mother's homes they would have recourse to suicide.

The husband as a son does not protest against the mother-in-law's outrage upon his wife; lest he would be charged unfilial. Marriage is the conveyance of the bride to the groom's parents to live with them and serve them as a slave.

IV The Education of Woman

In the Age of Suppression the illiteracy of women surpasses that of any other period. Ross estimates that not one woman out of a thousand can read. People speak of "Pretty woman," not "Educated woman", as the proper match for a "Literary Genius" This section is devoted to the causes of illiteracy rather than to the study of exceptional woman writers.

I. Economic

In a country where illiteracy is common among men, there can be no wonder that it should be the same or even more so among women. Now in China every family demands immediate income for subsistence; and consequently the farmers exceed the scholars in number. Moreover the Chinese literature is so difficult to master that it takes a person from five to ten years to learn to
write an essay. During these years the students are consumers, not producers. Even when one has received enough education there is no surety that he can earn any sum to help the family. If he is unable to produce by having education, how much less can she be expected to do the same. It is better for her to attend to domestic affairs, wearing and spinning, which will surely guarantee a certain income.

2. Educated woman dangerous.

"You must know, "that for a Woman to be without Talent is A Virtue on her part!" No one desires that your natural should be intelligent or your abilities of high order; they only wish that your disposition be mild and obedient, and that in looking after household matters, you be diligent and economical!"

Such was the address of the Yang-Chou author to woman.

To Man he says:

"If you hate them for their stupidity and worthlessness, you must consider that they are WOMANKIND; that as they cannot read, and do not know their letters, they cannot understand (the principles of) reason......I with these eyes have frequently seen a great many clever and (apparently) steady persons of the fair sex, who (being gifted with) great courage and high talent have yet been guilty of a number of most ugly action; and these that are not so good as the stupid womankind, who yet know to keep quietly in their places."

"At the bottom of every trouble is a woman, at the root of every case is a woman." Very unfortunately woman is so condemned because of the wickedness of some of their members of her sex in the past. The women who marked the discases of the dynasties have often been cited to illustrate their depravity of nature.

Again the petticoat government described in the last section is usually established by literary women, for it exists more widely among the official circles.
3. Denied the privilege of examination for literary degrees.

The primary purpose of education is to receive degrees conferred upon the successful competitive examinations. When it is the third degree the scholar becomes a candidate for an official position. When it is either first or second degree the scholar is exempt from corporal punishment by the state and is granted a certain number of acres of farms by his clan. All these privileges are denied to woman. It is therefore not worth while to educate her.

4. Selfishness of the parents.

Daughters are to be married and hence belong to others. Parents are responsible only for their physical growth, not intellectual development.

5. Denied the privilege of teaching

Unsuccessful candidates often earn their living by teaching. But to woman this privilege is denied. Her knowledge becomes valueless since there is no sphere for expression. Poetry, which some women write does not make the soup taste better.

V. The Social Life of Woman.

Society in the Occidental sense does not exist among either sex. Separation of sexes is extremely strict. A girl of a wealthy merchant in Foochow, living in absolute seclusion, is compelled by circumstances to fall in love with her little imbecile and physically defective servant.
Relatives alone can meet each other, but must not keep their hands in Yench. A young man may however call upon an old woman.

The woman of the upper class are even more secluded. They make calls and visits only among the women of their class and with their relatives. They seldom or never appear in the streets, although they may go to theatres. The lower class, however, especially in the south, come and go freely.

In festivals, at feasts, or on similar occasions, special tables are prepared and reserved for woman.

VI. The Industrial Life of Woman.

For the higher class of women there is practically no industry. They think that work makes them less pretty or delicate. Small body, little waist, tiny feet, and long finger nails are the signs that they are highly bred. They do not even cook or appear in the market. For the lower class cooking and laundry-work are the most common. Match-making is counted as a profession. The maidservant of the bride in wedding is also a specialist. She differs from the domestic maidservant in the fact that she is paid while the latter is purchased and reared by the master. The domestic servant arrangement is one of the greatest curses in the Chinese customs. She is outraged to such an extent that she is
abused, scorched with fire, tortured to death, not that she
does not perform her duties, but that she is a maidservant. So
says the China Daily News of HangKang:

"Both she and you are descendants of the
Yellow Emperor, born with round skull and rect-
angular feet; why should she be an-slaved
and tortured with hot flame and boiling water
till her body is deprived of its natural per-
fection? Alas if China should be partitioned
by foreign powers her crime is not fully
punished!"103

Still more inhuman is the selling of woman to be
a prostitute. Nearly ninety-five percent of the postitutes are
compelled, nay, sold by force, to the disreputable houses.

That both the domestic servant and the prostitute
debase woman's status is self evident. It must be re-
marked that both match-maker and maidservant of the
bride are despised to a great degree.

In Foochow woman carries vegetables to market for
sale. On the river she is also a sailor. In the house she is a
weaver. In the fields she is a farmer. Along the Yangtze
valley woman dresses the hair of the ladies of wealthy families
to earn a living. Tailoring and shoe-making however have become
man's industry, beginning at what date, nobody has the
knowledge of.

From experience the author has never seen or been told
of a business firm set up exclusively by woman. She might keep
account for her husband in the store, but never is she a manager
in the sense that she is independent. Very often after the
death of the husband the store is discontinued. As a business
woman she is rather exacting, thus driving away the customers.
As a worker she is industrious, rarely stealing leisure, i.e. loaf­
ing.

The wages of cooks vary with localities. They
usually include room and board and a few dollars, from three
to ten.

VII The Religion of Woman

When woman is discouraged she usually seeks for
consolation or blessings in religion. As Confucianism is not
a religion, the author will leave it out of consideration.
The Chinese woman is either a Buddhist, a Taoist, or a
Worshipper of nature and ancestry.

The Buddhist.

As a Buddhist the Chinese woman may become a mere
vegetarian. In either case she must chant the Buddhist Scripture
and abstain from eating animal flesh. The former shaves off her
hair, stays in the nunnery, and never marries. The latter keeps
her hair, stays at home, and marries. Neither of them has
any knowledge of the essentials of the teaching. Chanting
scripture and tabooing blood are to them the surest paths to the
"Western Heaven." When there is no nunnery in the district the
woman goes to the monastery. As has been mentioned the god Kwan­
Ying has become Madonna. By every barren Buddhist woman she is
asked to grant the conception of a male child. Woman also believes that by turning the leaves or pages of the scripture on the sixth day of the sixth month she will be transmigrated to be a male in the next generation. Consequently women flock into the monasteries and nunneries, where they are either induced by the nuns to fall into temptations or kidnapped by the priests.

Mr. Cheng Heng had in his proclamation declared as follows:

"Woman, according to prosperity should stay in the interior chamber of the house. While sitting there must be a screen in front of her. While going out she must cover her face with veil. These are means of avoiding suspicion and processes of stopping kidnapping. But now they are used to licentiousness and wantonness. The young women are richly dressed. Head and face are so exposed that they invite criticism and make a tour of the monasteries; others, in the night of Lantern Festival go out to enjoy the moon. In extreme cases they frequent temples, burning incense, attending meeting, hearing Buddhists chant and lecture, talking and smiling as usual. Still worse than this is, that in the last decade of the third moon they pass their nights in the temples believing they will thus be conferred good husbands. On the sixth day of the sixth moon, by turning the leaves of scriptures ten times, they believe they can be transmigrated to be males. On the thirteenth day by lighting lanterns they will secure good luck. Some pass their nights in the temples in deep mountains praying for male children; others serve in the temple as maids on the first and fifteenth day of the moon. There they are entertained by priests and surrounded by wicked young men. Yet their own husbands and kinsmen take it as nothing happened. This is a great curse of the custom. I, hereby, notify that if any Buddhist and Tourist Priests admit any young women into the temple they will be punished with the pillow and the husbands of the women punished." 104

The Taoist

Students of religion will know that Taoism is in its present state a degenerated form. It is rather magick than religion. Consequently the Taoist nun does not represent Taoism to the slightest degree. She is a vegetarian; vegetarianism is
a Buddhist doctrine stolen by the Toaists. She is a believer in Heaven and Hell, another creed stolen from the same source. She is a witch practising spiritual healing. By chanting scripture for two or three hours she sees visions, as she says, and gives prescriptions. Some even die upon taking her medicine, but she is not to be blamed.

The Toaist nunnery, likewise, has been converted to a disreputable house. Even scandals are against it.

**The worshipper of nature and ancestry**

As a worshipper of nature woman offers sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, Sun and Moon, Mountain, and Rites, at festivals, and the first and fifteenth day of the month. The same thing is done for her ancestors. In addition their birthdays are observed.

**Other religions**

In addition to these religions woman worships heroes and heroines who were either human beings during their lifetime or mythical personages. The goddess of Weaving, or Weaving Damsel, was one who is supposed to be able to give skill of weaving and needlework. She is celebrated on the seventh evening of the seventh moon, or Double Seven. Mythology says there are two stars in heaven, Weaving Damsel, or Vega and Herdsman, Aguila. The farmer was the daughter of sun god, excelling in the skill of weaving and in industrial habits. She was married to Aguila who was herding his cattle on the Silver River. After the wedding she became idle, and her father got angry and separated the lovers by placing them each on one side of the Silver River, "allowing
the husband to meet his wife over a bridge of many thousand magpies only once a year on the seventh day of the seventh moon." 105

VIII. Conclusion

Such is the status during the age of Suppression, of the Chinese Woman, who in politics and law plays no part, in humiliated customs in humiliation, in education is denied opportunity, in society strictly separated from the other sex, in industry engaged in despised trades, and in religion, in religion alone, does she possess some freedom. It is during this period of extreme suppression that the westerners first visited China and returned to the Occident with stories which may continue to be for based generations based on prejudice, some extolling, others condemning the Chinese civilization. The author belongs to neither side. He only knows to present the situations which he believes to be the truth. Science knows no sentiment.
A Woman in South China in the Age of Suppression

A Pailou in Amoy China

(In Honor Of A Widow)
CHAPTER VIII. WOMAN IN THE NEW ERA

1. Causes of the transformation

The Period from 1896 up to the present moment may be called the New Era or Age of Transformation. 1896 is the year when the "Anti-Footbinding Society" first appears. It is the year in which the real emancipation of woman begins. The fundamental cause of the change of woman's position is the introduction of Christianity, specifically protestantism, more specifically the American Protestantism. As early as 635 the Catholic religion entered China with Father Alopen, but it failed to release woman, nay, it even paid no attention to social reform. Indeed the English protestantism sent the first missionary Robert Morrison, to China in 1807, but the contribution of the Episcopalian church to the emancipation is not only a long process but trivial and negligible. Moreover John Bull, is committed to wife-beating, which is indicative by the lower position of woman in Albion than in the New World. To this point the author will come again in the next section.

In the following discussion the author wishes to express his regret that no statistics are available owing to the fact that our government has scarcely commenced to make a systematic investigation. So says an official "We have few statistics in China." In fact even in the estimate of population it varies from 332,000,000 to 484,000,000.
II. Effects of the English Missionaries.

A. The negative effects.

Teachings of scripture

From Saint Paul the Chinese Christians learn that woman is to be in silence with all subjection, not to teach nor to usurp authority over man. While she is usually first invited to the Lord's Supper on account of the stronger Faith of the two Marys, she is worsted in position by the belief that woman was first tempted by the snake, - an indication of her inherent wickedness. Perhaps it is unjustifiable to ascribe these teachings to the Anglian Church; but one thing is certain: she represents the most conservative type of Christianity, with the exception of Catholicism, a religion full of formalities, a religion in which individual reason is crushed and authority alone rules.

Hypocrisy

As has been mentioned, the religion of the Anglican Church is nothing but ceremonies, and ceremonies alone. Morality the priests preach in sermons but do not express in deeds. Their interests are commercial, collecting data and making investigations. In fact they are the agents of imperialism. They never condemn the importation of opium, which has rendered many women homeless, or more specifically has led millions of opium smokers to sell their wives in order to continue the cursed habit of indulgence. So says the writer's late friend, Mr. Ho, to, An Anglican Missionary, "Preach ye first among your own people."
Ask them not to import any opium or tobacco before you attempt to win us to your church."

B. The positive Effects.

It is not the teaching of the church but the communication with the Occidentals that indirectly paved the way through which the western ideas of woman journey to the Middle Kingdom.

**The ethical teachings of Mr. Yu Li-Chu**

Yu Li-Chu, a Chinese scholar who passed away in 1841, in his *Miscellaneous Writings on Ethics*, made the following points:

A). That there should be no concubinage as in the western countries, since both sexes are, in the eyes of religion, equal.

B). That there should be a chivalrous spirit, since it is the civilized man's duty to help the weaker sex, for only savages do persecute the weak.

C). That it is absurd to demand chastity and purity of woman but not of man.

D). That the so-called virtues of obedience or submission and absence of jealousy should be done away with.

E). That the second marriage of widows should not be condemned unchaste, and such teaching of Master Cheng, "Starvation means little, but unchastity means much," is inhuman and will put her in a helpless situation.

F). That footbinding has reduced the military resources
of the nation, for even in the Age of Vanity woman bore arms.

G). That the prostitutes are all helpless women and to oppress them is to oppress the helpless.

The reforms of Hung Siu-Tsuen

Hung Siu-tsuen, the King of the Taiping Kingdom, having wrested thirteen provinces from the Manchu government, in 1855 issued edicts prohibiting footbinding, concubinage, slavery (both male and female,) and selling woman to prostitution, believing that woman has her soul or worth. But at the end of sixteen years, when the kingdom was crushed by the imperial troops, all these reforms were discontinued.

III. The Effect of Other Churches.

The churches in China, though the total number of the members is only between 200,000 and - 300,000, amount to legions. Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Norwegian Luthereans, German Luthereans, Zionists, Christian Scientists, China Inland Mission, -- all are represented. Out of these the first four have decidedly taken active measures to raise the standard of woman.

A. The positive effects.

The positive effects of these churches may be classified as direct and indirect, direct when the churches take part in the emancipation of woman, indirect when they influence the Chinese, or waken them to either join the movement or to take the whole matter into their hands.
The Anti-footbinding movement

The anti-footbinding movement is at first the direct effect of the introduction of Christianity, that is, a work which is instituted by the western Missionaries, and afterwards the indirect effect, or the work of the Chinese themselves. In 1896 the westerners, headed by the secretary Denby, and Mrs. Archibald Little established the "Anti-Footbinding Society," or the "Natural Feet Society," As a representative of the Society Dr. Denby appealed to the Tung-Li Yamen but without effect. It was Premier Chang-Chi Tung, however, that succeeded in carrying out this reform. The Empress Dowager joined the movement by issuing an edict in 1909 commanding the people to abandon the practice of footbinding.

Meanwhile the Missionaries preached it. They refused to admit bound-feet girls into the membership of the churches and schools. One missionary school invited the officials to its closing exercises, consisting of marching, calisthenics and choruses by the pupils. Two of the little girls had bound feet. The contract between their pathetic helplessness and the little grace of the pretty rosy cheeked girls who wheeled, turned, and tripped their way through the maged was so impressive that on the spot the mandarin declared 'Foot binding must go.'

In 1910 the government ordered that no bound-feet girl should be admitted to school.
All these years the natural Feet Society was spreading the propaganda of anti-footbinding. They pledged themselves to unbind their daughters' feet. Publications were circulated. Rontgen ray illustrations were used to show the harm of the practice. By the year 1911 out of 200,000,000 women 130,000,000 have unbound their feet. In the southern parts of China, especially along the sea coasts, footbinding is practically no more.

One of the officers, Hwang, has issued a long proclamation prohibiting footbinding. He pointed out seven evils as follows:

Firstly it is inhuman to bind the feet of the girl; it is more cruel than the punishment of chopping off of the toes in old times since the child is innocent; it is as barbarous as butchery and more painful than imprisonement.

Secondly it hurts the feelings among the members of the family. It is the cause of the partial love of parents-in-law; it is the cause of jealousy between concubines and maidservants; it is the cause of quarrel between elder and younger sisters-in-law; human relationship is thus shattered into pieces.

Thirdly it deprives the natural rights of woman. According to the "Book of Rites" wife means equal. According to the Annals of Spring and Autumn personal receiving is necessary since a wife is her husband's equal. It is already cruel to deny her the opportunity of education. It is still more cruel to persecute her physique merely for the lust of the male sex. She is compelled to walk with her knees in case of drudgery. She is compelled to stay in case of accident or danger. She is confined in the chamber without any court to appeal to. Where then is the justice?

Fourthly it hinders the execution of domestic affairs. She is unable to walk, she is incapable of beaming burdens; nor she is unable to stand she is incapable of carriage. In laundry washing she is compelled to kneel down; in making a trip she needs a support. She fails to carry food to the farms; she scarcely can handle mortar and pestle. Practically she becomes useless. Thus half of the 400,000,000 are wasted; and in all the twenty-one provinces domestic work is handicapped. The effect upon the family is little but that upon the nation is great.
Fifthly it increases mortality. That the pain reaches its extreme in binding and the loss of freedom of movement is complete, is self evident. But in case of calamity the boundfoot woman is first to suffer be it flood or fire—is not taken notice of. In war she is the helpless prey of the enemy. In running she fails to rise after a fall and consequently is trodden by both soldiers and horses. In case of an insult she fails to hang or drown herself in order to keep her chastity. To take concrete cases, the rebel Chang-Hsieng-Chang had cut women's feet to build mountains, while rebel Hung Shu Tsan had made candles out of the cut feet. Is not footbinding a cause of high rate of mortality? corrupts.

Sixthly it corrupts the custom. To make cups by destroying willow wood had been considered perverted by the Taoists; to raise fishes and fowls for appetite is considered by the superior man as unkind. To bind woman's feet is more wicked since the human is being treated as a plant or lower animal. Whoever instigated this custom, I hope he has no posterity. If there is a hell it is for him. No greater corruption of custom than this can be done.

Seventhly it degenerates the racial health. It is more than ten thousand years since the three dynasties, put the descendants of the genius (Hwangti) are growing weaker. This is due to no other reason than the weakness of the mother. When the mother is weak, how can her offspring be healthy?

The document is several thousand words in length, but these are the main arguments. To translate the whole composition would lose its literary elegance.

In one of the Chinese newspapers called Shih Wu Pao appeared the introduction of the Anti-Footbinding Society in Shanghai, written for Messrs Lai and Cheng, the presidents of a branch of the organization. Mr. Liang Chi-Chou, president of the Shih-Wu College, has exerted great influence on the movement.
Education

Education likewise is both a direct and indirect effect of the churches. Probably the greatest change that has taken place is along this line. Methodists, Congregationalists, American Presbyterians, Baptists, and Anglicans have contributed to the promotion of woman's education in the order mentioned.

The Methodists usually establish one higher primary school in each district and one lower primary school in each parish. The principal of the higher primary school and superintendent of the lower primary schools, as an American lady; while that of the lower primary school is a graduate girl from the higher primary school. In addition to the higher primary school in each district there are sometimes a woman's Seminar (somewhat like a junior college), an orphanage for girls, a school for married woman (now abolished), a kindergarten in which alone both sexes mingle, a hospital for women and children, where women may learn both medicine and nursing.

At the beginning the girls in high primary schools were admitted free, rewarded with an amount of money, and provided with free board and room. The bedding alone was supplied by themselves. The same was true of married women. In the orphanages everything was and is supplied for them. In the hospital they were apprentices. In the seminar there were at first very few students and consequently no regulations existed. In the lower primary school the teacher received a salary from the church but nothing from the girls. In fact the mothers considered it a favor to the teacher to send their daughters to school. Thus one woman said to my mother:
"Mrs. Ling embroidered my shoes for me, and in return for her work my daughter goes to school to study for her." If we investigate the economic condition carefully we shall know that this mother's statement is not entirely ridiculous. She needs her daughter's assistance in domestic affairs. By sending her to school her own work is increased. Moreover the number of girls that makes a school is significant. If the teacher should lose one or two girls the school would have to close and the teacher would not be able to draw any salary from the church. The girls have to be encouraged with prizes or rather gifts like pictures and cards. The school was open on Sunday, so as to waste no time.

At first the pioneers had to encounter great difficulties. Rumors like taking eyes out of girls for making drugs were heard here and there. As has been mentioned in the last paragraph they had to be rewarded or paid for going to school. The period 1844 to 1872 was a period of great trial. After many days of hard labor Miss Bonafied succeeded in securing three girls whom she was in constant danger of losing if the payment and accommodation failed. Gradually, beginning from 1872, applicants grew in number. In 1896, with the exception of the orphanage, the girls of all other institutions had to supply themselves with outfits; and in 1898 a tuition was charged. At present, in addition to tuition, both board and room have to be paid. The seminary has grown and the same regulation for high primary school is applied. A married woman is not admitted to the higher primary school; even the number of girls
is limited; into the seminar married woman is admitted; but she has to pay higher tuition. In recent years a few colleges for women have also been established in Foochow, Nanking.

As to the curriculum, in the low primary school reading and writing are all that are taught; in the high primary school, in addition to these, they are taught Natural Theology, Chinese History, Chinese Literature, Arithmetic, Geography, Music, and English; in the seminar are offered Algebra, Geometry, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, History of the World, Bible, Chinese Literature and History; in the college music, French, Latin, German, English, Chinese, Education, Psychology, History, Trigonometry, Advanced Physics, Advanced Chemistry, Descriptive Geometry, Education, Economics, Sociology, History.

The Presbyterians, Baptists, American Episcopalians, Congregationalists and Anglicans have similar organizations; but on account of financial inefficiency they are inferior in nearly every line. Moreover they have no college for women, except St. Hilda, of the American Episcopalians, which is growing to be a college. The congregationalist girls excel the rest in sociability; the Anglican in strict obedience to authority.

In the writer's opinion it would be better for the girl to remain ignorant than to receive the education of the Anglican Church. Enclosed within the walls of the campus, watched by teachers as if by policeman, and taught absurd doctrines of "Heaven and Hell", "Creation of the World", as a few other things, she comes out as a convict just set free from jail, a person who has wasted her schooled life to become uneducated. Some Anglican churches indeed have done some charity work, especially in the hospitals, but they are
always mistaken as Americans by the chinese, who hardly believe the Albions can be so liberal. It may be said that the Congregationalists and the Anglicans stand at two extremes, while all the rest form a medium between them.

The Congregationalists established a co-educational junior college in Foochow; but it was a failure, and after an experiment of a few years, left the girls out. The presbyterians have successfully established a co-educational seminar in Shanghai. The co-educational system is not an advisable plan as yet. China is not ready for it.

Altogether, in 1919, there were 2,241 women teachers and 638 pupils in kindergartens. The total number of students in primary schools with sexes mixed, for in low primary schools co-education exists, is 140,912 for all denominations. At present the interdenominational movement is going on very rapidly. We expect them to work in union to produce the best type of Chinese woman.

It must be mentioned that several girls have been sent over to America to learn the western culture, especially medicine. Dr. Hu King Eng (the aunt of the author), Dr. Mary Stone, Dr. Ida Kahn, and Dr. Li Bi-Gü and others are at present Directors of hospitals.

In general the students are high in scholarship. The opinion that the girls could not learn died away. Lady teachers and preachers were more demanded in Foochow country than men. They conduct the business of high schools as principals as well as
if not better than the American ladies. The above-mentioned
doctors manage hospital affairs as efficiently as any doctor
is able to. The girls, as Burton says, make grades mostly
above ninety. They beat preachers in writing Biblical
essays.

The defects of the missionary schools are 1. the neglect
of the Chinese literature. Girls write essays in local dialect
and unable to express themselves in classical language, for in
China colloquial and written speech differ from each other. 2.
Mathematics are not emphasized. Consequently the reasoning power
of the girl finds no opportunity for expression, according
to Miss Burton's opinion.

Turning now to the gentry and government schools we
find that, in 1898, only two years after the establishment of the
Anti-Footbinding Society, the officials and wealthy families
started the first girls school in Shanghai, the first school of
the purely Chinese movement. The school charged a tuition of
$3.10 per month. The teachers were girls graduated from the
missionary schools. Unfortunately, in 1900 it was decreed to be
closed by the Empress Dowager. In 1901, however, another school
was established under the name of Wu Pu (opposite to the house
of the author's uncle), and at the end of 1907 in Shanghai alone
there were twelve girl schools with an enrollment of 800 girls.
In 1906 the Empress Dowager gave a donation of 100,000 taels to
the cause of woman's education. In 1907, in Chihli outside of
Peking, there were 121 government and gentry schools with 2,523
students.
In 1908 the Ministry of Education submitted to the throne regulations for establishing girl's schools, normal and primary, throughout the whole country. Normal schools were to be founded in the provincial capitals, afterwards in the prefectural cities, that is departmental capitals, and latter in the district or country cities, that is county towns; the primary schools to be established everywhere. Private enterprise was also encountered but subject to official inspection. Both foreign and native teachers were to be employed. During this year the Szechuan province was most active in this movement, having established 49 schools with 1,897 pupils.

Colleges have not been established for girls. Recently girls are admitted into Peking University, or the First National University in which both sexes are educated.

In general while the equipments in the government schools may surpass those of the missionaries, the products turn out prove to be inferior. They fail in their competition for situations with the missionary girls. The defects are many. Japanese women instructors who can speak neither Chinese nor English were employed. Too much emphasis is put upon skill such as embroidery; Mathematics, sciences geography, and the English are poorly taught. Physical and biological sciences are absent. The teachers who are incompetent of course cannot impart any knowledge to pupils; but teachers who are competent do all the talking themselves leaving no chance for students to express their own opinions or to reproduce what they had learned, for lecturing rather than recitation is used. Consequently they fail to meet the requirements for the admittance to college.
Regarding the girls students in college, or rather the First National University of Peking, very little is known, for scarcely a handful have succeeded in joining that institution, except the daughters of officials.

Kang Tung-Pi was the first Chinese girl, the sister of Kang Yu-Wei, that received her education in the United States, or rather in the west. As to her achievement nothing is known. In the year 1909 the Chinese girls protested against the government for the inequality of educational opportunity on the part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sending only boys from Tsing Hua college, (of which the author is a graduate), to this country. A petition was offered. The princess consent to the Prince Regent at once persuaded the throne to select girls, by competitive examination, to be sent over to America. The result was ten fellowships were awarded biennially. At first there were no regulations as to what subjects they should pursue, afterwards they were limited to four fields—Medicine, Domestic Science, Literature, and Education. But in practice the superintendent of the Tsing Hua students is growing liberal, and more choices are tolerated. The first group of girls were privileged with the fellowship for five years, but in 1918 the term was reduced to four.

It is interesting to notice that ninety-nine per-cent of the girls who succeed in acquiring fellowship are students of missionary schools and colleges. In the year 1918, out of forty-two candidates seven alone were selected and all of them were students of missionary institutions, Guangling Woman's College, Metzire School, St. Mary's School and others.
The girls are distributed among the following institutions:

1. California
   a. Bible Institute of Los Angeles
   b. California State University
   c. College of the Pacific
   d. Leland Stanford
   e. Mill's College
   f. Pacific Union College
   g. Pemana College
   h. St. Mary's College
   i. University of Southern California.

2. Connecticut
   a. Hartford Seminary Foundation

3. Delaware
   a. Delaware College

4. Illinois
   a. North Western University
   b. University of Chicago
   c. State University of Illinois

5. Indiana
   a. Tri-College of Indiana

6. Iowa
   a. Coe College
   b. Cornell College
   c. Grinnell College
   d. Morningside College
   e. State University of Iowa

7. Kansas
   a. State University of Kansas

8. Kentucky
   a. Asbury College

9. Maryland
   a. Johns Hopkins University

10. Massachusetts
    a. McDuffie
    b. Mount Holyoke College
    c. Smith College
    d. Wellesley College

11. Michigan
    a. Detroit Junior College
    b. State University of Michigan

12. Minnesota
    a. State University of Minnesota
13. Missouri
   a. Central Wesleyan College
   b. Park College

14. New York
   a. Columbia University
   b. Cornell University
   c. New York University
   d. Syracuse University
   e. Vassar College.

15. Ohio
   a. Baldwin-Wallace College
   b. Oberlin College
   c. Ohio Wesleyan University
   d. University of Cincinnati
   e. Western College for women
   f. Western Reserve University
   g. Wooster College

16. Oregon
   a. University of Oregon

17. Pennsylvania
   a. Bryn Mawer College

18. South Dakota
   a. South Dakota Commercial School

19. Tennessee
   a. George Peabody College for Teachers.

20. Texas
   a. State University of Texas.

   a. State University of Washington

22. Wisconsin
   a. Beloit College

The majority are found in California, Wellesley, Mt. Holyoke, Michigan, Columbia, Cornell (University), Oberlin, and Washington. The courses they pursue are Liberal arts, Medicine, and Education, in the order named. Others take Sociology, Philosophy, Literature, Physical Education, Domestic Science, Music, Nursing, Pharmacy, Mathematics, Fine Arts, Economics, Commerce,
Chemistry Biology and Business Administration. The author is informed that in the year 1920-1921 in America there are 2,100 Chinese students; but only 1,072 names are found in the directory of the Chinese Students Alliance. Out of this number 155 are women. To be sure these returns are incomplete even if accurate. In Iowa alone, out of the forty Chinese students eleven are women. It has been a general belief that the Chinese girls are found in greater number in either the extreme east or the extreme west. The middle west is not an inviting region for them.

Regarding the activities of the girls in the United States they may be stated as follows. In the Chinese students Alliance in the executive council of four persons the vice president is a lady; in the general council of twenty one, two; in the executive council in the eastern section, out of five persons three; in the executive councils of the eastern and western sections however, she disappears. Of the forty seven Chinese students Clubs five have lady presidents. Of the editors of the Chinese students monthly four are women; of the managers, six. Of the Chinese Students Quarterly (magazine written in Chinese) two women editors are represented. In the Chinese Students Christian Association one woman is represented she being an editor of Christian China which usually devotes a number every year to the woman’s activities.

It is a vain effort to find out the number of women who receive scholarship and honors of various kinds. One word is sufficient. They are in general quite advanced in their class studies.
The author knows of no Chinese girl educated in Germany. A few have gone to England and France to learn science, others Canada, but next to the United States the greatest number is in Japan. Where they learn education and fine arts. The most noted educated women are those educated in the Dwarfs' country, namely Chin Kung, and Wu-Chi Ying, the modern highest woman scholars in China. To them we will come again later.

Marriage

Marriage customs have met gradual, nay, enormous changes. In the selection of a wife two things are given much weight, viz, that she have natural feet and that she be educated. Courtship has been introduced; but instead of a complete departure from the old custom of parental dictation, the new custom is a medium between the oriental and the occidental. In enlightened families boys and girls are allowed, with parental advice, to select their own lovers and sweethearts. In the less progressive families still initiate the movement but in the final decision the parties involved are consulted. The function of the matchmaker still exists, but is chiefly nominal and ornamental. It is safe to prophesy that before long she will disappear. In the Christian families the marriage ceremony is conducted by the minister of the church. The non-Christians have invented a new ceremony solemnized in April 1912. In a word among the Christians marriage is a religious affair; while among the non-Christians a family affair.
New Wedding Ceremonies in The Age of Transformation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Witness Table</th>
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<tr>
<td>Match maker</td>
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<td>Match maker</td>
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- **Kinsman of the Bride's Family**
- **Head of the Bride's Family**
- **Bride**
- **Usher**
- **The Best Man**
- **Woman Guests**

- **Head of the Groom's Family**
- **Groom**
- **Usher**
- **Band of Musicians**
- **Man Guests**

*a. From Guide to Peking Vol. VII Page 8*
The red sedan chair is no more. In its place flower sedan chair or horse-and-carriage is used. In the latter the parties ride together; in the former the bride alone is found, the groom in another plain chair, both carried by three persons instead of four. Both chairs and horses and carriage are accompanied by a military band in procession. The bride is dressed in white silk from head to feet. The groom and the best man are usually arrayed in the Orthodox European evening dress. One of the typical programs in the new ceremony of the non-christians is as follows:

1. Music
2. Guests enter.
3. The match-maker enters
4. The heads of the two families enter.
5. The bride and bridegroom bow twice to each other.
6. The bride and bridegroom exchange tokens and testimonials.
7. The bride and bridegroom face northward and thank the match-maker. Two bows.
8. The bride and bridegroom thank the men guests. One bow.
9. The bride and bridegroom thank the women guests. One bow.
10. The bride and bridegroom face northward and honor the family ancestors. They burn incense, offer wines, kneel, make three prostrations, and then rise.
11. The bride and bridegroom offer their respects to their parents.
12. The parents formally acknowledge the presents already received. Three bows.
13. The family elders acknowledges the gifts. Three bows.
14. Other relatives acknowledge the gifts. One bow.
15. The ceremony is concluded.

This program takes only fifteen minutes. The company then adjourn for refreshments and the happy couple finally drive away for their honeymoon. The custom of "Bustling the Nuptial Chamber" is practically done away with. In less progressive families the couple are pestered to sing together a song, or the bride to give
a talk. One bride was so bold as to give the guests a lesson, i.e. admonishing them for coming with the purpose of bustling.

Purchasing money is still required. The author remembers that one girl reproved her parents for accepting the money believing it to be an insult to her, being treated as a commodity. The parents instantly returned the sum to her fiancée.

The marriage certificate reads as follows: 33

J.N. of Chekiang Province and G. L. of Fukien Province, having agreed to be married to each other, are to-day, the fourth of August, the Fiftieth Year of the Chinese Republic, united in wedlock before the witness C.C. H. The affections of the two parties are overflowing and will continue until their hair may turn gray.

The last two are the initials of the heads of the two families. It should be noted that no license is required from the state.

In divorce, 34 action has been initiated by woman. The wife of a student of the Foochow College of the Congregational Church, irritated by the disposition of the mother-in-law who was dissatisfied with her natural feet, secured a license from Dr. Gracey, the United States Consul, and divorced her husband. This is only one of the instances. In general divorce is still rare. In Canton and Shanghai however homicide, or murder of husbands, has often been published in newspapers.

After the establishment of the Republic a new code or rather a Criminal Law is provided in which apparently woman is recognized as the equal of the husband. In adultery if the
adulterer is a lover of the wife the husband has no right to kill the parties when they are caught in the act. He can only appeal to the court which usually decides that the wife be divorced and married to her lover after an imprisonment of from three to six months or a fine is paid. In case of ill-treatment of the husband the wife has the right to bring up the case to the court which will consent the dissolution of the union, if demanded by the wife, on the ground of humanity. An alimony is also provided for her as illustrated by the case of Lady King in The Saturday.

Order of Penitent

In Peking in imitation of the American missionaries an order of penitent is established by the government for woman who has and then forsaken been seduced by man, who is unwilling to be a prostitute but compelled, who is denied ordinary freedom of action, or who is destitute of any kindred upon whom she can depend. Any woman of the above mentioned types is admitted if she presents herself in the police station, yells to the policeman, writes by mail to the police station, presents or enters herself to the office of the order of penitent. There she is taught Chinese, Ethics, Mathematics, Embroidery, Cookery, Picture Painting, Physical Exercise, and Music. The punishments in case of violating the rules of the order of penitent, are lenient: 1. Verbal reproff, 2. A mark of a minor demerit, 3. A mark of a major demerit (three minor make a major), 4. Sitting opposite to the wall from one to three hours, and 5. A meal of plain rice or bread.
Feminist Movement

No H. G. Wells has yet been found in China—Kang Wu Wei may be entitled the originator of the movement. In 1891 in publishing some of his literary writings he was found in his treatise on democracy to anticipate a government in which both sexes should enjoy equal rights. But it was not until after the establishment of the Anti-Footbinding Society that women's clubs were founded, and gazettes for women and girls appeared in Peking and Shanghai. From the Peking Woman's Gazette the following extract is taken:

"O ye 200,000,000 of Chinese, our sisters, listen! In China it is said that man is superior and woman inferior; that man is noble and woman vile; that man should command and woman obey. But we are not under the domination of man. The nature of the man and of the woman is the universal sense of Heaven. How then, can one make distinctions and say that the nature of man is of one sort and that of woman another? For the celestial principal has neither form nor figure."

The second wife of Yuan Shih-Kai says in an address:

"It is stated that the population of China numbers 400,000,000 But if one deducts from the figure the Chinese women and considers them as ciphers, China has but half of its inhabitants. The woman who remains ignorant not only wrongs herself but also her family and her country."

As an immediate result of this movement an indirect official recognition concerning woman's position had been received. A code was decreed to send thirty women abroad to study medicine and industrial and fine arts. Thus the code runs:

"The good education of the citizens of the empire depends upon the good education of women. There are certain undesirable customs in China. Some men begard women with scorn; others treat them harshly. "Women, like men, should practice profession; they ought not to pass their lives eating and gossiping and with no employment".
But in the same act appear the following:

"Women should remain subject to their fathers, mothers, and husbands."
"When proposals are made tending to a free rapprochement of the sexes these should always be combated. The woman should not have the right to choose her husband."

These women, sent over mostly to Japan, returned as revolutionists. But the greatest was not a government student, but self-supporting, Madame Chiu-Kung. This lady, who proclaimed, the women revolution, i.e. fighting for equality of sexes, believed that political revolution was a means to this end. In Anhui Province, as a teacher of the normal school, she delivered a series of lectures on equality of sexes. As a poetess she contributed a considerable number of verses, most of which are still widely and popularly read not only in the woman circles but by the college boys as well. These lines do not exhibit any teaching about revolution for equality of sexes but rather for political government. A literal translation is as follows:

1. Disappointed that the earth of the vast divine state shall sink.
2. What a disgrace to my life, incapable of salvation (of people).
3. In Changsha was there a tendency to rebuild the state of Chu;
4. Why in Pao-Lang should the club fail to strike the Atrocious Chin?
5. Upon national destruction an inferior position shall begin to be realized of the race.
6. With high sense of fraternity, let us care not for purse.
7. Have planned but regret have not met a person of the same ideal.
8. I therefore hold sword with tears murmuring a song.
Her poem in the Chinese language is exceedingly beautiful with in the allusive, smooth in tones, high in ideals. Her works though incompletely found have been edited by her student, Madam Wu Chi-Ying, probably the greatest literary woman in China. In 1909, upon the assassination of the Manchu viceroy in Anhui, Madame Chiu-Kung being related with the assassin, was arrested and put to death. She openly declared herself a revolutionary, though no attempt for escape could be successfully made. Madam Wu, still living, was imprisoned for publishing the works of her teacher.

During the Revolution of 1911 women made various efforts to organize bands of "Dare-to-die", to throw bombs. The missionaries, upon their insistence to serve in the front lines, organized them into red cross corps. The girls in Foochow and Nanking eventually advanced as far north as Nanking for the purpose of attacking Peking if it had not been for the abdication of the infant emperor.

Soon after the establishment of the provisional government Miss Yik Yung Yung was admitted to Nanking Assembly to represent the women of Canton. She secured promise of equal suffrage, equal rights of property and equal opportunity of education. Madam Li, Lun and Wang were admitted so the parliament in debate.

Woman in industry

That professional girls, such as teachers and medical doctors, are economically independent is self evident. But in industry women has never been active. She is not engaged in any business enterprise. Scarcely has any independent organization
purely by woman is found. The Patriotic Company of girls in the Foochow Road Shanghai is probably the only enterprise of purely woman management and investment. On account of the strict barrier between the two sexes few women venture to establish firms or even to be employed. Flirtation may be expected in case she is of fair complexion. Moreover she is usually conservative, lacking business speculative power and applied Psychology. She would rather amass a great store of merchandise unsold than to reduce charges. In general she shows little interest in business administration. Out of the 155 girls in the directory of the Chinese Students in America, only one pursues business administration, one commerce, and two economics.

IV. The Evil Effects of Accidental Civilization.

As every gain is counterbalanced by less, so every advantage is supplemented by evil. Among the undesired results produced by the contract with the Western Culture the following are the most pronounced.

Growth of the Number of Prostitutes

In Shanghai, Nanking and other big cities prostitutes amount to thousands. The opening of the treaty ports is mainly responsible for this vice. The introduction of the British steamships had driven thousands of Chinese sailors out of employment without any adequate provision for their living, and
husbands and parents were under the compulsion to sell their wives and children to the brothels to earn their livelihood,—which is in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases against their will. How those young women have been suffering is more than one can tell. The British settlement in Shanghai is not only a place where opium smoking is tolerated but also where prostitution is encouraged, not that the English have a special grudge against these helpless girls and women, but that they have the opportunity to increase their revenue.

Courtship and its danger

While courtship has been tolerated, boys and girls are generally left without chaperonage. The intense emotion of the fair sex to consent to a request or proposal made shortly after their acquaintance with each other often ends in tragedies. Girls travel with boys without the consent of authorities or protectors. Oftentimes they fall into temptations; and in case the girl is richly adorned with gold ornaments, the boy would induce her to be his companion and by some stratagem secure them. Sometimes the boy will demand an unreasonable sum from the girl, by correspondence, as a reward for keeping her reputation. Incidents of this character happen most often in Shanghai. The Soochow missionary School, the Shanghai McTyeire School, the Foochow Woman's College, strictly forbid both the calling of boys and their correspondence with the girls. Girls are under the penalty of expulsion from the institutions in case they violate these rules.

On account of such dangers as described strict separation of sexes is rigorously enforced. In China in churches pews in one section are reserved for women, in another for men. Cushions are still
used in prayer for prostration. But the boys and girls use the portion of the floor beneath the cushion as a mail box, since the seats are assigned by school authorities. This device was in one instance, at least discovered, and both were expelled.47

Licentiousness of Shanghai Women

In Shanghai and an area around the lower Yangtze, licentiousness of women has reached to such an extreme limit—that a proverb says, "A woman with a principal husband, and associate, and an assistant deserves to be recommended for a memorial archway, i.e. Stone Monument." 48 Instances of the action initiated by a woman against several men demanding them in public places to continue the illegal relation shows the absolute deprivation of the sense of shame on the part of woman. The famous "Ten sisters in the New World" at Shanghai acquired their enormous wealth by murdering their husbands. One graduate of a missionary school, having induced the son of a capitalist to come to the United State, married him and persuaded him to insure his life at $100,000. A few months later she poisoned her husband to death, took all the insurance sum, and sailed for China to play the same trick upon other boys.49 That purity is a virtue no longer holds true for them. Nevertheless such instances are only occasional.

Old Maids and Unhappy Life

On imitation of the American Missionaries a considerable number of school girls decide to remain maids or virgins for life, believing that a life free from the care for husband and children not only insures happiness but economic independence as well.
This is especially true in Foochow. But experience has taught them to the contrary. Failing to subdue their natural impulse and yearning for a circle of family members after they reach a more mature age, especially between thirty and forty, they think of marriage but dare not express their desires. The promising youths in spite of high education of the school girls, never came to marry women of the age of a mother, while young men of the same age generally have families already. As a consequence these old maids either have to be disappointed in love or to be the wives of some widowers who are generally not occidentalized. This happens even among the Chinese girls who had their education in this country. Thus they say "Throw the pearl to the swine."50

**Domestic Strife**

The school girls having been educated are generally conceited. Not only is she ignorant of domestic science but absolutely disinterested in it. She resents that the Ministry of Education has recently approved the publication of certain texts called "Texts for Girls," "Home Economics", and others which they allege, apparently recognize the inequality of sexes. Naturally she pushes away the domestic work to the maid-servant. If the husband is economically efficient he finds no difficulty in employing a maid. On the other hand when she is compelled to take up the drudgery, domestic war usually takes place. Even should she be conversant with domestic science and willing to take up the work she often builds up a petty government with even father and mother-in-law as subjects. 51
Cigar Smoking

Cigar smoking is becoming one of the most common habits of girls at Shanghai. In addition to dressing, which is apparently the only art the Shanghai girl pursues, Cigar smoking if to them a fad. It is stylish, as David Yu General Y.M.C.A. Secretary for China called it in his address to Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, in 1919. The British American Tobacco company has issued a propaganda that the company wishes to see every Chinese boy and girl carry a cigarette in his mouth.\textsuperscript{52}

V. The Future Chinese Woman

The future Chinese Woman will be a great factor in the upbuilding of the New China. She will cooperatively fight first against slavery and polygyny. She will take interest in political affairs, though only gradually, and with education she will play no part in the intrigues of court and camp but support a patriotic movement, as evidenced by the fact that they show interest in the student strikes of 1919, boycotting of 1920, and famine relief of 1920-1921. In industry she will be slow; but the gain will be sure and steady. In education she will have the full opportunity; only her selfishness in utilizing education will not die away at once. In marriage she will gain freedom, but so long as she is not economically independent, it cannot be contracted without parental consent. The sudden introduction of the western culture necessarily brings along with it some evil effects; but soon the storm will be over and in the long run women will be entirely emancipated.
The Greatest Chinese Woman Scholar, Wu Chi-Ying

The Product of a Methodist Missionary School in Foochow
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1. Kang-Chang Tze: Studies on Ancient Customs Page 1-3


3. Whang Di-gi: Discovered Truths Compiled, Appendix pages 3-4


5. I bid: pages 1-3

6. I bid: page 3

7. I bid: page 2

8. I bid: Page 2


10. Lu & Chao: New Chinese History Vol 1 Page 6

11. G. A. Barton: The Religions of the World Page 201-204

12. Shih Pao

13. Chinese Dictionary

14. Yuan & Wang: Page 3-4

15. I bid: page 3


17. I bid

18. I bid

19. Chinese Dictionary

20. Yuan & Wang page 3


22. I bid
CHAPTER I.

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2. Mrus, P.: Chinese Thought
7. Moore: History of Religions Vol II.
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II Yuan and Wang; Chinese Annals Vol I.

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A.

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15. I bid page 7.


18. I bid.


21. I bid.


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Liu Hsiang: Vol I page 1.


I bid 1-2.


(author's translation from the original).
CHAPTER II

2. Carmis P.: Chinese Thought
5. Chuang-Tze: Nan Hua King Vol IV
   b. The Shi-i-King (Max Mueller's Sacred Books of the East)

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A.
1. J. MacGowan: A History of China page 42
2. Books of Poetry Vol I. Pages 20-21
3. I bid ept.
5. James Legge: The Li Ki, or Books of Rites, Book X.
   The Nei Zeh, page 478
6. I bid page 479
7. I bid pages 454-455
8. I bid pages 470-471
9. I bid Page 450
10. I bid pages 450-451
11. I bid pages 452.
12. I bid pages 457-458
14. I bid pages 476-77
15. I bid page 478
16. I bid Pages 451-452
17. I bid page 452
18. I bid page 479.
20. Liu Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol IV Page I ff
22. James Legge: Confucian Analects page 10
23. The poetry ceased to be written long before the birth of Confucius 551 B.C.
24. Books of Poetry Vol IV. Page II (Author's translation from the original)
25. I bid Vol II Pages 15-16 (author's translation from the original)
26. I bid Vol II Page 16 (Author's translation from the original)
27. James Legge: Shih-King Book V Ode 4 Stanzas 1 and 2 (Pages 437-438)
28. I bid Book IV. Ode 3 Stanza 2
30. I bid Page 27.
31. 
34. I bid 472.
36. I bid 222 ft.
37. Liu-Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol II Page 3
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39.
40. 夫人之妻 田内子
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52. Lu & Chao: New Chinese History Vol I Page 57. S. W. Williams: The Middle Kingdom Vol V. Page 54
55. Hwang Cheng Chai: The Quickest Path to Mandarin Language Chapter II (Author's translation from the original)
58. T. R. Jernigan: China In Law and Commerce Page 121
59. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs page 46.
60. Books of Poetry are the original
61. I bid are the original
62. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 46
64. I bid.
65. Liu-Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol VI. Page 3. (author's trans etc.)
66. I hid Page 4. (author's trans etc)
67. I hid Vol II Page 4. (author's trans. etc.)
68. I hid Page 5. (author's trans. etc.)
69. Hsu-Ma-Chien: Preface to History 太史公自序
70. Annals of Spring and Autumn Vol I. Chapter I. 春秋左傳
72. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs pages 51-52.
73. Shang-Lo: Essay on Mau-Chiao (author's trans. etc.)
74. History of the Contending States (author's trans. etc.)
76. Liu-Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol I. Page 8-9
77. I hid Vol I Pages 4-5
78. I hid Vol II. Pages 1-3
80. I hid Vol III. Page 2
82. I hid page 5. (author's trans. etc.)
83. I hid Vol V. Page 5 (author's trans. Etc.)
84. I hid Page 4.
85. James Legge: The Shih King Pages 434-435
86. I hid Pages 441-442
88. I hid page 8.
89. I hid page 4.
90. I hid ft.
91. I hid pages 5-10
94. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 27.
95. Liu Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol VI page 7 ff.
97. I hid page 5: By the same Poet. (author's trans. etc.)
98. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 58.
99. I hid page 60.
100. F. Hirth: The Ancient History of China Page 246
103. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 50.
107. I hid 440
108. 烈女不更二夫
109. 士之耽兮獵可說也 女之耽兮 不可說也
115. Liu Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol I. Pages 8-9
117. I hid page 5.
118. I hid page 8.
120. I hid pages 6-7
CHAPTER III.

B.

1. Annals of Spring and Autumn Vol I.
2. Bashford, J. W.: China An Interpretation
5. Cheng, Yung Hsing: Stories for Youth Vol II.
9. Hsu-Ma, C: Preface to History
12. Legge, J.: The Li-Ki Book X., The Confucian Analects,
   The Shih-King, The Life and Works of Mencius, The
   Works of Mencius
15. Lu and Chao: New Chinese History Vol I.
17. Nelson: Encyclopaedia Vol IV.
18. Shang Lo: Essay on Mon Chiao
22. Williams, S., W.: The Middle Kingdom Vol V.
CHAPTER IV.

A.

1. The West Han Dynasty (12 emperors) 206 B.C.-25 A.D.

The East Han Dynasty (13 emperors) 25 A.D.-221 A.D.

J. MacGowan: The History of China pages 90-114

2. I bid page 84-85

3. The Emperor soiled the Cap of the Confucian Scholar with urine, washed his feet when a Confucian scholar called on him; and said that he founded the dynasty on horseback not with ink and paper.


5. I bid Page 93.


8. I bid.


II. I bid page 2.

12. I bid.


14. I bid Page 104

15. Chao: New Chinese History Vol V. Page 16-17


17. I bid.

18. MacGowan: The History of China Page 123


21. I bid Vol IX. Page 10
25. I bid
27. I bid Vol XI. Page I
28. I bid
31. I bid
33. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 79.
36. Tseng-I: History of Chinese Literature Page 83. (etc)
41. I bid.
42. I bid page 9. (author's trans. Etc.)
43. Yuan and Wang: Chinese Annals Vol V. page 3. (author's trans. etc.)
44. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 66. (author's trans. etc.)
45. Liu Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol IV page 8. (author's trans.)
46. I bid page 5. (author's trans. etc.)
47. Yuan and Wang: Chinese Annals Vol XV. Page 8. (author's trans.)


52. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 72.


54. I bid page 73.


56. I bid page 7.


58. I bid Vol XI. page 3.

59. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 58.


62. Pan Hung Hsi: Introduction to Tang Poetry Second Series Bol III. Page 3 (Poet Li-Pai) (author's trans. etc.)


64. Liu Hsiang: Biographies of Women Vol IV page 8.


67. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs page 58.

68. I bid Page 83.


71. Martin: The Chinese Page 314. (author's trans. etc.)


74. I bid.

75. Wang Yao-Chu: Poetry of Tang Vol V. page 61 (author's trans. etc.)
CHAPTER IV.

B

1. Chang, Liang Chai: Chinese Customs
4. Liu, H.: Biographies of Women Vol IV, V, VI, VII
CHAPTER V. A.

1. Sze-Chwan Hau Dynasty 221-265 (2 emperors)
   - Western Tsin 265-317 (4 " )
   - Eastern Tsin 317-420 (11 " )
   - Sung 420-479 (10 " )
   - Tsi 479-502 (7 " )
   - Liang 502-557 (6 " )
   - Chen 557-589 (5 " )
   - Sui 589-618 (4 " )
   - Tang 618-907 (21 " )
   - Later Liang 907-923 (2 " )
   - Later Tang 923-936 (4 " )
   - Later Tsin 936-947 (2 " )
   - Later Han 947-951 (2 " )
   - Later Chou 951-960 (3 " )

3. In the north all New establishments try to imitate the south Tsi-Nan Fu in Shantung is called "Little Kiangnan".
4. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs page 108
5. I bid
6. I bid
   See H. A. Gile's Translation (author's abridged statement)
9. Yuan and Wang: Chinese Annals, Vol XVII page 5, SVII page 12,
   XXI Page 14, XXI Page I XXII Page III.
10. Chang Liang Chai; Chinese Customs Page 104.
11. I bid
15. I bid
20. I bid page 7
22. I bid Vol XX page 3.
26. I bid.
27. I bid 35
30. Lu and Chao: New Chinese History Vol III. Pages 1-3
32. I bid page 3.
34. I bid page 13.
37. I bid Vol XV page 3.
38. I bid Vol XV page 10
40. I bid.
41. I bid page 4.
42. I bid.
43. Martin's: The Chinese pages 316-318.
44. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 139.
45. I bid, page 109
49. Common Tradition told to the author by a merchant twenty years ago.
51. This term is adopted from Charles Dickens "A Tale of Two Cities" in which Mr. Cruncher who opened Coffins for goods called himself by that name.
61. I bid page 14.
63. I bid 108.
64. I bid 135-136
66. I bid
67. Lecture by Mrs. C.M.L. Sites Anglo Chinese College Foochow 1912.
68. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs page 136.
69. I bid.
70. I bid 135.
73.
74. Wang Yao-Chu: Poetry of Tang Vol IV page 13 (Author's trans.)
76. Wang Yao Chu: Poetry of Tang Vol IV. Page 13 (author's trans)
80. I bid Second Series Vol VI. Page 15. (author's trans. etc.)
81. I bid First Series Vol. V. page 8 (author's trans. etc.)

Poet Tu-Fu (author's trans. etc.)
83. Pan Hung Hsi First Series Vol I. Page 6 (author's trans. etc.)
84. Wang Yao Chu: Poetry of Tang Vol III. Page 9, (author's trans. etc.)

85. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs page 136 (author's trans. etc.)

86. I bid. author's abridged statement.

87. The Saturday Vol XI page 34, 1914. (author's trans. etc.)

88. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Page 139.

89. Pan Hung Hsi: Second Series Vol IV page 7 (author's trans. etc.)

90. Wang Yao, Chu: Poetry of Tang Vol VI Page 9 (author's trans. etc.)

91. Chu-Hsi, Domestic Lessons

92. Yuan & Wang: Chinese Annals Vol XX, Page 9


94. I bid

95. I bid

96. I bid page 4.

97. I bid page 8.

98. Pan Hung Hsi: First and Second Series: Index.


100. I bid

101. I bid

102. I bid

103. I bid


106. Pan Hung Hsi, First Series Vol II, Page 10 (author's trans. etc.)

107. I bid Vol VI. Page 9. (Author's trans. etc.)

111 King-Ku Ki-Kwang Vol IX Page 1.
112. Chuangtze-Nan-Hua King Vol I. page 10

CHAPTER V.

B.

2. Cheng, Y. H. : Stories for Youth Vol V.
3. Chu, Hsi: Domestic Lessons. 母子家訓
4. Chwang-Tze: Nan Hua King Vol I.
5. Hsieh, W. L.: The Six Chinese Great Authors Vol VI.
6. King-Ku Ki-Kwang Vol. II.
7. Lu and Chao: New Chinese History Vol III, IV.
   Vol I, II Second Series Vol IV.
13. The Saturday Vol XI.
15. Yuan and Wang: Chinese Annals Vol XIII to XXVII,
CHAPTER VI.

1. Sung Dynasty 960-1127 (9 emperors)
   Southern Sung 1127-1280 (9 emperors)
   Yuan 1280-1368 (9 emperors)
   Ming 1368-1644 (17 emperors)

2. In the Later Tang Dynasty Wang Shen-Chih brought eighteen families to the South. The ancestor of the author was one of the number.

3. The Southern Sung Dynasty made its capitals in Cheking, Fukien and Kwangtung.


5. I bid

6. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs Pages 140-141.

7. A Story told to the author by Mr. Ling-Wen of Foochow 1911.

8. Chang Liang Chai: Chinese Customs page 165


10. I bid

11. I bid


13. I bid


16. Same as 14 author's translation etc.


19. I bid (author's trans. etc.)

CHAPTER VI

B.

6. Yuan and Wang: Chinese Annals Vol XXVIII to XXXIX.
7. I bid second Series Vol I to XX.
CHAPTER VII.


2. This has been so since Tang Dynasty.


4. Tsai-Yuan-Pei: The Interpretation of "The Dreams of the Red Chamber"

5. A popular love story.

6. A. R. Colquhoun: China in Transformation page 190-191

7. T. R. Jernigan: China in Law and Commerce. page 112

8. The present admiral.


11. The neighbor of the Father of the author.


14. This custom still exists; as in the case of Y.M.C.A. Sunthry.

15. This is in Foochow.

16. The author lived there for two years.


18. I bid page 114.

19. Kingku Ki Kwang Third Series Story no. 2


21. This teacher received his education in U.S.A.


23. I bid 118.

24. Yu Tang Chung, a play on stage.

25. I bid


27. I bid

28. I bid Page 121
29. I bid
30. I bid
31. I bid
32. I bid
33. Recently the ear, instead of the Cue.
34. Jernigan Page 122
35. I bid
36. I bid
37. I bid
39. Secretary of Woosung Naval Hospital.
40. R. F. Johnston: Lion and Dragon in Northern China. Chapter IX
42. The author's own first birthday was so celebrated.
44. A Resident in Peking: China as she Really is Chapter V.
45. I bid
46. A. H. Smith: V. Hoge Life in China Chapter XXXII
47. H. A. Giles: China and the Chinese Pages 192-195.
48. I bid. 193
49 H. A. Giles: The Civilization of China page 101
53. Whang Di'-Gi-: Discovered Truths Compiled Vol X.
      Page 7. The penalty was 80 blows and an exile of 3,000 miles:
      H. A. Giles: The Civilization of China page 110.
54. E. A. Ross: The Changing Chinese Chapter VII.


56. E. A. Ross: The Changing Chinese Chapter VII.

57. Story told in the Anglo-Chinese College Foochow about Boxer's Rising.


59. This practice still exists in the inferior of China.

60. Paul Carus: Chinese Thought pages 50-55


62. This is largely from observation.

63. S. W. Williams: The Middle Kingdom Vol. V. page 55.

64. I bid

65. This custom is not very universal.


67. I bid page 3.

68. This is really the surviving Custom of Chau Dynasty.

69. J. W. Bashford: China An Interpretation Chapter V.


71. I bid (Author's translation).


73. R. F. Johnston: Lion and Dragon in Northern China. Chapter V.

74. 楊州十日記(王孝楚)

75. 凍若冰霜

76. 潔如白雪

77. 柏舟之標

78. 見喜

79. Told by the mother of the author

80. Jernigan page 122-123.

81. W. W. Rockhill: The Land of the Lamas pages 212-213
This practice was in both Foochow and Shanghai.

R. F. Johnston. Page 199

A. W. Loo mis: Confucius and the Chinese Classics pages 324-330

Chapter IX

C. Holcomb: The Real Chinese Chapter V.

H. Griffith's Conversation with the author.

R. F. Johnston. Chapter IX

R. W. Gascoyne-Cecil: Changing China Chapter X.

Ross. The Changing Chinese Chapter XII page 200

I bid page 145.

A. W. Loo mis: Confucius and the Chinese Classics page 328.

I bid 322.

Ross: The Changing Chinese Chapter VII page 202

C. Holcomb: The Real Chinese Chapter V.

Letters from China page 50.

China Daily June 12, 1908.


Paul Carus: Chinese Thought Page 77.

CHAPTER VII

B.

1. Resident in Peking: China as the Really Js.


24. Whang, D.G.: Discovered Truths Compiled Vol X.
25. Williams, S.W.: The Middle Kingdom Vol V.

C.

1. All the year 31: 42 I bid 30-570
2. Asia 17: 475
3. Around World 1: 217
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Author/Title/Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Current Literature 33: 100</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Chamberlain Journal 68:172</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Conad J N. S. 11:178</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Dark Blue 3:467</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Ecl. M. 82:678</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Ed. Sat. 15:627</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Gent. M. N. S. 67:602</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Green Bag. 13:16</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Il Harp. B. 33:854-7; 33:91</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Harper W. 53:15</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Lippinc 67:96-103, 222-7</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Liv. Age 189:379; 121:436; 82:678</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Little, A.: Gleanings from Fifty years in China.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Il Mis. R. 32:24-31</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Mis.R. 30:306</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>New Eng. 38:184</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Overland 2:344</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Parker E. H*: Chinese Customs China, Hem History, Diplomacy and Commerce.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Review of Rs. 39:101-2</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Sc.Am.S.54:22213</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Thompson T.S. The Chinese.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Westmi 95:237.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
CHAPTER VIII

2. Ibid.
4. Genesis Chapter II.
5. Tsai Yuan Pei: Moral Science in Chinese History Pages 64-67
   author's abridged translation.
7. China's Year Book.
8. C. Denby: China and Her People Chapter XII.
10. T.S. Thomson: China Revolutionized Chapter XXVII.
12. Ibid.
13. Author's own estimate.
15. Ibid pages 7-8
17. Ibid.
21. Her Poem. 若論，女士西遊者我是支那第一人
   Of All the ladies visiting the West, I am the first from China.
23. Tsing, Hua College: Entrance Examination Requirements.
   Directory of The Chinese Student's Alliance loaned by
   President M. H. Chou; Directory of Middle West Section;
   Directory of Foreign Students.
25. J. S. Thomson; China Revolutionized Chapter XXVII.
27. The author as a local Club president, finds that if he
   neglected to turn in the names of the club members, they
   do not appear. He knows of a number of girls whose names
   are not in the directory.
28. These are in Iowa State University, Coe College, Cornell
   College, and Morningside College.
   Chinese Students Monthly; Chinese Students Quarterly,
   Christian China.
30. Burton - Education of Women in China Chapter IX.
31. J. S. Thomson: China Revolutionized Chapter XXVII.
33. Ibid
34. Conversation with Dr. Ma. C. S. Woosung Naval Hospital.
35. R. Of R. Vol. 39:101 (Chinese New Criminal Code pages 59; The
   Saturday Vol. XIV.
36. Ibid
37. Ibid
38. Ibid
39. Life of Chiu Kung: By Wu Chi-Ying (author's translation)
30. I bid.
41. J. S. Thomson China Revolutionized Chapter XXVII
43. Who's Who of the Chinese Students in America Page 84
44. The author stayed Six months in Shanghai.
45. The author's own observation.
47. Shanghai Times April 13, 1916.
48. — 正, 一 五, 一 末
49. Story told by Dr. Ma. C.S. 1918
50. The author's own observation.
51. Ibid

CHAPTER VIII.

B.

2. China's Year Book 1919.
6. Genesis (old Testament)
7. Guide to Peking Vol II and VII.
10. Independent 75:667-670
12. Literary Digest 60:40
13. Lu and Chao: New Chinese History Vol VI
16. Saturday, The: Vol XX
17. Shanghai Times.
20. Whang, D. G.: Discovered Truths Compiled Vol X.