



BLACKFOOT INDIAN GIRL.

DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY.

WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS

A Record of Their Characteristics,
Habits, Manners, Customs and Influence

Edited by
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FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE



VOLUME III

CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED

LONDON, NEW YORK, TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

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Este volume acha-se registrado

sob número 6.668

do ano de 1946

BIBLIOTHECA DE SENADO

CONTENTS

NORTH AMERICA.

By OTIS T. MASON and WALTER HOUGH

I.—INTRODUCTION (8 *Illustrations*).

Similarity of Aboriginal Races—Effect of Environment—Physical Characteristics — Language — Industries of Women—The Habitation—Social Life and Status—Aboriginal Babyhood—Childhood — Maidenhood — Inter-mingling of Aborigines and Whites 393

II.—THE ESKIMO (8 *Illustrations*).

The Frozen North—Physical Characteristics—Language and Industries—Clothing—Food and its Preparation —Eskimo Household Arrangements—The Importance of the Lamp—Eskimo Women Potters—The Woman's Knife —The Woman's Boat—Tattooing and other Forms of Adornment—Hair-dressing and Ornaments—Decoration of Clothing—Eskimo Games—Songs and Dances—Social Life of the Eskimo —Birth Customs—Parental Affection —Eskimo Girlhood—The Marriage Question — Divorce — Old Age — Exchange of Wives—Eskimo Education —Religion 402

III.—THE NORTH-WEST COAST (9 *Illustrations*).

Locality and Climate—Physical Characteristics — Food Supply — Clothing —Personal Adornment—Houses of the North-West—Tlinkit Household Arrangements — Woman's Work —Methods of Counting—Social Life—The Origin of a Clan Crest—North-West Aristocracy—"Coppers" and Women—The "Potlatch"—Maidenhood Rites—Marriage in the North-West—The Ceremony of the Crest—Wives *v.* Blankets—Birth and Infancy —The Cradle as an Instrument of Deformation—Cradles as Treasures—Child Names—Medicine and Magic—Funeral Customs — "The Spirit World"—Influence of Civilisation . 413

NORTH AMERICA (*continued*).

IV.—CALIFORNIA-OREGON AREA (8 *Illustrations*).

A Mountainous Area—The Hupa Tribe —Hupa Clothing—Personal Adornment—The Acorn as "the Staff of Life"—How Acorn Meal is Made—Basket-work — Childbirth — Hupa Legends—Hupa Childhood—A Hupa Girl's Initiation to Womanhood—Hupa Courtship and Marriage—How Divorce is Arranged—A Hupa Woman's Day—Women's Recreations—Hupa Magic—Hupa Widows—Maidu Women's Work—Indian Costumes—Fashions in Hair-dressing and Ornaments—Curious Basket- and Feather-work—The Maidu Dwellings—The Ubiquitous Basket—The Important Acorn — Curious Cradles — Maidu Games—Californian Music—A "Soup Dinner"—Maidu Birth Customs—How Maidu Girls are Named—Maidenhood Ceremonies — Marriage —Curious Courtship—Other Courtship and Marriage Customs—Maidu Mourning Customs 426

V.—WOMEN OF THE INTERIOR BASIN (17 *Illustrations*).

Tribes of the Interior Basin — Woman's Influence—The Wide-spreading Athapaskan—The Shoshonean-Nahuan Race—The Great Desert — The Pueblos — How the Desert People Secure their Food—Pueblo Cookery—Dress in the South-West —Navaho Houses—Ute Dwellings—Cliff Houses—Woman as House-builder—Home Arts—Women's Work —Women as Potters—Social Customs in the South-West—Zuñi Courtship and Marriage—Zuñi Birth Customs —Position of Navaho Women—Men as Spinners and Knitters—Indian Co-operation—Woman's Influence on Commerce—Man's Use to "Fetch and Carry" for Woman—Burial Customs —A Loitering Ghost—The Power of

NORTH AMERICA (<i>continued</i>).	PAGE	JAPAN (<i>continued</i>).	PAGE
WOMEN OF THE INTERIOR BASIN (<i>continued</i>). the Pueblo Woman—Characteristics of Pueblo Women—Woman as Hero- ine—Pueblo Religion's Influence on Woman—Pueblo Mythology—A Zuñi Legend	439	The <i>Geisha</i> Girl—Work-women in Japan—Professions for Women in Japan—The Servant Question— Women Agricultural Workers—Hap- piness is with the Peasant Women— The Future of Japanese Women . . .	489
VI.—WOMEN OF THE PLAINS (6 <i>Illustrations</i>). Locality—Dwellings of the Plains— The Indian Cradle—Household Imple- ments—Indian Methods of Transport —Indian Women and Decoration— Courtship and Marriage—Polygamy —Divorce—Strict Etiquette of In- dians—Indian Childhood—Widows and Widowers—The Sugar Camp— Indian Games—Treatment of Aged Indians—Present Condition of Indians	458	THE AINU (2 <i>Illustrations</i>). By JESSIE ACKERMANN, F.R.S.G.S. Tattooing Customs—Position of Ainu Women—The Woman's Part . . .	516
VII.—THE EASTERN AREA (3 <i>Illus- trations</i>). Woman's Important Position—Cheti- macha Basket-work—An Indian Edu- cational Difficulty	466	KOREA (2 <i>Illustrations</i>). By JESSIE ACKERMANN, F.R.S.G.S. Class Difference—Girls' Work—Girls Have no Names—Korean Dress—A Land of Laziness—Woman and Reli- gion—The High-class Girl—A Curious Hat—Position of Married Women . .	519
VIII.—TROPICAL WOMEN (19 <i>Illus- trations</i>). Locality and Environment—Central American Tribes—Position of Primi- tive Women—The Food Question— The Importance of Maize—Primitive Intoxicants—Dress—Typical Houses —House Furnishings—A Curious Bath —Indian Weaving—Pottery—Indian Method of Travel—Indian Trade— Indian Women as Artists—Woman and Indian Architecture—Indian Music—Mother-right—Position of Pri- mitive Woman—Marriage—How Chil- dren were Named—The Aztecs—A Mexican Tradition—Religion . . .	468	CHINA (13 <i>Illustrations</i>). By A. R. COLQUHOUN Popular Misconceptions on the Posi- tion of Chinese Women—Women Coolies—Conditions of Women's Life in China—Legal Disabilities of Chinese Women—The Principle of Woman's Inferiority to Man—Reasons for In- fanticide—Child Life—Betrothal cus- toms—How a Marriage is Arranged— Marriage Rules and Customs—Posi- tion of Wives in China—The Suicide Habit—Secondary Wives—Family Life—Women Workers—Seclusion of the Better-class Women—"Foot-bind- ing"—Clothing— <i>Coiffures</i> —The Use of Rouge and Powder—The Chinese Ideal of Beauty—Literature and Woman—"Henpecked" Chinese— Influence of Women in China— Devotion to Parents—The Position of Widows—The Future of Chinese Women	522
JAPAN (21 <i>Illustrations</i>). By CLIVE HOLLAND Characteristics of the Race—The Ainu —Japanese Characteristics—Beauty in Japan—The Mental Qualities of the Japanese—Art and Dress in Japan —The <i>Kimono</i> and <i>Obi</i> —European Dress in Japan—The Children of Japan—Child Nurses—Household Duties—Feast Days and Holidays— Courtship—Japanese Marriage cus- toms—The Training of a Japanese Girl —Japanese Home Life—Divorce— Education—The Japanese Lady of Fashion—Women of the <i>Samurai</i> —		MANCHURIA, MONGOLIA, AND TIBET (7 <i>Illustrations</i>). By A. R. COLQUHOUN The Merging of the Mongol and Manchu—The Freedom of the Steppe —The Buriats—The Nomadic Mon- golian—Mongol Dress—Marriage among the Mongols—Position and Duties of Mongol Women—Women in Tibet—The Emancipated Women of Tibet and Polyandry—Dress and Or- naments in Tibet—Tibetan Marriage Customs	541

SIAM AND CAMBODIA (8 Illustrations).	PAGE	BURMA (continued).	PAGE
By W. W. SKEAT		Women—Rights of Married Women	
Geographical Considerations — Mongolian Influence—Indian Influence—Problems in Race Fusion—General Position of Woman in Siam—Characteristics of the Siamese Woman—Woman's Work—A Boat-race for Women—The Dress of Siamese Women—Motherhood in Siam—He-girls and She-boys—"Is it a Boy or a Child, I Wonder?"—A Girl's Progress—A Princess's Tonsure Ceremony—Royal Women and Women of Honour—Marriage Mysteries—Bizarre Forms of Burial—Methods of Mourning	550	—An Ugly Feature—Women as Traders—The Great Market at Mandalay—Dress—The Use of Cosmetics—Jewellery—Smoking—The Charm of Burmese Women—Other Races in Burma—The Shans—The Karens—The Chins—The Kachins	559
BURMA (13 Illustrations).		THE KUKIS AND NAGAS OF THE NORTH CACHAR HILLS, ASSAM	
By R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.		(6 Illustrations).	
Burmese Childhood — Demeanour of Girls—Education—Religion in its Relation to Woman—Duties of Burmese Girls—Burmese Propriety—Marriage—Domestic Morals—Elopements—A Parent's Vengeance—Women and Crime in Burma—Position of Burmese		By MRS. FRANK WILDE	
		A People without Records—The Kukis—Distorted Ears of the Kuki—Women Coolies—Simplicity of Kuki Women—Religion—Curious Wedding Customs—The Work of the Kuki Women—A Lover's Ordeal—Kuki Funeral Customs—Kuki Dances—The Nagas—Bachelor Huts—Village Feuds—Naga Costumes—Naga Views of Marriage—Naga Dances—A Primitive People—Why Naga Children are Buried in the House	575

NORTH AMERICA*

By OTIS T. MASON and WALTER HOUGH

I—INTRODUCTION

Similarity of Aboriginal Races—Effect of Environment—Physical Characteristics—Language—Industries of Women—The Habitation.—Social Life and Status—Aboriginal Babyhood—Childhood—Maidenhood—Intermingling of Aboriginals and Whites

THE North American Continent, until it was wakened up and rehabilitated by the white races, was not favourable to women. There are several reasons for this fact. It had not one animal yielding milk to help the mother in weaning her babe, and stories are told of children five years old still sucking at their mothers' breasts. It had only the dog for pack and draught beast, so the woman was also a beast of burden. There were maize beans and the squash family in the East, and abundance of nuts in the West. These all increased woman's weight of cares, and were not specially helpful with children.

* Only the aboriginal races of the North American Continent are dealt with in the following chapters.

There is a general similarity in racial characteristics among the women now studied, but their lives, spent as they were amid surroundings so diverse, exhibit sufficient differences to warrant separate treatment.

Similarity of Aboriginal Races.



Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

A CANADIAN INDIAN WOMAN.

The most surprising thing is that a few families—Eskimo, Algonquian, Athapascan, Iroquoian, Siouan, Muskogean, Shoshonean, and Mayan—owned nearly all of North America, while the remainder was divided up among a great number of smaller linguistic groups. This is most noticeable on the Pacific slope, especially in California.

Keeping in mind the two ideas, places and peoples, it will be convenient to

speak of Arctic women, the Eskimo ; North Pacific coast women, Tlinkit, Haida, and others ; Californian women ; Interior Basin women ; Plains women ; and Central American women. Many very important ethnological problems will have to be laid aside in order that the eyes may be fixed on woman's life and work.

The Arctic shoreland afforded opportunities to men and women alike to do their best, both in the industrial and the æsthetic life. The sexes pulled together. Existence was hard for both, but not discouraging. The plains of the West abounded in resources, and put no curb on ambition. They produced grand men. They were the home of the buffalo throngs and of mighty hunters ; but the women all seem to be on their knees wrestling—not with angels, however, but with tough hides of beasts, transforming them into houses, furniture, clothing, and adornment. Woman in this environment was on a lower plane, and her rise came through abundance of nourishment, through the intense development of men, and through the domestication of the dog.

But the South-West and California—and, indeed, much of the tropical regions here considered—were especially favourable to women. The dependence on animal food and animal products for activities gave place more and more to primitive arts associated with the plant world. Agriculture was a womanly function—maize, melons, beans, and other most nutritious fruits of the soil, added to seeds, nuts, and roots, were under the patronage of Ceres.

The complete study of North American aboriginal women includes their biology and their rounds of duties.

The Indians may properly be regarded as one great race. The Eskimo form a distinct sub-race of the Mongolo-Malay. The skin is of various shades of brown, tinged in youth with the red of the circulating blood. Very dark individuals are found in more primitive tribes

Effect of Environment.

Physical Characteristics.

and among the old men. Most women and school children, or others who wear clothing, or live a more civilised life, are lighter in colour. A new-born baby is of varying degrees of dusky red. The hair is black, but from much exposure turns to a rusty hue. The eyes vary in colour from hazel to dark brown. The skin is slightly thicker than that of the whites, and in adults decidedly more wrinkled. The hair of the head is straight, coarser than in the average white, and rather abundant and long ; on the body it is shorter and less abundant. The nails are dull bluish in hue and moderately tough. The face is well-rounded in childhood, occasionally handsome in earlier life, and much wrinkled in old age. The apertures of the eyes are slightly oblique. In women the roof of the nose has a wider and shallower depression than in men, and the aquiline bridge is lower. Thin noses are not found. The cheek bones are high and prominent, and the neck is never long and thin. The body is in good proportion, symmetrical, and, except in old age, straight and sufficiently nourished. The feet and hands are well moulded, and in many tribes smaller than in whites. In the more sedentary tribes the women are inclined to corpulence. The Indian skull is slightly smaller than that of the whites of equal height—cranial capacity in men ranges from 1,300 to 1,500 c.c. ; in women from 1,150 to 1,350 c.c.

The Eskimo differ from the Indians in skin colour, which is yellowish or light brown, with a pronounced redness in the face, which is large and flat. The nasal bones are narrower than in any other people.

The Indians differ among themselves in stature, in form of the head, and in features. Stature ranges from 64 to 70 inches (160 to 175 cm.). The women are, on the average, 12.5 cm. shorter than the men, the difference being greater among the tall than among the short tribes.

There are found in North America long heads, short heads, and those of medium length (dolicho, brachy- and mesati-cephalic). The Eskimo range in height from short to

medium, with long and high heads, broad and flat faces, high orbits, and narrow noses.

Most of woman's speech was common to the tribe, but we should miss the most

Language. charming part of our narrative if we overlooked the fact that in all the tribes women had more or less a language of their own.

From the nature of the case they talked more than men, reared the children, practised separate industries, each of which had a technical vocabulary. In the Caribbean area there were two distinct languages spoken, one by the men, the other by the women, as will be seen. But in others the differences were very slight. Art students have recently brought out the fact that in the same tribe women read into the same symbols different meanings from the men. They had also different interpretations for the gesture speech in certain respects.

Woman's work was work; man's work was war. But it is not to be imagined that a hard and fast line in any tribe or area separated the activities of the sexes. Everywhere that men's occupation demanded assistance women were their helpers, and men lent a helping hand in those works of women against which there were not tribal *tabus*.

Indians had to be fed, and women were the purveyors. In some areas this was a severe struggle. Cut off from other sources, a heavy load fell on women, and famines were not rare. The death-rate was high, and the whole continent sparsely peopled.

A mixed diet was quite universal, animal food prevailing toward the north. In the matter of drinks the women north of Mexico made infusions from plants, but no stimulating beverages. Hough mentions drinks from fruits and berries by Californian tribes, and from cactus by the Puna and neighbouring peoples of Arizona and far southward. Everywhere there were food *tabus*, totemic animals were not eaten by

one tribe; in others certain species were avoided for religious reasons. Also from the plant kingdom condiments and sweets were added to the *menu*.

Dr. Hough assures us that the Indians



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

A PAIUTE WOMAN (SHOSHONEAN FAMILY OF N. CALIFORNIA)

With a native sifting basket. The tribe is a degraded one, but they are good basket-makers.

everywhere preferred cooked food, and, as a rule, women were the cooks. The art included roasting at open fire, boiling by means of hot stones, frying, baking in the ashes and in pits, stewing in stone and clay pots. Vegetable foods demanded each its peculiar cooking. For ceremonial feasts men were more apt to be called into service. Some of the methods of preparing food were adopted by the whites, and on the frontier the modern baking powder of the trader is a long step backward in good cooking from these aboriginal processes.

Clothing is the next item, at the mere mention of which a dozen feminine pursuits spring into view. Between Costa Rica and Smith Sound every demand for

clothing arises, every natural material for its construction can be gathered, and women are the clothiers.

of beauty was universal among the Americans, but sexual differences arose, as Holmes points out, from the varied spheres of in-



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

A CHEMEHUEVI MOTHER AND CHILD (LOWER COLORADO RIVER).

Behind the woman is seen the basket granary, in which the acorns, etc., for food are kept.

What a vast group of ideas associated with women spring up at the words—
The tree-lodge, cave, cliff-dwelling,
Habitations. earth-lodge, fort, communal dwelling of planks, grass lodge, kiva, mound, pile-dwelling, pueblo, teepee, and wigwam! For practical purposes they were the family home, the ceremonial house, the seclusion lodge, the place of storage.

For the furnishing of these habitations women did their share, and it was the same portion that now she may be seen performing in the settlers' cabins and the farmers' houses in the same localities. The intermediate manufacturing arts associated with peace, by which vegetable and animal and mineral substances were turned to use, were woman's eternal occupation.

The decorative arts were the industrial arts in the service of pleasure. This sense

of industry of men and women. Elements having their origin in war and the chase, in myth and ceremony, and in pictography, were the creations of men; the activities of women were connected with their domestic life, and their designs were derived from non-symbolic sources largely. Professor Holmes says that many of the æsthetic elements originated in religious symbolism and extended to plastic, graphic, sculptural, constructional, and associative processes, as well as to the embellishment of the person.

Women's share in the æsthetic will be seen to have been the legitimate offspring of their strenuous toil. They plucked the flowers of the field, the feathers of birds, and shells from the waters to adorn their persons, and they ornamented their homes, their pottery, basketry, and the garments

for men as well as for women, with poetic sentiments that sprung up in their souls under the constant suggestion of their industries, social life, love, and religion.

The question has been many times discussed concerning woman's social status among these brown North Americans and her treatment by the other sex. Among

travellers, opinions vary concerning the same tribe owing to predilections of the observer and exceptional cases, and also to mistaking the self-imposed and allotted burdens for hardships. From area to area, as they are described, the greatest variety of opinions

Where shall each woman's story begin? A biography from cradle to grave, after a preface of ancestry and genealogy, would do for the individual in civilisation; but in the tribal social life among the Indians the drama of the day or season shows birth and all intervening episodes—home life and tribal life, arts and art, the real world and association with the spirit world all at once. The story of American aboriginal women will proceed in such order as to bring out the story as a whole.

In each life-progress there were epochs of extraordinary importance, such as babyhood, the child, the girl, the young woman, maidenhood, the wife, the mother, the



A HANO POTTER AT WORK

Smoothing the surface with a gourd implement. The basin forms a primitive potter's wheel, which is a woman's invention.

have prevailed. At once it will be admitted that what has come to be a pastime or drudgery in civilisation was the proper and expected daily task in primitive life. However hard her lot, there was more in her favour than against her.

matron, the chieftainess, the priestess under several titles, the helpless old woman—the dead.

For babyhood, there will arise at the outset the inquiry as to how the mother and the environment solved the vital question

of "life and existence, so naturally prized, so willingly guarded by every living creature." What had the gifts of Nature, and lack of knowledge, to do with the first step?

Babyhood formed the strongest bond of family life under the American Indian system of marriage, which allowed both polygamy and easy separation. Parents were devoted to their children, and the relation brought out all the highest traits of Indian character. In anticipation of a new arrival the father made the papoose frame, and the grandmother or some expert woman embellished it. Each tribe had its cradle fashions, and some of them laid a pad on the infant's forehead when the bones were soft, producing the "flat-head" type of beauty.

The new-born babe was bathed and committed to a nurse until the mother could care for it, which was not for long. Owing to lack of weaning foods, children were often suckled two years or more, and ignorance of sanitary rules produced terrible infant mortality in almost every tribe, with the result that before the coming of the whites the population remained almost stationary.

The child sisters or cousins of the baby were its attendants, and developed thereby the motherly instinct. The child was kept in its cradle only to be carried about, and at home was practically without restraint and, except in severe weather, wore little or no clothing.

The babe might be named soon after birth, or not for a year or more, this first name being discarded later on. The giving of the first name was accompanied by special rites. Twins were esteemed uncanny, and in some tribes one or both were killed. Deformed children are said to have been put to death, but cripples, on the other hand, were treated with tenderness.

Childhood was woman's care then as it is now, and the little boy, as well as the little girl, had no lack of female guardians and practical teachers under the peculiar

clan and gentile society of the many tribes. In addition to this general education, the

Childhood. boys were led through a series of initiatory rites — such as boring the ears, investment with the breech clout at the age of nine or ten, tattooing, first insertion of labrets (lip-plugs), scourgings, severe or pretended. At ten the Powhattan boys were made unconscious, and those of the Plains were enrolled into the first degree of the warrior society.

Girls had their toys and games, dolls, and play houses. They were fond of pets, particularly puppies, which they dressed and carried on their backs like babies. In the Pueblo country figurines of ceremonies were distributed as dolls, thus impressing the ceremonies in tangible form.

Girls were their mothers' companions, and were early initiated into all the arts of home life. They as well as boys were carefully instructed by their elders in the ethics, traditions, and religious ideas of the tribe. The girl grew up with little of the hourly restraints that surround her class in modern society. Instruction and obedience were enforced by suggestion, the love of following suit, and emulation, rather than by physical punishment. The sense of things in common dominated even the circle of playmates. At about the age of thirteen to fifteen girlhood was at an end.

In all the Indian tribes here studied the period of life in the young female that

Maidenhood. marked the passage from childhood to maidenhood, or incipient womanhood, was regarded with awe. The young woman was at that time placed in a separate lodge or apartment under the conviction that all her future life would be under the spell of her experiences at that season. Her subtle influence extended beyond herself to other persons, and to the smallest thing. It is easy to believe that such a thought, held in common throughout a community, would find no difficulty in working its own realisation.

It often reminded the early settlers in America of the multitudinous laws in the Old Testament about ceremonial cleanness



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles

MEXICAN WOMEN MAKING THEIR TORTILLA
(Thin cake bread, resembling pancakes).



Photograph by Scott.

A MEXICAN WOMAN'S WASHING-DAY.

and uncleanness. So the young Indian female lived apart, the time varying from a few days to a year. Swanton records that the longer isolation was endured by girls of wealthy or aristocratic families. The recluse prepared her own food, or had it

She was also forced to sit up for long periods to prevent her from becoming lazy. The customs varied from tribe to tribe, but they all had symbolical meanings with reference to her future life. Whatever she did in this prophetic period would follow her. If



PAIUTE (SHOSHONEAN) WOMAN, UTAH.

The tribal type of cradle is by her side.

brought to her by her mother or some old woman, the only person with whom she had any communication. Her dishes, spoons, and other utensils were kept separate from all others, and had to be washed thoroughly before they could be used again, or, as among the Iroquois, an entirely new set was provided for her. A Cheyenne girl purified herself by allowing smoke from sweet grass, cedar needles, and white sage to pass over her body inside of her blankets.

she ate too much she would be a glutton; if she talked too much, would be garrulous; if she laughed much, would be silly; if she prevaricated, would be untruthful; and so on, to the end of a most interesting list. The period is filled with many *tabus*. The young woman must not look at this or that, and may not do a host of things that would but greatly perplex and annoy the reader. Not so the Indian girl. Riches, honours, long life, health, all awaited her

strict observance of rules. Not only were a long list of actions *tabu* to her, but she was also the same to others, not only to human beings, but to the spirit and the animal world. The awful influences that went out from her affected inanimate objects, such as tackle or gambling sticks, and she could heal by her touch.

being that it has been chiefly through the women. The half-castes everywhere are chiefly the children of Indian mothers. It is a rare thing for a white woman to marry one of the other race. Also the industrial activities forced upon the Indians were not men's, but women's.

**Intermingling
of Aborigines
and Whites.**



MEXICAN WOMEN (STATE OF OAXACA) SPINNING.

Photograph by Scott.

Her period of seclusion ended with feasting or public ceremonies, and some changes in her dress or adornment. The Hopi girl in Arizona, who wore her hair formerly in whorls imitating the squash flower, one over each ear, after marriage changed her *coiffure* to a simple braid. All these ceremonies and *tabus* were in the nature of a consecration and protection to the incipient woman. This close connection between social customs and the tribal cult will at once recall Cicero's assertion that all the artificialities of human life have a common bond, and are associated by a kind of fellowship.

In each area there has been blood and industrial mingling, the most significant fact

Bloody massacres have followed governmental efforts to compel the men to engage in farming. Not so the women. Gardening, sewing, weaving, household cares under better shelter and protection, were not tabooed nor irksome. The women therefore are the saviours of those that survive.

Father Morice suggests, as a motive why the Indian woman more easily becomes a part of our civilisation than the man, that her lot was so terribly hard that she had everything to gain and scarcely anything to lose by the change.

Ethnologists are wont to speak of stages of culture as though they resemble the distinct stories of houses. Cultures and tribes grow and decline just like individuals by insensible degrees. It is not true to

the facts to regard the peoples of North America as possessing separate cultures. They all belong to one culture the qualities of which fade into one another. As in the individual woman's life its current at certain points has shallows and falls, so in North American primitive peoples Mayan or Aztec women will seem to be on an elevation quite above that of the Utes. But a comprehensive view reveals innumerable connecting links. The question will often occur whether, after all things are considered, these Indian women were nearer in tune with Nature. Has the artificialising of human life improved the air breathed, the water drunk, the food eaten, the raiment worn, the care of the skin, the sunlight enjoyed, work and exercise, rest and sleep, the pace and stress of life, the personal habits? Since life is longer, on the whole, yes. It happens, however, that elevation and depression are related. The greatest virtues are shadowed by the greatest crimes, the greatest successes are neighboured by the deepest miseries.

The advent of the white man has brought radical changes into the life of the native,

and many customs and beliefs are rapidly fading into disuse—in fact have disappeared over large areas. Still they are typical of the life of the people of this continent, and so cannot be passed over without mention. For the sake of uniformity the present tense is used throughout this sketch, but the reader must bear in mind that in many localities the old ceremonies have become obsolete.

Having taken a bird's eye view of North America in association with aboriginal women, a few of its environments or culture-areas may now be scrutinised one by one in the following order:—

1. Arctic area, Eskimo women.
2. North-west Coast insular area—Tlinkit and Haida women.
3. California-Oregon area—Hupa and Maidu women.
4. Interior Basin desert area—sedentary tribes and unsettled groups.
5. Plains area—Siouan and other women.
6. Atlantic slope area—Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Muskogean women.
7. Tropical North American area—Mexican and Caribbean women.

II—THE ESKIMO

The Frozen North—Physical Characteristics—Language and Industries—Clothing—Food and its Preparation—Eskimo Household Arrangements—The Importance of the Lamp—Eskimo Women Potters—The Woman's Knife—The Woman's Boat—Tattooing and other Forms of Adornment—Hair-dressing and Ornaments—Decoration of Clothing—Eskimo Games—Songs and Dances—Social Life of the Eskimo—Birth Customs—Parental Affection—Eskimo Girlhood—The Marriage Question—Divorce—Old Age—Exchange of Wives—Eskimo Education—Religion

ESKIMO women formerly lived along the border of Arctic America chiefly north of the 60th parallel, from Eastern Greenland to Eastern Asia. Their settlements also extended to Newfoundland, if not to Maine, to the southern limit of Hudson Bay, and to the farthest Aleutian Islands. But their range is now much curtailed. Their environment was the home of the Frost King, of six months' night, of snow and ice for building material. It was the lamp-land, and woman was the vestal. Most of it was

The
Frozen
North.

treeless, compelling her to make her utensils of bone, horn, and ivory. Vegetable diet was limited to a few berries, and her food supply was chiefly the flesh and fat of sea mammals, fish, reindeer, bear, muskox, birds, and a multitude of smaller creatures.

In physical characteristics the Eskimo differs from the Indian woman. She is much lighter in colour and shorter in stature, has a long head, a flat, pinched nose, and somewhat Mongolian eye. Murdoch speaks of her small hands and feet,

but is not as pleased with her carriage as he is with the man's. Although possessing a good physique, she is singularly ungraceful in her movements, and walks with a sort of shuffling half trot, her toes turned in, the body leaning forward, and the arms hanging awkwardly.

This air and gait are not affected by her in order to attract attention, but are caused by the exactions of her snow life and dress.

A remarkable thing about the Eskimo women is their flexibility of body and limbs. They will endure for a long time the stooping posture, and that assumed by them in dressing skins of the larger animals, without great fatigue.

The language spoken by the women of this interminable coast of ice is remarkably similar throughout, while that of the Indians southward varies greatly from place to place. When it is remembered that their narrow strip, if straightened out, would be 5,000 miles in length, this homogeneous speech is surprising.

The industries of Eskimo women are especially the outcome of the environment from beginning to end. They will be found associated with man in those occupations where weapons are absent—in all sorts of manufactures, in transportation, and in training the dogs. Besides, there are a multitude of crafts that are their own, such as furnishing the house, making the dress under the most exacting circumstances, and preparing the food.

The Eskimo have to dress in furs, caribou in winter, and sealskin in summer, and there are ever so many processes for undergarments and overgarments, for haired and unhaired work, for softest down and

waterproof soles. Women do every bit of this work, and have their styles and fashions in each locality.

Both sexes wear long stockings, boots, trousers, and a hooded jacket, all of which are double. The inner part is worn with the fur side next the skin, the outer with the fur side exposed.

The married woman's jacket has a long hood extending far down the back, and a belt around the jacket under the hood sustains the infant borne inside on the back of the mother.

In her exacting climate the demands on the Eskimo tailoress are great and continuous. Her materials in former times were abundant and varied, including the skins, intestines, sinews, bones, horns, teeth, and hoofs of reindeer, seal, bear, fox, wolf, dog, marten, ermine, lynx, whale,

walrus, goose, duck, and many more, if her exacting taste demanded. All of these skins were dressed, cut out, sewn, and adorned by women. Their costume differed somewhat from that of the men, and consisted of frock with hood and girdle, inner frock, often without the hood, mittens, tight-fitting breeches, long stockings with hair inside, slippers lined with dry, soft material, and outer boots. On the woman's frock the hood is larger, while the front and back extend downward in longer flaps. Boas* intimates that artistic ideas were not highly developed among the Eskimo. But with better needles and new ideas to inspire them, these Northern tailors turn out beautiful work, both in the East and the West.

The food of Eskimo women is almost wholly animal, being derived from the land, the air, and the water, not forgetting the

* "The Central Eskimo."



ESKIMO MATRON, PORT CLARENCE, ALASKA.

ice and snow. It is eaten either raw or cooked, usually the latter. Neither is there



YOUNG ESKIMO WOMAN, PORT CLARENCE, ALASKA.

particular choice of parts—indeed, certain portions, which in England would be considered offal, are special dainties with them. The capture and gathering of these creatures is the duty of men, though women are not excluded from the hunt. But the moment the dead animal is secured, woman's many tasks begin—hauling the game home, skinning animals, dressing hides, cutting up and curing meat, preparing it for consumption, purveying, and general housekeeping. They have no regular hours for meals, but eat whenever they are hungry and have leisure. The women keep a supply of cooked food on hand ready for emergencies. When the men are working together, the women at intervals through the day prepare dishes of meat which the men eat by themselves or are fed until gorged by the women. When a family returns from the spring hunt, with plenty of venison, they keep open house.

Boas tells us that Eskimo women live in tents in summer, and two kinds of winter houses—the underground permanent home, and the snow hut. The former is semi-

subterranean, the sides being of stone and whalebones, and the roof of poles and bones, over which is stretched a cover of skin. Outside of this may be a layer of small shrubs and another layer of skin, weighted down with stones. In other localities earth and moss are used. The doorway and front hall consist of a subterranean passage, lower at the outer end, as may be imagined, to keep out the demon of cold. For the houses of snow, blocks are cut out with long, thin knives of ivory or bone, and fitted into the tiniest of domes, the only mortar being the frost. Bedroom, kitchen, dining, and sitting room are all one; but storage rooms, especially for the snow houses, are built apart. The beds are on a bench of earth, or snow, overlaid with brush and skins. The lamps with all their accessories are on the side. Just as soon as the sun returns, after the long winter, the Eskimo women dwell in tents set up on poles, where Nature is kind enough to furnish them; but it is most interesting to see how they lash together short bits of bone, narwhal tusks, wood

Eskimo Household Arrangements.



ESKIMO WOMAN, AGED 23, PORT CLARENCE, ALASKA.

from whaling ships, and drift, to form the support of a shelter of skins.

Household utensils are reduced to the lowest terms, noteworthy specially for

omissions rather than variety. Vessels of wood, bone, baleen, and animal integuments answer many purposes. The most serviceable is the lamp with its accessories.

Women must have invented the lamp; at any rate, without it there would have

lated the Eskimo women about Bristol Bay to make their lamps of clay.

Of the influence of the lamp, Dr. Walter Hough remarks: "The extent to which the lamp has entered into Eskimo life as a social factor is very great. It is essentially the care and possession of the women,



By courtesy of Dr. George B. Gordon.

ESKIMO WOMEN AND THEIR CHILDREN, KING'S ISLAND, ALASKA,
Showing tattooed patterns on the arms.

been no Eskimo. Lamps are illuminators, heaters, dryers for wet clothing, and cooking stoves, especially in the six months of darkness and cold. They are shallow dishes, straight along one side like a turnover. The wick of moss or fibre is spread along the straight front edge, and the cavity is filled with seal blubber, which furnishes the fat. Obtaining this, setting up the lamp and trimming it constantly develops much knack and skill. As the soapstone of which lamps and cooking pots are usually made is not found everywhere, it is a great factor in Eskimo commerce, which extends sometimes as much as a thousand miles. Failure of soapstone stimu-

peculiarly the sign of the social unit, and though several families may inhabit the same *igloo*, each maternal head must have her own lamp. 'A woman without a lamp' is an expression which betokens, of all beings, the most wretched among the Eskimo. The lamp is placed in the woman's grave."

Women were the potters among the Eskimo, their ware being restricted to lamps and the requisite cooking vessels. Clay from the tundra was reduced to a smooth paste by mixing with walrus blood and kneading it with the hands. Sand from the beach was added, together

**Eskimo
Women
Potters.**

with fine feathers. The vessel was built up with the hands or by means of a paddle. Compared with the Indian pottery of the Pueblos, this ware is very plain; however, some ornamentation was effected in the form of lines made with a pointed stick, a pitted surface produced by means of a roughly carved paddle, or by wrapping the unbaked vessel in grass matting which left its impression.

A word about the woman's knife. Hundreds of them may be seen round the kitchens of civilisation as hash cutters, called "chopping knives"; but you must visit the saddler and watch him cut leather to understand the tool in its most primitive function. In old times the blade was of slate or harder stone, but the trader and the whaler have substituted a far better one of steel. With this knife-of-all-trades the women prepare hides and cut out garments.

The woman's boat in Eskimoland, like its namesake, is the burden-bearer, and quite unlike the *kaiak*, or man's boat. It is practically an open coracle, or scow, with framework of wood or whale ribs, over which the covering of seal or walrus hide is tightly stretched. A dainty sail—made of thin intestines—is sometimes added. The steering is done with a long paddle.

The æsthetic life of the Eskimo woman is made up of adornment and enjoyments. The women nearly all are tattooed, and in some localities the designs are quite elaborate. They are chiefly marked on the chin or about the mouth with one or more stripes, but the arms, breast, and back are also brought into service. The original motive seems to have been fashion or social rule, but it is related of one that she tattooed whale marks in the corners of her mouth to show that she was the wife of a successful hunter. But Eskimo women,

in company with their husbands, had a more barbarous fashion than tattooing, called by Dall "labretifery." So far as is known, it was practised only by those living west of the Mackenzie River; indeed, the habit prevailed much more widely among the men. Captain Cook says that in Cook's Inlet the under lip was slit parallel with the mouth, the incision being commenced during infancy. "In adults it was often two inches long. In it was inserted a flat, narrow ornament, made of a solid shell or bone, cut into little narrow pieces like small teeth, almost down to the base or thickest part, which has a small projecting bit at each end, which supports it when put into the incision. . . . Others have the lower lip perforated into separate holes, and then the ornament consists of as many distinct shelly studs, whose points are pushed through these holes." But the number of studs, their location in the lip, their materials, size, and form were matter of fashion from place to place.

The usual custom of dressing the hair is to part it in the middle from the forehead to the nape of the neck, and to gather it into a club on each side behind the ear.

The club is twisted or braided and adorned, not with gay ribbons, but with leather strips, beads, brass buttons, and the like. The marrow of the reindeer is sometimes used for pomatum. The women are tidy in arranging the hair, and Murdoch* never saw one of them bald.

Earrings, says Murdoch, are worn by nearly all the women. In olden times these were little hooks of walrus ivory, but trade has long since added cheap jewellery in abundance. Gordon† adds to earrings necklaces of glass beads and bracelets of the same materials.

Besides the adornment of the person, the Eskimo woman's taste runs riot in the

* "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition."

† "Notes on the Western Eskimo."

**The
Woman's
Knife.**

**The
Woman's
Boat.**

**Hair-dressing
and
Ornaments.**

**Tattooing
and other
Forms of
Adornment.**

decoration of clothing. Here she has the advantage, because there is so much of it; and she busies her fancy and skilful fingers quite as much with the male attire as with her own. Skin, haired and un-haired, furs and feathers and down in all procurable colours, in masses and tasteful patchwork, gives her all the opportunity.

The enjoyments of Eskimo women are derived from play and from the higher art of song and the native traditions, which are fosterers of art. The **Eskimo Games.** supple bodies of Eskimo women do not wear out all their energies in dressing hides. They join with men in their athletic sports. The girls play with dolls, have small models of domestic utensils for playing housekeeping and at woman's work. Storm-bound much of the time, there are house games as well as games in the open, all of which were studied by Nelson during a five-years' residence about St. Michael. Among them may be mentioned:—

Toss the dart.—A block, 6 inches long, is sharpened at one end, and has a flaring cup at the other, 3 inches in diameter, with a deep hole in the middle. It is set up in the floor of the hut, the players squat around, and the game is to toss up a dart so that it will turn in the air and fall with its point sticking in the middle of the cup. Small sticks are used as counters.

Jackstraws, or spillikins.

Ring the stake.—A kind of quoits, played during the long twilight nights of June.

Top-spinning.—Girls and boys engage in this game. The moment the top is spun the owner runs out through the entrance and tries to encircle the hut and return before the top falls. Each successful round counts a score.

Football.—The ball is made of leather stuffed with moss and deer hair, and is about six inches in diameter, and there are four players, who stand each at the corners of a square facing inward.

Handball.—Played with a rounded rectangular leather bag filled with sand. The young men of the village form one side,

and the young women the other. The game is for one side to secure the ball and keep it going among themselves.

Blind man's buff.

Hide and seek.—Played in summer in the long grass.

Ring around.—Played by men and women, together or separately. There are two rings which circle about swiftly.

Tossing on walrus hide.—Like tossing in a blanket, but the Eskimo get more fun out of it.

The tug of war.—Played by women as well as by men.

The Eskimo women are fond of tricks with the fingers, and have many devices in cat's cradle, making parts of the body, things of daily use, and well-known animals. Dolls and children's games in great number are included in Nelson's* lists.

The Eskimo are fond of singing, but the men do the most of it, their musical instrument being the drum. In their dances the women remain with their feet planted squarely on the floor, and, swaying the body and slowly gesticulating with hands and arms, go through the figures, always keeping time to the music. They carry a long feather wand in each hand, which they wave as they move. In certain religious festivals they use finger masks.

Of course, what will be said of the Eskimo women and their social life must be looked at in its environmental settings, which will explain all and condone much. As the woman all her life carries an infantile face, so all her arts and activities bear the stamp of, and voice the childhood of mankind.

The Eskimo social unit is the family and not the clan, and is built about the mother, who, with father, children, and a relative or two, make up the household. Descent is reckoned in both paternal and maternal lines. Children after marriage may continue to reside at home, either with the

* "The Eskimo about Bering Strait."

husband's or the wife's family. The political unit is not strong. The households in the same locality do not form a social organisation.

The treatment of Eskimo women was for this reason somewhat different tribally from that of Indian women. They seem to be a good-hearted people, and writers speak well of personal treatment of women among them. Parry says that the women were treated as equals of the men, and the wife was always consulted by the husband when a more important bargain than usual was to be made; and Murdoch says: "The wife is the constant and trusted companion of the man except in the hunt."

When a babe is about to be born, the Eskimo mother either builds for herself a hut or tent apart, or is secluded from contact or association with her people or their accessories. Even her husband is under *tabu*, as he cannot go seal-catching or even use the common industrial tools for a certain season.

The babe is carried about naked on the mother's back under her warm fur clothing, made fuller for the purpose. Around the mother's waist, high up, a girdle is tied for support. When she wishes to nurse the little one, the mother loosens the girdle and slips the babe round to the breast, without bringing it out into the freezing air. Children are carried in this way until they are able to walk. The precise style of this unique baby-carriage varies from place to place, and the surprising thing about it is that the woman is not inconvenienced, but rather happy at her work, and the child takes its shaking up as a matter of course. Little girls also play mother as with us, and carry infants around on their backs in the same way as does the mother.

The diet is so hard for adults that children are nursed until they are three or four years old. Infanticide is rare, infant mortality great, and children usually much prized.

Everybody speaks well of these Arctic children, and it is a glowing tribute to

the patient little mothers that it is so. Murdoch sets this forth so appreciatively that his words are quoted freely: "The affection of parents for their children is extreme, and the children seem to be thoroughly worthy of it. They show hardly a trace of the fretfulness and petulance so common among civilised children, and though indulged to an unusual extent are remarkably obedient. Corporal punishment appears to be absolutely unknown, and the children are rarely chidden or punished in any way. Indeed, they seldom deserve it, for, in spite of the freedom that they are allowed, they do not often get into any mischief, especially of a malicious sort, but attend quietly to their own affairs and their own amusements."

The little girls grow up just as they do everywhere. In all industrial employments they associate freely with their elders, catching fish, fetching drift wood, driving dogs, so that by the time they are in their teens they are sober little women.

Murdoch has gathered the data for studying Eskimo woman's domestic life. His opinion is confirmed that the marriage relation was entered upon generally from reasons of interest or convenience, with not much sentiment about it. The woman looked for a man who was a good hunter and industrious—a bountiful provider. It is not alleged that prudential motives do not have a share in civilised match-making, nor is it denied that Cupid had found his way to the Frozen North. Child betrothal, by which very young persons are set apart for each other in tender youth, is said to have been practically universal among the Eskimo. Marriages were arranged by parents. Murdoch knew of a young man of about twenty-two who offered himself as the prospective husband of a girl of eight or ten when she should reach a marriageable age, and quotes Simpson as follows: "As soon as the young man desires a partner and is able to support one, his

Birth Customs.

Eskimo Girlhood.

The Marriage Question.

Parental Affection.



ESKIMO WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN FULL DRESS.

mother selects a girl according to her judgment or fancy, and invites her to the hut, where she first takes the part of a *kiogak*

there were variations in different localities. In one case there was a house full of people, singing and dancing, to



ESKIMO UMIK, OR WOMAN'S BOAT.

or servant, having all the cooking and other kitchen duties to perform during the day, and returns to her home at night. If her conduct proves satisfactory, she is further invited to become a member of the family.* In other cases the bridegroom became a member of the wife's family.

"One youth," says Murdoch, "who had had his lips pierced for the labrets just previously to our arrival, was betrothed to a young girl at Nuwük. This girl came down frequently and visited her lover's family, staying several days at a time, but we could not discover that she was treated as a servant. She went with them to the spring deer-hunt, but we were distinctly given to understand that the young couple would not be married till after the return from this hunt. When the season came for catching reindeer fawns, the couple started off together, with sled and dogs and camp equipage in pursuit of them, and always afterwards were considered as man and wife."

This matter-of-fact way of marrying seems to have been the rule, to which

celebrate the marriage of the daughter of the house.

Wife capture must have been rare in Eskimo society; it is mentioned in Greenland by Egede and Bessels. Simpson says that a man of mature age frequently chooses a wife for himself, and fetches her home, to all appearances, much against her will.

Polygamy, in the sense of having many wives, is not an Eskimo custom, and Murdoch says that most of the men are content with one wife, and he never heard of a case of more than two wives.

The same author tells us interesting facts concerning the selection of a wife. The man usually picks out one of about his own age, but, as elsewhere, reasons of interest lead to a great disparity of age between the two. He did not recall any case where an old man had a wife much younger than himself, but knew of several men who had married widows or divorced women old enough to be their mothers. In one remarkable case the bride was a girl of sixteen or seventeen and the husband was a lad not over thirteen.

* Simpson, John (Dr.). "Notes on the Western Eskimo." Arctic Blue Book. Roy. Geog. Soc., Lond., 1875, pp. 233-275.

While it is true that polygamy was not the rule among this people, one man in

his time played many parts. As there was no special marriage ceremony, so there

Divorce. were no formal divorce proceedings. Marriage was regarded simply as a contract made by agreement between the parties. It was easily dissolved on account of incompatibility or even of temporary disagreements. Two cases are mentioned where wives left their husbands on account of ill-treatment. One case resulted in permanent separation, each of the couple marrying again. In another case the wife, after receiving a beating, ran away and married another man. Her first husband followed her in a day or two, and by violence or persuasion induced her to return. They afterwards appeared to live together on perfectly good terms.

But men also sometimes abandoned their wives. On the same authority, a young

for the young wife proved to be a great talker. Said he. "She talked all the time so that I could neither eat nor sleep." So he discarded her, and not long afterwards he espoused another old widow.

It is recorded with pleasure, on several excellent authorities, by Murdoch that quarrels and separations happen seldom, excepting between persons in their younger years. "The older they grow," says Cranz, "the more they love one another."

Old women are scarce. The strenuous life shortens existence, but women of advanced years are treated well
Old Age. save in times of scarcity, when they commit suicide or are left to starve.

One does not have to look far to discover that the ills of life are made of the



ESKIMO WOMEN OF ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND, BERING STRAIT.

This tribe is almost cut off from the outside world; famine killed over a thousand of them in 1860.

Eskimo had married a widow very much his senior, who seemed to have a bad temper, so he left her and married a young girl. His second venture was no more satisfactory,

same cloth as its blessings. In other words, this statement means that the legitimate activities of one grade of culture survive as the misdemeanours of higher grades. In

this category might be placed the custom of general exchange of wives in certain

Exchange of Wives. Eskimo villages — each woman passes from man to man till

she has been through the hands of all, and finally returns to her husband.

Murdoch suggests that the Eskimo had, in a more primitive form of existence, lived in the state of communal marriage called polygamy, in which each woman is, under prescribed conditions, the wife of each man in the community. He mentions the instance of a man who borrowed his cousin's wife to go with him on a summer deer-hunt because she was a good shot and a good hand with the game, while his own wife went with the cousin on a trading expedition to the eastward. On their return the wives resumed their respective husbands.

The learning of Eskimo women from our point of view would be

Eskimo Education. confined, according to Rink, to some trifling knowledge of medicine, of astronomy, and of the division of the year into seasons according to the movements of animals, the position of the heavenly bodies, and scanty observations derived from experience. In the matter of lore it is quite different, since they are in possession of hundreds of old tales and traditions which were familiar to women, and in which they play an interesting part. From them, in an epitomised and generalised fashion, may be gathered many of the lost manners and customs of the sex.

There is only a brief space for that most fascinating theme, the religion of Eskimo women, their beliefs and practices respecting the spirit world. In Greenland the

traditions unfold the creeds respecting the

Religion. origin and

history of the world, the souls and bodies of persons, the supernatural powers or "owners" of the world and of all things about it. It is Tylor's animism. There are the earth and the other two worlds, the under and the upper. The former is the abode of plenty and warmth; the upper world, of cold and famine. Its inhabitants are called ball players, and it is their game with walrus heads that makes the Aurora Borealis. Among the supernatural powers here of interest is *Armarkuagsak* (the old woman), having her home in the depths of the ocean. She is the divine providence of the Eskimo, the source of nourishment and supply of other wants. And naturally so, since the



By courtesy of Dr. G. B. Gordon.

AN ESKIMO WOMAN FROM NINIVAK ISLAND, ALASKA.

ocean is the place for the regeneration of life. She sits in her dwelling in front of her lamp, beneath which is a vessel receiving the oil continually dripping therefrom. From this vessel or from her abode she sends out all the animals to serve the Eskimo. There are good and evil beings everywhere who may be exorcised or implored, and whose favour is won by charms. Women as well as men may become priests or *angakut*.

The motives that brought about the dispersive social conditions of the Eskimo deprived them also of imposing rituals.

Boas, who studied them on the spot, gives the following account of their beliefs. Sun and moon are sister and brother, the latter always in pursuit of the former; or, in other traditions, they live in one house in heaven. She is the ruler of the sea mammals. When she was a girl she was given in marriage to a bird. When he maltreated her she tried to escape with her father, who had come to visit her. The birds raised a storm and tried to swamp the woman's boat in which they were fleeing. The father cast her overboard, and when she clung to the gunwale he cut off the joints of her fingers one by one. The first joints became the whales, the second the seals, the third the ground seals. She became mistress of the underworld, and controls the animals that originated from her fingers. The souls of those who die a natural death go to her abode.

In the beginning children were found in

the snow: the present condition was brought about by two girls. The narwhal is a transformed Eskimo woman whose braid became the tusk. The walrus and the caribou were parts of a woman's clothes that she had cast away. A woman running along the beach bewailing the loss of her grandson was transformed into a bird.

The Central Eskimo have an important annual festival in honour of the female divinity who protects sea mammals. Every autumn, when the ice forms, she comes to the villages, at which time a ritual is performed to rid her of all the transgressions that are attached to her body and give her pain, and also to send her home appeased. In some places the performance of the *shaman* is accompanied by masked figures, as with the Indians, representing assistants of the deity and other spirits. It is at this time that the queer practice of "swapping wives" takes place.

III.—THE NORTH-WEST COAST

Locality and Climate—Physical Characteristics—Food Supply—Clothing—Personal Adornment—Houses of the North-West—Tlinkit Household Arrangements—Woman's Work—Methods of Counting—Social Life—The Origin of a Clan Crest—North-West Aristocracy—"Coppers" and Women—The "Potlatch"—Maidenhood Rites—Marriage in the North-West—The Ceremony of the Crest—Wives *v.* Blankets—Birth and Infancy—The Cradle as an Instrument of Deformation—Cradles as Treasures—Child Names—Medicine and Magic—Funeral Customs—"The Spirit World"—Influence of Civilisation

ON the North-West Coast of America, from Mt. St. Elias southward to Vancouver Island, dwells quite another type of women. The warm currents of the Pacific, breathing over the islands and uplifted shores, have clothed them with

Locality and Climate. verdure and forests of gigantic evergreens. Nature furnished the archipelagos, the climate, the soft tree trunks for canoes and for communal homes, superabundance of aquatic and land food, mountain goats for wool, and excellent fibres for basketry, matting, and other textiles. Here came the Tlinkit, Haida, Tsimshian, Salish, and Wakashan Indians under many tribal names, and behind them were spread out the Athapascan

and Salishan tribes over interior Alaska and Western Canada. Canoe intercourse was easy, but, with the exception of inlets and coves here and there, approach to the interior was cut off by the mountains, beyond which woman's life was under new conditions.

The women of this coast area, like the men, vary greatly in physical characteristics. In stature the difference is as much as four inches, the shape of the head is not the same from place to place, and the women do not look like those of other areas. Boas distinguishes four types on the coast of British Columbia—the

Physical Characteristics.

Northern, embracing the Tsimshian; the Kwakiutl; the Harrison Lake (shortest stature and broadest head); and the Salish of the Interior. The life is strenuous, and a bunch of the old women huddled together at some occupation is not prepossessing. All who have visited them are struck with the contrasts shown between them and the Indians of the other areas.

Food was abundant in aboriginal days, and women had their hands full of work.

Food Supply. The animals on the hills—deer, elk, bears, wolves, goats, beavers, otters, martens, mink, fur seals—in addition to their skins and hair for clothing and other comforts, also helped the larder. The staple food was the gift of the sea. Seals, sea-lions, and whales were taken, but the natives depended almost entirely upon salmon, halibut, and candle-fish. Women also gathered clams, mussels, sea-grass, berries, and roots.

The preparation, serving, and preserving of this variety of nourishment called out their industrial life. There was not a piece of pottery in all the region. Basketry of spruce root, grass, and cedar bast, of superb workmanship, served for utensils. The soft cedar and other woods were in greatest abundance for canoes, cooking vessels, and dishes. By means of stones heated in an open fire the candle-fish were "tried out" in a canoe or vessels of hot water, and the oil kept in stems of dried kelp. Salmon and halibut were dried in the sun or over a fire, and in winter the flesh was dipped in this oil and eaten. The women strung clams and mussels on sticks or strips of cedar bark, and dried them for further use. Fish roe, especially of the herring, was collected in great quantities and dried, to be eaten with oil. Special attention is called to the providence of the North-West Coast women for the future. It is a long step forward in culture. Sea-grass was dried into square cakes; several kinds of berries were treated in the same manner, to be soaked afterwards in water and eaten with fish oil, which seems to have been the general

lubricant. The wonderful carved boxes in which all kinds of provisions were stored are the treasures of museums.

Dress is woman's care. It is both protection from injury and the framework for adornment. The natives, **Clothing.** go bare-legged, the principal part of the clothing being the blanket made of dressed skins, or woven from the mountain goat's wool, dog's hair, feathers, or a mixture of both. In former times the thread was spun on the bare leg by means of the palm and wound on a spindle. Cedar bast was made into soft blankets by twined weaving and trimmed with fur. Since trade came among them woollen blankets are extensively used, and are worked into aboriginal patterns quite ingeniously. At festive occasions will be seen a blue blanket with red binding, set with pearl buttons from the traders. The totemic devices formerly painted on robes of dressed hide are cut out of red flannel and sewed on to the blue blanket. Before the coming of the traders' blanket women wore pretty aprons and petticoats of shredded cedar bast. The most picturesque object in woman's attire was her large water-tight hat of basketry, worn when canoeing or working on the beach. It was of spruce root, twined weaving, and the workmanship was the woman's finest. On the surface was painted the crest of the owner. The women early adopted European dress with the ordinary blanket. Only in the coldest weather are moccasins worn.

The women dress their hair in two plaits. Formerly it was worn long, parted in front, and club-shaped behind. **Personal Adornment.** Personal adornment of the women included ear and nose ornaments of bone or abalone shell. Those of the most northern tribes wore labrets (lip-plugs). The lips of maidens on reaching puberty were pierced, and into the slit a wooden or bone pin was set with the point protruding. The marriage of the girl was followed by the wearing of larger and

larger plugs, typifying power, respect, and privileges. The custom has now died out, and only old women are seen with this peculiar "ornament."

The dwellings of the women are temporary or permanent.

Houses of the North-West. In their summer camps, in hunt-

ing and fishing excursions, in canoe trips, the former will suffice. Near the mouth of a fresh-water stream, where salmon run thickest, a shelter is set up having a light frame covered with broad strips of bark laid inside and outside alternately upward, and held down with stones and cross-pieces. They may have smoke holes, but usually the fire is built outside, where the smoke assists in curing the strips of salmon and halibut hung on frames above it.

The travelling tent consists of strips of bark carried in the canoes. To erect the tent, two saplings are pointed and stuck in the ground, forked ends up, with a cross pole laid thereon. The bark strips are rested on the cross pole, forming a sloping wall against the wind. Along the water courses, where there is a safe canoe beach, springs of fresh water, shelter from the winds, and good hunting near, these frames are left standing. In primitive times the tent was made with walls of cedar bark, mats, or skins of animals. Piles of wood were left there for belated travellers, on the understanding that all used should be made good. This was far

better than scouting about in the rain and darkness.

The permanent houses of this insular and inlet area, which are among the largest of wooden buildings erected by savages, are the work of the men and consume several years in the construction. The women help at every turn, and, what is important in this narrative, the permanent as well as the temporary shelters are erected in connection with them and their demands.

Niblack explains the structure of these marvels of engineering and handicraft, which reached their highest development among the Haida. Further north the houses become mere shelters, and southward they are inferior in artistic construction. There are three kinds: those on the ground, those on a foundation of logs or a slightly raised platform, and those on high posts.

The Kwakiutl are a cosmopolitan tribe, and have several styles of dwelling. Their permanent houses are inhabited by four families, one in each corner, with a fireplace of its own. The corners are divided off by a rough framework of poles, the top of which is used for drying food. On each side of the fire is an immense settee, large enough for the whole family. The sloping back is adorned with totemic paintings. The bedrooms of these queer abodes have the form of small houses built on the platform that runs around the house; though the women here, like their sex on the other side of the Pacific, are born, nurtured, seated, sleep, and die on the floor.



A TLINKIT WOMAN, S.E. ALASKA.

The dress is decorated with common white buttons—traders' goods.



A TLINKIT BASKET-MAKER (S.E. ALASKA)
Making one of their beautiful baskets.

The Tlinkit, living between Mt. St. Elias and Dixon Entrance, usually build the permanent house on a slightly elevated foundation of logs, with three or four raised steps in front. Entering the door, one stands on a platform about 6 feet wide, running around the four sides of the house. Next, one steps down about 3 feet upon a ledge of the same width, also running around the four sides. The next level, 3 feet below this, is the solid ground. In the centre of this the fire burns, the smoke ascending through a square smoke-hole in the roof. The floor is covered with mats and skins, on which the family pass their lives. At one end the diligent housewife, who has sought out wool of the mountain goat and fine bark fibre, has set up the most primitive loom in the world. It consists of two forked stakes driven in the ground, across which a pole serves for yarn beam—that is all. The warp hangs down from this beam, the ends are carefully gathered into balls and securely covered with bladders. The skilful weaver is crouching before the loom, gazing at her pattern board on which

**Tlinkit
Household
Arrangements.**

are painted the heraldic emblems that she will weave in black and white and yellow in a rude sort of tapestry work. Near her is her husband carving a mask, but we leave him to look at another wife just beyond making a fine, umbrella-like hat in twined basketry. Her material is the long, delicate young root of the spruce. To complete the group, there will be the babe on the floor, snugly tucked into its basket, while another wife is bringing in a carved box filled with hot stew, which she dishes up with a beautiful spoon carved from the horn of the Rocky Mountain sheep. No spot in this barn-like dwelling is vacant. Trunks are carved and painted. Hand-woven rugs and mats cover ugly boards and vacant places.

In front of the house stands the decorative column, the totem post, an immense log or half-log carved from top to bottom with heraldic animals, which proclaim the family of the inhabitants. Sometimes it is close to the building. In that case, a hole is cut in it near the ground for a front door. The erection of the column requires, among the Haida, the co-operation



A TLINKIT INDIAN WOMAN
At work on a basket.

of many hands, the gathering being the occasion of a feast and a *potlatch*, or grand distribution of presents among the participants.

In their active industrial life there seem to be no idle moments for the North-West

or filaments, as the case may be, for yarn, thread, petticoats, matting, basketry, and many more textile functions. For such work the tool-chest is not large, and was in former days much smaller; but the bones of the whale were adequate for hammers, peelers, shredders, and spinners, guided by



A TLINKIT WOMAN AT HOME.
Showing seal skins stretched for drying.

Coast woman. There are grasses with tough leaves to gather, to dry, to colour, and to fit for their decorative functions. The young roots of the spruce, tough enough and pliable, but far from rattan as a textile material, must be boiled to bring out their good qualities, beaten with sticks to soften them, and shredded for use. Quite as important is the cedar bast or inner bark. When it comes from the tree it is in great sheets, looking more like an immense hide from the tannery. More work! These slabs are soaked thoroughly for several days until they can be separated into strips, ribbons

nimble fingers. It must not be overlooked also that the young innermost bark of the cedar and other trees was in spring scraped from the trunk for food, when vegetable diet was scarce. No mention is here made of the equally exacting labour of the men in wood, horn, shell, stone, and metal. Niblack gives an excellent account of the work in ropes and cordage. Their simplest lines are of kelp, single, or twisted in two or more strands. The neatest ropes and cords are from spruce root or bark fibre, twisted between the hand and the thigh.

Mat-work is made principally of bark, in

checker or twilled weaving, plain or dyed, and varying from place to place in texture and ornamentation. Mats are the bedding, floor rugs, coverings for cargoes, and screens for camps when travelling. In the old days, when slavery was in full sway, on ceremonial occasions mats were used as vehicles by slaves to carry the chief to or from the house. Basket-making comes next to mat-working, both being pure handwork.

Most interesting of all the textiles for our women is the wool of the wild goats, which they do not have to shear, for at the proper season the animals obligingly get tired of their overcoat and wander through the brambles and underbush in order to rub it off. It is only necessary to walk about their haunts to gather wool in the greatest abundance. The washing and the spinning with fibre of cedar bark and wild hemp give the women a mixed textile for the world-famous blankets, which are the standard of wealth, as well as the bank-notes with which to buy wives and commodities, and to conduct the all-important *pollatch*.

To serve their purposes in the arts our coast women have their arithmetic and metrics. They count, just as we do, with the cardinal numbers, but these have different uses. Dawson observed that the Kwakiutl have expressions for the first two ordinal numbers, as "first" and "next to first." They are seldom used, and it is difficult to explain the idea to the Indian mind. On the other hand, the names of the numerals are modified to apply in counting flat objects, such as blankets, spherical or circular objects, as balls and money, in counting persons, in making up lots or like numbers of objects, and in distributing, as "one apiece, two apiece."

For standards of measure, after the same authority, the Kwakiutl women are quite up to our English folk. They employ the fathom, measured between the outstretched hands across the chest, as their principal measure; the half fathom, measured from

the middle of the chest to the elbow, or from the elbow to the end of the outstretched fingers; the long finger span, reckoned from the tip of the thumb to that of the outstretched second finger; and the short finger span, between the tips of the thumb and first finger.

The social life of the North-West Coast, as elsewhere, will include the family, the village, economics or union in their industries, and ceremonies—all of which have peculiar relations to women and their destiny. The northern tribes of the coast have maternal social organisation, the southern have the paternal, and the middle tribes are mixed or transitional in this respect. The northern have the animal totems, and always marry out of the clan. Boas tells us, however, that these tribes do not consider themselves derived from the totem, as the legends show.

The Tsimshian say that a long time ago an Indian hunter met a black bear, who took him home, taught him to catch salmon, and to build canoes. Two years after he returned, but the people did not know him—he looked like a bear and could not speak. One man caught him, took him home, rubbed him with herbs, and restored him. He built a house and painted a bear on it, and whenever he was in want he called on his animal friend. His sister made a dancing blanket, with the design of a bear on it. Therefore her descendants to this day use that animal for their crest.

This story unites the beliefs on this coast to the Manitou dogmas of the Eastern Indians, and accounts for the wonderful intricacy of the clans and crests. The latter are carved on columns intended to perpetuate the memory of deceased relatives, and are used also for decorating personal ornaments; they are painted on house fronts, carved on totem posts in front of the houses, and shown as masks in clan festivals.

The Origin of a Clan Crest.

Methods of Counting.

To obtain a comprehensive idea of woman's family life here, it is necessary to bear in mind the great, the dominating power of the system of aristocracy that prevailed.

up in the life of these people is a class of objects called "coppers." Along the North Pacific Coast thin sheets of copper are shaped in outline like a broad axe-blade



HAIDA INDIAN WOMAN OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLAND,
BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Notice the nose ring and lip-plug.

Whether descent was counted through the mother, as at the north; through the father, as at the south; or through transitional forms, as among the Kwakiutl, marriage carried with it much of the destiny of the tribe.

Instead of seal rings, medals, and other symbols of wealth and station, bound

with a T-shaped ridge on the poll. On the face is painted and engraved the crest animal of the owner. It is like a bank-note—the amount of metal is small, but the "copper" itself stands for the large number of blankets it brings in the festival at which it is sold. The oftener it is sold the greater the number of blankets. The women of the tribes are, as it were, wrapped up in the "coppers,"

**"Coppers"
and Women.**

for both they and these precious objects are standards of value and the mechanism of wealth. Furthermore, their nimble fingers create the thousands of blankets which buy the coppers.

The *dentalium* shell was formerly used as a currency, but, as with other coast tribes, the blanket is now the unit of value. A somewhat inferior quality, known in the Hudson's Bay Company parlance as a "two and a half point blanket," is the standard.

Niblack describes at length the universal custom of gift-making ceremonies among the North-West tribes, usually mentioned as the *potlatch*. The purpose in these imposing functions is to exchange favours and to buy goodwill. As women enter into these not only to enjoy them, but as a motive in many of them, a few words may be given to the custom.

To procure a wife, to retain the medicine man, to become a chief, to get your children into society, to adopt ancestral title, to build a house, to be influential, to atone for a wrong, to resent an insult—property had to be destroyed to show rage, grief, or indifference; or it was given away to secure respect. Getting rich was a necessity, and wealth a subtle basis of the social fabric. In a *potlatch* all sorts of property was given away—blankets and other garments, household and kitchen furniture, weapons, money, trinkets, furs, etc. Discrimination was carefully made in gifts for services, or damages, or marriage *dot*, or the ceremonial self-impoverishment proper. Among the more northern tribes the *potlatch* is a perfect system, "involving," says Niblack, "more thoughtful consideration and balancing of obligations than the giving of a select entertainment by a well recognised leader of society."

Dall ("Alaska") told us long ago that the girls of the Tlinkit tribes, on arriving at the age of puberty, were considered unclean, and had to observe a ceremonial cleansing. A girl was confined to a hut apart during a year. Only the mother and a

female slave could take her food, and she wore one of the broad-brimmed hats of twined spruce root, which are now so highly prized, to protect the sky from pollution. During this period the girl's lower lip was pierced and a silver pin, shaped like a nail, was inserted with the point outward; the broad head prevented the labret from falling out. This was her mark of freedom and graduation into womanhood. The slave girl was not allowed to wear one. On the release of a rich Tlinkit girl a great feast was given. She was gorgeously dressed, and seated on precious otter skins. The slave that waited on her during her seclusion was set free, and all her old clothing was destroyed.

By and by, when the time of marriage came round, the little nail-shaped lip-plug was exchanged for the large labret, which fitted into the lip like a stud, and was replaced from time to time by a larger one, until the old woman graduated by becoming the most hideous of mortals.

If the reader were a North-West Coast woman, this would be her way of getting married. The usual coquetry, manœuvring, and courtship taken for granted, there would be something more than merely "asking father," something less than the modern signing of documents—a plenty of ceremony, but very different from the drama before the minister. Boas tells us that marriage is a purchase, in which the result is not only the woman, but also the right of membership in her clan for the future children. Many political or clan, privileges descend only through marriage upon the son-in-law, who does not use them for himself, but for his offspring. He becomes entitled to them by paying for his wife, who is the first instalment of the goods. The crest and its privileges and property will arrive later on with children. This business conception of matrimony obtains throughout life. There comes a time when the old bargain is called square. If the wife continue with the husband, she does so of her own free will; the husband

The "Potlatch."

Marriage in the North-West.

Maidenhood Rites.

will then make a new payment to the father-in-law. If a man should have no daughter, in order to save his name and coat-of-arms he performs a sham marriage between his son and one seeking the crest, and, if he has no children, the sham marriage will be with some portion of his body. After the same fashion the crest and privileges of the family were provided with a successor in any emergency.

A chief invited the young men of all the tribes to come to his house, and said to them: "Thank you, my brothers; I want to marry to-day. Invite all the people. Now dress yourselves; there are the paint and eagle down."

Boas gives an excellent account of the traditions concerning the ancient marriages, described as "making war on the daughters of all the chiefs all over the world." The getting together of four hundred blankets, the going to war with them, the landing on the beach, approach to the girl's father's house, the passing through fire, the counting of blankets, the *pollatch* and singing, winding up with the plain statement that "she went to live with her husband."

The ceremonies connected with the return of the purchase money and the delivery of the family crest to the son-in-law were of the greatest moment. They include the assembly of people in the house of the wife's father, the entrance of the latter with his clan, four of them carrying the mast of a canoe. After they have taken their places, the wife's father calls the son-in-law, who takes his position in the right-hand rear corner. The old man is told that the mast represents boxes containing everything he owes. The son-in-law then asks whether the sheet coppers, house, carved posts, and the old gentleman's names are in the mast also. After an affirmative answer is given, the young wife is then sent to fetch the precious copper, attended by young men of her clan bringing blankets. The young husband proceeds to sell the copper for blankets, which he gives away on the spot. In this

way he purchases the right to live in the house... These services are drawn out and varied, but they show how rank and wealth have reduced government of life to an exact science. The fate of woman, not merely in procuring her mate, but in deciding the destiny of the tribe, is sealed.

Among the Kwakiutl, when a young man desires to obtain a girl for a wife, he must bargain with her parents, and pay to her father a number of blankets. Owing to the great desire to accumulate blankets for the *pollatch*, and the scarcity of girls, the parents are very exacting in this respect. The young man may have further demands made upon him by his wife, who, at a hint from her parents, may leave him. The parents then exact a further payment of blankets for her return, and so on.

The ever-recurring wonder at the treatment of the mother during childbirth among savages is here awakened. The Tlinkit mother is ceremonially unclean, her babe is born in the open air, and the mother spends her allotted number of days in a shed apart. But she is from the first able to care for herself and for her little one. Trusting to nature, she is not deceived. She is far ahead of the civilised mother in this respect, but behind the Eastern Continent woman in that she must nurse the child far longer. The North-West Coast mother allows her little one to chew the raw blubber of marine animals, excepting that of the whale, for weaning food. The babe, on beginning to walk, is bathed daily in the sea. As elsewhere, infant mortality is great, but in the primitive stage of culture it is the unfit that die off, and there is no doubt that the rough treatment accounts for the robustness of the Tlinkit.

The cradle, so-called, flourishes in the North-West area, and plays tricks on the physical anthropologists. After one leaves the Eskimo of the entire Arctic coast,

**Wives v.
Blankets.**

**Birth and
Infancy.**

**The Ceremony of
the Crest.**

where the mother packs her little one in her ample hood, the cradle board of the Athapaskan and the cradle trough of the coast are encountered. In each of them the soft, plastic skull of the infant is deformed for life.

Either the cradle board or framework flattens the occiput naturally and undesignedly on the part of the mother, or the babe is laid in a cedar trough adapted to the purpose, and a long, soft pad of cedar bark is bound on the forehead to stop the growth there. The result is that the development of the young brain follows the lines of least resistance, and pushes the skull away up behind. Its size, capacity, and vigour are not reduced. As the foreheads of slaves are not so treated, it is a mark of aristocracy to be thus mutilated. When to this is added the rosette of perforations about the ears, the tattooings, the nose rings, and the labrets, the women now under consideration must take the prize as victims of fashion. Some of the deformities of civilisation are much more hurtful in effects on women, but could not be uglier. In the new race-life of the Indian woman the hideousness is laid aside. May it be hoped that the civilised will imitate?

When a Kwakiutl child had grown large enough to leave the little cradle, tied into which it spent most of its earlier days, the cradle, with its wrappings, bed of shredded bark, and appendages, was carried to a recognised place of deposit. The custom is still obligatory as regards the bedding, which is neatly packed in a box or basket and laid away never to be touched again. Every village probably has such a storing place—in the cliffs, behind the village, beneath logs, or other lonely spot.

The first name of a child is given by the mother soon after its birth, and is for girls that of a maternal ancestor. Ancestral names, remarks Niblack,* are preserved with the greatest care, being

favoured by the custom of erecting mortuary columns and preserving traditions.

This is without ceremony. When a wealthy chief would adopt a son as heir to his possessions, a sister may figuratively take the child as her own and give it some ancestral name. The chief makes her a gift, and, when the boy grows up, it will be his duty to reward her. If the parents are poor, the first name must suffice, for with every new name must go a feast.

Medicine may be administered by friends; but the sorcerer, who may be a woman, devotes himself or herself solely to exorcising the evil principle causing the disease. It is done by singing incantations, the use of the rattle, and vigorous sucking of the parts affected, which may be kept up for hours, frequently repeated, and must be handsomely paid for. The same writer calls attention to the use of charms in bringing good as well as averting harm. A Haida woman wore the figure of a halibut with the face of her chief painted on the tail to protect her and her husband from drowning at sea. Sickness was formerly attributed to the witchcraft of enemies. Certain persons are believed to possess magic power, and to bewitch an enemy go through a series of complicated ceremonies—procuring a lock of hair, some saliva, a small scrap of dress, or a few drops of perspiration of the intended victim. These might be placed with a small piece of the skin and flesh of a dead man, dried and roasted before the fire, and pounded together. The mixture is then tied up in a piece of skin and covered with spruce gum, and placed in a human skull. The whole is placed in a box, tied up, gummed over, and buried shallow. A fire is built near enough to warm the whole. Then the sorcerer beats his head against a tree and names and denounces his enemy. This is done at night or early in the morning, and in secret, and often repeated till the enemy dies. The actor must keep as quiet as possible till the spell has worked. If a person suspects witchcraft, an

The Cradle as an Instrument of Deformation.

Child Names.

Medicine and Magic.

Cradles as Treasures.

* "Indians of the North-West Coast."



KWAKIUTL WOMEN, NORTHERN END OF VANCOUVER AND MAINLAND OPPOSITE.
The curious shape of the head is produced by pressure in infancy, and is looked upon as a mark of good breeding.

attempt is made to find the box and throw it into the sea, handling it with great care. Formerly the evil person was killed.

Death does not disrupt society—it only changes. When a

Funeral Customs.

woman dies the body is immediately confined before it stiffens. Should death occur at night, the box is set outside till daylight admits of its disposal. The face of the dead is washed, the hair combed, both are painted with vermillion, and the body wrapped in blankets. It is then confined in any box of suitable size, being doubled up and pressed in with some violence if necessary. The Kwakiutl have two kinds of burial—scaffold or tree burial, and house burial on the ground. In the former little scaffolds, to which the

coffin-box has been lashed, are placed high upon the branches of fir trees. Tombs were formerly built of slabs of wood. Small tent-like erections of calico now are substituted, and in both cases the bodies of relatives and friends dying at different times are often placed together. Tree burial may be close to the village, but tombs are generally on some rocky places in sight, which become cemeteries. Graves in trees are festooned with blankets or streamers, and poles similarly decorated mark the house burials.

Roughly carved images in wood are sometimes added. After the depositing of the bodies, a fire is built near the grave, in which food is burnt, and all the smaller articles belonging to the deceased. In the

division of property, wife, sister, and daughter, come into possession of portions assigned by custom. The women have their share in the mourning. For a season the wife lives in a very small hut apart, eating and drinking alone, using separate dishes. Women cut a small portion of the hair; a widow scratches or cuts her face with a shell, and does not marry again for a year. Father Morice says of the Carriers, who, with their co-linguists, used to burn their dead, that the widow of a deceased warrior used to pick out from the ashes of the pyre the charred bones and



MRS. TOM, THE RICHEST WOMAN IN ALASKA.

The blanket round her shoulders is worth £100.

carry them on her back in a leather bag until the deceased's clansmen could amass enough food and dressed skins for a *potlatch*.

The study of women in the last act introduces the spirit world. The results of creeds in the Indian minds are certain organisations or societies, private worship and ceremonials in common, the telling of stories, incense, songs, dances, and sacrifices. These activities are accompanied by special cos-

"The Spirit World."



CHILKAT BLANKET WEAVER.

Showing how the primitive loom is set up and worked.

tumes and masks, and are performed in places fitted up for the purpose. In them one sees the promise of the great historic religions. The torturing and gashing of their bodies are chiefly men's prerogative, but women are also victims. Sproat and others, quoted by Boas, tell of women slaves being put to death. A Sheshaht woman was stabbed to death by an old man in whose house she lived, and who probably owned her as a slave, and offered her for a victim. The body was then laid out without a covering by the water-side, where it was exposed for two days. Even after the removal certain furious rites took place on the spot where the body had been exposed.

One must not judge too severely these dwellers among the islands for their personal habits, nor criticise their morals from too high a standard. In both they are far from perfection. The

**Influence of
Civilisation.**

other races that during the nineteenth century went among them brought them good and evil. And these are to decide their future. Lieut. Emmons has made observations among them as to the result on women, and this is his testimony:—

“In south-eastern Alaska the half-breed Indians are the issue of native women and white men, and poor white men at that—which would greatly simplify the answer to the question why the breed is not a success. I know of no human being that more deserves pity than the result of this union of races. But there are a few cases where better white men have married native women—not simply lived with them—and the children have



CHILKAT (KOLUSEKAN FAMILY) BLANKET WEAVER,
LYNN CANAL, ALASKA.

In this tribe are the finest weavers in North America.

had the advantages of care and education. Here I have seen good results.

"Now, in British Columbia, the old Hudson Bay Company men, who were nine-tenths Scotchmen, good, healthy, hard-headed people, more often married full or half-blood women (native), Crees, not Coast women, and heredity in the children was very marked. The males were in most instances indolent, dissipated, or without purpose and initiative, while the women

took the good qualities of the better parent. Victoria, among the older families, shows this in a marked degree. The descendants of Sir James Douglas, the Tohnies, and others, all exhibit their Cree blood. The women are cultivated, capable, and Scotch in their virtues and thrift, while few of the males reach the average. The half-breed women more easily accept civilisation, and, when the men are above the average, their intelligence is used for lower ends."

III.—CALIFORNIA-OREGON AREA

A Mountainous Area—The Hupa Tribe—Hupa Clothing—Personal Adornment—The Acorn as "the Staff of Life"—How Acorn Meal is Made—Basket Work—Child Birth—Hupa Legends—Hupa Childhood—A Hupa Girl's Initiation to Womanhood—Hupa Courtship and Marriage—How Divorce is Arranged—A Hupa Woman's Day—Women's Recreations—Hupa Magic—Hupa Widows—Maidu Women's Work—Indian Costumes—Fashions in Hair-dressing and Ornaments—Curious Basket- and Feather-work—The Maidu Dwellings—The Ubiquitous Basket—The Important Acorn—Curious Cradles—Maidu Games—Californian Music—A "Soup Dinner"—Maidu Birth Customs—How Maidu Girls are Named—Maidenhood Ceremonies—Marriage—Curious Courtship—Other Courtship and Marriage Customs—Maidu Mourning Customs

ALMOST shut off from the Pacific Ocean by precipitous shores, this is a mountainous area, of which the valleys are not conducive to travel and the free movement of its people. The result is a mass of small linguistic families between Puget Sound and Santa Barbara. The Salmon Indians congregate near the coast; the Hupa and Maidu are seed gatherers and basket-makers.

The Hupa Indians had their original home on the Lower Trinity River, in Humboldt county, California. They are interesting to students, because they speak the language of the Athapascans, who were spread over the interior, Alaska and western Dominion of Canada. As the strict tribal system did not exist in this polyglot area, the women were not bound by such rigid rules of marriage. Their homes were grouped in villages on the banks of rivers and near springs. The dwelling is peculiarly the home of the women—the men sleep in the

sweat-house apart. We are in a land of good cedar, so the house will be made of that obliging wood, about 20 feet square, with an excavation 12 feet square and 5 feet deep in the middle. The entrance to this abode is made as round as possible, to resemble the woodpecker's hole, 18 or 20 inches in diameter, cut in the second plank from the corner on the right. It is closed by a slide on the inside. There is a second wall on the inside across the front end and next to the excavation, leaving a space 3 feet wide. A second doorway through this wall opens on the stairway, which is merely a plank in which steps are cut. This corner of the pit has a wall built in diagonally. The fire is in the centre, in a small hole bordered with stones, and above it are poles for smoking fish and venison. The furniture is limited to stools carved out of the section of a tree. Of the banks of earth on three sides the women make a storehouse, where the winter's supply is kept in baskets of their own handiwork. Here also are the materials of their industries—skin-working, em-

broidery, and basket-making. In the front, between the outer and the inner wall, the wood for the fire is stored. The space behind the fire is the post of honour, reserved for the men and for guests; to the women belong the places on both sides; the section next the stair way is for slaves and menials. At night the women sleep about the fire on their deer-skin robes or tule mats.

Hupa women wear more clothing than the men. The costume consists of skirt, apron, beads, blanket, cap, head-dress, and moccasins.

The body of the skirt consists of a buck-skin without hair, about 26 in. long and 30 in. wide. It is adorned at the bottom with a fringe about 16 inches deep, formed by attaching many narrow strips of buck-skin to the margin. The top of the skirt is often a work of art. It is folded over and slit into a fringe about six inches long, which is divided by cross-twined weaving. The strands of the upper band are neatly wrapped with brown fern and golden yellow grass. For dances the skirts are beautiful, and are among the most attractive objects in ethnographic collections. The lower fringes might be strung with glossy pine nuts, and the ends of the upper fringe finished off with shell beads, pieces of abalone shell, and flakes of obsidian.

The skirt is tied about the waist so as to be open in front, where hangs the apron underneath. This consists of many long strands of buck-skin attached to a belt, commonly hung with shells of *Pinus attenuata* and wrapped or braided with leaves of *Xerophyllum tenax*. More gaudy examples have the strands strung with pretty shells

and pendants cut from abalone shell. Beads of dentalium, olivella, pine seed, and viburnum fruit are worn about the neck. Blankets of skin from the deer, wild cat, and civet cat are worn with the hair next the body, except in rainy weather. A close-fitting cap of exquisite twined and overlaid basket-work is worn not only as dress, but as a pad for the band from which is suspended the baby and the burden basket.

The women, when necessary, wear a high moccasin of soft deer-skin like the men's.

Personal Adornment. The hair is worn long, except by widows,

brought in front of the ears in braids, and adorned with shell pendants, strips of mink-skin, woodpecker crests, and stems of *zerba bruna* to impart perfume. Ear ornaments are discs or oblong pieces of abalone shell. The Hupa women tattoo their chins with vertical marks for ornament, the process beginning with quite

young girls. It is done by pricking in soot with a sharp flint or a splinter of bone.

Among the Hupa food is plentiful—meat from the forests and fish from the waters.

Men gather it, women cook and serve it. The meat not needed is cut into strips by the women, and cured over a fire. They roast it before the fire or boil it in a basket by dropping in hot stones.

But it is in the plant world that the Hupa woman is at home. And acorns are her staff of life. These are gathered in a conical basket, and carried home on the back by means of a strap which passes round its middle, over the woman's shoulders,



By courtesy of the Hon. John Daggett.

KLAMATH RIVER INDIAN WOMAN
PREPARING TO POUND ACORNS.

The Acorn as "The Staff of Life."

and across the top of the head. The acorns are dried, shelled, and stored in immense baskets which hold nearly a barrel. The basketry associated with this acorn harvest is as much a marvel as the varied treatment of the nuts. When the stored acorns are needed the women grind them into flour. The milling outfit consists of a buck-skin or cloth for catching the meal, a flat slab for the nether mill-stone, a pestle of stone for pounding, and a basket hopper.

The next process is to leach the bitter taste from the meal, which the woman does with clean sand in a saucer-shaped hole. Water, heated in a basket vessel by

vigorously. The mush is eaten by the men from individual baskets with spoons of horn or of wood. The women use for spoon the valve of a mytilus shell, and often eat direct from the basket vessel in which the mush is cooked.

The Hupa woman adds to her vegetable supplies nuts, seeds, bulbs, fresh shoots, and seaweed. Some of the same baskets are used as in the acorn industry.

Governor Daggett, who has lived for some time among the acorn eaters, writes as follows: ' Old Mary (*see* p. 429) is making acorn soup. The conical depression at her



By courtesy of the Hon. John Daggett.

INDIAN WOMAN POUNDING ACORNS.

means of hot stones, is poured over the meal with a basket cup until it loses its acrid quality. The mass is lifted out, and the adhering sand washed off.

To cook the acorn meal it is placed in a tight basket, a little water is added, hot stones placed in, and the whole stirred

side is made of sand, and the acorn meal, having been formed into a paste, is plas-

How Acorn Meal is Made.

tered on the side of the hole for about half an inch in thickness. Mary then fills the cavity with water, which percolates through the mixture into the sand and the element

of bitterness departs with it. In order to recover the paste, she strikes the flat of her hand against it, and a portion adheres.

plate is rapidly vibrated by thumb and fingers, which causes the coarser particles to roll down into the mortar, while the finer



By courtesy of the Hon. John Daggett.

A KLAMATH RIVER INDIAN WOMAN MAKING ACORN SOUP.

Holding it out, she washes off the adhering sand with water thrown by the other hand.

"On one occasion Mrs. Daggett thought she would like to know how acorn soup tasted, and found 'Old Mary' at the camp pounding acorns (*see* p. 428). The woman is seated on the ground, having between her legs a flat rock upon which she has placed a mortar basket, and is holding it down with her limbs.

"While she uses the pestle with one hand she deftly pokes the coarse particles of acorn underneath the pestle with the other. When the pestle hand gets tired, she spits on the other, which does the pounding, while its neighbour looks after the particles, and so the process goes on. And that is the reason why my wife and I have taken the Indian's word for the sweetness of acorn bread. The sifting of the material is not done with a sieve, but with a disc 8 or 10 inches in diameter, upon which the coarse meal is placed by the handful. The

adhere and are brushed off with a little broom made of soap root. The operation of shelling the acorns is as good as an exhibit of legerdemain. When the nuts are gathered the caps are removed and left on the spot. After 'carrying' home the day's picking in her conical carrying basket, the woman sits down and proceeds to shell the result. Placing an acorn, point upward, into her mouth with one hand, she gives it one bite, and the shell cracks in two and is removed. With the other hand she takes away the kernel. This process goes on with such quick and uniform motion as to be quite interesting."

The women on the Pacific coast of North America, more than any others in the world, find pleasure in illustrating story and myth by their basketry. This the Hupa women do by using plants of various natural colours, by dyeing, and by working in designs. These are,

Basket-work.

by the exigencies of weaving; geometric in detail, and are named after some characteristic in the weaving as "sharp and slanting," "set on one another"; or they bear the name of some well-known object, as "rattlesnake's nose," "bear's hand," "worm's stairway." Among other tribes stories are hidden in these designs. It may be that men of the tribe use the same designs, reading into them quite different meanings.

The prospective mother during the first four months of her term makes medicine, and observes certain practices that the child may be "small but strong at birth." When her time draws near, the woman carries in her basket, as she goes for wood, a stone knife, and may return with the child. For ten days the mother remains apart. If the child is a boy, she eats by herself for forty days; if a girl, for fifty days. Just why the little girl should add ten days to the mother's solitude is not known.

Evil spirits are believed to haunt the infant during its first ten days. To counteract them, three kinds of medicine are prepared, to make the child grow fast, to make it grow strong, and to make it reach old age. The preparation, brought by a doctor, is boiled in a basket-pot, and the child, tied in an open-work plate, is held over the steam and nearly suffocated. These steamings insure a veritable survival of the fittest, for it is said that many children die during the ten days of medicine-making. Next, the infant's hair is cut off and put into the fire. The divinities thus are made cognisant of the child's existence.

The baby for the first year is under the spell of ceremony in which the dear old grandmother comes on the scene. At the end of the first ten days it is put into the pretty open-work basket cradle, looking for all the world like a slipper. The pocket at the bottom is for absorbent material, and the back is lined with sweet-smelling herbs. The child

is wrapped in a blanket, arms and all, but below the knee the lower limbs are free. At first the little one is confined to the cradle, and is not quite emancipated until it is about three years old. The child usually weans itself. It receives a daily bath, and goes through a daily kneading and pulling into shape.

The little girls grow up under the direction of mothers, aunts, and maternal grandmothers, conning lore while they twine baskets or cradles for their realistic dolls.

The dawn of womanhood is awaited with great solicitude. The girl is then under the care of her grandmother or some other female relative. Bathing and carrying burdens are a part of the cult. During ten days of seclusion she must not look up, or at any one's face. She dons the long fringed skirt, fasts, and keeps her hands from touching her hair. She must be careful not to use improper language or tell an untruth. If she does she will remain untruthful throughout life. While she is undergoing her ordeal, dances are held in her honour, and other ceremonies in which she takes part. She is then marriageable.

Courtship often extends through a summer and a winter. The marriage takes place during the summer season. It is really a matter of purchase. A relative of the young man offers to the proper relative of the young woman a sum of Indian money suited to her standing and attainments. She may or may not be consulted. Woodpecker scalps and shell money, valued from \$30 to \$100, being paid, presents are assembled, and on the appointed day the bride is conducted to her husband by a band of maidens and young men from her village. There is a great feast, and on the third day the convoy returns, carrying back gifts from the groom's family.

If the man cannot pay all the woodpecker scalps and shell money, he may pay half, and go to the bride's home to serve

Child-birth.

A Hupa Girl's Initiation to Womanhood.

Hupa Legends.

Hupa Courtship and Marriage.

Hupa Childhood.



A KLIKITAT WOMAN,
With specimens of native baskets.

Photograph by Gifford, The Dalles, Oregon.



Photograph by Gifford, The Dalles, Oregon.

A CHINOOK WOMAN

Carrying pack with head-band.

her father in return for the balance. A writer familiar with this people has recorded that a child for whose mother nothing had been paid was called "a babe in the woods." He grew up a social outcast, and was usually a slave; he could not enter the sacred sweat-house, might marry only with his kind, and his children, it was believed, would be bad.

A man may send his wife back to her people for stinginess, bad temper, "big mouth" (scolding), and the like. He receives again the price paid if there are no children, and half the price if there is one child, so that it might not be left without endowment. The woman is obliged to accept her fate.

The Hupa woman rises at break of day and takes her bath in the river before the

men are astir. She serves two meals a day in the family house, a light breakfast, and the principal repast in the evening. The traveller already quoted thus describes this meal:—

"The men ate very slowly, looking about and talking after each spoonful of soup. The women sat in silence, with uncovered heads and hidden feet to show their respect for the men. They passed a basket of water after the supper that the men might wash their hands. After that, the latter retired to the sweat-house."

The Hupa women have a dice game, played with four shell discs, two smaller than the others, which are dropped from the hands held palm against palm. The score is kept with small sticks for counters. They also make several varieties of cat's cradle.

In his chapter on "Medicine of the Hupa," Goddard explains in great detail the Brush dance, the doctor of which might be a man, but at present there is only one old woman who knows it. It is esteemed the remedy for delicate constitution, chronic trouble, or the loss of children, and is performed when the parents wish to safeguard a child. The first part of the ceremony consists in going in search of the "medicine," in which the "doctor" washes and paints her body. She then goes forth with a virgin to gather pine bark for bathing the patient, and pitch wood, which is cooked and tied into bundles. At night they go to the dwelling where the healing ceremony is to be held. Early in the evening the people come together, the women and children sitting on the bank of earth inside the house. The doctor pounds the pine bark in a basket mill (singing the proper songs the while), and boils it in a basket vessel. The child lies with its mother by the fire, and the "doctor" takes up her position at its feet and the girl assistant at its head. Each takes one of the cooked pine sticks,

Hupa Magic.

How Divorce is Arranged.

lights it and waves it for some time over the child. The "doctor" then takes her place by the fire and repeats prayers, while burning incense. Then follow ceremonial dances about the fire, which last all night, and are repeated on the following night. To accommodate spectators the roof and walls of the house are removed. Dancers from different localities compete. On the morning of the third day the dancers dress in gay attire, the women wearing their basket hats and shells. Special dances close the ceremonies. The child is bathed with the medicine, and a little is put into its mouth. The doctor woman closes the services towards morning with a song as she dances, with the medicine held above her head. The visitors remain to a feast served at the expense of the child's father.

At the burial of a Hupa husband, the widow may release herself from her mar-

**Hupa
Widows.**

riage vow by standing between her dead husband's legs, otherwise she is bound as widow for life. The Hupa widow has her hair cut short, and wears it so as long as she lives, or until she marries again. Nearer relatives cut the hair as a sign of mourning, and all members of the household wear necklaces of braided grass to prevent their dreaming of the dead.

A second view of this Babel of Indian tongues is given by Dr. Roland B. Dixon in his studies on the Maidu, occupying the area drained by the Sacramento River.

The Maidu skin-dressers are, as a rule, women. They remove the hair with scrapers of bone or stone; they soak the skins and rub them with dried deer brains, wringing and rubbing until dry and soft. They seldom smoke them.

**Maidu
Women's
Work.**

The women are also skilful in making cordage and netting from milkweed and wild hemp fibre. Seines and dip nets are in use, made with a primitive needle formed by lashing two slender sticks together. For netted caps the makers have gone up a step on the ladder of invention, for they use a forked stick.

In the Sacramento Valley the women wear two bunches or tassels of grass or shredded bark, about sixteen inches long, suspended from the waist, one in front and one behind. Neighbouring tribes make aprons of buck-skin thongs, strung or tipped with pine nuts and deer hoofs. Women, as a rule, go barefoot, but on the mountains wear moccasins, and also robes of deer-skin or mountain lion skin in cold weather. A basket hat flat on top forms their head covering.

**Indian
Costumes.**



Photograph by Gifford, The Dalles, Oregon.

WARM SPRINGS INDIAN AND SQUAW.

The women wear the hair long, either loose or tied by a band passing over the top of the head and under the chin. They cut the hair in most primitive fashion with a sharp flint on a stick, and burn the ends with a glowing ember. They wash the hair frequently, using soap-root for the purpose. Combs are formed from pine cones, pine needles in bunches, and porcupine tails. Personal adornments are adapted from shell, bone, feathers, and wood. These take the form of beads, cylinders, pendants, and tufts, in great variety, and are worn on the breast, about the neck, and in the ears.

Tattooing is more elaborate and more common with women than with men. It consists of vertical lines on the chin, marks on the cheek, and dots with lines on the hands. There are no ceremonies connected therewith, but it takes place at about the same age as with young whites, seeming to mark the growing consciousness of coming womanhood.

Maidu women are the basket-makers, using redbud, peeled and unpeeled, for bright brown effects, peeled willow for white or wood colour, grass for overlaying, maidenhair fern for black, bracken-roots for bright red, and hazel for the warp in burden baskets. The Maidu are fond of feather-work. Beautiful creations of this material are the feather belts worn by women in dances. A strip of soft deer-skin of the proper shape is covered with woodpecker's scalps, varied with those of ducks and wild canary to form patterns. Plume sticks, to the ends of which are tastefully attached pretty feathers, are used. The variety of ways for mounting the feathers is a pleasant study in technique, and it adds to the effectiveness of their decoration.

The Maidu woman's home is an earth lodge or a brush shelter. The principal structure is a large circular, semi-subterranean, earth-covered dance or "sweat-

house," used also as a regular dwelling. There are also less carefully made conical huts, with little excavation, and summer shelters of brush. In the earth lodge, on each side, is a low platform of willows covered with pine needles and skins. It forms a lounging place and bed, the inmates sleeping with their feet toward the fire. A pole along the edge serves for a common pillow, or an old basketry plaque supports the head of an individual. In the ruder lodges are no platforms, but only pine straw and skins, the latter rolled up at the ends for pillows. The bed coverings are woven robes of rabbit fur or of bird skins, when any are needed, but ordinarily the sleepers are quite naked.

Food and other property is stored in baskets about the edge of the walls, or under the platform, or in an apse-like cellar, or in willow basket-like granaries, or in hut-like structures. In the floor of the hut flat stones are sunk on which the women pound acorns in stormy weather. There are also pestles for the mortars, and *metates* and mullers for the preparation of acorns and seeds. Baskets there are, appropriate to every use.

These women have few vessels of wood or stone, and rely on the ubiquitous basket for everything.

Wood is often kept on large coiled trays, and smaller baskets of this type are used as plates to eat from; dried meat or fish is served in open-work twined trays. Cooking is done in bowl-shaped baskets by means of hot stones, which are handled with two sticks for tongs. These Maidu women have not risen to the spoon age. They use any common stick to stir their mush. Mussel shells serve for spoons and ladles. Mush is eaten with the index and middle finger of the right hand, illustrating the saying that fingers were made before forks. For napkins, bunches of grass serve to wipe the hands and face after eating.

**Fashions in
Hair-dressing
and
Ornaments.**

**Maidu
Dwellings.**

**Curious
Basket- and
Feather-
work.**

**The
Ubiquitous
Basket.**

The acorn harvest furnishes an example of the division of labour among the Maidu and other central Californian tribes. The men and larger boys climb the trees and knock off the fruit with long poles.

**The
Important
Acorn.**

The women and children gather the nuts in their burden baskets, carry them to the village, and place them in the granaries and storage baskets. The women also at the proper time crack the nuts, separate the shells with their teeth, and spread the halves in the sun to dry. They also grind and sift the meal and make the mush.

The bitter flavour is removed by means of hot water, as among the Hupa. To make acorn bread, the dough is made into a loaf six inches in diameter, which is flattened, a hot rock rolled in oak leaves is placed in the centre, and the dough folded over and pressed all around. The mass is wrapped in oak leaves and placed in the ashes or under a pile of hot stones to bake. The bread is solid and heavy, and, like the soup and mush, almost tasteless. Sand and ashes get mixed with them all. The cedar sprigs give a little taste, and mint or bay increases the flavour; but surely this comes very near to giving a stone when asked for bread!

The women are also the primitive farmers, gathering roots with the digging stick hardened in fire. They, at the same time, unconsciously till the soil for the next crop. Roots are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, or dried, pounded fine, mixed with berries, and baked in small cakes. Berries are eaten raw, dried for winter, made into cakes, or crushed for cider. Pine nuts are a great luxury, gathered with much labour, and used also in trade. Grasshoppers, locusts, angle worms, as well as eels, fish, deer, and other meat, complete the dietary. The capturing of the animals is man's work, but woman's mind is developed, her hands made skilful, and her body rendered more vigorous by the multiplicity of her varied employments. The change for her to civilisation, therefore, is not so abrupt,

and her race is being perpetuated by this means, for nearly all the Indians of mixed blood are through white fathers. They glide easily into the family life of the dominant race. In some places the Indians are thus increasing in number.

For land transportation the freight is carried on the backs of women as well as men, in baskets. Goods of all sorts, and even old people or invalids, are borne thus. But the chief passengers are the babies, and they are carried on cradle frames of basketry set up on a forked stick. The lower end of the Y-shaped frame is sharpened, and when the mother is gathering roots or berries, is thrust into the ground. The babe is thus held upright and protected from harm.

**Curious
Cradles.**

The life of the Maidu women is not all work and no play. In one of their games each player has a stick about 5 feet long, with which she tosses a plaited rope of buck-skin a foot long, or a couple of sticks 6 inches by 2 inches tied to a buck-skin cord 4 inches apart, or a bundle of frayed cotton-wood bark. The game, between sides, is to toss the rope or sticks from one goal to another. This is excellent for the development of health and skill. Guessing games and cat's cradle are among their amusements. The men are confirmed gamblers, and the women play with bones or pebbles, concealing them in the hand and guessing.

**Maidu
Games.**

As an art of pleasure the women of California cultivate music with the deer-hoof rattle and singing. There are many types of songs, such as love songs, puberty songs, dance songs, and basket songs.

**Californian
Music.**

"An eye for an eye" is the law in the punishment of crimes. If a woman is killed in an encounter between two parties, the aggressors usually give one of their women in exchange to prevent further reprisals.

The great event in the social world is the "soup dinner." The invitations are not cards but cords, with as many knots tied in each as there are days before the dinner. Each day one of the knots is untied by the head of each family, and on the day all things are ready. Abundant supply of acorn soup and mush, with other viands, is provided, and two days are spent in eating, gambling, and merry-making.

Dixon's account of central Californian customs most closely connected with woman's existence is so admirably told that his words are closely followed.

Most strange but widespread is the rule that during the period of pregnancy both husband and wife must be careful in all they do. Towards the last neither may eat meat or fish, the husband must not hunt, and the woman stays much at home. When her time arrives the woman goes to the hut of seclusion, and is there delivered, generally assisted by two old women. In the foot-hills the woman merely goes off with an old woman to help her, giving birth to the child at some distance from the village.

Both husband and wife observe strict regulations at this time. In the Sacramento Valley both must fast five days. After that both go to the river to bathe, then return for five days more. Then after a second bath their purification is over. These restrictions vary from place to place, but in principle they are the same. Twins, in the foot-hills, are a bad omen. The mother, it is said, is often killed, and the babes either buried alive with the mother's body or burned.

The naming of girls in the Maidu country, and, indeed, in all Indian tribes, is interesting. At first they receive no name, but are addressed as "baby," "child," "girl"; but in a year or so they acquire names from some habit, such as "Runner," "Climber," etc. The family term for a girl

varies as she

grows older, changing

first at puberty, then

at giving birth to a child, and finally in old age. There is a sacredness and certain *tabus* connected with names, and those of the dead must not be mentioned for a fixed period. After that they may be given to children.



A CAYUSE GIRL.

At the important time when the girl enters upon womanhood she notifies her mother of the fact, who tells all the relatives and friends.

In the evening they all, men and women, assemble at the girl's house. The fire is covered with ashes, and all sit down around the fireplace, each one holding two stones for beating time to the songs sung. The girl sits apart at the north-west corner of the house covered with mats and skins, and no man or boy may come near her. The whole company sings, beginning with the "grasshopper song," followed with others, in which food products gathered by women are mentioned. The songs are kept up through the night, and at dawn all go out on the roof and sing "On Manzanita Hill the dawn shows first." After that they return to the interior, where a breakfast is served *en règle* by the parents. This goes on nightly, perhaps, for a week. Except during these ceremonies, the girl must remain in a small separate hut. She must eat no flesh during five days, and must be fed by her mother or some other older woman.

**Maidu
Birth
Customs.**

**Maidenhood
Ceremonies.**

A separate basket, plate, and cup are set apart for her use, and she must not scratch her head with her fingers but with a scratching stick. On the sixth day she takes a warm bath, and though she must remain in her separate lodge, now feeds herself, but still uses the scratching-stick. On the twelfth day she bathes in the river and her parents give a big feast, at which a guest may ask for anything that pleases his fancy. The parents must grant these requests even to giving a daughter in marriage. At the feast the new woman dresses in her best and great display is made.

In the foot-hills the girl has five vertical lines, alternately red and black, painted

been through the ceremony. The heads of both are covered with skins, and the pine needles are set on fire. Upon the word they uncover their heads, and run a short distance. On returning to the place they find a crowd of women, who greet them with laughter, while some of the older ones sing. A circle of earth, similar to that used in leaching meal, is filled with warm water, and the young women are washed. All the women and girls repair to the home, and at nightfall a dance of women only is performed out of doors—of which men and boys are allowed to be spectators. This being over, singing is generally kept up by the women till morning, when one mark



A KLIKITAT MAIDEN IN GALA DRESS.

on her cheek. A ring of pine needles about a yard in diameter is prepared, and in it stands the novice, with another who has

is removed from each cheek of the initiate. The rules of abstinence from meat, of being fed, of remaining quiet, of dancing

and singing, are enforced until the fifth day. The girl is then considered ready to marry.

Marriage is the one event in the Maidu Indian woman's life the interest of which is perennial. In the Sacramento Valley, when a man wants to marry, he sends a friend with a gift of beads to the family of the young woman. If the father and other relatives consider the gift large enough and the match desirable, the old gentleman keeps the beads; if not, they are sent back. Or he may hand the gift over to his brother and demand a second one. It is delightful to read that the consent of the girl is always necessary, and precedes the sending of the gifts, though this upward ethical move is far from universal in Californian tribes. If the wife is of the man's village, he usually goes to live with her family; but if of another village she goes to live with him. For some months at least he hunts and fishes for her family. Often, if the bride is from another village, the pair dwell with her family for six months after the marriage.

Many of the men are monogamous, but those who can afford it have two or three wives, the chief being the only one who has as many as four. All have equal rank and rights. The unfaithful wife must be taken back and the strings of beads refunded. If a husband dies the brother usually takes the widow. Mother-in-law and son-in-law do not speak when they meet, the woman always covering her head.

The Maidu of the foot-hills has a kind of "Barkis" courtship. The young fellow goes to the girl's lodge and sits there for a week or so. He then exerts himself and goes a-hunting. The spoil is brought to her house, and, throwing it down, the swain says, "I give you a deer," or words to that effect. If the present be accepted, that is all the encouragement he wants. So he goes on hunting and bringing, but not entering the house. When he has

delivered a sufficient amount he comes into the house. A bed is prepared for him, and he takes his place as a member of the family. The pair live thus until the girl is old enough to manage a house, if she has been married young, or till the husband can provide a house for her. Girls are often given as wives when only six or eight years of age. Old men often have four or five wives ranging from ten to fifty years or more. "Many wives, much discord," is the rule, and the moral status is low.

In the North-Eastern area occupied by this people the courtship is less sentimental. The young man goes to the house of the girl's parents, and if she accepts him they are married; if not, that ends it. A man who is a good hunter will have a wife sent to him by her father, and he must accept her. If one of two brothers marries one of two or more sisters, the other brother has the first right to marry the remaining sister or sisters, if the first brother does not. Divorce is simply an agreement to separate, and both can re-marry at once.

Mortuary customs differ among the Maidu tribes. Inhumation and cremation are both practised. How the last act is performed for women, and what share the living have in the ceremonies for the dead, will be here told. In mourning the widow cuts her hair short and covers her head, face, neck, and breast with pine-pitch and charcoal, a gloomy mourning which she is obliged to preserve until it wears off. Indeed, there are long periods set, and the anointing is renewed. The widow must remain in the house in the day time, but may come out after dark, until the time of the "burning." During her stay in the house she makes baskets and other objects for the ceremony, in which she is aided by relatives. A necklace of beads strung in peculiar fashion is worn until she stops mourning for the deceased.

Marriage.

Other Courtship and Marriage Customs.

Maidu Mourning Customs.

Curious Courtship.

The dead are doubled up and tied into a ball, the body is decked with beads and feathers, wrapped in skins and laid on the back in the grave, or, in other locations, placed in a sitting posture. The body is sometimes put into a large basket. Food and water are placed in the grave,

which is then filled in. The houses are generally burned—a good sanitary measure at least—and personal property as well. When a mother dies leaving a very young child, it is buried with her lying on her breast, as if still being nursed, or burned with her.

IV.—WOMEN OF THE INTERIOR BASIN

Tribes of the Interior Basin—Woman's Influence—The Widespreading Athapascan—The Shoshonean-Nahuan Race—The Great Desert—The Pueblos—How the Desert People Secure their Food—Pueblo Cookery—Dress in the South-West—Navaho Houses—Ute Dwellings—Cliff Houses—Woman as House-builder—Home Arts—Women's Work—Women as Potters—Social Customs in the South-West—Zuñi Courtship and Marriage—Zuñi Birth Customs—Position of Navaho Women—Men as Spinners and Knitters—Indian Co-operation—Woman's Influence on Commerce—Man's Use "to Fetch and Carry" for Woman—Burial Customs—A Loitering Ghost—The Power of the Pueblo Woman—Characteristics of Pueblo Women—Woman as Heroine—Pueblo Religion's Influence on Woman—Pueblo Mythology—A Zuñi Legend

THE area known as the Interior Basin is a well marked, arid, but elevated and healthful region, situated chiefly in Arizona and New Mexico. It included formerly the drainage area of the Colorado and Upper Rio Grande Rivers.

Tribes of the Interior Basin. Tribes of the Shoshonean, Athapascan, Piman, Yuman, and small Pueblo families were its inhabitants. Cultures fostered there were in both the hunter and the sedentary stage. The first two families mentioned form a long chain of tribes connecting the Yukon and the Mackenzie drainage with the State of Costa Rica. It is a mixing ground of the nations, covering over a hundred thousand square miles.

Two sets of women and their lineal descendants were, in course of time, the pupils of all the environments along the Pacific coast between Alaska and Costa Rica—namely, the Athapascan and the Shoshonean-Nahuan. They jointly occupied a large part of the South-West, helping to develop its sedentary pueblo life and its unsettled hunter life. The Pimas, Yumas, and a few smaller linguistic families filled up the rest of the area. Arts are practised in common, but

in other respects the tribes are as wide apart as possible in woman's share of culture. But the most charming part of the study is that concerning the play and struggle always going on between the settled and the roving life.

The Tinneh or Athapascan language, says Matthews,* stretches from northern interior Alaska down into Sonora and Chihuahua, more than four thousand miles, extending diagonally over forty-two degrees of latitude, like a great tree whose trunk is the Rocky Mountain range, whose roots encompass the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico, and whose branches touch the borders of Hudson Bay and the Pacific and the Arctic Oceans. But the same writer makes it clear that the Navaho and Apache of the South-West speak a mixed language. Under such conditions the people may have killed off a great many men, but they saved the women, together with their arts and skill. So the women of this area have much to tell of their struggles with environments.

A similar story would be told by that immense group of women, the Shoshonean-

* "Navaho Legends."



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

AN APACHE INDIAN GIRL CARRYING
NATIVE BASKET.

Nahuan. A look at the Powell map reveals them in the Interior Basin north of the 45th parallel. In the South-West they almost disappear from the *pueblo* country, to become in southern Mexico the distinguished Aztecs. Six of the Hopi or Moki towns in northern Arizona are of this family. They, as well as the Navaho, claim to have been cliff-dwellers; but most of the Pueblo dwellers are of different stocks, small islands in the northern end of an Athapaskan sea around which stretches the Shoshonean family. Further on the family organisation of these tribes will be shown.

The country inhabited by the Pueblo and non-Pueblo women mentioned—which has been their home from time out of mind—includes almost the entire area of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona. It was,

before the days of railroads, called the Great American Desert, and was thought of as a place of utter desolation, thirst, and starvation—shunned of mankind or entered with foreboding. Some parts of this land are not suitable for human habitation, but in others there are fields of corn, melons, squashes, beans, peppers, etc., and orchards of peaches. There is often a system of irrigation, and dams are built for the storage of water for irrigating and domestic purposes.

It is a country where good things do not stand out obtrusively as in the fertile Mississippi valley, but are hidden from those who do not have the anointed eyes to see them, discerning minds to appreciate them, courage against inhuman and non-human enemies, and skill in primitive handicrafts. Whether it was that those specially gifted survived there, or that the environment was fitted to make men and women of the right stamp, it is certain that one of the most specialised groups of human beings made their homes and prospered in the South-West. From the point of sex, the region



Photograph by C. C. Pierce Los Angeles.

A NAVAHO INDIAN SQUAW
Wearing a native blanket.

was bi-sexual, in that men and women were made to share the destiny, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." The mutual bearing of the burden suited the size of the body to the region—an environment which said to its tribes, "Go ye near

weaver, other tribes practise commensalism in many ways.

What did the people in this South-West eat, and what connection had women with alimentation? Though the region looks



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

A NAVAHO INDIAN SQUAW WEAVING NATIVE BLANKETS.

the sources of water and help ye one another."

Thus came the communism of the Pueblos, and thus was their advancement promoted. The life is one prolonged sigh for water. The serpent is worshipped because it reminds men of lightning, thunder, rain, and bread. Woman appears with the pad upon the head and the water-jar on the top of that, because she is bringing the one thing needful. Even the wild tribes there must yield to the environment, and if they are not potters they must learn to make water-tight basketry. Old things pass away. The Navaho becomes a

small on the map, it covers many thousands of square miles, and its regimens are varied. The Apache or Ute

How the Desert People Secure Food. woman is a hunter's wife, with duties just like those elsewhere belonging to that

estate. She cannot have pottery: it is too fragile for her unsettled life; nor vessels of wood—there are no large trees of soft grain from which to carve them; so Necessity stepped in and suggested baskets dipped in pitch. The Ute woman, in addition to her function as a preparer of meat, is a gleaner of wild grass seeds, which she beats from the stems in the field by means of a basketry wand looking for all the world like a rude tennis racquet.

The receptacle is a conical basket, which also serves for carrying purposes. But the most interesting of her implements is what answers to the modern fan mill. It is a twined basket in the shape of a large, shallow scoop, and serves for winnowing and toasting at the same time. The harvest is placed in the basket tray with hot stones, and shaken skilfully and quickly. Charred spots on old specimens in the museums tell of an occasional laggard. The roasted seeds may be eaten whole or ground and made into Indian bread.

The Pueblo women have a still more generous larder. The cornfields belong to the men, and as fertile patches are not always close to safe places for homes, the walk is long to and from work. Here also are their other crops of gourds, beans, etc. It is the Pueblo women's duty to care for the crops and make them into food. Let us see. For this purpose they need water, which often must be carried up long and winding trails. This ever-crying need made them the best potters in North America. As they live in settled habitations, there can be more than two women grinding at a mill. This is not of a circular pair of stones, like the old-fashioned mills of the Orient, but a long box of stone slabs set into the floor. It is divided into compartments, in each of which is a slab—the nether mill-stone, about the size of a small washboard. This rests at an angle away from the miller, who grasps the flat muller, resembling a thin brick, with both hands, and, kneeling down, rubs away after the fashion and with the energy of the old-time washer-woman. The meal is ground very fine, and as a result of the many coloured grains—white, yellow, red, purple, and black—the meal is dark in colour.

To cook it a smooth slab is laid on two stone rests over, and near to, the fire. The woman takes wet meal in her right hand, and quickly spreads on the hot griddle a cake not much thicker than a postage stamp. This is quickly peeled off and piled on a pretty basket tray. A dish of the grey result

Pueblo Cookery.

looks very much like a hornet's nest. It is probably the best product of culinary work attained by North American savage women, who have also other ways of cooking, into which the chile, or Mexican pepper, enters obtrusively. It goes without saying that people who do not depend on the daily success of hunting and fishing for a living remove themselves that much farther from starvation and its demoralising consequences. It is true, however, here as elsewhere, that the South-Western Indians had exhausted the search for edibles.

The next want to observe is that of dress and adornment. There are Ute women, Apache, Navaho, and Pueblo. On occasion they are fond of dress, though the legends say that before the whites came the Navaho were poor. The word Ute suggests to the ethnologist buck-skin. Both men and women recall the colours of new chamois skin. In the old dress all the display of gaudy beads is absent. It is quite characteristic. The Apache and Navaho, under Spanish influence, were dressed in wool, and the women, as well as men, of the latter are among the finest of Indian weavers. In the southern groups of the South-West little clothing is needed, but the body is washed with clay water, which wears off as the day grows warmer.

But to be dressed up constantly does not accord with the practical mind of the Pueblo woman; rather, she prefers going barefoot to wearing moccasins, and keeps her best for occasions of ceremony. Her dress, designed as it is for service and freedom of action for her body, is appropriate and picturesque. She wears as the principal garment an oblong, rectangular creation, made from one piece of strong, dark blue woollen stuff of Hopi weave, which her white sisters might term a meal-sack, coming to the middle of the calf, belted at the waist and held on the left shoulder by stitches joining the edges. The right shoulder in the ancient pattern was left bare, but usually at present an under tunic of cotton clothes the bust and arms.



NAVAHO WOMEN SPINNING AND WEAVING.

Photograph by P. G. Gates.

These women seem to inexperienced eyes to be dressed alike, though some little feature, such as shoulder stitching of coloured cord, tassels at the corners, or other touches of fancy, no doubt give them individuality. At Acoma the skirt is a mass of gorgeous embroidery, but, as a rule, no ornament—except sometimes the skilful stitches of the weaver—relieves the surface of the cloth. Colour enters the costume with the oblong shawl, which is a length of tasselled stuff drawn over the shoulders, or the flaunting mantle of bright cotton affected by the younger people, and the woven belt. On ceremonial occasions the bride may display her white cotton mantle with its border of brilliant embroidery and its huge vari-coloured tassels, but not often does she wear this costume, which marks the heyday of her life.

The Pueblo woman's foot-wear consists of the tiny moccasin, to which is sewn a loose flap consisting of half a white tanned deer-skin, to be wrapped around the calf with many turns, forming a cumbrous, but not uncomely bulk. Jewellery she affects, of strings of precious sea-shell and stone or silver beads, and earrings fashioned by the silversmith or worker in turquoise. In a word, this paragon of the South-West may lay claim to being the most picturesquely and the best dressed of her Indian sisters.

With all the occupations that seem to fill such a major portion of her life, the Pueblo woman still finds time to make herself neat and attractive, showing that there is even here the common sentiment called fashion. Rightly, the blossoming of

coiffure, costume, and ornaments is displayed by the maidens, whose modest prettiness gives an indefinable charm to the many-celled villages—none the less do the mothers of families array themselves in befitting costume; while the aged, gradually being weaned from life, are careless of its forms and gauds.



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.
A YOUNG HOPI GIRL OF
ARIZONA IN NATIVE
DRESS.

The habitations of the Navaho women, according to Matthews,*

Navaho Houses. vary somewhat, but are simple in

structure. The "hogan" is a conical lodge of poles, with an opening on one side for a doorway. The frame is covered with weeds, bark, or grass, and earth, except at the apex, where is an opening for the escape of smoke. The doorway is like a dormer window. Then there are lodges of logs built up in polygonal form, covered with earth, with a doorway at the corner, screened with blankets; and again huts built partly of stone, with a conglomeration of brush and earth for covering and fencing. The corrals are contiguous to the huts, where the family cook and spend most

of the time in fair weather, and the summer-houses are erected in a few hours. A couple of forked sticks are set upright, and a pole laid across. Slanting poles against this, in the direction of the prevailing winds, form a windbreak, and this is covered with grass, weeds, and earth. The medicine lodge is like the hogan, though of much greater size, and the "sweat-house" is a diminutive hogan, without smoke-hole or storm door. Stones are heated outside and placed on the floor, the entrance is covered with blankets, and the heat thus raised causes a

* "Navaho Legends."

violent perspiration. Dr. Matthews observes that a few progressive Navaho are building stone houses with flat roofs, glazed windows, wooden doors, and regular chimneys. They have Mexican and Pueblo examples before them for centuries, but, believing that a house is accursed in which a human died, they abandon it, so they hesitate to erect permanent dwellings. The venturing of these pioneers away from superstition is in a line with many changes that are silently working their way into the old life.

The Ute branch of the Shoshonean family are tent dwellers. On the east they are in immediate contact with the Siouan, Algonquian, and Kaiowan tribes. The woman's housekeeping life also resembles that of these tribes. Only quite recently have they abandoned their old ways.

The sedentary people of the South-West, whatever their blood or linguistic family, have also had a variety of domiciles, some of which are ages old. Guessing that the conical house came from the north, it would be only natural to look southward for those of stone and adobe. The cliff houses were, says Farrand, "stone buildings containing from a single room to more than a hundred, and were sometimes three or four storeys high. The largest of these, known as Cliff Palace, is estimated to have one hundred and twenty-five rooms on the ground floor alone." There were also cave dwellings, cavate abodes, immense pueblos on plateaus and in the valleys, adobe structures, Casa Grande being the best known, and large ditches for irrigation.

Farrand rejects the theory of a cliff-dwelling race, and attributes the structures to the ancestors of the present sedentary tribes. The stone and adobe structures of the South-West could be stood in a row, beginning with the oldest cave dwelling and ending with the latest pueblo, in such order as to leave not a break in the thoughts that planned them.

The Pueblo woman builds her house of stone or adobe. Her agile hands are the whole kit of mason's tools for fitting the materials and smoothing the walls. Who but the potter would have the feeling for this? Men do the heavy work, and the women are like the wasps clustering their rooms together like the cells of a honeycomb. Two motives first impelled them to do this—the environment and their neighbours, the hostile tribes. Since the whites came, more eligible sites have been chosen, and the lower storeys have doorways on the ground floor. The clay and stone also were unconscious organisers, which in all ages ensured the largest co-operation.

When the house was finished it was in truth the woman's, for here, more than in other areas mentioned, were concentrated the home arts, and here were gathered the means of cultivating these arts. The home was the basket-maker's workshop, and the pottery-maker's *atelier*. Here were worked out the milling slabs, cooking slabs—stone griddles, they might be called—and pot rests. In the walls were made the ovens, and on the spot was manufactured the furniture for the diversified cooking practised there. In the lowest stages of handicraft its products are worked out on the spot, but as culture advances the materials are carried to the factory. The pueblo is a primitive factory village, where the home and shops of a hundred or more are under the same roof. All speak the same language, produce the same artifacts, are moved by the same symbolism, tell the same marvellous stories of nature, and worship the same spiritual beings in the same way.

Women's arts in the South-West, in addition to those relating to dress and house, are associated with food, water, transportation, and trade. Here the basket-maker revels in many types of the art, and the potter is at her best. The former has to put

**Woman
as House-
builder.**

**Ute
Dwellings.**

**Cliff
Houses.**

Home Arts.

**Women's
Work.**

up with desert materials. There are no long spruce roots as at the North, but the toughest of desert fibres and twigs of abundant shrubbery. As soon as the Spaniards came, the Navaho eagerly adopted sheep, while the Apache held on to the basket art. Matthews says that the Navaho excel all

the finishing labour. For the various harvests of fruits, seeds, grain, and other vegetable products there is a time for each. They are ever busy with details, leave nothing to chance, and their work develops the individual. Their hard conditions have been blessings in disguise.



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

A HAVASUPAI SQUAW MAKING POTTERY.

other Indians of the United States in the art of weaving, and, curious to tell, they knit stockings with four needles. Leggings of human hair, knitted with wooden needles, have been found in the cliff dwellings on the Navaho Reservation.

Every season of the year has its own special handicraft for the women of the pueblo. Should the cornfield, with its accessory crops, need them, they lend a helping hand with the hoe, or on occasion drive away animal enemies. The calm summer days are the time to burn pottery against the year's breakages. Then also they gather roots, stems, and leaves for basket materials, and prepare them for

The two classes of women, sedentary and unsettled, make two kinds of receptacles for water their eternal problem. The Apache woman weaves strong basket bottles and jars, and dips them in piñon gum. That is the best for wanderers. The sedentary women of the pueblos are best served by pottery. The demand is immense, the motives for having the best are the strongest, and the material is unsurpassed. Holmes relates that after the passage of a storm and the disappearance of the flood, the pools would retain a sediment of clay two or three inches thick, whose consistency was perfectly suited to the hand of the potter.

Women as Potters.



32
A HOPI INDIAN WOMAN GRINDING CORN IN HER HOUSE.

Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

Sand, pulverised shards, and mica are used in tempering. The ware is built up in several ways. There is no potter's wheel, and yet the narrative would lose a part

Both Holmes and Cushing dwell upon the profound influence of the textile art on pottery. The former calls attention to the fact that "basketry was practised from



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

A HOPI WOMAN.

A splendid type of the matron.

of its interest if it failed to note that shallow earthen vessels, baskets, and sections of gourds turn easily as the coiling process goes on. The processes are shaping with the fingers, pressure into a mould, or slowly building up by coiling, as in basketry, and pinching the turns together, sometimes with basketry effects in mosaic patterns, but more often in rubbing the surface down and smoothing it with a slip "that takes the place of the enamels used by more accomplished potters, and being usually white, gives a beautiful surface on which to execute freehand designs in colour. The firing is not nearly as successful as the making—the ware is soft, smoke stained, and never glazed. The ancient ware is superior to the modern, and occasionally, through accidents of firing, a piece will have the ring and hardness of stoneware."

remote antiquity, and within modern times the manufacture of baskets has been the most important industry of the tribes of the Pacific slope. Ceramic shapes in this region coincide with textile outlines."

The sociology of the South-West must take into consideration the family life, the community life, and the ceremonial life of sedentary pueblos and dwellers in frail structures.

Social Customs in the South-West.

In this varied environment it is quite clearly set forth that blood-kinship, speech, art, and industry, social structures, and functions are distinct problems, and yet they are inseparable factors in the whole life. When a woman is called an Athapascan, it must be added "in speech," for in blood she is far from being the same as her Alaskan namesake.

The South-Western tribes arranged for the marriage of their daughters in various ways. Among the Pueblos and the Navaho people, mother-right prevailed—that is, maternal clans were the rule—but the more usual law of paternal descent governed the Yuman tribes living about the lower Colorado; while the Shoshonean or Ute tribes, except the Hopi, and the Piman tribes in north-western Mexico, were without true exogamous divisions. There the young folks not too closely related could fall in love and marry like civilised people.

In the twenty-third annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson gives a faithful account of the Zuñi family in its formation, with references to other Pueblos. Some of their houses have as many as eight rooms, and a few have only two. Ledges, built with the house, form seats and shelves. The household works, eats, sleeps, and entertains guests in the living room. Wardrobes are hung from poles suspended from the rafters, while more valuable things are carefully placed in the storage rooms. The mills for grinding may also be set up in the living room. "The domestic life," says the authoress, "might serve as an example for the civilised world. The husband lives with his wife's parents, often several families under the same roof. These are not large, and the members are deeply attached to one another. The living room will show the mothers caring for their infants, or the fathers fondling them. The grandmother will have one of the younger children on her lap, and maybe the head of another resting on her shoulder. When a legend is told great interest is manifested in the recital. The children are rarely disobedient, play the livelong day without a quarrel, and are seldom punished. Girls join in some of the pleasure dances. The older ones seldom go about the village unattended. The only

place they are free to visit alone is the well, where the youths watch for them in the early evening. The love-making is in good form, the swains must make the advances, and, while parents look after the marriage of their children, there are many love matches in Zuñi."

Mrs. Stevenson has worked out minutely the coming-of-age customs among the Zuñi.

Marriage usually occurs at very tender years. Should a girl not be married when she arrives at womanhood, there is a great *pow-wow* between the mother, aunts, and grandmother, to know the reason why. When a man loves a girl, he tells her, and

**Zuñi
Courtship
and Marriage.**



COCOPA (YUMAN) WOMAN.



A PAIUTE WOMAN OF KURATU, UTAH,
IN FULL DRESS.

asks permission to go to her house. She usually says, if she favours the suit, "Wait till I ask my parents." If all goes smoothly he calls on her. The mother asks him to be seated, and orders the daughter to set food before the guest. Should the girl hesitate from lack of interest or from coquetry (Zuñi maidens are all coquettes), she is admonished by her elders. After serving, she takes her seat facing the visitor, and the parents talk about his duties. After the repast, the father calls the young man to him, the girl remaining on the other side of the room, and says, "You are to marry my daughter; you must work hard, watch the sheep, help to cut wood, plant the grain, and harvest it." The mother tells him to be good to his wife. The young man works for the family five days, sleeping in the living room, and on the sixth morning goes to his home. He tells where he has been, and that the girl's parents are willing. If his people like the match they say, "It is well." On his return during the sixth morning, he carries a dress as a present from his mother to her intended daughter-

in-law. The bride then grinds some flour, and the next day returns with him carrying the meal in a basket on her head and giving it to his mother, who says, "My child, thanks; be seated." The mother hands bread to the girl, who takes a few mouthfuls. The father-in-law lays a deer-skin before her, saying: "This is for your moccasins." The girl then returns to her mother's house with the groom, bearing on her head the basket, filled with wheat, and the folded deer-skin lying on top. They make their permanent home with her mother. They do not sleep in the living room with the rest of the family until after the birth of the first child.

The Zuñis are monogamists, polygamy being abhorred; but divorces are quite common. They would rather separate than dwell together inharmoniously.

Previous to the birth of a child, if a daughter is desired the husband and wife visit the Mother Rock. The prospective mother scrapes a small quantity of the rock into a tiny vase made for the purpose, deposits



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

YUMA INDIAN GIRLS.



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

CHEMEHUEVI GIRLS MAKING THE NATIVE DRINK OF THE MESQUIT BEAN
IN A NATIVE POTTERY BOWL.

it in one of the cavities, and they pray that the daughter may grow to be good and beautiful, possess all virtues, weave beautifully, and be a skilful potter. If the prayer is not answered, it is because the heart of one or the other is not good. At another shrine bits of rock are powdered, put into water, and the mixture is drunk by the woman. Two facts are prominent in the Zuñi birth customs—the cruel sufferings of the young mother, and her wonderful recuperation as compared with civilised women. There will be tribal differences of detail in courtship, marriage, inheritance, the future abode, and the occupation of the groom; the Shoshonean women will have one fate, the Apache or Navaho another, the Yuman and Piman another. But there seems to be no difference in this fact of recuperation.

“The social position of the Navaho women,” says Matthews, “is one of great independence; much of the wealth of the nation belongs to them; they are the managers of their own property, the owners of their children, and their freedom lends vigour to their physiognomies.”

Here is a good place to call attention to the division of labour in the community life. The men among the sedentary groups are the farmers, but those who are used to seeing tailors sitting and sewing garments will not be surprised to hear that Pueblo men have always been good spinners, knitters, weavers, and seamsters. It is said that the very finest blankets are their handiwork. At present these textile tribes are in the commercial stage of industry. Garments are made for barter; division of labour and selection of the fittest have begun.

Pueblo life has not only introduced division of labour but developed co-operation to a high degree. The scheme provides for no idlers; even little girls just out

of arms are taught to play at what will come in time to be their daily tasks. Willing hands make lighter work, so that much is accomplished every day. Special proficiency in pottery-making, basketry, or belt weaving, because it is the way to extra income, often relieves a woman from household duties that are taken up by others. The older girls care for the younger children and play the parental part well. Young women toil before dawn at the hand-mills and bake and sew; able-bodied matrons carry water, cook, weave, and superintend; and old women, bent and grey, do such light tasks as they may be able to perform, unless the vicissitudes of life have taken from them their helpers and decreed that they shall bear the heavy burden till the end.

Primitive trade, with companion activities, has progressed in this heterogeneous environment. The industries dominated by the Pueblo woman have given her as a producer as high a place in the political as in the domestic economy, and it is through her efforts that these features of society have risen from the rudimentary stage, and have become of importance. As long as there has been any history this has been the land of barter, and all the floating tribes from the points of the compass came here to trade with the thrifty ones. Here they met the Pueblo woman merchant, and learned that her mind was intent on getting the better of the bargain—she was persistent, hiding craft with guile, and enjoying the play of wits in the game of trade.

Let no one believe that the Pueblo woman is a simple-minded savage. She trudges long miles to bring her wares for sale, and as carefully guards her profits as she does the corn laid away sacredly against a bad year when no crops are gathered.

Through Pueblo commerce in times past her fame as a cook went far and near, and the tribes out on the plains eagerly

Zuñi Birth Customs.

Indian Co-operation.

Position of Navaho Women.

Woman's Influence on Commerce.

Men as Spinners and Knitters.

traded for her breadstuffs, and sometimes they would even journey to the Pueblos to taste of delicacies fresh from the baking slab or underground oven.

there is a bunch of them, showing their vitality by luring into them separate linguistic stocks. In pre-Columbian days the lure was still more potent, drawing hundreds



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

CHEMEHUEVI INDIAN SQUAW WITH HER PAPOOSE.

The ultimate use of man there is to fetch and carry for woman, because in the constitution of society he is the chief person served by so doing, call his motive selfish or self-preservational, as you like. The community life is above all, and the individual sinks out of sight in the village and whole people. This instinct of social self-preservation has shown itself in the clan systems of each area, and after separate fashions in all. There were in this arid region genuine oases, and the social life organised itself around them. On the upper Rio Grande

of Athapascans from the north, the Apache and the Navaho, to continue their wild Canadian life here.

Mrs. Stevenson, in the report before-mentioned, gives the mortuary customs of the Zuñi, a few of which are here stated. The dead are buried —not burned. The body is placed with its head to the east, bathed in *yucca* suds, rubbed with corn meal, and dressed in the best. A gash is cut in each garment for the escape of the spirit. The body is next wrapped in blankets and buried soon after. A death is announced by the

Burial Customs.

Man's Use,
"To fetch
and carry"
for Woman.

women to the clans. The mourners are also women, who during the preparation "set up a hideous howl," which continues with slight intermissions until after the burial. In the cemetery women are buried on the north side just as they sat in the living-room.

After a burial the body of the surviving spouse is bathed by female relatives. The

A Loitering Ghost.

planting of plumes and drinking warm water as an emetic for purification follow. The ghost of the dead is thought to hover about the village, and on the fifth morning to start on its journey to the judgment seat of the gods. During its stay in the village the door and hatchway of the Pueblo must be left open night and day, or the ghost will be troublesome. Mrs. Stevenson tells of a woman sword-swallower whose spirit so haunted the family that she had to be smoked out. During the four nights of the spirit's remaining, parents or sisters of the deceased sleep at the side of the spouse. A grain of black corn and a bit of charcoal are put under the head of the mourner to prevent dreams of the lost one.

When a wife belonging to the Ant fraternity dies, the survivor goes with others southward to an ant-hill, and, facing west, sprinkles prayer meal. The spirit is fed daily with meal thrown into the fire, and on the fifth morning different foods are cast therein for its use on going to the underworld. Much grief is shown for the dead.

The graces of the Pueblo woman are docility, modesty, sweetness, and fortitude.

The Power of the Pueblo Woman.

Strength of character is behind her softer qualities, and her great love for her offspring does not make her foolishly neglectful of their training and education. Her silent power is that of a hidden ruler—the council may sit, but she does much to mould their deliberations, and they reckon ill who leave her out. She is a devoted wife, but her spouse must be on good be-

haviour, or as judge and executioner she thrusts him from her dwelling.

She loves gossip, is sometimes garrulous, and occasionally, according to report, oppresses her husband; and her rights are not allowed to slumber when the necessity comes to assert them. Nowhere else, however, are found fewer of the asperities of life than among the Pueblos.

Characteristics of Pueblo Women.

In contrast with the gentler side of the Pueblo woman, it seems strange that there should be exhibited at times extreme effrontery, and actions that fill the beholder with astonishment. During some of the winter ceremonies, staid matrons and erstwhile shrinking maidens enact parts that, according to civilised standards, are the reverse of dignified; in fact, a saturnalia as of classic times appears to reign. Paradoxical as it may seem, the women are none the less modest—actions that seem unbefitting are merely in conformity with the demands of a religion that frankly and without false notions looks with veneration upon the welling forth of new life and its varied phenomena.

There is little in the surroundings of the Pueblos to elicit feminine heroism, so that

a historian would only chronicle the simple heroics of starvation and disease instead of the glamour

Woman as Heroine.

of combat and great deeds. Yet if one could reconstruct the history of this people he would find in the movements of villages from one water to another, in the periodical visits of grim want and sickness, tales of sublime heroism and primitive fortitude, in which Pueblo womanhood shone with brilliant lustre. There is a pictograph on the cliff under the high town of Walpi, which records the heroic act of a Hopi woman, who, aided by a faithful dog, beat off some Navaho who sought to seize her while she was guarding the fields. Other examples might be given, though these are necessarily rare, because the Pueblo woman is a home body, and is not accustomed to wander far from the village without escort.



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

A WALLAPAI (OR HUALAPAI) INDIAN GIRL
Wearing the civilised dress supplied to the pupils of the Government schools. She has a basket of native manufacture.

In one great field of social intercourse the Pueblo women never attained pre-eminence. In matters religious they defer

women have some parts in every ceremony, and even have a few which are their particular province, and these are appropriately



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles

A PIMA INDIAN BASKET-MAKER OF ARIZONA.

to the men, who from their mobility and freedom from small cares had doubtless more time to think on questions of origin and destiny, and ways to cajole the beings of the other world. Most of the complex

**Pueblo
Religious
Influence
on Woman.**

Pueblo ceremonials are man-made and man-controlled, though the burden they entail on the women is tremendous, since on them falls the brunt of extra preparations for the feastings which accompany religious rites, and the withdrawal of the services of the men for long periods. Yet the

harvest festivals. Beyond this they are represented in the pantheon by beings of the first importance, such as the goddess of germs, the corn-maidens, the spider woman, culture heroine, the dawn woman, and other divinities of the Hopi and Zuñi.

This is in accordance with the fact that the duality of nature and the origin of life have made a profound impression in Pueblo mythology, and woman in the scheme takes the high rank that is a reflection of her earthly position.

The religious life of the desert women has evoked a charming literature, written by Bandelier, Cushing, Fewkes, Matthews, and Mrs. Stevenson. It must be picked out

**Pueblo
Mythology.**

from the general accounts of these writers. In his introduction to Cushing's "Zuñi Tales," Powell sets forth the rationale of this religion. The gods of the Zuñi, as of all other tribes, are animals. "All entities are animals—men, brutes, plants, stars, lands, waters, and rocks—and all have souls. The souls are tenuous existences—mist entities, gaseous creatures inhabiting firmer

bodies of matter. They are ghosts that own bodies, which they can leave and take possession of bodies that can be vacated. Force and mind belong to souls; fixed form, firm existence belong to matter, while bodies and souls constitute the world. The world is a universe of animals. The stars are animals compelled to travel around the world by magic. The plants are animals under a spell of enchantment, so that usually they cannot travel. The waters are animals, sometimes under the spell of enchantment. Lakes writhe in waves, the sea travels in circles about the

earth, and the streams run over the lands. Mountains and hills tremble with pain, but cannot wander about; but rocks and hills and mountains sometimes travel about by night. These animals of the world come

in a flood of generations, and the first-born are gods, called the 'ancients' or first ones; the later born generations are descendants of the gods, but alas, they are degenerate sons and daughters."

The last story in the Cushing volume is that of "The maiden the sun made love to, and her boys." In the course of the narrative, the natural and the supernatural are



Photograph by C. C. Pierce, Los Angeles.

MERCEDES NOLASQUEZ BASKET-MAKER.

intertwined. The maiden weaves the pretty wicker plaques, common in all collections, the little stems dyed in the colours of the corn. But the corn, in turn, owes its hues to spaces in the cosmos—yellow to the north-land, blue to the west-land, red to the south-land, white to the east, variegated to the zenith, black to the regions below. So, throughout the narrative, which sets forth in myth the origin of strife. "Perhaps had men been more grateful and wiser, the Sun-father had smiled and dropped everywhere the treasures we long for, and not hidden them

**Zuñi
Legends.**

deep in the earth and buried them in the shores of thesea."

In the frontispiece of his Navaho Legends, figure 4, Matthews shows a *yébaad*, or goddess, as she is represented in the dry paintings. While the men's arms are painted white, the goddess has yellow arms in obedience to the universal colour scheme, above and below, which gives the yellow corn to woman.

Matthews says that celibacy is not practised by the Navaho gods; every deity has his mate, and she must also be propitiated. The correspondence of the sky-world with the mundane



Photograph by C. C. Pierre, Los Angeles.

AN OLD WALLAPAI (OR HUALAPAI)
SQUAW OF ARIZONA.

world is brought out by the same writer in the story of "The marriage of the Boy made of White Corn to the Ground-heat Girl, and the Mirage Boy to the Girl made of Yellow Corn." In the Navaho language personification of things resembles the classical languages, in applying feminine names to the finer, weaker, and more gentle—for example, the placid Rio Grande is Female Water, the turbulent San Juan is Male Water, a storm is male rain, a shower is feminine; moun-

tain mahogany (cigarette wood) is male, the cliff rose is female.

V.—WOMEN OF THE PLAINS

Locality—Dwellings of the Plains—The Indian Cradle—Household Implements—Indian Methods of Transport—Indian Women and Decoration—Courtship and Marriage—Polygamy—Divorce—Strict Etiquette of Indians—Indian Childhood—Widows and Widowers—The Sugar Camp—Indian Games—Treatment of Aged Indians—Present Condition of Indians

THE Plains women live chiefly in Assiniboia and in the United States west of the Mississippi River and north of the Arkansas. They were originally mainly Siouan, but the ample food supply also enticed Algonquian tribes, Pawnees, Kaiowas, and others to share with them in Nature's bounty.

Nature made fine women on the Plains—tall, robust, and strong. The prominent cheek-bones, Roman noses, and gross mouths of the men were much toned down in the females. Nature also gave them the buffalo and the dog; but the former absolutely withheld its aid from them, either to furnish a drop of milk or to carry a pound of their loads. The dog

was more responsive, lending its back for the burden and its shoulders for the sledge.

The homes of the old Plains women were earth lodges, bark or mat lodges, and tents of skin, called usually teepees (tipis). The villages were so arranged that kindreds dwelt near one another.

The Omaha earth lodges were made by the women chiefly for summer use, when the people were not moving about. The roof was supported by two rows of vertical posts, forked at the top for cross pieces. The wall was formed by setting upright slabs behind the outer row of posts. They were not over six feet in height, their tops resting

against the cross timbers. Stems of willow a few inches in diameter rested with their butts on the tops of the upright slabs and extended on the inner cross timbers nearly to the summit. These rafters were very close together and formed a cone. They were covered with grass a foot thick, and over the whole earth was piled from one to two feet in depth. A hole at the apex served for chimney, and in the earth at the centre was a depression for the fire. A covered way, 10 feet long and 5 feet wide, formed the hall way entrance, which was closed at its inner and outer end with two buffalo hides for doors, their inner edges overlapping. A notched log served as ladder or stairway. Earth lodges were generally used for feasts, councils, and dances, and were sometimes 75 and 100 feet in diameter.

The bark and mat lodges in which the Plains women were home-makers were elliptical in shape and little over seven feet in height. The poles were planted in opposite pairs, the small ends bent over and lashed together, the series forming wall posts and rafters, which were covered with mats or bark. They were used for summer residence by a number of tribes. There might be one or two fires and smoke-holes in each.

The tipi or skin tent, on the other hand, was the home of migrants and tribes in search of buffalo. It was a favourite abode in winter, also, as the earth lodges were erected in exposed places for summer

comfort. Tipis could be pitched in the timber or down in wooded ravines, where the cold winds never had full sweep. The tipi was made of ten or a dozen dressed

buffalo hides sewed together, the tanner and tent-maker putting no small skill and energy into her task. The tent was in the shape of a sugar loaf, 10 to 12 feet high, 10 to 15 feet at the bottom, and open a foot and a half at the top for the smoke.

A shallow pit in the centre was for her fire, and a forked post alongside served for suspending the kettles. Around the fireplace was a circular space where the people sat on grass mats, or hides rolled up, toasted their shins, and chatted. Couches were arranged about this space, formed of two or three winter buffalo hides with the hair on, and the sleepers covered themselves with similar robes. Their pillows were of unhaired deer-skins stuffed with hair or feathers, and they served as seats

also during the day. Behind the couches and next to the tent poles, the spaces served for closets, larders, presses, granaries, and a general "place for everything."

The cradle was a board a yard long and a foot wide. No pillow or other coddling was allowed. A piece of soft skin covered with dense hair was fitted on the board, and upon this the infant was lashed. To the cradle was attached, just over the child's face, a stout bow of wood, to protect it if it should fall, to serve for the suspension



SYBIL CONGIN,
A Sioux Girl of Yankton, South Dakota.

The Indian Cradle.

of beads, and other pretty objects. There was a head band on the back of the board, indispensable for carrying or suspension.

Among the furnishings of the lodgings the brooms must be included, both the

Household Implements. stick broom for keeping the space around the front door tidy, and the goose or turkey wing or feather brush for dusting about the fireplace.

The mortars and pestles of the Plains women were of wood, and were used for pounding corn and dried meat. The mortars were small, hollowed at one end by burning, and sharpened at the other for driving in the earth.

Pottery was far from universal among the Plains women, but they had vessels, dishes, and spoons. Spoons were of horn, wood, shells, or pottery. Those of buffalo horn were the favourites, and were often ornamented.

Before the coming of the Whites, the hoe, rather than the axe, was woman's industrial implement on the Plains. It was made from the shoulder blade of the buffalo, which was bound with thongs to the end of a stick.

The Plains woman made fire by means of the reciprocating drill, consisting of two pieces of soft wood or two stems of very coarse grass. It is done by those who know how in a few seconds. Flint and tinder were also employed by some tribes.

To help in transportation, the women of the Plains were familiar with carrying bands and staves. The "bull" boat was of buffalo hide, and very near to the most

primitive. It was a bowl-shaped crate of willow stems, over which the hide was stretched, and it was used in crossing streams.

Over the prairies, where trains are flying at the rate of a mile a minute, freight and passengers

Indian Methods of Transport. were transported by women and

dogs before the coming of the horse. Mrs. Eastman describes the travelling methods of a hundred years ago. The hunter with his weapons rode ahead. Next came the furniture waggon—two poles, about fifteen feet long, strapped to the horse's neck, the large ends resting on the ground. Saplings were lashed to the poles with rawhide thongs to support the baggage. The wife and mother jogs along behind with her burden, the larger children are enjoying themselves Indian fashion.



ROSA WHITE THUNDER,
A Sioux Girl.

course. In the absence of clay for art pottery, fine textiles for pretty basketry, and the materials for choice hardware, necessity made them the most picturesque of savages through animal tissues. Whoever wore the gaudy raiment, it was woman's sphere to make it. There were hides of every size and hue, pilous and depilated, hoofs and horns of the buffalo, feathers of the eagle for war, bonnets trailing from crown to the feet, quills for matchless embroidery. These women were also good painters. Their colour scheme was quite varied, as shown

Indian Women and Decoration.

by their curious trunks made by folding depilated rawhides together and tying them with thongs. In the museums of American ethnology, by far the most picturesque exhibits of North American Indians are the ornamental handicraft of the Plains tribes. There the monotonous sky and prairie called aloud for colour, and it appeared. The traders grasped this fact by instinct, and the many coloured beads were forthcoming.

Coming now to the sociology of the Plains, we find that the ancient family guardianship of females was much disturbed after the discovery of America. A girl was

Courtship and Marriage.

the especial care of her elder brother and her mother's brother. A young girl or even a married woman would not walk or ride alone, and no woman would be seen abroad with any other man but her husband or some immediate kinsman. She generally got some other woman to accompany her, unless her husband went. Young men were forbidden to speak to girls, if they met two or more on the road, unless they were kindred. When girls went to the dances, their mothers accompanied them, and husbands went with their wives. After the dance the women were taken home.

A man had to marry outside his blood relations. To facilitate matters the young men grew up with a knowledge of whom they must not marry, and hence they wasted no affections on their own kin. Indian girls marry earlier than formerly—between fifteen and seventeen, and even younger—when they waited till

they were twenty. In some Plains tribes girls were betrothed from their infancy.

It is said that the men court the women, but everybody knows what that means. Mr. Catlin describes an ingenious flageolet used on the Upper Mississippi, and called the Winnebago courting flute, playing which the young men of that tribe meet with signal success in wooing their sweethearts. They blow the instrument for hours together, from the bank of a stream, some favourite rock or log, near to the wigwam that contains the object of their tender passion, until her soul is touched, and she responds by some welcome signal that she is ready to repay the young Orpheus for his pains with the gift of her heart.

The proposals were either directly or by proxy. Dorsey makes the quaint assertion

that "women used to weigh the matter well, but now they hasten to marry any man they can get." Sometimes the girl told her kindred and took advice, but parents did not force their daughter to marry against her will. If she refused, they could not compel her. As was human, they might say, "Here is a good young man. We want you to marry him." Or they might scatter hints that they had a marriageable daughter. Then men would drop by to look at her and leave presents for the old people. If they thought the donor would not make a good alliance

or a good husband, they returned the presents. Suitors curried favour with the old folks in this way, but parents did not sell their daughters. This was rather the fashion with old men, but with the young it was the old story—presents were given and taken *ad libitum*.



A KAIOWA INDIAN WOMAN AND CHILD.

Showing form of cradle.

With regard to the question of polygamy, the maximum of wives was three, or at most four. They would be, for example, the first wife, her aunt, and her sister or niece, if all be consanguineous.

When a man wished to take a second



SPOTTED TAIL'S SQUAW,
A Brule Sioux.

wife; he would say to the first, "My dear, I do not want you to work so hard. I am thinking of taking your sister, your aunt, your niece to wife." Should the first wife veto the proposition, that would prevent his marrying the other woman. Generally, there was no objection if the two women were kindred. Indeed, the wife would sometimes make the first move, and say, "I wish you would marry my niece; we are kin." The first wife was never deposed. She always retained her right to manage affairs, controlling the distribution of food, and giving to the other wives what she thought they ought to receive. If one of the wives was active and a good hide-dresser, the husband would leave the others

with the parents when he went on a long hunt and take the handy woman. Jealous women played their *rôle* here as elsewhere, making life a burden to both husband and their female colleagues.

Among the Santees, says Dorsey, a wife's mother could take her from her husband and give her to another man.

Divorce. Among other Plains tribes, if the man was kind, the dreadful mother-in-law never interfered. But if he became unkind, the wife herself would say, "I have had you long enough—begone!" Or the father or elder brother would suggest to the husband, "You have made her suffer; you shall have her no longer." If she married him in spite of warnings, they punished her by making her live with him. There seems to have been no need for divorce-suits and expensive proceedings. When parents separated, law—or rather custom—had a provision in every case. The children might be taken by the mother, by her mother, or by the father's mother. The husband might lay claim to them, in which case she had no redress. Each consort might re-marry, though the parties were not always delighted to hear of each other's re-marriage.

Etiquette was dreadfully exacting between the sexes among the primitive folk of the Plains. A man did not speak to his mother-in-law except under the direst necessity.

Strict Etiquette of Indians. He went a step farther and avoided his wife's grandmother—indeed, in the good old days he "cut" both her parents and grandparents. The right way to converse with either of them was by requesting his wife or child to procure the desired information—the reply would flow back through the same channel. A woman would not speak to her husband's father in the presence of the family, and she never passed in front of her daughter's husband. Just a remnant of this survives here and there in the country. If a man were visiting



CROW INDIANS: BEAR-WOLF AND HIS SQUAW, SE-TA-PIT-SE, OF SIOUAN FAMILY.

his wife during her stay at her father's, his mother-in-law presented food to him through his wife; in the absence of the daughter, the old lady set it on the ground and retired to give him a chance to eat it.

Men helped women and children to alight from horses, and carried them over streams on their backs, when there was one to ford.

With regard to maternity, Dorsey gives the women of the Plains a good name. The

Indian Childhood.

Sioux are fond of children, and sometimes the husband treats the girl infant better than the boy.

Large families were, however, the exception; the death-rate was large, and in many cases couples had no children at all. For reasons elsewhere stated, weaning was greatly prolonged among these Indians; cases of the same mother suckling two children were not rare. The little girls were dressed from the first more than the boys. They were in subjection to the mother, whom they helped

in her work. At five the girl could go for wood or water; at eight she was taught to make up a pack and fit it to her back; if she were unruly, the mother's hand was ready and versatile in little punishments. As she grew older she cut wood, cultivated corn, and graduated as a young woman. At six the method of dressing the hair was changed. The women did their apportioned tasks willingly, men joined women at their work when it was necessary, and there was always redress in the clan, if one of them was oppressed.

A widow remained single four to seven years, and if she broke the custom she was likely to be punished. After

Widows and Widowers.

forty they did not re-marry. If a stepmother should be cruel, the husband might separate from his wife, or some of the children's kindred would take charge of them. A widower also waited several years, and his dead wife's kindred would take his ponies from him if he married too soon. On the other hand, a man who had loved his wife dearly would remain single so long that some of her female kindred would say, "Poor fellow, he has no one to sew his moccasin; let's hunt him out a wife among us." No sooner said than done, and he would be induced to marry again. The student of similarities in culture will find here an excellent example of independent origins.

The sugar camp of the North-West was woman's enterprise. It

was a strenuous season —cutting wood, collect-

ing sap in birch bark vessels of their own handiwork, boiling sap in kettles in later times, straining it through their blankets, and putting the sugar away in other birch baskets, kept the women busy. Indians all loved sugar—men, women, and children; and they got plump from eating it.



CHEYENNE SQUAWS.

No account of the women among any tribe of North American Indians is complete without a study of their Indian Games. Walker gives the shinney, foot bones, dice, and bowls for the Teton Sioux. The shinney of the women is every whit as lively as that of the men. It is played with a skin-covered ball or one of wood and with the well-known hockey sticks, straight in the shaft, crooked at the lower and larger end, and long enough to allow the player to strike on the ground with it while standing erect. The game was played between two goals by two parties or sides, equally divided. Each goal was bounded by two stakes set 50 to 100 feet apart, and the goals themselves were from 300 yards to a mile apart. The players arranged themselves in two lines about half-way between the goals, those on one side on one line, and each facing its own goal, the lines being thirty feet apart. After the ball was placed on the ground, at a given signal each side attempted to put the ball across its goal. The side that accomplished this won.

The Teton women play a gambling game that even men and boys like to play for fun. It is similar to our cup and ball, and called "game with foot bones," because the objects caught are the astragali of deer or antelope, cut into hollow cones to fit on one another. They are pierced on the apex and strung, four to six in a set. The borders are also pierced and loops tied on the outer end of the joining thongs, at the other end of which is the pointed bone on which the cups are caught. The game is played by any number of women sitting, and consists in catching the cones one by one on the end of the bone or in thrusting its point through a loop in the end of the thong or through one of the holes in the border of a cup.

Teton old women also play dice, at which they sometimes become inveterate gamblers. The dice are made of plum-stones, one side plain, the other carved with figures or

marks, which count whatever is agreed on. Six constitute a set. They are shuffled in and thrown from a shallow wicker basket of willow. The tally sticks are rods of wood, about a hundred in a set. The game is played by women in pairs on opposing sides, who throw in turn all the dice from the basket and draw as many counters as they are entitled to. When these are all taken the game is finished, and the side that has the greater number of sticks wins.

Girls play with the horned javelin, dolls, and toy tipis. A wooden javelin is tipped with elk-horn and slid on the snow or ice. The one whose javelin goes farthest wins the game.

The Teton maidens are just like all other girls in their love for dolls. They may be made of wood or buck-skin stuffed, much is left for imagination, but they are correct in detail of male and female attire and accoutrements. They tuck them into regular models of baby carriers and bear them on their backs like the mothers. Finally, the girls play house and take on matronly cares in miniature tipis, or skin tents, from a few inches in height to examples large enough for a well-grown girl to enter.

Some writers speak of the abandonment of old women on the prairie, but when the Omahas and Poncas went on their long hunts they left the aged woman at home, provided her with shelter, food, water, and fuel; set her to watch the cornfields, and in winter placed a home for her near the village.

There are many thousands of Indians in this area, offspring of white men and Indian women. They are in every walk of life, some of them adorning the learned professions. A visit to one of the Government schools is the best witness of this. It is charming to hear the class prophets laying down the future prospects, all of which are bare of wildness and ring with progress.

Treatment of Aged Indians.

Present Condition of Indians.



Photograph supplied by M. L. Bradford, Avery Island, La.

OLD CLARA DARDEN, OF THE CHETIMACHA INDIANS OF LOUISIANA,

At work splitting the reed cane, of which she makes most beautiful baskets.

VI.—THE EASTERN AREA

Woman's Important Position—Chetimacha Basket-work—An Indian Educational Difficulty

IF this work were concerned with the women of America as they were in the pre-European days, there would be no more important chapter in the whole work than that on the Iroquois, who, with the more numerous Algonquins, the Muscogees, and other stocks, inhabited this part of America.

Woman's Important Position.

Among the Iroquois the supremacy of woman was far more than a mere phrase; she enjoyed the right of sending mere man upon the warpath whenever she pleased, and at her behest he had to stay at home, however bellicose he might feel. Among the Wyandots the tribal council was composed of four women to one man, and if among the Oneidas the men were actually the councillors, they had to consult woman as to their plans, at least in theory; but Charlevoix tells us that the men rarely told the women anything which needed to

be kept secret, and seldom communicated to them any matter of consequence, though all was done in their name. It has, in fact, been said of the tribes east of the Mississippi that among them women constituted the tribe, transmitted the nobility of blood, kept up the genealogical tree and order of inheritance, and perpetuated the family. They possessed all actual authority, owned the land, and the fields and their harvests; they were the soul of all councils, the arbiters of peace and war; they had the care of the public treasury; slaves were given to them; they arranged marriages; the children belonged to them, and to their blood was confined the line of descent and the order of inheritance. The men, on the other hand, were wholly isolated and restricted to their personal affairs; their children were strangers to them, and when they died

everything came to an end, as it was only the women who could keep up and perpetuate the family. If there were only men in a household, no matter in what number or how many children they might have, it was doomed; and although by courtesy they were made chiefs, and public business was transacted by a council of old men, yet they acted merely as representatives of the woman and to aid her in those affairs in which it was not becoming for her to appear and act for herself.

But of course this picture does not apply to the present day. The tribes are many of them extinct; others are represented by only a remnant; and though the Iroquois stock is still relatively strong and not yet converted to Christianity in many cases, a picture of their life to-day bears no resemblance to that of the old tribal life.

In other tribes the survivors are fewer, and as an example we may take one of the southern area.

The illustration on p. 466 is of a Chetimacha Indian woman,

**Chetimacha
Basket-
work.**

Clara Darden, engaged upon her work of basket-making, which is a survival

of the ancient double weave. The inside basket has been finished, while the long ends of cane are to complete the outer one. In the early days of Louisiana this group was an independent linguistic family in the Mississippi River delta. In recognition of their services to the colonists, France and Spain granted to them a large tract of land on the Bayou Teche, surrounding one of their villages where the tribe had dwelt from time immemorial. The United States confirmed the grant to them in the Treaty of Paris. When Mrs. Sidney Bradford, of Avery Island, La., began her work among them, she found only one woman—old

Clara Darden—who could make a perfect basket. Many of the older women had learned when young, but, having no sale, they had ceased to make them for many years. Mrs. Bradford found that in all the tribe there was only one who could read and write, Christine Paul, the daughter-in-law of old Chief Joken Paul (since dead), and his son Benjamin Paul, now chief. The little thin woman had been taught in the convent when she was a child. Prizes were offered for perfect baskets, and Mrs. F. N. Doubleday gave the first. Soon Clara Darden had gathered about her all the women and young girls; she taught them what kinds of reed cane to gather, how to split and cure them, what roots were needed for the red, black, and yellow dyes, how to stain the canes, and last, but not least, how to weave the beautiful baskets, with their



Photograph by Park & Co., 72, Colborne Street, Brantford, Ontario.
AN INDIAN GRANDMOTHER.

many wonderful patterns. She taught the names and meanings of the patterns and of the roots for the dyes. Now the basket-making is quite an industry among them. There have been sold several thousand dollars' worth for them, and they owe it all to the teaching of old Clara Darden, who is now nearly a hundred years old, with only one eye and one tooth—and they split their cane, or rather peel off the outer part, of which they weave their baskets, with the teeth. When asked how she

could do this with one tooth, old Clara said, "Oh, my gums are hard now." And without Christine Paul they could never have sold their baskets, for she is the only one who can write, and she offers her mite of learning for the service of all. She measures and marks the prices on the



Photograph supplied by Miss Cora M. Folsom, Hampton Institute, Va.

ADELE QUINNEY,
Stockbridge Indian girl.

baskets, and writes the letters to Mrs. Bradford and her sister, who in turn send the cheques to Christine, and she pays them all.

The Chetimachas are without education, **An Indian Educational Difficulty.** as the white people would not allow the Indian children to attend their schools, and the Indians would not send their children to negro schools. As an illustration of their helplessness without education, several years ago they were in great trouble about their lands. A white man

claimed to have paid taxes on parts of them, and wished to seize them. Christine was ill in bed, her eyes were sore, so she could not see to write, and there was no one else to write to Mrs. Bradford. So the chief, with the six head men of the tribe, came about forty miles to tell her their troubles and ask for help.

VII.—TROPICAL WOMEN

Locality and Environment—Central American Tribes—Position of Primitive Women—The Food Question—The Importance of Maize—Primitive Intoxicants—Dress—Typical Houses—House Furnishings—A Curious Bath—Indian Weaving—Pottery—Indian Method of Travel—Indian Trade—Indian Women as Artists—Woman and Indian Architecture—Indian Music—Mother-right—Position of Primitive Woman—Marriage—How Children were Named—The Aztecs—A Mexican Tradition—Religion

THE tropical environment of North America furnished to women a new set of problems to solve. To them were committed the Caribbean Sea, with its numerous islands, and Middle America, beginning at the north with the Tropic of Cancer, and including the celebrated culture areas of the Valley of Mexico and

the peninsula of Yucatan. The Aztecs of Mexico were far embracing and inclusive; the Maya, of Yucatan and Guatemala, strangely exclusive and refined. These two were the Romans and the Greeks of the Western world. This narrowing strip of land extends to Panama, the gateway of another continent and of new harmonies between women and Nature.

Cosmic characteristics were at play there that had great influence in the moulding of woman. The days and nights were equal the year round; there was no lamp needed to give light or heat, or to demand the care of women. In all accessible places no ice or frost or snow demanded so cramped and exacting a home as in the Arctic, but abundance—superabundance—of rain fell, making the low places and coasts not only *tierras calientes*, but *pestilentes*. Navigable waters were almost wanting in and about the Isthmus, while the Antilles were the home of the canoe. One associates women with water craft almost everywhere in the north save in the Isthmian tribes, and the south-west. On the mainland there were the choicest obsidian and other materials for domestic utensils to wait on women and sharpen their wits, as well as good friable stones for materials, and tough stones for tools—civilisers of men—in developing architecture and sculpture. These were also the necessary aids of millers and

cooks, who were women. Clay also obtruded itself into woman's life and made the potter, the *adobe* worker, and the cook. It associates itself through her with springs and water-courses, the location of the home, the trails among the hills, the *cenotes* or underground springs, and the higher thoughts of art and religion.

Animal life was not specially favourable to woman's exaltation. The Antilles offered marine food, but the getting and serving of this was not quickening to their wits. The western half of the area gave flesh for food, together with feathers and fleece for textile art; but it had not a domesticable animal to help women to bear a burden, to draw a load, or offer a drop of milk to prolong the life of infancy. The corresponding region in South America was the Peruvian highlands, which produced the Auchenias, capable of carrying weights of fifty pounds and yielding one of the finest

textile staples in the world. The effect of this absence upon woman's life will be seen later on.

But the vegetable kingdom was more helpful to the sex, with its nutritious, sheltering, and textile plants, in great variety, and of fine quality. In the tropical climate it was never out of service, ennobling and stimulating women and yielding its fruits every month. One of the most interesting facts in woman's culture here, as elsewhere, is the thorough way in which she has



A NICOYA INDIAN GIRL; COSTA RICA
Sitting outside a Palm-leaf House.

Photograph by Pittier.

employed every useful root, stem, and leaf, flower, fruit, and seed, seeking aid or tracking enemies. It is quite in harmony with other areas that the women here, walking in the trails of greatest economy, had accomplished this thorough exploitation of the vegetable world.

Summing up the "pros" and "cons" of resources, the result was a rather small race of women, but possessing a fair amount of beauty and vigour. There is no way of knowing their productiveness or average longevity. In the Archipelago were the native

**Central
American
Tribes.**

Arawakan Indians and the intruding, fierce Caribs, who had also found their way into coastal portions of Central America. Other families of Southern Mexico and Central America had their lines fall in pleasant places, and they had a goodly heritage, not the least of which were food and drink and salubrious air. These were the progressive areas, if such a term may be allowed; while others were decidedly regressive, making their women retrogressive.

Twenty-three linguistic families were spread about this tropical North American region:—1. Arawakan (Great Antilles); 2. Caribbean (Caribbean Sea); 3. Chiapanecan (Chiapas); 4. Chibchan (Costa Rica); 5. Chinantecan (Oaxaca); 6. Cunan (Panama); 7. Doraskean (Panama); 8. Hua-vean (Tehuantepec); 9. Leucan (Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua); 10. Matagalpan (Nicaragua); 11. Mayan (Guatemala); 12. Nahuatlán (General); 13. Otomian (Central Mexico); 14. Payan (Honduras); 15. Negrindaro (Nicaragua); 16. Tarascan (Michoacan); 17. Chontalan (Oaxaca); 18. Totonacan (Vera Cruz and Puebla); 19. Ulvan (Nicaragua); 20. Xicaquean (Honduras); 21. Xincan (Guatemala); 22. Zapotec-Mixtecán (Oaxaca); 23. Zoquean (Tabasco).

Of these some are extinct, others have dwindled; and the picture presented in the following pages is often rather of what was than of what is.

Not all of them were of great importance. Nos. 4, 11, 12, 18, and 22 have been the

best known in history. The perpetual mystery will be the source of so many peoples and tongues that can understand scarcely a word of one another's speech. The same confusion obtains all up the Pacific Coast as far as Mt. St. Elias.

Quite as puzzling as the languages has been the question of advancement. Among the twenty-three peoples some were at the acme of American civilisation; others almost at its lowest ebb. It must not be forgotten, however, that these phenomena were for good and sufficient reasons, which must be sought out, if they have not been destroyed.

Authors who have written about these women, both those of the time of the discovery of America and of more recent periods, have not agreed in marking their grade in advancement. With the more

**Position of
Primitive
Women.**

enthusiastic writers, the Aztecs and Mayas were civilised, with others they were savages, possessing not one excellence or virtue worthy of preservation. Neither extreme is correct regarding their rank. Their speech was still agglutinative. Their industries were yet dependent upon hand skill; the spindle and the drill were revolving tools only, without machine bearings. Fine art was greatly advanced, but still barbarous in motives and methods. Social structures were rising out of savagery, but not emancipated. Their explanations of Nature were childish. Religion was exalted fetishism.

The different effects of varied environments within a narrow compass are shown here in the appearance of the women generally. One people show woman delicate in form and graceful, with handsome features. The Zapotec women, "though of small stature and bizarre in their carriage, are truly graceful and seductive." Other tribes are spoken of as remarkably ugly. The Aztec and the Maya women are not alike in appearance, and their artists note the fact. One questions whether the quite different national motives could not have made the difference mentioned through

unconscious selection from two quite diverse ideals of perfection.

In this environment was on exhibition the whole range of woman's share in American culture. The great variety of surface, soil, and climate, for her physical, industrial, intellectual, and moral uplifting or degradation, had as its fruit a wide range of cultural results. In the best associations of conditions were the Aztec and Maya groups, and the worst products were dwellers in caves—types of lowest savagery. It is an inexhaustible field of research, a little world by itself. Some of the languages were widely spoken; others restricted to narrow boundaries. The same is true of the arts. From north to south, North America is a cumulative poem, in which the last verse contains all the rest and more besides.

The very first question in culture is that of food.

The Food Question. Where there was abundance of food,

in sufficient variety, and of good quality, there was progress; but everywhere in the Isthmian portion the lack of good meat told on the stature and, it is feared, encouraged cannibalism.

Maize, beans, tomatoes, and peppers mixed with a variety of things, were the staple foods. Then there were some excellent fruits, among them the banana, which was cooked or eaten raw. The giant cactus bore a delicious edible fruit—*pitahaya*; they also ate the blossom and made bread from the seeds. Genius was stimulated by the thorny stem and covering to invent a gathering apparatus somewhat like the English apple picker.

The Otomi women in the west did little

cultivation, consumed the grain before it ripened, and trusted to game—rabbits, deer, moles, and birds, also foxes, rats, snakes, and other reptiles—to help them out. They made a dish of ground corn cobs and *cacas* and baked it. About the Valley of Mexico flies' eggs were pounded, moulded into lumps and fried. They were esteemed a delicacy.



Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

MAKING TORTILLAS (MAIZE CAKES) IN MEXICO.

Other tribes cultivated the soil and lived almost wholly on artificial industries. They planted corn with digging sticks. They hunted bees, stopped the entrance of the log where the insects worked with clay, and carried the hive to their homes. After a short time they removed the clay, and the bees were domesticated.

Quite universal as food are the tortillas, or corn-cakes. The tough outer skin is removed by soaking the grains of maize for a night in weak lime-water. The product is then mashed or ground on a metate. From the paste the tortilla is formed by patting it into a thin cake and cooking it on a slab or in an earthen pan. The tortilla is eaten with boiled beans and a mixture



A STREET BAKERY, MEXICO.

Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

of chile and fat. The soaked corn is also roasted and made into gruel, in which *cacao* and sugar are mixed. *Tamales* are chopped meat, peppers, and onions, covered with corn paste, the whole enveloped in corn husks or plantain leaves, and boiled or baked.

The most far-reaching of woman's industries in Mexico are associated with maize. Mrs. Nuttall calls attention to its cultivation in the valley from remote antiquity. The name *Flaxcalla*

The Importance of Maize.

means "bread," and its hieroglyphic symbol is two hands holding a tortilla, or maize cake. This plant has not been identified with any native grass, and the development must have been slow. It is interesting, says Mrs. Nuttall, "to reflect that (as clearly shown by ceremonial usages which existed

throughout our continent and survive among the Pueblo Indians) it is to the fostering care, forethought, and labour of countless generations of women, the 'Corn Maidens and Mothers,' that America owes the priceless legacy of a food plant which has already sustained untold millions of lives. While the ancient 'Daughters of the Earth' have given to their country a gift which will last for all time, the pyramids, temples, and cities reared by the 'Sons of Heaven' have fallen into ruin, and their complex organisation, government, and calendar now lie superseded under the dust of time." It would not be unreasonable to imagine that, in pre-Columbian times, Mexican women observed the maize plant beckon-

ing to them, and plucked the little ears for food. They selected the very best each season for the gods, and at the proper time committed the grains to the earth with imposing prayers and ceremonies. The modern Burbanks were thus anticipated by centuries.

In this area, going southward, one encounters for the first time intoxicating beverages. Tobacco and a few other plants were smoked at the north. But fermentation

Primitive Intoxicants.

and, some say, primitive distillation, appear in this environment. An intoxicating drink was from the fruit of the *nopal* or prickly pear (*opuntia*), which was first peeled and pressed. The juice was then passed through straw sieves and placed by a fire or in the sun, where it fermented.

Chicha is made from raw sugar-cane, mashed with a wooden mallet and passed through a press. *Pulque* is a well-known drink, made from the *Agave Americana*. When the plant is about to bloom the heart or stalk is cut out, leaving a cavity in the centre, which is covered with the outer leaves. Every day the cavity fills once or twice with the sap, which is taken out by sucking it into a long gourd and pouring it into a skin receptacle. The sap is mixed with some already fermented *pulque* and the process continued. The liquor is very intoxicating, and leaves its impress on the hardened faces of many women.

In Payne's "History of America" the invention of intoxicants is laid at the door of agriculture. "The use of corn, of all descriptions, for this purpose is of scarcely less antiquity than its general use as food; and from our knowledge of the tastes of savages it may be fairly inferred that the practice received a powerful stimulus from the discovery that infusions of corn, like drinks made from the juices of fruits and the sap of trees, acquire an intoxicating quality from fermentation.

From the varied environment dress differs greatly. Children in Tehuantepec and thereabout wear no clothing. Women have modified their costume much under Spanish influence. In Tehuantepec

it is a skirt of cotton or wool reaching to the ankles, often elaborately embroidered in various designs and colours; the *huipil*, a chemisette, with short sleeves, often adorned with lace and threads of gold and silk; and a white cotton head covering, drawn on like a sack and hanging down the back. In Tabasco the cotton petticoat, with a few yards of calico about the waist, or a sleeve frock, is the dress. Essentially these garments make up the clothing of southern Mexican women.

The women of Guatemala, Salvador, and Nicaragua, when at home, wear the waist



A STREET BREAKFAST IN MEXICO.

Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

cloth, generally blue checked, secured by a twisted knot. On going abroad they put on the *huipil*, a piece of white cotton, having a long slit in the middle for the head, and covering the breast and back as far as the waist. The women manufacture and dye

were pierced for plugs of stone, wood, or amber, and rings of gold. The face was also painted and stained.

In the southern Mexican States, earthquakes, as well as hot suns and most abun-



A LEMONADE STAND IN OAXACA, MEXICO.

Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico

all the clothing, and expend their best efforts upon their outer garments. They embroider or dye the neck and shoulders with tasteful colours and designs. These are distinct for each village, so that it may at once be seen to which tribe the wearer belongs. Indeed, on festive occasions the women are extravagantly fond of gaudy dress and flowers.

In southern Mexico, both sexes wear the hair long, parted in the middle, and hung in loose tresses over the shoulders, or looped up on the back of the head. On festive occasions they wear flowers in the hair and phosphorescent beetles. Feather tufts and skins of green birds are used as ornaments, as well as necklaces of gold nuggets, and amber beads. Formerly noses and ears

dant materials, gave lessons in home building for women. A framework of branches

Tropical Houses.

in a double row was filled in with earth, or wattled cane-work was plastered with clay. There were no windows, and the roofs were thatched with palmetto. The interior was divided into compartments after the manner of the North-West coast houses. The wilder tribes dwelt in caves, the Tzendals, of Chiapas, painted their houses, and the Ahualulcos lived in communities in commodious houses of cane.

The dwellings of the central Mexican wild tribes varied with climate and locality. In the lowlands they were sheds consisting of poles stuck in the ground, the spaces between woven with rushes and the roof

thatched with palm leaves. In the high-lands women had more substantial homes. Trunks of trees were tied together with creeping vines, the walls plastered with clay, the roof made of split slabs kept in place with stones. In treeless areas the houses were of sun-dried bricks or stones, and the interior walls hung with mats. The best of them were one storey high, and the humbler one would scarcely allow the mistress to stand erect in it. The entire home was one room, in which all the family lived. Furniture was lacking, the inmates were born, sat, slept, and at last died on the bare ground. A few stone slabs in the middle of the floor served for cooking range. In Vera Cruz there was a separate small hut for a kitchen.

The Chichimecs (barbarous hordes) lived in caves situated in precipitous valleys, while the Pames, a branch of them, contented themselves with the shade of the forest trees.

Modern Mitla, jewel of ancient architecture, is now a village chiefly of thatched houses on frames of poles and canes, obscured by clusters of trees and cactus fences. It is located at the lower limit of water supply in the dry season. In the wet season the flow extends into the lower valley; but in winter it barely suffices to supply the village with water for domestic purposes and for stock. The antiquities of Mitla are its great attraction, but it must not be overlooked that the guardians of the spring had a voice, as elsewhere, in choosing the site. The women were the practical exploiters of home sites, and consequently of temple sites, and it has already been mentioned that the mosaic patterns in the stone are to be seen in countless varieties in the textile productions.

The furniture of the humble dwelling was as forlorn as the structure itself, but

House Furnishings.

the utensils were sufficient for woman's demands. The indispensable piece was the *metate*, an oblong volcanic stone about 12 by 18 inches, smooth on the upper surface and resting in a slanting position

on three legs cut out of the same piece. Some of them were beautifully carved. With this was the *metlapilli*, or muller, and a large earthen pan, the *comalli*, in which to cook the tortillas. Their dishes and vessels were of calabash fruit, gourds, or pottery, some of which were tastefully decorated. A block of wood for stool or table, and palm leaf mats for beds, completed the household and kitchen furniture.

For artificial heat the people of Queretaro, when basking in the sun does not yield

A Curious Bath.

sufficient warmth, scoop out a hole in the ground, burn in it branches and leaves of the *maguey*, and when the pit is sufficiently heated, lay themselves down in it and cover themselves with a mat or the loose earth. This scarcely allies itself with the ceremonial sweat-house, chiefly belonging to men. The *temazcalli*, or sweat-bath, was used in cases of severe illness. The bath-house stood close to a spring, and was built like a bake oven. When heated the fire was withdrawn, water thrown in, and the naked patient thrust in feet foremost on a mat. The breathing hole was about 18 inches square. When sufficiently steamed, the body was beaten with rushes. A cold water bath and brisk rubbing completed the operation.

Weaving in its native simplicity furnished one of the best examples of the tropical

Indian Weaving.

Indian woman stepping into the domain of invention. The woman's muscles are at their best—fingers, hands, arms, back, lips, and mouth play their parts, assisted by bobbins, spindles, fly-wheels, stone and shell knives, yarn beams, dye pots, cloth beams, shuttles, batten swords, harness, tension, appliances, all of the most primitive sort. The woman's hands and mouth prepare the hair, wool, or agave fibre; the fingers twist the yarn or spin it with a simple spindle, of which the fly-wheels are pretty whorls of pottery ornamented. The distaff has hardly been born, the fibre being simply bunched together. The cotton warp is wrapped around two

coarse sticks—by courtesy they may be called beams—at the proper distance for the garment, or utensil to be made, for cloth in the piece had not been invented when this loom came into existence. By a martingale, one beam is attached

made by pulling the under warps to the top, the other shed results from the release of the cross-piece and letting the under warp drop into place. Each time a shed is made the batten sword is pushed between the two series and tilted on edge so as



AT THE WELL.

Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

to a tree or any other convenient support, and by means of breeching or a breech strap the inner or cloth-beam is harnessed to the woman's body. This gives her perfect control over her tension, and makes the process of weaving rhythmic. The warp is nearly horizontal and the harness is exceedingly simple for shifting it. The woman lays a rod across the threads and wraps another thread about it in a spiral so as to pass between warps and enclose the under one each time. When the harness stick is lifted a shed is

to allow the shuttle to pass through. As soon as the weft is passed and drawn taut, the tension apparatus (the woman's back) straightens up, the batten is laid flat and beats the weft home. The woman sits at her task or stands, and as her work is done she has it in her power to loosen the outer beam of her warp and keep her position, or she makes tucks in the finished piece at the cloth-beam.

In looking at a collection of these tropical textiles one is at once arrested at the sudden change from the fine basket-work

of the United States to the ware of Central America and Mexico, both in materials and technique. In Jalisco the women wove the celebrated mantas and blankets, in other parts the cotton stuffs, on their hand looms. The designs were in stripes and dainty figures.

About Santa Cruz the fibres of the aloe, crushed on the *metate* and cleansed, are made into twine, nets, bags, and pelotas, used in rubbing down the body after the bath. Palm-leaf mats in different styles of weaving and qualities of texture enter largely into the industrial life.

Maya pottery may be traced by its Yucatec characters in the ceramic

art of at least three of the United States on the Gulf coast. Earthenware obtained from the southern Maya ranks among the highest of its class in the world.



Photograph by C. F. Waite, Mexico.

FETCHING WATER.

The art also flourished within the Aztec area. Holmes says that Teotihuacan furnished a greater variety of Pottery. wares than any other district in America. A long period of occupation is represented, and vessels vary in treatment from the lowest limit of simplicity to the most elaborate phases of the native art. Dark plain ware, the simple red wares of the Aztecs, and fragments of vases beautiful in colour and design may be picked up in the same neighbourhood. The pottery, in its shapes and colours and embellishments, was the outlet of conceptions in technical processes, colour schemes, the use of the brush, detail and abbreviated symbolism and the imagery of religion.

The two areas of tropical North America differed in devices for transportation from



Photograph by Pittier.

A KECCHI GIRL WITH WATER-VESSEL;
SENAHU, GUATEMALA.

natural causes. In its eastern portion there is such a repetition of insular South-Eastern

Indian Methods of Travel. Alaska that the stone collars of Porto Rico remind one of the Tlinkit regalia made of cedar bark. The large dug-out canoe was the vehicle of war and peace. The western side of the area was the land of the Cargadores, where the absence of safe and navigable waters made land travel necessary. Social conditions had advanced far enough to call for slavery, which in a way was woman's emancipation. The professional carrier had studied out the problem of load distribution over a human body to procure the greatest economy.

Transportation of the old kind was still on women's backs, and for them also was the trade of a local nature. The wider commerce and transportation were for men; but food materials and products, pottery, cordage from aloe and other fibre, woven fabrics, and ornamental work were its commodities, and they were woman's care.

Commerce had proceeded so far as to have standards of value. Indeed, a look at the finer work in basketry and embroidery in other areas shows the existence of shell and other money lower down the terraces of culture. Here woven garments, cacao beans, gold dust, and even human beings had fixed values. The most precious commodity of all, which hastened the progress of money standards, was woman. It did not enter into a man's mind on any other terms. Marriage was business. The things that women needed and used had often to be brought from afar. In the Arctic the soapstone of her lamp might travel a thousand miles, and in the tropic environment the same conditions obtained.

The æsthetic activities of women found their expression in ornamental designs upon the products of their handiwork — weaving, pottery, gardening, and the making of garments. The possession of fine materials for textiles in their area gave them oppor-

tunities that they were not slow in grasping. The clay and calabash fruit opened the way to their freehand drawing and painting, while the weaving was their guide in mosaic designs. The result was the production of endless variety in the potter's art, and the manufacture of exquisite embroidery of vegetable and animal as well as geometric motives in their clothing and matting.

The author is indebted to Mrs. Zelia Nuttall for the following thoughts on ancient women's share in Mexican art: "They were undoubtedly very industrious, and it is to them that the development of the chief decorative arts is to be assigned. The women were the weavers and designers of the intricate patterns employed in the ceremonial *tilmatle* or blankets. Women are spoken of as skilled in painting these designs, and it may be reasonably inferred that female artists also painted the *Codices*. They were the potters, and painted the designs thereon. To this day native women artists decorate the lacquer ware made at Uruapan in Michoacan, a fact not generally known. I cannot divest myself of the thought that women designed the decorations on the ruins of Mitla. The effect is that of a sampler, and as women plaited the coloured *petates* or palm mats, the geometric designs of which seem copied in the stone panels, the suggestion of feminine agency seems to me to be very apparent."

To this very day skilful women produce world-famous laces and embroideries, and their fingers go on preserving the same old characteristic patterns; but masons no longer immortalise them in stone.

Much has been written about the wonderful architecture and sculpture of this tropical North America. The Spaniards were accused of destroying a civilisation superior to their own. In fact, the Middle

Woman and Indian Architecture. American culture epitomised all the stages of the continent along every line of artificiality. Women had their share in this, and it will be pleasing to inquire how. They were not stone-workers, but in many ways, while the German women of Cæsar's

day were bringing food and cheer to their husbands, the Central American women were making it possible for the men to erect and adorn the wonderful temples and palaces of their land.

Men's labour culminated in architecture and sculpture. Content to dwell in tenements of reeds and mud, their most

hung together or notched sticks. There were membrane drums, *huehueltl*, and wooden drums, *teponaztli*. The former had a single head of skin, stretched by means of snares, and was played with the hands; the latter was of wood, often of immense size, having two parallel slits forming two tongues and

Indian Music.



Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

INDIAN WOMAN WEAVING THE SERAPE IN MEXICO.

exalted efforts were given to the gods. In the fruits of their labours women shared also. With better foods the population increased, more food-stuffs were demanded than women could supply, and the industrial professions of men were organised. The love of decoration and embellishment took the place of drudgery in their minds. Little remains in the relics dug up to attest this, but their thoughts and imaginings survive until now. Out of men's minds the "pride of other days" has passed, but the thrill of art is still alive in the women.

Musical instruments of the tropical North Americans belonged to the rattle, drum, and whistle classes. The rattle, *ayacachtli*, might be of calabash, metal, noisy bodies

often artistically carved. The tongues were beaten with sticks tipped with rubber balls. The whistles, which concern this narrative more directly, and the flageolets, were of pottery. They were modelled into all sorts of grotesque shapes, chiefly imitating animals, and painted. The art of making them at least was woman's, and much study has been given to the method of playing them, with the view of discovering what scale, if any, these Indians possessed.

Sociology finds its lowest unit for women in kinship and those associations of the sexes that take the place of the family. It widens out to examine the infant civic life, with its varied industrial associations, and ends with the

Mother-right.

ceremonial and religious life. The largest social organisation was the tribe ; all notions of reading European political phraseology into tropical North America must be put aside. Bandelier states that the so-called Confederacy was only a partnership for war to increase the means of subsistence, and not for the extension of territory.

The existence and predominance of the kin system supposes the duty of marrying outside the clan. Bandelier says of the ancient Mexicans that they had advanced to descent in the male line and a nascent state of the modern family. But the kin feeling was so persistent that marriage was exacted for the purpose of increasing the



MAKING THE MEXICAN DRAWN-WORK.

Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

Tribal society was based upon kin, the initial or lowest expression of which was the mother-right—that is, the kin, or “lineage,” as Spanish authors had it. A certain ancestress far back, and all her descendants through females, make up the kin and form the unit of social organisation. As yet there was no complete family, in which descendants of both males and females were recognised. Political society based on territory was also unknown at first, and so was the descent in the male line undeveloped. What was going on with varying rapidity, answering to the growth of population, the differentiation of trades, and the artificialisation of life, was the slow change to descent in the male line, called father-right. As this process went on at first, bearing the mother’s name became a kind of fiction in custom.

group. The youth who refused to take a wife was expelled from the kin. Through the establishment of descent in the male line, woman lost her hold on public life and became a chattel. But her duty to marry was also obligatory, and one who was not misshapen or “under vows” was an outcast if she refused. Having no other resource, the outcasts became slaves. Bandelier says that her position was little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded her only as property—the kin was obliged to protect that for self-protection.

The wife was nearly as badly off as the outcast ; any act of the man’s that tended to increase the clan was condoned, while straying on her part was severely punished. In reading through the abundant literature collected by Bancroft and others,



TEHUANTEPEC WOMEN IN NATIVE COSTUME.

Photograph by C. B. Harte, Mexico.

49

it is surprising to find so little of romantic love in connection with the family life. In

the Aztec kins the young girls were safeguarded, but in other tribes not, and romance had full sway. This had nothing to do with the cool business by which partners for life were chosen, and not by gallant youths and charming maidens, but by scheming fathers and mothers.

Facts connected with marriage have been collected by Bancroft. It usually takes place

**Marriage
in Mexico.**

at an early age, girls being seldom found single after fourteen or fifteen years. In some tribes, if the girl has not chosen a mate by this time, her parents or guardians select one for her. Trial marriages are allowed in some places. Among the Chi-

sends her husband presents, they consider themselves married, and friends give themselves up to feasting and dancing.

A plurality of wives was found among the women of this area at the time of the Conquest, the first wife taking precedence. Among the wilder tribes, where one wife was the rule, it was not rarely that she was repudiated and another taken. Ethical standards in the family were not high, and this fact stood in the way of progress even more than hard conditions and poisoned atmosphere. Chivalry did not flourish. Women were under subjection to their husbands. Yet attention is called again to the fact that the kinship tribe, together with its adopted members, was the unit in the social struggle and the multiplication of its membership restrained all cruelty to mothers. Barrenness was a crime.



MAKING CLAY BRASEROS, MEXICO.

Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

chimecs the consent of the parents is necessary. The preliminary meetings are held by both sets of parents. The conclusions are made known to the young people, and, if the decision is favourable, the girl

When a babe was about to be born, the mother retired to a dark corner of the house, attended by an aged woman, who pretended to sing and call the infant from afar.

As soon as the child was born, the attendant covered her face with her hands and walked around the house once. The first object she saw on opening her eyes was

The Coras named the child after one of its uncles or aunts. At the end of the first year there was a feast in honour of the babe, at which the father and mother and



Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

MUSIC IN MEXICO.

chosen as the name of the child. Among the Otomi, north of the Mexican valley, the young mother was the victim of exacting and terrorising superstitions. Happy and unhappy omens met her at every step—a black dog, a singing bird, the phases of the moon. She was loaded with charms and amulets, and subjected to taboos. Actions were prescribed that were hurtful and often fatal.

When the child was a girl an old woman painted a flower over the heart, on the palm of the right hand a spindle was pictured, and on the left a bunch of wool.

the sponsors were the honoured guests. Salt was for the first time placed in the infant's mouth. Another feast came at the cutting of the teeth, and the child received its first meal. This was a very important matter in the tropics. At the age of twelve the youth took the first drink of wine. Bandelier quotes fully the old authorities about Mexican birthdays. Shortly after the child's birth its mother, in the presence of the clan (*calpulli*) gave it a name through the midwife, which was generally the day of its birth. It had a superstitious import and was retained during helplessness. Several months later the medicine man of the kin



Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

IN THE STREET, MEXICO.

conducted another "naming." These names were preserved, and if in manhood some noble deed were done in their service, the whole tribe gave the man a third name, which was his title.

On the eastern side of the environment was a curious state of affairs.

The Aztecs. The old-time Indians of the Antilles were called Arawaks, but the great family of Caribs—rovers from South America—had swept over the sea named after them, about killed off and adopted the men, but enslaved and often married the women. The latter, when the Spaniards found them, were speaking two languages—that of their con-

querors and literally the mother tongue. Payne speaks of agricultural communities composed of women alone, deriving their continuity from periodical visits by men from other tribes. Columbus heard of such a community from an Indian who visited him on board the *Nina*, January 13th, 1493.

Aztec children of both sexes, says Bancroft, were carefully instructed by parents and the priests. In spite of the superstitions that flavoured their customs, care was taken to inspire the young with a love of truth, respect for elders, modesty, and a horror of vice. In a most interesting series of Aztec paintings is to be seen how the children were brought up, the amount of food allowed them, the duty they had to per-



Photograph by Feltner.

KECCHI WOMAN AND CHILD, NEAR CAHABON, GUATEMALA.

form, and the punishments for neglect. For a girl, three small circles show her to be three years old; half an oval indicates that her meal ration was half a cake. During the fourth and fifth year the girl is shown a distaff by her mother, and she is instructed in its use—ration, a whole cake. In the sixth and seventh years the girl is spinning under the mother's eye—ration, a cake and a half, continuing so until her thirteenth year. The punishments are as follows—at eight, the instruments were being shown to her as warnings; at ten, girls were pricked in the hands and wrists with *maguety* thorns or beaten with sticks; at eleven, they were held over a pile of burning *chile*; at twelve, the naughty girl was obliged to rise in the night and sweep the house. Between thirteen

and fifteen, girls ground corn, cooked, and practised weaving. Schools and seminaries for both sexes were a monopoly in the hands of the priests; but no women were allowed to enter the colleges. Bancroft says that large seminaries for girls were attached to the temples. They were presided over by matrons brought up in the institutions. The building was strictly guarded by old men. If a maiden left her apartment without a guard her feet were pricked with thorns. The girls went out together accompanied by their matrons, at which times they were not allowed to raise their eyes. It was their duty to sweep their precincts of the temple and to attend the sacred fire. They were taught religion,

to make feather-work, to spin, and to weave mantles. Frequent bathing, household duties, humility, reverence, modesty, and respectful demeanour were commended, and their neglect punished.

Nieboer, in his studies of slavery, quoting Rochefort, observes that when a captive woman was taken as a wife, the children were free, the mother remaining a slave, and concludes that the other children of captive women and children taken as prisoners were slaves. The Maya had female slaves, and it is reasonable to suppose that the men were killed. In Mexico human sacrifices were offered in their bloody religion, men being the victims. This also left the woman alive for a fate similar to that mentioned above.

In this connection

it might be profitable to refer to the fact that the sexes were like races of men and species of animals. Those species and races that submitted to enslavement survived; those that would not had to die. The women of this area were prepared for slavery by their allotted industries.

In later times, after the intricate Mexican government had been worked out, Banderlier finds curious survivals of the more ancient rule of woman.

A Mexican Tradition.

Among the officers of the tribe was *Tlacacellel*, who was also called *Cihuacohuatl*, the "Snake-woman." Mrs. Nuttall has a most interesting comment on this woman. Huitzilopochtli, in his wanderings,



Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.

HOME WORK IN MEXICO.

was accompanied by his sister, who was a great sorceress. She and her family were left on the road by reason of the animosity against her. In reply to some menaces from the war chiefs, she said: "I am Quilaztli, your sister, and of your tribe. Besides this

same as Cihuacoatl—was the mother of all, also named Tonantzin, "our mother." In all historical records antedating the conquest, a man entitled Cihuacoatl is mentioned as the coadjutor of the Mexican ruler, having equal rank with Montezuma.



Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico

A MEXICAN INTERIOR.

name, I have four titles. The first is Cihuacohuatl, the Woman Serpent (or twin); the second is Quauh-cihuatl, the Eagle Woman; the third is Yao-cihuatl, the Warrior Woman; and the fourth Tzitzmichuatl, the Woman of the Under-world." Mrs. Nuttall, quoting Chavero, thinks that this tradition refers to an important event in the history of the Aztec tribe. Here is a woman, termed the sister of Huitzilopochtli, who exerted high authority, and whose titles were the names of the highest female divinity. Quilatzi, a goddess—the

The Popol-Vuh, the ancient records of the Quiché tribe of Guatemala, names the four wives of the four first men, and says: "These engendered mankind, the large and small tribes, and they were the stock of us, the Quiché tribe."

Enough has been said to show how the nucleus of social life in the tropical environment sprung from motherhood; but there is another feature of our theme. When the Mexicans conquered a tribe they usually exterminated the men or made them pay tribute. But the Tlatilulco tribe were de-

graded to the rank of women, their market closed, their council house abandoned, and their young men compelled to become common carriers for their captors.

but later on, and at the time of the Conquest, the bloody wars of Mexico had also reorganised the religion. Human sacrifices of diabolical character formed one of its chief



Photograph by C. B. Wait, Mexico.

GALTIPAN INDIAN MAIDEN WATER-CARRIER.

In the torrid environment religion was still the personality of Nature. Her forces and phenomena were, to tropical Religion.

Indians, not results, survivals of the fittest, products of selection, but each one was somebody at work. We say "man is the creature of his surroundings," but it is only a figure of speech; on the contrary, with all primitive peoples it is the one reality. We would say that the resources and powers about us are God's agencies as well as His handiwork; to them, the heavenly world is the counterpart of ours. In primitive times women held high rank among the celestial chiefs;

features. The result, however, is still the same. The real potters, weavers, and painters on earth are represented and worshipped in the world above. Earth mothers are matched by sky mothers; or, since kin is more binding than laws, the sky sister is the peer of the Head Chief of the world above. In the sky above, as on the earth below, throughout tropical North America, the weaker sex was the preserver of forms, the binding and abiding link.

On the whole, in the old days the women of North America, like all others that dwelt on our planet, lived the natural life and the culture, or vocational, life. In

both there were good and bad. As in the atmosphere there were for them the life-giving oxygen and the poisonous malaria, so in the culture life there were dreadful evils for them to perpetrate and suffer as well as elevating duties and pleasures. It may have been necessary here and there to mention their wrongs and sins, but the aim of these chapters has been to record the North American woman's share in those inventions which constituted the humanities. It has been the endeavour to show where they stood on the ladder of progress and how Nature has treated the sex.

As has been shown, the complete study of North American aboriginal women in-

cludes their biology and their rounds of duties. The latter embrace all the artificialities of life that come under the term of inventions in its widest acceptance. This forms one of the most fascinating chapters in human history, inasmuch as all the higher races were at one time in similar circumstances to the lower. The women who were the ancestors of the queens in every walk of modern society spoke with their lips, wrought with their hands, adored the beautiful, associated with men and with one another, explained Nature and communed with the spirit world, in the same delightful simplicity as those about whom it is here written.



A MEXICAN WOMAN AT HOME.

Photograph by C. B. Waite, Mexico.



FISHERWOMEN AND GIRLS OF NORTHERN JAPAN.

JAPAN

By CLIVE HOLLAND

Characteristics of the Race—The Ainu—Japanese Characteristics—Beauty in Japan—The Mental Qualities of the Japanese—Art and Dress in Japan—The *Kimono* and *Obi*—European Dress in Japan—The Children of Japan—Child Nurses—Household Duties—Feast Days and Holidays—Courtship—Japanese Marriage Customs—The Training of a Japanese Girl—Japanese Home Life—Divorce—Education—The Japanese Lady of Fashion—Women of the *Samurai*—The *Geisha* Girl—Work-women in Japan—Professions for Women in Japan—The Servant Question—Women Agricultural Workers—Happiness is with the Peasant Women—The Future of Japanese Women

JUST as the English race is an admixture of the characteristics of several peoples, so is the Japanese. Indeed, the similarity in the geographical position of the two countries would lead one almost to expect this. Both are "island kingdoms"; both are in close proximity to continents of wide extent, both are in a very similar latitude, and the shores of both are beneficently washed by tropical currents; ours by the Gulf Stream, and those of Japan by the waters of the Pacific.

Characteristics of the Race.

The analogy might be carried further as regards population and extent; but it is unnecessary.

Nippon, "the Land of the Rising Sun," though consisting of many thousands of small islands, is chiefly comprised of four large ones—Yezo, the northernmost; Hondo, the largest, and "Nippon" proper; Shikoku the smallest, and Kiūshiu the southernmost. These islands, forming a sickle-shaped group, are distant at their nearest point only some hundred miles from Korea. The innumerable Kurile Isles and those of the Loo-

choo group also belong to the Mikado's Empire, as does the large island of Formosa, which was ceded by the Chinese after the war of 1895.

Japan is only separated from the continent of Asia by the narrow strait which divides it from Korea. It is in a measure connected with Kam-schatka, and even with the North American continent to the north by chains of islands; whilst to the south it is similarly linked to the Malay Peninsula. By these channels Japan has in the past received racial influences which are traceable in her people of to-day.

The original inhabitants of the greater

part of
The Ainu.

Japan were probably akin to (if not actually) Ainu, of whom there survive at the present day but a comparatively small number in the Island of Yezo. But in far off ages they undoubtedly inhabited the main island or Nippon as far as the Hakoné Pass. Many authorities think it probable that their influence extended even further south.

The origin of the name Ainu is not for certain known. This strange people, in common with the inhabitants of the Kurile group of islands and the Japanese portion of Sakhalien, call themselves Yezo. By several authorities, as well as by the Japanese themselves, the word Ainu is believed to have been derived from *inu*, dog, and was given to them as an expression of contempt. Physically they are a sturdy and well-developed race, and, although many doubt whether these now docile and amiable people can be the remnants of the race which was once so troublesome and bar-

barous, it should be remembered that for centuries the strongest means were taken by the Japanese proper for their repression, and for driving them back whence they had come. The number of Ainu in the island

of Yezo at the present time is variously computed at 15,000, or 16,000; this number is, however, gradually decreasing.

The Ainu women possess an abundance of hair, and most of the older ones are of a rather hard and masculine type of face. In all matters relating to civilisation they are most primitive. Their dwellings, ideas of family life, food, clothing, and implements are of an elementary character; and they are of much less cleanly habits than the Japanese.

To wash their persons and clothing might be called an act of religion with the Japanese and an accident with the Ainu. This primitive and interesting race is treated separately in the succeeding article.

As it is recognised to-day the Japanese race proper is a mixed race of considerably differing elements. And

Japanese Characteristics.

although the amalgamation of the various types of which it is composed has been going on for many hundreds of years, yet the variations which distinguish individuals can still be traced and recognised. In the north and chiefly amongst the labouring classes the face is broad, the nose flat, the eyes horizontal, and the cheek bones prominent; whilst the frame is robust and muscular rather than well-proportioned. In the south, on the other hand, and more amongst the ruling and upper middle classes than the lower, is



Photograph by Karl Lewis, Yokohama.

A YOUNG WOMAN OF CENTRAL JAPAN.

often found a type of refined and even delicate appearance, possessing an oval face, a well-modelled and slightly Roman nose, the oblique eyes so generally associated with the idea of the Japanese woman, and a well-proportioned though slight figure. Both these types, which distinguish the women as well as the men (perhaps even more so), are found everywhere.

But it is in the regions in the vicinity of Kioto, and on the more western side of Nippon, that the prevalence of the more refined, and what may indeed be called more aristocratic, type is noticeable. Kaempfer, at the time of the establishment of the Dutch factories and trade with Japan, speaks of the women of Saga on the south side of the Inland Sea as being "more handsome than in any other Asiatic country." In the northern districts the inhabitants embody in a larger degree the elements of the coarser and more robust type. In them is undoubtedly to be traced the characteristics which have arisen from intermarriage and intercourse with the Ainu race, which once inhabited these regions and the ancient provinces of Dewa and Matsu.

The duplex nature of the Japanese race of to-day is traceable to two important migrations from the neighbouring continent of Asia. Authorities incline to agree that the first of these almost certainly came from

tribe of the Mongolian race, which has contributed during the centuries which have since elapsed the more robust and muscular traits to be found in the Japanese of to-day. Concerning the second invasion of an alien race there is less certainty. It seems likely, however, that (as in the first case) the easiest route through Korea and across the narrow intervening straits was taken, and that the settlement was first made upon the most southern island of Kiūshiu, the invaders afterwards penetrating to the province of Hiūga, where we find them first mentioned in Japanese history.

On the other hand this second invasion or migration may have arrived from the south through the large island of Formosa, and onward through the various and almost innumerable Loo-choo Islands, which form a chain-like connection with Kiūshiu. In-

deed, this supposition would in some measure account for the Malay element which is stated by some authorities (and denied by others) to be discoverable amongst the population of the southern islands.

But whatever the route was, there is no doubt that the second immigrants were of the same race as the first, but probably of a more cultured tribe of the great Mongolian people.

From the very elaborate and painstaking measurements of two celebrated ethnologists, Dr.

Baelz and Dr. Scheube, the average height of both Japanese and Ainu has been found to differ very little, the former stating that of the Japanese to be in the case of the males 5'02 feet, and ranging



TYPE OF MIDDLE-AGED WOMAN OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Korea, the invaders effecting a landing on Nippon in the province of Izumo. The chief effects of this first migration from the mainland was the settlement in Japan of a stronger, more hardy, and more barbarous

from 4'76 feet to 5'44 feet; females, 4'66 feet, and ranging from 4'46 feet to 4'92 feet, whilst Dr. Scheube's measurements of numerous Ainu has produced the following results: average height of males, 4'9 feet to 5'2 feet; of females, 4'8 feet to 5'0 feet.

Their skin is less sallow than that of the Japanese men, and this is more especially the case with the women of the upper class, when their complexions are less exposed to the weather, and have been less affected by outdoor occupations. Many Japanese

women and girls, indeed, possess skins scarcely more olive than those of Southern Europeans. One curious circumstance distinguishes the race—whilst the complexion of the face is olive, and sometimes even sallow or yellowish, the skin of the body is frequently even whiter than that of the average Englishwoman. This is not the case with the Chinese, who are "yellow" all over.



THE TRUE JAPANESE TYPE.

The chief physical characteristics of the Japanese women of to-day are a rather accentuated flatness of the forehead; a small but frequently well-formed nose, with slightly raised nostrils; well-shaped ears; black eyes of below the average size, and slightly less oblique than those of the Chinese, eyebrows further apart than is usual with most other peoples; rather coarse, black hair; legs inclining to shortness, which somewhat spoils otherwise well-proportioned figures; and low stature.

in the centre, but widening towards the sides. The hair should be jet or blue-black in colour, long, straight, and smooth; never curly. The eyes to be really beautiful to a Japanese must be long and narrow, slanting upward slightly at their outer corners; the eyebrows delicately pencilled, and placed high above the eyes. The most esteemed type of nose is aquiline, low at the bridge, and the outward curve commencing low down. The mouth must be small, whilst the lips are full and brightly

It is unnecessary to state that the Japanese ideal of feminine beauty differs very materially from our own.

Beauty in Japan.

Some of the points in which it varies may, however, be of interest. An excellent summary of these, by one who has had the opportunity of studying the Japanese women of all classes more closely and intimately than most Europeans, states that "the ideal feminine face is long and narrow, with the forehead high, and narrow

coloured; the neck long and slender and with graceful curves. The complexion most esteemed is white, smooth, and with little colour in the cheeks. The fresh-coloured type of beauty found in many country and peasant girls is not at all admired by the better class Japanese. The figure must be slender, the waist long, and the hips narrow, so as to ensure the best effect of the national style of dress. The head and shoulders should be carried slightly forward, and the most graceful and womanly carriage is obtained by also bending the body slightly forward at the waist. The most elegant Japanese walk is quick, with short steps, and it is not considered correct to lift the foot clear of the ground, so that in the house there is always a *shoo-shoo* of the *tabi* on the floor, and out of doors the scuff of the *waraji* or straw sandals, or the ring of the *gheta* or clogs." A very clear idea of what the Japanese ideal of beauty is can easily be gathered from the women depicted upon the old colour prints of Kunisada, Hiroshige, Utagawa, Hokusai, Isai and others.

Japanese babies are positively horror-stricken at the first sight of light-haired, blue-eyed foreigners; and it is only after a considerable time that they can be induced to approach them. One of the most curious things about the effect wrought upon the mind of the alien who dwells amongst the Japanese for any length of time is the gradual change that takes place in his ideas regarding the standard of feminine beauty. It must be considered a victory for the gentle Japanese women that he almost invariably begins at last to regard their beauty as of the truest type.

Having dealt thus briefly with the chief physical characteristics of the Japanese race past and present, let us consider the mental qualities which differentiate them

from other far Eastern peoples, and also in a measure from the race that has in the past impinged upon them.

It is often difficult correctly to infer mental characteristics or qualities from physical, and in the case of the Japanese an



Photograph by Karl Lewis, Yokohama.

A PEASANT GIRL IN HOLIDAY GARB,
Showing the *Kimono* and *Obi*.

inference of the mental based upon what one knows of the physical would be unusually erroneous. Compared either with the average Koreans, with whom they have been in the past intermingled,

The Mental Qualities of the Japanese.

or even the Chinese, they appear physically at a disadvantage. For though possessed of considerable powers of endurance — which was wonderfully illus-

trated in the Russo-Japanese War—they are physically weak, with far less natural muscular development than the races to which we have referred, and with narrow chests. But mentally they hold pre-eminence over the other Mongolian races. Indeed, recent events have shown that intellectually the Japanese can claim to rank with the more advanced of European peoples. They are of a high standard of intelligence, quick-witted, eminently adaptable, progressive, and brave to an extent unequalled by any other race. Under the ancient feudal system of Japan the sense of personal honour, which does not as a rule distinguish the Asiatic races, was developed in both men and women until it became a passion and almost a religion, and led and still does lead to acts of devotion and self-effacement which to Western ideas are little less than astounding.

Though possessed of much originating power and enterprise the Japanese are known all over the world for their extraordinary imitative faculty, which surpasses even that of the Chinese. How remarkably this faculty is developed was shown very clearly many years ago in the early days of the introduction of machinery into Japan; when, not only was the first steamer made with perfectly complete engines entirely by the aid of a Dutch book upon ship-building, but much other machinery was constructed in the same way, and with no practical assistance or instruction from experts. These characteristics and mental qualities not only in a measure explain the rapid rise of the Japanese people to a place of prime importance amongst civilised nations, but also, now that the education of girls has received so great and satisfactory an impetus, the charm and intelligence of the women of modern Japan.

Art enters very largely into the life of the Japanese; into that of Japanese women more especially. It is the
Art and Dress in Japan. art instinct of the race which is seen in the national love of flowers, in the fact that all girls of the upper and middle classes are taught flower

arrangement, and in the costume and elaborate *coiffures* of the women. The native dress of girls and women of the better classes ranks, not only amongst the most beautiful, but amongst the most truly artistic of the world. Beauty of colour and design of a high order is wedded to an artistic simplicity of form.

The Japanese women are fond of dress, but it is only with those of the *yoji* or courtesan class that there is usually anything approaching the meretricious or flamboyant. There is a saying which freely translated reads—"The richest garments are often those which are in closest accord with nature." Very often, indeed, is this the case with the dress of the Japanese women. Harmonising, though bright, and what might be called "quiet" colours are more prevalent than vivid or garish hues. The beauty of a *kimono* is often to be found rather in its delicate embroidery than in its vivid tints or mere richness of material, though the latter plays its due part in the garments worn by the wealthy and by women of the upper classes.

The dress of Japanese women consists of a *hitoma* or under-garment, which all who can afford have of silk, generally of a bright colour.

The Kimono and Obi. The other garments (varying in number according to the temperature and season) are the well-known *kimono*; loose-fitting, flowing, dressing-gown-like robes made of silk, crêpe, or more substantial cotton fabrics according to the social position and wealth of the wearer. The undermost are of light, and the outer one of dark colours, blues being the most popular. The *kimono* has no fastenings; it is merely folded over on the right side (never the left on a living person), and confined round the waist by a broad sash, about ten to twelve inches in width, known as the *obi*, generally made of wadded brocade, which is folded several times and tied behind in a broad flat bow. This sash is generally the most expensive item of a Japanese woman's attire. Some are of extremely rich fabrics, and beautifully em-

broidered. Fifty pounds is by no means an unheard-of sum for an *obi*, and many are handed down from generation to generation as heirlooms. The tying of the *obi* is an elaborate ceremony, and to tie one well is by no means so easy a matter as might be imagined.

Tabi, or digitated hose of white cotton, are worn in the house in place of shoes or *gheta*, which are always taken off before entering a temple or house, but out of doors the feet are protected by the *gheta*, secured to the feet by straps passing between the big and second toes, or *waraji*, sandals of straw, used chiefly when travelling, according to the time of year. Some of the *gheta* belonging to women of the upper classes are beautifully carved and lacquered; but the commoner clogs are generally made of elm-wood.

might be passed forbidding the abandonment of the picturesque and graceful native dress.

Perhaps the fact that the Japanese are a nation of artists, and that in the women is an inherent appreciation of the artistic, may save them from further adoption of Western forms of dress. Happily the corset has not yet supplanted the picturesque *obi* as a means of indicating the waist line, nor has



JAPANESE GIRLS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Although European dress in the shape more particularly of bowler hats, trousers, and coats, amongst the men of the commercial as well as the upper classes, has somewhat displaced the old and more picturesque style, it is as yet only the women of the official and upper classes who have to any extent abandoned their national costume for European modes. That they should have done so must be matter for regret by all who possess a sense of the beautiful, appropriate, and artistic. Modern European fashions (seldom beautiful) appear singularly unlovely and out of place upon the women of Chrysanthemum Land; and one could almost wish that some law

the "Princess" robe replaced the more graceful *kimono*.

We have dealt as fully as our space permits with the origin of the Japanese, and the special peculiarities of physique, character, environment and dress, which distinguishes them as a race. And now we come to the various types, and more intimate life of the women and girls of this favoured and beautiful land. The Japanese baby, let it be said, differs little save in racial type from the babies of other lands. But whether it be a girl or a boy baby it is generally a quaint and fascinating scrap of humanity; and worshipped

European Dress in Japan.

The Children of Japan.

by its parents and relations. The children of Japan, indeed, should be (as they appear to be) happy, for so much is done to secure their well-being and enjoyment. The girl baby is more warmly welcomed than amongst the Chinese and some other Eastern peoples, even though she may be considered of less importance than a boy.

Her arrival into the world is immediately notified to relatives and the more intimate of her parents' friends by special messenger, whilst, amongst families of the better class, grandparents and others closely related receive letters of formal announcement. As all who are thus made aware of the baby's arrival are expected to call as soon as possible "bearing gifts," both the mother and the baby have a fatiguing time during the early days of the latter's existence. The presents may be eatables—in the shape

of eggs—toys, or pieces of silk, brocade, or other material for the baby's dress. All gifts are wrapped in white paper, written upon, and tied with a particular make of paper-string, red and white in colour.

A strange Japanese custom is that of reckoning the baby as already a year old on the day of its birth. And on the next following New Year's Day it is reckoned as being two. Thus a baby born during the month of December (even right at the end of it) will be two years old on January 1st. As a natural consequence of this strange custom one would not be much astonished to find that all birthdays were celebrated on January 1st. But this is not so. All boys celebrate their birthday on May 5th, and all girls on March 3rd, in each year.

On the seventh day baby is registered at the district registrar's and receives her name; generally that of some flower, tree or other beautiful natural object, such as Cherry Blossom, Plum, Gold, Pine, Sunshine, Iris, Chrysanthemum, Bamboo. Often on the seventh day after birth, or soon after, the Japanese mother begins to try experiments with baby's *coiffure*, shaving its little head till there is only a wisp of its jet black hair left on the back of its head just above the neck. As baby grows older the attempts at hair-dressing are more elaborate. Sometimes a "top-knot" is left; at others a rim of hair with a tonsure in the centre, the general effect of which style of hair-dressing resembles more than anything else a chimney-sweep's brush. Later on other more elaborate and artistic styles are tried. Children are very seldom given the name of any living member of the family, and



Photograph by Karl Lewis, Yokohama.

JAPANESE BABIES AND THEIR LITTLE NURSES.



JAPANESE WOMEN.
DRAWN BY C. PRÆTORIUS.



In Japan to name a child after any particular individual is not considered complimentary. "A little more than three weeks later occurs the *miya mairi*, a ceremony which in a measure corresponds with that of christening in Western lands. The child is taken to the temple, dressed in the best clothes the parents can afford, made specially for the occasion, on which is emblazoned in several places the family crest. Taken to one of the Shinto temples the baby is placed under the protection of the patron deity of the temple, who is supposed forthwith to become the special guardian angel of the child through life. Offerings are, of course, made to the god and also to the priest, and when the blessing of the latter has been obtained the baby is taken home again, where an entertainment of one kind or the other is held."

Japanese babies seldom appear to cry or be troublesome—although there is, let it at once be said, no physical deficiency to prevent them doing so. It is possible that they at least appear better-tempered from the healthy, open-air life—even in the larger cities—which they lead, although we have heard some authorities ascribe the Japanese child's good humour and greater gentleness than distinguishes Western children to less robust physique and a more moderate allowance of animal spirits.

The first few years of the little girl's life are uneventful enough. Less so, indeed, than those of the children of more Western nations. She is left far more alone, is less fussed over, and in consequence grows to early childhood with a much more placid outlook upon life in general than that of the modern English or American child.

Very soon—in fact within a few weeks of their birth in the case of those belonging to people of the lower classes—
Child-Nurses, Japanese babies are handed over to the care of elder sisters or brothers, or young girls who are engaged



A GEISHA DANCING.
 Note the "Tabi" (Digitated Socks).

as nurses. And the quaint sight is seen throughout the length and breadth of the Mikado's Empire of young children of both sexes, some of whom are not more than six or seven years of age, staggering about with the latest arrival in their own or someone else's family tied with long strips of cloth to their backs. These little nurse-girl sisters are usually sunny-tempered, tender little souls who trudge about the streets with their animated baby burdens all the year round; for the Japanese baby is essentially a "fresh air" child. When it is hot the little nurse's parasol, of gay or delicate coloured paper as the taste of the owner may dictate, keeps the sun off the child's head, and in windy or cold weather her *haori* or overcoat or *kimono* is wrapped around the baby as well as herself. It is, of course, only the children of the poorer class who live in the streets, those of the middle class, though carried on

the backs of their little sisters or of their nurses till they can walk, play in the gardens of their homes—few houses of any pretension but possess a garden plot—whilst the babies of the richest families are carried in the arms of their nurses, European fashion, or of late years are wheeled about in mail-carts and perambulators, some of which are like miniature *rikshaws*, and other old- or new-fashioned European types, according to the social position of the parents. Royal babies are held in the arms of some attendant from the moment of their birth till they are able to walk, and are seldom or never laid down on the floor or upon a bed.

From the first children are taught to sit with their knees bent under them, instead of with their legs stretched out in front. It is from this mode of sitting from early infancy that some authorities are inclined at least partially to attribute the low average stature of the race.* The legs (which are always abnormally short in the Japanese, both men and women) are through this custom prevented from growing to their normal proportions. The abnormal shortness of the lower part of the body is less noticeable amongst the women of the labouring classes, and least of all with peasants and the fisherfolk of the coast and Inland Sea, the reason being that they sit less and walk more than women of the upper or middle classes, who may in factories, etc., follow sedentary occupations. It seems more than probable that the introduction of European furniture, and the removal of the necessity and habit of sitting upon the floor, may in the course of a few generations materially alter the physique and proportions of the race.

The feet of Japanese girls, unlike those of their Chinese sisters, are not deformed in infancy by compressing bandages. They are sensibly clothed by soft digitated *tabi*, which not only permit them to run about freely on the matted floors of the houses, but are as hygienic as any foot covering can be. Very early in her existence, how-

ever, the Japanese baby girl has to learn to walk in the light straw sandals or *zori* worn out of doors in fine weather, and the *gheta*, or high clogs, worn in wet weather, or on rough country roads. These last, though seemingly awkward to walk in, are soon mastered, and one sees tiny tots of three or four running about quite comfortably in them. There is one good point *gheta* possess—they cannot, even when too small, in any way distort or hurt the foot.

The dress of the little girls is distinguishable from that of the boys from babyhood. A very young baby, whether boy or girl, wears gay colours, such as yellow, bright blue, green, and red, but as soon as it can run alone, or sooner, to the boy are relegated the soberer tints, whilst the girl continues to be adorned with the gayest of colours, which she only gives up on marriage.

From babyhood onward the life which comes to her proves a very bright and happy one as a general rule. It is, however, hedged around in all grades of society save the lowest with much etiquette and many rules of conduct. One thing she has early to learn is the fact that from her earliest years until she passes away to the land of shadows she is destined to be under the rule of someone or other of the opposite sex. She has also to realise that cheerful obedience, personal cleanliness, neatness and pleasant manners are expected of her, and that her happiness and ultimate position in life depend very largely upon her cultivating these virtues. In the past there was no calling of a public nature open to her, and even now there are comparatively few. As a consequence the average Japanese girl or woman finds her vocation in the care of her home, or, if of the peasant or farming class, then in her home and on the soil. Since the war, and the rapid acquisition by her nation of Western ideas, the field of woman's labour has become somewhat less restricted.

She is, therefore, as will be readily understood, dependent upon either her father or

The Training of a Japanese Girl.

* See recent "Medical Report." Also the work of Drs. Baelz and Scheube.

some other male relative, husband or son, and her greatest success and happiness are to be won not by scholarship, "higher education," or great mental capacity, but in the careful and early acquisition of charming manners, and the powers of self-effacement, obedience (taught by that famous work, "Onna Daigaku"), and self-control, which are expected of her. To women of more Western nations the perfect

and wishes of others" will not be questioned.

The Japanese girl is, however, not truly known until one has lived in the family circle. It is only then that one has the opportunity of discovering and appreciating some of their most charming traits of character and upbringing. The true type is not that which usually comes under the immediate notice of the travelling Euro-

self-effacement of their Japanese sisters may appear both unnatural and irksome. The women of Japan do not find it so. Self-control with them, moreover, does not simply mean the disguising of outward and visible signs of disagreeable emotions such as jealousy, anger, grief, or disappointment; but it goes further and enables them to assume a pleasant smile, and an appearance of good humour and agree-

able manners and politeness under the most distressing or trying conditions. This duty is taught to the girls from their earliest years, with a result that it becomes a second nature (not merely a deceptive mask), and makes them the most truly fascinating and, probably, happiest women in the world.

Japanese women and girls, almost without exception, are attractive, dignified and polite. Even little girls have charming manners; and whilst free from bashfulness they are equally so from pushful or forward ways. By those who know Japanese girl children, the statement that to "a truly childlike and fascinating simplicity is united a remarkable consideration for the feelings

pean, the Cook's tourist, or those who merely come and go at the great seaports. Even the tea-house attendants, and native girls in the shops—more numerous now than even five years ago—and those who are seen in the streets and public parks and temple courtyards, give but a faint impression—well-mannered, dainty, and picturesque as most of them are—of the charm of the real Japanese young lady, or of the average home-keeping girl of the middle and upper middle classes. It is away from the stress of big cities, and of the rapid changes which are taking place in most of them, in the smaller country towns and villages which as yet the railway has left untouched, that one can most readily find the type of Japanese



A JAPANESE WOMAN OF THE WORKING CLASS AT HOME.

girl which years of careful training in the doctrines of Kaibara Ekken, the famous moralist and author of "Onna Daigaku," and many ages of the persistence of the feudal idea has produced.

Mrs. Hugh Fraser, who lived many years



A TEA-HOUSE ATTENDANT.

in Japan, where her husband was the British Minister at Tokio, sums up the distinguishing feature of the Japanese women very aptly and truthfully as follows: "In real womanliness, which I take to be a combination of sense with sweetness, valour with humility, the Japanese lady ranks with any woman in the world, and passes before most of them."

"Onna Daigaku," which has had in the past so much to do with the moulding of Japanese female character, contains some home truths which would, we fear, be unpalatable teaching to some at least of our insurgent Western sisters. Thus, "It is a girl's destiny on reaching maturity to go to a new home, and live in submission to her father-in-law, and it is incumbent even more upon her to receive with all reverence and meekness parental teaching, also to obey and reverence her husband."

The same book tells the Japanese girl, who may and often does receive the instruction from her aged grandfather, that a virtuous heart is more to be desired than a beautiful face. And, though it is difficult to imagine the invariably gentle and soft-voiced Japanese maiden or woman as capable of anything of the kind, it goes on to say that a "vicious woman's heart is never at rest; that she glares wildly around her, vents her anger on others, and her words are rough and her voice loud and vulgar." Then "Onna Daigaku" proceeds to assert that such women are desirous of setting themselves above their fellows, being envious, proud, prone to jeer at others, and to try and outdo their companions—indeed, to be "guilty of everything that a good woman should not be."

To the modern suffragette of Western clime the following injunction would, of course, be anathema. And yet this teaching has produced a type of the most charming, domesticated, and truly womanly and capable of women. "From her youth upwards a girl should learn to observe the line which separates her from men in physical, mental, and other attributes, and should not seek to be 'loud,' pushing, man-like, or coarse."

Several ancient customs regarding the demarcation of the sexes have, even in Japan, fallen nowadays into desuetude; but happily the barriers separating domestic and public life have been preserved almost intact. A very quaint provision—still obtaining in some country districts—was that which insisted upon women, when walking abroad at night, carrying with them lighted lanterns, and the not undesirable one which said that they should not speak with nor accost strangers. Regarding the women who do these undesirable things, "Onna Daigaku" goes on to say, "But alas! in our days the women of the lower classes, ignoring all rules of this nature, behave themselves disorderly, thus contaminating not only their own reputations, but also bringing reproach down upon the heads of their parents, instructors, and friends."

To Western minds the position of

Japanese women may seem a hard one, and it is possible that the Japanese girl sometimes has a yearning for greater freedom. But if she has she does not show it; and never having enjoyed the "forbidden fruit" she does not, in reality, keenly miss it. All along she has been taught to regard her future life from maidenhood onwards as one which must be modelled upon that which her mother and her grandmother before her led. And why not? No "advanced" thoughts or aspirations disturb the Japanese girl's head. She has never expected anything different.

Her life is to all intents and purposes bound up with and environed by the circumstances which arise out of the "three obediences," which are (1) obedience to her parents, (2) afterwards to her husband and his parents, (3) and, should she become a widow, then obedience to her eldest son, or in the absence of a son, then to the head of her husband's family.

Age always commands respect; but notwithstanding the formality which prevails in the domestic circle it does not lead to stiffness nor estrangement, but rather to a happy and united family life.

Japanese
Home
Life.

The grandfather and grandmother come first, then the father and mother, then the children in accordance with their respective ages. And thus they enter a room and are served at table. The girls of Chrysanthemum Land are indeed favoured by Providence. They are, when babies and young, the pets and playthings of their fathers, mothers, and elder brothers. And they are never addressed by any member of the family save their parents or grandparents except by the title and ceremonious courtesy due to their positions. The eldest daughter is to the servants of the household

O Jō Sama, or honourable young lady; by her brothers and sisters she is called elder sister. Should she be one of the younger girls of the family she is known to all save her grandparents and parents by her name preceded by *O* and followed by *San* the equivalent of Miss. Thus *O Mume San* is



Photograph by Karl Lewis, Yokohama.

A MUSMÉ.

literally the Honourable Miss Plum, and *O Fuji San* the Honourable Miss Wistaria.

Although during the passage of a girl from babyhood to girlhood and womanhood her life in most instances is a happy one—made so by the love, care, and consideration of her relatives and friends—she is not permitted to grow up without the opportunities to acquire the knowledge which will fit her to meet the trials and perform the duties which will ultimately devolve upon her. She must, and does, generally learn all the details of household management—the washing, mending, and making of

garments; the ordering of food, and care of children—which fall to the lot of the mistress of a house, as well as acquire a working knowledge of mathematics, history, geography, and other subjects, which of recent times has become more and more common.



A FISHER-GIRL OF THE COAST.

From the time when she emerges from childhood she has been trained to take her share in the household duties, and to entertain and minister to the comfort and enjoyment of guests. And she must wait upon the latter herself unless she be a member of one of the highest families. Thus is the guest in Japanese houses peculiarly honoured with an old-world and delicately unobtrusive courtesy which is as rare as it is charming. There may be numerous servants available, but it is the

wife or daughter who attends with quaint ceremoniousness and charming politeness to his wants.

The Japanese house is simply furnished, guiltless of mirrors, grates, carpets, and the other oddments which make up that conglomerate thing, an English or

**Household
Duties in
Japan.**

American home. But there is, nevertheless, plenty to occupy the careful housewife, who generally superintends closely the work of the household, or does it herself according to her station in life. Beds have to be aired, and then rolled up and stowed away in the *fukuro dana* or cupboards in the walls, which strangers often take at first for doorways leading into other apartments. The rooms themselves, with their spotless matting, have to be swept. Flowers have to be arranged. There is, too, in addition to the preparation of the various meals, the *engawa*, or verandah, running round the house to be washed, and in some cases polished. The marketing, as is the case in France, is often done by the housewives themselves, even among the upper middle class, which entails a journey to the town, or much good-tempered bargaining with the itinerant sellers of fish, vegetables, and other comestibles who make a house-to-house visitation in the country or suburban district. Their goods are stored in buckets, boxes, baskets, or trays, according to their nature, which are slung by cords from a long "yoke" and pole carried on

the shoulders—somewhat resembling that still sometimes seen in use by milkmen in the country districts of our England.

Simple as regards make, the greater number of Japanese garments, especially those of the upper classes, are often so exquisitely embroidered as to become real works of art; but nevertheless there is plenty of plain needlework to occupy the ever industrious Japanese women and girls. Fashions do not change with them as with us, and in consequence the fashionable dressmaker has

practically no existence; most garments are made by the girls themselves, or at least at home.

A cotton *kimono* may cost anything from 25 sen (sixpence) to two or three yen (four to six shillings); silk and brocade garments any sum from four or five to two hundred yen (eight or ten shillings to twenty pounds), sometimes three or four times the last-named sum.

The Japanese are a cleanly race, and garments are frequently washed. With the commoner folk new garments are seldom purchased so long as the old can be got to hang together, or are sufficiently good to be "turned." But on New Year's Day most Japanese manage to have at least some new article of clothing, thus in a measure copying their Western sisters, who do so at Whitsuntide. The Japanese washing day differs materially from that of most other countries in that, as a rule, neither hot water nor soap are used; as a substitute for ironing the cotton garments are merely hung out to dry on a bamboo pole after the clothes have been carefully pulled straight and smooth. Silken garments are almost invariably pulled to pieces before being washed, and after washing are pressed out, while wet, upon long planks, similar to European ironing boards, before being placed, generally leaning, against a fence or the side of the house to dry.

Most Japanese maidens are taught cookery as one of the things every girl must know ere she is fit to assume the cares and responsibilities of a house of her own. The cooking of rice in Japan is an elaborate art. So essential, indeed, is this considered—from the fact that rice forms so important an item of diet—that for a wife to be sent back to her parents for not knowing how to cook it properly is by no means an unknown occurrence. Of soups there are many, all the simpler of which every girl is expected to be able to prepare, and in addition many other of the (to the Euro-

pean) mysterious dishes that appear at Japanese meals of ceremony.

But it must not be supposed that the Japanese girl's life is made up entirely of duties, domestic and otherwise. There is



A COUNTRY WOMAN IN WINTER DRESS

On her way home from a shopping expedition in town.

much of joy in it, and it is by no means lacking in the simpler forms of pleasure which as yet suffice this ingenious, progressive, but simple-minded race. The Feast of the New Year, for instance, with its fun, sports, temporary laying aside of the more ceremonious usages, and the prevalence of games of different kinds in which fathers and mothers join—such as the *Hana* game, played with loops of string fitted over the heads of the players, coming round behind the ear and over the

Feast-Days and Holidays in Japan.

end of the nose, the object being to "make faces," so that the loop slips off up over the nose; the Japanese equivalent of "knuckle-bones," played with small bags filled with sand; and "bobbing" for cakes, fruit, or sweetmeats suspended by a string, the players kneeling near

these qualities, but also of the power of self-control and surpassing knowledge of what to do in all emergencies of social life.

It is only right to add, however, that with her emergence from girlhood into womanhood the happiest pages of life are often turned. By a strange

**Courtship
in Japan.**

By a strange perversity of fortune just as her mind opens, just as her outlook upon life seems about to broaden, and her thirst for knowledge increases and aspirations assail her, her sphere becomes suddenly more restricted. Checks and restraints are placed upon her, and the young girl, loved and petted at home, though withal wisely trained, who may be expected to have looked out upon the future of her life as something mysterious but beautiful, and with expectations



A COUNTRY WOMAN AT WORK.

of happiness and usefulness, too often in but a few brief years becomes a listless, disillusioned, and saddened woman.

As in most other countries, marriage means much to the gentler sex in Japan, and whether it be celebrated in the hut of a peasant or in the palace of a prince the ceremony is distinguished by refinement, beauty, and good taste. Even in the latter case it has little of the often extravagant pretentiousness of such ceremonies in more Western countries, and nothing of the brutality which often distinguishes those of semi-civilised people. Three points may be noted in relation to the marriage customs of Japan; (1) the similarity which exists between them and those of ancient Rome; (2) that whilst most other Eastern brides are attired and veiled in red—which is held to be the festive colour in the Orient—the Japanese women are veiled and robed in white; and (3) the re-

the elusive object with their heels held up behind them. It is no easy task to preserve one's balance and win the bobbing prize.

Then there is the most loved festival of the whole year—the Feast of Dolls—which commences on the third day of the third month, and lasts three days, during which not only many new dolls are purchased by the wealthy for their children—Emperor and Empress dolls, and Court ladies, *samurai* dolls, and common folk—but also the family dolls of their mothers and even grandmothers are brought out from the cupboards in which they have been so carefully stored away.

Then there are the almost indescribably beautiful flower festivals to give colour and variety to a Japanese maiden's life. And when she reaches to woman's estate she is the pure, charming, and amiable being who fascinates Westerners by reason not alone of

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finement of all customs relative to marriage.

Whilst the art of wooing is much the same (with few exceptions) all the world over, flowers by a singularly appropriate circumstance may, and generally do, play an important part in the wooing of a Japanese maiden. In several districts of the country the lover will approach the home of the girl he loves at night and fasten a branch of *celastrus alatus*—a variety of the spindle tree—above the door, returning later to see what has happened to it. If it has been taken in or sprinkled with water to keep it alive his love is returned; if it is taken down, and thrown aside, or allowed to wither neglected, he knows that his suit is not looked upon with favour. Sometimes the lover will adopt a slightly bolder method by casting a spray of plum blossom into the maiden's *kaga* (carrying hammock) as she is entering it to go to a friend's wedding. If she fastens it in her *obi*, or girdle, she intimates that he finds favour in her eyes; if on the other hand his offering is cast away there is little or no hope of his suit prospering. But it must not be supposed that all marriages have so romantic a beginning, or that Japan is a land where the marriage of convenience is unknown. The Japanese are emotional, but they are practical also. They generally endeavour to make the best out of marriage from a material as well as a sentimental or spiritual point of view.

A male go-between almost always arranges the preliminaries and terms of a Japanese marriage, and it is he who takes the bridegroom-elect's betrothal gift to the bride-to-be. The acceptance of this complimentary gift is held to seal the contract, from which the bride or her relatives cannot in honour draw back. In most other Eastern countries the "matrimonial agent"—the Moorish or Egyptian *khatbeh*, for example—is a woman, generally of the lower middle class, who through business relations or some other cause has access to the women of various households. The bridegroom's presents to the bride are always numerous—in costliness of course they vary

according to his wealth and social position—and the prescribed gifts number three score, consisting of silk, silken girdles, sweetmeats, garments, wine, and other things. The barrels of wine are generally given by the bride to her father and mother. In addition to these many gifts, the bride of any position always receives from her future husband the white silk for her wedding gown, and a length of gold embroidery out of which is fashioned the wedding girdle—a custom which would with us be deemed a breach of etiquette, if not positively "improper."

The wedding day is generally fixed by the "wise people" or soothsayers, and the

Japanese Marriage Customs.

Japanese bride and bridegroom soon discover that there are many unlucky or prohibited days. No ordinary Japanese maiden would for worlds consent to be married on any one of them. The bridegroom is expected to make his future father-in-law and mother-in-law the handsomest and most costly presents he can afford. Until the wedding day the bride makes her future husband no presents of any value, but on the day itself she sends symbolic, carefully chosen, gifts as costly as her means permit or station in life demands.

The actual wedding ceremony is somewhat long drawn out. But it seldom has any legal significance; and never (except in the case of converts to some type of the Christian faith) any religious meaning or character. It is not until sunset or twilight that the bride leaves her old home for the new. Then she enters her *kaga*, or carrying hammock, clad in white and wearing a veil of the same colour, and followed by gift-bearers, many or few according to circumstances. The most important of these latter is he who bears the bamboo, or lacquer, bucket of clams which every bride—with a handsome ceremonial dress—is expected to bring her husband, whatever else may be omitted. The gift of these unromantic shell-fish is made so that the bride and bridegroom may partake of clam broth together, which is believed to ensure that

they will long dwell together in happiness; whilst the taking of such a gift to her husband is believed to ensure beautiful, as well as dutiful, children. The other numerous gifts (including usually a fine sword, a fan, two silken robes sewn together, and no fewer than seven pocket-books) which a bride of any position is expected to make her husband, are carried on trays by coolies.

When this procession arrives two fires or torches are found blazing on either side of the threshold, each tended by a man and a woman pounding rice. New matting leads up to the door, and as the bride, after alighting from her *kaga*, passes along it and enters her new home the rice from the pile at the left hand side of the portal is mixed with that on the right. And at the same moment that she crosses the threshold two great candles are tied together by their wicks by one of the bridegroom's near relatives, to symbolise the union of the souls and bodies of the contracting parties. Then follows a touching little ceremony. The joined wicks are lighted, allowed to burn for a short time, and then blown out, thus symbolising the wish that the bride and bridegroom may not only live in unity, but may, when the time comes, die together.

The bride's trousseau, which in the case of girls or women of high social position is almost as important and manifold as regards robes and under-robes—*gheta* and *tabi*, and *obis*—as that of a Western bride, is carried into the house. Then the various articles, after being taken out of their lacquer boxes and cane baskets, are tidily put away in the wall cupboards and other suitable places.

At the marriage feast which follows the dishes are, in the case of the well-to-do, almost innumerable. Much *sake* is consumed, or rather should one say, perhaps, many cups are drunk, but then they are scarcely larger than a good-sized thimble! The wine, which is hot and perfumed, is poured from beautiful little Satsuma kettles, to each of which are fastened three or more paper butterflies, so exquisitely and carefully painted that they often deceive the unwary into believing them to be real.

These signify that the marriage shall be blessed with children not only well-favoured but highly endowed mentally. One kettle of the number—furnished with two spouts—is especially beautiful, and from this the bride and bridegroom drink in company, indicative of their intention to take the good or bad things of life together.

After the feast is done and the bride and bridegroom have changed their outer garments for the ceremonial attire which they have given to one another, the bride goes to the apartments of her husband's parents to pay them homage, after which both bride and bridegroom pay like homage to the ancestral tablets of each other. And with this ceremony, which is perhaps the nearest approach to anything of a religious nature that enters into the marriage rites of the Japanese, the long-drawn-out ordeal for the newly-married pair is practically at an end.

Contrary to Western customs the bride's apartments are not prepared for her reception by her future husband, his mother or his or her servants, but by the bride and bridegroom's own intimate feminine friends.

In the well-arranged and well-ordered Japanese home—and most are both—there is nothing ostentatious, nothing superfluous. There is room in the apartments for the Japanese woman to move. There is comparatively little furniture and but few ornaments, but what there is of both are the best that the owners can afford. From time to time the artistic and charming mistress may add a beautiful vase, a cabinet of lacquer work, a delicately painted screen, an exquisitely decorative *kakemono*; but she will never be worried by an accumulation of furniture for which there is little use.

Perhaps because there is no religious idea connected with the ceremony of marriage in Japan, divorce is astonishingly easy, though by no means so prevalent as many Western writers have stated and led European and American readers to suppose. Confucius himself gives the right to a divorce for the following seven reasons (there are not

Divorce in Japan.

a few others):—(1) Disobedience of the wife to her mother-in-law, (2) drunkenness, (3) jealousy, (4) infectious disease, (5) thieving, (6) gossiping and mischief-making, (7) childlessness. It will not, therefore, be a matter for much surprise that the percentage of divorces is undesirably high, though not, some authorities state, higher than in France and America. Perhaps one might add that surprise might be felt that the number of permanent and happy marriages is not lower.

The Japanese woman is superstitious, and around this survival of bygone ages are many quaint and charming ideas and legends, but with that phase of her character there is no space to deal here.

Though it may be said that few Japanese women are deficient in that subtle element of charm which seems partly inherent to the women of the race, and partly to arise from her up-bringing, like the women of other nations there are many types.

It may be well first to consider the lives and types of the women of the towns before proceeding to a brief consideration of the women of the country villages, and the peasant class.

The systematic education of girls in Japan, as we regard education, is yet in a somewhat elementary stage. Each year sees an improvement; but it is only in comparatively recent times that public girls' schools have become at all numerous. The most famous of all these in the Mikado's Empire is undoubtedly the "School for Peeresses" in Tokio. This, established for the benefit of the daughters of noblemen by the Imperial Household under the patronage of the Empress Haru Ko, is situated in the centre of the city, and is built upon European lines. The schoolrooms are furnished much as they would be in England, and in the general conduct of its affairs it is very similar to a high class boarding-school for children of the upper and upper-middle classes in England.

There are at the present time nearly eight hundred pupils attending the school,

of whom about twelve-and-a-half per cent. are children in the kindergarten. The teaching staff numbers about fifty, of whom two or three are Europeans. In this truly modern and in many ways magnificent institution not only are the usual subjects and foreign languages taught, but also all the ceremonial and traditional etiquette which it is necessary for every pupil to learn so that she may take her proper position in after life. But although the highest accomplishments are carefully taught, the simpler duties of plain sewing and cooking find places in the education of these high-born young ladies, many of whom become not only expert cooks, but also skilful embroiderers. To the girls who now attend this famous and interesting school much of the etiquette seems irksome and unnecessary, but all who have witnessed the charm and grace of manner which the old *régime* has produced in the women and girls of Japan will surely echo a wish that this may never be weakened or supplanted by the intrusion of more modern methods.

This School for Peeresses may be taken (except for the rank of its pupils and a few minor details) as fairly typical of the new order of schools, the number of which is being gradually multiplied, for the education of Japanese girlhood.

The highest rank of Japanese women of the towns represented by the ladies of the Court, lead lives of comparative ease and luxury, but by no means of idleness. Although attended by many servants, and in receipt of a salary always sufficient for her reasonable needs—and, be it remarked, such is the Japanese horror of personal debt, seldom exceeded—a lady of the Court has a number of complicated duties to perform. The etiquette is extremely strict and intricate. To many of them, however, all these formalities are as second nature, for they have been brought up in the atmosphere of the Court, and have probably entered it when quite small girls. In a measure as regards charm, intellectual

The Japanese Lady of Fashion.

attainments, refinement, and beauty, the women of the nobility are only typical of the women of the upper middle classes.



TOKIO GEISHA.

The *samurai*, which was anciently the class coming midway between the nobles and those engaged in business, art, or agriculture, and was of a distinctly military type, have always been fearless and brave, and the women have in a large degree inherited these qualities. Japanese history and legend are full of the gallant and heroic deeds of men and women of this class. In many a

**Women of
the Samurai.**

story does the *samurai* woman, and even young girl, figure who infinitely preferred a death of horrible torture not only to personal dishonour, but even to dishonour brought about by the betrayal of a trust or of a master.

In ancient times the *samurai* women were taught fencing and drill, and wore uniform. Upon them often—gentle-mannered, truly feminine and delicately nurtured as they were—devolved the task of defending the castle which belonged to their fathers, husbands, brothers, or to which by ties of service they were attached. They seldom failed to perform their appointed task with skill, heroism, and valour, for in their veins—notwithstanding their gentle demeanour in ordinary life—ran the blood of generations of fighting ancestors.

This type of women still survives in modern Japan, although the necessity for the exhibition of martial gifts has passed away with the establishment of the reigning dynasty, the disappearance of internecine warfare, and freedom from invasion. But doubtless the spirit only sleeps, and should necessity arise the girls and women of modern Japan, descendants of the old *samurai* race, would prove equally effective “Amazons” as those of the past. Not a few women belonging to *samurai* families have of recent times risen to

positions of importance in the Court. They are almost certain from their ancestry and up-bringing to be possessed of high intellectual character, steadfastness of purpose, and unswerving loyalty.

Perhaps no greater contrast could be presented to women of the *samurai* class than by the *geisha* of whom so much has been written in modern times. It is not easy

to overstate the charm of these, but it is possible to over-exaggerate their importance in Japanese social life. And, although they do not loom so large in the eyes of the Japanese themselves as in those of foreigners, these little "butterfly," charming creatures add much to the colour of everyday existence, and an entertainment of any importance is scarcely regarded as either complete or successful without the music, dancing, and graceful attendance of the dainty little maidens who though often frail are nevertheless so delightful and pleasing.

The Geisha Girl.

Combining the entertainer with the waitress they are found at all tea-houses and restaurants of any standing. They are trained when young (having adopted, or been delegated to the profession, or leased out by their parents) in singing, dancing, and fascinating manners. In a word their education is almost solely in the art to please. In it manners stand higher than morals; and there is therefore little cause for wonder if they have no keen ethical sense. The *geisha* is not always inherently bad, but in her usual environment, mode of life, and the standard of morals (or lack of them) expected of her there is so much that is questionable, that it is not at all surprising if many cross the rubicon which divides respectability from the *demi-monde*. But so fascinating, witty, pretty, well-dressed and charming are they that quite a considerable number ultimately marry into good families, and there are at the present time many ex-*geisha* as the heads of upper middle-class households.

The Japanese dances in which the *geisha* excels are modest and graceful; and she is a past mistress in the supple and pantomimic swaying of her little body, and the skilful arrangement and management of her garments and draperies during the various movements of the dance. She, of course, knows nothing of waltzes, polkas, quadrilles, or the "kitchen" or other "Lancers," although the "cake walk," alas! has travelled over from America, and may be seen at the less high-class and

reputable *geisha-ya*, or dance-houses, and resorts. The dances most favoured are those which depict some picture or incident, either of a dramatic or artistic character, such as the story of the plum or cherry trees from the time they were planted until the blossoms burst into flower to make the world beautiful; or some legend, or a dramatic or domestic event, or stirring warlike incident. Every movement of a *geisha* is perfection, arising from close and careful study; although such is the art, one is apt to imagine them spontaneous and even commonplace. The natural ease and grace has been acquired only by long months and even years of training.

For many years dancing had fallen so low in public estimation that the *geishas* were practically ostracised and relegated to public resorts of questionable character. But at length there came a revulsion in their favour, and they were permitted to re-enter (or at least entertain) good society. Nowadays the *geisha* forms an important adjunct in the social life of Japan; and a picturesque figure as she moves about in the dance to the rather unmelodious accompaniment of the orchestra consisting of *samisen*, *kota* and drum, with the wide and flowing sleeves of her *kimono* and gaily-coloured skirts swelling and contracting with each movement and graceful curve of her supple figure. She is, notwithstanding her rouged lips and powdered face and artful artlessness, a dainty and winsome figure, and generally not only a skilful dancer but a witty and well-informed conversationalist. And then, when their dancing is over, they become once more the charming attendants, waiting upon their employers and the guests, laughing and jesting, and using to the full all the arts of fascination in which they have been so carefully trained. If they have hearts (and doubtless they have) they do not wear them on their sleeves; but the *geisha*, come good fortune or bad, is always the same smiling, untroubled, and apparently carelessly happy creature which her education in self-control enables her to be.

The women of the lower class in the towns follow chiefly the occupations most closely identified with indoor and domestic work. In many of the smaller stores or shops, however, the wife and daughter of the proprietor assist him in the management and general conduct of the business. As in European towns these people mostly live "over the shop" or rather behind it, where there are generally well-kept and spotlessly clean apartments leading out into pretty garden plots.

Work-women of Japan.

Although of recent years a few factories, more nearly approaching in their general

unkempt raiment, brightness and neatness; and in place of dirt, which seems to be almost hereditary, cleanliness. Although girls—some of them seem little more than babies—and women are largely employed in the decoration of pottery in the eastern quarters of Kioto; at Obuke, near Kuwana, where the famous Ban-ko pottery, the invention of Nun-ami Ban-ko, is made; and at Seto and elsewhere they have not yet by the employment of machinery been turned into machines, and in all Japanese manufactures there yet enters that personal element which makes for efficiency, quality, and artistic merit.



HOTEL SERVANTS OF JAPAN.

scheme those of Europe, have been started with their concomitants of noise and machinery, the factory girl in Japan is of a very different type to that of England. In place of the coarseness, which seems almost inseparable from the mode of life, one finds refinement; in place of gaudy, tawdry and

Although as we have said the more domestic occupations of life are mostly followed by women, there are yet others in the larger towns and cities by which women and girls may earn a living for themselves and those dependent

Professions for Women in Japan.

upon them. In hotels, for example, throughout the country women and girls find employment in large numbers. Waiters of the conventional type are happily unknown, and their places are taken by low-voiced, generally pretty, and always charming and daintily dressed girls.

Not seldom, too, the owner or the manager is a woman. How vigilant as regards the comfort of their guests most lady hotel proprietors are travellers soon learn. Even if men or the husbands are seen about they usually appear to be carrying out the orders of the women. They are wise enough to know that as managers the latter are hard to excel, and that their guests will appreciate to the full "service by women."

In Swiss hotels there is a tradition that the proprietors, waiters, and other people connected with them sleep only in winter. One wonders after an experience of a Japanese hotel when those responsible for its management, and the delicate and constant attendance on guests, take their rest.

The tea-houses both in the town and country also provide employment for numbers of girls and women, for at every convenient halting place on highways and by-ways the traveller finds a tea-house. There are hundreds of them scattered along the great Kaido which lies between Kyōtō and Tōkyō, and along the other main roads of Japan. It is true that sometimes it is but an elementary affair at which little more than tea and perhaps bread and eggs (and not always the last) can be obtained, but the tea-house proprietress and her little waiting-maids will always make the welcome go as far as possible towards a forgetting of the shortcomings of the

fare available. In the larger tea-houses and restaurants no charge is made for either the tea or the sweetmeats offered, but the guest is expected to leave a small *chadai* or tip as a present. After anything approaching a stay at a restaurant or inn the *chadai*



A WORK-GIRL GRINDING COLOURS FOR CLOISONNÉ VASE-MAKERS.

naturally amounts to an important sum (calculated usually at about the equivalent of sixpence per person per day), which has to be presented, wrapped in paper and inscribed "*O chadai*," or the "Honourable Tip," to the landlord. Both the giver and receiver are expected respectively to depreciate the *chadai* and the services rendered. The guest has given only a miserable recompense (but as much as he or she can afford) for all the extraordinary comfort and services enjoyed; whilst the recipient of the *chadai* has had his or her miserable house over-honoured by the guest, and has done absolutely nothing to deserve *chadai* at all!

After the formality of the gift the departing guest is speeded on the journey by loud shouts of grateful thanks. So perfect is the self-control of the tea-house attendant or proprietor of an inn that, however disappointed he or she may be at the amount

received, not a suspicion of this is apparent in either face or manner. How different from the waiter of the West!

Women of the cities, too, although the tailoring is mostly in the hands of men, gain employment by taking in sewing in their

Indeed, hair-dressing amongst the Japanese of the upper classes is such a science that perfection in the art deserves and obtains fair remuneration. Several hours' constant work is often needed for the proper building up of one lady's *coiffure*. Five hours or

more may be spent over the most elaborate forms of hair-dressing. The most popular and skilful hair-dressers cannot obviously do all the work themselves, and this fact is the means of providing employment for numbers of girls and women assistants, who do the preliminary work of washing, pomading, and plaiting, leaving the finishing touches to the hair-dresser-in-chief.

One of the most charming professions followed by women in Japan is undoubtedly the manufacture of the exquisite artificial flowers. So beautiful, indeed, are some that the result is rather a paraphrase than an imitation. For festivals and other occasions, thousands and thousands of cherry-blossoms are fashioned by the skilful fingers of the flower-makers, and the bare trees are covered with blooms so exquisitely made and perfumed that only on the closest examination is it possible to discover they are not the work of Nature but of human hands.

Throughout the Japanese Empire domestic service is an occupation followed by many thousands of women and girls. To the newly-arrived foreigner and the casual tourist the relationship existing between the employer and employed is not at first



JAPANESE LADY GARDENERS.

In the cultivation of flowers many women are employed.

own homes, and also by giving sewing lessons. Many, too, earn more or less precarious livings by giving instruction in etiquette, flower arrangement, music, painting, and in the complicated ceremonies incident to tea drinking, where the mere putting down, handing, or filling of a cup is a matter of the greatest consequence. The art of flower arrangement is, however, much in the hands of the men in its more elaborate ceremonial and mystical branches.

Amongst the other professions and businesses open to, and more especially suited to, women is that of the hair-dresser. They form not only a type but a class amongst Japanese womenkind. A specially skilful hair-dresser, or *kamiyui*, speedily gathers around her a large *clientèle*, and earns an income which is sufficient not alone for living but even for luxury.

easily understood. There is a freedom which is strangely puzzling, and an independence of judgment and action which strikes the Western mind as unusual.

The Servant Question in Japan.

Although industrious, clean, and loyal, the Japanese servant only follows out orders if she can see the reason for them. And frequently when they do carry out orders it is in quite their own way. But there are nevertheless few more charming domestics than the Japanese girl, who possesses unflagging good humour, and is painstaking.

One quaint custom of the many connected with domestic service may be noted. It is for all the unoccupied servants as well as the members of the family to see the master

occupations of the land. There is, indeed, little work performed by men in the rural parts of Japan which is not more or less shared by women. Industrious as the small farmers and cultivators

of the soil undoubtedly are it is a keen struggle with most to make both ends meet, and it is recognised that the women and girls of the household must play their part in the battle of life, even in the more exhausting varieties of toil and labour on the land.

In the rice fields the women and men work side by side, the former with their *kimono* tucked up round their waists, and their lower limbs either bare or clad in blue cotton trousers, standing in the

Women Agricultural Workers.



A FARM WOMAN SEPARATING THE RICE FROM THE STRAW.

off when he leaves in the morning, and welcome him back at night. A strange picture is formed, where there are numbers of servants kept, by the bowing line of domestics at the front door or along the verandah of the house when the master or the other members of the family leave it or return.

The women of the countryside play a very important part in the bread-winning

none too sweet-smelling mud in which the tender rice plants thrive, planting, transplanting, weeding, and tending the delicate green shoots from morn till eve. The rice fields, which are usually of comparatively small size, and seldom perfectly square (more often hexagonal, sexagonal, and pentagonal in shape), are little more than huge tanks of liquid mud retained by earth banks beaten hard, sun-

baked and sloping. It is the women, too, who gather the winter's store of firewood, ultimately returning with loads,

tion and harvesting of tea ; and the tending of the many exquisite flowers which make their native land the Garden of the East.



MODERN JAPAN.
A group of Red Cross Nurses.

tied to a wooden framework on their backs or carried on their heads, which would be considered in Western lands as far too heavy for women to carry.

In the harvesting of rice, the threshing and winnowing, and the subsequent grinding, women play an important part ; as they also do in the silkworm industry. In the latter the care of the worms and cocoons, and the winding off of silk and weaving, is left almost entirely to the women and girls ; so much so, indeed, that it would be little exaggeration to say that this industry, one of the most important in Japan, is practically worked by the women.

In the tea fields, too, and in general farming, and the cultivation of flowers for sale in the markets of the larger towns women also play an important part. Many of the women gardeners of Japan have won considerable fame quite outside the particular village or town where they happen to reside.

Three occupations, at least in rural Japan, may be termed ideal for the women who follow them ; the silk industry ; the cultiva-

It is amongst the peasant classes of Japan that women enjoy the fullest independence and freedom. Most, though

**Happiness is
with the
Peasant Women
in Japan.**

leading a laborious existence and enjoying few comforts, lead lives of industry, and, within their limitations of intelligence, are respected by the men with whom they labour in common. The wealthy women and those of the upper middle-class when they marry lay aside their independence, and even though treated with kindness, affection, and consideration, become the superior servants of their husbands' households, and it is soon borne in upon them how much of what is best worth possessing they have resigned. With the peasant woman of all grades it is different. She has merely stepped from one position of toil in her father's household to a very similar one in that of her husband, often sharing his occupation, and entering fully into the interests of his life, which are outside the sphere of her own more domestic duties. It is in the peasant woman in consequence that one often finds the happiest nature,

and the smiling face unmarked by lines of illusion, boredom, or sorrow as the years roll on and life's lessons and life's enigmas have been faced and solved.

It is difficult to forecast what the Japanese woman of the future may be. For generations yet to come she must be charming until she has unlearned or forgotten (if she ever does) all the sweet feminine graces handed down to her from

**The Future
of Japanese
Women.**

her ancestors. But it is also safe to say that her natural intelligence will respond to the greater opportunities of expansion of mind and education both mental and physical, which the new order is slowly but surely establishing.

One can wish nothing better for the women of Japan than that they may, whilst gaining much from education and extended freedom, lose nothing of those softer graces and more tender refinements which have distinguished them in the past.



JAPANESE TAILORESSES AT WORK.

Photograph by T. Enami, Japan.



AINU WOMEN WEAVING.

They do not wear moustachios, but are curiously tattooed round their mouths.

THE AINU

By JESSIE ACKERMANN, F.R.S.G.S.

Tattooing Customs—Position of Ainu Women—The Woman's Part

IN common with Oriental races, an Ainu girl is the most unwelcome creature ever thrust into being. She is but another burden-bearer among a peculiar people, doomed to a life of hardship and toil.

Tattooing Customs.

A curious custom of tattooing the lips of a girl in infancy has always obtained among them. No one seems to have any idea of either its origin or meaning. It is probably as ancient as foot-binding in China, and its purpose, beyond that of a tribal badge, is completely lost in the dim ages of the past.

When a girl is about two years old the mother begins the disfiguring and painful process of tattooing the lips, without which mark she could never hope to win a husband. The work, being very painful, is done a little at a time, and a period of two years is covered before it is completed, the result being a large diamond-shaped patch of dark blue completely surrounding the mouth and extending in points well towards the ears.

The concoction used is prepared by the mother, and is easily brewed in every home. Ash-bark is soaked for some days, and to



A GROUP OF AINU.
The women are distinguished by the curious tattoo marks round the mouth.

this is added the soot of burned birch-bark. A goodly portion is rubbed over the surface to be operated upon, and the wriggling, screaming girl is placed under the torture of a sharp instrument which pierces the skin and absorbs the colouring matter. The work is continued from time to time as the irritation ceases. As the child grows the blotch spreads until it becomes a most disfiguring feature to an otherwise not unpleasant face—a type wholly unlike any of the Far Eastern races.

In olden times it was the custom to continue the work of decoration after marriage by tattooing a band across the forehead, rings on the fingers, and many circles about the arms. These outward evidences of the married state may still be seen among the very old women, but the custom has largely passed away.

There is a remarkably peculiar fascination about these frank-faced, guileless children of Nature, and although utterly degraded in the minds of the men, they are the “motive power” in all affairs.

**Position of
Ainu Women.**

In height they about average the women of Japan, although they are greatly superior in physical strength, and can endure no end of hardship—a lot to which they are born. They are most abject slaves to men. If a woman meets one upon the highway, she at once turns aside and covers her mouth with her hand that the air may not be polluted for a man by a woman's breath; the cloth head-gear is instantly removed, and, bowed in the attitude of humility, she stands until the man has fully passed.

When a woman marries she is not honoured by bearing the name of the man of her choice, but is designated by her maiden name, or as the wife of So-and-so. If widowed, she takes the name of her son, if she has one, which is usually the case. It is considered a great disgrace for a woman to remain childless, a fact which forms sufficient grounds for a man to refuse to live with his wife. In such a case it is supposed that the gods are punishing the

woman for some of her evil deeds, and without trial by judge or jury she is declared an unfit companion for any man, there being no higher court than the will of her husband.

Everything is most primitive. The manufacture of cloth is a household matter, and

The Woman's Part. every married woman is expected to produce the family supply. After she has helped

in the field, and the scanty supply has been gathered in, she hurries off to the woods to gather nuts and bark. The nuts are stored for winter supply, and the fibre of the bark is twisted into thread used both for weaving and sewing. Roots are gathered, and indigo grown for dyeing purposes. The chief pride and delight of every woman is to bedeck her husband in garments “fearfully and wonderfully made.” Although quite grotesque when taken apart from the wearer, they well become his unique style. The background is usually a dull, almost dirty, blue; and upon this irregular designs wander at large over the entire surface. When a bear-feast—the great event of the year in each village—is to take place, the fond wife puts the finishing touch to the make-up of her husband, and if by any means she can secure a horse upon which he may go forth, she follows through the ankle-deep mud, often almost breathless in an attempt to keep up with the animal, that she may be at hand to render service.

As their religion is one of evil spirits, and these spirits demand constant sacrifice in the form of valueless offerings, the Ainu woman is most useful in preparing worship-sticks and placing them where they will ward off the wrath of the spirits or call down their favour. Shavings of pine sticks are placed in the east window, at the well, in fields, and beside the fire, that the man may enjoy freedom from the wrath of the spirits as well as bask in the sunshine of their favour. From childhood to old age the Ainu woman has but one mission—that of spending her life to minister to the comfort of man.

KOREA

By JESSIE ACKERMANN, F.R.S.G.S.

Class Difference—Girls' Work—Girls Have No Names—Korean Dress—A Land of Laziness—Woman and Religion—The High-class Girl—A Curious Hat—Position of Married Women

THE life of a Korean woman depends largely upon the special class into which she is born. The difference between the high and low class women is so wide that they almost belong to two worlds.

Class Difference.

The advent of a girl among the lower class is a matter of the least possible interest, scarcely beyond the annoying fact that the mother is not at her usual post of service and men's wants are less well supplied.

Of education the Korean girl requires none. Until quite recently, schools for girls among the common people—usually called "low class"—were considered wholly unnecessary—that is, if any consideration was given to the matter; and even now, apart from the free instruction given at mission schools, this class is almost wholly neglected. Of necessity a girl must learn how to cook and to help in the tobacco field—for almost every house has a patch of "the weed," and women as well as men—yes, even children—are given to smoking. The use of tobacco, indeed, is common among all classes, but not, as in many places, for chewing.

If a girl's help is not required in the home, and the parents live in or near villages and cities, the girls at a very early age become burden

Girls' Work.

bearers or vendors of flowers in the market-places. While young, they wear trousers and a short tunic, which enables them to move quickly about in search of work. With a bamboo rack fitted to the back and

a skirt made of grass or reeds, they gather in the markets where women are out getting supplies for the day. It is surprising to see the weight these frail-looking girls fairly march off with in their eagerness to earn a cash or two.

Tradition and superstition have relegated the girl to a place where is she not considered even worthy of a name,

Girls Have No Names.

and the luxury of any individual designation from other girls is not hers. She merely sustains a relation to the district from which she comes. She is simply "it" or "that" until married. Then her identity is completely lost in that of her husband. Her own people call her by the name of the district from which her husband comes, but when a boy is born to her she is called the mother of that boy.

The girl, in some manner, but at no stated time or experience, finds herself in a dress. It is a national costume, and would seem com-

Korean Dress.

fortable if properly adjusted. It consists of two pieces—a waist and skirt. The former is so abbreviated as to extend only to the armpits; the thickly-gathered skirt is supposed to be on friendly relations with the waist, but usually it falls some six or eight inches short, and a dark girdle of "real skin" is the only belt in vogue among them. It often comes to pass among the lower class that a woman, having once put her dress on, removes it only when she sheds it in fragments, a scrap at a time.

Oppression among the officials is so great in the way of taxation that there is little inducement for men to work.

A Land of Laziness.

They are content with a patch of tobacco for family use, and as the climate is mild, there is no suffering from that source. Women follow the lead of men in the matter of subdued energy, if, indeed, they ever possess any; and are

the fair sex. Perhaps it should be called a superstitious dread. Believing that religion is intended for women and children, a man's constant fear is that a woman

will have more influence with the gods than he, and in a vexatious mood will avenge herself by calling down their wrath upon his defenceless head. These customs may



KOREAN STREET CHILDREN.

given to spending whole days in the shade of the house quietly smoking the hours away in a dreamy fashion, from which even a knock-down squabble of the children fails fully to arouse them. The pipes have very long stems and tiny bowls, which hold hardly more than a thimble-full of tobacco; this is consumed in a whiff or two, and the pipe passes freely about from one to another.

Although woman seems to have no civil being, the men in a sense stand in awe of

be said, generally speaking, to prevail throughout the country, for they are usual among the masses.

The life of a high-class girl is superior in that she has better clothes, is surrounded by a larger degree of comfort, enjoys a limited amount of education, and cultivates such gifts as a taste for painting and needlework, which has at least the advantage of giving her mental occupation.

The High-Class Girl.

A newly-married couple form a most picturesque sight. The groom is clad in white, with only a coloured tunic. The acme of originality is reached in the hat, woven from the hair of his lamented ancestors on

her. The upper class women arrange matters of dress with great care, and when leaving the house, even in a closed conveyance, are always accompanied by one or more women attendants. Those who

A Curious Hat.

Position of Married Women.



KOREAN BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

his father's side. At the passing of each generation a lock of hair is woven into a braid, which is added to the hat, often of fantastic shape, but usually of ordinary pattern, with high crown and broad brim.

The bride appears in public places with him, and he seems in no way ashamed of

belong to the best families never venture from the house unless properly veiled, peeping out through a small opening to see their way.

As the country is slow to move, even under the inspiration of rushing Japanese enterprise, it will be long before woman comes into her own in this land.

CHINA

By A. R. COLQUHOUN

Popular Misconceptions on the Position of Chinese Women—Women Coolies—Conditions of Women's Life in China—Legal Disabilities of Chinese Women—The Principle of Woman's Inferiority to Man—Reasons for Infanticide—Child Life—Betrothal Customs—How a Marriage is Arranged—Marriage Rules and Customs—Position of Wives in China—The Suicide Habit—Secondary Wives—Family Life—Women Workers—Seclusion of the Better-class Women—"Foot-binding"—Clothing—*Coiffures*—The Use of Rouge and Powder—The Chinese Ideal of Beauty—Literature and Woman—"Henpecked" Chines—Influence of Woman in China—Devotion to Parents—The Position of Widows—The Future of Chinese Women

IT is always difficult to give a fair idea of any people by describing them from the outside only, and therefore (as Chinese women do not at present rush into print with their feelings and

Popular Misconceptions on the Position of Chinese Women.

experiences) one is at a disadvantage in attempting to draw a picture of a side of Chinese life with which it is only possible to

be acquainted as a superficial observer.

It is easy enough to catalogue a Chinese woman's clothes, to describe her appearance and the customs to which she must conform, to explain her legal and social status and the duties she must fulfil. But, when we have done all this, we have merely the shell; of the living, breathing woman we hardly catch a glimpse. Writers who adopt this photographic method leave us with the impression that the Chinese woman is so hemmed in with restrictions that she scarcely has a personality, that she is so brought up by rule that she can hardly have a soul to call her own. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, and there are reasons for believing that, although etiquette not only enforces the seclusion of the Chinese woman but forbids even the mention of a Chinese wife in society, yet women occupy, whether as mothers or wives, a position of great importance and considerable influence

in the Middle Kingdom. In any case, a Chinese woman would hardly agree with the foreigner in his estimate of the indignity and helplessness of her position.

A new-comer to China will be struck at any of the Treaty ports with the crowd of active brown-faced coolie women—dressed, like their men folk, in black or blue cotton tunics and trousers, and only distinguishable by their head-dress—who are swarming about the streets and adjacent country, doing every kind of work. On the rivers of the South he will see these broad, sturdy creatures working the heavy boats, their babies strapped on their backs. If he journeys into the interior he will meet them in every village or market place buying and selling, doing field work, carrying weights, and generally taking a share in all rough work. At the same time he will note the almost complete absence from all public places of women of the better classes. These, he is told, are secluded, not with Mohammedan rigour (even when the Chinese profess Islam they are far from orthodox), but prohibited by public opinion from going abroad to be seen of men.

It is obvious that the greatest difference must exist, in every relation of life, between

the woman who shares her husband's work and perhaps supports him, going abroad freely to do it, and her sister who lives in the seclusion of the woman's court, engaged in household work and endless embroidery, like European ladies of an earlier age.

**Conditions of
Women's Life
in China.**

an important part only as a mother. Marriage is the one honourable career for a Chinese girl, and when she marries she loses, absolutely and entirely, any identity she may have possessed and becomes part of her husband's family.

It is the aim of every Chinaman to have a male descendant to carry on those rites



CHINESE LADIES.

Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

In generalising, therefore, about the women of China, one must keep clearly in mind the fact that there is almost as much difference in the lots of Chinese women of the upper and lower classes as between the Duchess of Sangazure and 'Liza of Lambeth—almost, but not quite, for through the lives of Chinese women of all classes runs a thread which gives them closer kinship than sex alone. Chinese society is not built up in the somewhat haphazard manner of our own. It is founded on strict lines and permeated with strong convictions. In it the family is the basis of everything, the individual is of no account, and in this scheme woman plays

of ancestral worship which he believes to be essential to the prosperity of his family, not only on earth but already in another sphere. A daughter cannot do this. As soon as she is marriageable, therefore, she passes into another family and can worship only at the ancestral shrines of her husband. The complete break between a girl and her parents, when she marries, can only be realised when we remember that, unlike her European sister who may still run to her mother for advice and guidance, she becomes the absolute property of her husband and is bound to render implicit obedience not merely to him but to his parents also. It

follows, then, that a woman is in every way less free and less important than a man, and it is the blind, unquestioning acceptance of this doctrine in every rank of life which constitutes the main difference between the women of China and their European or American sisters.

tent protected, especially among the upper classes, by public opinion and by custom.

A marriage can be dissolved by mutual consent or the man can divorce his wife for any of seven reasons (one of which is over-talkativeness). But he may not get



Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

CHINESE LADIES PLAYING CARDS AND DRINKING TEA.

The legal status of the Chinese woman leaves much to be desired. No provision is made for daughters in the division of property, which is an additional reason for the anxiety of parents to get their girls married early. As a child the girl is subject entirely to her father, and among the poorest classes in certain districts it is not only possible but is condoned by public opinion that a father should sell his daughter. When she marries her husband has entire jurisdiction over her, and his parents, to whom he himself is subject as long as they live, have even more authority. But she is to a certain ex-

Legal Disabilities of Chinese Women.

rid of her thus unless her parents are still living (so that she has a home to go to), nor may he send her away if he, being poor at the time of the marriage, has since amassed riches. Also when the wife can prove that she has served his parents faithfully she may not be divorced. Apart from these slight safeguards, however, a married woman is without protection until she has a son, after which happy event she shines with reflected importance. In the case of ill-treatment by her husband or his people her own relations may remonstrate or interfere, but on the whole public opinion, as well as immemorial custom, is on the side of parents-in-law.

The fundamental principle underlying this whole question of relations between the sexes is that woman is inferior to man. Chinese philosophy attributes death and evil to Yin, the female principle in Nature, while life and prosperity come from Yang, the male principle. Very few Chinese probably stop to reason on the subject, for it appears to them to be a Law of Nature that women should occupy an entirely different position from men in the scheme of life, and the women themselves would not question the dispensation.

From the practical point of view the entire submission of women and their lack of individual rights seem to the Chinese to secure that symmetry and continuity in the family which is his highest ideal. These generalisations are true in every class of life, and the effects of the entire subservience of women, whether they are high-born secluded ladies or women workers in the fields, vary only in degree.

The fact that a daughter is only a temporary resident in her father's home, and that any care bestowed on her will in the end only benefit her husband's family, makes the advent of a girl baby an affair of moderated rejoicing. Among the poorest families, especially in times of famine, the event is sometimes a calamity; and it is the thought of the future, in which it may be impossible to provide for the little girl's marriage, which leads so many parents to practise infanticide. It is quite impossible to get any reliable statistics as to the prevalence of this custom. Evidence is forthcoming that a great number of girl babies disappear without funeral rites, but a certain number are probably the victims of ignorance and immaturity, whose parents are unable or unwilling to incur the heavy expenses of a funeral.

There is no reason to suppose that the Chinese are callous to their offspring; indeed, they give every outward sign of tenderness while their children are in the

baby stage. The little girl, therefore, though her father may not mention her with pride

Child Life. to his friends, is carried in his arms, fondled, and played with, and as soon as she can walk is dressed in clothes which are exactly like her mother's in miniature. On the great feast of the New Year she will be decked in garments of red and yellow, her little face painted, and her chubby wrists and ankles hung with beads. She will enjoy a certain amount of liberty while still a child, and will not be pestered with many attempts at education. At the age of seven or eight she will be separated from the boys, who then go to school. If she is the daughter of a well-to-do family she will learn to read and write and to do fine embroidery. But among the working-classes she will run about wild or help her mother in the house-work and (among the peasantry) in the fields, until she arrives at an age when her marriage must be thought of.

It is not etiquette, even in the poorest classes, that the future husband or his relations should see the prospective bride; and therefore **Betrothal Customs.** the moment she is betrothed she is obliged to stay closely at home. To avoid a possible breach of propriety the custom is to choose a *fiancé* from another town or village. Both this and other marriage customs are sedulously upheld by the matchmakers or go-betweens, who arrange all Chinese marriages, and naturally do not desire to simplify matters and thus lose their opportunities for fees and perquisites.

The parents anxious to marry a son or daughter resort to one of these go-betweens, who at once looks round for a likely match. Sometimes the betrothal takes place in childhood, and it is very rarely that the engagement is broken, whatever happens. After betrothal the little liberty hitherto allowed to a Chinese girl is at once restricted, and she is forbidden to go abroad, where she might possibly be seen by some member of the family into which she is to marry. If Chinese etiquette were strictly observed no

of a boy almost literally purchase a wife for him, and great are the chafferings of the go-betweens. The instinct of a Chinaman for a bargain will sometimes induce him to bid for what is obviously a

this side of Chinese marriages presents great similarity to our own customs, and there is even a duplicate of our own *corvée* of presents expected from friends and relations, who are invited to the wedding.



Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

CHINESE LADIES IN OUTDOOR COSTUME.

They are riding in the native "wheelbarrow" carriage.

damaged or inferior piece of goods, if he can get it "dirt cheap." On the contrary the expenses of the wedding often weigh very heavily on the bride's family, for they may have to provide her with a large outfit and even a dowry.

Among the educated classes, and especially the high officials, it is customary not only to provide a daughter with many pieces of furniture and bedding, but to spend a large sum on elaborate wedding festivities, while the bridegroom on his part must contribute pieces of silk and satin and jewelled hair-pins, ear- and finger-rings. On the whole,

The feast is the main feature in every marriage. Among people who are too poor

Marriage Rites and Customs.

to give the wedding feast unaided it is customary for the guests to bring a contribution in food or money, which is regulated as to amount by etiquette, though, as a matter of fact, the "share" given is frequently smaller than what is promised or expected.

The essential part of the Chinese wedding ceremony is the arrival of the bride at her husband's home, when she is carried across the threshold over a charcoal brazier, or red-

hot coulter. In modified forms this custom obtains everywhere, and is indeed found in the primitive marriage customs of all four continents. The journey to her new home is made by a Chinese bride in the red sedan-chair which she can only occupy once in her life. She is dressed in her best clothes, covered with a red silk veil, and then bundled into this close red chair. Brides have been suffocated, or (in bad weather) even frozen to death, during this bridal journey, so that the experience must be one which few girls would wish to repeat.

The bride has, perhaps, spent the days preceding her wedding in mourning and wailing with her female relations and friends, a form prescribed by etiquette rather than feeling. In any case, she will have a long ordeal to go through after she arrives at her new home, sitting side by side with her husband while relations and friends offer congratulations; it is a test of good breeding not to show the smallest sign of fatigue or emotion. When her brief day of importance and grandeur is over—and among the poorer people even the wedding garment is hired, and returned as soon as the bride arrives at her home—the Chinese wife settles down under the rule of her mother-in-law. Honeymoons are not *de rigueur* in any class of society, nor are endearments and caresses considered an essential feature of newly married life.

The Chinese bride does not, like the European one, expect to have "a good time" while she is young.

Position of Wives in China.

She simply looks forward to the day when she herself will be a mother-in-law. The first few years of her marriage, before she has shaken down and become accustomed to her new and exacting relations, are the most trying of her whole life. The husband is her master. Her duty is to be merely "a shadow and an echo." Even the affection of her husband cannot protect her against his parents, and she may be scolded, punished, and beaten without hope of redress. Notwithstanding all this it seems probable that the rule of an elder woman is of great service in a home

where the wife may still be a mere child in years and experience, and the habits of subordination and obedience in which girls are trained make their subservience less difficult than it appears.

To the question "Are marriages happy in China?" it is difficult to return a satisfactory answer, because the ideal of happiness is so different in East and West. From our point of view Chinese marriages seem mere business arrangements for continuing the race, accompanied by a subjection of one of the contracting parties which almost amounts to slavery. Viewed from the point of view of the Chinese, however, Western marriages seem equally infelicitous.

Certainly the Chinese race does increase and multiply, family scandals and divorce are comparatively unusual, and

The Suicide Habit.

the one really abnormal circumstance is the prevalence of suicide among girls and young wives. The former sometimes band themselves together under a vow of celibacy, to which death is the accepted alternative. But this phenomenon, no doubt partly due to the tendency of girls of a certain age to hysteria, is less remarkable than the number of women who make away with themselves during the first few years of married life. This distressing fact is usually attributed to the unkindness of mothers-in-law rather than of husbands. Probably the irritation of the young wives' nerves, and their desire to "get even" with their tormentors who (to use the Chinese phrase) have made them "eat bitterness," have a good deal to account for it. To the Chinese there is no more subtle way of "paying out" one's enemy than by committing suicide on his premises. The lack of self-control usual among Chinese women, especially of the lower classes who have no training or education to help them, must be largely answerable for the suicidal tendency.

A frequent cause of married unhappiness is undoubtedly the custom of taking secondary wives, which is allowed all over China, but is deprecated on the score of wisdom



CHINESE GIRLS LEARNING TO WRITE AT A MISSION SCHOOL.

Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

74

by most Chinese and condemned by their philosophy. It is naturally a habit restricted to those who can afford it, but is by no means invariable even among the wealthy. It is, of course, considered almost necessary should the first wife be childless or have no son.

Secondary Wives.

From the time the Chinese girl, herself almost a child, becomes the mother of a son she is a much more important person, but as long as her husband's parents live she will be subject to them, and in many cases will continue to reside with them. This patriarchal custom, whereby several sons and their wives and families may all be quartered under the parental roof, is by no means conducive to a peaceful and well-ordered home, nor are the family habits sociable. Wives and husbands do not eat together, nor, in the poorer classes, are there any set meals—rice and millet are boiled by the women and eaten by the men folks sitting outside in the sun, or squatting on the *k'ang*, and the women eat afterwards with the same lack of formality. Among the better-to-do the women eat in their own court, and the men in theirs, and any guests are entertained separately. But at the same time outside the house the wife can claim a certain amount of consideration. The man must harness the horse or donkey, arrange the cart and seat his wife in it, and he himself must walk alongside while she rides.

Perhaps it may be well here to give some idea of the structure of a Chinese home. Of course there is great variety, according to the social position and means of the owner, but an almost invariable feature of all Chinese houses, whether in town or village, is that they consist of a walled-in court, with one-storied rooms running along one or more sides, according to the size of the house. The outside of the court—the part bordering the street or other dwellings—is devoid of windows. A two-leaved door gives access to the enclosure, and the house opens upon the court only. In a better

class home there is a series of these enclosed courts, to secure the separation of the sexes which Chinese etiquette demands.

Very few houses have more than one storey, and the domestic arrangements seem primitive for so highly civilised a people. In a cottage home the stove faces the door in the principal room, and the smoke and heat are forced by a system of flues under a sort of divan of bricks—the *k'ang*—which is the family bed, seat, and general receptacle for clothes, food, babies, or other goods which cannot be left on the mud floor.

The home of a wealthy Chinese is decorated with carving and gilding, silk hangings and snowy matting, and furnished with handsome porcelain, carved chairs, tables, and cabinets. The lady of the house has her wardrobes and chests full of beautiful silk and satin robes and boxes of jewellery. But she will sleep, not on a bed with sheets, but on a glorified *k'ang*, covered with cushions and quilts. She will eat at a low table, out of china bowls on lacquered trays, while she squats on the floor, and her domestic arrangements will be simplified by the comparative scarcity of furniture and belongings, and especially of knick-knacks, in her house. Nevertheless in a household where everything is made by hand—bed-clothes, wearing apparel, even shoes—she will have plenty to do and will keep busy her little maids or slaves, many of whom are sold into domestic bondage by their parents.

In Chinese shops one sees a great deal of fine embroidery done by men, but it is

Women Workers. to a great extent women's work in the homes, and the beautiful shoes for "lily feet," the bands

of sleeves and other decorations are made by the wearers themselves. It would be impossible to give an idea of the multifarious occupations in which poorer women are engaged. Every department of the tea industry is served by them, and babies go with their mothers to the factories, accompany them to market or to the fields, apparently none the worse for spending their little lives strapped to the back of

the vigorous, hard-working women, whose every movement seems to jog the tiny heads till they threaten to fall off.

We have already spoken of the boat-women in the South of China, who bring up their families in floating homes, and who seem to do the hard work while their men folk sit and watch them.

**Seclusion of
the Better-class
Women.**

To our ideas, however, even a life of hard labour is more tolerable, if spent in the open air and amid changing scenes, than the monotonous confinement which is the lot of the better-class women. Many of these never leave what we should call their "back-yards" save to go to the parks once a year on New Year's Day, or to pay a visit to their maternal home. In the absence of the husband no self-respecting woman should be seen in public, and the Chinese are never tired of quoting the modesty of the Lady Poh-ki, who when her house was on fire refused to escape. "When the chief of the household is abroad, no woman should leave the palace at night."

The home-visits and the New Year's picnic, when women of all ages and classes flock to the nearest park or open space with trees, are practically the only breaks in the monotony of their lives. The occasional return to the maternal roof is by no means always a success. The returning wife takes all her children with her, and may not be very warmly welcomed. Probably her brood quarrels violently with their cousins, the children of her brothers, and the sisters-in-law do not make things too pleasant for her, regarding her visit as an expense. Nevertheless, the visit to the "mother's people" is an institution and no self-respecting wife would omit it unless obliged. She probably feels that it helps to keep up her position in her husband's family by showing that she has "people of her own," and in this as in other matters the similarity between feminine character and customs in East and West is amusingly illustrated.

Such amusements as theatre-going are not possible to better-class Chinese women,

but a wealthy man will sometimes engage a theatrical troupe to perform in his women's court, when all the friends of the lady will be invited. The poorer women are free to stand and gape at the rude shows which are given in open booths in the streets, or they can attend a more sophisticated form of amusement with their families by paying a few cash. On the whole, however, their lives are, like the lives of the women of the industrial and agricultural classes in other countries, devoid of those forms of intellectual or artistic enjoyment which are usually regarded as amusement. In one respect they are singularly unfortunate, for the consolations and pre-occupations of revealed religion, which mean so much to most women, are denied to the Chinese. They cannot get much satisfaction of a spiritual kind out of the philosophy which serves their husbands but which relegates them to such an inferior position.

The clearest evidence of the opinion of the Chinese themselves as to the comparative "Foot-binding," happiness of the free coolie wife and the secluded middle-class one is found in the custom known as "foot-binding." No satisfactory history of this custom has ever been set forth, but it appears to be of considerable antiquity, and has resisted many attempts on the part of the rulers to put it down. No detailed description of the "lily feet" is necessary here, as the method of contraction is well known. It is sufficient to say that by a system of binding the feet and ankles tightly in extreme youth, the former are converted into little more than pegs. The toes are tucked under and frequently drop off, and the whole process is not only painful but even, at times, dangerous.

The girl thus crippled is incapable of any work which involves standing or walking, and this is exactly what is aimed at. To have a "lily-footed" daughter—that is one brought up to a life of comparative ease—is a mark of social distinction, and until quite recent times no girl could expect to marry into a family of good social position or to become the wife of one of the "literati"



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, London & New York.

A HIGH CASTE LADY'S DAINTY "LILY FEET."

Showing the deformation (the shoe is worn on the great toe only).

without possessing this trade mark of gentility. Even to-day, when the energetic campaign of foreigners against foot-binding has received strong official support, the custom has only been very partially discontinued in certain limited areas. The practice is the more curious because the ruling race has never conformed to the custom, and Manchu women, from the Dowager-Empress downwards, are large-footed.

Perhaps in no respect are the women of China more to be pitied by their sisters of the West than in the great matter of clothes. Not for them is that perennial source of amusement, the changing fashion. They cannot solace themselves in moments of *ennui* by purchasing a new bonnet. Should they happen, by chance, to belong to one of the two classes of women who alone wear headgear of any kind they cannot let their imaginations play round fresh "creations," for the form

and even the material are rigidly prescribed by custom. The lady of the court must wear a round hat like her husband's; it must be lined with dark satin or cloth, and surmounted by a tassel of red silk. Only women of a certain rank are permitted to adorn it with a golden ornament. The coolie woman, at the other end of the social scale, has a hat of straw or bamboo like a mushroom. Sometimes it is merely a huge halo, and her hair sticks up through the hole in the middle.

The style of dress, with slight differences in such matters as the breadth of sleeves and length of coats, is the same everywhere, and for all classes. It consists of two essential

garments—the trousers, tied round the ankles in the North and loose in the South, and the loose coat or tunic fastening on the left side. The better-class women usually wear also a petticoat, which is shaped like two aprons, one in front and one behind, and they have under-garments of fine white material and white woven socks over which they draw shoes of embroidered satin or cloth with thick white soles.

What a Chinese woman misses in variety of fashion she makes up by attention to detail, for all these garments (except in poor families) will be made of silk, satin, or cloth elaborately embroidered, and every garment is made by hand. Besides the work involved by the mere making of clothes for all members of the family there are shoes to be thought of. The "lily" shoes are almost always home-made, and beautifully embroidered. Then there are bed quilts and cushions, quilted coats for winter, curtains, and hangings—an endless task of needlework for the women of a family.

Children are dressed like miniature grown-ups as soon as their clothes become a matter of importance at all. On New Year's Day the streets are full of these quaint little people, whose gaudy dresses betoken loving care on the part of hundreds of proud mothers. When the weather grows cold (especially in Northern China where the winters are very severe) it is amusing to see the increase of bulk caused by putting one coat over another, till at last the children are like round bundles of clothes, and can hardly toddle. Among the poorer classes who cannot afford the satin fur-lined coat used by wealthy Chinamen, the winter clothes are made of wadded and quilted cotton and involve much work on the part of the family dressmaker and tailor.

One of the important features in a Chinese woman's toilet *Coiffures.* is her hair, and in every class above the humblest great attention and care are bestowed on the *coiffure*. The girl baby is shaved as soon as she is a month old, and only two funny little tufts are left at each side of her head. When she is a few years old her hair is allowed to grow and may be cut in a straight fringe across her forehead. A certain amount of change is observable in the fashion of doing the hair among the better class women, and at present it is taken away from the forehead and dressed in a chignon at the back of the head, but not on the nape of the neck as with us.

The Chinese pillow—a hollowed-out block of wood in which the nape of the neck rests—makes it possible to keep even an elaborate chignon in perfect order for a week, and it is only those to whom time and expense are no object who would have their hair dressed every day.

When the smoothly oiled loops have been symmetrically arranged they are secured with jewelled pins, and the head-dress is adorned with artificial flowers or jewels. In ranks of life where such adornments are unattainable there will usually be pins of shell or semi-precious stones, for a set of hair ornaments is part of the outfit for every bride, as are also earrings, which may



Photograph by Spencer, Strand.

A CHINESE WOMAN OF THE WEALTHY CLASS.

be of gold and pearls, of jade or of glass beads, according to the means of the bridegroom. A very usual hair ornament is a band of embroidery round the forehead ending behind the ears and sometimes having a row of pearls or a jewel in the centre—a style



A FOOCHOW LADY'S HEAD-DESS.

which recalls that in vogue in Europe in the days of side curls.

A custom which seems more strange to us is that of letting the finger nails grow, and protecting them with metal sheaths. Only the wealthy and aristocratic can cultivate this habit, which renders the hand almost useless.

Although the apparent uniformity and prescribed monotony in the matter of dress argues, to our minds, a lack of vanity and interest in her personal adornment on the part of the Chinese woman, and although the relations between the sexes do not seem to admit of coquetry on her part, yet the prevalence of certain customs seem to argue that she is not so indifferent either as to her appearance or as to the opinion of the other sex as she appears. Of course we know that women

dress for each other, and even adorn their hair with flowers and their sleeves with embroidery so as to outdo each other, but no woman rouges and powders to please her own sex. There is a Chinese proverb to the effect that "a good-looking woman requires no rouge to make her so," but the majority of Chinese women do not seem to have faith in their natural charms. Even among the poor artificially whitened faces and reddened lips and cheeks are frequently seen, and the eyebrows are carefully blackened to come up to the ideal of beauty which likens them to the silk-worm moth. The complexion of the Chinese belle is said to be "like congealed ointment," her lips "red like the dawn of day," her eyes limpid, her teeth like melon seeds, and her fingers like the blades of young grass, while her ungainly gait, as she totters along on "lily feet," is likened to the waving of willows.

This whole picture seems to point to an ideal of feminine beauty not so very far removed from our own—

The Chinese Ideal of Beauty. the slender fingers, limpid eyes, glossy eyebrows, and pale skin making up a picture by no means unpleasing. Naturally our own much admired blonde beauties were unthinkable to the Chinese poets, and indeed it is only by accustoming themselves to the sight of foreigners that they are able to accept blue eyes and fair hair as belonging to human beings. Chinese devils have blue eyes, just as the crude devil of Mediaeval Europe had a cloven hoof and forked tail.

Beauty is, in fact, like morality, very much an affair of latitude and longitude, and the blue-eyed foreigner will not find much to admire in the average Chinese woman. The features seem coarse and heavy, while the Tartar strain is clearly visible in the North in the high cheek-bones, and small slanting eyes. The most that can be said for the crowds of coolie women and villagers whom one meets in one's walks abroad is that they have an air of sturdiness and good-humour, and their ruddy brown faces are far from unpleasing in consequence. Their more favoured sisters of the "lily

The Use of Rouge and Powder.

feet" and their servants and slaves, who spend their time in the women's courts, are less healthy looking, and their broad faces and lack-lustre eyes are only redeemed by the picturesqueness and colour of their clothes and ornaments. The young girls have the comeliness of youth at the beginning of their married life, but before thirty they are old and wrinkled.

Having gained some idea of the outward appearance of the Chinese woman, her home and habits, we must turn to Chinese literature for a more intimate view of her place in Chinese society. Theoretically she is simply the adjunct of her husband, the necessary second factor in the continuance of the race. Etiquette prescribes that there should be practically no social intercourse between the sexes, and Mencius laid it down that propriety required that men and women should not even touch each other in the ordinary acts of everyday life. An inquiring disciple asked him whether propriety made it improper to rescue a drowning sister-in-law, to which the philosopher was obliged to reply in the sense that propriety must give way to the ordinary instincts of humanity. Fortunately for their women this very commonsense view is the one which will recommend itself in nine cases out of ten to a Chinese man, and although he will endeavour to preserve the outward appearance of decorum his conduct in family life is not as devoid of human impulses as one is led to imagine.

In the important affair of marriage, which the Chinese affect to regard as a mere matter of business, there is abundant evidence of very human interest on the part of the young people. Mencius speaks severely of the youths and maidens who are not content to wait for the commands of parents and the arrangements of a go-between, but "make holes through walls in order to see each other secretly, or get over walls to follow each other," and we have already spoken of the Chinese romances in which true love plays no inconspicuous part. Even in cases where the marriage is

arranged without consulting the young people there is evidence that, especially among the more educated and enlightened, care is taken to ensure a happy union.

Chinese good sense condemns a marriage in which the parties are of unequal social station, and at the same time Chinese proverbs inculcate the duty of seeking for virtue and excellence in a son or daughter-in-law rather than rich wedding presents or a large dowry. A whole group of proverbs and philosophic sayings—part of the classics which until recent times formed the only education of the Chinese—insist on the importance of the marriage relation and the wreck which an unhappy marriage can make of life, and a number of these wise sayings are concerned with the fact that it is wiser to marry goodness than beauty; for instance "A good-looking woman in the house is the foe of all the others," and "Ugly wives and stupid maids are priceless treasures."

The number of these sayings (and some little observation of family life in China) leads one to believe that whatever the ideal of feminine beauty may be its effect on man is much the same in every clime. The possibility of taking a young and pretty concubine in addition to the wife provided by the parents is by no means forgotten, and many women are trained for such a position in the arts of pleasing and are better able to hold the affections of their masters than the legitimate wife. Under such competition it is not surprising to hear that "nine women out of ten are jealous," that "a wife's resentment is without end," and that "men are worn out and horses exhausted, people do not know east from west" when a Chinese wife has a grievance and lets herself go.

The fact is that Chinese husbands, like those of other countries, value peace and quiet more than anything else in the home, and if the wife is blessed with a shrill, sharp tongue, and a temper to match, she can hold her own with him, and even with her mother-in-law. There are many Chinese

Literature and Woman.

"Henpecked" Chinese.

jokes about the henpecked husband, and many stories illustrating the fact that a man may not always be master even in his own house. On one occasion a foreigner, who

many women hold sway over their husbands by reason of their superior character and force of will. Except in rare cases this superiority is natural, and is not aided by



Photograph by Spooner, Strand.

A CANTONESE LADY.

had been present at a meeting of Chinese gentlemen, was asked by one of them whether he feared the "hidden ones" of his inner chamber, *i.e.*, his women folk. "He does," they all said, chuckling and indicating the stern and stately looking Prefect who had been presiding, and who was visibly disconcerted at the allusion.

Apart from the power wielded by the termagant, however, there is no doubt that

education, but at the same time it is by no means uncommon. In one of the

Influence of Woman in China,

Chinese encyclopædias three hundred and seventy-six books out of sixteen hundred and twenty-eight are devoted to famous women, and eleven chapters deal with female knowledge and literary works, but except in the regions where foreign ideas are gaining ground few women have any real opportunities for enlarging their minds.



CHINESE SINGING GIRLS.

It was native force of character and shrewdness which gave the Dowager-Empress her ascendancy, for though she was not a poor slave, as is sometimes asserted, but the daughter of a respectable family, she had no educational advantages in her



Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.
WOMAN OF NORTH CHINA.
Showing the finger-nail protectors.

youth. She is the second most famous woman ruler of China, the other being the Empress Wu, who in the seventh century was the consort of the emperor and ruled both him and his country. After his death she deposed his successor, and was sole ruler, her sway lasting some thirty-five years. The Empress Dowager is, of course, a Manchu, not a Chinese, but the extraordinary position to which she has attained shows that in the matter of the prerogatives of women the Chinese are no more consistent than they are in other ways.

When a Chinese woman becomes a mother the traditions of filial piety secure to her more consideration than heretofore. A son or daughter must reverence their mother almost equally

with their father. Chinese children are regarded as the chattels of their parents, and no duty or obligation can supersede that of filial obedience and care. While marriage is considered necessary for every adult there are cases, much commended in Chinese annals, of daughters who voluntarily gave up the idea of marriage in order to devote themselves to their parents. In the *Peking Gazette* it is by no means unusual to read recommendations that rewards or posthumous honours should be given to daughters who have distinguished themselves by devotion to their parents or by their virtue and industry. These instances of appreciation must be set against the prevalent view that to Chinese eyes a woman can never do more than is required of her by plain duty, and it is equally necessary to remember, in reading of the sale of wives and daughters and the low estimation of women generally among the poorest classes, that these people are inconceivably poor and ignorant judged by European standards, and must not be taken as representing the whole Chinese people.

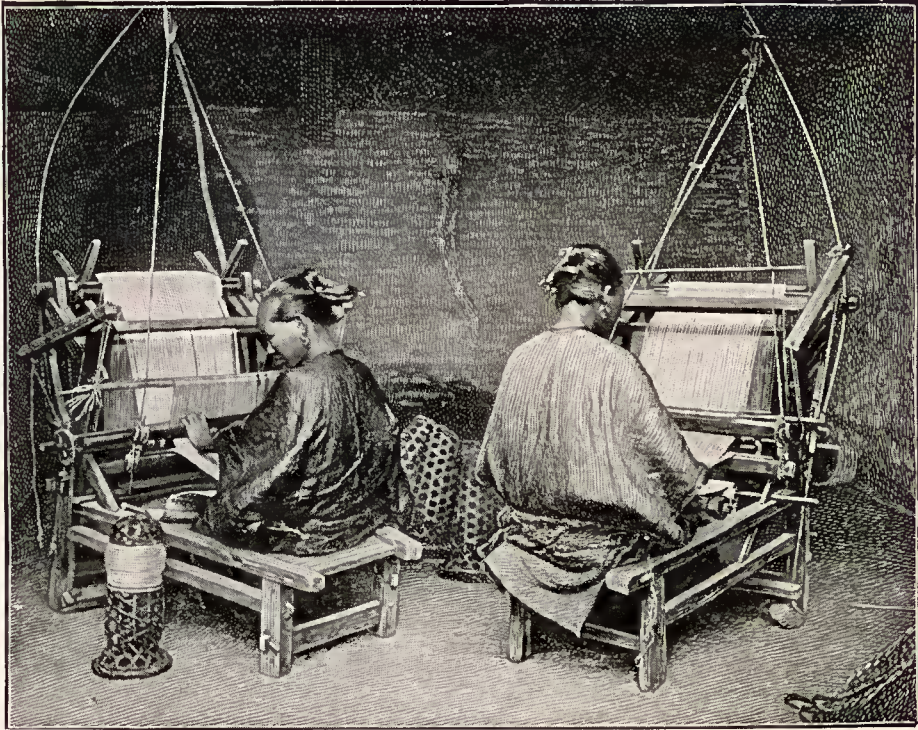
There are many cases in history of mothers whose influence on their famous sons has been very great, and who are held in honour accordingly. The loss of a mother must be mourned for three years, during which time all public business must be abandoned. It will be remembered that when Li-Hung-Chang lost his mother he asked leave to retire and mourn for the prescribed time, but after a few months the Empress-Dowager had to send for him. Not to be able to mourn a parent is regarded as a great deprivation, for it is one of the firm beliefs of the Chinese that any dereliction in their family duty not only brings trouble on their ancestors but will reflect on their descendants.

The Chinese attitude towards widows is marked by considerable commonsense. A

widow is spoken of as "a rudderless boat," and this is literally true under the conditions of Chinese society unless there are sons to support her. In some parts of China a form of suttee has been practised, even within recent times, but it is

The Position of Widows.

fewer disadvantages to the Chinese. Rather she fears the first few years of her married life, and the period which must intervene before she gains the dignity and importance of being a mother and later a mother-in-law. By middle-age the worst of her troubles are over, and she has not the dread of a lonely



CANTONESE WEAVERS.

not countenanced by the authorities, nor is it prescribed by Chinese philosophical teaching. Re-marriage of widows is quite usual, and as there is less ceremony and less expense in taking a widow to wife they are not unpopular as brides. "A widow's marriage," says a proverb, "should always be consummated immediately," otherwise she may change her mind—a privilege denied to girls.

The life of a Chinese woman may seem intolerable to her European sister, but it is not without its compensations. For one thing, the period of middle and old age which is anticipated with dread, and staved off as long as possible by most Occidental women, who regard youth as the best of their possessions, presents

The Future of Chinese Women.

old age, or the possibility of being supported by strangers or forced to go into the work-house so long as her sons can work for her. Among well-to-do families, where there is no question of anxiety about daily bread, she will have the satisfaction, denied to many of our own women whose sons must seek fortunes abroad, of having her children with her and presiding over the nursery of her grandchildren.

There are, therefore, it must be owned, compensations in her lot for the lack of the "good time" in her girlhood which she does not expect or miss. At the same time it is undeniable that the traditionally low place occupied by women, their lack of legal protection, and the neglect of their education are blots on Chinese civilisation. It will be impossible to effect the social and administrative

reforms upon which enlightened Chinese are now bent without some change for the better in these matters. One of the first steps must be in the direction of education, and schools are already being established throughout the country; while in the principal centres where foreign influence has prevailed a really good modern education is given to better class girls. The most enlightened Chinese opinion is also strongly in favour of monogamy as the best foundation for the family, and the position of

an educated Chinese wife who is able to understand her husband's interests cannot fail to be a stronger one than is at present sanctioned by custom. In the great awakening of China that is taking place, there is no doubt that women must play their part, and it is to be hoped that, while the Chinese ideal of woman's mission and place in society will be widened and elevated, it will not lose its conception of the home as the best sphere and the care of the family as the greatest work for women.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, London & New York.

A WEALTHY MANCHU MAN AND WIFE IN FESTIVE DRESS,
PEKING.

MANCHURIA, MONGOLIA, AND TIBET

By A. R. COLQUHOUN

The Merging of the Mongol and Manchu—The Freedom of the Steppe—The Buriats—The Nomadic Mongolians—Mongol Dress—Marriage among the Mongols—Position and Duties of Mongol Women—Women in Tibet—The Emancipated Women of Tibet and Polyandry—Dress and Ornaments in Tibet—Tibetan Marriage Customs

OUTSIDE China proper, there are three great countries belonging to the Empire the women of which have naturally much in common with their Chinese sisters. All these countries have contributed something to Chinese ideas and customs, and all have, in return, been affected by the civilisation of the suzerain country. On the frontiers of China the people melt into each other imperceptibly, and even where the difference of race is clearly maintained the richer and more educated classes borrow their ideas from China. Some of these people were originally conquerors of the land which now dominates them. The Mongols, who at one time spread their conquests over half Europe as well as Asia, had a famous empire and court at Peking, while the Manchus conquered the Chinese capital in 1644, and have held the throne ever since. But although these conquests modified the Chinese type and introduced foreign customs—for instance the Manchu pig-tail—yet in the long run Manchu and Mongol have been the losers from the national point of view. The first still form a ruling caste and monopolise many of the high administrative posts in China, but their own beautiful country has been overrun, in return, by Chinese. In writing of Manchu and Mongol women, therefore, it is only necessary (especially with the latter) to remark those points in

which the native customs and ideas still persist, and have not been altered by contact with the civilisation of China.

Both Manchus and Mongols were originally Tartar tribes of kindred stock and pastoral habits. But, whereas the former inhabited a rich country of mountain and river, the latter were mostly dwellers on the vast Mongolian steppes. There are distinct differences between the customs of pastoral people and of those who, like the Chinese, are essentially agricultural or given to congregate in towns. A pastoral life, whether nomadic or settled, is always hard on women, and that in quite a different way from the hardships of a Chinese woman's position. The idea of seclusion for their women is not convenient to a people living largely on horseback and in tents, and so we find that, outside China proper, woman enjoys considerably more freedom, although it by no means follows that her position is better.

The Manchu women, retaining their natural liberty and never having adopted the "lily foot" custom which would have deprived them of it, go abroad freely and have an independence of carriage which marks them out from the Chinese. In Northern China and in Manchuria itself it is hardly possible to distinguish between Manchu and Chinese men, but the women are marked by their carriage, and by certain features in their



Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

A MANCHU LADY AND CHINESE WOMAN.

dress and *coiffure*. We have already seen that the Manchu court ladies alone wear hats, and they have a peculiar style of head-dress, profusely decorated, with two bunches of artificial flowers over either ear. Their shoes, too, are distinctive. Being free from the "lily foot" convention they still wish to mark their aristocratic birth by some footgear that precludes much walking, and accordingly they have boots with thick white soles, narrower at the base than directly beneath the foot, sometimes six inches high, and so giving the wearer a most impressive height.

In all civilised Manchu communities the domestic arrangements are similar to those in North China, and the legal and social position of the wife is much the same, though modified

by the sturdy character of the women and their comparative freedom from the etiquette of seclusion. There are, however, many semi-civilised or nearly savage tribes living in Manchuria, especially on the coasts and rivers of the north. Some of these display almost primitive forms of society, others retain traces of a civilisation differing in some points from that of the Mongolian races. Of the tribes which are closely akin to the steppe-dwelling Mongol, though found in northern Manchuria, the Buriats are the best known. They are a cattle-breeding tribe, very hardy, and very primitive, who retain their Tartar type and customs and their allegiance to the Tibetan hierarchy, which is the highest in the Mongol Buddhist world. The lives of their women is that of other tent-dwelling Mongols, and the emergence into anything approaching civilised life means the adoption of Chinese ideas.

When we turn to Mongolia we find among the tribes which still

maintain nomadic habits more distinctive forms of social customs and family life,

but, as we have said already, the change is not necessarily for the better

The Nomadic Mongolians, in the position of women. The Mongolian nomad of the steppes lives in a felt tent called by Europeans a "yourta," and his sole occupation is the care of his cattle. The tent is formed of a skeleton framework of wooden laths which is fastened to a round hoop at the top, and thus forms a rude chimney. The felt has a flap to open at one place, but, when the Mongol is inside, this is closed and all air and light he needs come through the chimney, which also allows escape for the smoke from the fire continually burning in the centre of the tent. Round this are spread felt or skins, or, in well-furnished tents, rugs,

and carpets. The wife sleeps next the door on the thinnest rug or poorest skin. No one undresses to go to bed, but simply fastens up the outer coat. No one washes when he gets up, or eats breakfast. The wife is the first astir and prepares meal tea, a kind of gruel made with fat or butter. With this, and cheese, hunger is staved off during the day, and the one meal of the day is eaten just before settling down for the night. It consists of chunks of meat sawn off the joints which are kept dried or frozen in a sort of cage outside the tent. The chunks are boiled, and when sufficiently done are fished out with the fingers and eaten. Mutton is the favourite food, and, even after this primitive cooking, is sometimes very good.

When the Mongol lady wishes to wash she may fill her mouth with water and squirt it into her hands as she rubs them over her face.

Mongol Dress.

Her dress is like that of her men folk, except that he wears a belt and she does not, and consists chiefly of a long loose coat which is buttoned up or left open according to the temperature. Usually of a sombre colour, this garment may be of a bright red or yellow on festal occasions, and will furthermore be adorned with a perfect curtain of bright-coloured beads.

The one great vanity of the Mongol woman is her head-dress, which is most elaborate, and varies with her status as maid or wife, and with her family. The hair is frequently smeared with glue to keep it in order, and from it depends an

array of silver ornaments, coins and beads. Even the poor possess some of these, and the rich are loaded with them. Some tribes wear a metal band round the head, with ornaments hanging down each side, and held in place by hooks in the ears, the weight being such that the lobe of the ear is often distended or split. Evidently the Mongol belle is quite as ready as her more sophisticated sisters to suffer in order to be beautiful. No description of her equipment would be complete without mention of the snuff-bottle—often a flat stone without much holding capacity and frequently empty, but carried nevertheless with dignity, in emulation of the sterner sex, and offered in politeness to all guests.

The marriage arrangements of the Mongols are more free than those of China, and give more scope to individual choice. The marriage customs, particularly as to present-giving, are not, however, substantially



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, London & New York.
A GROUP OF MANCHU WOMEN, WITH TYPICAL
HEAD-DRESS.

different. The bride is endowed by her parents according to their means, and her

Marriage among the Mongols. dowry may vary from a *yourta*, with all its fittings

and a herd of cattle, to a single sheep. The bridegroom presents gifts in return, and among people of

more reluctant than brides of more sophisticated races.

Once married, the Mongol bride becomes the household drudge. The Mongol can

have but one lawful wife,

Position and Duties of Mongol Women. but he can divorce her without much difficulty if he is not satisfied with her.

Her only protection is the marriage settlement, as he is expected to refund part of what her parents gave unless he has flagrant cause for divorce. She can divorce him also, on the ground of ill-treatment or "lack of affection," but as she is bound to refund part of the nuptial presents made by him, which in all probability were seized by her family, she has very little chance of obtaining her freedom. The Mongols have proverbs similar to those in Russian: "Love your wife as your soul, and beat her like your fur." "It is my wife, my thing."

The debased form of Buddhism professed by the Mongols and interwoven with Shamanism or worship of devils does not provide the smallest moral protection for women. They are permitted to become nuns and serve in the lamasseries, but no sanctity appertains to this way of life. Even the exaggerated respect to parents which is the mother's protection in China is lacking in Mongolia.

Woman's work is all that is hardest and most monotonous. Their industry collects all the *argol* (dried dung) which serves as fuel; they herd the cattle and milk them; make the felt rugs from camel's hair; drive and ride bare-backed over the steppes, and do the same work as men in addition to their domestic duties. In the summer, while their women are so profitably employed, the Mongol men ride about visiting each other and drinking tea in each other's *yourtas*, exactly like fashionable, idle women! They organise pony and camel races, of which they are very fond, and in these the young girls take part, but with this exception they know little of amusement in our sense of the word. Whatever happiness they find in life must be the mere physical enjoyment of an outdoor existence while they



Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

A TIBETAN BELLE IN A WHEAT-FIELD.

substance the wedding is an important affair, spreading over many days, and involving a huge amount of eating and drinking. A typical Mongol wedding retains distinct traces of the primitive manner of winning a wife, the bride being expected to weep and bewail, and being finally carried off with a show of force, after feigned resistance by her own people. As the Mongol rides more easily than he walks, a genuine bridal should resemble the exploit of young Lochinvar, and the bride is borne off on horseback, wailing piteously, though probably not



A GROUP OF TIBETAN BUDDHIST NUNS.

Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann, Calcutta.

One of them holds a prayer-wheel, which she keeps in constant motion by a swinging movement of the wrist.

are still young and strong, but too soon the hardships of their lives cause them to contract diseases, and they become prematurely aged.

When we turn to Tibet, whose people are closely akin in race to the Mongols and Manchus, we find a domestic and social structure of a rather different character. Tibet borders India, and derived a great deal of her civilisation as well as her religion from Indian sources.

The influence of religion has been the paramount factor in this most priest-ridden state, for here, alone among the countries of the world, the supreme ruler is a spiritual and not a temporal monarch. Of course his position has long been modified by the suzerainty of China, and, recently, by European intervention, but the power and influence of the Dalai Lama are nevertheless far in excess of those enjoyed in the nineteenth century by any spiritual Pontiff.

It is therefore of peculiar interest to find that in this priest-ridden country women enjoy a freedom and independence only equalled, among Asiatic women, in Burma. They not only trade freely, carry on businesses, and take a full share of all commercial enterprises, but are allowed to manage them.

In religious life women play a most important part. One of the most sacred personages is the abbess of a nunnery, who is believed to be the reincarnation of one of the goddesses of the corrupt pseudo-Buddhist Pantheon of the Tibetans. She is treated with veneration by men and women alike.

Women mix freely with men, receive them in their rooms, and join in their parties of pleasure, and even take part in their ceremonial dances, whereas in China such an idea would be entirely subversive not only of etiquette but of moral feeling. As for marriage customs, it is notorious that Tibet carries the emancipation of women so far

as to permit polyandry—a woman may have more than one husband.

With regard to this extraordinary state of affairs, there has been as yet no sufficient enquiry, by those versed in sociology, as to the extent and origin of this custom. In one form it is known to have existed among European peoples at no very remote period, and this appears to be the form in which it is most usual in Tibet. The sons of one mother share a wife between them, the eldest brother retaining ultimate rights over her and all children being regarded as his. Among a very poor community living in patriarchal style such a custom was dictated by considerations of economy, but, when we remember that woman's work is the property of her lord and master, this explanation does not seem quite sufficient, especially as cases of polyandry occur in Tibet, where the men are not brothers. A similar argument applies to the reason sometimes given of a desire to keep the family property together, which would only apply if the husbands were invariably members of the same family. In any case the custom is one which could only have obtained a foothold among a people whose male population has been emasculated, as have the Tibetans, by a form of religion calculated to deaden every virile impulse, and to turn men into lazy, indifferent lookers-on at life. Monasteries are full of men who enter them merely to escape responsibilities; and here, as in Burma, the result of masculine effeteness has been to foster more practical characteristics among the women.

Of course the Tibetans have to contend with Chinese ideas and philosophy, which affect the more educated of them, but in everyday life they manage to maintain their position. In some parts, where Chinese influence is strongest, polygamy is practised, and nowhere is monogamy usual.

Tibet has long been considered a land of mystery owing to the strict seclusion which it was the policy of China to enforce. Even to-day no really comprehensive modern account of her people exists, but the observations of those who visited the country

The Emancipated Women of Tibet and Polyandry.

Dress and Ornaments in Tibet.

when the British expedition penetrated to Lhasa seem to confirm the idea that domestic life is little changed since the days of the Abbé Huc. He describes a visit to Tibet in the middle of last century, and notes there

European taste to render the precaution necessary, but *autre pays autre goûts*, and, if the care spent by the Tibetan woman on her personal adornment is any criterion, vanity is not the least of her failings.



Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann, Calcutta.

A TIBETAN WOMAN OF THE UPPER CLASS.

Her jewellery is of silver set with turquoises and carnelians.

many curious features in the life of the people. At Lhasa, for instance, which is the centre of religious life and always full of pilgrims and priests, the women must wear clothes of a certain colour and must black their faces so that their comeliness may not disturb pious meditations. The appearance of Tibetan women, with their broad features, little twinkling eyes, and coarse black hair, does not seem to

Here, as in Mongolia, the head-dress is the focus of decorative skill. A lady of wealth and position in her festal dress has her hair elaborately plaited, and wreathed round her head, and wears across or round it a metal band from which ear-pieces hang down. A sort of head-piece or crown is strung all over with necklaces of precious stones and beads, till it looks like a halo, and some of the jewels are of real value, including rubies,

emeralds, cats'-eyes, coral and turquoise as large as hens' eggs, pearl drops, amber and jade. Necklaces are slung over the breast, and all who can afford it wear robes (like

such untimely event plunges the Tibetan nation into mourning, it is chiefly observed by forbidding the women to wear their head-dresses or jewellery—a serious deprivation.



Photograph by N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

TIBETAN MOTHER AND HER SONS.

The boys are all destined to become monks.

the Mongol coats in shape) of silk, satin, or fine cloth elaborately embroidered. Needless to say, charms are frequently suspended round the necks, especially of children, and each woman carries in her breast the bowl of wood or metal which is the invariable companion of all Tibetans and forms their one eating utensil.

When the death of a Dalai Lama or any

It is interesting to find that a Tibetan woman, even when she loves finery, does not lose her practical spirit, for an account is given of one who, wearing a head-dress covered with pearls, which was estimated to be worth as much as £225, yet superintended personally an inn and restaurant, and, although the daughter of a noble family, did not think the work beneath her. Another

Tibetan wife, herself a native of Sikkim, complained that although her husbands' family (she was wife to two brothers) was rich, they all worked like ploughmen, and she particularly was the victim of a mother-in-law who thought she was made of iron.

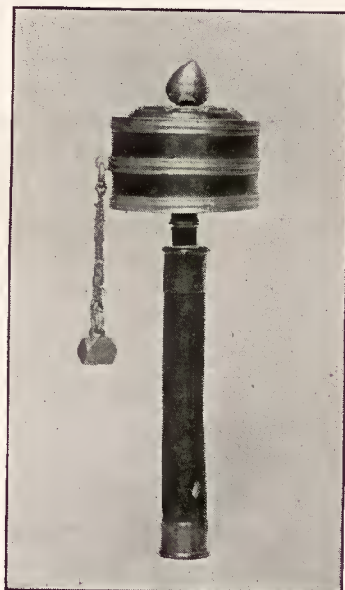
Marriage ceremonies in Tibet are very much like those of China. Go-betweens are used

Tibetan Marriage Customs.

in every class of life except the poorest, and the exchange of presents is a most important feature. Although there is no actual religious ceremony, it is customary for the lamas to offer prayers for the happiness of the union, which is not consummated until the third day after arrival at the bridegroom's house, when the bride changes her clothes for others provided by him, and enters into his family in earnest. Divorce laws are chiefly concerned with the amount

of the dowry or marriage present to be refunded by the party desiring divorce. The murder of a wife is not a capital offence, and is punished merely by a fine and the payment of funeral expenses, like any other crime. In default of payment, however, the murderer may be thrown into jail.

Meagre as is our information concerning the more intimate existence of Tibetan women, it is plain that they play a great part in social and national life. With the spread of modern civilisation, which must inevitably filter into the country now that the barriers are thrown down, it is to be hoped that they will be the gainers, and that their energy and industry will be rewarded by an improvement in their legal position, and by the recognition of their right to education, which is the weapon they most need.



Photograph by Rischgitz, Bayswater.

TIBETAN PRAYER-WHEEL.

SIAM AND CAMBODIA

By W. W. SKEAT

Geographical Considerations—Mongolian Influence—Indian Influence—Problems in Race Fusion—General Position of Woman in Siam—Characteristics of the Siamese Woman—Woman's Work—A Boat-race for Women—The Dress of Siamese Women—Motherhood in Siam—He-Girls and She-Boys—"Is it a Boy or a Child, I wonder?"—A Girl's Progress—A Princess's Tonsure Ceremony—Royal Women and Women of Honour—Marriage Mysteries—Bizarre Forms of Burial—Methods of Mourning

SIAM is divided into two zones, approximately by the 17th parallel, the northern part consisting of a number of mountain ranges continuing the Shan-Tonkin system, but considerably lower, none reaching much above 8,000 feet. The southern zone includes vast tropical plains suitable for rice, and is comparatively free from mountains, which, however, crop up again in East Cambodia and Annam. In Cochin-China the country consists generally of low-lying country intersected by a network of streams, but on the western frontier of Siam a tongue of territory runs south along the mountain backbone till it reaches the Malay countries in the broader part of the peninsula. The ranges of the northern zone run north and south, or at the most north-east and south-west, and this, taken in conjunction with the direction of the two chief rivers of this region, the Menam, running north and south, and the Me-khong, running similarly for the greater part of its course, but thenceforward with an easterly bias, helps to explain the movements of the population.

As a further help to the appreciation of the position of woman in this part of Indo-China, we may picture that region as a melting-pot or crucible, in which various races have for many centuries been sub-

jected to a process of gradual fusion, under influences derived mainly from countries lying within the Mongolian and the Indian spheres of influence.

Mongolian Influence.

The Mongolian influence is, of course, most strongly marked in that section of these races which, issuing from the frozen ranges of the north, overran the country here for the most part then possessed by the Cham, and spread out to the southward like the spokes of a fan. Of these races the most important are, firstly, the Thai or Siamese proper, who, linking the Shans on the west to the Laos on the east, extend under a great variety of local names from the frontier of Burma to Cambodia, and mix, under the name of Samsam, with Malays in the southern Chersonese; and secondly, the Annamese, somewhat sweepingly described, by a high authority, as "almost slavish copies of the Chinese," inhabiting the coast of Annam, the delta in Tonkin, and most of Cochin-China, with colonies in Cambodia, and forming an exceedingly dense population.

The Indian influence, on the other hand, is seen most strongly amongst the Cambodians or Khmers (once the most civilised race in Indo-China), and the Mon-Khmer-speaking tribes dwelling between the Me-khong and the Annamese seaboard, as well

Indian Influence.

as in south-east Siam and north-west Cambodia. Besides these there are the Cham, who are apparently allied to the Malayan family, and are the existing representatives of a once powerful race, the founders of the empire of Champa, the first great kingdom of Indo-China, which included part of Central Siam, the whole of Annam and South Tonkin. There are also some Karens, as in Burma, under which latter heading they will shortly be described.

From the foregoing facts it is clear that this region, lying

Problems in Race Fusion.

as it does half-way between the two parts of the world where population pressure is severest, India and China, presents some interesting problems in race fusion. Of the two warring influences here evident, the culture of Indian origin has proved incomparably the stronger, making important conquests even among the Thai (a race admittedly of Mongolian extraction), where its effects are shown, for instance, in the widespread observation of Hindu customs, the introduction of Buddhism, of Pali as the sacred language, and the use of the Siamese alphabet, adapted from a form of the rock-cut Pali.

The boundaries of civilisation and race do not, however, always coincide, and from a racial point of view the Mongolian influences appear to have long been gradually swamping the Indian populations, a tendency which is growing stronger as time goes on.

It should be noted that at Bangkok, where the total population was recently

placed at 500,000, and indeed in most other towns of the country, the vast majority is of Mongolian origin, and this Chinese preponderance bids fair to carry all before it, thus yet more profoundly influencing the racial problem.

Owing to extreme pressure of space, it is unfortunately quite impossible to do more here than to touch lightly upon the most representative of these races, the dominant and still independent Thai race, who will be called in these pages Siamese.*



Photograph by Isonaga, Bangkok.

SIAMESE WOMAN

Wearing the "Pannung" and Scarf.

Woman in Siam was formerly a mere chattel, and was sold at marriage by her father or brother.

The birth of a girl brought no joy to her parents; she was endured as a more or less valuable speculation, that might bring its price (the "price of the mother's milk," as it is called) at some future period. The fact of her being a chattel explains why she was not allowed to perform the all-important sacrifices to the souls of the dead ancestors, that should be paid by the eldest-born; for a similar reason she was excluded from inheriting property. Under the old feudal

régime the children of debtor slaves or captives became, if they belonged to the odd numbers, the property of the slaves' master, those of the even numbers belonged

*The facts concerning the up-country Thai have been translated from "Les Thai," in recent numbers of *Anthropos*. For the illustrations I have to thank my friend Mr. W. J. Evans, of the Siamese Legation, 23, Ashburn Place, and (for the Cambodian) M. A. Cabaton, one of the greatest living authorities on the language of "Champa."

to the father, if he were free, or to his master if he were a slave. The slavery, though of a mild kind, was general, and the gradual liberation of the country from this burden (by decree that all children born of slaves should henceforth be free) is one of the many important advances in the path of reform made by the present statesmanlike monarch, Chulalongkorn. Another Siamese institution was the division of the

as her European, sister. She often works hard and is frequently the real breadwinner of the family, though she naturally lives when she can upon the exertions of her children, which she calls, in her own expressive phrase, "eating their strength." If judged by the highest standards it must be admitted that she is plain of feature, with

Characteristics of the Siamese Woman.

lozenge-shaped face, yellow-brown skin, short blue-black hair, and till recent times, in accordance with old custom, artificially blackened teeth, a practice which, however, has now gone out of fashion. Yet she possesses a not inconsiderable power of fascination, and her business-like instincts are shown by her preferring a wealthy and indulgent Chinese husband to what is only too often her indolent and impecunious fellow-countryman. Though gentle and sweet-tempered, she is not incapable of boldness and enterprise; though inclined to be vain and devoted to jewels and finery, her general character remains simple, and makes an impres-



A SIAMESE FAMILY

Photograph by Isonaga, Bangkok.

Wearing "Pannungs" and Scarves. The anklets worn by the little ones over their boots should be noted.

people into bands for military purposes; with regard to which it may be noted that women, though excluded from service, were nevertheless set down in the rolls of the nation. Though polygamy is established as the outward sign of wealth and magnificence, monogamy is general among the peasant population, with whom, although marriages are almost perhaps too easily dissolved, matrimonial fidelity is nevertheless the rule.

To-day the Siamese woman is as free as her Burmese, if not quite as emancipated

sion of naturalness that has a charm of its own. Her national costume is not in itself attractive, but, like the Malay woman, she has had the good sense and taste not to stoop to the vulgarities of European attire. Like the women of other races in a similar environment, she possesses considerable imitative faculty, a retentive memory, and a sensitive artistic impulse, which is shown, for instance, in the management of colour in her own dress and that of her children, to whom she is passionately attached.

But, as is often the case with people of her easy-going temperament, her surroundings are often untidy and even insanitary to the utmost degree. The work that falls to her share includes the lighter agricultural work, cooking, weaving, mat-making and basket-work, with embroidery as a change of occupation when her other duties permit.

Successful girls' schools have been established at Bangkok, upon the development of which the future of the sex in Siam will undoubtedly to a great extent depend.

The following amusing account of a boat-race which women

A Boat-Race for Women.

took part may be taken as showing the stage to which the emancipation of the sex has arrived in Siam. "A larger class of market boat, paddled by mixed crews of men and women, to the number of ten or twenty, gave capital sport. The women crews, with their cross sashes of yellow, green, or blue, not only looked but often proved the smartest. Their rate of stroke was from thirty-six to thirty-seven for the first half-minute, after which it varied — now a long, sweeping dozen to rest the tired muscles, then a spurt again, and finally they passed the line going splendidly and striking sixty-two to the minute, soaked, but laughing and ready to do it again."*

There is probably no civilised city where the dress of a woman appears more like that of a man than at Bangkok, what with the cropping of the hair, and the form taken by the national lower garment (*pannung*), which is so arranged as to appear, especially at a distance, not unlike a pair of knickerbockers or bloomers.

The Dress of Siamese Women.



Photograph by Isonaga, Bangkok.

A SIAMESE NOBLEMAN'S MAID-SERVANTS.

To this is added for "dress" purposes a bright-coloured scarf wound round the breasts; ladies substitute a white tunic, with a sash worn bandolier fashion, black stockings and shoes. Yet when the material of the *pannung* is of some brightly dyed shot silk, worn in combination with a gaily

* Warrington Smyth, "Five Years in Siam," vol. i., p. 9.

coloured silk scarf under the arms, the effect is not altogether as ungraceful as might be expected. A worse fault from an artistic point of view is the cropping of the hair, the ends of which are often made to stand straight upright, blacking-brush fashion, the effect of which is to murder that glory of womanhood. Up country, however, the Siamese women not unfrequently wear their hair rolled up and knotted at the back of the head. In some parts a compromise between the two styles is to be seen, the hair being cut short as usual, and standing upright, with the old-fashioned long locks over the ears. In former days they also greatly admired teeth blackened by the chewing of betel leaf, and the native dentists kept whole sets of black teeth ready to replace any that might be lost! Many charms (especially in the form of small silver tubes) are worn by women and girls alike, and the lower orders are often quaintly tattooed—e.g. with dragons or crosses, or, as Mr. Thompson points out, with scroll charms representing the seated Buddha.

Taking the country as a whole, the women of Siam are simple in their dress. Yet at the same time no people better understand the use of colour, the quality of material or rich embroideries, and a Siamese tonsure ceremony, wedding, or nautch in Bangkok is a veritable feast of rainbow-coloured silks, of brilliant jewellery and gorgeous gold-thread work. It is said that it was once the custom to have a complete set of seven differently coloured *pammungs* (one for each day of the week), but no such rule is now observed.

The great problem of motherhood does not sit lightly upon the majority of Siamese women, for the mother is sub-

Motherhood in Siam.

jected to the terrible ordeal of exposure to fire which is found in many parts of Indo-China. We are told by a quaint old writer that they kept their women at child-birth before a continual great fire for a month, turning them sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. The smoke, which greatly incommoded them, passed slowly through an

aperture in the roof. On their purification they returned thanks to the fire, and at the banquet which followed ate nothing which was not first offered to the fire. The old women who attend the mother at this period make three balls of rice and throw them in three lucky directions to propitiate the spirits, and the child, though it is called "Red" at birth, is forthwith smeared all over with yellow turmeric, a practice which is extended even to kittens and puppies! At birth the child is laid in a wicker basket, but is afterwards transferred to a peculiar cradle, suspended from the roof by cords, which is not rocked but swayed to and fro by hand.*

When a child is born, divination is used to see if it was born on a lucky or unlucky day, some days being destined

**He-girls and
She-boys—
"Is it a Boy
or a Child, I
wonder?"**

for girls, others for boys. Of course, if the child has inadvertently, it may be, committed the terrible error of being born on the wrong day, up-country parents think they have to rectify the mistake at once. A girl born on a wrong day is given names which signify, for instance, the "little she male-child," or the "little she-boy"; if a boy, the child is called the "little young he-girl." This choice of a name is a matter of life and death to the child itself. Indeed, we even read in old writers of the name of the king being concealed for fear that any enchantment should be made on it.

As soon as the child is big enough to work it begins, if in the country districts, by

A Girl's Progress.

scaring away birds from the rice, or fishing for small fish or frogs, and gradually learns the use of the simpler agricultural implements. A young girl learns to pound rice in the big mortar, to work the rice-mill, to take care of chickens and pigs, and help her mother in the housework. Up to the age of five she is not troubled by clothes, but at six years old she is given a species of large

* Young, "Kingdom of the Yellow Robe," pp. 49, 50.



Photograph by Isonaga, Bangkok.

A SIAMESE WOMAN WITH UNCUT HAIR.

skirt, which she rolls up round her waist and fastens tightly with a wide sash. In the towns she wears a *pannung* and jacket and sometimes a scarf. She is not taught to read or write until she is twelve or fifteen years of age, though she learns a few songs, usually love-songs, to sing in competition with other young people at the feasts. She also takes up weaving or silk-worm keeping (in bamboo baskets, purposely ranged in subdivisions) and spins the silk on a country spinning-wheel.

The cutting off of the girl's top-knot, at the age of eleven to thirteen, is the greatest pageant of her life next to her wedding, and is ushered in by a really splendid and gorgeous spectacle. In the procession

at the tonsure of a princess, a number of high officials, in long white muslin robes and conical white "steeple" hats, are followed by "girls dressed in cloth of gold, holding golden lotus-flowers," the young princesses coming next "in cloth of gold, carried on a heavy gilt throne," and followed by women from all parts of the country.* The actual ceremony in such a case is performed by the king. The poorest classes have their children tonsured gratuitously at the expense of the Government during the remarkable "swinging" festival † at the harvest ceremonies.

According to De la Loubère, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, to possess

* McCarthy, "Surveying and Exploring in Siam," pp. 19, 20. † Young, p. 80.



Photograph by Isonaga, Bangkok.

A SIAMESE LADY.

a number of wives was in Siam merely a necessary mark of magnificence, and the daughters of his subjects, taken by the king, could be redeemed for a money payment, so that many were taken merely for the sake of extortion.

**Royal Women
and Women
of Honour.**

The queen had her own elephants and



Photograph by Isonaga, Bangkok.

A SIAMESE LADY IN FULL DRESS.

barges and officers, but never went abroad except in a closely curtained chair, etiquette requiring that if any of the people could not avoid her, they should turn their backs to her by prostrating themselves till she had passed.

Besides this she had her own store-houses and treasury, and she engaged in foreign trade, a privilege of which she was very tenacious.

The real officers of the King of Siam's chamber were women, who alone had privilege of entry. They made his bed and dressed his meat, clothed him and waited

on him at table, but none but himself touched his head when he was being attired, nor put anything over his head. The only exceptions to this rule were the royal officials in charge of his wardrobe, which was not in the care of women. The master of the wardrobe was a prince of the royal blood of Cambodia, from which the king claimed to be descended. He alone was allowed to touch the king's "bonnet," though even he was never allowed to place it on his royal master's head.

The women of the palace never stirred out but with the king, except by express order. In former times the queen was, as in Egypt, both the king's wife and sister. The king's other wives rendered obedience to the queen as to their sovereign, and were subject to her jurisdiction, but of course, if the king had any favourites, he took steps to protect them. Daughters did not succeed to the crown, since they were hardly looked upon as free.

A perennial leap-year is the result of the Champa custom, according to which it is

**Marriage
Mysteries.** the rule for the intending wife to ask her future husband's hand in marriage. Among the Siamese

it is arranged by an intermediary on more ordinary lines. In the capital the old customs are being continually modified, but a strange feature of the rite in the up-country districts is the offering of tubes of fermented fish mixed with pounded rice, sometimes exceeding a hundred in number, with presents of betel leaf and chewing bark, cotton stuffs, and silk. A buffalo and pigs are slaughtered for the feast and the young girls deluge the youths with syringes filled with a "corrosive and stinking liquid," to which the latter have to submit without retaliation, their retreat being barred by thorny stems, and from which they can only escape by paying ransom in kind, sometimes as much as a buffalo or a bar of silver or so many tubes of fermented fish. On the other hand, the bride-price for a chief's daughter (called the "price of the mother's milk") may be as much as ten to twelve bars of silver, but the ordinary

price is three to five bars and three big brass pots. A jar of wine, two eggs, and a chicken are set on brass plates between the bride and bridegroom. A sorcerer offers the right egg to the bridegroom on his left and the left one to the bride as a symbol of union; the same is done with the legs of the chicken. The wine is then drunk through two crossed pipes, while the priest utters good wishes. The bridegroom is introduced to the family spirit, and a feast follows. The bride, on reaching her husband's house, waits at the foot of the house-ladder, which she ascends simultaneously with her husband. Three days later they visit the girl's parents and bid adieu to the family spirit. Among the very poor the man sometimes binds himself to serve his parents-in-law till their death.

There is also a form of elopement recognised and regulated by custom. The girl deposits a ten-cent piece given her by her lover at night in the basket used for cooking the rice, and then elopes with her lover to his own house, on crossing the threshold of which she is considered an actual bride, and, unless she is pursued and recaptured before this happens, her parents lose the right of taking her home again. Of course, this custom often leads to trouble.

Divorce is allowed. If at the husband's instance, he loses the bride-money and his presents; if at the wife's, she pays double. Adultery was formerly punished by lashing the woman and her accomplice together on a raft, which was allowed to drift with the current; nowadays the culprits are allowed "to pay the price of their heads," the man's life being fixed at twelve bars of silver, the woman's at six. Polygamy is in full vogue among the rich. A curious fact is that a great man does not choose his own legitimate wife; his choice belongs to his people, an experiment in practical socialism which does not always work happily!

At death the body is laid in a coffin and a wake is kept, some priests or *talapoins* chanting in the Pali language and pretending, amongst other things, to show the soul of the deceased the road to heaven. The pile, which is composed of fragrant wood,

Bizarre Forms of Burial.



Photograph from A. Cabaton.

A CAMBODIAN LADY AND HER HUSBAND—
THE GOVERNOR OF A PROVINCE.

such as sandal wood and eagle wood, is surrounded by representations of houses, movables, and domestic or wild animals. The honour done to the deceased at a funeral consists in the height of the scaffolding on which the coffin rests.

The body is never consumed, but the remains, deposited in the coffin (which should be lidless) are laid under a pagoda. In former times those that had no pagoda kept the half-burnt remains and presented an idol to an existing pagoda. A revolting practice of eating a small portion of the unburnt flesh, to obtain invulnerability, is

ascribed to the more superstitious.* The very poor bury their dead or expose them on a scaffolding, where vultures and crows devour them. In epidemics they bury the bodies and dig them up again and burn them some years after, when it is thought that all danger of infection has passed. Criminals, still-born infants, women who die in childbirth, suicides, and those who meet death through some extraordinary disaster—*e.g.* by a thunderbolt—are deprived of funeral honours. At one of the pagodas in Bangkok a large flock of vultures is, or was until recently, kept, to which were thrown the bodies of criminals and paupers.

In the provinces of Lower Siam, where methods of funeral antecedent to the practice of cremation were till recently prevalent, the Phram buried their dead in a sitting posture in an upright box, and the corpse was sometimes exposed, either in a rectangular box supported by high up-rights, or in a huge cigar-shaped wrapper fixed between trees at about eight feet from the ground, so that the grim jest

* "Lotusland," p. 144.

formerly current in the Bangkok clubs that in some parts of the jungles of the peninsula it was necessary to beware of corpses falling from the branches of the trees upon the unwary traveller was at the most an exaggeration!

While mourning for a mother, "dog's flesh, lampreys and frogs" in the up-country districts are forbidden as food, these being the very dishes which a mother foregoes from the time of the birth of her first child till death. No parents wear mourning for their children; children mourn for their father fifteen months, but for their mother three years, because they say the mother has more trouble in bringing up the children than the father. Late though it comes, this posthumous reparation is the least that is her due, for thus, when her life is closed, the Siamese mother receives some measure of the recognition which should have been hers in her lifetime, she is more honoured in mourning than any other member of the family.

Methods of Mourning.



Photograph from J. McCarthy. By courtesy of the R.G.S

WOMEN FROM MUANG SAWN.



Photograph by Watts and Skeen, Rangoon.

BURMESE WOMEN MAKING CIGARETTES.

Smoking is indulged in from childhood by both sexes. The Burmese "cigarette" is as large as an ordinary cheroot.

BURMA

By R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.

"Her cheek is more beautiful than the dawn, her eyes are deeper than the river pools ; when she loosens her hair upon her shoulders, it is as night coming over the hills."

—Burmese Love-song, in "*The Soul of a People*."

Burmese Childhood—Demeanour of Girls—Education—Religion in its Relation to Woman—Duties of Burmese Girls—Burmese Propriety—Marriage—Domestic Morals—Elopements—A Parent's Vengeance—Women and Crime in Burma—Position of Burmese Women—Rights of Married Women—An Ugly Feature—Women as Traders—The Great Market at Mandalay—Dress—The Use of Cosmetics—Jewellery—Smoking—The Charm of Burmese Women—Other Races in Burma—The Shans—The Karens—The Chins—The Kachins

Burmese Childhood. IF the chief business of a maiden's life is to charm and captivate those around her, the Burmese girl begins her business career early. Watch her, at the age of three, toiling bravely up the steps of the great Rangoon pagoda. Her tiny hand is grasped high above her head in her mother's slender fingers, and a shapely little naked

foot is planted firmly on the cold smooth stone before the next stride is taken ; a big stride for her, though the step is only an inch or two high, for a tight petticoat of many-hued silk encumbers her chubby legs. When the two reach the topmost step, the mother buys some wax tapers from a girl at a stall, and passes on to one of the shrines. Here she kneels

devoutly and bows her head, clasping her hands, with the tapers between the tips of the fingers; then she turns to her little one, and, putting her soft hands together, teaches her to do likewise. It would be hard indeed to find a prettier picture.

No archbishop at a State ceremony could be more solemn or dignified than this little girl at the pagoda. But Bur-

**Demeanour
of Girls.**

mese children, and for that matter Burmese grown-ups, are not naturally serious, like their neighbours of India and China. They are taught, however, to suppress their feelings, whether of grief or mirth, and to the bubbling gaiety which is her nature the Burmese maiden adds from her earliest years a dignity of movement, a demureness of manner, which are no less characteristic. It is thought unseemly for her to smile in public so as to let her teeth appear, and to a European, it is amusing to watch the demeanour of a well-trained girl accompanying her mother on an official call. Nothing will induce her to part her lips, however much the corners of her mouth may twitch. Sometimes, indeed, the river bursts its banks. Then the laughter is infectious, and I have known a whole school set laughing at nothing by a dot of five shaking with merriment behind her slate, and peeping now and again with bright, humorous eyes at the English inspector. His efforts to be stern were a sorry failure, and he soon joined in with the rest. But a visit to the pagoda is a different matter. The child has hardly ceased to toddle when her carriage becomes erect and dignified, though losing none of the grace and suppleness which are manifest when she is playing with other children at the water's edge, unrestrained by clothes or by the necessity of adapting her demeanour to a solemn occasion.

A good many girls, even in the Burmese king's time, learnt to read and write. The accomplishment is a useful one for those who wish to send and receive love-letters, and what girl does not? It is poor fun using a scribe. But, as girls

are excluded from the monastery schools, they do not share with their brothers the benefit of a universal system of free education, and special arrangements have to be made for them. It is true that there are convents of nuns, who undertake the teaching of little girls, but they are very few. The census returns show six in every hundred of the female population of all ages as able to read and write, while the proportion of males is forty-nine. But their capacity for mental arithmetic must needs be considerable, seeing that nearly all the petty trade of the country is carried on by women. I have seen a little girl, who could not have been more than eight years old, sitting by herself at a stall on which quite twenty different kinds of goods were displayed. She had to remember the price of each one, and to calculate the amounts due in payment without any assistance from her elders.

Apart from her visits to the pagodas, religious ceremony plays little part in a girl's life. Whereas every boy

**Religion in
its Relation
to Woman.**

must, if only for a few hours, put away his gay clothes, shave his head, and become a monk, no such obligation is incumbent on the girls. Comparatively few become nuns. There are 5,000 nuns in Burma, and 75,000 monks. Why this is so I have never been able to understand. A cynic would perhaps compare the unlovely appearance of the Burmese *mèthila*, and her shaven head and dirty white clothing, with the becoming dress of a nun of Europe, and point to this difference as a reason; but he cannot be taken seriously. The women are certainly not less inclined to devotion than the men. At the pagodas and shrines, and on the platforms where the monks read the Law, there are few but women and old men to be seen.

While her brother is at the monastery school the little girl makes herself useful at home. She minds the baby, learns to cook and to weave, accompanies her mother to market, and perhaps even does the marketing herself. In the country she may tend the

**Duties of
Burmese Girls.**

cattle, or help in the fields. As soon as she is strong enough she is taught to fetch water for the house, balancing a round pot on her head; and this is a pleasant duty, for it is at the well or the riverside that the village girls meet for gossip and their daily bath, and exchange chaff with the young men. Loosening her *tamein* from her waist, she refastens it under her armpits and divests herself of her jacket, the *tamein* serving as a bathing-dress. Her ablutions finished, she washes any spare garments she may have brought with her, and perhaps changes her *tamein*, slipping a dry one over the other, which is allowed to drop. Towels are dispensed with, and having filled her water-pot she makes her way home, her wet skin glistening in the sun.

(which, in its old-fashioned form, is only a square of silk, exposing the thigh at every stride) is merely tucked in round the waist. On the other hand the utmost freedom of social intercourse with men is permitted, and it is easy to see that no approach to horse-play can be allowed if decency is to be maintained. Accordingly we find sentences of great severity inflicted by Burman magis-



Photograph by Watts and Skeen, Rangoon.

A BURMESE TOILETTE.

She is now approaching the marriageable age, and her parents watch her with anxiety. The young men treat her with respect—not, perhaps, in their language, for delicacy of language is not a strong point with the Burmese, and I have heard a little girl of seven use words to an intrusive dog that, translated into English, might make a coal-heaver blush—but none other than a favoured suitor would dare touch her hand, and for even him to do so in public would be esteemed an insult. The strictness of Burmese notions of propriety in this respect surprise a stranger, and a good-natured Scotch captain of a river steamer who patted a young girl on the head was considerably taken aback at the storm of indignation which he aroused among the passengers. But a little consideration will show that it is necessary for the public morals. The clothing of Burmese women is very light and thin, and the *tamein*

trates for what seem to us very trivial offences. Six months' imprisonment seems a heavy punishment for upsetting a girl backwards while sitting in a merry group round the fire. An equally severe sentence was passed on a young man who, having been permitted to escort a damsel to her home, kissed her cheek (or rather smelt it, for smelling is the Burmese method of expressing affection). Perhaps the most unreasonable to our ideas was one of three-months on an old man who had seen his servant-girl eavesdropping while he was talking secrets with his wife, and had pursued her when she ran away and seized her wrist. All these sentences were reduced on appeal to a European judge, but it is doubtful whether the first two would not be endorsed by Burmese public opinion.

Burmese Propriety.

This strict propriety of behaviour between the sexes seems to contrast strangely with the looseness of the marriage tie. The fact that it is often difficult to say at what precise point a couple are married does not appear improper in a Burman's eyes. No ceremony is

Marriage.

Divorce, for which mutual consent is sufficient, is also a simple matter, but is often more formal, as a division of property may be necessary.

This somewhat casual way of entering on the marriage contract is often thought to



Photograph by Watts and Skeen, Rangoon.

A BURMESE MILL.

This primitive mill is worked with the foot by the woman on the right of the photograph.

necessary. All that is needed is that the couple should live together. If the lover proves faithless, and the girl becomes a mother, he is regarded as a husband who has deserted her; and I have known of a case where the man, after an interval, actually claimed restitution of conjugal rights, though the two had only met clandestinely. It is usual, however, for the bridegroom, or someone on his behalf, formally to demand the girl's hand from her parents; and the old people meet together and invite a few friends, whom they regale, if they follow the old custom, with pickled tea. If they can afford to pay a company of actors, and give an open-air play in front of the bride's house, so much the better.

imply a laxity in morals which by no means exists. There is probably no country in the world where married women are given so much freedom and are yet so faithful to their husbands. Under the Indian Penal Code, which was framed for a society where the wife is kept in confinement and is regarded as, in a manner, the property of her husband, adultery is a criminal offence, and the enactment is in force in Burma, where the conditions in this respect resemble those of our own country. I have known of many prosecutions for adultery in Burma, but never one in which the wife was of pure Burmese race. Even in their conduct before marriage, I doubt whether Burmese girls

Domestic Morals.



• A BURMESE BULLOCK CARRIAGE.

Photograph by Wats and Skeen, Rangoon.

are as unchaste as is commonly supposed. Those who err are, indeed, more leniently treated by their sisters than in Europe, but that is another matter.

Usually the girl is allowed to choose her own lover, but when her choice is not approved by her parents, disastrous consequences sometimes follow.

Eloppements. Many a tragedy must lie hidden behind the police returns which tell of young girls hanging or drowning themselves for love. More often there is an elopement, and the police are asked to uphold the parents' authority. If the girl is proved to be under sixteen, the young man is probably sent to jail, for the law does not permit him to take her from her natural guardians without their consent. Usually she is older, and then various devices are resorted to by the angry parents to revenge themselves on the couple who have defied their authority. The simplest is a false statement as to the girl's age, which leads to the arrest of the lover and the return of the girl to her parents; after which the statement is retracted, and the lad released. Strange as it may seem, the girl is often persuaded, when once she has fallen again under her mother's influence, to make cruelly false charges against her lover, who is accused of using force or threats to gain her. A mere boy is thus too often kept for days in the cage at the police-station, while the case is being prepared for the magistrate. In court the witnesses retract all the statements made to the police, or go through a weary recital of false evidence which ends in an acquittal.

In 1903 several persons were punished by the courts in a town in Lower Burma for making false charges of this kind, and the mother of a girl who had defied her authority devised a new means of wreaking her vengeance on the lover. The young couple were happily married, and living in the same quarter. The mother put a long knife into the hands of another of her daughters, aged eleven, and sent her, ostensibly to cut a certain kind of grass, to a field

A Parent's Vengeance.

where the bridegroom's little sister, aged eight, was tending cattle. What instructions she gave her can only be guessed, but during a friendly conversation the elder girl suddenly stabbed the younger in the abdomen. Happily the child was wearing a *tamein* which was much too large for her, and was rolled up at her waist to prevent her from tripping over it. The knife passed through eight folds of the stuff before it reached the body, and inflicted only a slight wound. The youthful criminal was arrested and tried for attempt at murder. She stood in the dock, erect and defiant, and denied all knowledge of her act, though she admitted that a knife had been given to her by her mother to cut grass. Nothing could be proved against the mother, but it could hardly be doubted that the foul deed was inspired by her, and the magistrate was greatly puzzled to know what to do with the little girl, as there are no girls' reformatories in Burma. Eventually she was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Happily such a crime is rare in Burma; nor are false charges, except of the particular kind I have mentioned, common. And be it noticed that even in this case the knife was chosen as the weapon of revenge. In India it would have been poison, and it is greatly to the credit of the Burmese people that I have never heard of a poisoning case in which a Burman was accused. And crime is rare among the women of Burma. The English jails at the end of 1905 contained thirty-two women for every hundred men; the jails in Burma contained only three women to a hundred men. Even these were, some of them, scapegoats for their husbands. When a woman insists that illicit spirit belongs, not to her husband, but to her, the magistrate has no course but to convict her.

Women and Crime in Burma.

It has often been said that the women do most of the hard work of the country. But this is not because they are the slaves of their husbands, as among savage warlike races. On the contrary, they occupy a

position of independence and responsibility, and it is precisely this sense of responsibility, added to maternal love for their offspring, that makes them work hard when the husband

A recent writer on Burma has commented on the beautiful character of the old men, which is reflected in their faces. They have had an easy time in the battle of life



Photograph by Watts and Skeen, Rangoon.

A SHAN WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND.

The Shans live in the mountainous district of Burma.

fails to do his share. The disregard of the value of money, which has brought on the Burman more abuse and more compliments than any other of his qualities, is not always to be found in his wife, who, as she grows older, is apt to become as hard and grasping as she is practical and self-reliant.

Position of Burmese Women.

The thin, pursed lips of the grandams show where the brunt of it has fallen.

The doctrines of Buddhism, which are Indian in their origin, teach that every man is a potential Buddha, while a woman, though she may attain Nirvana in the next existence, cannot become a Buddha without first existing on earth as a man. In every-



Photograph by Watts and Sheen, Rangoon.

BURMESE WOMEN POUNDING RICE.

day life, too, she is in some respects made to feel her inferiority. She ought not to walk about upstairs when there is a man below, though this rule is frequently neglected. She may not bathe in water from the same jar as her lord, and at public feasts the women must wait till the men have eaten, though in the house the members of the family eat together. No Burman will touch a woman's *tamein* with his hands when it has once been worn, unless it is his mother's or grandmother's.

On the other hand, not only do sons and daughters inherit equally from their parents, but a married woman has an absolute right to dispose as she pleases of property acquired or inherited by her either before or after marriage. She is usually a partner in her husband's business, and as such has just as much right to sign for the firm as he; but she may have a business of her

Rights of Married Women.

own, with the proceeds of which he cannot interfere. Even in matters in which she has no part, she is usually consulted before an important step is taken; and it may be guessed, when her acquisitive propensities are considered, that her influence is not always for the best when her husband is an official. In writing to a Burman it is common to add his wife's name on the cover, and it does not very much matter whether the husband's name or the wife's comes first. The fact that a man has taken a second wife does not in itself give his first wife a legal right to divorce him, though polygamy is not looked upon with favour; and a certain amount of outward submissiveness is expected in the woman; but in other respects the wife has the same right of divorce as her husband, and usually takes half the joint property. In the Kyaukpyu district of Arakan there is a singular custom by which a wife may turn a lazy husband out of doors on paying him a fixed sum (I

think thirty-two rupees) if he neglects to work for the support of the family, and this act has all the effect of a formal divorce.

This freedom of woman is, I think, a natural result of the Burmese political genius, which is intensely individualist and, in a sense, democratic. Feudalism and the *patria potestas* are equally unknown. Even the children enjoy a larger measure of liberty than in most countries. So the Burmese law, while speaking of woman as an inferior animal, gives the wife the management of her own property, which we have learnt to do only in the last few years.

A very ugly feature in Burmese life is the use of abusive language. In this unpleasant accomplishment the man is no match for his gentle companion. Bad language is not

often employed in ordinary conversation, even by the lowest of the people, and

An Ugly Feature.

its use is not treated lightly as among the lower classes in Europe. It is a weapon to be held in reserve for important occasions, when it is unsheathed and wielded with terrific effect. If a wife abuses her husband he would probably be held justified in divorcing her. For abuse of a neighbour a Burmese magistrate will always, if he is allowed, inflict a very heavy fine, if not imprisonment. It is strange to see a woman, by no means a vixen in ordinary life, going out to battle with another who has offended her. Standing in the middle of the street before her enemy's house, she will scream uncomplimentary epithets at the top of her voice until vanquished



BURMESE GIRL HUSKING PADDY.

Photograph by Watts and Sken, Rangoon.

by force or a greater flow of language from the other side, and will return home with what seems to us the singular notion that she has somehow vindicated the justice of her cause and brought disgrace on her adversary. Sometimes the combatants proceed to blows. A slipper is invariably the weapon used, for the object is to shame rather than to hurt the enemy, and to touch her head with one's shoe is perhaps the greatest insult that can be conceived.

I fear that this picture, though true, may create a false impression in the mind of English readers, if they are not warned that in ordinary life the Burmese woman, even of the poorer class, is by no means ungentle, so that it would be difficult to believe her capable of such behaviour as I have described. Nor must it be thought that the scene is a common one. It is depicted because it is characteristic and remarkable. An explanation of these outbursts, as of the occasional outbursts of bloodthirstiness and cruelty on the part of the men, may perhaps be found in the fact that the Burman, though entitled to a high place in the scale of racial types, has not yet lost all his savage instincts, as have the races in which civilisation has become second nature.

The trade of the country, in so far as it is carried on by the natives, is nearly all in the hands of the women. There are a few shops in the houses, and the very poor expose their goods on road-side stalls at night; but most of the business is done at the market in the centre of the town, a delightful institution which greatly adds to the interest of the country and the joy of its inhabitants. The building is usually owned by the municipality and yields large profits, which often far exceed the amount raised by the rates. Here is to be bought every kind of thing that the town yields, and here the Burmese maiden is in her element. Never was there a better invention for combining business with pleasure; the business of money-making, and the business of love—the

pleasures of admiring and being admired. The market is a marriage-mart, and a school for manners; an effective advertisement, and an unequalled convenience to the buyer. It is not surprising that many families which could well afford to do without this source of profit have a stall in the bazaar. How dull the girls would be without it!

The great Zegyo market at Mandalay covers an area of twelve acres. There are endless rows of fish and grain, vegetables and fruit, hardware and lacquer, old silver and modern gewgaws. But it is the stalls where piece-goods are sold that most attract those who have not come solely on business; not the cotton goods, for behind these appear too often the brown wooden legs of the native of India, whose strident voice for ever calls attention to his wares; but the silk stalls, where bright eyes and rounded forms, in a rainbow-tinted setting, lure the passer-by, if not to his destruction, at all events into spending more money than his economical wife would approve. And the European, if he is wise, will send a Burman to buy for him, for his attempts at bargaining will only raise peals of laughter, and will probably be unsuccessful.

The European artist in woman's dress seems to aim at exaggerating the natural curves of the body; hence such devices as corsets, and, formerly, bustles and crinolines. The Burman's notions of beauty are quite different. His ideal seems to be that of a sapling, straight and lissom, and the dress is arranged accordingly. The bosom is compressed by a tight inner bodice, and its outlines, with those of the waist, are concealed by a loose jacket, a kind of sleeved cape, which just reaches to the hips and forms almost a straight line with them. The width of the hips is also minimised by the single tight garment which encircles them. It is hardly surprising that European ladies who pride themselves on their figures do not look particularly well in Burmese dress.

Women as Traders.

Dress.

The favourite cosmetic is thanakka, the scented bark of a tree, which is ground down on a stone with the aid of water. Visitors to Burma are perhaps unaware how much the Burmese woman owes to this cosmetic. When plastered on thickly, as it often is on

The Use of Cosmetics.

afford it. Its use is by no means universal, for though a Burmese lady's jewellery takes the place of her banking account (and her husband's), she will have pure gold and real stones, or nothing. Silver ornaments are regarded as only fit for children, and even eighteen-carat gold is

Jewellery.



Photograph by Watts & Skeen, Rangoon.

BURMESE WOMEN WEAVING: KAREN STYLE.

the faces of children or women of the lowest class, its effect is decidedly unpleasant; but when skilfully used on a suitable skin it produces a kind of bloom which is very becoming. This effect cannot be obtained on a fair skin, and the prettiness of the Mandalay girls has been attributed (by a Lower Burman) to the darkness of their complexion, which is warm tinted, but differs from the black tinge of most Indians as the tan of a sunburnt Swede from the swarthy pallor of the Spaniard.

Jewellery plays an important part in the adornment of the person for those who can

despised. Cylinders of coloured glass or other cheap material are indeed worn in the ears by the poorer girls, but these are only meant to keep the holes open for more precious ornaments, which are easily borrowed for great occasions.

The smoking habit is nearly universal with both sexes. Even young children take to it, and a naked urchin may sometimes be seen swaggering with an English pipe in his mouth. The national smoke is a kind of monster cigarette, sometimes as much as a cubit in length and two inches thick, and never smaller

Smoking.

than an ordinary cheroot. The stalks of the tobacco-plant are cut up, pounded in a mortar, soused with tamarind-juice, dried in the sun, roasted, and mixed with tobacco-leaf. In some parts of Burma the wood of the *on-hné* tree is used as a substitute for tobacco-stalks. The mixture is wrapped in betel, maize, or other leaves, and the ends tied up, no paste being used. A visitor is always offered a smoke and a chew of betel, and it is considered polite to light the cheroot in one's own mouth before passing it to one's guest.

Most travellers agree in enlarging on the fascination of the Burmese women, and in rejecting her claim to be considered beautiful. It is difficult to say

The Charm of Burmese Women.

wherein the fascination lies; it is easier to point out that she usually has a snub nose, high cheek-bones, and too wide a face for European taste. Artists seem to find her difficult to portray, and so far as I know none but Mr. Middleton * has attained any measure of success. It is not her face that attracts, but rather the general effect of a graceful carriage, slow rhythmical movements, and supple limbs; a slender figure well displayed by a tight-drawn skirt of rich silk; spotless white jacket, and bright-hued kerchief; pleasant face and laughing eyes; and a

* See the reproductions from his pictures in "The Silken East." These have succeeded in conveying to the reader at home some idea of the feast of colour which is so characteristic of Burma, as Mr. Hall's admirable "Soul of a People" has given him a glimpse of the inner life of the Burmese.

mass of glossy black hair, in which a flower or two is daintily set. Her voice, though sometimes hard, is more often musical, and the Burmese language when prettily spoken is as melodious as any.



Photograph by Watts & Sheen, Rangoon.

A KAREN GIRL IN BURMESE COSTUME.

There are other races inhabiting Burma besides the Burmese, but their numbers are comparatively small, and their civilisation far less advanced. Out of a total of ten and a-half millions in the province seven and a-half speak Burmese, and of the remainder about a million live in the Shan States to the east, outside Burma proper. The Karens, who are scattered about the delta and along the South-East frontier, number about three-

quarters of a million, and the Chins, inhabiting the hills which separate the Irrawaddy valley from Arakan and Eastern Bengal on the west, about 200,000. Far in the north are the Kachins. They number in the more settled tracts about 67,000, but most of them live in country only partly administered, or in the nomad's-land towards the sources of the Irrawaddy.

The Shans, who are closely allied in race and language to the Siamese, are fairer than the Burmans, and rosy cheeks are to be seen in the mountainous regions which they inhabit. The women when they enter Burma are easily recognised by their wearing a turban, which among the Burmese is the privilege of the male sex. No jacket is usually worn, but



A "YEIN PEVE" IN BURMA.

A native dance performed by women. The "dance" consists entirely of rhythmical movements of the body.

Photograph by Watts & Sheen, Rangoon.

the *tamein*, which is sewn up as in Lower Burma, is fastened over the bosom. The people are described by Sir George Scott, who knows them best, as quiet, mild, and good-humoured.



Photograph by Watts & Skeen, Rangoon.

KAREN WOMEN.

Showing the Native Dress and Ornaments.

The Karens also are lighter in complexion than the Burmans. They are a shy, retiring race, living in isolated houses in the depths of the forest, or eking out a scanty subsistence in the hills. They are spirit-worshippers rather than Buddhists, and many have adopted Christianity and with it a degree of civilisation which enables them to hold up their heads among the Burmese, who once oppressed them and still treat them with contempt. Burmese dress is adopted at the same time, and a Karen girl is then often distinguishable from her Burmese sister as much by her

greater prettiness as by a certain lack of finish in her toilet. In their natural state the women of most tribes wear a smock with a low neck cut to a point, often ornamented with beads or embroidery. Ropes of beads or seeds are hung in profusion round the neck and waist of the Red Karen women, and lacquered rings surround their legs in such numbers that they are described by Sir George Scott as walking like a pair of compasses, and sitting with their legs stretched out in front of them, a very ungraceful and improper attitude in a Burman's eyes. The Zalun women carry leg-rings of solid brass, five or six inches in diameter, and others wear coils of brass on legs and arms. Even more remarkable are the brass collars worn by the Padaung women. Five of these, each as thick as the little finger, are welded on a little girl's neck, which is stretched to a grotesque height as she grows by the gradual insertion of more and more rings. Similar rings are worn on the legs and arms, so that some women carry as much as eighty pounds of brass. The lobes of the ears are distended by cylinders, often of enormous size. Personal cleanliness is unknown to those who have not adopted Burmese customs, and is one of the last habits to be acquired. In a delta village I once asked the father of a Karen boy of ten when his son was last washed. "When he fell into the mud." "When was that?" "Oh, he was about four then."

Most of the tribes have a curious system of marriage regulations, only cousins, or members of certain villages or groups, being allowed to intermarry.

If the Karens are dirty in their habits, the filth of the Chins—"stinking Chins,"

the Burmese call one tribe of them—is unspeakable. The Chins are on a far lower plane of civilisation than the Shans and Karens. They are, in fact, savages, and are described by Messrs. Carey and Tuck as all liars and thieves, cruel and cowardly, without respect for age, and debauchees from childhood. But they have a great reverence for birth, and in this they differ from the races surrounding

them. Their mistrust of one another and feebleness of mind have made them less formidable than they would otherwise have been, but they were nevertheless once the balance due on account of his grandmother. The sole garment of the women is usually a strip of cotton cloth, so short that, to make the most of it before strangers, it is



Photograph by Watts & Skeen, Rangoon.

A GROUP OF KACHINS.

These people live in the North of Burma.

terror of the dwellers in the plains along their borders. The women are little better than slaves. They are priced according to their capacity for work or their pedigree, and sold to the highest bidder. Sometimes the bridegroom is allowed to pay the price in instalments, and it is said to be by no means rare to find a man fighting for the

hung below the hips, and looks in imminent danger of falling off. Marriage is celebrated by a drunken orgy, in which the low-born and even the slaves become for the moment the equals of the chiefs, and all crimes are condoned.

A contrast to this gloomy picture of savagery is to be found in the Taungthas

("Sons of the Mountain"), who are clean in their persons and comparatively civilised in their habits. They speak a Chin dialect, but repudiate all connection with any of the tribes, and represent themselves as sprung from the sacred mountain of Pôppa,

the Burmese population, but intermarriage is strictly forbidden. Few of the Taungthas have embraced Buddhism, and even they give themselves up once a year to a drunken orgy, in which all morals are cast aside.

One of the hill tribes has a curious custom of tattooing the faces of its women so as to make them perfectly black, the black of a polished fire-grate. The Burmese say that a King of Burma once fell in love with a beautiful Chin girl, and ordered her to be brought to his palace. Her relations could not refuse, but to make her distasteful they tattooed her face black. Thereupon the king in his anger commanded that all the women of the tribe should have their faces blackened for all time.



Photograph by Watts & Skeeel, Rangoon.

KACHIN MAN AND WOMAN.

on the other side of the Irrawaddy river. The men wear Burmese dress, but the women have a pretty and distinctive costume of their own; it consists of a loose skirt, which gives free play to the limbs, adorned with a wide belt of cowries or silver filigree work, and a long strip of cotton, which is wound round the body from the shoulders downwards, and is of different pattern and colour according as the girl is below the age at which she is considered marriageable, or is ready for a husband, or is mated. The villages lie along the foot of the hills among

The Kachins of the north, like the Chins, show much diversity of type. The face is usually Mongolian and unattractive, but the nose is sometimes aquiline, and the features regular. They are primitive in their habits, but are on the whole a finer race than the Chins. Among the ruling classes the business aspect of the marriage ceremony is concealed by the bridegroom going through a form of abduction; with the common people free intercourse is allowed before marriage. The girl selects her husband after a

stay, in turn, with any likely young men, at a hut on the outskirts of the village, has enabled her to judge between their attractions. If there is a child the man has to marry or pay a fine. Marriage between persons of the same surname is forbidden; so is marriage with a father's sister's daughter, though with a mother's brother's daughter it is expected. Though polygamy is not usual, a man is bound to marry the widow of his elder brother, whether he has a wife or not, unless he can get a younger brother to relieve him of the duty.



KUKI COOLIES: THE FIGURE ON THE LEFT IS A WOMAN.
The kilt and upper garment worn by the women are generally of dark blue cotton cloth.

THE KUKIS AND NAGAS OF THE NORTH CACHAR HILLS, ASSAM

By MRS. FRANK WILDE

A People without Records—The Kukis—Distorted Ears of the Kuki—Women Coolies—Simplicity of Kuki Women—Religion—Curious Wedding Customs—The Work of the Kuki Women—A Lover's Ordeal—Kuki Funeral Customs—Kuki Dances—The Nagas—Bachelor Huts—Village Feuds—Naga Costumes—Naga Views of Marriage—Naga Dances—A Primitive People—Why Naga Children are Buried in the House

THE hilly and mountainous district that separates the two valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surma rivers in the province of Assam, on the North-Eastern frontier of India, offers to the student an interesting field for ethnological research. This hilly region is but a tangled mass of rolling uplands covered with dense jungles, sparsely inhabited by many primitive

tribes. Very little is known of the history of these people, for, having no written language, they possess no records. The accepted idea is that in past centuries the tribes living on the Chinese and Burmese borders were oppressed and driven into the hills by more powerful tribes, the oppressors, in their turn attacked by others,

**A People
without
Records.**

were forced to retreat southwards and westwards into the vast stretch of jungle-covered hills that for a time at least offered a safe refuge. In course of time the result was the formation of several tribal groups of Indo-Chinese or Tibeto-Burman origin. Owing probably to the inaccessibility of these hills, the groups, though living comparatively near each other, have survived as separate units, each with its own language, manners and customs, the hills they inhabit being distinguished by their tribal names; thus we have the Khassi Hills, Garo Hills, Naga Hills, Mikir Hills, etc.

It was my fortunate privilege some years ago to accompany my husband on survey and location work through the hill section of the Assam-Bengal Railway.*

There were no roads, no food supplies; the railway survey parties were dependent on the hill tribes for the labour necessary to "blaze the trail" through the dense forest, to transport the baggage and stores, and to build the "bashas" or grass huts that in Assam generally take the place of tents for camping purposes. On our section this labour was supplied by Kukis and Nagas.

In the illustration on page 575 is a group of three Kukis, two men and a woman. The ordinary costume for a woman is a narrow kilt of dark blue cotton cloth reaching from waist to knee; a second cloth is wrapped tightly round the upper part of the body under the arms, and is kept in place by one end being tucked in under the other across the breast. The cotton is grown in the village clearings and the cloth is woven by the women in a primitive hand loom. Indigo is the predominating colour, but saffron and madder are occasionally used.

Gaudy colours have always exerted an irresistible fascination on primitive people. One evening we received the visit of two

women arrayed in gorgeous *saris** of bright red, ornamented in one case with a design of £5 Bank of England notes, and in the other with a series of black and white chessboards! The wearers were evidently very proud and conscious of their finery! We wondered how these cheap Manchester goods ever came to find a place in the scant trousseau of a Kuki belle, and discovered that twice a year the men folk go down to the plains for a supply of salt. They take with them from their villages lac, chillies, cotton, etc., and by the sale of these articles obtain, not only sufficient salt for six months, but an extra rupee or two to spend on one of these hideous products of Manchester enterprise that so charm the vanity of their womenkind.

Numerous bead necklaces adorned with silver rupees, eight and four anna bits, are worn by the women, as well as bracelets, armlets, and anklets of brass. Curious silver earrings are worn both by men and women. A hole is pierced in the lobe of the ear and a small piece of bamboo inserted, this is soon replaced by a larger, or, I should say, a thicker piece of bamboo, and the process is repeated until the hole can be stretched so as to allow the insertion of a silver ring, the diameter of an ordinary serviette ring! The ear will sometimes not stand the strain and splits under the process. I have read that a torn or split ear is a sign of the displeasure of the gods. A silver tube is worn through the upper part of the ear, and is useful as a holder for the brightly coloured flowers with which these children of the forest love to adorn themselves. Coloured paper took their fancy, and we found that the roseate hue of a certain London newspaper made the possession of that journal the object of keen competition; as a novelty in the way of ear ornament, a roll or twisted slip of the paper in question had a decided success.

It cannot be said that the Kuki women

* The A.B.R., begun in 1892 and opened for traffic by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, in 1903, starts from Chittagong on the Bay of Bengal, and on its way north to Dibrugarh, on the North-Eastern frontier of Assam, cuts through the heart of the North Cachar hills, and then sends out a branch line to Gauhati on the Brahmaputra.

* A *sari* is a muslin drapery some six yards long by one yard wide, worn by the ordinary coolie woman in India. The cheap *saris* are all made in Manchester for export only, and the colours and designs are of the crudest.

have any claim to beauty, the younger ones have bright dark eyes, and that is about all that can be said in their favour. Though their skins are of a darker shade than the tribes more nearly allied to the yellow race, the high cheek-bones and flat noses betray Mongolian descent. The hair is generally drawn back tightly from the forehead and twisted in a knot fastened with bamboo or brass pins.

The Kuki huts of grass and bamboo are, as may be seen from the illustration on this page, built on a raised platform some three or four feet from the ground; the platform extends beyond the main entrance, thus forming a sort of roofless verandah.

Women Coolies.

As few Englishwomen had been in the district before, I knew that the advent of a white woman was bound to cause a certain interest, but I was not prepared for, and certainly hardly flattered by, the sensation I created at the first meeting with Kukis of my own sex. A few days after our arrival in the hills, while marching along a narrow track in a belt of bamboo jungle, we came across a party of Kuki coolies, among whom were three women, one a very ancient dame, who became my first acquaintance among the Kukis, and two younger companions. Already accustomed to the semi-nudity of the men, the sight of three squat figures in scant but modest costumes of dark blue cotton cloth immediately arrested my attention. At the first glimpse of me, however, they uttered a startled cry and plunged into the bamboo thicket, where they remained till we had passed!

Soon after we had settled in our jungle home, a Kuki village was built near our headquarters, and this old lady frequently came to see me.

Simplicity of Kuki Women.

Needless to say, our intercourse was carried on chiefly by pantomime, sometimes with a Hindu overseer as interpreter. Many of our possessions seemed wonderful to these simple people, and their simplicity taught me many a lesson. On one occasion, while camping out on survey, a party of

Kuki women arrived in camp with a load of rations. Depositing the bags of rice at the store shed, they drew near to where I was seated outside the "basha," and, while chatting gaily together, they watched my every movement. Presently, I rose and went to the filter for a glass of water; a



NAGA WOMEN CARRYING WATER IN BAMBOO "CHUNGAS."

chorus of laughter and excited exclamations startled me. I looked round to see what had happened and found that I was the unconscious cause of their amusement! It seemed to their primitive minds extremely comical that, by a turn of the wrist, I could get water out of a stone jar. I persuaded them to come up and inspect the filter, and then showed them an automatic weighing scale; the movements of the indicator were followed with intense interest, especially when they themselves placed the articles in the scale. Great amusement was caused when I brought out a looking-glass, evidently the first that some of them had seen. In turn each girl came up shyly and gave a swift glance amid the laughter of her companions. The experiment produced various effects; some uttered a little shriek of astonishment, others looked stolidly at the glass as though they

neither saw nor understood; one young girl, certainly not beautiful, gave a cry of horror, and hiding her face hastily rejoined her friends. An old man who happened to be passing was called up, and, to the great delight of the girls, solemnly proceeded to apostrophise his own reflection, and when, receiving no answer, he hurriedly glanced behind the

boys as well as girls would shine with pleasure if allowed to handle the pretty toy, its fair hair, blue eyes, pink cheeks, arousing in turn their wonder and admiration.

The religion of most of these hill tribes is a form of animism. They believe in two or three



HUT OF THE CHIEF, OR HEAD MAN, OF THE KACHCHA-NAGA VILLAGE OF KUILONG IN THE NORTH CACHAR HILLS.

The large basket suspended from the projecting roof is used for measuring grain.

chair on which I had placed the glass, his puzzled expression proved quite as comical to the women as to me.

Three years later, on our return to the jungles from a trip home to England, we took back with us some mechanical toys, and amongst others a doll with articulated limbs, and with eyes that would open and shut. This doll was a never failing source of wonder and curiosity. Old and young, men and women, would come up to the bungalow and ask to see the "child" as they called it. It was nearly the size of a small baby, and it was quite pathetic to watch a withered old hag take the doll into her skinny arms, dandle it, croon to it, as if it were indeed a live child. The eyes of

principal gods and a host of others; each stream, rock, tree, has its own presiding spirit. There are no temples,

Religion. and the only outward worship seems to be the sacrifices offered by the priests to appease the anger of the gods should an epidemic occur, or to propitiate their favour at rice planting time. The daily visit to the temple, the attendance at the many religious ceremonies and festivals that form so important a part in the existence of the women of India and Burmah, have no counterpart in the simple lives of these hill folk.

Wedding and funeral ceremonies bring some variety into their lives, however, and



NAGA WOMEN FROM THE PATKOI HILLS, ASSAM.

These women were employed in carrying rations for the staff engaged in a survey of these hills several years ago. It was with difficulty that they were persuaded to pose for the photograph, and only one negative was secured.

vary in detail in different villages. When a man wants to marry a girl, he offers a present to her parents, and if they agree to the match he is bound to serve his future father-in-law for five years, three before, and two after the marriage—not till then is he at liberty to build a separate hut, and to start life on his own account. At the wedding ceremony the bride and bridegroom sit side by side on the ground; the priest, standing over them, holds a fowl by the neck and slowly strangles it—from the contortions that the bird's body goes through during this painful process the priest judges whether or not the marriage will be a happy one. A glass of rice-beer is handed to the husband, who drinks half and gives the rest to his wife. The priest then cuts off the wings of the fowl, and placing the right one on the man's head, and the left on the woman's, completes the ceremony. Great freedom is allowed in the intercourse between the sexes before marriage, but after marriage a Kuki wife is rarely false to her husband.

To the Kuki woman falls a large share of the work of a village community. She gathers wood, spins, weaves, and toils in the village "jhooms" or clearings, where are grown sufficient food crops for the year. A large number of women were employed on the railway for clearing the undergrowth, carrying in loads of grass for thatching and in transporting baggage; indeed, as porters they did well, for notwithstanding the rough, steep path, a 60 lbs. bag of rice was a very usual load. The loads are carried on the back, attached to the ends of a broad band of plaited cane that passes over the forehead; the strain thus falls on the muscles at the back of the neck.

The late C. A. Soppitt, subdivisional officer in the North Cachar Hills, relates a curious ordeal to which the suitor of a Rajah's daughter is subjected, an ordeal that must mean much excitement among the women folk as it falls to them to test the courage and perseverance

of the young man. A leg of pork is hung up inside a house and all the women of the village are assembled, each armed with a strip of cloth to the end of which is fastened a bag of stones. These women, of all ages, place themselves round or near the house, so that anyone entering the house would be bound to pass by them. The young suitor is bidden to seize the leg of pork and to carry it out of the village; on a given signal, he makes a dash for the house, the women striking him with their slings as he rushes past. Should he succeed in seizing the pork, he has yet to get clear of the village with his booty, while chased and struck at by the women; should he drop the meat, he is jeered at by the mocking crowd, and told that he had better return whence he came as he is not good enough for their Rajah's daughter. Should he succeed in getting clear of the village, his companions, who are waiting, take possession of the girl and remove her without further trouble.

Most of the Kuki tribes bury their dead, though some dispose of the bodies by cremation. Domestic animals are sacrificed at the funeral feasts, and the heads of the victims are placed on poles round the grave; the ghosts of these animals are supposed to accompany the deceased into the next world, where they may be of use. After death, good and bad alike are believed to go to a "village of the dead." There seems to be a general belief in re-incarnation and that, after a certain number of years, the dead return to earth in the body of a newborn child. It is not so very long ago that slaves and prisoners of war were sacrificed at the funeral feasts.

Dancing is the chief amusement of the Kukis, and is indulged in separately by the sexes, the men's dances being more energetic and more varied than those of the women. The latter content themselves with slowly moving round in a circle with a shuffling step, their eyes demurely fixed on the ground, the arms, which are held close to the sides, are occasion-

Curious Wedding Customs.

The Work of Kuki Women.

Kuki Funeral Customs.

Kuki Dances.

A Lover's Ordeal.

ally stiffly raised to the height of the shoulders with the palms of the hands outwards, and as stiffly dropped again. The whole performance is gone through without a smile. On each occasion that we witnessed a dance, time was kept by the men clapping their hands

tufts of goats' hair dyed red, and locks of hair from the heads of persons killed. Some tribes wear a curious wooden tail decorated with hard white seeds and goats' hair. I have in my possession a Naga tail to which are attached long locks of human



A PRIMITIVE LOOM.

The cotton kilts and blankets worn by the hill tribes of Assam are all woven by the women folk in this primitive hand-loom. The cotton is grown in the village plantation, and the cloth is coloured with vegetable dyes.

and striking the ground with bamboos, the resulting "thud" varying in tone according to the diameter and length of the bamboos.

Far more interesting than the Kukis, however, are the Nagas. The Nagas are divided into many tribes, each tribe speaking a different dialect, and these dialects vary so much that the inhabitants of villages in adjoining valleys are often unable to understand one another. Fifty years ago the Nagas were savage head hunters; this was specially the case with the Angami Nagas. The girls of this tribe would not marry a man unless he had heads to show as proof of his courage. Having slain an enemy, a warrior may wear a kilt decorated with cowrie shells. Collars are also worn, ornamented with cowries,

hair which must represent the spoil from many a scalp. Helpless women and children are often the chief victims.

Among the Angamis blood feuds are frequent and deadly. But little provocation starts a feud, and it is stated that owing to their facility for taking offence, the Nagas are generally courteous and polite so as to avoid all occasion for quarrel.

Naga villages are built on inaccessible hills, or along a steep spur; their huts differ entirely from those of other hill tribes. They have high gable ends and the roof slopes down and back till it nearly touches the ground; the eaves also almost touch the ground, as shown in the illustration on page 578. The hut is divided into three compartments; the large one in the centre is used as a sleeping or living-room, the small

division in front serves as a grain store, and here the women pound the rice for making the rice-beer which is the favourite drink of the Nagas. It is made and stored in the small compartment at the back of the living-room.

Nearly all Naga villages have a large hut which serves as a club and sleeping apartment for the bachelors, and not

**Bachelor
Huts.**

a few have a similar hut for the unmarried girls, which is presided over by a widow or elderly female; in other villages, the girls sleep together by threes or fours. Each hut has a platform jutting out over the hillside and commanding a view of the surrounding country; this was necessary in former days when the villages were so constantly raided by warlike neighbours. The young women spend the day on this platform, preparing the cotton yarn for weaving; the primitive hand looms are tied to the house posts, the girls sit on the ground and swiftly throw the shuttle backwards and forwards (*see* p. 581).

The villages are divided into wards called khels; each khel is a distinctive unit, and

Village Feuds.

is ruled by a headman. Should one khel be attacked by another khel the members of adjoining khels will calmly look on and never attempt to interfere or even to defend the women and children. In one of the Government reports a Naga, giving an account of a village fight, stated that one man, five women and twenty children were killed. He described the killing of the children as rare sport, like the killing of chickens.

The dress of the Naga and Kuki women is very similar, but the lower garment of the former is extremely ornamental

**Naga
Costumes.**

on festive occasions. The general design is a series of dark blue triangular patterns on a white ground. On the lower border various patterns are worked in with dark blue, madder, crimson, or saffron, coloured wool or cotton, each pattern separated with tiny tassels of rice

straw dyed a brilliant yellow. It is not what could be called a graceful dress, for there is neither fold nor curve; it is, however, distinctly original and effective.

The women of some of the tribes living in the more remote hills wear circles of cane round their waist and strips of cane wound round the legs below the knees. The illustration on page 579 is from a photograph taken by the late R. A. Way, Esq., Chief Engineer in charge of a survey expedition in the Patkoi Hills. These women were employed in carrying rations. It was with great difficulty that they were persuaded to allow themselves to be photographed. The nose ornaments are not worn by the Nagas of the North Cachar Hills.

The Naga girls wear their hair cut short, but after marriage it is allowed to grow long;

the girls wear necklaces of beads and shells, bracelets and anklets of brass, sometimes of

**Naga Views
of Marriage.**

silver. On marriage these are discarded. A married woman no longer joins in the dances; for her the serious business of life has begun, such as helping her husband in the village "jhoom," gathering firewood and carrying water. The latter task is no light one, for the water supply is frequently 300 to 500 feet down the hill side, and the water is carried up a steep path in sections of thick bamboos called "chungas" (*see* p. 577). One wonders why, with so little inducement to marry, the Naga girls give up the freedom they enjoy as maidens; for in most tribes there is no restriction placed on the intercourse between the sexes before marriage. The ceremony of marriage, however, confers a certain position and certain rights of inheritance which are, apparently, quite as much appreciated by those in a lower stage of civilisation as by ourselves. But though entire freedom is allowed before marriage, a Naga wife, like the Kuki, is seldom false to her husband; in former days, any breach of the marriage vow was punished by death, but now the guilty couple are both turned out of the village.

The marriage customs are simple. If a couple fancy each other, the man goes to the

woman's parents, and if they are willing he pays a price for his intended bride; should they marry without the consent of the parents, no money is paid, or, if any, only a nominal sum.

A widow inherits all her husband's property on the condition she does not re-marry, and at her husband's death she is called upon to state whether or not she intends to do so! Should she retain the property and afterwards re-marry, the case is arranged among the relatives, but formerly she was put to death by her husband's relatives.

Dancing is also the chief amusement of the Nagas, though among some tribes on certain festivals the young folk of

Naga Dances. both sexes join in a game resembling our "tug-of-war," jungle creepers being used for a rope. The young men allow the girls to pull them over at first, but eventually win; the girls are then bound to serve them with drinks.

If the dance of the Kuki women is dull and uninteresting, on the other hand that of the Naga girls is varied and lively (*see p. 584*). We first saw it under somewhat picturesque circumstances. For the sake of a holiday, we had taken a short trip into the hills, and were camped for a night near a Kachcha-Naga village. The villagers turned out to give us a nautch. The night was dark and cloudy, but bonfires and torches soon threw a circle of flickering light into the camp clearing. The dancers stood facing each other in two rows, and, with the exception of a young man at the head of each row, were all girls, the music being supplied by the male non-dancers who kept up a weird chant in a minor key. Very quaint the girls looked in their pretty variegated kilts and dark blue upper garments, their numerous bead necklaces and brass bracelets jingling as the wearers moved through the various figures of the dance. The girls clapped their hands, and moved their feet with a light, springy step in time to the rather monotonous song of the men; sometimes, with a supple, graceful movement of the wrists, the hands, held about the height of the shoulders, were turned alternately in-

wards and outwards. The whole scene, lit up by the fitful glow of the torches, was picturesque in the extreme.

Shortly afterwards a party of men and women from this same village came to visit us in our jungle home, wearing for the occasion all their finery and the men carrying spears ornamented with dyed goats' hair, so skilfully arranged and cut as to give the spear-shaft the appearance of being covered with rich red plush. Presenting me with a small basket of rice, some bananas and a couple of eggs, the head man announced in broken Hindustani that they had travelled three days to see the bungalow, rumours of its wonders having reached them a few days previously. I think that of all they saw the piano impressed them most; they were invited to touch the keys; one of them, being bold enough to do so, was so much pleased with the result that, beginning at the bass, he struck each note in succession, the exclamations of his companions growing more emphatic as the treble notes were reached. Everything in the bungalow interested them, a peep into the bedroom and the sight of a dozen pairs of boots and shoes in my husband's dressing-room led to much animated discussion amongst themselves. The sewing-machine was a mystery and its results viewed in awed silence; a repeating clock had greater success, for they could see and watch the striking lever.

I have already mentioned that things which appear to us simple and ordinary are, to these primitive minds, wonderful and extraordinary. On the occasion of a nautch given by some Naga villagers, one of the girls could not keep her upper garment in place and there was a good deal of giggling at her expense. The nautch over, I called up the girl, and showing her a large safety pin, I pinned together the ends of the cloth across her breast. She kept her eyes fixed on my face, then, putting up her hand and finding she could not loosen the garment, she glared at me with dread and fear written on every feature, evidently under the impression that I had laid a spell on her.

Seeing my mistake, I hastily took out the pin and showed her on my own finger how to use it. Somewhat mollified by the demonstration, she reluctantly accepted the pin, while her companions, who had watched the scene with interest, eagerly held out their hands for a similar gift.

The religious ideas of the Nagas resemble those of the Kukis. Most of the tribes bury their dead, and in the funeral ceremonies a woman's basket and weaving sticks are

placed over the grave. The dead are buried either in the village street or outside the village bounds. In some

Why Naga Children are Buried in the House.

tribes the corpse of a child or young girl is buried in the earthen floor of the house, and a pathetic reason for this custom was given to a Government official by a Naga who had just lost a young daughter: "She might be frightened if left out alone, with nothing but the sky above her at night."



A NAGA DANCE.

Dancing is the favourite amusement of the Nagas. Girls are the principal performers, though the dance is generally led by two or three young men who carry in their hands one of the ornamental tail feathers of the hornbill.

14