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The changing position of woman in the family

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Thesis

THE CHANGING POSITION OF WOMAN
IN THE FAMILY

by

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I. INTRODUCTION.

The family, explains Groves (1) came into being to provide protection to and opportunity for the physical survival of offspring, and became of primary importance as a socializing agency, providing satisfaction for the most urgent of human cravings and spreading culture from generation to generation. In the closeness of the relationships and the intimacy of the home rests the power of the family to condition the physical, mental and social impulses of each individual, resulting in the building up of attitudes and patterns of behavior which will effect the interpretation of every situation both within and outside the immediate group and the degree to which adjustment to conditions and environment is possible. At the centre of the home and in the most intimate relationship to its members is the woman, the wife and mother who is primarily responsible for the care and nurture of the children, for the ordering of the household that its members may have a physically and morally wholesome home life, for protection of the interests of the weaker members, for the right distribution of income and judgment of what constitutes necessity and what luxury, and for the establishment of an atmosphere of peace, order and cooperation. From the tenderness of the mother the child receives his first experience with social feeling, his first knowledge of goodwill and friendliness, experiences his first reaction toward his environment, and learns to adjust himself

(1) Ernest E. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" Pages 1-4
to the other relationships which make up the family group.

It soon becomes apparent to anyone who has had occasion to go into homes of various types, culture and degrees of wealth and poverty that a very important factor in the success or failure of the family as a whole, or of the individual members, is the mother, or woman who may assume the responsibilities of the mother person. Her influence rests not on educational or mental equipment, but on her position as mother, with its necessary responsibilities and duties, and her character and personality are the implements with which she molds and manipulates the material which comes to her hands. If the mother person is indifferent, lackadaisical, poorly adjusted other circumstances may be ever so favorable, but cannot counteract the resulting uncertainty, irritation, dissatisfaction. But let her be fully aware of her responsibilities and willing to assume them, and she will display a patience, courage, ingenuity, and ability to overcome obstacles, solve problems and achieve results which might well amaze and humble the most efficient executive. Said an elderly Irishwoman with queenly dignity, wife of a mentally and physically slow-moving laborer, whose nine grown children still look to her for advice and encouragement, "It's the mother who is responsible for what her children will be when they grow up, and don't let anyone tell you differently. The important thing is not to let them get away with anything when they are young, and when the father is away all day he cannot
be knowing what they are doing."

Theoretically husband and wife cooperate in the establishment and maintenance of the home, but too often the indifference of the former so accustoms the latter to carry on under difficult conditions, that the presence or absence of the husband has little effect on the activities of the family, it being taken for granted that the wife will add his duties to hers when the necessity arises. To illustrate this point is presented a nurse, the mother of three children, who returned to her profession when her husband wandered away into more attractive fields. Planning every minute of the 24 hours she cheerfully undertook to support her brood by accepting night cases that she might be at home during the day to provide the supervision and nourishing meals suitable to growing children, while much needed rest was obtained when the latter were at school. Another woman, deserted likewise by her husband, has carried on with the help of an aged mother, supporting five children when physically able to do so and accepting aid from the "welfare" only when circumstances become too difficult. But she keeps the family together, being both father and mother to the children, giving them tenderness, meting out punishment when needed, struggling to provide clothing and food, and asking only that her health and strength will permit her to continue until they can care for themselves.
Or if unemployment prevents the man from contributing to the support of his family, it is again the woman who strives to keep up his morale, who hides her own fears behind a smile, and uses to best advantage whatever resources are available. Real courage was shown by the small French Canadian woman who, sinking into a chair with a sigh of fatigue, said to an inquiring social worker, "I don't know how I have been managing lately. My husband has worked three weeks in the last six months and the fourteen of us have been getting along on the little my son can give me. I've been doing some washing in my machine to help out a bit. No, my husband doesn't help. He just sits and worries. I know he would be better if he did things around the house. Perhaps I'll ask him. It is hard to plan." But she does and the home and children continue to present a neat, clean appearance. Nor does this gallantry appear only among the laboring class as can be seen by considering the situation in the home of two college graduates, where the mother must carry full responsibility of the home and of four children while business takes the father away for weeks at a time. Everything about the house runs smoothly. The health, well-being, recreation, cultural activities of every member receives consideration and the mother then finds time to teach astronomy to a Girl Scout group, take active part in parent-teachers meetings and the Y.W.C.A. programs. Then the husband and father returns for a few days he is treated as an honored and much
loved guest, talks over his problems with his wife, is encouraged or scolded as she thinks wise and sent back to his work refreshed and ready to conquer new fields.

If some unusually difficult situation brings forcibly to our attention the fact that woman, as guardian of her household, continues the tasks she has taken upon herself in spite of difficulties encountered, it also brings the realization that in millions of homes, whatever her legal status may be, she is the mainspring of all its activities exerting an influence which cannot be ignored. The responsibility for the continued care of the family rests with the woman and looking back through history we find her, generation behind generation, with the same cares, the same tasks, acting as balance wheel in her particular group, bearing the heavier burdens which leave man free to perform the spectacular acts which constitute written history. She constitutes a vast army, marching forward sturdily, steadily, toward the goal of the mental, moral, spiritual and physical perfection of her charges, meeting obstacles which she may overcome or pass around, repelling hostile attacks from every side. Anna G. Spencer (1) likens woman to the warp in "this fabric of the world" with the threads of her being "stretched on the loom of time" from the mystery of the past on toward the mystery of the future without break; while man is the woof, weaving the pattern of human progress in splendid characters that inspire admiration and reverence. But before man began to

(1) Anna G. Spencer "Woman's Share in Social Culture" Page 18
weave in the pattern, when he remained timid, suspicious, lethargic, woman was becoming competent, skilled, independent in performing the tasks essential to the care of individual life. The animal mother cares for her young, feeds them before satisfying her own hunger, builds shelter for them, and develops cunning and courage for their protection. The human mother carried over from this earlier stage the tendency to unselfish service and to this added the discipline of regular duties toward the human child. Handicapped by the burden of the child from going far afield in search for fame, she remained by the fireside and occupied herself in making life more comfortable for those in her care. Using what she found at hand she became a pioneer agriculturist, basket-maker, potter, weaver, burdenbearer, domesticator of animals, probably the inventor of many peaceful arts of life, and set going a multiplicity of industries to provide food, medicine and shelter from the elements. Nothing is farther from the truth (1) than the idea that women of savage society were or are forced to work or subjected to cruel treatment. It is true that primitive people do not know sympathy or imagination and therefore have little consideration for the feelings of each other, but deliberate brutality of one sex toward another is seldom practiced and where found indicates that the tribe is on the downward path toward extinction. Where cruelty exists refinement of taste and manner are lacking, and there is no inspiration to produce works of beauty or to practice

(1) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" pp. 6-7
self adornment. Yet decoration of self and possessions is found among most savage peoples, indicating a happy and contented frame of mind. The fact should also be given consideration that by her labor woman becomes physically strong to the point of being able to fend for herself to say nothing of the fact that as a worker she is a valuable asset and treated as such to retain her cooperation and good favor.
II. THE ROLE OF WOMAN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PHYSICAL
COMFORTS OF THE HOME.

For long ages before woman began her labor by which she lifted man from the savage state, small groups wandered about in regions where food was more or less plentiful, subsisting on fruits, roots, small living things which might be caught by hand, or on shell fish found in shallow water. (1) Without shelter except for caves offered by nature or rude wind breaks fashioned from brush for protection from the winds, without clothing save for the untanned skin of some animal killed perhaps for food, the unusual difficulties encountered in the maintenance of life stimulated in man the impulse to survive and resulted in the accumulation of means of survival. It is quite possible that the first tool consisted of a stone held in a hand to perform some task too difficult for the fist alone, or the stick which provided an artificial extension of the arm and became the digging utensil of the woman and the club or spear of the man. With the use of effective weapons man's range of prey in the animal kingdom became enlarged and search for animal food extended over increasingly large areas. With young children strapped to their backs women made poor hunting companions and as skill and speed became increasingly necessary for success in the chase, their interests and activities began to diverge from those of the men and they became primarily

(1) Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" pp. 113 271
occupied in search of roots, fruits and food plants. (1) With the discovery of fire began a very definite division of labor, the woman remaining by the precious possession to keep it alive while the man went to forest and field in search of meat. Food obtained by him was improved by fire, therefore he was impelled to return with the result of the hunt. The woman desired fresh meat and offered service, warmth and vegetable foods in exchange. Therefore the hearth and the fire became the centre of the life of the group and man and woman became bound by ties of reciprocal duties and obligations. But whereas man's duties as hunter and defender were fulfilled by spurts of energy and permitted him to come and go as he might wish, woman became harnessed to an infinite number of definite tasks connected with the care of the hearth, the dwelling place, with the children and the men, which kept her continually occupied.

Need of a receptacle to transport seeds, roots, and fruit from the places where they were gathered to the place in which they were to be used was felt very early and even before the existence of firemaking or cooking, or the making of pottery, some sort of basketmaking was practiced. Women of the lowest grades of culture have adapted the raw materials of the locality where they live in the development of this textile art and no savage race is too rude to be without basketry and the awl and stiletto, the tools used in the manipulation of the materials used in the more complicated

(1) Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 7
designs. (1) The women of the Loyalty Group make their baskets as required, by breaking off two or three leaves from a cocoanut tree and fashioning them into the size and shape desired for the task at hand. (2) The Maori women use leaves of flax for their baskets and elsewhere, grass, bark fibres or any other pliable material may be so skillfully woven that modern machinery cannot duplicate it. A crude form of basketry is used by primitive peoples in the weaving of twigs into fish weirs and game drives, or in the winding of brush in and out to fashion rude shelters. But the Hupa women of California fashion intricate cradles for their infants while the women of Polynesia and New Zealand produce mats of elaborate and often beautiful design.

Primarily basketry is divided into two types - the woven and the sewed, the first built on a warp, the second by continuous stitching together of a coil. (3) Plain weaving is effected by having the warp and the weft of the same thickness and flexibility resulting in an even pattern similar to that formed on the bottom of our hampers. By using strips of different widths or by overlapping two or more, instead of one warp, or by using a rigid warp and bending the weft in and out in alternate rows a variety of effects are obtained, most of which may be found among primitive peoples wherever there is any development in this particular art. A type of basket which came into use somewhat later, but even so, before womankind separated over the earth, according to

(1) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" pp. 41-2
(2) Robert Priffault "The Mothers" Vol. I p. 465
(3) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 44
Otis Mason, was that in which the "twined pattern" appeared. (1)

Here a two ply twine conceals the warp, a half twist being taken between each warp strand, and pushed so closely together as to make the vessel watertight. Specimens of the twined basket are found at as far separated points as East Africa and Alaska and the Shoshone, and Apache women make their product practically indestructible by dipping it in hot pitch. (2) The most beautiful coiled baskets are found in Siam, and are made of bamboo, but they are also found in the spruce country of North America. In this type of receptacle small rods are wrapped in splints and coiled like a spring, each row being held to the next by passing the splint from time to time between two stitches of the preceding row. By introducing packing between the layers the work becomes watertight resulting in a product which can be used for many purposes. Study of primitive woman's work in basketry reveals the fact that she could count to ten, that she knew enough about lines, triangles, squares, and polygons to produce intricate figures and patterns and that she possessed an artist's pride in the minute perfection of her products.

Akin to basketmaking is handweaving, the making of fabrics by hand, without frame or machinery. (3) The material used was whatever the region offered, straw, leaves split finely and evenly, bark fibres, hemp, cotton, twined, twisted or spun into yarn and made ready to be converted into fabric.

(1) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 46
(2) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 49
(3) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 53
The first loom probably consisted of two vertical wooden staples thrust into the earth but at some later time fastened to a horizontal bar. (1) The threads were securely fixed to the top bar and held tight by a weight of clay or metal and separated into front and back rows by two additional bars in the middle of the loom. Fine cloth was made by the Mexican tribes of cotton and feathers, ancient Egypt and Babylon produced textiles of linen, cotton and wood fibres, and the wife or daughter of Huang-ti introduced silk about 2698 B.C. Homer tells of the masterly way in which Greek women spun and wove and the description in the Old Testament (Exodus XXVI) of the precious hangings of the Tabernacle indicate that the Hebrew women also had acquired considerable skill in production of fine materials.

Nor were the textile artists content with plain colors but produced interesting effects by combining natural materials of different tints, until they learned to use dyes made from mineral and vegetable substances. Still seeking means by which to satisfy her love of adornment primitive woman again used whatever material was available and with grasses, shells, quills, feathers, anything which might add color, she decorated and embroidered every possible article used by the members of her family.

The first garments worn by man for protection of his body from the elements were probably hides, untanned and in the shape in which they were drawn from their owners.

(1) Albert Newburger "Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients" p. 172
but these tended to decay and therefore could be used only a short time. (1) Since the task of hunting and killing the larger animals at least was difficult and dangerous, experiments in making skins durable were begun at an early time and gradually an elaborate technique was developed by which the women of the tribes could produce a durable material suitable for almost any use. (2) There were smooth, pliable skins with the hair left on for outside garments, soft, hairless wash leather for inside clothing, and hard, boardlike hides for tents, shields, tools, boxes, etc. There seems to have been scarcely a living thing the skin of which was not used in some way. (3) Those of the small birds and animals were merely drawn off, dried, and used as pouches or bags, but the handling of the larger animals was very difficult and required great patience and skill, for it was often thirty feet square, must be removed in uniform thickness, without holes, and treated to become as pliable as a blanket.

Three tools were generally used - a stone knife for cutting away the flesh, a hoe shaped scraper for splitting the skin, and a chisel-like tool with serrated edge to roughen the surface and give flexibility. (4) It is interesting to note that implements very similar to those found in palaeolithic Europe are used by the Eskimos of today, as well as by some of the South African tribes, and are among the most valued possessions of the skin dresser. All processes for removal of the skin from the animal to the finished

(1) Albert Newburger "Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients" p. 77  
(2) Robert Friffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 460  
(3) Otis T. Mason "Women's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 80  
(4) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 72
garment were, among primitive peoples, in the hands of the women who, in early times at least, must find the material and fashion her tools before she was ready to begin work on a hide. In addition to tools, the hands, feet, and teeth are brought into use, the last being of such importance that, as among the Eskimos, a wife may be chosen for her strong teeth with which she chews walrus hide to the consistency where it will not leak.

The actual tanning process employed by primitive women is long and tedious, consisting of scraping the hides to remove bits of flesh, drying, scraping again, treating with brains and fat, the removal of hair by soaking in water and alkali, then chewing all over to soften, and finally scraping and cross scraping again. (1) In making garments a sharp knife, crescent shaped on the outer edge is used to cut the skin without injuring the hair and considerable skill was often shown in fitting the figure of the wearer. Needles are made from the bones of fish or birds and thread from the tendons of animals, split to the desired fineness. With primitive tools the Eskimo woman of today fashions hooded frocks, shirts, breeches, stockings, waterproof boots and overshoes, inserting bands of different colors and decorating with quill work, bones, feathers and shells. Similar processes and results are found among the Aleuts, the Lapps of Europe, the American Indians, the Chukchi of Asia, and are used by the women of Kamchatka, and of the Gilyak and

(1) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 75
Kalnuk tribes. (1)

In addition to wearing apparel, hides were used for many purposes. Tents, shields, boxes, cases were made by taking thick hides, removing the hair, then cutting and bending into the desired shape and permitted to dry. The result was as hard, inflexible and almost as durable as iron.

In the storing, holding, and carrying of foods and liquids woman discovered at a very early stage in cultural development that she required for the successful carrying out of her task, a stiffer, less porous material than what she could make from reeds, rushes, grasses, etc., and that clay, rightly handled, would serve her purpose. Thus, one of the oldest of the arts was evolved, and women, possibly the first ceramic artists, developed the early technique, forms and uses of pottery. (2) In Neolithic deposits of southern Europe have been found specimens bearing the imprints of thumb and fingers of their makers and very similar to the present day product of the hill population of Algeria where the women are the only potters. (3) Among primitive peoples, the art, unless commercialized, is in the hands of women as has been noted in the Malay archipelago and peninsular, in Melanesia, New Guinea, the highlands of Central Asia and in most of the African tribes, and so much a woman's work is it that in some localities no man dares go near the hut where pottery is being made, nor watch the women at their work. He believes that if he places a pot on the fire he will surely die. Among the Semas and

(2) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 91
the Chang of Manipur it is believed that a pot will crack in
the firing if a man approaches while it is being made, and
among the Tupis of Brazil it is thought that if anyone other
than the woman who molded tries to fire an article it will
break.

Mason states that pottery was first used in the
form of stoves, lamps, shallow dishes or pans of soapstone or
clay (1) in which fat or blubber was used as fuel, and over
which small cooking pots of similar material were suspended,
very like the utensils still used by the Eskimo and by the
Indian tribes of New Mexico and Arizona. The French navigator
Gonneville found on the Brazilian coast wooden cooking untensils
surrounded by loam. (2) The German discoverer Rau found the
Indians of the Mississippi lining vessels of reed and rushes
with clay. A study of Pueblo were indicates that their first
use of clay for cooking consisted of lining flat trays of
basketry in which seeds and crickets were roasted. When
exposed to the heat the clay hardened. Deepening and shaping
the dish formed the bowl or pot or bottle for boiling, cooking
or storing food. (3) The first firing was done by placing
the article in direct contact with a charcoal fire, but at a
later time a furnace was constructed in which the fire chamber
was separated from the oven, thus lessening the danger of
cracking and breaking.

Not satisfied with a product merely useful, woman
must, in this field as in others, strive for perfection and

(1) Otis T. Mason "Women's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 91
(2) Albert Newburger "Technical Arts and Sciences of the
Ancients" p. (30)
(3) Otis T. Mason "Women's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 101
and Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 285
beauty, and we find her using first washes of finest clay to finish the surface, then glazes which cannot be surpassed even today, (1) decorations of colored clay, mineral and vegetal paints laid on with brush, and reliefs produced by molding with fingers, stamps, or modelled ornaments glued or luted on with soft clay. (2) Parts that serve some purpose grew out of experience in handling plain round ware, and gradually there appeared a flare about the top for holding a string, handles, feet to keep upright when resting on the ground and the ring underneath so that the vessel might be more easily balanced on the head.

The women of the tribes in the south-western states still practice the potter’s art as they have done for a thousand years or more. (2) First, clay is gathered from a nearby mesa or stream, then it is washed and the fine aluminous earth allowed to settle. This is mixed with sand or other tempering material, and separated into a coarse grade for the construction of ruder ware and the finer grade for artistic work. Molding may be done in one of three ways, over an object such as a gourd or basket, or by means of a coil of clay, round and round, pinching and smoothing into the desired shape, then rubbed down and polished with a smooth stone. The methods used by the women of other primitive peoples are very similar and the resulting products indicate a high degree of artistic ability, of skill in use of materials and ingenuity in the adoption of materials to the purpose for

(1) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 10
(2) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 110
(3) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" pp. 92-93
which the finished articles are intended.

But while primitive women may have spent considerable time and energy in the making of clothing and the manufacture of receptacles of one sort or another, her chief interest and principal task was providing nutriment for her family since the supply of animal food, depending on the success of the chase, proved to be very uncertain and inadequate. To the vegetable kingdom then she turned, using first the fruits ready for consumption, (1) then searching out the roots and parts of plants which could be made edible by roasting or boiling and finally gathering seeds which she might plant in fields adjacent to her dwelling, and cultivate not only for immediate use but in sufficient quantities to store for lean seasons. Proof that primitive women were the builders and owners of granaries, storehouses and caches is found in three typical divisions of humanity, American Indians, the Negroes and the Polynesians.

The industrial life of primitive women centered about the staple product of the region in which she lived, in Polynesia about the taro and breadfruit, in Africa about the palm, tapioca, millet, rice and yam, in Europe the cereals and in America the corn, potatoes, acorns or pinons. All the processes of gathering, transportation, storage, changing raw to finished product, were the functions of women and in the successful performance of her duties a great number of industries were set going which have played important roles in

(1) Otis T. Mason "Women's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 14
in the cultural development of the race.

In the first cultivation of crops it is probable that no implements were used. We find the women of central California, of the Yokaiia tribe have neither plough nor hoe, but sit beside each hill of corn, digging with the fingers and rubbing the dirt fine with their hands. (1) But before the dawn of history the digging stick had developed into the spade, the hoe and the plough and our records indicate the use of the sickle and scythe by many early peoples. (2)

To grind seeds women discovered two implements, the mortar and pestle and the mill. The first might be a hollow log or stone with pestle of wood or stone by which a hard substance could be pounded into the consistency of powder. The arrangement is still in use by the Eskimos, Indians of California and Nevada, and the tribes of Africa. A fine example of the primitive mill is that made with considerable ingenuity by the Moki women to grind corn. From a nearby canon slabs of limestone are obtained and trimmed to the right size. (3) Four slabs or metates of different granular surface are set in plaster made of clay, at an angle of 45° and a roller of the same grain is made for each slab. The operator kneels with feet braced, throws corn on the metates, and grasping a roller in both hands, bears down, at the same time giving a twist to each movement. The process is slow and hard, but carried on cheerfully and usually accompanied

(1) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" pp.145-7
(2) Albert Newburger "Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients" p. 84
(3) Otis T. Mason "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" p. 143
by a soft, musical grinding song. According to Newburger the first improvement on the mill was effected in Egypt when the stone was set higher so that the work might be done in a standing position. (1) The mill now consisted of two cylindrical stones, the lower one fixed, the upper suspended and rotated. Later a hole was made in the centre of the upper stone through which the grain was poured, then a grip added to make turning easier, and finally a run affixed to the lower to prevent grain from falling out. Milling now became a specialized industry carried on largely by men and it is their genius which is responsible for the development of modern machines for making flour. Nevertheless the idea of the mill originated in the mind of primitive woman and the product she obtained at the expense of time and much labor compares favorably with that of man's elaborate and time saving devices.

This does not exhaust the list of activities in which primitive woman was engaged nor of the arts which she invented during the performance of her self-appointed task of providing nutriment and comfort to her little group, but the above descriptions do give an idea of the enormous demands made upon her from both mental and physical standpoints and the realization that these same demands resulted in the development of a capacity for continuous labor, a capacity, caution, intelligence and confidence in her abilities which were not found in her male companions. Apparently, the only demands made on the latter were the providing of meat and

(1) Albert Newburger "Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients" p. 90
protection from hostile attacks, and they might come and go, absenting themselves for days at a time; nevertheless, according to Briffault (1) the actual work of the male was more strenuous and dangerous than that of the women since he must frequently cover twenty-five or even fifty miles to provide the animal food for as many as fourteen or fifteen persons, and any encounter was practically hand to hand, with the outcome never certain. A study of the length of life of male and female indicates that the former did not live as long as the latter and therefore the conclusion is drawn that life was harder for him than for the female. (2) The toil which occupied the entire time of the primitive woman, and which contains a great deal of real drudgery, was accepted cheerfully and willingly (2) and generally speaking, in those societies where woman has been busiest, her status was the most independent and her influence was the greatest. This situation was due to the fact that in the most primitive phases of society there is no durable wealth, since nothing is accumulated or kept; therefore the sole wealth is the power to produce and the economic advantage is in favor of the chief producers, who are the women.

Quite naturally the question arises as to why there should exist among primitive peoples certain very definite taboos which prevent one sex from undertaking tasks assigned by tradition to the other and why these taboos should be particularly numerous and strong with reference to woman, her

(2) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 11
possessions and activities. The explanation, according to Langdon-Davies, lies in the belief of earliest man, that everything, nature and man alike, possessed a power or "manu" which was responsible for every happening. (1) Nothing occurred by chance or accident but rather was the result of somebody's "manu" working for or against another person and woman, being desirable and capable of arousing emotion in man, was considered particularly full of "manu" so that anything she might do or touch would have a powerful and possibly evil effect on man. Menstruating women were considered especially dangerous probably because blood was the symbol of life, (2) therefore the substance most charged with "manu" and to be avoided. One man at least, an Australian aborigine, is known to have died of fright when he learned that he had slept on a blanket used by his dead wife when menstruating. (3) It is quite a general practice among primitive peoples to segregate young girls on the first sign of maturity since she must not touch anything belonging to man and even the sight of her may be dangerous to him. (4)

This terror of the power of woman was to a large extent responsible for the very definite division of labor, (5) since to primitive man a tool or article fashioned by the user was a physical part of the owner, hence full of the same "manu" and capable of doing harm to another person. When woman burdened with children remained behind as the chase became too arduous, and busied herself with the first

(1) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 91
(2) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 92
(3) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 98
(4) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 99 and Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 703
(5) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 118
"household tasks" and the construction of implements to facilitate her work, she identified herself with those activities and made them particularly her own and her work pervaded not only her tools but the materials she touched. The power of woman was not always feared. (1) Where the group depended on the fertility of the earth woman and her magical powers have been highly esteemed, since it was believed that as giver of children she could, by her power, give or withhold fertility from the fields and for this reason, and not because of any particular skill she alone has cultivated the crops. In the empires in Babylonia, Syria, Egypt and Phrygia which were based on a life of agriculture, religious systems developed with the goddess of fertility, the personification of feminine power as the central figure (2) and throughout Asia Minor the death and rebirth of nature was celebrated each year by dances, fertility rites, and human sacrifices. In Egypt the goddess Isis received the homage of the people and her worship spread through the then civilized world signifying the existing attitude toward women as givers of fertility and their exaltation over all mankind. When the cult broke down as the result of the development and spread of Christianity in Egypt (2) the goddess was the type and symbol of what is best in woman "the unselfish, true, tender, loving and eternal World Mother."

(1) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 139
(2) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 147
(3) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 149
III. POSITION OF WOMAN IN THE FAMILY GROUP.

1. WOMAN IN THE PRIMITIVE FAMILY

It is impossible to draw a picture of the beginning of the family which will be correct beyond any doubt, since we have no source to which we may turn for information. There is a definite body of knowledge as to housing customs and daily life, in the caves in which people lived many thousands of years ago, and the pictures they have left on the walls, but of actual family life we have no record. (1) We therefore must turn for our idea concerning primitive man to the savage tribes in existence today, at the same time bearing in mind that they probably do not reproduce the life of prehistoric times, since few tribes are entirely untouched by civilization, or if apparently so and very low on the cultural ladder we cannot be sure that they do not represent arrested or degenerate types.

A study of savage family life discloses a bewildering amount of variation in the customs of the various peoples, with no one definite form of family life, no evidence of progression from simple to complex type to indicate an evolutionary process, but rather an adaptation of the form to the life the people must live. Contrary to a formerly held notion that promiscuity was prevalent among savages, more careful investigation has resulted in the opinion that the first family life was very like ours in that it was monogamous and that where there apparently exists a communistic sex-life, it is really a

(1) Ernest F. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" pp. 12-14
a variation from a standard form. Promiscuity may have occurred, but there is no real evidence of its existence as a generally accepted practice. (1) There is this to be noted in primitive groups, that terms of relationship between individuals denoted not necessarily the members and their relationship to each other (2) but a collective relationship, and interest in the members was on a group rather than an individual basis. Thus, all in a clan of the same age were brothers or sisters, the next generation were fathers or mothers and so on. (3) Sometimes when a man married he acquired marital rights not only over one woman but over all her sisters, or all the women in the group with which his group had entered into a marriage agreement, since relationship with one member presumed the same relationship and privileges with all other members of the group. In many localities a man might marry the oldest daughter of a family and each younger sister as she reached maturity, or he married the oldest and if she died, was expected to take a younger sister in her place. In a number of tribes a brother of the husband has the right of sexual intercourse if the latter is absent. The custom, among some people, of offering a wife of the host to a guest, is based upon the idea that the latter, as a friend, is also a tribal brother and as such has the right to the token of relationship, intercourse with a brother's wife. To refuse is considered an insult to both host and his wife and equal to a proclamation that the guest is an enemy. There is no question of promiscuity

(1) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 20
(2) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 591
because very definite rules and regulations set the boundary to sexual privileges and these were strictly applied. Adultery was and is severely punished among primitive peoples, but the notable feature lies in what constitutes adultery.

Polygyny, though permissible, cannot be common unless there are more of one sex than of the other and this does not often happen among savages. Where there is a definite accumulation of wealth, the richer man may acquire a number of wives (1) but this deprives the less fortunate individual of feminine companionship. If, on the other hand, production is the only tangible asset, and economic conditions are hard, a wife may urge her husband to take additional wives to lighten her tasks and so add to the prosperity of the group. (2) Polygamy is frequently limited by the fact that a clan will not permit its women to go outside its territory and therefore a man, to have several wives, would be obliged to live for short periods in as many localities as he had wives. We find this very situation does exist, however, notably among the Polynesians where wives of exalted birth may remain on and manage their own estate. (3) Conversely, a woman may have several husbands when males predominate or the economic conditions are such that it takes the combined efforts of several men to support one family. This type of marriage is called polyandry and existed among the ancient Semites, the Spartans, the Indo Aryan and Scythic races of India and may still be found among the Aleuts and Tibetans. In Tibet only the oldest

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. II, pp. 263-7 and Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 65
(2) Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 81
(3) Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 219
brother and sister of two families may marry, but they are considered representatives of the whole group, and their marriage is the marriage of all in the group. (1) The younger brothers and sisters may not marry but have certain privileges within the group. Women occupy a position of respect, enjoy complete freedom, are mistresses of their homes and give their names to their children, mention of that of the father being forbidden. (2) Marriage is not imposed on the Tibetan woman, nor are the claims of brothers to a common wife exercised without her consent. Rather she supports the system because she is a "real lady of all the joint earnings and inheritance of all the brothers springing from the same mother, who are all the same flesh and blood." (3)

Continuous with fraternal polyandry or clan polyandry and in common practice at one time was the levirate, which provides that when a man dies his widow and children be taken over by his brother and any subsequent children be considered offspring of the deceased with privilege of his name and share in his property. In Australia a woman is compelled by custom to marry her deceased husband's brother, while among the Aleuts and Eskimos such a marriage is an imperative obligation. The reason for this practice is that woman is considered a permanent collective acquisition of the group (4) which is responsible for her support and the continuance of the marriage.

Investigation during the past fifty years has

(4) Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 153
brought the realization that in primitive society the position and influence of woman was very different from her place in historical times, that not only was she an economic asset but that she was the recognized "basis and bond" of the social group, and as such, highly respected. The theory of matriarchy, which is quite general among primitive peoples low in the cultural scale - although its application may vary from mere descent in female line to gynaecocracy - even denotes, according to some writers, woman's former superior position as head and ruler of the family, group and clan, an idea which recent case study does not support.

To primitive man it was unity of blood (1) which established relationship and this unity had source in the mother alone. It was believed that man's participation in the sex act merely served to staunch the flow of woman's blood, and that the child was formed from this staunched blood. Therefore the child belonged to, and was related only to the mother, and all those in any generation who were descended in maternal line from the original mother, possessed the same blood and therefore were blood brethren, a relationship which enhanced the whole group. So we see the mother as the centre of the group united by ties of blood relationship, a maternal figure which has been set on the altar by the oldest cult of all peoples and with position so firmly established that even in regions where cultural development has reduced women in general to miserable slaves, she continues, in the role of

(1) Julius Lippert "The Evolution of Culture" p. 75
mother, to enjoy the greatest respect. Another factor which enhanced woman's position in primitive society was the child's dependency on her for nourishment, protection, sympathy and security. The father might not be recognized and certainly was not essential to the group, coming and going as he might desire, his association being loose and precarious. Neither had such faculties as sympathy and imagination developed so that his conduct was characterized by callousness and brutal indifference toward the feelings of all except his own blood brethren which did not, of course, include his own child. But nature had taught the mother to regard her child as part of herself, to give it tender care and sacrifice herself for its benefit. She lived only for her child, refraining from all intercourse from the time she was aware of her pregnancy through the period of lactation which lasted until the child was three, four, or even five years old. (1) He therefore was aware of his dependence on his mother and developed an instinctive esteem for her, which lasted throughout his entire life. Among primitive peoples of today we find strong husky men returning to their mothers for sympathy and advice, and never thinking of undertaking a new project without first consulting her.

Evidence of woman's once commanding position may be found in the matriarchal organization of the Seri of the California Gulf, the most primitive tribe of North America. Their culture is of the rudest since they possess not even stone implements, have no agriculture and eat mostly raw food. (2)

(1) Julius Lippert "The Evolution of Culture" p. 75
(2) Robert Griffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 274
The most noticeable factor of organization of this group is the status of females, the social unit being the maternal clan and each clan being headed by a "mother" with a hierarchy of daughters, granddaughters, etc. (1) The rude shelters are erected by and belong exclusively to the matrons. Brothers may claim a place in the dwelling, but a husband is entitled neither to share the home of the wife nor apparently have one of his own. He has no authority over the children, and there is a question whether paternity is recognized since the term for "father" does not exist in the language. Women are the real workers, the men exerting themselves to merely act as guards, and though a male chief is elected for war leader, his magical powers are supposed to emanate from his principal wife. All clan activities are determined by the women, who hold councils and exercise formal legislative and judicial functions. (2)

Among the North American tribes the independence and influence of the women was the general rule. The Pueblo women still exhibit real superiority and nobility and are the "soul of the councils --- and arbiters of war and peace." The crops, fields, almost everything of value belong to them. Among the Iroquois, woman's influence was paramount and whatever she demanded was granted. The unit of Iroquois society was the household consisting of the women, children, unmarried men claiming descent from a common female ancestor, and the men married to the women of the household. (3) The household

(2) Robert Griffoult "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 318
was governed by the women. All the children in the house belonged to the mother's daughter, and all property was transmitted in female line, which resulted in the perpetual disinheritance of the sons. The women of the Cheyennes ruled their camps, and did not hesitate to give advice in matters of importance to the tribe, while the Navaho women retain their independence, consider themselves the owners of their children and manage their own property.

In pre-Columbian days the wives of Central American tribes are known to have held their husbands in subjection and in Peru only the women of one tribe could check the quarrels of the men. (1)

In North Africa the Berbers, called Libyans by the Greeks, are probably the direct descendants of the race which migrated to Europe and founded Western civilization. (2) The social organization of the early Europeans was matriarchal in character, as it is today among the Berbers of the interior who are practically untouched by foreign influences. In this group, in which the ancient language and social constitution are preserved the women are beautiful, artistic, possess literary talents are are economically independent. If a man marries, he joins the woman in her home, remains for a few weeks, and then departs if he wishes, but without his wife. Descent is through the female, and the child takes the condition of the mother. Any property the father may have goes to his sister's children.

(2) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 320
In the Malay Archipelago, the women of the most primitive groups are treated with consideration and have a definite influence in tribal affairs. (1) Traces of the old traditional law are found in that each house in the village which contains a hundred or more people is in charge of a house matron, and that descent is reckoned in the female line. The responsibility of feeding the wife rests not on her husband, who may live in the household but is not a part of it, but on the maternal family, whose head is the brother of the mother, who retains all the valuables of the family in her hands. (2)

Among the Afürs of Ceram women are treated with deference and all men "are silent when a woman speaks." (3) In Madagascar she is independent and her husband is frequently henpecked, while in the Aleutian Islands men hardly dare express a wish before his wife. (4) The Land and Sea Dayaks of Borneo consider the bridegroom the liegeman of his wife's family and bound to serve them. The woman of the Ainu of Japan, one of the most primitive races of Asia, remains in her own home and is joined by her husband who may be adopted by her family. In North and central Asia, and in some parts of New Guinea and Africa where there seems to be a transition from matrilocality to patrilocality usages, the groom may live with his wife's family, but is permitted from time to time, to take her to his own home. Among the Khasis the man visits his wife occasionally, but has no kinship with the children, who belong to the mother's clan. The mother of the clan is the sole owner

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 320
of any real property, is the head, source, and bond of union of the family, and any property is transmitted through the daughters. In South India the Nayars consider themselves descendants in female line from a common female ancestor. The household consists of mother, children, sisters, brothers, etc., while the husband is considered to be only a visitor and may not even accept food. (1).

It is almost universal among uncultured groups that the female members of the clan determine the dwelling place (2) and that their mates must accommodate themselves to the female’s requirements. This, according to Briffault, is not only the natural consequence of the biological facts which cause the female animal to choose a shelter to rear her young, but was an arrangement essential for the preservation of the character of primitive social groups, (3) to prevent their breaking up into promiscuous herds dominated by masculine instincts. Here man takes his wife to his own home it means that he has acquired purchasing power whereby he can compensate the family of the girl for the loss of her services. (4)

Among primitive people therefore we find the woman owning and living with her children in the dwelling fashioned by her own hands. The construction of the hut of the Australian, the skin lodge or wigwam of the American Indian, the tent of the Bedouin, the earth lodge of the Omahas or Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, is her responsibility and although the men may fell trees and erect the frames of heavy timber, as in the case

(2) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 188
of the log houses on the American plains or the pile dwelling on the Malay peninsular. (1) The man then must join his wife in her home. We find this the situation in Labrador, where the young Eskimo lives with and helps support his wives' parents, and on Kodiak Island where the Aleut husband even discards his name and assumes that of his wife when he comes to live in her home. The Senecas, most important of the Iroquois, lived in "long houses" containing thirty or forty families, under a matron, and the husbands could be ordered out if they proved to be shiftless. Among the tribes of New Mexico and Arizona the husband takes the abode of his wife's family during good behavior and in Central and South America as well as among the Caribbean tribes, the woman remains in her parents' home where the husband joins her. (2) In Africa it is the rule that the woman remains with her family, and among the Zulu, the man must live five years in his wife's home before he may build his own. Throughout the Indoesian region the husband settles in the home of his wife but has no standing there other than the privilege of working in her rice fields and the obligation of feeding the maternal family. (3) The girl of the Igorots of Bontoc lives in a hut built by her parents, and in secluded parts of China, where the aboriginal population are non-Chinese, the couple must live for ten years in the wife's home before the man may move her to one of his own. Among the hill tribes of India the man is not a member of his wife's household but may visit her

(2) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 239
occasionally, and in South India his privileges are still further restricted. (1)

Although not exhaustive the above illustrations indicate how widespread is the rule that the dwelling place is the property of the woman to which her mate is admitted with varying degrees of toleration and privilege. It has been suggested that it is a survival of the time when males were not a vital part of the group, since kinship and descent were reckoned only through the women. Man's instinct was to wander in search of food and sleep wherever he happened to be, which was checked in the female by the demands of her offspring. Creating a home, she remained in it with her daughters whom the males of neighboring groups might visit but not take away, since the maternal group continued to be a self-existent unit only as its women remained together.

Another rule of savage society found among the races of five continents forbids a man to speak or even look at his wife's mother. (?) The Indians of Yucatan believe that if a man sees his mother-in-law, he will not beget children, the Navajo fears that he will become blind. In northern Australia the man is warned of the approach of the mother of his wife by sounding of the bull roarer so that he may avoid her. At one time it was believed that death came to him if he looked on her.

In New Britain, Africa, Melanesia, approach of a

woman causes her son-in-law to hide his face, and a brave man cheerfully runs into danger rather than meet his mother-in-law. Briffault explains this custom as the effect of the "incredible sentiments of awe" with which primitive man regarded the head of the group to which he attached himself when choosing a wife. (1) The natural supremacy of the primitive mother passed away before the growing power of the male, but the memory of the feelings she inspired remains in the sentiments and traditional rules relative to the wife's mother which we find everywhere among the savage races.

In primitive society woman's responsible male relative is her elder brother. (2) Bound to her by the tie of common blood, he is the object of her deep affection and may be considered even before her children if sacrifice of one is necessary. It is to him that the woman turns for assistance in rearing her children and he may exact obedience from her sons, plan the marriage of any daughters, and make them his heirs. Woman’s sexual mate or husband belongs to another clan therefore is a stranger in his wife's clan, and has neither authority, executive power, or, in the beginning, protective functions. One of the strongest taboos of primitive life is against incest and by way of prevention two regulations are generally in effect, one, called exogamy, forbids the man to marry in his own small family group and usually in his clan, and the second, called endogamy, limits his choice to women of a particular clan. (3) There being no blood tie, husband

(3) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 26
and wife are on the status of strangers to each other, and there can be no family bond as we know it. The result is a loosely constructed household, with the husband tolerated but not included in the affairs of his wife's clan and obliged to seek help, if he needs it, from his own people. He may not even live with his wife but with other men in a common house and merely visit her when she permits. Among some primitive peoples the man may contact his wife only after dark, and then secretly, leaving before daybreak, a survival of the caution necessary when discovery of the presence of a strange man in the dwelling meant a beating and even death. (1)

Marriage is a social institution, a regulation imposed on members of the group, and not the manifestation of natural instinct. In China, marriage was established according to tradition by Fu-shi, the first of the legendary Augusti, who lived 2852-2738 B.C. Before his time the sexual life of the people is thought to have been "similar to that of animals." (2) Many peoples have similar stories of the creation by some mythical legislator, of a method of public sanction of the more or less permanent union of two people of opposite sex. (3) At first a marriage was a contract between two families, the wish of the group and not the personal desire for sexual and economic association. Love as we know it was not taken into consideration, in fact, was rather looked down upon. But each group expected to gain some advantage, for the man, the personal service of an industrious female, for the woman, the

(2) Sing Chin Su "Chinese Family Systen"
animal food, and in some instances, the protection which man could contribute. In all transactions, the mother, the maternal uncle, or chosen go-between, as representative of the family, consulted the other members of the clan, negotiations were started, gifts exchanged, and marriage celebrated, often without the presence of the two principals.

The most ancient form of individual marriage contract is that "by service" the means by which, in primitive matriarchal society man obtains right of access to a particular woman. Since in many groups the man is without property, save his own personal possessions which are of value only to himself, it becomes evident that the only asset he has is his ability to give some form of service to the woman and her family. This service may be in the form of a test of hunting and fishing abilities, of endurance and courage, or of a probationary period, with the suitor rejected at the end of several years if he has not proved satisfactory. (1) After the period of service the man may have greater freedom, but usually remains under the domination of his wife's family, although in consideration of his contribution he may be allowed to take her to his home. An alternative of service is payment of the "bride price" which came into rather general use in a more advanced stage of social development when man has acquired possessions and can make payment of a portion of them to the wife's family to permanently cancel his obligations to them. Far from enslaving women, this arrangement provided the means, in many instances, by which they accumulated

large properties. In ancient Egypt it was not unusual for a
woman to acquire a series of husbands and cast each off when
she had obtained all his possessions. The price of a Tuareg
maiden is four camels and many have accumulated large herds
by taking on a series of husbands and discarding each when
payment has been made. (1) Where the purchase price is
still paid women seem to take pride in the large amount they
may bring, and in Africa, Australia, and among the Indians
of Columbia and California, the respectability of the woman
is measured by the amount the groom will pay for the privilege
of taking her and her children to his home. (2)

The purchasing power which man acquired in the
pastoral stage and that permitted him to buy off the services
he formerly gave for his wife, was one of the causes of the
change from the matrilocal to the patrilocal system of
marriage. It will be remembered that in very early society
the sole form of wealth was the power to produce, and that
women were the chief producers. Although their dominant
position was due primarily to the functional constitution
of the group, their productiveness and later the property
they accumulated, gave them an economic advantage which tended
to strengthen their position. With an assured food supply
from cultivated fields, men were released from hunting and
took over the domestication of animals and the development
of large herds. With the possession of herds came a
definite economic power to the man and the

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. II, p. 218
(2) Loomis Havemeyer "Ethnography" p. 35
subsequent ability to "purchase" their wives. Thus the matriarchal order tended to disappear and the patriarchal form of society with patrilocal marriage to become established among pastoral people. (1) Gradually the bulk of agricultural labor was taken over by the men, and pottery, woodwork and other industries, developed by women for home use, became masculine interests and production increased for the purpose of trade with neighboring and even distant peoples. Thus the sexual division of labor was changed and woman, no longer a unique economic asset, became relatively unproductive and dependent. The development for commercial use of those arts which in the first place accentuated the matriarchal character of primitive society definitely established male supremacy and completed the overthrow of the matriarchal form of government. To still further change the status of woman, the harnessing of animals for work was introduced, and with the recognition of this source of labor came the growth of the idea that whatever and whoever worked could be converted into property. Whereupon women became objects of property to men who claimed also her children. Sex alone remained to the female, and that she might assume greater value she began to emphasize beauty, charm, and personal adornment. Where personal appearance had meant nothing to early man, he now learned to discriminate and woman became the symbol of non-utilitarian values in which her lord might seek relaxation. Whereas among primitive men marriage had little concern with sexual life, now

(1) Robert Friffault "The Mothers" Vol. II, p. 257
that woman had ceased to be a worker, and man's wealth permitted acquisition of a large number of wives or slaves, marriage became purely sexual.

To what extent polygamy was practised at this time it is impossible to say but, far from being frowned upon, it was regarded as a sign of worth since the number of wives increased in proportion to a man's wealth. (1) At first there was little distinction among the wives except as the oldest, or possibly the favorite of the moment was considered the "Chief Wife" and given a certain amount of authority over the activities of the others. In more advanced social conditions the women of higher rank enjoys the superior status, the marriage having been arranged, perhaps, for the economic advantage of two families. By this time another important stage of marriage development has been reached, that in which the father of the bride is obliged to give dowry, or bride gift, with his daughter as the purchase price of a suitable husband. (2) In Ancient Greece and Rome, this dowry marks the distinction between the legitimate wife and a concubine and usually amounted to a fixed percentage of the parents' property. Theoretically, this dowry or portion became the property of the husband (3), but actually the wife alone was permitted to make use of it, which gave her considerable independence and insured good treatment. Another factor in the situation was that with the introduction of the dowry, the father of the bride was in a position to demand a unique and

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. II, p. 268
(2) Edward Yestermark "History of Human Marriage" P. 415
(3) Julius Lip ort "The Evolution of Culture" p. 345
unshared position for his daughter with the result that monogamy tended to prevail. From the man's point of view we find, with the new concept of paternity which recognized the relationship of father and child, and the development of the patriarchal family, the desire for a legitimate heir. Therefore, during the later agricultural stage of economic development, women assume a new function and a new sexual value, that of the legitimate wife and mother of the legitimate heir of property.

2. WOMAN IN HEBRAIC SOCIETY

Although the Hebrews in historical time were so rigidly organized along patriarchal lines as to stand as the ideal of the patriarchal type of organization, there is considerable evidence that among the ancestors of Israel the matriarch held a powerful position. Proof of the one time dominance of the female is offered in certain terms used to denote tribal relationship which point to maternal, not paternal descent. Thus "Rahem" means womb and refers to a group of kinsmen or family ties in general, and "Batu" or belly is a tribal subdivision, or the tribe itself. The clan or tribe is always called a man's "mother." (1) It would seem also that at one time the four matriarchs, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah were held in greater esteem by the people than Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Sarah, mother of Israel, was originally the head of the tribe which later bore his name,

and the tribe of Levi was once that of Leah for whom a husband, Levi, was invented. Further evidence of matriarchal organization was the practice of Hebrew youth to leave father and mother when seeking a wife, and live with a wife’s people. Jacob left his family group, served seven years in a far country for each wife, lived twenty years in the home of his wives and brought prosperity to the entire tribe. Yet when he tried to return to his own country Laban pursued, reproaching him for attempting to take his daughters and their children who belonged to the mother’s father. This being so it is not surprising that the tent was the property of the woman as we learn when Isaac brought Rebecca to his mother’s tent. 

An interesting survival of this ownership is found among the Arabs where a woman signifies she has tired of a husband and is done with him merely by reversing her tent. Evidence of the importance attached to descent in female line rests on the fact that the kinship of the mother and her blood relatives alone counted in any taboo as to relationship between the sexes. Abraham explained that Sarah, his wife, was the daughter of his father, but not of his mother (Gen. 22:15) and therefore it was suitable that he should marry her; and David’s daughter, Tamar, saw no objection to lying with her half-brother Ammon if their father’s consent were obtained. (II Sam. 13:13) Neither was it offensive that a son should have intercourse with his father’s wives, with, of course, the exception of his own

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(1) Genesis 2:6
(2) Genesis 31:41
(3) Genesis 21:42
(4) Alfred Berthelot "History of Hebrew Civilization" p. 117
mother, as is indicated by the proposal of Absalom to appropriate the harem of his father, David. (II Sam. XVI 21-27)

It was only with the establishment of a patriarchal form of organization that a law forbidding such contact was put into effect. (Deut. 22:20)

The practice of matrilocal marriage passed with the settlement of Canaan for now, with the domestication and individual ownership of cattle, the increased definiteness of form which pastoral life gives to the family, the formation of social groups in which the family relationships were accurately known, and the isolation of small groups with the tendency and perhaps the necessity of bringing a leader to the forefront, man's power and influence increased, the descent in male line supplanted descent in female line, and to the husband and father was granted complete and unquestioned authority over the members of his family. (1)

Marriage was accomplished purely by purchase, and according to Louis M. Epstein "when the legal aspect of marriage is taken into account it becomes evident that there is little difference between the conveyance of a field and the conveyance of a daughter in marriage." (2) There seems to have been some modification of the father's original absolute right of disposal of a daughter as early as the 7th century B.C. when according to Talmudic law marriage, to be valid, must be contracted with the voluntary consent of both parties. (3) There was also always this difference

(1) John Fenton "Early Hebrew Life" p. 8
(2) Louis M. Epstein "The Jewish Marriage Contract" p. 30
(3) Edward Westermarck "History of Human Marriage" p. 239 and II Samson 13:12
between a woman and any other purchasable property, that only one wife could enter the household of her husband, and that the sole purpose of the purchase of a woman from a family in a connubial league was her installation as "ruling wife." (1)

The purchase price or mohar underwent several changes — originally paid to the father of the bride, who kept it, it was next held by him as trustee of the bride. (?)

Still later the husband retained the price as trustee of his wife, then was permitted to use it to purchase household articles, and finally it was given in the form of a note of indebtedness to the bride, thus becoming a divorce price.

As a matter of fact the Jewish women gave up anything she might own at the moment of marriage, and everything in the home was considered the property of the husband. This idea was carried to the point where the feeding of a guest invited only by the wife was considered stealing of food from the husband. The explanation of the apparent injustice to the woman rests on the assumption that by marriage the husband assumed complete responsibility for the support and protection of the wife during their married life, and therefore she had no need of property rights. Not only might the courts compel a man to support his wife according to agreement, but it was considered that she had certain definite rights of sexual attention from her husband which, if he were unable or unwilling to fulfill, constituted grounds for divorce and punishment by fine. On the other hand a wife's refusal to

(1) Edward Castermark "History of Human Marriage" p. 271
(2) Louis W. Epstein "The Jewish Marriage Contract" p. 70
have union with her husband constituted "rebellion" and might be punished by fine or divorce. (1)

Although the woman's activities may seem to have been much restricted, as a matter of fact she enjoyed considerable freedom, and was honored as "a god-given helpmate - flesh of her husband's flesh" and the homes at their best were noted for the affection between husband and wife. (2)

The woman's duties were numerous and included grinding flour, baking, washing, cooking, knitting, nursing infants, making her husband's bed, and waiting upon him. She might delegate much of the work to slaves, and in fact, could not be compelled to do anything unbecoming, unpleasant, or harmful to her physical charms, but she could not escape from personal service to her husband. Apparently woman's interests were confined to the comparatively narrow limits of the home, but this does not seem to have stunted her development, and we find evidences of her ingenuity, capacity, energy and character. (3)

Throughout the early history of the Jewish people woman's name is honored for faithfulness (Ruth 1:15) courage (Judges 4:16-21) valor (Esther 4:16) and capacity for leadership. (Judges 4:4)

The deliberate object of Jewish marriage was to obtain children (Genesis 9:7) especially male children and therefore whatever power or honor was granted a wife rested on her position as the mother of sons. To become a mother was the dearest wish of the Israelite wife and to remain

...(1) Louis M. Epstein "The Jewish Marriage Contract" p. 144
(2) Louis M. Epstein "The Jewish Marriage Contract" p. 59
(3) Alfred Bertholet "History of Hebrew Civilization" p. 158
barren, the greatest sorrow. (Gen. 30:1) It was quite possible to divorce a wife merely because of barrenness although such a fate could be evaded by supplying a substitute, usually her maid (Gen. 30:2-5) who could produce a child which might be considered her own. (Gen. 16:1-7)

According to Briffault, the traditional patriarchal family is polygamous and the Hebrew law not only assumed polygamy but nowhere referred to monogamy. (Gen. 4:19; Judges 8:30; Judges 12:2-14 and II Chronicles 24:3) (1) The harems of the Jewish kings were noted for their size, as shown in the assertion of Solomon (Songs of Solomon 4:8) that he had "sixty queens, eighty concubines and virgins without number" and continually acquired other "strange women" until, when he was old, he possessed "seven hundred wives, princesses and three hundred concubines." (I Kings 11:3-3) Gideon's three score and ten sons imply many wives, (Judges 8:30) and there are records of David's many sons, (I Chron. 28:5) wives, (II Sam. 7:2-5) and concubines (II Sam. 16:21)

Among the common people polygamy was practised in narrow limits, and there is recorded the fact that Samuel's father had two wives (I Sam. 1:2) Jacob had two wives and Esau had two and perhaps more. (Gen. 26:34 and 36:1) (2) In later times poverty restricted the number of wives, and in proportion, as property became limited, the importance of the chief wife or mother of the heir increased. (3) Respectable

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vo. II, p. 315
(2) Alfred Bertholet "History of Hebrew Civilization" p. 150
(3) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vo. II, p. 317
families became unwilling to sell a daughter except to the
position of "legal" wife, and polygamy became less and less
pronounced, until monogamy came to be the usual type of
marriage. As late as the 16th century however, we find in
Italy that Jews having no children might marry again, and
even today in England, if a Jew contracts a bigamous marriage
it is dissolved only by divorce according to Jewish law.

3. WOMAN IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Turning to the neighboring kingdom of the Pharaoh
we find, in early historical times, a distinctly matriarchal
form of society which never quite disappeared, even though
there was a gradual change after 4000 B.C. to the patriarchal
institution, and that a distinctive feature of the entire
social organization was the prominent position of women. (1)

Among the ruling class the virtue of the royal office resided
in the queen and the male might occupy the throne only through
his relationship to her. All royal privileges were transmitted
in the female line, and every princess in line for the throne
acquired the dignity and titles of office at birth, while the
same honors were possible to a prince only by becoming
consort of the royal princess.

All descent was reckoned through the mother, the
father being of so little importance that his name was not
recorded in records. Consequently all children belonged to
the mother and all born either in or out of wedlock had the
same rights. There were no illegitimate children in Egypt.

Women of the middle and lower classes were more independent and respected than in any other part of the world. Each was mistress of her house, and was called the "Ruler of the house" in which her husband was a guest. If a man had two wives, each had her own establishment and he visited each in turn.

In the marriage contract it was the woman who imposed conditions on the man, and in return for obedience, sometimes promised to care for him during his life and give proper burial after death. This arrangement became necessary because it was quite customary for the wife to exploit her husband, by getting possession of all his property and then thrusting him out to starve. All land and property was in the hands of women who were privileged to administer it without reference to or hindrance from their husbands. If a man built a house it passed to his wife with reversion to the children at her discretion.

Woman possessed fullest legal rights, with the result that no one might interfere in any transaction she undertook. She was seen frequently in public places, while at the same time her husband very probably remained at home, and any career was open to her. We find instances of women as priestesses, clerks, in administrative posts, governors, and even as commander-in-chief of an army.

The first effort to limit woman's activities was made in the religious field when her duties were restricted
and finally taken over entirely by man, who forthwith assumed a monopoly of both religious and magic functions. Later the management of the estates of the wife was taken over by the husband and finally the privilege of divorce held originally by the wife was transferred to the man.

4. **WOMAN IN ANCIENT GREECE**

Strangely enough it was in Greece, at a time and in the place (Athens) where an intellectual pace was set which has been very difficult to excel, that the position of high class women reached its lowest ebb. Hitherto, women had been recentered for their fertility, an attribute peculiar to their genus, but now a new fertility was emphasized, that of the mind, and the most important aim in life was changed from the production of children to the solution of problems of politics, statecraft, and to the consideration of social objectives and moral values, and attempts to discover the laws of the universe. (1) All existing learning was collected, analyzed and classified, and huge libraries of treatises on the physical universe, politics, psychology and social philosophy were gathered together. But these intellectual pursuits were considered a part of man's sphere, and without interest to the woman who became his wife. (2)

Paradoxically, these thinkers, among whom were Pythagoras, Socrates, Aeschylus and Plato, whose minds courageously explored new heights, did not hesitate to take

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(1) John Lengton-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 187
(2) Mary R. Beard" On Understanding Women" pp. 77-81
counsel of the Delphinian Oracle, (1) a woman of the lower class elected by vote to sit over a fissure in the earth until, becoming stupified by the rising vapors, she became the medium through which it was thought Mother Earth spoke. This was an institution which survived from ancient times when the people, terrified by the forces of nature, sought feminine guidance from the portents, and became the "conscience of Greece" which solved many problems and regulated the activities of the locality to an astonishing degree even to the time of the Persian wars, when male seers and prophets arose. The influence which this Oracle exerted upon the public may more easily be understood if we consider that after all, not such a long time before, the entire culture was marked matriarchal in character, when men were subjected to female domination, when the royal house traced its descent from a woman, and property was transmitted in female line from mother to daughters. (2)

Remains found in Crete indicate that at one time women occupied the paramount place, for we find them pictured as divinities, as priests and as rulers, while the men are the cupbearers, pages, musicians, soldiers and sailors. The Spartans borrowed this culture from the Cretans and in very early times, presented the most primitive form of sexual organization. According to Plutarch the women ruled the men, were quite unrestricted in their contacts, and children born out of wedlock frequently exceeded those born in wedlock.

(1) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding Women" p. 84
(2) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 388
Women might inherit property and, in fact, held a large portion of it, a situation which necessitated their remaining as strong and "deadly" as the males, in order that they might keep control of it. (1)

In Athens we find that "men had no fathers", that gods and heroes were usually virgin born and referred to by the names of the mothers. Women gave their names to children, families, clans and tribes, as in the case of Athio, daughter of Kranaos, who was the ancestress of the Athenians of Sparta, from whom the Spartans were descended, and Doris, lunar goddess mentioned as one source from which the Dorians might have sprung. (2)

That marriage in the Athenian city and State was originally matrilocal in character, is indicated by the wife's status in historical times when, though she might move into her husband's home, she never became legally a member of his family or household, but continued under the guardianship and protection of her father, who could take her away at any time. If she had no father, her brother or next-of-kin had the same right. Neither had the wife any claim on her husband's property, and if she became a widow, returned to her father's home unless pregnant.

In the Homeric Age, when might was right and the warrior must defend his own property and household from the covetousness of his neighbor, woman was obliged to depend on man to protect her, and she was treated tenderly, graciously,

(1) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding Women" p. 94
(2) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 404
respectfully. (1) It was thought that the influence of one sex on the other was caused by some divine power, irresistible to god and man alike and resulting in a sort of madness. Women could not therefore be blamed for any consequent action and could not prevent man from falling in love with her. Since to love and be loved was natural for woman, it was her duty to make man happy, and the realization that the gods were powerful, while mortals were weak, and life was very short led to making the best of the joys offered.

Marriage was affected by purchase, the groom presenting a gift or performing a difficult task for the father of the bride. But it was expected that the woman would learn to love her husband, and that the husband and wife, "being of one mind would rule the household." (Homer) On the other hand neither expected eternal devotion of the other and took it for granted that if one were away for a long time, that both would find consolation in the love and companionship of another.

The freedom of women at this time was great. They had their own rooms in the house but were not confined to them and could come and go as they liked. They joined in public dances, attended feasts and festivals and took part with men in the sacrifices. Boys and girls were educated by listening to the teachings of elders and the chants of bards and grew up together knowing each other very well. In addition to household tasks, the girls were taught to make

(1) James Donaldson "Woman - Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece, Rome and among the Early Christians" p. 11
clothes for the members of the household, and to keep them clean and tidy. Bodies grew strong with much exercise in the open air and there developed a race of healthy, finely formed and beautiful women who became the ancestors of the intellectual men of later years.

The Archaean tribes which came from Thrace into Greece were frankly polygamous and polygamy continued to be the more or less accepted practice. (1) Even in historical Greece there was never any legislation forbidding it and there is no reference to it in Greek literature as being immoral. From earliest times, however, there was only one "legitimate" wife who bestowed her possessions on her husband, the other sexual associates having the status of concubines. In later years the Greek men were so little eager to marry that Solon passed laws making marriage compulsory, and it became the custom for Athenian fathers to offer inducement toward marriage of their daughters in the form of dowry. This dowry became so important a consideration that the whole transaction centered about it, and wealthy girls were in such demand that a man would put away his poorer wife to marry one who could bring greater wealth. The dowry represented the landed property originally bestowed on a husband by the matrilocal wife, and constituted the distinction between the legitimate wife and the concubine. Therefore, a girl too poor to produce a dowry, was in the class of the concubine and hence not quite respectable. It finally became the custom

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vo. I, p. 334
of the State to supply a pittance to free born girls so that they might marry with a dowry and therefore have the status of the legal respected wife.

In historical Greece the State was all important and all private and personal interests were sacrificed to continue and strengthen it. (1) To the Athenian, citizenship with the right to speak and vote in the meetings of the Assembly and to own land, was his most precious possession, the more so in that it and its privileges were forbidden to the alien or outlander, no matter what his wealth or length of time he and his ancestors may have lived in the city. With the exception of a few who had been voted into the fold as the result of remarkable service to the State, citizens were so by birth, all having the same divine ancestor, the same gods, the same rights and privileges, and each registered in one of the semi-religious clans into which all Athenians were officially divided. (2) A citizen, therefore, must be the child of a citizen father and citizen mother, and all possible precautions were taken against spurious offspring. It became the custom among the ruling class to keep their young girls and women practically under lock and key, and to forbid all contacts outside the home except with permission of the father or husband, and then under strict chaperonage. Generally speaking, woman's world was contained by the walls of her home and her activities consisted of being a housewife, of supervising the slaves, and bringing up small children. Her chief

(1) James Donaldson "Woman - Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece, Rome and Among the Early Christians" p. 25
(2) T. G. Tucker "Life in Ancient Athens" p. 63
duty was the production of healthy citizens and soldiers.

The girl child's life was probably happy, since she was made much of, and was permitted to play in the domestic court with her toys. (1) As she became older, and approached her tenth birthday her activities were restricted and theoretically, at least, she could not be seen outside the door which separated the women's quarters from the rest of the home. Education consisted largely of instruction in sewing, weaving, embroidery, plain cooking, domestic management and care of the sick. If the mother or an attendant could teach her, she might learn to read and write, but the general feeling was that it would be better if she were not too clever intellectually. The result of this narrow and restricted existence was a class of girls and women, bashful, prudish, ignorant of the world and eventually, physically as well as intellectually inferior. There could be little in common between them and the men who spent nearly all their waking hours away from home and occupied with affairs of state or intellectual pursuits, and it is not strange that the latter looked on marriage with little favor and delayed it as long as possible. (2) It was not at all uncommon for men to remain single until middle age and they marry a young girl who was quite likely to be his brother's daughter. (3)

Love mattered little as far as a girl's future was concerned. On reaching maturity she was considered ready for marriage and, by the age of fifteen or sixteen, was mistress

(1) T. G. Tucker "Life in Ancient Athens" p. 156
(2) T. G. Tucker "Life in Ancient Athens" p. 82
(3) William A. Becker "The Primitive Life of Ancient Greeks" p. 137
of her own home. Negotiations were usually started by the older women of the households who were free to come and go, and to discover the most advantageous unions. But if the girl were an heiress, it was the duty of her nearest male kin not in direct line of descent to marry her. If he did not wish her, and if she had no father, it was his obligation to find a suitable husband for her. A woman was never in the full power of her husband, but remained under the guardianship of her father or nearest male kin, and her dowry never became the property of the husband. (1)

The betrothal consisted of a ceremony, probably not attended by the girl, (2) during which the contract was prepared, the dowry agreed upon, and a solemn pledge given in behalf of the principals. At a later date came the "fetching home," when, after sacrifices to the gods of marriage and sacramental bathing by both bride and groom, the latter went, accompanied by his parents, to the bride's home where he found her seated, veiled, in a group of women. After a feast the mothers lighted each a pair of torches and then the bride, still veiled, was led to a carriage and between the groom and best man, and accompanied by friends, went to the groom's house where she was received by his mother. The following day the couple received their friends and accepted gifts, and thereafter the bride was considered the mistress of the house. Her position might be subordinate but she was respected, and her husband considered it his obligation to permit no one to

(1) T. C. Tucker "Life in Ancient Athens" p. 158 and 82
(2) T. G. Tucker "Life in Ancient Athens" p. 160
speak rudely before her and to take care lest he put himself in a position which might seem undignified to her. The prevailing manners in the home were very gentle, there was little domestic oppression, and often a warm affection developed between husband and wife. (1)

On the other hand, wives did not always conform to type. Many, as the result of rich dowries or strong personalities, dominated their husbands and exerted an influence which was far reaching. We even find cities rent by efforts to reduce the female to "marital complacency." (2) In the 6th century B.C. Theano, wife of Pythagoras, was noted for her interest in physics, mathematics, medicine, child psychology, literature and domesticity, and was capable of carrying on her husband's school after his death. Socrates expressed his belief in the equality of men and women, and many of the schools founded by his disciples were administered and taught by women. Arete, daughter of the founder of one such school, carried on for thirty-five years after the death of her father, and in addition, wrote forty books on agriculture, childhood, education, old age, war, etc.

Plato taught that there was no essential difference mentally between men and women, and many of the latter attended his school until crowded out by courtesans. Aeschylus, the dramatist, saw women as individuals and pictured them as in revolt against man's selfish aims. Euripides, in describing all sorts of personalities, pictured female vagaries as well

(1) E. H. Lecky "History of European Morals" p. 305
(2) Mar. R. Beard "On Understanding Women" pp. 139 and 141
as strength and capacities for charm, and while recognizing sex differences, advocated mutual esteem and respect. It was Aristophanes who suggested that household management furnished a fine apprenticeship for State administration, and that the latter might well be placed in the hands of the women. But while writers and philosophers might insist upon the mental equality of men and women, and the daughters in the families of teachers and thinkers were given instruction which fitted them to become leaders and teachers, the generally accepted position of the legal wife was that of housekeeper, bearer of lawful heirs, the instrument through which legal rights of property were transmitted, one to whom adornment was forbidden by law, the possessor of a mind cramped and stunted, whose sole virtues were chastity and enforced loyalty to husband. (1) Naturally there could be little, if any, companionship between this wife whose life and interests were confined within the walls of her home, and her husband whose waking hours were spent elsewhere, occupied probably in intellectual pursuits. To the Greek mind, however, it was against nature for man to remain aloof from contact with the opposite sex, and natural that he should form connections which could give inspiration and sexual companionship. This he found among the Hetairae, rated as courtesans, but whose chief crime was that they were of foreign birth, and therefore forbidden to marry Athenian citizens. Many were of high moral character, and favorably known for their conduct, beauty

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" pp. 339-47
and talent. Since they could come and go as it pleased them, it was possible for them to take advantages of the opportunities offered to study the arts, philosophy, politics, music, dancing, the art of entertaining, to cultivate beauty and social graces and, in a word, to fit themselves to become the intellectual companions of the men they could not marry. The most remarkable of the Hetairae was Aspasia, daughter of Axiochus, learned man of Miletus, who went to Athens to contact the teachers and philosophers, and became the companion of Pericles, the popular hero. (1) Pericles sent away his legal wife and installed Aspasia in his home, treating her with love and all the respect due a wife. Her home became the centre of affairs in Athens, where politics, ethics, and happiness were discussed, and great men were stimulated to their best efforts. Her goodness, noble aims, and clear insight gave her great power and it is generally supposed that she advised and instructed Pericles in his policies, and wrote some of his famous orations. (2) Her lectures on philosophy were attended even by Athenian wives and daughters.

In Sparta, as in Athens, the individual was sacrificed to the State, but here the ruling passion was strength of muscle instead of purity of blood. (3) Although woman's one function was motherhood, it was recognized that to produce a strong, resolute, daring race of men, the mothers must possess the same qualities, and from the earliest years the girls were given gymnastic exercises, encouraged to mingle

(1) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding Women". p. 119
(2) James Donaldson "Women - Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece, Rome and among the Early Christians" p. 66
(3) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 129
freely with the boys and to enter into competitive sports with them. The result was a remarkable vigor of body, beauty of form, and a keenness of mind, which found interest in all matters of State, in care of the community, and exerted an influence which, according to Langdon-Davies, was "omnipotent." (1)

Although marriage arrangements were made for the good of the State, there was considerable freedom of choice and the basis of many unions was mutual attraction. (2) Free love was not discouraged, and brought no disgrace, provided high standards of physical excellence were maintained, but promiscuity was frowned upon and there is no evidence that it existed to any extent. (3) Certain practices were allowed which are now not permissible, but on the whole, the purity of the Spartan woman is admitted by most writers.

Unfortunately the State, which so closely supervised her early life, had nothing for her to do after she had borne her children, and relieved of responsibility for their care and training, which the State took upon itself, eventually she resorted to luxurious ways. According to Aristotle, the Spartan women were "incorrigible" apparently dominating the men by their force of character as well as by their ownership of a large portion of the land.

5. WOMAN IN ANCIENT ROME.

Turning to Italy we find that the tribes, as they emerged from the nomadic stage and settled down to agricultural

(1) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 117
(2) James Donaldson "Woman - Her Position and Influences in Ancient Greece, Rome and among the Early Christians" p. 27
(3) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 171
(4) James Donaldson "Woman - etc." P. 33
pursuits were divided into "curiae", similar to the Greek "phratries" or clans, and that these curiae were named for women. (1) It would, therefore, seem probable that the primitive organization of these people consisted of motherhoods similar to those formed in groups in other parts of the world, in the same stage of social development. This conclusion is strengthened by evidence which indicates that women were the owners of land during this period, that in the royal family, the right of succession lay in the female line, so that if a male acquired the throne it was through his mother, and that there was a distinction drawn between the privileges and duties of the maternal and paternal uncles. Primitive Italian marriage relations point to loose matrilocal associations approximating clan promiscuity, in which the man was of little account, and among the Etruscans, one of the most important of the groups, and the possible founders of Rome, where the social organization was definitely matriarchal in character, paternity was of so little importance that the word "father" probably did not exist, since it does not appear on any inscription.

Just when the change from the matriarchal to a patriarchal type of organization occurred is not known, but probably it was during an advanced stage of cultural development when property had acquired value, and individual possession of it meant prestige for the owner, when physical force alone was understood and admired and only aggressive, acquisitive

(1) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. I, p. 422
tribes survived. (1) The conquering warriors became the owners of large tracts of land, as a group became the sovereign people or patricians, and by them the patriarchal principle was introduced, with the descent in male line, and the father as the basis of kinship. (2) There is evidence that before the time of Romulus paternal authority was in effect in the town situated on the Palatine, and subsequently the father of the family was alone considered worthy of mention. (3) He was not only the father, but priest and judge and his authority was absolute. Wife, children, clients, slaves, were his chattels, persons without will and subject to his command in all things. He might condemn his wife to death if he thought that she had violated her vow. He could sell his children, give them in marriage, divorce them, or even kill them for sufficient reason, and in any event, they remained in his power as long as he lived. A woman belonged to the house, and in the house, where her legal status was that of a daughter, she always, theoretically at least, had a master, first her father, then her husband. She was therefore under perpetual tutelage, could confer no right, could not transfer or bequeath property without the consent of her guardian or nearest male relative on the paternal side, and could not enter into any business transaction.

Briffault is of the opinion that Roman law protested too much of man's power; that the particular stress placed on "patria potestas" indicated deliberately enacted legislation.

(3) Victor Duruy "History of Rome" p. 197
for the purpose of emphasizing man's claims, and that the artificial institution pictured was very different from the actual state of affairs. (1) As a matter of fact, woman retained much of the dignity of her former position and her actual privileges were in strong contrast to the patriarchal principle. She was treated with a consideration amounting to reverence and the mother of the family reigned by the side of her husband in a home in which polygamy was proscribed. (2) The sacred rites before the altar of the Penates were performed by her, and if her husband were a flamen, she became a priestess or flamenica. Domestic life among the early Romans was simple and austere, with no luxury or idleness. The master ploughed and worked in his fields with the slaves and the mistress busied herself "in the midst of her women" at the numerous household tasks. (3)

In Italy, as in Greece, the city State was the political unit and the three classes into which the population was divided were the citizens, the aliens, and the slaves. (4) A member of the first alone enjoyed the private rights which enabled him to hold and transfer property under Roman law, as well as the public rights which protected his person against violence and gave the privilege of voting in the assembly and seeking election to office. (5) To be a Roman citizen it was necessary to have been the product of an instum matrimonium, a marriage sanctioned by law and religion, and possible only between Roman citizens of legal age, not related within the

(1) Robert Eriffault "The Mothers" Vo. II, pp. 344-9
(2) Victor Duruy "History of Rome" p. 265
(3) Victor Duruy "History of Rome" p. 261
(4) James Donaldson "Woman-Her Position and Influences in Ancient Greece" etc. p. 77
(5) T. Tarde Fowler "Social Life at Rome" p. 138
sixth degree, and with full consent of the fathers of the bridal pair. (1) The marriage was one of two kinds, either the bride came into her husband's hands (cum manu) in which case she surrendered her patrimony and passed into the power of her husband, or she remained under the rule (in potestate) of her father, retaining her own property, and the right to inherit from him. This style became increasingly popular among the wealthy upper classes since it gave both parties the greatest possible freedom, and the woman could live her life in her own way, merely conforming to certain recognized standards as the partner of a Roman citizen.

Marriage might be accomplished in three ways, by "usu" where the couple came together by mutual consent, and so lived for one year, by "coemption", a civil contract, or by "conferreatio" the most dignified and imposing of marriage rites. For a long time, this form of marriage was the exclusive privilege of the patricians, and none but children of such a marriage could become priests of Jove, Mars, or Quirinus, or vestal virgins. (2) The conferreatio had as its immediate object the providing of materfamilias qualified for various functions and capable of producing men able to serve the State in peace and war, one who was acceptable not only to the human but also the divine members of the family, who could join in the worship of the household spirits and "the ancestors in their tombs." (3) That the difficulty and seriousness of the entrance of a stranger bride into the family group might

(1) W. Warde Fowler "Social Life at Home" p. 138, and Harriet W. Preston & Louise Dodge "The Private Life of the Romans" p. 8
(2) Preston & Dodge "The Private Life of the Romans" p. 10
(3) W. Warde Fowler "Social Life at Rome" p. 136
be emphasized, as well as that it might be achieved only with the aid and intervention of the gods, ceremonies of a sacrificial nature were performed such as having auspices taken, making sacrifice to Ceres, eating a sacred cake and placing the bride and groom together on the skin of the sacrificial victim. But with "advanced ideas" and the loosening of the marriage tie, the solemn ceremonies of the confrarestitio went out of fashion, and by the time of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) it had become difficult to find men qualified by birth to fill the priestly offices.

Marriage among the Romans, as with most peoples, was arranged by the parents or interested friends, and was entirely a "marriage de convenance." (1) At the root of the union lay the idea of service to family and State, and though true attachment might develop later, love as a basis of marriage seldom if ever was considered. Children might be betrothed while yet very young, with agreement as to dowry and gift of ring or money from the groom to the bride, but this engagement could be broken by either party or by his guardian without legal penalty. The age for marriage was set by law as twelve for the girl and fourteen for the boy, but actually the latter did not marry until allowed to don the robe of manhood, and the former seldom before fifteen or sixteen. On the night before the wedding the girl laid aside her toga of childhood, dedicated her dolls to the Lar of her family, and was dressed in a long white garment with a scarlet

(1) W. Ward Fowler "Social Life at Rome" p. 140
net on her hair. The following day she put on her bridal
gown which was girdled with a woolen sash tied by a knot of
Hercules - a charm against the evil eye - and her hair was
dressed in customary fashion with a garland of flowers and a
veil of orange red. (1) The ceremony occupied the entire day,
beginning early in the morning with the taking of the auspices,
and continuing with the signing of a contract, the repetition
of a formula by bride, groom, and the assembled company, and
a wedding dinner. Then a procession was formed of torch
bearers, flute playes, and friends, which accompanied the bride
to her future home, where she anointed the door posts with
oil and wound them with woolen bands, before she was lifted
over the threshold and led into the atrium where she received
from her husband the symbolic gifts of fire and water. It
is thought that the two then knelt and lighted their first
hearth fire from a white thorn torch, sacred to Ceres and a
talisman against all harm. Thereupon the bride said a prayer
before the symbolic marriage couch, and on the following day,
made her first offering as materfamilias to the household gods.
The union thus formed was for a long time, regarded as
indissoluble. (2) The Roman matron might be subordinate to
her husband from a legal point of view, but her power in her
home was undisputed. Everyone in the household addressed her
as "domina" or lady, and no servile work was expected of her.
She moved freely through her home, overseeing all activities,
received her husband's guests, sat with them at the table, and

(1) Preston & Dodge "The Private Life of the Romans" p. 12
(2) Preston & Dodge "The Private Life of the Romans" p. 15
walked or was carried abroad at her pleasure, attending games at the circus, or accompanying her husband to dinner parties. (1) By the time of Nero, the Roman matron was present in the law courts as witness or surety or to bring suit, controlled her own property, and might instruct her agents or attorney as she wished. Her position was one of dignity and responsibility, and her freedom was greater than that of any woman in Greece or the Orient.

Although this ideal of wifehood remained as late as the fourth century A.D., with the Second Punic war came a gradual change in prevailing manners and with it, a different attitude toward marriage. (2) The frequent wars of conquest brought an enormous increase in wealth and slavery, the license of the camps and the introduction of habits of Eastern luxury. At the same time the study of Greek philosophy affected by both men and women promoted the development of novel ideas and caused the routine tasks of the household to become irksome. New activities opening up in the management of large estates while the husbands were away from home for years at a time during the increasing wars of the second century B.C., women became more independent and powerful, and naturally objected to relinquishing their freedom or responsibilities upon the return of their lords and masters. (3) In 186 B.C. women took a prominent part in the Bacchanalian conspiracy indicating that there had developed a new type of female, one dissatisfied with the quiet of family life and eager to find excitement.

(1) T. G. Tucker "Life in the Roman World" p. 302
(2) Preston & Longe "The Private Life of the Romans" p. 16
(3) F. Wade Fowler "Social Life at Home" p. 147
even in matters of State. That they exercised great influence in public affairs through their husbands is evident by Cato's famous remark that "all men rule over women, we Romans rule over all men and our wives rule over us."

(Plutarch - Cato the Elder) (1).

Additional signs of unrest on the part of women and the breaking down of the old standards were participation in "manly" sports, infatuation with gladiators, incurring of debt for jewels and fine clothes, devotion to strange cults, the establishment of the "salon" where hours were devoted to reading and study of Greek and Latin poets. (2) More and more the notion gained ground that a clever woman could not realize her ambitions in marriage, that culture was more important than wifehood, with resulting neglect of children, if she had any, and divorce after divorce obtained on the most frivolous pretext, apparently in an eternal search for something she could not find. This tendency to give way to baser emotions was perhaps not the fault of the women, but rather of that code of morals which did not demand or expect conjugal faithfulness from the husband. Although the life of the Roman family is pictured as charming and serene, the woman could expect merely the respect of her husband who looked on her as the necessary agent to provide the family and State with children. Men sought love elsewhere, and eventually began to avoid the restraining bonds of marriage, until in the time of Augustus, it was found advisable to try to restore the old

(1) W. Warde Fowler "Social Life at Rome" p: 148
(2) W. Warde Fowler "Social Life at home" pp. 148 and 154
standards of domestic morality, by the establishment of penalties for celibacy and rewards for large families. These efforts were largely in vain because society in general had come to look on pleasure as the end of life, and the gratification of one's own desires, regardless of everything and everybody, the accepted standard of conduct.

It is quite possible that the actual situation was not as dark as the moralists of the period painted, but there is no reason to doubt that the relations of men and women in the large cities at least were loose, and that family life was unhealthy. (1) Nevertheless, there were many bright spots in the picture in the noble women and good wives of whom we have a few records, and in the distant country homesteads of the Marsian and Sabine mothers, who remained patterns of domestic honesty and discipline. (2) They continued to rule their homes, to bring up their daughters to be modest, frugal, obedient to the gods, and to teach their handmaids to do housework and spin and weave, while their tall sons obeyed without question then sent out into the rain and cold to chop firewood.

6. ROMAN AMONG THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

And now, into the Roman Empire, just after its organization as a monarchy (3) when the vices of drunkenness, gluttony, and licentiousness were especially prevalent and becoming dangerous to the State as they were translated into

(1) T. Verde Fowler "Social Life at Home" p. 157
(2) T. C. Tucker "Life in the Roman World" p. 307
(3) George Brinton Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 39
loss of will power, energy, and self-reliance in face of
danger, (1) when progress in many fields had ceased because
of the apparent exhaustion of the "creative power of antiquity"
came from the East new ideas and influences which were to
develop into the Christian church and become the only source
of energy and hopefulness in the ensuing chaotic centuries.(2)
The Christian religion, with its definite promise of life
after death, the certainty of forgiveness of sin, its belief
in an intimate personal tie between the individual and God the
Father appealed to the oppressed and ignorant, bringing them
comfort, confidence and courage to face great odds. (3) It
taught equality of man in the sight of God, the gospel of
brotherly love, and the economic justice that a laborer was
worthy of his hire. (4) To the struggling masses of slaves
and freemen whose hours of labor were long, and wages low,
and conditions of livelihood hard and brutal, these made a
potent appeal. Slowly at first, then more rapidly the new
religion spread, at the same time raising to the highest
places among the virtues humility, obedience, gentleness,
patience and resignation, all characteristics of the down-
trodden and the slave, and giving the lowly a dignity never
before known. Due to a large extent to the definiteness and
confidence of the teachings on the questions of immortality
and expiation of sins in which society was interested,
Christianity made considerable progress among all slaves
during the second century and at the time of the German

(1) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 78
(2) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 41
(3) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" pp.
50-58
(4) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 56
Conquest in the middle of the fifth century, had become the prevailing religion as far as influence and control of group conduct was concerned.

It might be expected that with the introduction of Christianity and its emphasis on the value of each soul, woman's position would improve. (1) But the contrary seems to have been the case. It is true that in the Gospels women are pictured as having great liberty, and being held in considerable honor, but with the teachings of St. Paul all this changed and stern and restrictive opinions regarding women were voiced and became the basis for the depreciation of marriage seen in the writings of the third and fourth centuries. The early Fathers, turning to the first five books of the Bible as the authority for their opinions, interpreted the restrictions and taboos surrounding women as evidence of her uncleanness, the story that she was made from man's rib as proof that she was merely an afterthought and of considerably less importance than man in the eyes of God. (2) She was responsible for the "fall of man", and therefore should eternally expiate her sin of bringing death and woe to all the world, an opinion which gave sanction to her treatment as an inferior being and to the temporal and spiritual hardships which were her lot. Still another idea which affected the attitude of man and society in general toward woman was that of immortality, for when the welfare of the soul becomes man's chief consideration he learns to despise reproduction, fertility and woman who

(1) James Donaldson "Woman - Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece, Rome and among the Early Christians" pp. 148-150
(2) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 208
woman who represents to him temptation to linger in life and
delay entry into the next world where alone perfection can be
obtained. Immortality or life in death cannot, according to
Langdon-Davies, be mistress of man's thoughts unless accom-
panied by sterility or death in life. (1) "Now what the early
Christians did was to strike the male out of the definition
of man, and human being out of the definition of woman. Man
was a human being made for the highest and noblest purposes;
woman was a female made to serve only one. She was on the
earth to inflame the heart of man with every evil passion.
She was a fire-ship continually striving to get alongside the
male man-of-war, and to blow him into pieces. ----- Surely
the best plan was to shut her up." (James Donaldson) (2)

Marriage, of course, was necessary for propagation
and to free man from perhaps greater evils, but still it was
looked upon with profound contempt, as a condition of degrada-
tion from which anyone who wished real sanctity must fly. (3)
As ascetic passion became strong we find all domestic virtues
discredited and the notion of sin introduced into the dearest
of relationships. (4) Hardness of heart, ingratitude toward
wife, mother or children, was the usual thing and the suffer-
ings caused was thought to be an acceptable offering to God.
To save his own soul was the anchorite's only consideration
and to accomplish this he must guard against any danger
resulting from the presence of women. Saintly purity might
be disturbed by even the sight of a mother's, sister's or

(1) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" pp. 9-10
(2) John Langdon-Davies"A Short History of Women" p. 228
(3) E. H. Lecky "History of European Morals" p. 170
(4) E. H. Lecky "History of European Morals" p. 132
wife's face, and we read of holy men refusing to see or speak to a fond relative who may have traveled far and endured many hardships to reach his hiding place. Breaking the hearts of parents by neglect was regarded as a sign of perfection, and the ablest men vied with each other in the duty of "abandonment of social ties and mortification of domestic duties." (1) Where marriage did occur and a home established, the duties of the wife were simple and her life narrow. She was expected to stay at home, take care of the house and children, obey her husband as her lord and superior, fear him, reverence him and please him in all things. (2) Silence was a virtue to be cultivated, beauty must be hidden by veil and voluminous clothing lest it corrupt the beholder. The only occasion on which she was expected to leave the house was when she went to church, or possibly visit the sick in company with her husband. The life of a widow was even more deadly for it was expected that she should "sit at home" and "sing, pray, read, watch and fast, speak to God continually in songs and hymns." (3) She must live a life of penance, of expiation of her sin of being a woman and therefore a tempter of men. It was not considered fit that she should remarry, as this would imply a "certain weakness." (4) One means of escape from perpetual reproof and subjection the Church offered, to become the brides of Christ and spend life in meditation, study and good works. In a world apart, maids, wives and widows might organize their activities according to their own inclinations, and an

(1) F. H. Lecky "History of European Morals" p. 136
(2) James Donaldson "Woman - Her Position and Influences" p. 176
(3) James Donaldson "Woman - Her Position and Influences" p. 161
(4) James Donaldson "Woman - Her Position and Influences" p. 159
individual of ability or wealth might rise to the position of abbess or prioress where she could rule instead of submit to direction, and become a real power in the locality.

Although woman might be a symbol of Sin to the Christian Fathers, in the affection and respect of the common people, the peasants and farmers, she maintained her high position. Identified from earliest times with human reproduction, with the fertility of the fields, and with mother earth who was worshipped as the giver of all that made life possible, she remained even through the seventeenth century the central figure in the ceremonies by which the European peasants paid their respects to the Mother goddess. And while the Church fought the ancient cult, punished the priestesses and in later times, persecuted as witches those thought to have the power to induce or withhold fertility, the peasant came to identify the goddess with the Virgin Mother, and to transform the rites by which the former was worshipped into the festivals which do honor to the latter. Gradually there developed a new ideal of womanhood with the distinctly feminine attributes of the Virgin mother, of meekness, gentleness, patience, humility, faith and love, and at the same time a reverence for the Virgin which did much to counteract the great vortex of emotions which developed about women in the age of chivalry. (2)

While Christianity was spreading through all classes of society and into every corner of the Roman empire

(1) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 296
(2) E. H. Lecky "History of European Morals" p. 381
the outlook in other fields was becoming increasingly gloomy. Reoccurring plagues and famines resulted in a marked decline in population. (1) A growing passion for wealth caused a large portion of the official class to look on their offices in conquered provinces as sources of personal gain, and to sacrifice the interest of the State for their own advancement. (2) The great number of slaves which increased with every Roman victory tended to extinguish the class of free labor in both city and country, and free food and games not only tempted the middle class to abandon the struggle for existence but were a constant drain upon the resources of the State. Indifference to public affairs, destruction of capital, the increasing stream of wealth to oriental states in payment for luxuries (3) all tended toward the exhaustion of the wealth of the Empire and were among the causes of its overthrow.

7. WOMAN IN THE INVADING GERMAN TRIBES.

At the north the German tribes, restless, fond of adventure and in need of room for expansion, had for five hundred years made repeated attempts to enter Roman territory. (4) Pushed back and denied admittance except as subjects or slaves the tribes bided their time until declining police and military protection removed the barriers to the promised land when they entered and by 476, had taken possession. (5) This new and youthful race, introduced into a world which had reached a much higher stage of civilization than its own, could neither understand nor make use of the products of art, science and

(1) George E. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 8
(2) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 80
(3) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 82
(4) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 64
(5) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 86
skill which it found, and so proceeded to destroy or discard much that the ancient world had accomplished. Although by so doing the Germans were responsible for the ensuing "dark ages" they made a considerable contribution to civilization, not only of themselves with their youth, vigor and health, but a very high ideal of personal independence, of the value and importance of the individual as compared to the State. (1) To the Greeks and Romans, the State was everything, the individual nothing. To the Germans, the individual was all-important with the right of liberty in which the State could not interfere. What is most interesting to us is that to the German, the woman was also an individual, respected, esteemed for chastity and virtue, and consulted on every important occasion because of the belief that in her breast "was sanctity and wisdom more than human." (2)

The Teutonic woman was strong of body, courageous, intelligent, willing to take her share of toil, to accompany her husband into battle that she might bind up his wounds, and on occasion, to urge his weakening spirit to greater efforts and change impending defeat into victory.

8. WOMAN IN MEDIEVAL SOCIETY

During the centuries following the influx of Germanic people into the Roman Empire occurred almost constant warfare, intrigue, and struggle for power. Frequently the names of women appear as their owners acquire some strategic

(1) George B. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" pp. 88-89
(2) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 243
position, and in their activities they seem to have been as cruel, crafty and treacherous as the men. (1) One Frankish princess is described as a "woman of masculine energy and wonderful power of mind, a great ruler, but tyrannical and unscrupulous and it was said that ten kings and queens lost their lives in the turmoil which she excited." (2) In the romances written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Charlemagne and his predecessors were represented as holding exalted ideals and observing codes of knightly honor, tales about as true as the giants, dragons and magic castles of the fairy stories. The knight errants were "sanguinary, boastful, murderous, addicted to vice and enemies of God", engaged in plunder and rapine, and waging frequent war on their own people, often unjustly. There are many stories of torture and abuse without excuse, and "as usual women excel men in cruelty." (3)

The feudal system which developed in the eighth and ninth centuries contained two distinct institutions joined in partnership for the support of life. (4) The feudal organization of agriculture for the cultivation of the soil, called the Manorial System, was patterned after the Roman idea of great estates, with serfs attached to the land in place of slaves, dependent on the land for protection, justice and maintenance. The products of their labor formed the chief source of wealth of the lord of the manor and their daughters asked, brewed beer, spun, and served in the manor house under

(1) Henry Bradley "The Story of the Goths" p. 198
(2) Henry Bradley "The Story of the Goths" p. 320
(3) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. III, p. 397
(4) George P. Adams "Civilization during the Middle Ages" p. 191
the direction of the chatelaine. (1) The political feudal system organized to furnish protection to the free man which the central power was unable to give, was a crude form of government based on tenure of land with public obligation to the State changed to personal service to the lord in return for land. (2) The State depended on a few for specific duties and these were "farmed out" to their vassals. Feudalism, therefore, was the relationship between overlord and tenant by which the tenant enjoyed land in fief for assistance in warfare, and the value of the fief to the lord was the services of a given number of soldiers. (3) This state of affairs had a powerful effect on the position of women for, since tenure of land involved the duty of fighting for the overlord, the latter might and did compel young girls and widows who had inherited land to marry according to his wishes, and provide a substitute or representative who could give military service. Women, therefore, became the pawns of kings and knights, and were passed about from husband to husband if their possessions were valuable, by way of reward to a favorite vassal, or to purchase the cooperation of a powerful neighbor. It is said that Charlemagne, upon his return from wars in Spain, married all the widows of his fallen knights to obtain possession of their property. (4)

Marriage having become a matter of pure economic convenience, with husbands and wives taken on or put aside

(1) James W. Thompson "An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages" p. 743
(2) George B. Adams "Civilization" etc. pp. 191 and 194
(3) Honn Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 245
(4) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 249
for almost any reason, (1) it is not strange that love had no connection with a legalized union, or that there was the belief that it could not exist in marriage. All love stories of this period concern illicit relations, and it was considered a mark of honor that a married woman should have several knightly lovers. This illicit love seems to have been in the nature of an escape from the tedium of existence, for life in a castle was dull and offered little by way of interest to the intellectually superior and imaginative woman. (2) That she surrounded herself with artists, writers and knights, that she wooed where her fancy might lead, with a "determination and directness that ignored rebuffs" indicated revolt from men to whom horse and land were the most important things in life. (3)

A marked feature of sex relations at this time was the institution of love service by which a lady was in honor bound to reward a knight with her favor and pay him as her servant if he performed a service for her and proved himself bold and daring. (4) It was considered "bad form" to deny him whether she be wife or maid. She might be as hard and as capable of caring for herself as a man but in the opinion of the times a protector was indispensable and it was only right that she should bestow herself as a prize upon one who proved himself capable of the task by winning in combat. Marriage was not expected, the underlying idea being the desire of the woman and her family to acquire the noble

(2) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 264
(3) Robert Briffault "The Mothers" Vol. III, p. 441
blood of distinguished warriors for any offspring which might result from the contact. Chastity as a virtue was quite unknown, and neglect to take advantage of a woman's favors was considered unchivalrous and dishonorable. (1) At this time an old concept of sexual hospitality was revived, and it became the duty of the young women of a noble family to receive all male guests and attend them personally. The host's daughter was offered to the guest, and in the case of an unmarried chatelaine, it was obligatory that she offer herself or a substitute.

In contrast to the average knight who probably could neither read nor write, the woman of gentle birth was given the rudiments of education, might even know a bit of Latin, could recite romances, sing a little while accompanying herself on viol or harp, play chess, know a little falconry, was instructed in medicines, herbs, and the dressing of wounds, could sew, weave, spin, embroider, and direct the activities of the castle. (2) Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries these women came under the influence of the Itinerant Poets, a group of noble, courteous, brave and amusing men who regarded love as the object of existence and exalted and served their ladies more faithfully than did the men who regarded her merely as title to land. (2) There followed a fusion of mind and body called "Romantic Love" and a movement characterized as the Court of Love, before which ladies discussed the theory of love and lovers, and placed

(1) Robert Riffault "The Mothers" Vol. III, p. 405
(2) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 251
(3) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 265
themselves on an absolute level with men as lover and co-lover. With the recognition of this new relationship between men and women came the realization, in her own circle at least, that women was worthy of friendship and more valuable as a woman than as a landowner, (1) an idea which conformed to the growing appreciation of the individual, which was one of the causes of the downfall of feudalism.

9. WOMAN DURING THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION.

Although feudalism was destined to go and carry with it the economic foundation of the Church, these changes to take place in the span of a single life, various economic and intellectual forces had been at work for years, gathering power to burst forth under the leadership of the Reformers and usher in a new era. The remarkable growth of commerce and trade, originating with the crusades, had resulted in the increase in size and number of cities, new worlds had been discovered, new lines of industry and mechanical work had opened up. The condition of the working people hitherto considered scarcely human had begun to improve, and the development of parties within the cities with the resulting fierce conflicts threw the individual on his own resources and stimulated mental activity and the hope of success, riches and power. Ability and energy, coming to count far more than opportunity of birth, won to any place and so the working class gradually forced its way to influence in all fields of endeavor in which it could vie with the lay and clerical

(1) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" pp. 267-270
nobility. (1)

In the intellectual world a growing appreciation of the beauty around had brought with it a new valuation of life and a realization of the possibilities of experiencing happiness in this existence. While an increasing knowledge of pagan learning resulted in a proper estimation of the accomplishments of the ancient thinkers and the importance of their work as a starting point for future endeavors, with the inevitable comparison of the richness of pagan thought with "the straight and narrow boundaries of the Christian Epic." (2) It was difficult enough for the Church that the favored few should have access to such revolutionary material, but when the printing press and cheap paper put it before the lower classes, something was certain to happen. People were no longer satisfied with authority as a last court of appeal; they demanded the privilege of forming their own conclusions on evidence presented, and criticism, observation and comparison became the accepted method of work. (3)

It was during this period of awakening that woman probably enjoyed a position more nearly to that of man than at any time before or since. Their activities seem to have taken them into many fields, and we read of their having entered trade, held responsible positions, taken part in public affairs, and in many instances displayed considerable executive ability. (4) Their training depended largely on the sphere to which they were born, the peasant girls working in

(1) Mary P. Beard "On Understanding Women" pp. 392-400 and Preserved Smith "The Age of the Reformation" p. 7 and George B. Adams "Civilization" etc., pp. 98 and 225
(2) Mary P. Beard "On Understanding Women" p. 390
(3) George B. Adams "Civilization" etc. p. 389
(4) A. T. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 15
the fields or being taught the textile arts in the home, and possibly barely able to read and write, (1) while the daughters of the wealthy burghers had the same tutors as their brothers and could, if they wished, acquire proficiency in subjects heretofore considered the special province of men. (2) The fashion for learning spread in every direction, and we find many "female prodigies" such as Lady Jane Grey, who read Plato in the original at the age of thirteen, Mary Stuart, who also at thirteen, delivered a Latin oration at the court of France, and Elizabeth, who knew six foreign languages better than her own. "Worthy knowledge" (Erasmus) (?) and "honourable study" were considered of greater advantage to women than pursuit of pleasure, and opportunities offered for literary and classical education produced many women professors who lectured on such subjects as literature, philosophy, theology, and rhetoric at the Italian and Spanish universities. A number of Renaissance writers, conscious of the marked change in women's position, gave her new recognition and Agrippa (1530) even went so far as to acknowledge women's superiority over men, blaming the latter's tyranny for her lack of achievement. (4)

In the prosaic middle class, wives were apparently quite satisfied to occupy themselves with household duties, although their interests did not stop there by any means. Families were large, averaging between twelve and fifteen children, many of whom did not reach maturity, and the

(1) A. N. Calhoun "Early History of the American Family" Vol. I
(2) Emily James Putnam "The Lady" pp. 185-198
(3) A. N. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 18
(4) A. N. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 19
responsibility of much of their training rested on the mother. Girls, in particular, although receiving some convent instruction in domestic accomplishments, were obliged to lock to the home for the supervision and practical experience which would make them capable of taking charge of an establishment following marriage, which was quite likely to occur at the age of fourteen years. The housewife of this time enjoyed the respect of her husband, was his advisor and counselor, and on occasion, would turn over her domestic duties to servants and assist him in his business, which, as a member of the same guild, she knew quite as well as he did. Her name appeared with his on many commercial papers, she assumed much of the responsibility for the apprentices and any income belonged to both man and wife and was used to support the home and all in it. (1) In case of the husband's death, his wife could and frequently did, assume management of it. Marriage was in every sense of the word a real partnership, and in the words of Albrecht von Tall (1472), "a wholesome thing" (1) for, "by it many a conflict and war is quelled, relationship and good fellowship formed, and the whole human race perpetuated. Marriage is also a merry, pleasurable and sweet thing. That is merrier and sweeter than the names of father and mother, and the children hanging on the parents' necks? If married people have the right love and the right will for one another, then joy and sorrow are common to them, and they enjoy the good things the more merrily, and bear the adverse things the more easily." (2)

(1) Mary F. Beard "On Understanding Women" pp. 502-503
(2) A. Y. Calhoun "Early History of the American Family" Vol. I, p. 80
In origin, the Reformation was of political rather than religious significance, and in effect was a protest, secular rather than spiritual, against an omnipotent world power. The princely class looked with envy and growing resentment on the wealth of the Church, drawn from large holdings throughout the Christian world and from the dispensations and indulgences paid by sinners to escape from the consequences of their acts, while the middle classes, with their growing self-assurance and individualism, found intolerable the power of the priest who, through the confessional, entered everyone's private life and alone could obtain salvation by administration of the sacrament. (1) The corruption of the clergy provided a good excuse for an attack on the Church and Luther, expressing in vivid terms what the masses felt, furnished the leadership for the democratic agitation which was sweeping over Europe. While the ambitious princes despoiled the Church of millions of acres of good lands in struggles that were long and bloody, Luther concerned himself chiefly with the regeneration of society which he believed could be effected by establishment of a right relationship between man and God. (2) He attacked the authority of the Pope, asserting that every baptized Christian was a priest capable of making his own contact with God, and called on all priests, monks, and nuns to leave the cloister and marry. He taught that faith in the Redeemer was the only way to salvation and that contrition was the only approach to God's pardon for sins committed. (2)

(1) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 51  
(2) "Christ and Civilization" p. 229  
(3) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 65
By the repudiation of the monastic idea and the removal of the slur placed on marriage by the Church, the Reformation raised the level of home life and family relationships and emphasized the virtues of social intercourse both in the home and abroad. (1) Matrimony became dignified as the best state for man, and was celebrated on all sides as the true remedy for sin, as necessary for happiness, as a holy state in which God's service might best be performed. (2) "I have always been of the opinion" writes Aristotle, "that without a wife at his side no man can attain perfect goodness or live without sin." (3) The state of single blessedness came to be looked upon with almost the same dread formerly aroused by the marriage relationship, and so popular did marriage become that both men and women allowed little time to elapse between the death of one partner and the acquisition of another, rushing from one union to another with frantic haste. In fact, as time went on, considerable laxity was exhibited by the reformers concerning the marriage relation, for after denying the sacramental character of marriage and putting the institution on a civil and contractual basis, no ceremony other than a "conscience marriage" was considered necessary until the end of the seventeenth century, and divorce, remarriage and even bigamy were permitted if the conduct did not appear to be "repugnant to the Holy Scripture." (4)

It was this return to the Bible, and particularly to the Old Testament with its harsh, patriarchal God, Jahveh,

(1) "Christ and Civilization" p. 353
(2) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 307
(3) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 308
not only for their theology but for guidance in planning the detail of their daily lives, which was responsible for a marked change in the position of women. To his newly awakened consciousness of himself as an individual man added the authority of the patriarch, and women became, to him, an inferior being, a slave to his will. When, at the same time, there was a return of the old horror of women the temptress, and something of the scorn of the old Greek philosophers, the equality of man and woman in religious activities became unlikely. (1) Possibly to the better convince himself of his own superiority man began to speak disparagingly of woman who, in the words of John Knox, was "weak, frail, impatient, feeble and foolish -- inconstant, variable, cruel, and void of spirit of council and regimen." (2) Although Luther loved and respected his wife, a woman of intelligence and good character, of females in general he preached "If women bear children until they become sick and eventually die, that does no harm ---. That is what they are for", and again "Let woman learn betimes to serve according to her lot." (3) In 1595 the question was debated at Wittenberg as to whether women were human beings, a doubt characteristic of the Reformers' attitude toward her. (4)

On the other hand there are many writings of this period which doubtless reflect the thought of a considerable group and indicate a revolt against the brutality of men, suggesting courtesy and consideration on the ground of the spiritual value of woman's love and her superiority to man, as

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(1) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 509
(2) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 509
(3) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 23
(4) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 509
the most perfect work of the Creator. (1)

Still another effect of the general upheaval was the closing of the convents throughout northern Christendom, thus destroying the economic support of thousands of women (2) and sending them back into the homes of relatives where domestic duties must take the place of cultural pursuits. With no opportunity for escape, except when possessed of unusual ability and talent, or wealth, these women were obliged to accept dependence and became, in many instances, the first recruits of that group of efficient, hard-working, but unappreciated spinster aunts, without whom the colonial matrons could certainly, not so successfully have accomplished such prodigious amounts of work in the New World. That educational opportunities were not denied women is evident from Luther's insistence that schools be opened in the cities and made available to both boys and girls. We also read of such women as Anna Reinhard, who became the wife of Zwingle, and directed her attention to the "study of those branches of knowledge which would best fit her to be a true and guiding counsel;" (3) Sibella of Cleves, who capably directed the defense of Wittenberg, (4) and Fenee, daughter of Louis XII of France, and protector of the persecuted Protestants, who was said to have been well educated. (5)

The sixteenth century found England, with the rebellions of her barons, put down and the Spanish Armada shattered, conscious of her power and busy with commerce,
foreign trade, and the building up of wealth. (1) Renaissance culture was just beginning to be felt, and the noblewomen and rich bourgeoisie, becoming interested in it, aided in the spread of the new learning. Following the example of Elizabeth, the study of languages became very popular and Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian and French, besides needlework and music occupied the time of the ladies of the court, even to the exclusion of outdoor activities. (2) Considered as a group, the English women of this time were the companions of their husbands both in the pleasures and burdens of life and, according to travelers from other countries, enjoyed "great liberty" and were "ridiculously well treated". (3) According to one observer they were beautiful, well dressed, modest and were permitted to go out the streets without "covering of huck or mantle." (4) At all times they were free to walk, ride, play cards or visit friends, and when they went to banquets, were served first, and in various ways, accorded the greatest honor. The duties of the home were not neglected and while possessing proficiency in cooking, nursing, gardening, care of poultry, making butter and cheese, cutting meat, distilling, the care of flax and wool, besides knowing something of medicine and surgery, the women of means was expected to train her servants to assume the greater part of the care and drudgery of the household. (5) Strangely enough, children seem to have been treated with considerable severity, girls, especially, being beaten on the slightest provocation, and

(1) Storm Jameson "The Decline of Merry England" pp. 14-15
(2) John Longdon-Davies "Short History of Women" p. 204 and Mary L. Foard "On Understanding Women" p. 42
(3) A. J. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. 1, I. 57 and
expected to kneel when addressing their mothers. It is not surprising that they were anxious to escape as soon as possible from maternal tyranny, and married as early as the parents' consent could be obtained. (1)

The Reformation in England was, as in Europe, of political rather than religious significance, and if the religious issue seemed to predominate at a later date, it was in the nature of a banner under which the great middle classes struggled from their lowly state to a position of sufficient power to permit them to impose their will upon the nation. If Henry VIII denied the supremacy of the Pope, it was not because of his interest in the teachings of Luther, but rather from "political expediency and personal acquisitiveness", (2) so that he might turn into his own coffers the incomes from the Church lands which were enriching Rome, and secure the complete allegiance of his subjects by assuming the leadership of the English Church as well as the State. At heart a Catholic, Henry, to accomplish his purpose, made alliance with the Reformers, and so opened the way for the circulation of Lutheran books, and the coming of powerful preachers whose teachings were to win a considerable following among the commercial and smaller propertied classes. Calvinism, with its refusal of any compromise with the past, its repudiation of all authority save that of God, its emphasis on the liberty of the individual and the virtues of labor, application and thrift, made an especial appeal to the hardworking, industrious

(2) Storm Jameson "The Decline of Merry England" p. 78
people, and provided the inspiration for the long crusade against the restraints in religious practices and in commercial activities exercised by an increasingly paternalistic government.

The term "Puritan" began to be used in the late sixteenth century to designate those who sought the purest form "in the matter of religious belief and exercise", and came to stress two principles, the first, that every form of worship not sanctioned by the word of God as set forth in the Bible was impure and to be avoided, and the second, that every form of human activity should be directed toward the "self-perfection of man, the purging of sin, and the winning of Paradise." (i) Industry in the form of labor was looked upon as a calling from God, a service pleasing to Him, and the only suitable outlet for man's energies, while success was His blessing on a servant's efforts. (i) Considering themselves the "elect" and certain of salvation, the Puritans acquired a self-assurance and arrogance which denied the possibility of failure in any undertaking, and became an important element in the confidence with which obstacles were met and conquered in the struggle for constitutional and religious liberty. It was during the reign of James I, when subjected to all sorts of indignities, restrictions and persecutions, and failure of their hopes seemed imminent, that the Puritans turned their eyes toward the New World, and visioned there a free Church in a free State, a State without

(i) Storm Jameson "The Decline of Henry England" pp. 17-18
(ii) "Christian and Civilization" p. 259
(iii) F.M. Aytt Eyington "The Puritan in England and New England" p. 20
the dissipation and vice of the Old World, and where each man would have the opportunity to support his family and live according to the dictates of "his own conscience in the eyes of God. " (1)

During this period, when the Puritan and that for which he stood, was playing an increasingly important part in the nation's affairs, women appeared in many roles. In court circles, where there was a growing tendency to extract as much pleasure as possible out of each passing hour and give little consideration to the future, the lady was expected to be pleasing to the eye, to prevent boredom by her amusing wit, and above all, to be something of a temptress to whom one might succumb gleefully for the moment. (2) She might be well educated, but must not let it be too evident, for learning of any sort was a secondary consideration, and important only insofar as it affected her charm. As a matter of fact, her extravagance, her many whims, her flippancy, and above all, the dominating role she played in the life of Charles II intensified the opposition of the people toward the monarchy, and by so doing it may well be said that she had some responsibility for the triumph of constitutional government over arbitrary rule. (3) In the Cromwellian group women participated eagerly in the movements which were transforming English society, by supplying to the fighting forces carpenters, brewers, cobblers and tinkers, and in so doing, put themselves on an equal footing with the man, asking and

(1) Storm Jameson "The Decline of Merry England" p. 19
(2) John Langdon-Davies "A Short History of Women" p. 517
(3) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding Women" p. 485
receiving no favors other than the respect due the conscientious skillful worker. While among the leaders of the party appear such figures as Lucy Hutchinson, author of a memoir which ranks as a classic of the period, and wife of that heroic Colonel Hutchinson, one of the men who put Charles I to death. With her husband absent on political and warring duties Mrs. Hutchinson managed his estate with skill, took charge of all his affairs and at all times showed a keen interest in the many controversies, to the extent of appearing in the lobby of Parliament to oppose objectionable legislation.

Put it was in the Puritan home that woman appeared in her most useful and best loved role - not as she has so often been pictured, "shamefaced and shy", (2) the servant of her lord and master - but a "dear and comfortable yoke-fellow" (3) whose dignity, self-respect and consciousness of calling earned for her the esteem of her family and neighbors. Such a woman was the mother of Nehemiah Wellington, a turner of Eastchamp, who was described as follows: "She was very loving and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender hearted to her children, loving all that were Godly, much disliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many, very seldom seen abroad except at church. --- God had given her a pregnant wit and an excellent memory. She was very ripe and perfect in all stories of the Bible, likewise in all stories of the martyrs, and

(1) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding Women" p. 484
(2) A. V. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 40
(3) A. V. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 40
could readily turn to them; she was also perfect and well seen in the English chronicles and in the descents of the kings of England. She lived in holy wedlock with her husband twenty years, wanting but four days. (1) Far from being a mere "adjunct to her lord's desires" such a woman could be said to typify the simple but stern faith and discipline which directed the lives of so many of her group and made it possible for them to stand shoulder to shoulder with their men in the resistance of tyranny and do their full share in the difficult task of conquering a New World. (2) If such a woman demanded and obtained obedience from her children by means which now seem unduly harsh, it was not that she loved them less but that she was fully alive to her responsibility for their "training for the duties of this life and beyond"(3) and determined that Satan should find no opportunity for harming her charges if she could prevent it.

10. WOMAN IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOME AND FAMILY IN THE NEW WORLD.

Although up to this time history has emphasized the political and religious aspects of the movements which led to the colonization of America, there is a growing realization, according to Mary R. Beard, that the basic reason for seeking the New World was that urge which has existed since the beginning of civilization, to move from the localities which are becoming exhausted of their resources into untouched regions, and subdue them for the "purposes of

(1) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding Women" p. 484
(2) A. F. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 47
(3) Ezra Hoyt Ryington "The Puritan in England and New England" p. 247
life" (1) always hoping and striving for a richer, fuller existence. But the gallant men and women who left relatives, possessions, and familiar surroundings, to spend weeks and even months on a tiny, uncomfortable boat, and finally to land in a cold, bleak, unfriendly shore and build a colony from the meagre resources immediately at hand, were conscious of only the impelling force of their desire for the opportunity to establish a State and a religious system which would, in their estimation, be perfect in the eyes of God. It was a difficult undertaking and the majority of these first immigrants came with the realization of the heavy obligations they had assumed, and that the success of the settlements would be possible only by the labor, skill, and intelligent cooperation of both sexes. As a rule the women were of those classes of English women known for their "initiative, competence, and managerial capacities", (2) capable of making the best of any situation, and interested in the business and intellectual affairs of the times as well as in their particular province. They went about their tasks quietly, efficiently, intelligently, interested principally in achievement, neither asking nor expecting commendation, and only occasionally recording their thoughts, their difficulties or accomplishments for others to read.

The frontier character of the early settlements led to the development of the home as the unit of the community, with the family held closely together by the

(1) Mary F. Beard "America Through Women's Eyes" p. 10
(2) Mary F. Beard "America Through Women's Eyes" p. 11
hardships (1) and benefits shared, by the meagreness of outside interests, self-reliant, self-sufficient, dependent on itself alone for existence. Food, clothing, education, religious instruction, recreation were provided in the home and the burden of the accomplishment fell on the woman who, as housewife and mother, spun the thread, wove the cloth and made the clothing for all the members of the family, knit the stockings and mittens, planted, cultivated and gathered the fruits and vegetables of her garden, preserved or dried supplies for future use, baked, washed, ironed, mended, possibly milked the cows, and certainly made the butter and cheese, cared for the young animals, and nursed the sick, besides the numerous tasks of child care and training. (2) Calhoun seems to think that the performance of "Herculean labors" by the Colonial woman is a myth, that she merely supervised the activities of the home and bore children, while aunts, grandmothers and well trained servants did the actual work. (3) Doubtless, when the rigors and dangers of pioneer life had been mitigated and some degree of prosperity acquired, this may have been the situation in the more favored homes, but the housewife's duties were quite generally numerous and difficult, and many aged prematurely or died while yet young in years, exhausted from the burdens placed upon them. Although woman's place was definitely in the home, there is considerable evidence to indicate that should the need arise, nothing in the social or economic code of the

(1) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 21
(2) A. R. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 200
(3) A. S. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, pp. 47-48
times prevented her from supporting herself and her family. There was plenty of work to be done, and the single woman, widow, or with deserting husband was encouraged to do it and was honored for her initiative and diligence. Under the system of domestic industries woman helped her husband and carried on the business after he died, and so we find her buying, selling, suing, being sued, acting as administrator or executor, working land or engaged in any one of many lines of work. The court records of Salem show that in 1643 Mrs. Goose sold groceries. (1) In September, 1648, according to the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, the Widow Luce Waite sued Samuel Greenfield for debt, payment for 1480 pipe staves. In 1657 Thomas King sued Edward Colcord for not delivering 1400 pipe staves to Widow Chase, and in 1664 the Widow Susan Rogers obtained a verdict against Mr. Philip Nelson for taking ten loads of cut hay from her meadow. (2) From the advertisements of the then current newspapers, we learn of the "she merchants" and their wares. In 1776 the Widow Gordan of Philadelphia tells the public of her tobacco, in 1778, Mrs. Peaydell of Boston mentions her "choice green tea", and in 1734 Mary Campbell of New York advertises a supply of Cheshire cheese. (3) In the Fall of 1757 the Pennsylvania Gazette gives notice of a sale of seeds, wholesale or retail, by Hannah Dubre in the Northern Liberties, and in the Spring of 1775, Janet Shaw wrote in Wilmington, North Carolina, of a woman "whose house and everything in it was the product of

(1) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 19
(2) Mary P. Beard "America Through Women’s Eyes" p. 28
(3) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" pp. 10-21
her labors", her labors being to supply the town with vegetables, and make pies, tarts, and cakes which she sold in addition to eggs, poultry, butter and milk. (1) Then there were Joanna Perry of King Street, Boston, and Elizabeth Bass, of Philadelphia who owned book stores (2), a Mrs. Grant of Newport, Rhode Island, who carried on her husband's importing business to support several small children, (3) and the Widow de Vries of New Amsterdam, who bought and directed a packet line running between Europe and America. (4) Women also earned their living by specializing and acquiring a reputation for proficiency in some line of work generally considered one of the duties of the housewife, and we learn from the diary of Mrs. Holyoke of Salem that she was very busy with a "mantua maker" and from the notes of the Rev. Ebenezer Hartman that Miss Polly Howard was "here making lace for my daughter." The March 27, 1729 issue of the Boston Newsletter advertises that Mrs. E. Atkinson "lately of London" designs and makes all sorts of millinery, as well as "Cantos and Riding dresses," and the Philadelphia Gazette of March, 1748 gives notice that Mary Cahill makes and sells all sorts of gentlemen's caps, and ladies' and children's clothing. (5) According to the Boston Evening Post of January 15, 1739 Mrs. Mary Crabb, living near Fisher's Wharf, would like "embroidery and other needlework" and the New York Gazette of October 18, 1749 contains the notice of Elizabeth Boyd of "stockings grafted and new footed - Also gloves.

(1) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 70
(2) Mary R. Beard "America Through Women's Eyes" p. 72
(3) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" pp. 73-74
(4) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 107
(5) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" pp. 40-41
mittens are children's stockings made out of stockings; likewise plain work done." (1) Women found profit also in making and selling cakes, preserves, pickles, and even soap and candles, but their activities were not confined to the household arts, and occasionally they were employed at trades usually considered the prerogative of men. Thus in March, 1748 appeared the advertisement of Sarah Jewell, a ropemaker; in May, 1754, Margaret Paschel announced herself to the public as a cutler, and in August, 1754, Elizabeth Russell, a coachmaker, invited patronage. (2) This does not exhaust the list of employments in which Colonial women were engaged, but the examples given indicate the diversity of their interests and that they were capable of carrying on in almost any business. It is quite possible that this business may have been inherited, in many instances, from some male relative but the mere fact that the woman continued the work with some degree of success and survived in competition with men indicates that she possessed intelligence, determination, business acumen as well as mechanical and executive ability. (3)

In the ownership of land upon which the wealth of the New World was based, women shared both by favor of man and in their own right. (4) Governor Winthrop's Journal for 1637 contains the item "This year a plantation begun at Ticcut by --- an ancient maid, one Mrs. Poole." In Maine Abigail Bromfield acquired and held, along with John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and several other men, a considerable tract of

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(1) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" pp. 47-48
(2) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 54
(3) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 57
(4) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 88
land. (1) In New Netherland many women owned valuable properties, among them Cornelia De Peyster, who came to the new country in 1651 and by her unusual ability accumulated wealth that might be considered even today a considerable fortune. The New York Gazette of July 20, 1750 gives notice of the sale of seven parcels of property following the death of Mrs. De Peyster, at the age of ninety. An advertisement in Zinger's Journal of March 10, 1736, indicates the sale of two houses and seventeen acres of land belonging to the estate of the late Catharine Philipse, who, as the widow De Vries, before her second marriage, directed the packet line between Europe and America. Known with her husband as the richest couple in New Amsterdam, she became interested in the welfare of the Indians and endowed both a school and a Church for their benefit. (2) Another Dutchwoman, Mrs. Cornelia Schuyler, received from her father an estate of seven thousand acres and, by her own ability, increased her holdings. (3) Further south, Kary Ferree, mother of six children, settled in New Strasburg, Pennsylvania, after having obtained a warrant of two thousand acres, and made the journey to the New World on her own initiative. Margaret and Mary Brent came to Maryland in 1628 with nine colonists, took a plantation of one thousand acres and sent back to England for more settlers. (4) By her vigor and fairness Margaret Brent met and put down at least one uprising which threatened the colony, and her ability as a business woman was so respected by Governor Leonard Calvert,

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(1) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 101
(2) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 107
(3) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 108
(4) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 98
brother of Lord Baltimore, that he made her executor of his estate. In Virginia Mrs. Elizabeth Digges owned a large estate, a lavishly furnished house, and one hundred and eight negro slaves, the largest number held by anyone in that colony in the seventeenth century.

That daughters of the family were capable of assuming considerable responsibility at, what seems to us, an early age is evident from the fact that Elizabeth Haddon, daughter of John Haddon, a Quaker of Surrey, crossed the water alone at the age of nineteen to look after her father's property in the New World. She named the region Haddonfield, had a fine house built, and remained to become a leading influence in the community until her death at the age of eighty. (1) Eliza Lucas, the nineteen year old daughter of a British official had the "business of three plantations to transact" (?) during her father's absence. Her letters show that she introduced the cultivation of indigo and made it a profitable trade product, and experimented with rice, figs, hemp, flax, the culture of silkworms, and the development of an oak grove, the last project with the idea of having on hand the best possible lumber for building ships. Even after her marriage to Charles Pinckney of Charleston, she continued her work and on his death, she assumed the additional responsibilities of his estates. That her interests were not confined entirely to the land is disclosed by her references in her letters to her enjoyment of dances, to her reading of

(1) Elizabeth A. Dexter "Colonial Women of Affairs" p. 109
(2) Mary R. Beard "America Through Women's Eyes" pp. 52-41
Virgil, the study of law, and, in later years, to the careful direction of the education of her sons.

In law, woman's status throughout the colonies was generally inferior to that of man, with the limitations of the former and rights of the latter sharply defined, and a severer punishment meted out to the woman for the same offense. Jane J. Christie (1) suggests that man, recognizing woman's potential power, has always sought in this way to protect himself where his interests came in contact with hers, and by so doing, has admitted his "inherent weakness" and inferiority. (2) With their importance in the establishment of the colonies recognized, women were in a position to demand and obtain many privileges denied them in the Old World but in the matter of marriage Colonial law, patterned after that of England, emphasized that by marriage husband and wife became one, and that he was that one. Woman's economic dependence upon her husband was such that if she worked, he could claim all her earnings, that any real estate she might own at the time of marriage became his to control, and even her clothing and ornaments might be disposed of by his will. (3) He had the right to restrain her by chastisement as he would a child or apprentice, but on the other hand, was answerable for her behavior and could be called on by the authorities to make good any damage she might do. (4) The husband was also liable for his wife's debts incurred both before and after marriage, and was expected, and could be forced to

(1) Jane J. Christie "The Advance of Woman" p. 165
(2) Jane J. Christie "The Advance of Woman" p. 165
(3) Jane J. Christie "The Advance of Woman" p. 165
(4) Ernest H. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 34
accept his responsibilities and support his wife in accordance with his circumstances. Throughout the colonies the legal claim of the wife to a portion of her husband's property was given recognition in the allowance of dower rights to the dower, and, as in Plymouth, the necessity for consent of wife in any sale of property, but on the other hand she had no rights as far as her children were concerned and her husband could, if he desired, dispose of them by will without reference to her. In spite of her legal handicaps which made her status that of a perpetual minor, women's actual position in the home was one of honor and as wife and mother she dominated the household routines with a light but firm hand and quietly but efficiently going about her business of the care and maintenance of life.

A. WOMAN IN THE NEW ENGLAND FAMILY

That family life throughout the thirteen colonies was not uniform was due to many factors, notably differences in the racial stock, and in the religious beliefs of the several groups, in the class distinctions which were transferred with little modification from the Old World, and in the environmental variations of that narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast. (2) New England, with its severe climate and unfertile soil, seemed to accentuate the austerity of the Puritans. Only strong men and women could live and thrive and wrest a livelihood from the inhospitable earth, or endure the long winters without amusements or some intellectual

(1) A. C. Calhoun "Early History of the American Family" Vol. I p. 96

(2) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 70
stimulus to lighten their hardships. If their vision was narrow, it was also clear, their principles were steadfast and life was faced resolutely as "a grave affair with which we are charged and which we must conduct." (1) Coming to the strange land for the purpose of establishing a state in which all should be of the same faith, all the Puritans asked was that they be left in peaceful possession of the corner of the earth they had chosen, and hoped to civilize according to their own formula, and that dissenters take up their abode elsewhere.

Two factors set the pattern for family relationships in New England, the rigors and dangers of pioneer life which placed particular stress on the masculine virtues of physical strength, vigor and courage, and the regulation of all activities in accordance with the accepted interpretation of the Old Testament, which emphasized the patriarchal character of the home and placed the husband in the seat of power. (2) Responsible, therefore, for the conduct and even salvation of the members of his household, the Puritan man was in a position to exact obedience from them and to judge their conduct with a severity sanctioned by the Scriptures.

Discipline of children was especially severe, and reverence for authority and respect for elders was taught from the earliest years. (3) The position of woman in the New England family was somewhat anomalous in that she was supposed to live obediently and subordinate her will to that of her

(1) Mary Boyer "America through Women's Eyes" p. 4-13
(2) A. M. Calhoun "Early History," etc. Vol. I, p. 87
(3) Ernest F. Groves "Social Problems of the Family," p. 77
husband, as "evidence of her piety and religious fervor", (1) the predominance of man over woman was to the advantage of the latter and lessened the rigor of man's authority. Neither was it possible for man alone to establish himself in the Colony without the assistance that woman was able to give. Therefore there was a tendency toward equality of opportunity and woman took her position beside her husband as head of the family. (2) Early marriage found favor in the eyes of the Puritans for a number of reasons, but perhaps the most important one was the general belief that the well being of the community depended on rigid family discipline. It was considered demoralizing both to the individual and the community to be single and alone, without family connections, and he was expected to remedy this condition with all possible speed. (3) Then, the practical training which both boys and girls received from their parents made them capable at an early age of carrying adult responsibilities and therefore the men were ready to marry at eighteen or twenty, and the girls at sixteen years or even younger. Not only were unmarried men and women rare but in case of death of a mate, the widow or widower remarried promptly, for service could not be purchased in the wilderness and children needed the care of both father and mother. (4) One result of early marriage, together with other social conditions, was the stimulation of the birth rate. Families were large, ten or twelve children being the rule, and twenty or more not rare.

(1) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family", p. 34
(2) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc., Vol. I, p. 102
(3) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc., Vol. I, p. 71
(4) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc., Vol. I, p. 69
Green, a Boston printer, had thirty children by one wife, and Mather tells of one woman who gave birth to twenty-seven. (1) But the mortality rate was high also, and it was not at all unusual for only two or three of a family of twenty or more children to reach maturity. Courtships were unusually brief, it being not at all uncommon for two strangers to meet, consider marriage and become engaged in one day, but entrance into matrimony was well guarded in New England. The law required publication in all states except New Hampshire, which substituted a license obtained at cost of two guineas for the banns. (2) Marriage was considered a civil contract, not a sacrament, and therefore required no "priestly intervention." In Massachusetts its control was in the hands of the Governor after 1692 but the administration of the law was a local function and performed by town officers. (3) By 1688 the law requiring a civil marriage was abrogated and, the opposition to religious ceremonies gradually abating, ministers of all denominations were finally allowed to officiate. Taking the stand that as a civil right marriage is similar to any business contract, and with due reference to certain rules set forth in the New Testament, New England led the other colonies in a liberal civil divorce policy. Divorce was automatically granted for female adultery, and to the woman, dissolution of the bond was given for desertion, cruelty and breach of vow. (4)

In the matter of formal education the average New

(1) A. R. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, pp. 87-88
(2) A. R. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 59
(4) A. R. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 146
England girl did not fare particularly well, for in spite of her capable management of her home and family, and her ability to support herself and dependents if the necessity arose, the general feeling was that the female mind was too "weak" to assimilate purely academic subjects, that close application to subjects outside her province would only result in "loss" of the mind, and that therefore it was but a waste of money to send her to school. The first concession was made when it was found necessary to keep the schools open the entire year in order to hold certain school monies, and girls were permitted to attend in the summer months, at a time when the boys were busy at hunting and fishing. As late at 1788 Northampton voted not to spend money on the education of girls and it was well into the nineteenth century before New England in general considered their education desirable. (1) In practical affairs, however, the girl received the most careful training and instruction from her mother and other female relatives of the home, with the end in view that she become capable of taking charge of her own establishment and be a prudent, careful helpmate to her husband. As soon as tiny fingers could hold a needle they were taught to sew the finest of seams, to knit mittens and stockings, and, as they became stronger, to spin, weave and help fashion the clothing for all members of the family. She must learn to prepare and cook as appetizingly as her means permitted the food for appetites made ravenous by hard physical labor, to make butter and

(1) A. T. Calhoun "Early History of the American Family" Vol. I p. 84
cheeses, not only for the use of her own group but to be used as a commodity of exchange in the local store, to keep the home and dairies in spotless order, and to take the responsibility for the care of children younger than herself. These and dozens of other tasks constituted the training of the girl child, not only that she might be kept occupied and therefore protected from the blandishments of Satan, but that she might grow up to be an efficient housewife and a credit to her family.

II. WOMAN IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES

In the Middle Colonies, larger areas of tillable land, greater fertility of soil, and a more genial climate tended to make life less difficult, while the introduction of "continental blood" and customs, together with the many minor religious sects resulting in considerable tolerance, made all relationships more kindly than in New England.

Domestic life among the Dutch of New York was generally quiet and commonplace, but characterized by affection, respect, and cooperation between husband and wife. The Dutch woman was influential and active in affairs, her husband's equal in the eyes of the law, his advisor in business affairs, holding his power of attorney during his absence, and capable of carrying on after his death. (1) Her highest ambition, however, was to be an able housewife, and she was the real head of the household, the ruler of the domestic territory. Nothing was permitted to disturb the peace and quiet, or

(1) A. P. Calhoun "Early History of the American Family" Vol. I pp. 166
spotless order of her home, and such was the dignity of work connected with it that the wives and daughters of even the well-to-do were content to "sew and plant and rake incessantly." The tradition of paternal authority was as strong in New Amsterdam as in New England, but actually children enjoyed considerable freedom and were on familiar terms with their parents, who did not fear to demonstrate their love for their offspring. Boys and girls were given equal privileges in regard to education and inherited equally on the death of a parent.

Marriage laws varied in the different settlements since they were patterned after those of the districts in Holland from which the inhabitants came, but generally agreed that marriage was void unless by consent of the father or, in case of his death, of the mother, that if the husband died the girl, if under age, should return to the authority of her parents, and that the ceremony must be performed by an authorized celebrant. These laws were so strictly applied that a Lutheran minister, one Jacobus Frabricius, was suspended from the ministry for one year (1674) for performing a ceremony without legal authority, and a sheriff of Flushing is known to have been fined, dismissed from office and the marriage which he performed, annulled, because the parents' consent had not been obtained. (1) The conquest of the colony by England did not disturb the smoothly running life of the people but there followed several changes in the

(1) A. W. Calhoun "early History of the American Family" Vol. I p. 158
marriage laws, notably the substitution, when desired, of a license issued by the Governor for the more "vulgar" publication of banns, and permission to marry given to all Protestant ministers of the Gospel. Naturally there were domestic troubles in the Middle Colonies, but divorces and permanent separations were infrequent. The civil courts of New Netherland possessed "full power to dissolve the nuptial bond" but Dutch magistrates tried to prevent serious breaks by a system of friendly arbitration, and every effort was made to settle difficulties out of court. In one case discussions continued off and on for eleven years with the hope of effecting a reconciliation, but finally the commissioners agreed this was not possible and a separation with division of property was permitted. After the Colony came under English rule, power to decree separation from bed and board was placed in the ecclesiastical court, which was denied power to grant absolute divorce. (1) The only way by which a marriage could be dissolved, therefore, was by act of legislature, which doubtless explains why there were no divorces in New York for over a hundred years before the Revolution.

The other colonies of the central group, while differing from New Netherland in the nationality of their people, nevertheless enjoyed something of the Dutch influence which made life more agreeable, and gave their women a position of respect. In Pennsylvania, when the Quaker element

(1) Ernest F. Gvoes "Social Problems of the Family" p. 26
was dominant in the early days of the colony, there appeared a new idea as the basis for marriage. Up to now the marriage of two persons was generally arranged on a purely economic basis, with advantages derived from the union the chief concern. Love might develop later but was never the first consideration. Now Penn declared wedlock should result only from "reciprocal inclination." "Never marry but for love" he advised "but see that thou loveth what is lovely." (1) As might be expected, both the marriage relationship and family as an institution, were held in considerable esteem and, that high standards might be retained, a strict watch was kept by the meeting over family discipline and conduct in general. The whole atmosphere of the home was full of charm, friendliness and affection, and though families were large, the guest was welcomed and treated with the greatest kindness and consideration. The mistress of the house was occupied from early morning until late at night, according to the 1778 diary of Christopher Marshall, a well-to-do Quaker of Philadelphia, with "affairs of the family", which consisted of baking, cooking, making dresses, gardening, buttermaking, keeping the house clean, cutting and drying apples, making cider without tools, washing and ironing, sewing, knitting, nursing the sick, helping the poor neighbors, and even going to the wharf to buy wood and foraging for hay for the horse. (1)

(2) A. T. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 200
Another group which exercised considerable influence in the molding of family life in the colonies and in resolving women's position in it, were the Germans who occupied much of the best farm land of Pennsylvania. They were a domestic people, fond of their homes, about which their lives evolved, and happy in the simple pleasures there found. Although parents loved their children and made the environment in which they grew to maturity as attractive as possible to them, nevertheless discipline was rigid and work became an early obligation. Careful training in housework for the girls and in farm duties or a trade for the boys was considered a necessary preparation for adult responsibilities, and where their assistance in the family group was not actually necessary it became the practice to send these children out to "service", which relieved the home of superfluous labor, and also gave opportunity for a thorough grounding in some useful occupation. It was no disgrace for a daughter of a well-to-do farmer to work as a servant in another family. Rather, it indicated her ambition to make the most of her talents, and not only was she in many instances treated as a beloved member of the family she served, but actually became a member of it by marriage with one of the sons.

The industry of the German housewife was her most valued quality and the efficiency, thoroughness and thrift which she demonstrated in the performance of her tasks constituted the criterion by which young men of the region
chose their brides. Strong, healthy, intelligent, and with her home constituting her world, she willingly accepted the responsibility of making that home as comfortable as possible for those living in it and so guiding the individual members of her group that they should live in harmony among themselves and with the community. That she was successful can be determined by the respect and affection accorded her by husband and children, and by the fact that she was presented to society generally as an example of the perfect housewife and mother.

C. WOMAN IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

The first settlement in the Southern Colonies differed greatly from any in either the Middle Atlantic or New England sections in that it was established with no regard for families but was in the nature of a camp and contained only men, many of them adventurers who had no intention of remaining in the new country any longer than necessary to make a fortune large enough to live on comfortably in England. (1) Naturally there was unrest and dissatisfaction, and the colony did not thrive, until the Virginia Company, with some economic judgment, conceived the idea of providing wives to make the men "more settled and lesse moveable"; in other words, of making possible the establishment of homes which would furnish incentive to work and result in contentment and willingness to definitely break with the old ties. Between 1609 and 1611 several groups of girls arrived, all carefully selected and of

of good character, and were promptly married to such "free or tenants" as had the means to pay the Company the expense of transportation of their brides and maintain their lives in decent fashion. (1) With many suitors for each girl every precaution was taken that choice should be free and under conditions conducive to happiness. The results were so fortunate that still other maidens were induced to make the journey with the certainty of marriage and fair treatment in the New World. The importation of brides was not necessary for long; for by 1617 men of the better classes began to arrive accompanied by their wives, and never immigrants found it possible to marry into the families already settled. Thereafter, the colony became "settled and well ordered", and the heads of families worked not only to advance their own fortunes, but for the prosperity of the country in which their children would live. (2)

The great bulk of the population of the early Southern Colonies was of pure English stock, and even when foreign blood was occasionally introduced, all trace of it was soon lost through marriage with persons of native or English birth. Considering these colonies and Virginia in particular, as outlying possessions of England, the new settlers saw no reason to abandon the class privileges and customs of the mother country, and so, from the day the first voyagers came to Jamestown, there appeared two distinct classes, the landowners and the common laborers. (3) Those who possessed

(1) A. T. Callourn "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 217
(2) A. T. Callourn "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 218
(3) Philip P. Bruce "The Life of Virginia of the 17th Century" pp. 194-197
the means for acquiring large tracts of land and developing it became the founders of the "leading families" of later period, and were generally of the same bourgeois origin as the Puritans of New England or the well-to-do royalists who sought refuge in the colonies after the execution of Charles I. The small landowners, who constituted the large portion of the planters, were of the free families of immigrants, of small means and humble origin who, by industry, were able to hold the acres allotted on arrival and in so doing, acquired a self-reliance and pride which did not permit them to "cringe before gentry." (1) The dearth of opportunity in England for careers for the younger sons was also responsible for a considerable number of settlers in Virginia and Maryland. Able and industrious, many came either to restore the family fortunes or to secure for themselves the privilege of establishing a home and family denied them in the Old World. Arriving penniless in some instances, by thrift and hard work a large number succeeded to a surprising degree, becoming prosperous country gentlemen with lands, houses and family life cultivated, built and patterned after that of the England of their memories. (2)

All the Southern Colonies encouraged family migration by offering some inducement to settle. For instance, Maryland allowed one hundred acres of land each for a man and wife, fifty acres for each child, and for every servant brought into the country, sixty additional acres could be

(1) Philip A. Bruce "The Life of Virginia of the 17th Century" pp. 156-157
(2) A. W. Calhoun "Early History Of the American Family" Vol. I p. 241
claimed. In South Carolina, to every freeman who settled before March 25, 1671, was promised one hundred acres, the same amount was allowed for each manservant, seventy acres for each wemenservant, and seventy acres to servant when the time of service expired. In Virginia a large portion of the plantations contained between four hundred and forty-six and six hundred and seventy-four acres, and North Carolina found it desirable, in 1755, to limit the allowance for cultivation by one person to six hundred and forty acres. (1)

Family life in the Southern Colonies was very different from that of either New England or the Middle Atlantic Colonies. There seems to have been neither towns nor villages, (2) but rather were the inhabitants dispersed thinly over a wide area, living on isolated plantations which were separated from each other by belts of forest, and having little contact with the outside world as the result of poor transportation facilities. Estates must necessarily have been self-supporting, and on them all sorts of industries were carried on. One plantation concerning which there exists a detailed description, supported a smithy, flourmills, spinning and weaving facilities, and included among its indentured servants charcoal burners, bricklayers, carpenters, masons, coopers, shoemakers, tailors and weavers. (3) A letter written in 1740 speaks of the family of Mr. Whitefields which consisted of "nearly one hundred and fifty persons -- including sixty-one orphans and other poor children, twenty-five...

(1) Philip A. Bruce "The Life of Virginia," etc. p. 12
(2) Philip A. Bruce "The Life of Virginia," etc. p. 15
working tradesmen and others, in all one hundred and forty-six, exclusive of many others, who have remained at their house a month, two or three months at a time." (1) Surrounded by his family and retainers the planter resembled, to a considerable extent, the feudal lord, for upon him rested the responsibility for the care, maintenance and behavior of those who served him. In Virginia he was expected to provide even religious instruction for his servants and apprentices - it being specified that they should be taught every Sunday with the master's children by the minister of the parish - and by an act of 1640 of the Virginia Assembly, he was held responsible for the military service of each person in his household. (2)

Emily James Putnam has described the mistress of the plantation as the "most complete slave on it."(3) Kept in retirement by the isolation of her home, she lived very much after the manner of the chatelaine of the twelfth century, sharing little in the diversions of her husband, but active in her own sphere and receiving from those who came in contact with her the "unstinted and sincere homage that her character deserved". (4) Without opportunity of obtaining any systematic education, a lack of privilege in contrast to that accorded her brothers who might even be sent to England for academic training, the Southern woman devoted herself to domestic interests (5) and learned to manage the affairs of her small world with decision and promptness. She was responsible for

(2) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 231
(3) Emily James Putnam "The Lady" p. 302
(4) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 275
(5) Emily James Putnam "The Lady" p. 291
all the activities of the home, directed the spinning, the weaving, the sewing, was responsible for the reception in the house of the produce intended for consumption, the keeping of all supplies under lock and key and distributing them when required. Many servants were on hand to do her bidding but they were generally inefficient, and it required an infinite amount of patience to obtain the successful completion of the simplest task. The mistress of the plantation was also responsible for the health of the community, and was on call at all times to minister to the wants of those under her care, to dress wounds, to prescribe medicine, to settle disputes and keep order. As a result of the innumerable demands upon her, she was overworked "typically undervitalized", often delicate, and of a nervous organization which predisposed her to treat suffering. (1)

Although the Southern woman was subject to her husband in that he was responsible for her behavior, (2) he had considerable respect for her ability, deferred to her judgment and generally appointed her executor of his will. In South Carolina women were active in all sorts of affairs, and when their husbands were away for months at a time, directed the activities of the hundreds of slaves, with no white man save the overseer to assist her. In Virginia also, women showed strength and ability when the occasion required, and several "acute ingenious gentlewomen" both owned and operated thriving plantations. (3)

(1) Emily James Putnam "The Lady" p. 301
(2) A. J. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 275
(3) A. J. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 278
In the South, as in the other colonies, marriage was highly esteemed, and due to the exigencies of pioneer life, was "universal, early, and repeated." (1) It was not unusual for the Southern girl to marry by the age of thirteen or for a father to encourage his daughter to choose a husband by making her a gift with the proviso that she marry before the age of sixteen. Marriage for the man was likewise early but not so essential as in the case of the girl, and by the time of the French wars, there were many bachelors. Celibacy was excused on the plea of the growing demands of luxury, and the extravagance of women, which was "beyond all bounds" according to George Grieve, an Englishman. (2) When men did marry, it was not remarkable for them to have three, four, or even six successive wives, (2) for with girls marrying and assuming the full care of family life at such an early age, they became broken in health after bearing a dozen children and died leaving husbands to marry again. But neither was it unusual for women to marry several times, with a malarial climate, exposure and reckless habits cutting off many colonial men before middle age. Sometimes the second husband was taken on with so little delay that he was granted probate of the will of his predecessor, the haste indicating not lack of respect but need of protection and an overseer of work on an isolated plantation. (4)

Although marriage came under varying control throughout the Southern Colonies, Church of England

(1) Philip A. Bruce "The Life of Virginia" etc. p. 224 and A. H. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 245
(2) A. H. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 246
(3) Philip A. Bruce "The Life of Virginia" etc. p. 224
"Bigotry" (1) exercised considerable influence, and ecclesiastical marriage tended to prevail. Save in Maryland, however, the civil ceremony was recognized, and the conjugal union was considered in the nature of a civil contract. (2) At an early date the publication of banns was enforced, but with the alternative of a license from the Governor, to be followed presently by the requirements of parental consent, certificate and registration. In no Southern colony were there either statutes which referred to divorce jurisdiction, or tribunals competent to grant either divorce or separation. When separation occurred the courts handled the question of maintenance although they possessed no statutory authority to do so. (2)

P. Volan's Activities During the Revolutionary War.

At a time when colonial society had reached a high state of development, there occurred a conflict with Great Britain which was based on political, religious and cultural disagreements, and as in all past periods of adjustment, women played an active part. Daughters of Liberty took their places beside Sons of Liberty, and spun and wove to replace the boycotted British goods, gave private fortunes to the patriotic cause, wrote letters to encourage the feeblehearted, published "flaming" articles in newspapers to create enthusiasm, and furnished the men at the political helm with advice as to their present actions and future policies. Accustomed to hardships

(1) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 250
(2) A. W. Calhoun "Early History" etc. Vol. I, p. 280
(3) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 27
of the frontier, to acting as companions of hunters and Indian fighters, to slaying beasts and even men who interfered with their taming of the wilderness, to managing all sorts of industrial enterprises, nothing that the rebellion could offer daunted these brave, alert women. They furnished guns and ammunition, collected funds for equipment and relief, made and contributed clothing and uniforms, nursed the sick and wounded and kept the farms producing while the men were fighting. That women thought clearly and to the point, and endeavored to influence the opinions of those in power is shown by the correspondence of such women as Mercy Warren, sister of James Otis, jurist and orator of the Revolution, and Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, not only with each other but with a wide circle of men in positions of influence. These letters indicate that colonial women were neither ignorant nor illiterate and that, even if college training were denied, they acquired considerable mental discipline either by private tutors or through their own efforts. Mercy Warren, writing to her husband in May 1775 and again in 1776 reminds him that the backing of any measure must be by men of property to give it consequence, and that such men should realize their responsibilities. She also chides Congress for the "ease" it is taking rather than energetic action and suggests that if it cannot act "with decision and vigor" it would be "for the honour of individual Gentlemen to make some plausible excuse and retreat homeward." Abigail Adams, in the many letters to her husband
written during the years he was away from his family, showed that her interests were extensive, covering as she did, the entire ground for the revolt "including profiteering, the will to independence, the problems raised by the arms requirements, recruiting, financing, harvesting, and the desire of her sex for consideration in the new government to be formed." She also had a keen insight into the cause of the Misunderings about her and their relationship to the welfare of the colonies, with the result that she possessed a firm faith in the spirit and vigor of America to accomplish whatever was undertaken. (1)

Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet, writing half a century after the Revolution, explained that it was the sentiment of the pervading masses which sustained the leaders through their "toils and perils", and gave them the power for accomplishment. She believed that the love for civil liberty which "kindled into flame" had been aroused and fostered by the women in their homes, that they had directed the thinking of their sons by talk of the wrongs of the people and of the "tyranny that oppressed them." And when these sons were ready to act, the patriotic mothers advised, encouraged, cheered, and urged on the discouraged and fainthearted, shared privations and dangers, helped the needy, raised grain, made bread to feed relatives in the army or in prison, and buried those slain in battle. It was the moral and material encouragement given by the wives and mothers of the fighters which was responsible for the success of the Colonies. Wrote John Adams to his wife,

(1) Mary P. Beard "America Through Woman's Eyes" pp. 54-71
"A smart wife would have put Howe in possession of Philadelphia a long time ago." (1)
IV. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY.

From the time, long ages ago, when man assumed the headship of the family, and the surplus products of those industries carried on in the home for the purpose of giving comfort to its members had been used as medium of exchange, the family had remained the unit of production, and the husband and father, with the power and responsibility which his position gave him, had acted in the capacity of producer and distributor, a capitalist in a small way. (1) But parallel with the Reformation many economic changes took place; money became the agent of exchange and standard of value in payment for goods or services, the guild system gave way to private enterprise with its accompanying features of investment, rapid turnover of capital and corporate partnership, (2) and the bourgeoisie, the moneyed men of the city and trade, with their increasing power and the acquisition of available resources, assumed control of one line of business after another, of all markets and all sources of supply. (3) Even a large portion of the common land was purchased by the newly rich to enclose for farming and sheep raising on a large scale or for recreation, with the result that many farmers, deprived of homes and livelihood (4) were forced upon the road to join the ranks of the unemployed, which already included large numbers of journeymen of the town guilds who found it impossible to support themselves under the

(1) Ernest F. Groves "The Family and Its Relationships" P. 63
(2) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" pp. 4-5
(3) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 516
(4) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 543
new system. In the reign of Elizabeth between a quarter and a third of the population of London and the country districts were without means of support (1) a situation holding a real menace to the welfare of the nation.

In those industries where production was undertaken on a large scale, there was a tendency to centralize the work, and with its removal from the home, the various processes were taken over by male labor. The worker, the husband and father, now went outside the home to earn money to pay for the necessities of life which formerly the entire group had produced; he held the purse, while his wife, no longer his business partner, became merely the spender of that portion of her husband's earnings he might wish to give to her. That she more than doubled the value of whatever came to her hands by her good management, economy and hard work in the home, was of little consideration beside the fact that from a money standpoint, she was unproductive.

Among the wealthy classes woman assumed the status of a toy, or a dear child who might be encouraged to develop those talents which would prove ornamental to the home and do honor to the husband or father who provided the setting for her. The woman of moderate circumstances retained, to a large extent, her former standing, for not only was she likely to bring to her marriage more or less valuable property of one sort or another, but she was capable of advising her husband in his business activities and taking a hand in them when the

(1) Preserved Smith "The Age of Reformation" p. 558
occasion arose; while in many instances her forceful personality and fine character insured both respect and consideration. It was, therefore, the woman of the lower classes, the wife and daughter of the wage earner, who suffered most severely under the capitalistic system, and as corporations became larger and more "soulless" and wages of the head of the family smaller, and employment more uncertain, she began to look about for some means by which she might lift herself from her lowly position, and at the same time drive away the spectre of starvation which continually threatened her children. Opportunity came to her in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when invention of various machines and the power loom made possible the expansion of the textile industry, and created a great demand for cheap labor. Guardians of the Poor and charitably inclined organizations and individuals, having no realization of the damage which the fatigue of long hours of monotonous work could do to either the health of the individual or the morale of the home, urged all "idle" persons, notably women and children, to employ their time to good advantage, and thousands flocked to the mills to become "productive" from the money standpoint. Somewhat later, as business slackened, a new factor entered the situation, the competition of wives and husbands as wage earners, which led to a tension between the sexes, and friction where husbands demanded the earnings of their wives which belonged, by law, to the head of the family. (1)

(1) Ernest R. Groves "The Family and Its Relationships" p. 62
Nevertheless, there was a growing sentiment that woman was quite as capable and had as much right as man to earn her living, or take an active part in community life, (1) and in the long run, the employment of women tended to "increase their economic independence and save them from the necessity of marrying as a mere means of support." (2)

In America the labor situation was fundamentally different from that of Europe in that there was a comparatively small number of persons available for employment, the male laborers were generally absorbed in agricultural occupations, and, land being plentiful, anyone could become a freeholder with every opportunity of achieving some degree of material success. (3) Prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century there was little manufacturing except that carried on in the homes by the women of the household for the benefit of the members of the family, but surplus products derived principally from spinning, weaving and knitting found ready market in the village store, and in many instances proved a source of steady income. Instruction in the art of "spinning woollen and linen" became an important part of every girl's education, and with Puritan ministers uttering warnings against the dangers of idle living, it even became a public duty to train poor children in both spinning and weaving, that they might be kept busy and become self-supporting. (4) The earliest factories therefore, which were opened after the introduction of the power loom, did not offer new occupations to women

(1) "Women's Work and Woman's Culture" pp. 348-355
(2) Ernest R. Groves "The Family and Its Relationships" p. 62
(3) Edith Abbott "Women in Industry" p. 49
(4) Edith Abbott "Women in Industry" p. 30
but rather an opportunity to perform customary tasks more efficiently, and for a wage sufficiently large to make the earner self-supporting. The economic ideals of the early statesmen were in accord with these new activities of women not only because, according to Hamilton, the "husbandman would experience a new source of profit and support from the increased industry of his wife and daughters" but by reason of the fact that woman's labor, hitherto "less advantageously employed", would increase the national wealth and prosperity. (1) Before 1850 there was no social degradation to employment in factories, and thousands of women and girls, many the daughters of prosperous farmers and business men, came to the mills with the same energy and ambition that sent their brothers to the West to seek their fortunes. (2) Rather generally, however, this employment was merely a means to an end, the intention being to remain only a few years until enough had been saved to make possible a higher education for the worker or a member of her family, to pay a family debt, or even provide a dowry for herself. According to the American Notes of Dickens written in 1842, these girls were well dressed and healthy and "had the manners and deportment of young women, not degraded brutes of burden." (3)

With mechanical improvements came heavier machines, increased speed, and the need of greater physical strength and nervous energy to operate. Therefore, when the influx of Irish immigrants provided a source of male labor, the women

(1) Edith Abbott "Women in Industry" p. 49
(2) Edith Abbott "Women in Industry" p. 110
(3) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 42
and girls of the old New England families withdrew from the mills to enter other fields of employment and education. It is interesting to note that with their entry into the various industries, occupations and trades, they encountered the same harsh conditions under which the men were obliged to work, (1) and that as early as 1828 they had learned to work together for higher wages and shorter hours, even resorting to the strike if their demands were not otherwise met. (2) Refused admittance to the unions which exhibited considerable prejudice against their efforts to improve their lot, women to some extent formed similar organizations of their own for the purpose of collective bargaining, with such favorable results that their cooperation was eventually accepted to prevent disastrous competition. (3)

Having proved in the industrial field that she was capable of supporting herself and was no longer dependent upon marriage for economic security, woman now, with the same courage, resourcefulness and determination that her foremothers had displayed in their contact with the wilderness, began her struggle for the opportunity to enter all spheres of endeavor which men had considered their especial province. Recognizing that the relationship between economic advancement and education was the same for women as for men, the privilege of a formal education equal to that open to the latter was her first objective, and in 1833, Oberlin College was founded for both sexes. (4) Mt. Holyoke Seminary for

(1) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding "omen" p. 506
(2) Alice Henry "Women and the Labor Movement" p. 41
(3) Mary R. Beard "On Understanding Women" p. 506 and Edith Abbott "Women in Industry" p. 257
(4) Ernest R. Groves "The Family and Its Relationships" p. 59
women was opened in 1937, the University of Iowa admitted women in 1857 and the Morrill Act of 1862 established new land grant funds which permitted coeducation in all the state colleges and universities of the Middle West. A number of women's colleges have also been established which, because of high educational standards, are exerting no little influence in academic and professional fields. Today, while not quite ready to grant equal advantages to the extent of opening the doors of the old established universities, public opinion agrees that women deserve the same educational opportunities that are available to their brothers. (1)

Inevitably thousands of women advanced from the low grade unskilled places of industry into every type of semi-skilled and skilled positions, while the more forceful and intelligent demanded their full share of professional opportunities. By the middle of the nineteenth century women advocates were admitted to the bar, women physicians and surgeons were given license to practice medicine, and universities permitted women teachers to join their faculty. (2)

In spite of their proven skill, intelligence and conscientiousness, as well as their steadily increasing equality with men in a widening field of interests, the wages and salaries paid to women have always remained comparatively low, with considerable discrimination in favor of the men. Fortunately there are now indications that women are taking a more positive attitude towards their economic position, that they consider

(2) Mary R. Beard "America through Women's Eyes" p. 358
themselves on a par with men as producers, and as such, are in a position to demand equal pay for equal work, in other words, that rates of pay be based on work performance regardless of the sex of the worker. (1) There is also a growing opposition to the protective legislation enacted on the plea of the "physical inferiority of women", her "potential motherhood" and the "welfare of the race."

Experience has shown that with this sex discrimination women have small chance of competing with men who can give their services on their own terms, and therefore they are demanding, not that the laws concerning standards of working conditions be repealed, but that they be made to apply to all workers, since they contend that the fathers of the race also need protection "against the raids of power driven machinery." (2)

From the time of the earliest settlements, intelligent women appreciated the handicap of having no voice in those affairs that closely concerned them, and occasionally a courageous woman property owner had demanded the right to vote. In the first part of the nineteenth century a voice was raised here and there urging political liberation, but it was not until 1848 that any organized movement for equal political rights occurred, and the first Woman's Rights Convention, held in New York state, made declaration of their wrongs at the hands of men which called for redress, and adopted resolutions as to the remedies, with particular stress on the right of women to vote. (3)

(1) Emilie J. Hutchinson "Annals of the American Academy" p. 135
(2) Elizabeth Faulkner Baker " " " " " " " " " p. 265
(3) The New International Encyclopaedia pp. 756-757
which women gave notable service provided the opportunity for experience in organizing, writing, and speaking from the public platform, increasing their confidence in their own abilities, and proving a splendid preparation for future work in reform, while the establishment and management of the Sanitary Commission and its subsidiary aid societies did much to remove popular prejudices against women's participation in public affairs. With the close of the war, women turned their energies to the improvement of their own position and to social betterment. By successive practical steps, they attained freedom from many disabilities until they ceased to be perpetual minors and acquired the right to own property separate and apart from the control of the husband, to make contract for their own services and to retain their own wages. (1) Organizing clubs chiefly to benefit the members and secure greater freedom of action for women in general, they gained a community consciousness, which resulted in their originating and aiding philanthropic movements, civic betterments, educational projects, legislation for the benefit of women and children and many other projects. It is possible that the very success of these organized groups in eliminating various abuses may have delayed the enfranchisement of woman, for with her well earned reputation for improving law and government, the politician and the liquor interests (2) opposed any legislation relative to equal suffrage, and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the

(1) Mary Phleger Smith "Annals of the American Academy" p. 255
(2) The New International Encyclopedia p. 758
Mountain and Pacific states finally extended the ballot to women. (1) With the World War came a general recognition of woman as an individual and her opportunity for demanding a Federal suffrage law. President Wilson recommended it, by August 1920 the necessary thirty-six states had ratified it, and another step forward had been taken in the struggle for democracy. (2)

Women expect to eventually change all laws which discriminate against them, to obtain greater educational and industrial opportunities, and to make the Government sensitive to all their real needs and desires. (3) But they recognize that they have also, with the vote, acquired a new responsibility - to accept the leadership in all kinds of educational, recreational and social undertakings, as well as in all those affairs in which, from the infancy of the race, woman has been an expert.

As was to be expected the conditions which produced such a radical change in the position of woman, must necessarily have affected any group of which she was a member, and this was particularly true of the family. Until the industrial revolution it had been a self-sufficient, self-sustaining unit, with all the activities that made up the lives of the individuals carried on in the spirit of mutual cooperation and mutual service within the circle. But when new methods of production removed the handicraft from the home and compelled the members of the family to spend their

(1) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 50
(3) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 52
working hours elsewhere, each perhaps at a different type of employment, not only was the strong bond of a common interest destroyed, but also there were eliminated many opportunities for character building and the formation of habits of industry which the close association of parents and children in the household workshop had made possible. (1) With the establishment of the factories there had been a noticeable tendency for the employed to congregate in localities convenient to their work, and with the growth of trade and commerce after the Civil War, and the development of the capitalized, machine dominated, and highly specialized work system, people flocked to the cities to take advantage of employment opportunities. Removed from the small, friendly homogeneous community, with a single, generally accepted pattern for living, the family now found itself an unimportant part of a large aggregation of people, composed of many racial groups, each with its own traditions, customs, attitudes and ideas, and, confused by a multitude of patterns, tended to discard the familiar standards while yet lacking the knowledge or confidence to choose new ones from the material at hand. Crowded living have also had their effect on the family, for with space curtailed as much as possible as the result of high rentals, it has become necessary to turn over to outside agencies as many as possible of the functions of life, to seek amusement and recreation elsewhere, and to look upon the home merely as a sleeping-place. With work, (1) Anna G. Spencer "The Family and Its Members" pp. 247-248
play and other activities conducted on an individual basis and with no bond except that of blood relationship, it is not strange that the family, long supposed to be the "best anchored of social institutions" showed signs of breaking from its moorings, and that from all sides came expressions of fear that in its form and traditional functions it had become outgrown. (1) But in the last few years of uncertainty, of disappointments and distress, the home and family relationships have assumed new values. People have come to appreciate the home as a place of refuge, of trust and few demands, a place in which there is freedom from the conflict and shock of the world where we strive for a livelihood, and an opportunity to achieve peace of mind and renew confidence in one's abilities. (2) The simplicity of the blood bond and the strength of the clan membership has also brought comfort and encouragement to many who have had difficulty in adjusting themselves to a new and confusing order, for in it is the partial affection which maximates each personality (3) and is the foundation of the assurance necessary to meet the world.

The question is now being raised as to whether the individualism, initiated by the introduction of machinery and the factory system, is not a transitional stage and destined to prepare the way for a more satisfactory development. (4) As result of the tendency to individual independence the patriarchal authority of the father has to a large extent

(1) Ernest R. Groves "Marriage" p. 3
(2) Lorine Pruette "The Annals of the American Academy" p. 305
(3) Anna G. Spencer "The Family and Its Members" p. 43
(4) Graham Taylor "Social Tendencies of the Industrial Revolution" p. 682
disappeared and the family is becoming a free functioning group in which each member has both responsibilities and representation. The wife is insisting, from both a physical and spiritual standpoint, upon having an equal position with her husband, and the individuality of the sons and daughters is being recognized and encouraged to develop. The family is becoming "less a coercive institution, where children serve their parents, and more a spiritual and psychic association of parent and child based on persuasion." It has been suggested that the "leveling tendency" which was considered such a menace to the family, may prove to be a regenerative force, with the old patriarchal bonds replaced by spiritual ties, thereby producing a "nobler type of domestic life." (1)

Even the basis upon which marriage is contracted has undergone considerable change during the past century. Formerly entered into chiefly for the economic advantage of both man and woman, with personal feeling a secondary consideration, it has become a luxury which a considerable number of people can scarcely afford. Present day society expects the husband to support not only himself, but his wife and children, a heavy responsibility beside that carried on in former times by the father-head of the family, whose "dependents" labored beside him to provide for the group. Conscious of the demands which will be made upon him to maintain the social and economic standards of a household,

(1) George Elliott Howard "Social Control and the Function of the Family" p. 701
the young man of today may well hesitate, from a financial point of view, to enter a relationship which will require a lifetime of toil to maintain. To the woman comes the question as to whether she wishes to exchange her freedom, economic independence, and the possibility of a successful career for the responsibilities, the financial dependence, and the many "professions" of a housemother - the question to be decided on the basis of her goal in life - and the means by which she will secure the greatest satisfaction.

Public opinion no longer insists upon marriage for everyone; it is a state into which men and women enter voluntarily in their search for happiness and the fulfillment of wishes and desires which are both normal and universal. Affection, therefore, has become the significant motive for the union of two people, with an increasing tendency to emphasize the worth of the mate as a person rather than a means for obtaining material advantages, and a growing appreciation of the necessity for sympathy, tolerance, forbearance and cooperation if the marriage is to be successful. To continue, marriage must satisfy feminine as well as masculine desires, and offers to both a fellowship which includes economic cooperation, mutual understanding, sex union, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual intimacy, mutual protection, and in case of offspring, the opportunity of working together for the nurture of the children. (1) Marriage based upon affection will make greater demands upon individual

(1) Ernest R. Groves "Marriage" p. 35
character than was the case when economic reasons prevailed, but for this reason presents possibilities for greater spiritual, personality and intellectual development.

In the home, an institution in which she had for so long held the position of a legal subordinate, woman has acquired a new relationship, that of mutual headship with the man, while at the same time the welfare of the family has demanded that she take into the new setting the old devotion to their interests which "social discipline" demanded of her. (1) Although home making has become a joint enterprise and the administration of its affairs a dual responsibility, the executive duties have been delegated to the woman, who best fulfills her office of wife and mother by subordinating any personal desires or vocation to the services of home maker while the man devotes his energies to perfecting himself in some line of work for which the world will pay a good price. (2) To the housewife, therefore, has fallen the responsibility of using all available resources, those furnished by the family, of time, income, energy, personalities, knowledge, skills and abilities of its members, and those of the community, such as schools, churches, libraries, hospitals, shops, social and philanthropic organizations, and so on. As purchasing agent she can multiply many times the available satisfactions from a given income, and by setting the standard of living, can make or mar the quality of the home and the lives of her charges. (3) As guardian of their comfort and well-being, she knows how to

(1) Anna G. Spencer "The Family and Its Members" pp. 66-67
(2) Anna G. Spencer "Women's Share in Social Culture" p. 149
do all the tasks required in the "recurring crises" of family
life, (1) for only in being capable in such matters herself
can she intelligently employ the specialists and organized
agencies of the community as sources of supply for goods and
services. (2)

Upon the wife and mother likewise falls a large share
of the responsibility for what is done in the home, and by
whom, of maintaining the democratic organization of its members,
of encouraging each to do his share in determining the policies
of the group and carrying them out, and seeing that all rights
and privileges are respected as well as all duties properly
performed. If she is wise she will also arrange a recreational
program which will include the entire family, realizing that
no outside entertainment can take the place of merrymaking in
the home to sustain a friendly relationship between the various
individuals.

If "home is the factory where the greater part of a
personality is made", (3) the place in which the process of
socialization of the individual is begun, it is the mother who
is largely responsible for the experiences which come to the
young child, and which are responsible for the development of
the habits of physical and social behavior and of the character
traits, which form the foundation of all later attitudes. For
the intimate physical tie, and the easily understood claim of
the child upon the mother, reinforced by the affectional bond
makes her the natural dispenser of whatever help the child needs,

(1) Anna G. Spencer "Woman's Share in Social Culture" pp. 305-7
(2) Ethel Puffer Howes "Annals of American Academy" p. 21
(3) Ernest R. Groves "Social Problems of the Family" p. 204
the natural buffer against an indifferent world which he requires for the proper development of his personality, and that he may find his place in a painful and difficult existence. (1) "The main business of life is the carrying on of life and in that business women were drafted long ago for the heaviest end of the service. *** Many social helps in her task now make possible leisure and opportunity for individual vocation. *** (but) her primal duty to the race remains *** a debt to be paid as a first obligation wherever and whenever a woman accepts the august function of motherhood." (2)

New conditions have brought greater freedom of self-expression and action, the privilege of choice as to the responsibilities which will be carried, to a large number of women, but to others, such as the mother in a workingman's family, new economic problems that are heavy and complex have been added to her burdens. To her, marriage fails to bring economic security, for when the natural wage earner is unable to support his wife and children, the woman must meet her responsibilities by going outside the home to earn and make up the deficit which no amount of pinching and saving in the household management will accomplish. This means that to her natural duties of administration and child training is added that of the wage earner, that she is doing the work and carrying the responsibilities of two people. In many instances the stamina and courage required to to solve her problems would carry this house mother far if life had been kinder and

(1) Anna C. Spencer "Woman's Share in Social Culture " p. 169
(2) Anna C. Spencer "The Family and Its Members" p. 66
and afforded her greater opportunity for advancement. (1)

The professional woman, on the other hand, must decide whether or not she will carry on her work after marriage, not on the basis of her personal inclination or advancement, but rather on the circumstances of her husband's employment, since upon him is placed the chief economic burden of the family, and the more continuous responsibility for the maintenance of its economic position. (2) If she continues her work she not only may lower her husband's morale, but in trying to carry on two vocations, one inside and the other outside the home, will almost invariably neglect the latter, since it must be subordinated to the joint partnership of the household in which she has the larger share of the management. The chosen vocation may, in many instances, be retained as an avocation, during the years of the house mother's active service, to be taken up again as a part time job when the children no longer need her, and in so doing she will have a serious outside interest which will increase her resistance to family frictions and make her better able to deal with the problems of personality and management which will come to her. (3) This program will also lessen the economic risk taken by every woman who marries and devotes herself to the role of wife and mother, for it not only will keep her mind alert, but gives her an added sense of security in that she will keep in training for the full time job, should circumstances compel her to assume the responsibility of full support of her family.

(2) Anna C. Spencer "The Family and Its Members" pp. 149-150
(3) Clga Knopf "The Art of Being a Woman" p. 156
V. SUMMARY

The family, which came into being to provide protection to and opportunity for physical survival of offspring, became also the socializing agency which has conditioned the impulses of the individual and been responsible for the building up of attitudes and patterns of behaviour which have affected the interpretation of every situation and, thereby, the adjustment to environment and to existing conditions. At the centre of the family has always been the mother person who, in the intimacy of her relationship toward her children, has been responsible for the beginning of the socializing processes, and in the fulfillment of her duties connected with their care and nurture, has not only guided the activities of the home, but borne a large part of the burden of their performance. From the animal stage the female carried forward the tendency to unselfish service, and when the savage mother, handicapped by the burden of children, found herself unable to join the distant and arduous search for food, she remained behind as guardian of the precious fire, making the hearth the centre of group activities and occupying herself in inventing and perfecting those arts which would add to the comfort of those in her care. By her industry she became the first cutler, the first agriculturist, the first tanner, tailor, dressmaker, cook, spinner, weaver, miller, decorative artist, burden bearer, potter, and in overcoming the many difficulties encountered during her labors she developed a capacity for
for continuous exertion, sagacity, caution, intelligence and confidence in herself and her abilities that made her a valuable asset to her group.

Although there is no source from which exact information as to the beginning of family life can be obtained, the savage tribes of today probably present a picture which resembles, to some extent, conditions existing in prehistoric times, and consequently the conclusion has been reached that monogamy has always been the common practice, and that where other forms of family life have existed, it has been merely an adaptation to circumstances and environment. It is generally felt that woman in the primitive family had a very important place, not only because of her economic value, but as the only recognized basis and bond of the social group. Unity of blood established kinship, and, man's role in procreation not being understood, all relationships were reckoned through the mother. Her position was further strengthened by the child's dependence upon her, for through her alone he survived, which resulted in the establishment of a bond of sympathy and esteem between mother and child which persisted as long as both lived. Evidence of woman's once commanding position may be found in many savage tribes throughout the world, notably in the relative authority she has, in the ownership of the home, in the awe of man for his mother-in-law, in the reference to the woman's eldest brother rather than her mate in all matters which concern her or her children.
When the accumulation of material possessions made possible the purchase of various services, and man, by means of superior physical strength, took over the existing resources, woman's status changed to something closely resembling slavery and she became a symbol of non-utilitarian values in which her lord found relaxation. With the recognition of the relationship of father and child, man desired that one of his blood should inherit any property he had accumulated, and woman thereupon assumed a new value, as the legitimate wife and mother of the legitimate heir of her lord's possessions. Although there is evidence, in the traditions and customs of most peoples, that at an early period the matriarch held a powerful and exalted position, in historical times we find society organized to a large extent along patriarchal lines. Among the Hebrews especially the authority of the husband and father was complete and unquestioned, and, though the woman was accorded respect and honor, it was chiefly as the mother of sons and the helpmate of her husband. In Egypt, on the contrary, women of all classes continued to assert themselves in every field of activity until a late date, and the matriarchal form of society never quite disappeared even though the patriarchal institution eventually prevailed. It was in Athens that the position of woman in the family reached its lowest ebb, for, with citizenship the greatest privilege the State could afford, and possibly only to the offspring of citizen man and woman, it became the custom to assure purity of blood by confining the
activities of the latter to the home, and in so doing, condemn her to a cramped and distorted mental, physical, and spiritual development. The Roman matron, on the other hand, although considered by law the chattel of her husband and subject to his command, enjoyed many privileges which were in strong contrast to the patriarchal principle, was treated with a consideration amounting to reverence, and took her place by the side of her husband both in the home and in public places. With the introduction of Christianity woman became, in the eyes of the Church Fathers, a symbol of sin, a temptress who, by her wiles, sought to delay the pious pilgrim's journey into a better world, and marriage a condition of degradation from which one who wished real sanctity must flee. With both woman and marriage held in such low esteem, the wife and mother of the family was reduced to a lowly position in the home and expected to conceal any charm she might possess, to cultivate silence, and to obey, fear, and to please her husband as her lord and master.

The German tribes which destroyed so much of the ancient culture during their invasion of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, brought with them, as their contribution to civilization, a high ideal of the value and importance of the individual as compared to the State, and in this, Woman was included. Through the following centuries, whatever position women in general might hold, the vigorous and ambitious individual found opportunity to assert herself and
and in so doing often exceeded the men in her harshness and cruelty. It was during the Renaissance, however, with its intellectual awakening and broadening interests that woman finally achieved a status more nearly equal to that of man than at any time before or since, and we find her active in trade, in public affairs, in academic pursuits, and in many instance attaining a success which brought a new recognition of her abilities. In the prosaic middle class where women were largely occupied with home duties, we find the wife and mother in the position of business partner to her husband, giving advice and counsel at all times, and, when the occasion demanded, carrying on his business which, as a member of the same guild, she knew as well as he did.

The Reformation, while it removed the slur placed on marriage by the Church, and honored that institution as the best state for man and a sure remedy for sin, at the same time sought to elevate the authority of the patriarchal head of the family in accordance with the teachings of the Old Testament, and correspondingly to lower the status of woman to that of slave to his will. Nevertheless, when the Reformers of England, encouraged by the stern teachings of Calvin, refused to compromise with the ruling power and demanded opportunity for the establishment of a church and state in accordance with their beliefs, it was the women, the wives and mothers of those who took part in the struggle, who stood shoulder to shoulder with their men, urged them on to greater efforts,
and did their full share in overcoming any obstacles in the way of achieving the desired goal.

Whatever motives caused the first settlers to attempt the colonization of the New World, the most important element in the conquest of the wilderness was the family which, held together by the hardships and benefits shared, and by the realization that success or failure depended on the united efforts of its members, became the self-sufficient, self-reliant unit of the community. The harsh conditions under which the group labored might be modified according to religious practices, racial customs, climate, soil or natural resources of the locality, but family life varied little throughout the colonies in that the activities of the home were the responsibility of the wife and mother, and included the provision of food, clothing, education, medical care, recreation and religious instruction. Although in law women's status was inferior to that of men, her position throughout the colonies was one of honor, and as wife and mother she not only dominated the home and the lives of those for whom she worked, but was capable and ready to take over the management of her husband's affairs should the need arise.

In the early nineteenth century, the introduction of power machines for spinning and weaving, the construction of large factories, and the resulting demand for cheap labor gave to large numbers of women, the opportunity not only to earn their own living outside their homes, but to discover
that their economic security and position of respect in the community was not necessarily dependent upon marriage. With an enthusiasm engendered by this success in lowly jobs and an ambition made keen by long repression, women soon demanded the privilege of entering all the fields of endeavor open to men, and did not rest until they had proved to themselves and the world that with equal equipment and training they were capable of competing with those who sought to belittle their abilities and keep them in a dependent position. Their splendid work during the Civil War gave them both the confidence and the experience to direct their efforts in the following years not only to improving their own status, but to correcting many unsatisfactory conditions in the community and throughout the nation, with a long list of achievements crowned by the eventual acknowledgment of their right to vote.

The same conditions which made possible the change in women's position have resulted also in the removal of many functions from the home and transformed the old patriarchal regime into a democracy in which all the members of the family have rights, privileges and obligations to each other. Woman has become the co-equal of man in the management of the home, but because society demands that the latter shall support wife and children, the former has accepted the responsibility of directing the activities of the group, and making use of the facilities offered by the community that her charges may achieve the greatest possible moral, mental and spiritual
development. If she is the wife of a small wage earner, her task may be made doubly difficult by the necessity of working outside the home for the wherewithal to fulfill her obligations to her children, and if she has been a professional woman, personal advancement in a chosen career must be sacrificed to the absorbing duties of the homemaker, if she is to efficiently fill the role which she has chosen.
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