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reserves operated in earlier times for the displaced and dispossessed Aboriginal population. The terror that capitalism has inflicted historically is now, with the alibi of a 'war on terror' against fundamentalist Islam, being imposed upon one country after another. The Western 'war on terrorism' announced after September 11 is being waged as much at home as abroad, with insubstantial promises of safety from attack exchanged for lost democratic rights, lost welfare and education funding, lost humanitarian concern for dispossessed people.

In a statement issued on 11 September 2002, the women of RAWA restated their opposition to the 'religio-fascistic ideological world outlook' of the 'Taliban and Jihadi brands' of fundamentalism. But much of the Western response to this is also regressive. Robin Morgan wrote from New York on 12 September 2001, that the city seemed to have been subjected to a military takeover and that; 'in such a time of crisis, the danger of a turn to the extreme right is genuinely real' (11). The opportunistically anti-Stalinist, and genuinely anti-socialist, politics of al-Qa'ida welcome any erosion of such democracy as exists in the West. Meanwhile, women continue to work two thirds of all the world's working hours, receive only one tenth of all world income and own less than one percent of all world property, and this lack of economic equality remains the basis of their inability to combat their oppression, as well as the much more generalised violence and 'terror' that patriarchal regimes require to sustain themselves.

* Page references are to this book unless otherwise noted.

**Hecate's
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Louise Poland on feminist publishing; Dorothea Herliany on Indonesian women's writing; Grace McQuilten on Frida Kahlo; Sylvia Martin on ageing; Gloria Beckett on her painting; Caroline Webb on Marele Day; Jasna Novakovic on Elizabeth Jolley and Eva Sallis; Carolyn Hughes on Fiona McGregor; Evelyn Hartogh on St Clair and Carol Booth; Rose Lucas on Dorothy Porter; Susan Carson on Dymphna Cusack; Lynette Russell on Marilyn Lake; JaneMaree Maher on Louise Westmarland; Jo Lindsay on Sarah Delamont; Janine Little on Vivienne Cleven; Amanda Third on Hawthorne and Winter.

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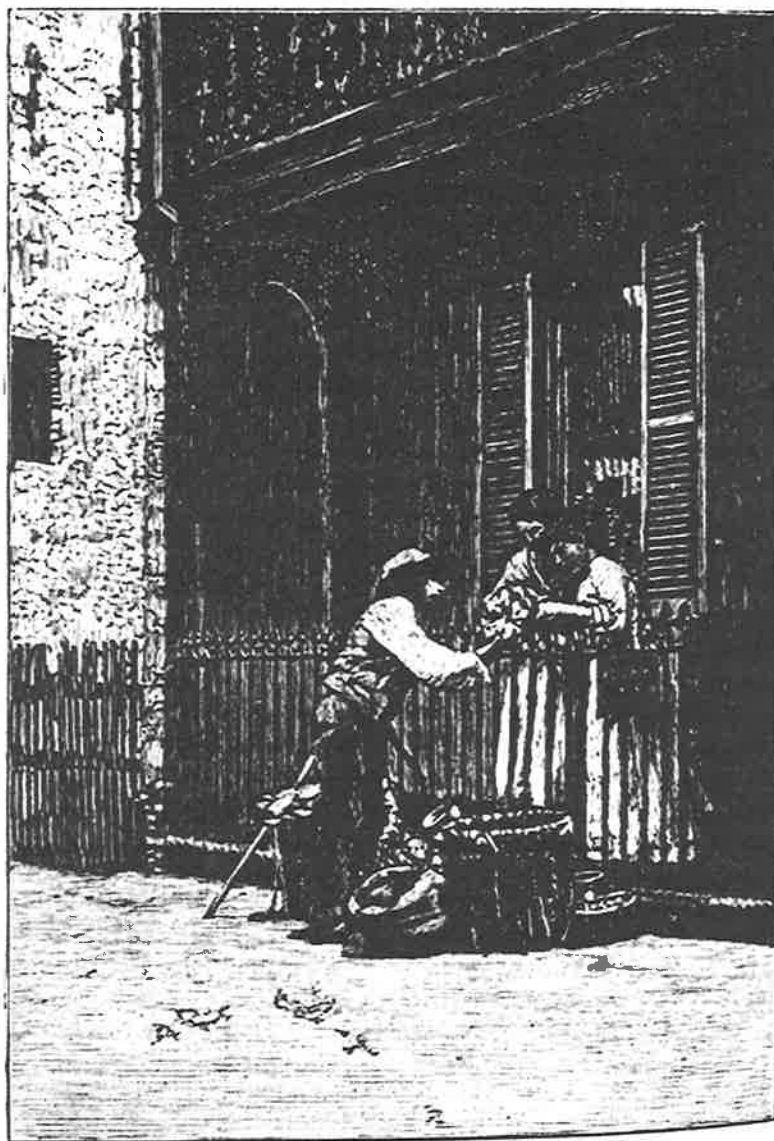
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Across the Threshold: White Women and Chinese Hawkers in the White Colonial Imaginary

One of the best-known images of the Chinese in colonial Australia was created by Livingstone Hopkins (Hop), the *Bulletin's* chief cartoonist from 1883 to 1913, and it captured White Australia's image of the life of the Chinese man in the colonies. The drawing, from 1886, shows a lone Chinese hawker walking through the Rocks in Sydney. Dressed in typical Australian workingman's clothes, balancing baskets laden with goods on a pole over his shoulder, he was representative of the 'typical' Chinese man in Australia. We cannot see his face, but we know he is Chinese from his baskets and his isolation—he is alone, plying his trade without companion or friend.¹

The Chinese population in colonial Australia was primarily male. Few Chinese women accompanied their men to the 'New Gold Mountain' in their pursuit of gold and work, and typically it was thought that Chinese men lived an isolated and lonely life, like Hop's hawker in the Rocks, or that they 'stuck together' and had only limited interaction with White colonists. If we look deeper, however, we see that Chinese men were interacting and mixing with the wider population in their work and social lives. Hop's lonely hawker went into the White community every day, selling his wares door-to-door, meeting and communicating with his White customers, many of them women. He might even have gone home at night to a wife, an Australian woman perhaps, and their children.

This paper explores representations of the relationships between Chinese hawkers and their White female customers in colonial Australia. It has emerged from a wider study examining mixed Chinese-White families in New South Wales in the colonial period,² and in particular the question of how White women met and formed relationships—business, platonic or sexual—with Chinese men. A significant number of accounts and representations of interactions between Chinese men and White women that I found in the colonial papers were of hawkers and their customers, suggesting that this was one of the primary ways Chinese men and White women encountered each other. The representations also provide a window on how interactions across racial and gender boundaries were perceived by White male colonists.



-VELLY GOOD LETTUCEE-

Figure 1. 'Velly Good Lettucee', *Centennial Magazine*, January 1889. Courtesy National Library of Australia.

Boundaries

Anne McClintock has written that the Victorian middle class was preoccupied with boundaries—indeed, was paranoid about boundary order. Central to this was the fear of contagion (blood contiguity, ambiguity and métissage) which threatened 'white male and imperial potency'. Sexual surveillance was integral to the maintenance of social order, particularly in the colonies:

The politics of contagion justified a politics of exclusion and gave social sanction to the middle class fixation with boundary sanitation, in particular the sanitation of sexual boundaries. Body boundaries were felt to be dangerously permeable and demanding continual purification, so that sexuality, in particular women's sexuality, was cordoned off as the central transmitter of racial and hence cultural contagion.³

In colonial Australia, both Chinese men and White women were groups whose social space was tightly controlled by such boundaries.

Legal, social and community demarcation lines created by White Australians clearly excluded Chinese from a place within the imagined Australian community. Chinese were excluded and discriminated against by colonial anti-Chinese legislation and then by the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act*, the backbone of the White Australia Policy. In New South Wales after 1888 they were no longer able to be naturalised, and Chinese workers were excluded from workingmen's unions and most of them from the political process. It was only the wealthy, the Westernised, or the converted Christians who were allowed a provisional place in White society. The Chinese were widely vilified by racist White Australians. Chinese men were accused of gross 'immorality' (homosexuality, paedophilia, fornication, seduction), opium-addiction, and a large number of violations of business and work practices.

White women were subject to a different set of boundaries, both ideological and physical. Women were tied to the private, domestic sphere of the home and family. The dominant ideology prescribed that a woman's primary duty was to her family—to give birth, to nurture, to educate and care for children, and to maintain the home as a peaceful sanctuary for her husband to return home to each night. Women's opportunities for participation in the public sphere were limited; so, too, were their freedoms of movement and association, which were controlled on a broad level by hegemonic conventions of morality and respectability, and on a personal level by husbands or fathers.

Their sexuality was closely scrutinised and controlled within the boundaries of morality, respectability and domesticity.

Contact zones

While borders and boundaries separated the Chinese from White society in Australia, and tightly drawn racial divisions kept White women socially and physically distant from Chinese men, the very creation and presence of such boundaries also suggests a crossing. A boundary is not absolute and impenetrable—a wall always has a doorway and a fence a gate.

There were spaces and opportunities which allowed contact between Chinese men and White women, because colonial New South Wales functioned as what Mary Louise Pratt has termed a 'contact zone', that is:

the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.⁴

The colonial situation, particularly after the gold rushes of the 1850s, meant that a new society was forming based on an ethnic and cultural mixing. The majority of the population were of British or Irish origin, but there were also Aborigines, continental Europeans, Americans both Black and White, Lebanese, and Chinese living in the colonies. The contact zone, as Pratt has noted, was a site of inequality and conflict, but it was also the site of more positive encounters, of cooperation, negotiation, exchange and friendship, developed from sharing the same physical space.

The Rocks and the Haymarket in Sydney were particular contact zones of this kind where Whites and Chinese, men and women, mixed.⁵ In these 'Chinese' spaces, White women encountered and interacted with Chinese men; physical proximity to, or contact with Chinese men could, however, be dangerous to the reputation of a White woman. If a working-class White woman regularly mixed with Chinese men; that is, if she 'crossed the racial line'⁶ in the context of her work or her social life, she risked her place in the White community. Such women were subject to a process of 'Orientalisation' whereby their respectability and 'Whiteness' were eroded.⁷

White women who had a choice hence avoided situations in which this might have occurred, even those who were dependent upon making their own living. Arthur Buchanan, one of the

witnesses called before the 1892 NSW Royal Commission into Chinese gambling and 'immorality', was a hotelkeeper in Lower George Street, Sydney, home to a significant number of Chinese. He stated that his wife had attempted to hire a female servant for the hotel, but she had been told by one girl that she 'did not mind going to a respectable hotel, but she drew the line at "China Town"'.⁸ Even working-class women, or perhaps particularly working-class women, knew that to be in direct contact with Chinese men was to endanger their own respectability.

White men, and other White women, saw interaction with Chinese men as demonstrative of a White woman's lax morality. Except in a few situations, such as teaching English at a Christian mission school for Chinese, a White woman was expected to shun contact with Chinese men,⁹ and there were pressures to stay away from sites where interaction with Chinese men might occur. As noted, in Sydney these sites were primarily the growing 'Chinatowns' of Lower George Street (the Rocks) and the Haymarket. In rural New South Wales they were the Chinese camps which bordered many country towns, such as Albury and Narranderra.

However, while 'Chinese' sites were often imagined as dangerous spaces for White women, the contact zone did not have to be defined by the physical or imagined boundaries of a Chinatown or Chinese camp. The contact zone could be much more localised and specific—a doorway, a garden fence, a stoop. In the colonial press, apart from the image of the solitary hawker, the other way Chinese hawkers were primarily represented was in their dealings with White women on the doorsteps of White homes.¹⁰ (See figure 1.) It was here, in a contact zone that was the threshold of every home, that many White women interacted with Chinese men.

The doorway, or front gate, represents the threshold between a number of real and imagined spheres—between the domestic/private sphere of the home and family and the public sphere of business, politics and commerce; and between the racially divided sphere of the Chinese and Whites who in fact existed within the same physical spaces. This paper explores this contact 'across the threshold', examining how White society imagined interracial contact, what fears it provoked and how gender played a part in White reactions.

Chinese hawkers in White Australia

Chinese vegetable growers and hawkers were of great importance to colonial communities, providing fresh vegetables in areas where diets often consisted primarily of bread and meat.¹¹ Many acknowledged the benefits to their communities that the Chinese gardeners provided. In 1877, J Dundas Crawford wrote that Chinese gardeners'

perseverance and industry in market-gardening are universally acknowledged to have conferred an incalculable boon upon the public. Without entering into competition with the higher horticulture of nurserymen, they have made oases in deserts, supplied by steady hard work, heavy manuring, and irrigation, a want long felt, and reduced vegetables from an expensive luxury, often exotic, to being a cheap and universal article of diet.¹²

At its most fundamental level, the relationship between Chinese gardeners and hawkers and the White communities in which they lived was one of mutual need. White businesses and households needed vegetables, preferably at an economical price, and Chinese men needed to make a living in a country where they were excluded from pursuing work in many other areas.

Chinese hawkers sold vegetables, or other transportable items like sewing supplies, ribbons and other fancy goods. They made daily crossings from Chinese communities on the edges of towns, or in the Haymarket and Rocks in Sydney, to White suburbs and streets. This traversal of imagined boundaries involved both threats and opportunities. It meant hawkers were open to abuse by larrikins, groups of young White men who taunted and attacked them, sometimes stealing their wares or destroying their carts, or by naughty school children who harassed them. This traversal also opened up the possibility of making money and of making more positive contacts with the White community.

Language

One of the boundaries which separated the Chinese in Australia from their White neighbours was language. The *Bulletin* and other publications mocked the pidgin English used by the Chinese, with their use of 'ee' on the ends of nouns, like 'cabbagee' and 'Misse'; their mispronunciation of letters like 'r' and 'l'; and their back-to-front grammar. For example, a cartoon entitled 'Confusion of Tongues' from the *Melbourne Punch* in 1872 showed a White woman, a 'Scotch Body', standing in the doorway of her house conversing with a Chinese fish hawker. Their conversation went like this:

SCOTCH BODY.- "Weel JOHN, what feesh hae ye got the day?"

JOHN.- "Blim, lock cod, flowner, welly good."¹³

While criticising and mocking the Chinese for their poor English skills, accounts also suggest that many Chinese had *enough* English to communicate with Whites as they required. J Dundas Crawford noted that English was

spoken fluently and tolerably grammatically by many more Chinese colonists than are disposed to display their knowledge, and, to a limited extent, read by clerks educated in Cantonese schools or laboriously self-taught from their primers under the counter.¹⁴

Chinese men in a range of occupations attended English classes such as those run by the church missions. Others may have come to the colonies with some English, learnt in Hong Kong or other treaty ports such as Canton (Guangzhou), or studied in school. Others still may have studied by themselves using Chinese-English phrase books.

One such phrase book, *The Self-Educator*, published in Sydney in around 1892, suggests how important communication in English was to Chinese in the colonies, and with whom it was important for the Chinese to communicate. The phrase book was produced by Sydney Chinese newspaper editor, Sun Johnson, who himself later married a White woman.¹⁵ It was intended as an aid to Chinese men living and working in the colonies. Among other situational phrases and dialogues, there was a section on hawking and one for 'vegetable men', including a dialogue between the Chinese protagonist and a Mrs Thompson. 'Good morning, Mrs Thompson. How do you do?' the hawker opened cheerfully, after which they discussed buying cucumbers, cabbages and onions, haggling over price and quality. The hawking section also included conversation with a female customer, in which the hawker told her all the 'fancies' he had in his basket such as soap, hair oil, watches, scissors and thread, and even asked if she required a new hairbrush for her husband.¹⁶

The inclusion of these dialogues in the phrase book demonstrates that interactions with White women were important for the financial survival of numbers of Chinese men in Australia, for whom speaking some English, however poorly or stutteringly, meant the ability to make a living. It also meant the possibility of communication and friendship. As Margaret Egerton, author of the 'My Chinese' stories discussed later in this paper, wrote of her heroine Annie Leigh's friendship with Chinese hawker Ah Yoo Sin: 'He could speak very little English, and I

spoke Chinese only as Mrs. Plornish spoke Italian; nevertheless we managed to understand each other'.¹⁷

Images of White women and Chinese hawkers in the *Bulletin*

Many of the most interesting visual and verbal images of interaction between Chinese hawkers and White women are in the *Bulletin*.¹⁸ This is a rich source for several reasons: it commented on domestic issues (male-female relations and the servant question, for instance) in ways that other journals did not, bringing them into the political realm; it was overtly racist and often addressed the question of the Chinese in the colonies; and it used forms such as poetry, cartoons and fiction to comment on the current political and social situation. These elements combined offer a suggestive representation of the interaction between White women and Chinese hawkers.

Mary Douglas has written that: 'Danger lies in transitional states.... The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others.'¹⁹ For Victorian colonial society the thresholds or margins of society were hazardous, sites of contagion, immorality and disorder. The *Bulletin's* depiction of interactions between Chinese men and White women reflect these fears of the marginalised, and of border crossing: such interactions threatened the White home and family, the authority of the White man and, ultimately, social order.

In most representations of contact between White women and Chinese men, the *Bulletin* stereotyped its characters into anonymous, generalised figures rather than portraying them as individuals, and it also played on class and gender stereotypes, particularly concerning women. Most of the *Bulletin's* stories of interracial contact took the form of fiction or cartoons, rarely depicting 'real' people. The anonymity of the characters fits with what Victoria Haskins has noted concerning the depiction of relationships between White women and Aboriginal men in colonial Australia. She states that such anonymity

implies an unwillingness to recognise or admit such intermarriage and is related to the colonialist concept of 'the white woman' as primarily a signifier of racial boundaries rather than as an individual person with understandable motivations and desires.²⁰



ALLEE SAME.

LADY OF THE HOUSE: "Well, John, which do you think the prettiest—Chinese girl or English girl?"

JOHN: "Oh, you see, not much difference: Chinese girl, she small feet, big waist: English girl, she big feet, small waist. Allee samee catchee man. You see?"

Figure 2. 'Allee Same', *Bulletin*, 20 January 1900. Courtesy National Library of Australia.

The *Bulletin* portrayed interactions between Chinese hawkers and upper-class 'ladies', domestic servants and working-class women. It also touched on how and why White women's attitudes and opinions on the 'Chinese Question' might differ from men's.

The Chinese hawker and the White lady of the house

A cartoon published in the *Bulletin* in 1900 showed an elegantly dressed White lady standing on the front porch of her grand home, framed by climbing roses, looking down at her vegetable seller, John. She asked him which he thought was the prettier—a Chinese girl or an English girl. He replied to her 'Oh, you see, not much diffence: Chinee girl, she small feet, big waist; English girl, she big feet, small waist. Allee same catchee man. You see?'²¹ (See figure 2.) Here the *Bulletin* put its own ideas about women into the mouth of the Chinese hawker. This hawker perceived, as the masculinist *Bulletin* writers did, that women were only interested in matrimony and in destroying the freedom and autonomy of the single man; in this case, it did not matter if he were Chinese or Australian.²²

A second cartoon, from 1889, mixed another of the *Bulletin*'s favourite topics, the 'Servant Question', with the 'Chinese Question'. The problems associated with servants, such as the shortage of domestic staff and the quality of their labour, were an issue in the colonies, and the *Bulletin* poked fun at both the 'ignorant Irish servant' and at the 'helpless upper-class' who were manipulated by them.²³ In 'One of those things that might have been said differently', Mrs De Neville-Jones found herself without a servant and had to buy the fruit and vegetables from Chow Hong, the vegetable seller, herself:

Mrs De Neville-Jones (who is an indifferent arithmetician): 'A shilling for apples, two and six for pears, sixpence for tomatoes and sixpence for lemons—that makes four shillings, does it not, John?'

Chow Hong (who is an indifferent English scholar): 'You lie.'²⁴ (See figure 3.)

They should add up to four shillings and sixpence.

The *Bulletin* writers poked fun at interracial interactions in cartoons and stories, mocking both White women and Chinese men, but below this comical façade many of their representations presented deeper concerns about the dangers of such interaction. The *Bulletin* writers thought that the Chinese were a threat to the White home and family, just as they were a threat to White business and industry. It proclaimed that the threat came through

the gate with the Chinese man—an idea succinctly summed up in its quip that the Chinese only brought 'vice and vegetables' or, in the case of the hawker, brought them both together.²⁵

One threat Chinese men posed was over-familiarity with the women of the house. Where the *Bulletin* cast the woman as good or respectable, it was the wiliness and cunning of the Chinese man that was responsible for any ensuing relationships. One *Bulletin* story, 'A Celestial Lothario', told of what could happen if a Chinese man were allowed to come into contact with a White woman through his hawking activities.²⁶ It was the story of a nameless Chinese man, the 'Lothario' of the title, a vegetable seller who plied his trade with a little tilt cart. He spoke English which was 'comprihensible' [sic] and embellished with phrases he thought most gallant and which had 'effect upon various slaves of the broom whom John matutinally encountered'. But he had set his sights higher, on a White girl named Evangeline, pure and respectable, whom he had met at her father's house at Glebe Point in Sydney when he went to sell his vegetables. Evangeline had started conversing with him, and he presented gifts, and so it went on day after day until Evangeline was 'gone' on him. Evangeline's brother worked as chief officer on a large steamer and, on returning home from a time away, noticed a change in his sister. It was then that he discovered the truth. He took to the Chinese hawker, gave him a 'cracked skull' and ruined his cart.

In this story, Evangeline was portrayed as overly romantic, caught up in reading romantic journals, and declaring her love to the Chinese hawker in the most florid and sentimental of language. The moral of the story clearly stated that White women could not be trusted on their own or, caught up in their own fancies, they would fall prey under the spell of 'romance' to the Chinese man. It took the control and interference of the White man, in this case Evangeline's brother, to set the situation straight. With the return of Evangeline's brother came a return to order in their domestic space.

As well as commenting on relations between Chinese men and White women in the Australian colonies, the *Bulletin* also turned its attention to the presence of 'lady missionaries' and other White women in China, particularly at the time of the Boxer Rebellion when there were many attacks upon foreigners. The *Bulletin* saw that the physical proximity of the Chinese man to the White woman in the home caused trouble:

Women must have association of some kind with males of her species from time to time. In the larger ports in China



ONE OF THOSE THINGS THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SAID
DIFFERENTLY.

(Mrs. De Neville-Jones is servantless and so has herself to buy the fruit and vegetables from Chow Hong.)

MRS. De N. JONES (who is an indifferent arithmetician): "A SHILLING FOR APPLES, TWO AND SIX FOR PEARS, SIXPENCE FOR TOMATOES AND SIXPENCE FOR LEMONS—THAT MAKES FOUR SHILLINGS, DOES IT NOT, JOHN?"

CHOW HONG (who is an indifferent English scholar): "YOU LIE."

Figure 3. 'One of those things that might have been said differently', *Bulletin*, 14 December 1889. Courtesy National Library of Australia.

the ordinary run of white girl is fairly all right, because she had plenty of men of her own rank and color to flirt with. But the poor governess in the big ports and the girl in the ports where whites are few and far between have but a slack time. Then the quiet, cat-like, purring houseboy, who is always about and who recognises the right moment, had his innings. From one large port in China four governesses have been hurriedly packed off home within the last six months.²⁷

The article concluded saying, 'Why *don't* we encourage the Chows to come to Australia? They *do* make such splendid house-servants'.

The Chinese man was feminised in the rhetoric of the White man—working in jobs that were women's work such as laundry workers and cooks²⁸—but he was also seen as a potent threat to White womanhood. The contradictory representation of Chinese men as feminised and weak, while also a sexual and moral threat to White women was a trope that was also common in North America.²⁹ As the nature of Chinese men's work often brought them within close proximity to home, White women met Chinese men in this domestic and feminised space in the absence of a White male protector. Unguarded and unsupervised by White men, the White woman was open to all the charms and tricks that Chinese men were supposed to employ in the schemes they employed to endear themselves to the women of the house.

Stories such as that of Evangeline and her 'Celestial Lothario' reinforced to *Bulletin* readers the idea that it was not safe to leave one's women open to the wiles of the Chinese man. Any contact could be dangerous. It was a White man's duty to protect not only his country and his job from the threat of the Chinese, but his women as well. The *Bulletin* stories also demonstrated the punishment a Chinese man would receive for overstepping the racial boundary in his choice of sweetheart.

The Chinese hawker and the White domestic servant

The second group of women whose interaction with Chinese men caught the attention of the *Bulletin* writers was domestic servants. In discussions of the 'Servant Question', the *Bulletin* created an image of the domestic servant as, to quote Paula Hamilton, 'unfeminine, ugly, with a large, thick peasant build. She is usually Irish or at least from a country background.'³⁰ Many of these unflattering assumptions about domestic servants were present in *Bulletin* representations of interactions between Chinese men and White domestic servants.³¹ A letter published in

the *Bulletin* in 1898 echoed the sentiments expressed about lonely White servants in China, suggesting that while Australian workingmen would shy away from the 'amorous and unfortunate female', 'the ugly servant girl', the Chinese vegetable seller was her 'refuge and asylum'.³² It continued:

The agility with which Emma, our servant, deserts the life story of Lord Marchmont and the Lady Eleanor for the pigeon-English of John is, at first, a marvel and a mystery to the male mind. If a woman cannot get a man to love her, she must have something that pretends. The ugly servant has the Chinaman, the old maid her cat.³³

This letter suggested that there must be something wrong with White women who associated with Chinese men, an idea current in other discussions of interracial relationships. The findings of the NSW 1892 Royal Commission into Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality, for example, concluded that the majority of White women living with Chinese men in Sydney were 'fallen women', often opium addicts or alcoholics, who had no recourse other than prostitution if they did not live with the Chinese.³⁴ In the White male imaginary, there had to be extenuating reasons why White women would cross racial boundaries in their choice of friend, husband or lover—if it were not some trick of the Chinese, then it was the desperation or depravity of the woman.

The Chinese hawker and the White working-class woman

Further to the *Bulletin's* characterisation of White domestic servants was its description of White working-class women more generally. It showed them as women who did not deserve or need protection by White men in their interactions with the Chinese. They were shrewd and conniving, rude and harsh.

'Quong Hing's Elopement', published in 1889, told the story of the ill-fated romance between vegetable-seller Quong Hing and a married Irish woman named Bridgetta O'Gorman. She had befriended Quong Hing, smiling and lending him a sympathetic ear over the back fence. In reality she was playing on his affections in order to obtain cheaper and cheaper prices for vegetables, which she then received on credit.³⁵ Another story, 'Pin Lung's Missus', published in 1900, told of lonely vegetable seller, Pin Lung, who had after fourteen years found himself a White wife. At first she was industrious and cleanly and thrived in her new home, but then one day she returned to her old habit of drinking. When drunk, she yelled and cursed and beat her

husband until he was bleeding and black-eyed. After a year of her drunken fits, Pin Lung thought of a solution—unable to control her himself, he started to pay a layabout White neighbour to beat his wife for him.³⁶ In these *Bulletin* stories, the Chinese vegetable seller was more a figure of pity than of threat—he was lonely, friendless, gullible, unable to speak English properly, and even 'unmanly' enough not to be able to control his own wife.

Interestingly, the danger of White women towards Chinese men was something that was also discussed in the Australian Chinese press of the same period. Perhaps equally misogynous and racist, the Chinese press painted a picture of White womanhood as licentious, immoral, degraded and dishonest.³⁷ For instance, the Sydney-based *Tung Wah News* reported in 1899 the story of a New Zealand Chinese man whose naivety and lack of English, combined with his own loneliness, saw him fall prey to the tricks of a White woman, a 'prostitute' (as the paper routinely called lower-class women). He had believed that the woman wanted to marry him and had handed over to her the majority of his hard-earned savings.³⁸

Gendered reactions? White women's responses to the Chinese presence

Examples from the *Bulletin* suggest that White women's reactions to the presence of the Chinese were different from those of White men. 'Pin Lung's Missus', mentioned above, described the ambiguous relationship that existed between Pin Lung, the Chinese gardener, and his White neighbours:

Pin's habitual attitude towards his masculine customers up the creek was one of conciliation; he had always the pose of a man forgetting and forgiving, and, truth to tell, he had much to forgive. He smiled incessantly and babbled unintelligibly, and pressed little presents upon the men, and they in turn paid him through the nose for everything they did not steal; abused him, patronised him, and agreed among themselves that 'Paddy' was not a dashed bad lot for a dashed Chow.

To the women in the township Pin Lung was quite another Chinaman. To them he was the piteous innocent in the land of guile; he comprehended nothing that did not suit his book, and misunderstood the expostulations of crafty housewives with the passionless suavity of his own clay god.³⁹

Pin Ling's relationship with his male customers was one of antagonism where he bore the brunt of their larrikinish

behaviour. With his female customers, he appeared naïve and feigned ignorance of English, while each attempted to outsmart the other in their business dealings. More typical of the *Bulletin's* attitude, however, was a description that came from the earlier story, 'A Celestial Lothario', which described an encounter between a Chinese hawker and the White man at home, where the hawker arrived

At the door of your suburban residence, 'bust' your bell-wire, and then chant[ed] madrigals in his native tongue, until with murderous instincts in your heart and a bludgeon in your pocket, you flung open the family portal and confronted him.⁴⁰

Women, however, did not open their doors to Chinese hawkers with indignation and dislike. According to the *Bulletin*, hawkers had cleverly learnt how to 'make impressions and agitate the sympathies of compassionate housekeepers and susceptible kitchen females of every age and grade',⁴¹ with a winning smile and manner. The *Bulletin* writers suggested that women, in their naivety, did not understand the 'true threat' of the Chinese. The writers saw women as being incapable of considering the political or social ramifications of the Chinese presence, and the 'fondness' women had for the Chinese as another example of the folly of womanhood.

One letter to the *Bulletin* editor, from a man named Bill Sikes, stated that it was within women's nature to treat the Chinese in a kindly way:

She hears JOHN, her husband, violently abusing Chinamen and charging them with all sorts of faults and vices. She looks at JOHN, her hawker, and she has a dim (or strong) perception of the truth. She knows that her husband is a man, she loves him and reveres his very failings—but, in her illogical woman's way, she is kind to the victim of her man's injustice and race-prejudices ... the woman sees the *human being*, and (let us thank God for it) her womanliness overpowers other considerations.⁴²

The use of the name 'John' for both husband and hawker is interesting, drawing closer the thread of common humanity which, Sikes' stated, White women saw linking these two groups of men. Sikes concluded by saying that it was necessary to limit the immigration of Chinese to Australia, but he did concede that the Chinese hawker was honest, patient, remembered the tastes and likes of his customers, was reliable and punctual, sober, clean-mouthed, and usually also clean of body.

While criticising women for their kindly interaction with Chinese hawkers, there was also some acknowledgment, even in the *Bulletin*, that White women were using their heads as well as their hearts in these interactions. They were often just trying to make their limited resources go further, for 'without the ubiquitous vegetable "John" the housewife would find her purse sorely taxed to make both ends meet.'⁴³ J Ewing Ritchie wrote, in *An Australian Ramble* in 1890, that women approached the 'Chinese Question' from a purely practical angle:

A lady fellow-passenger in a steamer said to me, with a sigh, 'Ah, if women had votes there would be no restrictions on the immigration of Chinese.' She valued them as faithful and dutiful domestic servants, as polite, obliging, and honest hawkers of vegetables and other small household requirements.⁴⁴

The reliance of Australian women on Chinese hawkers was also stressed in an 1888 letter to the *Bulletin* from 'A Workman's Wife'. She was the wife of a member of the Anti-Chinese League who, in her letter, put forward the case of White women and the 'problem' of buying non-Chinese vegetables. Although being asked to boycott the Chinese hawker, she continued to buy from him. This was not, she argued, because of her ignorance of political issues—she had 'thought about it' and did 'desire to see the white man hold his own against the heathen'. But whilst she had tried, in the spirit of patriotism, to buy only from White hawkers, she had discovered that she not only paid three hundred per cent what she would normally have paid, but that White hawkers in any case bought most of their produce from the Chinese.⁴⁵

Racism was not gendered such that men, viewing the world through business and politics, objected to the Chinese presence, and women, looking out through the front door, welcomed it. White women were certainly implicated in the subordination of the non-White Other and some were participants in anti-Chinese movements and activities.⁴⁶ Many women preferred not to deal with Chinese hawkers if they could, instead buying their vegetables from White hawkers and, in cartoons from the colonial press, White women were also shown defending their homes from the non-White Other and the 'threats' they posed. *The Illustrated Sydney News* in 1881 showed a woman using a long forked stick to push a Chinese vegetable seller out her gate saying 'Out you go John, you and your Small Pox'.⁴⁷ And in 1898 the *Bulletin* illustrated a fable about the problems of coloured immigration

with the image of a White woman, baby in arms, standing in the doorway of her bark hut, shooing away a group of non-White men, including an Indian and a Chinese.⁴⁸

However, the individual contact many White women had with Chinese hawkers led to a chance of understanding and friendship that White men may not have had the opportunity to experience. This chance came through dealing regularly with just one or two Chinese men—for many women 'the Chinese' were not an anonymous mass of foreign humanity. 'The Chinese' was their own 'John' who spoiled the children with a lolly or brought a jar of ginger at Christmas. Their connections and friendships were in sharp contrast to the anonymity of the *Bulletin* Chinese and, with this personalisation of the stereotype of the Chinese man, many Whites, both male and female, overcame their own prejudices.⁴⁹

White women's voices on their relations with Chinese men

This paper has discussed how White male writers and cartoonists imagined relations between White women and Chinese hawkers. But how did women themselves see them? Women's accounts are much less prevalent than those of men, but this paper will conclude by looking at how two White women viewed their interactions with Chinese hawkers. One was Ellen, one of the several female witnesses called before the 1892 NSW Royal Commission into Chinese Gambling and Immorality, who was in a de facto relationship with a Chinese vegetable seller and lived at Sydney's Rocks. The second account comes from a series of articles published in 1896. Written by a woman named Margaret Egerton, they recount the experiences of a middle-class doctor's wife of being both a student and teacher at her local Chinese mission, teaching English to Chinese men and herself studying Cantonese.

Our knowledge of Ellen and her relationship with her unnamed Chinese common-law husband comes from the transcript of her testimony before the 1892 Royal Commission into Chinese Gambling and Immorality in NSW.⁵⁰ The interview took place in a formal setting before the board of Commissioners, a group made up of important and influential members of the colonial elite. One can only imagine how intimidating it would have been for a working-class woman like Ellen to have been brought there to be questioned about her relationship with her husband. She was one of nine White wives of Chinese men interviewed, and the Commissioners were not shy in asking the women very personal

and intrusive questions. Knowing the full weight of their power, they expected full and frank answers. Several of the female interviewees, including Ellen, had never told their own mothers or families that they were living with Chinese men, yet they were expected to reveal intimate details about their private lives, including their habits, their addictions, and their state of 'cleanliness' and that of their Chinese partners.

Twenty-three year old Ellen lived in Exeter Place off Lower George Street in the Rocks. At the time of her interview she had been living with her current Chinese partner for two and a half years, but had been with other Chinese men for more than a year previous to that. She was originally from Melbourne, where she had fallen pregnant out of wedlock. Leaving the child in the care of her sister, she came to Sydney to work. Typical of working-class women of her time, she was poorly educated, and had always worked to earn a living—as a cook, laundress, housemaid and as a barmaid in one or two public houses. It was while in service in Woollahra that she had met the man with whom she was living, having been introduced to him through a woman she had met in the Church Home for women.

Ellen's unnamed partner was 38 years old, a vegetable seller with a business in Campbell Street. He had been a gardener at Cook's River, south-west of Sydney but, not being strong enough to continue this work, had to find something else to do. His current work involved buying vegetables at the Haymarket, loading them into his horse-drawn cart and selling them door-to-door. Many of the men who lived near Ellen and her partner in the Rocks were also 'vegetable men' and others too had White wives.

The questions of the Commissioners did not allow Ellen to speak freely, and focussed to a large extent on her opium addiction. Through her answers, though, she left the strong impression that she was contented with her life and in her choice of partner. She said that the houses kept by White women for Chinese men were clean and comfortable, and that they always had plenty to eat and drink. When asked if she 'had made up her mind to live [her] present life continually', Ellen responded that she was planning to marry her partner in a few months' time at Chinese New Year and, although she would like to return home to see her mother, she would then come back to her life among the Chinese. She said of her husband: 'He has always been a very good man to me. I could not want for a better man.'

The testimonies of Ellen and the other female witnesses show that Chinese hawkers did not necessarily lead the lonely, solitary lives characterised in Hop's drawing. They had wives and lovers, families and homes, friends and communities.

From a very different part of colonial society came another story of a White woman's interaction with a Chinese hawker, a three-part account written by Margaret Egerton published in the *Cosmos Magazine* in 1896. The extent of the detail and insight into the Chinese in New South Wales at the time suggests that it was a semi-autobiographical work.⁵¹

Annie, Mrs Frank Leigh, the narrator of the story, was the wife of a doctor. She possessed a curious intellect and interest in languages, and decided to attend Cantonese classes at the local Chinese mission church with a friend who was soon to set off to China as a 'lady missionary'. As well as studying Cantonese, the women also taught English to a group of Chinese men. One of Annie's students was sixty-year-old Ah Yoo Sin. He had been selling vegetables to Annie for around eight years, and she had been a loyal customer, buying only his vegetables despite entreaties by other hawkers that he was 'no good'.

Annie's friendship with Ah Yoo Sin began about two years after she had started buying her vegetables from him. One morning she read in the newspaper about an anti-Chinese rally that had been held the previous day. She wrote in her article that she did not understand the arguments put forward for the anti-Chinese poll tax, and something about it got to her. When Ah Yoo Sin came that day she gave him some of the cakes that she had made and he returned soon after with ginger, tea and two feather dusters 'for the bebee'. An unusual present, perhaps, but the baby liked them and Yoo Sin was pleased.⁵² She said:

From that hour a strong friendship sprang up between us, and it was my custom each week to present him with some of my choicest flowers, cakes and preserves, while he, on his side, quite embarrassed me with the royal munificence of his gifts.

Despite his poor English, Yoo Sin told her of his troubles with larrikins and general abuse by White men. She had 'comforted and advised Ah Yoo Sin, had been his lawyer, doctor, and general referee' over the time they had known each other. The benefits from Annie's friendship with Ah Yoo Sin and the Chinese men were not all one-sided, however. When she was suffering from debilitating neuralgia, her students prepared Chinese medicine which appeared to cure her.

Annie's account of her friendship with Ah Yoo Sin and the other students in her class, all vegetable sellers, demonstrates that, contrary to fears expressed by the *Bulletin*, White women's relationships with Chinese men were not necessarily sexualised nor necessarily dangerous. I imagine Annie's relationship with Ah Yoo Sin to be like that portrayed in a drawing from Melbourne's *Graphic* in 1887, showing a Chinese hawker at Christmas, giving gifts to his customer, a White woman and her baby.⁵³ It shows a picture of friendship and communication across the front fence, and across the boundaries of race, culture and language.

Conclusion

White women did not necessarily have to enter the 'dangerous' locales of Chinatowns to interact with Chinese men. The location of the wife or domestic servant at home meant she had time and opportunity to relate to Chinese hawkers in a 'safe' environment. White male fears of interracial contact, as suggested by the *Bulletin* articles and cartoons, were a reflection of the fact that these meetings occurred outside the public sphere, outside the White male world.

Such interactions happened on the threshold of the home, allowing contact between White women and Chinese men from which White men were predominantly absent. The relationships that developed allowed White wives and domestic servants to develop ideas that were potentially contradictory to those of the men of their household. Through their daily interaction they came to know the Chinese as more than an anonymous group: they became individuals. The threshold provided a space where there was contact and exchange and, perhaps, understanding.

Kate Bagnall

Notes

- 1 Livingstone Hopkins, 'Chinese carrying shoulder baskets, the Rocks, Sydney', 1886, National Library of Australia. This image can be accessed online at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an8870592-v>.
- 2 This research is being undertaken as a PhD candidate in the Department of History at the University of Sydney.
- 3 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, Routledge, New York and London, p. 33.
- 4 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Routledge, New York, 1992, p. 6.
- 5 See Jane Lydon, *'Many Inventions': The Chinese in the Rocks, Sydney, 1890-1930*, Monash Publications in History, Melbourne, 1999.
- 6 The term 'crossing the racial line' was used by the Commissioners of the NSW Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality in their remarkably fair report on the alleged immoralities of the Chinese in Sydney. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality and Charges of Bribery against Members of the Police Force* (hereafter *RC on Chinese Gambling*), NSW Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1891, p. 21.
- 7 See Jan Ryan, 'She Lives with a Chinaman': Orient-ing "White" Women in the Courts of Law', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 60, 1999, pp. 149-159, 215-217.
- 8 *RC on Chinese Gambling*, p. 82.
- 9 For example, in Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career*, on a public coach ride the young White heroine Sybylla was seated next to a Chinese man. The White man on her other side offered to trade seats so that she would not be so offended by the Chinese man's smell. Sybylla was reluctant, fearful of hurting the Chinese man's feelings by such an obvious display of racial prejudice, but the other man only laughed at her suggestion that a Chinese man had feelings. He and the other (White male) passengers expected Sybylla, a good White girl, to feel uncomfortable from being in such close proximity to a Chinese man. Miles Franklin, *My Brilliant Career*, Eden Paperbacks, North Ryde NSW, 1988 (first published 1901), pp. 166-167.
- 10 See for example, 'Velly Good Lettucee', *Centennial Magazine*, January 1889.
- 11 For discussion of Chinese market-gardeners and hawkers, see C F Yong, *The New Gold Mountain: The Chinese in Australia, 1901-1921*, Raphael Arts Pty Ltd, Richmond SA, 1977, pp. 35-39; also Eric Rolls, *Citizens: Flowers and the Wide Sea*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1996, pp. 71-75.
- 12 J Dundas Crawford, 'Notes by Mr Crawford on Chinese Immigration in the Australian Colonies', *Foreign Office Confidential Print 3742*, National Library of Australia, p. 3.
- 13 'Confusion of Tongues', *Melbourne Punch*, 1872, reprinted in Bill Hornadge, *The Yellow Peril: A Squint at Some Australian Attitudes towards Orientals*, Review Publications Pty Ltd, Dubbo NSW, 1976, p. 88.
- 14 Crawford, 'Notes', p. 13.
- 15 In 1899, 30-year old Johnson married 17-year old Albury-born Frances Cogger in Sydney. They were divorced in 1910. NSW Marriage Certificate No. 164/1899.
- 16 Sun Johnson, *The Self-Educator*, publisher unknown, Sydney, c. 1892. Although I have not compared the original volumes, it is likely that this wordbook is the same as one discussed by James Hayes. See "Good Morning Mrs Thompson!": A Chinese-English word-book from 19th century Sydney' in Paul Macgregor (ed.), *Histories of the Chinese in Australasia and the South Pacific*, Museum of Chinese Australian History, Melbourne, 1995.
- 17 Margaret Egerton, 'My Chinese', *Cosmos Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 4, 19 October 1896, p. 139. Mrs Plornish was a character in Charles Dickens' *Little Dorrit*, the wife of a plasterer, who made comical pretences of being a great linguist.

- 18 For a general discussion of representations of Chinese gardeners and other lower-class Chinese men in Australian literature, including the *Bulletin*, see Ouyang Yu, 'All the lower orders: Representations of the Chinese cooks, market gardeners and other lower-class people in Australian literature, 1888-1988', in Macgregor (ed.), *Histories of the Chinese*. See also Patricia Rolfe, *The Journalistic Javelin: An Illustrated History of the Bulletin*. Wildcat Press, Sydney, 1979.
- 19 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1966, p. 78, quoted in McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 25.
- 20 Victoria Haskins and John Maynard, 'Blood, Sex and Tears: Aboriginal Men and White Women in Australian History', unpublished paper presented at the Australian Historical Association Conference, July 2002.
- 21 'Allee Same', *Bulletin*, 20 January 1900.
- 22 Marilyn Lake, 'The politics of respectability: Identifying the masculinist context', in Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan (eds), *Debutante Nation: Feminism Confronts the 1890s*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards NSW, 1993, p. 4.
- 23 See Paula Hamilton, 'Domestic dilemmas: Representations of servants and employers in the popular press', in Magarey et al. (eds), *Debutante Nation*, pp. 71-90.
- 24 'One of those things that might have been said differently', *Bulletin*, 14 December 1889.
- 25 'The Chinese Question', *Bulletin*, 1 May 1880.
- 26 'A Celestial Lothario', *Bulletin*, 29 January 1881.
- 27 *Bulletin*, 27 August 1889.
- 28 For a discussion of feminisation of Asian men in the West, see Chiung Hwang Chen, 'Feminization of Asian (American) Men in the US Mass Media: An Analysis of *The Ballad of Little Jo*', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, vol. 20, no. 2, Fall 1996, pp. 57-71.
- 29 See, for example, Constance Backhouse, 'The White Women's Labor Laws: Anti-Chinese Racism in Early Twentieth-Century Canada', *Law and History Review*, vol. 14, no. 2, Fall 1996, pp. 315-368.
- 30 Hamilton, 'Domestic Dilemmas', p. 84.
- 31 On rare occasions the *Bulletin* sided with working women. One 1896 article argued for sympathy with White women, in this particular case 'the unfortunate washerwoman', when Chinese men were being employed in tasks that were previously women's domain (and in which White men would not work). *Bulletin*, 4 July 1896.
- 32 Marriage records for the colonies confirm the *Bulletin's* conjectures about the numbers of domestic servants who entered relationships with Chinese men. Jan Ryan notes, for example, that the first three White brides who married Chinese men in Western Australia (in 1847, 1855, 1858) were all domestic servants, and my own research into Chinese-European marriages in colonial New South Wales suggests similar findings. Jan Ryan, *Ancestors: Chinese in Colonial Australia*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, South Fremantle WA, 1995, p. 80.
- 33 *Bulletin*, 27 August 1898.
- 34 *RC on Chinese Gambling*, pp. 21-22.
- 35 'Quong Hing's Elopement', *Bulletin*, 21 December 1889.
- 36 'Pin Lung's Missus', *Bulletin*, 27 January 1900.
- 37 For a discussion of the representation of Australian women by the (Chinese-Australian) press, see Yulan Poon, 'The Two-way Mirror: Contemporary Issues as Seen through the Eyes of the Chinese Language Press, 1901-1911', in Shirley Fitzgerald and Garry Wotherspoon (eds), *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, State Library of New South Wales Press in association with The Sydney History Group, Sydney, 1995, pp. 50-65.
- 38 *Tung Wah News* (Donghua xinbao), 29 November 1899.

- 39 Pin Lung's Missus', *Bulletin*, 27 January 1900.
 40 'A Celestial Lothario', *Bulletin*, 29 January 1881.
 41 *Bulletin*, 21 December 1889.
 42 Letter to the Editor by Bill Sikes, *Bulletin*, 28 April 1894.
 43 H F Wickham, 'China in Sydney', *The Red Funnel*, 1 August 1906, p. 58.
 44 J Ewing Ritchie, *An Australian Ramble or A Summer in Australia*, T Fisher Unwin, London, 1890, p. 181.
 45 'The Chinese Hawker', *Bulletin*, 16 June 1888.
 46 Charlie Fox and Bruce Scates note, for example, that in June 1892 over 400 White women took to the streets in Melbourne protesting against the Chinese who were taking female jobs in the laundry industry. See Fox and Scates, 'The Beat of Weary Feet', in Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee (eds), *Staining the Wattle: A People's History of Australia since 1788*, McPhee Gribble and Penguin Books, Fitzroy Vic., 1998, pp. 136-137. Further research into White women's role in the anti-Chinese movement has not been undertaken in Australia; however, in the USA it has been shown that they were quite active. See Martha Mabie Gardner, 'Working on White womanhood: White Working Women in the San Francisco Anti-Chinese Movement, 1877-1890', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 33, no. 1, Fall 1999, pp. 73-95.
 47 'The Small-Pox Scare in Sydney', *The Illustrated Sydney News*, 9 July 1881.
 48 'An Australian Fable', *Bulletin*, 20 August 1898.
 49 The *Bulletin's* representation of interracial relationships also changed with the injection of real, identified characters. In 1897 it presented, in a remarkably matter-of-fact manner, the news that a Presbyterian missionary, the Reverend James Fong Kem Yee had married English-born Annie Fuller. *Bulletin*, 18 September 1897.
 50 *RC on Chinese Gambling*, pp. 398-401.
 51 Margaret Egerton, 'My Chinese', *Cosmos Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 3, 19 September 1896, pp. 124-128; vol. 3, no. 4, 19 October 1896, pp. 138-141; vol. 3, no. 5, 19 November 1896, pp. 192-196. Egerton's portrayal of the Chinese in Sydney is both detailed and sympathetic and, although the nature of her own interaction with the community is not known, hints within the text suggest she may have been closely involved. In the story, for example, the fictional Chinese minister, the Reverend Hezekiah Ah Sing, is married with five children, named Gabriel, Joshua, David, Kezia and Kerenhappuch. New South Wales birth records reveal that the real minister of the Sydney Chinese Presbyterian Church, the Reverend John Young Wai, by 1896 when 'My Chinese' was written, had five children—Joshua, Samuel, David, Kezia and Kerenhappuch.
 52 A very different reaction to the friendly advances of a Chinese hawker towards a White woman and her child was described in Henry Handel Richardson's *Australian Felix*, Heinemann, London and Melbourne, 1960 (first published 1917), p. 171. See also Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia*, Penguin Books, Ringwood Vic., 1970, p. 55.
 53 'Christmas in Melbourne: A Chinese trader making presents to his customers', *Graphic*, 24 December 1887.

Poetry and Indonesian Women

Writing by Dorothea Rosa Herliany

Translated by Harry Aveling

As an Indonesian writer, I am continuously challenged by the condition of my own country. Of course, I am not alone in this. Almost every Indonesian writer is forced to face the political, social, religious, and humanitarian problems we see all around us. These problems provide a sort of a 'space' in which we can contemplate life in its universal dimensions.

Indonesia is a big country and a good country. But as everywhere, there is also crime and there are wicked people. Sometimes it is almost impossible to decide who is good and who is not. Literature provides us with an opportunity to explore the darker sides of human nature and society. For me, writing also provides an opportunity to explore the whole realm of human values.

As a woman writer, I find the inequality by gender deeply disturbing. Politics, tradition, society's laws, and even the religious exegesis of the various scriptures, all intensify the situation of gender inequality. One can sense this almost immediately through the role of law and religion in our daily lives.

My thinking begins from an awareness that we are all human and that we share the same humanity. There should be no gaps, no distinctions, no differences, and no exclusions between people. I believe that I have a right to my own autonomous human space, even though I also live in the middle of an ever growing process of world development, which is starting to become more global and more multi-cultural.

The most important theme in my works, therefore, is my restless awareness of the place of true humanity in a globalising world in which there many nations and many ethnic cultures. I am concerned with the relationship of one human being with another, of one individual with another, as persons.

Every time I face 'feminist issues', especially in my poetry, I face questions about the real nature of women's lives in Indonesia.

For me, Indonesian women can be divided into three groups. The first group is that of the 'traditional women', who can most easily be found in the villages. They are often characterised as hard workers, willing to make many sacrifices, sincere,