FOOTBINDING IN CHINA: A CURIOUS LOOK AT THE MALE ROLE IN A TOOL OF SOCIAL SUBJUGATION

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For centuries, Chinese mothers tightly bound their daughters' feet to alter them into highly coveted "golden lotus" shapes. This included forcing up the arch and creating a cleft in the sole of the foot, requiring the bones to break and the skin to rot and peel away.[1] After two years of torturous suffering, the girls' feet would ideally measure only three inches in length. These mimicked the feet of famed 10th-century dancer Yaoniang, who was said to have performed atop a giant gilded lotus in the court of Li Yu, last ruler of the Southern Tang dynasty.[2] Mothers knew that their daughters' feet would serve as the main determinants of their future prospects. To matchmakers, rich rulers, and prospective mothers-in-law, the quality of their feet spoke volumes about their upbringing and strength of character. By the Qing dynasty, neatly bound feet were necessary for the navigation of almost every Chinese province's social structure.

Historians trace mythological beginnings of the practice to the Southern Tang dynasty of the Five Dynasties period. In the

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course of a thousand years, footbinding became ingrained in Chinese culture, due to its erotic appeal and symbiotic relationship with class distinction. By the mid-twentieth century, criticism from Western cultures and internal nationalist pressure had eradicated the practice from China. The purpose of this essay is to explore how male forces facilitated the practice's beginnings, institutionalization, and eventual downfall.

Historiography

Ming- and Qing-dynasty scholars recognized that footbinding spread through emulation, once it became aesthetically favored in a certain area.[3] This meant that investigation of the practice's beginnings necessitated research of its mythological origins. At first, because the practice was a sensitive taboo, it was mentioned only sporadically in travelogues and notation books, informal mediums through which myths, rumors, and history could all be recorded together in one train of thought.[4] Consequently, scholars' origins research followed tradition and substantiated hypotheses through allusions found in classical literary texts. However, as Ming scholar Yang Shen acknowledged, studying literary texts gives rise to conflicting origin theories, as endless allusions can be drawn from vernacular poems and plays that might not have actually been referring to the physical practice of footbinding.[5] For example, because the 9th-century poem *The Fragrant Toilette* describes a girl with six-inch feet and precedes the story of 10th-century dancer Yaoniang, should it replace the legend as the most probable origin story?[6] Myth and history could not be separated in contemporary records and literary text, which made it difficult for scholars to prove that one origin theory held more water than another, and even more difficult to prove that said literature or myth gave rise to the first physical emulations of footbinding. With that being said, some of the legend of Yaoniang is grounded in fact—Tang Buddhist statues often featured bejeweled lotus pedestals, and ruler Li Yu celebrated Buddhism, which might have intersected with his wife's appreciation for court dance. By the 15th century, most Chinese people referred to the legend of Yaoniang as the principle origin story of footbinding.[7]

Although the beginnings of the practice remain shrouded in mystery, it is true that footbinding reached its height in popularity in the Ming and Qing dynasties.[8] A few non-Chinese peoples living in China did abstain from binding, such as the Mongols, Tibetans, and Hakka, but the majority of China caught onto the trend in various forms.[9] Sichuan women were famous for "cucumber feet" instead of "golden lotuses," opting for a less extreme style that only involved folding the four small toes under the foot, instead of forcing up the arch.[10] Shanxi women in the northwest preferred flat soles, dismissing the broken arches of the southerners as "goosehead bumps."[11] The regional variations in style raise debate over what defines bound feet; hence, this complicates demographic information that could speak to the evolution of the trend.[12] In addition, there is limited research about footbinding in poor, rural communities. Christina Turner roughly estimated the intensity of the practice in each province by using anecdotal evidence from travelogues and notation books, but she surmised that there is not enough evidence to generalize about large rural areas.[13] Regardless, the information that can be extracted from records suggests that if parents could afford to bind their daughters' feet, they would try; it was regarded as a cultural norm that even those in remote provinces strived to follow. For example, rural villages in Yunnan Province only stopped binding in 1957, around twenty years after most areas in China did so.[14] In addition, multiple accounts describe how the first Empress of the Ming dynasty, who had been brought up as a peasant,[15] was ridiculed at a lantern festival for having natural feet. A villager even made a lantern and riddle alluding to her feet, to which the emperor responded by executing his entire clan.[16] Qin Shihuang himself, founder of the Qing dynasty, hand-picked small-footed women for his court.[17] Historical fact cements footbinding as an expected facet of a well-groomed woman's appearance.

The prevalence of such a strange practice has prompted intellectuals to speculate over the rationale behind it. In the first comprehensive English history of footbinding to be published, Howard S. Levy suggested that the bound foot holds a certain sexual allure. He explained that because feet were cleaned and

bound in privacy, they created "mystery," and that the "tiny and fragile appearance of the foot aroused in the male a combination of lust and pity."[18] This attraction aligned with and possibly sprang from Neo-Confucian ideals of the female: self-consciousness, a ladylike mystique, and a willingness to remake oneself.[19] To support his theory, Levy referred to the myriad erotic literature centered on bound feet, an example of which being the infamous Ming dynasty novel *The Golden Lotus*. The anonymous author wielded the burgeoning demand for three-inch feet in intimate scenes, perpetuating the mystification and taboo surrounding them in the process.[20] Over the centuries, the popularity of footbinding swelled and became extreme; in this fashion, an eccentric practice became a trend and a norm. Levy also suggested that the practice allowed men to keep a tighter rein on wives and daughters by confining them to their quarters, citing for evidence a Chinese manual that implied that footbinding was a "restraining device."[21] Indeed, once girls underwent the process, they were crippled for life and would need to use canes or lean on other people.[22] This limitation upon physical mobility effectively confined them to the domestic sphere.

Thorstein Veblen, author of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, explained the durability of the practice by pointing out that it was a vehicle to display wealth and affluence.[23] Families who could afford to cripple their daughters, thereby sacrificing sources of labor and income, easily appeared to be well-off. It was reported by some Westerners that women in Hong Kong had feet so small and delicate, they spent the day lying in bed and had servants to carry them around.[24] Additionally, an immense culture of fashion bloomed around the appreciation for bound feet—embroidery, an expensive and time-consuming recreation, became all the rage. Regardless of the rationale behind the foot-bound woman's appeal, she was inarguably a major emblem of opulence within China for centuries.[25]

An Encumbrance, Yet an Opportunity

Women's lives revolved around a painful cultural inconvenience directed towards the aesthetic preferences of men. Between the ages of five and seven, when supposedly their bones were malleable and they understood bodily discipline, girls began several years of protracted pain and suffering.[26] Mothers exercised *teng ai* (literally, "pain" and "love") when coaxing them into walking circles around the room to break their bones more quickly. Accounts tell of girls losing their appetites, constantly feeling as if their feet were on fire, and, in their weakest moments, trying desperately to tear off the bindings.[27] As Howard Levy wrote, footbinding was an "integral part of a man's society which taught women to obey a strict and comprehensive moral code."[28] After the initial years of bone-breaking and skin-rotting, girls would have to patiently tend to the maintenance of their feet for the rest of their lives, along with the rest of the physical responsibilities conferred on women, such as childbirth.[29] Thus, footbinding was a mother's way of introducing her daughter to the later pains of womanhood.

The trend was so pervasive that people shunned those who did not participate. Early Qing dynasty scholar Lu Qi's central message in *Hsin-fu p'u*, "Instructions for the New Wife," was that wives should be obedient and willing to follow every demand of her husband and in-laws.[30] Carefully mapped-out social guidelines controlled their every movement, joining arms with the practice of footbinding to restrain physical defiance. Other writers outlined more behavioral standards that justified the perpetuation of footbinding: Liu-hsien, a widely read 17th-century writer, declared that unbound girls were crude and walked noisily.[31] He also observed that parents bound their daughters' feet to discourage them from tanning in the sun, preferring that they abstain from rough labor and remain indoors to embroider. Liu-hsien's words reveal that social protocol and existing gender roles kept the practice firmly in vogue.

Despite obvious burdens, the practice provided women an otherwise rare opportunity to raise their socioeconomic standings by marrying up. Men and their mothers surveyed potential wives with special attention toward their feet. If well-bound, they signified that the woman was obedient, refined, and from a well-to-do family.[32] Mothers also looked for a proficiency with textiles, as they needed help with producing and patching up apparel for the family.[33] Neighbors scrutinized the red wedding shoes traditionally offered as part of a dowry when a match was agreed upon—whether new brides initially lost or gained respect in their husbands' communities depended on their embroidery skills.[34] Once they settled in their new homes, wives stayed at home to embroider while men worked in the fields.[35]

The clothing-production culture was most pronounced in the Jiangnan countryside, where the cotton and silk industries were especially lucrative.[36] Economic historian Li Bozhong argued that if a peasant woman there worked for 260 days, she could earn enough rice to feed two family members. For this reason, women in Jiangnan received more respect in their families and communities. As a labor-intensive yet pleasant pastime, weaving simultaneously encouraged female companionship and competition, and, as with other forms of art, it offered inner peace within the confines of society. The protagonist of the aforementioned novel *The Golden Lotus* displayed the immense pride and enjoyment that women took from weaving as she carefully chose fabrics and dyes for her clothing.[37] Only after the Communists' official ban upon footbinding would women start to accept commercially-produced shoes.[38] Women made their own worlds out of footbinding, albeit under cultural demands that they had no chance to accept or decline.[39]

Unfortunately, there are few primary sources that could lend a deeper understanding of how women managed psychologically. Because they did not traditionally receive educations, we do not have the benefit of examining personal diary entries or other written records. However, a certain Madame Xuan, wife of a Ming dynasty scholar, authored a chantefable named *Judge Bao Judging the Case of Imperial Uncle Cao* that offers firsthand insight on what

kinds of expectations women dealt with. Chantefables, a sing-along type of storytelling that was common in wealthy households, went to great lengths to paint the appearances of each character so that the audience could visualize the story.[40] Zhang, the wife of Judge Bao, is described formulaically: "she paints her brows skillfully and applies lipstick lightly...piles a high coiled dragon chignon on her head," and "wears a headdress of gold phoenix and pearls." "Lavishing attention on the clothing, makeup, hairstyle, and jewelry,"[41] as Dorothy Ko writes, conveys Zhang's high social status and hints at the ever-present expectation laid upon women like her to look presentable. Thus, Madame Xuan illustrated a complex culture of fashion that directed scrutiny upon women and exacerbated their social anxiety.

The verbs of "sizing up" and "inspecting" made frequent appearances in vernacular Qing dynasty plays, further indicating a culture that condoned open judgment of others' physical appearances.[42] A girl in the play *The Wife and Her Mother-in-Law* reflects the pressure to look presentable as she carefully tends to her "gilded lilies" before her mother-in-law comes to "inspect" her.[43] In fact, inspection became a profession for Li Yu, self-professed connoisseur of bound feet. Li made a business out of his "skill" at determining women's characteristics through the quality of their shoe embroidery and the size of their feet.[44] Wealthy patrons could enlist Li to scout potential concubines by observing their feet and rating each on a scale of, ironically, "natural beauty." Although women were expected to have bound feet and thereby present a false, contrived exterior, men also wanted them to look effortlessly beautiful. A gritty reality hid behind idealistic expectations and the guise of sexual appeal: the maintenance of deformed feet was a mundane routine of replacing smelly bindings and applying medicine on the corns and bunions that frequented their skin.[45]

To cope with the various pressures they faced in their patriarchal society, women found solace amongst other women. Those of Jiangyong County in the Hunan province even created a secret written language called *nushu* to protect their letters from the probing male eye.[46] The special script was often written

on fans and other embroidered fabrics to be discreetly given to female friends. A girl could feel comfortable communicating her innermost worries and desires to another in her community, strengthening her network of friendships and sense of female camaraderie. The secrecy of the script was extreme; women usually wanted their *nushu* writings burned when they died, in order to preserve the authenticity and purity of their work from "male pollution." For this reason, existing artifacts of *nushu* writing are rare and precious. Another Hunan tradition was for young girls to pair up as *laotong* ("old sames"), in essentially a "female marriage."[47] Two girls of similar age and personality would vow to comfort each other in the midst of hardship, a formalized bond meant to last for eternity. The development of this support system acknowledged the challenges of womanhood.

In the end, footbinding was simply a practice born from and perpetuated by reigning predilections. It only somewhat differs from modern practices like plucking eyebrows and wearing high heels, driven by the universal inclination to follow beauty standards. Some literary texts from the Ming dynasty even record instances of foot-bound men.[48] As an oral Hunanese story went, a soldier once followed an astrologer's advice to rear his son as a girl, and later the boy married into a prosperous family. What may have started as a tall tale became a vogue for men: in Beijing, it was customary by 1906 for boys of the upper classes to bind their feet in order to fit the narrow shoes then in style. Although they only used bindings to compress their feet temporarily, the fact that even men began to adopt a form of footbinding elucidates the power of aesthetic preference and emulation.

The End of an Age-Old Institution

Initial attempts to abolish footbinding failed miserably. In an effort to assimilate the newly acquired Chinese people into their own, the Manchus banned the practice in the 17th century but did not manage to extinguish a norm of such cultural and social import.[49] Eradication was finally achieved only when anti-footbinding was tacked onto a larger movement to emancipate

women. Intellectual and cultural exchanges with Westerners toward the end of the Qing dynasty sparked the beginning of the women's liberation movement. The end of the Second Opium War welcomed an influx of white missionaries and entrepreneurs, including Reverend MacGowan of the London Missionary Society.[50] In 1875, upon hearing the frightening wails of a young girl in a nearby house, he stumbled upon the practice, intruding on the worst moments of the binding process. Fifteen years later, MacGowan organized a local rally and urged Chinese women to stop desecrating their "natural, God-given bodies." The idea was given a name, *tianzu* ("natural" or "heavenly" "feet"), soon championed by the Heavenly Foot Society, which was founded by Kang Youwei in 1883 to encourage women to abandon *chanzu* ("bound feet"). MacGowan also appealed to intellectuals by utilizing the ideal of gender equality, in suggesting that because men's and women's feet were similarly structured, one gender did not deserve to be enchained to self-mutilation on the other's account. He became the first of many in the Christian missionary community to devote themselves to liberating Chinese women.[51]

Once footbinding gained international exposure, it became something of a national urgency. Men perceived that the practice presented their people to the world as one of weak mothers and unhealthy offspring, of people less civilized than Westerners.[52] Somewhat using footbinding as a scapegoat for China's collapsing empire and gradual colonization, many men joined the movement in the need to restore national pride.[53] Their actions often cruelly estranged women whose feet were already bound. One such man was Reverend Ye, who reprimanded mothers for inflicting such enormous pain on their daughters and mindlessly adhering to fashion.[54] However, he paid little attention to the fact that in binding their daughters' feet, they could help their daughters marry up. In admonishing them, Ye demonized those he perceived to be the sole perpetrators of the practice and who turned a blind eye towards the reality: footbinding flourished because men loved bound feet, and women simply learned to do what they could for themselves.

Some reformist thinkers actively turned upon the entire gender. Liang Qichao, an influential writer of the 19th century, declared in a widely read essay that since women were not wage-earners, they burdened the husbands and sons who had to feed them.[55] He also stated that since most women were uneducated, they were "no better than beasts." Such thinking ignored the fact that women were traditionally discouraged from pursuing an education. Liang also overlooked their laborious domestic work—raising children, producing apparel and commercial cloth, and attending to in-laws' every need. As always, gender roles hurt every gender involved, albeit in different ways. It would be ignorant to claim that Chinese men only benefited from the patriarchal power dynamics, burdened as they were by the pressure to be the breadwinners of the family. However, it was doubly ignorant of Liang to imply that women were unproductive leeches upon their husbands and sons. Soon after he released his essay, a New Year's print in market town Yangliuqing scolded women for depending on men for food and money.[56] It concluded with a nationalist sentiment: "China is weak: this is the most serious sickness." Supposedly, this "sickness" stemmed from a gender labor imbalance that burdened only men.

Other men who championed *tianzu* kept their focus on liberating women, but still paid little heed to the trouble they caused for them. The movement didn't only aim to stop girls from starting the binding process—it also pushed women to release their bindings and revert to their natural states (*fangzu*).[57] This meant that in addition to having suffered through the binding process as a child, women were forced to acknowledge that their bravery had been in vain due to shifting aesthetic preferences. Achieving complete *fangzu* was also anatomically impossible; once feet were bent and broken, they could never fully function again. A man in Daixi, a Wuxi county, composed a lighthearted song that outlined *fangzu* as a simple step-by-step procedure that could somehow miraculously reverse years of damage and destruction.[58] In reality, *fangzu* was a never-ending process, and walking on shrunken feet without bindings was "extremely difficult and painful."[59] Some Suzhou women wrote and distributed a widely

read pamphlet that prescribed pain relief.[60] Predictably, realistic advice for the reversion process could only be administered to women by fellow women.

Conservative communities initially refused to budge in the face of the budding movement, viewing footbinding with their own sort of nationalism. Scholar Gu Hongming, famed defender of footbinding, proposed that bound feet were not a symbol of China's weakness but rather the very essence of its exquisite culture.[61] In response to the accusations that footbinding unfairly confined women, Gu argued that clear bodily distinctions between males and females signaled a gender harmony and thus a superior civilization. As he nostalgically painted behavioral differences, he immortalized Chinese women as passive, demure, and obedient domestic caretakers.[62] Although Gu's writing was filled with flowery praise for women, the conservative feminine ideals that he highlighted further chained women to existing gender roles.

The widespread establishment of local natural-foot societies slowly but surely eradicated these traditional ways of thinking. Most of these societies followed the same protocol.[63] Plain, direct communication pragmatically targeted commoners and shaped the practice as fruitless and economically wasteful. Local women joined the movement to liberate themselves, vowing to attempt *fangzu*, halt their daughters' binding processes, or prevent their sons from marrying women with bound feet. It was easy for locals to participate; with help from officials, they spread the movement through mass meetings, chants, and songs. In communities across China, rallies held at churches, schools, and other places of public gathering "[put] the female body on display."[64] One widely documented rally at a school in Daixi was held to commemorate the liberation of a girl named Cai Aihua. The entire school watched as Cai Aihua "vehemently" spoke of the "crime" inflicted upon her and, with an almost religious air, vowed that "starting today the binders would be unwrapped." Other rallies attacked footbinding aesthetically and used pictures and X-rays to illustrate the unnaturalness of the bound foot.[65] In a culture that expected women to be shy and reserved, visual display held

shock value, and rallies were public spectacles. Organizers of these rallies seemed to know that if the bound foot was demystified, it would lose its erotic appeal. Although public rallies were instrumental in eliminating the practice, the theatrical ways in which they were conducted degraded and alienated women whose feet were already bound.

In some particularly stubborn communities, the movement was bureaucratized. Military governor Yan Xishan of Shanxi began a "Six Policies" campaign in 1917 to modernize the province, relying on a strict system of fines to discourage binding.[66] In accommodation of the low literacy level, Yan organized speeches and relied on state agents to administer fines. He also relied on "social surveillance," goading neighbors to tattle on one another. A disturbing facet of the campaign was that Yan assigned supervisors to investigate house by house and gauge how many villagers still practiced footbinding, essentially licensing men to intrude on women's living quarters. Numerous accusations erupted that feet inspection was "an excuse for fondling women," which was entirely plausible, given the practice's longstanding sexual appeal.

Although the bureaucratized campaign in Shanxi was overwhelmingly led by men with arguably suspicious motives, some women signed up to be feet inspectors. Thus, women in Shanxi bifurcated into a handful of young literates and older generations. Similarly, female participants in local natural-foot societies drew away from their kin as they fought to override tradition. Men turned against women, and young women turned against old women; one can only imagine how psychologically devastating this was for mothers and grandmothers, who received the full brunt of the anti-footbinding movement. If they wanted to keep pace with the shifting minds in their families and communities, they had no choice but to start *fangzu*.[67] The cruelest consequence was that even when women engaged in *fangzu*, they could not retrieve their former esteem. As the living remnants of a source of national embarrassment, they constantly faced ridicule and hostility in the streets.[68]

By the late 1940s, the practice had disappeared significantly from areas in which it had existed for generations. In Tinghsien, a rural area near Beijing, no new cases of footbinding were reported after 1920,[69] and in Amoy, a southern city on an island near Kinmen, only 4.5% of women had bound feet in 1937.[70] Although men's anti-footbinding efforts were rarely considerate of women, they did play an enormous part in engendering their physical emancipation from footbinding. In addition, the introduction of Western ideologies, which by then contained fewer gender-based divisions of labor, led to the opening of more girls' schools in the last decade of the 19th century, empowering women in the long run.[71] Correspondingly, opening ports to foreigners after the Second Opium War paved the way for future commercial exchange and development. Women benefited from the industrialization that swept China after the decade of Communist rule; taking new sources of employment in factories meant that they became official wage-earners, warranting greater respect within their communities and more say in family finances.[72] The combined increases in educational and employment opportunities for women launched an ongoing erosion of traditional gender roles that have ruled China for centuries.

In conclusion, although footbinding primarily confined women, it also gave them the opportunity to raise their socioeconomic standings. The foundations of this antiquated institution crumbled when Westerners exercized influence and Chinese men made active efforts to reverse the trend that they had passively encouraged. Halting the practice was a necessary step in the journey towards gender equality, but China left behind a generation of older women in the process.

Although footbinding has faded, the female heritage that blossomed around it has survived. The history of the practice tells a painful yet proud story of resilience in the face of hardship, of exquisite embroidery, "old sames," and a secret written language. That female heritage lives on in records, literature, and memories.

Notes

[1] Howard S. Levy, *Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom* (New York: Bell Pub, 1967), 29.

[2] Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2005), 114.

[3] Ibid., 128.

[4] Ibid., 111.

[5] Ibid., 114.

[6] Ibid., 111.

[7] Ibid., 114.

[8] Levy, 48-49.

[9] Ibid., 53.

[10] Hill Gates, *Footbinding and Women's Labor in Sichuan* (Routledge, 2014), 7.

[11] Ko, 194.

[12] Ibid., 10.

[13] Laurel Bosson, et al., "Feet and Fabrication: Footbinding and Early Twentieth-Century Rural Women's Labor in Shaanxi" *Modern China* 37, no. 4 (Summer 2011): 348, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23053328 (accessed June 24, 2015).

[14] Beverley Jackson, *Splendid Slippers: A Thousand Years of an Erotic Tradition* (Berkeley, California: Ten Speed Press, 1997), 155.

[15] Rosenlee Li, *Confucianism and Women: A Philosophical Interpretation* (State University of New York Press, 2006), 178.

[16] Ping Wang, *Aching for Beauty: Footbinding in China* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 33.

[17] Ibid., 30.

[18] Levy, 32.

[19] C. Fred Blake, "Foot-Binding in Neo-Confucian China and the Appropriation of Female Labor" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 677, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174774 (accessed June 24, 2015).

[20] Wang, 66.

[21] Levy, 30.

[22] Blake, "Foot-Binding in Neo-Confucian China and the Appropriation of Female Labor," 677.

[23] Saman Rejali, "From Tradition to Modernity: Footbinding and Its End (1839- 1911)—the History of the Anti-Footbinding Movement and the Histories of Bound-feet Women in China" *Prandium: The Journal of Historical Studies*

3, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 2, http://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/prandium/editor/submission/21844/ (accessed June 25, 2015).

[24] Jackson, 48.

[25] Most comprehensive English research on footbinding has been compiled in recent decades, with most of its factual basis scavenged and translated from old Chinese records; when footbinding became a source of international shame, it ceased to be often mentioned in Chinese texts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Only research published in English has been used to complete this paper.

[26] Blake, "Foot-Binding in Neo-Confucian China and the Appropriation of Female Labor," 681.

[27] Ibid., 682.

[28] Levy, 23.

[29] Blake, "Foot-Binding in Neo-Confucian China and the Appropriation of Female Labor," 684.

[30] Paul Ropp, "The Seeds of Change: Reflections on the Condition of Women in the Early and Mid Ch'ing" *Signs* 2, no. 1 (Fall 1976): 5, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173419 (accessed June 24, 2015).

[31] Jackson, 21.

[32] Ibid., 57.

[33] Bosson, et al., "Feet and Fabrication: Footbinding and Early Twentieth-Century Rural Women's Labor in Shaanxi," 349.

[34] Jackson, 57.

[35] Wang, 164.

[36] Ko, 139.

[37] Ibid., 212.

[38] Jackson, 60.

[39] Blake, "Foot-Binding in Neo-Confucian China and the Appropriation of Female Labor," 678.

[40] Ko, 199.

[41] Ibid., 201.

[42] Ibid., 155.

[43] Ibid., 178.

[44] Ibid., 154.

[45] Blake, "Foot-Binding in Neo-Confucian China and the Appropriation of Female Labor," 688.

[46] Wang, 166.

[47] Ibid., 170.

[48] Levy, 192.

[49] Ibid., 62.
[50] Ko, 14.
[51] Levy, 85.
[52] Wang, 42.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ko, 16.
[55] Ibid., 58. Liang Qichao wrote this essay in 1896-1897.
[56] Ibid., 21.
[57] Levy, 206.
[58] Ko, 47.
[59] Wang, 41.
[60] Ko, 49.
[61] Ibid., 31.
[62] Ibid.. 31.
[63] Levy, 74.
[64] Ko, 42.
[65] Wang, 39.
[66] Ko, 56.
[67] Because older, traditional women were not educated, first-person accounts are unfortunately not among the written records that can be scavenged from this transitional period. The voices of the younger, incendiary women blend in with the men's in existing records, while the voices of the old remain mute.
[68] Wang, 41.
[69] Levy, 91.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Rejali, "From Tradition to Modernity: Footbinding and Its End (1839- 1911)—the History of the Anti-Footbinding Movement and the Histories of Bound-feet Women in China," 6.
[72] Leslie T. Chang, *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2008), 284.

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