



With primitive peoples great ceremony attaches to eating. This applies also to men, but in more limited ways than with the ostracized woman. Contact is feared. In the Solomon Islands guests bring their own food, as these natives believe that if any one should accidentally retain a morsel of the food of his host, the host would mysteriously exercise an influence over him. In some places a man will not eat out of the same basket as another, and others will not accept food offered with bare hands. This fear follows the savage<sup>2</sup> into a far higher stage of culture and has the faith of others besides the Parsi,<sup>3</sup> who believes that a nail paring left unprayed over turns into the arms and equipments of the Mâzanân demons. Among the Bakairi each man eats by himself, and the natives of Borneo feed alone, with more or less ceremony, considering it wrong to attack even an enemy while he is eating.<sup>4</sup> Linked with the belief that a woman's glance is especially poisonous, would permeate the food and deprive it of its strength,<sup>5</sup> besides conveying in place of its inherent virtues the deleterious and obnoxious qualities characteristic of the female,<sup>6</sup> is another special danger particularly imminent at meals. This is the danger to the soul. When the mouth is open it may be extracted by an enemy present, or, while one's own soul is absent, a homeless spirit may take up its abode. It is believed that the soul of man sometimes leaves him, as in dreams, or when he sneezes, and hence it is well to invoke a blessing upon him at such a moment.<sup>7</sup> The distinction drawn as to women and the food taboo is clearly shown inasmuch as while no alien is initiated into the sacred mysteries of the Fijians, yet they are allowed to aid in the preparation and partake of the feast which follows such ceremonies, but a Fijian woman never.<sup>8</sup> The Warua will not allow any one to see them eat, but are doubly particular that no one of the opposite sex does so.<sup>9</sup> Youths are particularly liable to malign influences when they have just undergone the initiation ceremonies into the new and religious life reserved for men, and among some tribes, at least, must carefully cover their mouths when a woman

<sup>2</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose: A Study in Primitive Marriage*, 86 (1902).

<sup>3</sup> *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 342 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> (*Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXIII, 160) Crawley, *Ibid.*, 140, 148-149.

<sup>5</sup> *Grihaya-Sutra*, 123.

<sup>6</sup> *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 283 1.

<sup>7</sup> L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, 367.

<sup>8</sup> Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 27.

<sup>9</sup> "I had to pay a man to let me see him drink, I could not make a man let a woman see him drink." Lt. V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, II, 71.

is present.<sup>10</sup> The fear of the savage does not die out but follows him into a higher culture.

Whatever etiquette, however, is observed through fear of sympathetic magic between men, the most widely diffused form of this taboo is the rule which forbids men and women to eat together.<sup>11</sup> Many peoples have an implicit belief in the transmission of qualities, moral as well as physical, as the most prominent dietician to-day believes in his theories regarding the harmful effects of a protein diet upon a patient suffering from auto-intoxication. Partaking of the flesh and blood of any creature<sup>12</sup> caused them to absorb its qualities, desirable or otherwise. In drinking blood which represents and is life, one might appropriate the spirit of the animal.<sup>13</sup> The early Romans forbade wine to women under the severest penalties. The juice of the grape being its blood, the wine god infused his votaries with his spirit. The gambols and ravings of the drunken man were considered inspired, and no one might interfere with or insult him. An inspired woman was an undesirable member of society owing partly to the impossibility of keeping her in subjection, with the additional danger of an intoxicated woman not only bringing confusion into ancestor-worshipping families, but into the *gens*.

A man in a low stage of culture dreads the hyena, for if his wife succeeds in making him eat its brains, he will acquire its stupidity, and she will gain complete control over him. Not only does the possession of food or any object belonging to another, or, especially, any portion of the physical being, such as hair or nails, cause the thief to acquire power over the original owner, but in Central Australia a man fears to even have his wife's relatives see him eat, for if he did their smell would get into the food and make him ill.<sup>14</sup>

The forbidding of certain foods to women or certain portions of the anatomy arises more from a belief in the qualities possessed by animals, and the desirability of increasing such characteristics as it is desirable for men to possess, such as courage, swiftness,

<sup>10</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, "Taboo or the Perils of the Soul," 116-117, 122.

<sup>11</sup> Crawley, "Taboos of Commensality," *Folk-Lore*, VI, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 313-314; First Series (1914).

<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, II, 200, 209. Trans. E. L. Schaub, Ph. D.

<sup>14</sup> (Spencer and Gillen). Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 398-399.

cunning pugnacity, etc.: to obtain by absorption qualities supposed to be contained in certain organs or portions, the fear of allowing women to use such specifics so as to increase such traits as the above, as well as sagacity, and in particular eloquence, thereby augmenting the difficulty of keeping them in subjection, causes the various taboos on food rather than mere greediness on the part of men.

A woman of the Kafirs who eats fowl is sold into slavery.<sup>15</sup> and among the Samoyeds the head of reindeer is forbidden, though the Dyaks of Borneo refrain from deer's meat as it might make them fainthearted.<sup>16</sup> The Dacotahs eat liver of dog and the Kafirs prepare a powder made of the dried flesh of various animals so as to absorb their varied qualities.<sup>17</sup> The heart of a water ouzel eaten by an Ainu, will not only make him a good marksman but will enable him to endure fatigue and above all things grow eloquent. The Eskimos have a taboo on eating seal and caribou the same day. Not only do some early peoples forbid the eating of fish,<sup>18</sup> but those living in a higher stage of culture sometimes ostracize the eaters of fish. The Masai<sup>19</sup> formerly forbade their women to eat anything but sheep. The Hottentot shares cow's milk with his wife, but a man is forbidden to eat sheep. Among the Mbyas of South America beef and monkey are two of the meats not allowed to women, and no girl may partake of any fish over a foot long.<sup>20</sup> The Miris of Northern India consider tiger meat unsuitable for women as it would make them strong minded.<sup>21</sup> The Hindus believe in the virtues of certain foods as do other races.<sup>22</sup> Then again we find the liver becomes an honorable organ, the kidneys dishonorable, the organs of mastication gentile, the organs of generation vulgar.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the forbidding of meat to women for the above reasons, the loss occasioned to men if the *mana* or soul of any

<sup>15</sup> E. Reclus, *The Earth and Its Inhabitants*, I, 215.

<sup>16</sup> (Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forest of the Far East*, I, 186). Crawley, *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>17</sup> Sir John Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilization*, 19-20.

<sup>18</sup> Frank Boaz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 222-223 (1911).

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, 493. Trans. from 2d German ed. by A. J. Butler.

<sup>20</sup> Lubbock, *Ibid.*, 447.

<sup>21</sup> (Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, 33). Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Idea*, II, 321.

<sup>22</sup> *Grihaya Sutra*, II, 283.

<sup>23</sup> J. P. Warbasse, M. D., *Medical Sociology*, 89 (1909).

creature be absorbed by a woman, is the fear of the power of the occult, and that they may yet be more than ever at the mercy of a creature who repels and yet allures them. The forbidding of meat to women for three nights at certain rhythmic periods becomes a religious tenet in a far higher stage of culture, as the fiend dwelling within her is in a state of activity, and any strength she may gain accrues to Ahriman,<sup>24</sup> the ruling evil spirit of the Parsis, as opposed to Ahura Mazda, the benevolent. There is reason to believe that the foundation for the exclusion of women from social, political and religious life, and the limiting of even the domestic, rests upon the fear men entertain of the catamenia. (There is no known connection between the catamenia and ovulation). Through the prohibitions caused by this fear they are still in a few instances ostracized from the village occupied by the men, in more numerous cases a wife will either sleep in another building or only occasionally enter her husband's room, wherever the men's house is established, and it has been and is widespread.<sup>25</sup> they are usually forbidden to enter, at any time on pain of death but always at meal time. As with religion they crept in later as servitors. Among the Mayas women acted as cup-bearers, and when presenting a cup to a man the woman turned her back while he drank.<sup>26</sup>

Sympathetic magic is strongly brought out among a people whose enciente women are not expected to eat game whose intestines have been injured and who is forbidden to eat that given to her by others than her husband, as the child, though born in wedlock, is in danger of being a bastard.<sup>27</sup> The men of the Kwakiutl, who catch geese, are not allowed to eat herring eggs because this would cause the geese to scatter. They are also forbidden rock cod, which causes the fires to be red and smoky, so that they cannot see what they are looking for. Sea-eggs and tallow are also forbidden for these would cause their faces to become white and easily visible to the birds. The association of the traits of animals with portions of their anatomy is carried so far by some Indians that they wear the claws of bears in order to absorb their courage and ferocity, these conveyances of power appearing to us merely as the uncivilized idea of ornament. Bones are believed to contain certain specifics. A child's skull was hung around the neck by the Tasmanians in order to check the progress of disease.

<sup>24</sup> *The Zend-Avesta*, 182.

<sup>25</sup> Hutton Webster, *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *Civilized Nations*, II, 711. M. A. B. Tucker, *Woman Preachers, The Nineteenth Century and After*, Dec., 1916.

<sup>27</sup> E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, 35-36.



Wherever cannibalism was or is practised, the portion of the body considered the seat of the soul is retained for the chief. A man's strength and spirit may reside in his kidney fat, heart, or even a lock of hair.<sup>28</sup> Some cannibals eat the body of the slain to destroy its soul or ghost and thus secure themselves against its vengeance,<sup>29</sup> but the African cannibal in conquering his enemy eats him in order to absorb his strength, skill and bravery.<sup>30</sup> When Sir Charles McCarthy was killed by the Ashantees in 1824, the chiefs divided his heart between them, while his flesh was distributed among the lower officers and his bones preserved as national fetiches for many years at Coomassie.<sup>31</sup> To women, *bokolo* or dead body is usually forbidden. As opposed to the faith in the efficacy of the blood of a man or of certain animals, some tribes believe a draught of women's blood would kill the strongest man. In China the heart, liver, gall and blood of executed criminals is used for life-strengthening purposes, and Chinese soldiers still eat the heart and liver of criminals to gain pluck. In Christian Europe the blood of criminals has been drunk as a cure against epilepsy and other diseases.<sup>32</sup>

The fighting instinct was undoubtedly cultivated and the courage of the individual increased through a staunch belief in the efficacy of the means used, as the deprivation of such specifics to women aided in cultivating the opposite traits, the possession of pugnacity and the enjoyment of physical strength and courage eventually becoming unladylike. The consideration shown by the husband to a wife, the deference he pays the womanly qualities he admires, the courtesies of men to women are the reversal of the original customs of society. The military man is still of preeminent importance, and the spectacular exhibitions of prowess of his profusely decorated ancestor is repeated in the exploits of the U-boat, the U-boat chaser, and the aviator, not to mention the courage of the individual of all ranks. The protection of women in war or in a mishap is of slow growth, in which men to their muscular

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 48.

<sup>29</sup> P. V. N. Meyers, *History of Past Ethics*, 26.

<sup>30</sup> (Dr. H. C. Trumbull, *Blood Covenant*, 1893). Rev. R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 246. J. A. McCullough, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, 233-245. J. Deniker, *The Races of Men*, 147-148. L. T. Hobhouse, *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>31</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, "Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild," 149.

<sup>32</sup> (De Groot). Westermarck, *Ibid.*, II, 264, 565 2. E. H. Parker, *China*, 277.

courage have added the moral strength to stand against odds or certain death with a coolness and self-control which thrills the blood of the most phlegmatic. Sir Samuel Baker says a Latooka man values his cows<sup>33</sup> and wives. In a *razzia* fight he will seldom stand for his wives, but when he does fight it is to save his cattle. Under similar conditions of belief, it would not be etiquette to shoot a poisoned arrow at a man, but perfectly correct to discharge one at a woman.<sup>34</sup>

That animals are sacred, that the most sacred portions of some animals have been used in sacrificial ceremonies has been found to exist in many parts of the world. This belief is carried to such an extent that even contact will cause an inanimate object to absorb sacredness. The Inoits hoist a bear's bladder on top of the poles supporting the *igloo*, and if a male's will contain the man's weapons, if a female's the wife's ornaments also. The bladder is the seat of life, and the desired qualities of the former owner will enter into the articles. The holy feast of the male buffalo, the flesh of which is eaten only by the men of the Todas, is held in the depth of the forest. The Caribs forbid the holy part of an ox to women. These same people believe that the viands partaken of by the spirits become holy, and only the old men and people of importance might taste them, and even this required a certain amount of bodily purity.<sup>35</sup> Mohammed would not eat lizards because he thought them the offspring of a metamorphosed clan of Israelites.<sup>36</sup> Dog with some peoples is particularly desirable for a religious feast, and the Ban-

<sup>33</sup> They are sacred.

<sup>34</sup> "Only when the arrow is smeared with plant poisons does the bow become a real weapon. In itself the arrow wound is not sufficient to kill either game or enemy; the arrow must be poisoned if the wound is to cause death or even temporary disability." Wundt, *Ibid.*, 26. A native of the Naga Hills told an Englishman that it was not the correct thing to use a poisoned arrow except to shoot it at a woman. (*Jour. Anthropol. Inst. of Great Britain*, 199). W. G. Sumner, *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals* (1907).

<sup>35</sup> Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 388.

<sup>36</sup> "Moreover, if certain foods are forbidden to the profane because they are sacred, certain others, on the contrary, are forbidden to persons of a sacred character, because they are profane. Thus it frequently happens that certain animals are specially designated as the food of women; for this reason they believe that they partake of a feminine nature and that they are consequently profane. On the other hand, the young novitiate is submitted to a series of rites of a particular severity; to give him the virtues which will enable him to enter into the world of sacred things, from which he had up till then been excluded, they center an exceptionally powerful group of religious forces upon him. Thus he enters into a state of sanctity which keeps all that is profane at a distance. Then he is not allowed to eat the game which is regarded as the special food of women (Howitt, *Native Tribes*, 674). Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religion*, 303-304.

ziris in the French Congo reserve its flesh for men, surrounding it with a solemn ritual. A man must not touch his wife for a day afterward.<sup>37</sup> The Dayfur people of South Africa and the For of Central Africa prohibit women from eating liver, because they believe it to be the seat of the soul, that a person may increase his soul by partaking of it,<sup>38</sup> the inference being that as women have no souls it would be wasted. Totem animals are sacred to the clan, often named after them, which believe them holy, and are usually forbidden as food, besides, as with the Kwakiutl, the owl, their totem, when killed causes the death of a person.<sup>39</sup> *Au contraire*, with others the killing of the totem is sometimes necessary, as with the Lilloats of British Columbia, and is also a religious carnival. Over the body of the dead bear, their ancestor, they chant:

"You died first greatest of animals. We respect you, and will treat you accordingly. No woman shall eat your flesh; no dogs insult you."<sup>40</sup>

Race culture is practised and there are few breaches in civilized society which would meet with the disapproval of the social community as would the slightest remissness considered detrimental to the race or which would tend to bring misfortune upon it. Among the Malays neither father nor mother may look at a mirror nor into a bamboo tube, as if they did the child would squint.<sup>41</sup> An enceinte woman must be most abstemious. On the islands of Torres Straits should an expectant mother eat *at*, a flat fish, or a *gib*, a red fish, her baby would have poor eyes or an unshapely nose or be like a dotard. Eugenists even require girls in some instances to refrain from pig on account of its ugly mouth and long snout. In the Admiralty Islands no enceinte woman may eat yams or taro bulbs lest her child be dumpy, and if she ate pork the little creature might have bristles instead of hair. Among the Thompson River Indians a pregnant woman was not allowed, among other articles of food, to eat or even touch porcupine flesh or to eat anything killed by a hawk or eagle. If she ate the flesh of the bear the infant would have a hair lip. Besides her own prohibitions, anything forbidden to her husband was taboo to her. It appears, also, that in some places the husband is under prohibitions for a time. The Shuswap

<sup>37</sup> Sumner, *Ibid.*, 339.

<sup>38</sup> (Falkin). Westermarck, *Ibid.*, II, 320-321.

<sup>39</sup> A. A. Goldenweiser, "Totemism: An Analytical Study," *Amer. Jour. Folk-Lore*, April-June, 1910, 200 2.

<sup>40</sup> Goldenweiser, *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>41</sup> Ratzel, *Ibid.*, 441.



woman was forbidden to eat any bird, mammal or fish, except salmon. Among the Haida, a woman was forbidden certain meats owing the harm it would do the unborn child. Among certain peoples women at no time ate the head parts of any animals, and but few men ate them, unless they were shamans.<sup>42</sup> In the Banks Islands of the Pacific both parents eat only such food as would not cause illness to the new-born child.<sup>43</sup> A Cherokee woman was not allowed to eat ruffed grouse, for while that bird has large families it loses most of its young; strict people do not allow women to eat this bird until they are believed to be incapable of bearing children. The list of food denied the Australian woman is long, including many fishes and all turtles; only an enceinte woman may eat pigeon, it would make all others ill.<sup>44</sup> For an expectant mother among ourselves who desired a boy, a meat diet was recommended not so very long ago.

In Mili, one of the New Hebrides, the men prepare all their food in the men's club house, which is, of course, taboo to women, as anything a woman cooks is by them considered unclean.<sup>45</sup> In other communities a woman cannot enter the dining room during meal time,<sup>46</sup> and in others no woman may enter the building at any time on pain of death. Travelers have found unconscious infringements of such taboos a matter of peril, for the injudicious handing of food to women for distribution among warriors has brought them perilously near to being speared.<sup>47</sup> A Maori who touched an unclean woman himself became taboo "an inch thick,"<sup>48</sup> which is a literal translation of the belief in the corpuscular theory further developed by the sages.

New crops are frequently taboo until the chief has partaken of them, whereby he exercises his *mana* or magical power over them. In New Caledonia women may not eat of them until long after the men have partaken of them.

Such taboos affected necessarily not only social but domestic life. The Hottentot woman eats separately. She rarely enters her

<sup>42</sup> Goldenweiser, *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>43</sup> Wyllistine Goodsell, *A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, 39.

<sup>44</sup> Ratzel, *Ibid.*, 372.

<sup>45</sup> (Baessler, *Südsee-Bilder*, 625). Webster, *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>46</sup> The catamenia is an offense against meal time. *Pahlavi Texts*, III, 303-305.

<sup>47</sup> Rev. J. G. Wood, *The Uncivilized Races of Man*, II, 757.

<sup>48</sup> (*Jour. Anthropol. Instit.*, XIX, 101). Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 11.

husband's room. Catlin says that in all his experience among the Indians of North America he never saw an Indian woman eat with her husband.<sup>49</sup> A Dacotah believed that if he ate with his wife his lips would dry up and turn black : a Uripiv who ventured to do so would face a mysterious death. Among the old Semites it was not customary for a man to eat with his wife, and to-day a Southern Arabian "would rather die than accept food at the hands of a woman."<sup>50</sup> It was not, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a universal custom for a man belonging to the higher classes among the Egyptians to take his meals with his wife, either being too haughty or too engaged to do so.<sup>51</sup> It is not a custom for men and women to dine together in China, although husband, wife and adult children will oftentimes eat at the same table, but when guests are present the women of the family do not appear,<sup>52</sup> a modern repetition of the social custom which bound the woman-citizen of Athens. Some men who will not eat with their wives will eat with their employees.<sup>53</sup> The present idea appears to be, not so much the fear of harm, as that a man's dignity is impinged by eating with women. A mother is said, also, to be forbidden to eat with her male children, and here again we find the Hindu idea paralleled, nor has she the right to touch the food her son leaves.<sup>54</sup>

The savage's belief in the magical power exercised over another through the possession of some article or by proximity continues in a century-long domestic taboo. Among some tribes of barbaric status, the elder brothers and father are served by the younger male members of the family, and when there are guests at table wait upon them, and on such occasions, like the women of many nations, take their meal afterward. The peasant wife of to-day of whatever clime, eats from a stew pan in a corner, rarely sitting at the table with her husband.<sup>55</sup> Mrs. Bishop found the custom wherever she traveled.<sup>56</sup> In one account she gives, a wife presented the food to her husband with the customary gesture of

<sup>49</sup> (Catlin, *Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*). H. T. Finck, *Primitive Love and Love Stories*, 578.

<sup>50</sup> Sumner, *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>51</sup> E. D. Lane, *The Modern Egyptian*, 129.

<sup>52</sup> Rev. Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, I, 46.

<sup>53</sup> K. F. Junor, M. D., *Curious and Characteristic Customs of the Chinese*, (1910).

<sup>54</sup> W. M. Gallichan, *Woman Under Polygamy*, 287-288, (1915).

<sup>55</sup> Caroline Dall, *The College, the Market and the Court*, 275-276, (1914).

<sup>56</sup> *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*.

respect, then served her little son, omitting the salutation, and then she and her little daughter retired and ate together. A Serbian bride at her wedding for the first and last time eats with a man and is served instead of serving.<sup>57</sup> The Nestorian Christians do not eat together, that is, the women do not eat with the men, a phenomenon of savagery running alongside the doctrines of Christ. As usual, we can find the expositions of savage ideas in the Sacred Books of the East, especially among the Parsis and Hindus. As the savage believes in the transmissibility of qualities by contact, so is the corpuscular theory expounded by orthodox pundits,<sup>58</sup> and in some respects surpasses that of the barbarian.

As we rise higher in the stage of culture sacred precepts forbid the sexes eating together. The fear the savage entertained of magical influences becomes religious tenets. Among the Hindus it is proper for a woman to eat apart from men, including her husband.<sup>59</sup> A Snâtaka, a particularly holy man, is especially forbidden to eat with his wife or even look at her while she eats or sits at her ease, for it is declared in the *Vâgasaneyaka*, "his children will be destitute of manly vigor."<sup>60</sup> The behests to students of the holy books are not only numerous but specific.<sup>61</sup> So well are these tenets obeyed to-day, that even in a happy home, where, in spite of many obstacles (principally in-laws) love dwells, the women of the family usually take their meals after the men have had theirs, and the wife as a rule, eats what it may please her lord to leave on his plate.<sup>62</sup> The Sadhs have twelve commandments, of which the tenth says a man must not eat a woman's leaving, but a woman may eat what a man has left, as may be the custom.<sup>63</sup>

This fear was not alone the fear of touch, but of glance, which has its foundation in the fear of the evil eye, and includes certain objectionable animals, and the low caste. If a man of inferior caste enters the kitchen of a Hindu while food is being prepared, all of it must be thrown away. If food so contaminated were eaten, it would taint the souls as well as bodies of the eaters and would cause long and painful expiation. A Brâhmana who dies

<sup>57</sup> Crawley, *Ibid.*, 177. Esther Singleton, *Turkey and the Balkan States*.

<sup>58</sup> E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, 109 (1912).

<sup>59</sup> *Satapatha-Brâmana*, I, 259. *The Institutes of Vishnu*, 221, 226-227. Crawley, *Ibid.*, 169 10.

<sup>60</sup> *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, II, 61. *The Laws of Manu*, 138.

<sup>61</sup> *Grihaya Sutras*, 123.

<sup>62</sup> Pundita Ramabai Saravasti, *The High Caste Hindu Woman*, 48-49.

<sup>63</sup> H. H. Wilson, *Sketches of Religious Sects*, I, 355.

with the food of a Sûdra in his stomach becomes a village pig in his next life or is born into the family of a Sûdra. If, after eating such food, he becomes guilty with a Sûdra woman of an offense against caste, his sons shall belong to the Sûdra, and he shall not ascend to heaven.<sup>64</sup> A *Kândâla* must not look at the *Brâhmanas* while they eat. Now a *Kândâla* is the offspring of a Sûdra and a woman of the *Brâhmana* caste. There is nothing as low, for morality in India is largely founded on caste, except the offspring of a *Brâhmana* and a Sûdra woman, a *Pârasava*, who, though living, is impure as a corpse. No one, not even a *Brâhmana*, can escape the contamination caused by nearness to a corpse.<sup>65</sup> Offenses in India are in inverse ratio to caste importance, even sex playing a somewhat inferior part, though the sexual offense of a woman, as founded on ancestor-worshipping families, is far more heinous than that of which her husband is guilty.

The development of the moral ideas of the *Brâhmana* has been as remarkable, if not more so, than any other race, but certainly none have made such a comprehensive effort to protect caste. It is to be noted that a village pig is one of the animals not allowed to look at a *Brâhmana* while he eats, as well as the cock and dog. Here the Hindu is at absolute variance with the Parsi, both of these animals being held in high honor by the Parsi, ill treatment of our most faithful friend being severely punished, the penalty sometimes being death. To the list of those who may not look at a *Brâhmana* while he eats is a eunuch and an unclean woman; "what any of these sees at a burnt oblation, at a solemn gift, at a dining given to *Brâhmanas*, or at any rite in honor of the gods and *manes*, that produces not the desired result."<sup>66</sup> The fear of the evil eye did and still exists in Christian countries and is not always confined to the uneducated.<sup>67</sup>

A boy is separated from his mother in early society sometimes at the age of three or four, but it is not usually until puberty approaches that he is taken away and preparations for his initiation into the world of men's interests are begun. This is a religious

<sup>64</sup> *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, II, 39.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 94, 95.

<sup>66</sup> *Manu*, 119.

<sup>67</sup> The evil eye is firmly believed in in Syria. A fat and sweet baby, a handsome and strong man, a beautiful woman, a very fruitful tree, an abundant crop of silk cocoons, etc., are in constant danger of being injured or even killed by an admiring evil eye. "Often did my mother grab and run away with me, her beautiful baby, to the nearest hiding place, when one who was supposed to 'strike with the eye' happened to be passing anywhere near our house."—A. M. Rihbany, *A Far Journey; an Autobiography* (1914).



world, and his initiation into it is sometimes so severe that the weaker novice dies. Prior to his initiation he has lived in a profane world, the world of women and children and uninitiated men.<sup>68</sup> Through these sacred mysteries the novice undergoes, not simply a new development in his life, but a "transformation *totius substantiac*."<sup>69</sup> The novice dies. He is reborn a new being, purified in body, with the birth taint removed from him, and with a mind vivified to embrace the sacred mysteries imparted to him by the old men. This idea is illustrated, in its development, among the Hindus. The syllable OM, which is the essence of the Veda, a salutation to Ráma, is to be pronounced at the beginning and end of a lesson studied from their sacred books by a student, who, meditating on the syllable OM becomes thereby fit to be united with Brahma.<sup>70</sup> Sometimes a few preliminary precautions are taken before such separation begins, and boys will be forbidden to eat food belonging to women. Novices among the Kumai of Gippsland may not eat female animals. The undesirability of having women at meals, the belief in the transmission of undesirable qualities of course easily embraces the physical. It is presumable that the hard labor women perform, the distances they trudge burdened with heavy loads, soon turn them into unpleasing objects; for these people think that if a boy ate with women he would grow up ugly and become gray. It is said there is no leisure to equal the leisure of an African gentleman. The tribes of Western Victoria forbid a boy to eat a female opossum, for if he did he would become peevish and discontented; these two traits are ascribed as characteristic female qualities. The list of food forbidden a boy is sometimes long about the time of his initiation. Parrots and cockatoos are among those forbidden in some tribes, kangaroo tail also, as it brings premature age and decay. No boy may eat a female bandicoot, because he would probably bleed to death at the initiation ceremonies.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Rules are given in the sacred books at what ages a boy may be initiated. If the initiation does not take place at such times, after a certain age he can no longer be a candidate.

<sup>69</sup> Durkheim, *Ibid.*, 39, etc.

<sup>70</sup> *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, II, 283-284. H. H. Wilson, *Sketches of Religious Sects*, I, 40. *The Institutes of Vishnu*, 126. *The Laws of Manu*, 43-44.

<sup>71</sup> Goldenweiser, *Ibid.* Harrison, *Ibid.*, 36. I. W. Thomas, *The Source Book of Social Origins*, 241. Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*. Jane Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of the Greek Religions* (1912).



A god would not only be polluted by the approach of an unclean person and his holiness diminished, thereby exciting his anger,<sup>72</sup> but any offerings could be defiled. In Tahiti the choicest foods, the flesh of pig, fowl and fish, coconuts<sup>73</sup> and plantains, anything which was to be offered to the gods, could be partaken of by men, but a woman was forbidden on pain of death to touch them.<sup>74</sup> Temples, altars, and ground held sacred to the mysteries of a religious faith are forbidden to women at all times; there continue to be certain restrictions at all times, and again at certain periods.<sup>75</sup> Of the great religious teachers Christ alone placed the woman-soul on the same plane as the man-soul. A Hindu wife takes a quiescent part in certain household ceremonies. *Ghee*, the sacrificial butter, is always a sacrificial element, and its purity is so sullied by her glance that it has to be reheated in order to remove the impurity she has imparted to it.<sup>76</sup> The Parsi teaches that the glance of an unclean woman takes the virtue out of any object at which she looks, imparts evil to every thing which she touches, and taints even their most sacred shrub if she is within a certain number of feet, so that earth, wood, fire and water, the sun and the starlight must be, as well as her fellow man, protected against her;<sup>77</sup> therefore in the olden days she was incarcerated in the *dashtanistan*, nowadays in a windowless and doorless room contained in every Parsi home. The Hindu warns all men against approaching an unclean woman; Mohammed is an echo. The Hindu woman must remove her ornaments, she must not laugh or run, she must not attend to household duties, etc. The cultured Roman held ideas not as extreme, but showed this belief still held him.<sup>78</sup> A world-wide situation is summed up by the Hebrew sage: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow

<sup>72</sup> Westermarck, *Ibid.*, II, 354.

<sup>73</sup> Which have magical qualities.

<sup>74</sup> Sir John Lubbock, *Ibid.*, 447-448. "Oppressive as were the laws to men, they were far more so upon the women. . . . Neither could they eat with men; their houses and their labor were distinct; their aliment was separately prepared. A female child from birth to death was allowed no food that had touched its father's dish. The choicest of animal and vegetable products were reserved for the male child; for the female the poorest; and the use of many kinds, such as pork, shark, bananas and coconut were altogether interdicted." J. J. Jarves, *History of the Sandwich Islands*.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas, *Ibid.* Durkheim, *Ibid.* Rt. Rev. Chas. Jos. Hefele, D. D., *A History of the Christian Councils*. Trans. and ed. by Rev. W. R. Clark, M. A. 2d ed. revised (Edinburgh) 1884.

<sup>76</sup> *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, 75 19.

<sup>77</sup> *The Zend Avesta. Pahlavi Texts*, I, 279; III, 303-305.

<sup>78</sup> Pliny, *The Natural History of*, II, 150-152; IV, 199 2; V, 304-307. Trans. J. Bostock and H. T. Riley.

and thy conception: thy desire shall be unto thy husband and he shall rule over thee."<sup>79</sup> In savagery, in barbarism and in civilization a woman at child-birth is a tabooed object; girls at puberty, women when enceinte were and are objects of dread. Lingerings beliefs hold their influence in Christian Europe, whispers are heard in our country districts; nay, even in our large cities!

In Africa it appears there is no usage for the word "home,"<sup>80</sup> and there is apparently no family institution among the Bako, dwarfs of Kamerun.<sup>81</sup> Women are sometimes totally excluded from the villages occupied by the men.<sup>82</sup> In the Pelew Islands there is no family life, no social life including the women, and needless to say, the taboo is also political. In the Society and Sandwich Islands the women are practically isolated. Among the Samoyeds and Ostiaks the wife keeps in her corner of the tent. Among the Bedouins the tent is divided, the men talking in the one side, the women working in the other. In Corea there is no family life. There is no family life, as we know it, in China, Japan or India. Women, at least among the lower classes, among Slavonic peoples owe formal deference to men. From the dance, from festivals, from the drama, women have everywhere, in one way or another, been forbidden participation.<sup>83</sup> Such customs merged from the fear of magic through the religious tenets of our Aryan ancestors into one in which it was not etiquette for women to appear at the same table when men were guests. An Athenian citizen-woman in the age of Pericles who attempted to break down this barrier would have done so at the price of her reputation. So long did this taboo continue it is said that wives in England did not sit at the table until the tenth century.<sup>84</sup> Harmless superstitions carry on the ancient fear, as in Brandenburg lovers and married people must not eat from the same plate or drink from the same cup. In the district of Fahrland, near Potsdam, there is a prohibition which is observed against a married couple biting the same slice of bread.

<sup>79</sup> Gen. iii. 15.

<sup>80</sup> D. Crawford, *Thinking Black: Thirty-Two Years Without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa (Konga Vantus)*.

<sup>81</sup> Sumner, *Ibid.*, 345.

<sup>82</sup> (Burrows, "On the Native Races of the Upper Welle District of the Belgian Congo," *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, N. S., I, 41); Thomas, *Sex and Society*, 299, 300.

<sup>83</sup> (J. Georgi, *Les Native Samoyeds*, 15, 137); 375. (B. T. Somerville, *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXIII, 4) 40 (1, 2, 5, 6), 52-53(3)-54. Thomas, *Source Book*, 471. Stephen Graham, "The Russians and the War," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1915.

<sup>84</sup> Matilda Jocelyn Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 341-342.

The psychological effect of a phenomenon which neither sex understood is the fountainhead for the exclusion of women not only from partaking of food with men, but the resulting exclusion and ostracism which has been and is domestic, social, political and religious. This separation of men and women led, we may believe to a more varied development than otherwise would have occurred. The seclusion, the ostracism developed diplomacy, which is one of the chief characteristics of women, coyness, a trait which has puzzled the anthropologist and psychologist, fear, asceticism, with other contributory causes, brought dissembling, prudery. Modesty, however, among Christian women, is largely a matter of fashion; a "striking" costume attracts attention, if not admiration. Fear, asceticism and aestheticism developed a viewpoint which has produced an unhealthy attitude toward the essentials of normal living; but this involves the enforcement of the double moral standard which first made the married woman the bearer of a double burden and at a later stage of culture involved the young girl in the bearing of an even heavier burden. Timidity was engendered, besides a certain amount of gentleness and sympathy. The fighting instinct, however, is not dead among women as evidenced by the late war. Both seclusion and ostracism tended to make women more tractable than the sex which became, as a rule, unclean<sup>85</sup> only through contact with unclean objects, as opposed to a sex which was fundamentally *noa*, common, or more properly speaking, evil. Woman was the dwelling place of superabundant evil, and as such was the object of demoniac attack and the source of evil to others.

The subjection of women was not founded on muscular weakness; there is no record of such in savage or barbarous society. The chief cause was much more subtle, i. e., fear, which is the most unreasoning of all the emotions. Her blood was poisonous, at certain stages of belief, to drink; if seen it would cast a blight upon a boy's life or cause a man's death; her touch took the virtue out of weapons; her glance banished the polish from metal; it blunted weapons. She was ostracized from the chase, the fight.

From savagery into barbarism, through barbarism into civilization, through civilization into Christianity we find a belief which has made society what it is.

<sup>85</sup> This phase is brought out more clearly in the teachings of the Hebrew than any other peoples.