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indicate. It would be of much interest if any could be elicited from anthropological observers, particularly cases of men of savage birth, who had lived from childhood amidst the habits of civilisation. And converse facts would be welcome as to the state of the teeth in any persons of civilised birth, who had, from childhood, lived amongst savages, and eaten after their manner. And still another question of great practical importance presents itself, viz., what habits in eating and drinking may be required by civilised persons from childhood onwards, in order to produce, not such amount of wear as is seen in the teeth of savages, but such as may keep the grinding teeth naturally polished and normally preserved. But the reply is not within the scope of the present paper.

[An additional note to this paper will be given in the next number of the Journal.]

SEXUAL TABOO: *a Study in the Relations of the Sexes.*

By A. E. CRAWLEY, B.A., F.R.G.S.

THE social relations of the sexes have rarely followed the lines marked out by natural laws. At an early stage of culture man seems to have exerted his physical advantages¹ and to have thus readjusted the balance in his own way. The subjection of the female sex is a general law of human history.² The inferior

¹ Darwin, "Descent of Man," 117, 597; Bastian, "Der Mensch in der Geschichte," iii, 292; Letourneau, "Sociologie," 168, 170, 181; H. Ellis, "Man and Woman," 395.

² Australia, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 168, "Journ. of the Anthropol. Inst.," xvi, 205; C. Lumholtz, "Among Cannibals," 109, 163; "Native Tribes of South Australia," 11; Waitz-Gerland, "Anthropologie der Naturvölker," vi, 774, 775; Paumotu (Low Archipelago), Dumont D'Urville, "Voyage pittoresque," i, 520; F. W. Beechey, "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," i, 238, 241; C. E. Meinicke, "Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans," ii, 219; uTbuai (Austral Islands), *id. op. cit.*, ii, 198; Rarotonga, *id. op. cit.*, ii, 149; Society and Sandwich Islands, W. Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," iii, 199, 293, 294; Fiji, T. Williams, "Fiji and the Fijians," i, 156, 169; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 45; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 627; New Caledonia, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 170; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 231; J. Garnier, "Océanie," 186; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 626; J. W. Anderson, "Fiji and New Caledonia," 218, 232; New Hebrides, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 203; Queen Charlotte Islands (Santa Cruz), *id. op. cit.*, i, 177; Solomon Islands, *id. op. cit.*, i, 166; Melanesia generally, *id. op. cit.*, i, 67; Duke of York Islands, W. Powell, "Wanderings in a Wild Country," 54; New Guinea, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 127; Rosenberg, "Der Malayische Archipel," 454, 532; Sumatra, W. Marsden, "History of Sumatra," 382; Battas, F. Junghuhn, "Die Battalander auf Sumatra," ii, 81; Bali, *id. op. cit.*, ii, 339; Nias, "Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde," xxxvi, 305; Corea, H. Ploss,² "Das Weib," ii, 434; China, M. Hue, "L'Empire chinois," i, 268; Siam, "Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels," ix, 379; Pondichery, D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 110; Hindoos, "Missionary Records (India)," xviii; Sumoyeds, J. Georgi, "Les Nations Samoyedes," 14, 15; Bastian, *op. cit.*,

position of women does not however necessarily involve ill-treatment, which is rare, or unfair division of labour,¹ which has perhaps in many cases been mistakenly ascribed. The main result with which I am concerned is the attitude of superiority assumed by man and his contempt for woman as a physical and social inferior.² The latter opinion of the female sex is the result of subjection, while the feeling that woman is the "weaker vessel" is universal and may exist independently.

iii, 303; Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 432; Ostyaks, *id. loc. cit.*; Circassia, Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, ix, 142; Anseyreeyah, A. Featherman, "Social History of the Races of Mankind," v, 495; Egypt, Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 455; East Africa, C. New, "Life in Eastern Africa," 359; D. Macdonald, "Africana," i, 137, 141; Darfur, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 172; Central Africa, P. B. Du Chaillu, "Equatorial Africa," 52, 377; South Africa, Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 426; Zulus, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 387; Kaffirs, Ploss, *loc. cit.*: West Africa, W. Bosman, "Description of Guinea," 320; Bastian, "San Salvador," 71; "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii, 465; C. J. Andersson, "Lake Ngami," 231; Winwood Reade, "Savage Africa;" Fuegians, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 175; Araucanians, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 515; Caribs, *id.* iii, 382; W. H. Brett, "Indian Tribes of Guiana," 353; Mexico, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iv, 130; North American Indians, *id.*, iii, 99; H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races of the Pacific States," i, 511; G. M. Sproat, "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," 91; Peter Jones, "History of the Ojebway Indians," 60.

¹ It was said by a Kaffir that a woman is "her husband's ox: she has been bought and therefore must labour," J. Shooter, "The Kaffirs of Natal," 79, 80; In New Caledonia chiefs maintain a large number of wives to get more work done, Garnier, *op. cit.*, 186; thus a man's wealth is often reckoned by the number of his wives: Africa, Bastian, "Expedition an der Loango Küste," i, 151; *id.*, "San Salvador," 71; New Britain, R. Parkinson, "Im Bismarck-Archipel," 99; Rajmaahal tribes, "Asiatic Researches," iv, 95.—Woman regarded as a chattel: Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 293; Africa, Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, 254; "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xvi, 86; Maravis and Mpongwes, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 109, 419; Kabyles, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 180; Hanoteau et Letourneau, "Kabylie," ii, 148, 169; New Hebrides, B. T. Somerville, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 7; New Britain, Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 98; Fiji, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 45; in Bali they are used as barter, E. Reclus, "Universal Geography," xiv, 200; so in Nepal, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 366; and Afghanistan,—amongst the Western Afghans, woman is the monetary unit, *id.*, 179.

² In Tahiti women were regarded as inferior beings, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 187; Sandwich and Society Islands, Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 257; Melanesia, R. H. Codrington, "The Melanesians," 233; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 67; New Hebrides, *id.*, i, 203; where the Tabu deprives them of all privileges, Reclus, *op. cit.*, xiv, 336; in New Caledonia women are put in the second place and are in a position of degradation, Garnier, *op. cit.*, 186, 350; in Fiji women are regarded as inferior, and are restricted by the Tabu, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 627; B. Seemann, "Viti," 237; in Bow Island (Paumotu Group) they are debased and neglected by the men: "the superiority of sex was probably never more rigidly enforced than here," Beechey, *op. cit.*, 241, 242, 243; New Britain, Powell, *op. cit.*, 84; Saráwak, C. Brooke, "Ten Years in Saráwak," i, 101; an Australian puts his wife on the same level as his dog, and never condescends to mix in women's quarrels, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 169; Corea, Griffiths, "The Hermit Nation," 245; Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 417; China, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 178; Hue, *op. cit.*, i, 268; Hindoos, "Missionary Records (India)," xviii, a husband calls his wife "slave," while she addresses him as "master" and "lord," "Histoire Universelle des Voyages," xxxi, 352; in Pondichery, women are the trembling slaves of their husbands: "custom has established an immense line of

Subjection and seclusion have probably stereotyped the feminine characteristic of timidity,¹ forming a more or less

demarcation between man and woman," D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 110; Battas of Sumatra, Junghuhn, *op. cit.*, ii, 135; Samoyed women are treated with disdain, Georgi, *op. cit.*, 14; Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 295; Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 433; Ostyaks, *id. loc. cit.*; Anseyreeyah women are regarded as inferior beings, Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 495; the peasants of the Dnieper and Volga regard woman as "a mean creature, born to sorrow," Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 448; the Moors of Senegambia regard woman as an inferior sort of animal, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 60; Gallas, Harris, "Highlands of Ethiopia," iii, 58; Sakalavas and Hovas of Madagascar, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 438; Kaffirs regard their women with haughty contempt, Shooter, *op. cit.*, 81; North American Indians, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 511; Charlevoix, "Journal," vi, 44, women are despised: to quarrel with a woman or to beat her is unworthy of a warrior, because she is too far beneath him, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 101; "the Indian men look upon their women as an inferior race of beings." It would be considered great presumption for the wife to walk by the side of her husband: she therefore keeps at a respectful distance. "The men have an idea that it is unmanly and disgraceful for them to be seen doing anything which they imagine belongs to the women's department," Jones, *op. cit.*, 60; Apache and Iroquois boys are taught to pierce their mothers' flesh with arrows, to show them their superiority to women, S. Powers, "Tribes of California," 20 (compare a similar Kaffir custom, Ploss, "Das Kind," ii, 442); Hares and Dogribs, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 100; Indians of California, Powers, *op. cit.*, 20; Nicaragua, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, iii, 494; ancient Mexico, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iv, 130; Eskimo, *id.*, iii, 308; Caribs, *id.*, iii, 382; Araucanians, *id.*, iii, 515; Abipones,—who think it beneath a man to take any part in female quarrels, M. Dobrizhoffer, "The Abipones," ii, 155. Hence certain rules of deportment: in Wassulo, a wife kneels when she asks her husband for anything, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 471; in Loango, whenever she speaks to him, Proyard, "Loango," 93; in Eastern Central Africa, where women are beasts of burden, a woman always kneels when she has occasion to speak to a man, Macdonald, *op. cit.*, i, 35; a similar rule is found in Bornu, "Histoire Universelle des Voyages," xxvii, 437. In New Caledonia, when a woman meets a man, she runs aside to let him pass, Garnier, *op. cit.*, 354; a Servian woman may never get in a man's way, but must leave the path: when meeting a man on the road, she is obliged to kiss his hand, a salutation to which men never stoop, Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 486; this salute is in North America an expression of humiliation, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 136; in Egypt, a man kisses the hand of a superior, and then places it on his forehead, a son kisses his father's hands, a wife her husband's, E. W. Lane, "Modern Egyptians," i, 252; in the Ukraine, young people kiss the hands of their parents, Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, "Hochzeitsbuch," 37; in the Island of Wetter, a man when asking forgiveness of a chief kisses his hands and feet, J. G. F. Riedel, "De sluik-en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua," 435; in Samoa, Rarotonga, and Mangaia, it is usual to touch with the nose the hand of the person saluted, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 149; Cook and King, "Voyage," i, 179; some peoples deny women the possession of a soul, for instance, the Anseyreeyah, Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 495; the natives of Darfur, R. W. Felkin, "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," xiii, 218; in the Marianne Islands, women do possess souls, but of less importance than those of men: it is doubtful whether the *mangatchangs* (commoners) have souls of any sort, D'Urville, *op. cit.*, ii, 495; in Tonga, the commoners are soulless, S. S. Farmer, "Tonga," 130; Seemann, *op. cit.*, 398; The Provincial Council of Macon in the sixth century earnestly debated the question whether women had a soul, R. von Krafft-Ebing, "Psychopathia Sexualis," 4.

¹ Examples of greater timidity in women:—Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 91; Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 495; Kotzebue, "Voyage to the South Sea," ii, 56; "Asiatick Researches," vi, 82; B. Morrell, "A Narrative of Four Voyages," 397; Garnier, *op. cit.*, 328, 349; W. Coote, "Wanderings South and East," 163, 164;

constant attitude of physical dread towards the stronger sex.¹

Marital jealousy,² which is that of the proprietor rather than the lover, has been responsible for the universal habit of chastity in wives, in some instances by means of absolute seclusion. Marriage by purchase, again, is an obvious concession to the rights of ownership, and here commercial instincts have in some cases enforced chastity upon daughters. It is to be observed, however, that freedom of choice is frequently allowed to the girl in marriage by purchase, and that elopement is another method of sexual selection.

On the other hand, there are cases where woman has asserted herself, sometimes even beyond equality. This is found exceptionally at low levels of culture.³ I now proceed to illustrate the revolt of woman, and some methods of suppression. The attempts of the Indians of California to keep their women in check show how the latter were struggling up to equality.⁴ Another account of the Hottentots represents that the women, though ill-treated and forced to do the harder work, can defend themselves and avenge their wrongs.⁵ A Poul (Fulah) governs his wives by force, but they recoup themselves when they get the chance.⁶ The Indian of Brazil has a wholesome dread of his wives, and follows the maxim of *laissez-faire* with regard to their intrigues.⁷ Amongst the Wataveita, fire-making is not revealed to women, "because," say the men, "they would then become our masters."⁸ The Miris will not allow their women to eat tiger's flesh, lest it should make them too strong-minded.⁹ The Fuegians celebrate a festival, *Kina*, in commemoration of their revolt against the women, who formerly had the authority and possessed the secrets of sorcery.¹⁰ In the Dieri Tribe of

H. Melville, "The Marquesas Islands," 75; C. Wilkes, "U. S. Exploring Expedition," iii, 232; K. von den Steinen, "Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens," 332; L. M. D'Albertis, "New Guinea," i, 15, 189, 200, 292, 318, 337, 342; Compare Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 181.

¹ Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 775; Hearne, "Northern Ocean," 310; D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 110.

² Compare Darwin, *op. cit.*, 119; Girard-Teulon, "Origines du Mariage et de la Famille," 46 ff.; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 375; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 127.

³ Amongst the Indians of California, women "wield despotic sway" over childhood and senility, Powers, *op. cit.*, 161; in the Hottentot household the husband "has not a word to say": the woman is the "supreme ruler"—Taras, a title used also of the sex in general, T. Hahn, "Tsun-Goam," 19, 20; amongst the Ainos, wives dictate to their husbands, and make them fetch and carry, Bastian, "Oestlich. Asien," v, 366; the wives of Nootka and Chippeway Indians are consulted on matters of trade, and appear to be nearly on terms of equality with their husbands, though they are the property of the latter, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 196.

⁴ Powers, *op. cit.*, 406.

⁵ Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 341.

⁶ "Hist. Univ. des Voy.," xxviii, 439.

⁷ Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 424.

⁸ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xv, 10.

⁹ Dalton, "Ethnology of Bengal," 33.

¹⁰ Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 448.

South Australia, men threaten their wives, should they do anything wrong, with the "bone," the instrument of sorcery, which when pointed at the victim causes death; this produces such dread among the women, that, mostly, instead of having a salutary effect, it causes them to hate their husbands.¹ The Pomo Indians of California find it very difficult to maintain authority over their women. A husband often terrifies his wife into submission by personating an ogre; after this she is usually tractable for some days.² Amongst the Tatu Indians of California, the men have a secret society, which gives periodic dramatic performances, with the object of keeping the women in order. The chief actor, disguised as a devil, charges about among the assembled squaws.³ The Gualala and Patwin Indians have similar dances, performed by the assembled men, to show the women the necessity of obedience.⁴ In Africa, the anxious attempts of the men to keep the women down have been noted.⁵ The adult males in South Guinea have a secret association, *Nda*, whose object is to keep the women, children and slaves in order.⁶ The *Mumbo-Jumbo* of the Mandingoes is well known. The same performer, who represents Mumbo-Jumbo, has also the duty of keeping the sexes apart for the forty days after circumcision.⁷ Other instances of associations to keep the women in subjection, are, the *Egbo* in Calabar, *Oro* in Yoruba, the *Purro*, *Semo* and varieties of *Egbo* on the West Coast, the *Bundu* amongst the Bullamers.⁸ Women in their turn form similar associations amongst themselves, in which they discuss their wrongs and form plans of revenge.⁹ Mpongwe women have an institution of this kind, which is really feared by the men.¹⁰ Similarly amongst the Bakalais, and other African tribes.¹¹

Some instances of success, more or less complete, attained by the weaker sex, may conclude this part of the subject. The scene of the victory is naturally the house. In Nicaragua, where women were very "unclean," husbands were treated like slaves, and were made to do all the house-work.¹² Balonda women exercise a veritable tyranny over their husbands, and assist in

¹ "Native Tribes of South Australia," 276.

² Powers, *op. cit.*, 154, 161.

³ *Id.*, 141.

⁴ Powers, *op. cit.*, 193, 224.

⁵ Bastian, "San Salvador," 182.

⁶ J. L. Wilson, "West Africa," 396.

⁷ Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 118; "Hist. Univ. des Voy.," xxv, 58. Ye. some Mandingo women have influence in politics, Waitz-Gerland, ii, 117.

⁸ Bastian, *op. cit.*, 179; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 118; "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vi, 121.

⁹ Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 294; *id.*, "San Salvador," 180; *id.*, "Loango-Küste," ii, 24.

¹⁰ J. L. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 397.

¹¹ P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, 296.

¹² Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ii, 685.

council.¹ Morotoco men are subject to their wives.² Amongst the Kunama, the wife has an agent who protects her against her husband, and fines him for ill-treatment. She possesses considerable authority in the house, and is on equal terms with her husband.³ Amongst the Beni Amer, women enjoy considerable independence. To obtain marital privileges, the husband has to make his wife a present of value. He must do the same for every harsh word he uses, and is often kept a whole night out of doors in the rain, until he pays. The women have a strong *esprit de corps*; when a wife is ill-treated, the other women come in to help her: it goes without saying that the husband is always in the wrong. The women express much contempt for the men, and it is considered disgraceful in a woman to show love for her husband.⁴ Amongst the Dyaks of South East Borneo, wives enjoy great freedom and many privileges. They sometimes lead the men in war, and exercise the authority of chiefs over whole tribes.⁵ Dooraunee women govern their husbands and are sometimes found in command of a caravan.⁶

We have thus found that man predicates of woman both weakness and social inferiority. The attribution of feebleness to the female sex, a subjective conception probably due to man's superiority in strength and stature, I have assumed to be universal: it still exists unimpaired in the highest stages of culture, though here it has lost its crudeness and become a chivalrous pity. The idea that woman is an inferior in the social scale I have ascribed to the subjection more or less real to which her sex has as a rule been exposed. This does not however exclude the probability that where no subjection can be premised, this opinion may arise from the mere belief in feminine weakness. It is, moreover, obvious that in many cases no clear distinction can be drawn between these two feelings. In fact, both the reality and the abstract idea of social degradation are ultimately the effects of physical superiority.

There are, lastly, two developments of the psychological relations of the sexes, which have played a subordinate part, namely, the feelings of hostility and awe. These will be considered later.

¹ Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 213.

² Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 530.

³ W. Munzinger, "Ostafrikanische Studien," 387.

⁴ Munzinger, *op. cit.*, 324, 325.

⁵ Schwaner, "Borneo," i, 161.

⁶ Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, ii, 122,—Hence masculine females sometimes assume male attire, simultaneously with male privileges or duties; compare "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 7; Brooke, "Ten Years," i, 131; G. A. Wilken, "De Indische Gids" (Augustus 1881), 263; W. Reade, *op. cit.*, 364. For Amazons, see the account of Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 309 ff, and Bastian, "San Salvador," 177 ff.

These feelings are undoubtedly the basis of that system of habits and rules of avoidance, which is found with varying intension to prevail universally, and which I have termed "sexual taboo."

Before any satisfactory deductions can be made, it is necessary to obtain a clear notion of the meaning of "social taboo" generally. An inductive study of the facts has made it clear to me that the main determinant of the phenomena of social taboo is to be found in the mutual relations of the two parties concerned, and that the individual in danger is influenced by a fear that the attributes with which circumstances lead him to invest the dangerous individual may through contact or other means react upon himself. Such fear prompts, by reflex action or otherwise, various methods of obviating the apprehended result, which then become habits and rules of avoidance. Ultimately, this subjectivity of mind resolves itself into the sensitive instinct of egoism, the prime factor in human action, which insulates the individual, originally for self-preservation, from others. Nor is it impossible to mark a penultimate step, where a group of individuals is held together by similarity of constitution or environment and insulated from others by the mere fact of differentiation.

The active principle of taboo is the power of self-transmission possessed by the essential properties of the person feared. This transmission can be effected by all the methods of contagion and infection, of which physical contact takes precedence. In the next place, any detachable portion of the organism, for the whole personality is impregnated with the virus, may serve as a vehicle; for instance, excretions and secretions, semen, saliva, sweat, urine, excrement, clothes as containing sweat, food as touched by the hands or lubricated with saliva, blood, hair and nails, breath and bodily exhalations generally. Material infection also results from proximity and from the seeing or being seen by the dangerous individual. With regard to certain details, it is hardly necessary to point out that *à priori* ideas of aversion and disgust must be excluded. The present hypothesis agrees with the facts of physiology, which show, first, that no such feelings are excited in the individual by his own functional effluvia, and secondly, that during the continuance of sexual passion any emanation of the kind from the loved object inspires pleasure. In some particulars the association of ideas is connected with the sense of smell.

Further, there are certain sets of customs in which the transmission of properties is performed with intention, as, for example, in the practice of injecting or sprinkling blood, semen or sweat, in order to impart new life or strength, and in a large

class of love-charms. In another class of love-charms the motive is malevolent, the victim being injured by the contagion of malicious properties.

On the other hand, these secretions, excretions and bodily growths, being regarded by an obvious reasoning as intrinsic parts of the individual, acquire an additional importance from the fact that they are detachable. When they have passed from the body, the loss is equivalent to a loss of essence or even of "life" and "soul," an idea which especially applies where a real loss of physical power is felt, as in the cases of blood and semen. Lastly, these detachable portions of the organism may be used by enemies and ill-wishers to injure the original owner by the methods of sympathetic magic.

It now becomes clear that the main factor in sexual taboo may be a belief, gradually evolved from the estimate which we have found to be held of woman, that feminine properties, especially weakness, timidity and inferiority, are transmissible by contact. With regard to the particular circumstances of menstruation, pregnancy and child-birth, no distinction is to be made; here, as I think, the danger of contagion is simply aggravated by the presence of a functional crisis peculiar to the sex, and, in the cases of menstruation and lying-in, by the additional appearance of blood, the surest vehicle for transmission. It is true, however, that these functional peculiarities have, by the very intensity of the sexual difference, helped to ensure the continuity of sexual taboo.

In the classification of customs, I have not separated from the cases where the principle of contagion is at work, those which spring immediately from the original treatment of woman as inferior. The transition from contempt to the idea that the contemptible property may contaminate by material infection is thus illustrated. It may well be, and I am inclined to think it is the fact, that the principle of contagion extends further back and exists in many cases below the surface. At any rate it is not always possible to draw the line.

Lastly, I have not attempted to differentiate in particular instances the two main premisses of physical and social inferiority; as has been pointed out, the two estimates are closely connected, though the former will be assumed if the latter be excluded. Where, however, a subordinate principle appears, I mention the fact.

Passing to the evidence for the hypothesis of contagion we find the following facts. Amongst the Barea, man and wife seldom share the same bed: the reason they give is that the breath of the wife weakens her husband.¹ In Western Victoria,

¹ Munzinger, *op. cit.*, 526.

a menstruous woman may not take any one's food or drink, and no one will touch food that she has handled, because it will make them weak.¹ Amongst the Dyaks of North West Borneo, young men are forbidden to eat venison, which is the peculiar food of women and old men, because it would render them as timid as deer.² A Zulu, newly married, dare not go out to battle, for fear he should be slain; should he do so and fall, the men say "the lap of that woman is unlucky." Accordingly the soldiers of the Amazulu in modern times refrain from marriage "that they may not be afraid."³ In the two last instances there is a fear of the infection of female timidity. Amongst the Damaras men may not see a lying-in woman, else they will become weak and will be killed in battle.⁴ In Ceram, menstruous women may not approach the men, lest the latter should be wounded in battle.⁵ In some South American tribes, the presence of a woman just confined makes the weapons of the men weak.⁶ The same belief obtains among the Tschuktschoi, who accordingly remove all hunting and fishing implements from the house before a birth.⁷ In the Booandik tribe, if men see women's blood they will not be able to fight.⁸ In the Encounter Bay tribe, boys are told from infancy that if they see menstrual blood their strength will fail prematurely.⁹ In the Wirajuri tribe, boys are reproved for playing with girls: the culprit is taken aside by an old man, who solemnly extracts from his legs some "strands of the woman's apron" which have got in.¹⁰ Amongst the Omahas, if a boy plays with girls he is contemptuously dubbed "hermaphrodite."¹¹ In these two last cases the idea is that contact with females produces a general assimilation to the female character. The Khyoungthas have a legend of a man who reduced a king and his men to a condition of feebleness by persuading them to dress up as women and perform female duties. When they had thus been rendered effeminate, they were attacked and defeated without a blow. "That," say the Khyoungthas, "is why we are not so brave as formerly."¹² The advice given to Cyrus by Croesus was identical with that of the hillman, and the result was the same.¹³ Contempt for female timidity has caused a curious custom amongst the Gallas: they amputate the mammæ of boys soon after birth, believing that no warrior can possibly be brave who possesses

¹ Dawson, *op. cit.*, cii.

² St. John, "Forests of the Far East," i, 186.

³ Callaway, "Religious System of the Amazulu," 441, 443.

⁴ "South African Folklore Journal," ii, 63.

⁵ Riedel, *op. cit.*, 139.

⁶ Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 26.

⁷ *Id. loc. cit.*

⁸ J. Smith, "The Bocandik Tribe," 5.

⁹ "Native Tribes of S. A.," 186.

¹⁰ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii, 448.

¹¹ J. O. Dorsey, "Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," 266

¹² Lewin, *op. cit.*, 136.

¹³ Herodotus, i, 155, 156, 157.

them, and that they should belong to women only.¹ Hence the custom of degrading the cowardly, infirm, and conquered to the position of females. At the "initiation" of a Macquarrie boy the men stand over him with waddies threatening instant death if he complains while the tooth is being knocked out. He is afterwards cicatrized: if he shows any sign of pain, three long yells announce the fact to the camp; he is then considered unworthy to be admitted to the rank of men, and is handed over to the women as a coward. Thenceforward he becomes the playmate and companion of children.² Amongst the Lhoosais, when a man is unable to do his work, whether through laziness, cowardice, or bodily incapacity, he is dressed in women's clothes and has to associate and work with the women.³ Amongst the Pomo Indians of California, when a man becomes too infirm for a warrior, he is made a menial and assists the squaws.⁴ So in Cuba and Greenland, with the additional degradation of wearing female dress.⁵ When the Delawares were denationalized by the Iroquois and prohibited from going out to war, they were, according to the Indian notion, "made women," and were henceforth to confine themselves to the pursuits appropriate to women.⁶

The prejudices of caste are a marked attribute of human nature, and the fear of the contagion of social inferiority is well seen in the attitude of a superior where caste is a developed system. Thus in ancient India, a Brahmin became an outcast by using the same carriage or seat or by eating with an outcast.⁷ The touch of an inferior still contaminates a high-caste Hindoo.⁸ In Burma a man may be defiled by sitting or eating with a low-caste Sandala.⁹ The black Jews of Loango are so despised that no one will eat with them.¹⁰ In Travancore, courtiers must cover the mouth with the right hand, lest their breath should pollute the king or other superior. Also at the temples, a low-caste man must wear a broad bandage over his nose and mouth, that his breath may not pollute the idols. In China it was formerly the custom for the officers of the court to hold cloves in the mouth before addressing the sovereign, that their breath might have an agreeable odour.¹¹

(To be continued.)

¹ Harris, *op. cit.*, iii, 58. Compare the cauterization of the mammæ by Amazons.

² G. F. Angas, "Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand," ii, 224. ³ Lewin, *op. cit.*, 255. ⁴ Powers, *op. cit.*, 160.

⁵ Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 313, 314. Compare Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 472 ("Guaycurus").

⁶ L. H. Morgan, "The League of the Iroquois," 16. This passage I owe to the kindness of Dr. E. B. Tylor. See also Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 23.

⁷ "Laws of Manu" (ed. Bühler), xi, 181.

⁸ Ward, "Hindoos," ii, 149. Colebrooke, "Asiatick Researches," vii, 277.

⁹ D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 173.

¹⁰ Bastian, "Loango Küste," i, 278.

¹¹ S. Mateer, "Native Life in Travancore," 129.