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The members of the Society were invited to be present at a lecture delivered on this day by Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., C.I.E.,

### ON THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

We are gathered to-day to welcome the establishment at this University of a Board of Anthropological Studies<sup>1</sup>, the object of which is to add a working knowledge of mankind to the equipment of those already possessed of a matured, or at least a considerable, acquaintance with science or literature generally. The aim is, in fact, to impart a human interest to scholarship or to scientific attainment, which are otherwise apt to become mere exercises of the intellect:—an aim rendered practicable by the research and study, in certain directions, during quite recent years, of a number of independent students, hailing from all parts of the civilized world. The particular directions in which Anthropological Science has thus been developed, to an extent that has obtained for it a recognised and important position among the sciences, are in Archæology, Ethnology, and Physical and Mental Anthropology. The archæologists have included enquiries into Prehistoric and Historic Anthropology in their researches, the ethnologists have included Sociology, Comparative Religion, and Folklore, while Mental Anthropology covers a study of the whole field of psychological investigation.

Now, when we are started on a new line of research, when we add a new course of studies to a University curriculum, there is a question that we cannot help facing—a question, in fact, that ought to arise—What is the good of it all? What is the good of Prehistoric Anthropology, for instance, or of Comparative Religion, to an undergraduate about to undertake a course of study, which is to enable him to embark fittingly on the practical affairs of life? This is the problem that it is proposed to tackle now.

Let us commence a survey of the trend of this last development of scientific effort with a truism. Every successful man has to go on educating himself all his life, and the object of a University training is to induce in students a habit of self-education, which is in the future to stand them in such good stead. Before those freshly passed through an English University there is a very wide field spread. Year by year whole batches of them are destined to go forth to all parts of the world to find a liveli-

<sup>1</sup> Appointed by Grace, 26 May, 1904, comprising a Report (dated 12 May) of a Syndicate appointed to consider a Memorial on the Study of Anthropology. See *Cambridge University Reporter*, pp. 806, 888.

hood ; to find places where work, lucrative, dignified, and useful, awaits them ; to find themselves also in a human environment, strange, alien and utterly unlike anything in their experience. It is a fair question to ask :— Will not a sound grounding in anthropology be a help to such as these ? There is a pater saying :—The proper study of mankind is man. Will not a habit, acquired here, of systematically pursuing this study, of examining intelligently, until their true import is grasped, customs, modes of thought, beliefs, and superstitions, physical and mental capacities, springs of action, differences and mutual relations, and the causes leading up to existing human phenomena, be of real value to the young Englishmen sent among aliens ? Will it not be a powerful aid to them in what is called ‘understanding the people’ ?

And do not let us run away with the idea that such knowledge is easily or quickly acquired, because one is in the environment. There is another pater saying : ‘One half the world does not know how the other half lives.’ This is applied to, and is only too true of those who belong to the same religion, who have been born, as it were, with the same social instincts, and are endowed presumably with the same mental and physical capacities. How many English Roman Catholics, living among Protestants, could tell one, on enquiry, anything of practical value as to Protestant ideas, and *vice versa* ? How many of the gentry can project themselves successfully into the minds of the peasantry ? And how many peasants understand the workings of the gentleman’s mind, or the causes leading to his actions ? How often do masters complain of the utter misunderstanding of themselves exhibited in the comments of their servants ? But do they always, in their turn, understand the actions of their servants ? Do masters always grasp why the most faithful and honest of menials may also be confidently predicted in given circumstances to be unblushing liars ? Do the upper classes have a clear conception of the reason why the lower orders will scrupulously see fair play in some circumstances, but be incapable of fair play in most others ? It is the same all the world over. Lifelong neighbours among Hindus and Muhammadans living chock-a-block in the same street usually know nothing of each other’s ways. Again, every Indian talks of ‘caste,’ but there is nothing more difficult than to get information of practical value from an Indian about any caste, except his own, though the instinct of caste is so strong in the people that new ‘castes’ inevitably spring up in new communities, when these are faced with novel social conditions. So strong, indeed, is it, that Muhammadan ‘castes’ abound, despite this condition being a contradiction in terms, and even the native Christians of India are frequently by themselves, and usually by others, looked upon as belonging to a ‘caste.’

We often talk in Greater Britain of a ‘good’ magistrate or a ‘sympathetic’ judge, meaning thereby that these officials determine the matters before them with insight, that is, with a working anthropological knowledge of those with whom they have to deal. But observe that these are

all phenomena of human societies with identical social instincts, showing the intense difficulty that individuals of the human race have in understanding each other. Pondering this, it will be perceived what the difficulties are that await him of an alien race, who essays to project himself into the minds of the foreigners, with whom he has to deal and associate, or whom he has to govern : an attempt that so many who pass through an English University must have to make in this huge Empire of ours. If such an individual trusts to his own unaided capacities, a mastery of his business will come to him but very slowly and far too late. It is indeed everything to him to acquire the habit of useful anthropological study before he commences, and to be able to avail himself practically and intelligently of the facts gleaned, and the inferences drawn therefrom, by those who have gone before him.

At the same time it is of the highest importance personally to men of all kinds, who have dealings of the superior sort—such as it is presumed young men trained here are destined to have—with those with whom they are thrown at home, and more especially abroad, to be imbued with as an intimate a knowledge of them as is practicable. It matters nothing that they be civil servants, missionaries, merchants, or soldiers. Sympathy is one of the chief factors in successful dealings of any kind with human beings, and sympathy can only come of knowledge. And not only also does sympathy come of knowledge, but it is knowledge that begets sympathy. In a long experience of alien races, and of those who have had to govern and deal with them, all whom I have known to dislike the aliens about them, or to be unsympathetic, have been those that have been ignorant of them ; and I have never yet come across a man, who really knew an alien race, that had not, unless actuated by race jealousy, a strong bond of sympathy with them. Familiarity breeds contempt, but it is knowledge that breeds respect, and it is all the same whether the race be black, white, yellow, or red, or whether it be cultured or ignorant, civilised or semi-civilised, or downright savage.

Let me quote what is now another glib saying :—' One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.' It is necessary to grasp the truth underlying this, if one would succeed. Who is the better or more useful regimental officer than he who knows and sympathises with his men, who knows when to be lenient and when to be strict, when to give leave and when to refuse it, when a request for a favour is genuine and when it is humbug, when treatment is disciplinary and when it is merely irritating ? And what British officer in charge of British troops will achieve this sympathy, but he who takes the trouble to know them ? But place a British officer with local troops : take him to Egypt, the Soudan and Uganda, to Nigeria and the Gold Coast, to Rhodesia and South Africa, to India and Burma, to the Straits Settlements and China, to the West Indies and the Pacific Islands, and put him in charge of regulars, irregulars, or police. Who will so well bring about the all-essential sympathy

between himself and his men, as he who has acquired a habit, till by reason of his early training it has become a pleasure to him, of finding out all about them?

Take the merchant, trader, squatter, planter, or dealer of supplies to alien races. Who is successful in commerce but he who finds out where the market is, and having found the market, knows how to take advantage of it and what to avoid? In seeking a market, the habits, ways, predilections, and prejudices of many kinds of people have to be learnt, and this is the case in a much higher degree in preserving the market when found. Practically nearly all the blunders made by British manufacturers in supplying foreign markets, and mistakes made by British merchants whereby markets have been lost, have been due to ignorance of the local inhabitants; and others have been due to their own pride, born of the same ignorance. 'We have always made the article in this way in the past for home consumption, and we are not going to make it in any other way for the foreigner,' is an argument that has lost many markets. But it is hopelessly wrong. No foreigner has ever taken what he did not happen to like, and no foreigner ever will. No one who has a knowledge of mankind generally would think so. The civilised will have things exactly to their liking, and it cannot be too clearly impressed on the trading community that this prejudice is even more strongly characteristic of the savage and the semi-savage. Beads as beads do not appeal to the savage, but it is a particular kind and form of beads that he wants for reasons of his own, practical enough in their own way—and so on through every article of trade.

It is here that what one may call 'the anthropological habit' will come to the aid of those engaged in commerce, and an anthropological training in youth will certainly not tend to the diminishing of later profits. It is a common commercial saying that trade accommodates itself to any circumstances. So it does; but he who profits first and best is he who knows the most of mankind and its ways. Many successful mercantile firms with a foreign trade have not been slow to appreciate this truth. Taught by the spectacle of unlooked-for failures, there have been firms which have long since insisted on their youngsters acquiring a knowledge of the local languages and of the local peoples. This insistence has often been of the highest profit to them. As one instance of its value among many, let me quote the case of a well-known firm which took to supplying, as an essential part of its work, the wax candles used at Buddhist shrines, temples, and ceremonies. This proved a wide and profitable field for enterprise, because the candles were made in the right way, which right making came of anthropological knowledge of more than one kind, and of more than one place and community.

It is not only direct knowledge that is necessary to the merchant, and I will give an instance where mercantile bodies have found a kind of knowledge that is apparently remote as regards their business to be of

paramount importance to them. A few years ago I made efforts to establish a series of wireless telegraphic stations in the Bay of Bengal, which are, I believe, about to bear fruit, partly on account of the value of the meteorological information that could be gathered in time to be of practical daily use to the immense amount of shipping traversing the Bay in all directions. I found that among my strongest supporters were the great Chambers of Commerce, not only in the shipping interests, but in those of general commerce also. One can readily understand the value of trustworthy weather forecasts to the great agricultural industries depending on a heavy rainfall, such as rice, jute, and sugar, but their value to the dealers in cotton cloth is not so apparent. These dealers, however, had found out that the success of such crops, out of which the millions made their living, depended on the rainfall, and that on the success of the crops depended the purchasing power of the millions, and that on that depended the quantity of the stuffs, which could be profitably exported from year to year. Consequently there were no more anxious students of the meteorological returns than the manufacturers and merchants of dry goods in far-away England, and no set of men to whom accurate meteorological information was of higher value.

Now, the point I would like to drive home from this object lesson is that the apparently remote study of anthropology, in all its phases, is of similar value. The habit of intelligently examining the peoples among whom his business is cast cannot be overrated by the merchant wishing to continuously widen it to profit. It may be said that the kind of knowledge above noted can be, and often has been in the past, successfully acquired empirically by mere quickness of observation. Granted: but the man who has been obliged to acquire it without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him who has acquired the habit of right observation, and what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of rightly interpreting his observations in his youth. This is what such a body as the Board of Anthropological Studies here can do for the future merchant.

Then there are the men who have to administer, the magistrates and the judges. One has only to consider for a moment what is involved in the term 'administration' to see that success here rests almost entirely on knowledge of the people. Take the universally delicate questions of revenue and taxation, and consider how very much the successful administration of either depends on a minute acquaintance with the means, habits, customs, manners, institutions, traditions, prejudices, and character of the population. And think over both the framing and working of the rules and regulations, under laws of a municipal nature, that affect the every-day life of all sorts and conditions of men. In the making of laws, too close a knowledge of the persons to be subjected to them cannot be possessed, and however wise the laws so made may be, their object can be only too easily frustrated, if the rules they authorise

are not themselves framed with an equally great knowledge, and they in their turn can be made to be of no avail, unless an intimate acquaintance with the population is brought to bear on their administration. For the administrator an extensive knowledge of those in his charge is an attainment, not only essential to his own success, but beneficial in the highest degree to the country he dwells in, provided it is used with discernment. And discernment is best acquired by the 'anthropological habit.' The same extent and description of knowledge is required by the judges and the magistrates in apportioning punishments, and by the judges in adjudicating effectively in civil cases. No amount of wisdom in the civil and criminal laws of the land in the British possessions will benefit the various populations, unless they are administered with discernment and insight.

To the administrator and the magistrate, and to the judge especially, there is an apparently small accomplishment, which can be turned into a mighty lever for gaining a hold on the people: the apt quotation of proverbs, maxims, and traditional verses and sayings. They are always well worth study. Quote an agricultural aphorism to the farmer, quote a line from one of his own popular poets to the man of letters, quote a wise saw in reproof or encouragement of a servant, and you cannot but perceive the respect and kindly feeling that is produced. Say to the North Indian, who comes with a belated threat: 'You should have killed the cat on the *first day*'; stay a quarrel with the remark that 'when two fight one will surely fall'; repeat to one in trouble a verse from one of the Indian mediæval reformers; jingle a nursery rhyme to a child; quote a text from the Pali Scriptures to a Burman or a text from the Koran to Musalman; speak any one of these things with all the force, vigour and raciness of the vernacular, and you will find as your reward the attention arrested, the dull eye brightened, the unmistakable look that comes of a kindred intelligence awakened. The proverbs of a people do not merely afford a phase of anthropological study; they are a powerful force working for influence.

Let me take another class of men largely educated at the Universities, — a class which one would like to see entirely recruited from amongst those who have been subjected in early life to the University method of training, — the missionaries. Now, what is the missionary in practice required to do? He is required to bring about in alien races a change of thought, which is to induce in them what we consider to be a higher type of faith and action than their own religion or belief is capable of inducing. There is perhaps no more difficult task to accomplish than this, on a scale that is to have a solid effect on a population, and surely the first requisite for success is that the missionary himself should have an insight into three mental characteristics, at any rate, of those he is seeking to convert: that is to say, into their customs, their institutions, and their habits of thought. That this applies with tremendous force in the case of civilised

peoples is obvious, on very slight consideration, but it is possibly not equally well understood that it is no less applicable in reality in the case of the semi-civilised, and even of the untutored savage. There is perhaps no human being more hidebound by custom than the savage. It should be remembered that custom is all the law he knows. Custom, both in deed and thought, represents all the explanation he has of natural phenomena within his ken. It controls with iron bands all his institutions, —and the customary institutions of savages are often complicated in the extreme, and govern individual action with an irresistible power hardly realisable by the freer members of a civilised nation. Let anyone dive seriously, even for a little while, into the maze of customs connected with tabu, or with the marriage customs,—laws if you like—of the Australian aborigines or of the South Sea Islanders, and he will soon see what I mean.

So far as regards civilised peoples, what individual of them is not bound and hampered by custom and convention in every direction? From what does the civilised woman, who, as we say, falls, suffer most? From the law or from custom? What is her offence? Is it against law? Or, is it against convention? If it were against law, would the law pursue her so long, so persistently and so relentlessly as does custom? I quote this as an incontrovertible example of the irresistible nature of public feeling among our own class of nations. Well: among vast populations the most heinous offence, the one offence customarily unpardonable, is to become a pervert to the faith, that is, to become a convert to Christianity. Some here present may have seen the result of committing that offence. I can recall a case in point. I knew a medical man, by birth a Brahman and by faith a Christian, with an European education. What was his condition? His habits were not English, and he could only associate on general terms with English people, and then he was an outcast from his own family and people, in a sense so absolute that a Christian realises it but with difficulty. That was a lonely life indeed, and few there be of any nation that would face it. But mark this. He was ostracised, not because of any crime or any evil in him that made him dangerous, but because of custom and the fear of breaking through custom on the part of those connected or associated with him. One of the saddest of creatures in my experience was a servant of my own, who had been what is known in India as a child 'caste widow.' She had nevertheless married a Muhammadan and become a Muhammadan, her own kind and religion being in the circumstances impossible to her, and she paid the penalty of isolation from her home all her life. These are the instances and these are the considerations which show how serious a personal matter it can be to change one's mother faith.

Of course it has been done over and over again, and missionaries have succeeded with whole populations, but in every case success has been obtained by working on the line of least resistance, and has been the

reward of those who have exercised something of what we call the wisdom of the serpent in ascertaining that line. This involves a most extensive knowledge of the people ; and their work and writings prove how closely the great missionaries of all sorts have studied those amongst whom their lot has been cast, in every phase. It has always and everywhere been so. The varying festivals of Christianity in Europe, its many rituals and its myriad customs, show that the missionaries of old succeeded by adapting to their own ideals, rather than by changing, the old habits they found about them. In the East, the Buddhists were in ancient days, and nominally still are, great missionaries, and they have invariably worked on the same lines. I have also elsewhere had reason to point out that in the present day the most successful missionary in India is, after all, the Brahman priest, and that because he apparently changes nothing, accepts the whole hagiolatry and cosmogony of the tribe he takes under his wing, declares the chief tribal god to be an emanation from the misty Hindu deity Siva, starts a custom here and a ceremony there, induces the leaders to be select and particular as to association with others, and as to marriages, eating, drinking, and smoking, and straightway is brought into being a new caste and a new sect, belonging loosely to that agglomeration of sects and small societies known generically as Hinduism. The process can be watched wherever British roads and railroads open up the wilder regions.

All this is working tactfully, and because tact is instinctive anthropological knowledge, it is working anthropologically, and wherever, without the immediate aid of the sword and superior force, any other method is tried,—wherever there has been a direct effort to work empirically,—wherever a sudden change of old social habits has been inculcated,—there has been disaster, or an unnecessary infliction of injury, or a subversion of the constituted social system, or an actual conflict with the civil authority. Mischief, not good, comes of such things. I remember, many years ago, having cause to examine the religious ideas of a certain Indian tribe, and being advised to consult a missionary, who had lived with it for about twenty-five years. I wrote to him for my information, and the answer I received was that he could not give it, as his business was to convert the heathen to Christianity, not to study their religion. Such a man could not create a mission station, and was not likely to improve one placed in his charge. Another instance of the wrong spirit, born of anthropological ignorance, comes to light in the existence of certain all-important provisions in Acts of the Indian Legislature and in judicial decisions affecting Indians, which prevent a change of religion from affecting marriages celebrated, and the legitimacy of children born, before the change, and prevent reliance on customs opposed to the newly adopted religion. Men have become Muhammadans in order to apply the Muhammadan law of divorce to former wives, as they thought legally, and men have become Christians in order to get rid of superfluous wives and

families, and—what is to the point here—Christian converts have been advised by their pastors to put away extra wives. Think of the cruel wrongs which would thus have been inflicted on lawfully married women and lawfully begotten children, and the wisdom of the legislature and of the judges will be perceived. But the strongest instance I can recall of the results of anthropological ignorance is the sad case of the Nicobar Missions in the Bay of Bengal. Off and on for two hundred years, missionaries of all sorts and nationalities attempted conversion and colonisation of these islands. They were well intentioned, enthusiastic, and in a sense truly heroic, and some of them were learned as well, but they were without practical knowledge and without proper equipment. Their lives were not only miserable, but they were horribly miserable, and every mission perished. What is more, so far as I could ascertain after prolonged enquiry, their efforts, which were many and sustained, have had no appreciable effect on the people, indeed apparently none at all. And this has partly been due to an anthropological error. They worked with their own hands. It may seem a small thing, but with the population they dealt with it meant that they could secure no influence, and it is a truth that, wherever you go, if you are to have influence, you must have anthropological knowledge. There is a mission in the Nicobars now, and when I last heard of it it was flourishing, but the leader has been a contributor to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, and has had it borne in on him that a knowledge of the people in their every aspect is essential to his success. Many a time has he used his knowledge to the practical benefit of the islanders, converts or other.

So far we have been discussing the case of those who dwell and work abroad. Let us now pay a little attention to that of a very different class, the arm-chair critics, academical, philosophical, political, pragmatic, doctrinaire—those gentlemen of England that live at home at ease. It is a commonplace amongst Anglo-Indians that the ignorance of the home-stayer of India and its affairs is not only stupendous: it is persistent and hopeless, because self-satisfied. But the home criticism is of great importance, as the ultimate power for good and evil lies at the headquarters of the Empire. It must be so: and what is true of India is true also of any other outlying part of the world-wide dominion of the British race. But do the glib critics of England pause to dwell on the harm that severe criticism of their fellow-countrymen abroad often does? Do they stop to consider the pain it causes? Or to ponder on the very superficial knowledge on which their strictures are based? Or to think that there is no adverse criticism that is more annoying or disheartening than that which is wholly ignorant, or springs from that little knowledge which is a dangerous thing? Indeed, the chief qualification for a savage onslaught on the striver at a distance is ignorance. He who knows and can appreciate, is slow to appreciate, as he understands the danger. I do not wish to illustrate my points too profusely out of my own experience, but on the

whole it is best to take one's illustrations, so far as possible, at first hand, and I will give here an instance of advice tendered without adequate anthropological instruction. For some years I had to govern a very large body of convicts, among whom were a considerable number of women. Some pressure was brought to bear on me among others from England, to introduce separate sleeping accommodation among the women, on the intelligible grounds that it is well to separate the unfortunate from the bad, and that in England women who had found their way into gaol, but were on the whole of cleanly life, highly appreciated the privilege of sleeping apart from those whose lives, thoughts and speech were otherwise. But I avoided doing this, because the Indian woman in all her life, from birth to death, from childhood to old age, is never alone, especially at night, and if you want to thoroughly frighten the kind of woman that finds herself in an Indian prison, force her to sleep, or to try to sleep, in a solitary cell, where her wild superstitious imagination runs riot. It is an act of torture.

Now, those who fill posts that bring them constantly before the public eye soon become callous to the misinterpretation that dogs the judgment of the ill-informed critic. They are subjected to it day by day, and the experience early comes to them that it does no personal harm. But the case is quite different with men who lead solitary lives on the outskirts of the Empire, surrounded by difficulties not of the ordinary sort, and working under unusual conditions. The loneliness tries the nerves and leads to brooding, and then the unkind word, the thoughtless criticism, wounds deeply. It disheartens, discourages, and takes the zest and spirit out of the worker. To test the truth of this, let any stay-at-home quit the comfortable walls of this hub of a mighty Empire and go out on to the bare tyre thereof, and see for himself. There is probably no kind of worker abroad, though he is only too often guilty of it himself, who suffers more from ignorant criticism than the lonely missionary, and he is so placed that he cannot ignore it.

Even those, who should be thicker of skin, often do not escape the soreness caused in this way, and I cannot forget the heart-burning that arose on the spot, during the very difficult pacification of the country after the last Burmese War, out of the relentless criticism set up at home with so little knowledge, though there must have been many who must have known that the treatment they received but repeated that meted out to the controllers of the operations in the previous war. One of the most pathetic of public speeches is that of General Godwin, at Rangoon, shortly before his death, referring to the ruthless persecution to which he had been subjected for his conduct of the war of 1852. It has always been so. Read about the Peninsular Campaigns, the Sikh Wars, the so-called Sale of Kashmir, and again about the late South African War, and the present struggle in the Far-East. The remarks one sees in the daily Press are uninformed enough in all conscience, but they have, all the same, evidently

wounded at times even so collected a people as the Japanese. The point is, then, that ignorant criticism does harm, even in the case of the experienced in human affairs.

To show how easy and even natural it is to judge wrongly, let me quote as an example the unjust attacks that have often been made, by missionaries among others, upon those who have had truck with savages. Savages within their limitations are very far from being fools, especially in the matter of a bargain with civilised man, and never make one that does not for reasons of their own satisfy themselves. Each side in such a case views the bargain according to its own interest. On his side the trader buys something of great value to him, when he has taken it elsewhere, with something of small value to him, which he has brought from elsewhere, and then he can make what is to him a magnificent bargain. On the other hand, the savage is more than satisfied, because with what he has got from the trader he can procure from amongst his own people something he very much covets, which the articles he parted with could not have procured for him. Both sides profit by the bargain from their respective points of view, and the trader has not as a matter of fact taken an undue advantage of the savages, who as a body part with products of little or no value to themselves for others of vital importance, though of little or none to the civilised trader. The more one dives into the recorded bargains with savages the more clearly one sees the truth of this view. Taking advantage of the love of all savages for strong drink to conclude unconscionable bargains, by which they part with their produce for an insufficient quantity of articles of use to them, is another matter, and does not affect the argument.

Every administrator of experience can recall many instances of conventionally wrong judgments, even in high places, on public affairs abroad, based on anthropological misapprehension; but one of the most humiliating in my own recollection was the honest, but doctrinaire and pragmatic, onslaught in England on the Opium Traffic of India, whereby, if it had succeeded, some entire populations would have been deprived of those little but very highly prized comforts assured in overcrowded agricultural localities by the cultivation of opium, and others of the most valued prophylactic they possess against physical pain and suffering by its medicinal consumption. In both cases it is this much abused product of the fields that enables the very poor in large areas to keep their heads above water, so that their not very happy lives may be worth living.

There is another most venerable anthropological error, quaintly expressed by a seventeenth-century writer on Greenland, who describes that country 'as being so happy as not to know the value of gold and silver.' It is to be found all the world over and in all times. It is expressed in Ovid's hackneyed lines :—

*Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum.*

*Jamque nocens ferrum, ferroque nocentius aurum*

*Prodierant.*

But it is based on a misunderstanding of the ways of mankind in given circumstances. Barter, sale, and purchase must go on, whether there is money in the land or not, and an examination of the state of commercial business in any country in pre-coinage days will soon convince the student that the opportunities for unfair dealing, where the value of gold and silver for currency has not been discovered, are just double those where money exists; and opportunity is the mother of sin. The actual monetary condition of a country without a definite and settled currency and without the bullion metals is not by any means of that desirable simplicity, which civilised man is, without due thought, so apt to attribute to savages and semi-savages. Simplicity in dealings can only exist where money consists of a recognised coinage, and where wealth is expressed in terms of that coinage. Indeed, the invention of money, based on the metallurgical skill which can produce from the ore gold and silver of a fixed fineness, is one of the mightiest triumphs of the human brain, and one of the most potent blessings evolved by man for the benefit of his kind.

But mischievous as uninformed criticism is, there is nothing of greater value and assistance than the criticism of the well informed. Lookers on see most of the game, provided they understand it. That is just the point. They must understand it to perceive its drift and to forward it by useful comment. By learning all about it, by viewing it at a distance, by the very detachment and general grasp that a distant view secures, the critic at home can materially help the worker abroad. Comment made with knowledge never offends, because it is so very helpful. It cheers, it invigorates, it leads to further effort, it creates a bond of sympathy between the critic and the criticised. It does nothing but good. In this immense Empire it means that all, from the centre of the hub to the outer rim of the wheel, can work with one mind and one mighty effort, with one strong pull together, for the magnificent end of its continued well-being. Therefore it behoves the critic at home of all men to cultivate the anthropological instinct.

Let us now turn to another class, such as this University is preeminently capable of affording: the professors, the lecturers, the teachers and leaders of literary and scientific, not to mention anthropological, study. Let no one be filled with the idea that their labours, in so far as anthropology is concerned, are a negligible quantity, as only resulting in abstract speculation of no immediate and probably of no ultimate practical value. What the obscure calculations of the pure mathematicians, the inventions based on applied mathematics, and the deductions of the meteorologists have done for so eminently practical an occupation as navigation; what the abstract labours of the chemist and the electrician have done for the doctor; what the statistician and the actuary have done for such purely practical bodies as insurance companies and the underwriters; what the desk work of the accountant does for commerce and finance: that can the analyses of the anthropologist do for that large and important class of

workers which labours among men. Let not the remoteness of any particular branch of his subject from the obviously practical pursuits deter him, who spends his energies in research. Let him remember that, after all, the best instrument for approaching ancient and medieval history is abstract study of the ways and thoughts of the modern savage and semi-civilised man. Let him remember, too, that many of the customs and ideas of the most civilised and advanced of modern nations have their roots in savage and semi-civilised beliefs. What can be remoter at first sight from the navigation of an ocean steamer than logarithms? But let anyone who has reason to go on a long sea voyage keep his eyes open, and he cannot but perceive how important a part applied logarithmic calculations play in the sure pilotage of the ship he is in from port to port. And what is more to the effective point, let not the controllers of the University be turned back by any such considerations as apparent remoteness from pursuing the course they are now embarked on; rather let us hope that the tentative scheme we are now engaged in examining is but the first timid step towards the establishment of what will ultimately prove to be an important School of Applied Anthropology.

And if this University takes up this study in earnest, let me draw attention to another point. It is said in a thoughtful obituary notice of my old friend, the great Orientalist, Professor Georg Bühler, of Vienna, that not only was he a thorough scholar, a hard worker and a master of general Oriental learning, but that he had also the insight to perceive that judicious collections promote and even create those studies, the advancement of which he had at heart. In all such matters there must not only be the desire to learn, there must also be the opportunity, for if desire be the father, then assuredly opportunity is the mother of all learning. So he hunted up, collected, and presented to seats of learning every M.S. or original document his own financial capacity or his powers of persuasion permitted to himself or to others. Where the carcass is, there shall the eagles be gathered together. In the present case, if the students are to be attracted and encouraged, there must be collected together the Museum and the Library, a carcass fitted for their appetite. I do not say this in a mere begging spirit. Cast your thoughts over the great specialised schools of learning, present or past, and consider how many of them have owed their existence or success to the library or museum close at hand. It is a consideration worthy of the attention of the governing body of a University that these two, the library and the museum, are as important factors in the advancement of knowledge as teaching itself.

And now we come to the last, but not the least important point for consideration: the personal aspect of this question. We have been dealing so far with the value of an early anthropological training to a man in his work. Is it of any value to him in his private life? For years past I have urged upon all youngsters the great personal use of having a hobby and learning to ride it early, for a hobby to be valuable is not

mastered in a day. The knowledge of it is of slow growth. At first the lessons are a grind. Then until they are mastered they are irksome. But when the art is fully attained there is perhaps no keener pleasure that human beings can experience than the riding of a hobby. Begin, therefore, when you are young and before the work of the world distracts your attention and prevents or postpones the necessary mastery. But what is the use of the mastery? There comes a time, sooner or later, to all men that live on, when for one reason or another they must retire from active life, from the pursuits or business to which they have become accustomed, from occupations that have absorbed all their energies and filled up all their days. A time when the habits of years must be changed and when inactivity must follow on activity. Then is the time when a man is grateful for his hobby. By then he has mastered it. Its pursuit is a real pleasure to him. It is a helpful occupation as the years advance, and even when he can no longer push it on any further himself, he can take his delight in giving his matured advice and help to those coming up behind him, and in watching their progress and that of their kind with the eye of the old horseman.

And what better hobby exists than anthropology? Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to occupy the leisure hours from youth to full manhood, and to be a solace in some aspect or other in advanced life and old age. So vast is the field indeed, that no individual can point the moral of its usefulness, except from a severely limited portion of it. At any rate, I have learnt enough in an experience of a third of a century in its study to prevent me from going beyond my personal tether, though perhaps my lines have been cast in a favourable spot, for rightly or wrongly Anglo-Indian anthropologists consider India to be an exceptionally, though far from being the only, favoured land for study. In it can be observed still dwelling side by side human beings possessed of the oldest and youngest civilisations. In it can be traced by the modern eye the whole evolution of most arts and many ideas. For instance, you can procure in quite a small area of the country concrete examples, all still in use, of the whole story of the water pipe or hooka, starting from the plain cocoanut with a hole to suck the smoke through. You can then pass on to the nut embellished with a brass binding at the top, and next at the top and bottom, until it is found covered over with brass and furnished with a sucking pipe. Then you can find the nut withdrawn and only the brass cover remaining, but this requires a separate stand, like a miniature amphora. Then it is turned over on to its wider end and the stand is attached to it, and finally the stand is widened and enlarged and the vessel narrowed and attenuated to give it stability, until the true hooka of the Oriental pictures with its elegant and flexible sucking pipe is reached, which differs from a cocoanut in appearance as much as one article can be made to differ from another. Go and buy such things in the bazaars,

if you have the chance, and find out for yourselves how great the interest is.

Sticking to my own experience, for reasons given above, and leaving it to my hearers to follow the line of thought indicated from theirs, let me here give an instance or so of the pleasures of research. In Muhammadan India especially there are many cases, some beyond doubt, of the marriage of daughters of royal blood, even of the most powerful sovereigns, to saintly persons of no specially high origin. It is to Europeans an unexpected custom, and is not the finding of the explanation of interest to the discoverer? In the contemporary vernacular history of the Sixteenth Century Dynasty of the Bahmanis in Southern India, we read that Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani gave two sisters in marriage to two local saints, with a substantial territorial dowry to each, 'for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his own bed.' An Indian anthropologist sees at once in this what the native line of thought has been. The custom is simply a nostrum for procuring sons. The overwhelming hankering after a son in India is of Hindu origin, based on the superstition that the performance of funeral obsequies by a son is a sure means of salvation. The desire has long become universal there, and the whole wide category of nostrums known to the inhabitants is employed by the barren or the sonless to overcome their misfortune. This is one of them.

Again, is it not of interest to trace out the origin of the well-known customary ill-treatment of Hindu widows in India, ill-treatment of relatives being so foreign to a class with such strong family feelings as the Hindus? Work it out and you will find that this is an instance of the quite incalculable misery and suffering caused to human beings, that has for ages arisen out of 'correct argument from a false premiss.' The theory is that misfortune is a sin, and indicates a sinful condition in the victims thereof, defining sin as an offence, witting or unwitting, against social conventions. The good luck of the lucky benefits their surroundings and the bad luck of the unlucky as obviously brings harm. Therefore the unlucky are sinful, and what is of supreme importance to them, must be punished accordingly; as a precautionary measure for their own safety on the part of those around them. The fact that, as in the case of widows, the misfortunate is perfectly involuntary and uncontrollable does not affect the argument. This in its turn has given rise to an interminably numerous and various body of nostrums for the prevention of the dreaded sin of misfortune, and a cumulative ball of folk-custom has been set rolling.

Take again the ancient royal prerogative of releasing prisoners on customary occasions of personal royal rejoicing, nowadays in civilised Europe attributed solely to kindness and mercy. This is, in Indian song and legend, given, in the directest phraseology, its right original attribution of act to insure good luck. Is not this of interest also?

Now, these ideas, and with modifications these customs, are not confined to India, and the interest provided by all such things is their universality among human beings, pointing to the existence of a fundamental principle, or Law of Nature, which I have elsewhere endeavoured to develop in propounding the principles underlying the evolution of speech: namely, that a convention devised by the human brain is governed by a general natural law, however various the phenomena of that law may be. Controlled by their physical development human brains must in similar conditions, subject to modifications caused by the pressure of two other fundamental natural laws, think and act in a similar manner.

As a concrete example, let us take the idea of sanctuary, asylum, or refuge, as it is variously termed. Wherever it is found, in ancient and modern India, in ancient Greece, in medieval Europe, in modern Afghanistan, its practical application is everywhere the same: protection of the stranger against his enemy, so long as he pays his way, and only so long. Pursuing this universal idea further, it will be seen that the Oriental conception of hospitality and its obligations is based on that of sanctuary, and is still, in many instances, not distinguishable from it. The practical reflection: You scratch my back and I will scratch yours, is at the bottom of all this, however far final developments in various places may have diverged from it.

Work out the idea of virtue, which for ages everywhere meant, and still in many parts of the earth means, valour in a man and chastity in a woman, being nowhere dead in that sense, as the modern European laws relating to martial and conjugal fidelity show, and you will find that it rests on very ancient conditions of society. The men preserved themselves by their valour and the women preserved their tabu to the men by their chastity. It was so everywhere. The zone as a term and as an article of costume shows this. There was always the female girdle or zone, the emblem of chastity, and the male zone, or sign of virility and fighting capacity.

Then there is the royal custom of marriage with a half-sister, found in ancient Egypt, in the modern Malay States, and in the quite lately deposed Dynasty of Burma and elsewhere. This is not mere incest, itself an idea based in many an apparently queer form on a fundamental necessity of human society. It is and was a matter of self and family protection, to be found in a much milder form in the familiar English idea of the marriage of heir and heiress to preserve the 'ring fence.'

Take the custom of succession of brothers before sons, found in old England, in Burma, in some of the Indian mediated States, and in other places, and we have again a custom arising out of the environment: the necessity of providing a grown man to maintain the State. And so one could go on to an indefinite multiplication of instances.

But in unworked-out directions, unworked-out, that is, so far as known to myself, the interest and principles are the same. Let me give an

instance to which my attention was some years ago attracted, though I have not yet had the leisure to follow it to a satisfactory conclusion. At Akyab on the Arakan-Burma Coast is a well-known shrine, nowadays usually called Buddha-makān. It is repeated conspicuously further South at Mergui, and inconspicuously elsewhere along the coast. The name is an impossible one etymologically. Investigation, however, showed that the devotees were the Muhammadan sailors of the Bay of Bengal, hailing chiefly from Chittagong, and that the name was really Badr-maqam, the shrine of Badr, corrupted in Buddhist Arakan into Buddha-makān, the house of Buddha, by folk-etymology striving after a meaning. The holy personage worshipped was Badru'ddīn Aulia, who has a great shrine at Chittagong, and is the patron saint of the sailing community. Badru'ddīn, as a name, is our old familiar friend Bedreddin of the popular English versions of the *Arabian Nights*. This Badru'ddīn Aulia is one of the misty but important saints, those will-o'-the-wisps of Indian hagiolatry, who is mixed up with another, the widely known Khwāja Khizar, *par excellence* the Muhammadanised spirit of the flood: and here is the immediate explanation. But Khwāja Khizar is mixed up with Mehtar Ilias, the Muhammadan and Oriental form of the prophet Elias of the legends, to be traced in the same capacity in modern Russia. This god, and in some places goddess, of the flood is traceable all over India, even amongst the alien populations of Madras. We are now involved in something universal, something due to a line of popular inductive reasoning. Will it not repay following up, as a matter of interest, and probing to the bottom by a mixed body of investigators, Oriental and Occidental, in the same manner as Indian epigraphical dates and the eras to which they refer were, several years back, worked out and settled by scholars, mathematicians, and astronomers working together?

A study of the highest anthropological interest is to be found in an examination of currency and coinage, and of the intermingled question of weights and measures. Perhaps nothing leads to so close a knowledge of man and his ways of life and notions, and perhaps no subject requires more sustained attention, or a greater exercise of the reasoning powers. Here, too, there is a universal principle, to be unearthed out of the immense maze of facts before one, for, as in the case of the days of the week, there is a connected world-wide series of notions of the penny-weight, ounce, pound, and hundredweight, and of their equivalents in cash, based on some general observation of the carrying capacity of a man and of the constant weight of some vegetable seed, and also of the value of some animal or thing important to man. Here, too, a combination of Oriental and Occidental research and specialised knowledge is necessary.

But experience will show that in following up all such subjects as these, there are two laws of Nature, in addition to that of the fundamental community of human reasoning, which must never be lost sight

of, if the successful elucidation of an anthropological problem is to be achieved. These laws are that there is no such thing as development along a single line only. Everything in Nature is subjected to and affected by its environment. A little is picked up here, and snatched there, and what is caught up becomes engrafted, with the result that the subsequent growth becomes complicated, or even diverted from its original tendency.

Bear these principles in mind and work continuously as opportunity offers, and it will be found that anthropology is a study of serious personal value. Not only will it enable the student to do the work of the world, and to deal with his neighbours and those with whom he comes in contact, throughout all his active life, better than can be otherwise possible, but it will serve to throw a light upon what goes on around him, and to give an insight into human affairs, past and present, that cannot but be of benefit to him, and it will provide him with intellectual occupation, interest and pleasure, as long as the eye can see, or the ear can hear, or the brain can think.

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28 November, 1904.

A. C. HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The evening was devoted to the exhibition of numerous objects of interest, some of which had been added to the Museum.

Remarks were made by the PRESIDENT, Mr W. B. REDFERN, and others.

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26 January, 1905.

A. C. HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Sir R. S. BALL, M.A., Lowndean Professor, exhibited views of Irish Antiquities which he had taken during his recent cruise round Ireland with the Commissioners of Irish Lighthouses.

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30 January, 1905.

A. C. HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

ERNEST HANBURY HANKIN, M.A., of St John's College, delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern-slides, upon

ARABESQUE DESIGN, ITS ORIGIN AND APPLICATIONS<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This lecture has since been printed in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, No. 2730, Vol. LIII., 17 Mar. 1905.

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