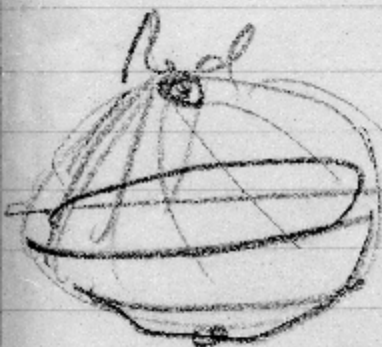


Dahomean economy

I Subsistence economy

II W. wealth at the centre fully distributed
economic integration then

extraction
production in the towns graduate
wholesale - retail
raw material redistribution
to crafts



occupation in villages

Credit: no debt bondage
consumption credit
in place
no mortgage

Central wealth
goes into
local trade
raw material
distribution

43 ⁴⁵

no loan to keep (?)
except from groups
tax farming (?)
domestic farming
public works
" contracts

Customs = justice display
distribution



Cartes ethnographiques de l'Afrique

l'Afrique

Fiches n° 5 préparées par

Paul Mercier

4. Note de présentation. Afrique Occidentale

J. Richard - Volard, Afrique Occidentale

7. Française (Paris, 1949)

F. F. Gardier, L'Afrique Noire Quatrième

Esquisse des cadres géographiques (Paris, 1943)

Assemblée Savoirs Section géographique de

IFAN (1)

Paul Mercier whose charts of West African ethno-demography underly this presentation broadly describes this region as ~~into~~ covering the follows: "It runs from the coast to the desert and comprises as one would expect the climatic and vegetational zones in their longitudinal sequence, the Sahel, the Sudan, the Baoulé and the Benin. However, a fact of the first importance happens to disrupt this general arrangements: this is the existence of the Gap of Benin (la trouée du Bénin) which opens a path for the influence of the Sudan to reach the coast and which separates

(3)

1 oz gold = 80/- = 384 dancas

20/- = 4 Aug = 16,000 cunras = 96 dancas.

5/- = 1 Aug = 4000 cunras = 24 dancas.

~~112~~

11,250,000 cunras displayed

= \$1000 - \$4500 =

112 bopkins, i.e. 1 bopkin

cunras approx 100,000 cunras.

= 25 found cunras.

Deriv : (I) Reasoning with
damba weight of
gold

- (a) Evidence of trader's
admirer perplexity over
abilities of nations in
business dealings
(b) cannot be defrauded
(c) Perplexity : Roman
(d) Solution : Isent

(b) Weighing with damba
Short cuts to trade lots
May preclude
candle = gold equiv.

~~Isent~~

Courie system
Fred system
Corio (minimum)

Int. Soc. for Sc.
C. Bucher while
Schütz Edmund
to Historical
Institute of the
Kungliga Acad.
of Sciences

Agnellasson
Lectures & studies
Africaines -
Lombardie
no. 4 Dec. 60

(4)
It would be hazardous to attempt to
guess whether the habitual
evacuation of the capital
at the threat of overwhelming
enemy forces played ~~any~~ a
~~important~~ part in the ~~strategy~~
considerations looking to the
coastal area ~~as for~~ ^{a general} retreat.
Actually there is evidence
that before falling the
forces the ~~Spanish~~ ^{Spanish} army
presented ~~between~~ ^{between} ~~evacuation~~ to the
Florida coast decided against
such a move for fear of being
caught ~~in a trap~~ ^{in a trap} between
two hostile forces. For the purpose
of Wyndham could not be
relied upon. The Sonedac had
permanent allies not only in their
relatives settled on Lake Abasco,
but also the Papoes who had
never been subdued for good by
any of their neighbors, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~as~~
well as the intriguing Europeans
who never forgot the good old

Times of pre-Dahomean Wydah
with its close contact with the
King's sovereign in fact, the
ample supply of slaves provided
by the African funnel and
the easy dealings with the
native traders who were ~~not~~
~~usually~~ transacting ~~the~~ ^{freely}
their business with the Europeans.
This situation was
fraught with danger for Dahomey.
While the core of the towns based
on Abomey and ~~many~~ ^{some} of the
strong peoples in the hinterlands of
which they settled ~~did not~~
were assimilated to the thoroughly
assimilated to the ~~leading~~
existing culture. The metabolism
of the new nation state was
if not self-defeating, it ~~was~~
certainly ~~maintained~~ generated
a perpetual strain ^{acute} fast
to the periodically in crises.

6

Folios ~~pictorial~~ ^{verbatim} record of the
post-campaign "Self Criticism"
held in the camp presence by
Amago and male army leaders
~~provides~~ ^{illustrates} some of the
implications of the word term
'annual slave-raids.' The
Muzony army ^{upholding} ~~maintaining~~ its
~~superior~~ ^{superior} level of
soldierly qualities over the whole
stretch of its existence — 1730(?) —
1892 — did not spare its blood
nor did the King's generals ~~need~~ do
so far from whose ~~heads~~ ^{heads} were ~~worth~~
at stake unless they were victorious
at whatever cost of lives. ~~The~~ In
all directions and at all frontiers
supreme attacks aimed at the
capture of those ~~male~~ ^{population} of
of active age and the annihilation
of the aged or disabled
gradually effected ~~the~~ depopulation,
while creating desolation

not only amongst the ~~subjugated~~ 7
~~the~~ downtrodden and subjugated
but also in ~~with~~ the (Folks
ranks of the of own soldiery
Accumulated in senseless
wars of rescue often ~~aimed~~
~~at~~ involving tactically
unobtainable tasks. Men
of the royal family, ungratefully
dishonored generals deserted
to the enemy, more than once
accompanied by thousands
of their best soldiery who
swelled the dangerous, the ~~rank~~
of the unconscionable enemy.
Yet the annual slave war was
a national institution and
no ruler would have dared to
ignore, and indeed stood
in the absence of any productive
trade, its discontinuation
would have left the country
without any means of purchasing
weapons, and thus helpless

in the face of their enemies who
would not ^{hesitate} to make
them their prisoners and
sell them into slavery
overseas. Hence the ~~atmosphere~~ ^{and} con-
d~~ance~~ of reason ~~heavily~~ ^{and} con-
qu~~ered~~ ^{ered} that hung over
Hydrot ever since Phromey
had ~~subjugated~~ killed or
driven into exile ¹⁵ rulers
and ~~subjugated~~ ¹⁵ people.

Contrast this with J. B. Labat's map
of 1726. The former village ^{has} ~~the~~
background of ~~the~~ a place of
buildings, ~~at the~~ and a white
system of courts, warehouses and
offices of the foreign factories. The
heads of which have ~~set~~ ^{been} their
residences. Boorman
remarked that Dutil alone
had a presence in La Rochelle there
three warehouses, 7 chambers
and a beautiful court. The way
frontman, the met, ~~but~~ ^{shelter}
found neither food nor ~~cost~~,
indeed he could not even
leave the ~~place~~ ^{country} since for several
years no French ship had
visited called. Labat's map, as
presented on Des Marchais
plan, shows French English
Orignere and Dutil estab-
lishments, the French ^{also} ~~preserved~~
~~small~~ /daily, ~~there is also~~ ^{market at}
the gates, ~~the~~ ^{can} ~~the~~ ^{now} ~~the~~ ^{total}
foodmarket for ~~the~~ ^{population} and even
a portable tent for the comfort
of female ^{makers} who happen
to be on ~~the~~ ^{existence of} ~~the~~ ^{bakes.} ~~the~~ ^{with}

guard in attendance. A well kept
road linked the two capitals. So
far the physical amenities of
the political capital and its
hospitality, courtesy. These were

~~external~~ accessories of an ~~inter~~
~~national~~ ~~move~~ towards free
trade and ~~the~~ institutionalizing
of peaceful commerce. Three
of the ~~four~~ powers with ~~partial~~
foresight in ~~Wardah~~ suddenly found
themselves at ~~the~~ ~~capture of~~ ~~enemy~~

traders ~~the~~ on the ~~high~~ seas was ~~not~~
accepted civilized practice; no
merchant ship was safe ~~from~~ ~~capture~~
~~as~~ ~~long~~ and its cargo was ~~not~~
lawful prize of the strongest ~~boat~~ ~~whether~~ ~~moral~~
or merchant ~~ship~~ ~~or~~ ~~the~~ ~~end~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~slave~~ ~~trade~~ ~~or~~ ~~why~~ ~~the~~

The kind ~~invited~~ ~~summoned~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~
~~negotiable~~ ~~commanders~~ ~~as well~~
and ~~the~~ ~~Ships~~ ~~and~~ ~~factories~~ ~~of~~
the Powers to his audience
room in ~~San~~ ~~proving~~ ~~ports~~ ~~or~~ ~~railways~~

Later

retreat to their forts ~~and~~ where lodgings
for them had always been available.
It may have been at once necessary
for the chief factors to shoulder
a number of functions which
had hitherto been automatically
performed by the royal authority.
The forts certainly had now to
rely on their own attached
villagers and on the large
personal staff lodged in the
forts themselves. However, the
normality it must have been
inconceivable on the royal
bureaucracy to take over again
the functions previously performed
by the placed staff which now
devolved on the Japanese
bar. No hand in what.

the
acquired
to
store

The Effects of the Destruction of Savi:

retreat to their forts and where lodgings
for them had always been available.

It may have been at once necessary
for the chief factor's to shoulder
a number of functions which
had hitherto been automatically
performed by the royal authority.

The forts containing had now to
rely on their own attacked

villagers and on the large
personnel that lodged in the
forts themselves. However, the

normally, it must have been
inconceivable in the royal
bureaucracy to take over again

the functions previously performed
by the placed Savi. What was
devolved on the Indian
National in which.

Port of Trade =

(7)

- (A) D.'s general attitude
 "nowhere to hide" (a) Dominated by military considerations
 guns and powder
 prevent smuggling to hostile neighbors
 (c) politico-strategic considerations (OKO)

(B) Commercial concerns (Negative)
 no export interest (only import)
 Slave trade a function of (A)
 Royal revenue fused with State expenditure
 Usual "trade interest": taxing buying, selling, transport = subordinate "profit making" i.e. price differential
 No: & L how much that govern? (no) How much for my slave?

(C) Internal policy interest:
 Keep profits "at arms length"
 bar separatist tendencies of Shamba / generals
 Tanga / rebellious
 Porvices (discidants) + Mwen + Mungu absolutely
 loyal; subjected territories are unavailable.

2
The European market pressing for
supply of slaves, and looking to Dah
as the ~~exclusive~~ alternative: African
traders other than Dahomeans,
e.g. 1. Makree (of 1776 map in
S. Barbain)
2. Oba: Oyo
3. Oyo

of post Dahomean W.:
pre-Dahomean view: Overflow supply of the
W. period never occurred.
The ~~Abdun~~ system and ~~journal~~ plus
coastal ~~possibilities~~ was superior to the Dahomean
"normal slave trade system, which
demanded the ~~affected~~ ^{influence} regions and
caused even more embittered wars,
with ~~unfavourable~~ ^{unfavourable} ~~at the same time~~
"slave wars became endemic as a
"national trade". (Whydah not its
exceptionally fertile soil and a much
more widely spread trading clan
acting as ~~others~~ ^{foreign} caravans
appears to have benefited during the
1660 - 1727 period ~~conspicuously~~ ^{ostensibly}
from the peaceful slave trade of
the pre-Dahomean times, especially
since 1704.

The Dahmerman System?
Keeping non-Des out of trade
Was Isolationist - W invited Mullahs (1704)

Trade Restricted (~~Channeling~~) Trade to ^{narrow} supervised channels (Lapours, ~~Foreign~~)

W- an gen tal fr Es.

W. m. p. as for 1881.
 < quote Borman + Barbot on inaccessibility of Gold Coast

Policing contrast this with Gap of Benin
 on G.L. / spiritual and: bush
 control and power / Gap of Benin crucial

Inland ~~so~~ portion of Dahomey permitted
control of supply (not like Gold C^{OR} ~~C^{OR}~~ ~~Gold~~)
phase of trade

Control of energy stage of trade

Landings
Graveling

{ taking $E_s + W_s$ at
arcs length

Transporting
Barabooms Love
Selecting
Keeping, Goods
Stampering

Keeping Goods
Stamping
Wholesale: A. Wagner's endave: White Star

Remote control: indirect administration

2 tons of beef - which protects the
trade while keeping away the bad smells
safe distance.

The p of both of which was the
Dahomey was without any doubt
an outstanding achievement of
Statecraft. ~~and administrative~~
skill. In the event the West African
wisdom that ~~an~~ inland state
should ~~not~~ ~~show~~ the coast ~~was~~
~~proved true. The showed~~ was con-
firmed in more than one way.
The Allaborum kings had acted out
of ~~their~~ military ~~compulsion~~ con-
siderations, and it was ~~precisely~~
~~as this~~ the logic of this.
~~intimate~~ necessity ~~that~~ which
shaped the ~~compelled~~ it to
accept created the constraints
under which it had to seek
solutions for its problems. The
~~could~~ integrate ~~society~~ of Dahomey
refusal to
Whydah into the centralized
Dahomean State organization
as well as into the religious
system of
belief and practices that
enlivened its social life
outside of the state sphere
was an imperative. Another

11 2
general order of landing, meeting
the trade officials, ~~having~~ ^{to} sheltering
goods in barks on the beach, ^{and}
having them moved to a
warehouse, and then defraying
the customs, paying for
the usual services in goods
at set prices.

Again and again officials
provided ~~help~~ ^{assistance} as to be
employed ~~there~~ ^{introducing}
supervision into all
and every ~~operation~~ ^{operation} of procedure
so that there is no chance left
for uncontrolled contacts
between individuals or groups
not lawfully connected.

The separation of ~~commerce~~
trade from war, the military
and the commercial ~~must~~
would enhance the ~~difficult~~
of politically, ~~unwelcome~~
groupings.

As it is ¹² facilitate a differential
~~On the other hand a deliberate~~ 124
IV handling of imports of the various
foreign companies ~~the favoring~~
~~of friendly nations~~ ~~such as~~
nationalities or dependent peoples
~~would be facilitated by~~
~~such a centralized~~
~~administration of foreign trade~~
~~would facilitate~~ ~~Primary~~
II exports of different goods staples
of various ~~derivations~~ origin
~~indeed~~ could in this way be
giving precedence and ~~disposal~~
to their owners ~~several monetary~~
advantages ~~from~~ ^③ ^①
I { ^② sorts of contraband, particularly
the smuggling of war material,
was effective ~~prevented~~, just
as it could be channelled to
friendly destinations. This
should have ~~been an~~
~~too greatly~~ helped any ~~synd~~
= caring of favored exporters
according to status. But it

in the nature of things dis-
 (native) to not Dahomean traders
 from frequent at port where the
 handling of trade would lead
~~to the detriment~~ to the detriment
 of the outsiders. ~~on the other~~
 But ~~and the handling of Dahomey's~~ of
~~administration~~ administration
~~of the~~ of the ~~in~~ in ~~effectiveness~~
~~and~~ and ~~its~~ its ~~complete control~~
 of ~~external~~ external ~~payments~~ payments ~~appropriation of~~
~~foreign trade~~ foreign trade ~~The~~ The ~~would~~ would
~~gold~~ gold ~~for instance~~ for instance
~~issued~~ issued ~~for the~~ for the ~~treasury~~
~~foreign~~ foreign ~~payments were~~ payments were
~~to some~~ to some ~~extent depended~~ extent depended
~~for~~ for ~~modalities on the~~ modalities on the
~~authorities~~ authorities

By the King
 of the Treasury

It should be assumed that the
 stability of the course value of
 in regard to gold
 was mainly due to the existence
 of the port of trade and its
 strict ~~control~~ control
~~method~~ method

Ch. VII. Sect. IV. p. 11

The port of trade as it functioned under the Dahomean regime in Whydah was doubtless an outstanding achievement of statecraft. The time honored principle that inland states must show the coast asserted itself in more than one way. The occupation of Whydah was an act of military necessity and the considerations of security continued to govern the position of the Dahomean occupants. Any attempt to integrate the conquered province into the centralized administration of Dahomey would have disrupted the empire, similarly the absorption of the ~~Yoruba~~ religion ~~of~~ into the ~~central~~ ^{local} ~~time~~ of the religious beliefs and practices of that instilled the social life of Dahomey would have been fatal. Administrative unification would have disrupted the state sphere, while cultural absorption would have proved fatal to the conventional and traditional foundations of the non-state sphere of local life.

of Whydah and Portoforbo,

Ardra was a loosely knit ^{3.} empire, comprising a number of ^{minor kingdoms and} chiefdoms. It was of roughly semi-circular shape and close to the sea but with no direct control of the coastal areas. Its northern limits were supposed to extend over hundreds of miles ~~of~~ into the empty bush towards Benin, yet its ~~access~~ access to the sea at the ~~hamlet of~~ little Ardra was no more than a mere channel 600 fathoms (three quarters ~~was~~ of a mile) wide. For the rest it was separated from the ocean by a string of ^{inlets} maritime communities. ^{Two organized} ^{including} small states ^{of} ^{repute} - ~~sent up~~ sent up more or less by a tributaries. ~~What should be~~ To complete the picture what was

Kedves Julek! - 'sat up'
er egyenél 'Itén 'sat up'
vél, az egyenél, miként
emlékező hajlamából
(A rák csöndös, ziháló-
matlan, kímélő és 'kímélő, mi-
vel nem is várható. Tényleg a jó
Spencernek is így, az egyelőre
mégis mit).

Kedves dolgozóm, nagy
hagyás, hogy a Boldizsár
Ivánk, a New Hampshire
Bourgeois Zsarnokos Székely
(akik Péter lelkének) Zsarnok
Székelyek tervei is leírja a fa-
döntést, az egyenél leírásban
még mindig nem jelen kettő
még az egyenél kettő
ellenakozója miatt.

Mit adnak a te ha
elvárnád a "Vers meg, hangra,
fajzatára is kímélő, az
a kímélő" című, Abból
az időből van, amikor felesége
örökléte volt, és de, nem,
volt Klinikai, az eset ("Fehér
hom arca" is "Jézusmunk
hagyásos" között) Ilona a

a közreműködését már
kerítve. A "Barvas" fordítója
Kenneth McRobbie, Kaffi-
májdnál megfordította, alig don-
dában tanul most. Miklós
az egyetlen tanárunk, de csak
a kettő együtt érthetjük a
valódi segítőket, a dráma
szerepét kommentálási val.
A világ irodalmának egyik
gyöngye. (Honnan is Mr. Rothe
leírja azt a találatot, mely
Pesten, miután pedig aztán
dunánban világhírűvé a
halgatók közt.) Miklós
nemcsak a fordításban
való, résztvevő
tanáraként, hanem a
nagy fordulás (talán a
megszokotttal), de
jó volna a ki velünk lehet
hallani a közreműködés
ról, amint lehet.
Ezen képpel mi is lehet
szülő báb és az elzár

Török, mi mind aen jutott emanda
ment végre valahogy (csak a "Dahomey" és a "Körös" voltak.)

ként már kecskék alá
előttem? Nyitni össze
előtte, hadd lépjenek
egyet-egyem együtt!
Majd hazatérve
hal isten Brad Smith
kezében jó helyen van.
Kerjük az ő gyönyörű
~~együtt~~ cikkeivel a "Körös"
névvel (mi majdnem
eggyüttesen tervezte az utolsó
7 év Smith történet =
grafikáját, már sok ludo-
mánya is benne körlette.
A majd alapfelfedezését)
Nagyaimnak a "Dahomey"
befejezése több ki. Repi
körképét fölött napjainkban
jobb iskolákban / Gondol.
Körkép a befejezés vége,
2 heten fiatal orias
santványon látogat fel
17c, Paul Meadow (Miklós
barátja is)

DALZEL

(History)

MAHEE state

D159 1737 war started -
more than 40ys
D75 decade of improritable wars
D78↑

Old Whydah 46ys

1743 W. driven out
1767 Shams to Poppes
1763 new W. invasion D102
Dissidents:

D78 to MAHEE
1772 Ago ow to M

1777 Jaquon reestablished. (re-populated)
Whydah: "W. bank of river, almost beyond
description"

WL

Description:
I had before the invasion of the Ds,
Dwas 15000 men
Dmpla 25

It was reported that the Ws
were 20,000 effective men
able to the field
bring into the field

little states: Tores, Orémé, Offra, Little Andra etc
Orémé

OYO

1228 at Adomeg
Since 1747 annual
PXIII. Calucina

1770 overthrown
Kings Palace at
Calucina 20' tall
half-heads
PXII

Customs is a
newly
every 4th day

(D) 5-
invasion of the Ds,
that one village
contained as many
inhabitants as a
whole kingdom on the
Gold Coast, (5)
"one great park"

Snelgrave

Snelgrave

Introd. ~~1712~~ 1712 → 33 ships sailed for the Guinea C
1725 → 200 ships sailed ^{carried "permissions"}

Whylah!

Berbain vs Coup de l'Inde restarted
1723 - 1725 20 to Whylah (for)
1726 Stopped ^{ships of permission}

1727 ~~restarted~~ got taken over by falling off begins
1767 slow rise, then swift rise, back to

1720ies

1727 ~~after~~ ^{from} separate traders
take over all along the
coast from Sierra Leone to
Benin; deliver 1/5th
of blank slaves.

NYC

IV. Leaves

W Africa

Africa
Congo pro African in
mella + Shanghai
(One Nd pro = white !)

of Kindred

mmmmmm

Defn is 48

alternative method of
numeration

goes up to

96,000,000

$$600 = 6 \times 100 + 5 \times 120$$

5x120

KP. don't will that
forced immigration
in some

60 x 10

20 x 6

by ant. ^{on} ^{from} ^{pyramine} ^{Sept}
 266 in 152

Olivella 60 x 10
var. *capitata* 60 x 6
Balulus *Cura* below
New Zealand + Equator imputed
from the North.
Belgian Congo *Olivella nana*

Olivella nana

Johnston

Congo - head and ears (combine not for
Congo trade language [Bussa])

Image contains NOT use code as last

219

646

Shells penetrate from Angkor (1500-1600)
 Schinia (Cornu?)
 Bayonzi Cret - Cornu on Upper
 Umbangi.

6A7

Continue as small money, Santum R.
+ Upp Kasai

* upper nasals
bare - still cmo (before fr. growth)

12. (4)

Money values

N
III
SIA
modern

ad Cowrie & Currencies
Indian currencies

{ Rupee = $\frac{1}{6}$ one shilling }
+ 6d }
{ Anna = d one penny }
{ price = $\frac{1}{2}$ d halfpenny }

Chinese XIII cty

Silver Saggio = 6 - 8 d
= $\frac{1}{6}$ ounce of silver ⁹⁰⁰

1 fold saggio = 8 saggio (silver) i.e. $8 \times 6-8d =$
 $48-64d$
 $48-64d = \text{£ } 4-6$

3840 Cowrie

Thames valley

The tribal monarchy made full use
of the separation of ~~the~~ political and commercial capitals. (5)
The royal administration was
carried on by a simple staff
of native dignitaries. Even the
foreign diplomatic and military
personnel was fitted on a
modest basis into the royal
residence. ~~The usual status~~
The normal status distinctions
~~took care of the~~ - largely hereditary -
took care of the various functions
implied in the household of
a small state. It will be easy
to follow the gradual growth
of a more elaborate ~~central~~
~~palace business~~ establishment
around the ~~own~~ palace, while
~~the~~ which nevertheless remained
in ~~immediate~~ close contact
both with ~~the~~ the native
economy and the foreign
companies. Replace ~~this by the~~
~~Dahomey~~ palace by a Dahomey
vicerey and all of this had to
be rebuilt ~~its groundings on the~~ on new foundations.

The ~~deceptive~~ history of the
country Dahomey ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
slave trade that centered
port of Whydah challenges the
economic historian in more than
one way. But the term ~~archaic~~ ~~that~~
was prematurely ~~dropped~~ ~~from~~
economic anthropology ~~as~~ ~~merely~~ ~~artistic~~
and cultural, ~~will~~ ~~may~~ ~~have~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~
~~restored~~ ~~to~~ ~~denote~~ ~~a~~ ~~series~~ ~~of~~ ~~phases~~
~~that~~ ~~are~~ ~~intermediate~~
between the primitive and the
the modern, ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~sake~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~
precision the ~~economic~~ ~~historian~~
will have to apply it with some
precision ~~since~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~so~~ ~~as~~ ~~not~~ ~~to~~
~~may~~ ~~find~~ ~~himself~~ ~~in~~ ~~an~~ ~~entangled~~ ~~method~~
~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~complex~~ ~~definition~~ ~~employing~~ ~~the~~
~~involved~~ ~~(anthropological)~~ ~~sociological~~ ~~states~~
~~probable~~ ~~and~~ ~~economies~~ ~~by~~ ~~virtue~~
~~merely~~ ~~claiming~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~archaic~~
~~by~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~strength~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~relative~~ ~~strength~~
~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~relative~~ ~~strength~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~relative~~ ~~strength~~
~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~relative~~ ~~strength~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~relative~~ ~~strength~~
without any satisfactory fixing
valid determinative of the ~~truly~~
originating category. In our
field the avoidance of state
and society is admirable, as well

of their
connectedness
and

(15e)
as ~~an~~ ^{any} analogical definition of (2)
the economy ~~as~~ the institution
to be ~~described~~ ^{called} as 'archaic'.

Instead we prefer ~~to be~~ ^{generally} ~~denoting~~
the generic approach ~~and~~ ^{calling out}
(and later justify) ~~will~~ ^{conservative}
institutions ^{which do not} as archaic ~~at~~
yet appear in primitive so
communities and ~~there are no more~~
found to have ~~are~~ ^{disappeared}
in ~~these~~ societies where ^{the use of} money
as a means of exchange ^{is}
common. ~~These~~ ^{economic} ~~state~~ ^{institutions}

~~which~~ ^{are} still incipient ~~are~~ in
which archaic ~~economic~~ institutions
are conspicuous ~~may~~ be regarded
as archaic, ~~as denoted by~~ ^{where} again
their ~~economics~~ ^{and} ~~hence~~ ^{again}
States ~~exist~~ ^{are} incipient
ones - where the economic process
is ~~not~~ ^{embedded}
in institutions of this kind, ~~are~~ ^{are} deemed
by ~~as~~ ^{to} archaic states.

(b) An analogous sketch that
undertakes to present the
form structure & functioning of
the Balinese economy or ~~that~~ its
have trade will ~~have to~~ ^{meet}

(15f)
~~with~~ prints at home that ^{temporal} ~~lack of~~ evidence ~~or~~ ~~in the~~ 3
inadequacy of ~~conceptualisation~~
& concepts ~~cause~~ ^{matter} obfuscates.
Before ~~the~~ ~~subject~~ is finally
discovered some of these awkward
subjects may be hoped to have ~~been~~
~~moved into a more satisfactory~~
~~range of clarity.~~

gained somewhat in clarity. What
is the place of the ~~economy~~ in trade,
many recorded institutions in the
archaic economy. And how did
Western trade adjust to the archaic
~~traditional trading methods of~~
arch West African trade?

~~All this~~ (under the slave trade frame)
Questions such as these may also
make us wonder how balanced
~~currents~~ ^{currents} functioned in the
absence of market systems to
mediate the ~~adjustment~~ adjustment.
Apart from the ~~historical~~ frame
of Sahomean ^{groups} ~~history~~, the narrower
frame of the slave trade will
compel us to introduce the
external ~~facts~~ constraints of
history, which ^{so often} ~~bring~~ ^{international life} ~~bring~~ heavy
~~much of our~~ ~~history~~ down to
earth.

x x x

Notes SLAVE TRADE

I. Gold

[Dugger] 1441 ^{Portug.} (first known voyage) 1657 Navig. Laws.
 1472 1660 Charles II
 1553 Windham, Benin (no gold) ^{Ryter (Cape Coast)} no slaves
~~1587~~ 1485 Portuguese (no slaves shipped)
 up till 1660 - no slaves shipped, only gold
 instead Portuguese settle Porto Novo.
 natives sovereign, white men only loggers.

first English

II.

1689 Benin, no slave trade [Dugger III]
 (occupied in Asia W. Indies, N. Amer.)
 yet slave demand for W.I. exists

Onegbadja 1645
 Akaba 1708
 Agalja 1732

1687/8 Du Casse mentions ^{Cornwallis} Adja
 & relates them to Cape Coast
 1698 Bosman:

II Slaves pre-1728

Notes for Chapter 7, Section 4

- 1) no pantheon after the conquest of Whydah
not the slightest sign of syncretism either
- 2) thalassophobia
~~terrorous~~ france is drowned
- 3) bent toward extreme centralization
put into practice in Dahomey
but not in Whydah
utter refusal to integrate Whydah
either into a centralized empire ^{culturally} or
- 4) took over the Whydah port of trade
(the whole country was that port
of trade) & no attempt at expansion
- remained small weak country
at the heart of the refusal to
integrate were:
 - 1) separate administration —
everything separate
 - 2) religious separation (Snake
religion)
hypocondriac Shunning
- 5) ^{Dahomey} destroyed avi & moved the ~~capital~~ governor + lodge
to Whydah
- 6) of Labat text and plans of forts

Kedves

1961 ¹Jul
20

Önkéntesen

beadottam a
munkát lezárva.

Világosodik az

út. Brad-ot meg-

Kérdésem, az új

újság felől - Amint

balról megvan a

Posthumus jejjel

nyarazon szam

reze a nem - Amint

Vonatkasok legfel-

Zese. T. Chlornak.

Penne megkildyuk

a tallbaurond 4 - 14²
luteles masolat; azo.
felül az "Zöld" Javlatas
mal is. Alikanem
az USA Javara ir
megy Kommentáló
Cikket. a M.T.A. meg-
kapja perze a forrás
amagot idovel.

J, Neusokara is mek
is met, amint nyra
van.

Kedves jó hűlő surk,
jobbát, geobet mai nem
fellel vobna, mint amit
nekrink itál.

Ölcsink
Kasli

Dear Professor Bitnes:

I have just received your paper on Human freedoms which I have read with great interest. This gives me occasion to thank you for an invitation to join in the Burg Wartenstein symposium which I was sorry regret unable to accept for reasons of health. Your paper gives food for thought in so many directions that, of course, no brief reflections on it can be appropriate or even suitable. Yet I feel impelled to ask a question which is perhaps pertinent though certainly more speculative. But after reading your thorough Directory through the semantic labyrinth, it suggests itself inevitably, it may indeed even draw attention to a variety (or shade?) of freedom which comes to consciousness in modern man. Perhaps you will benefit me with your reaction to my mention of it.

Why is freedom moving into the
center of our concerns to-day?
To the point of it being c. S. a
common belief that religion
in particular ~~is~~, essentially
prohibits freedom. Few anything
are more generally made, and
believed. Yet it would be
difficult to find any direct
scriptural foundation for
it.

Now my intent is by no
means to deny the truth of
that assertion. On the contrary,
I believe that it is at the very
heart of our present passionate
concern with freedom. But that
it points to a ~~new~~ variety of
freedom which was never before
threatened, and around which
maybe the existential problems
of an industrial civilization
revolve.

I stop here, since I am due

that you have already identified,
broadly, the kind of metaphysical
freedom I have in mind.
Personally, I believe that the
sort of concern for our salvation
— integrity of innermost conscience
which ^{it} evokes, is a state
of fear of loss, and hope
of saving something of infinite
value, a fear and a hope
between which we are for ever
hovering, a condition without
which we as we are cannot live.

It assumes that there is this
quality of uncertainty — living in
fear and hope — about existence.
In a complex technological
society we are convinced that
this freedom is illusory. The
ultimate precariousness of
existence in such a world

removes the possibility of having
the individual ^{his} 'conscience'
and keeping ^{his} as his own. The residual
uncertainty of any individual
salvation hinged on the possibility.

of my sacrificing myself for the sake
of conscience, integrity, salvation.
I argue that this residual
uncertainty as the uncertainty
of my acting rightly in extremes
has vanished. We cannot honestly
say e.g. that we would refuse
to endow with unlimited powers
any authority which offered to
save mankind from utter immediate
destruction. Not fear for ourselves (we
could entirely ignore it) but for
all the others involved - this we know -
compell us to force others (regard-
less of their consciences) to conform
to orders that rescue mankind.

In this sense, we have lost a
residual freedom to which mankind
is attached and the vanishing
of which is the root reason for
the present malaise of a techno-
logical civilization.

The way out? Suggestions of how
to keep living? How one feels about
it, seems to be part of this freedom
issue. Excuse these lengthy comments
Sincerely yours R. G. Davis

5. - P M 8-

The ~~Dahomean~~ ^{Formula} for the
isolation of ~~Wagad~~ was to permit
~~of~~ business contacts only between
Europeans and Dahomeans, not
between other Africans and the
former; ~~and neither~~ neither
were Europeans permitted to
enter Dahomey and transact
business there, nor were African
traders allowed to sell to
Europeans, except through
the intermediacy of Dahomean
brokers.

The organizational frame of
of Dahomean Wiyad was the
office of the Yavogan the king's
personal ~~representative~~ representative
and head of civil administration.
The chief representative of the Dahomean
Government on the slave
trade was the Chachag, a post
of a unique character which
involved absolute trust of the king.
This post was created by King
Ghezo (1818-58) and was vested in
his blood brother, Fasoso, I. de
Souza. It appears to have removed
from the Yavogan's jurisdiction
~~all~~ matters of trade, and
concentrated them in the Chachag's
hands. Effective control was secured
by many regulations ensuring
pursuit of any action relating to
trade and thus creating a frame
of ~~or creating~~ automatic check
on ~~the~~ obedience (according to
the law). Capt. R. B. R. B.
The ~~technical~~ ~~organization~~ ~~of~~
international post as well as

112

Financial ~~conditions~~ obligations
~~governments~~ incurred by
foreign traders in regard to
the sovereign for permission
to trade, tolls and taxes
due for exporting or importing
slaves; finally prices set
for slaves, ^{which} were of course ~~the~~
~~general~~ traditional in
Nigeria and were unaltered
by ~~the~~ changes ⁱⁿ ~~sovereignty~~.
Instead of the King in Sar land
his ministers, the Yoruba
and the Chad were the authorities
supported by a supreme local
considerable body of ~~the~~ official
traders, police, military
personnel and a host of
servants, porters, boatmen
and ~~cooks~~ ^{native} slaves
of all sorts to do the rough work.
As to the routine business, the

4 Last resort certainly of the chance
of sacrificing life for the sake
of conscience, in quest of salvation.
This residual expectation of
one's acting right in extremes
has vanished. We cannot any
more honestly say that we would
refuse to endorse with unlimited
powers any authority that offered
to rescue mankind from utter
immediate destruction. Not
fear for ourselves (we are able to
ignore it) but for all the others.
Sure we would - this we know -
be compelled to compel all others
irrespective of their consciences, to
conform to any measures that will
rescue mankind. In this sense, we
have lost a freedom to which all of
us are attached, and the vanishing
of what is the root reason for the
malaise of a technological
civilization. For we may live
by the illusion that we have
still retained freedom.

The way out? How to keep
living without illusory freedom?
Is this not part of the freedom issue?
Excuse this lengthy comment. Sincerely,
as Karl Popper

Friday In re-reading my Notes on
freedom they appear to have clarified at
two points: What exactly is the stated
freedom that the N. T. reveals. The
pearl of infinite treasure is our soul,
which is identical with our fear-
hope condition in regard to eternal
life (I am not concerned with
the reality of "immortality" at all,
but that which we can "lose"
and which we hope to "retain.")
I assert that the effect of the
Christian message is to breed
such a concern. We love it;
life is unlivable without it. Anybody
that would remove it, is he
lord of our freedom (in this sense).
Superlative fear would do that.
Since it removes uncertainty. The
precariousness of existence in a
retrogressive civilization breeds
latent fear — metaphysical fear
of the unknown (not the known)
At the heart of that fear is fear
for our freedom.

13. ~~Friday~~

7

On re-reading my Notes on
freedom they appear to have changed at
two points. What exactly is the state of
freedom that the N. T. reveals. The
pearl of infinite treasure is our soul,
which is identical with our fear -
hope condition in regard to eternal
life (I am not concerned with
the reality of "immortality" at all,
but that which we can "lose"
and which we hope to "retain.")
I assert that the effect of the
Christian message is to breed
such a concern. We love it;
life is unlivable without it. Anybody
that would remove it, is the
enemy of our freedom (in this sense).
Superlative fear would do that.
Since it removes uncertainty. The
precariousness of existence in a
retrogressive civilization breeds
latent fear - metaphysical fear
of the unknown (not the known).
At the heart of that fear is fear
for our freedom.

^{Paradox} To compel others to ~~compel~~ ^{others} 2
is a paradigm of the ~~crime~~ ^{sin}
against the Holy Spirit, and yet that
precisely is the danger we are all
in a ^{sinning} ~~sinning~~ ^{sinning} existence.
This we all know but pretend
not to.

3
The slave trade was, then, embedded
in the ~~political organization~~ of territorial
bodies that made up the loose
unit organization of the ~~state~~ and
its ~~various~~ coastal chiefs. It derived
a proportionate share, income from
marketing the slave trade. And it
imposed a considerable lump sum
(the custom) ~~on~~ every ship that
applied for permission to trade ~~and~~
~~at~~ where the ~~gross~~ pure and ~~unprofitable~~
toll per head on a slave, ~~entering the~~
~~country into its boundaries~~ entering it
as well as an equal toll on territory
its being sold abroad. The king was the
chief beneficiary of custom and toll,
the member states shared mainly
~~only~~ in the export tolls, apart from
~~the~~ emoluments ~~that~~ earned through
semi-commercial services. Contracting
supply and outlet, the ~~big~~ inland
centers of the big state went pressed
on with the supply function, while
the coastal units created the channels of
distribution which could serve as an
adequate outlet for the Trade. However,
eventually, there was ~~no~~ ~~lack of~~ ~~competition~~

no ~~essential~~ ^{organ} of co-ordination
in this political setting which could
provide an ~~effective~~ ^{adequate} response (32)
~~link~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{and} concerning resources of
slaves ~~to~~ ^{the} opportunities of outlet
since the central ~~administrative~~ ^{government}
lacked ~~the~~ ^{all} administrative ~~personnel~~
~~within the~~ ^{its} ~~area~~ ^{more} of its ~~more~~
~~less~~ ^{reliable} maritime tributaries
within the belt of its more or less for

reliable maritime tributaries.
The ~~central~~ ^{interior} ~~part~~ ^{part} where the inflow of
slaves to Urdah and into the eyes of the
European slavers was no more than an
area a good days journey across to the
right and left of Lake Urdah. To the
north, ~~the~~ ^{the} recipient of slaves
originating from a vast reservoir of
supply; facing south, towards the ocean, it
acted as a ~~spring~~ ^{source} of slaves towards the
beaches. It was not identified with
any tribe or small state; it lay
amid suborganized territories of
warlike tribes of men fighting each
other. Geographically ~~it was~~ ^{it was} covered
by a maze of slow rivers and ex-
tended lagoons separated from the
beaches from one another by broad
strips of marshland. Such was

slow was made carried on? The
apparent empire of Andra controlled
neither the northern supply ~~nor~~ nor
the southern outlet of slaves. The
king Quenda did not slave in
the northern markets for export
nor carry on raids across his borders.
Caravans from the north were the source
of supply, and Andra was hand in
the position to hog the supply
once it had started to flow onward
from its many distant sources.

No more adequate was its
control of the outlet for slaves
in the South Coast. The small states
were in a condition of chronic feuding
and war. As temptation of selling
the slaves themselves, of keeping
admitting the Europeans to their
markets for buying and selling
food on their own terms
payment tolls and of subsidies
smuggling slaves to through
officially closed passes to their
landing places, to disrupt
Andra's arrangements with
European slavers and disrupt
their factors, plundering
the Europeans.

warehouses, so is going their
settlements; subverting ~~the~~
~~native~~ the villages of the ~~that~~
native

Surround the European posts,
participating in the ~~last~~
play of intrigues ~~and~~ as of the
~~political hypotheses between~~

the ~~foreign~~ ^{chartered} Companies and
the ~~leading~~ personalities of
the native ~~societies~~ on which

in the last resort the chances
of smooth transportation and
transactions ~~are~~ rested.

To illustrate this pattern of internal
~~native~~ conflicts and European
interventions we have the written

of Barbot and Bommars, Proceeding
east from the Volta to the Boko,
the little and ~~great~~ ^{we find} ~~open~~
the ~~whydassan~~ Whydah, Jacquin

and Offra ~~emerge~~. The post
of Offra or little Adra ~~was~~ for the
Europeans. ^{+ To them it was} the hub of two ~~lines~~
~~from there~~ ^{whence} an excellent road to

Great Adra or Assina, ^{commercial} capital.

the kingdom of Ardra.

The people of Colo were warring
in desultory with the Little Popoes,
a practice favored by their common
island neighbour, the Aquamboes.
These had a dual leadership, a senior
and a junior chief, which traditionally
functioned so as to prevent either
Colo or Little Popo from being quite
removed from the scene. If
one of them was ~~defeated~~ defeated and
chased out of his habitat, he
would be restored by his patrons
counteraction. When Offra about
the 1670's rebelled against Ardra
and the Dutch factor, a favorite
of the King's was murdered, the
King persuaded the Little Popoes
to attack the Offra, destroy them
and deliver ~~these~~ their chief
into the hands of the King. After-
wards the King "pushed on by
the King of Ardra" the Little
Popoes "marched against the
people of Fida" and encamped
in their country. After being
repulsed, he attacked the Keta
and perished in battle. Their present

king" says Barbot "revenge his
brother's death on the Cotosians"
who were eventually driven out
of their country. ~~However~~

This happened in 1700. However,
Barbot adds, The Aquamboes
may eventually reverse this
position again.

Proceeding to Great Topo
a sequence of foreign inter-
ventions ~~may be~~ is on record.
Their king we are told, gained the
throne by replacing his brother
with the help of the French, who
then made him tributary to the
king of Whydah. The Great
Topoes, ungratefully towards
Whydah then "threw off their
yoke", but were again invaded by
them, assisted by the French fleet.
However, despite heavy losses
the attackers were routed
and unable to ~~subvert~~
dislodge the Topoes from their
island seat in ~~the~~ lagoon.
1. Bosman when visiting

Hydrabad, at the ^{other} time on tributary
of Andra found the king very
popular with the Europeans.
~~He had~~ Indeed, he had been
elevated to the throne by
French and English marines
his brother having been first
deposed of it. Bosman
predicted an other civil
war for after the demise
of the ruling monarch ~~his~~ ^{whose}
younger son was likely to be
favored by the Europeans
against his elder brother.
As we know, just that came
to pass, a fact closely
associated with the setting
up of the Port of Trade.

The ~~importance~~ ^{importance} of the
~~kingdom of Andra~~ ^{kingdom of Andra} to deal
with the ^{very} ~~much~~ ^{and weaker} ~~smaller~~ ^{Hydrabad}
the ~~analogous~~ ^{analogous} ~~helpless~~ ^{helpless} ~~of~~
Hydrabad to ~~break~~ ^{break} the ~~weakness~~ ^{weakness}
of its ^{much} ~~weaker~~ ^{weaker} ~~neighboring~~ ^{neighboring} ~~Opores~~ ^{Opores}; and
~~similar~~ ^{similar} ~~paradoxies~~ ^{paradoxies} ~~readily~~ ^{readily}
analogous ~~weak~~ ^{weak} ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~largely~~ ^{largely} ~~due~~ ^{due}
to geographical factors

A schematic picture ~~the~~ locational features of will underline ~~=~~ the difficulties ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~king's~~ ~~interests~~. Ardra was of slightly semi-circular shape and close to the sea, but as we know, of no administrative control of the coastal areas. Its northern limits were supposed to extend over hundreds of miles into the empty bush towards Benin, yet its access to the sea at Little Ardra was no more than 600 fathoms (Three quarters of a mile) wide. For the rest it was separated from the ocean by a string of maritime communities including two organized small states, Whydah and Portonovo representing more or less loyal tributaries. Operationally Ardra was designed to as a funnel ending up in a sponge which oozed slaves in all directions. The financial orientation of government required that all slaves be tolled. Not profit made on an imaginary slave market, but taxes levied on ~~the~~ trade movements were the ~~vital~~ ~~crux~~ crux of the organization of the Slave Trade. The king's interest

was in the largest possible number of
slaves to pass through his territories
on condition that none ~~can~~ escaped
untolled. What foreign slaves bought
the slave and ~~in~~ from whom what
coastal people did not regard him
as long as the selling 'hand' had
presented the slave for tolling ~~at~~
to the Kings officers. This requirement
may have been operationally
difficult to meet. Great Topoe revolted
once in protest against Ardresian
constraint to have all slaves
potentially sold by ~~the~~ Topoorians
first taken to Great Ardva for
previous tolling. This however was
only one awkward ~~requirement~~ requirement
of the slave trade which was difficult
to square with the unscutable
political embeddedness of
the slave trade under ~~the~~ Ardresian
aegis. ~~Slaves as a staple~~ The selecting of
slaves by the various purchasers, their
feeding and guarding, transporting to
and fro, branding and secluding
~~guarding and~~ in regard to differential
national and national origins

Dear Paul I am writing in ex-
purgancy of the MS of the draft
and what I cannot recollect
clearly enough, I am quite sure that
I can easily carry the cost of
the copy, if it is in the range you
mentioned (about ~~\$5~~ \$5-10).
Please do not pay for it myself.

What we now need is a clear
formulated (1) theme and a (2) formula
of a ~~st~~ for a structure which is
~~sound and~~ outlines the (3) argument.

Ad (1) I remember the subject of
the book is given ^{there} with a covered
reference of to the 60ies as
Socialist bloc, nuclear weapons
and afro-Asian revolutions.

The structure (2) structure
might be (A) the Great transformation
thesis (ie the "market theorem" as:
Disembodied economy)

(B) Socialist bloc ("Cold War")

(C)

Dear Paul, I find myself
vague in absence of the MS of
the draft. If its possible to have a
copy at the \$5-10 you
mentioned, I can easily carry
that (please do Not pay for it).
As soon as I get it, I'll try to suggest
a structure on our present lines.
Re 'phone conversation was too brief.
Of course, to produce it offhand.

The theme is given by the
collapse of the world economy; and
of the balance of power system;
as well as the "liberal" state
(i.e. representative or democratic)
as an organ of the new nations;
and the liberal market system.
Not as if the 'Sixties' could follow
from this, but they certainly
followed upon it. This would
allow a free featuring of the
present world burning problems,
as much as it is wished to
comprise. The New West might
be the Conclusion. The ~~Chapter~~ Part
on Socialist bloc might open
with Robert Owen's humanism.
(Rousseau and his "people")

Ch. VII. Section II - 2

complicated by the seasonal and occasional
delays, military considerations and the
~~particular~~ requirements of Substrata
for the slaves ~~which~~ raised intricate
problems of administration affecting
the probability of the undertaking.
Avoidable risks and massive
losses would accrue ~~through~~ ^{increasing} average
costs to the slavers mainly ~~from~~ ^{through} the
delays caused in loading and in
completing their return voyage.

~~Consequently~~ The lack of synchroniza-
tion between the European and
the native ~~factories~~ ~~had been~~ ~~the~~ ~~beginning~~
had been there from the beginning
of the Guinea trade. The European
promises to send merchandise
remained ~~unfulfilled~~ ^{unfulfilled}
or, ~~rather~~ ^{rather} the gold kept
ready for him by the natives ~~had~~
had neither to be Substrated ~~nor~~
by them nor not being guarded
as ~~well~~ ^{well} crowded

Barracon's was in the absence
of the expected customers in
the first decade of the slave

Ch VII Sect II. - 9

French Colonies suffered from glut of
slaves due to the ~~grand levée~~ ^{grand levée} of the French
~~large~~ to live up to ~~the~~ ^{any number} commitments
of ~~the~~ ^{of} shipping ~~tens~~ ^{of}
~~thousands~~ of slaves, ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~large~~ ^{soon}
as they were made available.

At the times ~~when~~ ^{and very} the position may
have ~~been~~ ^{reversed}. ~~It is~~ ^{very} ~~likely~~ ^{likely} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~this~~ ^{this}
~~might happen~~ ^{might happen} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~indicated~~ ^{indicated} by

W. S. Mullgrave's Introduction to his
~~the second~~ report on his ~~second~~ ^{second}
visit to ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~ships~~ ^{ships} had
left England for the West Coast
in 1721; ~~by 1725~~ ^{by 1725} more
than 200 were committed. S. Elder (1669)

and Babbot put on record the
disappointment of the Dutch ~~for~~
long settled in Africa, where no
of the King's ~~ships~~ ^{ships} ~~ships~~ ^{ships}
were available. Five ships had
to return empty to Elmina, while
all other were left waiting.
This was the chief source of the
trading losses of the chartered

Cartes ethno-démographiques de
l'ouest Africain.
Feuilles No 5 préparées par I
Paul Mercier
p. 4 Note de présentation. Afrique Occidentale
J. Richard - Nolard, France (Paris, 1949)
E. F. Gantier, L'Afrique Noire Occidentale
Esquisse des cadres géographiques (Paris, 1943)
associés à SAVONNET, Section géographique de
l'IFAN

Paul Mercier whose charts of West African ethno-demography underlie this presentation broadly describes this region as ~~into covering the~~ follows; "It runs from the coast to the desert and comprises as one would expect the climatic and vegetational zones in their longitudinal sequence, the Sahel, the Sudan, the Baoulé and the Benin. However, a fact of the first importance happens to disrupt this general arrangement: this is the existence of the Gap of Benin, (la trouée du Bénin) which opens a path for the influence of the Sudan to reach the coast and which separates

2 Afrique Occidentale Française, Paris, 1949, pp. 18-19

(range ~~vezi~~)
the Western forest region of Guinea
from the Central African forest
region to the east. This break
through (zone) runs almost
parallel to the mountain range
which originates in S. Togo
reaches in ~~gutter~~ gradual
decline the W. Niger. It is
neither our task nor ~~does~~ it
~~belong to us~~ within our competence
to explain this anomaly. It
may suffice to refer to some
remarks of J. Richard - Nolard
on the matter: "Starting with the
Cape of Three Points (Takraddi) the
coast is subject to ^{the} monsoon; a
cold marine current accompanies
it closely. The Togo-Atakora
chain bends the eastern air-
currents of the Sudan south-
wards, in ~~the~~ winter, (to penetrate)
a low pressure zone over the conti-
nental equatorial Africa sucks
in the harmattan (the dry land-
wind ~~of~~ the coast of Upper Guinea)
-- In brief, four obvious reasons
offer ~~for~~ as an explanation for the
fact that its climate is not any
more that of the deep forest." P

companies whose enormous war-
heads rendered great discrepancies
of turning out now. The
"interlopers" ~~were not of 30%~~
~~cheap~~ ^{but also} ~~but also~~ were not only
better ~~but also~~ almost 30% cheaper,
~~but also~~ because they picked
up the slaves where they found
them, and escaped the hazards
of an economic process
transacted by means of a
political setup. unsubstantiated

~~17th century~~ (1670)
D'Elze ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ account
of the early Ardelean slave
trade when the ~~King~~ ^{royal} ~~power~~
~~was still at its best~~ ^{administration}
state attempted to cope with
the taxes devolving on the center
in direct dealings with the
~~European~~ French official slaves
~~should be~~ ^{present} ~~the~~
~~first~~ ^{clear} bureaucratic obstacles
clear. Combined with Barbot's
~~and~~ ^{contemporaneous}
details of the transactions
~~between~~ ^{between} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~two~~ ^{two} ~~parties~~ ^{parties}

Ch VII. Part II - 11-113-12

~~the~~ ceremonial and commercial
between king and slaver is
presents a formidable burden
picture of the } of the foreign
shipper having to present
himself personally at great
cost whenever an ~~new~~
arrival of an other ship
compelled him to pay again his
customs ~~for~~ and for through
the complete ~~state~~ of
the diplomatic ~~at~~ ~~the~~
of a reception at the royal
palace.

Barbott - of typed pages
on "Transactions"

[Quoted from ^{Ad ch. II} ~~Paul~~ ^{sub II} ~~Richard~~ ^{Richard} ~~Mo~~ ^{Mo} ~~land~~ ^{land} ~~I~~ ^I
~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~climatic~~ ~~determinations~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~economic~~ ~~features~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Slave~~ ~~Coast~~ ~~states~~;
Gradually the rhythm of two rainy seasons asserts ~~the~~ itself as one moves south eastward parallel to ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~Atakora~~ ~~towards~~ ~~the~~ ~~Range~~ i.e. ~~rough~~ in correspondence with the Gap of Benue. The rainfall diminishes as one approaches the coast; ~~the~~ ~~low~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ where the mountain range takes its start from off the coast registers the lowest precipitation. The seasonal rhythm ~~remains~~ equatorial, but the rains are ~~is~~ still moderate. The ~~southerly~~ atmosphere does not display ~~its~~ ~~large~~ ~~scale~~ ~~if~~ the local ~~harmattan~~ ~~crushing~~ ~~wind~~ ~~seems~~ ~~only~~ as a trade wind; it's an equatorial onterange where the palm oil tree is at ~~ease~~ ~~but~~ ~~the~~ ~~tree~~ ~~home~~, but cereal plants, particularly the ~~maize~~ Indian corn I feel ~~at~~ ~~ease~~.
In short, an equatorial ~~country~~ ~~land~~ to a degree which excludes the Virgin forest and keeps within the humane scale. (J.R. Molard p. 43)

ad ~~short subject~~ ^{ad short subject} ~~the~~ principle of I
all-
rem) Without accepting ~~the~~ principle of I
climatic determination of
cultures, the influence of natural
surroundings on forms of settlement
may be recognized. The
Southern ~~zone~~ zone just described
has offers ~~the~~ highest forms of
↑ state organization. West African



one of the

The alternative was to decentralize the
process, and to leave the move
powers to the vassals, relying on
the rule of Opita, Jaquin, Utydal,
Great Vopo, Porto Novo or Porto
Support the King's officers. ~~above~~
~~on some illustrations were~~ we
have seen above what the domestic
and external conditions ~~uncertainty~~ of the
west. And yet the ~~encomienda~~ ^{tributary}
movement of slave trade was
embedded in ~~the~~ the medley
of their practically sovereign
bodies. ~~The~~ Investigation reveals
that a multiple adjustment
of the political organizations ~~is the~~
~~key to the practical outcome~~
~~which~~ allowed the trade to be
carried on in spite of all,
instructive ~~to~~ adaptations of ~~the~~
forms of sovereignty, a variety of
break forms resulted in keeping
going the trade in spite of ~~any~~
a definite linkage of oncoming
resources and their disparate
~~many~~ buyers. ~~As there~~ ^{there} ~~standing~~ ^{fact}
was the unexplained existence of a
small, weak, yet nominally sovereign
neutral state on the Andresian

boundary called Torry ¹⁴ ~~maps~~ ~~maps~~ ~~maps~~ over
its existence. ^{Barnard} ~~Barnard~~ gives geogra-
phical details, ~~the~~ length of its boundary
its place on a river of the same ~~name~~
^{name} ~~is~~ ^{is also} ~~repeatedly~~ ^{small} ~~said to~~
be lying on the coast. An explanation
may be found in an ambiguity
of terms understandable in a
~~marsh~~ marsh and lagoon locked
comity tide through which the ships
of many countries were moving
boatloads of men. It appears
that under the circumstances
any landing where boats could
be loaded which eventually reached
the ~~roadstead~~ ~~stead~~ was regarded as
being on the coast, though maps
might show it well inland. The
significant feature however was
the neutrality accorded to the area.
Whydah and Badagry were practically
at open enmity ever since the
Howdah had their political
capital in Ibadan, only 9 miles
from the sea, but no further from
Good Ardrah, the central trading place
of Aden.

~~AN~~ element of neutrality was present in many factual situations of the coastal area. Dual control was its most frequent device. One of the same area was attributed silently to Ardra and to Whyda. In still other regions two commanding officers were appointed by the commanding parties; at still other times the one commander was named by the two countries ~~app~~ jointly; ~~even~~ maps employed the device of marking according to the ~~place~~ ~~the market at~~ Assin (Great Ardra) ~~by drawing~~ with the help of dotted lines ~~marking~~ avenues of indicating a sort of reduced sovereignty. ~~All~~ of these improvised limitations of territorial seclusion ~~seemed~~ may all be ~~look~~ regarded of ~~as~~ as partial ~~approximate~~ approximations to the ~~normal~~ eventual solution, the port of trade.

The root difficulty ⁻¹⁶⁻ ~~was the distance~~ ^{special}
The center of administration lay at
a ~~two day~~ distance from the ~~average~~
coast. ~~average~~ from the military
angle the further obstacle lay in
the reluctance of permitting travel
by day to the ~~foreigner~~ stranger
through a potentially threatened
country side. ~~There was the coast~~
~~the~~ ^{Hence} the ~~lack of~~ the debility
of the inland empire to expand
to the coast.

Delay and distance were the
cumulative cost factors which
~~made~~ ^{perpetuated} the ~~Andresia~~ ^{regime of}
slave trade. inadequacy of the

Custom and
tolls, ~~together~~ together with a multitude
of ~~conventional~~ gifts amounted one
way or another to 75 or even 85
slaves' value for each trading ship,
whereas at Whydah they did not
exceed 32 or 35 slaves, which
is great odds for the English and
French factors residing there, Barbot
remarks. Even including an other
12 slaves for transportation costs
~~what~~ as set in Whydah, we still arrive

only 47 slaves ^{Ch VII. Sect II - 17} compared with
almost the double at for
Ardra.

The situation was dramatized
by Sieur d'Amant's proposals ^{of 1698}
concerning ~~a treaty~~ to be concluded between
France and Ardra. ^{The} ~~first~~ ^{three points} ~~three~~
~~points~~ regarded second and
third points referred to a
monopoly of trade to be accorded
to France and Ardra committing
themselves not to permit its citizens
to purchase make ~~from any~~ ^{any} ~~any~~
other country than France. But
Ardra accepted by the But the
first point ~~was~~ ^{required} ~~the~~ commitment
of the King to transfer his seat
to the neighborhood of the coast.
This demand ~~was~~ not acceptable.
The inland kingdom of Ardra
refused to change its status
into that of a maritime country.
The rationale of the port of trade ~~was~~
~~obviously~~ ~~lay~~ implied in Sr. d'Amant's
point No. 1.

Ch. IV. Sec III. - 1

Whydah: Port of trade

The slave trade on the Guinea Coast culminated ~~in~~ in the XVIIIth century in the port of trade of Whydah. The ~~Whydah~~ ^{Whydah} ~~was~~ ^{was} a weak and poor tribal community from whom the English derived ^{for} their commercial capital.

The ~~political~~ ^{political} regime under which ~~then~~ this coastal people existed, was ~~not much diff~~ ^{not much diff} to start with much different from that of other peoples of the so-called Slave Coast, the approximate 160 miles separating ~~Benue~~ ^{Benue} from the River Volta. Among the coast dwellers were the Popos - Little and Great - ~~Portuguese~~ ^{Portuguese}. The latter were marginal ~~peoples~~ ^{peoples} barely surviving ~~on~~ ^{on} starvation level. On the Towards the East the coast was equally forbidding, the equatorial lagoons ~~being~~ ^{being} but ~~offering~~ ^{offering} but a hardly a margin of survival. Great Popo was in effect so poor that it had to be compelled to sell its slaves ~~for~~ ^{for} to Whydah for food, in spite of the severe punishment ~~for~~ ^{for} threatened ~~for~~ ^{for} to inflict on it for such treasonous acts.

No more ^{than their western} rearing ^{was the economic} portion of Whydah's ^{eastern neighbors} eastern

Ch VII - Sect III - 2

No less unfavorable than on their ~~not better~~ ^{economic} was the portion of Whydah's neighbors on the east, in the ~~direction of~~ ^{towards} Lagos. In brief, the ~~fertile~~ ^{stretching} zone ~~land of~~ that ^{immediately} north of the lagoons rendered the Houada's of Seklamant ~~exceptionally well~~ ^{area} already ~~well~~ provided with palm oil trees and yet still responsive to cereals, particularly ~~Indian wheat~~ ^{at the same time it was} also largely safe from marauders from the ~~land~~ ^{land} ~~thence the~~ ^{West and} ~~Whydah lay in~~ ^{favored by nature}. In brief, ~~the~~ ^{any} ~~exceptionally~~ ^{benefitted} ~~area~~ ^{All around} an ~~east~~ ^{equatorial} climate and impenetrable forests reduced the margin of human existence. In chapter two the climatic break known by the name of the Gap of Benin was ~~it~~ ^{described} in terms of geography and ecology. Paul Mercier remarked that the human consequences were also far-reaching.

Ch VII. Sect III - 1
Why dal: Post of Trade

When and how did Hydrabad replace
 Orissa as the slave port of West
 Africa? The ~~present~~ ^{ancient} ~~structure~~ ^{structure} of
 empire ~~through~~ ^{through} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~aim~~ ^{aim} of
 an African inland state attempted
 to resolve the ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~form~~ ^{form} of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~world~~ ^{world}
 to ~~make~~ ^{make} ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~unheard~~ ^{unheard} ~~novel~~ ^{novel} ~~world~~ ^{world}
 commerce. The philosopher of
 history will say with assurance
 that that ~~the~~ ^{the} commerce required
 a totally ~~different~~ ^{different} ~~novel~~ ^{novel} ~~form~~ ^{form} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~trade~~ ^{trade}.
 But ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~historians~~ ^{historians} ~~fall~~ ^{fall} ~~into~~ ^{into} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~same~~ ^{same} ~~error~~ ^{error}
 to ~~think~~ ^{think} ~~how~~ ^{how} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~'inevitable~~ ^{'inevitable}
 actually happened. ~~For~~ ^{For} ~~this~~ ^{this} ~~needed~~ ^{needed}
 a ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~state~~ ^{state} ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~inland~~ ^{inland} ~~type~~ ^{type} ~~which~~ ^{which}
~~that~~ ^{that} ~~incorporated~~ ^{incorporated} ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~elaborate~~ ^{elaborate} ~~commercial~~ ^{commercial} ~~bureaucracy~~ ^{bureaucracy} ~~and~~ ^{and}
 above all possessed the natural
 wealth ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~could~~ ^{could} ~~support~~ ^{support}
 such a feat of statecraft performed
~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~almost~~ ^{almost} ~~overnight~~ ^{overnight}.

The argument² of this book which relies on the frame of the Gap of Benin for an explanation of the shape of historic Sahomey ~~is actually~~ more naturally shows the climatic factor involved in that ~~that Exotic ~~the~~ presence of~~ presence of nature. Nevertheless, we ~~do not~~ must be trapped into a geographical determinism in regard to history. ~~All that is assumed~~ no more is assumed ~~than~~ than that the settlement and form of group hence of state forms of state are powerfully affected by basic ecology. Eminent experts of West African world to mention only E.F. Gantier, D. Richard - Molard or Paul Mercier ~~are~~ have thrown out hints in this direction. Of the four independent climatic factors

of combined on

3

adduced in Chapter 2 we wish
to focus ~~on~~ on the economic
component.

Readers of the XVIIth century
authors ~~were~~ are struck by the
~~change of tone when one portions~~
~~people the first themselves in~~
~~the floodscape of Whydah~~
enveloped by the landscape
that unfolded in Whydah.
A study of details will repay.
The gold coast ~~where~~ where gold
was found or at least traded
was ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the west of the Volta,
but the ~~slave coast~~ term
slave coast now tells on an
ambiguous connotation: slaves
~~could be~~ were to be had wherever
Arabs' ravals transmitted
them, but the full splendor
of the Gap of Benue ~~was~~
~~not~~ was revealed only much
farther east, in the proximity
of ~~the~~ Whydah, nor did it then
continue on to Benue (as the
a Muskading phrase had it.)

eastern border of the eastern
1 Equatorial forest took over
again. Right up to the very
limits of the Slave Coast's
vegetation was as poor and
bleak as the most of the Gold
Coast's was. The ~~poor~~ ^{poor} ~~entirely~~
beauty of the countryside that
made ~~the~~ hardened trade
administrators like Barbot
and Boorman ~~almost~~ break
out in ~~long~~ ^{almost} poetic language,
comprised no more than
a couple of dozen miles
that's all. And the economic
wonder was the outcome of
~~a moderation of the~~ the
decrease of precipitation,
combined with ~~some~~ in a
whiff of ~~the~~ ^a dry-hot wind
trade wind which made the
rainfall at some ^{(annual}
drop to the level of the Northern
Sudan: cereals were at home ^{(maize}
or Turkum (Indian wheat) ^(Korom)

Whydah was ~~the~~ ^{an} ~~large~~ ^{wholesale} ~~exporter~~ ^{single} ~~of food~~ ^{large scale}. This was the ~~effort~~ ^{outburst of food crops} ~~of the~~ ^{startling} ~~growth~~ ^{growth} of the population as soon as the phase of ~~debtor~~ ^{debtor} state building ~~had been~~ ^{had been} reached. Whydah was a dramatic local ~~burst~~ ^{burst} of the economic strength ~~which~~ ^{which} attested in the cultural level of the two organized states of the Slave Coast: Whydah and ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~other~~ ^{other} ~~instance~~ ^{instance}. ~~All these~~ ^{an} ~~peaks~~ ^{peaks} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~economic~~ ^{economic} ~~growth~~ ^{growth} ~~provided~~ ^{provided} by a ~~single~~ ^{single} ~~diurnal~~ ^{diurnal} ~~peak~~ ^{peak} permitted an area to profit ~~by~~ ^{by} one of the rare chances of an international ~~conjunction~~ ^{conjunction} like the Slave trade to ~~rise~~ ^{rise} ascent ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~peak~~ ^{peak} of a short-lived ~~bureaucracy~~ ^{bureaucracy} by ~~instituting~~ ^{instituting} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~regime~~ ^{regime} ~~in the~~ ^{in the} ~~gold~~ ^{gold} ~~trade~~ ^{trade}. ~~Capable~~ ^{Capable} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~aspects~~ ^{aspects} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~making~~ ^{making} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~found~~ ^{found} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~a~~ ^a ~~strong~~ ^{strong} ~~economic~~ ^{economic} ~~length~~ ^{length} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~dependence~~ ^{dependence}.

modernizing production - part 2 to
the first pt 1. Deal with course:

its physical qualities : green

~~the approach was~~

a) its type to afri

b) " " low ap

c) low ap

It 2 with course curriculum

in many countries
During the last $\frac{3}{4}$ of a century ~~the~~
~~devoted~~ research ~~has been~~ ^{was} busy with the
problems of
cowry and cowry-money. ~~But~~
~~did the~~ ~~history~~ ^{cultural} ~~Conchology~~, archaeology,
geography, ^{cultural} ~~anthropology~~, and
economic history
alike contributed. ~~to the~~ ~~field~~ ~~of~~ ~~monetary~~ ~~effort~~
from which essentially the distinct
that ~~introd~~ ~~eventually~~ ~~approxim~~ ~~resulted~~
in a clarification of the separate
in definite forming points of
~~approx~~ ~~knowledge~~ ~~result~~ ~~an~~
results were ~~however~~ ~~in~~ ~~an~~ Only
~~disentangled as they~~ the questions
at issue. They arise from a gradual
acceptance of some broad facts:
Cowry money ~~may~~ ~~be~~ ~~traced~~
~~from gold~~ was the ~~for~~ earliest
currency that ~~was~~ ~~spread~~ ~~employed~~
~~in all continents~~ here and there
on all continents. At the
same time Cowrie ~~was~~ as an
ornament as well as amulet &
charm was very much more

widespread than its money
use. ~~Thus the~~ So much for the
territorial aspect of ^{the spread of} country.
But ~~periods of time~~ historical
times ^{are} ~~is~~ often only an island in,
or rather ^a coastal strip ~~on the border~~ of
of the prehistory of ^{type of} pre-history
which it now appears knew
an even more general
spread of the country shell
than ~~those~~ ^{the early} premonetary
~~can be seen~~ of the historical
past. It is almost as if on
the ~~border of time~~ scales
approachable to the student
of evolution country had
receded ~~in~~ (territorially
as ^{homo sapiens} ~~man~~ appeared in
the scene and
eventually life formed
into history, and societies
proceeded to ^{the degree} ~~the~~ ^{we are used to} ~~the~~
money.

This splitting up of ~~the~~ ^{time} epochs ~~shall~~
serve ~~to~~ ^{the} economic historian
as to ~~locate~~ ^{give more} ~~this~~ issues so they
gain more precision (thus)

When and how did cowry
money emerge in Dahomey?

Whence did the cowry
reach West Africa? (here involved)

By what ~~was a~~ ^{travelling} ~~route~~ ^{route} did
of nonmonetary Cowrie? ^{travel?}

Whence did its ~~gift~~ ^{breed} and
originate?

A familiarity with the word of cowrie
is needed to appreciate the variety
of aspects under which cowrie meets
the anthropologist, the economist
or the historian. ~~Among~~ There is
the strikingly different value of
cowrie over time and space, the
culture traits affecting their
numeration which was sometimes
applied to payment by cowrie
as distinct from all other things,
whether live or by sale, the
modes of measurement by tale,
by weight or by volume; value
scales according to distance
from a given center; its uses
for payment, as a standard
or the ~~means~~ of exchange; the
regions where cowrie happens
to be only one of several currencies,
whether these be some kind of
foreign money, actual money
beats or ideal money, i.e.,
money of account.

The cowrie money of West Africa

The easy sale and flow of shiploads of cowrie;

is of course *Cypraea moneta*, apart
from which only another of the
~~very common~~ many variants of
Cypraea shell must be noted
because it was at times as
popular as in East Africa as
"moneta" was on the West Coast
and the west of West Africa.

Ch. IX Cowrie and currencies

If Dahomey offers an instance of current state-manship, the currency belongs to its high priests. ^{covered} To our knowledge its cowrie currency was the only monetary system in history which employed ^{exclusively} a shell, native next milk-white shells, native to the Indian Ocean. Why: when and how that shell money system became the sole currency for the State of Dahomey is still not yet known. The very wide & great monumental use of cowrie shell left its money an exception. While the industrial ~~use of the~~ ^{the industrial} ~~precious metals~~ ^{the industrial} use of the precious metals is also even more common but in almost ~~every~~ ^{all these instances where} ~~everywhere~~ ^{found} them employed to ornamental or ceremonial purposes, they have also gained status as money. This is very far from being the case with cowrie. Both gold and ~~cowrie~~ ^{both} ~~are~~ ^{both} cowrie have a natural aptitude to serve as money.

and gold dust was all too often 'sophisticated'
i.e. mixed with files of base metals. Cowry
could be neither clipped, nor 'sophisticated'.
But neither was ~~these~~ 'industrial'
~~was~~ as elastic as with the demand
for these precious metals. ~~These~~
Cowry were practically indestructible,
they ~~did not~~ were not discolored,
~~bruised, or chipped or cracked~~
chipped or frayed by any physical
or chemical influence and stayed
without harm in mother earth.
at any length. ~~The Far East~~ ^{Singapore} ~~the~~
marked pouring, churning, ^{imp}
shoveling, sacking or boxing
packages they were unaffected
by physical or chemical influences,
neither discoloring, cracking,
chipping or losing its gloss. All
this increases transportability to the
limit where physical ~~economic~~ ~~value~~
the ~~the~~ drop ~~of~~ in value
makes itself felt as the limit
excessive loads of course as well
as the difficulty of reducing the
amount within a definite
region.

Cowrie and currencies

1. A High point of state manulays
PFI Flawless issuance other currencies
of a currency of perfect sting
stability - operation. sting
A feat few modern states could equal.
Key: An active economy adjusted to society
The seclusion of an island state
and absence of active trade maintained in spite of
acquisition of Whydah.
2. (a) A distant parallel to gold
study of cowrie currency
possessed no gold of its own
It required a manageable
currency
Ashantee management
Cowrie had no gold
advantage over gold, but
also drawbacks.

PFI. Three currencies:

Ashantee foreign Trade (control of currency)
national economy

Whydah:

exclusion of gold
substitution by
"goods"

- (a) currency
- (b) banknotes
- (c) money
- (d) decentralization?

Cowrie and currencies

1. A High point of state masonry
Plawton is an over century
of a currency of perfect
stability - states could

27 A few few modern states could read
adjusted to a common basis

Key: ~~No foreign currency~~ in land state
and whence of ~~the seclusion of an~~ ~~the seclusion of an~~ state
~~active trade~~ maintained in spite of
acquisition of D. H. H.

active bacteria acquisition of
of land + sea at distant parallel to gold
~~these conditions~~ ~~the same~~ ~~it is~~

A study of ~~economic~~ ^{corruption}
of negative ^{corruption} as a goal of its own
It required a ^{corruption} management
control & management

(6) not as inter-national
balanced through
prices

Part II. Three circumstances:

Three countries
Scholarship foreign Trade (control of currencies)
national economy

Whysak:
exclusion of old
substance by
"goods"

- (a) currency
- (b) transfer ledger
- (c) treasury
- (d) decentralization?

R II Three currencies

I Ashom's foreign trade balance = [unhealthy?] [Central Bank?]

no gold of its own

no manufactures of account

no active trade land

Europeans refused to ^{pay} ~~gold~~ ^{sea}

Exports { slaves
oil

Operationally:

II Ashom [decentralized] [tribal] [royal?] [compulsory] [cowry exchange]

active trade

[No foreign traders]

royal gold, no Uola

defence against cowrie (royal economy)

III Europeans & shunned gold payment

a) "nothing but barter" " " cowry " "

b) no money favored. pressed Ashom to slaves (Currendy)

Operationally:

trading prices made goods into means of payment (barter) required trading system and Kartell

Symmetries: barter

Short of 1. port of trade
2. kartell
3. trading system

in-built profit rate = NOT to maintain? Dabre insurance (?) reversing

(broken) gold + cowrie

(A) gold standard \equiv credit basis (internally)
ext. stability maintained
through trade
international

(B) natural qualities

{ orthodox economics
F. S. Hill

{ gold
{ cowrie : indestructible

{ negative \pm cowrie : uncontrolled, external source
indestructible

(ornamental use inelastic
indestructible hence

transportable (unburied)

Major Russell : reflux of c. to Bengal
Bengal wld rice to Maldives.

for serving as a money object. In striking
a balance. In striking a balance we
will have to make up our minds about
some qualities that may appear to be rather
ambiguous, as ~~not in either direction~~
i.e. both help and hinder the setting up
of an orderly currency system.

~~Ques.~~ Introducing the theme of money
it might be appropriate to make
ourselves conscious of the elements
that we still take hold of as
economic subjects arising outside
of our Western culture. In this
balance it would naturally result
in an unbalanced familiarity with
Europe as compared with gold.

Ch IX.

Coins and currencies

If Dahomey offers instances of eminent statesmanship the management of its currency belongs to its highpoints.

The flawless regular issuance over centuries of a national currency of perfect stability is an achievement few ^{modern} states can rival. ~~It is~~ ^{It is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~reference~~ ^{reference} to either the domestic price level or the foreign exchange rate between gold and country.

Eventually, in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, in the three neighboring ~~countries~~ ^{of the Slave Coast} of the ~~Slave Coast~~ ^{Slave Coast} of Dahomey, Ashantee and Whydah, separate stable ~~independent~~ ^{separate} currencies ~~operated~~ ^{operated}.

In Dahomey an elaborate system of stringed cordry was maintained by the ~~last~~ ^{last} dynasty; in Ashantee gold ~~was used~~ ^{was used} alone was used; in the port of trade of Whydah the European Powers established a "gold" as the ~~general~~ ^{international} money unit. The

Money account
the

operative unit which was to control the
the organization of the Guinea Coast its existence
monetary system of cowry.
was the Dahomean Celerio system,
system of cowry. It was what the inter-
the XIX century West the inter-
national gold standard rested
on the pound sterling & gold...
The comparison of the role of cowry & gold...
In the XIX th century the international
gold standard rested on the pound
sterling. The operative unit
which the monetary organi-
zation of the Guinea Coast owed
its existence was the Dahomean
system of stringed cowry. Once
economy and society were again
closely linked. The key to the Dahomean
currency was the circulation of regional
Dahome of its country lay (stable)
in the fact fundamental to the
history of Dahomey that it was born
as an inland state in the Dahomey area that
even after the acquisition of the
profit of trade of why did it
managed to maintain its seclusion.
~~that~~ status.
(politic-economic)

510a / In to maintain the theme of cowry
money ^{we recall} it might be appropriate to water
ourselves ~~conscious~~ of the ethnocentric
bias which so easily takes hold of us
on economic subjects arising out -
-side of our western culture. ~~In the~~
~~comparing~~ advantages and ~~dis~~ to
draw a balance - between ~~the~~ naturally
advantages and ^{hinders} ~~disadvantages~~ of
gold and cowries as ~~the~~ currency.
units a more adequate familiarity
with these shells is required ^{than} ~~shown~~
we normally possess. We ~~trust~~
remember that ^{some} experienced ~~old~~ gold
states preferred the shells to gold.
~~And that a close~~ Yet true
knowledge in this case derives from
detail. The intricacies of the
moneys being large ^{the} on the
singularities of cowrie. The spread
of *Cypraea moneta*, the cowrie
shell is far ^{greater} wider than that
of cowrie money that is the use
of *Cypraea moneta* as money. ~~the~~
~~this first part~~ ~~Although~~

In this first part of the
Chapter.

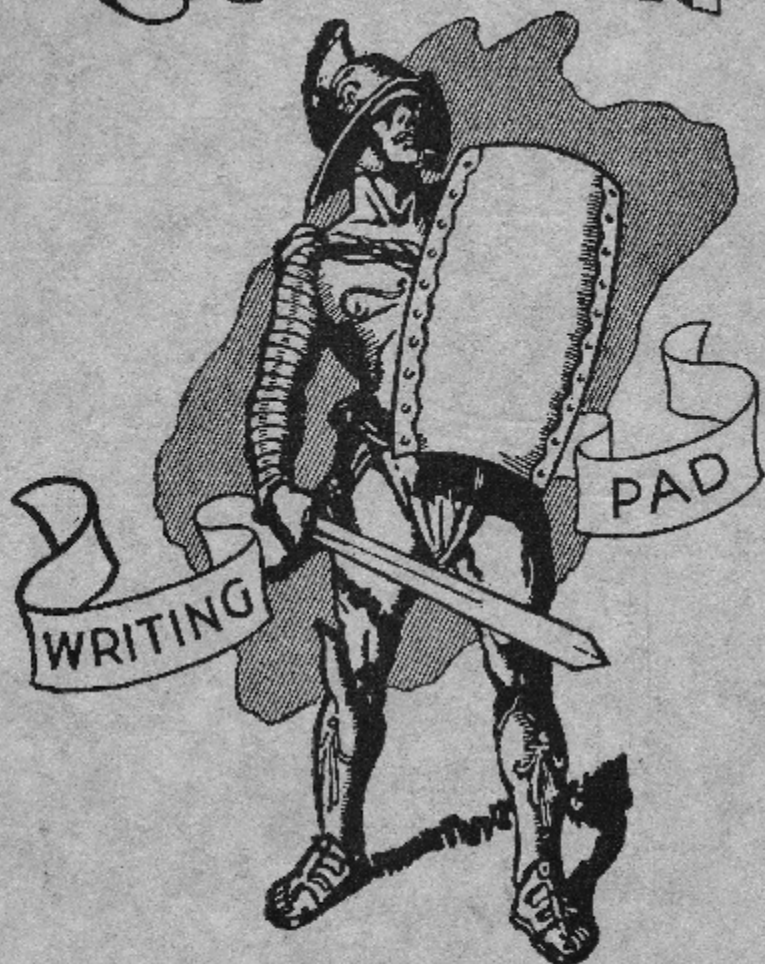
Chix Cowrie and currencies

Of Dahomey offers examples of eminent state-manship, the management of the cowry currency, belongs to its high points. The national currency was issued regularly for centuries, ~~was~~ in peace and war, ~~always~~ ^{always} ^{single} a perfect stability, whether in terms of the domestic price level or those of foreign exchange between gold and cowrie.

Eventually, in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, within the three neighbouring African countries of Dahomey, Ashanti and Whydah ~~separate~~ ^{different} stable currencies were operated. In Dahomey a unit of stringed cowry shells was issued by the central government; in Ashanti gold alone was used; in the port of trade of Whydah the European ~~trading~~ ^{chartered} companies established ~~between~~ themselves as money of account, the "ounce trade".

If in the XIXth century the international gold standard rested on the pound sterling, the permanent money unit of the Guinea Coast between the Volta and the Niger was the Dahomean stringed cowry. Though the comparison ~~between~~ of the role of gold and cowry implied here

GOLIATH



200 SHEETS

49¢

on his retirement - ?

DALZEL

MAHEE State

D158 1737 war started
more than 40x5
175 decade of impossible wars
D78↑

Old Whydah 46ys

1743 W. driven out
1767 Shams to Pipers
1763 new W. invasion D102
D181222

D78 to MAHEE
1772 Ago on to M

1777 Jaquon reestablished (re-populated)

070
1738 at Abomey
1747 annual
devastations

PXH. Calina Nov

1749 overthrown

Kings release

Calina 20' all

half heads ☐
P X X

Crested is
very 46 dog

Dungla 5

Chapter VII. Sect 4. (cont) p. 12 bottom

At this stage of the argument
The total situation of Dahomey and its
diluted empire has to be noted.
While the ~~fronts~~ of Abomey as well as
some of the dispersed peoples in which
the area abounded and in whose
in crevices the Iorubas had settled were
of one culture the same was not
true of the enlarged Dahomey. The
metabolism of the new nation - state
was if not self-defeating certainly
a ~~to~~ demographic strain that
would issue in acute crises.
Forbes Watson reports of the
post-campaign "self-criticism"
session held in the king's presence
by Amazon and male army
leaders shows the ominous impli-
cations of the institution of "annual
slave raids."

ad 5.

[ad 492]

(which)

The metabolism of the new nation state
~~that~~ based its armaments on the insti-
mentality of ~~the~~ slave raids was
certainly a ^(annual) demographic strain that
would have and again, issue
in acute crises. Forbes' verbatim
report of the post-campaign "self-
criticism" held in the King's presence
by Anderson and other army
commanders shows the obvious
implications of the institution of
annual slave raids.

But the inflow of gunpowder
on the other hand, would have been
now cut off. If Boorman
could speak with honour of the
several decades before I am out of ^{were}
~~Europe~~ ^{for} arms he and his colleagues ~~were~~
supplying the "Blacks" with, we need
not doubt that Oba's policy
purpose was amply attained: In
his heavy struggle for military
survival the problem held her
own ~~strength~~ by virtue of the ample
inflow of arms from the coast.

~~But the~~ Nevertheless the liberation of
Dah from Oyo supremacy was not achieved
by Dah's own efforts. External attacks
from the north, first Nupe, eventually
the Fulbe broke the power of
Oyo.

One next question must be: What
was the direct beginning of to D,
when she was joined with the corridor
of the British barren on the slave
trade.

The Allan son had to
deliberately prepared for an exchange for W
when taken out to replace
the slaves

The history of Ashanti which was
involved in ~~some~~ our recent ~~family~~
in that one ~~scene~~ connected with the
slave trade.

Economically I have given full ~~enough~~
enough, while ~~W.I.~~ ^{one} ~~slave~~ ^{has} ~~given~~ ^{the}
to ~~plantation~~ levels. The ~~part~~ ^{part} of the
Chanka, was ~~only~~ instituted then --
(died 1849)

The General Rastrellin abolished slavery,
but Napoleon reintroduced.

Slavery never abolished to be
acknowledged in British legislation
why did Allardone policy to
transfer ~~the~~ to ~~Bohman~~ part?

An other earthquake in international
trade, not ending unannounced with
1807. ~~The~~ ^{then} changed English
in tests ~~entirely~~.

The historians should not be
propound the balance of Dahomey's
conquest of Whydah. ~~the~~ Her
monarchs were ~~aware~~ of wary of
being tapped into an ~~forced~~ in
incorporation of their conquest, and
preferred a remote control of the port
which should remain insulated
from Dahomey proper. There were
on the one hand the slaves ~~to~~ bartered
for arms ~~and~~ and the securing ~~the~~
this implied ~~on~~ the grave losses of
female land make soldiers
on the other, hardly becoming more
than a modest positive balance
if at all. The Demographic
actual number of slaves exported
from Whydah could have barely
reached the level of pre-Dahomey
near times. Then the instant slave
markets had served as a reservoir
from which the coffers of the
North and East filled towards
the area of organized demand,
while now the shrinking crop of captives
from the ~~the~~ annual war of one of the
was ~~now~~ the only source of supply ~~single~~
(Pradiche).

led by many
local wars

(55)

and that diminished by a ~~to~~ heavy toll
of the victims of sacrifices and ~~on~~
a further reduction of for ~~the~~ the
plantations of the king and the big
landowners. Successes 14-15,000
annually bought by the English in
Whydah in the years preceding 1687
was but slightly exaggerated, if at all;
another 5-6000 would have to
be added for the Dutch and others,
though much fewer for the Portuguese
and French. Still at the height of
the slave trade an annual 20,000
were almost certainly exported
from the Whydah area. It is
very doubtful whether the Dahomey
period ever reached that level.
Since the transit from the north
and east, the Mahes and the
Yoruba, must have almost entirely
ceased ~~to~~ across Dahomey proper.

The vital asset, ^{on the other hand} the inflow of
guns and powder (as well as their
denial to hostile neighbours) was
now continuous. If a Bosman

Could several decades earlier ⁽⁵⁶⁾ speak ⁽⁵⁵⁾
with horror of the amount of European
firearms he and his colleagues of
all nationalities were supplying
the inland ~~countries~~ natives with
we need not doubt that Dahomey's
prime purpose was attained. In
her heavy struggle for military sur-
vival she probably held her own
by virtue of the ample influx
of arms from the coast. She lived
to see the day when external attacks
from the north, first ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~French~~ ^{the} ~~eventually~~
the Fulbe broke the power of Old
Oyo. ~~Liberating Dahomey from~~
~~political bondage~~

Nevertheless the liberation of Dahomey
from Oyo suzerainty was not achieved
by Dahomey's own efforts. Still she

all this adds up to a redefinition
of socialism ^{in not so much in}
property terms ^{as in the}
quality of life ^{which the}
economy ^{is embedded in}
social relations. ~~Property and~~
~~terminology and organization~~
are reduced to institutional
terms; ~~these~~ material needs
are accessory to (and hence ^{Satisfactions})
an organic ~~form~~ ^{structure} of society
which ~~naturally~~ ^{emerges} ~~from~~
~~the web of social relations~~
~~that men live~~ ^{from} ~~lives~~
lived in human terms.
Yet the figures and facts of the
economy are not "ignored."
~~But rather~~ ^{they are} appreciated
by referring higher forms
of life to the levels attainable
only by ~~the~~ ^{their} transcending of
the material limitations set
by measurable facts.

all this adds up to a redefinition
of socialism in terms of a
property terms of a
quality of life where the
economy is embedded in
social relations. Property,
technology and organisation
are reduced to individual
terms; ~~the~~ material needs
are accessory to ~~and their~~ satisfaction
an organic form of society
which naturally emerges from
the web of social relations
from ~~these~~ lives resulting
lived in human terms.
Yet the figures and facts of the
economy are not ignored
but rather fully appreciated
by referring higher forces
of life to the levels attainable
only by the transcending of
the material limitations set to
us by measurable facts.

A closer study of the ~~stating~~ ^{programmatic} existence of the ~~or~~ ^{of} a world economic system to which all ~~existing~~ ^{existing} countries belong reveals in the background the concrete ~~or~~ ^{features} history to which the program is intended to supply ~~the~~ answers. The Cuban revolution we said, was unorthodox both in its bearings and its methods. A whole disquisition on 'revolutions' is inserted in the program. "Revolutions are not made to order". No claim to communist leadership ^{is maintained} ~~is maintained~~, even less ^{insistence} ~~insistence~~ on violence, or civil war. ~~The~~ ^{The} 'world socialist system' is an innovation meant to adjust to the Chinese ~~communist~~ ^{communist}, since it may be more feasible to cooperate with ~~dissonant~~ ^{discordant} countries than with sectarian parties. The 'Peaceful coexistence' gains a new dimension, for it may comprise

relations between a world
Socialist system ^{indeed} extending
almost to the whole planet.

Yet with the important re-
servation that capitalist
areas may still be ~~surviving~~ present.
All the rest is peaceful co-
existence a valid principle,
since it answers the question,
how should peace be main-
tained, ^{all through the transformations} while Socialism ^{is} ~~growing~~ ^{grows} to comprising ^{most} ~~almost~~

50 ⁵³ ¹⁰³ system ~~encompassing~~ ^{encompassing} almost
all the world ~~humanity~~ ^{humanity}. #

And yet ~~the~~ tensions might
be much increased by the structuring
crystallization of Socialist ^{countries}
~~movements~~ into a "world
system", and "peaceful
coexistence" be put under further
grave strain. (by the very fact)

Indeed, the assumption of a
"world capitalist system"
along with a "socialist" one
reduces "coexistence" to a mere

relations between a world
Socialist system extending ^{worldwide},
~~almost to the whole planet~~,
yet with the important re-
servation that capitalist
areas may ~~not~~ be ~~present~~.
All the while is peaceful co-
existence a valid principle,
since it answers the question,
how ~~through peaceful means~~
all the transformations, ^{socialism's}
banned, ^{grow to comprise} ~~not~~
system ~~might~~ ~~encompass~~ ~~almost~~
~~all the world~~ ~~humanity~~.

And yet ~~the~~ tensions might
be much increased by the strident
~~exaggeration~~ of ~~socialism~~
~~transformation~~ into a "world
system", and "peaceful
coexistence" be put under further
~~grave strain~~ (by the very fact).

Indeed, the assumption of a
"world capitalist system
along with a 'socialist' one
reduces 'coexistence' to a mere

modus vivendi between
distinct opposites, instead
of ~~as a~~ tissue of world
institutions that permits
countries of different ~~systems~~ ^{social features}.
— ~~and~~ both within the
capitalist and the socialist
orbits and even outside of
either — to exist fully and
peacefully in a ~~variety of~~
variety of ~~inhabited~~
communities. This ~~is actually~~ ^{is actually} even
Gueslain takes on a
more pressing within the
world socialist system (which is
~~meant of course~~ meant to
~~grow~~ than outside of it.

The ~~document is~~ ^{document is} ~~maintains~~
silence on the main problem
areas of the program — China,
Cuba and the Congo — ~~is not~~
is not ~~meant~~ intended to hide
a weakness, for, as we saw,

modus vivendi between
distinct opposites instead
of ~~an~~ a tissue of world
institutions that permits
countries of different ~~stages~~
— ~~and~~ ~~with~~ within the ~~same~~ features,
capitalist and the socialist
orbit and even outside of
either — to ~~reach~~ fully and
peacefully ~~in an~~ ~~unlimited~~
variety of ~~unlimited~~
communities. This ~~question~~
question ~~takes out a~~ much
more pressing within the
world socialist system (which is
~~meant~~ of course, meant to
grow) than outside of it.

The ~~document~~ ~~document~~ ~~document~~ maintains
silence on the main problem
areas of the program — China,
Cuba ~~and~~ the Congo — ~~which~~
is not ~~meant~~ intended to hide
a weakness, for, as we saw,

much of the creative thinking ^{was} ~~is~~ on-
singly directed ~~towards~~ ⁱⁿ resolving
the questions that history posed.
Indeed, there is an ~~other~~
geographical area of negative
facts whose ~~silence~~ ^{might}
~~have~~ ^{been} accompanied by efforts
at solution would have
been preferable to an explicit
mention which reveals unfortunate
~~a~~ ^a lack of ~~consciousness~~ ^{consciousness} ~~of~~ ^{of} grave
failures. The ~~political~~ ^{unhappy} Popular
Democracies ~~are~~ ^{were} listed
together with those positive
~~socialist~~ ^{socialist} areas of achievement: the
Soviet Union and China.
With the ~~one~~ ^{one} exception of
Poland, the popular Democracies
~~though they~~ ^{though they} show economic achievement,
~~but~~ ^{some} are ~~political~~ ^{political} failures,
the Yugoslavs ~~exception~~ ^{exception} reinforcing
the ~~fact~~ ^{fact}. None of ~~these~~ ^{these} have a

much of the creative thinking is con-
sistently directed at resolving
the questions that history poses.

Indeed, there is an other
geographical area of negative
facts where balance might
have been accomplished by efforts
at solution would have
been amenable to an explicit
mention which reveals unfortunately
an unconsciousness to grave
failure. The ~~public~~ Popular
Democratic are listed
together with the positive
~~socialist~~ achievement: the
Soviet Union and China.
With the sole exception of
Poland, the popular Democracies
~~are~~ show economic achievement
some
but are riddled political failures.
The Yugoslavs' exception reinforcing
the fact: none of these are

independent Government responsible
live ^{primarily} to the needs of national
life; so that socialist attain-
ments can be regarded
as an asset to the
country's life. This is not to
depreciate the economic &
cultural rise of the working
people, but to underscore the
~~political uninvolved state~~
condition of government by
state and party in this
area. Eastern Germany is
an extreme instance. Poland
is another extreme.
The Rape Trial
in Hungary was typical of
the tragedies that occurred
in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.
The unbalanced attacks on awful
nationalism and on unjust
provisions do not spare the
former occupation of Hungary, that
led to the Rape Trial.

~~What~~ was perhaps the ^{growing} political
crime of Stalinism
and ^{with its passage} ~~the~~ ^{weakened}
the position of the world socialism.
~~socialist system.~~ The "world socialist"

international system
does not ~~reconcile~~ with its justified
concentration on the postulate of
unity does not resolve the vital
issue of independence of
states as the ^{great} ~~major~~ ^{reconciling}
of socialist ~~leaves~~ ^{requirement}
ment. It is not as if unity and
independence were in any way
irreconcilable. But unless sustained
efforts are made and appropriate
institutions are ^{set up} ~~developed~~ with
the deliberate aim of ~~reconciling~~
reconciling them, they must ⁱⁿ
~~properly~~ ^{properly} ~~destructively~~ ^{practise} ~~destructively~~
~~irreconcilable~~. The proletarian
internationalism "as a principle
cannot substitute for the organiza-
tional machinery which makes
national governments to act
on ~~the~~ ^{these} principles, while contri-

~~What~~ was perhaps the ^{growing} political
crime of Stalinism
~~and its~~ ^{with its} ~~policy~~ ^{policy} ~~along~~ ^{along} time weakened
the position of the world socialism
~~socialist system~~. The "world socialist

international system
does not ~~reconcile~~ with its ^{growing} ~~growing~~
concentration on the ^{postulate of} ~~postulate of~~
unity. Does not resolve the vital
~~issue of~~ ^{issue of} independence of
which is the ^{requirement} ~~requirement~~
of socialist develop-
ment. It is not as if unity and
independence were in any way
irreconcilable. But unless ^{appropriate} ~~appropriate~~
efforts are made and
institutions are developed with
the ~~deliberate~~ aim of ~~reconciling~~
reconciling them, then ^{must} ~~must~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~
~~proof of~~ ^{proof of} ~~destructive~~ ^{destructive}
~~proof~~ ^{practice} ~~practice~~ ^{destructive}
~~irreconcilable~~. The proletarian
Even "internationalism" as a principle
cannot substitute for the ^{practical} ~~practical~~
national machinery, ~~which~~ ^{which}
enables
national governments to act
on that principle while continuing

But in the ~~secret~~ ^{the fullness} of national
strength to the effort, ~~unless they~~

are authentic ~~gives~~ representatives

X of the people ~~they~~ ^{the} ~~which they~~
ad as a government ~~the~~ ^{represent} the program

envisages the world socialist
system as ~~the~~ ^{the} work of
an international division of

labor on new foundations -

as ~~planned~~ ^{as} a world ~~world~~

~~world~~ ~~planned~~ ^{planned} economy and capitalistic

specialization and ~~claimed~~

on a scale hitherto ~~claimed~~

only ~~for~~ ^{the} world market system.

This of course is ~~the~~ ^{the} economists
paradise which ~~is~~ ^{is} the

temptation of a world socialist
system. But we ~~must~~ ^{must} keep

in mind the final immobilization
and the utter loss of freedom resulting

from central planning for the

subordinate member of a system

X ~~steps~~ ^{steps} into an ~~economically~~ ^{economically} ~~crippled~~ ^{crippled}

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But the deeper reserve of national strength to the effort, unless they are authentic ~~gover~~ representatives of the people ~~that of~~ ^{to} whom they act as a government. The program envisages the world socialist system as the framework of an international distribution of labor on new foundations -

as organized ~~as~~ a world ^{that} would involve planned economy and complementary specialization and combination.

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on a scale hitherto claimed only for the world market system. This of course is ~~the~~ ^{the} economists

paradise which is the main temptation of a world socialist system. But we must keep in mind the final immobilization and the utter loss of freedom resulting from central planning for the

X Subordinate member of a system ^{specialized}
~~stage~~ into an ~~economic~~ economically helpless cripple.

The political and moral answer
is of course a ~~constitutional~~ safeguarding
of the freedom of decision ~~in~~ in
entering into the ^{in which} ~~author~~ ^{author}
arrangements governing the ~~central~~
planning's jurisdiction of the
central planner's jurisdiction.
To speak of a world socialist
system without effective safe-
guards of ~~the~~ member's ^{is to}
countries' independence ~~is to~~
multiply the strains within
that system. Instead of raising the
the bog of nationalism which
would necessarily make all
objectively different things
Central planning ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~members'~~
needs into an effort ~~that~~ ^{to}
42 ultimate ~~only~~ internationalism
94 should be ~~not~~ curbed by a &
Guilt - in warning of ~~the~~
accusing members unjust of
nationalism, - denouncing ~~not~~
as ~~such~~ ^{as} ~~land~~ ^{as} ~~subversive~~ ^{subversive} of the
world socialist system.

The political and moral answer
is of course ^{the constitutional} a safeguarding
of ~~the~~ ^{members} freedom of decision ~~and~~ in
entering ~~into~~ the ~~into~~ the ~~author~~ ^{author}
arrangements governing the ~~central~~
planning's ~~jurisdiction~~ of the
central planner's jurisdiction.
To speak of a world socialist
system without effective safe-
guards of ~~the~~ member's ~~state~~ is to
multiply the strains within
that system. Instead of raising the
the ~~big~~ ^{big} ~~nationalism~~ ^{nationalism} which
would necessarily make all
objectively ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~difficulties~~ ^{difficulties} of aligning
central planning with member's
needs, into an excess of that
ultimate evil, internationalism
which would be ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~curried~~ ^{curried} by a &
built-in warning of ~~the~~
accusing members unjustly of
nationalism - denouncing ~~act~~
and slander as ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~hooligans~~ ^{hooligans}
~~and~~ ^{and} ~~subversive~~ ^{subversive} of the
world socialist system.

A hesitant giant's step.

CP SU
9

Soviet thought is in transition.
China's lead in Asia has become
a fact and has thrown back
the Soviets on their ~~European~~ ^{Western}
origins. At many vital points
the Draft underscores
democracy, peaceful advance,
non-violent revolution,
even Parliamentary possibilities
as feasible alternatives
yet all ^{under favorable conditions} spiritual and
moral values to which it
adheres. Commit it more
than ever to the ultimate
aim of a Socialist society,
to the goal of attaining
Communism within the
lives of the present
generation. It is the West
that has failed to adhere
to its ~~uncharted~~ ~~promise~~
trusteeship of the human
legacy. ~~It is~~ The new
Soviet Program has been
weighed ~~on~~ by it on the old
war scales, which is the only
one it recognizes.

The essentially socialist nature
-tion ~~into the~~ ~~as itself embedded~~
~~in a~~ ~~variable~~
forest of articulate social
relations instituted in
the life of a rural community
~~as a stage~~ on a ~~high~~ ~~propertive~~
material level equal to that
of ~~the~~ ~~industrial~~. As a frame work
of ~~the~~ ~~remuneration~~ of the
Kolkhozes' "contracted" ~~commu-~~
nities" the ~~society~~ state is an
"absolute condition" ~~of the~~ ~~part~~
~~of the~~ ~~development~~
~~of the~~ ~~country~~ ~~by~~ ~~higher~~
payment for good work for better
results. On this basis the Kolkhozes
and state farms will become, to an
increasing degree enterprises of
the Communist state, by virtue of their
production relations, character of
labor, and the ~~type~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~
~~character~~ ~~standards~~ ~~of their~~
~~production~~. The sphere of state
purchasing must be planned in
a fashion so as to raise the
members' incomes from collective
farming.
Rather, the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~

The essentially socialist motivation ~~finds itself as itself embedded~~ in a veritable forest of articulate social relations instituted in the life of a rural community ~~existing on~~ on a ~~high~~ ^{high} prospective material level equal to that of the ~~urban life~~ ^{urban life}. As a frame work of ~~the economic effort~~ the kolkhozes' "contracted" commitment's "the socialist state is an ~~unwavering candidate for their participation in their development~~ of the national economy. Higher payment for good work for better results. On this basis the kolkhozes and state farms will become to an increasing degree enterprises of the Communist type. by virtue of their production relations character of labor, and the living and ~~the~~ cultural standards of their ~~personnel~~. The sphere of state purchasing must be planned in a fashion so as to base its members' incomes from collective farming. ~~impulse~~ Rather, the solution now known

The Program swings open the doors
of the future, ~~the present society~~ ^{the present society} is anticipated. Its nature and
numbers expand are approximated
in thought. This prophetic passage
~~is a~~ ^{is} a change of scene.
It moves from the town to
Country, from industry to
Agriculture. ~~not at all to~~
~~any sense in order to render~~
a ~~realistic~~ ^{realistic} ~~picture~~ ^{picture} of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~future~~ ^{future}
~~ideals~~ ^{ideals} as the ~~case~~
of the future ground on
which to build. That redefini-
tion of socialism here ~~is~~
flowering. It comes to a
It accepts ~~and in effect~~
~~describes~~ ^{describes} as essentially
the market ~~the principle of~~ ^{the principle of} economic reward
as individual motivation ~~is~~
~~the governing~~ ^{the governing}
the ~~structure and functioning of~~ ^{structure and functioning of}
the ~~mechanism~~ ^{mechanism} of the ~~social~~
society under Communism.

The Program swings open the doors
of the ^{future} ~~future~~ ^{around something} a ~~current~~ society
is anticipated. Its nature and
modus operandi are approximated
in thought. This prophetic passage
~~is~~ ~~accom~~ ~~brings~~ a change of scene.

It moves from the town to
countryside from industry to
agriculture. ~~Not at all in~~
~~any sense~~ in order to remove
a rustic simplicity or ~~traditional~~
~~archaic~~ ^{peasant} ideals as the ~~core~~
of the ~~future~~ ground on
which to build. That redefini-
tion of socialism here ~~brings~~
a flowering. It comes to a
It accepts ~~and in effect~~
~~describes~~ as essentially
a Marxist ~~the principle of~~ economic reward
by individual motivation ~~the~~
~~the general principle~~ governing
the ~~mechanism~~ ^{structure and functioning} of the rural
society under Communism.

To words ambiguous,
Not the Political Power group ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~the~~
launched by Winston Churchill
at Fulton, Missouri, ^{is} ~~but~~ ^{meant} ~~but~~ ^{an} ~~entirely~~ ^{entirely}
in sharp contrast to it, the ~~new~~ ^{old} ~~new~~
Latin ^{from} the Renaissance and Humanism,
not from classical Athens and
the Greek Christian inspiration
fused with it. ~~much~~ ^{much} ~~more~~ ^{more}

fused with the much
 Manifesting ~~the~~ ~~in the~~
 a variety of new cultures
 opening out in an ~~manifestation~~
 of new amazing variety.
 internal concerns too

However, internal concerns too
were ~~not~~ ^{some of the} grounds for ^{the} draft
(1) by unions — Not an attempt to robbers
councils
to be elected

(1) tr. neurons — Not an ancients
(2) unperialesia constituting deficit
a capitalism in Leary —
(3) moralis (personal) Amel (3/5 restored)

Democracy: Party elections
 2) Not trade unions
 but esp. member
 states of world

A hermit grant's Sep.

CPSU

9

The West disowned its legacy when it
claimed Europe and America
as its habitat and severed
the geographical East, ~~itself from~~
because of its ~~unconscious~~
Victorian prejudices against
any other economic organization.

forms of
but the market economy ~~was~~
As if ~~the same stock~~ ~~as~~
~~the same stock~~ ~~as~~
Science and technology the
economic organization ~~as~~
was not ~~part of~~ the western
inheritance. ~~the same~~
and ~~the same~~ are
equally of western origin
Location as a re-embedding
of economic organization
in the rural forms of an
otherwise industrialized
society is pictured in the
Draft as the future of the
Kolkhoz.

Its ^{perspectives} are ~~clearly~~ ^{remindful} of
Robert Owen's village union
~~which is a model of the~~
~~the~~ ^{with} the manipulation
and chemistry, ⁱⁿ ~~is~~ ^{my} there,
^{generously displayed} ~~is~~ ^{also} the capital
required is ^{credibly} provided
from the ^{collective} funds of
the ~~work~~ ^{work} and the
enormous initial state
investments. But it is
through the details of the
free and human social
relations which maintain the
ever more ^{dense} ^{growing} ^{network}
of local ^{richness} that are
carried by the community
that we ^{truly} understand the
objective ^{social} ^{basics} ~~fundamental~~
of the ~~human~~ line of vision.
What catches the imagination
is ~~the~~ the wealth of cultural, literary,
educational, artistic ~~and~~
and nothing ~~and~~ interests which

which especially ~~will~~^{linked} will be
economic industrial and
agricultural industries produce
that, intensive and extensive
activity which ~~with~~^{by} which
the new forms of existence
are ~~introduced~~^{being} filled to the
point overflowing. Profitability
is the touchstone of ~~for~~^{the} the
bonnivers appeal of the Kolkhoz.
Communist solidarity is ~~the~~
driving force behind the
shaped constructs of welfare institutions cultural
which pass the level of ~~and~~
refine the human quality
of his existence to hitherto
unimaginable levels. But
~~that the costs of this~~ His costs/
~~services are~~ advantages
are a gift to the Communist (foundational)
and turn from Kolkhoz
institutions to public property.

At this juncture the devoted
hope of transforming the
governmental functions into
social ones ^{step by step}
self-governing entities of
society itself appears on the
horizon. ~~as the~~ Hence the
~~conception of a~~ ~~transcends~~ ~~the~~ ~~supplying~~
of the necessities of life, free
it ~~is~~ ~~does not~~ stops short
of a sublimating of
economic rewards into
vitalizing a ~~major thing~~
fluid of the ~~regulated by~~
the the course of which is
regulated by the citizens
themselves and directed
to by their own activity into
public channels. Their
work becomes a building
stone of society; ~~public~~ ~~property~~.

Socialist democracy.
~~Through~~ the active participation
of all citizens ⁱⁿ the organs of
the state power will gradually
be transformed into organs
of public self-government.

ASU

(59)

Co

Co

Cowrie and Currencies



~~It is a question brought up by~~
~~Malinowski's "Argonauts of the~~
~~Western Pacific" cannot be said to must~~
~~be naturally important to be told that~~
~~that for shell money the reader's~~
~~best next approach is to~~
~~be addressed to the history of~~
~~Dahomey not so much the~~
~~Trobrlanders but the history of~~
~~Dahomey. And yet for at many~~
~~as points not only for the under-~~
~~standing of Dahomey~~
~~series as a key, but that the~~
~~Cowry shell deserves for its~~
~~own sake to be kept on the~~
~~series as a key, but that the~~
~~problems hinge on the~~
~~existence of Cowrie money.~~
In a book about Dahomey
these questions can claim
pride of place.

Contas an E. Curran & Co's

4N there

at

Nowhere

that almost each of these issues
has been looked into, but only

the ~~oldies~~ of here is a people who
start without the art of writing
a ~~complete~~ ~~state~~ that found
very few ~~modern~~ ~~states~~

to leave us with the impression

that here ~~was~~ ^{is} a people that
accomplishing feats ~~XXXX~~ without

the art of writing found ways of
that very few modern states

~~measured~~ up to (in the monetary
field)

fairly close

all set

leaving aside a very considerable amount
of writing and research bequeathed
to us from the XIXth century.
We wish briefly to state the practically
unanimous view that cowrie
are ~~the~~ native to the Maldiv
archipelago in the Indian
ocean. No coin of any relevant
amount ever came from
anywhere else. Known, used as
the other varied than the Cyprus
moneta; ~~more~~ ^{even} ~~more~~ ^{more} important
aspects ~~the~~ ^{is} the ^{equally} dominant view
that its small size, ~~its~~ ^{its} white
color and ~~its~~ ^{its} porcelain surface that withstands ~~the~~
~~it~~ ^{it} ~~ever so long~~ stay in the ^{an}
mother earth ~~seriously~~ ^{enables} this
endow cowrie with ~~—~~ [—] natural
qualities that ~~apart from~~ ^{advantages}
~~all cultural associations~~
~~makes it a rival of gold.~~
~~Though admirably, it is rather~~

its surface
its small size
its white color
its porcelain surface
its ability to withstand
its long stay in the earth
its natural advantages
its cultural associations
its rival of gold
its admirability
its rather

~~there is~~ ^{can be found} no adequate room for the
discussion of the ~~specific~~ ^{carrie} currency
since it contains the fallacy
that the carrie must have been
introduced by the white man,
and which in regard to the
Upper Guinea coast can not
leave but the choice between the
Portuguese and the Dutch.

An other fallacy accompanied it
~~was the~~ ^{modern view} ~~assumption that the~~
assumption that the great
of carrie and its money use
were co-terminous. Hence the
~~misleading~~ ^{misleading} delimitation
given by such scholars to
the area of West Africa in which the
carrie currency is found.

R. Frith's description is myri-
quoted which broadly ~~ignores~~
the fact that it is ~~found~~
and from the middle Niger
to the mouth of the Niger. **LEN3**

1903/11/158 ^① Carrie as means of payment was
spread from Lake Tchad to Manding
States in the West, from Timbuktu in the North
to the Niger Delta — all except Ashanti, i.e. the
encompassing territory of the Niger and Benue.

R. Fifth 14th "The course is one of the most striking forms of native currency. Range in W. Africa from the Sahara to the Gulf of Benue, taking in the whole basin of the Niger - Benue, and including also the Upper Congo-Lualaba area, its economic sphere centres especially in Timbuktu, the district of the middle Niger and the country around the Lake Chad."

Two typical errors are implied in Cen 3. Two A couple of polar limits - East & West, North & South - are correctly given. Borneo on the NE, the Mandarins on the WAA, the Timbuktoo on the North East, Benue on the SW near had courses, and indeed, course currencies. But most of the vast area pegged out by these four points had no such currencies.

And ~~long~~ ^{long} ago past did not
have ~~commerce~~ at all. In fact,
Timbuktu was the only place
north of the Niger that used
^{as} ~~commerce~~ ^{money} (it ~~was~~ ^{had the}
a part of trade character of an
international part of trade.
Bridges ~~travelled~~ ^{towards the}
Gold Coast from the upper Niger
recorded the sudden ~~birth~~
of the use of ~~coin~~ ^{coin} money
not in the southern Niger-
bend. A crucial phenomenon
thus escaped the ~~economic~~
anthropologist: the institutional
character of money. In spite of
Adam Smith and Ricardo,
the money use of any agent
is not an individual fact, but
an act of public ^{collective} ~~intensity~~ that
needs approval to gain ~~recognition~~ ^{recognition}

The main questions were, did the Cowrie reach ~~Malabar~~ from the Sea (South) from the middle Niger (North) or by way of the Congo (East Africa). A passage in Ibn Batutah's ~~travels~~ appears to settle supply the answer: After spending years in the Maldives, where whence Bengal and Southwest China were were swamped with cowrie; before he visited the middle Niger, and met the "wada", the arabic name for cowrie in Gogo. For a mithkal ($\frac{1}{8}$ of an ounce of gold) 1150 cowrie could be bought. Ibn Batutah remarked that in the Maldives 1,000 cowrie were the price of a mithkal. The date of Batutah's visit was approximately 1352. From Muller he crossed the Western Sahara to the salt ~~mines~~ ~~mines~~ mines of the Maghreb. La de Motos, in 1755 reported sailing off Senegambia that the inland natives use small white shells as money, which are imported from Venice, where they are brought from Persia. The approximate date of the Cowrie Venetian exports by Traseq caravans to the Niger may be deduced conjectured to have fallen

between the ~~from~~ Marco Polo the younger's departure from Venice for China where he describes the employment of course money with the excitement of ~~as a~~ hitherto unknown ~~ex~~ experience. He tells the reader of the origins of the shells, their values and how they ~~are~~ fit in in Yunnan with the traditional ~~silver~~ currency which he relates close to Venetian values. Broadly, ~~the~~ ~~Natural~~ also relates the ~~use~~ of thick and of thin copper bars on the ~~size~~ ~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~ ~~rank~~ of currencies. ~~which~~ This as a automatically restricts the poor who are paid in thin bars to ~~coarse~~ ~~food~~ and a woofre against the night cold, while the wealthy's ~~employ~~ ~~thick~~ bars ~~that~~ entitled them ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~best~~ ~~food~~ and even ~~thick~~ ~~bars~~ ~~than~~ ~~to~~ ~~wheat~~ ~~bread~~ and even to the purchase of a horse. Both panages together show the employment of currencies as an instrument of ~~economic~~ ^{social} policy and ~~economic~~ ^{economic} ~~organization~~.

~~The Portuguese imports of cowrie~~
~~reached Beira soon after, ^{as the} ~~had~~ ^{by their presence} ~~found them~~ ^{used}~~
~~on the Mandingo areas of the~~
~~West Africa. We do not know, whence~~
~~Beira had been infiltrated by~~
~~cowrie the demand for cowrie arose~~
~~had been aroused in Beira.~~

The organization of Portuguese trade
there in Beira in the second ^{trade}
half of the ~~XVth~~ century was
~~very different from the not~~
~~concentrated on the coast but~~
~~Beira was ^{an important} ~~an~~ ^{inland} ~~inland~~ ^{inland} ~~inland~~~~
~~transacted in inland~~
~~fairs by native brokers. This~~
~~might account for the demand~~
~~for a currency which the~~
~~brokers could employ in their~~
~~dealings with the northern~~
~~traders ^{who had their} ~~who had their~~ ^{traders} ~~traders~~ ^{traders}~~
~~Timbuktoo. The Portuguese offered~~
~~overland cowrie must have been~~
~~very much cheaper than the~~
~~Venetian goods caravan sent by~~
~~desert that crossed the desert.~~
~~Again, ^{it has no} ~~it has no~~ ^{profit} ~~profit~~~~

having companies of the Niger
~~consistently~~ pressed for the intro-
duction of metal money
primarily slaves, into the West
African mainland. This however
met with strong resistance on
the part of the Hausa countries.
With the exception of the Maria
Theresa dollar ~~issued~~ ^{minted} by Austria
for purposes of the African
trade, no European slave
~~penetration~~ was accepted in the
Northern Nigeria. As soon as
received it was melted down
as an ornament. Native
currencies, mainly standardized
strips of both indigo and
copper & by weight - the 10th -
Kwacha found no metal up to
~~means metal in use in~~ (1892)
coins an exceptional thing in
Africa. In fact they were practically
unknown; change, of course, could

be small; by 1910 they were universally
known and willingly accepted.

Mr. Pringle mentioned Bullion Silver
~~was in circulation~~ as a gift, as a coin however
~~but it was~~ otherwise not known and
dithers were current as coins.

VII

Notes

The muthal was stable throughout the
the C. Indan in terms of turkedi,
the standard cloth money.

Gold behaved as the ideal trade good
In the 18th and 19th centuries the
 $\frac{1}{8}$ oz of a gold ounce, the muthal
was worth approximately 10/- in
course this amounted at the
end of the XVIIIth to 10/-, some-
what later to 25/- i.e.
17-1800 course respectively.

An oz ^{gold} = £4 = 80 shillings
It fetched 4000 in turkedi,

+	-	Pott	on	f	1	K
		5	-			

-a

the vain attempts of the government
 to ~~possess~~ chartered companies
 to ~~European~~ force coined money
 upon the peoples of Upper Africa
 is proof - I -

the resistance to coming, whether slave
 or gold (1892) was Kitchhoff

Cult.

The kinship of gold and cowrie:
 "What the poor buys, is his."
 What money buys is absolute
 property Katherine I/54

oper.
 1 oz of
 gold

1 lbs of cowries = 384 = 1 shilling (2/6 in England)
 42 " 16,000 cowries = 4 gr cabess
 1 oz of gold 384 damba = £4

cheap
 life

(1890) Segon = meal = 5 cowries = 1/2 centime
 50 " = 5 centimes

local
 value

Local London. = cowrie more valuable East!

Notes
II

Cowrie "loose"

Barth

(a) markets } up to 4-50,000
(b) in retail }

II. 156

Slave (definite parities)

Segou

(Kasonki)

1 adult male sl = 5 guinea pieces

50 bush of native cloth

500 measures of millet

Emye
144

Slave ideal unit = 2000 cowrie

(Zomba)

32 cowrie called "1 roll"

Barth

Kuka

8 cowries = gabaga = $\frac{1}{4}$ cent

4 gabaga = 1 roll = 1 cent

(32 cowrie

Spanish dollar $\rightarrow 125 \times$ rolls

2500 cowrie

$125 \times 32 = 4000$ cowrie

1 \$ = 4000 cowrie (4130

= 3960 "

1 shirt (small, hot, coarse) = 6 rolls of cowrie = 192 cowrie

Cent. Sudan

1 " (large) 50-60 rolls

(?)

Barth II/142

[Gowd]
withal at 400 Kudi

3500-4000 kudi

Kano
Tribute

Cowrie = common currency of

Kano
market

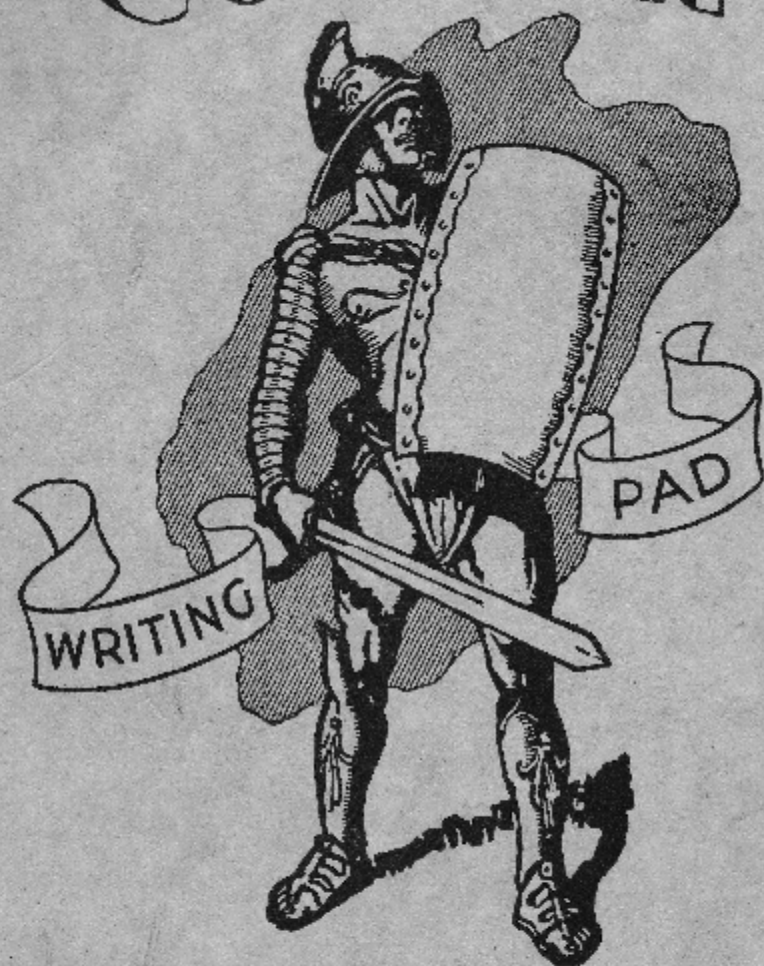
II/143

{ demand for cowrie increased on the
coast
since Borneo introduced cowrie

Borneo

Familiarity with the world of cowrie
at least in ~~Africa~~ West Africa, is needed
to appreciate the ~~very great~~ variety of
aspects under which cowrie issues meet
the anthropologist, the political ~~social~~
scientist, the economist, and last not
least, the historian. There ~~are~~ the ~~best~~
areas ~~in which~~ cowrie happens to be only
among several currencies employed; there
is the ~~great of the exchange rates of its~~ ^{one} ~~is the~~
^{the span of its} exchange value over time and space;
the various culture traits affecting the
numeration, which ^{was} ~~particular~~ ^{house} ~~houses~~
^{peculiar to} ~~the country of~~ as distinct from
other objects; operational devices like
the manner of physical counting and
the way of measuring, whether by tale,
by weight or volume. Changing value
rates according to local costs
of transportation; also cowrie, if
used for payment, as a standard
or as a means of exchange without
being the ~~dominant~~ ^{means} ~~currency~~
dominant in some ^{just one} of
several, whether these be ~~domestic~~
or among foreign, or even only a
means of account the ~~actual~~
physical ~~cowrie~~ ^{money} not being available;
and in either case, actual physical
objects or ^{on} ~~means~~ of account ~~which~~
that had ~~not~~ ^{been} ~~universally~~ ^{employed}

GOLIATH



200 SHEETS

49¢

The rise of the Houma tribe from
 complete obscurity was ~~E~~ slow.
 Their original point towards the
 region of Portonovo. Their
 longest sojourn to Lake then
 where ~~the~~ an arduous ~~the~~ of Tado
 origin may have ~~reached~~ ^{chiefly}
 kingdoms over them; ~~eventually~~ they
 were driven from the Lake ~~XXXX~~
 that abounds in fish and ~~had~~
~~to turn to~~ turns to
 agriculture, ~~and the~~ south ~~of~~
 of the lake, moving again
 nearer the coast. Putting their
 first kingdom about 1520(?)
 this sums up their prehistory;
~~four centuries of which~~
~~falls in the XIVth century~~ from
 the XIVth to century to about
 1670 when ~~the~~ ^{their} king consents to
 Carle's naming a village
 near Pitman, from his ~~own~~
~~home~~ home on the east
 lagoon. ~~Whylat~~ ^{Whylat} had
 already ~~made~~ ^{made} a ~~first step~~

~~to the 9th of the 19th century~~
~~developing into a political~~
~~capital in the world a central~~
~~center - Glegor - near the sea.~~
 Yet the tribal territory was ^{still} very
 small and showed no tendency
 to grow. ~~It was~~ ^{it was} still a tribulancy
 to ~~to the~~ ^{to the} ~~Arera~~ ^{Arera} ~~but already~~ ^{but already} ~~getting~~ ^{getting}
 its influence fell. ~~It was~~ ^{it was} ~~offra~~ ^{offra}
~~and a central market~~ ^{and a central market}
~~where Arera and other~~ ^{where Arera and other}
~~shared in the rights of~~ ^{shared in the rights of}
~~a central market~~ ^{a central market}
~~for none of his own~~ ^{for none of his own}
~~offra~~ ^{offra} ~~report he noted~~ ^{report he noted}
~~and mentioned~~ ^{and mentioned}
 that Inda (French for Honored)
 accounted for 14 - 15000
 slaves ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~hall~~ ^{hall} ~~put down~~ ^{put down}
 Arera with 3001 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the}
~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 only these ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 1669 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 report ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 3000 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 3000 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 3000 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
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 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
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 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 3000 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 3000 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 3000 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 slaves ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 annually ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~peculiar~~ ^{peculiar} ~~facts~~ ^{facts}
 3000 ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~pec~~

we witness here the ¹⁰ grand feature
with which the French started
that avalanche of slaves,
of which (as Duane told us)
~~the subject~~ ~~the~~ ~~subject~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~French~~ ~~the~~
the English alone benefited.
The modest condemnation
in the Opera was obviously the
device by which Wydad
made the grade. Since that
time ~~one~~ figures for Wydad
mostly move in the range
indicated by Duane, though
the purchasers ~~may~~ ~~go~~ ~~into~~ ~~different~~
~~destinations~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~tributary~~
~~ports~~ ~~handling~~ ~~the~~ ~~slaves~~ may
have had varying arrangements
between them. To illustrate: When

During a local civil war
Arden stopped he passed to Offra
So that less than 200 slaves
were carried down in fifteen
months. To the Popoos sold
his slaves to Carol at a custom's
rate of one 28 slaves whereas he
had contracted to pay 100 slaves at
Offra.

11

Eventually Carol of settled for the
~~Lamped~~ French G. at Wydah
for 25 slaves per ship including
wooding, watering and victualing.
Our sources do not record of
the details of time and cir-
cumstances, and are discrete
in many regards which might
reveal the rationale of many
~~transactions in the slave trade~~
seemingly a purely business
move. Nevertheless, the
~~general idea of the land~~
climate of Benue during
Rodriguez transitional era,
we retain much of that
oppressive uncertainty
which was inseparable from
the ~~fragmentary~~ ~~inland~~
off-shore location of the
~~and~~ capital.

1698

99

~~Politically~~ The catastrophe of Ardra
was only indirectly caused by
the superiority of Whydah, which
as to the end was no matter to
the manpower the Emperor could
mobilize. The conquest of ~~Ardra~~
by Dahomey in 1926 was in
the last resort caused by the
efficiency of the port of trade which
by that time ~~had~~ ^{functioning} ~~had~~ ^{had} been twenty
for more than years had raised Whydah to
the ~~former~~ center of the slave trade
both inside of West Africa and
outside of Africa, over all the
ramp of the Atlantic West
Coast and its Archipelagoes.
Dahomey, as we know, had
based its defense system on
systematic razzias requiring
regular supplies of armaments
and could not therefore leave
the sources of its supply in the
weak and unreliable hands of
an anarchic sovereign incapable
to South of organizing an ad-
ministration within

its borders. In ¹³dec 1807 before
Dahomean pressure brought
about the collapse of the
Ardrean empire, the require-
ments of the ~~western~~ world began
to focus on the ~~weak spot~~
of the ~~slave~~ new ^{international} ~~slave~~ economy
which was ~~ever more~~ patently
Ardrean. Not the conservative

Portugals of Portugal and
Holland, who for centuries
had been trading ~~at~~ along
the Guinea Coast, but the
late comers, France and

England, precipitated the
catastrophe of Ardrea in
their eagerness to nationalize
their overseas ~~colon~~ plantations
which were growing into
~~enormous~~ sources of enormous
profits to the semi-fendul
ruling classes of the ^{new} Western
European great powers.

Portugal had monopolized

14-
the Guinea Trade since the middle
15th century. The denominations
of the currency, the names of the
trade officials, the terms of the
commerce were almost ex-
clusively Portuguese, the lingua
franca of a vast area. The
~~Portuguese~~ Emperor of Africa
had been educated in a
convent on the Isle of St. Thomas
and his preference for the most
Catholic King of France secured
many a ~~convenient~~ piece of
evidence of the pedantry and red
tape which hampered Colbert's
efficiency drive. But all this
antedated the slave trade by
many a year, and even the local
slave trade of the Portuguese
based on the Isle of St. Thomas
was aimed at ~~supplying~~ labor
for their ~~own~~ African sugar
plantations and selling slaves
to African rulers on the Guinea
Coast, ~~also~~ to transport inland the
merchandise purchased from ~~Portuguese~~
hands.

The slave trade ⁻¹⁵⁻ built up of the
Portuguese in Angola was
transacted through the local
clergy and their monasteries,
the men on the island plan-
tations were not concerned
by ~~the~~ high pressure exerted
by governments as those which
directed the English and French
~~the~~ royal companies. The
Dutch successors of the Portuguese
inherited their trading system
as well as the few coastal
posts which they received from
the Portuguese. If the Portuguese had
to supply their Brazilian
colony with labor, the Dutch
traded under rather less for-
feiture of power than the
Portuguese. But neither the one
nor the other was taken on
large numbers, except delivery and
of short stay of the ships. The new
slave trade was no more Portuguese-
Dutch in rhythm, but Franco-English.

-16-

Both the decline of Ardra and
the upsurge of Whydah take us
into the Franco-English realm.
Douglas ~~commented~~ ^{small} on the organized
slave coast states in ~~the~~ credence
them ^{with} a ~~more~~ greater consciousness
of strength than ~~either~~ the hinter-
land countries of the Gold Coast
or Ardra ^{showed}. Whydah and
Foto Novo refused to concede,
^{he says,} monopolies of trade to
~~any~~ any Western power. This,
~~he says,~~ made the Portuguese
and Dutch prefer the ^{methods} Far North
~~east coast~~ of the Bight of Benue,
the Calabars, ~~and~~ Congo, and be
Angola. May this be as it ~~is~~
the crisis in ~~Ardra~~ was brought
about in Ardra by French action, and
the solutions ~~that followed~~
in Whydah ~~were~~ ^{eventually} initiated by
Franco-English moves. This then
was the manner in which ~~that~~
what was any way to happen
actually came about.

17
Since d'Almeida's and Carrol's
offering visits around the 1670 based
initiative/ ~~the~~ ~~slave trade~~ was
located on the Fort de St. Louis de
Gibson, in Whydah. Colbert's (Compagnie
de l'Inde Orient, foundation)
was settled there

-17-

Since d'Almeida's and Carrol's
offspring was ground ^{the} 1770 based
initiative ^{slave} ~~was~~
~~on the~~ ^{St Louis de}
~~Colbert's~~ ^{Compagnie}
~~de l'Inde Orient~~ ^{Foundation}
settled there

- Nova Ref sed to concede

eventually

ver

Sub M 6

Adt Through the tangle of misleading
intimacy that underlay the relation-
ships of Ardra, Wydel and
Brownley the logic of economic
appearing ~~the~~ asserted itself in the
end. In spite of Ardra's pre-
occupation with the business
mastery of its subordinate vessel,
Wydel, even the latter
tended to ally itself with enemy
Ardra against the common
enemy, Dahony.

Ch VII. Lect III, - I (continued)

After 30 years of repeated attempts to establish a viable ~~long~~ relationship ~~between the~~ Arden the Chevalier & Arden France and made a formal ^{foreign} proposal to the King the first joint of which ~~the~~ circumscribed ~~proposed~~ as follows: "If the King wishes to see us established in his realm, it is primarily required that the King permit us to settle on the coast, which again would involve his ~~himself~~ moving to there together with all ^{others} of the capital, and that he ~~take~~ ^{make his} residence ~~there~~ on the spot so as to attract trade, since otherwise the expenses cost of transporting our merchandise to the ~~present~~ ^{new} place of his residence which is at a 7 leagues distance from the coast would involve us in ruinous expenses." The King ^{agreed} ~~agreed~~ to a monopoly ^{to} the French on such tea, they shipped ~~at least~~ ^{at least} 3000 ~~cases~~ ^{cases} annually, but while offering 6000 should they wish so ~~at least~~ ^{concerning his changing his residence} and many conditions he refused to accept.

Ch VII. Sect III. - 8 (continued)

After 30 years of repeated attempts to establish a real friendly relation, ships with the Arden the Chevahes & Arden France and made a formal treaty proposal to the King the first joint of it he has circumscribed himself as follows: "If the King wishes to see us established in his realm, it is primarily required that the King permit us to settle on the coast, which again would involve his ~~himself~~ moving ~~to~~ there together with all others of the capital, and that he ~~make his~~ residence ~~there~~ on the spot so as to attract trade since otherwise the expenses cost of transporting our merchandise to the ~~two present~~ place of his residence which is at a 7 leagues distance from the coast would involve us in ruinous expenses." The King ~~agreed~~ ^{agreed} ~~the monopoly~~ ^{to the French on condition} they shipped ~~up to~~ ^{at least} 3000 slaves annually, ~~but while offering, 5000~~ ^{signify they wish 50} But the first ~~at least concerning his changing his residence~~ and ~~man~~ ^{man} ~~was~~ ^{refused} to accept.

9
K. G. Davies, ~~the~~ Historian of the Royal
African Company, records a ~~very~~ distinct
~~move of the~~ ^{European} slavers to ~~the~~ ^{tendency of the}
~~congregation~~ ^{IN} Whydah after the
turn of the century. By 1704 all
four Great Powers had their main
establishments there. (Johs and)

In the mean time French action
continued. D'Arnan pressed
the King of Whydah to ~~in~~ ^{officially in}
1702 to set a permanently valid price
~~for the~~ ^{for the} ~~slaves~~ ^{slaves}. The King promised
that this would be ~~permanently valid~~ ^{presently}
together with other matters in course
of settlement (and ~~leaving~~ ^{giving} ~~on~~ ^{via}
faire ~~celle~~ ^{celle} ~~établissement~~). By
next year the War of the Spanish
Succession had ~~broken out~~ ^{started}, and
the different neighboring
fortification in Glegoy, as well as
the villages native surrounding them
were found themselves in state
of war. ~~Whydah~~ Whydah which had
been ~~in a~~ ^{in a} ~~flourishing condition~~ ^{flourishing} since
the early ~~1600s~~ ^{1680s}, was
~~threatened~~ ^{threatened} by the new war
(1702-1713). It seems

and brought about an internal
and external revolution.

-10-
Reasonable to assume that
with the demise of the long
ruling monarch, probably in
1903, the external and internal
domestic and foreign factors
~~pressing over for a long time~~
towards basic reforms ^{joined}
forces ~~mutually reinforcing~~ of Barbooth
says that the old King was
a favorite with the Europeans
to whom he owed his throne.
Similar assertions come from various sources
with ~~these~~ ^{such} ~~places~~ ^{places}

2. ~~must come into common~~
~~usage~~ and ~~as a~~ ^{as a} stereotype
^{referring to}
for a ruler who foster foreign trade
and in all details ^{even}
side with the ^{in his various troubles}
the foreign merchant by according
him all the protection and
disregarding acts of war ^{among the foreign}
Tavaspots
in the port area but even
in territorial waters (a term which
is usually interpreted to include
all access ~~to the~~ by sea to the port of
trade area.

Reasonable ⁻¹⁰⁻ ~~to say~~ ^{but}
with the demise of the long
ruling ~~a monarch~~, probably in
1903, the ~~internal and~~ ^{domestic} and foreign factors
~~domestic and foreign factors~~
~~became~~ ^{for a long time}
towards ~~some reforms~~ became
mutually reinforcing. But he
says that the old king was
a favorite with the Europeans,
to whom he owed the throne.
Such persons were ~~becoming~~
~~and~~ ^{quite common}
and are a stereotype
for unless the foreign trade
and in all details ^{in connection}

the foreign merchant by according
him all the protection and
discommodating acts of war and
and in the port area but even
in territorial waters (a term
loosely interpreted).

It is difficult to be definite about
the impact of any of the change from
gold to slaves on the forms of
trade in the slave coast region.
While always remembering that
slaves were a very secondary
commodity on the Gold Coast, and
that of the slave coast gold was
if all transported in negligible
quantities, the fact that the
International relations affected
the slave trade more closely than the
gold trade. In this context the
Award of the Asiento by Louis XIV
to the French Guinea Company (Sept
14, 1701) to be administered by
Ducasse, then Governor of Santo
Domingo, may be mentioned.
By the beginning of next year according to
d'Amson they put pressure on the
King of whydah to stabilize the price
of slaves ~~within~~ ^{within} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~garrisons~~ ^{garrisons}
of France and England became
active on the issue of the domestic
interventions of whydah in the succession
of the Great Topoco, were

It is difficult to be accurate about
the impact of any of the slave from
gold to slaves on the terms of
trade, ~~on the slave coast~~
While always remembering that
slavery was a very secondary
commodity on the Gold Coast, and
that on the slave coast gold was
if at all transacted on a negligible
amount, the ~~fact remains that~~
International ~~relations~~ ^{relations} ~~still affected~~
the slave trade ~~more closely than the~~
~~gold trade.~~

~~In this context the~~
award of the Asiento by Louis XIV
to the French Guinea Company (Sept.
14, 1701) to be administered by
Ducasse, the Governor of Santo
Domingo ~~may~~ be mentioned.

By the beginning of next year according to
a Memorie put pressure on the
King of England to Stabilize the price
of Slaves, and ^{within four years} ~~the~~ ^{local} ~~garrison~~
of France and England became
active on the 18th ^{succession}
Interventions of Whig ^{domestic} ~~on the matter of the~~
the ^{great} ~~the~~ ^{great} ~~the~~ ^{great}
Succession in the ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the}

now employed with the Rev. Anna G.
the French and English jointly
in Whydah. A few hundred marines
installed an enlightened ruler
in the place of ^{his} less appealing
~~personality~~ who moreover seemed
to suffer from xenophobia. The
interests of Whydah would have ^(national)
strongly advised a disengagement
of ~~the~~ affairs from ^{national} the inter-
-national conflicts which were
disrupting the commerce of the
nations.

Not often do local native ^{interests} ~~concerns~~
coincide with those of the foreign
powers who happen to make use of
their territory. But the demand for
slaves united the foreign powers
to improve the services of their
host and support ~~him~~ him in
his wish to keep foreign conflicts
from his shores. Two decisive
steps ~~should~~ ^{might} be dated ^{will} 1704. The
of the Europeans one, creating a
price cartel to eliminate competition.

between them, and this done, induce
the King to proclaim the port and
its environment ~~neutral~~ open to all
nations and ^aneutral in their wars.
The Davies quotes the English factor's letters
to his head office ^{in London} ~~in London~~, where careful
mention is made of the urgency of "entering
into articles" with the French and the others,
but ~~with as much as~~ ^{as much as} hinting at the subject
matters of those articles. In another context
we will adduce two reasons ^{to assume} that a uniform
~~handling of the~~ mark-up on cost price
was ~~the~~ at the core of the matter. The agreed
handling of the ~~sales~~ 'rates' by the joint
of authority ~~was~~ would of course help
to institute the articles. D'Amours
firmly demand for an established
undisputed ~~have~~ price ~~necessarity~~
implied an uniform ~~price rate~~
for all Powers. The rate again involved
~~payment the~~ ways of payment, ~~the~~
that is, ~~currency~~ the organisation
of the 'currency', maybe also of
~~accept~~ practices of crediting acceptable
to all.

between them, and this done, induce
the King to proclaim the port and
its environment ~~neutral~~ open to all
nations and neutral in their wars.
The Davies quoted the English factor's letter
to his head office ~~where~~ where tactful
mention is made of the urgency of "entering
into articles" with the French and the others,
but ~~with~~ never hinting at the subject
matter of those articles. In an other context
we will adduce two reasons that a uniform
handing of the mark-up on cost price
was ~~the~~ at the core of the matter. The agreed
handling of the ~~rates~~ rates by the port
of authority ~~was~~ would of course help
to institute the articles. I Amos's demand
firmly for an established slave price
implied of course, undaunting a
rate uniform for all Powers. A
"rate" again involved a way of
payment, that is, an organisation
of the currency, may be also of
practices of crediting acceptable to
all.

By this time the differentiation⁻¹⁴⁻
of political and commercial
settlement - Savi and Whydah -
appears to have been far advanced.
Phillips and the later Bosman
reflect a condition where the King's
'palace of Oambo' surrounded by
the residences of the Commanders
of the foreign forts and ~~the heads~~
their factors' warehouses represent
a close cooperating agency of a
~~the~~ port of trade ~~to be~~ while
in Whydah ~~is~~ has developed into
a compact town of considerable
with the French, English, Dutch and
Portuguese forts in close
proximity while the native
villages of ~~and~~ each with their
petrified are entirely separate.
This Whydah was ~~entirely~~ still
native governed from Savi,
which also administered the
country side. The French and the
English met ~~there~~ ^{when} attended to
their arriving ships ~~the~~ ^{which}
signaled by cannon shots. The

By this time the differentiation
of political and commercial
settlement - Savi and Whydah -
appears to have been far advanced.
Phillips and the later Bosman
reflected a condition where the King's
'palace of bamboos' surrounded by
the residences of the ~~Commanders~~^{governors}
of the foreign forts and ~~represent~~
their factories, ~~effectively top of a~~
an ~~effectively top of a~~
the port of trade ~~to be~~ while
~~the~~ Whydah ~~TS~~ has developed into
a ~~native~~ town of considerable
with the French, English, Dutch and
Portuguese forts in close
proximity, while the native
villages ~~attached to~~ ~~villages~~
petridles are entirely separate.
This Whydah was ~~entirely~~ still
~~native~~ governed from Savi,
which also administered the
countryside. The French and the
English ~~attended to~~
their arriving ships ~~when these~~
signaled by cannon shots. The

^{repeated}
 The national flag was hoisted in
 response. The flag staff was a dusky
 common to them. Such were
 things in time of peace. The king
 could ~~not~~ count on the Powers
 arranging their affairs among
 themselves and on the support
 of his ~~sovereignty~~ all against ~~that~~ that
~~external dangers~~ of ~~dark~~ ^{which}
~~supply of slaves~~ after all controlled the
 liaison d'être of the whole very
 establishment at Whydah - Sav.

The Colberts ~~company~~ de l'Inde
 (1664)
 Overrun by now renamed Compagnie
 de l'Asiento de Guinée
 Chasse de l'Asiento (1713) (1701)
 Commenced D.B. ~~known as the~~
~~Guinea~~ was present at the
 signing of the by doms ITO
 of the treaty of had date.
 Among the new nobility
 attending ~~at~~ the Cave many
 there was one Jean ~~De~~ Donzel,
 the so pirate from Sicily, to
 whose role ~~the~~ now turn S.
 our story

-15-

The national flag was hoisted in response. The flag staff was a duly common to them. Such were things in time of peace. The king could make all count on the towers arrange their affairs during the month and on the support of his government all against that eternal claims of order which he made the basis of all controlled the supply of goods which were sold in the town & store of the substantial establishment at Wyke - Savv.

(1664) The Colberts charged de l'Inde Overseen by now renamed Company

de l'Arsenal de Guinée
Charles de l'Arsenal (1701)
Commune de l'Arsenal de l'Inde
Encense de l'Arsenal de l'Inde
Agony of the by Louis XV
of the treat of that date (1701)
Among the new nobles
attending the Convention
there was one Jean Donat,
the pirate from Gicpe, the
whose side was now turned.

Three years later, in September
1704, we find him in Whydah, ~~starting~~ ^{for}
~~his European company~~. It is the
~~year~~ ^{year} which ~~we~~ ^{we} saw
the four powers assembled ~~there~~
at Sarr, ~~as the guests of the~~
~~new king~~ ^{at the}
residence of the newly installed
king, an enthusiastic supporter
of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~apostles~~ ^{of}
cooperation with the Europeans,
to whom he owed his throne.

Three years later, on September
1704, we find him in Whydah.
This is the year, in which
according to Davies, the four
slaving powers were moving their
counters to Sarr and one by
one erecting fortifications (1701)
with the king's permission.
The newly installed king, an
enthusiastic friend of ~~cooperation~~
the Europeans, to whom he
owed his throne, helps Donbet
to create ^{the strong fort} ~~St. Louis~~ ^{de} Glegoy, at

Three years later, on September
1704 we find him in Whydah.
This is the year, in which
according to Davis the ~~the~~ lodges
Hawking Powers were moving their
counters to Sava and ~~and~~
on erecting fortifications
with the King's permission.
The newly installed king, an
enthusiastic friend of ~~Europeans~~
the Europeans, to whom he
owed his throne, helps Donbet
to erect the ~~strong~~ ^{FOR} Louis de Glegoy. We

In all probability the "articles" into
which the Powers entered in that
year ~~was aimed at~~ ^{aimed at} ~~committing~~ them to a
uniform ^{of accountancy or cost} practice ~~as setting~~
the ^{they gladly i.e. how to set} "rules" at which the
imported goods were to be
~~accounted~~ ^{priced} in "payment"
for native slaves. An
agreement on ~~the~~ ^{an} reasonable
mark-up of 100% on cost prices
~~must~~ ^{must} have served the purpose.
None will be said ~~about~~ ^{concerning} the
dramatic proclamation
of neutrality ~~of which~~ ^{without} ~~on the~~
~~part of the King~~ ^{part of which}
the ~~swift~~ ^{price-} ~~instantaneous~~
accord of the Powers would
be hardly conceivable. But there
have been is still more evidence of
the ~~comprehensive~~ ^{revolutionary}
changes of that year. ^{indeed} The break
with Archduke might have made
it advisable to provide for some

- 17 -

-17-

In all probability the "articles" into which the Powers entered in that year committed them to a uniform practice of accounting or carrying their goods i.e. how to set the "rates" at which the imported goods were to be priced & accounted in "payment" for native slaves. An agreement on a reasonable 'mark-up' on cost prices must have served the purpose. There will be some dramatic overstatement of neutrality of what on the part of the King without which the swift introduction of the price - accord of the Powers would hardly conceivable. But there has been more evidence of the conservative revolutionary changes of that year. (The break with Asvat might have made it advisable to provide for some

expert - 18 - (Type: V3)
trading ~~personnel~~ ^{supplies} on which
Whydah could ~~only~~ ^{rely}. There is
evidence that the highly regarded
Mullahs, ~~as the~~ ^{professionals}
of the slave trade ~~and~~ ^{traditionally} trusted
figures in Great Arabah were
solemnly invited to Whydah,
~~the~~ these highly literate, and
obviously impressive types of
Islamic traders were ~~an~~ ^{an} asset
to the port of trade. The ~~a~~ ^a great date
of his act of foresight is also 1704. -
VIII. 8, '61

expert - 18 -
trading person not ~~that~~ on which
Wlydah could ~~rely~~ ^{supply}. There is
evidence that the highly regarded
Kullahs, ~~on the~~ ^{professional} ~~traders~~ ^{traders}
of the slave trade ~~were~~ ^{trusted}
figures in Great Arabah were
solemnly invited to Wlydah.
~~These~~ these highly literate, and
obviously impressive types of
Islamic traders were ~~an~~ ^{an} asset
to the port of trade. The a great date
of his act of foresight is also 1704. -
VIII. 8. '61

Ed. Ch. VII. Sect. III. (p. 2 top) ⊕

The Gold Coast — where gold was found or
at least traded widely — ended West of
the Volta, or just short of it. Slave Coast was
an ambiguous term, as already Barbot saw,
commonly it meant the Guinea ~~Gold~~ Coast
from the Volta to Benue. I thought as
Barbot said, even before "Lagos" it loses
its name? Slaves were to be had east of
the Volta wherever Ardra's vessels
managed to transmute them from the
African inland source of the caravan
~~land~~ slaves. To the European this was
of course the commercial meaning
of Slave Coast. But since the time
when the ~~name~~ corrupted name Wilde
Ardra and Whydah took over, ~~the~~
Ardra actually possessed hardly any
stretch of the coast of its own
the ~~landscape~~ ^{land} and to be meant by ~~the~~ ^{justly} Slave Coast
dominated the picture. ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~picture~~ ^{picture}
level vista of parks and pastures
~~starting close to~~ ^{starting close to} the beaches ~~lay out~~
~~some fifty miles east of the Volta~~
in the immediate proximity of Whydah,
and after Porto Novo ^{ie. from an other} ~~lost its name~~
30 miles east, ^{again}

Report up to ^{1. Feb. 1912} Whydah, the Slave Coast II
has as barren the western borders as was
most of the Gold Coast. ~~indeed~~ Indeed, the
Great Pozo lagoon islands were in evil
repute as the ~~very~~ homes of starvation.
And east of Whydah - Portonovo
the humidity of the equatorial
forest took over again, even before
Lagos was reached. In referring
to the coastal regime created by
the Gap of Benue ~~we do not mean~~
~~therefore~~ we wish to designate therefore
not more than the hinterland
of Whydah and Portonovo, the
only two inland organized states
lying on the ~~the~~ coast situated
between the Volta and Benue.
The And this was anything but ~~an~~
accidental factor, they ~~were~~
~~and to be named Ch. 1. 1912~~

~~states~~ ~~and to be named~~

Aug 16, '61

Dear George

Harry Pearson was visiting me these days (with Walter Nevill) and comparing notes about old friends we naturally remembered you.

I wonder whether you know that Paul Medow had been invited to give a series on non-market economies at the University of Moscow. He is expected back by middle of September. He came to see me here, and we talked about his Schumpeterian economics. He is inter alia going to develop there. That too made me think of you.

I had almost a week in which to study the Draft of the CPSU. It is one of the most surprising documents on Socialism produced in many years. Great creative powers are unexpectedly making their appearance in these quarters.

Hena and (modestly) myself are still staring at the rendering of the new Hungarian (populist) poets. Do drop me a line about yourselves as ever

KP

Wm

Aug. 16, 1961

Dear Peter, just a few lines to keep in touch.
Hona and myself are very busy at our
varied life assignments, seeing more of Kari
than for very many years. He has been
appointed for the fall to McGill and they
have last week moved to Montreal (Joe
has a secondary school job in history there)
But Kari is preparing for her courses here
(linear programming, primary). The boys are
growing up well. I have re-written my
Saturday work, and have it, near finished
now. Mathematical economics are reverting
to 'Austrian' economics and neoclassical
process turn out to have used the sub-
stantive meaning of 'economic' (the order
of goods and 'input-output') which unex-
pectedly bridged Kari's and my own
preconceptions. Even her interest in
transmission which had lapsed have found
a corner in my own retirement as I
discovered when giving a week's reading to
Kari's "Draft." Why don't you write a
piece about it? It deserves it. This year
I applied for no fellowships, I just want to
have a new book accepted and manage
on ~~our~~ ^{our} pensions which proved quite possible.
My trouble kept in abeyance, which left
me time + force for my own purposes.
Harry Pearson, Walter Haele, Paul
Meadow, George Dalton and the others
keep very close to our general line (Paul
M. is guest lecturing at Econ. Dept. Univ. of
Toronto) so I am not lonely in this broadening
world. All Love K

Aug 16, 1961

My dear Brad, this is ^{my} ~~my~~ ^{first} ~~first~~ ^{time} ~~time~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{write} ~~write~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{you} ~~you~~ ^{about} ~~about~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{book} ~~book~~ ^{you} ~~you~~ ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{working} ~~working~~ ^{on} ~~on~~ ^{now} ~~now~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{it} ~~it~~ ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{very} ~~very~~ ^{important} ~~important~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{me} ~~me~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^I ~~I~~ ^{am} ~~am~~ ^{sure} ~~sure~~ ^{that} ~~that~~ ^I ~~I~~ ^{am} ~~am~~ ^{not} ~~not~~ ^{by} ~~by~~ ^{any} ~~any~~ ^{chance} ~~chance~~ ^{mistaken} ~~mistaken ^{about} ~~about~~ ^{this} ~~this~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{as} ~~as~~ ^{soon} ~~soon ^{as} ~~as~~ ^I ~~I~~ ^{hear} ~~hear ^{from} ~~from ^{you} ~~you~~ ^{broadly} ~~broadly~~ ^{accepting} ~~accepting~~ ^{my} ~~my~~ ^{suggestions} ~~suggestions~~ ^{concerning} ~~concerning~~ ^{our} ~~our~~ ^{editing} ~~editing~~ ^{plans} ~~plans~~, I mail to you a straightened-out version of Laura's dictation of her Hungarian data about John Smith's W. Hungarian experiences. These lines are not prompted by any impatience ~~to~~ ^{to} hurry you. Rather, I assume that you might have to make sure of ~~at least~~ editorial support before we (i.e. you) submit any final text in view of publication. However, should I have not quite understood your ^{modus} ~~modus~~ ^{procedendi} ~~procedendi~~, please do let me know ^{so} ~~so~~ together with your advice (if any), so I can mail you within two or three days the promised texts.~~~~~~~~

promised texts.
Harry Pearson spent the week-
end with us. He'd be glad, I know, to
tell, should you call him, ~~how~~^{what} life is
like in Skunk's Hollow. Fickler's silence.
I am disturbed about it.
Encl. Do you possess his private address? Is ^{your} Karl

Ke Ives Simon

Aug 16
1967

Ma süggettem Bradual, hol
tartomuk a "W+M" ékual?
Megirlauy egy is, hogy Pichler
hallgatasa nyugtalanit?
Vaktaba nem buli lehet
nekis, anyagot. Tudod-e?
Talan Nagasaka's cimel?
Miri Egeuer, ahmial, maug
sepho diktalh nira irt
Nehem igen rendesen (melle -
kelom levele masolatok).
Miri csoduel, miklosnal.
Nehed is irtam, arivant hogy
a M. Szekretarenel jo
felso fokjaban nevalan
maradt-e irottanyag(akora
a Klari rakott Kossa papir -
osokal) Az Egeuer level
sak megerositi a remenyt, h.
nem elkerulhetnel az eredeti

egyedül bírles. Kutatási jelek
2000, amelyek valójában
elkallódtak.

Az újít. Bád. jelöl. hallott
vagy újít.

Johnny, 1. várjuk, persze
igen meggyőzték ezt maga
két munkatársával -- De
20. évi. Kötésben meg
valami hivatalos nyelvre.
De maga persze itt van
minden, de megkérdezi
itt nyírnak (magas) most.
Bádogok Montrealban a
fatalok.

Ölöl
Karl

Melléklet

T.W.H. Aug. 25, 1961

Dear Bob, your very bad news did not come quite unexpectedly. From the start I knew I should not take anything for granted. Hence also my waiting for an answer from you before letting you have a final draft. Nevertheless it will take me a day or two to recover from this blow which reached me after I had become reasonably hopeful that after all every-thing was now moving towards a solution. In vain did I remain conscious of the enormous lapse of time since the joint paper had been sub-mitted & accepted. Marion's first word on the phone, on your return from India, had an over-riding importance. No did you yourself even con-fer with the W & M's continued readiness to publish. Here, I say, my testimony to formulate a test which would break or make the chances of publication, though not actually submitted by myself. Yet I felt that you yourself could not be certain of the editorial position after all these years.

Helpless, I waited for your return from India. Meanwhile, I tried to make sure that the ms. - which I had been told got lost over a time - existed in an other exemplar in your possession, in the U.S. As you know my wife and myself used on trip to Hungary to receive her son's testimony that she wished the joint ms to be published as it stood, and to let you have documentary evidence of this, in any case.

At the end of Jan., 1957 a malignant tumor was removed from my bladder, and since that time I was under periodical cystoscopic observation at Toronto Western Hospital. Several times spontaneous bleedings occurred, I could not risk taking any chances, and endeavored to ensure Laura's work against ^{all} avoidable mischance. The unexpected psychological (or mental) complications that arose after her death only gradually became patent; indeed only recently do I begin to realize that the circumstances surrounding her sudden removal to hospital (immediately after dictating the Hungarian data into the typewriter) are responsible for the loss (?) of her original pencilled notes as well as the absence of any authentic testamentary declaration of her intent in regard to her literary legacy.

Two circumstances lit up the scene with your return and our immediate renewal of contact. The one ~~the~~ was this fact itself. Now nothing could stop the right course from prevailing. The other was that I was now shown ^{the "joint"} MS. At a glance

I realized that this was a masterpiece
of historiography produced under the
most complex (adverse) conditions.
Also that all I had been told
about it was not only mistaken but
the phantom of an Imbalanced
mind. All we had to do was to
get it published. Laura's death
might call for editorial comment,
Also that the joint authorship would
have to be considered. You at
once solved ~~either~~ both problems.
Our aim was set. Anything in
the nature of posthumous notes or
additional data could be left over
to later issues.

It appears that at this stage
Laura's old sins - hesitations
and delays - came home to roost.
You will understand that the
essentials of this fateful sequence
are and will remain dominant
of my inner life.
Is there the slightest chance

of having the original ms of the
joint article published. Laura's
name would I suppose appear
in the usual black frame. Nothing
could make me happier than
such an outcome.

Ever

KAR

P. S.

Since Monday (Aug 24) I have
been laid up in T. W. H. on
Friday (Aug 28) with my back)
and expect to be dismissed on
Sunday (Aug. 28) recovered from
a minor Lerkia operation.
Hona is keeping me company
and is going to mail this letter.

Dear Brad and Maria -

I am here with Karl most of the day but so out to Pickering
for the night. Please wait to see Frederick when K. should
be back home by then. Love many kind thoughts
Hona

Ke des, so linclosaen : addig
jat, Munt a, friid auri
pöval neu - funder "M. Jones
fa helioythehatt. "M. Jones
hefoge strabotikal natadig
ra ment es coat egg ei shura
kastandis a Brad cilhena a
stojterin vinichin an auri 1919
so velt igeme. Vignot akluran
on Brad, "stapf talan lasti" a
Barbours, Smith koringen a
negelunne van beplete. A
Wang a Brad kora. We have
alike tekust less.
missed the boat. "

Richard, van Fredk.
Johnen velt hile birongora a
folgiwat kötelmet. Annen India-
bot velt vimejoll velt ntai -
negamaron oraban - oltro velt -
ban jeltin Stam öket. Marion
also gavanat oltro hangja velt
hoy kringa so velt ei velt
mij itegon. Brad neu is velt
mij veltmet, de me
hoy itelemben, hoy gelnin
coat reming velt velt no. Eft
naked mefutan ei velt
keltet haljotigsa mellojron

Ar Han utasita? Hant, ameghet
a te reveden kaptan, ameghet
a, cikh magget carat magget
ereto chvut. Setaleget fel,
ahai nifile at dolgo rasim
lenne is ala vete.

Amrit kaptan, megide-
multik.

Arsonal reiletem irtam
meg tegnap Bradnake, als a
longyeh esak voviden lortle
vot velen. We have mistak
the boat.

Megirtam, hogy es neham mint
plant. Azt is hogy en jure a kezis
erik hilelont. Sha biztosa nem
vehattam. Mint o' tundra, en a cikh
~~stomach~~ latham, yak kovetlen
az o' vinde esherine esok. De hogy
akhar remenyem ket otbol
felujit. Eliteror, mat. o' meg-
= job es most egyenel erovel fogad
dolgozhato. A dolok egyenese ho-
zasam. Masodgor, mit latham
hogy a nagy nemelen mistam
es hogy amket arrot hallotam
vot purge fastazmak. Most

minis mas romany, minif ar wadok
Cikla ^{nek} amuf el wot jagadva -
vattogakan kor lase, ny foudolun
hang romanyk gaschurthe
teteleved.

Lemmifele, amuf is ert-
hesetlen, romanyk ~~repletkem~~ a
bontatunek nem man tem bale,
minif eddig sem.

Bond. out aganot magd vith.
Lemmifen almondham, hoy
dole kellek wamom egasolat
a foudolun hite haylandisagan
a2 elkesitt kor lase, is ar
(Broad) valaszinal kismit
bontam be, hoy is ar o vala-
szukat kisanga megvaim mellet
pisminkert vegyes foudolun
terjeszt bei. Alko sell tartani
hoy em, a dlog vigez ert.
Szombal igyul ne apban
yom orchet. Hefter aligban
hara engednek. Kisvoha idas
Lemmifele, Iha minif ~~eg~~ elor Teged,
mor itban is kemel hellek
Szombal

Uf. Perno kulek, Szombal Kad
Evele is vobold a romz hite.

III Internal private trade
was insignificant?

Apr 16-18 ~~1957~~

I The points at issue are
conceptual level in
"Race and Man in the
Early Empire" 1957

The separation of home
and market was

"Captured by a
childlike myth
the economy" (as Ray)

Trade male } occupation
(a) mkt female }
-retaining-

(b) { market = native job
trade = foreign job

(c)

7
The points at issue are
Conceptually developed in
"Trade & market in the
early societies" 1957

(a) The two meanings
of 'economic': the
formal meaning:
means ends relations
maximizing attitude
substantive meaning:
material. The first
is applicable to all and
any means ends
relation; the latter
is the primary sphere.

les trois patterns:
redistributive (administrative)
reciprocal (symmetrical)
exchange (le marché)
provenant des profits

(a) les marchés local
sont ~~un~~ système de
marché : un marché
de main d'œuvre
un du sol.

Le réseau c'est le
cycle (cercle)
des marchés sau/sol's

(a) la Russie

(b) point de crédit
Djwara

(c) la monétisation
(whydub) Jean Bonlet
Des marchands

Binger : les marchés du
Boucle
de Goum à Binger

BSL sans exception
point de troc

- ① Numeration (is here one)
rich and highly rich rich
(2) not root for integrals 1 - 10
by twenties and 10
by twenties and 10
get no alphabets (60)

Learned on Sahomey

Eide (= 2)
related but not identical
systems of numeration
e.g. Nupe have highly
articulated numeration
(Nadel)

$$360000 = 9 \times 200 \times 2000$$

- ① 60 systems are underwritten
Benjamin
Jeffries acquired the locally
widely spread 60 system of
W. Sudan. He imagined
one the Ibo (Nigeria)
possessed it and the
Pharaonic Cyprians.

Leaves (Congo) Johnston
Johnston II 796
Re oldest currencies in all
probably shell beads
Tomda Achatina snail shells

#/780 current currency
Maccanta's straw cloth
dikuta sheet of pasteboard
grass mats } 3 kinds of cloth
equivalent to
 $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{2}{6}$ $\frac{7}{6}$ or 8

#/790 a token (!)
money, practically of no value at all

A ounce = 60 mil
 agent
 1 share = 128 mil = 1003
 value: mil

Share = 4 oz each S

The dividend was $\frac{1}{2}$ =
~~4.50~~ $\frac{1}{6}$

16 oz 2 dollars was a
 live gold; 2 oz 2 dollars
 had (= monnaie
 or current)

1 live
~~2 oz 2 dollars~~ gold: 1
 2

^(16 livres)
l'once se divise en 16 livres

on achète l'or à l'once

1 oz = 20 rd. Kopeckagen
 16 rd. "les livres"

une once de cauri (16 rd)

$$\frac{2 \text{ livres}}{= \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ rd or } (\text{~~16 rd~~) \\ 2 \text{ rd monnaie} \end{array} \right.}$$

$$\frac{1 \text{ livre}}{= 1 \text{ rd. monnaie (cauri)}}$$

$$16 \text{ livres} = 8 \text{ rd or}$$

$$\frac{16 \text{ livres}}{16 \text{ rd monnaie}}$$

$$\frac{100}{100} \times \frac{32}{40} = \frac{16}{20} = \frac{128+32}{256}$$

100
100
32
40
16
20
128+32
256
32
40
100

p. 24 of 103) Koro text

~~preemption~~ - a typical
native ruler's ~~bill~~

Western Sudan

H. Bath

it called
the "refusal"

Dahomey: first refusal

the king has the refusal

no Koro or K. off.

w. have preemption
rights. On the

country: not even
the revelation of the

emperor's permitted

palace charged with taxes

to be paid in kind?

(prove palace a part of the
native system!)

for on in
the economy
time we
must
Mother's
please me

Megherleghemien perso
a Walter - + Roy mil
ajulotak?

Sciences Division. This Division was discontinued however about three years ago. I shouldn't be surprised if a letter to Dr. Lavinia Sutton Ford Foundation, N.Y. might help if you mentioned the purpose of your request, and mentioned my name in explanation. Since I advised you that no other copies were available. (3) A bibliography of West African publications relative to economic anthropology. This paper refers to chapter Two of a ~~work~~ still unpublished work on "Economy and Society in historic Dahomey".

Any student who is able to master chs. 18 and 19 of the "Great Transformation" can say of himself that he has gained an entrance to Economic Sociology. Thanks again,
Yours sincerely - Karl Polanyi.

Portuguese

Blake: ^{p. 5} Henry takes Cent. the gold ^{mine} of Tombu
and Guinea.

1441 Gonzales brings Capo of slaves + gold to
Lisbon

Island of Arguin, factory (in Portugal)
slave trade in gold + slaves etc

1480-1530 monopoly of Afr. trade
(1578) up to the death of King Sebastian (1578)

after 1581 Amount of pure gold 170,000 dobras
annually

(1530) after Elmina gold might have declined
but not serious until the end of
the 16th c.

since 1441 for 2 generations - Arguin: Arguin factory
coast of Senegal

1486 factory on Gato built (Niger)
delta

16th c: Angola the main source

1578 Loanda founded - St. Paul da Barra

center: St. Thome for the lower G.C.
(entirely) whole

4th decade of the vol. of traffic just before
new world with gold

(1513 Lisbon inaugurates license system
for the W. I. (against interlopers)

1518 edict: forbade entering interior of
Guinea to buy slaves.

Island of Sao Thome now flourished
under 1578 By 1540 maybe

10,000 reached annually.

1545 amazing expansion (asiento
leased to Gomez Reynal under
over 275 4500 sl annually
to Am.)

At this period Port. Guinea sl tr
must also have expanded

Gold

Slaves