

reader very unsatisfied when he finds that in spite of this the author does not mention this aspect of economic relations with foreign countries. Again, in connection with the policy of "self-reliance" which is emphasized as being one of the principal causes of the present economic expansion, must it not be impossible to give a sufficient explanation of the matter without making an analysis of economic relations with foreign countries in the period up to 1957?

Thirdly, the reader is left with doubts, in that the description of the various economic institutions does not appear to give overall coverage. This is so in the case of the descriptions of the taxation system and financial institutions. We would like an account of these matters which would be a little more persuasive and concrete. If these matters cannot all be dealt with in a book which is only an outline account designed as an introduction to the subject, references to the relevant literature should be provided in order to facilitate research.

Lastly, we hope that a properly synthesized analytic and descriptive account of the period since 1958, a new stage rich in change, will be undertaken by the Chinese students of the subject at the earliest opportunity. As need hardly be said this new period, although beset with natural disasters and other economic difficulties, is a most interesting period in the course of which, on the other hand, a new line of socialist construction peculiar to China and extremely original has been produced and put into effect, leaving in its train a large number of problems which still remain to be solved.

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PAUL BOHANNAN & GEORGE DALTON eds., *Markets in Africa* (Northwestern University African Studies, No. 9), Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1962, xxiv+762 p.

This book owes its origin to study-reports of field surveys conducted on the socio-economic structure of the tribal societies in Africa, particularly those south of the Sahara. With a foreword by the late M. J. Herskovits (1895-1963) who headed the Programme of African Studies at Northwestern University, it opens with a rather prolix Introduction in which the editors set out the many problems dealt with. Then comes the main part of the book, 28 articles contributed by 30 research scholars dealing with the market structure of 28 tribal societies or districts spread over 6 areas, viz., "The Guinea Coast and the Congo," "The Western Sudan," "The Horn of Africa," "East Africa," "Central Africa" and "Cities and Industrial Complexes." This book is the product of a well co-ordinated team of specialists on African societies belonging to a single university, a fact which, of itself, is worthy of attention.

In this book the editors do not use the term "market" in its accepted sense as a place where people gather to buy and sell, but rather use the

terms “market-place” and “principle of market exchange” (or “market-principle”). The “market-place” is defined as the specific place where buyer and seller trade, whilst the “principle of market exchange” is set by “price formation by impersonal forces of supply and demand” (p. 1), irrespective of the place of exchange.

The market-principle can function, as it frequently does, even when there is no market-place. The tribal societies or districts under study in this book are divided by the editors into three categories in accordance with the functioning of both “market-place” and “market-principle,” as follows :

(1) Societies without market-place :

Here the market-principle, if it works at all, assumes, more or less, the form of a temporary exchange of goods among individuals. Societies belonging to this pattern have captured the academic interest of many anthropologists.

(2) Societies with peripheral market :

Market-places do exist in these societies or districts but they do so only in the area peripheral to the zone where the market-principle is actually functioning. Their economic structure shares the same degree of simplicity as those “societies without market-place.” Land and labour are not disposed of on the market-principle. The market-principle is not dominant here.

(3) Societies ruled by the market-principle :

Market-places do exist, but these are solely for the direct convenience of buyers in obtaining their daily necessities, and of the sellers and producers in obtaining an income on the principle of exchange.

The tribal society dealt with in this book falls under any of the above three categories and it is claimed that the last two categories, the “peripheral market” pattern and “market-principle-dominant” pattern, both having market-places more or less, are not exclusive of each other and can develop simultaneously in a single society. The economic side of the tribal market is thus deeply explored in these study-reports. In particular, the editors take note of the fact that the “societies without market-places” include a number of different transactional spheres, each having different items of goods with different principles of means-of-exchange and corresponding cultural values. “Societies without a market-place” have thus been defined as belonging to “multicentric economies.” Further, the “societies with a peripheral market” are also regarded as “multicentric economies,” for in these cases the majority of the people also get their subsistence from the spheres of socio-economic life without market-places. In other words, both are still on “pocket-money levels” and market-prices cannot be determined without the help of various socio-cultural terms and conditions such as kinship, lineage or clan systems and/or magico-spiritual factors.

The economic structure as opposed to a “multicentric economy” is found in those societies which are ruled by the market-principle. Kampara in Uganda (A. M. Mukwaya), Koforidua market in Ghana (D. F. McCall) and

Copperbelt (M. P. Miracle), etc. are cited as examples in this book. These areas have been under strong European influences and are equally characterized by the existence of a price-mechanism integrating all the economic sectors and by the complexity of the markets.

The above three categories or patterns projected from the editors' analysis based on the functional division of "market-place" and "market-principle" are stated by Herskovits in the Preface to follow the formula: "barter → barter and money → money." Herskovits, while admitting that the old means of exchange known as face-to-face barter co-exists with the completely monetized economy of an impersonal nature, seems to suggest a broad direction of development through the above-mentioned stages. The actual stages of development are not set down clearly, but the reader might well interpret it as a general course of development from a "natural economy" to a "money economy." Briefly speaking, the common angle of approach shared by the contributors of these study-articles compiled in the book seems to be the exploration of various phases appearing and disappearing in the course of development while the tribal societies move from "multicentric economy" to "unicentric economy."

Speaking in general, the market-places found in the societies belonging to "multicentric economy" are those established as the common place in the village community (as in the case of the Hausa society of northern Nigeria) where the basic means of distribution or exchange can be divided into those centring on the market-place and the ceremonial giving and receiving of gifts. Accordingly, the administrative area or Emirate fails to offer any important economic zone to the inhabitants.¹ Similar characteristics have already been noted by J. Boeke in regard to "the village market" in Java.²

On the other hand, it is interesting to know in the case of "market-principle-dominant" societies—for instance, Koforidua Market—that the market-place is located in central part of the "town," in each case embracing a considerably extensive marketing area (see McCall, esp. Figure 17). Such might be the phenomenon explained on Page 9: "the market-principle'—which is, seen from one point of view, the economic aspect of the social principle of contract—vastly supersedes in importance the actual, physical market-place." The mode of existence of "money" in each of the above three different patterns of societies or districts is also introduced in the book, but space does not permit detailed description.

The economic aspects of "the market," involving the concepts of both "the market-place" and "the market-principle," have thus been minutely studied in this book. This is definitely one of the big contributions it has

¹ Seiichi Muratake, "Kindai Keizai to Shuzoku Shakai—Naijeria to Kamerun no Baai —(Modern Economy and Tribal Societies—The Cases of Nigeria and the Cameroons—)," in Seiichi Izumi ed., *Burakku Afurika no Dentôteki Shakai to sono Henyô* (The Traditional Society of Black Africa and its Transformation), Research Materials No. 46, Tokyo, The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1963 (Mimeographed).

² J. H. Boeke, *Dorp en Desa*, Leiden-Amsterdam, 1934.

made towards enlightened scholastic work in this field. This book is also important for the way it presents various interesting problems of the non-economic aspects of "the market" as well. Obviously, this is the sphere which claims the maximum concern of the social (cultural) anthropologist and, in fact many articles in this book excell preceding work of this kind for their quality of research and analysis. The non-economic side can never be isolated from the economic side of the tribal market in Africa. The family, kinship system and magico-spiritual customs play an important role in the market and serve an integrating economic as well as non-economic purpose in the tribal societies. A pioneer work in this field is the analysis by B. Malinowski, the social anthropologist, of a particular exchange system called *kula* which has been maintained among the Trobriand Islanders, Melanesia. *Kula* is really a form of ritual exchange, although it also serves economic or trade purposes. It is an "intra-zonal" exchange system maintained among the people of the islands lying to the north and east of the eastern tip of New Guinea and expeditions are sent out every other year from each one of the islands, and yet it is "international" in the sense that it involves five different language-areas extending along the main route of their excursion. It is not a type of temporary exchange but has been established as a specific ritual system having deep roots in the people's mythology and magic lore.

In the Introduction to this book, frequent references are made to non-economic matters in connection with their communications, beliefs, and political, administrative or legal aspects. Yet these are not satisfactorily analysed. Various study-reports in the book could be more extensively examined from this point of view but this would require much effort and greater space. After all, the market is not an economic institution by itself but is an arena where news is exchanged, social life enjoyed and all sorts of entertainments and pastimes indulged in by the tribal people, as pointed out by Boeke in his book previously cited. In Africa, too, as many study-reports in this book reveal, much of the market trading is carried out by women, and these women, particularly the married women, are eager to maintain close contacts with the people from their natal village or with their descent group under the circumstances of virilocal residence in spite of the matrilineal system there. Another important point to note is that the market is often a religious centre enclosing a sacred grove-shrine, and market membership and initiation in that particular belief go hand in hand (as in the case of the *Mossi* tribes of the western Sudan).

The problem of shifting labour, the recruiting of migrant labour and/or wage-labourers, assumes importance when and where economic change and socio-cultural change come into direct contact in tribal society. This subject has been a significant object of study since I. Schapera's *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life* (London, Oxford University Press, 1947) and A. I. Richard ed., *Economic Development and Tribal Change* (Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1954). Admittedly it is not an easy task but it is regretted that this aspect was neither positively nor theoretically pursued in this book. Another point

is that the analysis of the traditional "regional market-sphere" and "distant commerce" has not been given due attention nor fully studied.

There is an abundance of casual references to the qualitative change of the market-place itself resulting from the development of the market-principle, as is the case of selling and buying labour and property as well as offering credit and capital-investment. Their minute examination will raise some very interesting issues such as the comparison of different forms of "capital" (for instance, between "commercial capital" and "usury capital") and the definition of the characteristics of each form of "capital" in the tribal economy.

Nevertheless, the comparative studies and analyses of the African "market" brought out in this book must highly be appreciated. It is comparable to M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard eds., *African Political Systems* (London, Oxford University Press, 1940), a pioneer work in the comparative study of the political systems in the African tribal societies; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde eds., *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (London, Oxford University Press, 1950), and to D. Forde, *African World* (London, Oxford University Press, 1954) which treated the cosmological ideas and social values among the African tribes. (*Seiichi Muratake*)

STEPHEN H. ROBERTS, *The History of French Colonial Policy 1870-1925*, London, Frank Cass, 1963, xvi+741 p.

It is indeed astonishing to find that the *History of French Colonial Policy 1870-1925* written in 1929 (new impression 1963) has lost none of its *raison d'être* after thirty-five years. The colonial history of the three republics between the book's first date of publication and the present is contained in a short appendix, which is not really essential for a reader who has already discovered *in statu nascendi* in the work all that has occurred in the French Empire from 1929 down to the period of decolonization we are witnessing today. This is why we are even better situated to evaluate the worth of this study, the first edition of which was called by M. M. Knight in *The Journal of Modern History* (March, 1930) "the first serious academic work on the second French colonial empire as a whole in the English language."

Although the author insists that he had "no preconceived ideas to warp his facts," it is of great interest to glimpse between the lines of his analysis the tradition of British Imperialism which enabled him to discern the positive side of French colonial administration from its apparent unrealistic aspect.

In this respect, we are more attracted by the chapters in which general principles are discussed and conclusions drawn. Nevertheless, we hasten to say that the regional surveys containing all kinds of raw material from which the author draws his conclusions constitute a precious repository of data.

Let us begin with the chapters on regional surveys. These chapters, contained in the second part of the book, entitled "French Colonial Theory