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THE GLOBALIZATION OF COTTON TEXTILES

Indian Cottons, Europe, and the Atlantic World, 1600–1850

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Historians have long debated when 'globalization' really began. Economists like Williamson and O'Rourke use price convergence as an indicator of market integration and find no sign of a global market or of a process broadly defined as globalization before 1800.[1] Historians like Gunder Frank and McNeill define globalization as a cultural and economic process and trace it back to the beginning of the age of exploration in the second half of the fifteenth century, if not even earlier.[2] Others push this date back to pre-historical times and to the first exchanges of man.[3] It is the exchange of commodities that is central in the definition of a social, economic, and cultural process that connects people living in the most remote parts of the globe. And as it is problematic what 'global' and 'globalization' mean, so it is nearly impossible to provide a unilateral definition of what a 'global' commodity might be.

This chapter does not intend to tackle such a problem of definition, but rather to reflect on the possible ways in which the production, exchange, and consumption of one specific commodity—cotton textiles—came to influence vast areas of the world. We ask why and how cotton textiles became a textile fabric used across the globe, reaching out of the sphere of the Indian Ocean that for centuries had been the cradle but also fixed the outer boundaries of the penetration of this fibre across the globe. This chapter also asks which of cotton's material properties made this type of textile more suited than linen, silk, or wool to become a cloth used across the globe. It argues that the globalization of cotton textiles should be explained also in the light of a shift of its manufacturing core from Asia to Europe and considers the process of reinterpretation that cotton

[1] Kevin H. O'Rourke, and Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'After Columbus: Explaining Europe's Overseas Trade Boom, 1500–1800', *Journal of Economic History*, 62/2 (2002), 417–56 and their 'When Did Globalisation Begin?', *European Review of Economic History*, 6/1 (2002), 23–50.

[2] Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley, 1998).

[3] David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley, 2004).

textiles went through over the eighteenth century. To claim that European (or better to say British) cotton textiles became a global commodity, while their Indian antecedents did not, is to ignore that the very definition and material form of cotton textiles at the end of the eighteenth century was different from what it had been just a century earlier. It was not just a matter of selling more of the same stuff across a larger area of the globe, it was also the case of physically and conceptually reshaping this commodity to make it a successful global product, appreciated not just in European markets but also in North and South America and in Africa.

HOW SUCCESSFUL WERE COTTON TEXTILES IN REALITY?

Before the fifteenth century, the 'world' of global textiles could be roughly said to be divided into two large areas, which I call 'spheres'. The Indian Ocean was a vast expanse from the Horn of Africa to Japan and South-East Asia where cotton textiles were widely exchanged for spices and other products. India had emerged already in the early part of the millennium as the geographical area that could boast better products, sophisticated mercantile techniques, and a higher productivity that ensured competitiveness in most markets of the sphere. Europe, conversely, was a sphere dominated by the double system of linen and woollens, though the latter had a much more profound mercantile importance than the former. Different regions of the continent acquired strong specializations in the production of woollen textiles, such as the municipalities of Italy or several regions of England.

In due course the European sphere of wool expanded over the Atlantic to incorporate North and South America, but showed insurmountable difficulties in expanding eastwards beyond the borders of Anatolia. Woollen and worsted textiles never became global fabrics.[4] Historians have blamed respectively their limited adaptability to warmer climates, the little favour encountered by Asian consumers, and the unsuccessful marketing strategies of European traders. For reasons of brevity, this chapter will not address the issue of the failure of wool textiles, but rather the mirror story of how cotton textiles became a global commodity. By global here we mean a commodity that was commonly adopted by vast strata of society across the globe. It is worth remembering that the overall narrative of the global success of cotton textiles did not mean the triumph of Indian manufacturing, but coincided with the emergence of a new global centre of production located in the unlikely world region that had failed to make its own elective fibre a global commodity. Why did this happen?

[4] On this issue see Huw V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833* (Cambridge, 2006) and Pat Hudson's chapter in this volume.

Established interpretations see the opening of the Cape route at the end of the fifteenth century as a turning point in the material and economic contact between western Europe and Asia. What followed was a continuous, direct, and strengthening contact that had enormous repercussions on the spread of cotton textiles well beyond the perimeter of the Indian Ocean. Such a new phase was not directed by the dynamic merchant communities that had been active in the trade of cotton textiles within the Indian Ocean. European merchants saw an unprecedented opportunity to venture into unknown waters. It was the Portuguese, with the establishment of the Carreira da India, and later the English East India Company (EIC—founded in 1600), the Dutch VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie founded in 1602), and the even later Danish (1616), French (1664), and Swedish (1732) East India Companies which inaugurated a new and 'revolutionary' phase in the history of cotton at a global level.

The exact nature, extent, and importance of such direct trade, however, are debated. For instance, Immanuel Wallerstein remains sceptical about the impact of direct trade via the Cape route and underlines the restricted scope and scale of commercial contacts between the two continents in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[5] Tea, silk, spices, and cotton textiles were luxuries within reach of the European elite but they had limited effect either on the overall pattern of consumption or on the structure and growth of the economy of early modern Europe. This position is supported by quantitative analyses that claim either that Eurasian trade was very small (five modern super-tankers could transport everything that was traded between Europe and Asia during the period from 1500 to 1800) or that internal European trade remained qualitatively and quantitatively more relevant than trade with Asia.[6] Transcending precise quantification, K. N. Chaudhuri and Andre Gunder Frank emphasize instead the importance of market integration that followed the replacement of a series of Middle Eastern intermediaries with direct routes connecting distant parts of the Eurasian continent.[7]

A third position, based on a demand-side interpretation, emphasizes how the commodities imported into Europe from Asia (including cottons) became significant in cultural (as well as economic) terms because they profoundly shaped

[5] Immanuel Wallerstein, *Modern World System*, ii: *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750* (New York, 1980).

[6] Jan de Vries, 'Connecting Europe and Asia: A Quantitative Analysis of the Cape-Route Trade, 1497–1795', in Dennis O'Flynn, Arturo Giràldez, and Richard von Glahn (eds.), *Global Connections and Monetary History, 1470–1800* (Aldershot, 2003), 35–146; Pieter Emmer, 'The Myth of Early Globalization: The Atlantic Economy, 1500–1800', *European Review*, 11/1 (2003), 39; David Ormrod, 'Consuming the Orient in Britain, 1660–1760', paper presented at Session 25 on 'Luxury Production, Consumption and the Art Market in Early Modern Europe', International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 21–5 August 2006.

[7] K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660–1760* (Cambridge, 1978); Gunder Frank, *ReOrient*.

European innovations, imitations, and taste. They changed not so much the grammar of trade, but the vocabulary of material culture.[8] In the case of cottons, it is claimed that their importance went well beyond the occasional palampore or Indian cushion. Cotton textiles were one of the most traded commodities between Asia and Europe well before the classic date for the take-off of trade in the middle of the seventeenth century. Beverly Lemire argues against the established idea that 'only small quantities [of textiles] were brought to Europe on the Portuguese carracks in the sixteenth century'.[9] Already in the first decade of the seventeenth century the Portuguese imported 770,000 pieces of cottons and silk each year, equivalent to *c*.8 million yards.[10] The quantities of textiles traded by the EIC and the VOC were, in the early seventeenth century, rather small, but it is worth remembering that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries substantial imports of Indian textiles continued to arrive in the Ottoman Empire and parts of these were re-exported to western Europe together with Ottoman silks. This was the case with the famous indiennes arriving in the port of Marseilles.[11] Here again, their importance was not just based on quantities traded. But the influence of Asian textiles in Europe pre-dated the seventeenth century: restricted imports through the Iberian Peninsula, for example, had considerable effects on the embroidering motifs of the fifteenth century.[12] Such trades with India going back to the early sixteenth century facilitated the full adoption of Indian textiles when they became more widely available from the second half of the seventeenth century (Table 13.1).[13]

Debates over the chronology of trade and the relevance of the quantities of Indian cotton textiles exchanged across Eurasia point out a deeper problem: why and how were cotton textiles so successful in Europe? This is a question that implies long discussions over the nature, cost, and use of textiles in early

[8] Maxine Berg, 'New Commodities, Luxuries and their Consumers in Eighteenth-Century England', in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650–1850* (Manchester, 1999), 63–85; id., 'From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Economic History Review*, 55/1 (2002), 1–30; Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York, 2002), 46–62.

[9] Niels Steensgaard, 'The Growth and Composition of the Long-Distance Trade of England and the Dutch Republic before 1750', in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750* (Cambridge, 1990), 123. See Beverly Lemire's chapter in this volume.

[10] James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore, 1993), 139.

[11] R. W. Goldsmith, *Premodern Financial Systems: A Historical Comparative Study* (Cambridge, 1987), 89. On the indiennes see Katsumi Fukasawa, *Toilerie et commerce du Levant d'Alep à Marseille* (Paris, 1987); and Olivier Raveux's chapter in this volume.

[12] Beverly Lemire, 'Plasmare la domanda, creare la moda: l'Asia, l'Europa e il commercio dei cotoni indiani (XIV–XIX secc.)', *Quaderni storici*, 46/122 (2006), 481–508.

[13] I would like to thank Beverly Lemire and John Styles for discussing this topic with me.

TABLE 13.1. *Textile Imported from Asia into Europe by the English, Dutch and French East India Companies, 1665-1834* (in thousand pieces)

	English EIC	Dutch VOC	French EIC	Total
1665-1669	139.7	126.6		266.3
1670-1674	510.5	257.9		768.4
1675-1679	578.9	127.5		706.4
1680-1684	973.8	226.8		1.200.6
1685-1689	546.6	316.2		862.8
1690-1694	125.6	156.9		282.5
1695-1699	336.2	364.6		700.8
1700-1704	534.5	310.6		845.1
1705-1709	190.1	387.3		577.4
1710-1714	587.8	372.6		960.4
1715-1719	475.7	435.9		911.6
1720-1724	760.8	475.8	86.8	1.323.4
1725-1729	821.3	399.5	109.2	1.330.0
1730-1734	727.8	241.1	302.9	1.271.8
1735-1739	792.5	315.5	297.2	1.405.2
1740-1744	831.4	288.1	370.7	1.490.2
1745-1749	695.5	262.3	200.2	1.158.0
1750-1754	648.8	532.9	114.1	1.295.8
1755-1759	483.1	321.3	29.3	833.7
1760-1764	463.4	395.4	74.7	933.5
1765-1769	746.7	527.3	169.3	1.443.3
1770-1774	907.3	267.6		1.174.9
1775-1779	913.3	378.8		1.292.1
1780-1784	546.5	203,3		749.8
1785-1789	916.8	147.1		1.063.9
1790-1794	936.2			936.2
1795-1799	1.567.5			1.567.5
1800-1804	1.529.9			1.529.9
1805-1809	1.127.2			1.127.2
1810-1814	1.067.0			1.067.0
1815-1819	1.229.2			1.229.2
1820-1824	709.4			709.4
1825-1829	268.0			268.0
1830-1834	193.0			193.0
Total	22,754.8	7,635.6	1,754.4	32,144.8

Sources: English EIC (1665-1760): K.N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 540-41. EIC (1760-1834): Database "The East India Company: Trade and Domestic Financial Statistics, 1755-1838" compiled by Huw Bowen. Dutch VOC (1665-1760): Femme S. Gaastra, "The Textile Trade of the VOC: The Dutch Response to the English Challenge", *South Asia*, 19/Special Issue (1996), pp. 85-95; Michel Morineau, "The Indian Challenge: Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries", in Sushil Chaudhuri and Michel Morineau (eds.), *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 273-275; Niels Steensgaard, "'The Indian Ocean Network and the Emerging World-economy, c. 1500-1750", in Satish Chandra (ed.), *The Indian Ocean: Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics* (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 126. VOC (1760-1789): quantities have been estimated from auction sales (in value) by using an average value per piece calculated for the period 1665-1760. French CDI (1720-1769): Philippe Haudrère, *La Compagnie française des Indes au XVIIIe siècle (1719-1795)* (Paris, 1989), vol. 1, p. 467.

modern Europe that I will only try to summarize briefly here. Indian cottons embodied qualities that could hardly be achieved by worsteds and woollen textiles, including permanent colour and washability. The fastness (permanence) of colour allowed them to be exposed to protracted light, but also—what was even more important—to be washed.[14] This was a feature that fostered a change in notions of cleanliness from the washing of undergarments to the washing of both over-garments and undergarments.[15] The true versatility of cotton textiles perhaps did not relate to the intrinsic properties of the fibre, however. Cotton textiles were light fabrics that could replace or imitate more expensive silks and the middle-range 'new draperies' that had originated in the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages and that established themselves as fashionable in many parts of Europe in the late sixteenth century.[16] Imported cottons can thus be seen as exemplifying a transition from heavy to lightweight fabrics that had started in Europe well before the mid-seventeenth century.

From a price point of view, cottons could be direct substitutes for the low- and medium-quality worsted and woollen cloth produced in several parts of Europe. From an 'aesthetic' point of view cottons could replace more expensive silks and new draperies. In this case cotton was a 'populuxe good'.[17] From a fibre point of view, cotton behaved like a 'parasite'. It developed not only through its own qualities or competitiveness but also by 'borrowing' other fibres' markets, consumers, and technologies. The variety of cottons and their change over time makes it particularly difficult to identify areas of integration/competition with other fabrics.

The innovative nature of cotton textiles was not just a function of their material characteristics or price. Recent scholarship has underlined their importance in shaping both new consumer demand and new channels of distribution (shops, second-hand, and pedlars).[18] The use of sources such as court records, shopkeepers' ledgers, advertisements, and personal records provides a comprehensive account of the integration of cottons within European consumers' practices that goes well beyond the simple and perhaps erroneous idea that the success of Indian cotton textiles in Europe relied on their cheapness. 'It is not

[14] Sarah Levitt, 'Clothing', in Mary B. Rose (ed.), *The Lancashire Cotton Industry: A History since 1700* (Preston, 1996), 154–5.

[15] See in particular Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1988).

[16] Negley B. Harte, 'Introduction', in Negley B. Harte (ed.), *The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300–1700* (Oxford, 1997), 3.

[17] On the concept of 'populuxe goods' see Cissie Fairchilds, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), 228–48.

[18] Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford, 1991).

their low prices', commented Jacob Nicolas Moreau in his examination of French trade, 'it is fashion, and it is a certain vanity that makes the women of the lower classes so curious about calicoes. Dressed in light or printed cottons, they think themselves no longer at the same level of women of their social station . . . they think themselves superior to their social condition because ladies of quality too wear calicoes.'[19] The contemporary, but rather more optimistic, Frenchman André Morellet reached similar conclusions when he said that 'this fashion makes it preferable to wear Persian dress; if ladies at the court wear it, then everyone wants to own one: and one can see that this fashion does not even spare the wives of those manufacturers that most protest against these cotton fabrics, as we find more than one in their own homes on their furniture and as the material of their clothing'.[20]

Asian cotton textiles penetrated into the purchasing habits of European and later North American consumers for a variety of different reasons, beyond their cheapness. But what were cottons for? Beverly Lemire has recently demonstrated that calicoes' success was not initially due to a new 'culture des apparences' based on bodily adornment. Painted and printed cotton textiles first penetrated European domestic interiors in the shape of upholstering, but most commonly as valances, cushions, and bed hangings.[21] Their uses in Europe were, in all probability, influenced by their employment in India. Here several travellers noticed the 'architectural use' of textiles in tents and houses. Pyrard described pillows and sheets of cotton, but also hangings 'composed of pieces of cotton cloth of all colours, arranged together in various ways'.[22] Similarly, Tavernier reports that they were used as bedcovers, tablecloths, pillowcases, and handkerchiefs.[23] This early association between Indian cottons and domestic interiors is not surprising. Asian textiles penetrated into middle-rank European houses in close association with other exotic goods and furnishings such as 'Japan' chests and stands, ivory and Madre pearl Indian tables, cabinets and screens. The houses of seventeenth-century merchants—surely the social class most receptive to foreign and extra-European consumer influences—were

[19] Jacob Nicolas Moreau, *Examen des effets que doivent produire dans le commerce de France, l'usage & la fabrication des toiles peintes: ou Réponse à l'ouvrage intitulé . . .* (Geneva, 1759), 60.

[20] André Morellet, *Réflexions sur les avantages de la libre fabrication et de l'usage des toiles peintes en France; pour servir de réponse aux divers mémoires des . . .* (Geneva, 1758), 42–3.

[21] Beverly Lemire, 'Domesticating the Exotic: Floral Culture and the East India Calico Trade with England, *c.*1600–1800', *Textile: A Journal of Cloth and Culture*, 1/1 (2003), 65–85. See also Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983), 189–90, 195.

[22] François Pyrard, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil* (London, 1887–8), 222. Pyrard describes a wooden house that 'within is hung with cotton or silk cloths of all colours, and of the finest and richest description available'. Ibid. 146.

[23] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed. William Crooke (Oxford, 1925), 4.

Illustration 13.1. Dollhouse belonging to Petronella Dunois, 1676 (detail). 200 x 150,5 x 56 cm. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam BK-14656

increasingly dominated by such commodities, not just in bedrooms and bedchambers but also in dining rooms, parlours, and drawing rooms.[24] The doll's house of the Dutch Petronella Dunois, dated *c*.1675, is perhaps the best example of the effect of calicoes in seventeenth-century interior design: the doll's house is lined with bright-coloured dyed and painted cotton textiles from the Coromandel Coast (Illustration 13.1).

The increasing quantities of painted and printed cottons imported into Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century reflect an expansion in their use beyond the domestic sphere.[25] Calicoes were now increasingly used as apparel, a shift that made Daniel Defoe frown upon the 'persons of quality dressed in Indian carpets'.[26] While few doubt the importance of cottons in reshaping the visual, tactile, and design culture of textiles in the seventeenth

[24] Adriana Turpin, 'Furnishing the London Merchant's Town House', in Mireille Galinou (ed.), *City Merchants and the Arts 1670–1720* (London, 2004), 59–60.

[25] Beverly Lemire, 'East India Textiles and the Flowering of European Popular Fashions, 1660–1800', in S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Prodotti e tecniche d'Oltremare nelle economie europee: secc. XIII–XVIII: atti della Ventinovesima Settimana di Studi, 14-19 aprile 1997* (Florence, 1998), 515–24.

[26] Cit. in Arno Pearse, *The Cotton Industry of India, being the Report of the Journey to India* (n.p., 1930), 19.

and eighteenth centuries, their degree of penetration into consumers' wardrobes is the subject of very different opinions. John Styles, for instance, suggests a later chronology for the popular uptake of cottons and argues that plebeian consumers preferred linens and woollens well into the second half of the eighteenth century.[27] My own estimates point out that cotton textiles (imported and home produced) were less than 5 per cent of all textiles in England in 1750, a small but important figure.[28] Beverly Lemire's analysis of garments pawned at a south London pawnbroker in 1667–71 shows how only 3 per cent of all fabrics were cottons, compared to 51 per cent linens and 39 per cent woollen and worsteds. A century later, in the late 1770s, York pawnbrokers showed how cotton accounted for 18 to 22 per cent of all garments while woollen and linen had receded to 12 and 6 per cent respectively.[29] In contrast Daniel Roche estimates that by 1789 nearly 40 per cent of Parisian wage earners' wardrobes were composed of cottons and fustians.[30]

We must think about the implications of the use of cotton beyond gross figures. Cottons impacted on established consumers' ideas of the quality, durability, and propriety of textiles. The anonymous author of *The Trade of England Revived* (1681), for instance, complained that 'instead of Green Sey that was wont to be used for Children Frocks, is now used Painted, and Indian-stained, and Striped Calico, and instead of a Perpetuana or a Shalloon to Lyne Mens Coats with, is used sometimes a Glazened Calico', but suggested dismissively that this was no real gain as such calicoes were 'not above twelve pence cheaper, and abundantly worse'.[31] He continued by observing how hard-wearing textiles such as perpetuana and shalloon could last twice as long as calico, and even when worn out 'will serve for one use or other afterwards for children'.[32] By contrast calico did not last and could hardly be reused.[33] In his view, cottons were reshaping the overall material culture of clothing, altering established notions of durability and the recycling of textiles. Our late seventeenth-century commentator was surely worried also about the hierarchical place of cottons. As

[27] John Styles uses the evidence from the Old Bailey for stolen goods. See John Styles's chapter in this volume and his *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, forthcoming 2007), ch. 7

[28] Giorgio Riello, 'The Ecology of Cotton in Early Modern Europe: Possibilities and Potentials', unpublished paper presented at the GHHN Conference on 'Cotton Textiles as a Global Industry', University of Padua, 17–19 November 2005.

[29] Beverly Lemire, 'Transforming Consumer Custom: Linen, Cotton, and the English Market, 1660–1800', in Brenda Collins and Philip Ollerenshaw (eds.), *The European Linen Industry in Historical Perspective* (Oxford, 2003), 189 and 206–7.

[30] Daniel Roche, *La Culture des apparences: une histoire du vêtement (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1991), 138.

[31] *The Trade of England Revived: And the Abuses Thereof Rectified* (London, 1681), 16.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

Illustration 13.2. Painted and dyed cotton banyan, with printed cotton lining, c. 1750–75. The fabric was produced in the Coromandel Coast and the garment was tailored in the Netherlands or England. Victoria and Albert Museum T.215-1992

A *banyan* is a man's informal robe is based on that of the Japanese kimono, although the word itself is derived from the Indian word, *banya*, for a merchant or trader.

observed by Sarah Levitt, 'cotton enabled more than just the rich to display clean shirts and, through its ability to imitate different fabrics, brought the appearance of satins, velvets and lace within reach of millions'.[34] Its use was not just confined to substitution for linen. Cotton was used also for hosiery in the place of silks and woollens, as outwear thus replacing wool and leather, and as a printed fabric for light dresses.[35] Cottons surely appeared a more 'democratic' and 'progressive' alternative to woollens and worsteds.[36]

[34] Levitt, 'Clothing', 155.

[35] Ibid. 156.

[36] Beverly Lemire, 'Fashioning Cottons: Asian Trade, Domestic Industry and Consumer Demand, 1660–1780', in David Jenkins (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles* (Cambridge, 2003), i. 493; id., 'Fashion and Tradition: Wearing Wool in England during the Consumer Revolution', in Giovanni Luigi Fontana and Gérard Gayot (eds.), *Wool: Products and Markets, 13th–20th Centuries* (Padua, 2004), 573–94.

REINTERPRETING COTTON TEXTILES: CRAFTING A GLOBAL COMMODITY FROM LOCAL TASTE

In 1670 Molière dressed his bourgeois gentleman, Monsieur Jourdain, in a *banyan* of calicoes (Illustration 13.2). 'I had this printed cotton made up', says Monsieur Jourdain with confidence; 'my tailor told me that people of quality wear them in the morning'.[37] He was not the only one to be charmed by brightly coloured and richly designed Indian textiles. His contemporary Englishman Samuel Pepys had fallen for similar fashions, though he had thought better to decorate his wife's study room with chintz rather than to wear it as done by Monsieur Jourdain. Pepys was pleased with the result, which he thought was 'very pretty'. It would be difficult to underestimate the impact of calicoes. If one could not have the original Indian import, one would have recourse to rather more modest imitations that were increasingly produced in Europe, in particular in the Netherlands and England towards the end of the seventeenth century. The visual impact of such calicoes can be grasped from the words of one of the directors of the French Compagnie des Indes when he said that 'eyes are so much used to it that at present it is impossible to do without these'.[38] And such fashion was increasingly becoming part of general attire with areas like Frisia incorporating calicoes into their traditional quilted petticoats (Illustrations 13.3 and 13.4).[39]

Such perceived or real frenzy for Indian imports was seen with great concern by the authorities and was thought deleterious for the domestic economy. If most consumption was bad, this had awful effects first on the balance of trade (causing a haemorrhage of bullion to pay for imported calicoes) and secondly on the home industries (especially the producers of woollens and silks). They claimed that consumers had fallen into a 'calico craze'[40]—not dissimilar to the tulip mania that had swept Holland in the 1630s—and that the consumption of imported cottons and silks had to be stopped. Mercantilist measures based on protectionism were quickly put in place across Europe starting with the ban on

[37] Cit. in Céline Cousquer, *Nantes, une capitale française des indiennes au XVIIIe siècle* (Nantes, 2002), 18.

[38] Cit. in Indrani Ray, 'The French Company and the Merchants of Bengal (1680–1730)', in Lakshmi Subramanian (ed.), *The French East India Company and the Trade of the Indian Ocean: A Collection of Essays by Indrani Ray* (New Delhi, 1999), 77.

[39] Margherita Bellezza Rosina, 'La diffusione del tessuto stampato nell'abbigliamento maschile e femminile: da fenomeno d'èlite a prodotto di massa', in Ranieri Varese e Grazietta Butazzi, *Storia della moda* (Bologna, 1995), 228.

[40] There is an extensive literature on the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century calico craze. See: Natalie Rothstein, 'The Calico Campaign of 1719–1721', *East London Papers*, 7 (1964), 3–21; Audrey W. Douglas, 'Cotton Textiles in England: The East India Company's Attempts to Exploit Developments in Fashion 1660–1721', *Journal of British Studies*, 8/2 (1969), 28–43; Mukerji, *From Graven Images*, ch. 5; Lemire, 'Fashioning Cottons'.

Illustration 13.3. A Dutch woman, from *The Costume of the Netherlands* after drawings by Miss Semple, London, 1817. Reproduced by Courtesy of the British Library, 140.g.20, opposite 10.

Illustration 13.4. Hat-brim lining. Printed and Painted cotton. India. Eighteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.23-1976.

the use of imported calicoes in France in 1686 where 'printed or painted cotton are not allowed into this Kingdom. The only cloths allowed are white cotton cloths such as Guinea cloth, percales and muslin.'[41] This was followed by similar laws in Spain and Prussia in 1713. In England a partial ban was enacted in 1701, followed by a total ban in 1721.[42] Colourful reports on the mob chasing down the streets of London and stripping women wearing calicoes are perhaps not the best indicators of how the ban on the 'wearing or use of all printed, painted, stained or dyed calicoes' might have worked. It was claimed that 'forbidden' products were still available in large parts of Europe, especially thanks to Dutch imports that were never banned at home and that were actively sold around Europe.[43]

The ban on the import of Indian cottons and silks had more profound consequences on manufacturing than on consumption. Historians have long claimed that these protectionist measures facilitated—and perhaps were even aimed at—fostering a process of 'import substitution'. High duties or a straightforward ban could facilitate the replacement of Indian products with European substitutes. This hypothesis, originally formulated by Wadsworth and Mann for Britain back in 1932, has been recategorized and extended to include notions of 'imitation', thus capturing the material, visual, but also emotional value of such goods.[44] Maxine Berg, in her studies of the import of 'exotic' products from India, China, and Japan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has argued for a European drive towards the imitation of imported commodities. The goods themselves with their visual and tactile attributes unleashed desires that in turn produced attempts to replace them with European-made products. She notices how so many of the commodities initially imported from the East were eventually produced at home. They were partially adapted to suit European tastes and expectations.[45] But in the early eighteenth century the sub-

[41] Cit. in Henry Weber, *La Compagnie Française des Indes (1604–1875)* (Paris, 1904), 504–5, and Philippe Haudrère, *La Compagnie Française des Indes au XVIIIe siècle (1719–1795)* (Paris, 1989), i. 427–8.

[42] Historians have explained the mercantilist measures as a temporary loss of political power by the English East India Company after the change of regime in 1688 and by government concerns about the drainage of bullion that had started with the import of calicoes in the early 1660s. The debate was particularly intense in England. For a detailed analysis of the legislation on cotton in England see Patrick K. O'Brien, Trevor Griffith, and Philip Hunt, 'Political Components of the Industrial Revolution: English Cotton Textile Industry, 1660–1774', *Economic History Review*, 46/3 (1991), 395–423.

[43] Lemire, 'Fashioning Cottons', 403.

[44] Arthur Wadsworth and Julia de Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780* (Manchester, 1931).

[45] Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 182 (2004), 116–23. See also John Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern London', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), 124–69.

stitution of imported calicoes and other cotton textiles was mostly confined to their printing.[46] In Marseilles in the 1650s and 1660s and in Amsterdam in the 1670s, Armenian workmen were employed to 'draw and colour or dye all kinds of East Indian cottons, which has never before . . . been practiced'.[47] At Avignon the first calico printers set up in 1677, and workshops appeared also in Languedoc, Dauphiné, Normandy, and Paris.[48] Calico printing spread to Switzerland and Alsace with the cities of Geneva, Basel, Mulhouse, and Neuchâtel becoming important centres of production.[49] During the long ban on calico manufacturing in France lasting from 1689 and 1759, production continued in those cities and small areas that were not directly administered by the central government and enjoyed autonomous jurisdiction, such as Marseilles, and later the Arsenal in Paris, Angers, Rouen, and Nantes.[50]

'Import substitution' is a key model explaining why and how in the course of the eighteenth century the global centre of manufacturing of cotton textiles shifted from India to Europe. The relationship between consumption and the relocation (from one continent to another) and reorganization (from artisanal to industrial) of production is at the core of debates over the nature and working of 'import-substitution' industrialization. The extension of the cotton sphere to include Europe was thus somewhat different from the established system existing within the Indian Ocean for two reasons: first the role of European merchants as examined above; secondly the progressive strengthening (and in due course overtaking) by Europe as a centre of manufacturing in its own right. The new system was not just becoming global. It was also finding a new productive core that increasingly attempted to coordinate the world trade in textiles.

It must be borne in mind, however, that import substitution was not the prerogative of Europe, let alone Britain. India had exported textiles for centuries to other areas of Asia and import-substitution effects were evident in many parts of South-East Asia, in the Arabian Gulf, and in the Ottoman Empire where producers specialized in imitating Indian cotton cloth and sold it across the empire, in the Balkans, and the Mediterranean. What made Europe distinctive? This

[46] Giorgio Riello, 'The Rise of European Calico Printing and the Influence of Asia in the 17th and 18th Centuries', paper presented at the GEHN Conference on 'Cotton Textiles in the Indian Ocean', Pune, December 2005.

[47] Cit. in Ernst Homburg, 'From Colour Maker to Chemist: Episodes from the Rise of the Colourist, 1670–1800', in Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan (eds.), *Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture in Europe, 1750–1880* (Canton, Mass., 1999), 221.

[48] Pascale Gorguet Ballesteros, 'Indiennes et mousselines: le charme irréductible des cotonnades (1650–1750)', in *Le Coton et la mode: 1000 ans d'aventures* (Paris, 2000), 53–4.

[49] Franco Brunello, *L'arte della tintura nella storia dell'umanità* (Vicenza, 1968), 215.

[50] Henri Clouzot, *La Manufacture de jouy et la toile imprimée au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1926), 8–9; Serge Chassagne, 'Calico Printing in Europe before 1780', in Jenkins (ed.), *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, i. 523–4.

question cannot at present find a satisfactory answer. Some historians have explained the nature of the import-substitution process by upgrading it to a full-fledged industrial revolution in which endogenous and exogenous causes of growth marry each other to support the idea of a certain European (read Anglo-Saxon) exceptionalism. Technology, institutions, political hegemony, and control over world markets are some of the general factors characterizing the economic surge of Europe over the century between 1750 and 1850.

I would like to make a case for the existence of a peculiar relationship between import and home-produced commodities. The 'foreign' object was not necessarily received within the material space of early modern Europe as 'extraordinary', that is to say referring to a world estranged from the daily consumer choices and preferences. As previously observed in this volume, many of the high-quality Indian cotton and silk textiles traded to South-East Asia, but also to Nepal, Thailand, or the Horn of Africa, remained strictly associated with customs based on gifts, rituals, and sometimes—but perhaps not as commonly as previously thought—religious practices. By contrast, Europe seems to have 'commodified' such imported products, making them fully part of a world of trade, monetized exchange, and fashion. From the point of view of consumers, imported objects—not just from Asia, but also from other parts of Europe—were conceived to be 'stimulants' in the short term, and became integral parts of a shifting material culture in the long term. Early modern Europe, especially in those localities better equipped for protracted contact and exchange with distant places, developed a notion of material culture that was characterized by change—perhaps even 'progress'. And part of this vision was based on the idea that influences, objects, shapes, materials, and forms not endogenous could be adopted, used, and manipulated. This was an optimistic world of material welfare in which 'foreign' commodities increasingly impacted beyond the realm of the established elite culture and conspicuous consumption. As in the case of chinaware, the collector's pieces of the early seventeenth century came within the reach of the aspiring middle classes and even changed the material world of large parts of the European population who had no clue where these commodities came from. But the process of assimilation, of making the 'foreign' ordinary, was as much a destruction and denial of the exotic nature of imports as it was the confirmation of the expectation that new commodities would enter the material world of a household, community, city, or nation.

This cultural process also had good allies in Europe both on the manufacturing and the political economy sides. From the point of view of the political arithmetician of the late seventeenth century, the substitution of an imported commodity was the result of an aggressive nationalistic stance in the international economy. Bans were only the epiphenomenon of wider processes aimed at curbing spending

and reducing the timeframe of dependence upon foreign products. This did not necessarily mean the exclusion of all new commodities. Manufactures, artisans, and skilled workmen were called to copy and imitate, actions with few negative connotations in the eighteenth century as, in the words of John Styles, the concept of originality, 'in its uncompromising modern sense, was not necessarily prized'.[51] The French indienne, for instance, was a copy of an Ottoman cotton cloth imitating an Indian one.[52] The same can be said about the concept of provenance. We have to remember that eighteenth-century culture lumped together several Asian countries, from India to China to Japan, under the broad category of 'the East'. There was not just confusion over which was the original product, but also where it passed through. The 'Perses', for instance, were printed and painted cotton textiles arriving in Europe through Persia and the Levant. In 1762 Jacques Savary des Bruslons complained that Perses 'are normally defined as calicoes from Persia, where we suppose they have been made and painted; but often they are Indian calicoes that are passed off as Persians. Perses, however, are the most sought after among calicos from the Orient and, above all in France, ladies prefer them to all others,' concluding that 'to make an appreciation of a certain calico, we simply say that it is a Perse' (Illustration 13.5).[53] But such an inaccurate attitude extended also to the difference between the original products arriving from Asia and home-produced manufacturers. It was in the interest of domestic producers to suggest exotic provenance also for products with a much more local origin. This was true for porcelain, chinoiserie, Japanese beds, and many other imports. In the case of cottons, technological improvement meant that copies could be passed off as original products.[54]

Europeans started to reinterpret commodities not just by replacing them, but also though a process of selection and modification *in loco*. The analysis of the EIC sale of Indian cottons in Britain reveals how the company had a curious combination of proactive business practices. So we find that the EIC was careful to commission palampores with motifs suitable for European consumers by sending patterns to India as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.[55]

[51] Styles, 'Product Innovation', 130–1.

[52] Fukasawa, *Toilerie*; Olivier Raveux, 'Spaces and Technologies in the Cotton Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Example of Printed Calicoes in Marseilles', *Textile History*, 32/2 (2005), 131–45.

[53] Jacques Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* (Copenhagen, 1762), vol. iv, cit. in Gorguet Ballesteros, 'Indiennes et mousselines', 48.

[54] The often-quoted correspondence of the New York merchant James Alexander, active in the 1740s, did not distinguish between English and Indian calicoes. Written documents are seldom so precise, but in this case the physical presence of samples makes the document unique. Florence M. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles: English and American Cottons and Linens, 1700–1850* (New York, 1970), 18.

[55] Margherita Bellezza Rosina, 'Tra oriente e occidente', in Marzia Cataldi Gallo (ed.), *I mezzari: tra oriente e occidente* (Genoa, 1988), 20–1.

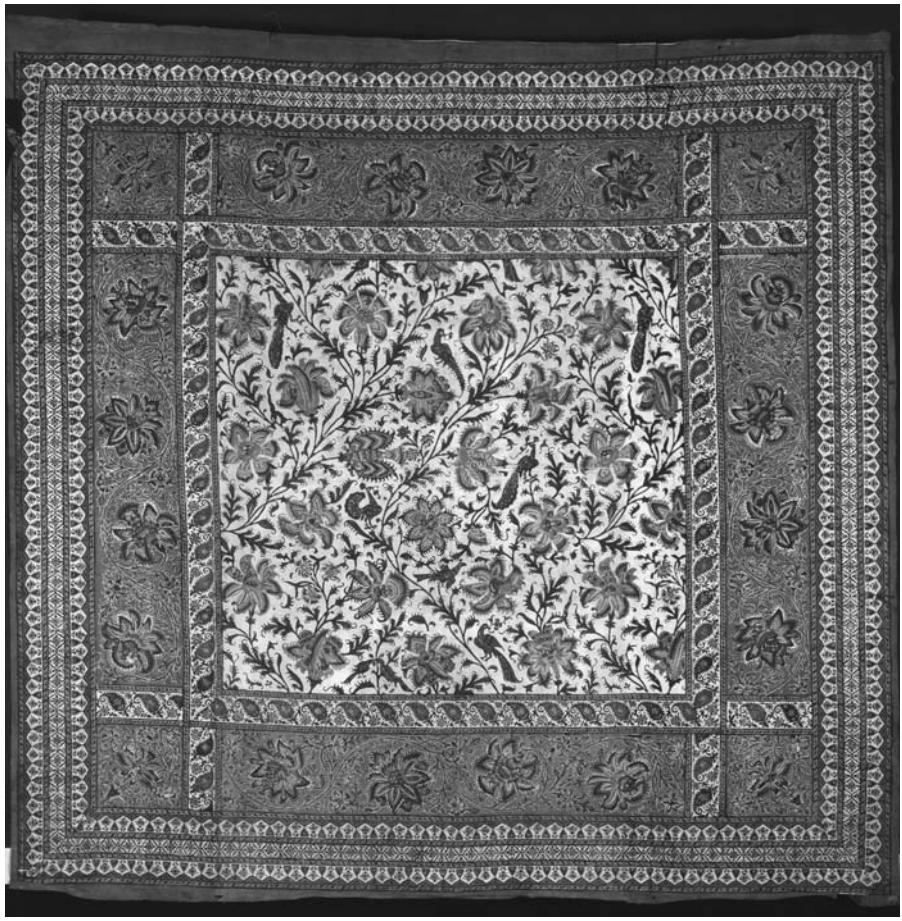

Illustration 13.5. Block printed, painted and resist- and mordant-dyed cotton textile called *Kalamkari*, c. 1850. Victoria and Albert Museum, 5443(IS)

This type of textiles was produced in Andrhra Pradesh in India but derives its name from kalam (Persian for 'pen'), from which kalamkari ('per work'). They were especially popular in Persia where consumers could buy both imported and locally produced copies.

Samples became widely used: 'Now of late they are here in England come to a great practize of painting large branches for hanging of Roomes', commented a EIC employee in the late seventeenth century.[56] A similar thinking was in the minds of the employees of the French East India Company when they considered the sizes of textiles that could be easily sold and advised the hoarding of those 'types of cloth which we get painted in ordinary chittes for France, because of their [suitable] width. I believe nevertheless that we shall be quite

[56] Cit. in T. Osumi, *Printed Cottons of Asia: The Romance of Trade Textiles* (Tokyo, 1963), 17.

able to sell these coarse narrow pieces there [in France] for common people as well as for the American islands, since the chittes of Seronge which are hardly wider than these, are in demand there.'[57] In some cases, the overall aim was to produce textiles that continued European aesthetic traditions simply by transposing motifs—as in the case of bizarre silks—from more precious to cheaper materials.[58] In other cases the hands-on approach of the EIC even produced new products such as the tree of life, imitated by Indian producers but originating in Scandinavian myth and marketed in Europe as a quintessential Indian commodity. In turn, this was copied in Europe, as in the case of the mezzari produced in Genoa.[59]

Once European calico producers perfected their techniques, the 'copy' could become more appealing than the original. John Holker, the Englishman spying on the Lancashire cotton production for the French government, reported in 1751 that the commerce of Lancashire-made fustians and mixed linens printed in London was wide across Europe. He observed that, of course, France was the main victim of such a trade, but he underlined how part of the problem lay with consumers: 'They [the English] send large quantities [of printed textiles] to France, which are sold as Indian chintzes because of the special finish they are given and also because the purchasers of this type of English goods have but slight knowledge of them.'[60] This was a worry not just for the French manufacturers but also for the East India and other European companies who had initiated the creation of hybrids that were now capturing their own traditional markets.

Hybridity was particularly relevant for design and colours. The correspondence of the EIC contains mainly orders from London to factors in India asking for 'lighter' colours. In 1643 it was asked for instance that 'Those quilts which hereafter you shall send we desire may be with more white ground and the flowers and branch to be in colours in the middle of the quilt as the painter pleases, whereas now most part of your quilts come with sad red grounds which are not too well accepted here'.[61] This European preference had important repercussions on import substitution during the next century. The Indian tech-

[57] Cit. in Ray, 'French Company', 68.

[58] Steven Cohen, 'The Unusual Textile Trade between India and Sri Lanka: Block Prints and Chintz 1550–1900', in Rosemary Crill (eds.), *Textiles from India: The Global Trade* (Oxford, 2006), 66.

[59] Giorgio Riello, 'The Indian Apprenticeship: The Trade of Indian Textiles and the Making of European Cottons', in Om Prakash, Giorgio Riello, Tirthankar Roy, and Kaoru Sugihara (eds.), *How India Clothed the World: Cotton Textiles and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850* (Leiden, forthcoming 2008).

[60] Cit. in Florence M. Montgomery, 'English Textile Swatches of the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Burlington Magazine*, 92 (1960), 243.

[61] John Irwin, 'Origins of the "Oriental Style" in English Decorative Art', *Burlington Magazine*, 107 (1955), 109.

Illustration 13.6. Bed Curtain. Plate printed cotton in china blue produced by Nixon and Company, 1770-80. H 304, W350. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.612-1996.

nique of resist dyeing was based on the waxing of the areas that were to remain undyed. This labour-intensive procedure allowed for the production of 'white motifs on blue backgrounds' rather than 'blue motifs on white backgrounds' (like Chinese porcelain of the time), which would have meant the waxing of most of the cloth. We find that the replacement of this product with European-made products meant the learning of the Indian techniques of waxing and tepid

indigo fermentation by European producers during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. But by the early eighteenth century they were already experimenting with improved techniques, unknown in Asia. The most important of these was the use of cold vats obtained by dissolving indigo in iron sulphate. This process, invented in England in 1734, quickly replaced the hot fermentation of indigo and was followed a few years later by the so-called English blue and China blue, the ability of printing in blue, again unknown in India (Illustration 13.6).[62] Consumers did not just remodel products but also reshaped the technologies used to produce them.

MAKING IT GLOBAL: MARKETING COTTON TEXTILES BEYOND EUROPE

A 'product revolution', as observed by Maxine Berg, emerged in Europe from the encounter, assimilation, and manipulation of exotic commodities and accompanied the process of eighteenth-century economic growth succinctly labelled as the 'industrial revolution'.[63] The expansion of the cotton sphere from the Indian Ocean to include Europe was not a simple extension based on the finding of new markets for cotton textiles produced in India. In just three generations, Europe had effectively superseded its dependence on imported cottons and created a flourishing industry whose economic importance is well known. It had used products that were not part of its material culture to catalyse change, spark imagination, promote invention, and foster fashion. By the 1760s, Europe had not just dutifully learned all techniques for fashioning textiles that were totally unknown a century earlier, such as block printing, painting, the use of mordants, reserve, and reverse staying. It had also built on these processes and modified them to produce new products, such as copper-printed textiles, by combining knowledge of dyes and textile printing from Asia with the skills and European aesthetic vocabulary of printing and etching on paper.[64] Printing and dyeing on cloth was the most important area of eighteenth-century invention in Europe.[65]

[62] Peter C. Floud, 'The English Contribution to the Early History of Calico Printing', *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists*, 76 (1960), 344–9.

[63] Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005). See also her 'Quality, Cotton and the Global Luxury Trade', in Prakash et al. (eds.), *How India Clothed the World*.

[64] Riello, 'Rise of European Calico Printing'; Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, 'East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Social History*, 38/1 (2008), 75–103.

[65] Berg, 'From Imitation to Invention', 22; id, 'Quality, Cotton and the Global Luxury Trade', in Prakash et al. (eds.), *How India Clothed the World*, ch. 15. See also Stanley D. Chapman, 'Quality versus Quantity in the Industrial Revolution: The Case of Textile Printing', *Northern History*, 21 (1985), 175–92.

The cotton printers and manufacturers of Lancashire, but also Catalonia, Orange, Joy-en-Jossa, Mulhouse, Neuchâtel, Prague, and many other cities and towns in Europe, were developing new notions for cotton textiles.[66] Europe had not just been captured into a larger sphere of trade for this commodity, but had shifted its manufacturing core and altered the very nature of the product. But this would have been a rather small achievement if limited to just European consumers. The strength of the process of reinvention of cotton textiles in Europe did not rely on its domestic market, but on cotton textiles as a global commodity.[67] We are very much aware of how new technologies in spinning, weaving, and finishing conferred a comparative advantage in manufacturing on Europe over India and other world cotton textile manufacturing areas.[68] But it would be a mistake to conceptualize the emergence of cotton textiles in Europe only as a switch from trade to manufacturing. The new manufacturing core could not thrive without selling its products well beyond its borders. The reinvention of cotton textiles was not just for Europe: this was a new commodity to trade in the Atlantic to West Africa, the North American colonies, and Latin America.

The importance of finding consumers for European cotton textiles beyond Europe is now seen a necessary condition for the development of the sector. Import substitution at home would not have been sufficient to generate a phenomenon of the scale and nature that economic historians define as 'revolutionary'. Joseph Inikori argues that import substitution could not have supported the long-term development of cotton textiles and claims that 'the growth of domestic demand for English cotton textiles after the completion of first-stage import substitution in the industry was decidedly slow'.[69] In his view foreign markets played a substantial part in what he calls 're-export substitution' industrialization. The trade of Asian textiles to Africa had already started in the fourteenth century and followed the same routes of luxuries and semi-luxuries such as beads, copper, Islamic earthenware, and Chinese porcelain.[70] It is estimated that by the early to mid-seventeenth century the Gold Coast of Africa purchased more than 20,000 metres of Indian and European cotton cloth each year.[71] From

[66] On calico printing in Europe: Stanley D. Chapman and Serge Chassagne, *European Textile Printers in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Peel and Oberkampf* (London, 1981); Chassagne, 'Calico Printing'.

[67] This is a point underlined by Berg for many of the goods produced in Britain in the eighteenth century. See Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, ch. 7.

[68] Stephen Broadberry and Bishnupriya Gupta, 'The Early Modern Great Divergence: Wages, Prices and Economic Development in Europe and Asia, 1500–1800', *Economic History Review*, 59/1 (2006), 2–31. See also Patrick O'Brien's chapter in this volume.

[69] Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study of International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge, 2002), 433.

[70] N. Chittick, 'East African Trade with the Orient', in D. S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloquium* (Oxford, 1970), 103.

[71] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680*

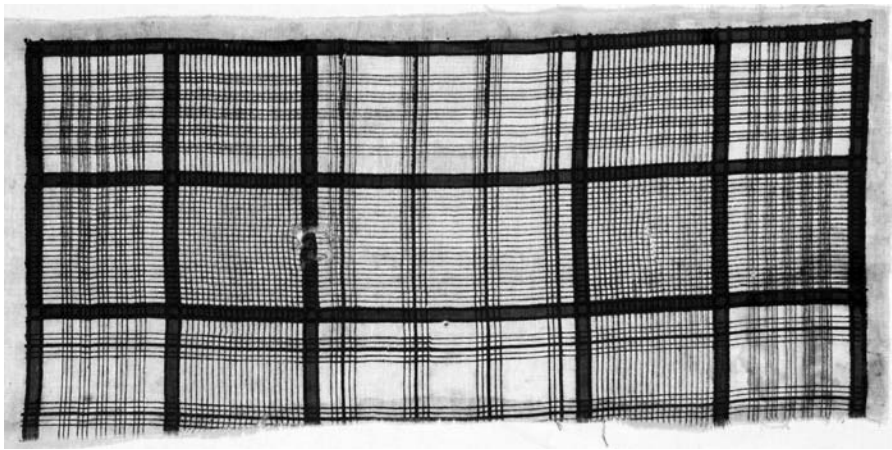

Illustration 13.7. Piece of a checked handkerchief, block printed cotton, Manufacture Feer & Huguenin, Mulhouse, 1760.
Musée de l'Impression sur l'Etoffe, Mulhouse, S.314.1.5

the middle of the eighteenth century West Africa became an important market both for east India cottons re-exported from England and for the growing English cotton industry. Between 1699 and 1800 'Guinea' cloth (cottons for the African markets) accounted for 68 per cent of all commodities exported from England to Africa, 40 per cent of which came from India (Illustration 13.7).[72] Cotton did not become a global commodity because its production was mechanized and industrialized; on the contrary, it became mechanized and industrialized thanks to the fact that it was a global commodity.

British cotton producers and east India merchants could reap the profits from the African trade only by remaining competitive with other European traders and with direct exports from Asia to Africa. The mid-eighteenth-century expansion of the African market enlarged the total number of firms in the industry, making it more competitive. It was also a major incentive for cost-reducing and quality-raising innovations. Inikori suggests that this served as an 'apprenticeship' for the successful engagement of English cottons in the European and Atlantic markets in the later part of the eighteenth century.[73] Moreover, it was not just England that traded heavily with Africa. From the 1730s, Rouen combined the production

(Cambridge, 1992), 49. These are estimates by the author based on the number of ships trading with the area. See n. 22, pp. 49–50. This can appear a large figure but accounted for not more than 2% of all cloth consumed in the area.

[72] Herbert S. Klein, 'Economic Aspects of the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Slave Trade', in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750* (Cambridge, 1990), 292.

[73] See also Joseph E. Inikori, 'Slavery and the Revolution in Cotton Textile Production in England', *Social Science History*, 13/4 (1989), 343–79.

of heavy brocaded *chinés* and *lancès* with cheaper and lighter-mix linen and cotton, in particular stripes, checks, and other Guinea cloths to be sold in West Africa.[74] In the late 1760s and early 1770s, Rouen exported to Africa an average of 600,000 livres of Indian textiles every year.[75]

Inikori's explanation puts forward not just the importance of African consumer markets, but also the development of an Atlantic triangular trade: cottons were exchanged for slaves who were transported to the American plantations to cultivate—among other commodities—the very raw cotton that was used to develop cotton textile manufacturing in Europe.[76] At present this remains a rather schematic—though suggestive—demand-led explanation that has still to identify precisely what types of cotton goods were exported to Africa, the terms of their exchange, who consumed them, and how they interacted with an already existing tradition of production and consumption of cotton textiles.[77]

Inikori's claim that Atlantic markets—and the West African one in particular—were an area of competition between different European nations forgets that no Indian or Asian trader was directly trading with this world area. Indian textiles suffered the disadvantage of indirect trade to the Atlantic, either through Europe or through a series of intermediaries in East and North Africa. Effectively the Atlantic was an area protected from world competition. Even more so was the northern Atlantic area and the British colonies in particular. Here, as in the case of Europe, cotton textiles' popularity increased in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, not in spite of but because of their superior price compared to linens. Robert DuPlessis shows how the increasingly prosperous colonists actively sought more refined and expensive products. Imported cotton textiles, especially those from Asia, became an important new category within a material culture that had traditionally been dominated by fine woollens imported from England, and homespun coarse woollens and linens.[78]

[74] W. Wescher, 'The "Rouannerie" Trade and its Entrepreneurs', *Ciba Review*, 12 (1959), 14.

[75] Ann DuPont, 'Captives of Colored Cloth: The Role of Cotton Trade Goods in the North Atlantic Slave Trade (1600–1808)', *Ars Textrina*, 24 (1995), 180.

[76] Inikori, 'Slavery and the Revolution'. See also id., 'Slavery and Capitalism in Africa', *Indian Historical Review*, 15/1–2 (1988–89), 137–51.

[77] This hypothesis, suggestively supported by English export and re-export figures, is however insufficient to explain the role of England in a wider Atlantic context, or the relative position it enjoyed compared to other European nations. Inikori's model does not discuss the contribution of other European continental producers, and West Indian and North American consumers. Inikori's data exposes a consistent expansion of West African markets between 1750 and 1775 but the market's share of total exports of English manufactured cottons remained fairly stable at *c*.35–45% during the entire period considered. In the case of printed cottons it was even lower and declining over time. On the latter point, see Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, 238–9.

[78] See Robert DuPlessis's chapter in this volume. DuPlessis's research shows how cotton textiles in the Atlantic sphere were initially the preserve of men's apparel, not women's. In North America, as in Latin America, richly decorated textiles found their way into men's wardrobes more readily than those of their wives.

Already in 1700 the colonies in North America were supplied with Indian calico quilts exported from London to places such as New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.[79] By the mid-eighteenth century various types of cotton textiles ('Blue', 'India', 'Negro' as well as printed and painted) were exported from England to the American colonies.[80]

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of cotton consumption in North America. This is what was in the mind of the anonymous writer of the *Observations on the Means of Extending the Consumption of British Callicoes* (1788) when he pointed out 'the absolute necessity of finding new channels of consumption, and of devising means by which a more extended sale could be promoted, so as to keep alive those powers of machinery which have been so beneficially disseminated all over the country'.[81] Britain was fast gaining positions thanks to its new mechanical applications to the manufacturing of cotton textiles, but markets were difficult to find. American markets were seen as a possible solution.[82] In 1770, in the aftermath of Independence, American consumers still depended heavily on imported cotton textiles from Britain with nearly 60 per cent of all cotton textiles exported from Britain destined for North America.[83] Still, in 1812, Sir Francis Baring, a leading London merchant, estimated that a quarter to a third of Manchester's trade went to the USA and probably half of the cotton production of the town of Bury.[84] But by this date the USA was importing cotton textiles directly from India. During the period from 1795 to 1805 the trade with India (mostly formed by cotton textiles) exceeded in value all trade with Europe (Table 13.2).[85]

Cotton textiles were popular not only in the North American colonies. Latin America enjoyed high levels of consumption of all sorts of commodities imported via the Atlantic and the Pacific both from Europe and Asia in

[79] Linda Eaton, 'Winterthur's Hand-Painted Indian Export Cottons: Winterthur', *Magazine Antiques* (January 2002), 3.

[80] F. Mason Norton, *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia, being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795* (Newton Abbott, 1968), 22, 72, 103, 125, 150, 190, 218.

[81] *Observations on the Means of Extending the Consumption of British Calicoes, Muslins, and other Cotton Goods and of Giving Pecuniary Aids to the Manufacturers . . .* (London, 1788), 2.

[82] For a comparative analysis of the textile trade of France and England, and the importance of North America for the latter, see Javier J. Cuenca Esteban, 'Comparative Patterns of Colonial Trade: Britain and its Rivals', in Leandro Prados de la Escosura (ed.), *Exceptionalism and Industrialisation: Britain and its European Rivals, 1688–1815* (Cambridge, 2004), 42–3.

[83] Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660–1800* (Cambridge, 2000), 64.

[84] Stanley D. Chapman, 'Cottons and Printed Textiles', in *Textiles in Trade* (Washington, 1990), 33.

[85] Susan S. Bean, 'The American Market for Indian Textiles, 1785–1820: In the Twilight of Traditional Cloth Manufacture', in *Textiles in Trade*, 43–4.

TABLE 13.2. *Destinations of the Textile Exports of Great Britain and France, 1787–1820*

	1787–1789		1797–1812, 1814-1815		1816-1820	
	Britain	**France**	**Britain**	**France**	**Britain**	**France**
Wool Textiles (£)	6,318	768	9,165	1,406	8,487	2,089
(1)	30.6	21.6	42.9	1.6	40.8	6.0
(2)	15.5	0.3	33.5	1.6	28.7	2.9
(3)	53.9	78.1	23.6	96.8	30.5	91.1
Linen Textiles (£)	991	1,221	1,122	1,557	1,667	1,332
(1)	71.3	49.0	78.0	5.1	59.2	17.4
(2)	23.9	0.2	16.7	3.3	27.7	7.7
(3)	4.8	50.8	5.3	91.6	13.1	74.9
Cotton Textiles (£)	1,629	837	17,135	424	32,162	875
(1)	30.8	79.6	44.3	4.0	40.1	3.9
(2)	22.4	0.4	19.2	1.2	12.5	0.1
(3)	46.8	20.0	36.5	94.8	47.4	96.0
Silk Textiles (£)	–	1,142	–	2,244	–	2,934
(1)	–	9.1	–	1.1	–	3.2
(2)	–	0.3	–	9.6	–	20.7
(3)	–	90.6	–	89.3	–	76.1

(1) to all colonies, Africa and Asia, in percentage
(2) to the United States, in percentage
(3) to Europe and the Levant, in percentage

Source: J. Cuenca Esteban, Javier, 'Comparative Patterns of Colonial Trade: Britain and its Rivals', in Leandro Prados de la Escosura, ed., *Exceptionalism and Industrialization: Britain and Its European Rivals, 1688–1815* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 42–3.

exchange for its abundant reserves of silver and other precious metals.[86] The area was located in a strategic position between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. From the Atlantic cotton textiles arrived with slave cargoes and directly from Europe. During the seventeenth century cottons from India and the Philippines, as well as Chinese silks and semi-precious stones from South-East Asia, found their way to Mexico via the Acapulco route.[87] Travellers and visi-

[86] For a more detailed analysis of the cotton textile relationship between Spain and the Colonial Latin America see Marta Valentin Vicente, *Clothing the Spanish Empire: Families and the Calico Trade in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (New York, 2006); and her chapter in this volume.

[87] Abby Sue Fisher, 'Mestizaje and the Cuadros de Castas: Visual Representations of Race, and Dress in Eighteenth Century Mexico' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1992), 66–7.

tors to Mexico were impressed by the variety of dress worn by the various ethnic groups, but also by the riches commonly displayed by wide strata of society. The Spaniard Artemio de Valle-Arizpe reported that in eighteenth-century Mexico City 'ordinary wear is a silk skirt or printed calico decorated with bands of gold and silver, with brightly coloured ribboned belts with their fringe of gold that tumble down behind and in front to border the skirt'.[88] Quito in Ecuador used both locally produced cottons and the more expensive imported *ruán* cotton cloth, imported from Rouen in France.[89] Unlike North America, where calico printing and later a full-scale cotton industry developed by the beginning of the nineteenth century, Latin America's cotton revolution started only later in the nineteenth century and on a smaller scale. In 1820 Britain exported to Latin America 56 million yards of cotton cloth, reaching 279 million yards twenty years later. This was equivalent to ten yards per person, an indicator of the receptiveness of Latin America to imported cotton textiles.[90]

CONCLUSION

By the third decade of the nineteenth century, Europe had become the undisputed global producer of cotton textiles. It had also replaced India as the leading exporter of this fabric after a period of more than five centuries. This shift—normally encapsulated under the label of the 'industrial revolution'—has been explained here by underlining the importance of consumer markets, the processes of reinvention of cotton textiles, and the realignment of consumer cultures and preferences. This is a case study that supports the wider case made by Maxine Berg 'for a connection between global luxury, European consumerism and industrialization in the eighteenth century'.[91] The implications were wide ranging not just in Europe, but also in the vast Atlantic area where cotton textiles developed markets in conjunction with the established woollen and linen trades. Cotton textiles sat at the centre of a new global economic system increasingly dominated by Europe—and Britain in particular. The Lancashire mills were now selling their products not just to continental Europe, the Americas, and Africa, but also to Asia, thus reversing a flow that had started in earnest two cen-

[88] Artemio de Valle-Arizpe, *Historia de la ciudad de México segun los relatos de sus cronistas* (Mexico, 1998), 173–4.

[89] Ross W. Jamieson, 'Bolts of Cloth and Sherds of Pottery: Impressions of Caste in the Material Culture of the Seventeenth Century Audiencia of Quito', *The Americas*, 60/3 (2004), 440.

[90] Arnold J. Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture* (Cambridge, 2001), 130. In the case of Peru, cotton textiles accounted for 95% of all its imports in the first decade of independence of the country.

[91] Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury', 85.

turies earlier. Lancashire or Alsace were not just the new industrial cotton centres of Europe, but also among the most global places on earth.

Jeremy Prestholdt has recently suggested that 'global economic systems are to a great degree determined by the cultural logic of the consumer demand'.[92] But what does it mean? The case of cotton textiles shows how the success of this commodity was not necessarily determined by its price as economists would suggest. Cotton textiles came to be widely used across vast parts of the globe. Their use and meaning was increasingly influenced by Europe, either in cultural terms as suggested by Prestholdt, or through new economic relationships between Europe, Asia, North America, and Africa. The deindustrialization of Indian cotton spinning and weaving is one of the best-known cases of such a novel economic relationship increasingly backed by the political force of imperialism.[93]

[92] Jeremy Prestholdt, 'On the Global Repercussions of East African Consumerism', *American Historical Review*, 109/3 (2004), 755.

[93] For an overview: Ian C. Wendt, 'The Social Fabric: Textile Industry and Community in Early Modern South India' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2005).