

The British Cotton Trade, 1660–1815

Early Years of Trade and
British Response to Indian Cottons
to the late 1600s

Edited by
Beverly Lemire



ROUTLEDGE


THE BRITISH COTTON TRADE, 1660-1815

CONTENTS OF THE EDITION

VOLUME 1

General Introduction

Part I: Early Years of Trade and British Response to Indian Cottons
to the late 1600s

VOLUME 2

Part II: International Trade and the Politics of Consumption, 1690s–1730

VOLUME 3

Part III: Establishing a British Cotton Trade, *c.* 1730–1815

VOLUME 4

Part III continued

Index

THE BRITISH COTTON TRADE, 1660–1815

Editor
Beverly Lemire

Volume 1
Part I: Early Years of Trade and British Response to Indian Cottons
to the late 1600s

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2010 by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © Taylor & Francis 2010
Copyright © Editorial material Beverly Lemire 2010

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION DATA

The British cotton trade, 1660–1815.

1. Cotton trade – Great Britain – History – 17th century – Sources. 2. Cotton trade – Great Britain – History – 18th century – Sources. 3. Cotton manufacture – Great Britain – History – 17th century – Sources. 4. Cotton manufacture – Great Britain – History – 18th century – Sources.

I. Lemire, Beverly, 1950–
338.4'767721'0941'09033-dc22

ISBN-13: 978-1-13875-793-6 (hbk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003113904

Typeset by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
General Introduction	ix
Bibliography	xix
Glossary	xxxiii
Introduction to Part I	xlvii
The Early Trade with India and Its Impact	
<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.</i>	1
F. W. Weaver (ed.), <i>Somerset Medieval Wills</i> (1531–58)	5
Early English and Dutch Expeditions	11
Jacob Cornelissoon van Neck, <i>A True Report of the Gainefull, Prosperous and Speedy Voyage to Java in the East Indies</i> (1599)	13
<i>A True and Large Discourse of the Voyage of the Whole Fleete of Ships Set Forth ... to the East Indies</i> (1603)	27
Early English Experience in the Indies	31
<i>A Letter Written to the Right Worshipfull the Governours and Assistants of the East Indian Marchants in London</i> (1603)	35
<i>The Register of Letters &c., of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies</i> (1600–19)	39
Gerard Malynes, <i>Consuetudo, vel lex mercatoria: or, The Ancient Law-Merchant</i> (1622)	41
<i>A Courante of Newes from the East India</i> (1622)	43
William Bruton, <i>Newes from the East-Indies: or, A Voyage to Bengalla</i> (1638)	47
Thomas Mun, <i>A Discourse of Trade, from England unto the East-Indies</i> (1621)	67
<i>The Petition and Remonstrance of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading to the East Indies</i> (1628)	99
Changing Patterns of Consumption and the Early Debates in Britain	
The Changing English Textile Market	121
John May, <i>A Declaration of the Estate of Clothing now used within this Realme of England</i> (1613)	123
William Wood, <i>New Englands Prospect</i> (1634)	127

Thomas Dekker, <i>The Honest Whore</i> (1615)	129
<i>The Fann-Makers Grievance, by the Importation of Fanns from the East-Indies</i> (n.d.)	133
John Fryer, <i>A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters</i> (1698)	137
<i>A Treatise touching the East-Indian Trade</i> (1664)	147
The Dawning Age of Cotton	185
<i>For Sale at the East-India-House</i> (1673)	189
<i>A Particular of Goods to be Exposed to Sale by the East-India Company</i> (1676)	197
<i>Cargo of Seven Ships from India</i> (1678)	201
<i>Cargo, of Two Ships Arrived from India</i> (1685)	203
<i>Records of Fort St George. Despatches from England</i> (1670–7)	205
<i>Records of Fort St George. Letters from Fort St George</i> (1679)	207
J. F. <i>The Merchant's Ware-House Laid Open: or, The Plain Dealing Linnen-Draper</i> (1696)	209
Jacob Stampe <i>Living at ye Sign of the Callico Printer in Houndsditch</i> (n.d.)	235
Josiah Child, <i>A Treatise: Wherein is Demonstrated, I. That the East-India Trade is the most National of all Foreign Trades</i> (1681)	239
Charles Davenant, <i>An Essay on the East-India Trade</i> (1696)	267
<i>Five Queries Humbly Tender'd, relating to the Bill for Prohibiting the Consumption of East-India Silks, Bengals and Printed Callicoes</i> ([1696])	295
Josiah Child, <i>The Great Honour and Advantage of the East-India Trade to the Kingdom Asserted</i> (1697)	299
<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i> (1693–1700)	309
Anti-Cotton Polemics	337
<i>An Account of the late Sale of India Silks, &c. with The French King's Decree concerning those Manufactures</i> ([1690])	341
N. C., <i>The Great Necessity and Advantage of Preserving our own Manufacturies</i> (1697)	347
<i>An Answer to a late Tract, entituled, An Essay on the East-India Trade</i> (1697)	355
[Thomas Smith], <i>Reasons Humbly Offered for the Hindering the Home Consumption of East-India Silks, Bengals &c.</i> (1697)	375
<i>An Answer to the Most Material Objections against the Bill which Restrains the Wearing East-India Wrought Silks</i> ([1699])	387
<i>An Answer to the Most Material Objections that have been Raised against Restraining the East-India Trade with Five Queries</i> ([1699?])	391
<i>An English Winding-Sheet for the East-India Manufacturers</i> ([1700])	403
John Cary, <i>A Discourse concerning the East-India-Trade: Shewing how it is Unprofitable to the Kingdom of England</i> (1699)	415
<i>Prince Butler's Tale: Representing the State of the Wooll-Case</i> (1699)	429
Editorial Notes	439

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I will begin by thanking the editorial staff at Pickering & Chatto for their continuous competent assistance in the crafting of these volumes. Mark Pollard, Julie Wilson and Michael Donkor responded to questions and requests on innumerable occasions and helped me solve the problems that inevitably arise in a work of this scale. I am very grateful for their generous professionalism. To Michael Polushin I owe thanks at another level of magnitude. When surgery looked likely to force unavoidable delays, Michael stepped in to become an invaluable editorial assistant, carefully combing through the mass of keyed in documents as these were sent by Pickering & Chatto. Michael's attention to detail and meticulous professionalism ensured that the momentum of this project was maintained. As well, his experienced editorial eye helped realize the quality of the texts. I am most grateful for his many contributions to this project.

The subject of this collection has been an interest of mine for some years and my debts as a result are considerable. I benefited from many academic events organized around the subject of the cotton and other textile trades, including those by Stanley Chapman, Negley Harte, David Jeremy and the late Douglas Farnie. I value the insights they offered on these and related topics. More recently I was privileged to participate in the Global Economic History Network project headed by Patrick O'Brien from the London School of Economics. This unique venture examined many facets of the cotton trade from a global vantage point. Giorgio Riello was at the time the project research officer and with this joint stewardship organized an exceptional series of conferences and symposia addressing a range of issues on this subject. The opportunity this provided for formal academic exchanges, as well as innumerable informal discussions, helped inform my thinking about the nature and role of the cotton trade. I am particularly grateful for the conversations I have had with Patrick O'Brien, Giorgio Riello, Maxine Berg, Prasannan Parthasarathi, Kaoru Sugihara, Om Prakash, Harriet Zurndorfer, Robert DuPlessis, Suraiya Faroqhi, John Styles, Ian Wendt, Adrienne Hood and Tirthankar Roy on the nature of the cotton trade and on global interactions more generally. I am also grateful for the generosity of Rosemary Crill, Clare Browne and Lesley Miller at the Victoria & Albert Museum; Miles Lambert at

the Costume Centre, Platt Hall; Ebeltje Hartkamp and Bianca du Mortier at the Rijksmuseum; Alexandra Palmer of the Royal Ontario Museum; Pam Parmal at the Museum of Fine Art, Boston; and Melinda Watt at the Ratti Textile Center, Metropolitan Museum, New York. The access they provided to collections of historic Indian and British cotton textiles were invaluable to my understanding of events surrounding these commodities. Likewise, I extend my thanks to Julie Anne Lambert, Archivist of the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Long before the resources of this collection were digitized, she provided me with unfertered access to this extraordinary collection. These materials illustrated the dynamism of the consumer processes during the long eighteenth century and the key role of cotton in these events.

The University of Alberta provides me with the resources to maintain an active research life, as a holder of a Henry Marshall Tory Chair. I am deeply aware of the value of the time allotted me for these endeavours and thank the university for its support. During the winter of 2009, while working on this project, I held a visiting fellowship at the Institute for Historical and Cultural Research, Oxford Brookes University, and I thank Elisabeth Jay and Steven King for their generosity in assisting with these arrangements. Continuing thanks must also go to Morris Lemire and Shannon Lemire, who shared many cotton moments with me during the course of this project.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The British cotton trade has an iconic history. As the world's first industrialized trade its story has formed part of student curricula from primary to post-secondary levels, throughout the English-speaking world and beyond. There was no precursor in human history to this industrial experience and this originality has placed the British cotton trade in a singular position, garnering continuing attention. Fascination with these events arises for many reasons: cotton was the first trade to be reshaped by the new forces of industrialization, it was the first to experience the shifts in productive technology and work patterns, with the explosion in output that marked a new level of human endeavour. The new technology devised in Britain brought with it new working environments and this too has generated the historic interest in this sector. In developed and developing regions this history continues to be assessed for possible insights it might provide into contemporary economies. The scale of the transformation and the political issues arising from its practice – such as child factory labour or industrial labour relations – have made this phenomenon the object of endless investigations. The origins as well as the full flourishing of the industry attract attention in each new era. Contemporaries living through this time recognized the singularity of the events under way in various regions of Britain and struggled to address the forces being unleashed. Legislators, reformers, activists and journalists produced small mountains of texts: parliamentary reports, newspaper exposés, community analyses and social realist novels. Histories followed, the first as early as the 1820s and 1830s.¹ These were largely celebratory treatments of the dynamic processes still under way. With the growth of the historical profession came new perspectives, not all as laudatory as those written by contemporary scribes. In 1904 Sydney Chapman published the first major historical study of the cotton industry, mere generations after this industrial transformation began.² The monumental effects of this trade were very evident to this one-time Manchester resident and directed his career thereafter. The advent of steam-powered mills, the construction of ranks of factories across the countryside and the employment of tens of thousands of men, women and children in this enterprise quite naturally attracted the attention of academics. Living and working conditions

of textile workers were dire in many cases and changed only slowly. However, the availability of cheap and abundant cotton fabrics for everything from sheets to shirts to stockings helped launch an era of greater cleanliness, celebrated by medical men and sanitation experts. Industrialization inaugurated a new stage of human experience. The phenomenon was replete with complex and sometimes contradictory processes and outcomes. Little wonder, then, that amateur and professional students of history remain fascinated by the intriguing features of the British cotton trade. The characteristics of the trade, the factors affecting its growth in Britain and the extraordinary results that flowed from this enterprise produce more studies with each decade.

The university at the heart of the cotton trade established the first position dedicated to a discipline preoccupied with its study. In 1910 the University of Manchester created a professorship in economic history, the first of its kind in the British Empire. George Unwin, the first incumbent in this post, thereafter turned his attention to the key players in the late eighteenth-century cotton industry.³ Unwin likewise inspired students like Alfred Wadsworth, who combined a career of journalism with a passion for history, and most particularly the history of the cotton industry. Working with Julia de Lacy Mann, then principal of St Hilda's College, Oxford, Wadsworth and Mann produced the seminal treatise, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire*. This study focused closely on developments and events in north-west England, as did other works being written on this subject; however the processes they charted were placed within a rich history of international influences. Since this era the cotton trade has been the focus of many academic endeavours. Indeed, the disciplinary specialities of economic history, business history and trade history were shaped by the questions found within this sector. From the interwar period, through the post-war era and beyond, historians developed these specializations at the same time as they assessed the communities, people, processes and technologies involved in the building of the cotton industry. Fortunes were won, commercial dynasties were forged and new working environments were constructed; all of these topics and more became areas of intensive research.⁴ Social history was another of the new interpretive specialities that began in the late 1950s and 1960s and continues to date. The cotton trade interested adherents of this specialization and these historians offer insights into the lived experiences within cotton communities, whether the factory districts of Salford, or Glasgow.⁵ However the historical discipline evolves, the cotton trade remains a source of tremendous fascination, calling up new interpretations with every generation.

Recent research charts the connections between new consumer practices and the cotton industry. The study of changing material culture among the middling and common peoples has revealed the importance of cotton as a consumer commodity, a facilitator of fashions, a product that produced political and social

debates as it spread through the marketplace.⁶ Regional and local ethnicity, national sentiments and gendered tastes were reflected in the cottons chosen by male and female consumers and these decisions in turn shaped the trade. Selecting cotton textiles was a value-laden act, whether the choice was a cheerful calico worn in 1700 or sturdy fustian emblematic of social politics in the 1800s. This mutable fabric raised contentious issues embedded in popular fashions and challenged traditional sentiments opposed to expressions of style by non-elite men and women. At the same time, cotton shook the foundations of the wool trade, a traditional sector on which so many cultural and fiscal elements of British society were based. Before and after industrialization, the cotton trade was an innovative and disruptive force, challenging the social, economic and political status quo.

Innumerable works have been published on the assorted communities shaped by the cotton trade. Likewise, there are countless biographies of the British men and corporations who prospered within this sector. However, the characteristics of the British cotton trade, dependent as it was on the import of raw materials and the growth of foreign sales, likewise encouraged scholarship that looked outward, exploring wide-ranging commercial interactions. The rise of global history in recent decades has given another new impetus to the study of this topic, placing the cotton trade within a wider geopolitical framework. The comparative context created through a synthesis of British, international and global histories enriches our collective understanding of this key sector and its place within wider parameters of commerce and economic development. This collection is shaped both by the new dynamic of material culture study and global history, with an enriched perspective provided by a comparative examination over centuries.⁷

The edited documents in these volumes have been assembled based on several organizing precepts. This collection is shaped taking a long-term view. Cotton fabrics were key international trade commodities for a thousand years before they were introduced to early modern Britain. The context of their introduction and their contested integration into the textile repertoire of north-west Europe are important parts of the early history and form the early part of this collection. The role of Indian cottons in the larger transformation of Eurasian markets, a process that made marked progress in Europe after 1500, will be examined in greater detail below, in the introduction to Part I. This leads to the second of the organizing precepts of these volumes: the history under examination is placed in a comparative context that acknowledges the events in north-west Europe within wider regional and global parameters. Taking the longer view, with a comparative perspective, provides a valuable context through which to assess the specific history of the cotton trade in Britain. Some of the features of this account are common to other nations, such as the attempts made to copy these textiles by local artisans and the efforts by most authorities in early modern Europe to rid

their markets of Indian cottons. Other facets of this history are unique to Britain, most particularly the industrialization of cotton production. Between these two very discordant poles – legislative bans on cotton fabric and its ultimate appearance as the first mechanized trade – runs a rich historical thread that links together international trading companies and court politics, local innovations and popular fashions, global competition and colonial trade. By delving into the documentation of these engrossing episodes, the complexities and ambiguities of change are more fully apparent.

In the decades that followed industrialization, nation after nation and region after region pursued the industrial model adopting or adapting the methods of British manufacturing. As later accounts will show, some of the technology transfer involved the illicit emigration of skilled workers whose training enabled them to recreate innovative designs in new landscapes. This was a fraught process, with successes achieved or long delayed in the host nations for a myriad of reasons. However, with the example of British achievement before them, the goal of an industrialized cotton trade remained a powerful motivation for many societies, seen as a badge of modernity and an essential achievement. Ultimately, over the nineteenth century every nation that wished to claim modernity and yearned for economic success established a cotton industry, whether this was a state-sponsored initiative or the effort of individual or group investment. The aura of success that enveloped the British cotton industry and the profits that accrued at least to some in this sector spurred on new competitors. The proliferation of competitive industrialized cotton trades is one of the global legacies of this history, and the international impact of this collective exercise likely accounts for the iconic place of the cotton trade in national histories, including that of Britain.

Thus, the history of cotton in Britain should be understood as part of a complex narrative of worldwide commodity and cultural exchange. Britain was one of many that attempted to imitate Indian textiles. Indeed, Indian cotton textiles were the exemplar that inspired all other pre-industrial initiatives at cotton manufacturing from Indonesia to Asia Minor, Egypt to Italy. Indian skills in spinning and weaving and Indian technology in printing and dyeing set the global standard for this important product long before calicoes arrived in Europe in significant volumes after 1500. Indian textiles continued to set quality standards even with the onset of industrialization – that, too, is a key part of the history of this trade in Britain. Thus, the documentary history of the British cotton trade is represented in these volumes from a widely comparative context, which is why this perspective is the second of the organizing principles behind this collection.

Nevertheless, there is a continuing power in the unique history of British industrialization and that trajectory also figures prominently in the later doc-

uments in these volumes. British society, economy and politics offered fertile ground for the transplantation of cotton fibre manufacture, for the growth of the industry and for the application of new technologies. Prefiguring the era of new technology and new applications of power were social, economic and cultural changes that shaped the one-time marginal trade in cotton in Britain and gave it increasing significance and authority. British consumers eagerly sought substitutes for light wools in the imported cotton fabrics or locally made linen/cotton facsimiles. Thus, these volumes present a broad history of cotton, intersecting the trade, marketing and use of these fabrics with the social, cultural and commercial pasts of men and women from elite and plebeian backgrounds. In the history of cotton in Britain we can trace a nation's transformation.

The documents assembled in this collection present the long-run rise of the British cotton trade in three parts. We begin with India. The story of cotton in Britain cannot be written without taking account of India's role as the original world provider of cotton textiles and this remains a *leitmotif* in this collection. Ramifications flowed from the example of this trade and competition continued between Britain and India as British manufacturers developed their craft. This competition forms another of the thematic threads throughout all sections of this collection. The emphasis remains on the long eighteenth century, during which the most substantial political, economic and social transformations took place. But the assembled documents also reflect the importance of the lengthy prologue that preceded this era. The first part of this collection presents less well-known evidence of the early introduction of Indian cottons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as European trading nations found their foothold in Asia. The fabrics initially brought back to Portugal after 1500 were well known in Mediterranean markets, but brought a disruptive novelty to regions of Europe more used to linens, wools and silks. The documents in Part I, which arise from the early 1500s to the late 1600s, trace the foundation processes of consumer adoption, the first forays by English traders into the competitive Asian commercial zone and the political repercussions in Britain that followed. The domestic marketplace was a tightly regulated and highly contentious site where political and economic forces jostled for pre-eminence. The introduction of a range of novel foreign textiles challenged the existing balance that was intended to advantage local manufacturers. Part I concludes with evidence of the two-fold reaction to the commerce in Indian cottons: the efforts by artisans to copy these fabrics and the political struggle between the East India Company and the enemies of the cotton trade.

Part II addresses the highly contentious politics of consumption, documenting the spread of Indian cottons throughout Britain with extracts from newspapers, legal records and travel writers. A dynamic consumer process was matched by an equally powerful political resistance from wool and silk interests.

Part II explores the calico politics of the period from the 1690s to the late 1720s. The documents in this section reveal the most dramatic political era of the trade in Indian cottons to Britain during which time new consumer standards were set in place, as these textiles became naturalized in British clothing and furnishings. At the same time, increasingly stringent prohibitions were proposed and finally enacted, setting the context in which the British linen/cotton industry would develop. The anti-calico campaign is documented in formal petitions directed to Parliament and masses of pamphlets aimed at the reading public. But this contest is also reflected in the long sequences of recorded attacks on women when the throwing of acid, tearing of clothes and beating of calico-wearing women became part of the arsenal of the anti-calico campaign. Agents of the wool trade sought to terrorize women into compliance. Documentation of these assaults is an important element of this collection. These attacks took place across Britain and Ireland, persisting whenever local wool communities felt imperilled, long after the ban on most cottons was enacted in 1721. This section ends with the legislative ban in place, long demanded by opponents of this commodity. But, as the documents in Part III reveal, consumer prohibitions are much easier to enact than to enforce and injunctions often yielded unanticipated results.

Part III focuses on the rise of the British cotton trade from 1730 to 1815 with some traditional documentary sources, as well as many featuring a new perspective on this phenomenon. The cotton industry emerged out of a thriving linen/cotton manufacture already very active before the 1721 prohibition. In fact, representatives from Manchester were perhaps the only petitioners from the cotton sector to support the proposed ban on cotton textiles, as long as Parliament allowed local manufacturers to continue their business. The politics of cotton consumption remained contentious, with information presented to magistrates about offenders against this Act who continued to wear printed calico gowns. Smuggled Indian cottons also landed on British shores as part of larger illicit cargoes like tea and brandy. The documentation of these events suggests the complications arising from the consumer processes and the difficulties faced by officials striving to enforce regulation. The anti-calico campaign was reignited once again in the 1730s, with challenges from the wool trade about the legitimacy of British-made printed fustians (linen/cotton cloth). Celebrations are recorded in one community when Parliament acknowledged the legitimacy of this trade in 1736. The growth of the British cotton trade from this point onwards is reflected in some well-known themes but includes many new elements as well. Manuscript materials illustrate the importance of colonial markets where both Indian cottons and British facsimiles competed. The textile printing trade is considered as well, an important adjunct trade and offshoot of the Indian calico example. Throughout this era Indian textiles remained the exemplar against which British manufacturers measured their success; but these

same manufacturers actively protected their markets from illicit Indian competition. The effort by Lancashire handkerchief manufacturers to highlight the ban on Indian wares, in 1779, is a case in point.

Fashion represents another of the major themes in the selection of documents for this collection, just as the popularization of fashion for cotton underpinned the success of the British cotton trade. In Part III, this phenomenon is presented through assessments of shifting ownership of goods, as depicted in criminal accounts or a pawnbroker's pledge book, and is considered as well in depictions of fashionable plebeian women in late eighteenth-century British caricatures. Other documentation includes formal fashion advice in lady's magazines, a burgeoning publication field, and in published satires of popular dress. The repeal of the prohibition of cotton textiles, in 1774, was a recognition of the dynamism of this sector, revealed in day book entries of a Manchester firm, shipping to many parts of Britain and overseas.⁸ From published instructions to servants on the laundering of muslins and calico, to the array of advertised cotton wares, this collection includes a rich variety of sources tracing the shifting material lives of British men and women.

Cotton had different meanings to different communities. For those employed in the spinning of thread, the weaving of fabric or the printing of textiles, the dynamic of the British cotton trade represented profound personal change. Samuel Bamford reflects on the great alterations experienced in South Lancashire as the putting-out system evolved into factory production.⁹ Cotton spinners were most immediately affected by shifting technology in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their petitions and the appeals produced by sympathizers decry their plight; but enthusiastic screeds championing new technologies matched the pleas for protection of spinners. Both perspectives are represented in this collection. The new circumstances of production likewise raised concerns about working conditions, particularly for child workers. These debates form an essential frame for the final documents of the collection, illustrating the ways in which industrialization brought unprecedented production and profound social change.

Cotton manufacturing was not indigenous to Britain and cotton itself arrived in those islands as a result of profound events half a world away, as European adventurers penetrated Asian trading networks. The repercussions from these new mercantile ventures are illustrated through the documents in these volumes. Over time, a new cotton culture took root and grew in Britain, resulting in unexpected and dramatic outcomes. New technologies were one of the critical developments. But here, too, once the capacities of the new cotton spinning machinery were inaugurated in Britain they did not remain on those shores. Among the final documents in Part III is the account of Samuel Slater, who carried the knowledge of industrial technology from Britain to the United States of

America, where spinning mills would soon be established in Rhode Island and elsewhere.¹⁰ The British cotton trade had an international ancestry and at the same time was the progenitor for successive industrial ventures throughout the world. Cotton served as a catalyst commodity in world history, uniquely suited for the widest consumer market and uniquely storied in its effects on British history.

Note on the Texts

In preparing the texts of these editions we have endeavoured to stay as true as possible to the originals, and have retained original spelling even where it is unusual or incorrect. Occasional minor emendations have been made silently, if a misspelling or typographical mistake would confuse the meaning of a sentence. Such editorial interventions have been placed in square brackets. However, we have updated the archaic printed form of letters to the modern format, so the long ‘s’ has been changed to the short ‘s’, and we have modernized the use of ‘u’ for ‘v’ and ‘i’ for ‘j’. The early modern abbreviations of ‘yt’ and ‘ye’ have been updated to ‘that’ and ‘the’ to avoid confusion. Original page breaks have been marked in the texts by a spaced forward slash (/). Where the page break falls half-way through a word, we have placed the break marker after that word. These few standardized changes have been made with the aim of making the texts more readable for those unfamiliar with the printed forms of the early modern period. They thereby leave the reader free to concentrate on the rich histories of trade, social practice, political manoeuvrings and industrial transformation that form the record of the British cotton trade. The newspapers reproduced here were published in London unless otherwise noted. We have not added place of publication if it is evident from the title, such as the *Manchester Mercury*. To avoid excessive repetition of notes, commonly occurring words relating to the cotton trade are included in the Glossary and have not been annotated separately.

Notes

1. See, for example, J. Butterworth, *A Complete History of the Cotton Trade ...* (Manchester: C. W. Leake, 1823); E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain ...* (London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson, 1835). See also the section Increasing Industrialization, in Volume 4 of this collection, pp. 243–64.
2. S. Chapman, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry; a Study in Economic Development* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1904).
3. G. Unwin, *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights: The Industrial Revolution at Stockport and Marple* (London: Longmans, 1924).
4. Of the many volumes published on this topic, see, for example, R. S. Fitton and A. P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights: A Study of the Early Factory System* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958); R. S. Fitton, *The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); S. D. Chapman, *The Early*

- Factory Masters: The Transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Textile Industry* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1967), and *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1972); S. D. Chapman and S. Chassagne, *European Textile Printers in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Peel and Oberkampf* (London: Heinemann, 1981); D. A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815–1896* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); C. H. Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795–1840: A History of M'Connel and Kennedy, Fine Cotton Spinners* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972).
5. Many social historians have been concerned to examine the working and living conditions among the generations of workers in cotton manufacturing communities. See, for example, N. J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution; an Application of Theory to the Lancashire Cotton Industry, 1770–1840* (London: Routledge, 1959); F. Collier, *The Family Economy of the Working Classes in the Cotton Industry, 1784–1833* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964); M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971); P. Bell, *Victorian Lancashire* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974); R. K. Fleischman, *Conditions of Life among the Cotton Workers of Southeastern Lancashire, 1780–1850* (New York: Garland, 1985); W. J. Lowe, *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire: the Shaping of a Working-Class Community* (New York: P. Lang, 1989); and A. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).
 6. See, for example, B. Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); J. Styles, *Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).
 7. See, for example, D. A. Farnie and D. Jeremy, (eds), *The Fibre that Changed the World: The Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600–1990s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); G. Riello and P. Parthasarathi, (eds), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
 8. See Day Book 'G' of a Manchester Firm, in Volume 4 of this collection, pp. 1–8.
 9. See [Collier], *Dialect of South Lancashire*, in Volume 4 of this collection, pp. 89–96.
 10. See White, *Memoir of Samuel Slater*, in Volume 4 of this collection, pp. 317–26.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

- Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service
HSA/1670 W/44 1670.
Mary Corbett, Gt.P. [no ref. or date].
- Birmingham City Archives, MS 3312/395094 1668.
- Centre for Kentish Studies, p175/11/1 1662–1678.
- Cheshire and Chester Archives, ZA/B/2/103–5, 15 August 1654.
- Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba, A 15/1, Grand Journal, 1676–81,
Hudson's Bay Company.
- Lambeth Palace Library, London, Talbot Papers, MS 3203, f. 75, 1602.
- Lincolnshire Archives, 2 PG 12/2/5 12 August 1669.
- Warwickshire County Record Office, CR1886/Cupboard4/Third Shelf/BB832, 1603–4.

Published Primary Sources

- Anon., *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, and other Countreys lying eyther way, towards the Fruitfull and Ryche Moluccaes As Moscovia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, AEgypte, Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo, and Giapan: With a Discourse of the Northwest Passage. Gathered in parte, and done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. Newly set in Order, Augmented, and Finished by Richarde Willes* (London: Richarde Jugge, 1577).
- , *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies Intreating of the Remarkable Things of Heaven, of the Elements, Mettalls, Plants and Beasts which are Proper to that Country: Together with the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Written in Spanish by the R.F. Joseph Acosta, and translated into English by E.G.* (London: Edward Blount and William Aspley, 1604).
- , *An Historicall and True Discourse, of a Voyage made by the Admirall Cornelis Matelife the Yonger, into the East Indies, who Departed out of Holland, in May 1605 With the Besieging of Malacca, and the Battaille by him Fought at Sea against the Portugales in the Indies, with other Discourses. Translated out of the Dutch, according to the Coppie Printed at Rotterdam* (London: William Barret, 1608).

- , *The Golden Fleece, wherein is related the Riches of the English Wools in its Manufacturers ...* (London, 1656), reprinted in J. Smith, *Chronicon Rusticum-Commerciale; or, Memoirs of Wool, etc ...*, 2 vols (London, 1747; reprinted New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969).
- , *The Scots Linnen Manufacturers Answer to Two Papers, entitled, The Case of the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of Great Britain; and The Case of the Printed Linnens in North Great-Britain* (London, [1720?]).
- Baines, E., *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain ...* (London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson, 1835).
- The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Bilston, and Willenhall Directory; or, Merchant and Tradesman's Useful Companion ...* (Birmingham, 1780).
- Battuta, I., *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, trans. and selected H. A. R. Gibb (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Buchan, W., *Domestic Medicine: or, A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines ...*, 15th edn (Dublin, 1797).
- Butterworth, J., *A Complete History of the Cotton Trade ...* (Manchester: C. W. Leake, 1823).
- Campion, T., *A Relation of the late Royall Entertainment given by the Right Honorable, the Lord Knowles, at Cawsome-House ... to our Most Gracious Queen, Queen Anne ...* (London: John Budge, 1613).
- Defoe, D. *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 2 vols (London: Dent Publishers, 1966).
- di Conestaggio, G. F., *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill containing the last Warres of the Portugals against the Moores of Africke, the End of the House of Portugall, and Change of that Government. The Description of Portugall, their Principall Townes, Castles, Places ... Of the East Indies, the Isles of Terceres, and other Dependences ...* (London: Edward Blount, 1600).
- Federici, C., *The Voyage and Travaile of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are contained very Pleasant and Rare Matters, with the Customes and Rites of those Countries. Also, heerein are discovered the Merchandises and Commodities of those Countreyes, as well the Aboundaunce of Goulde and Silver, as Spices, Drugges, Pearles, and other Jewelles. Written at Sea in the Hercules of London: Comming from Turkie, the 25. of March. 1588. For the Profitable Instruction of Merchants and all other Travellers for their Better Direction and Knowledge of those Countreyes. Out of Italian, by T H.* (London: printed by Richard Jones and Edward White, 1588).
- Mandeville, B., *The Fable of the Bees: or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, 2 vols (1714; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).
- May, J., *A Declaration of the Estate of Clothing now used within this Realme of England ...* (London: A. Islip, 1613).
- Pepys, S., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970–83).
- Petryt, W., *Britannia Languens: or, A Discourse of Trade: Shewing that the Present Management of Trade in England, is the True Reason of the Decay of our Manufactures, and the*

- late Great Fall of Land-Rents ... wherein is particularly Demonstrated, that the East-India Company, as now Managed, has already Near Destroyed our Trade ... humbly offered to the Consideration of this present Parliament* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689).
- Place, F., *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, ed. M. Thale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- Pyrard, F., *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil, Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619, and edited with notes by Albert Gray ...* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1888).
- Schellinks, W., *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England, 1661–1663*, trans. M. Exwood and H. L. Lehmann (London: Royal Historical Society, 1993).
- Smith, J., *Chronicon rusticum-commerciale; or, Memoirs of Wool, etc ...*, 2 vols (1747; New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969).
- Stubbes, P., *The Anatomie of Abuses: Containing a Description of such Notable Vices and Enormities, as Raigne in many Countries of the World, but Especiallie in this Realme of England ...* (London, 1595).
- van Linschoten, J. H., *John Huighen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies Devided into Foure Bookes* (London: John Wolfe, 1598).
- Vaughan, W., *An Essay, Philosophical and Medical, concerning Modern Clothing* (Rochester, Kent, 1792).
- Whatley, G., *Principles of Trade*, 2nd edn (London: Brotherton & Sewell, 1774).

Secondary Sources

- Abu-Lughod, J., *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Albert, W., *The Turnpike Road System in England, 1665–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971).
- Andrews, K. R., *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Arnold, J., *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney Publishers, 1988).
- Backscheider, P. R., 'Defoe, Daniel (1660?–1731)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 19 February 2009].
- Baldwin, F. E., *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926).
- Bang, P. F., 'Trade and Empire – In Search of Organizing Concepts for the Roman Empire', *Past and Present*, 195 (2007), pp. 3–54.
- Barker, H., *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

- Barnes, R., *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Baumgarten, L., *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2002).
- Bell, P., *Victorian Lancashire* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1974).
- Benhamou, R., 'Fashion in the Mercure: From Human Foible to Female Failing', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:1 (1997), pp. 27–43.
- Bentley, J. H., 'Hemispheric Integration, 500–1500', *Journal of World History*, 9:2 (1998), pp. 237–54.
- Berg, M., *The Age of Manufactures: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain, 1700–1820*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1994).
- , 'From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Economic History Review*, 55:1 (2002), pp. 1–30.
- , 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 182 (2004), pp. 85–142.
- , *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Berry, H., 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 375–94.
- Blackburn, S., *A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work: Sweated Labour and the Origins of Minimum Wage Legislation in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Borsary, P., *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Boyajian, J., *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Hapsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
- Boxer, C. R., *The Portuguese Sea-Borne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York: Knopf, 1969).
- , *The Dutch Sea-Borne Empire, 1600–1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1977).
- Breen, T. H., *Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Brekke, L., 'The "Scourge of Fashion": Political Economy and the Politics of Consumption in the Early Republic', *Early American Studies*, 3:1 (2005), pp. 111–39.
- Brewer, J., *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1989).
- Butterfield, H., *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1959).
- Canny, N., 'Writing Early Modern History: Ireland, Britain, and the Wider World', *Historical Journal*, 46:3 (2003), pp. 723–47.
- Cappers, R. T. J., 'Archaeobotanical Evidence of Roman Trade with India', in H. P. Ray (ed.), *The Archaeology of Seafaring in Ancient South Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 51–69.

- Chapman, S., *The Lancashire Cotton Industry; a Study in Economic Development* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1904).
- Chapman, S. D., *The Early Factory Masters: The Transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Textile Industry* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1967).
- , *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1972).
- , *Hosiery and Knitwear: Four Centuries of Small-Scale Industry in Britain, c. 1589–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Chapman, S. D., and S. Chassagne, *European Textile Printers in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Peel and Oberkampf* (London: Heinemann, 1981).
- Chartres, J. A., 'Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality', *Economic History Review*, 30:1 (1977), pp. 73–94.
- Chaudhuri, K. N., *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600–1640* (London: Frank Cass, 1965).
- , *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
- , *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Church, R., 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *Economic History Review*, 53:4 (2000), pp. 621–45.
- Clark, A., *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).
- Collier, F., *The Family Economy of the Working Classes in the Cotton Industry, 1784–1833* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964).
- Corfield, P. J., *The Impact of English Towns, 1700–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
- Cowan, B., 'What was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post Restoration England', *History Workshop Journal*, 51 (2001), pp. 127–57.
- , *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2005).
- Cox, N., *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 1550–1820* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2000).
- , 'Raffald, Elizabeth (bap. 1733, d. 1781)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 18 February 2009].
- Crill, R., 'The Earliest Survivors? The Indian Embroideries at Hardwick Hall', in R. Crill (ed.), *Textiles from India: The Global Trade* (Calcutta: Seagull, 2006), pp. 245–58.
- Crowley, J. E., *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
- Cunningham, W., *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 5th edn (London: Routledge, 1968).

- Cunnington, C. W., and P. Cunnington, *A History of Underclothes* (London: Michael Joseph, 1951).
- Davis, M. T., 'Ogden, James (1718–1802)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 17 February 2009].
- Davis, R., *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1962).
- , 'English Foreign Trade, 1700–1774', in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 99–120.
- de Vries, J., 'Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 85–132.
- , *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- de Vries, J., and A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Dolza, L., 'How Did They Know? The Art of Dyeing in Late-Eighteenth-Century Piedmont', in R. Fox and A. Nieto-Galan (eds), *Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture in Europe, 1750–1880* (Canton, MA: Watson, 1999), pp. 139–45.
- Durie, A., *The Scottish Linen Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979).
- , 'Imitation in Scottish Eighteenth-Century Textiles: The Drive to Establish the Manufacture of Osnaburg Linen', *Journal of Design History*, 6:2 (1993), pp. 71–6.
- Earle, P., *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).
- East, W. G., 'The Port of Kingston-upon-Hull during the Industrial Revolution', *Economica*, 32 (1931), pp. 190–212.
- Edwards, M. M., *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780–1815* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).
- Everaert, J., 'Soldiers, Diamonds and Jesuits: Flemings and Dutchmen in Portuguese India (1505–90)', in A. Disney and E. Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 84–99.
- Farnie, D. A., *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815–1896* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
- Farnie, D. A., and W. O. Henderson (eds), *Industry and Innovation: Selected Essays in Honour of W. H. Chaloner* (London: Cass, 1990).
- Farnie, D. A., and D. Jeremy (eds), *The Fibre that Changed the World: The Cotton Industry in International Perspective 1600–1990s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Fitton, R. S., *The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

- Fitton, R. S., and A. P. Wadsworth, *The Struts and the Arkwrights: A Study of the Early Factory System* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).
- Fleischman, R. K., *Conditions of Life among the Cotton Workers of Southeastern Lancashire, 1780–1850* (New York: Garland, 1985).
- Fortune, B. B., “Studious Men are Always Painted in Gowns”: Charles Wilson Peale’s *Benjamin Rush* and the Question of Banyans in Eighteenth-Century Anglo-American Portraiture, *Dress*, 29 (2002), pp. 27–40.
- Foster, W., *England’s Quest for Eastern Trade* (London: A. & C. Black, 1933).
- Freist, D., *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion, and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1997).
- French, H. R., *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Gatrell, V. A. C., *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006).
- Gauci, P., ‘Thomas Mun (bap. 1571, d. 1641)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 27 February 2009].
- Gerhold, D., ‘The Growth of the London Carrying Trade, 1681–1838’, *Economic History Review*, 41:3 (1988), pp. 392–410.
- Gittinger, M., *Master Dyers to the World: Technique and Trade in Early Indian Dyed Cotton Textiles* (Washington, DC: Textile Museum, 1982).
- Goitein, S. D., ‘From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia, and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies*, 29:2 (1954), pp. 181–97.
- Goodwin, G., ‘Fryer, John (d. 1733)’, rev. P. Carter, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 27 February 2009].
- Gowing, L., ‘Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996), pp. 225–34.
- Grassby, R., ‘Child, Sir Josiah, first baronet (bap. 1631, d. 1699)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 19 February 2009].
- Greenfield, K. R., *Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg: A Study in Paternal Government* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1918).
- Griffiths, T., P. Hunt and P. O’Brien, ‘Inventive Activity in the British Textile Industry 1700–1800’, *Journal of Economic History*, 52 (1992), pp. 880–906.
- Habermas, J., *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. T. Burger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Harte, N. B., ‘The Rise of Protection and the English Linen Trade, 1690–1790’, in N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting (eds), *Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), pp. 74–112.
- , ‘The Economics of Clothing in the Late Seventeenth Century’, *Textile History*, 22:2 (1991), pp. 277–96.

- Heerma van Voss, L., 'Introduction: Petitions in Social History', *International Review of Social History*, Supplement, 46 (2001), pp. 1–10.
- Hitchcock, T., P. King and P. Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640–1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).
- Hitchner, R. B., 'Globalization avant la Lettre: Globalization and the History of the Roman Empire', *New Global Studies*, 2:2 (2008), pp. 1–12, at <http://www.bepress.com/ngs/vol2/iss2/art2>.
- Hopkins, A. G., *Global History: Interactions between the Universal and the Local* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).
- Horwitz, H., 'The East India Trade, the Politicians, and the Constitution: 1689–1702', *Journal of British Studies*, 17:2 (1978), pp. 1–18.
- Howe, A. C., 'Oldknow, Samuel (1756–1828)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 22 February 2009].
- Hubbard, P., 'Selling Consumption: Tradecards in Eighteenth-Century Culture' (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2009).
- Hudson, P., 'Proto-Industrialisation: The Case of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry in the 18th and 19th Centuries', *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), pp. 34–61.
- , *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: A Study of the West Riding Wool Industry, 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- , *The Industrial Revolution* (London: E. Arnold, 1992).
- Hunt, A., *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).
- Hunt, M., *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996).
- Inikori, J. E., 'Slavery and the Revolution in Cotton Textile Production in England', in J. E. Inikori and S. L. Engerman (eds), *Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), pp. 145–82.
- Ives, N., 'May, John (fl. c. 1606–1613)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 27 February 2009].
- Jeremy, D. J., 'British Textile Technology Transfer to the United States: The Philadelphia Region Experience, 1770–1820', *Business History Review*, 47:1 (1973), pp. 24–52.
- , *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: the Diffusion of Textile Technologies between Britain and America, 1790–1830s* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1981).
- , 'Radcliffe, William (1761?–1842)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 26 February 2009].
- John, A. H., 'Aspects of English Economic Growth in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Economica*, 28:110 (1961), pp. 176–90.
- Jones, E. T., 'Illicit Business: Accounting for Smuggling in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Bristol', *Economic History Review*, 54:1 (2001), pp. 17–38.

- Jones, P., 'Clothing the Poor in Early-Nineteenth-Century England', *Textile History*, 37:1 (2006), pp. 17–37.
- Khan, S. A., *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co. Ltd, 1923).
- Keirn, T., 'Parliament, Legislation and the Regulation of English Textile Industries, 1689–1714', in L. Davison, T. Hitchcock, T. Keirn and R. B. Shoemaker (eds), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689–1750* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1992), pp. 1–24.
- Kerridge, E., *Textile Manufacture in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).
- Kidd, A. J., 'Touchet, Samuel (c. 1705–1773)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 17 February 2009].
- Killerby, C. K., *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).
- Lake, P., and S. Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), pp. 270–92.
- Lambert, M., "'Cast-Off Wearing Apparel": The Consumption and Distribution of Second-Hand Clothing in Northern England during the Long Eighteenth Century', *Textile History*, 35:1 (2004), pp. 1–26.
- Lee, C. H., *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795–1840: A History of M'Connell and Kennedy, Fine Cotton Spinners* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972).
- Lemire, B., 'The Theft of Clothing and Popular Consumerism in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 24:2 (1990), pp. 255–76.
- , *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- , *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660–1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).
- , 'Transforming Consumer Custom: Linen, Cotton and the English Market, 1660–1800', in P. Ollerenshaw and B. Collins (eds), *Linen in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 187–208.
- , *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England 1600–1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).
- , 'Revising the Historical Narrative: India, Europe, and the Cotton Trade', in G. Riello and P. Parthasarathi (eds), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1300–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 205–22.
- , 'Fashioning Global Trade: Indian Textiles, Gender Meanings and European Consumers, 1500–1800', in G. Riello and T. Roy (eds), *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill Publishers, 2009), pp. 361–85.
- Lemire, B., and G. Riello, 'East and West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Social History*, 41:4 (2008), pp. 887–916.

- Lewis, B., *The Middlemost and Milltowns: Bourgeois Culture and Politics in Early Industrial England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).
- Lipovetsky, G., *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*, trans. C. Porter (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Lowe, W. J., *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire: The Shaping of a Working-Class Community* (New York: P. Lang, 1989).
- McCreery, C., *The Satiric Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- McCusker, J. J., and R. R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1985).
- McKendrick, N., 'George Packwood and the Commercialisation of Shaving: The Art of Eighteenth-Century Advertising', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J. H. Plumb (eds), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europe Publications, 1982), pp. 146–94.
- MacLeod, C., *Inventing the Industrial Revolution: The English Patent System, 1660–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- McNeil, P., and G. Riello, 'The Art and Science of Walking: Gender, Space and the Fashionable Body in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Fashion Theory*, 9:2 (2005), pp. 175–204.
- Malcolmson, P., *English Laundresses: A Social History* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986).
- Margabandhu, C., 'Trade Contacts between Western India and the Graeco-Roman World in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 8:3 (1965), pp. 316–22.
- Martin, A. S., *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia*, Studies in Early American Economy and Society (Philadelphia, PA: Library Company of Philadelphia, 2008).
- Mathias, P., 'Swords and Ploughshares: The Armed Forces, Medicine and Public Health in the Late Eighteenth Century', in P. Mathias (ed.), *The Transformation of England: Essays in the Economic and Social History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1979), pp. 265–85.
- Matthew, H. C. G., 'Taylor, William Cooke (1800–1849)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 27 February 2009].
- Mazzaoui, M. F., 'The Cotton Industry of Northern Italy in the Late Middle Ages: 1150–1450', *Journal of Economic History*, 32:1 (1972), pp. 262–86.
- Montgomery, F., *Printed Textiles: English and American Cottons and Linens 1700–1850* (New York: Viking Press, 1970).
- Morgan, G., and P. Rushton, *Rogues, Thieves and the Rule of Law: The Problems of Law Enforcement in North-East England, 1718–1820* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Morgan, K., 'Cary, John (1649–1719x22)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 28 February 2009].

- Muchmore, L., 'A Note on Thomas Mun's *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 23:3 (1970), pp. 498–503.
- O'Brien, P. K., 'Intercontinental Trade and the Development of the Third World since the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of World History*, 8:1 (1997), pp. 75–133.
- O'Brien, P., T. Griffiths and P. Hunt, 'Political Components of the Industrial Revolution: Parliament and the English Cotton Textile Industry, 1660–1774', *Economic History Review*, 44:3 (1991), pp. 395–423.
- Ogilvie, S., *State Corporatism and Proto-Industry: The Württemberg Black Forest, 1580–1797* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Ormrod, D., *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Overton, M., J. Whittle, D. Dean and A. Hann (eds), *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- Parker, G., 'Topographies of Taste: Indian Textiles and Mediterranean Contexts', *Ars Orientalis*, 34 (2004), pp. 19–37.
- Parthasarathi, P., 'Rethinking Wages and Competitiveness in the Eighteenth Century: Britain and South India', *Past and Present*, 158:1 (1998), pp. 79–109.
- Peck, L. L., *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Pickering, P. A., 'Class without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement', *Past and Present*, 112 (1986), pp. 144–62.
- Pinchbeck, I., *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (London: Routledge, 1930).
- Pollard, S., and J. Salt (eds), *Robert Owen, Prophet of the Poor: Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan, 1971).
- Poole, R., 'Collier, John (1708–1786)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn [accessed 24 February 2009].
- Prakash, O., 'The English East India Company and India', in H.V. Bowen, M. Lincoln and N. Rigby (eds), *The World of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 1–2.
- Ramsay, G. D., 'The Smugglers' Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2 (1952), pp. 131–57.
- Randall, A., and A. Charlesworth (eds), *Markets, Market Culture and Popular Protest in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996).
- , *Moral Economy and Popular Protest: Crowds, Conflict and Authority* (New York: St Martin's, 1999).
- Rice, J., 'Patterns of Swedish Foreign Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Geografiska Annaler*, 47 B (1965), pp. 86–99.
- Richards, J. F., 'Early Modern India and World History', *Journal of World History*, 8:2 (1997), pp. 197–209.

- Riello, G., and P. Parthasarathi (eds), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Roberts, E., and K. Parker (eds), *Southampton Probate Inventories, 1447–1575*, 2 vols (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1992).
- Roche, D., *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Rothstein, N., 'The Calico Campaign of 1719–1721', *East London Papers*, 10 (1964), pp. 3–21.
- (ed.), *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashion and Fabrics* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987).
- Rule, J., *The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England, 1750–1850* (London: Longman, 1986).
- (ed.), *British Trade Unionism, 1750–1850: The Formative Years* (London: Longman, 1988).
- Sanderson, E., *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).
- Shammas, C., 'The Decline of Textile Prices in England and British America prior to Industrialization', *Economic History Review*, 47:3 (1994), pp. 483–507.
- Siegele, S., *Toiles for All Seasons: French and English Printed Textiles* (Allentown, PA: Allentown Art Museum, 2004).
- Smail, J., *Merchants, Markets and Manufactures: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).
- Smelser, N. J., *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution; an Application of Theory to the Lancashire Cotton Industry, 1770–1840* (London: Routledge, 1959).
- Smith, C. W. "Callico Madams": Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 31:2 (2007), pp. 29–55.
- Spufford, M., *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (London: Methuen, 1981).
- , *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984).
- , 'The Cost of Apparel in Seventeenth-Century England and the Accuracy of Gregory King', *Economic History Review*, 53:4 (2000), pp. 692–5.
- , 'Fabric for Seventeenth-Century Children and Adolescents' Clothes', *Textile History*, 34:1 (2003), pp. 47–63.
- Starkey, D. R. (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII* (London: Harvey Miller for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1998).
- Stobart, J., *The First Industrial Region: North-West England, c. 1700–1760* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).
- Styles, J., 'Print and Policing: Crime Advertising in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 527–54.

- , 'Clothing the North: The Supply of Non-Élite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England', *Textile History*, 25 (1994), pp. 135–66.
- , 'Involuntary Consumers? The Eighteenth-Century Servant and her Clothes', *Textile History*, 33:1 (2002), pp. 9–21.
- , *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Styles, J., and A. Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Thirsk, J., 'Industries in the Countryside', in F. J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 70–88.
- , *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- Thomas, P. J., 'The Beginnings of Calico-Printing in England', *English Historical Review*, 39:154 (1924), pp. 206–16.
- Thompson, E. P., 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), pp. 76–136.
- Tompkins, A., *The Experience of Urban Poverty, 1723–1782: Parish, Charity and Credit* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
- Turnbull, G. L., *Traffic and Transport: An Economic History of Pickfords's* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979).
- Turner, T., 'The Social Skin', in C. B. Burroughs and J. Ehrenreich (eds), *Reading the Social Body* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 15–39.
- Underwood, D., *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- Unwin, G., *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights: The Industrial Revolution at Stockport and Marple* (London: Longmans, 1924).
- Verbong, G., 'The Dutch Calico Printing Industry between 1800 and 1875', in R. Fox and A. Nieto-Galan (eds), *Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture in Europe, 1750–1880* (Canton, MA: Watson, 1999).
- Vicente, M., *Clothing the Spanish Empire: Families and the Calico Trade in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).
- Vickery, A., *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
- Vigarello, G., *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Vincent, J. M., *Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern and Zurich 1370–1800* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935).
- Waddell, D., 'Charles Davenant (1656–1714) – A Biographical Sketch', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 11 (1958), pp. 279–88.

- Wadsworth, A. P., and J. de Lacy Mann. *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600–1780* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931).
- Walker, G., 'Women, Theft and the World of Stolen Goods', in J. Kermode and G. Walker (eds), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London: University College London Press, 1994), pp. 81–105.
- Weatherill, L., *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (London: Routledge, 1988).
- White, P. L. (ed.), *The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746–1799* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1956).
- Willan, T. S. (ed.), *A Tudor Book of Rates* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962).
- Wilson, C., *England's Apprentice, 1603–1763*, 2nd edn (London: Longmans, 1984).
- Wilson, R. G., 'The Supremacy of the Yorkshire Cloth Industry in the Eighteenth Century', in N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting (eds), *Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), pp. 225–46.
- Wrightson, K., *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).
- Zaret, D., *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

GLOSSARY

Adathais: a fine muslin-like Indian cotton cloth, imported for the British and re-export trade. Among other uses, this cloth was employed in furnishings.

Alamode: a light, thin, shiny black silk.

Allagars (allejar, allejae): cotton handkerchiefs made in south India, typically striped blue and white or red and white or checked.

Anterne (antherine): a mixed wool and silk, or mohair and cotton cloth, used both for the outer fabric of a garment and for linings.

Atlas (attlas): a high quality silk-satin textile made in India for clothing and domestic furnishings. This textile was often decorated with stripes, or embroidered. See 'Satin'.

Bafta (bafts): a cotton cloth commonly exported from the Gujarat in western India and normally sold white or red dyed to European markets and produced in a range of qualities. This cloth was widely imitated in other parts of India.

Baize (bays, bayes, baise): a coarse woollen cloth with a long nap, used for linings and for clothing more generally in Europe and the colonies. This cloth was manufactured in a variety of weights.

Bandanno (bandanna): a brightly coloured handkerchief, often with a spotted design, initially made in southern India as an export product. Originally silk, these spotted handkerchiefs were also made in cotton using the tie-and-dye method and became a widely traded Indian cotton commodity, later imitated by European cotton producers.

Bantam: a trading port of strategic importance on the western end of Java, proximate to major shipping lanes. Dutch and Portuguese competed for control of this site in the seventeenth century. The term 'bantam-work' came to be applied in eighteenth-century Britain to designs resembling Japanese lacquer work.

Banyan: the name given to Indian merchants in some regions by seventeenth-century English traders. This term also came to be applied to the loose informal

robe, adapted from a kimono, that became a fashion craze among European intelligentsia and commercial men. Banyans were worn for informal indoor gatherings and became a signature style in male portraits of this period.

Barragon: a coarse, strong, twilled cotton fustian widely used in men's clothing. See 'Fustian'.

Bast: strong, fibrous materials used to make rope, mats and similar items. The fibre itself may vary depending on its original source.

Beaver (beaver cloth): a sturdy wool cloth with a raised surface nap, resembling beaver fur, prized for making coats.

Bed Gown: a short gown, generally thigh length, usually worn over a petticoat by women of the labouring and middle ranks. See 'Petticoat'.

Bengals: a name given to some cotton fabrics made in the Bengal region.

Bethilles (bittilies, bettelles, bettelles): a fine cotton from the Coromandel Coast. See 'Muslin'.

Bombazeen: a corded fabric made of worsted wool and silk and, as one of the New Draperies, a staple manufacture of Norwich, East Anglia. This fabric was also made in worsted and cotton or worsted only. Bomabazeen was used for clothing and furnishings.

Brawl (brawle): a blue and white striped coarse cotton cloth made in the Gujarat, western India. This cloth was frequently employed in the West Africa trade.

Breeches: male item of clothing covering the lower part of the body from the waist to just below the knees and by the eighteenth century a form-fitting garment. Worn with hose, held at the knee with a strap or buckle, this system of dress became widespread among elite and middle-ranked men. Some men from the labouring classes also wore this type of garment either as livery or other facet of their employment. By 1815, breeches were gradually displaced by the wearing of trousers, a style that spread up the social ranks from labouring men, who always wore an alternative form of clothing.

Brilliant: one of the eighteenth-century worsted fabrics made in Norwich and used as a dress material. These were patterned in the loom, with floral or geometric designs.

Buckram: originally a coarse cotton cloth of central Asian origin, although in later European copies made of coarse linen. Buckram was typically stiffened with starch and used to line hats, clothing or other items.

Calamanco (callimanco, callomanco): a worsted wool fabric, often glazed, made in a great variety of patterns, colours and qualities. This fabric was commonly employed as a furniture fabric, as well as for clothing. See 'New Draperies.'

Calico: a generic term employed in Europe to refer to painted, printed or plain cottons imported from India. Europeans also produced variants of 'calico' initially using linen/cotton fabric from the late seventeenth century; however, they were unable to match the colour-fast dyeing methods of the original for several more generations.

Camblet (chamblett): This was first known in Europe as a costly fabric blending camel or Angora goat hair and silk. It evolved into a blended silk and wool textile and ultimately into a less costly worsted wool fabric. It was one of the New Draperies of Northern Europe, in England a mid-weight plain weave cloth. Goods made of silk and cotton in imitation of camblets were also imported from India. See 'New Draperies.'

Cambric (cambrick): a plain weave white linen cloth, much used for accessories like handkerchiefs or head linen. The name arises from Cambray, a region in northern France.

Canniken (canequins, kannekins): cheap, coarse Indian cotton dyed blue or black and directed to the re-export market.

Cantaloan: a wool cloth manufactured in the west of England.

Cantoon: a type of corded fustian. See 'Fustian.'

Checks (chequered): Checked and striped textiles were among the commonest of the patterned Indian cottons. Linen checked and striped fabrics were also widely made throughout Europe (see 'Ozenbrigs'). Checks and striped fabrics served utilitarian functions and had a wide market. Among the most important early features of the British linen/cotton trade was their production of checked and striped fabrics for domestic, colonial and export markets.

Chintz (chints, chinceys): printed or painted cottons produced in India. These became the model for imitations made in Europe, first printed on cotton/linen and then all cotton fabric.

Chucklaes (çiçekli?): In the Ottoman Empire *çiçekli* was a term used during the seventeenth century that referred to a printed cotton cloth. Possibly this term was transferred to the East India trade, referring to a specific printed Indian cotton.

Clout: a cheap cloth, used for utilitarian functions as in swaddling clothes for infants, a basic handkerchief and the like.

Counterpane (counterpain): This is another term for a coverlet or bed covering. Many varieties of bed covers were imported from India in both cotton and silk.

Crape: a thin, finely woven fabric of worsted yarn, silk or worsted/silk blend, finished to create minute wrinkles on the surface of the cloth. This fabric was used extensively in clothing.

Cuttanee (cuttannee): a mixed cotton and silk fabric, with a satin weave, principally made in Gujarat, western India.

Damask: originally associated with a textile made or bought in Damascus, a richly patterned silk, with the designs woven into the fabric. In Europe, the term came to mean twill weave linen or cotton figured with patterns and widely used for tableware.

Derebands (deriband): coarse to medium quality white Indian cotton, from North India, suitable for an array of uses.

Diaper: a linen fabric, simply patterned, often in geometric designs. Produced widely across Europe, this fabric also was made in varieties of towels and napkins.

Dimity (dimetty): a sturdy corded cotton fabric, sometimes with a woven figured pattern, made in various regions of India. European-made dimities were typically made from linen, or cotton and linen and featured figured patterns. Both cotton and linen dimity were used for clothing or bedding undyed.

Doiley: a decorative mat or napkin, sometimes fringed.

Dorea: silk and cotton cloth of superior to fine quality, popular for fashionable uses in Europe and made in several regions of India.

Dowlas (dowlass, dowlace): a coarse, strongly made linen, widely used in this era. Cotton varieties were also developed later in the eighteenth century.

Drab (drap): the term for a woollen cloth, valued for its weight and warmth, usually undyed or a light colour cloth.

Draperies: see 'New Draperies' and/or 'Old Draperies'.

Drugget: a woollen stuff from medium to coarse quality, sometimes made with wool and silk or wool and linen, used largely for clothing. Produced in many varieties and widely used.

Dungaree (dungarice): a strong, coarse Indian-made cotton, white or dyed, employed for utilitarian purposes. British-made fustians (linen/cotton) and cotton varieties of this cloth became a staple commodity during the eighteenth century.

Duroy: a coarse wool cloth used in clothing and made in western England. It is similar to tammy (see below) and is not a type of corduroy, despite the similarity of the names.

Elatches (elachees): striped cotton and silk quality fabric produced in various parts of India. In demand in Europe and colonial markets for fashionable wear.

Everlasting: This was initially a hard-wearing wool worsted cloth (also called durance) used for uniform coats or breeches and other comparable functions. It was similar to perpetuana (see below), one of the New Draperies.

Ferret: a tape used in trimmings, usually made of silk. See 'Tape'.

Flannel: a widely used open weave woollen stuff, woven from softly spun yarn and produced from coarse to fine quality. Flannel was used in clothing, sheeting and sleepwear.

Frieze (friese, frise): a coarse woollen cloth with a nap on one side, used for outer garments.

Frock (frock coat): a loose-fitting outer garment worn by agricultural labourers that came to influence the cut of men's coats more generally by the eighteenth century. A frock came to mean an unfitted man's coat worn on informal occasions or for rural pursuits. This form came to characterize the cut of British coats by the later 1700s and contrasted with the boned and closely fitted formal coat worn at court and more generally among the French elite.

Fustian: These were originally mixed-fibre textiles, most commonly linen and cotton, although wool and silk might also be employed in some cases. European-made fustians were initially manufactured in medieval northern Italy, a trade that spread to Central and then Northern Europe, with the name of some textiles becoming associated with a first production site: for example, de Nîmes = denim. All-cotton fustians became common as cotton manufacturing developed in the eighteenth century. Fustians are generally hard-wearing, utilitarian textiles. See 'Jean'.

Garlix (garlick, garlits, gulix): a linen cloth produced from fine to low quality, originally exported from Central Europe and widely used in the eighteenth century for shirting. A standard export product shipped to the American colonies for both settler and American Indian buyers.

Gelong (goulong): a cotton fabric patterned in the loom, often with flowers, sometimes with gold thread.

Ghenting: a linen cloth of fine quality (similar to cambric and lawn) that was made in the Flemish town of Ghent and its vicinity.

Gingham: fashionable Indian striped textile made of cotton and silk in Bengal and of all-cotton varieties in the Coromandel region.

Great coat (greatcoat): a heavy wool outer coat, often with multiple collars against the rain and cold, worn by men during the eighteenth century. This garment was also known as a 'surtout'.

Grograin (grosgrain, grogram): a ribbed silk and mohair, silk and wool or wool fabric, initially imported from Turkey. Lightweight, it was among the New Draperies which gained increasingly popularity in Europe and became a staple of European manufacture from the seventeenth century.

Guinea Stuffs (Guinea cloth, *pieces de Guinée*): Cheap, coarse cotton fabrics made in India, some striped or checked and other dyed blue. Together, these fabrics comprised a staple commodity used to barter for slaves in West Africa for the Atlantic slave trade.

Gurrahs (Garraes): a low to medium quality cotton textile produced in Bengal. This textile was commonly imported for block printing in England from the late seventeenth century onwards for English and re-export markets.

Haberdasher: trade involving the sale of small articles of clothing and accessories, such as hats, caps, ribbons, tape and thread. The haberdashery trade began with urban guilds, like the London Company of Haberdashers. Ultimately, the proliferation of shops and pedlars brought haberdashery wares to villages and hamlets across Britain. See also 'Milliner'.

Herba: a grass-like fibre made into cloth or combined with other fibres in the making of some Indian textiles.

Holland: inexpensive good quality bleached linen cloth associated with that region, produced in with many variations. Holland was used for utilitarian purposes such as household coverings, with finer varieties used for curtains or bed hangings.

Hummhum (hummum): a variety of white muslin from Bengal, most of superior quality. See 'Muslin'.

Izaree: a high-quality Indian cotton, noted for its whiteness, strength and fineness.

Jaconet (jacconette, jaconot): a lightweight cotton fabric made in Britain in the late 1700s based on an earlier Indian example.

Jam: a loose-fitting child's garment, based on an Indian garment, usually of muslin, called *jammah*.

Jamwar (jamware): silk brocade fabric of high quality made in Bengal and employed for fashionable wares in Europe.

Jean: a twill-weave fustian cloth originally of linen/cotton blend, the name coming from the port of origin: Genoa. Jean became one of the staple all-cotton fabrics for British manufacturers in the later eighteenth century. It was often indigo dyed for a characteristic blue colour. See 'Fustian'.

Kannekins: see canniken.

Kersey: One of the 'Old Draperies', this woollen cloth came in many varieties but was typically coarse and used for utilitarian clothing or uniforms.

Lawn: a finely woven, plain weave linen cloth, lightweight and with an open texture. Widely used as a clothing fabric, especially in warmer conditions.

Linsey-Woolsey: an English-made fabric produced from medium to coarse weave blending linen and wool, usually dyed blue or green. Widely used for utilitarian garments.

Long Cloth (*Longuins*): a cotton cloth produced on the Coromandel Coast, typically about 37 yards in length and available in a variety of colours and used for men's and women's clothing, like shirts, shifts, petticoats and waistcoats.

Lutstring: a silk fabric with a glossy sheen.

Mantua Maker: a female occupation equivalent to that of tailor, legally recognized in the later seventeenth century in various regions of Europe. Mantuas were a popular variety of flowing gown worn from the later seventeenth through much of the eighteenth century. Mantua makers produced these and other fashion garments for their clients, in large establishments employing servants and apprentices in their work. An important trade in quality clothes production.

Mercer: originally a member of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, a prominent London guild. The term ultimately came to mean a dealer in fabrics or haberdashery.

Milliner: trade specializing in selling accessories for female clothing, including head ware of all sorts. Some milliners also produced goods ready-made as well as made to order. Their occupation was similar to that of a haberdasher. See 'Haberdasher'.

Moree (mooree): a very high-quality cotton cloth woven on the Coromandel Coast. Moree was highly sought after in European markets, particularly as a base for fine embroidered goods.

Mulmul: muslin-like plain cotton fabric, often embroidered. This was a fashionable commodity for European and re-export markets.

Muslin: a very fine white cotton cloth produced in India. *Bethilles* is another of the Indian designations for ‘muslin.’ The Coromandel Coast produced extensive quantities of this fabric. Used in European dress for men’s cravats, women’s decorative aprons, head gear and (late in the eighteenth century) for gowns. In the late eighteenth century, new spinning technologies made this a breakthrough cloth for British manufacturers striving to match the quality of the Indian product.

Nankeen: a durable yellow cotton fabric produced in Nanjing, China, widely used in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century for items such as trousers, pockets and waistcoats. This fabric was imitated by British manufacturers who used yellow-dyed cotton to produce a similar type of cloth.

Negro Clouts: coarse cotton fabric imported from India for the slave trade or to clothe slaves in the Americas. See ‘Guinea Stuffs,’ ‘Clout.’

New Draperies: This new branch of the wool trade developed in England with the immigration of skilled Protestant workers from the Low Countries during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Many new-style fabrics were devised that were lighter and less expensive, feeding a fashion for these goods that disrupted the established woollen industry. New Draperies were typically made of long staple fleece that was combed, allowing for a smoother fabric; other fibres such as silk could also be combined producing a wide variety of fabrics. Serge, perpetuana and everlasting are some examples of the New Draperies, textiles that were a major source of employment and England’s principal export.

Nicanee (niccane, nickanee): a low-cost, coarse to medium quality striped cotton cloth made in western India. Nicanee was imported to England to serve in the re-export market for the slave trade in West Africa. See ‘Guinea Stuffs.’

Nightgown (night gown): an informal over-gown commonly worn by non-elite women on a daily basis and by ladies during informal events. Can also refer to a loose informal robe worn by gentlemen in this era – see also ‘Banyan.’

Nightrail: loose-fitting garment for sleeping. Some were imported from India ready-made.

Old Draperies: These woollen fabrics were the staple manufacture of Britain from the later Middle Ages and a growing export during the sixteenth century. As such, they received the close attention and careful protection from legislative, land-owning and commercial interests. Broadcloths were one of the pre-eminent woollen cloths. These textiles, along with cheaper kerseys, provided wealth and

employment in many regions of England. By 1640, however, the market had declined drastically in large measure because of the growing preference for lighter textiles, like the New Draperies or Indian cottons. The decline of the Old Draperies encouraged innovation and the production of a new range of wool textiles.

Ozenbrigs (osnaburg, oznabrig, ozenbruck): a coarse, unbleached linen or hempen cloth associated with Osnabrück Westphalia, but subsequently widely manufactured in other linen-producing regions of Europe from the seventeenth century onward. Cloth could be checked or striped as well as plain. It was commonly used for the clothing of labouring men and women, as well as for other utilitarian purposes. Unbleached varieties were sometimes painted or printed in imitation of Indian calico. It was also sold in great quantities for slave clothing. Cheaply made Indian cottons were among the competitive textiles for this lucrative market.

Palampore (pallampoor, palimpure): large, richly patterned cotton hanging from India, typically painted or painted and printed. These became very popular in European and colonial markets as bedroom hangings, inspiring European embroidered imitations, as well as printed imitations. Design motifs blended elements from China, Persia and Europe along with regional Indian themes to produce distinctive hybrid styles.

Parcals (Parcallaes): a fine and closely woven Indian cotton cloth, equivalent to a fine linen – the origin of the present word for fine cotton sheeting, ‘percale’.

Paudesoye (padua, poudesoy): a strong, silk fabric, often with an embossed or watered finish.

Perpetuana: widely used, durable wool fabric, employed in suiting; one of the ‘New Draperies’.

Persian: a soft slight silk used for lining clothes and originally of Persian manufacture.

Petticoat: the ubiquitous bottom outerwear of a woman’s apparel, tied at the waist, intended for view either with overskirts that looped back, or worn with a jacket or short gown. Petticoats assumed various shapes over the course of the eighteenth century, as fashions changed and they could be made of any clothing fabric. These garments were also made in quilted varieties for warmth in winter.

Phot eas (Photaes): Bengal dyed calico produced in coarse to medium quality. See ‘Calico’.

Pillow: a type of tightly woven linen or fustian (linen/cotton) cloth, medium to heavy weight, used for mattresses and pillows to hold stuffing like feathers, wool or straw. Often woven with a striped pattern.

Pinchbeck: a metal alloy comprised predominately of copper with some zinc, designed to resemble gold. Used in cheaper jewellery and watchcases.

Pineascoe: a mixed silk and cotton fabric of medium quality, made in Bengal and popular in Europe as a clothing textile.

Pintado: Portuguese term for Indian painted cloth, from the Portuguese word *pintadoe* 'painting'. See 'Calico' or 'Chintz'.

Plaid (plod): a check-patterned fabric, produced in a variety of fibres including linen, wool and cotton.

Pocket(s): one or two flat bags or pouches, with an opening on the side, were attached to a tape or cord and tied around the waist. Pockets were worn under the petticoat or gown, concealed from view, but could be reached through slits in the sides of the outer garment. Tie pockets were used by women and girls throughout this period to hold a small purse or any other personal items.

Prunella: a worsted fabric, one of the 'New Draperies', with a distinctive twill pattern in the weave. Made largely in East Anglia and used in judges' or barristers' robes, as well as in footwear for women.

Ranforcee: a silk fabric of strength.

Rateen (ratteen, ratiné): initially known as a coarse, woollen fabric with a distinctive nap; later produced as an open-weave cotton fabric. Used for outer-wear clothing and furnishings.

Romal (romaul, rumal): squares of cotton or silk, usually printed, painted or embroidered and used as handkerchiefs.

Russet (russett): a coarse woollen cloth often of rust colour, though also made in grey or drab colour. Russets were widely worn by common people in the early modern era as a staple cloth.

Sagathy (saggathy): a fabric of worsted wool or wool and silk made principally in the west of England and used especially for men's clothing.

Sailcloth: a general heading for a wide range of hemp, linen (and later cotton) fabric employed in the making of sails. Sailcloth was also used on board ship for many other practical purposes such as bags, coverings or even clothing on occasion. Sailcloth was produced in a range of weights, with various levels of durability depending on the intended use of the fabric.

Salempore (salampore, sallampore, selampores etc.): a staple cotton cloth produced on the Coromandel Coast of India, typically white with a red border.

Salempore also was produced in blue in the eighteenth century and used extensively for slave clothing in the West Indies.

Sannoos: a plain, white, medium-quality cotton cloth produced in Orissa, by the Bay of Bengal.

Sarsnet (sarsnett, sercenett, saircenett): a lightweight, soft silk principally employed as lining for clothing.

Satin (sattin): a satin weave produces a glossy surface and silk-satins are particularly prized for their sheen. However, this type of weave can be employed with other fibres like linen or cotton for less expensive satin-look textiles.

Satinette (sattinette): a silk and cotton cloth, woven in imitation of satin with a smooth, shiny surface. Satinette also was made of wool and cotton yarns.

Says (sayes): a 'New Drapery' made of worsted wool and used in clothing, finely textured and similar to serge. See entry for 'New Draperies'.

Scotch cloth: linen made or associated with Scotland, including those made with intersecting stripes, creating a check pattern. See Check.

Seersucker: a cotton and silk blend fabric with characteristic stripes made predominantly in Bengal. This fabric ranged from medium to fine quality and was popular for clothing.

Serge: a common, very durable worsted or worsted and wool cloth woven in a twill pattern. This fabric was used for clothing and furnishings, particularly among the labouring classes.

Shagreen: Rough untanned leather with a characteristic surface, prepared from the skins of horses, asses, sharks or seals and typically dyed green. Known for its durable character and employed for a variety of decorative purposes.

Shalloon: another of the variety of light worsted wool fabrics that also included tammies. This fabric could be finished in a variety of manners to suit the market. See 'Tammy'; 'New Draperies'.

Shift: a woman's undergarment, worn against the skin, under her stays. Initially made of linen; later cotton textiles were used.

Silesia (siletia, sletia, slesia, sleasia, sleasie): Silesia, in Central Europe, was a major manufacturing site for linen textiles and many of the varieties of linens from this region became associated with variants of that name. Fabrics from that region included diaper and lawn. See 'Diaper' and 'Lawn'.

Soosee (soosey, soosaes, soosayes, susi): a mixed cotton and silk striped textile from the Bengal region of India, typically of fine quality.

Spinster: the term to describe someone who spins fibre into thread or yarn for weaving or knitting. This occupation was so closely associated with girls and women that it came to serve as the designation of an unmarried woman. Prior to the industrialization of spinning, this production process was performed almost entirely by female labour whether in the wool, linen, silk or cotton trades.

Stays: an undergarment worn by women from the late seventeenth century through the entire eighteenth century. Built with heavy canvas or linen and shaped by whalebone – baleen from whales' mouths – inserted into the channels stitched in the garment. Stays were laced snugly and formed the architecture for the clothing worn on top. Women of all social classes wore stays and those who could not afford new stays bought them second-hand or wore stays made of scored leather.

Stripes (Striped): see 'Checks'.

Stuff: an eighteenth-century term applied to a relatively thin worsted wool cloth, made with a smooth finish and no nap or pile. Widely used in clothing.

Surtout: see 'Great coat'.

Tabby (also Tabbinette): a variety of silk taffeta fabric. See 'Taffeta'.

Taffeta (taffatic; taffatee): also called 'Indian Silk,' a plain-weave glossy silk cloth of fine quality produced in India and in many other silk-producing regions. It was popular in European and colonial markets for fashionable uses.

Tambour: a type of embroidery stitched using a tambour frame, a set of double hoops to hold the fabric. Widely used in men's and women's clothing.

Tammy: a light worsted wool cloth of fine quality, often with a glazed finish, widely used in clothing. See 'New Draperies'.

Tanjebs (tanjeb): a variety of white muslin from Bengal. See 'Muslin'.

Tape: tightly woven, strong, narrow-width linen or cotton fabric, of various colour, striped or plain. Used for decorative purposes on clothing or furnishings, as well as for functions such as the tying together of documents or to create a woven chair seat. Tapes were one of the staple commodities of the early Lancashire trade.

Tapsell (tapseel, topseil): a low-cost cotton/silk striped cloth woven in western India. Imported to Europe for the slave trade; a fabric in demand in West Africa. See 'Guinea Stuffs'.

Tepoy: a fine quality mixed cotton and silk fabric from the region of Bengal.

Thickset: see 'Fustian'.

Thread: aside from sewing thread, the term 'thread' is also used to designate a linen fabric, for example 'thread satin', or a linen item such as 'thread hose'.

Tick (thickening): sturdy, closely woven, hard-wearing fabric used in furnishings such as mattresses, pillows or bolsters. Originally linen, tick came to be made of linen/cotton and cotton.

Tiffany: a transparent silk or gauze muslin.

Trusses / Trunks: Trusses, trunks, chests, bales and boxes were among the commonest types of packaging employed to ship merchandise. Damage to cargo was a perennial risk and customers demanded careful packing, especially when goods spent months crossing the ocean or weeks transported by wagon or coach across country. However, the costs for chest, cords and canvas wrapping were borne by customers, as illustrated in the Beekman invoices and the records of the Manchester firm, reproduced in Volumes 3 and 4 of this collection.

Velveteen (velvateen): a variety of cotton fustian cloth, with a surface nap resembling velvet. British manufacturers produced a range of attractive mid-weight clothing textiles of this sort with similar sounding names including velverette, the French word for an equivalent fabric.

Waistcoat Shape: fabric for waistcoat fronts were cut to shape and then embroidered and sold in this ready-to-make format. The final fitting of the garment would require an additional back piece and be made up by a local tailor, seamstress or family member.

Warehouseman: an occupation involving both wholesale and retail trading which developed in the second half of the 1700s. This trade could also involve contracting ready-made items of clothing. Specialist warehousemen set up in London – such as Manchester Warehousemen, Petticoat Warehouseman, Clothes Warehousemen – some opening several venues in different regions of the city. They typically advertised widely and supplied other retailers with stock. Their mercantile activities represented a qualitative development in retailing.

Weaver: one who produces cloth with the use of a loom. The skill of the weaver determined the quality of the finished cloth. A ubiquitous trade, training in Europe was initially controlled by urban guilds and largely restricted to males. From the seventeenth century onward guilds in Britain had lost much of their monopoly of training and quality control, and suburban or rural practitioners, relying on informal instruction in the trade, took up weaving in great numbers.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

INTRODUCTION

The Early Cotton Trade with India and its Impact

India is the starting point, in terms of the origins of the trade, the markets served and the continuing importance of Indian technologies throughout the period covered by these volumes. Thus, it is particularly appropriate to begin this study by looking at India's role in long-distance trade before 1500. Indeed, linkages among societies over the period AD *c.* 500–1500 created networks of overlapping commerce of immense significance.¹ Employing combinations of archaeological and textual evidence, a growing cohort of academics has pointed to the important scale of trade over this era and the powerful forces exerted through these recurring contacts. As Jerry H. Bentley observes: 'In the large, settled agricultural societies of China, India, southwest Asia, and the eastern Mediterranean region, long-distance trade was voluminous enough to help shape the organization of industrial production.'² Thus, production at a scale to sustain vast and diffuse markets pre-dated the industrial age. China's region of Jingdezhen thrived as the international supplier of porcelain, at the same time as other manufacturing specializations in textiles, such as silks and cottons, developed in Asia. On the Indian subcontinent cotton production flourished in the Punjab, Gujarat, Bengal and the Coromandel Coast, and these multiple centres served both domestic and foreign markets. This was more than simply the small-scale circulation of luxuries for elite buyers in distant capitals. Merchants, artisans, seafarers and caravan leaders (and the religious and other travellers who accompanied them) forged ties that have left material and written records of these long-distance, long-term commercial links.³ Markets for Indian textile extended from the Indonesian islands and the lands abutting the China Sea to the east, across the Indian Ocean to East Africa, along land routes through Central Asia and Persia and through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to the eastern Mediterranean.

Bentley posits an 'impressive degree of interconnection' in the area 'from East Asia to the eastern Mediterranean' with volumes of trade that were significant for their time and place, 'much larger than modernocentric economic historians have generally recognized.'⁴ These mercantile patterns shaped the formation

of states and the rise of cities, along with the spread of food crops like lemons and bananas and industrial crops such as cotton and indigo. With the flow of goods came the movement of peoples and in the surviving accounts of the fourteenth-century traveller Ibn Battuta (1304–68/9), theologian and scholar, these trade routes and the commercial environment come more clearly into focus. The fourteenth century was a particularly dynamic era.⁵ And while relatively few individuals from the most distant of these zones encountered residents in the others, it was certainly possible for the curious and the intrepid to venture along these maritime or land-based routes recording the wonders and everyday facets of life they encountered.

Ibn Battuta was born in Tangier in 1304 and left as a young man to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. This began thirty years of travels during which his reputation as a sage and learned man grew. Hearing of the Sultan of Delhi, Battuta determined to journey to India to serve him and, following a circuitous path, eventually made his way to the Sultan's court. But this was not a permanent stop. So extensive were Battuta's travels and so numerous his adventures that a bare summary does not do him justice. However, his routine observations about the materials of life are of particular interest. Battuta travelled with caravans and voyaged on trading vessels and, while not a merchant, he recognized and recorded details with commercial connotations. Even before he arrived in India he had evidence of the long-distance trade in cottons. Coming from Medina, the group of pilgrims he was with were met by Bedouins: 'with sheep, melted butter, and milk, which they sell to the pilgrims for pieces of coarse cotton cloth. That is the only thing they will take in exchange.'⁶ Once resident in the Sultan's court some time later Battuta described the form of bedding, noteworthy no doubt because of its novelty, attention to cleanliness and the materials employed in construction:

The beds in India are light, and can be carried by a single man; every person when travelling has to transport his own bed, which his slave boy carries on his head. It consists of four conical legs with four crosspieces of wood on which braids of silk or cotton are woven. When one lies down on it, there is no need for anything to make it pliable, for it is pliable of itself. Along with the bed they brought two mattresses and pillows and a coverlet, all made of silk. Their custom is to put linen or cotton slips on the mattresses and coverlets, so that when they become dirty they wash the slips, while the bedding inside is kept clean.⁷

Battuta's encounters with cotton continued throughout his journey. His blue cotton tunic, worn 'during my retreat' as a mendicant, assumed symbolic importance and remained a poignant reminder of his religious practice whenever he saw it. A cotton field became a haven for a time, a place to hide when being pursued by bandits. Cotton figured as an ever-present facet of Indian life wherever he went. Battuta made his way to Bengal on his journey, commenting on the things he saw, like the vastness of the landscape, 'abounding in rice, and nowhere in the world

have I seen any land where prices are lower than there ... I saw too a piece of fine cotton cloth, of excellent quality, thirty cubits long, sold for two dinars.⁸

Ibn Battuta journeyed during a time of thriving trade, across the breadth of the Eurasian continent, following routes traversed by merchants and peddlers. One of the important western terminals of this trade was Cairo. Wealthy and more modest dealers made this city their base or travelled through this great entrepôt. Surviving documentary sources are scarce, yet those that remain paint a picture that confirms the intense commercial interest in the Indian Ocean trade among Cairo's commercial residents, including among the Jewish merchants in that city.⁹ Equally intriguing is the thousands of small scraps of Indian cottons at Fustat, the site of Old Cairo, excavated at the turn of the twentieth century. These textile fragments provide physical evidence of the dynamism of these commercial links over many centuries.

Ruth Barnes, curator at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, undertook a detailed assessment of the Newberry Collection, comprised of more than 1,200 pieces of excavated printed cotton fragments from Fustat held in the museum.¹⁰ A number of these items were carbon dated and the results signal the flow of trade textiles from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Further research in the Ashmolean collection uncovered additional intriguing evidence giving a fuller measure of this Eurasian trade, with a connection made between a full piece of Indian printed cotton from Indonesia and one of the Newberry Collection fragments. Interestingly, both pieces of cotton display almost identical designs; carbon dating also placed both fabrics in the fifteenth century. Barnes concludes that: 'the considerable number of Indian cotton fragments that have survived in Egypt from the medieval Islamic time onwards give us only a relatively small and late glimpse of a much larger, continuous trade network of considerable time depth.'¹¹ These textile fragments reflect a trade in utilitarian and practical fabrics, along with some better quality cloth; sometimes these were finely printed but some also show basic patterning on coarse cotton, designed for a variety of buyers. Among the many strengths of the Indian trade was the capacity of producers to serve the full range of the market, with fabrics plain and patterned, coarse and fine, to suit the tastes of their multicultural customers.

Over the medieval period Venetian and Genoese merchants looked longingly at the cargoes of Indian cottons circulating in the eastern Mediterranean and manoeuvred to capture a share of this trade. Both the era of the Crusades and the expansion of Italian merchants into the eastern Mediterranean brought increased contact with cotton textiles – cotton itself had spread from India by this time and was an established crop and regional industry in Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt, all based on the Indian exemplar. Ultimately these fabrics found their way to Italy, where the first European attempts at cotton manufacture took place. Fustian (a mixed cotton/linen fabric) and various plain cotton cloths

became a successful part of the textiles sector in northern Italy. Other manufacturing efforts took root in Southern France and Catalonia in Spain. But it was in northern Italy that the greatest success was achieved.¹² These fabrics became the model for new-style lighter textiles, the influence of which slowly spread north through Europe, destabilizing tastes and patterns of consumption in the succeeding centuries.

The riches of the Indies grew in the imagination of all who learned of the eastern regions. Italian merchants and navigators, as well as Jewish and Islamic dealers resident in North Africa and (until the late 1400s) the Iberian Peninsula were well aware of the commercial networks channelling Asian wares into the Mediterranean world. Some had family or business involvement in this commerce. There was a growing interest in finding ways to reach further along these commercial routes and capture more of the wealth. In the fifteenth century Prince Henry of Portugal (1394–1460) planned the conquest of a key Moroccan port and thereafter encouraged voyages down the coast of West Africa, in regions unknown to Europeans. African trade routes which intersected with those based on the Indian Ocean and trans-Saharan caravans likewise carried gold, slaves and goods north to the Mediterranean Sea. These riches were a further incentive to extensive voyages along the African coast and by the 1440s brought the Portuguese south of the Muslim-dominated trade networks, opening ever-wider opportunities before them. Gold and slaves flowed into Portugal and the Portuguese appetite was whetted for ever-longer voyages and possibly greater profits. By the 1490s it was clear that the African continent could be circumnavigated. In 1497 Vasco da Gama left Lisbon, passing into the southern Indian Ocean by the end of that year and in 1498 the Portuguese landed in Calicut, a major port on the south-west coast of the subcontinent. Da Gama's return to Portugal in September 1499 opened a new chapter in the political and commercial life of the world.

The cotton trade is enmeshed in such momentous incidents. As John Richards notes: 'human societies shared in and were affected by several worldwide processes of change unprecedented in their scope and intensity.'¹³ Direct sea-borne contact between Western Europe and Asia was one of the 'unprecedented' events. However, the immediate effects of the Portuguese presence should not be viewed through the nineteenth-century imperial lens. Portugal brought a distinctly different mode of armed trade into the monsoon trading zones, but had neither the sweeping military powers nor the requisite resources effectively to seize wide regions of India. Portugal's principal aim was realized in the wealth of goods that flowed directly from the manufacturing and trade networks of Asia to Portuguese ports. For about a century Portuguese fleets supplied Europe through these new channels, amassing wealth and facilitating the tastes for Asian commodities over a wider span of Europe (and into Portugal's Brazilian

colony).¹⁴ Indian textiles appeared almost immediately in Lisbon after 1500 and within a generation were being sold in many regions of Europe, in some regions directly by Portuguese peddlers.¹⁵ Calico shops opened across Lisbon and Portuguese merchants assembled impressive resources to expand their trade later in the sixteenth century.¹⁶ Over the sixteenth century, kings and courtiers revelled in the costly specialist textile products of India, while less exalted Europeans were gradually introduced to a quality and variety of cottons unmatched by any European fabrics – contact with cottons depended on proximity to ports and trade routes. Direct seaborne trade transformed long-established commercial circuits based on eastern Mediterranean centres. Likewise the markets for Indian cottons expanded dramatically beyond Mediterranean societies into the burgeoning regions of Atlantic and north-west Europe.

The iconic meaning of ‘Indies’ as the source of undreamt of wealth became embedded in European culture within the century that followed da Gama’s first voyage. References to the East Indies, or metaphors employing the term, became the stuff of contemporary culture and can be found in plays, poetry, pamphlets and treatises. As the linguistic culture evolved, so too did material culture, although these shifts and modifications took place with varying speed in various communities. Over the course of the sixteenth century, English contacts with Indies cotton stuff increased. The references to such materials can be found in published probate inventories from communities like Southampton, as well as Somerset, not to mention in the inventories of monarchs from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I and members of the Queen’s court.¹⁷ Monarchs across Europe amassed collections of Asian luxuries, including textile items of Indian manufacture. Meanwhile, by the last decades of the 1500s, common calicoes, white and patterned, had entered the lexicon of European trade textiles in official customs records, trade inventories and common vocabulary.¹⁸ At the time of the launch of the English East India Company in December 1600 there was a commercial familiarity with many, if not all, of the products available in the Indian Ocean. With information came a hope for profits.

Familiarity came through material contact, oral and written reports. Written accounts of the people and places along the routes through Asia Minor and India were published and republished in translation for a fascinated readership, governmental and mercantile.¹⁹ These volumes typically included descriptions of the merchandise available for trade; the preoccupation with potential wealth is a palpable theme in many of these publications.²⁰ For instance the Venetian merchant Cesare Federici produced an account of his Asian journeys translated into English in 1588 with specific reference to ‘the merchandises and commodities of those countreyes’. Among the catalogue of jewels and spices issuing from the port of Cambay in north-west India Federici lists ships loaded with ‘an infinit quantity of cloth made of Bumbast of all sorts, as white[,] stamped