Linking Cloth/Clothing Globally:

The Transformations of Use and Value, *c.*1700-2000

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Introduction: Towards Global Studies of Use and Value of Cloth/Clothing

Miki Sugiura

The main purpose of this book is to re-position and re-contextualize the use and value of cloth/clothing in the 18th-20th centuries. Cloth and clothing have traveled around the world since time immemorial. Some elements, if not all, of the use and value attached to cloth/clothing are evident without explanation. When we first encounter a new piece of fabric, we typically touch it to feel its texture, get a sense of the quality of threads used therein, take note of its patterns and motifs, and cast it over our shoulders to check how it feels to wear that particular piece of fabric. We also immediately start thinking about how we would use the fabric or clothing. Cloth and clothing has continued to serve many valuable purposes over the centuries in all parts of the world. A piece of cloth or even clothing starts its travels from one point, transfiguring itself and fulfilling its mission till it becomes a scratch.

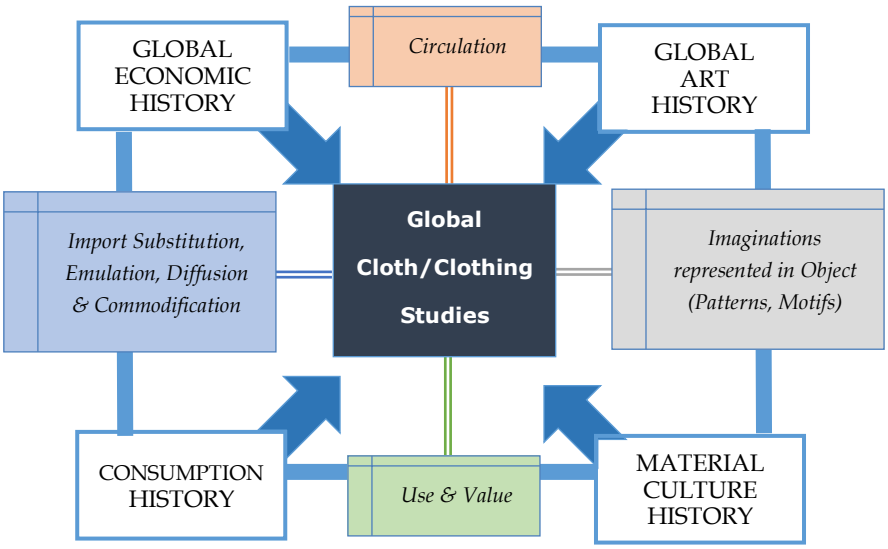
However, until recently, historiography have not explored the use and value of cloth/clothing in global terms. The main focus of history of costumes or dress has been to show differences in the styles adopted among regions and nations by generations. The important themes related to the transfer of cloth/clothing, such as the adoption or refusal of the alien style of dress, or social diffusion and emulation of dressing styles from the elites to the plebian, tend to be studied separately on a regional/national basis. Recently, there have been attempts to overcome this shortcoming by studying the situation from a multidisciplinary perspective, that is, in the context of global/world history. These attempts are mapped in Figure 1. Roughly four major academic schools of thought can be depicted:

a. **Global Economic History**
b. **History of Consumption of Goods, particularly those related to Luxury and Fashion**
c. **Studies on Materiality in History/Material Culture**
d. **Global Art History**

Since 2000s, achievements in the study of **Global Economic History** have contributed much toward shedding light on the geographical connections of cloth/clothing, centering especially on cotton. A series of works, such as “How India Clothed the World” or “Spinning the World,” connected textile transactions centering the Indian subcontinent with later European

commercialization and industrialization. [1]Recent works centering on cotton further provide a holistic understanding of the formation of global commodity chains and global production systems (Beckart 2014). According to more recent studies, the divide between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans is starting to be bridged (Machado, 2014; Riello, 2015). The narrative becomes increasingly integrated, revealing the various interconnections between cotton and other textile industries across all parts of the world as a result of **import substitutions.**

Figure 0.1. Four major schools of thoughts in the Global Cloth/Clothing Studies



Paralleling these achievements, **studies on Consumption and Goods** evolved, with luxury and fashion being its key orbits. Needless to say, the discussion on consumer revolution and industrial revolution centers on the establishment and diffusion of fashionable items as "new luxuries," with emphasis being placed on printed cotton textiles. This debate promoted in-depth comparisons among regions. Recent studies are not only debating whether the frameworks of the consumer revolution and industrious revolution are applicable to the contexts of the Ming dynasty of China, the Edo period in Japan, Russia and Turkey, but have also fostered a layered understanding of consumer demands in non-European regions. African consumers are now recognized as having one of the cloth/clothing markets with the most versatile consumer taste orientations in the world.[2]

Studies on consumption and goods are connected closely with **Material Studies and Material Culture Studies**. Consumption historians have explored inventories and other sources and have refined definitions of the **use and value of cloth/clothing.** Research on possessions of cloth/clothing by plebian enable a more comprehensive understanding of dress systems.[3]The impact of materiality in changing historical views is most strongly represented in a series of works by Beverly Lemire.

[1] Riello and Parthasarathi 2009, Riello and Thirtankar Roy 2009.
[2] Prestholdt 2008.
[3] McCants, 2010.

[4]By shifting attention to materiality, Lemire and others succeeded in gauging the hybridized nature of textiles and dress and contextualizing global and local political and cultural agendas into them. Lemire traces the details of cloth colors, patterns, shades, textures, and sewing stitches. She drives out use and value from those characteristics and overarches those with the novel ways to look at the key developments in the production and distribution of textiles and dress, such as readymade production or gender divisions in labor.

Among others, Giorgio Riello, also drew attention to materiality in the given context. His recent work establishes methods for analyzing multifaceted "spaces of global interactions" of objects. [5]These spaces not only involve actual transfer and exchange but also include virtual spaces and communications formulated through motifs, patterns, and epistemologies of artifacts.

Table 0.1 Key themes at the intersections of four schools and its variables

Intersections of	**Key themes**	**Variables**	**Active Space**	**Active Agents**
Global Economy/ Global Art	**Transfer and Circulation**	Contact and Exchange	Where objects are exchanged	Mediator, Provider, Receiver
Global Economy/ Consumption (Luxury-–Fashion)	**Import Substitution Social Diffusion Commodification**	Consumer Demand, Cost	Where objects are purchased and owned	Distributor, Consumer, Producer
Consumption (Luxury-–Fashion) /Materiality	Use and Value	Utility Value	Object itself, Where objects are used	User (Wearer)
Materiality/ Global Art	Representation and Imagination	Meaning and Understanding	Expressed on objects (patterns/motifs), where objects are made	Maker and Client, Object itself

This approach has strong compatibility with the approaches followed by scholars of **Global Art History**. Given that interactions occur across broader regions, recent studies in global art history and history of global material culture overcame traditional categorizations and segmentations and re-contextualized the notions of global cultural transfers, mediations, and circulation of art objects. [6] Their investigations explore not only how certain patterns and motifs on cloth/clothing are interrelated globally (similar to the line of thought of traditional textile historians), they also emphasize the need to explore trans-regional client–customer relationships and to uncover the hybridized and interlinked meanings of such objects.

It is thus logical to presume that all these four dynamic notions in history dictate events related to

[4] Lemire 1991, Lemire 2018.
[5] Riello and Gerritsen 2014.
[6] North and DaCosta Kaufmann 2014, DaCosta Kaufmann et al. 2015.

cloth/clothing, making this area one of the most stimulating and dynamic fields in history studies. However, at the same time, although these four notions are connected, they are still different and has different themes and variables. There is a need to reconfigure these intersections (see Table 0.1) and ask how to interconnect each notion's relevant variables to be useful for the field.

To clarify this point, we present the intersection points of the four fields in Table 0.1, following some of Riello and Gerritsen's categorizations. We use these points as the key sub-themes to analyze the historical development of cloth/clothing. The table shows that the variables, active space, and active agents differ across the themes.

Starting with "Use and Value"

Although the studies on cultural transfers and import substitutions are engaged in exploring geographical connections among regions, they do not necessarily pay attention to how the use and value of cloth/clothing have changed during circulation. For instance, detecting a series of import substitutions between multiple regions might help connect them, but it also has the pitfall of flattening out the use and value of cloth/clothing by staging versions produced after the original as "copies" and "recopies." Even if some form of item evaluation is included in the discussion, it is prominently derived from the aspects of consumer demand or cost. Also, concerning the adoption of the European style of dress, the notion that all styles originated in Europe is stronger than the notion about how their original usage was transformed into something new. Thus, the overall attention rests on whether receiver regions accepted and domesticated cloth/clothing and not on whether its use and value have changed.

In contrast, the central theme of this book is the transitions in the use and value of cloth/clothing. We propose that there are **three stages in this transition**: **inherent use and value, their transformation, and their sharing.**

Inherent Use and Value

We presuppose that there is established inherent use and value in certain types of cloth/clothing and that this use and value closely reflect the materiality conveyed by the cloth/clothing. Historiography includes the study of materiality based on fibers, with cotton being the most explored fiber. However, we submit that inherent use and value are established beyond the type of fiber. It is well known among the English-speaking people that "cotton" was not originally made of cotton fiber but wool. The use and value expressed in the original "cotton" were later transmitted to textiles made of cotton fiber. The same could be said for "linen." For more detailed labels, such as gingham, guinees, osnaburgs, or even lace, we mark an even more extensive cross-

over with regard to time and location. [7]

We believe that much remains to be explored for these sorts of "labels," eventually taking us beyond the current notions of "fiber separatism," and to some extent, "cotton determinism." The existing literature—in particular, that on textile history and economic history—can be categorized in terms of fibers. There is no doubt that the substitution between and emulation of fibers are important issues and that cotton, after all, remains the undisputed king of fibers, considering its impact on the global economy (Beckart 2014). However, focusing on select fibers narrows our understanding of use and value.

Most importantly, as scholars have recently pointed out, mixed fabrics, such as fustians, played a crucial and consistent role in cloth production between the 18th and 20th centuries. [8]John Styles stresses that the mechanized cotton spinning technologies were developed by adapting skills from silk spinning. [9]While this book does not focus on mixed fabrics or intermingled cloth per se, we believe that mixed fibers will become focal points in future studies on cloth/clothing.

Our book thus focuses on the importance of the coexistence of fibers as well as various styles of cloth/clothing in one location. In particular, the chapters discussing the cloth/clothing practices in the 18th century will explore how people dealt with the situation where textiles of European, Asian and other locales co-existed and how these practices conflated new choices of attire. For 19th century, practice of Russia is representative. Both Russian fur and cotton developed in complex relation to other fibers.[10]This also holds true for the later chapters discussing the diffused styles in clothing in the 1920s and the 1930s. It is our aim to study and highlight the coexistence of various cloth/clothing and uncover the creation of different types of "labels" in terms of their usage.

Transforming Use and Value

"Inherent" value will undergo a transformation when cloth/clothing is relocated/transferred to another location. Even at locations where other cloth/clothing fulfilled specific roles and gave rise to a system of sorts, new cloth/clothing was surprisingly incorporated in the short or long term. Naturally, the cloth/clothing was also used for other purposes. The use and value of cloth/clothing were thus transformed from the original. The new use and value were not necessarily a direct transformation of the original but could be freshly created in relocated places closely related to their own local/global background. Simultaneously, the inherent use and value of the original are not totally discarded. Rather, multiple new and transformed uses and values are accumulated.

We believe that cloth/clothing can be distinguished as a material and a product depending on its variability of use and value (variability and proliferation of use and value and their long-term

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7 Takeda 2012.
8 Lemire 2003, Riello 2013.
9 Styles 2015.
10 Shiotani 2014, Morinaga 2013.

development). Cotton is likely to have the strongest position in this respect. Giorgio Riello's chapter in this book could be interpreted in this light: the variability of use and value of this fiber has helped it earn its place as an "aspirational luxury." However, other labels of cloth/clothing would also have this element. Therefore, we aim to study different types of diffused cloth/clothing and analyze how their uses and values were transformed in the 18th to 20th centuries.

Sharing/Diffusing Use and Value

It is equally significant to appreciate how a certain type of use and value are shared among groups of people. This process happens usually within one culture and society, but it happens also transcending culture and society; it can be transnational. Studying the themes of social diffusion as well as the broad adoption of Europeanized/Asianized styles is essential to understand the use and value of cloth/clothing. Emulating the concepts from Lemire's chapter, we refer to the settings and tools for diffusing and sharing certain uses and values of wearable items as "technology." We also assume that institutions proposed political and cultural agendas to promote the sharing of use and value. Thus, we describe how these technologies and agendas impact the use and value of cloth/clothing.

Furthermore, the book also focuses on the internal forces of an object that help its propagation. This aspect is essential in understanding diffusion in a multidirectional, rather than a dualistic or hierarchical, setting. Keeping Bruno Latour's approach in mind, we try to distinguish the mediators and object agen**cy** involved in the process of transfer. Mediators are the third factor involved in the process of cultural exchange or transfer. They cause an item to be transformed into something different. We often refer to the setting these transformations occur as diplomacy in this book. In contrast, the term "object agency" suggests that the object itself has the power to enact its own diffusion. In her chapter, Lemire notes that her object, a shirt, enacts a "cultural agenda." It is worthy to note that the political or cultural agenda is not imposed on the object, but object itself has the force of executing the agenda(s). Moreover, the object possesses its own logic to grow, transform, and diffuse. Detecting the mediators or object agency in any type of diffusion, however, is not an easy task. Nevertheless, a part of the book explicitly deals with the role of mediators or object agencies, bringing us a step closer to discussing the **multidirectional diffusion** and circulation process pertaining to cloth/clothing.

The focal point in the discussion on new luxuries or social diffusion is the use and value shared among the so-called "middle class," a class of society central to our discussion. In contrast to other rich literature on this topic, this book will not discuss them per se. Rather, it will begin with a discussion of the objects. This book problematizes the concept of luxuries in considering the creation of diffusible items and puts more emphasis on "affordability" and "cheapness" in relation to it. Needless to say, "new luxuries" have been positioned as the central driving force of the 18th-century Atlantic consumer revolution. One aspect of a luxury product is its broad availability in the future; in

other words, its ability to became cheaper or affordable. (Thirsk, Brewer McKendrick). In the case of the Atlantic market, emulation (trickling down or imitations of the original version) is recognized as the process that eventually makes these items more affordable. However, such "cheaper and affordable product creation" was in itself supported by a series of inventions not confined to technologies of production and supply.

Moreover, such creation becomes essential in the production of diffusible items in "latecomer" regions. The reasons for this are threefold. First, the newly created/transferred/introduced item had to compete and coordinate with an existing range of affordable luxuries. Cheapness played a vital role in penetrating the markets. Second, the major lines of newly consumed items in these areas were supplied by secondary production, copying/imitating the original production at firsthand centers. The values of being original and unique, which are inherent to the concept of "luxury," are swayed/altered in such production. Nevertheless, they were crucial diffusible and aspiring luxuries. We need to understand the values of these diffusible items in relation to their being copied products. Third, cheapness, aided by mass production, was also essential for these products to penetrate the international markets. Not only was cheapness crucial to diffuse the product in the local/domestic markets, but it was essential to help them secure a share in the global market and turning from consumers to suppliers.

To unveil this complexity, this book first identifies the representative elements crucial to sharing (diffusing) use and value of cloth/clothing. Then, we conduct in-depth examinations of the versatile value system of cloth/clothing for different locations as well as their contextualization at the social, cultural, and political levels.

By dividing our work across these three stages, we detract from the usual definitions of "use and value" (namely, their traditional focus on materiality and commodification), and instead concentrate on other relevant topics, such as import substitution and social diffusion or cultural transfers, using the concept of "use and value" as the core element. It is our belief that such an approach will help integrate the above-mentioned four major academic schools of thought and provide an improved understanding of cloth/clothing at the global scale.

Approaches and Objectives

Further, we use the following detailed approaches to strengthen our setting.Geographically, this book addresses the notion that all regions have not been equally studied in global studies of cloth/clothing, particularly with regard to understanding import substitutions. As noted above, the framework of import substitutions is useful in detecting the global connections between industries in different locations, and its overuse will lead to the creation of a simplified "forerunner–follower (imitator)" relationship, a notion that prevails throughout the narrative. First, those who cannot be placed as followers, winners, or losers with regard to import substitution are excluded from the picture.

Moreover, connections among followers are often dismissed. For instance, many studies on latecomer industries focus on comparing and connecting the forerunning Indian textile industry with the later pervasive British textile industry. However, the colonial links of the Spanish, Dutch, French and British are usually dealt with separately. In addition, when one follower country succeeds in import substitution and starts exports, its product is categorized as an "imitation" or "(re)copy," and therefore, it is inherently undervalued, creating discontinuities in the development of use and value. Furuta 2015)

Thus, this book particularly focuses on areas other than those regarded as strong global diffusive centers for wearable items, namely India, China, Northwestern Europe, and later, the United States, and on areas/actors that are often dismissed in the "Anglo–Atlantic" or "Indian Ocean" narratives. It analyzes regions likely to be categorized as latecomers and imitators, regions positioned ambivalently, or regions excluded from the global picture. Thus, the book focuses primarily on the Netherlands, Mexico, Japan, and Russia, and to a lesser degree, on East African regions and Ireland.

However, this book does not attempt to outline the development of the industry in these regions or connect them to the existing narrative or global history. Rather, this book follows an object-centered approach, wherein most chapters will focus on one or a limited number of material objects (wearable items of cloth/clothing) or a specific range of objects that became diffusible and serve as the interface (intersection) for intercultural, interregional, and/or inter-societal exchanges (e.g., *Aloha* shirts, coarser linen, snow shoes, silk wastes, silk-spun textiles, slave clothing, sewing Machines, etc.). The book resonates with other recent contributions that address the "lives of things" in the global perspective (Appadurai 1986, 2005).In doing so, our book presents the multifaceted contexts embedded in these items by 1. Contextualizing their uses and values by considering their social, cultural, and political dimensions, and 2. Clarifying the technological and institutional elements supporting their realization and application.

Lastly, it is important to note that the word "transformation" or "sharing" applies as much to people as it does to the use and value of cloth/clothing. First, although migrants may have formed a minor fraction of society in the 18th-20th centuries, we stress on the active roles of sailors, soldiers, slaves, and travelers in transforming the use and value of cloth/clothing. In addition, we also stress the transformation in the record makers' mind. An inventory record making notary must have undergone much in their attempts to understand the versatile significance of cloth/clothing items they encounter in different contexts. Once again, the book appreciates their terminologies and the labeling of certain articles of cloth/clothing prevailing at the time, thus shedding light on their use and value.

Finally, the same holds true for the "users" of cloth/clothing. Users are the agents active in formulating the use and value of cloth/clothing (see Table 0.1). This book attempts to widen the focus to "users", to that beyond the purchaser or owner of cloth/clothing, or the so-called consumer. For instance, slaves might not have purchased their own clothing and could hardly be called consumers. Nevertheless, we recognize them as active agents in creating cloth/clothing. Indeed, we could consider many people who wear secondhand clothing in a similar vein. By focusing on the concept

of use and value, the book attempts to expand upon these issues from the user's point of view. Further, the book does not delve as far into the details of materiality as do studies on material culture, but it does attempt to address the elements that enabled the transformation and sharing of cloth/clothing.

Composition of the book

This book consists of two parts:

Part I: The 18th Century global Cloth/Clothing circulations: Coexistence and Conflation

Part II: The Late 19th to early 20th century Cloth/Clothing transformations: Encounters and Diffusions in Japan and Russia

The first part focuses on the global circulation of cloth/clothing in the 18th century, centering on the coexistence of the variety of styles and their productions. It primarily centers on the linkages among Spain, Manila, and Mexico, and the Netherlands, Batavia, Cape Town, and Japan. Simultaneously, the chapters acutely underscore the emerging British "imperial and cultural agendas." These chapters thus verify that the coexistence of cloth/clothing and material goods supplied from India and other Asian and Northwestern European as well as local was normalized to the lower stratum of the society. These were precisely the conditions that led to the creation of new industries, as was the case in Ireland. The first two chapters (Chapter 1, Chapter 2) by Renate Pieper and Takeshi Fushimi, opens the book with the reflection on the versatile dress culture of 18th-century Mexico within the context of the global background. The book then turns its attention to the use and possession of cloth/clothing in Chapter 3, delving into the "global meaning of cloth/clothing," in Anne McCants' words, via observations on local practice in accepting global cloth/clothing flows. In doing so, Chapter 3 also provides a thorough and quantitatively rich view on how the lower segments of society in Amsterdam came to possess and control a wide range of textiles. In strong connection with this analysis, Chapter 4 by Miki Sugiura deals with the possession and creation at an Early modern Dutch colonial settlement and focuses on the creation of "slave clothing" in Cape Town in 18th century. Chapter 4 and subsequent Chapter 5 by Izumi Takeda, which deals with coarse linen production in Ireland, pertains to the creation of cheaper products in the 18th century.

Chapter 6 by Beverly Lemire vividly details the complex and multifaceted process of mediation and translations involved in selecting items such as shirts and snow shoes in the British Empire. Finally Chapter 7 by Giorgio Riello, provides an insightful framework to categorize newly developing fashion as consumer commodities across the world.

The second part shifts chronologically to the 19th and mid-20th centuries. Focusing on Russia and Japan, each chapter in this part showcases particular broadly diffused items of cloth/clothing and contextualizes their meanings in international setting. The chapters present the technological and sociocultural contexts of diffusible items that had close links to the adoption of the "Europeanized

style" of cloth/clothing.

Chapter 8 by Takako Morinaga shows how fur earned its position in American–Russian–Chinese trade (markets) and politics (empires). Chapter 9 by Masachika Shiotani, provides comprehensive overview on how Russia's cotton industry underwent three series import substitutions: in the dyeing process, spinnin process, and the cotton supply, and how they domesticated the industry. Chapter 10 by Irina Ptkina describes the entry and impact of American Singer sewing machines on Russian homes in the late 19th century.

Equal attention is given to the diffusion of cloth/clothing items on earlier stages in Japan. The focus here is the interwar period (1920 to the 1930s, namely the Taisho and early Showa periods). In the Japanese historiography of fashion, this period is evaluated as the early stage of adoption of the European style of clothing, which was eventually accepted as court attire, army and school uniforms as well as working attire for men. The women, however, continued to prefer Kimonos. Interestingly, the lack of examples of European style readymade clothing is often simultaneously linked to the lack of European style production.[11] This book challenges this view.

Chapter 11 by Naoko Inoue discusses the end product referred to as the original Japanese Kimono range, *Meisen*, a newly invented and highly versatile silk cloth that was the product of transnational technological transfer and remediation. Chapter 12 by Emi Goto deals with other forms of diffused items, such as the *Appappa* (simplified shift dress) or wearing a "straw hat" with the veil in Iran, which cannot be fully appreciated under the context of adopting and domesticating a Europeanized dressing style. Chapter 13 by Keiko Suzuki describes shirts and other Kimono products, which were remediated by tourists and soldiers and became globally circulated items. In sum, all these chapters showcase how cheaper and affordable "diffusible items" were shaped via external influences and how their utility and values eventually came to be transformed and diffused.

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[11] As Rika Fujimori recently noted, 'Before the Second World War, most middleclass people wore kimonos in Japah, while some upperclass people wore tailored Western style clothes: readymade clothes did not exit in Japan at that time. However, with the introduction of Western weaving machines and the Western production system,clothing companies were able to produce readymade clothes and could therefore expand and increase their sales'. (Fujimori 2015). Readymade clothes, in this context, were naturally limited to "European-style readymade" clothing.

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Part I:

The Eighteenth Century Global Cloth/Clothing Circulations: Coexistence and Conflation

I.

Changing dress patterns in the Spanish Empire during the Eighteenth century

Renate Pieper

Introduction

When the treaty of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, it was agreed that a Bourbon king should inherit the Spanish Empire, except the Spanish Netherlands and the Italian territories. Through this treaty of 1713, Britain obtained the monopoly for the slave trade to Spanish America and the right to annually send a ship of 500 tons loaded with merchandise to the Spanish American realms. This annual ship and its goods, not the slave trade or territorial disputes, was the point of discussion that led to the War of Jenkins' Ear in1739.

The exports from Europe to Spanish America covered a broad range of items, but textiles were predominant in value and volume. Since the 16th century, Northern France and the Spanish Netherlands had been important suppliers of textiles for the Spanish trade with Spanish America.[12] The relevance of French and Flemish textiles increased during the reign of the French king Louis XIV (1643-1715), when he established his court as a European fashion centre with special printed journals like the Mercure Galant announcing the latest trends twice a year.[13] Finally, during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), the French tried to enter the Spanish-American trade directly without Spanish intermediaries. Nonetheless, these French efforts to control the Spanish American traffic were in vain, because the Spanish War of Succession ended with the aforementioned commercial treaty on the import of British, Irish and Dutch textiles in detriment to those produced in northwestern France and Flanders. By then, all these northwestern European regions, from northwestern France to Ireland, were famous for their light woollens and linens. At the beginning of the 18th century, the export of

[12] *España y América. Un océano de negocios. Quinto centenario de la Casa de la Contratacion, 1503–2003*, Seville 2003; Eberhard Crailsheim, Extranjeros entre dos mundos: una aproximación proporcional a las colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en Sevilla, 1570–1650. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* (48) 2010, 179–202; Ana Crespo Solana, Legal Strategies and Smuggling Mechanisms in the Trade with the Hispanic Caribbean by Foreign Merchants in Cadiz: The Dutch and Flemish Case, 1680–1750. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 47 (2010), 181–212. Carlos Martínez Shaw, Marina Alfonso Mola (ed.), *España en el comercio marítimo internacional (siglos XVII-XIX)*. Quince estudios, Madrid 2010.

[13] Joan DeJean, *The Essence of Style. How the French Invented Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafés, Style, Sophistication, and Glamour*, New York 2005.

cotton textiles was not yet discussed.[14]

A century later the situation was quiet different. In 1806-1807, British ships tried in vain to capture Montevideo and Buenos Aires. In Buenos Aires resistance was organized by leading wholesale merchant houses. Their main objective was to prevent unconditional entry of cheap, machine-made British cotton manufactures. The opposition against British wares was rather short-lived. Only three years later, French troops had occupied Spain almost completely. Therefore, on the 25th of May 1810 in Buenos Aires a general city council met in order to decide the political future of the Río de la Plata. Now, conservative merchants were overruled by liberal ones who wished for an unrestricted commerce with British trading houses and their cheap cotton textiles. Five years later, in 1815, opposition to the unlimited entry of British cotton textiles was finally led by conservatives in northwestern Argentina, on the route to the Bolivian border. On the slopes of the Andes in Argentina manufacturers of coarse woollens feared the competition of British cotton fabrics at the silver mining centres in the Bolivian highlands. In northwestern Argentina the manufacturers' resistance led to a civil war that only finished in the second half of the 19th century. In other parts of Spanish America the situation was similar. In Mexico, opposition to cheap machine-made British cotton textiles was at least as strong as in the Río de la Plata, but change was inevitable.[15]

Changing cloth supply should have been accompanied by adjustments in consumer habits and dress codes in the Spanish Empire during the 18th century. At the same time the region experienced another fundamental transformation: The enormous expansion of the Mexican silver industry which tripled its output throughout the century. Officially declared and taxed silver production increased by 25 % from the end of the War of Spanish Succession (1713) until the end of the military encounters in the Caribbean during the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1745. From then on until the end of the War of the First Coalition (1792–1797), in Spanish America taxed silver production rose by 250 % providing increasing means of exchange for a thriving foreign trade. Estimates show that approximately 20 % of the silver production circulated within the Americas, almost one third was sent via Manila to the Asian markets and half of the silver was shipped across the Atlantic. Two thirds of these transatlantic exports were traded by the European merchant community for their wares, and only one third of the transatlantic silver deliveries were paid as taxes to the Spanish crown. The rising amount of silver exports must have affected textile imports and consumption in the European, American and Asian realms of the Spanish Empire, especially during the second half of the 18th century. The increase in the means of payment was accompanied by a rising population. In New Spain population rose by almost 50% during the 18th century, whereas in Spain the increase was somewhat lower, nearly 40 %. This demographic upswing stimulated population mobility. As the growth rate of the population was

[14] For the impact of cotton in the British Empire: Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World*, Cambridge 2013; Beverly Lemire, *Cotton*, Oxford -New York 2011; John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven 2007.

[15] Bernd Hausberger, Antonio Ibarra (ed.), *Comercio y poder en América colonial. Los consulados de comerciantes, siglos XVII-XIX*, Frankfurt a. M.-Mexico 2003.

considerably lower than the increase of silver production and consequently bullion exports, per capita imports in terms of silver into the Spanish Empire were significantly augmented and will have affected the import of foreign textiles in particular.

Textile imports should have been linked to contemporary dress codes, and therefore a comparison of clothing patterns from different periods will offer insight into changing consumer habits. As elsewhere in Europe[16] the influence of French fashion had been already present in the Spanish Empire before the War of the Spanish Succession. When the new Bourbon king Philip V, a grandson of Louis XIV, arrived in Madrid he officially introduced French fashion at his court and thus at the viceroyal courts of his Empire.[17] Due to the dissemination of British machine made textiles and the impact of the French Revolution another change in attire should have spread across the Atlantic Ocean between the first half of the 18th century and the end of the 18th century. Given the enormous areas linked to the Spanish Empire not all regions can be dealt with. The regional focus of the present study will be on the Spanish Caribbean including its South American shores. Furthermore, the viceroyalty of New Spain[18] will be considered. New Spain was at the centre of precious metals production, and in addition, it administered the Philippines and paid subsidies to Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo. The Caribbean area and the territories linked to New Spain traded directly with Europe and Asia alike. Therefore, the heavily disputed imports of British industrial wares competed with textiles from different regions. Besides local Hispano-American cotton and woollen textiles, silks from Asia, silks from Southern Europe and traditional woollens and linens from northwestern Continental Europe were available to the consumers of the Spanish-American Empire.

The distribution of wares and trading patterns within the Spanish-American Empire have been analysed extensively by the historiography. The participation of British merchants in this large scale commerce has recently been summarised by Adrian Pearce, who stressed that the British used the official Spanish-American trading system as a backbone for their enterprises until the Napoleonic Wars.[19] Changes in the structure of English exports to Spanish America were not discussed in this context.[20] Denis O'Flynn and Carlos Martinez Shaw are among the most outstanding scholars

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16 Veronika Hyden-Hanscho, *Reisende, Migranten, Kulturmanager. Mittlerpersönlichkeiten zwischen Frankreich und dem Wiener Hof 1630-1730*, Stuttgart 2013.

17 For the influence of French style in the Spanish Empire: Imaculada Rodríguez Moya, *La mirada del Virrey. Iconografía del poder en la Nueva España*, Castelló de la Plana 2003, p. 109; Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, Las pinturas de castas, imágenes de una sociedad variopinta, in: *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte, 7 vols*., vol. 4: Nueva España 2, México 1994, pp. 115-167.

18 The viceroyalty of New Spain administered most of Central America, today Mexico and the South West of the USA.

19 Adrian Pearce, *British Trade with Spanish America, 1763 to 1808*. Liverpool 2007. For trade in general: Antonio García-Baquero González, *Cádiz y el Atlántico (1717–1778). El comercio colonial español bajo el monopolio gaditano*, 2 vols. Seville 1976; John R. Fisher, *Commercial Relations between Spain and Spanish America in the Era of Free Trade, 1778–1820*, Liverpool 1985.

20 Antonio Luis López Martínez, Cádiz y el comercio entre Europa y América a finales del siglo XVIII. Una aproximación a partir de las pólizas de seguros marítimos. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 47 (2010), 213–246.

studying the connections between Spanish America and Asia via the Philippines.[21] Their points of analysis are the export of silver to Asia and the import of precious Asian artefacts via Manila respectively. Changes in the supply of textiles are not the main focus of their investigation. Different clothing patterns have been considered by art historians. They studied the representation on folding screens of the inhabitants of New Spain with different ethnic background.[22] In this context, Asian silks are dealt with as part of the dress code of well-to-do Mexicans, but the introduction of printed British cottons and the associated changes in clothing styles have received less attention. For the early period of colonization in the Americas, changes in the culture of the indigenous population have been analysed with the tools of cultural exchange and cultural entanglement. The concept of cultural exchange was originally designed to describe mutual connections between different cultural areas related to each other on an equal political basis.[23] In contrast, the approach of cultural entanglement was initially devised to characterize an imperial situation of the 19th century and to stress that even in such a political order cultural influences were at least two-sided.[24] These concepts have been applied as well for the Spanish Empire of the early 16th century, but once imperial rule had been established the dissemination of subsequent developments of European fashions within distinct social and ethnic groups and within different realms received less attention.

Thus, the changes in consumer habits within the Spanish Empire, and especially in the Greater Caribbean and the regions linked to the Viceroyalty of New Spain during the 18th century still require more research.[25] For this purpose inventories might be a valuable source. Unfortunately, Spanish and Spanish American inventories have two separate registers one for the goods and a second one indicating the prices, these price lists are often lost. Furthermore, inventories are usually restricted to well-to-do persons and do not include the sparse belongings of the lower population strata. Nonetheless there is an interesting exception: The possessions of persons deceased at sea on their voyage to or from Spanish America were registered and auctioned on board if there was no testament available indicating a different procedure. These inventories of persons who died at sea do not refer only to the elite or persons of middle income but include ordinary seamen as well. Nonetheless, the voyagers were usually of European origin. The values obtained by auctions on high seas may be

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[21] Dennis O'Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, Born Again: Globalization's Sixteenth Century Origins (Asian/Global versus European Dynamics), in: *Pacific Economic Review* 13: 3 (2008), pp. 359–387; Marina Alfonso Mola; Carlos Martínez-Shaw (ed.), *La ruta española a China*. Madrid 2007.

[22] Ilona Katzew, *La pintura de castas: representaciones raciales en el México del siglo XVIII*, Madrid 2004; Banamex (ed.), *Pintura de los Reinos. Identidades compartidas*, Madrid 2010-Mexico 2011.

[23] Horst Pietschmann, "Kulturtransfer" im kolonialen Mexiko. Das Beispiel von Malerei und Bildlichkeit im Dienste indigener Konstruktionen neuer Identität. In: Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2009, 369-390.

[24] Hyden-Hanscho, Veronika, Renate Pieper, Werner Stangl (ed.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment. Europe and the Atlantic World*, Bochum 2013, pp. 8-10.

[25] For a general approach see: Bethany Aram, Bartolomé Yun Casalilla (ed.), *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492-1824. Circulation, Resistance and Diversity*, New York 2014.

considered as market prices, although the region of reference is not quite clear. On vessels travelling to Spain the value attributed to the auctioned goods might have been the European one, but this only in case the travellers were informed about the Spanish price level. On ships sailing to the American territories or to the Philippines the price structure and level of the point of destination might have been decisive. Thus, the inventories and auction lists of persons deceased at sea while travelling between different realms of the Spanish Empire offer information about the attire and the quantities really possessed by each individual. The information about the prices attributed to each item depended on the price structure which was relevant for the crew and the passengers. On board, each person had only a restricted space for its own luggage therefore the inventories are rather short and list only the most important personal property. Nevertheless, a careful qualitative analysis may consider the specific situation of each deceased person, reveal personal choices, relate different belongings to each other and study their market values. By close reading of single inventories and auction lists consumer preferences, those of the deceased and those of the buyers at high sea, will become obvious and will offer a notion of the cultural entanglement within the realms of the Spanish Empire during the 18th century.

Unfortunately, the small series of inventories and auction lists preserved covers only the period until the French-Indian War. In order to show the development that occurred during the second half of the 18th century, inventories from the very end of the 18th century must be considered as well. These records belong to a different series for which no prices are available. In order to scrutinize every detail, four inventories from the first half of the 18th century have been selected. Two inventories recorded the belongings of ordinary seamen travelling back to Spain. One of the mariners sailed with the fleet coming from New Spain in 1718 and the other one already died on the shores of Venezuela in 1732. Another inventory records of the possessions of a merchant sailing from Acapulco to Manila in 1741. In order to include the preferences and customs of the clergy, an important and influential group within the Spanish American Empire, a fourth inventory from a different series is analysed. In this case the clergyman died at home in the harbour city of Cartagena, today Colombia, in 1710. Both his belongings and their prices are recorded. For the end of the 18th century, the inventory of a captain is studied. The Spanish captain had been captured in the Caribbean close to the Mexican coast and he died in a Spanish prison in 1798. In order to show the change of dress patterns that occurred between the first half of the 18th century, previous to the distribution of British machine-made cotton, and the end of the 18th century, when cotton manufactures were produced already in large numbers, the inventories from the early 18th will be analysed at first.

Breeches of silk and cloth –
dress codes previous to the introduction of machinery

On the 31rst of July 1718, near the Azores, the illiterate mariner Antonio de Artusa from the Spanish-Basque province of San Sebastián, near the French border, made his testament.[26] He had served on the ship La Santa Trinidad which was part of the fleet that returned from New Spain to the Iberian Peninsula. During his stay in Mexico he had obtained the considerable sum of 300 silver pesos. 246 pesos of this amount were no longer in his possession. Antonio de Artusa had handed them over without any receipt to Don Juan Joseph de Arrambide, another passenger of the fleet. Arrambide should keep the silver safe until their arrival at Cádiz in Spain. Artusa had given another 30 pesos of the whole sum to the captain of another vessel, and in addition, the mariner had not yet obtained his pay. In comparison to his receivables, the debts of Artusa were rather moderate: he owed 6 silver pesos to a barber in his home town and 2 silver pesos to another person in the same place. Antonio de Artusa was married, had no children with his wife, but left a natural son named after himself. In his testament the mariner donated only 6 reales de vellon (3/8 silver pesos) for a Holy Mass. The receivables of Antonio de Artusa had been expressed in silver pesos, except his pay the amount of which was not even mentioned. His debts in Spain were indicated either in silver pesos or in copper coins (reales). When the mariner died shortly after having made his testament his belongings were auctioned at sea. His personal property was sold for 25 pesos. With the exception of two bundles of Havana tobacco and two working tools of a carpenter, his possessions consisted mainly of garments.[27] Most of them had a value between one and two pesos, except a pair of old shoes, several pairs of old stockings, a piece of linen and a piece of old silk satin, all of them worth less than a peso. Only one item was quite expensive: a new justacorps of woollen cloth sold for five pesos. Besides this attire Antonio de Artusa owned four pairs of breeches ("calzones"). Due to the Spanish naming of breeches – "calzones" – and long mariners trousers – "calzones marineros" – it might be uncertain which sort of trousers Artusa really owned. A comparison with two other inventories, the one of the merchant and the other of the cleric, shows that the prices for their breeches were in the same range as the "calzones" of Artusa. Thus, it is safe to assume that the "calzones" of this mariner were really short breeches, because their prices and their naming were the same as those of his wealthier contemporaries. At first a pair of blue breeches of cloth was listed and auctioned for 1 4/8 pesos. A second pair of cloth breeches had the same value, but two pairs of white used breeches were sold together for only one peso, i.e. half a peso each. The fabric of these two white breeches was not specified in the inventory. Besides the breeches,

[26] Archivo General de Indias, Contratación, 580, N1, fol. 1r-7v.

[27] Spanish expressions for garments were translated according to the description of the Diccionario de Autoridades, Madrid 1726-1739, and Academia Usual and Academia Suplemento, Madrid 1803, online by: Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico, http://ntlle.rae.es/ntlle; accessed October 2015; and Hipólito San Joseph Giral Delpino, Raymundo del Pueyo, *A New Spanish Grammar … to which is added an English Grammar*, 2nd edition, London (F. Wingrave) 1800, pp. 46-48 offer a vocabulary for clothes.

the above mentioned justaucorps and two waistcoats were of woollen cloth too. The waistcoats were sold for 2 7/8 pesos and for 1 4.5/8 pesos respectively. Linen was used for a white lapel and two white jackets. The price paid for these linen garments was about one peso each (1 4.5/8 pesos and 1 3/8 pesos). In addition, Artusa owned various new and old stockings. Most of them were not characterized any further but one pair was described as white woollen stockings. A second pair of old shoes and two old shirts completed his possessions. Quite a number of items were new: the justacorps, the two white linen jackets, a black pair of stockings and a pair of shoes with the white woollen stockings. This new apparel was sold altogether for 9 pesos, so the recently acquired clothing had a worth of more than one third of his personal apparel. The mariner Antonio de Artusa acquired 300 pesos in New Spain, whereas in Spain he had left only debts. Therefore, he will have bought his new attire in Mexico, even if the price level there was higher than on the Iberian Peninsula. The new garments were the most fashionable attire he could afford. In the case of the worn breeches and the waistcoats there are two possibilities: either he had already brought these clothes with him from Europe and did not want to buy any more, or he did not have enough money and bought secondhand breeches and waistcoats in New Spain. In any case, with his used breeches and waistcoats, the new justaucorps, the jackets, stockings and shoes, at his death, the illiterate mariner Antonio de Artusa possessed almost all necessary items to dress according to the latest French fashion. Thus, the Mexican market had offered him clothing which was in high esteem in Europe too. One item for fashionable attire was really missing: a hat or a cap. The fabrics owned by Antonio de Artusa were of wool and linen, silk was not mentioned as material for his garments, except the piece of old satin. Thus, neither valuable items from China, nor European printed cottons nor indigenous cotton garments were listed in the inventory of the Basque mariner. Cultural influences of the American/New Spanish way of living were restricted to two bundles of Havana tobacco, and these were in high esteem in Europe as well. The inventory of Antonio de Artusa shows that within different territories of the Spanish Empire European fashion was predominant, which in the period of the recently established French-Bourbon monarchy in Spain meant French fashion. This was used in the American realms by those persons affiliated with the "república de españoles", cities and places where Spanish and Europeanized populations lived. Even though Antonio de Artusa must have stayed for a certain period in New Spain in order to acquire his fortune, the indigenous countryside of New Spain obviously had no influence on the consumer preferences of the Basque mariner.

In the following years preferences and possibilities of seamen did not change considerably within the Spanish Empire. Francisco de Arteaga, native from the Basque province of Biscay in Northern Spain, died on the coast of today's Venezuela, at the harbour of Puerto Cabello, west of Caracas, in 1732.[28] In his testament Arteaga mentioned neither debts nor receivables, and all prices in the inventory were expressed in silver reales.[29] The register of Francisco de Arteaga had almost 30 entries with a total

[28] Archivo General de Indias, Contratación 580, N9, fol. 1r-5r.
[29] Eight silver reales were equivalent to one peso.

value of 42 pesos. In comparison to the inventory of his fellow Basque mariner Artusa who had died 14 years earlier, Arteaga's register listed more goods than Artusa's. The mean price of their belongings was the same, but the difference between the most expensive garment - a cape of cloth valued at 10 pesos – and the most humble item – a pot listed with half a silver real (0.5/8 peso) – was larger in the case of Arteaga's inventory. On the shores of the Venezuelan coast it seemed worthwhile to auction even a pot, whereas at the Azores approaching Europe only goods worth one silver real (1/8 peso) were sold. In Arteaga's inventory there was no indication which items of his dress were new, but prices were telling. The most expensive garment was the aforementioned cape of cloth for 10 pesos. Second in value was a waistcoat with its breeches of cloth, together they had a value of 8 pesos. Arteaga possessed two more waistcoats, worth around two and three pesos worth. The cape and the highly priced waistcoat were far more expensive than the aforementioned justaucorps of Antonio de Artusa for which only 5 pesos had been paid. In contrast to the latter, Arteaga owned a straw hat and two ordinary hats. Their prices varied between 3/8 pesos and 1 4/8 pesos. His three breeches were auctioned for about one peso each. Previously, a similar price had been paid for the Artusa's breeches. In the case of Francisco de Arteaga, a pair of his shoes was quite expensive as they were sold for 1.5 pesos. Objects of rather low value included shirts for a quarter of a peso each and a comb sold for one silver real (1/8 peso). The same price was paid for the ensemble of old shoes and linen socks to be worn beneath the stockings. When the inventory mentioned the material of the garments they mostly consisted of woollens. Only once was a pair of worn silk stockings listed for one peso, whereas woollen stockings had only half the price.

The similarities of both inventories are striking: The personal belongings for which the fabric was mentioned consisted mainly of woollens. Only once in each inventory was an item made of silk listed. Absolute and relative prices were very much the same: capes, justaucorps and waistcoats were rather expensive, whereas breeches, stockings, shoes and hats were valued around one peso, or considerably less if they were worn. All sorts of underwear like shirts and socks of linen usually did not reach the worth of a peso or even a silver real (1/8 peso), and therefore they were auctioned together with more valuable items. It is striking that relative and absolute prices were so similar, even considering that one auction took place on high seas near the Azores and the other on the Venezuelan coast. This shows that at least on board of ships crossing the Spanish Atlantic market integration was rather high. The attire described by the inventories was completely European in style, and not the slightest reference to indigenous garments appeared. The only hints that the seamen had been living for some time in the Americas were the first entries in their inventories: bundles of tobacco leaves in the case of Artusa and in the case of Arteaga six boles of "chorote", a product elaborated from cocoa. The almost complete lack of Native American goods in both inventories suggests that cultural entanglement didn't deeply affect lower income groups within the Spanish Empire, neither in Spain nor in the Americas. In the Spanish-American countryside indigenous culture prevailed and European imports were more limited than in the cities, and in the Spanish countryside, the home of the mariners, European culture was

dominant.

The inventories of these rather humble Basque seamen should be compared to inventories from persons with larger financial means. In 1710 in Cartagena, at the Atlantic coast of present day Colombia, only about 1000 km away from Puerto Cabello, died the priest and inquisitor Don Juan de Layseca.[30] His garments mentioned in the postmortem inventory differed considerably from those of the seamen. This was only in part due to his status as a clergyman but mainly to his wealth. The values of his belongings were estimated by commissioners and not determined by auction. This might have inflated them somewhat in comparison to the prices obtained through auctions on high seas. Furthermore, the inventory of the inquisitor included goods that usually were not carried across the Ocean and thus were not present in inventories of persons deceased on board. This led to the effect that the possessions mentioned in the inventory of Don Juan de Layseca were far more numerous than those recorded in the auction lists of the persons deceased on high sea. In addition, clothes were neither the most costly nor the cheapest items documented. His carriage (200 pesos) and two mules for the carriage (60 pesos) were the most valuable entries in the record, whereas the cheapest good was an old fan, worth only half a silver real (0.5/8 peso). On a transatlantic voyage the priest might have neither carried the coach nor the fan. Thus the range between the cheapest and most expensive possession of Don Juan de Layseca was far above that of the two seamen. Nonetheless the bottom of the scale of values was the same. In between these two extremes, the cloths of the clergyman were estimated. The most expensive garments comprised new habits of silk taffeta assessed at 55 pesos, a new chasuble of satin worth 26 pesos, and a dressing gown of fine Flemish cloth with fine laces valued at 25 pesos. The difference in prices between old and new habits and chasubles was as least as large as in the case of the worn and new garments possessed by the seamen. The old habits were fixed at 10 pesos and the old chasuble was not even rated. In addition, Juan de Layseca owned three pairs of silk stockings, valued at 3 6/8 pesos, three black breeches estimated at 1 peso each and an old short silk jacket not assessed separately. The rest of his attire like stockings, pants and shirts were not characterized further even if each item had a value of approximately one peso, except 6 pairs of pumps which cost only half a silver real (0.5/8 pesos). The prices estimated for the stockings, the socks and the used breeches were similar to the prices obtained for such items at the auctions at sea. Thus, in the case of this priest only items made of silk and the dressing gown made of fine Flemish woollen cloth and its laces were really more expensive than the attire possessed by the seamen.

In contrast to the personal attire of Don Juan de Layseca the textiles used for other purposes were described with more detail. He owned silk sheets, silk covered his bed and he possessed a taffeta cover for his pillowcases of linen. Other pillowcases were made with linen from Brittany. His linen tablecloth had been manufactured according to German style. He owned silverware, paintings and a musket with Chinese adornment, as well as European style furniture made from Central American woods, like

[30] Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, 1614, Expediente 4, fol. 11r-14v

ebony and campeche wood. He possessed tobacco, as well as a bowl and its grinder to prepare his chocolate drink. The value of these latter items related to his American surroundings reached 18 pesos, i.e. a considerable sum of his belongings.

There were two main differences between the possessions of the seamen and those of the well-to-do clergyman: with the exception of the extraordinary dressing gown, the outstanding personal garments of the priest were of silk, whereas those of the seamen were of cloth, and in contrast to the seamen the clergyman possessed underwear worth being assessed for the inventory. Furthermore the inquisitor owned extensive textile household goods in part of linen with laces and other goods with Chinese decoration, but this difference to the shorter lists of the seamen might be due in part to the restrictions of space inherent to their sea luggage. Another difference concerns the considerable presence of goods that could only be obtained in the Americas. Differences notwithstanding, similarities should be mentioned as well. It is remarkable that prices for similar goods were in the same range. Relative values between the highly priced justaucorps, waistcoats, the dressing gown and jackets on the one hand, and cheaper breeches and stockings on the other hand, as well as relative prices between new and worn garments were rather similar taking into consideration that the priest could and did afford more precious clothing than the seamen. Whereas the seamen had only the means for small and worn items made of silk, the fabric of the most important attire of the well to do clergyman consisted of silk, but fine woollen cloths imported from northern Europe (Flanders) were highly estimated by him as well. Linen was used in all cases for underwear and table cloth and had a considerably lower value even when it has been imported from Germany. Thus, the analysis of the belongings of a well-to-do Spanish-born priest confirmed the results obtained by the study of the inventories of the seamen: high market integration for French-style clothing within the Spanish Empire, at least on its Atlantic shores, common consumer preferences and the presence of goods made exclusively in the Americas which included luxury food and stimulants as well as materials for furniture but did not refer to clothing, and in any case these America-related possessions were in accordance to French fashion of the time.[31]

These findings should be contrasted to the situation on the Pacific side of the American realms. The garments of another well-to-do person will be studied. The layman Don Antonio González de Barreda was on his way from Mexico to Manila.[32] He was born in Spain, in Santillana del Mar, a city at the gulf of Biscay. He migrated to New Spain and became a permanent resident of Mexico. On the 4th of March 1741, in Mexico, he made his testament, six weeks later he was already dead. On the 20th of April 1741, on the ship Nuestra Señora de Covadonga, the executor of his last will, Don Miguel de San Román, asked the notary of the ship to make an inventory. The luggage of Don Antonio González

[31] Yuko Nakamura, *Importación y mercado interno en Nueva España, 1767-1810*, PhD Thesis, El Colegio de México 2000, p.18 and pp. 49-51, confirms that the introduction of English cotton started only in 1797 (trade with neutral powers, i.e. USA, was permitted). Previously cheap cotton imports were brought from Asia and internal cotton production rose. Linens were imported from the Netherlands and Prussia/Silesia.

[32] Archivo General de Indias, Contratación 581 B, N5, 9r-17r.

de Barreda was very numerous even in comparison to the belongings of the clergyman from Cartagena. As the merchant had lived for a long time in Mexico he must have purchased his personal property there. If no further description was offered in the inventory one may assume that the wares had been made in Mexico. The goods were sold on the ship for 222 pesos, which was tenfold the worth of the inventory of the seaman Artusa. As monetary units pesos and silver reales were used in the inventory of Don Antonio. The prices for the most expensive and the most humble goods varied between 25 pesos paid for a red cape of cloth and 1 silver real (1/8 pesos) for a pair of used cuffs. In this respect the situation of the Spanish-Mexican merchant was very similar to that of the inquisitor in Cartagena. The range between the cheapest and most expensive belongings was far above the range of values of the two seamen, but the cheapest entries were almost at the same level. In contrast to the inventories of the deceased Spanish seamen, which started with items which could be obtained only in the Americas, the list of the Mexican merchant registered the Native American products not at the top but in the second half of the inventory, in the middle of clothes of medium and lower value. The original Mexican goods owned by Don Antonio consisted of the considerable amount of 20 pounds of cocoa valued at 7 pesos. The value of these items produced exclusively in America did not reach the worth of Native American products possessed by the inquisitor in Cartagena. The auction list of the Mexican merchant Antonio González began with his most expensive possession: i.e. the cape of red cloth. The second entry in the inventory of Antonio González was a red waistcoat which was lined with blue "Ppquin", i.e. Asian silk, with its breeches and 39 silver buttons with a weight of 3 ounces (86 grams). This attire was sold for 20 pesos. In order to discern between the value of the cloths and the silver buttons, it should be considered that the silver content of 20 pesos was approximately 500 grams of fine silver. Therefore, the value of the waistcoat and the breeches without the buttons will have been about 17 pesos. The next entry of the inventory was a justaucorps of camlet with its two pairs of breeches which had a total value of 10 pesos. Another black justaucorps of cloth with its very used breeches had been auctioned for 7 pesos, whereas a green flowered waistcoat lined with red "pequin", well preserved, was assessed at 8 pesos. It is difficult to estimate the value of the breeches as they were auctioned together with either the waistcoats or the justaucorps. Considering the value of the flowered waistcoat, the breeches might have had a value of one or two pesos as in the other inventories analysed. Besides the relatively few expensive garments the majority of the possessions were already worn. A very used cloth waistcoat lined with woollen serge and adorned with 26 silver buttons had been auctioned for only 4 pesos. As each of the silver buttons had a value and a weight of 1 silver real (1/8 peso), the waistcoat itself was assessed only with 6 silver reales (6/8 pesos). The relationship between the value of the cloth and its silver buttons was almost the same in the case of another worn waistcoat of cloth with 44 silver buttons. The latter ones weighted 3 ounces. The price obtained for the whole attire was 4 pesos. Taking into account the assessment of the silver content of the tableware listed in the inventory, the value of the waistcoat without its buttons might have been around 1 peso. This estimate is corroborated by the indication that two worn flowered waistcoats had lost their worth

almost completely and were listed at half a peso each, whereas another worn justaucorps of woollen cloth lined with serge had still the value of one peso. An old black waistcoat of woollen cloth must also have been heavily worn as it was worth only 6 silver reales (6/8 pesos). The comparison between flowered waistcoats and those made of cloth gives the impression that the latter were slightly more expensive than the flowered ones. The fabric of the flowered waistcoats is not mentioned but it might have been cotton or linen. Like the inquisitor from Cartagena, the merchant from Mexico owned a dressing gown as well. But his was more modest than that of the South American priest, as the Mexican one was auctioned for only 2 pesos. All the stockings of Don Antonio were used. They reached a medium value of 1 to 4 silver reales (1/8-4/8 pesos), even the woollen stockings. In contrast to the inventories of the priest and of the seaman Arteaga, in the case of Don Antonio none his stockings seems to have been made of silk. Antonio González de Barreda owned several castor hats, a white one, worn, 4 pesos worth and a second black one, which had been used a lot and therefore it was valued only at 1.5 pesos. His five pairs of shoes were valued at 2.5 pesos (1/2 a peso each), whereas his 10 pairs of pumps had a worth of ½ a silver real each, exactly the same price as those of the priest in Cartagena. In contrast to the other inventories the one of Antonio Gonzalez listed quite a number of linen garments but they were considerably cheaper than in the case of the clergyman from Cartagena and the mariner Artusa: Don Antonio owned 19 shirts and 11 pants. The shirts cost altogether 10 pesos and the pants 4 pesos. Three new pants made of linen from Brittany had a value of 1.5 peso. In addition, three old shirts and two pants made of Brittany linen cost 2 pesos, and his five old handkerchiefs which were made of linen from Cambray had still a value of 5/8 pesos. His socks to wear under the stockings were made of cotton. Six pairs were auctioned for 3/8 pesos each. Their price was somewhat higher than the linen socks of the priest from Cartagena. Three straw hats completed the attire of Don Antonio. The well-equipped Antonio González also owned also a number of household items. Two used sheets of linen from Flanders were listed for 2 pesos. In addition two pairs of glasses, with a value of 2/8 pesos each, should be mentioned as well. Don Antonio owned two short swords, two pistols and a rifle. Together they had a value of 50 pesos. A dozen books of different sizes, from folio to octavo, were auctioned for almost 25 pesos, whereas for a copper crucifix and two paintings of saints only 4 pesos could be obtained. Like the clergymen from Cartagena, the merchant from Mexico owned silverware as well: Three silver spoons and three silver forks with a weight of 5 ounces were assessed at 5 pesos. The belongings of the Spanish-Mexican merchant were thus more complete and more numerous than even those of the inquisitor from Cartagena de Indias.

The analysis of the male dress codes of persons travelling through the realms of the Spanish Empire during the first half of the 18th century shows that the attire of seamen and well-to-do persons followed mostly French fashion patterns. Woollen cloth will have been mostly provided by Spanish-American manufactures, or by those from southern and northwestern Europe. Only in the case of exceptionally fine woollens with a considerable value was their origin mentioned, and these were imported Flemish woollens. Linens were of common use but only the well to do possessed a certain amount of them and

only in their inventories the origin of the linens was mentioned: They had been imported from Flanders, Brabant, northern and western France. In contrast to the inquisitor living on the shores of the Caribbean Sea and the two Spanish mariners, the merchant from Mexico travelling to Manila was the only one to possess American cotton textiles and Asian silks worth being mentioned explicitly. Furthermore, the difference of clothing between income groups consisted in the different quality of their woollen cloth and in the use of silk by the well-to-do; the lower income groups could afford only a small piece. The clergyman, the merchant and the seamen wore their jackets, waistcoats, breeches, stockings, socks, shoes and hats according to the French fashion. This is corroborated by the common naming of the garments listed in the registers. Even after a longer stay on the American continent no indigenous influences in the attire could be perceived. The overwhelming presence of French fashion in the Spanish Empire of the Bourbon kings as well as highly estimated French and Flemish textiles might have been one of the reasons why Britain did not insist on the annual ship and favoured export of British woollens after the War of the Austrian Succession. High market integration, which could be perceived through common prices and common attire, and which linked the Spanish territories to the Caribbean and the Pacific shores of the Americas might have been an additional hindrance for the direct entry of traditional British wares. Cultural entanglement between the different realms of the Spanish Empire could be perceived at two different levels: general dress codes were strictly French, as were the names of fabrics and those of the attire. This was the case for the belongings of the ordinary seamen as well as for those of the merchant and the clergyman. Nonetheless, the influences of the Americas are visible as well: all inventories list consumer goods native to the Americas, such as cocoa or Havana tobacco. Both formed part of European material culture from at least the 17th century. But there is a striking difference with respect to the position of the items native to the Americas in the lists. In the case of the seamen travelling hence and forth between Europe and the Americas the “exotic” American wares were mentioned at the beginning of the inventory. The clergyman and the merchant had both been living for many years in the Americas. In their records the goods of American origin were positioned in the second half of the inventories, i.e. they were not considered “exotic”. In addition, in the case of the Mexican merchant the exceptionally high number of silver buttons and their considerable value compared to the garments to which they had been attached points to the influence on the dress code of the economic conditions prevalent in New Spain. It is noteworthy that in contrast to the textiles the description of the garments offers no hint to their origin. Thus, in the first half of the 18th century for Spaniards on both sides of the Atlantic and even on the Pacific shores dress codes relied mainly on French fashion in naming, style and traditional fibres.

Within half a century the situation changed considerably. This is reflected by the inventory of Mariano Molas, a Spanish captain whose ship was captured off the coast of New Spain.[33] The governor of Yucatan and the Viceroy of New Spain sent him back to Northern Spain. Here he was imprisoned and probably accused of smuggling with the British who were searching for Campeche wood in this region. Molas died in prison and after his death the authorities established an inventory of his belongings on the 22nd of September of 1798. His goods were not evaluated except for pieces of gold and silver worth 35 pesos. In addition, he possessed a golden ring with three ordinary precious stones. This gives the impression that the economic situation of the captain might have been similar to that of the Mexican merchant travelling to Manila. Nonetheless, the differences between the inventory from the first half of the century and the list from the end of the 18th century are significant. The attire of Captain Molas consisted of eight pairs of breeches, four justaucorps, a frock coat, two jackets, five vests, two waistcoats, shirts, pants, stockings, two stock ties of muslin, and household items including a cup to prepare hot chocolate. The terms describing the attire differed in part from those used during the mid-18th century. As the Spanish name for breeches and trousers was the same, their designation didn't change. The word for justaucorps remained as well, but the waistcoats changed their Spanish expression. In addition, new terms like vests and jackets appeared. A new French name was adopted: the frock coat (fraque). This latter had been made of Guinea cloth and was described as very old and useless. Thus, the captain had employed the frock coat for a long time, or he might have bought it secondhand but this seems less consistent with his other belongings. The breeches or trousers of the captain were made of cord and nankeen cotton. His jackets and vests matched the trousers. One of his shirts was of muslin, others of different sorts of linen. His stockings were either of cotton or of silk. His household items were of linen and cotton. Not a single reference to woollen cloths appeared.

The attire of Captain Molas differed in several aspects from the male apparel analysed for the first half of the 18th century. In his case woollen cloth had disappeared completely and had been replaced by cotton garments. Previously, cotton had been employed for underwear like socks, now it was used for the most visible parts of dress. Even before the introduction of new machinery in England, the price of cotton textiles had been far below that of woollens. Therefore, the change from woollens to cottons implied that Captain Molas could afford a higher number of garments: instead of the four breeches and eleven jackets and coats of different sorts owned by the merchant Antonio de la Barreda, Captain Molas possessed eight trousers and fourteen jackets and coats. Thus, like in other European countries in the Spanish Empire, changing textile supply went hand in hand with innovations of the costume. Names of textiles and garments included references to British colonies and were no longer

[33] Archivo General de Indias, Estado 39, N2-A(1), fol. 5r-6v.

focused on French and Flemish textile centres.

Conclusion

During the first half of the 18th century, textiles and dress used in the Spanish Empire adopted French fashion, its style and its fibres. Cottons were almost completely lacking in the inventories of persons deceased at high sea. No hint of British textiles could be found.

In this period, prices for fashionable attire established by auctions on board were very much the same on ships sailing from Acapulco to Manila and on those travelling across the Atlantic. This might be an indicator for a high market integration of the long distance trade that connected the different realms of the Spanish Empire.

Nonetheless, even if the economic values of cloth were similar across the long distance connections of the Empire, the appreciation of goods native to the Americas differed between the well-to-do Spanish inhabitants of the Americas and those humble seamen staying only for a shorter period on the American shores. In the case of the latter, "American" goods received special attention and were listed at the start of an inventory. Affluent Spanish citizens of the Americas had their "American" wares mentioned in the middle of the register. This difference leads to the impression that cultural transfer of American products to ordinary Spaniards had not yet been completed by the mid-18th century. At the same time, European and Asian wares were less frequent among the rural indigenous American population than in large cities. The Spanish Empire and its fashion were connected by the well-to-do but did not fully integrate lower income strata which remained attached more to their own regional habits.

In the first half of the 18th century, no hints to British textiles appeared in the analysed inventories, despite the annual ship sent by the British to Spanish America. But, by the end of the 18th century, dress codes had changed. New fashionable developments since the French Revolution were echoed in Spain and Spanish America. This implied a growing presence of cotton textiles replacing mainly woollen cloth, and to a certain extent, even silk and linen attire. Breeches were changed for trousers, justaucorps for frock coats, and fine woollens from Flanders for Guinea and nankeen cotton. Cotton textiles from the British Empire and machine-made cottons from Britain ousted Asian silks and woollens made in north-western continental Europe. Even before Britain sent its fleet to Buenos Aires in 1806, British textiles had been replacing French clothing within the Spanish Empire.

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2.

“Mexicanization” of Clothing

An Analysis of Shop Inventories in Late Colonial Mexico

Takeshi Fushimi

Introduction

In the mid-eighteenth century, Francisco de Ajofrín, a Spanish Capuchin monk who travelled through Mexico, described how the people there dressed in the Spanish fashion: “Clothes and ways of dressing for the illustrious people are in the Spanish fashion in almost all cases, as the men imitate the fashion and style of those coming from Europe, and the women the fashion of *gachupinas* ladies (European ladies), though always keeping some old customs, such as the shawl within the house, and even outside as for the less illustrious ladies.”[34] In response to this enthusiastic demand for European textiles by Spanish colonizers and their descendants, the transatlantic trade introduced a wide range of textiles. This is how Spanish Colonial Mexico, otherwise known as New Spain, became an important market for Spanish fabrics.

Nonetheless, even in the last decades of the eighteenth century, when the implementation of commercial reforms drove the volume of Atlantic trade to an unprecedented level, the royal bureaucrats did not consider it to be sufficiently developed for Spanish exports. In the judgment of Count of Revillagigedo the Younger, an Enlightened Viceroy of New Spain (1789–1794), the size of trade remained so small that “each person spends only four pesos, which is a very moderate quantity, if we consider the provision of liquor, iron, steel, various utensils of such metals, fine textiles of woolen and silk, all sorts of hardware, and linen products of hemp and flax.”[35] Thus, he argued that the Spanish domination in Mexico, which had last almost three centuries, still created an insufficient number of colonial consumers who were eager for Spanish textile products.

The inadequacy of the demand for Spanish textiles was partly induced by the increasing preference for British textiles, as discussed in the previous chapter of this volume. Over the course of the

[34] Francisco de Ajofrín. *Diario del viaje que por orden de la Sagrada Congregación de Propaganda Fide hizo a la América Septentorial en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1958, T. I, p. 81.

[35] *Instrucción reservada que el conde de Revillagigedo, dió a su succesor en el mando, Marqués de Branciforte, sobre el gobierno de este continente en el tiempo que fue su virrey*. México; Imprenta de la Calle de las Escalerillas, p. 111.

eighteenth century, the vassals of the Spanish Empire became more acquainted with these foreign fabrics and learnt to incorporate them into their way of dressing. These British and other European textiles took a share of the Spanish colonial market at the expense of the Spanish products. If we read the passage of Ajofrín quoted above more closely, he sometimes uses the word "European," which could include textiles from other European countries apart from Spain.

The Spanish American people, however, did not always dress in the same way as the Europeans. Ajofrín specified that European fashion was mostly adopted by "the illustrious people (*la gente principal*)." The less illustrious people, he continued, publicly retained "some old customs (*usos antiguos*)," such as wearing the shawl (*paño de rebozo*). The meaning of *usos antiguos* would have been local Mexican habits, as the *paño de rebozo* was a kind of shawl made in Mexico. If this is so, the Mexican plebeian people were able to maintain local tastes, in spite of the prevalence of European fashion. This preference for local clothing could have circumscribed the wider consumption of Spanish textiles.

Nevertheless, this dichotomy between the illustrious people who were inclined to adopt European fashions and the plebeians, who dressed in more localized way, seems rather a simplistic way to understand the characteristics of Mexican consumption. The common people did not reject imported fabrics, but eagerly incorporated them into their outfits. Ajofrín, in a later paragraph, presented some typical clothes for the people of African descent: "the dressing of the black and mulatto women is a *saya de brocar* (a kind of little skirt made of silk, with silver hook and eye, and its border with a good strap or ribbon), which they wear on the head or on the shoulder, taking the head out through the narrow side or waist of this *saya*; they also wear a petticoat, called *enaguas*, of Chinese textile, with fringes of Holland or rich laces, and honorable footwear."[36] New Spain imported a large quantity of Chinese textiles, due to the establishment of the Spanish Colony in the Philippines and the opening of the Trans-Pacific galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco as early as the 1570s. These Chinese and European textiles were consumed in great quantities by the plebeian people. One of the important characteristics of the Mexican market was this peculiar combination of imported and local products. Furthermore, this might also have been true for the illustrious people. In public, they dressed in European fashions, but they did at least adopt some Mexican styles at home, if we recall Ajofrín's passage on the *usos antiguos*.

The limits of the Spanish textile export to Mexico in the late colonial period have to be understood in the context of this particular characteristic of the Mexican market: that it involved the interplay of Spanish, other European, Chinese, and local fabrics. To illustrate the combined nature of this consumption, in the first section of the chapter we present the lists of textiles handled in two shops through their inventories. The second section summarizes a series of reforms introduced by the Spanish bureaucrats and merchants to revive or expand Spanish transatlantic exports in the late

[36] Francisco de Ajofrín. op.cit., T. I, p. 84.

colonial period. In the third section, we explain the development of the Mexican textile industries—involving import substitution—which circumscribed to some extent the increase of Spanish textile consumption. The last section demonstrates some characteristics of the local demand, which contributed to the development of local industries. Through these arguments, we would like to demonstrate how the Mexican market made the development of local industries possible in parallel with the introduction of Spanish and other foreign textiles.

Fabric items listed in the inventories

As discussed in the introduction, the people living in New Spain consumed fabric items with diverse origins. To appreciate the diversity of textiles sold in Mexico, we will consult the inventories of two retail shops. One of these inventories comes from a shop located in the city of Guadalajara, the third biggest city in New Spain. This shop was co-owned by don Miguel López del Rivero and don Antonio Gil y Arana, with an initial capital of 4,500 pesos. When the inventory was made in 1802, the total value of merchandise amounted to the considerable value of 9,621 pesos.[37] Almost all the merchandise listed was fabric items, such as muslins, scarves, cambric, or printed cotton, among other materials. Much of this merchandise was obtained from another merchant, don Manuel López de Cotilla. Considering the elevated value and specialization of these fabric items, we presume that this shop was a kind of large store (*cajón*), not exclusively focused on the consumers, but also on the owners of smaller shops.

It is difficult to determine the origins of all of the items listed, as the inventory often omitted such specifics. 8.76 percent of the merchandise (843.25 pesos out of the estimated total value of 9,621 pesos) was of unknown origin. Of the identifiable items, those produced in Spain represented around one fourth, with a total value of 2,544 pesos (26.4 percent). Just over half of the Spanish fabrics came from Cataluña, including printed cottons (*indianas* and *indianillas*, 616 pesos), laces (*encajes*, 417 pesos), silk stockings (*medias de seda*, 230 pesos), cotton and silk *sarzuelas*[38] (85 pesos), and silk scarves (*mascadas*, 75 pesos). Among the remaining Spanish items, varieties of ribbons were the most valuable (406 pesos), followed by the silk serges of Malaga (224 pesos). This estimate demonstrates the leading role played by Catalan textile industries, especially printed cotton, which showed a steady development from the 1730s. Nevertheless, we also have to appreciate the importance of silk accessories produced in Cataluña and other regions in Spain.

Products originating in other European countries, however, were also significant, valued at 2,741 pesos (28.5 percent), slightly more than the Spanish items. About half of these were of English

[37] Archivo General de la Nación de Mexico, Indiferente Virreinal (hereafter abbreviated as AGNM-IV) Consulado, Caja 3414, Expediente 024.

[38] I cannot identify the meaning of sarzuela in this context.

origin (1,400 pesos), the most valuable of which were the 53 booklets of cotton yarns (400 pesos)—probably sample books. The presence of such a quantity of sample booklets serves as another example of the growing preference for British cotton, as discussed in the previous chapter, although here in the form of yarns. We also find broad printed cotton (360 pesos), which was priced at twice as much (26 reales per *vara* or Spanish yard) as the fine Catalan *indianilla* with the best drawings (13 reales per *vara*). In terms of French products (1,184 pesos), half consisted of textiles from Pontivy (581 pesos), and the rest were *bretañas*, *creas*, *cambayas*, and *estopillas*. All of these, together with Flemish *bramantes* (91 pesos) and Silesian *ruanes* (101 pesos), were apparently made of linen.

The inventory also included a reasonable quantity of Asian goods (1,574 pesos, 16.4 percent). Most were brought from Manila via the transpacific galleon route. 60 percent of Asian products (927 pesos) consisted of silk yarns. These were used for weaving and embroidery within Mexico. This high proportion indicates that most transpacific imported products served as raw materials or producer goods for Mexican local manufactures. Other valuable Asian goods included Chinese white silk blankets (*manta*), fine Persian cotton textiles (*mamudis*), Madras type scarfs (*paliacate*) made in China, and very fine silk textiles (*saya-saya*) dyed in China.

The inventory also included many Mexican textiles, estimated at 1,775 pesos (18.4 percent). More than half of these (965 pesos) were comprised of Mexican shawls (*rebozos*). Among these shawls, we can find those woven with silk yarns. After shawls, colored woolens (*paños*) and printed cottons (*indianilla mexicana*) were the most sought after products (403 and 173 pesos, respectably).

Through this description of the merchandise handled in this shop, we can deduce some patterns of Mexican consumption. Most noteworthy was the importance of the Catalan industries. The newly developing cotton industry in Cataluña, along with its silk production, played a significant role in Spanish exports. However, the silk items from other regions in Spain also continued to be important. We can also note the significant role of British cotton fabrics and the persistence of French and other linen products. The presence of Mexican products is equally remarkable. Some were woven with silk yarns, most of which were imported from China, but some were from Mexican sericulture. The Mexican textiles also incorporated local woolen and cotton fabrics. The final significant characteristic is the importance of cotton *indianillas,* which the Catalan, British and Mexican manufacturers were competing to supply.

Now let us move to another inventory, made for a more modest shop, a *tienda mestiza* in Mexico City.[39] This shop was named *Celaya* and owned by a widow, Margarita Freyre. *Celaya* was located at the corner of the Santo Domingo Bridge near a street full of popular bars (*pulquerías*). When an officer of the Mexican merchant guild made the inventory in January 1797, he listed also the customers who had left items pawned. For example, Bustamante pawned a flannel petticoat (*naguas*), Bartolo Anaya a blanket (*manta*), and Cayetano a shawl (*rebozo*). This list of pawned items shows us the plebeian

[39] AGNM-IV, Consulado, Caja 5135, Expediente 002.

nature of the clients of this shop.[40]

As for the items on sale, the total estimated value amounted to 3,185 pesos and 6 reales, which was much smaller than the value of merchandise stocked in the *cajón* in Guadalajara. The inventory listed a much broader range of merchandise, not only fabric items. The list includes foodstuffs, such as cacao brought from diverse regions of Mexico and South America, salt, oregano, various chili peppers, walnuts, cheese, ham, fish, eggs, Malagan wine, vinegar, spirits, rice, flour, and noodles, among other things. We also find containers (bags, boxes, etc.) and furniture (candle stands, bells, tables, etc.).

Among this wide range of items are textile products, valued at 2,237 pesos. This figure accounts for the largest part of all the merchandise stored in this shop. Again, the identification of the origin of each textile has proved difficult, but some were clearly Spanish. The total value of those categorized as Spanish textiles amounted to 606 pesos (27 percent). As in the store in Guadalajara, the presence of Catalan products was significant. For example, the list includes items from Barcelona such as *indianilla* (49 pesos), colored silk stockings for women (*medias para mujeres*, 41 pesos) and lace (*encajito*, 18 pesos). Nonetheless, the varieties of silk ribbons (*listones*), mostly from other regions in Spain, were far more important, as they represented more than half of all Spanish fabric items. These ribbons are thought to have been used as tailoring materials, or decorative accessories.

As for other European countries (490 pesos, 22 percent), British products were not so visible in this inventory. We can only find 50 *varas* of reinforced woolen shag (*tripe reforzado*, 50 pesos), though we cannot ignore their possible presence among items with no identifiable origin, such as the fine colored *indianillas* (36 pesos). The inventory also listed *indianillas* with specific origins, such as those from Rouen (*ruán*, 8 pesos). The *indianillas* from Pontivy (4.3 pesos) could also have been made of cotton, although this is not specified. Nevertheless, linen items were more noticeable, such as textiles from Angouleme (31.5 pesos), fine tows (*estopilla* 26 pesos), and linen textiles from Saint Gall with carmine color (*zangalete*, 63 pesos). Curiously, some *zangaletes* were explicitly described as "dyed in Spain." These might have been a kind of *pintado* or *pintat*, which were European textiles dyed and printed in Spain, especially in Cataluña. If this is correct, the participation of Catalan industries in transatlantic exports was even more important.

The importance of Asian textiles imported from Manila should also be noted. The value of Asian products amounted to 287 pesos (12.8 percent). The most valuable items were twisted and colored silk yarns (*seda torcida*, 70 pesos), fine colored silk textiles (*saya-saya*, 62 pesos), and untwisted silk (*seda floja*, 25 pesos). Here, again, we note the importance of Asian fabrics as producer goods for the Mexican weaving industries.

Most of the remaining items (853 pesos, 38.1 percent) seem to have been Mexican. The most valuable items were 49 pieces of woolen sheets (*manta*) made in Texcoco (318 pesos), a town near Mexico City.

[40] For the importance of pawning, see, Marie Eileen Francois. *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

Manta was a multipurpose sheet that was used mainly by poor people; for example it could be worn or used as bed-clothes. The second-ranked product was 3,091 yards of various colored ribbons, priced at 110 pesos in total; other items were of minor value or in small quantity; for example, various belts, goatskins (*gamuza de chivo*), shawls (*rebozos*) from Puebla, or blankets. We also find some raw cotton.

In the case that has been analyzed here, the presence of British items appears not to have been so important, though some of the items with no identifiable origin could have been British. Apart from this observation, the overall pattern seems to confirm the case of Guadalajara. There were many linen textiles listed from France and other European regions (Switzerland in this case). Among the Spanish products, those from Cataluña were very significant, although the silk items, especially the ribbons, from other Spanish regions were also important. The importance of imported silk goods was also evidence of the Pacific Trade, through which a significant portion of Chinese silk yarns was imported. We also have to stress the significant presence of Mexican products. Some of these were woven with imported Chinese silk, or decorated with Spanish Ribbons, although Mexican woolen and cotton materials were also used extensively.

The pattern described here demonstrates the importance of Spanish, other European, and Chinese imported items within the Mexican fabric market. If we remind the plebeian nature of the shop, the Spanish products were well accepted in Mexico, not only among the colonial elite, but also among less wealthy people. Therefore, the colonial division of the market between elites and plebeians—a problem of demand-side—cannot alone explain the frustrated export of Spanish textiles. It is also important to take into account the supply-side factors, such as the problems inherent to Spanish commerce and industry, competition from other regions, and the development of Mexican industries.

Structure of Spanish Atlantic Commerce

In this section, we summarize the characteristics of the Spanish trade with New Spain during the late colonial period. In the eighteenth century, the Bourbon Dynasty had tried to revive the declining Spanish Atlantic trade system so that Spain could exploit the economic potential of her colonies more efficiently. With this objective, the government sought the more frequent and regular dispatch of transatlantic ships. One such attempt involved granting individual permission to registered ships to navigate, instead of using the conventional convoy system. The Free Trade Regulation (*Comercio Libre*), which was introduced gradually from the 1760s, opened the transatlantic trade, which had hitherto been concentrated almost exclusively in Cádiz, to many other Spanish ports, such as Barcelona, Malaga, and A Coruña, among others. The government also aimed to simplify the duties to avoid the unnecessary delays that would be caused by the complicated process of duty assessment.[41]

[41] Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein. *Apogee of Empire. Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759-1789*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 76–86.

At the same time, bureaucrats promoted Spanish industries such as Catalan textile production. They also hoped to increase agricultural and mining output in Spanish America in order to increase the amount of raw materials and cash that were sent to Spain. Although the outcome of these reforms is still the subject of discussion, the estimated value of Spanish trade with Mexico increased. Between 1796 and 1820, total imports from Spain reached 186,154,000 pesos, or 7,446,160 pesos annually.[42]

However, the Spanish royal administrators were not satisfied with this volume of trade, because a considerable proportion of exports comprised of goods that were brought from other European nations. The problem of foreign dominance was not new and already existed at least as far back as the mid-seventeenth century. By the mid-eighteenth century, Antonio García-Vaquero estimated that foreign products dominated 84 percent of the value of total exports from Spain to its American colonies.[43] The proportion of foreign participation apparently dropped considerably after the introduction of the Free Trade Regulation. In the case of Mexico, Javier Ortíz de la Tabla estimated that, between 1789 and 1820, 42 percent of cargo was of foreign origin. However, if we concentrate only on textile exports, foreign participation became much more prevalent. Between 1802 and 1812, foreign products comprised as much as 86 percent of the textiles exported to Mexico.[44] Therefore, even with the great efforts to reform the transatlantic commercial system during this period, the problem of foreign dominance could not be eradicated, at least for the textile trade.

This foreign dominance can be explained partly by the differences between the fabric goods that were exported from Spain and other European countries. In previous centuries, woolen and silk fabrics were dominant among the exported Spanish textiles. In the sixteenth century, woolen textile production had become quite significant in Castilian towns such as Segovia, Toledo, and Cuenca.[45] However, woolen textile production had gone into decline in all of these towns by the seventeenth century, and its export to Spanish America had also decreased. This is one of the reasons why Spanish woolen textiles figured very little in the inventories presented in the previous section. During the same period, silk textile industries also suffered a sharp decline in the once-prosperous centers of production situated mainly in Andalusia, including Granada, Malaga, and Seville, whose production had developed since the age of Islamic rule. However, silk production revived in the eighteenth century with the establishment of several Royal Silk Factories and the renewal of merchant investments in Cataluña, so that these products continued to be some of the main exportable textiles in the transatlantic trade.

In contrast, most foreign textiles consisted of linen goods, such as *bretaña*, *pontivy*, *ruan, bramante, platilla*, *crea*, and *estopilla*. Most of these were originally manufactured in France or Flanders,

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[42] Javier Ortíz de la Tabla Ducasse. *Comercio exterio de Veracruz, 1778–1821: Crisis de dependencia.* Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1978, p. 241.

[43] Antonio García-Vaquero González. *Cádiz y el Atlántico (1717–1778).* Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz. Tomo I, p. 330.

[44] Javier Ortíz de la Tabla Ducasse. op.cit., pp. 233–236.

[45] John Lynch. *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, pp. 201–220.

although over the course of the eighteenth century their manufacturing methods spread rapidly to other European regions, such as Scotland, Silesia, and Ireland.[46] In comparison with luxurious silks, the linen fabrics were consumed much more extensively in Mexico. According to a calculation prepared by a royal official about the composition of goods loaded in a 600-ton vessel destined for Veracruz in the mid-eighteenth century, linen items were the most important (59.6 percent of the total value of textiles), and silk products were ranked second (32.1 percent).[47]

Even when French linen production suffered a considerable decline toward the end of the same century, linen exports continued to be significant. A Viceroy of New Spain, the Count of Revillagigedo the Younger, explained, "Out of the foreign goods, the principal item of expenditure was the linen, which will be very difficult to change, because we do not have the manufacturers of equivalent goods in Spain. I am impressed that the expenditure on *bretañas* amounted to the quantity of 1,595,515 pesos, and the other linen products rose to 1,707,848 pesos, meaning all other sectors were valued at much less, as the total value of foreign goods was 5,378,742 pesos."[48] It seems that, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, linen products continued to be important, although it is very difficult to quantify the volume of trade. An estimate calculated from a statistical report prepared by the Consulate of Veracruz seems to corroborate the importance of linen items. In 1809, the value of fabric imports from Europe to Veracruz totaled 9,962,510 pesos, of which 4,493,402 pesos (45.1 percent) consisted of linen goods. More than 90 percent of all linen apparently came from European countries other than Spain.[49] This estimate, however, needs to be treated with caution. During those years, there was an important flux of European goods to Mexico brought by neutral ships from other colonies in the Americas. These ships brought a large quantity of British cotton products. Alexander von Humboldt, a well-known naturalist who made a scientific visit to New Spain, pointed out that in 1806, this colony received linen items with an estimated value of 1,079,714 pesos, while the values of cotton or muslin and woolen products were 1,554,674 pesos and 164,989 pesos, respectively. His estimate was obtained from the list of merchandise traded by neutral ships, because normal Spanish transatlantic trade became more difficult with the renewal of the war with Great Britain.[50] Therefore, the significance of cotton textile imports has to be taken into account, although its volume seemed to remain smaller than that of linen fabrics, considering the continuing importance of the linen items traded as part of Spanish transatlantic commerce at this time.

In any case, one of the problems with the Spanish export industry is quite clear. It was highly dependent on silk and woolen textiles, which only comprised a small portion of the Mexican imported

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[46] Stanley and Barbara Stein. op. cit., pp. 303–334.
[47] Idem., p. 81.
[48] Idem., p. 109.
[49] "Balanza del comercio marítimo de Vera-Cruz correspondiente al año de 1809, formado por el consulado en cumplimiento de las órdenes del rey." in Miguel Lerdo de Tejada. *Comercio exterior de México desde la conquista hasta hoy*, México: Rafael Rafael, 1853, pp. 127–134.
[50] Alxander von Humboldt. *Ensayo político sobre el Reino de la Nueva-España*, Paris: Casa de Rosa, 1822, tomo II, pp. 374–376.

textile market, where linen and cotton fabrics were the two most sought-after items. Without the development of the linen and cotton textile industries in Spain, the importance of foreign goods could not be reduced. One possible solution might have been the promotion of linen industries in northern Spain, such as in Galicia and Leon.[51] Some linen products were exported to American colonies, although the quantities of these products remained quite modest. A much more significant contribution came from the strong growth of the cotton manufacturing industries in Cataluña. After the implementation of the ban on importing European imitations of Asian textiles in 1728, Catalan entrepreneurs began to manufacture printed linen and cotton textiles. They invited skilled printers from Marseilles, recruited local linen and silk-weavers, and contracted with the suppliers of cotton yarns in the isle of Malta. With these efforts, they managed to produce middle and lower quality *indianillas,* although the high-quality ones (*pintats)* were mainly still manufactured by printing on fine white textiles that were imported mainly from France and Italy.[52] In the 1760s, the manufacturers started spinning with raw cotton of finer quality that was imported from Spanish America, so that they could produce higher quality *indianilla*. In that way, the Catalan cotton industries gradually improved their levels of import substitution.

This Catalan *indianilla* became quite competitive in the Mexican plebeian market. Marta V. Vicente described vividly how the Catalan merchants travelled to Mexico with these printed textiles. They tried to sell their merchandise to large and specialized stores (*cajón*) and more general retail shops such as *tienda mestiza*, *pulpería*, and *alacena*. The *cajón* was a store that specialized in a particular kind of merchandise such as sweets, fruits, spices, metallic items, or porcelains, etc. The store in Guadalajara, analyzed above in the first section, was one such *cajón*. In the case of Mexico City, many of these shops were concentrated in the Parián market, situated in the southwestern part of the central plaza. In a *cajón,* a common consumer could find and acquire any items that were needed. Also an owner of a smaller retailing shop such as a *tienda mestiza* or *pulpería* could obtain items in quantity to supply his own shop. The shop *Celaya,* which we presented next, was the typical *tienda mestiza*. Every quarter of the towns had one or more such retail shops, which the local people frequented to acquire daily necessities. As these shops permitted purchases by installments in exchange for pawned items, Catalan merchants visiting Mexico could expand the consumption of Spanish textiles, even among the plebeian people with modest means.[53] In response to this effort to promote Catalan textiles, our inventories listed a good quantity of products from this region.

This developing Catalan printed cotton trade could compete well with other European cotton textiles, although not replace them, at least in the high-end market. This cotton textile, along with more

[51] Juan Piqueras Haba. "El fomento de plantas textiles en la España ilustrada. Una visión espacial," in *SAITABI*, No. 42, 1992, pp. 283–298.

[52] J.K.J. Thomson. *A Distinctive Industrialization. Cotton in Barcelona, 1728–1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

[53] Marta V. Vicente. *Clothing the Spanish Empire. Families and the Calico Trade in the Early Modern Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp. 85 and passim.

traditional silk productions, might have contributed to maintaining or even expanding the volume of Spanish textile exports. But what about linen textiles? These continued to be dominated by foreign production, although some of them were dyed in Spain.

Rise of Mexican Textile Industries

Another important competitor for the Spanish textiles was the Mexican local industries, which were developed partly by way of the import substitution process. In this section, we discuss the rise of these local competitors. In fact, we have a rich historiography on this subject. From the 1960s onward, a number of scholars have researched the development of the textile industries in New Spain.[54] These studies have argued that there were two important moments in the colonial history of textile production. One was the early colonial period, when the introduction of sheep and silk raising from Spain resulted in the establishment of local textile production in the Spanish style. The other was the late colonial period, when textile production spread widely to diverse regions of New Spain.

For example, toward the end of the sixteenth century, a number of workshops (*obrajes*) were established that were dedicated to manufacturing woolen textiles in some cities, including Mexico City, Puebla, and Queretaro, among others. By the first half of the eighteenth century, some centers of production, such as Puebla, had ceased production. However, other towns like Queretaro had consolidated their position as woolen textile producer and even expanded their production, owing to the increasing wool supply from the ranching nearby. This locally made woolen textile supplied the Mexican market quite well.[55] This is another reason for the relative absence of Spanish woolen products in the inventories.

This expansion of textile production during the second half of the eighteenth century was partly due to its promotion by royal bureaucrats. As discussed in the previous section, from the mid-century onward, economic reformists in the Spanish Royal Court, such as Bernardo de Ulloa, stressed the need to promote the production of raw materials such as wool, hemp, flax, cotton, and silk in the Spanish Colonies. This was because these materials could then be brought to Spain to sustain its expanding textile industries.[56] The basic idea behind this promotion was to convert Spanish colonies into raw

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[54] Richard J. Sulvucci. *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: An Economic History of the Obrajes, 1539-1840*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988; Jan Bazant. "Evolución de la industria textile poblana (1544-1845)," in *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 13, No. 4, 1964, pp. 473–516.

[55] Manuel Miño Grijalva, *Obrajes y tejedores de Nueva España, 1700–1810*. México: El Colegio de México, 1998, pp. 185–193. A good summary on the development of colonial textile in the early colonial period is: Elena Phipps. 'The Iberian Globe: The Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America.' *in Interewoven Globe. The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014, pp. 28–45.

[56] Bernardo de Ulloa. *Restablecimiento de las fábricas, tráfico, y comercio marítimo de España*. Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1740, Segunda Parte, pp. 222–236.

material suppliers for the metropolitan Spain and consumers of Spanish products.

This effort was not always successful. For example, silk production could never recover to the level reached in its golden age during the sixteenth century. Its production continued only in the Mixtec region in southern Mexico, although its wild silk was appreciated as an unusual materials among well-versed Mexican consumers.[57] Royal officials also distributed hemp and flax seeds, with pamphlets explaining how to cultivate them.[58] Nevertheless, their cultivation did not prosper, even in the early nineteenth century.

In contrast, cotton cultivation was much more successful. As cotton was native to Mesoamerica, its cultivation had been practiced from the pre-Columbian period. In the mid-eighteenth century, the royal officials in Mexico renewed their interest in promoting its cultivation and lifted the duty levied on its export to Spain.[59] At the same time, as discussed in the previous section, the prosperous Catalan cotton textile manufacturers were seeking to diversify their raw cotton supply. By then, Catalan manufacturers were already importing cotton in the form of yarns from Malta in the eastern Mediterranean. But as its quality was not satisfactory for the production of the more sophisticated *indianilla*, a group of Catalan entrepreneurs opted to import raw cotton from Spanish America. They obtained a royal permit to establish a monopolized company to handle raw cotton.[60]

Thanks to this promotion of cotton cultivation, the area of its cultivation extended rapidly along the coastal areas of the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico. Moreover, cotton seeds were brought as far north as Texas, and from there toward the United States. This expanding cultivation also resulted in the rise of cotton exports, as was expected by the Royal officials and Catalan entrepreneurs. Alexander von Humboldt estimated that as much as 25,000 sacks of cotton were exported annually in the 1790s. This was six times greater than the cotton export from the United States during the same period, although their exports quickly superseded that of Mexico in the following years.[61]

Nonetheless, this impressive quantity of raw cotton export from Mexico represented less than 10 percent of all that was cultivated in the area surrounding Veracruz, the Mexican port for the Atlantic Trade. The rest was destined for the local production of textiles. Cotton textile production had already been practiced in Mesoamerica from the pre-Columbian period, as with the cultivation of the plant. Some cultivated cotton had been yarned and woven domestically by peasants with their simple back strap looms. From the early colonial period, cotton textiles were obtained as tributes or by the *repartimiento*—a kind of coercive putting-put system—in some indigenous areas such as the Yucatan

[57] Borah, Woodrow. *Silk Raising in Colonial Mexico*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1943, pp. 115–126.
[58] Alxander von Humboldt. op.cit., tomo II, pp. 376–377.
[59] AGNM-IV, Bando 3506, Expediente 045. “La orden de que el algodón que proceda de América queda libre de derechos, 1767.”
[60] J. K. J. Thomson. *A Distinctive Industrialization: Cotton in Barcelona, 1728–1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 239–247.
[61] Alxander von Humboldt. op.cit., tomo II, pp. 374–376.

Peninsula, and distributed widely to other Mexican regions.[62] With the expansion of its cultivation in the eighteenth century, the market production extended to other Mexican regions. Puebla was one such region where cotton textile production grew significantly from the mid-eighteenth century in place of once-booming woolen production. This renovation of textile industries in Puebla owed much to the expanding cotton cultivation in the region. Numerous peasants were reported who wove cotton textiles domestically and sold them in squares and markets nearby or to merchants they were in contact with. Some of them accepted terms and prices under the grant system offered by merchants. A number of workshops were also established manufacturing cotton textiles. The merchants in the region bought extensive amounts of raw cotton to supply these peasants and workshops.[63]

Therefore, the Spanish Royal Policy of enhancing the production of raw materials in its colonies became a double-edged sword to the Spanish industries. The colonies could be providers of raw materials, but they could also be strong competitors in the colonial markets. Guy P. C. Thomson estimated that textile production in the Puebla region increased so much that the size of its annual export to Mexico City became comparable to that of the European exports at the turn of the nineteenth century.[64] To what extent were these local and foreign textiles competitive? Again, Humboldt discussed:

> In these years, the indigenous manufactures have prospered notably. But as at the same time, the commoners of Indian villages and the men of color become less naked, the progress of Mexican manufactures does not have in a visible way an influence upon the importation of European woolen textiles, Indian fabrics, and other textiles of foreign manufacturers.[65]

His explanation implied that the locally produced textiles were destined for the low-end market of the poor and were compatible with the importation of cloth for the more luxury market among the commoners with better means. This vision of a two-layered market structure (or three, if we count the even more Europeanized market for the illustrious people) may be valid, if we recall how the royal bureaucrats attempted to clothe the poor during these years. The Viceroy Revillagigedo stated, “The plebeian people walked in nakedness almost entirely. Most of the individuals of this class were satisfied with going outside covered only by a *manta* or sheet, which served them for a cloth, a bed, and all they needed.” The efforts of the Viceroy in dressing the poor began in the public sector. He ordered all the workers of the Royal Tobacco Factory and Minting House to be clothed as prescribed.

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[62] Robert W. Patch. *Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1648–1812*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993. pp. 86–87.
[63] Guy P. C. Thomson. *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700–1850.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1989, pp. 42–46.
[64] Guy P. C. Thomson. *op.cit.*, pp. 42–46.
[65] Alxander von Humboldt. *op.cit.*, tomo IV, p. 150.

With this measure, he hoped to succeed in clothing some 10,000 people in a short period of time.[66] During the same period, there were other efforts to clothe the vagabonds and other unclothed people, sometimes with penal punishment.[67] Thus, in the late colonial period, the demand for cheap clothing increased considerably, and this demand was supplied mainly by the local textile manufacturers.

Mexican Industries as a competitor

However, this market division between local and imported goods does not provide a complete picture. Some Mexican products were able to compete with imported goods in more luxurious markets. One such product was printed cotton (*pintat* and *indianilla*). As we have observed in the inventories cited in the first section, the shop in Guadalajara stocked some printed cotton textiles made in Mexico. The Mexican printed cotton industry began in the mid-eighteenth century. Its development could be traced to the transfer of Catalan technologies, if we pay attention to the fact that the most important workshop in Mexico City was co-owned by Catalan immigrants at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some workshops also assumed the process of spinning and weaving before dyeing, while others specialized in the final printing process. In the latter case, the white textiles in use were either made of cotton and silk imported from Manila, or they were locally woven ones.[68]

The volume of cotton production remains unknown. However, one bureaucrat reported in 1810 that this cotton printing industry could maintain 2,000 workers. A merchant claimed, "By the goodness of these printed textiles, no other textiles were ordered from Northern New Spain from where more than 50,000 pesos were sent for these items."[69] Even a royal official commented that these Mexican made indianillas could be exported to the metropolitan Spain.[70]

It is not clear why Mexican printed cotton was in such demand. One possible reason could be found in its lower price. As noted in the first section, a yard of English *indianilla* was priced at 26 reales in the Guadalajara shop, while the most valuable Catalan counterpart was 13 reales per yard. In contrast, the Mexican multi-colored *indianilla* was sold at 9 reales per yard and the blue one sold for six and half reales. However, this explanation seems implausible, because the more common double-colored

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[66] Instrucción reservada que el Conde de Revillagigedo dio a su sucesor en el mando, Marqués de Branciforte sobre el gobierno de este contiente en el tiempo que fue su virrey., México, 1831, Par. 48–51. Susan Deans-Smith. *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers. The Making of the Tabacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.

[67] For the problem of clothing the poor, see, Norman F. Martin. "La desnudez en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII," in *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, XXIX, 1972, pp. 261–294.

[68] Manuel Miño Grijalva, *Obrajes y tejedores de Nueva España, 1700-1810*. México: El Colegio de México, 1998, pp. 185–193.

[69] Cited in Manuel Miño Grijalva, *Obrajes y tejedores de Nueva España, 1700-1810*. México: El Colegio de México, 1998, pp. 185–193.

[70] Elena Phipps. "New Textiles in a New World: 18th Century Textile Samples from the Viceregal Americas." in Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, 2014, Paper 898.

indianilla of Barcelona was priced at seven reales per yard and did not differ greatly from the price of Mexican manufactured goods. In any event, this comparison remains very tentative, because each of the *indianilla* being compared here had differences in quality and color.

Regarding the *rebozo* shawl, another widely traded Mexican textile, one explanation can be found in the development of local taste and fashion.[71] A *rebozo* is a rectangular textile. It can be used as a kind of shawl to wrap around the head or to carry babies and items. The Count of Revillagigedo the Younger, a viceroy of New Spain, noted its multipurpose use when he stated: "She uses it like a Spanish *mantilla*, and like a mantle, in the ladies' drawing room, on a walk, and even in the house. She places it diagonally, puts it over the head, covers her face, and ties and knots it around her body."[72]

We have already seen the importance of these *rebozos* in the shops' inventories. The *rebozos* listed there showed great variety. Some were woven with cotton. Others were made of silk, half-silk, or superior silk. We also find many that were made of combined fabrics. Some descriptions were more specific, such as a *rebozo* with "charm of Mexico City (*encanto mexicano*)." The prices of *rebozos* varied widely. At the higher end, the most valuable one listed was a silk shawl dyed with an aromatic plant (*guapaxtle*), priced at 23 pesos each.[73] A shawl made in the Sultepec region was also highly valued at 22 pesos. At the other end, the price of an ordinary cotton shawl from Puebla without silk yarns remained as low as one peso and two reales. This wide range of prices showed that *rebozo* production could respond to the diverse demand, from everyday use to conspicuous and extravagant consumption. In fact, contemporary bureaucrats and travelers vividly described the cross-class characteristic of the *rebozo*. Again, The Viceroy Revillagigedo the Younger commented, "A *rebozo* is a clothing garment for women, used so generally and continuously that is impossible to find any equivalent. Every woman wears it, without excluding the nuns, the most principal and rich ladies, and even those unhappiest and poorest of the lower common people."[74]

Even merchants in Mexico City, such as Pedro Barros, were practically dedicated to the *rebozo* trade, although Barros also handled some *bretañas* textiles, scarves, and Mexican-made *kimono*. The items he stocked were quite diverse, including shawls crafted with bamboo back strap looms (*rebozo de otate*[75]), with ikat (*jaspe*), or decorated with seashells. Some were described with specific places such as Sultepec or Tula. This description demonstrates that some regions had become renowned for their quality of shawl crafting. Some were dyed in blue, green, black, or purple. Most of these dyestuffs are

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[71] On the rebozo, see, Virginia Armella de Aspe, et.al. *La historia de México a través de la Indumentaria*. México: Imbursa, 1988.

[72] Cited in *El correo mercantil de España y las Indias*, No. 27, 1797, p. 213.

[73] Also called Coapaxtle. On this plant, see: Patricia Díaz Cayeros. "Tejidos y tintes Coapaxtles. La 'Memoria' del cura don Joaquín Alexo de Meabe (ca.1794)." in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 2008, XXX (92), pp. 207–222.

[74] Cited in *El correo mercantil de España y las Indias*, No. 27, 1797, p. 213.

[75] We cannot determine what the word otate means here. Most likely, otate means a kind of back strap loom (telar de cintura or otate). The textiles woven with this type of loom were highly appreciated. However, also it could also have referred to a rebozo made by a kind of bamboo fabric (otate).

thought to have been obtained in Mexico.[76]

One order sent by Ignacio González de Rueda from Bolaño, a mining district in the far north, was quite specific. He asked a merchant in Mexico City to send Mexican *indianillas* "printed with the best work or the fashion (*moda*), one with printed edging and another cut in the form of a skirt (*pollera*);" "4 dozens of fine and big cotton *rebozos* with joyous colors made in Mexico City in the best *moda* which can be found, with knotting fringes (*rapacejos*);" and "a half-dozen of aromatized shawls in green and crimson colors."[77] These detailed instructions demonstrate not only Mexican people's sensibilities to the latest fashion, but also the distinctive development of Mexican local tastes, which could not be easily satisfied with imported goods that had already been designed in Europe.

This Mexican taste, however, did not develop in an isolated manner. According to a legend, a slave woman, Catarina, living in Puebla in the mid-seventeenth century, invented this *rebozo*. She was born as a member of an aristocratic family in Mughal India, but was captured and sold as a slave, then brought to New Spain via Manila. She later became a Catholic holy woman (*beata*) in Puebla. There she used a drape decorated with silk threads imported through the Manila galleon trade as an imitation of her native region's *saree*. This is a popularly diffused theory on the origin of the *rebozo*. Other theories suggested that this drape was a modification of either an indigenous shawl or a Spanish *mantilla*. At any event, these theories suggested that the distinctive Mexican taste for *rebozo* had emerged as a result of Asian and European influences combining with indigenous cultures.

This explains why so many semi-elaborated fabric goods, such as silk yarns, golden and silver threads, and ribbons, were imported. They were used to produce textiles locally with designs that were suitable to Mexican taste. We have already noted the *rebozos* made of Chinese silk in the inventory of Guadalajara. Mexican manufacturers regularly dyed and printed Chinese fine silk cloths (*saya-saya*) or even spun, twisted and dyed the Chinese raw silk. They also produced *kimonos* printed in blue.[78] Silk and metallic yarns were also consumed in households for embroidery. We can appreciate many extant samplers and other embroidery works that incorporated such yarns. For example, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York houses an cotton coverlet, probably made to celebrate a wedding in 1786, which was proved to be embroidered with Chinese silk dyed in pink with Mexican cochineal and in yellow with European weld.[79]

By contrast, the sale of Spanish products proved more difficult. During the same period, many Spanish merchants sought to export more textiles to Spanish America. With this purpose, some merchants tried to dispatch the dresses that were most fashionable in Cádiz, thinking that many

[76] AGNM-IV, Industria y Comercio, Caja 3522, Expediente 018, 1791.
[77] AGNM-IV, Industria y Comercio, Caja 5627, Expediente 055, 1782.
[78] Juan López Cancelada. *Ruina de la Nueva España si se declara el comercio libre con los estrangeros. Exprésanse los motivos. Quaderno segundo, y primero en la materia*. Cádiz: Imprenta de D. Manuel Santiago de Quintana, 1811, pp. 24, 28.
[79] Amelia Peck, ed., *Interewoven Globe. The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014, p. 168.

Mexican people would eagerly follow the fashions of metropolitan Spain. These efforts of the Hispanizing Mexican market were not always successful. A Mexican merchant gave us an illustrious example in 1791:

> A few months ago, in the House which the Five Major Guilds of Madrid owned in this city, they stocked a portion of silk textiles, composed in the majority of items that were of little use in actuality, and as a consequence, difficult to be sold at a price corresponding to their investment and cost. For this reason, they resolved to sell them to don Francisco Almansa and don Andrés Cortázar with a loss to the investment. And these two decided to put these textiles in a store, eager to sell them quickly with little profit. They achieved these sales, thanks to a strong attendance by buyers of all classes who came there because a discount was announced (*a la voz de barata*)[80]

Thus we can see that Spanish merchants and manufacturers had difficulty selling their merchandise. Hispanizing the Mexican market did not prove an easy task. Some of the Spanish merchants and manufacturers thought that their difficulties in sales owed much to the development of Mexican industries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, some Catalan manufacturers raised a petition to the Royal court, asking to prohibit the Mexican printing industries, although the petition seems never to have been heard.[81] Spanish merchants also tried more intensely to Hispanize the tastes of the colonial market.

It would have been more fruitful to attempt to Mexicanize the Spanish products. Again, Revillagigedo the Younger, the Mexican Viceroy, was well aware of the problem when he stated, "From this very general and continuous use, we can infer how great must be the consumption of these textiles of *rebozos*, and how much the merchants will lose without trading them and manufacturing them in Spain."[82] He and other royal officials actually sought to send some samples of textiles manufactured and well-consumed in Mexico to the Royal court, so that Spanish manufacturers could understand the importance of local design.[83] With these efforts, they expected to increase Spanish transatlantic exports. It remains unknown whether this Mexicanization of Spanish production was carried out widely.[84] One clear conclusion is that this Spanish reaction could never conquer the Mexican market,

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[80] *La compañía de comercio de Francisco Ignacio de Yraeta (1767-1797*). México: Instituto Mexicano del Comercio Exterior, 1985, Tomo II, pp. 136–137.

[81] Juan López Cancelada. *Ruina de la Nueva España si se declara el comercio libre con los estrangeros. Exprésanse los motivos. Quaderno segundo, y primero en la materia*. Cádiz: Imprenta de D. Manuel Santiago de Quintana, 1811, p. 24.

[82] *El correo mercantil de España y las Indias*, No. 27, 1797, p. 213.

[83] Phipps, Elena. "New Textiles in a New World: 18th Century Textile Samples from the Viceregal Americas." Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, 2014, Paper 898.

[84] For the Peruvian market, Xabiel Lamikiz discovered the existence of the lists of articles in demand, sent by merchants there to their Spanish correspondents. See, Xabiel Lamikiz. *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World. Spanish Merchants and Their Overseas Networks*. New

as the Mexican industries continued to supply it.

Conclusion

As we have seen from the inventories, the Mexican textile market was supplied by local and imported items. Almost all of the linen was imported from France, Flanders, and Silesia, and Mexican producers supplied the wool. In other words, these supplies were segregated and could be compatible. In contrast, the supply of silk and cotton was contested. Although most of the silk had been provided by the Spanish in the sixteenth century, the Mexicans developed their own production using Chinese imported raw and semi-elaborated silk and, to a lesser extent, local Mexican silk. As for cotton, the Mexican market developed its preference for printed cotton during the eighteenth century, in addition to indigenous cotton production[85]. Catalan producers responded to this new Mexican sensibility for cotton by exporting their *indianilla* textiles from the mid eighteenth century. But the Mexican manufacturers also learned to produce printed textiles that were destined for the local market in the last decades of the same century. The British supply increased during the coming years. In this way, the printed textile market became one of the battlegrounds between the Spanish, the Mexicans, and the British.

In this battleground, the Mexican manufacturers continued to be serious competitors, at least by the first decade of the nineteenth century. This is partly because they knew how to produce textiles that were suitable for Mexican tastes. During the colonial period, the Mexicans developed their particular tastes for dressing and fashion, with the influence of indigenous customs and imported Asian and European textiles. These Mexican dressing habits became quite different from European styles and could hardly be satisfied completely by Spanish products. Again, Friar Ajofrín constantly marveled at these peculiar characteristics of the Mexican way of living, concluding that Mexico was "exactly the new world, or the reverse of the old."[86] With this Mexican "reversed" taste, local textile production would be able to remain competitive, even in the luxury market. Even after the independence, when the British merchants supplied massively the cotton textile, the Mexican women continued consuming *rebozos*, which were converted into the essential items of the Mexican national costume known as *Chiana Poblana*.[87]

York: Boydell Press, 2002, pp. 108–115.

[85] On the rise of European way of cotton consumption in Mexico, see also, Marta V. Vicente. "Fashion, Race, and Cotton Textiles in Colonial Spanish America." in Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi eds. *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*. Delhi: Primus Books, 2012, pp. 247–260.

[86] Francisco de Ajofrín. op.cit., T. I, p. 86.

[87] On the construction of China Poblana, see Rebecca Earle. "Nationalism and National Costume in Spanish America." in Mina Roces and Louise Edwards eds. *The Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2007, pp. 163–181.

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3.

Textile Meanings in a Global Capital

Fabric and Fashion in 18th century Amsterdam

Anne EC McCants

Introduction

The question of whether economic growth in general, and the rapid expansion of the Industrial Revolution period in particular, was led more by the forces of production or those of consumption has long been of interest to economic historians. Debate on this question dates back at least as far as the period of the Industrial Revolution itself with the publication of Say's Law in 1803. Say believed that the real key to growth lay in advances in the productive process, because the very act of producing goods generated the capacity necessary for those goods to be purchased. That is, aggregate supply should always create its own aggregate demand. In his model consumption must ever be the tail wagged by the dog of production. He held this to be true regardless of whether output was increased by greater inputs of capital and/or labor, or by the employment of better productive techniques. His analysis of the problem has remained more or less the dominant view ever since with the notable, and relatively short-lived, exception generated by John Maynard Keynes' work in response to the Great Depression -- an especially poignant moment when demand seemed to have failed entirely to follow its natural duty. Moralists also happily followed suit, seeing much more of virtue in the making of things than in the using up of them, that being the literal definition of consumption. Likewise, productive processes do not easily suffer the taint of 'luxury, whereas the charge of decadence stands ready to hand for all but the most meager forms of consumption. Consumption just does not offer a propitious base on which to build a process as vital and hard-working as economic growth.

Say and the moralists notwithstanding, there has been one voice of clear dissent, a serious champion for the importance of consumption in the making of all aspects of the modern world, including modern economic growth. This voice comes from the early modern historians, remarkably from all parts of the globe and not just Western Europe, which admittedly led the first charge. For increasingly historical work on the quantity and quality of people's possessions across the early modern centuries has turned up the anomaly of the expansion and increasing diversification of household possessions even at the same time that real wage series mostly showed no particular improvements, and well in advance of the significant productivity gains we associate with the 19th century Industrial Revolution.

The most ambitious attempt to explain this anomaly has been put forward by Jan de Vries in a series of publications over the last two decades. He first laid out his theory of the 'industrious revolution' in his 1993 contribution to the magisterial collection of Porter and Brewer, Consumption and the World of Goods, and in his Presidential Address to the Economic History Association of that same year. Most recently he has published an expanded and fully documented book-length treatment.[88] De Vries posits that north-western Europe experienced a radical change in its work habits cross the early modern centuries, a change manifested by both longer hours of work per worker and the greatly expanded employment of new (that is mostly child and female) laborers whose market work potential had been previously under-utilized, or at least under-reported and probably under- compensated, in home production. More significantly, he argues that this movement towards increased labor effort for the market occurred *in advance* of its much more famous (or perhaps infamous) cousin the Industrial Revolution. The 'industrious revolution", he says, yielded growth along Smithian lines: that is per capita growth was generated from the economies of market expansion and the concomitant increase in the capacity for specialization and a further division of labor. The Industrial Revolution itself, of course, remains largely a story of technical progress in both machinery and energy capture and deployment, as well as what would ultimately be a radical restructuring of the organization of productive processes.

But it would not be enough to just call upon an increased extraction of labor from the household to make de Vries' theory pathbreaking. There is no shortage of historical or sociological theories to explain the myriad ways over the centuries that labor has been extracted (often forcibly) for the expansion of productive enterprises. What is so striking about de Vries' contribution is that by linking his 'industrious revolution' to what was then a still relatively new literature on the 'consumer revolution(s)' of the 17th and 18th centuries, he could tell a radically different story about the *voluntary* release of the additional labor effort that was, he says, essential to kick-start modern economic growth. Moreover, as Adam Smith himself so presciently suggested already in the later 18th century, the resulting increase in the capacity for the further specialization of labor would prove to greatly facilitate the technical advances that were to become the cornerstone of 19th century economic growth. Finally, this theory of an 'industrious revolution' could account for the hitherto yawning theoretical gap between the seemingly prolific expansion of the 'world of goods' as revealed in household accounts and probate inventories (not to mention in moral diatribes against the consumption vices of the middling and poor), and the economic historians' carefully constructed evidence of only slowly rising, if at all, real wages of adult male workers (largely drawn from the construction trades) before the

[88] Jan de Vries, "Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern Europe," in Roy Porter and J. Brewer (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (Routledge: London. 1993); "The Industrial Revolution and the industrious revolution," in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 54, no. 2 (1994): 249-70; and *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. 2008).

second half of the 19th century. It was not wage power that made possible the feverish progress of ever more, and more varied, items of personal and household adornment so lovingly reconstructed by the art and cultural historians of this period. Rather it was the transfer of leisure time, however happily or uselessly (depending on your politics) it might have been employed in the pre- industrious past, first to the rigors of proto-industrial time and then to the even more rigid strictures of factory time. As Maxine Berg argued so persuasively already in the early stages of this research agenda, it was women, along with many of their children, who were in the vanguard of this labor migration.[89]

But why would anyone voluntarily trade in their Saint Monday's, their multiple religious feast days, and the autonomy of the household rhythm for the foreman's clock and the 'dark Satanic mill'? If we are to believe that the allure of consumer goods was sufficient to effect such a startling transformation in the preferred work habits of humankind, as they have been made manifest across the long period documented by the historical record, we have to demonstrate that the new consumer goods were plausibly within reach of those members of society who stood to lose the most from the new labor regime. If the colonial groceries of tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco; dish wares and wall tiles made of porcelain and its many imitations; buttons, baubles and metal 'toys' of all varieties; and dress accessories and expanded wardrobes of new fibers and weaves, not to mention new dye colors and prints, were in fact all luxury goods of what Giorgio Riello has called the "positional" variety[90] -- i.e. those accessible to elites but not to those below them in station and resources -- then the industrious revolution theory has no legs, and the mechanism of voluntary change must be found wanting. Aspirational luxuries on the other hand might well provide the kind of impetus for working harder that de Vries has in mind. Given the weight of contemporary commentary that fought to preserve 'luxury' as a meaningful descriptor of goods only available to those of appropriate rank, coupled with the verdict of most economic historians that the early modern trading companies dealt largely in ephemera (although I have argued otherwise),[91] it is on the consumer side of de Vries' formulation where we will need to secure the strongest evidence. Work I have been engaged in for almost two decades coding and analyzing a remarkable collection of 18th century household inventories from Amsterdam offers just such evidence.

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[89] Maxine Berg, "What difference did women's work make to the Industrial Revolution?" in Pamela Sharpe (ed.), *Women's Work: the English Experience 1650-1914*. (Arnold: London. 1998): 149 -171.

[90] Riello distinguishes between three types of luxury goods: positional goods which mark economic capacity and are by definition unaffordable to the non-wealthy, ceremonial goods which mark specific occasions by their excess, and aspirational goods Giorgio Riello, 'Cotton: The Making of a Modern Commodity', *East Asian Journal of British History*, 5/1 (2016), pp. 135-149.

[91] Anne McCants, "Exotic Goods,, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World." *Journal of World History*, Vol. 18, no. 4 (2007):433- 62.

The Burgerweeshuis Inventories as a Source

I have described this collection of inventories, drawn up by the Regents of the Municipal Orphanage (the Amsterdam *Burgerweeshuis* hereafter referred to as BWH) in great detail elsewhere, but a brief overview of their origin and characteristics is provided in this section for those not yet familiar with that work.[92] Following the model set forth by the so-called Orphan Chambers that had been an important social institution in medieval cities in the Low Countries for managing the property of parentless children, the Dutch orphanages that were established as a response to the rapid urban growth of the early modern period likewise managed the property of their charges.[93] They did this with the dual intention of both preserving some patrimony (if at all possible) for the benefit of children graduating out of the orphanage into adulthood, as well as assessing the ability of the parental estates to contribute to the maintenance costs incurred by the orphaned children while living in the institution. Hence, the Regents of Dutch orphanages were of necessity deeply implicated in the property assessment and management businesses. They were expert at collecting comprehensive inventories of households upon the death of a parent, and remarkably persistent in tracking down the assets that were justifiably accreditable to their charges, whether they were directly from parents or from other more distantly related relatives.[94] Thus, even very poor households, headed by either men or women in their capacity as the last surviving parent, were evaluated by the BWH Regents and their bookkeeper, just so long as they had been citizens of the city for a sufficient number of years that their children were eligible for residence in the BWH. As a result the inventories associated with the BWH represent an unusually broad spectrum of the citizen working poor, as well as petty shopkeepers and craftsmen of the city.

Finally, the BWH also made inventories of both relatives of a current orphan if property was being transmitted to said orphan, and former orphans who passed away after graduation but without heirs of their own. In this way the sample comes to include 87 inventories of a mix of men and women who had never married. Some of these individuals were living in rented rooms, some as servants in the

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[92] All of the inventories consulted for this paper can be found at, G.A.A. p.a. 367, oud archief #652-688. These records are the source for all of the tables as well.

[93] The Amsterdam BWH was founded in 1526, for example.

[94] Each inventory includes the date of death and street location of the decedent's household, his or her surviving heirs (either a second or higher order spouse, children or both), the names and ages of the children being left to the BWH, a listing and evaluation of all movable property and some real property as well, the credits and debts left outstanding either from or to the decedent, and a list of unredeemed pawnshop tickets if there were any. In almost all cases the inventories could be linked to the city marriage registers allowing for the calculation of the age at death for the decedent, an occupation if given in the marriage registers, as well as the marital history of the decedent, and the funding or not of child support payments in the name of previously deceased spouses. A complete description of the data set can be found in, Anne McCants, "After-Death Inventories as a Source for the Study of Material Culture, Economic Well-Being, and Household Formation Among the Poor of 18th c. Amsterdam," *Historical Methods*, Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter (2006): 10-23.

households of non-relations, and some, as we might expect, with members of their extended families. But in all cases, their estates have been evaluated independently of the households in which they resided.

The archives of the orphanage suggest that such inventory making had enjoyed a long history among the activities of the institution's resident bookkeeper. However, the earliest extant inventory records date only from the latter seventeenth century, and these appear not to have been generated systematically. That is, there are many fewer surviving inventories than there were children entering into the institution, even when the inventories have been collected in a single volume suggesting that loss of individual records is not the problem. Rather it seems most likely that in this earlier period the bookkeeper restricted his inventory making to only the most prosperous households, much as the Orphan Chambers had only managed the property of those children with assets substantial enough to be worth managing. However, in May of 1740 this practice seems to have changed radically. A new format of inventory book can be found in which a comprehensive record was made of every household leaving behind either orphans eligible for the BWH, assets for those orphans, or assets of former orphans now deceased who did not themselves leave behind direct heirs with claims on those assets.[95] These inventories survive in a continuous line from their inception in 1740 until the end of the first decade of the 19th century, at which point the institution lost its financial independence and its corporate urban status at the time of the political and fiscal collapse of the Republic under Napoleon. The total collection includes approximately 1,500 household inventories. However, the results presented here are based on only the 913 inventories recorded from the point of inception in 1740 through April 1782.[96]

Admittance into the BWH was open to all fully orphaned children whose parents (both of them individually) had held citizenship in the city of Amsterdam for at least seven years. There is, however, reason to believe that, as with many early modern social welfare institutions, the more substantial members of society did not avail themselves of such publicly provided services for their children. They seem instead to have found adequate ways to care for their orphans within their own kin networks, thereby keeping assets well within familial rather than public control. Likewise, the immigrant

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[95] The BWH did not have the right to make claims on the property of former orphans if they had their own children who required those resources. The guiding principle seems to have been the logical one of preserving the capacity to care for surviving children with family resources whenever possible.

[96] After this date the proportion of the total inventories drawn up *per memorie* increases dramatically. These inventories include only the statement about the deceased and the composition of claimants on the estate, but no listing of either the specific assets or the debts. It seems that when the bookkeeper encountered a household in which the debts clearly exceeded any and all assets he increasingly saved himself the trouble of making lists and indicated only that the household had been noted just for the memory of it. While this is interesting information about the increasingly weak financial profile of the households associated with the BWH, it is not at all useful for my purposes here which are to look at the specific goods owned by these households. Some of these greatly truncated 'inventories' exist for the middle decades of the 18th century as well, but they form a much smaller percentage of the total.

underclass is also missing from the BWH population. They were excluded by the combined rules of citizenship and longevity. So it was that the BWH functioned primarily as an institution catering to those of the middling sort, a fact that is readily attested by the inventories themselves.

Indeed, despite the BWH Regent's own conception of their charitable mission to the *burgerij*, that is to the respectable middle class of their city, the actual population that found its way through the doors of the institution was by any absolute measure a poor one. During a period in which the BWH estimated that it spent about 150 guilders per annum to care for each resident child, the median household associated with the institution had total assets at death amounting to only 69 guilders. (This drops to only 52 guilders if we include the 133 inventories recording no possessions and value them at zero guilders, which cannot be too far from a correct assessment of the reality.) Moreover, once the outstanding debts of the deceased are accounted for, the vast majority of households actually had a negative net worth. It was a scant 28% of the decedents who managed to leave property of enough value to more than cover their unpaid debts.

Table 3.1 Household Assets & Clothing Values

Burgerweeshuis Inventory Sample, 1740-1782 Total asset and clothing values in guilders

Panel A: by year of inventory.

# HHs		Mean assets	Median assets	Mean clothing	Median clothing
Period					
1740 - 1760	516	209.5	53.5	34.3	16.3
1761 - 1782	397	237.7	52.0	27.3	12.8

Panel B: by marital status of household head at time of inventory.

# HHs		Mean assets	Median assets	Mean clothing	Median clothing
HH type					
Married	278	240.7	82.6	39.1	26.8
Widower	202	288.4	52.0	26.9	10.5
Widow	346	187.7	31.0	25.5	7.5
Single	87	142.0	62.9	38.4	33.5

Panel C: by nativity (of married couples who could be linked to the Amsterdam marriage registers).

	# HHs	Mean assets	Median assets	Mean clothing	Median clothing
Nativity					
Amsterdam couple	410	191.9	40.5	27.0	9.3
Immigrant couple	68	345.5	78.8	40.7	25.3
Amsterdam husband	87	286.7	78.0	36.9	16.0
Amsterdam wife	146	227.5	60.5	31.0	14.9

Table 3.2 Characteristics of Native and Immigrant Households and VOC and Hansa Origin Households

(column shares in percentages)

	Both A'dam	Both immigrant	Man A'dam	Wife A'dam	Unknown/NA	VOC/ seafarers	Hansa port origin*
Column N of HH	410	68	87	146	201	33	52
Assets < 15 guilders	33.2	25.0	14.9	23.3	23.9	33.3	21.2
15 – 200 guilders	47.1	38.2	46.0	52.7	54.7	36.4	46.2
> 200 guilders	19.8	36.8	39.1	24.0	21.4	30.3	32.7
Evidence of shop	11.0	30.9	23.0	22.6	10.0	12.1	19.2
Number of rooms							
1	62.4	39.5	50.0	58.0	62.5	64.3	57.2
2	17.1	23.7	19.6	12.5	8.8	7.1	20.0
3	2.9	13.2	10.7	9.1	6.3	7.1	11.4
4-12	7.3	21.1	12.5	12.5	10.0	7.1	11.4
Unknown	10.2	2.6	7.1	8.0	12.5	14.3	0.0

*Former Hansa towns from which individuals had migrated: Bergen (2), Bremen (5), Copenhagen (2), Danzig (2), Deventer (10), Emden (10), Gottenburg (2), Groningen (6), Hamburg (4), Koburg (1), Koningsburg (1), Lubeck (1), Osnabrug (3), Stettin (2), and Straalsond (1).

In addition to what has already been said about the generally modest economic status of the population affiliated with the BWH, the analysis yet to come of the consumption patterns associated with different types of households requires that we differentiate the wealth profiles of the BWH affiliates more finely. There are several clear patterns that form the backdrop for this work, all of them summarized by the data in the three panels of Table 3.1. First, this community was probably growing poorer over the course of the 18th century and certainly not improving. The median household asset value for the second half of the period is slightly less than for the first half, but the median value of clothing falls considerably, by 22%. Second, households headed by widows were, not surprisingly, the poorest of them all as measured by either mean or median asset valuations. Likewise widows owned very little clothing indeed, and not just because they lived without another adult in the house. The never-married individuals truly did live on their own and yet had a median clothing valuation that was 4 ½ times that of the widows. Finally, of the households that could be linked to the marriage registers those headed by two Amsterdam natives were substantially poorer than any other combination of

Table 3.3 .Ownership Shares of Exotic (or imitative) Goods

(by Household Characteristics)

	% with porcelain	% with tea&coffee	% with delftware	%with silk fabrics	% w/chintz fabrics	% w/cotton fabrics
Full data N=914	37.6	58.5	54.0	22.6	14.6	23.3
Wealth groups						
Assets < 15 guil. N=250	4.8	8.0	12.5	0.0	0.4	2.8
15 – 200 guilders N=446	42.2	70.9	66.4	20.2	11.0	26.7
> 200 guilders N=216	65.6	90.8	76.2	53.2	38.1	39.9
VOC/seafarers N=33	27.3	45.5	39.4	15.2	12.1	30.3
Hansa port origin N=52	42.3	67.3	59.6	21.1	11.5	28.9
Both A'dam N=410	38.5	56.6	53.4	18.1	13.2	20.8
Both Immigrant N=68	36.8	70.6	63.2	29.4	13.2	27.9
Man A'dam N=87	48.3	78.2	71.3	24.0	20.7	29.9
Wife A'dam N=146	39.0	65.1	61.6	23.3	14.4	25.3
Unknown /NA N=201	31.3	44.8	38.8	28.4	15.4	21.6

native-born and immigrant parents. The rules for eligibility for leaving children to the BWH in the event of a premature death required that both parents had been citizens of the city for at least seven years; and becoming a citizen of the city was expensive. As a result, those households of the BWH sample that had double immigrant heads --i.e. both the mother and father had been born somewhere other than Amsterdam -- were substantially wealthier than their 'peers' who had not had to buy their way into citizenship. Further collaboration of this finding is evident in the data presented in Table 3.2. Here we see that double immigrant couples were almost three times as likely to operate a shop as the double Amsterdam natives, and three times as likely to live in the largest dwellings as measured by the number of rooms recorded in the inventories. The only (small) group even more likely to live in a single room were those decedents who were in some way associated with the Dutch East India Company (VOC) or were engaged in some other seafaring occupation.

Not surprisingly, given the general poverty of the orphanage population, many of the inventories record only minimal material possessions. Nearly 30% of the inventories represent households that did not so much as own a bed, or a piece of storage furniture, or even something as simple as a basket. Indeed, nearly 15% of the inventories record no possessions whatsoever; this despite the fact that the pathetic descriptions of some of the enumerated inventories suggest that the quality threshold for itemization on the part of the bookkeeper was very low indeed. What might we expect then in the way of consumer goods from a population that could barely support its children in life, let alone after death? Not much likely. Yet a quick summary of the ownership shares for a number of items that historians have deemed key to understanding the small luxuries of the emerging consumer revolution suggests more hopeful results than anticipated. Table 3.3 lists the share of households that owned at least one piece of porcelain, tea and coffee goods, delftware, silk, chintz or cotton fabrics. Here we see that just over half of all households had some implement for making or serving tea or coffee, and likewise a piece of delftware. Slightly more than 1/3 owned a piece of porcelain (broken or chipped though it may have been). The selected fabrics were not as densely spread in the population as the new dishwares, but both silk and cotton goods reached almost a ¼ of the population. Ownership shares of all goods rose considerably with wealth, and to a much lesser extent, with immigrant status.

How did such a group manage to participate as much as it did in the new consumer culture of the 18th century? Given the slower advance of new fabrics into the BWH population, what place would dress accessories and new fabrics, both imported from afar and locally produced in imitation of those, have occupied in their seemingly meager lives? Could the homes (cellars and single rooms as they often were) of such people possibly provide us with the evidence we need if we are to document the economic depth and importance of the new consumer behavior? After all, such documentation depends on finding consumption of the new so-called 'luxury' items widely spread across the social spectrum, as consumer goods which were exclusively limited to elite lifestyles have to be dismissed as trivial when they are not overlooked altogether. For the industrious revolution theory to have traction we need to find evidence that the new consumer goods enjoyed a broad geographic reach as well as a

wide price and quality spectrum. Only these features could produce the necessary conditions for the kinds of social differentiation that in turn might stimulate the willingness to work longer and less autonomous hours, especially on the part of women and their children.

Textiles in the *Burgerweeshuis* Inventories:

Work I have published elsewhere using the orphanage inventory data, in conjunction with a wide variety of other sources, argues that these conditions were indeed met already in the 18th century for tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco, and the new vessels in which they were prepared and served.[97] Here I would like to focus my attention most closely on textiles and the expansion of clothing options which are an especially suitable commodity for testing some of the broader implications of a theory of consumer behavior that can be fully linked to the world of production and prices. Cloth and clothing items represent especially promising candidates to serve as aspirational luxuries on account of their very public presence in a wide variety of social settings and interactions. The contents of a person's home are only seen by those invited into that home. But clothing literally follows a person everywhere they go. Furthermore, clothing and other fabric accessories for dress are attainable in small units and can be acquired in a piecemeal fashion. The price threshold for these items is typically less prohibitive than for most other kinds of consumer goods. Finally, the possibilities for using the BWH inventory data to test broader theories about the role played by the diversification of textiles and clothing on the development of consumer culture are particularly attractive because the Dutch Republic never placed any legal restrictions on either the import of Asiatic textiles or on modes of dress allowable to the common person. As a result, the Amsterdam cloth and clothing markets were neither distorted by a strong regulatory environment, nor were individual consumer choices constrained by fear of police intervention. In contrast, both England and France did impose important restrictions in the 18th century on the import of cotton cloth and the wearing of cotton clothing, even if their policing may not have been especially effective as has been convincingly argued.[98] Riello reminds us that Indian cottons were not just legally restricted but also became more expensive over the course of the 18th century throughout Western Europe. While they still remained cheaper than locally produced linens, the price gap between the two fabrics narrowed considerably. Thus, he suggests, prices may have been even more important than prohibitions in dictating the level of consumer demand for cottons.[99] Without the confound of any legal restrictions, the Dutch data allows us to confront the question of affordability directly, and thereby the question of desire as well.

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[97] Anne McCants, "Exotic Goods"; and "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: the Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the 18th century," *Economic History Review*, Vol. 61, No. S1 (2008): 172-200.

[98] For a useful summary of this literature, see Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World*. Cambridge University Press, 2013: 115-16.

[99] Ibid.

Table 3.4 Distribution of Fabric Types

(percentage share of households containing each fabric type)

Panel A: by year of inventory.

lakken wool	stuffs wool	cotton cotton	muslin cotton	bont cotton	chintz cotton	silk silk	bombazijn silk-wool
Period							
1740 - 1760	59.3	8.5	10.5	14.0	7.6	12.4	22.1	0.2
1761 - 1782	46.1	2.0	40.1	23.7	24.4	17.4	23.2	2.3

Panel B: by marital status of household head at time of inventory.

lakken wool	stuffs wool	cotton cotton	muslin cotton	bont cotton	chintz cotton	silk silk	bombazijn silk-wool
HH type							
Married	66.2	6.1	28.1	23.4	15.5	17.6	23.0	1.4
Widower	55.0	5.0	18.8	7.4	12.4	10.9	19.3	1.5
Widow	49.4	5.5	21.7	16.5	13.0	14.2	21.4	0.6
Single	26.4	6.9	25.3	33.3	26.4	14.9	33.3	1.2

Panel C: by nativity (of married couples who could be linked to the Amsterdam marriage registers).

	lakken wool	stuffs wool	cotton cotton	muslin cotton	bont cotton	chintz cotton	silk silk	bombazijn silk-wool
Nativity								
Amsterdam couple	51.2	5.1	20.7	15.9	10.5	13.2	18.1	0.5
Immigrant couple	60.3	4.4	27.9	19.1	19.1	13.2	29.4	4.4
Amsterdam husband	71.3	5.8	29.9	18.4	16.1	20.7	24.0	1.1
Amsterdam wife	43.8	8.2	25.3	20.6	19.9	14.4	23.3	0.7

However, before we can do that it is essential to understand more fully a host of other characteristics besides price that factor into setting demand for what were often entirely new fabrics, colored, printed, or woven in previously unimaginable ways, and fashioned into what were often equally new forms of attire and household decoration. For a long time, the ubiquity of cotton in the contemporary world, and the inherent comfort we presume it to possess, were considered sufficient to explain its consumer triumph by the end of the early modern period. But more recently John Styles has looked beyond those assumptions and importantly asked, “What were cottons for” anyway? Similarly, Beverly Lemire and others have posed critical questions about the timing of the diffusion of new fabrics (especially the

wide variety of cottons ranging from thin and cheap *guinea* cloth to the most expensive and luxurious chintzes) as well as the mechanisms whereby people learned to appreciate them, and finally about the vendors from whom they could purchase them. Lemire has argued that cotton began its consumer conquest rather early, as soon as the second half of the 16th century especially in such precocious locations as the Iberian Peninsula for example. Meanwhile Styles has countered with English evidence that cotton only became "truly popular" in the second half of the 18th century. Finally, is it enough to say that something new is "fashionable" (either because of its exotic origins or the imitable practices of elites) and that it thereby promotes its own demand without need for deeper explanation? All of these are questions that the BWH data is uniquely poised to help answer.

What then do the BWH inventories reveal about the cloth and clothing assemblages of the poorer element of the Amsterdam citizenry? Most obviously, the second half of the 18th century does appear to have been a period of rapid expansion in access to cottons of all varieties. Using the same time period division employed above, 1740-1760 and 1761-1782, the number and diversity of goods and in particular of new textiles goes up in time, even as the sample population was getting no richer and possibly even poorer. See Table 4 Panel A for the share of households in the two time periods that owned at least one item made from various fabrics. Remarkably, the share of households in possession of cotton goods quadrupled, while other cotton fabrics such as muslin and printed light cotton (*bont*) also show significant spread. Both chintz and silk also make modest gains. The only fabrics that become less prevalent are the very traditional Dutch woolen (the *lakken*) and another traditional European woolen fabric, the so-called *stuffs*. But it was not just new fabrics that experienced rapid spread. New clothing varieties also appear to have been making their debut even in these relatively poor households. The second half of the inventory sample reveals 73 distinctly named individual items of clothing or household decoration with a specified fabric type, whereas only 60 such distinct items are evidenced in the first half of the inventory sample. All individual items that appear in the first half of the sample continue to appear in the second half, so the change in numbers reflects the addition of 13 newly enumerated items over time.

More attention was also devoted to distinguishing clothing and cloth types as the 18th century wore on. The total number of cloth-identified pieces of clothing enumerated in the inventories up to 1760 was 1,021 (or approximately an average of 2 such items per inventory), while for the inventories recorded from 1761 onwards the comparable number was 1,887 (or an average of 4.8 such items per inventory). This increase in the absolute number of identified items of clothing took place despite the fact that there were more total inventories drawn up for the earlier period than the latter, 516 versus 397; and that a greater share of the later inventories were taken *per memorie*, meaning they had no goods remaining to be inventoried at all. Much of this move to a greater specificity of clothing types and greater attention to distinguishing one variety of cloth from another was driven by cotton goods

Table 3.5 Clothing Valuations

(by fabric types for three specified goods) Values in guilders

jak			jak	japon	japon	rok	rok
Cloth	Type	#	Mean	#	Mean	#	Mean
Not specified		96	1.1	18	3.9	133	2.3
baai	woolen	-		-		4	0.6
gestreepte	striped	-		4	2.3	2	1.3
cotton		28	1.0	1	2.5	6	2.3
serge	woolen	-		-		4	2.5
gestikte	embroidered	-		-		16	2.5
grijn	woolen	-		3	1.1	18	2.6
magaije	unknown	-		-		6	2.8
damask		-		-		34	2.8
caleminke	light worsted	1	1.0	-		7	2.9
stuffs	worsted	1	3.0	2	3.5	5	3.3
coleured	unknown	-		3	10.0	10	3.6
lakken	Dutch woolen	-		-		22	4.0
woolen		-		1	4.0	15	4.0
silk		12	2.7	33	8.7	24	5.5
chintz	cotton	44	3.1	5	9.3	27	4.2
Total # w/value		182		70		333	
Share of total entries		16.2%		37.6%		15.1%	

Note: Items of clothing are only included here if the inventory entry gave a value for that type of item only. So an entry that lists a total value for 2 or more jackets made of the same fabric yields an individual item value assessed at the mean. But an inventory entry for a jacket and a skirt valued together, even if both made of the same fabric, cannot be used for this purpose.
The total number of relevant inventory entries (including those mixed with other goods) in the complete inventory sample is:

jak (jacket) = 1,123 inventory entries representing 3,451 individual items
japon (robe or dressing gown) = 186 inventory entries representing 221 individual items
rok (skirt or dress coat) = 2,199 inventory entries representing 4,094 individual items

specifically. Up to 1760 all of the inventories taken together reveal only 12 individual items of clothing or household furnishing made of cotton. After 1761 that number jumps to 30. Other fabrics also experienced increases in the variety of clothing items for which they were employed, but none so great as for cotton. Items made of chintz increased from 10 to 11 separate labels, items made of *bont* increased from 14 to 19, and of silk from 17 to 23. Meanwhile the specific uses for linen were actually decreasing from 23 to only 12, strongly suggesting that linen was one traditional cloth that was crowded out by the explosion of cotton goods. The clothing items once made of linen do not disappear from the inventories, they just ceased to be made of linen.

Table 3.6 Household Asset Profiles

(for households grouped by possession of types of fabric) Total asset values in guilders

Cloth name	Type	# hhs	Mean	Q1	Median	Q3
No cloth specified		298	40.1	0.0	3.0	19.0
rasdemaroke	cotton?	33	166.7	55.0	101.5	222.6
lakken	Dutch woolen	487	349.5	53.3	116.0	323.5
cotton		213	415.6	62.0	142.0	332.6
woolen		193	405.2	60.1	146.0	333.6
baai	woolen/worsted	54	506.3	72.2	150.0	451.4
gingham	cotton	8	303.5	73.1	152.9	382.0
gestreepte	striped	62	575.2	62.5	153.5	451.4
bont	printed cotton	135	340.7	66.7	154.0	345.1
muslin		165	457.3	79.0	172.1	334.0
bombazijn	worsted*	10	372.1	50.6	176.9	849.1
serge	woolen/worsted	71	326.3	70.7	182.2	337.0
damask	worsted or silk	119	388.0	87.5	190.0	383.6
linen		93	552.4	72.2	208.5	515.8
stuffs	worsted	58	516.9	134.5	217.2	445.5
smirnse	cotton	10	1073.2	101.5	220.3	645.5
silk		206	547.8	110.5	246.5	481.9
magaije	unknown	16	467.3	169.1	247.2	399.0
velvet	Likely silk	63	576.6	95.0	247.4	548.3
caleminke	light worsted	32	738.6	91.0	254.1	795.0
gestikte	embroidered	54	444.5	103.6	255.3	362.1
chintz	cotton	132	609.6	130.1	272.4	601.3
armosijn	Bengal silk	2	557.6	273.8 (min)	----	841.5 (max)
seras	Coromandel silk	6	609.3	334.0	572.1	841.5

Ratio of lowest median asset value to highest is 1:5.7

* According to John Styles (personal correspondence) this fabric became a cotton fabric later in the 19th century, but in the 18th century it was either pure worsted, or a worsted-silk mix, usually black or grey for mourning.

Table 3.7. Distribution of Total Clothing Valuations

(for household groups in possession of various types of fabric) Total clothing values in guilders

Cloth name	Type	# hhs	Mean	Q1	Median	Q3
No cloth specified		298	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.0
rasdemaroke	cotton?	33	44.9	21.0	39.5	62.0
lakken	Dutch woolen	487	48.4	14.5	36.0	67.0
cotton		213	51.5	16.3	38.5	68.7
woolen		193	49.9	13.5	36.3	68.0
baai	woolen/worsted	54	55.5	18.5	38.5	70.5
gingham	cotton	8	64.4	23.5	49.8	106.9
gestreepte	striped	62	60.6	20.5	45.9	91.2
bont	printed cotton	135	58.7	23.5	41.1	70.8
muslin		165	65.0	29.8	53.5	87.5
bombazijn	worsted	10	61.3	17.9	57.0	84.7
serge	woolen/worsted	71	60.1	25.5	45.5	91.5
damask	worsted or silk	119	69.0	32.8	52.0	91.0
linen		93	64.4	28.5	46.5	89.0
stuffs	worsted	58	90.0	45.5	74.0	110.0
smirnse	cotton	10	73.5	31.0	60.0	102.7
silk		206	79.8	41.0	68.0	104.0
magaije	unknown	16	83.5	58.0	70.1	92.8
velvet	Likely silk	63	69.9	33.5	61.0	92.8
caleminke	light worsted	32	68.9	22.5	47.5	80.1
gestikte	embroidered	54	67.0	25.5	65.0	104.2
chintz	cotton	132	83.1	41.0	68.7	102.7
armosijn	Bengal silk	2	312.8	142.5 (min)	----	483.0 (max)
seras	Coromandel silk	6	178.6	91.0	147.8	166.5

Ratio of lowest median clothing value to highest is 1:4

As the material above already suggests, the quality spectrum of fabric types found in the BWH homes ranged across both traditional European-made fabrics and the new Asiatic imports, or their European-produced imitations. Table 5 selects for three specific clothing items that were the most likely to have been recorded with an indication of their specific fabric type **and** to have received an individual valuation by the orphanage bookkeeper. (The latter is a critical issue as often times whole blocks of goods listed together would receive only a group valuation, as in "*2 rokken en 2 kamizoolen voor 3 guilders."* In such cases the items in question could not be used for the analysis documented in Table 5, even if the fabric type were known.) Yet, even with the necessarily limited number of cases that met both criteria, a consistent quality hierarchy of fabric types is readily apparent for all three of the most commonly appearing individually valued goods, jackets (*jak*), robes (*japon*), and skirts or dressing gowns (*rok*). The most valuable individual pieces of clothing were consistently made of either silk or chintz (probably both imports although a small silk weaving industry had already existed in Europe for a number of centuries in imitation of Asiatic imports and thus the silk may well have been more locally produced). Not far behind them in value, however, were several traditional European fabric types, most notably *lakkens* or stuffs, and to a lesser extent damask. Some of the cheapest individually

specified fabrics were actually Asiatic imports, cottons and striped fabrics, also likely made of cotton. This value data, which would have been at least somewhat related to fabric prices on the market, is entirely consistent with the wealth (and total clothing assets) sorting of the households in the inventory sample when grouped by the types of fabric that they had in their possession. This data can be found in Tables 6 and 7. In general, households that possessed the most valuable fabrics (Bengal or Coromandel silks or chintz) enjoyed a median total wealth and total clothing valuation four to five times greater than for households that possessed only the cheapest fabrics. Households that had no items of clothing or decoration with a specified fabric content were yet vastly poorer still. One final note of interest in Table 5 is that the item of clothing most likely to have its fabric content specified as well as to have been individually valued is the *japon*. Nearly 38% of all the inventory entries for *japons* marked off their special character by both valuing them and carefully describing them. As is evidenced already by its very name, this type of robe or dressing gown was in direct imitation of exotic clothing types brought back from East Asia.

One window into the process by which new fabrics and clothing types were introduced into the households of ordinary Amsterdam citizens is by assessing the relationship between the demographic composition of the inventoried households and their clothing remains. We have already noted that there was a strong relationship between clothing assets and the headship of the inventoried households with widows owning the least amount of clothing and singles the most (certainly in proportion to their household size). The acquisition of new kinds of consumer goods, notably fabrics from Asia or in imitation thereof follow a similar pattern. Although the 87 inventories drawn up for the former orphanage residents who had never come to marry suggests that they were not particularly wealthy, they were clearly in the vanguard of new textile consumers. They had the absolutely highest median *guilder* value of clothing assets and nearly the highest mean values as well. (See Table 1 Panel B and Table 4 Panel B.) Even more importantly, a significantly smaller share of singles owned something in a traditional *lakken* than any other demographic group, but held their own with the married couples (the wealthiest group) in cotton and chintz possession, and pulled substantially ahead of everyone else in muslin, *bont* and remarkably even silk possession.

Another characteristic that appears to have influenced how open a household would be to consumption of new fabric types is the status of the married couple as natives to the city of Amsterdam or as immigrants to it. As already noted, Amsterdam natives were clearly poorer than their immigrant peers (at least those in the BWH sample). Yet this clear wealth advantage only translates into a relatively modest increased likelihood of owning items made from fabrics that were either actually imported from Asia or in imitation of such goods, as shown in Table 4 Panel C. Remarkably, the most expensive general fabric type, chintz, was just as likely to be found in the homes of the Amsterdam natives as it was in the homes of the double immigrant couples. Even greater ownership shares are found for those households that held the wealth advantage of one immigrant partner and the nativity advantage of one Amsterdam native. The conflicting pressures of these two conditions (wealth and

nativity) however, make it difficult to tease out the full impact of nativity on the acquisition of the 'learning' necessary for the consumption of new fabric types.

One other interesting observation can be made about the relative importance of wealth versus 'learning' about new goods on the basis of this unusual data source. This comes from the (admittedly limited) number of orphanage affiliates who were also connected in some way with the East India trades or other seafaring ventures. 33 inventories have been so identified, a few of which represent households that had been quite prosperous indeed. That notwithstanding, a full third of the seafaring households had asset evaluations of less than 15 guilders putting them into the lowest wealth category recorded in Table 2. Given their relatively weak wealth profile as a group it is not surprising that these families were less likely to own clothing made of specified fabrics than the population at large. They fall consistently behind in ownership shares of *lakkens*, linen, stuffs, chintz and silk. But also consistently they are out in front in their likelihood to possess various types of cotton. 15.2% of seafaring households had something made of *bont* compared to 14.9% of all households; the shares are 21.2% and 18.1% respectively for muslin; and the most sizeable gap of all was for cotton at 30.3% versus 23.1%. Is it possible that participation in an ocean-going voyage or some other association with the East India Company could give even the poorest households some access to the clothing ways of the other side of the world?

Table 3.8. Fabric Types and Usage in Clothing

Fabric type	# Items	Items ordered by importance
armosijn	2	*rokken* and jacket
baai	6	*rokken*/*onder-rokken*/pants/vest/jacket/*japons*
bombzijn	2	pants and camisole
bont	23	60% aprons/20% kerchiefs and assorted others
caleminke	6	*rokken*/vests/pants/camisoles/jacket/bodice
cotton	35	No items dominate
chintz	14	51% jackets/25% *rokken*/8% *japons*
damask	9	96% *rokken*/camisoles/vests/*japons*
gestickte	5	79% *rokken*/other skirts and camisole
gestrepte	9	31% *rokken*/30% under-rokken/jackets/vests/*japons*
grijne	11	74% *rokken*/camisoles/*japons*/jackets
lakken	8	50% *rokken24% camisoles/15% pants*
linen	28	diverse aprons, kerchiefs and cloths
seras	2	jackets and *rok*
serge	20	35% *rokken*/pants/camisoles/assorted others
silk	31	36% *rokken*/17% jackets/13% *japons* & *samaar* each
stuffs	7	*rokken*/jackets/*japons*/*samaar*
velvet	16	17% pants/7% camisoles and diverse head coverings
woolens	11	76% blankets/16% *rokken*

Note: *Japons* and *rokken* have been left untranslated because they indicate potentially different types of clothing: either men's or women's robes, skirts and dressing gowns.

Finally, what do we know about the types of clothing that came to be associated with various new fabrics. As the summary data in Table 8 make clear bayes, damask, *lakkens*, stuffs, and velvets are all consistently associated with a relatively small number of individual items of clothing, mostly the heavy outer layers of traditional dress items such as pants, skirts, camisoles, and jackets. What is truly remarkable about cotton (in all of its many varieties) is the enormous range of items with which it came to be associated. As has been argued elsewhere by Riello and Styles in particular, cotton was most notable for its capacity to both absorb roles played previously by other fabrics as well as to promote new items of clothing. Riello argues that "the ultimate success of cotton lay not so much in its fashionability but in its slow but relentless conquering of a variety of garments that were increasingly incorporating what was once an exotic material," such that it could ultimately "complement rather than replace woolens, worsteds, silks and linens."[100]

Conclusion

This chapter began with two questions: one about the driving forces behind modern economic growth using very broad terminology, and the other much more specific, about the range of social and economic access for Amsterdamers to participate in the new systems of consumption that were both a product of, and a contributor to, the rapid expansion of global trade over the course of the 18th century. To address those questions, we have examined the connections that ordinary people could have made with the 'luxurious' fruits of the global trade system that surrounded them. For many economic historians, most especially those for whom the decisive break in the lives of non-elites only comes after the massive production changes ushered in by the Industrial Revolution itself, such people were of necessity denied access to consumption spaces marked by luxury. Yet the BWH inventories reveal something much more complicated than simply exclusion. Although there is no doubt that severely limited financial resources constrained the consdyption possibilities of many 18th century Amsterdam households, nonetheless it is also the case that even some extremely poor households were in possession of the new fabrics of the global textile system, and the new clothing styles to which they gave rise. How was this possible? What were the avenues into this consumption space for those whose very low socio-economic status should have precluded them from participation? It is here that we find the most interesting findings to come out of this study of the BWH inventories. For they strongly suggest that not only wealth was necessary for adopting the newly available cloth and clothing items of global trade, but also social capital facilitating their use was required. Leaving aside wealth for the moment, the inventories suggest that the most precocious entrants into the increasingly diversified new modes of dress were the unmarried, those who had actually been to sea themselves (or had a

[100] Riello, pp. 133-34.

family member who had been), and those who had lived their entire lives in Amsterdam, embedded in an environment of novelty. They were extremely familiar with the range of new commodities available for either household or person, the possession of which situated individuals 'positionally' in a hierarchy of luxury. Not having the resources necessary to actually stake out a secure rung in this hierarchy, they nonetheless participated with seeming eagerness in acquiring the smaller and more accessible items at its edges. It was their social capital that gave them access to the new commodities as 'aspirational' luxuries.

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4.

Garments for Sail and Textiles for Slaves.

Creation of Cheaper Cloth and Clothing in Cape Town in the 18th Century

Miki Sugiura

Introduction

Global encounters and expansions since the end of the 15th century increased the need for individual and institutions to provide durable clothing of stable quality as inexpensive as possible. Clothing for soldiers, sailors are such examples, but slave clothing is one of the most prominent. Dutch East Company, (VOC) is said to have provided more than one million pieces of clothing during the two hundred years they existed to their company slaves alone.[101] Furthermore, they had to meet the other demand of numerous slave owners who had to provide slaves clothing continuously. In many colonial areas the slave cloth or clothing had to be mainly imported, as manufacturing home spun or home woven slave cloth/clothing became a realistic option only after the mid-19th century. As is suggested in the definition of the Montgomery's *negro cloth*, slave owners are assumed to have picked up the most inexpensive range of cloth (or clothing) from the available circulation.[102]

Literature on the18th century slave clothing for North America suggest a specific cheaper label was created and/or applied for slave clothing. By researches that have analyzed the run-away slaves' descriptions published in the newspapers, we know that specific cheaper linen labels, most prominently *osnaburgs* or *dowles* were used for their shirts.[103] Shammas suggests the average

[101] Ruurdje Laarhovern, *The Power of Cloth: The Textile Trade of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), 1600-1780*. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University:1994).

[102] Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870*. (New York and London: W.W.Norton & Company: 2007), 309.

[103] For the overview on the research on the run-away slaves, see Rebecca Fifield ``Had on When She Went Away . . .': Expanding the Usefulness of Garment Data in American Runaway Advertisements 1750–90 through Database Analysis', *Textile History*, 42:1 (2011), 80-102, and Jonathan Prude, 'To Look upon the 'Lower Sort': Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750-1800', *The Journal of American History*, 78-1, 1991. Masako Hamada provides a thorough survey and reconstructions of slave clothing from the advertisements. Masako Hamada, *A Social Study of the Clothing of the Virginian Slaves in Revolutionary America*, (Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, 2002).

price of *osnaburgs* grew distinguishingly cheaper in the late 18th century, becoming almost a third of the price of the labels *linen* and *calico*.[104] Behind this price fall was the harsh competition between England, Silesia and Ireland. In their attempt to gain share of its production, major production area shifted.[105]

It would be not justified to simply extend this view to the 18th century Indian Ocean World and conclude that early modern textile production areas of India and Europe also embarked on supplying new, cheaper cloths labels for slave clothing. The circulation of low- quality textiles was intact and expanding. As Giorgio Riello notes, by the latter half of the 16th century, the Portuguese "started selling low-quality textiles, that they purchased in Gujarat, Sindh and Cambay" and in Southeast Asia in exchange for slaves in West Africa and by the late 17th century, cotton, linen, and other textiles comprised more than half of the commodities traded or exchanged for both Dutch and British Indian company in the rapidly growing trade; As West Africans did not appreciate printed calicoes, but rather preferred simpler geometric patterns of stripes and checks in bright colors, lower range of cotton fabrics compared to chintz, such as *indian guineas*, or *gingham*, comprised a major part, though not the entirety, of this trade. [106]It is also pointed out that cotton's supply channels became more centralized from the 17th century onwards, as Riello emphasizes in his work as the formation of a "centripetal system". [107]A shift towards more centralized production and rising international competition accompanying import substitutions could have progressively contributed to making cloth and clothing cheaper. As with *osnaburgs* or *dowles* in North America, *guinea* textiles exchanged by Dutch, English and French for slaves changed over time, as *guineas* became import substituted. Initially striped and checkered cloth from India, they later became coarse cotton cloths dyed deep blue or green.[108]

Slave cloth mentioned above were cloth used as trade payment to the slave merchants, and not the fabrics used for what slave owners provided their slaves for clothing. However the two intertwine and analyzed connectively in the historiography. For 17th to 18th century Dutch*, Negro*

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[104] Carole Shammas, Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 99, table 4.9.

[105] Izumi Takeda, 'Positioning Irish coarse linens in an eighteenth-century global context' in Miki Sugiura ed. *Linking Cloth Clothing Globally*. Transformations in Use and Value c.1600-1900.(Tokyo: ICES), 2018. See also Izumi Takeda, *Spinning the British Industrial Revolution from flax and cotton: the Irish Linen Industry and the Atlantic Market*, (Kyoto: Minerva Shobō), 2013. For recent production of cheaper linen in Silesia, see Anka Steffen 'Silesians and Slaves – How Linen Textiles Connected East-Central Europe, Africa and the Americas", Paper presented at "Dressing Global Bodies" Conference, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 07.-09.07.2016.

[106] Giorgio Riello, *Cotton. The Fabric that made the Modern World.* (London: Cambridge University Press) 2013, 137-139.

[107] Giorgio Riello, *Cotton*. *The Fabric,* chap. 9-10.

[108] Colleen E. Kriger " Guinea cloth. Production and Consumption of Cotton Textiles in West Africa before and during the Atlantic Slave Trade" eds. G. Riello and , P. Parthasarathi *eds. The Spinning World*, A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850 (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 2009. See also Toyomu Masaki 'Export of Indian guinee to Senegal via France : intercolonial trade in the long nineteenth century.'*Socio-Economic History* 81-2, 2015, 239-260.

Cloth meant coarse *guineas* imported from South Asia. However, for North Americans in the 18th and the 19th century, it became name for fabrics used for clothing slaves. In addition, Laarhoven and Prakash describes *guinea*, in the sense of striped and checkered cloth from India, was commonly used by VOC for providing clothing for company slaves in the 17th century, and *garras*, *fotas* and *niquanias*, the cheaper range of Indian and Malay cloth were more widely adopted in the following century. [109]

The question here therefore would be, whether specific labels of cheaper fabrics were created for supplying slave clothing in the process. This would include remarkable depreciation of existing labels, as was the case with *osnaburgs* for North America. Second, it is also necessary to consider which of the options were taken between making inexpensive fabrics or making inexpensive clothing. As is explored, circulation of readymade clothing precedes the phase of mechanized mass production, and made significant impacts upon the provision of clothing for sailors, soldiers and others.[110] Further investigation is needed to how much extent this readymade clothing circulation was involved for provisioning slave clothing. The third and final question concerns the role of local circulation. In answering how cheaper clothing were made, it is necessary to look at how fabrics and clothing were recirculated and how their value changed in that process.

To answer these questions, this chapter examines how slave clothing was created and circulated in the 18th century Cape Town. It will position the representative slave cloth, the blue or red striped and checkered, and investigate whether certain labels of cheaper cloth among Indian striped and checked cloth, particularly gingham, established themselves as cheaper labels dedicated for making slave clothing. It will both identify and emphasize the local factors driving the circulation of cheaper clothing.

Rise of Annual Slave Clothing Expenditure towards 19th century

The total slave population in the Cape is estimated to have grown from 337 in 1692 and 891 in 1701 to roughly 6,000 in the mid-18th century, and then grew rapidly into 14,747 in 1793, **Table**

[109] Om Prakash, 'The Dutch and the Indian Ocean Textile Trade', in *The Spinning World*, eds. by G. Riello and P. Parthasarathi, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 154. Quoted from Ruurdje Laarhoven, *The Power of Cloth,* 79.

[110] The global circulations of the ready-made clothing at this period is explored through the series of extensive and innovative works by Beverly Lemire since 1980s. See the latest synthesis in Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformations of Consumer Culture. The Material World Remade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2018), 114-135. For an inspiring case of North America, see Marshall Joseph Becker 'Match Coats and the Military: Mass-Produced Clothing for Native Americans as Parallel Markets in the Seventeenth Century', *Textile History*, 41:sup1, 2010, 153-181.

4.1. Price for Wheat, White Wine and Clothing for Slaves compared 1716-1800

Year	Wheat (per mud)	White Wine (per league)	Slave Clothing Expenditure, (per annum, per person)
1716	2.0	21	
1720	2.2	22	
1730	2.4	26	
1740	2.4	28	5 Rd
1750	1.6	30	
1760	1.5	38	
1770	1.0	22	
1780	2.4	38	
1790	2.6	35	7 Rd
1800	2.8	30	15 Rd
1827	-	-	21 Rd

Source: quoted from N. Worden 2007, p. 60; MOOC 10/1-10/8 Vendurollen (Auction Records) 1716-1800, Slave Clothing cost quoted from N. Worden 2007.
Note: Official price for wheat until 1741 was 2.6, and Company price after 1741 2.5
Official price for white wine until 1741 was 27.

outnumbering "free burghers".[111] Slaves were so extensively and pervasively used in Cape Town that it was a "Slave based society", and on average, 66% of the population had slaves from 1696 to 1805; this percentage grew from the beginning of the 18th century.[112]

During the 18th century and early 19th century, Cape Town relied almost completely on imported textiles.[113] Every VOC ship would regularly dock in Cape Town, but they were absent during the winter months and one could not rely on the constant supply. Moreover, because of shop bans that lasted until British rule began in 1808, individual Cape Town slave owners and households had to directly face this problem of providing textiles and clothing. No professional supplier appears to have specialized in slave cloth or clothing. The supply and distribution of cloth or clothing were executed through non-shop channels and private exchanges. Auctions were held regularly in public spaces, forced from debt or death or voluntary, under VOC's specialized officer's supervision with participation of the broad range of the society. [114] So intense and well-

[111] See for estimation of Slaves, Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985) 10-11. See also Johan Fourie, "The wealth of the Cape Colony: Measurements from probate inventories." *Working Paper 268*, 2012: Stellenbosch University.

[112] Johan Fourie and Jan Luiten van Zanden. "GDP in the Dutch Cape Colony: The National Accounts of a Slave-Based Society." *South African Journal of Economics, vol. 81-4*, 2013.: 467-490.

[113] During this period, only one record of weave appears and nine records of spinning wheel. Schoeman notes on one attempt of 1771 to make home-spun slave cloth, but the attempt failed. Karel Schoeman, *Portrait of a Slave Society. The Cape of Good Hope, 1717-1795* (Pretoria: Protea Book House 2012).

See contemporary observer's record on Auction in Otto Mentzel, A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope, vol II (Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1921), originally published in German in 1787, vol chap 15. See also Tracy Randle "Consuming Identities: Patterns of Consumption at Three Eighteenth-century Cape *Auctions"* in Stobart J. and I. van Damme eds., *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade*, London, Palgrave: 2010.

developed was private face to face bartering and exchanges on the streets and houses that it amazed the contemporary observers; slave cloth and clothing were not exceptions to this.[115]

Under this condition, one might assume Cape Town's slave clothing expenditure was larger in the 18th century than under the British rule after 1808. 1780s marked the watershed when cotton prices dropped sharply in the British circulation. Both the deflated value of calico and muslin almost halved between 1780 and 1800. [116] Equally, prices of calico in Amsterdam dropped sharply in the 1770s. [117] On the contrary, though, according to the annual expenditure documents of the slaveowners, the annual cost per slave of providing clothing to them increased significantly at the turn of the century: rising from 5 Rd (Rijksdaalders) per slave in 1744 to 7 Rd in 1787 or 9.4 Rd in another record in 1789 , it rose significantly to 15 Rd by the end of the 18th century and reached 21Rd in 1827.[118] Though these records are random and not even from the same farm, these figures are strongly indicative, as Nigel Worden suggests in the same study, that slave clothing expenditure increased significantly in the latter half of 18th century, particularly at its end, and well into 19th century. Although Worden simply attributes the rise to inflation, neither the political turmoil accompanying the transition to British rule nor inflation could explain this rise entirely. As the figures show, changes in the average nominal auction prices of wheat and white wine from 1716 to 1800, as detailed in the probate inventory, were much less steep.[119] Furthermore, demand for slave clothing was not growing at this time: the increase in slave population was much more rapid in the latter half of 18th century rather than at its turn. Therefore, it must be assumed that the slave owners of Cape Town managed, through some means, to develop a cheap range of clothing during the 18th century.

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[115] Miki Sugiura 'Overflooded with Goods Despite Shops? Women's Private Commodity Exchange in 18th century Cape Town' eds., Mariko Mizui, Yoko Matsui, and Miki Sugiura *Sekaishi no naka no Joseitachi*(*Women in World History*) (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 2015) and Miki Sugiura 'Between Material Affluence and Share. Women's Private Commodity Exchange in the 18th century Cape Town', eds., Hiroki Shin, Shinobu Majima, and Y. Tanaka *Moving Around: People, Things and Practices in Consumer Culture* (Tokyo: Forum for History of Consumer Culture 2015) 261-70.

[116] Stephen Broadberry and Bishnupriya Gupta, Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence: Lancashire, India and Shifting Competitive Advantage, 1600-1850.Paper presented at IISG, http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/factormarkets.php, viewed on 8th September, 2018.

[117] Stephen Broadberry and Bishnupriya Gupta, "Lancashire, India and Shifting Competitive Advantage in Cotton Textiles, 1700-1850: The Neglected Role of Factor Prices", *Economic History Review*, 62-2, 2009, 302.

[118] Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 70. There are also random records of the rich households that spent 15 Rd annually for slave clothing in 1740s as well.

[119] Because of the lack of direct import records in Cape Town, it is not possible yet for the author to directly investigate why slave clothing did not get cheaper but more expensive in 19th century.

Variety of Slave Clothing and Sumptuary Laws

The definition and categorization of Cape Colony slaves are complicated, as their origins varied from Bengal, Coromandel, locations along Eastern coast of Africa and Madagascar. Nevertheless, slaves in Cape Town could be roughly divided in three categories: Company Slaves, Urban Slaves, and Farm Slaves. Company Slaves were those owned by VOC, and living collectively in either with in the Fortress (Castle) or Slave Loge in Cape Town. Urban Slaves were those owned personally by Free Burghers or Company officials' households located in the settlement (Town Erven) of Cape Town. Farm slaves were those working in Burgher Gardens or Table Valley situated at the outskirt of Cape Town as wheat fields and wineries developed. Further outside, Stellenbosch or Drakenstein started also to develop wineries, but those probate inventories are not dealt expansively in this survey.

Company slaves as well as officials were supplied annually sets of clothing from the VOC. There were different descriptions left for what were provided, but generally, men were provided trousers and shirt material, women skirts or smocks. [120] They were sometimes supplied with fabric itself, but it is worthy to note it was standard to be supplied with readymade clothing. One record says Company slave men were annually provided with a doublet and trousers tailored by garrison tailors and for women smocks were imported from Batavia that were "made up of six yards of coarse cotton cloth", thus readymade.[121] Whereas, Valentijn, a contemporary later manumitted Company slave referred to cloth distributed twice annually of sailcloth and blue linen.[122] The average cost for feeding and clothing slaves in the company were 15-16 Rd per annum, in the mid 18th century, thus approximately same or slightly higher than what a farm slave owners noted in Table 1.[123] We must note that the provision differed significantly according to the ranks.[124]

Urban slaves and farm slaves were provided somewhat simpler, but quite similar attire provided from their masters as the Company Slaves. One record says annually slave women were given *skirts (rocken), two jackets (baatjes or kabaaijen), or half* shirts, and slave men unlined pilot cloth jacket (*rok*, or *casjack*), besides which a pair of sail cloth breeches, and another record says for slave men of "receiving only pilot cloth (pije) jacket and some coarse "Vaderlandsche (homeland)"

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[120] For the extensive survey of the records slave clothing provided by VOC, see Karel Schoeman, *Early Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1717* (Pretoria: Protea 2007) 143-9, Karel Schoeman *Portrait of a Slave Society*, 112-121. See also Nigel Worden, *Cape Town beween East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town.* Joha (Hilversum: Jacana, Verloren, 2012) 92.

[121] Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 92; Karel Schoeman, *Early Slavery at the Cape Town* 148.

[122] Karel Schoeman, *Early Slavery,*145.

[123] Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society* (Middletown, Weyslan University Press, 1979) 128.

[124] Female officials were given length of *photas* for four dress or skirts (*kleetjes*), pieces of *geras* and baftas, and 2 pieces of sailcloth (presumably for lining).

shirts a year, and they were promised two new clothing a year.[125] It was at farmhouses where shortage of slave clothing is most often noted. Many farms often stored piles of "slave clothing", "slave trousers" or "slave frocks". In addition, they are said to have ordered to make slave clothing such as leather trousers collectively to the Cape Town tailors or bought secondhand clothing when they came to Cape Town. One record said annually, men slaves were provided "*Two pairs of trousers and a coat or a camisool (short workman's jacket)"and women skirt and some fabrics for shirts*.[126]

Slaves' clothing was regulated by sumptuary laws. Existing regulations were summed up and synthesized in the sumptuary law in 1755, closely following the Batavian code in 1752 and 1755.[127] Though multiple sumptuary laws were introduced into the direction to restrict slave clothing into simpler forms, ironically, as we have seen, it did not help slave clothing to get cheaper. Sumptuary law for slave clothing was not meant to keep them simple, but had complicated function to allow the clothing to be stratified according to the ranks as well as to let the clothing underline that slaves were different from the others. Thus, it is no wonder that sumptuary setting for slave clothing got specified and detailed in the end. Table below summarizes how slaves were supposed to dress according to the ranks. (Table 2) Only the highest rank officers of VOC or their wives were allowed to dress their slavery in "livery".[128] Lower rank officers were allowed to dress up to third servants in livery. However, to distinguish slaves from the others, it was custom not to allow shoes and mostly hats to the slaves.[129] Coachmen were the only exception for it.

Table 4.2. Sumptuary Law for slaves

High Rank VOC Officials	Livery (without shoes but possibly hats) Or "Malay Style"
Low Rank VOC Officials	Livery up to third slaves allowed
Merchants and below	Blue or red linen, striped or checked upon desire No hats or coats except for Coachmen No shoes in general Woolen possible, but totally plain, without any color in collars or cuffs.

Other slaves, which means slaves in general, were determined what fabrics they should wear in detail. However it was more the quality of the fabrics they should wear, rather than the fabric types, was specifically regulated The overall principle was that the fabrics slaves wore should be "coarse, cheap and strong". In one record it was written: "blue or red linen, striped or checked

125 Karel Schoeman *Early Slavery,* 146 and 148.

126 Karel Schoeman, *Portrait of a Slave Society*, 218.

127 For the process of the creation of Sumptuary Law of 1755 and 1765, see Robert Du Plessis, The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016), Robert Ross Clothing. A Global History (Cambridge: Polity Press 2008) and Nigel Worden, *Cape Town between East and West*, among others.

128 Livery is the servants' wear for aristocracies. VOC official's ones had rather outdated extravagantness as well as hybridized elements in ornamentation.

129 Clothing was one of the symbol for the slaves to show themselves. It is well known that manumitted slaves bought hats, stockings and shoes to show they are free.

upon desire". It is obvious here, that the term linen here is not about the fibre of linen, but coarser fabrics. The blue or red "linen" mentioned could be "*vaderlandsche* (homeland)" linen half-bleached or dyed, but it could also be "gingham" and others that were striped and in check in blue and/or red that were supplied from a wide range of places in South and Southeast Asia.

It is symbolic that in the 1730s, VOC Company Official J.N. Dessin was ordering "blue coarse cloth for slave clothing" for Netherlands and "fine and common slave cloth" from the East. Blue or unbleached linen was used for male slaves' shirts. Coarse linen sailcloth from both India and Europe and woollen kersey and pilot cloth were used for slaves' trousers. Blue or unbleached linen was used for male slaves' shirts. Coarse linen sailcloth from both India and Europe and woollen kersey and pilot cloth were used for slaves' trousers. At the same time, it was noted there that they could wear "woollen, but totally plain, without any colour in collars or cuffs" for winter clothing.[130] No specific place names were noted as major suppliers. [131]This linen could be textile supplied from any regions. It is worthy to remind here that slave clothing was in "Mixed Style" in both the lower, standard cluster as well as in the higher cluster. [132]This means, fabric wise, European and Asian textiles intertwine, but in addition, the style could be also mixed: Among the slaves for higher rank officials, opposite to the trend to wear "livery", there was growing trend to costume their slaves in Malay style. Therefore, in both the fabric and the style, Asian and European style intertwined in the slave clothing.

Slave owners' Channels for acquiring cloth and clothing

Before discussing how cheaper Slave cloth and clothing were coordinated in Cape Town, this section investigates how much direct access and manageability slave owners had for acquiring cloth or clothing. It testifies that despite of the lack of shops, inhabitants of Cape Town had ample access to the variety of cloth.

Cape Town was near completely reliant on imported textiles. Only one record of weaving loom appears and nine records of spinning wheels appear in the entire probate inventories of 1700-1834.[133] We can assume homespun or home woven textiles were rare. It was different story with tailoring or clothing making. Not only were there professional tailors, but considerable in-house

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130 Karel Schoeman, *Portrait of a Slave Society*, 213-215.

131 In general, there are many fabrics named by a place names or named with place names (e.g. Chinese Linnen) in the probate inventories. The depicted place names ranged from Middle and Far East (Armoesijn =Ormuz (Persia), Gilang = Gilan (Persia), West Africa (Guinees = Guinea), Thailand (Salempoeris/ Salemporis/ Serampore Zalemporis/ Siamoes), and different locations in India: Coast (=Coromandel Coast), Surat, Bengal, Malay, Tutucorin, Chinese and Japanese.

132 Schoeman notes this style as "Westernized" or "semi-Westernized". Karel Schoeman, *Portrait of a Slave Society*, 212. However, the author of this chapter stresses from above analysis that it was a "mixed" style.

133 During this period, only one record of weave appears and 9 records of spinning wheel

slaves had skills for making clothing. We find many remarks of "unfinished" or "make in progress" skirts or jackets in inventories, and these items were sold as such at the auctions. While finished personal clothing was the last item to be sold in auction, the ability to produce clothing home led to household's high stocks of textiles at home. (Tailor's textile possession were less than average household had)

Because of the lack of shops, households became the center of cloth-clothing distribution. Household needed to have large amount of textiles and clothing for slaves. Moreover, household's clothing and textile possession became even larger, because there was custom for the parents to provide clothing for their children's future. As I have written elsewhere, Deborah Koning, the so called "the richest inhabitant in Cape Town", who left the longest and multiple inventory and auction records in Cape Town, left similar extensive sets of cloth and clothing for all her children respectively.[134]

Because of the absence of the shops, the distinction between domestic use and (commercial) exchanges was extremely vague. However, a difference could be depicted from the fact that Cape Town houses began to develop a specialized room, "Voorkamer", right next to the entrance for restoring and exchanges their merchandises. What distinguished these rooms from other rooms in the house was their absence of beds, or "bedesteden"(bed frames). Cape Town Houses did not have specialized rooms for sleeping, but household members including usually considerable number of slaves slept everywhere, and each room usually had furniture used for sleeping. However, "Voorkamer"'s furniture was restricted to fancy furniture, characterized of elegant chairs small chairs, paintings and almost always mirrors. In addition, they had chests and decorated boxes with textiles and other consumable goods. This is the reason "voorkamer" are considered now as a room specialized for housewives to entertain their guests and do her exchanges. We can distinguish the textiles and garments dedicated for exchanges from those for family use by looking at the location those were restored: Those listed for "voorkamer" were more for exchange and those listed at the other rooms' chests were for family use. As noted above Slave clothing were stored not in this voorkamer, but in attics, corridors and pantries. We could partly prove that goods restored at the "voorkamer" had considerable turn over, from comparing the goods of three generations of wives lived in the same house.[135]

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[134] Deborah left for her small youngest 2 year old daughter a collection of clothing and fabrics as hers, that ranged from 7 *japon* (kimono type overcoat), 10 skirts, 5 over skirts, 3 night caps, 20 sheets, 34 napkins, 11 handkerchiefs to more than ten various different sorts of fabrics that amounted to 321Rd, an amount that equaled one tenth of the price of a standard house in Cape Town. Similar collection were left for 10 year old Debora Margaretha. For the youngest 13 year old son, she left simpler collection that consisted of 20 different sheets, 34 serviettes, 12 handkerchiefs and 29 man's shirts. Instead, a gold sacked clock, valued 125Rd occupied more than half of the 211 Rd movables left to him.

[135] Despite the fact that both the first and second wives died shortly after marriages carrying newborns and infants, the storages they had for voorkamers were completely different. No public auctions were held after the first wife's death. This means, within about 4 years when the second

Auction was a regular point of exchanges in a settlement without shops. As Tracy Randle notes, it was also a major entertainment for the inhabitants.[136] It was so popular, she notes, that in one case more than half of the population participated. From the obligatory auction records in the latter half of the 18th century, we know that 3-4 auctions were held annually in average.[137] When there was a number of heirs, auctions were obligatorily held after the probate inventories were taken. I once compared elsewhere items listed in inventories with items sold at auctions.[138] Although there were minor "sorting out" of the items and "editing" of how they were called, to be sold at very public auctions, surprisingly most items, having clothing as sole exception, were sold directly at auctions. Even heirs needed to buy the items they want to keep at the auctions. Clothing were the only exception, which means that in one in about seven cases they were noted apart that they were split within family members.

Generally, it is understood that auctions different from these obligatory ones connected to inheritance were frequently held. There is an indirect evidence for this in Deborah Koning's inventories, which was picked above. The reason why Debora Koning's post-mortem auctions took several years and also was spectacular, was because they were not only massive but held separately according to the types of fabrics or garments. Despite all these collections reserved for children and customers, Debora still had a large collection herself, in the boxes or casts that were filled with fabrics and garments in her 12 room house. These items were sorted out carefully and auction were held according to the item. On 5th September auction for "coast guineas (Guinees) from the Coast of Malabar (Southwestern India coast) " were held and 17 people bought a roll each at the price range of 14 Rd to 15Rd (total sum 231Rd). In the afternoon of the same day, an auction for "voerchitsen (pieces of chints)" were held and 13 persons bought in the unit of 4 pieces ranging from 10.02-10.05Rd. On 27 December 1748, 25 red "mantel (overcoats)" were sold to over 20 people each at the price range of 3.01-3.03 Rd. At the same day, more than 18 embroidered shoe blades were sold to more than 15 people. There were another similar auction for ribbons. What was striking in these auction is the stable pricing. There was clear mutual intention and agreement between the supplier's side and buyer's side as to what value to cast on several types of clothing. What we associate here is regular wholesale market with standardized pricing rather than a private auction with arbitrary price setting. It is unlikely that Deborah only traded for this time only with Batavia and Netherlands. Given the way she ordered standardized items collectively, she probably have held similar auctions, or rather public type of exchanges while she was still alive. Although this is only one case, we can assume that similar auctions apart from inventory

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wife died tragically right after giving birth to second child, the goods at storage could completely be alternated. From the inventory of the third wife, we can see that the exchange at voorkamer developed even more, as she introduced a small upper storage and backward office surrounding the room. Antonia Malan; Sugiura, Material Affluence 2014.

136 Randle, 'Consuming Identities".

137 Randle, ibid.

138 Sugiura, 'Operating Her Posessions'.

auctions were established by middle 18th century as a channel of textile distribution within Cape Town.[139]

Another aspect we should look into is the private merchandize, in other words "smuggling", of the VOC employees. Usually, we put more attention on the private trades of VOC employees who went to Asia. However, Cape Town's VOC employees, too, are said, without almost no exception were accustomed to pile up their private collection. They were known for collecting items of superb qualities for selling or using it themselves upon their return or move. Many of them had themselves had chance to travel Batavia and direct ordering of items as one see from Deborah's case was quite easy. Randle speculates that VOC high ranking merchants checked regularly the auctions to gain items.

When one looks at the household of upper/undermechants of VOC, they indeed stocked up distinguished piles of probably Asian textiles compared to other households. However, not only Asian. Their inventory suggests, they not only had Indian fabrics, but massive collection of both European and Indian as well as Chinese fabrics and accessories. Indeed, two inventories directly related to *Opperkoopman* listed a categories that says "*Koopmanschap* (merchandize)" and a "*Winkel* (Shop)" in the early phases of 18th century. This might suggest these VOC officers did not collect items just for waiting them till they were sold in homelands but also for exchanging in Cape Town itself.

As a summary, household exchanges in Cape Town developed so much that it had high turnovers. Upper households had direct access of multiple textile production areas to order in a pile, and they did not just keep it for their own consumption, but for supplying the others. Some kind of cloth or clothing were always circulating. Although one could not rely to acquire the precise items they had in their mind (as in shops), they could still find out something, and more importantly acquire them cheap. Price formation and value evaluation were immediate and spontaneous at their main distribution channels of auctions and household exchanges. The price was not arbitrary set and usually did not necessarily fluctuate among same items if the quality was similar. However, items with some inferiority were severely judged and immediately devalued. Then there occurred spaces for cheaper items to be invented.

The reasons behind the cheapness: Alternatives, Varieties, Readymade and Secondhand Clothing

Hunt for the cheaper material

This section analyses reasons behind the cheapness of 18th century Cape Town Slave cloth and clothing. We saw in the former sections that Cape Town was completely reliant on imported cloth. Creation of

[139] We see also from Company officer J.N.Dessin's inventory that he was trading with a person different sort of cloth. The order concentrates much on different colors of silk. In addition, yarn and 4 pieces of "white guinees" were ordered.

cheap slave clothing naturally meant the hunt for "coarse, strong cheap clothing". The hunt was towards both directions: It is symbolic that in 1730s, Company Official J.N. Dessin were ordering "blue coarse cloth for slave clothing" for Netherlands and "fine and common slave cloth" from the East.

Table 4.3. Cloth and Clothing left for Slaves in Joachim Nicholaus van Dessin's Probate inventory in 1761 Source: MOOC8/10.76

15 piece various "*voerchitsen*"(dress length or gown piece chintz)	Of these upon testament 2 pieces were given to slave (maiden) Liesje
3 piece striped gingham	Of these upon testament 1piece were given to slave (maiden) Liesje
4 piece normal chintz	Of these upon testament 1piece were given to slave (maiden) Liesje
4 white linen	Of these upon testament 1piece were given to slave (maiden) Liesje
24 blue slave shirts	Upon testament 6 blue and 6 white shirts were given to slave Fortuin.
18 white slave shirts	The same also to Leander and the rest were divided among slaves.

Table 4.4 Textiles listed in the Inventory of 1718 Source MOOC 8/3.93

	Amount	Quantities	Price per Unit	Unit
Leather (Zeemleer)	33	22	1.10	stuk
Hollants zeyldoek (Sail Cloth from Holland)	180	5	36 *4:50	rol
blauw linnen (Blue linen)	81:--	12	6:15	stuk
Bengaals zeyldoek (Sail Cloth from Bengal)	27:--	4 1/2	6:00	stuk
Bengaals gestreept bast (Striped bast from Bengal)	26:5	7	3:15	stuk
Tutucorynsse chitsen	157:10	21	7:10	stuk
Gingam	27:--	3	9:00	stuk
Inferior gingam	4:10	1	4:10	stuk

As noted above, it is possible to determine cloth and clothing used for slaves from probate inventories to some extent: first, mostly certain cases are when clothing were mentioned with slaves as adjectives: e.g. slave trousers, slave frocks. It is rather tricky in the case of cloth. There were fabrics with "slaves" attached, such as slave *baaij*, slave *bafta*, slave linen etc. but here we are not completely sure whether there were used for the slaves, or it simply had slaves attached as it was already customary to name so (as slaves wore them in Malay). It is sure cloth used for slaves were not always attached with the adjective slaves. Rather, it was more common to name it without. Another example we can be certain that a specific cloth/clothing were used for slaves is when they were notes as left for slaves. It was rare, but not necessarily seldom. I mentioned one of those examples above. An indirect way to discern possible slave cloth or clothing was where they were kept in the house. As I described in Section III, often fabrics were kept in attics, corridors and pantries, apart from those other stored in "Voorkamer" or one of front rooms. In the analysis of this section, I have determined certain clothes from above

reasons to be directed to the slaves.

First, we see from a 1718 inventory record that "blue linen" which was traditionally set as cloth for slaves, was no longer the cheapest cloth in a household by that time. (Below Table). Cheaper than blue linen were 1) Leather 2) Sail Cloth 3) India originated cloth, such as striped bafta (bast) from Bengal and inferior gingham. The second" Sail cloth" were supplied both from Netherlands and Bengal. And the latter was slightly cheaper.

Leather was not specifically mentioned in the sumptuary law, but we can confirm from many probate inventories that they were widely used for slave clothing. Leather was in general broadly used as manual laborers' work attire. Often this leather is noted as "Zeemleer", which can range from skins of deer, dogs, and other cattle. In the probate inventories, leather trousers were listed alongside other slave clothing in both urban settlement and farmland. However, in longer perspective they were more present in the farmlands. Often one person stored a pile of leather trousers or leathers and these were resold in smaller units at inventory auctions. Looking at the price records at auctions, we can hypothetically state that these leathers were getting cheaper in the first half of 18th century.

dMoreover, leather stayed stably cheap after this. In 1719, the inventory of late Hans Gerringer who lived within Cape Town settlement, listed 8 zeemleer trousers and 2 slave trousers, and at his succeeding auction of him, 46 zeemleer and 9 trousers were sold at once.[140] This means 2 pairs of zeemsleer sold at 1.3- 1.45 Rd, trousers were sold at 1-1.1Rd per piece. This price got even cheaper for the record in the farm house outside of Cape Town 30 years later. In 1739, a house at table valley had 36 zeemleer in their attic. Furthermore, at an auction in 1748, 2 pairs of zeemsleer were sold at 1.1, and 3 pairs 1.6 Rd. [MOOC 10/575] Despite its cheapness, leather trousers were not used as the main material or completely cover the whole of slave clothing. Particularly women needed other fabrics to wear.

In a 1718 record, price of sail cloth was slightly cheaper than the blue linen. Sail Cloth were in the long run cheaper as they were strong and durable. By around 1730s, "sail cloth (*Zijldoeken*)" were playing central role in slave clothing. Shirts, skirts and trousers were made from sail cloth, often using sail-yarn for sewing. Sail Cloth was not only produced in the Netherlands, but also extensively in Bengal. As the table suggests, Bengali sail cloth were slightly cheaper than the Dutch ones.

Variety of Indian Cloth and and sorting "Slave Cloth" thereof

Strikingly broad range of Indian or Asian originated fabrics used as "slave cloth" throughout the 18th century, particularly in the early 18th century. After all, Indian cloth in general was the most popular cloth slaves would wear. It is well known, that in the course of 18th century, Ginghams, more than Guineas, were associated with cloth for slaves in Cape Town. Ginghams are defined "fine, checked or striped colored cotton fabric, probably from Indonesia" in the Glossaries of TANAP. However, one record says : "*Bafta (rough cotton woven cloth from East india), bouling, chintz, geras, nequainias,*

[140] MOOC 8/.3.95 and MOOC/10.12.

photas" which were naturally cheap and strong clothes, often striped or checked in bright colors such as red or blue, were meant for slave cloths.[141] Another mentions further textile names of chelas or celas (red cotton), mourin (muslins) as popular slave cloth. In addition to these, "baijs (baai)", the originally woolen word "baij (or baai) ", equivalent to baize in English, were used extensively, often , with the combination as "slave baai". The word is quite confusing as a striped cotton, named after the city Cambay (Khambhat) in Gujarati were called cambaja or cambaaij, and possibly sometimes abbreviated to baai. Cambaja is also associated with what they call "negros kleed (negro's clothing)" because "they were worn by black people". Thus, summing up :

1.) The Asian cloth range used for slave cloth was broad
2.) Some kinds of slave cloth were called so because they were worn in other areas particularly India, Malay and along eastern coast[142]
3.) Cloth names do not suggest where they are from but one textile name could be both applied for several locations in India and Malay and even China.

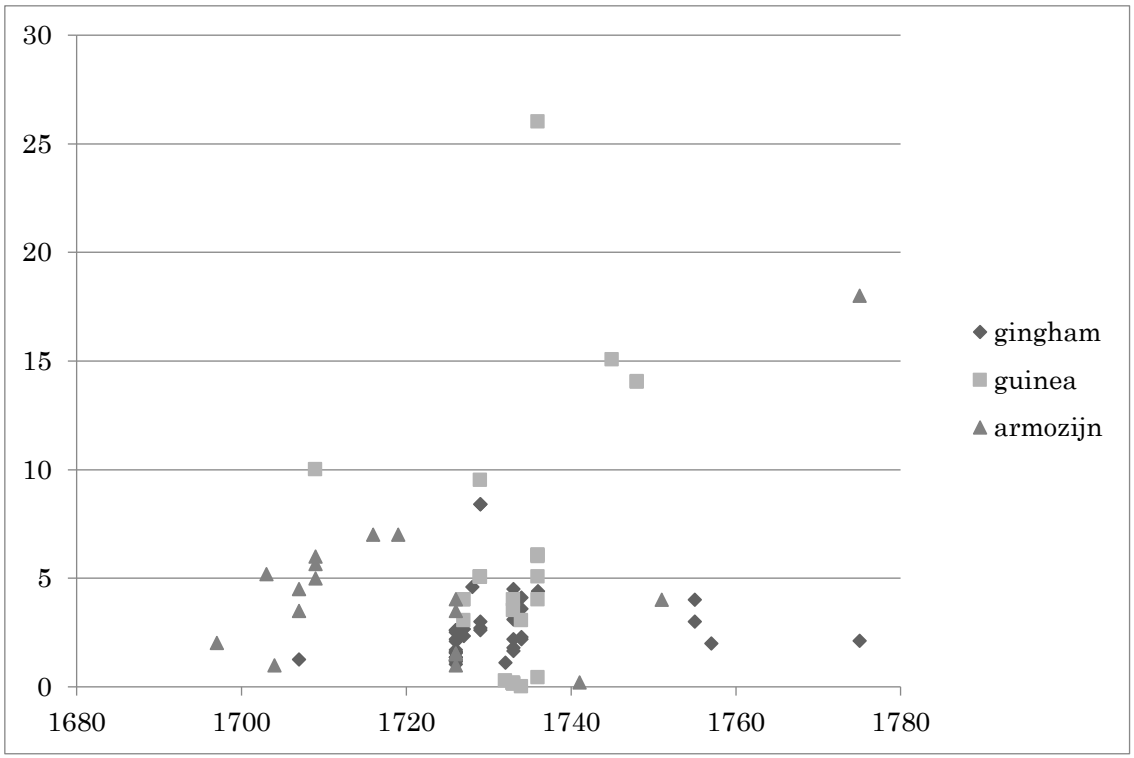
Table 4.5. Textile Hierarchy by Anne McCant for 1730s-1780s Amsterdam Inhabitants Compared

In Amsterdam			Usage Cape Town Slaves	Picked for Figure 3
Most Popular	lakens	Woolen	○	
	katoen			
	baai	Woolen flannel	○	
	gingham	Cotton print	○	●
	bont	Cotton print		
	cambaai	Cotton print	○	
	muslin	Fine Cotton	○	
	bombazijn	Heavy cotton		
	camelotten	Camelhair mix		
	grij	Dutch woolen		
	serge	Dutch woolen		
	Coleurde	Dutch woolen		
	damask			
	linen	Linen	○	
	Stofjes	Dutch worsted	○	
	trijp	Dutch velvet		
	silk			
	velvet	Fulweel?		
	Gestikte	Embroidered		
	Caleminke	Dutch Woolen	△	●
	chintz		○	
	armosijn	Bengal Silk		●
Most Exclusive	Seras	Coromandel Silk	△	

Source ：McCants 2010

141 Schoeman, *Early Slaverly*, p.218.
142 Whether these were worn by slaves there needs further investigations.

Figure 4.1..Evaluation of Gingham, Guinea, Armozijn at Auctions and Probate inventories of Cape Town 1697- 1779.



Guinea	46 entries
Gingham	73 entries
Armozijn	21 entries

Now let us see how these fabrics were positioned in Amsterdam at the same period. Thanks to the fabulous series of works by Anne McCants, we could see how Amsterdam inhabitants possessed Asian items.[143] In her work of 2007, she made what is called "Textile Hierarchy", in which major 22 textiles names listed in the probate inventories of (1730s- 1780s) were ordered upon the means and average of their incomes. Thus, we could see from here, which textiles were owned more by upper income clusters and which textiles were owned more by lower cluster. This insightful analysis stresses that one could find intertwining of "Asian" and "European" textiles at both higher and lower categories in Amsterdam, which can also be generally applied for Cape Town. This table is also great in terms of connecting the results together, as the probate inventories sources I use for Cape Town are also made for the same purpose, under the Orphan Chambers, and the periods correspond perfectly.

As we see from Figure 1, the cloth used for slave clothing in Cape Town were seemingly concentrated in the lower segment. However, it must be emphasized, that quantitatively the foremost fabric used for slaves in 18th century Cape Town, if put into the category of this hierarchy, was "chintz". Thus, in

[143]Anne McCants 'Modest Households', 2010, and her Chapter of this book.

reality, the cloth for slaves in Cape Town would be categorized in lower as well as quite higher segments of textile hierarchy in Amsterdam. To testify this further, I had investigated how one unit (stuk) of Gingham, Guinea, and Armozijn were evaluated for the 18th century. Armozijn, which is positioned as the highest in the textile hierarchy of Amsterdam, were defined "Bengal silk" there.

However, in Cape Town, it was possibly looked as both silk and silk-like cotton. There was also an expression such as "Chinese Armozijn". Apart from auctions, there were 42 entries found for Armozijn in the probate inventories of 1703-1804. The characteristic of Armozijn was its color: In the mid 18th century, green starts to become their prominent color, followed by red and blue. They were used first for women's "rok" and later particularly for pleated window curtains. As you can see from the figure, they were positioned in the auctions in the range not very different from Gingham or Guineas. Only later in the century, we can see the evaluation of them became higher.

The evaluation range of the textile Guinea is much broader. From the 19th century we can hardly find traces for Guinea textiles used for clothing in Cape Town.[144] Rather fabrics such as Nanking became more prominent for clothing.[145] There were blue and white guineas. The reason the price range is so broad is simply because what is referred to as "Coast Guineas" are evaluated much more expensive, compared to the ordinary Guinea fabrics.

Finally, let's look at Ginghams, which is generally referred to as the "slave cloth" of Cape Town later in the 18th century. It is true they concentrate at the price range of 1-4 Rd per piece and used sometimes for slave clothing. However, looking at their inventories, one could see that their usage was not solely for it. There were different sorts: striped, checked, blue and red colored fabrics as well as those with fine laces and flower embroideries. There were also distinctions between "fine, rough, and slave" ginghams. From here it can be concluded that gingham were widely used textile for clothing, not only limited for slaves.

To summarize, though tentatively, we could see that Dutch textile price trend do not correspond with that of Cape Town, either in the early 18th century , mid nor end. As for slave clothing, it can be said that once a textile name's price range was set as ginghams, often, that cloth became no longer usable for slave clothing in a mass. Guineas were not meant for slave clothing. Gingham were not distinguished from Chintz as clusters of cheap clothing and not meant solely for slave cloth.

The role of Readymade and Secondhand Clothing

Supply of imported readymade and secondhand clothing played vital role in keeping slave clothing cheap. "Imported readymade clothing" were the clothing that were those made in India and Malay regions and directly imported. We can find ample examples of those in the probate inventories throughout 18th century. We can confirm that these were used and even directed to the slave clothing

144 They were used more for table cloth.
145 Guinea is referred more as Guinea coins

from contemporary sumptuary records, that women slaves should wear "*Bataafse smocken*".

What was even more striking is their cheap price. Overall, the clothing sold at auctions, were not very expensive. As I have picked in the former section, Deborah Koning were selling 25 new red coats imported from Batavia. Each of the coat was evaluated around 3 Rd. I will make further assumption here for new items' price by looking at persons who had piles of them. In a 1751 inventory "14 rough clothing (*groove kleedjes*") were evaluated at 30Rd" suggesting 2.1 Rd per clothing, and " 7 separate coast clothing (7 *enkelde kustkleedjes*)" at 8Rd, thus 1.1 Rd per clothing.[146] The latter could be secondhand (worn out) clothing, given its description as "separate". However, from the inventories and auction records, we could easily assume secondhand clothing were even cheaper. There is record of 3 pieces of "*gemeene kleedjes*" evaluated at 2.12, thus price per piece below 1 Rd. Skirts made of chintz or called "*Bengalse rok*" were sold at auctions in average in 2 Rd, but considerable pieces were sold at 0.3- 0.4 Rd. Moreover, in an auction in 1735, the whole fabrics and clothing possessed by the house including 8 shirts, 8 handkerchiefs, 4 shirt-wear, 2 gingham camisoles, 2 blankets, 6 pairs of socks and more were evaluated at the total of 5Rd, the same amount as expected annual expenditure for slave clothing per year.[MOOC 10/4.141] Secondhand slave clothing were evaluated even cheaper at probate inventory in 1775: there 6 normal striped slave trousers and 4 slave "rok" were evaluated at 1.36 Rd.[147] If these were circulated frequently, preparing cheap clothing would not have been so difficult.

This suggests that depreciation of clothing was much faster than cloth. Fabrics could be stored and expected to be traded in relatively stable price, but once it was made to clothing and worn, the price for it was strictly evaluated. I have argued elsewhere that when one compared the inventories and succeeding auctions from it, clothing was less sold at auction compared to any other items and were more and more divided among household members.

It is understandable, that imported readymade clothing were obviously more concentrated to the cheap side, because for luxurious clothing, it was more common to import high quality fabrics and have them tailored in Cape Town. Readymade items were more directed to the lower class or as items that were sold elsewhere. In the course of 18th century, one item become quite popular also for trading for abroad, which was called "Zeil kleiding (Sail Clothing)" Sail Clothing is described as "a plain clothing popular as trading goods along the coast of Western side of Africa. In one auction of 1745, 2 rough Sail Cloth were sold at 6 Rd and 1 rough and 1 fine Sail Clothing and 4.3 Rd. In 1771, 7 pieces of "Bengal sail clothing were sold at 21 Rd. Thus a new simple sail clothing seemed to be evaluated at 3Rd [MOOC 8/13.65] Deborah Koning, who could be said as the most active person in trading textile items in Cape Town, were trading massively with sail clothing. In her post-mortem auction, 73 sail "fine sail clothing ("*Doesoetjes of fijne zylkleeden*") were sold at the price of 3.3 Rd to 4.1 Rd per piece to 37 persons. Thus, there was such ample accessibility to readymade clothing in India that it

[146] MOOC8/7.18, 1751/6/22
[147] MOOC/8/15.41

produces one stable range of item such as sail clothing. Mid 18th century Cape Town could expect to have brand-new "wearable" attire supplied from Bengal in about 3-4 Rd. It is then understandable that slave owners would only expect 5 Rd per annum expenditure for slave clothing.

Hypothetically, I would assume that the supply of readymade clothing from India fluctuated in 19th century Cape Town. There are multiple factors in it. Obviously British policy were to ban export of Indian readymade as well as fabrics and promote the export of their own cotton. Through this, Cape town household, especially farmland houses, deprived of opportunities for using imported readymade or purchasing their cheap secondhand items and instead had to shift for supplying homemade clothing with the cheapest new cloth they could get.

Conclusion

This paper saw the creation of Slave Cloth and Clothing in 18th century Cape Town as cheaper product range invention. In a place such as Cape Town, where no fabrics were manufactured and no shops were allowed, individual slave owners, no matter living in Cape Town settlement or farm, had to face themselves arranging cheaper cloth and clothing for their slaves. One could not rely on constant supply of coarse and cheap textiles from homeland or fixed number of production centers. In addition, no professional supplier seemed to have appeared specializing themselves for slave cloth or clothing. The supply and distribution of cloth or clothing were executed through private exchanges centering houses and auctions. And slave cloth clothing was no exception for this. They were arranged by sorting out the lowest possibilities balancing price, durability and also appropriateness among the varieties of arbitrary acquired cloth and clothing.

This paper first pointed out that slave owners expected lower expenditure for annual slave clothing in 18th century than in first half of the 19th century. Expected slave expenditure increased rapidly at the turn of the century, when Dutch rule was taken over by British rule, and kept increasing. This makes us realize that the global narrative for the period from late 18th century towards first half of the 19th century, when British industrial revolution in cotton cloth were accelerating, was not ubiquitously cheaply manufactured cloth depreciating cloth and clothing everywhere. From local eye, there is even possibility that what were formerly cheap became more expensive or less available and as a result the cheapest range became more expensive. This leads us to question what enabled 18th century Cape Town to arrange cheap slave cloth or clothing.

To answer this, this paper investigated probate inventories and auction records and pointed out the following aspects as the possible conditions that enabled cheaper slave cloth and clothing in the 18th century.

1) Using Leather and Sail cloth as coarse basic materials.
2) Availability of wide non-branded range of Indian textiles from multiple areas of India,

Malay and Indonesian islands.

3) Practice of ordering readymade clothing regularly from India
4) Cloth-clothing price and depreciation gaps: Because of the availability of these readymade, clothing in general was valued relatively cheaper. Large availability of wearable secondhand clothing.
5) Active consumers' exchanges at the very end part of distribution: Private exchanges (Auctions, face to face trade among acquaintance, barters) and dealings for secondhand are normally thought to make prices arbitrary, irregular and thus higher. However, private exchanges and Post mortem auctions at Cape Town seems to have provided platform for pricing reflecting consumers' needs realistically. Non-shop owners wanting cash and not able to keep items in stock, would have sought for immediate sale, and thus the price might become in general cheaper.

This paper could not go so far as to consider the reasons why slave clothing got more expensive in the 19th century. Many other elements must have influenced on the price increase of slave clothing in 19th century. In relations to this article, one could consider the aspects of followings:

1) Shift from imported readymade to homemade clothing: We need to see the price gap between making clothing from cloth and readymade/secondhand clothing. In Cape, Cloth was much higher than clothing.
2) Change in the secondhand circulation: As farms got larger and isolated, they were deprived of the opportunities to use wearable secondhand items circulated more in densely urban area.
3) Shift to the shops in distributing items: Shops start selling slave cloth and clothing as commodities and their transaction fees made cloth and clothing in general

Though this investigation is yet at its starting point and many have to be further testified, tentative findings could indicate followings in the broader context. First, Cheaper items, as luxuries was, was created in local context. Reflecting many global contexts, cheaper range cloth and clothing were made in local dynamics. Looking at Amsterdam and Cape Town briefly, this paper partly testified that though the two location's supply line was directly connected, the price setting for each location was formed differently.

Second, it also suggests to include more the exchanges made at the very end of distribution, namely private exchanges and secondhand done by consumers in considering how cloth and clothing got cheaper. Once a product was commercially shared, e.g. textile names were established (e.g. ginghams, chintz), or become interregional traded products (e.g. sail clothing), it might made the price higher.

Finally, the invention of slave cloth and clothing is part of both what we normally assume of the process of "Adoption of European style of dress" or "Azianization" of clothing. However, what is more important is to emphasize, the co-creative aspect of the process. Slave cloth and clothing were arranged, under the situation where "Asian" and "European" cloth as well as clothing (more

importantly Asian readymade) circulated, utilizing both of them and mixing and paralleling both styles. Though they were fully aware of the origins of the cloth or clothing, at the same time they do not care if an "Asian" clothing were used for European style dress or vice versa. Homeland suppliers, Indian suppliers, Batavian and other agencies, as well as slave owners, slaves themselves as well as local distributors all were involved in co-creating the Slave Cloth and Clothing under local dynamics. This could be understood more under the terms of "sharing" rather than those of "adoption" or "hybridization". The co-creative processes that were working in the creation of cheaper cloth and clothing in 18th century Cape Town most probably left legacies for later generations. In discovering those, we would be able to see the longer and more globally participated process of share and co-creation of cloth and clothing in this world.

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5.

Positioning Irish coarse linens in an eighteenth-century global context[148]

Izumi Takeda

Introduction: A framework for discussing textile industries

Redefining textile names

In the pre-industrial era, a mixed fabric of cotton and flax, called 'fustian', was produced in Britain. Because cotton fibre was used as a raw material, the manufacture of fustian has been considered as the precursor of the British cotton industry.

A question is whether this understanding is still effective once the perspective changes, that is, when the demand side is analyzed. The success of the domestic production of a cotton cloth called 'calico' by the newly invented Water Frame spinning machine, was a crucial factor in the establishment of the British cotton industry. Calico, having gained great popularity after importation from India, was not only consumed domestically, but also exported to West Africa and the Americas in order to be used for the gifts to native African rulers, for the clothing and furnishing needs of the Europeans who had crossed the Atlantic, and for slave clothes in the colonial America as well. Particularly after the prohibition of its domestic use in the early 1720s,[149] its re-export to those areas played an important role in the future mechanisation of the British cotton industry.[150] Why was calico so popular also overseas? Purchasers/users wanted, bought, or used calico because it appealed to them in any form. In other words, they valued its characteristics, such as cleanliness, beautiful printing, and soft texture, more than what it was made of.

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[148] This research was partially supported by Special Research Project of Seijo University.

[149] 9 Geo.II, c.4: An Act to amend an act passed in the seventh year of the reign of his late majesty King George the First, intituled, An act to preserve and encourage the woollen and silk manufactures of this Kingdom, and for more effectual employing the poor, by prohibiting the use and wear of all printed, painted, stained or dyed callicoes, in apparel, household stuff, furniture, otherwise, after the twenty fifth day of Deember, one thousand seven hundred and twenty two (except as is therein excepted) so far as relates to goods made of linen yarn, and cotton wooll, manufactured in Great Britain.

[150] Inikori, J.E., 'Slavery and the Revolution in Cotton Textile Production in England' (in Inikori, J.E. & Engerman, S.L. eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and People in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1992).

An effective way to categorise textiles by their characteristics rather than by the fibre is to focus on their names. For instance, while people would choose 'cambric' to make a good shirt, they knew that a fabric called 'osnaburg' was most suitable to clothe slaves. The term 'cambric' became a label for its characteristics (lightness, soft texture, whiteness, etc.), and purchasers could immediately identify the fabric from its name. Furthermore, Textile names often affects the mind-set of users or wearers. Wearing a good shirt tailored from 'cambric' would make them feel comfortable, not only because of its cosy material, but also because it is expensive and produced by employing a lot of time and labour. It helps differentiate the wearer from other people while giving them a sense of superiority.

Then, what kind of information did 'fustian' connote for consumers? Not only its physical characteristics such as raised surface, thickness, and dark color but also its cultural meanings of consuming/using it were quite different from those of calico.[151]

Transcending different fibres

Calico was classified under 'linen cloth' in the 1660 Book of Rates of England.[152] Intriguingly, Indian calico, being made of cotton fibre only, was treated as linen. In pre-industrial Britain (England), certain kinds of European linens were actually used as substitutes for Indian cotton calico. Besides, cotton-flax mixed fabrics, which should be distinguished from fustian with regards to its characteristics such as thickness and color, were manufactured and marketed in place of calico. It follows that at least until the turn of the eighteenth century, the term 'linen' did not always mean a fabric made of flax. Mixed fabrics of flax and cotton and pure cotton fabrics as well automatically fell under the category of 'linen'.[153]

It can be inferred from the above mentioned that this is because they similarly appealed to the five senses of human beings, which worked as a criterion of what to buy or what to use. This kind of judgment must have affected the supply side in terms of how many of what to produce, and how. In this context, removing the walls between fibres and focusing on textile names were useful not just to analyze the demand side. It could be a framework for discussing the supply side of any textile industry as well.

Positioning of textile names

Transcending the boundaries of fibres and focusing on textile names not only enables us to re-examine

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[151] Cox, Nancy, *Retailing and the Language of Goods, 1550–1820*, ashgate, 2015, pp.17-21; Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820*. Wolverhampton: University of Wolverhampton (British History Online), 2007. Sykas, P A. 'Fustians in Englishmen'S Dress: From Cloth to Emblem', *Costume* 43, no. 1, 2009.

[152] A Subsidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage and other summes of Money payable upon Merchandize Exported and Imported. (*Statutes of the Realm*: Volume 5, 1628-80. Originally published by Great Britain Record Commission, s.l, 1819).

[153] Takeda, Izumi, *Asa to Men ga tsumugu Igirisu Sangyo Kakumei*, Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 2013, Chap.1.

textile industries in a more specific way. It allows each textile to stand out from one another even if they are made of the same fibre, showing how each was different or similar. Conventional classifications by fibres, such as cotton cloth and silk cloth or cotton industry and silk industry, can be subdivided according to fabric names, and one fibre can be linked to another or others individually.

The former (subdividing fibres) means that each conventional classification is a collection of various kinds of fabrics; cotton cloth can be subdivided into calico, muslin and others. In many cases, they can be organized in a multi-layered framework, which depends on the time and place. For example, 'muslin' comes under the category of 'calico' in one case, but not in another. The latter (linking fibres) relates to a historical redefinition of fibre names. For example, the term 'linen' means not only flax-made fabric but also mixed fabric of flax and cotton, and in some cases, pure cotton fabric as well. It follows that the term 'linen' described two (or more) different fibres.

A set of positioning reflects perspectives of purchasers/users at a certain time and place, which means that it changes, on one hand, with the flow of time even if its geographical focus remains unchanged, and, on the other, often reflects geographical differences even at the same point in time. We must also be aware that it can be affected by political factors.

Applying the framework to eighteenth-century Irish coarse linens

In this paper, we adopt this perspective in the analysis of the eighteenth-century Irish coarse linen industry. The first purpose is to overcome the stereotype of the Irish linen industry (treating it as a single industry), and then to construct its new image by showing that it comprised various textile manufactures, each of which followed its own development path.

The Irish linen industry itself has been extensively discussed in prior studies, few of which have paid much attention to coarse linens. Their main focus has been on the fact that Ulster was the center of the Irish linen industry and its mechanization in the early nineteenth century pulled the Irish economy along. When they discuss the eighteenth century, their interests mostly lie in how Ulster developed its linen production and what influence British mercantile policies had on it.

As for the latter, there are two opposing views. Among many commercial restrictions England placed on Ireland's overseas trade was the famous Woollen Act passed in the closing year of the seventeenth century (hereafter, the 1699 Act),[154] which prohibited Irish woollen export to countries other than England.

After the 1699 Act, Irish linen exports increased sharply from less than 500,000 yards in 1698 to more than 40,000,000 yards in the 1790s.[155] Currently prevailing views do not admit that the 1699 Act had much negative impact on the development of the Irish linen industry. Instead, they argue that

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[154] 10&11 Will.III, c. 10: An Act to Prevent the Exportation of Wool out of the Kingdom of Ireland and England into Foreign Parts; and for the Encouragement of the Woollen Manufactures in the Kingdom of England.

[155] Cullen, L.M., *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*, London: Batsford, 1976, pp. 50-53.

the Act passed several years before the 1699 Act,[156] which removed English duties on Irish linens, worked in its favour.[157] On this understanding, there appears a clear trend within the eighteenth-century Irish linen industry towards industrialization.

This view was sharply criticized by D. O'Hearn, who wrote, 'It has become fashionable among Irish economic historians to emphasize the new opportunities provided by British colonial policy'.[158] He argues that the exchange of the woollen industry for the linen industry was not an equivalent one, but a forced transition controlled by England. The 1699 Act not only virtually wiped out the Irish woollen industry but also rendered the Irish linen industry subordinate to England. This view presents the implications that the Irish linen industry existed under the British (English) complex economic interests.[159]

This paper, admitting the subordinate position of the Irish linen industry, attempts to show that Ireland pursued its development independently of British rule, to the extent possible, while enjoying the advantages acquired through the complex web linking British trading partners. Until the Lancashire cotton industry succeeded in the large-scale production of calico in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the production of not only ulster-made fine linens but also coarser Irish linens had shown a certain presence overseas, which deserves more than a passing notice.[160] Bearing in mind the fact that 'Irish linen' consists of different grades of linens of varying quality, colour, pattern, and texture, we find that each had its own *global* concerns, which influenced its birth, rise, and, in some cases, eventual downfall. This idea will be specifically developed below by addressing the following questions.

First, what kinds of linens were 'fit for the Use of the Servants and Negroes in the British Colonies and Plantations'?[161]. In the process of answering this question, we will find that only certain kinds of German linens were used for the clothing of slaves and poor white people in America in the first half of the eighteenth century. The market situation there largely influenced the way in which the Irish linen industry had to pursue its development, and Ireland adjusted its linen policy accordingly. As a result, the production of imitations of German linens, called osnaburg and dowlas, began to be

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[156] 7 & 8 Will.III, c. 39: An Act for Encouraging the Linen Manufacture of Ireland, and Bringing Flax and Hemp into, and the Making of Sail Cloth in This Kingdom.

[157] Crawford, W.H., 'Ulster Landowners and the Linen Industry' (in Ward, J.T. & Wilson, R.G. eds., *Land and Industry: The Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution: A Symposium,* Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971); Crawford, *The Impact of the Domestic Linen Industry in Ulster*, Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005, p. 22; Cullen, 1976, pp. 38ff.

[158] O'Hearn, D., *The Atlantic Economy: Britain, the US and Ireland*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001, p. 75.

[159] Murray, A.E., *A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland from the Period of the Restoration*, London: P.S. King, 1903, Chap. 7; Matsuo, Taro, *Kindai Igirisu Kokusai Keizai Seisakushi Kenkyu*, Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1973, pp. 57, 103. O'Hearn, 2001, p. 67.

[160] Classic works such as Gill's and O'Brien's cover the whole history of the Irish linen industry. However, they are rather descriptive, being short of critical viewpoints. Gill, Conrad, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925; O'Brien, George, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, Dublin: Maunsel, 1918.

[161] See the next section as to this wording.

promoted quite independently of British rule. To prove this, the policies of the Linen Board of Ireland will be discussed in the last section, which will answer the second question, how and in what way was the production of coarse linens promoted?

What was behind the production of Irish coarse linens: The market situation in America

What kinds of linens were 'fit for the use of the servants and negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations'?

To answer the first question, let us look at the report of the linen committee appointed by the British House of Commons in 1751.[162] This committee examined the existing state of the manufacture and trade of linens in several places within Lancashire. Descriptions in the introductory part of the report such as 'Striped and Chequered' or 'coarse' provide a clue about the kinds of linens, meaning that the committee was not assembled for British linen manufacture or trade in general, but for specific kinds of linens in certain places within Lancashire. We would also like to stress that 'the Merchants and Dealers in Linens made in Ireland' appears here, suggesting that the Irish linen industry had something to do with the Lancashire industry.

Having confirmed this, we shall move on to the Ireland-related documents submitted to the committee. According to an appendix of *the 1751 Report*, the Linen Board of Ireland resolved to grant premiums in 1746. This policy aimed to encourage the manufacture of linens 'made of Flax or Hemp of the Value of 6d. per Yard, and not exceeding 12d. per Yard, that shall be exported out of Great Britain to the Plantations, &c.' and 'as is fit for the Use of the Servants and Negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations'. Claimants had to satisfy the cloths' conditions on width ('26 Inches Breadth, or upwards') and value ('not less in Value than 6d. per Yard'), and the yarn used ('made of cleansed Yarn' and 'all cloths had to be made entirely of yarn spun in Ireland'). Additionally, preference was given for yarn made from Irish-grown flax. Premiums were continued to be granted after this 'with some Alternations suited to the present State of that growing Manufacture'.[163] Below is a list of recipients of the premiums of 1747-48.

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[162] *Report from the Committee, Appointed to Examine and State to the House, the Matters of Fact in the Several Petitions of the Manufacturers of, and Traders and Dealers in the Linen Manufactory: Together with an Appendix* (Great Britain, House of Commons), 1751 (hereafter, *the 1751 Report*).

[163] The term 'not more than 10d.' was deleted and 'or to any other Part of his Majesty's Dominions in Europe or America' was added after 'exported to Great Britain'. See the appendix of *the 1751 Report*.

Table 5.1 PREMIUMS given by the Linen Board of Ireland, for manufacturing or causing to be manufactured great Quantities of coarse Linen, between May 1, 1747, and August 1, 1748, fit for the Use of Servants and Negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations

	Yards	£
Messrs. Jeb	275,643	500
Mr. Wm. Lefanu	253,606	400
Mr. Ellis Price	135,011	300
Mr. Lewis Laurent *	71,594	200
Mr. John Pemberton	53,882	100
Mr. Thomas Reed	37,475	50
Mr. Jonah Tanner	31,604	50
Mr. Daniel Dickenson	19,236	25
Mr. Wm. Willan	11,165	25
Mr. John Starkey *	9,271	25
Mr. Henry Dempsy	3,777	20
Mr. Thomas Gamble	2,146	20
Mr. John Cross	1,902	10
Mr. George Holmes	1,538	10
Mr. Richard Dillon	869	5
Mr. John Newett	621	5
Total		1,745

Source: *The 1751 report*, Appendix No. VIII.

It is not clear here what specific fabrics were 'fit for the Use of Servants and Negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations'. However, it can be inferred from other sources that they were the fabrics called 'osnaburg' and 'dowlas'. Robert Stephenson's journals provide some clues. He investigated the undertakings of Lewis Laurent (who is listed 4th in the table above) and John Starkey (10th) in his tours around Ireland.[164] In 1755, Laurent employed many people and engaged in making linens called 'sheetings' and 'dowlas' in Tullamore, King's County. He himself owned a bleaching green and finished his linens there. This bleaching green was also observed in another Stevenson's tour in 1760-61. Thus, it is likely that he had been conducting business at least for 15 years since he was given premiums from the Linen Board in 1747. In the same journal, we find 'John Starkey' in Edenderry, King's County. He used 10 looms and had his neighbours make sheetings, dowlas, and osnaburgs from yarn spun in the neighbourhood.

Sheeting would be granted premiums a few years after those intended for linens 'fit for the Use of the Servants and Negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations' was laid out. Extension of premiums to sheeting was resolved because the Linen Board recognized 'the good Effect of the Premiums

[164] Stephenson, Robert, *An Inquiry into the State and Progress of the Linen Manufacture of Ireland. In Which Will Be Introduced Remarks on the Principal Transactions of the Trustees of the Linen Board, etc.* Dublin, 1757, p. 144; Stephenson, *The Reports and Observations of Robert Stephenson, Made to the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, for the Years 1760, and 1761*, Dublin, 1762, pp. 73-75.

granted upon coarse Linens', meaning those 'fit for the Use of the Servants and Negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations'. Therefore, it could be inferred that osnaburg and(or) dowlas were(was) in fact linens 'fit for the Use of the Servants and Negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations'.

What were 'osnaburg' and 'dowlas' in the eighteenth-century context?

Then, let us explore how osnaburg and dowlas should be defined. Fabrics in many cases are named after their place of origin. However, as they come to be imitated elsewhere on a large scale, the names become indicators of their characteristics and qualities.

Osnaburg was originally made in Osnabrück, Germany. The Oxford English Dictionary defines osnaburg as 'a kind of coarse linen (and later cotton) cloth originally made at Osnabrück, used esp. for making rough hard-wearing clothing, or for furnishings, sacks, tents, etc. …(formerly) clothing given to servants or slaves'. Montgomery, an American textile historian, describes it as a 'coarse, unbleached linen or hempen cloth first made in Osnabrück, Germany. It was commonly used for trousers, sacking, and bagging. Made of cotton in the nineteenth century in blue and white or brown and white, stripes, checks, or solid colours, it was used for overalls and farmers' clothing in the United States'.[165] Putting the two definitions together, the osnaburg of the eighteenth century was an unfinished fabric. 'Unfinished' here means no treatment (bleaching, colouring in whatever way, etc.) was applied after the fabric was woven. Besides, it was coarse in quality and used to make clothes for slaves and servants in America. Osnaburg was also used for furnishings, sacking, and other uses that needed strength for enduring harsh conditions. It was a simple plain-weave fabric and could be made from tow yarn. Where flax or hemp was grown, therefore, even the poorest people could, with relative ease, enter into the production of osnaburgs. A large demand for osnaburgs could be expected from eighteenth-century America which had a growing number of slaves and servants.

Dowlas was also a coarse fabric that originated from Dollens in Picardy, France. In the eighteenth century, however, it was mainly German-made cloth that was sent to America. On the history of dowlas, William Beck wrote, 'A coarse linen, very commonly worn by the lower classes…This, with the kindred fabric of lockram, was once imported from Brittany in large quantities'. In the nineteenth century, the name was applied to a 'strong calico made in imitation of the linen fabric'.[166] In Stephenson's journals, we occasionally find the description 'dowlas, white from the loom', which suggests that dowlas was made of bleached (or purged) yarn. On the other hand, the adjective 'unbleached' is attached to 'dowlas' in some cases. However, it would seem reasonable to assume that not all materials used to make dowlas were unbleached. Bleached (or purged) yarn was in fact used,

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[165] Montgomery, F.M., *Textiles in America 1650-1870: A Dictionary Based on Original Documents, Prints and Paintings, Commercial Records, American Merchants' Papers, Shopkeepers' Advertisements, and Pattern Books with Original Swatches of Cloth*, New York: Norton, 1984, pp. 312-313.

[166] Beck, William, *Draper's Dictionary*, London: The Warehousemen and Drapers' Journal Office, 1886, p. 100, and Montgomery, 1984, p. 22.

and this is an important factor when defining at least certain kinds of 'dowlas'. Therefore, it is fair to say that 'unbleached' here means that it did not go through the bleaching process *after* the fabric was woven. What complicates our understanding is that there were other cases in which dowlas seemed to be bleached *after* it was woven. This mixed-up situation, requiring further investigation though, might demonstrate that dowlas was bleached because the yarn was not white enough, or that with the possible improvement of the overall quality of osnaburg it became necessary to add some value to dowlas to make a difference.[167] Considering that sheeting was bleached after weaving and that osnaburg was not bleached in any process of production, dowlas comes between sheeting and osnaburg if we rank them according to quality. However, all of them were coarse fabrics compared to the linens being made in Ulster then.

Let us further explore the subdivisions of dowlas. We should be aware that there were many grades of dowlas at that time and each had its own characteristics that differentiated it from others. A kind of dowlas that was imported from Hamburg ('Hamburgh Dowlas') to England was called 'seven-eighth Sleek and Loom Dowlas'.[168] According to Jepson Oddy, a wide variety of dowlas was made in Germany, and 'loom dowlas' was 'an uncommon fine and dense kind of linen'.[169] Stephenson said that this kind of German dowlas competed with 'Drogheda's' or 'Drogheda Linen' on the British market.[170] It is fair to say that 'Drogheda's' or 'Drogheda Linen' was named thus not only because it was manufactured in Drogheda in some cases, but also because it was made in some othere places and sent to Drogheda to be exported from there in other cases. Another contemporary, Mr. Penrose, also said that Drogheda linen was made of purged yarn, and not bleached after it was woven.[171] He went on to say that the price of dowlas ranged on a wide scale, from 5d. to 13.5d, suggesting that Ireland then manufactured various grades of dowlas.

Let us go back to Oddy. While high-quality dowlas was exclusively intended for the English market, some of the lower quality was exported to Spain or Portugal, and others were sent directly to America.[172] Therefore, the fabric that was 'fit for the Use of the Servants and Negroes, in the British Colonies and Plantations' would be low-quality dowlas and osnaburg.

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[167] Stephenson, 1757; 1762; Stephenson, *The Reports and Observations of Robert Stephenson, made to the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, for the Years 1762 and 1763*, Dublin, 1764; Stephenson, *The Reports and Observations of Robert Stephenson, Made to the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, for the Years 1764 and 1765*, Dublin, 1766, passim.

[168] *The Journals of the House of Commons, of the Kingdom of Ireland,* 25/Dec./1781.

[169] Oddy, Jepson J., *European Commerce, Shewing New and Secure Channels of Trade with the Continent of Europe: Detailing the Produce, Manufactures, and Commerce, of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany*, vol. 2, Philadelphia, 1807, pp. 129-130.

[170] *The Journals of the House of Commons, of the Kingdom of Ireland,* 25/Dec./1781. On the Textile industry in Drogheda, see Fitzgerald, John, 'The Drogheda Textile Industry, 1780-1820', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, 20-1, 1981, p. 36.

[171] *The Journals of the House of Commons, of the Kingdom of Ireland,* 25/Dec./1781.

[172] Oddy, 1807, pp. 120-130.

The usage pattern of Osnaburg and dowlas[173]

Table 5.2 The Use of Osnaburg[174] by Slaves and Servants in Virginia

	Slaves					
	Number of people	Shirt	Trousers	Breeches	Others	Total
1730s	15	14	1	0	1	16
1740s	10	9	2	0	1	12
1750s	17	13	1	3	2	19
1760s	74	64	12	3	7	86
1770s	229	189	41	17	47	294
Total	345	289 (67.68%)	57 (13.35%)	23 (5.39%)	58 (13.58%)	427

	Servants					
	Number of people	Shirt	Trousers	Breeches	Others	Total
1730s	31	21	23	0	2	46
1740s	13	10	5	1	3	19
1750s	24	17	14	1	2	34
1760s	39	41	20	3	2	66
1770s	159	131	69	8	26	234
Total	266	220 (55.14%)	131 (32.83%)	13 (3.26%)	35 (8.77%)	399

Source: *The Geography of Slavery in Virginia* (Virginia Center for Digital History).

As discussed above, osnaburg and lower sorts of dowlas were kinds of linen that could be used as clothing for servants and slaves in America. We would like to show the actual usage pattern of osnaburg by analyzing run-away and captured slave advertisements on the Virginia Gazette from the 1730s to 70s.[175]

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[173] This section is largely based on chapter 4 of my book (Takeda, Izumi, *Asa to Men ga tsumugu Igirisu Sangyo Kakumei*, Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 2013).

[174] "Osnaburg" is spelled in various ways. The respective occurrences are as follows. The spelling "osnabrug(s)" appears most, in 241 advertisements. Next, "ozenbrig(s)" in 235. The others are far lower: "osnabrig(s)" in 19, "oznabrug(s)" in 4, "ozenbrig(s)" in 3, "oznaburg(s)" in 1, and "Oz-brig(s)" in 1. Turning to the 1780s and after, we find other spellings such as osnaburg(s), osnaburgh(s), and oznaburgh(s). In more recent years, the spelling became more English. This might indicate the growth of the use or the manufacture of this kind of fabric in the English-speaking sphere. I will not make distinctions among these different spellings and use the word "osnaburg(s)" hereafter to describe this fabric.

[175] A database (*The Geography of Slavery in Virginia*) offered by the Virginia Center for Digital History (VCDH, hereafter). Windley's work of 1983 (Windley, L.A., *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983) is one of the landmarks in the studies on runaway slaves. While Windley only deals with runaway slaves, the VCDH's database covers runaway servants, soldiers, and sailors as well as slaves. Further, it includes not only runaways but also the captured. Searchers sometimes put their advertisements simultaneously

There are 2,533 advertisements in total from 1736 to 1780 and osnaburg(s) appears in 504 of them, which is about 20%. The number of slaves who wore or possessed osnaburg is 345, and that of servants is 266. Because some advertisements dealt with more than one slave or servant, the total number of slaves and servants (611) exceeds the number of advertisements (504).[176] Besides, slaves and servants in many cases wore or possessed more than one osnaburg when running away or captured. Thus, the number of osnaburgs (826: 427 of slaves, 399 of servants) further exceeds the number of advertisements. The number of osnaburg shirts worn or possessed by slaves was 289, which is about 68% of the total number of osnaburgs used by slaves. In the case of servants, the rate for shirts is 55%, a little lower than that for slaves, but the ratio for trousers is distinctly high. To sum up, osnaburgs were in good demand for shirts by both slaves and servants in the colonies.[177]

Then, what about dowlas? Though appearances in the advertisements were few in comparison, other sources show that dowlas was used as common clothing for white labourers and prisoners.[178] Considering that slaves were at the bottom rung of colonial societies, it is only natural that osnaburgs were chosen as slave clothes and wearing dowlas instead of osnaburgs was an effective means of differentiating white labourers from slaves.

Beginning of the Irish export of osnaburg and dowlas

In the first half of the eighteenth century, slave clothing was mostly made from German linens. William Beckford, a wealthy planter in Jamaica, said, 'All the Negroes and the poor White people were generally clothed with German Linens, from 6d. to 9d. an Ell, called Osnaburghs'. John Yeomans, a planter in Antigua, and John Ashley, who was very familiar with Barbados, made similar comments about slave clothing.[179]

However, around 1740, Irish imitations began to be exported. In 1737, James Huey, a London merchant who had been in the linen business for 25 years and was seemingly well informed about German linens, said, 'Several Species of Cloths are made in Ireland to answer the Purposes of all the Foreign Linens, except Silesias, and as good, or better in Quality… there are Linens made at Drogheda to a considerable annual Amount, of the same Width and Fabrick of the Narrow Germany and

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on two or more different Virginia Gazettes. The numbers here are totals.

[176] If a specific number is not written in some cases (e.g., 'some' or 'several'), I count it as 1.

[177] For studies on the clothes of slaves and servants based on runaway advertisements, see Prude, Jonathan, 'To Look upon the 'Lower Sort': Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750-1800', *The Journal of American History*, 78-1, 1991, and Hamada, Masako, 'A Social and Historical Study on Virginia Cloth: Based on Runaway Slave Advertisements and Historical Remains of Clothes', *Journal of the International Association of Costume (Kokusai Hukushoku Gakkai shi)*, 17, 2000. Hamada, Masako, *Kokujin Dorei no chakuso no kenkyu*, Tokyo: Tokyodo Shuppan, 2002.

[178] Eden, Frederick Morton, *The State of the Poor, or An History of the Labouring Classes in England,* London, 1797, pp. 556-557. Buxton, Thomas Fowell, *An Enquiry, Whether Crime and Misery, Are Produced or Prevented, by Our Present System of Prison Discipline*, London, 1818, p. 157.

[179] *Report from the Committee, on the Petition of the Dealers in, and Manufacturers of, Linens, &c*. (Great Britain, House of Commons), 1744 (hereafter, *the 1744 Report*), pp. 71-72.

Osnaburghs'.[180]

Patrick Adair, one of the biggest importers of Irish linens, also pointed out that the manufacture of German linen imitations had grown to a large degree in Ireland.

> The Linen Manufacture was considerably increased in that kingdom of late Years… Linens to a greater Value come to Market from thence now, than heretofore… in July last, he sent over Samples of Foreign coarse Linens, Particularly Osnaburghs, to a Manufacturer his correspondent in Dublin; who hath since manufactured and sent him to London, above 20,000 Yards of that Sort of Linens… there is a considerable Increase of the Manufacture of coarse Dowlas in Ireland… he hath received above 8,000 Yards from one Manufacturer made since July last… the Osnaburghs are chiefly vented for Exportation… if the Manufacturers knew there was a Demand for them for Exportation, he thinks, they would be able to supply the whole Demand.[181]

Beckford 'went lately into Mr. Adair and Mr. Jackson's Linen Warehouses in London and found Assortments of all Sorts of Home-made Linens proper for Jamaica, particularly Osnaburghs,' and 'purchased 4,000 Yards of Osnaburghs as same and near as cheap as the Foreign, and had since purchased several other Parcels'.[182]

The point here is that when Irish dowlas and osnaburg began going to the American market in the 1730s, merchants and planters found that the Irish imitations were as good in quality and as cheap in price as the German originals. They were ready to sell or use Irish linens if they were sufficiently provided from Ireland, because 'there was a Demand for them'. This sort of tendency was particularly noticeable among merchants of the west part of the British Isle such as Bristol and Liverpool. The problem here is that the manufacturers and weavers on the supply side were not well acquainted with the market situation at this point. However, the information provided by merchants and planters must have reached Ireland. We have evidence that the Linen Board began shifting their focus towards the coarser branch of the industry in the 1740s and, more intensively, in the 1750s.

The promotion of coarse linen production in Ireland

Implications of osnaburg and dowlas production for the eighteenth-century Ireland

We saw in the previous section that in the latter half of the 1740s through the 1750s, premiums were granted on a national level to several persons who *manufactured* a great number of yards of coarse linens. Similar inducements were provided even after that. In the 1760s, however, new premiums were

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[180] *The Journals of the House of Commons* (Great Britain), 9/March/1737, *the 1744 Report*, p. 68.
[181] *The 1744 Report*, p. 69.
[182] *The 1744 Report*, p. 72.

granted on a *county* basis. According to Stephenson's journals, the Linen Board of Ireland resolved to provide premiums to linen *purchasers* in all but six counties of Ulster who intended to export the fabric. The counties of Antrim, Down Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, and Derry were excluded because the linen industry in those counties was already well developed. The county premiums were started in January of 1761 and continued for another decade.[183]

Flaxen cloth, called 'Bandle Cloth', had been widely produced all over Ireland since old times. Bandle cloth was coarse, very narrow in width, and used only for domestic use. Until around the middle of the eighteenth century, the Linen Board had been trying to promote the production of fine linen on a national level.[184] However, Stephenson and others criticized it and argued repeatedly that it was the coarse branch that should be promoted.[185] Though the people in the south were more or less accustomed to making bandle cloth from flax fibre, it was unrealistic to make them suddenly engage in the manufacture of fine linens. There was a large gap between making bandle cloth in a pastoral way for their own use and the commercial-based production of such high-quality fabrics. They had no skill at all in making the latter kind of linens. Employing them for the production of coarse fabrics was more practical and easier. As regards yarn, spinning had traditionally been conducted at home, so that embarking on the coarse linen industry would require little further skills for them.

There was another positive reason for promoting the production of coarse linens. As discussed in the previous section, osnaburg and dowlas could be expected to attract strong demand in the American market because they served the needs of slaves, servants, and plebeians, while consumption of high-quality linens was limited to the upper class of people. Considering that Britain was largely expanding its power in America in the eighteenth century, Stephenson' proposals helped bring the market possibilities into feasible perspective for Ireland. Around the middle of the century, the Linen Board began to recognize the importance of those fabrics in such a global situation that a large quantity of the German-made cloth was being exported to the expanding American market.

How was the production of osnaburg and dowlas promoted in Ireland?

Then, how was the production of coarse linens promoted in Ireland? To promote the commercially based linen industry, Ireland had to make linens that the consumers wanted. Bandle cloth did not meet this requirement. Those who intended to claim the county premiums had to buy linens in public

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[183] Stephenson, 1762, pp. 2-3.

[184] Since Louis Crommelin migrated to Ulster, his linen-manufacturing method became a model Ireland had to follow. There is an ongoing debate on how Crommelin affected the subsequent history of the Irish linen industry. See Mackey, B., 'Overseeing the Foundation of the Irish Industry: The Rise and Fall of the Crommelin Legend' (in Collins, B. & Ollerenshaw, P., eds., *The European Linen Industry in Historical Perspective*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[185] Prior, Thomas, *An Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, by Premiums and Other Means*, Dublin, 1749, pp. 12-13; Stephenson, 1757, pp. 137-140, 196-197; also refer to Stephenson, Robert, *Observations upon the Present State of the Linen Trade of Ireland: In a Series of Letters Addressed to the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture in Which the Reports, Libel, and British Examination of Mr. J. Arbuthnot Are Considered and Refuted*, Dublin, 1784.

markets, and 'export or cause the same to be exported'. Those linens should be 'not less than 27 Inches wide', while the state-level premiums that we have seen above required 26 inches and upwards.[186] The point here is not the one-inch difference, but that qualified cloths had to be about double the width of bandle cloth.

Stephenson was directed by the Linen Board to travel round the south of Ireland, examine in each county 'the State of spinning, and weaving', and give such instructions 'as shall appear to him best for improving and extending the LINEN MANUFACTURE'. Specimens of foreign linens must have been used along with the instructions, because he expressed his satisfaction that the Linen Board, responding to his request, had ordered linen samples from abroad, which he said would 'facilitate my explaining to Manufacturers and Weavers, the Nature and Quality of the different Branch I encourage them to pursue'.[187]

The answer to the question ('How was the manufacture of osnaburg and dowlas promoted in Ireland?') could be summarized as follows. First, Stephenson directed bandle cloth weavers to make broader cloths not less than 27 inches wide. The direction included showing them samples of German linens. Second, he taught weavers and manufacturers the method best suited to their skills and circumstances. He often pointed out a quality imbalance between the yarn produced in the neighbourhood and the fabric the weavers made. If he found that weavers were already making broad linens, such as 7/8 or 3/4 wide, then he advised them to improve the quality to better cater to the demand abroad. In the areas where high-quality Ulster linen imitations were made, he advised the manufacturers to abandon production and pursue the coarser type of fabric that was more suited to their skills and surrounding situations.

Positioning of Irish osnaburg and dowlas

It appears from Stephenson's journals that the coarse broad cloth was widely manufactured throughout non-Ulster Ireland. There were many who followed the instructions Stephenson had given. Some landlords encouraged the local people to make dowlas or osnaburg, by providing their own premiums, developing infrastructures, and building weavers' colonies. Some large merchants not only bought up linens from small weavers but also engaged in manufacturing or bleaching linens on a large scale. All these undertakings started with the production of imitations of German linens (osnaburg and dowlas), not Ulster linens.

[186] Stephenson, 1762, p. 2.
[187] Stephenson, 1762, pp. 5-7.

Table 5.3 Approximate price range of linens that were purchased for the county premiums (1761-64)

(pence)	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20+
Kildare		■	■	■										
Queen's Co.				■	■	■								
Wicklow				■	■	■								
Carlow			■	■	■	■	■							
Wexford			■	■										
Kilkenny			■	■	■	■	■	■						
Waterford					■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Tipperary				■										
Cork		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Kerry			■											
Limerick				■										
Clare			■	■										
Galway N.A.														
King's Co.			■	■	■									
Westmeath			■	■	■	■								
Longford				■	■	■	■							
Roscommo			■	■	■									
Mayo					■	■	■							
Sligoe				■	■	■	■							
Donegal			■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Fermanagh			■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■			
Cavan			■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Leitrim			■	■	■	■								
Meath	■	■	■	■	■									
Louth						■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

Source: Stephenson, 1762; 1764; 1766.

The following points are worth noting when positioning dowlas in relation to similar fabrics. First, appearances of 'osnaburg' in Stephenson's journals much decreased in 1762 and after,[188] in comparison to previous years. According to the 1760-61 journal, Stephenson witnessed thriving osnaburg production in several places—Clara of King's Co., Stroakstown of the county of Roscommon, and the southern part of the county of Cork, for example.[189] In 1762, however, he left no account of osnaburg in those locations. Judging from Stephenson's remarks such as 'Doulass and

[188] Stephenson, 1764, 1766.
[189] Stephenson, 1762, pp. 37, 60, 75.

other Manufactures resembling Ozenbrigs',[190] it is possible to infer that osnaburg production was being assimilated to dowlas production around 1760. This might evidence the fact that the overall quality of osnaburg was improving to the level of dowlas, as those involved in the production of osnaburg acquired higher skills and techniques or obtained easier access to better yarn. However, this point, being a matter of speculation, requires further investigation.

Second, the price of dowlas purchased for county premiums ranged fairly widely, from around 9d. to 13d. per yard. As Stephenson's descriptions of fabric names were not always consistent, it is not clear whether those of '7/8', '3/4', or 'yard wide linens' could be categorized as 'dowlas' or not. A linen called 'Caleraine', which was being made in the counties of Derry and Donegal was a 7/8 yard-wide fabric, and its price varied between 14d. and 16d. per yard. Considering that both were used for shirting, it might be concluded that the higher-grade dowlas and the lower-grade Caleraine somewhat overlapped with each other in terms of quality. However, this remains to be investigated.

Conclusion

This paper tried to provide a new understanding of the Irish linen industry by positioning coarse linens such as osnaburg and dowlas in the eighteenth-century global context. Responding to premium policies and accepting advice from those who had proper market information, the weavers/manufacturers of osnaburg and dowlas found their own interest in using broader reeds, choosing whiter yarn, and so on.

This is a much-neglected facet of the eighteenth-century Irish linen industry. Ireland pursued the development of its linen industry rather *independently* and *strategically* in terms of what kind linens they should make, even though it was under British rule. The Linen Board chose the best possible means of utilizing the country's labour and technology skills, which varied considerably by region, and encouraged the production of specific kinds of linens that sold well on the export market. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Lancashire linen industry began to receive powerful support from the British government at the expense of Ireland, and rapidly became a strong rival to its Irish counterpart in terms of not only the production of similar fabrics but also the consumption of Irish flax yarn.[191] Though this theme merits special attention, it is beyond the scope of this paper.

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[190] Stephenson, 1762, p. 19.

[191] As the 1771 Bounty Act extended export premiums only to *British*, but not Irish, checks and stripes, Ireland strongly criticized it, saying that it was 'the first Act since the Year 1696, whereby any Linen Manufacture whatever has received a direct Preference before that of Ireland', as being contrary to the spirit of the agreement between England and Ireland. However, Ireland had in fact suffered indirect disadvantages as a result of English (British) policies. Irish colored linens were always restricted in the English market. The 1705 Act, which allowed free export of Irish linens to the English colonies in America, excluded any colored linens. In the next decade, Britain imposed prohibitive duties on 'foreign' printed linens, which were often interpreted to include Irish linens. As to flax yarn import, Britain reduced its import duties in 1752, and abolished them four years later, accelerating the drain of yarn from Ireland, which became a serious issue for those who had a stake in the production of Irish

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6.

Shirts & Snowshoes

British & French Imperial Agendas in an Early Globalizing Era, c. 1660-1800

Beverly Lemire

A generation of scholars has moved the study of clothing from the lingering shadows to centre stage, thereby illuminating analyses of gender, race, economy and modernity, centering clothing as well in the study of colonial and imperial histories. In this chapter I consider specific items of clothing, exploring the varied contexts of production and use from a cross-cultural vantage point. First, I consider the technological system that shaped readymade linen shirts, essential apparel for sailors and soldiers; as well I examine the question of snowshoes – their use and value – in the colonial contexts of northern North America. These case studies suggest the complexities of material exchange set within European imperial agendas and the active agency of diverse communities.

Introduction: Colonial Representation

I begin by considering shirts. In the seventeenth century, English (later British) imperial ventures arose within a developing fiscal military state, whereby military provisioning was funded through an increasingly effective state financial system.[192] This symbiotic alliance was a catalyst in the dramatic expansion of ready-to-wear garments. Some decades ago, I noted this seminal link. But much is yet to be uncovered and connections explained.[193] The impetus to devise effective technologies was strong: to solve the challenges of long distances from supplies; and to serve military campaigns that tested the capacities of early modern European states. New technologies and new ways of thinking developed in response. In the century after 1660, advances did not come from new mechanical systems of production. Rather, organizational systems evolved that shaped the clothing worn by maritime and

[192] John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1989).

[193] Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: the English Clothing Trade before the Factory, c. 1660-1800* (Basingstoke, 1997), chapter 1, pp. 1-41.

military men.

The noted historian of technology, Thomas Parke Hughes, defines the social and physical facets of technology as those that combine the talents of a range of occupations aimed at designing and controlling a "human-built world." While he notes that the word "technology" was not used until the early nineteenth century, historians have applied "the word to activities and things in the past not then known as technology" but that have a powerful commonality with more recent systems. Hughes emphasizes the creative, functional and aesthetic dimensions of technological systems, an analysis that fits the development of the provisioning system I describe. This productive method can be termed a new technological system. It linked the Navy Board (responsible for the business of ship production and provisioning) to the cast of contractors and subcontractors, and the tens of thousands of predominantly female labourers employed in crafting the items needed. Information and its dissemination were critical to a system such as this, allowing the setting of material standards and unit price, at the core of the shifting "human-built world".[194] After 1660, Chatham, the Royal Dockyard, grew into the largest centre of naval production and stores in Britain. Clothing manufacture was less public and more diffuse, employing legions of women throughout the southern cities of Britain, the products flowing into naval warehouses along the coast.

The Navy Board received endless entreaties from commanders, captains and pursers, tasked with keeping men in good physical condition. Supply chains were long and uncertain. The battles that erupted around Tangier in the 1670s illustrate the case. Charles II acquired the North African port of Tangier in 1661 as part of dowry of his Portuguese wife. It seemed an invaluable strategic location, facing the Atlantic on the tip of North Africa, guarding the Gibraltar Strait. Money was poured into its development and upkeep, thought never enough.[195] Building defences required immense expenditure; equally necessary was keeping ships well crewed, including slaves to man the galleys. The British adopted North African style vessels in this locale and the slaves needed clothing. In 1675, garments were requested for 260 oarsmen on the Margaret galley; the Mary Rose needed 120 slaves "for the oars" and the captain reported on his arrival in 1676 that the men were "short of clothes".[196] The purser of the Margaret galley, whose job it was to secure stores, was slow in sending samples of potential slop clothes for the Navy Board's approval. Samples circulated back and forth between Tangier and London, along with written communications. One locally made garment was sent for London's evaluation, along with a mixed assessment of two samples of clothes dispatched from London-based contractors. Faults were found and enumerated. Clothing shortages remained.[197]

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194 Thomas Parke Hughes, *Human-built world: how to think about technology and culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 3-5.

195 Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (New York: Anchor Books, 2004), pp. 24-5.

196 ADM 106/308, f. 236; ADM 106/311, f. 158; ADM 106/318/10, National Archives, Kew (hereafter NA,UK).

197 ADM 106/318/8; ADM 106/308, f. 236, NA, UK.

Samples were at the heart of the systematic production of readymade clothing, the provisioning of the navy and shaped the meanings carried by this apparel.

Most naval crews were not slaves and bought their own clothes for voyages, stored in sea chests. The ship's purser sold these goods. The role of naval administration was to provide sound garments, well sewn, of good quality fabric, at a reasonable price. Rationality infused these items – or at least that was the intent. Cloth was intended to be hard wearing, the garment cut generously for a working body – but not so large as to waste fabric and raise costs. Garments were also made in several sizes – a demand which presupposed a close knowledge of standard bodily dimensions, from boy to man. These metrics came at a time when systematic sizing was in its infancy. The provisioning technology that developed over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also rested on the veracity of samples and the standards represented in these objects. The functioning of this system required slop sellers to send samples to the Navy Board. Next, delegates on the Navy Board judged the quality of the sample and decided whether an order would be given; later, naval staff determined whether the order received matched the original sample. Samples represented the capacities of the contractor, his talent at sourcing fabric, hiring skilled cutters and finding deft needle workers.

Sample clothing embodied material expectations. However, there was frequent divergence from this ideal, with recurring disappointment. Captain Warren of the ship Windsor, disparaged the slops sent his ship in the spring of 1696, returning them to the slopseller as substandard. The slopseller, in turn, claimed his clothes were good quality, citing the stock he sent to other ships that matched the agreed sample. He accused the Windsor of mishandling the clothes he provided, insisting they were "much abused."[198] Disputes such as this were common; sample evidence usually decided the case.[199] Its materiality offered the weightiest proof. And, to avoid fraud, samples of garments were also posted in major homeports allowing pursers and captains to gauge how well the full order, once delivered, matched the ideal on which the order was based.[200] The physical proof embedded in the sample, assessed by expert eyes and skilled hands, was fundamental to the functioning of the provisioning system and infused the shirts, coats and trousers with a technological rationality directed to imperial ends.

Bribery might secure contracts for well-placed men like Thomas Beckford, scion of a notable contracting family. But routine dishonesty could not erase the ritual of the sample; it remained central in the formal assessment process within the Royal Navy, used to judge everything from tallow to timber, cloth to rigging.[201] This system provided the foundational architecture of imperial

198 ADM 106/481/63, NA, UK.

199 Other cases of complaint include ADM 106/905/73, NA, UK, 31 January 1739, complaint by Captain Long against the slops from Mr. Blackmon; ADM 354/121/177, NMM, 17 March 1743, Vice Admiral Mathews complained of the slops sent to Portsmouth intended for the Mediterranean; ADM 354/150/216, NMM, 18 June 1755, complaint about slops supplied to the ship Lancaster.

200 John Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III, 1689-1697* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 123.

201 ADM 106/1081/56; ADM 106/1081/60; ADM 106/1203/153; ADM 106/1091/223; ADM

provisioning. A hierarchy of values imbued the resulting clothing, determined by the institutional priorities of the navy. This system of technology aimed to produce goods that could be replicated for the mass making of garments for naval and other populations. Readymade shirts and trousers intended for maritime wear thus held a multiplicity of meanings, beginning with sequential processes of production. Additionally, the scale of production brought tons of garments to the service of the navy, creating a mobile clothing ecosystem with global repercussions. I will not give absolute volumes of the goods made – that is not my focus. Rather I consider the macro level impact of a readymade clothing system that carried garments of particular physical structure, reflecting a defined technological system, into the four corners of the world. Consider the 15 tons of apparel shipped to the Royal Navy's Mediterranean headquarters at Port Mahon, Menorca in 1747.[202] One slop seller alone, Charles James, sold over 435,000 shirts to the Navy between 1760-1770; 62 per cent were delivered during a two-year period at the climax of the Seven Year's War (1756-1763). There was pressure to provide at speed; in one instance a Navy Board official noted the need for shirts in Jamaica and Antigua, major British naval bases.[203] A decade later, during renewed warfare, James Wadham, sold even greater quantities of shirts, trousers and jackets to supply a larger maritime force, shipping over 612,000 items to naval storehouses between 1780-1782.[204] This diffusion of clothing, channelled through the British navy, aimed to supply ships throughout the world's oceans.[205] And as the manufacturing capacity of this supply system grew, other corporate bodies found a need for readymade apparel, including shirts.[206]

How were these shirts deployed in Britain's wider imperial agenda? Imperial projects employed material culture in multiple ways: as emblems of authority, or signs of values to be shared or enforced. The seemingly humble white linen shirt was replete with meanings demonstrated to a wide array of cultural audiences by military, missionary and commercial institutions. The cultural coding of shirts was revealed in instructional settings as well as in everyday social interactions. As with other European powers, the British aimed at expansion through trade and colonial settlement, as well as military success against imperial rivals. State resources aligned with corporate and individual ambitions over generations to achieve these ends. Material culture also played a role. First, the shirts themselves enacted a cultural agenda. The physical structure of these shirts carried cultural values in the rationality of their making and the purposeful imperial program wherein they were used. Moreover, the cleanness

106/927/218; ADM 106/817/186, NA, UK.

202 ADM 106/1048/312, N.A., UK.

203 ADM 106/1144/137, N.A., UK.

204 Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, pp. 21-2.

205 For readymade clothing sent to Atlantic ocean locales including Halifax, Nova Scotia; Boston, Massachusetts; Charleston, South Carolina; Kingston, Jamaica and English Harbour, Antigua, the base for the Royal Navy in the Caribbean, see: ADM 354/160/209, 234; ADM 354/161/128; ADM 106/1088/84; ADM 354/159/219; ADM 106/826/215; ADM 106/875/132; ADM 106/895/44, N.A., UK. ADM 354/159/219, The National Maritime Museum, (hereafter N.M.M.) Greenwich.

206 For example, the Royal Africa Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and the East India Company Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, pp. 34-8.

Fig.6.1 Non-regulation linen shirt, 1807. Fashionable cut of the early 18th century.
UNI0081, National Maritime Museum.

of linens loomed large in early modern European culture. Cleanness was a trait that was increasing lauded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including by medical men and ships' officers tasked to oversee sailors' health. Their aim increasingly focused on keeping shirts and clothing clean – or at least there being a sufficiency of clothing that clean garments were available on onboard ship. The diffusion of readymade linen shirts brought with them new thinking about these garments and new ways to gauge those who achieved or failed to achieve the principles embedded in the shirt – often

adjudicated by imperial agents. Attaining the ideal standards among sailors was a gradual process, as thinking changed with respect to cleanliness and as crews adopted regimens of cleaning. It is well known that for the European elites, white linen became an almost fetishized commodity over this period, a proxy for physical cleanliness, linen wiping the body clean through routine abrasion.[207] Figure 6.1 is a linen shirt made according to eighteenth-century loose fitting cut, worn in the early 1800s. The shirt buffered flesh from coarser wool fabrics or the constrictions of waistcoats, breeches or jackets, or the frequent ties and buttons that held outer garments in place. Labouring men, like sailors, were uniquely trained to this understanding of linen and its connection to cleanliness and order, a process gradually followed by other working men. Indeed, by the 1770s, Adam Smith noted that "through the greater part of Europe, a creditable day-labourer would be ashamed to appear in public without a linen shirt; the want of which would be supposed to denote that disgraceful degree of poverty."[208]

Naval service provided checked and plain linen shirts with expectations that their men would keep decently dressed, especially for formal or shore-going occasions. Over the long eighteenth century, these plebeian men were also commanded to obey ship-board regimes of cleanliness.[209] By mid-century, naval treatises promoted washing the body, especially in warm climates, and keeping below deck "sweet, clean and wholesome."[210] Results were achieved, with routine scouring of sailors' clothes by towing them behind the ship in favourable seas.[211] By at the end of the century a medical man reported that: "sailors value themselves upon appearing neat," adding that, "in war time, to receive impressed men [it is essential] that they may be properly cloathed [and] scrubbed."[212] And he urged this system of cleanliness, now in place, be diligently maintained. Indeed, by at least the later eighteenth-century orders for sailors to wash their shirts on long voyages in warm climates were normal, reflecting the sensibilities that had developed regarding sartorial ideals for common mariners.[213] Clean decks, clean sea chests and orderly clothing were the defining traits of this seafaring contingent.[214] Indeed, one junior officer, moved to poetry by his naval service, described

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[207] Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 7.

[208] Quoted in, Samuel Crumpe, *An essay on the best means of providing employment for the people…*. 2nd ed., (London, 1795) p. 21.

[209] S.A. Cavell, *Midshipmen and Quarterdeck Boys in the British Navy, 1771-1831* (Woodbridge, UK, 2012), pp. 15. Attention to cleanliness also became the focus of military physicians from the mid 1700s.

[210] James Lind, *An essay, on the most effectual means, of preserving the health of seamen, in the Royal Navy…* (London, 1757), pp. 43, 82.

[211] D HUD 13/2/4, Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle.

[212] Charles Fletcher, A Maritime State Considered, as to the health of seamen… (London, 1791), p. 126.

[213] Jean-François de Galaup comte de La Pérouse, *A voyage round the world, in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788…* (London, 1798), p. 54; Alexander Dirom, *Plans for the defence of Great Britain and Ireland*. BY Liet. Colonel Dirom… (Edinburgh, 1797), p. 136.

[214] *The Cruise; a Poetical Sketch, in eight cantos, by a naval officer* (London, 1808).

the good ship with "all her gallant seamen neat and clean." Neatness and cleanliness is a phrase repeated throughout his elegy, where he also notes the defining whiteness of mariners' garments.[215]

Linens provided tangible and intangible meanings within imperial agendas. The pervasiveness of these garments materialized the power of technological systems joined to imperial purpose, as tons of shirts circled the globe. Shirts also manifested new meanings of 'whiteness', distinguishing adherents of material cleanliness from agnostics, those who ignored these values or held other traditions of bodily purification. Boundaries of race and status were policed within values systems through the power of white linen, a demonstrable feature of colonial life in the Americas. For example, early in the 1600s, a Jesuit missionary bemoaned the fact that "[linen] Table napkins were not in vogue among the Indians near Quebec in 1633."[216] This cavil marked cultural boundaries between European elite and Native Americans. Kathleen Brown states that:

> the spread of linen shirts to North America and the Caribbean was … a form of cultural imperialism. …The shirt's penetration into new markets pointed to larger patterns of disruption and adaptation as Indians and Africans integrated and reinterpreted it within cultural traditions that were rapidly adjusting to new geopolitical realities … performed through material objects as well as through manners.[217]

The ethos of linen shirts travelled widely with British naval, military and colonial bodies. The institutional context of shirts worn in the Royal Navy added other dimensions to the calculus of clean and dirty, orderly or disordered, as gauged by European observers. Indeed, the linen shirt figured in cross-cultural interactions on a global scale, as European colonial, mercantile and missionary ventures extended throughout the world and Indigenous peoples adjudicated, adapted and translated these materials.[218] Laurier Turgeon observes that: "Instead of fixing the identity of such objects onto their original forms and functions, one must follow their transcultural movement to discover redefinitions and altered meanings."[219] The cultural translation of linen shirts ensued in many world locales. Greenlandic peoples received European whalers with increased frequency in this period, a seafaring contingent that included Basque, Dutch, Danish and English. With repeated contacts came cultural exchanges, including the spreading impact of the European clothing system. The use of linen shirts among Western Greenlandic peoples was routine by the early 1700s, demonstrating material adaptations.[220] More intentional flows of European clothing followed in other northern climes. From

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215 *The Cruise*, pp. 11, 31, 93, 133.

216 Reuben Gold Thwaites, "The Jesuit Relations", *Queen's Quarterly* 5:4 (April 1898), p. 266.

217 Kathleen M. Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 98-9.

218 Susanne Küchler and Graeme Were, "Introduction" The Art of Clothing: A Pacific Experience ( ), pp. ix-xxx.

219 Laurier Turgeon, ""French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians during the Sixteenth Century: History and Archaeology" *William and Mary Quarterly* 55:4 (1998), p. 610.

220 Søren T. Thuesen, "Dressing Up in Greenland: A Discussion of Change and World Fashion in Early-Colonial West Greenlandic Dress" in J.C.H. King, Birgit Pauksztat and Robert Storrie, eds., *Arctic Clothing* (London: British Museum, 2005), pp. 100-1; Hans Egede, *A Description of*

the late 1600s, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) dispatched ready-made shirts, coats and hats of various kinds to their trading posts positioned at waterways linked to interior Indigenous communities. At least 4000 shirts were exported to HBC trading posts between 1684-1694.[221] Gifted and traded, these items were ingredients in the creation of *métissage*, intended by Europeans to sign leading Native partners.[222] Catholic missionaries in North America likewise disbursed clothing to potential converts, as part of an intended acculturation process. The linen shirt carried potent symbolic authority, sometimes a metaphor for conversion. Native American men, however, usually chose to wear the shirts loose, down to their thighs, in a manner challenging hegemonic norms of European dress. This mode of dress shaped "new ways of Indigenous thinking and being."[223] Indigenous men revised the cultural intentions embedded in European-made shirts within new contexts of material exchange.[224]

The systems of making, wearing and using linen shirts, the volume of production and their diffusion through imperial ventures, are epitomized in the vast production technologies of the Royal Navy. Yet, world influences flowed in many directions even within the context of European military and colonial advances. My next case study examines the provision of footwear – snowshoes – in northern North America and the adaptations embraced by Europeans mediated by alliances with Indigenous peoples. In this context, diplomacy shaped all.

Essential Footwear & Diplomatic Material Production

In North America, Europe's colonial projects involved continued contact, interaction and allegiance with Indigenous peoples. Relations were founded on treaties and cemented with what Christian Ayne Crouch terms "material diplomacy", consolidating alliances.[225] From the outset Europeans joined as allies among competing Indigenous groups and cemented their allegiance with gifts and military resources. Europeans were driven by their passion for furs and their aim to secure the best sources for this commodity; subsequent treaties mingled Indigenous, colonial and European priorities. Diplomacy

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Greenland. Shewing the natural history, situation, boundaries, and face of the country… (London, 1745), pp. 129-130.

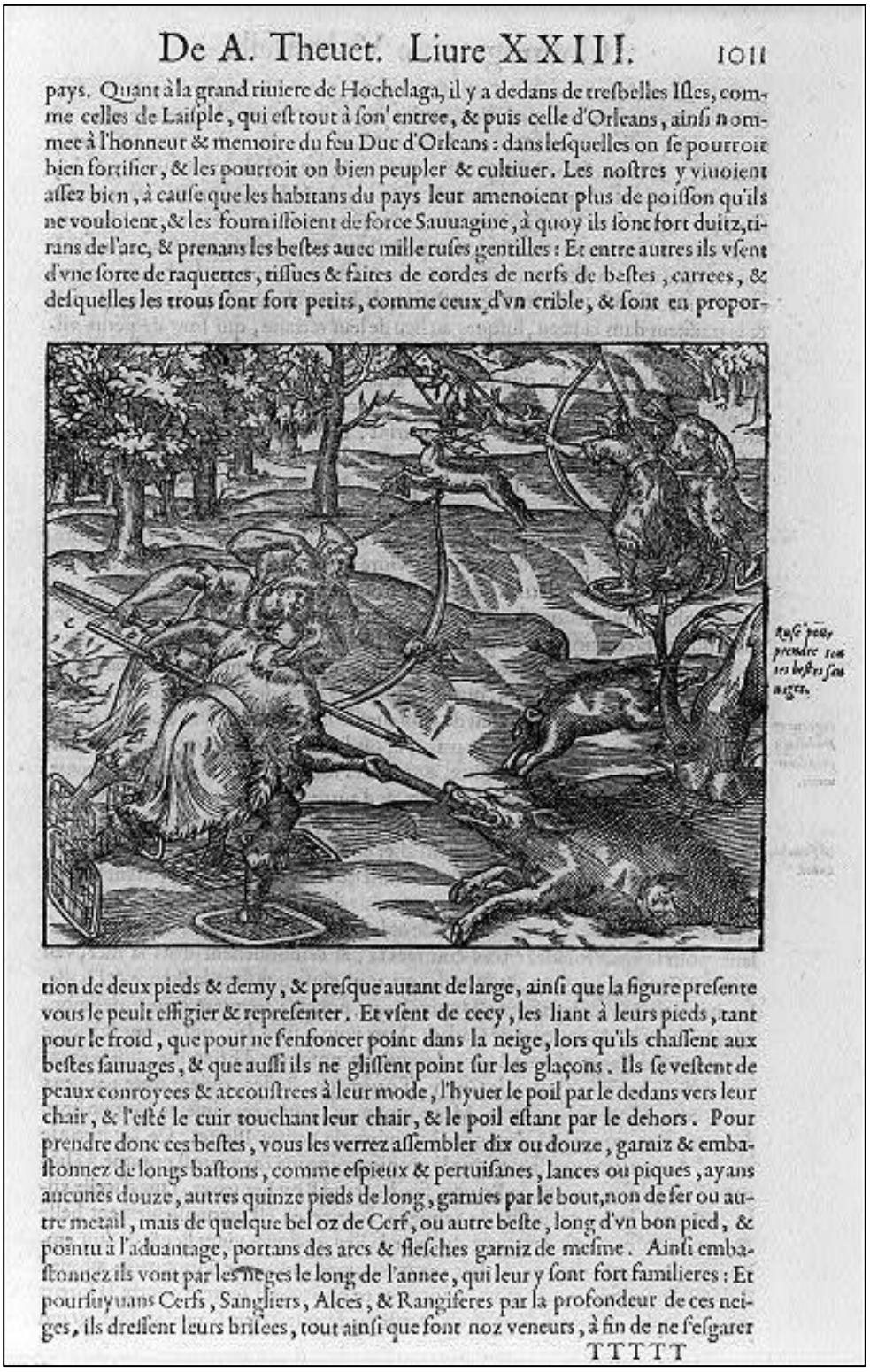
221 Lemire, *Dress, Culture & Commerce*, p. 36.

222 Expenses at Albany Fort from August 1st, 1749 to August 1st, 1750, 3 May – 25 May 1750. Fort Albany Account Book, Hudson's Bay Company, [[Fort]] [[Albany]], Post Account Books, 1749-1750. 1749-1750. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Global Commodities, http://www.globalcommodities.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/HBCA-B3-d-58 [Accessed June 11, 2015].My sincere thanks to Katie Pollock for her work on these records.

223 For example, Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*… (Cleveland: Burrows, 1900), vol. 67, p. 59; vol. 64, p. 77. Küchler and Graeme Were, "Introduction", *Art of Clothing*, p. xxiii.

224 Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 204-5.

225 Christian Ayne Crouch, *Nobility Lost: French and Canadian Martial Cultures, Indians, and the End of New France* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 2.



De A. Theuet. Liure XXIII. 1011

pays. Quant à la grand riuiere de Hochelaga, il y a dedans de treſbelles Iſles, comme celles de Laiſple, qui eſt tout à ſon entree, & puis celle d'Orleans, ainſi nommee à l'honneur & memoire du feu Duc d'Orleans : dans leſquelles on ſe pourroit bien fortifier, & les pourroit on bien peupler & cultiuer. Les noſtres y viuoient aſſez bien, à cauſe que les habitans du pays leur amenoient plus de poiſſon qu'ils ne vouloient, & les fourniſſoient de force Sauuagine, à quoy ils ſont fort duitz, tirans de l'arc, & prenans les beſtes auec mille ruſes gentilles : Et entre autres ils vſent d'vne ſorte de raquettes, tiſſues & faites de cordes de nerfs de beſtes, carrees, & deſquelles les trous ſont fort petits, comme ceux d'vn crible, & ſont en propor-

tion de deux pieds & demy, & preſque autant de large, ainſi que la figure preſente vous le peult effigier & repreſenter. Et vſent de ceey, les liant à leurs pieds, tant pour le froid, que pour ne ſ'enfoncer point dans la neige, lors qu'ils chaſſent aux beſtes ſauuages, & que auſſi ils ne gliſſent point ſur les glaçons. Ils ſe veſtent de peaux conroyees & accouſtrees à leur mode, l'hyuer le poil par le dedans vers leur chair, & l'eſté le cuir touchant leur chair, & le poil eſtant par le dehors. Pour prendre donc ces beſtes, vous les verrez aſſembler dix ou douze, garniz & embaſtonnez de longs baſtons, comme eſpieux & pertuiſanes, lances ou piques, ayans aucunes douze, autres quinze pieds de long, garnies par le bout, non de fer ou autre metail, mais de quelque bel oz de Cerf, ou autre beſte, long d'vn bon pied, & pointu à l'aduantage, portans des arcs & fleſches garniz de meſme. Ainſi embaſtonnez ils vont par les neges le long de l'annee, qui leur y ſont fort familieres : Et pourſuyuans Cerfs, Sangliers, Alces, & Rangiferes par la profondeur de ces neiges, ils dreſſent leurs briſees, tout ainſi que font noz veneurs, à fin de ne ſ'eſgarer

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Fig.6.2 "Hunting animals on snowshoes with spears and arrows". Adnre Thevet, *La Cosmographie universelle…*vol. 2 (Paris, 1575). G113.T42, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

linked all.[226]

Long before the arrival of Europeans, it was a recurring practice "for chiefs to visit one another periodically to exchange gifts and renew alliances."[227] Bruce Trigger observes that in the seventeenth century, "Chiefs and their supporters competed for prestige with other groups. Because prestige was derived in various ways from the conduct of foreign relations, chiefs within a tribe or confederacy often formed two or more factions that pursued alternative foreign policies, each faction hoping to benefit from its choice."[228] Diplomacy in this period involved diverse coalitions and ruptures, as Native Americans and Europeans negotiated priorities – a process sometimes understood differently by these parties. Europeans initially struggled to gain footholds in North America for more than just seasonal fishing. European fishers travelled to the St Lawrence River and waters off Newfoundland for generations, in growing numbers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, before governments and adventurers advanced colonization.[229] Figure 6.2 reflects the information obtained by André Thevet, a noted French traveller and cosmographer for the French king. This illustration notes the use of snowshoes by hunters, a novelty for Europeans; and Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* reported as well on the conflicts among Indigenous communities in the St Lawrence River Valley.[230] Information was sought from early travel accounts; but these ultimately relied on human sources. Native Americans were repeatedly kidnapped to this end, with some carried to Europe. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, commander of the fort at Plymouth, received five kidnapped Native Americans in 1605. He quizzed them extensively on "the rivers in the land and men of note who lived on them; how powerful they were, how allied and what enemies they had."[231]

From the outset, European and Native Americans weighed the value of treaties. Once contracted, they were formalized through the exchange of gifts and the pledging of resources: human and material. The distribution of cloth and clothing as gifts took place in many circumstances following the first contact in North American by Europeans in the sixteenth century.[232] This place and period was

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[226] For a discussion of the diplomatic processes surrounding the later Seven Year's War in North America see: Crouch, *Nobility Lost*, pp. 1-4.

[227] Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), pp. 187-8. See also page 186.

[228] Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, p. 171.

[229] Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians", pp. 590-596; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 41-63.

[230] Marcel Trudel, "André Thevet", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979). http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/thevet_andre_1E.html. Accessed 22 September 2015.

[231] Quoted in Jace Weaver, "The Red Atlantic: Trans Oceanic Cultural Exchanges" *American Indian Quarterly* 35:3 (2011), pp. 428-9. Charles E. Clark, 'Gorges, Sir Ferdinando (1568–1647)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/article/11098, accessed 26 June 2015]. Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians".

[232] Archaeological evidence demonstrates that Basque fishermen and whalers had long-running contact with Indigenous peoples in northeastern North America, where fishing and whaling was

tumultuous through the next centuries, a contact zone, as defined by Mary Louise Pratt, "where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination."[233] Allegiance was signalled by exchanges and adaptations to culture, what has been termed a process of "de-culturation … and acculturation… a synthetic process."[234] This progression included, in part, the wearing of clothes of different sorts by both parties – the shirt, jacket and handkerchief of the European system or the moccasins, leggings, and breechcloth of Native Americans. It also involved the exchange of people, living amidst the other's societies, forging ties.[235]

In the 1600s, the French aimed to establish formal settlements in the St Lawrence River Valley, encountering peoples with ancient trade networks reaching deep into the Great Lakes regions and north to Hudson's Bay. As Ruth Phillips notes: "These trading networks did not disappear after the injection of European manufactures into the exchange system but were further elaborated."[236] Extended interactions took place within geographic contexts that were a challenge for Europeans, presenting exceptional demands on their knowledge systems and material capacities.[237] Earlier sixteenth-century Arctic and northern voyages by English adventurers revealed these life-threatening deficits in knowledge and technology.[238] Survival in northern regions ultimately depended on "learning what the Natives knew."[239] French Jesuit accounts ultimately reveal a growing respect for Indigenous knowledge for they found "those barbarians are good soldiers; and the french [sic], who despised … [Indigenous peoples] when they first came here, have changed their minds since they saw them last winter [in 1665] in a hot skirmish; [despite the fact that] the winter, too, was more severe and protracted than it had been for 30 years. The snow lay 4 feet deep."[240] Aboriginal accommodation to winter included snowshoes, what the French called 'raquete', allowing fierce hunts across the snow-covered woods and fields as depicted in Figure 6.2.[241] French contemporaries learned that, unlike life in Europe:

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excellent, where trade was commonplace and seasonal campsites were sometimes shared. Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians".

233 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 4.

234 Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), p. 16.

235 Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, volume 2, 2nd edition (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), chapter 5.

236 Phillips, *Trading Identities*, p. 22.

237 As noted by the sieur de Dièrreville in his account *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie suivi de Poésies diverses* (Montréal [Que.] : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1997), pp. 205-6, 225-7, 251.

238 Peter C. Mancall, "The Raw and the Cold: Five English Sailors in Sixteenth-Century Nunavut" *William and Mary Quarterly* 70:1 (2013), pp. 5-8.

239 Mancall, "Raw and Cold", p. 8. For an example of French settlers' attempt in 1663 to fish from canoes see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791… with English Translation and Notes* vol. 48 (Cleveland: Burrows, 1899), p. 121.

240 Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 50, p. 169.

241 Dièrreville, *Relation du voyage*, p. 251.

> The Winter season is the most suitable for Hunters, who then enrich themselves, and likewise the country, with the skins of animals ... No less favourable is it for working-people, the snow making all roads smooth, and the frost covering Rivers and Lakes with ice, so that one can go anywhere with safety and draft loads…. So, too, the walking for pleasure-seekers is at that season very fine, and usually favoured with a beautiful Sun and very clear weather.[242]

A good winter depended on mastering Indigenous clothing technologies. Footwear was elemental in this equation. Moreover, access to such footwear was determined by alliances with local people and integration into their existing networks. These factors secured essential knowledge and clothing resources from Native Americans.[243] Here, too, Europeans grafted their interests on to those of their partners, shaping connections generation after generation within the wider dynamic of colonial settlement and the fur trade.[244]

If the French, Dutch and English wanted furs, Indigenous chiefs wanted Europeans' trade goods "that they could redistribute as a means of enhancing their [own] prestige [among their people]."[245] They also wanted military support in battles. In this manner coalitions were built. The French allied with northern Algonquin peoples, one of many such pacts; the English ultimately allied with the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy). Gift exchanges reinforced such treaties, materializing intentions, part of Indigenous cultural practice and spiritual system. "The Jesuit fathers observed that … [gifts] spoke more clearly than lips."[246] This diplomatic context set material relations between Native Americans and Europeans. The spread of technologies, like snowshoes, took place within this diplomatic structure, goods that were critical to the lives of warriors, including European allies. Snowshoes fascinated European colonists, who initially defined indigeneity with this footwear, essential to flourish in this landscape.[247]

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[242] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 48, p. 179. For an insightful discussion of Indigenous knowledge of winter and the settler learning process see: Thomas Wickman, "'Winters Embittered with Hardships': Severe Cold, Wabanaki Power, and English Adjustments, 1690-1710" *William and Mary Quarterly* 72:1 (2015), pp. 57-98.

[243] I thank Anne de Stecher and Jonathan Lainey for beginning my education in Indigenous diplomacy and role of diplomatic gifts, both scholars of Huron Wendat political history, arts and materials culture. Anne de Stecher, "Souvenir Arts, Collectable Crafts, Cultural Heritage: The Huron-Wendat of Wendake, Quebec" in Janice Helland, Beverly Lemire & Alena Buis, eds., *Craft, Community and Material Culture of Place and Politics, 19th-20th* Century (Aldershot, UK, 2014); Jonathan C. Lainey, *La Monnaie des saugaves: les colliers de wampum d'hier à aujourd'hui* (Québec: Musée de la Civilisation, 2004).

[244] For example, The Treaty held with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in July, 1742.

[245] Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 179.

[246] Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950), p. 13.

[247] The successful transmission of skills, especially in the early years of settlement, required close contact with Indigenous peoples. Jean Amiot (*c.*1625-1648) exemplifies these traits, living for years in "Huron country", becoming among the fastest runners in Quebec – on foot or on snowshoes – of Native or European men. Or so it was claimed. Honorius Provost, "AMIOT (Amyot), JEAN," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–,

Many historians note the vulnerability of early Europeans settlers in North America. They understood nothing of the northern cold and snow, or the land in which they moved. A painful defeat, suffered by the French, is evidence of the importance of knowledge *and* supplies. In 1666, a newly arrived French regiment began an ill-fated campaign against the Iroquois to the south. It was a debacle. The Carignan-Salière Regiment had never experienced winter warfare and their leaders took neither advice nor winter equipment, when they set off down the Richelieu River towards the Hudson River Valley and their Iroquois enemy. Of the 500 men in this campaign 400 died – few by enemy action – most from cold and conditions.[248] Local volunteers from French settlements were fully equipped. French soldiers were not, with fatal consequences. Knowledge and the appropriate kit were crucial in winter terrain.

Making this footwear combined the skills of Indigenous men who often shaped the wooden frames and women who prepared the sinew, gut and leather and netted the webbing. This was predominantly women's work, preparing their community for the challenges and opportunities of each season. Indigenous and then Métis women were in many ways defined by this labour. Snowshoe-making was an essential and strategic part of their duties.[249] Rémy de Courcelle, the newly-arrived governor of New France and the driving force behind the 1666 winter campaign against the Iroquois, managed the provisioning of the Carignan-Salière Regiment. He rejected a local merchant's offer to secure snowshoes for the mission.[250] As in Europe, commercial intermediaries might secure supplies from local Native American allies. Local Europeans were becoming experienced in these commercial affairs, as an adjunct to the fur trade.[251] Snowshoes were a staple.

In 1786, more than a century later, a Scots trader wrote from a new Hudson's Bay Company post, noting his need for snowshoes – and the Indigenous women to make them: "I do not know what to do without these articles[,] see what it is to have no wives. Try and get Rackets [snow shoes] – there is no stirring without them."[252] When there was regular contact or proximity to fur trade posts, or other settlements, Indigenous women focused intensively on making moccasins and snowshoes for these

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accessed June 23, 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/amiot_jean_1E.html.

248 Jack Verney assesses the various accounts of the campaign and determines that aside from the seasoned locals who volunteered, the regiment was not equipped with snowshoes. Jack Verney, *The Good Regiment: The Carignan-Salière Regiment in Canada, 1665-1668* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), pp. 44-52.

249 Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations", pp. 261, 265; Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in the Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 54-55.

250 Verney, *The Good Regiment*, p. 47; W. J. Eccles, "RÉMY DE COURCELLE (Courcelles), DANIEL DE," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed June 23, 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/remy_de_courcelle_daniel_de_1E.html. Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), p. 242.

251 Phillips, *Trading Identities*, pp. 22-3.

252 Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, p. 55.

markets.[253] Thus alliances provided not only the strength and skills of Indigenous men as hunters and warriors, but also the skills and labour of women who made footwear as well as other goods.[254] Snowshoes enabled fur trade life and military adventure. Wearing snowshoes in this era, in this place, did not suggest appropriation of technology by more powerful Europeans, but rather an acknowledgment of necessity and, for some Europeans, a clear recognition of Indigenous skills. All mention of these goods by colonial correspondents in this period must be understood in the context of the Indigenous makers, within systems of diplomatic accord or informal alliance, in whatever regions that arose. In colonial New France, along the St Lawrence River, the Algonquin Huron Wendat and the Montagnas, allied with the French, structured the materiel available to military and civilian alike. Alliances were decisive for generations.

Within the next century, greater numbers of Europeans – military, settler and trader – arrived in North America. Ruth Phillips describes the items British military officers typically amassed during their posting to colonial North America. She differentiates sharply between the clothing and goods got as curiosities for metropolitan collectors, and the apparel and accoutrements acquired and used by officers in the conduct of their diplomatic and military affairs.[255] "Tens of thousands of British soldiers spent time in North America between 1750 and 1820[,]" as Phillips notes.[256] The males arriving in these regions generally adopted Indigenous attire and skills, as needed. Cultural crossing-dressing was the norm in this contact zone;[257] the flow of knowledge and resources from Native Americans to Europeans has yet to be fully catalogued. What is indisputable, however, is that Europeans adapted and embraced Indigenous clothing technologies in a variety of circumstances, especially things designed to survive winter cold, storms and deep snow. Diplomacy and material exchange underpinned the myriad networks linking both British and French with their diverse Indigenous allies in northern North America. Copious documentation survives of the "material diplomacy" that characterized this relationship.[258] Snowshoes symbolized this place and these relationships.

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253 Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, pp. 80-82; Catherine Cangany, *Frontier Seaport: Detroit's Transformation into an Atlantic Entrepot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), p. 87.

254 Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, pp. 34-40; Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; Thwaites, "The Jesuit Relations", p. 265..

255 Ruth Phillips, "Reading and Writing Between the Lines" *Winterthur Portfolio* 45: 2/3 (2011), pp. 107-124.

256 Phillips, "Reading", p. 107.

257 Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 195; Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion" *William and Mary Quarterly* 53:1 (1996): 13-42; for the meanings of cross-dressing in the French Illinois territory see White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, chapters 5 and 6; Catherine Cangany, "Fashioning Moccasins: Detroit, the Manufacturing Frontier, and the Empire of Consumption, 1701-1835" *William and Mary Quarterly* 69:2 (2012): 265-304.

258 For the British, the *Calendar of Treasury Papers* catalogues some of the diplomatic contact and expanses arising from these diplomatic ties. For example: *Calendar of Treasury Books & Papers 1699-1700*, vol. 15 (London: 1933), p. 391; William Arthur Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers 1729-1730: Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (Burlington, ON: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2010), pp. 411, 448; William Arthur Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury*

The period of the Little Ice Age around 1700 was a particular challenge coinciding as well with intrusion by New England settlers into traditional Indigenous lands. Thomas Wickman argues that the frigid years between 1694 and 1706 drove New Englanders to adopt snowshoes in order to survive. The stable snowpack was a boon to the northeastern Wabanaki, an Algonquian people traditionally friendly with the French. The Wabanaki oral tradition celebrated good winter snows as a "season of abundance for skilled members of family hunting bands." It was equally suitable to attack enemies, like the New Englanders who had pushed into their territory. However, by adopting snowshoes themselves, settlers ultimately challenged the hegemony of the Wabanaki.[259] New Englanders relearned the importance of snowshoes on several occasions. In 1704, a group of provincial combatants from New Hampshire conducted a winter foray against the Pequawket, other Indigenous French allies. The value of winter warfare was made plain, with the leader writing that: "the winter time is the onely [sic] time ever to march against the Indian Enemy … every man in snow shoes with twenty dayes provisions."[260] The lesson was applied repeatedly in colonial conflicts. Clashes between British and French settlers and their Native confederates reverberated through the 1700s, often played out on winter landscapes. Snowshoes were critical to this combat.[261]

Sir William Johnson's life epitomizes material exchange and robust diplomacy with Iroquoian peoples, more often allied to the British. Johnson, an Anglo-Irish immigrant, settled in northern New York province in 1738 and forged close bonds with the local Iroquois being adopted into their community. His stature grew among Native Americans and British administrations because of his mastery of diplomacy. "Johnson's presents were one of the most powerful conciliatory influences on the Iroquois, the greatest Indian confederacy of the eighteenth century."[262] Ultimately, in 1746, he convinced the Confederacy to act with the British against the French. He materialized his ties by dressing in the "Indian fashion" on ceremonial occasions, recognizing the benefits of close collaboration. This perspective was not always realized by his compatriots in their recurring wars with the French.[263] A raid from New England into present-day Nova Scotia, in 1747, was intended to surprise French forces. But, the tables were turned. A combined force of 700 French and Indigenous warriors attacked the 350 strong New England forces during a night when a snowstorm struck that left

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Books and Papers 1731-1734: Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office (Burlington, ON: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2010) pp. 113, 241, 362.

259 Wickman, "'Winters Embittered with Hardships'".

260 Steven C. Eames, *Rustic Warriors: Warfare and the Provincial Soldier on the New England Frontier, 1689-1748* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), p. 83.

261 Reports on the campaign of Captain John Lovel and his volunteers, who killed a party of Native warriors in New Hampshire, all of the Indigenous men carrying "two Pairs of Snow Shoes". *British Journal* 15 May 1725.

262 Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts*, p. 88.

263 Timothy J. Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the early American Frontier* (New York: Viking, 2008), p. 62; Daniel K. Richter, 'Johnson, Sir William, first baronet (1715?–1774)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/article/14925, accessed 7 July 2015].

four feet of snow on the ground. As a correspondent related: "the Want of Snow Shoes convinced us it was impracticable [to continue the fight] … the Enemy being provided with them, had all the Advantage over us as if they had fought on firm Ground."[264] During skirmishes, snowshoes were looted from the vanquished, be they Indigenous or settler combatants.[265] Their value was inestimable.

Supplying the needs of warriors within an alliance doubtless animated production capacity among Indigenous peoples (as the souvenir trade did in times of peace).[266] In 1754, just prior to the Seven Year's War, a report from New York endorsed close attention to fortifications aligned with "Indian Castles", as he termed fortified Native settlements. He advised small settler garrisons be posted near by and specified the supplies to be stocked, including: "spare Arms [and] Snow Shoes (with which the French are always provided)." The author also emphasized the vital importance of shared risks and shoulder-to-shoulder fighting along side Native allies, employing their techniques of war: "to convince the Indians that we are really in earnest… we must fight along with them … the French seldom fail of this Method."[267] The extended conflict in North America (1756-1763) brought Europeans and colonial militaries in close contact with essential Native American combatants. This demanded an adjustment of European diplomatic and martial practice, in keeping with the cultural norms and expectations of their allies. Writing to Colonel Haldiman, William Johnson noted that: "a friendly Behaviour towards all, and a small Present well timed, or given on proper Occasions to such Indians as have an Influence or lead their Nation will always have a good Effect."[268]

However, despite the long history of alliances, adjustments were not always readily made. Metropolitan priorities frequently prevailed among some military leaders newly arrived in the Americas. Some French officers, for example, demonstrated distaste for guerrilla warfare, fought in the woods in the Native American style, preferring instead an orderly advance of uniformed men.[269] However, in many instances the advantage went to those adept at Indigenous methods of war. In 1765, Major General Thomas Gage, Commander of Britain's North American forces, took note of many things, including snowshoe supplies at Albany, in northern New York. It was a strategic post during the past conflict, when it held its largest contingent of fighting men and supplies. Previously, in 1758, in the midst of war, men from this fort were ambushed with fifteen killed by "a large Party of Indians, in Snow Shoes."[270] The primacy of this winter strategy was repeatedly stressed. Now, years later, given the new-found peace, Gage wrote that: "It's possible that no great use will be made of the snowshoes, or the Post maintained on the Footing they had been."[271] War and imminent war had

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264 *London Evening Post* (London, England), June 25, 1747 - June 27, 1747.
265 *London Evening Post* (London, England), Thursday, June 10, 1756.
266 Phillips, *Trading Identities*.
267 *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer* (London, England), October 19, 1754 - October 22, 1754.
268 Add MS 21670, 8, British Library.
269 Crouch, *Nobility Lost*, pp. 79-
270 *The Leeds Intelligencer* (Leeds, England), Tuesday, 2 May 1758.
271 Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. "Letter to Col. [John]

Fig.6.3 Huron Wendat man with crafts to sell, including snowshoes. Photograph by William Notman, 1866. McCord Museum, Montreal.

brought focused attention on essential goods and those making and using these stores. Indigenous and colonial knowledge was invaluable in these contexts, supporting material and military practice in geographically and temporally distinct ways. Those best able to rally these resources fared well.

Settlers, French and English, learned the value of snowshoes, along with the skills of traversing snow-covered forests and ice-bound rivers; some settlers also profited by producing these goods.[272] It is also clear that Indigenous communities proximate to trading centres – towns and cities as well as networks of trading posts – produced significant quantities of goods over sustained periods for expanding colonial markets.[273] The Huron Wendat, outside Quebec City, for example, were noted for

Bradstreet" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed June 24, 2015. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/bc2acb7e-495f-0a50-e040-e00a18063320

272 Cangany, "Fashioning Moccasins".

273 For Indigenous production of souvenirs see Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1998); Anne de Stecher, "Huron-Wendat Visual Culture: Source of Economic Autonomy and

their extensive production of wares for proximate populations, including the military regiments based nearby. A mid nineteenth-century photograph suggests the long tradition of this trade. (Figure 6.3) As Bruce Trigger observed, the Wendat embedded "marketing within a framework of political and social relations."[274] Following the defeat of General Montcalm and the fall of Quebec to the British in September 1759, the French Governor Vaudreuil wondered how he should proceed. Native allies were touched by this defeat. Resistance was proposed in some quarters and alliances were tested.[275] A New York-based correspondent reported that Vaudreuil intended "to retake Quebec in the Winter by Storm, for which Purpose he gave Orders for 20,000 Pair of Snow Shoes to be immediately made."[276] The scale of the supposed order is noteworthy.

Conclusion

The rumour of the re-taking of Quebec proved to be apocryphal – a tale to frighten war-weary Britons and New Englanders. Snowshoes served as a metaphor for military ambition, Indigenous allies and their capacities. The enduring relationships between communities like the Huron Wendat and the French governors of Quebec were fully implicated in this assessment. However, in the year after the 1759 defeat of the French at Quebec City, Indigenous communities treated for peace with the British, reorienting long-standing relationships, within new colonial conditions.[277] Material relationships likewise altered.

Thus, the production of ready-made clothing and footwear in the long eighteenth century must be assessed with attention to multiple contexts. In Britain, a gendered proto-industrial technology system expanded dramatically, fitting out ever-larger numbers of mariners and military in global endeavours. This system was premised on ordered, replicable commodities, produced through networks of contractors, sub-contractors and a copious female labour force on which they depended. Samples epitomized this system. A mobile clothing ecosystem brought shirts to different locales in support of

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Continuity of Traditional Culture" in, Pierre Anctil, André Loiselle & Christopher Rolfe, eds., *Canada Exposed / Le Canada à découverte*, (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 131-150; "Souvenir art, collectable craft." For snowshoe and moccasin production see: Louise Vigneault and Isabelle Masse, "Les autoreprésentations de l'artiste huron-wendat Zacharie Vincent (1815-1886): icons d'une gloire politique et spirituelle" *Canadian Journal of Art History* 32:2 (2011), p. 62 and Gordon M. Sayre, "Self-Portraiture and Commodification in the Work of Huron/Wendat Artist Zacharie Vincent, aka "Le Dernier Huron" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 39:2 (2015), pp. 19-20.

[274] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, quoted in De Stecher, "Souvenir art, collectable craft, cultural heritage", p. 43.

[275] Crouch, *Nobility Lost*, Epilogue; Alain Beaulieu, "Les Hurons et la Conquête", *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec*, 30: 3 (2000), pp. 57–58.

[276] *London Evening Post* (London, England), January 24, 1760 - January 26, 1760.

[277] Beaulieu, "Les Hurons et la Conquête", p. 60.

imperial concerns. The wearing of these shirts shaped concepts of race, contested within imperial precincts.

Snowshoes reflect other systems of production, shaped by Indigenous knowledge. In one way, snowshoes materialize debates about imperial military competence in North America. Many French and British professional officers despised the tactics of guerrilla warfare and the winter dependence on snowshoes. Yet, raiding was a norm for generations, winter raiding in particular, as learned from Native allies, during the indigenization of warfare in North America.[278] Snowshoes defined this centuries-long combat. First offered in the context of diplomatic alliances, the response to this footwear defined the evolving colonial process.

Britain claimed extensive territory over much of northern North America, even after 1783 and the resolution of the American Revolution. Thereafter, in British North America, royalty, noblemen, military officers and senior colonial administrators embraced the demonstrable manliness of snowshoe journeys as proof of their right to command. In the winter of 1767, "several Gentleman" made the journey on snowshoes from Quebec City to Lake George in what is now Vermont in 12 days, a feat deemed newsworthy in London.[279] Prince Edward, promoted to Major General with a new posting in the Caribbean, likewise headed east from Quebec City to Halifax in this manner in the winter of 1794. He was determined on "as straight a direction as possible, through the woods to Halifax", assisted in this two week journey by an entourage of twenty Native guides, who managed the dogs and the sleds packed with gear. Given his departure from Quebec City it is likely that Huron Wendat men steered his path. Following the defeat of the French, the Wendat signed an accord confirming good relations with the incoming British. The Wendat became valued British military allies and supplied them with functional resources, like moccasins and snowshoes, for generations to come. Senior Wendat leaders spoke French and English, as well as their native tongue. It is very likely that, as a member of the royal family, Prince Edward participated in diplomatic ceremonies with Wendat leaders at Wendake.[280] We can speculate on the prestige attending the Wendat guiding the royal party and the provisioning that preceded the Prince's departure. No mention is made of this in the British press. However, the report did recall a similar expedition from Quebec in 1789 by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was fed and guided by his "Savage" allies.[281] Similarly, in 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey "walked in snow

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278 Eames, *Rustic Warriors*, pp. 1-16.

279 *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 18-21 April 1767.

280 Wendake was the site of numerous diplomatic ceremonies, given its proximity to Quebec City and the longevity of Wendat relationships with various European powers. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, p. 364; De Stecher, "Souvenir Arts, Collectable Crafts, Cultural Heritage"; Beaulieu, "Les Hurons et la Conquête", p. 60.

281 *Sun* (London, England), Thursday, 8 May 1794. In the winter of 1812-13, the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot embarked on a similar feat in 1812, when it marched "in snow-shoes from New Brunswick to Quebec, a distance of 260 miles." *The Morning Post* (London, England), Saturday, 15 February 1817. The 554 men in the regiment needed one or two pair of snowshoes per man, confirming the scale of provisioning required; equally essential were the Indigenous guides leading the way. Jon Latimer, *1812: War with America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007), pp.

shoes, in the depth of last winter, through the wilds lying between the Canadas and New Brunswick", "so great was the desire of that meritorious officer to arrive at his [new] post." Harvey was lauded by his commanding officer for his "zeal, intelligence and gallantry." [282] Driven by the material imperatives of empire, these men doubtless included white linen shirts as well as snowshoes in their wardrobes, demonstrating the distinctive colonial uniform of this time and place.

In colonial Northern North America, alliances with Indigenous communities shaped local provisioning, materialized through gendered Indigenous skills. Native American relationships with Europeans were integrated into existing customs and diplomatic systems, continuing throughout this era.[283] The sharing of resources and provisioning of war materiel took place within this construct. Thus, imperial military institutions, like those of the British and French, worked within several paradigms. A Smithian supply system flourished in Europe (with the products carried to North America), evidence of proto-industrial growth, with stocks of clothing arriving at ports and forts, ideally in sufficient quantities. This model is exemplified by the tons of slop clothes shipped to the Americas, including linen shirts.[284] In North America itself, however, the spread of Indigenous technologies was founded on Native American ritual, custom and skill to which Europeans adapted, until such times as Indigenous allies held less value and colonial manufacture grew.[285] Rhetorically, by the later eighteenth century snowshoeing was 'whitened', increasingly claimed by settler and soldier as a marker of imperial masculinity. As well, some colonist adopted the production of mocassins and snowshoes a process of "transcultural movement" that continued into the century beyond.[286] Yet, Indigenous makers also persisted with small and large-scale making and their cultural claims for the snowshoe endured. And, where long-standing alliances once ensured a robust market for these wares, communities like the Huron Wendat outside Quebec City now made and sold snowshoes by the thousands annually within the changing power dynamics of this colonial environment. Leadership in this manufacture came from within the Wendat community.[287] The

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123-4.

[282] *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Thursday, 29 July 1813.

[283] White, *Middle Ground*, pp. 140-1.

[284] ADM 354/160/209, 234; ADM 354/161/128; ADM 106/1088/84; ADM 354/159/219; ADM 106/826/215; ADM 106/875/132; ADM 106/895/44, N.A., UK. ADM 354/159/219, Caird Library, The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. This subject is discussed at length in: Beverly Lemire, "A Question of Trousers: Seafarers, Masculinity and Empire in the Shaping of British Male Dress, c. 1600-1800" *Cultural & Social History*, January 2016 forthcoming.

[285] Cangany, "Fashioning Moccasins"; *Frontier Seaport: Detroit's Transformation into an Atlantic Entrepot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[286] Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians", p. 610. Reports on the Franklin and Parry expeditions are two further examples of the use of snowshoes for Imperial ends. *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Thursday, 15 May 1823 and for Parry, *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England), Saturday, 24 March 1827. For sport in this process see: Gillian Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sport, Visual Culture & Identity in Montreal 1840-1885* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

[287] As reported by contemporary sociologist Léon Gérin in the 1890s. Sayre, "Self-Portraiture and Commodification in the Work of Huron/Wendat Artist Zacharie Vincent,", pp. 19-21. For

growing scale of snowshoe production echoes that of the shirt, though the two shared different ancestries and carried different cultural meanings. In combination, the snowshoe and the shirt reflect complex and shifting systems of production and demonstrate the contingent power within material exchange during the early globalizing era.

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7.

Fashion in the Four Parts of the World

Time, Space and Early Modern Global Change[288]

Giorgio Riello

Fashion and Social Competition

> In all probability [fashion] started in the families of the gentry, where the maidservants copied it, after which [it was] increasingly borrowed by their relatives until it made its way into the quarters of the neighborhood. The wealthy and powerful began by considering innovation to be something wonderful and went on to think surpassing their predecessors to be admirable. Those who managed to do so believed it not to be going to excess but prestigious; while those who failed to achieve this did not think it a cause for being at peace with themselves but for shame… Thus it has become an all but irreversible trend.[289]

Specialists in eighteenth-century British history will easily recognize in this quotation several of the elements that Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and Jack Plumb used in their *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (1982) in explaining the rise of 'modern' British consumerism and fashion in the age of Enlightenment.[290] Fashion was at the core of an explanation as to why people in the eighteenth century started to consume a wider range of commodities – well beyond what we might call 'necessities' – and why they privileged new things that were changed increasingly frequently. Their idea of a 'consumer revolution' saw emulation and fashion as key mechanisms in changing consumption patterns and choices. The most memorable example of emulation or 'aping' was that of servants who had the proximity to observe - and very often the means to imitate - the consuming habits of their masters. The maidservant wished to copy the rich outfit of her mistress and sometimes could do so by accepting a discarded petticoat or a bodice that she would proudly parade in the neighborhood, very much as the

[288] This chapter is also published in *Dressing Global Bodies: The Politics of Fashion in World History, 1600-2000*, eds. Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2020).

[289] Cit. in Mark Elvin, 'Blood and Statistics: Reconstructing the Population Dynamics of Late Imperial China from the Biographies of Virtuous Women in Local Gazetteers', in *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past: New Perspectives*, ed. Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 152.

[290] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth Century England* (London: Europa, 1982).

quotation reports. This allowed a mere servant to acquire prestige: it was not excess per se, but excess aimed at bettering oneself and climbing the social ladder. And as the quotation suggests this was a continuative process (an 'irreversible trend') that excluded those who failed to embrace it.[291]

This quotation is appropriate not just for McKendrick's work, but also for another of the great names of Western fashion theory: Thorstein Veblen. At the end of the nineteenth century it was Veblen who conceptualized fashion as a game of social competition defined by conspicuous consumption and characterized by a shifting process by which those who are emulated move their preferences to something different, something new.[292] His field of study was neither Europe, nor the eighteenth century, but the wealthy society of the American *nouveau riche* of the turn of the century. What both Veblen and McKendrick posited was that social competition characterized fashion in 'modern' societies. And by 'modern' they meant essentially Western.

This chapter thus enters into an analysis of fashion from a rather classic starting point (Western Europe and America) and by using a specific definition of fashion: fashion as a form of emulation. I take one of the key designations of fashion as defined in a European (perhaps Eurocentric) context to establish whether it can be applied in other contexts. The same procedure will be applied to other possible ways of interpreting fashion, always starting with a hard European definition to evaluate in what ways, under what circumstances, and in which forms during the so-called early modern period (c. 1500 to 1800), fashion manifested itself in places as different as China, Japan and Latin America.[293] For reasons of space most of my examples refer mostly to China and Japan, though occasional references are made also to other parts of the world.

To this end, it is revealing that the opening quotation - a paraphrase of McKendrick and Veblen - is a description of Shanghai by Meng-chu and dated to the mid-seventeenth century. This is not a rare quotation, though it is a particularly helpful one. The Shangdon gazetteer in the late Ming period reported that even in small provincial towns and cities, people were 'competing in extravagance'. It added that 'The masses wear the clothing of the gentry, the gentry wear the headgear of the high officials' and all were 'competing with the rich in grandeur and opulence to the extent that they think nothing of emptying their purses'.[294] One could cite several similar sources not just for Ming China and Edo Japan, but also for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin America and the Ottoman Empire and to a lesser extent also for India and the Middle East. The scholarship of Sarah Dauncey, Antonia Finnane, Craig Clunas and Tim Brook for China; Eiko Ikegami and Timon Screech for Japan; Suraiya

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[291] This emulative paradigm has been heavily criticized by several historians of consumption and fashion. See in particular John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

[292] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [or. ed. 1899] 2007).

[293] Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade, c.1500-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[294] Cit. in Sarah Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur: Perceptions of Status and Wealth in Late-Ming Female Clothing and Ornamentation', *East Asian History* 25/26 (2003), 53-54.

Faroqhi, Christopher Neumann and Donald Quataert for the Ottoman Empire; Rebecca Earle and Regina Root for Latin America; and Robert Ross's global analysis – just to cite a few – provide a sufficiently vast body of quotable material, which suggests that both fashion and emulation were present in each of their geographic areas of specialization.[295]

Carlo Marco Belfanti concludes his 2008 article 'Was Fashion a European Invention?' by explaining that it was definitively not in the period here considered, though his assessment still remains equivocal when he adds that fashion 'only fully developed as a social institution in Europe, while in India, China, and Japan it only evolved partially, without being able to obtain full social recognition'.[296] This chapter challenges this statement, first by asking why in the first instance all other places apart from Europe were deemed by default not to have fashion; second, by reflecting as to whether if it is simply a matter of including new world areas into the accepted notion of fashion or if the definition, chronologies and nature of fashion in the early modern period must be questioned and revised if applied globally.

Fashion's Eurocentrism

What appears to be a reclamation of fashion by present-day extra-European historians is in stark contrast with more classic views inherited from a previous generation of historians. The great French historian Fernand Braudel, though attributing great significance to fashion as a motor of historical

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[295] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991); Donald Quataert, 'Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720- 1829', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29.3 (1997), 403-425; Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), esp. 218-238; Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700-1820* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999); Rebecca Earle, '"Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!!"' Race, Clothing and Identity in the American (17th-19th Centuries)', *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001), 175-195; Rebecca Earle, 'Luxury, Clothing and Race in Colonial Spanish America', in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2003), 219-227; Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 43-68; Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds, *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Iren, 2004); Regina A. Root, ed., *The Latin American Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Robert Ross, *Clothing: A Global History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). See also Ulinka Rublack's excellent attempt at connecting European fashion to a global remit and Adam Geczy's analysis of fashion and orientalism. Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Adam Geczy, *Fashion and Orientalism: Dress, Textiles and Culture from the 17th to the 21st Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

[296] Carlo Marco Belfanti, 'Was fashion a European invention?', *Journal of Global History* 3.3 (2008), 443.

change, categorically refuted the idea that fashion might have existed in non-European societies before Colonialism and Imperialism. He conceded that 'political upheavals' might have induced a change of clothing – as for instance with the arrival of the Manchus in China and the beginning of the new Qing dynasty in 1644 – but he was adamant that this could not be considered as fashion.[297] Similarly Gilles Lipovetzky and most sociologists of fashion leave no doubt that fashion has become a global phenomenon – that is to say a homogenous European-inspired and dominated trend – only in recent years.[298]

The appropriation of fashion by Europeans was not invented by historians: most of the primary sources used by European historians deny the existence of fashion outside the borders of Europe. Costume books such as Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (1590 and 1598), for instance, provided a vast array of visual material on both European and extra-European dress but also statically pigeon-holed the costumes of what we might call 'others'.[299] Antonia Finnane suggests that one of the issues at stake was the inability of Europeans to read meaning into what was distinctively different, and sometimes the opposite of European clothing, like the use of white for mourning.[300] Europeans, in the words of Finnane, were 'inclined to describe Chinese clothes in terms of how they resembled their own', rather than in their own right.[301] And they were keen to criticise other people's attire because they were – in the words of Cesare Vecellio – 'quite contrarie to ours'.[302] In some parts of the world, this led to a campaign on the part of missionaries to clothe indigenous populations 'decently concealing the nudity of the past' as Braudel puts it.[303] In other places, Europeans saw stability in contrast to ever-changing European fashion. This was the case even in places where it was patently false as in Japan: the Portuguese writer Luís Fróis at the end of the sixteenth century, commented that 'We invent nearly every year a new type of garment and a new way to dress; in Japan, the shape [of

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[297] Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800* (London: Fontana, 1973), 227.

[298] Giles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 15.

[299] See Eugenia Paulicelli, 'Mapping the World: The Political Geography of Dress in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books', *The Italianist* 28 (2003), 24-53; Id., *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: from Sprezzatura to Satire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014); Giorgio Riello, 'The World in a Book: The Creation of the Global in Sixteenth-Century European Costume Books', *Past & Present*, supplement 2019. See also Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, The Americas* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), esp. introduction; and Traci Elizabeth Timmons, 'Habiti Antichi et Moderni di Tutto il Mondo and the "Myth of Venice"', *Athanor* 15 (1997), 28-33; Grazietta Butazzi, 'Tra mode occidentali e "costumi" medio orientali: confronti e riflessioni dai repertori cinquecenteschi alle trasformazioni vestimentarie tra XVII e XVIII secolo', in *Il Vestito dell'Altro: Semiotica, Arti, Costume*, ed. Giovanna Franci and Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli (Milan: Lupetti, 2005), 251-270.

[300] Antonia Finnane, 'Yangshou's "Modernity": Fashion and Consumption in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Positions* 11.2 (2003), 402.

[301] Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, 20.

[302] Cit. in Rosenthal and Jones, *Clothing of the Renaissance World*, 36.

[303] Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life*, 228. See also Anthony Reid, *South Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680; Vol. 1. The Lands Bellow the Winds* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 86-88. See also the chapter by Cory Willmott in this volume.

clothing] is always the same and it does hardly change'.[304] European visitors and merchants struggled to make sense of Asian vestiamentary systems. Some forms of distinction labelled as barbarous by Europeans, for example the spread of the use of the bow shoe for a bound foot in the closing years of the Ming period which was symbolic, especially in the wealthy lower Yang-zu delta, of a socially-competitive society. Designed to visually set apart the 'humble countryfolk' from ladies of elevated status, it was not perceived by Europeans to be in any way connected to forms of fashionability.[305]

A tension emerged from the separation between a Western world of fashion and a non-Western world characterized by a rather vague notion of stability under the label of 'costume'. Historians are correct in observing that the idea of fashion has been used to characterize the industrial- and consumer-driven economies of Europe and later North America.[306] However, the case of Europe shows how the notion of fashion has been extended backwards in time to reach the middle ages and linked to processes of capitalist development.[307] Whilst this has served to support the lineage of 'modern' industrial societies to the exclusion of all others, there is also a less positive idea of fashion as ephemeral, rather than innovative; wasteful rather than economically constructive; immoral rather than honest. In this sense, fashion is seen more as the 'cancer' of modern societies, rather than as a benign force. And this in part explains why the concept and practice of fashion - although embraced in many societies outside the borders of Europe - was sometimes seen by such societies as foreign to their customs. Again scholarship has been faithful to such a preconception with the idea of costume being upheld in the histories of many extra-European countries and empires as a symbol of identity, tradition and the refusal of what was seen as the exogenous force of fashion.

One should not conclude that it was the 'European gaze' alone that established categories of fashion and costumes. Non-European societies were keen observers of European dress. An example is a 1787 Japanese text entitled *Komo zatsuwa* (紅毛雑話 - A Miscellany on the Red-Hairs). The title derives from the designation (red-hair) of Dutchmen in Japan. *Komo zatsuwa* is divided into five illustrated volumes that discuss a series of topics related to the Dutch, ranging from the microscope to insects, flowers and seeds. The final part of volume 5 includes a discussion of the Dutchmen's attire and the author claims to have sketched the illustrations of a hat, scarf, overcoat, breeches, socks, two types of shoes, belts etc. from real garments provided by Dutchmen. The book proceeds with a description of the Dutchmen's attire (Figure 1): 'the upper part is called rok, and the underwear camisole. The

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[304] *Européeens & Japonais: Traité sur les contradictions & différences de moeurs écrit par le R.P. Luís Fróis au Japon, l'an 1585* (Paris: Chandeigne, 2003), 16. See also: *The First European Description of Japan, 1585: A Critical English-Language Edition of Striking Contrasts in the Customs of Europe and Japan by Luis Frois, S.J.*, ed. Richard K. Danford, Robin D. Gill and Daniel T. Reff, (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

[305] Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[306] Anne Brydon and Sandra Niessen, eds, *Consuming Fashion. Adorning the Transnational Body* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), introduction.

[307] Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004), 372.

overcoat is long and under shorter. There are parts to put things in (pockets) in the lower part. They are made of wool, or plant fibre, upon the wearer's taste'. The images show a fascination for the attire

Figure 7.1. 'Attire of a Dutchmen', from *Komo zatsuwa* (紅毛雑話 - *A Miscellany on the Red-Hairs*) (1787). © Trustees of the British Museum, 1979,0305,0.140.5.

of these red-haired Europeans, though the accompanying text betrays also surprise, noting that such attire '… if ceremonial (official), all of them including the breeches should be made of same cloth.... (there are few lines on buttons) ... The dress system looks as if there are no distinction between the noble and non-nobles'.[308] Japan more than any other country in Asia became a keen observer of European sartorial choices.[309]

[308] I thank Miki Sugiura for providing translations of the text. See also Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer eds, *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800* (London: V&A Publications, 2004), 216.

[309] Giulia Calvi, 'Cultures of Space: Costume Books, Maps, and Clothing between Europe and Japan (Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries)', *I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance* 20.2 (2017), 331-363.

Fashion as Change

I have so far avoided defining fashion as simple 'change over time'. Braudel cites the observations of a number of early modern European travellers and writers, among them Jean Baptiste Say, who in 1828 wrote that 'the unchanging fashions of the Turks and the other Eastern people do not attract me. It seems that their fashions tend to preserve their stupid despotism'.[310] Two centuries earlier the Englishman Henry Blout (1602-82), who travelled to Constantinople in 1634, reported that the Ottomans 'to this day vary but little from that long, and loose manner of garment reported to have been ever used in the *East*'.[311] Sartorial stability was considered as characterizing a non-precise group of 'Eastern people' and was deemed to be backward, a form of prevention of the democratic and 'modern' values of fashion.

One could counter these observations, and cite the many sources that show instead that dress changed on a regular basis in Asia. The Chinese writer Gu Qiyuan lived in the first half of the seventeenth century and commented that fashion in Nanjing changed every three to four years instead of every ten years as it had in earlier decades.[312] Others were even more daring and claimed that in the early seventeenth century, in places such as Nanking 'in recent years, strange shapes and outlandish styles altered with every day, changed with every month…'.[313] However the rapid changes of what was purposely defined as 'contemporary style' or 'the look of the moment' in seventeenth century China,[314] or Japan or Latin America for that matter, should not be matched to a European timeframe. Fashion is never static,but should not be forced into a rectilinear chronology. The influence of religious ideas that see time as circular in many Asian cultures presents a notion of time different from that of the West.[315] Similarly, the invocation of antiquity, as was the case in Ming China, was an equally powerful tool of fashion based on what today we would call 'retro'. This was achieved through the use of Han-dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE) caps or Song-dynasty (960-1279 CE) brocades in the fashion of five centuries earlier or the use of antiquities to display taste as pointed out by Craig Clunas.[316]

Timon Screech is even more categorical in warning us against using a Western chronological measure of the impact of fashion. While chartering a complex and multi-layered world of fashion in Edo Japan,

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[310] Cit. in Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life*, 229.

[311] Cit. in Sabine Schülting, 'Strategic Improvisation: Henry Blout in the Ottoman Empire' in *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures*, ed. Sabine Schülting, Sabine Lucia Müller and Ralf Hertel (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 74.

[312] Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, 44.

[313] Ku Ch'i-yüan, *K'o tso chui yü* (Peking, [1618] 1987), cit. in Craig Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption and the Institution of Correct Morality by the Ming State', in *Norms and the State in China*, ed. Chung-Chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 46.

[314] Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 220.

[315] Sanjay Subramaniam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 21.

[316] Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, 46; Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 154.

he is adamant that 'despite the prominence of fashion in Edo urban life, even fairly casual garments altered relatively little in shape over time'.[317] He highlights an historically-specific notion of fashion in the early modern world – and one might dare to generalize across most of the globe – that unlike today was about changing shapes, applied rather to cloth, than cut of clothing.

Fashion as Interaction

Clothing, shapes and the cut of a dress change over time, but textiles (their design, colours and patterns) are less about the 'new in time', than the 'new in space': how one gets something new, something different from somewhere else. In the early modern period novelty was not about creativity as such, the creation of what we call today a couturier that is applauded by everyone; it was about getting one's hands on something that came from somewhere else and was therefore new and different.

Fashion is often described as a self-sustaining force: once unleashed, it becomes a perpetual motor of change, first material (in the form of kaleidoscopic variations in colours and shapes), and second socio-cultural (in the changing meaning expressed and created by fashion). It is not by chance that even a century ago Georg Simmel underlined how fashion could not be simply explained by observing the internal dynamics of what later came to be called a 'fashion system'. He explained how in many societies it was the 'foreign' and the 'exotic' – what was not local and part of the system – that provided new and powerful fuel to the bonfire of vanities.[318]

The appeal of the exotic was not just an early modern phenomenon: archaeologist Andrew Sherratt demonstrated that it was already present in prehistoric societies.[319] By the tenth century CE, the geographer al-Muqadassi reported that fashion consciousness was one of the characteristics of the people of Iraq.[320] And fashion was defined not just any personal attention to what one consumed or wore, but the careful combination of commodities often imported through the extensive continental commercial routes dominated by Armenian, Jewish and Indian merchants. They provided linen from Egypt, Chinese silks, and cotton cloth from India. The cut of clothes was influenced instead by Persia, especially under the Abbasid rule. China appreciated the appeal of Persian textiles with Greek and Roman design influences as shown by the beautiful double-weave woollen textiles bearing representations of oxen, sheep and naked men adorning a mummy of the Jin Period (206 BCE – 420 CE).[321] Ladies of the Chinese court depicted in a tenth-century painting display with grace their

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[317] Screech, *Sex and the Floating World*, 113.

[318] Giorgio Riello, *Back in Fashion: A History of Western Fashion since the Middle Ages* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), ch. 2.

[319] Andrew Sherratt, 'Reviving the Grand Narrative: Archaeology and Long-Term Change', *Journal of European Archaeology* 3.1 (1995), 1-32.

[320] Yedida Kalfon Stillman, *Arab Dress: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*, ed. Norman A. Stillman (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 43.

[321] Li Wenying, 'Textiles of the Second to Fifth Centuries Unearthed from Yingpan Cemetery', in

elaborate coiffures with hairpins (influenced by foreign metalwork) and silk gowns that are clearly very Chinese products, but with a Persian pattern not dissimilar to those that we encounter in the dresses of fashionable European ladies a few centuries later.[322]

That fashion acted as a way of connecting sometimes distant places was not new to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: for instance, historians of dress and fashion have long underlined the fact European fashion employed a variety of foreign idioms constructed through the importation of commodities, such as porcelain and lacquer, or the re-interpretation and often 'invention' of otherness as in the case of Chinoiserie and Japonaiserie. Beverly Lemire and I have commented on how Middle and Far Eastern silks first, and later Indian cottons, became integral components in the structuring of new forms and notions of fashionability in Europe between 1200 and 1800.[323] This work, whilst relativizing and questioning the 'exceptionalism' of European fashion opens the doors to the investigation of similar phenomena across the globe. One might cite for instance the popularization of the *Kosode* – a short-sleeve kimono – in Heian period Japan (794-1184 CE). It developed as a popularization of elite fashion but was also a reaction – an act against rather than in favour – of foreign customs, in this case the pre-existing reliance on Chinese forms of garments.[324]

The *Kosode* – or Kimono, literally 'thing to wear' (garment) – became the national costume of Japan and as such something that historians of dress see as rather distant from fashion.[325] But later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the kimono became a fashionable item influenced by designs and aesthetics introduced by Indian cottons, which were also influencing fashion in Europe and elsewhere. The pervasiveness of Indian cottons across Asia was such that – as Kayoko Fujita observes – the available varieties of cotton cloth in Edo Japan were '*bengara(-jima* or *-gôshi)*' (the striped or checked cloth from Bengal), '*santome(-jima)*' (striped cloth from São Thomé), and '*matafû*(*-jima*)' (striped cloth from Madras).[326]

The Iberian *nanban*, the savages from the West, represented in sixteenth-century Japanese screens

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Central Asian Textiles and Their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Regula Schorta (Switzerland: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006), 246-251.

[322] Suzanne E. Cahill, '"Our Women are Acting like Foreigners' Wives": Western Influences on Tang Dynasty Women's Fashion', in *China Chic: East Meets West*, ed. Valerie Steele and John S. Major (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 104-105.

[323] Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, 'East and West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Social History* 41.4 (2008), 887-916. This point was later developed in my research on cotton and later silk. See Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), esp. ch. 6 and Dagmar Schäfer, Giorgio Riello, and Luca Molà, eds., *Threads of Global Desire: Silk in the Pre-modern World* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), esp. introduction and the final chapter.

[324] Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts* (New York: Weatherill, 1974), 20-21.

[325] See in particular Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda, *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992).

[326] Kayoko Fujita, 'Japan Indianized: The Material Culture of Imported Textiles in Japan, 1550-1850', in *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 181-203. See also Noma, *Japanese Costume*, 132-133; and Screech, *Sex and the Floating World*, 116.

might have been indeed uncivilized, but the wearing of outlandish striped clothes, that they had probably acquired in India on their way to Japan, made them the 'coolest guys' of the early modern period (Figure 2).[327] Their fashionability was not sensed by the Japanese in terms of change over time but in terms of difference from themselves. This explains why *nanban* fashion became something to be imitated by the locals. Foreign products were so important in Edo fashionability that Japanese legislators thought it wise to ban 'Holland goods' in their 1688 sumptuary law.[328]

Figure 7.2. Nanban Screen, 'Arrival of a Portuguese ship', made in Japan, c. 1600-30. Ink, colours and gold leaf on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum 803-1892.

The Iberian incursion into Asia did not just proceed eastwards from Europe to the Indian Ocean and the Chinese sea. The Spaniards arrived in the Philippines in the 1560s from across the Pacific Ocean and their colonies in the Americas, where they founded a new trading port at Manila. From the 1570s this was the key node of exchange between China (and more generally Asia) and the Americas. The Manila to Acapulco route brought to Mexico – and from there to Peru, Panama, China, Ecuador and Nicaragua – all sorts of Asian commodities, silks and cottons among the most important.[329] These elaborate textiles were fashionable among consumers of all social classes as depicted in beautiful *casta* paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [330] While the silks were within the reach of the more affluent, the blue cotton *cambayas* (made in China) or the *mantas* cotton coverings produced in the Philippines were purchased in large quantities by American consumers in exchange for precious

[327] Verity Wilson, 'Western Modes and Asian Clothing: Reflections on Borrowing Other People's Dress', *Costume* 36 (2002), 139. See also Ronald P. Toby, 'The "Indianess" of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other', in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 337.

[328] Donald H. Shively, 'Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964-65), 135.

[329] Arturo Giráldez, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy* (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

[330] Ilona Katzev, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-century Mexico* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

metal.[331] Cottons also came in large quantities from Bengal and Madras in India.[332] This trade influenced design in Latin America. Both in silks and cottons it is possible to observe the mixing of Chinese and Indian motifs, with pre-Hispanic elements or the adoption of ikat-dyed style from Southeastern Asian textiles and garments. Secondly, Asian textiles gave momentum to Latin American fashion.[333] Travellers and visitors to Mexico were impressed not only by the variety of dress worn by the various ethnic groups, but also by the riches commonly displayed by the wider strata of society.[334] The Spaniard Artemio de Valle-Arizpe reported that in eighteenth-century Mexico City 'ordinary worn is a silk skirt or printed calico decorated with bands of gold and silver, with brightly coloured ribboned belts with their fringe of gold that tumble down behind and in front to border the skirt'.[335] Quito in Ecuador used both locally-produced cottons and the more expensive *ruán* cottons, this time imported not from Asia, but from the city of Rouen in France.[336]

Cities as Islands of Fashion

Fashion cannot be defined simply by identifying its mechanisms of generation, be they imitation and social competition, change over time, or interaction with other material cultures. Fashion is always characterized by specific spaces and social dynamics in which it articulates itself.

In terms of sartorial expenditure, the court was surely one of such key spaces of early modern fashion. The court had a catalytic effect on the urban fashion industry. This is true of the French court of Louis XIV as well as of Edo Japan. Both had an extensive but ineffective sumptuary system that included the nobility. And in both countries the sovereign had discovered the importance of keeping friends close and enemies even closer: thus the idle semi-coerced existence of the French nobility at Versailles and the imposition of the alternate years of residence for the Japanese *daimyos* (lords) and their

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[331] Araceli Tinajero, 'Far Eastern Influences in Latin American Fashions', in *The Latin America Fashion Reader*, ed. Regina A. Root (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), 67-68.

[332] Bhaswati Bhattacharya, 'Making Money at the Blessed Place of Manila: Armenians in the Madras-Manila Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Global History* 3.3 (2008), 13 and 19.

[333] Abby Sue Fisher, 'Trade Textiles: Asia and New Spain', in *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 180; and Donna Pierce's contribution in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820*, ed. Joseph. J. Riesel and Susan Stratton-Pruitt (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 400. On Chinese silks in Mexico see: José L. Gasch-Tomás, 'The Manila Galleon and the Reception of Chinese Silk in New Spain, c. 1550–1650', in *Threads of Global Desire,* 251-264.

[334] Rebecca Earle, 'Race, Clothing and Identity: Sumptuary Laws in Colonial Spanish America', in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, 1200-1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 325-345.

[335] Artemio de Valle-Arizpe, *Historia de la ciudad de México segun los relatos de sus cronistas* (Mexico: Departamento del Distrito Federal,1998), 173-174.

[336] Ross W. Jamieson, 'Bolts of Cloth and Sherds of Pottery: Impressions of Caste in the Material Culture of the Seventeenth Century Audiencia of Quito', *The Americas* 60.3 (2004), 440. See also Riello, *Cotton*, 142.

families. In both cases the result was the construction of a court life based on substantial financial investment on the part of the nobility to please the ruling monarch and conform to etiquette and the rules of ceremonial occasions. This was not simple luxury but the necessity of a life of conspicuous consumption centred around the monarch.[337] The relationship between court and capital city was also important. The demand for luxury and fashionable goods from the court gave work to thousands of artisans, seamstresses, weavers and tailors. It created what we could see as a proto-fashion industry: the gathering together of an unprecedented amount of skills, knowledge, human capital and resources (in terms of materials and credit).[338]

The story constantly repeated to students and the general public sees the present-day position of Paris as the 'capital of fashion' as emerging from the court culture of the Sun King in the second half of the seventeenth century. Some historians of fashion have recognized in this a line of evolution and a sort of 'royal pedigree' for the primacy of Paris in the world of fashion.[339] The case of Japan – and one might expect other important court centres in Asia – show that this was not the prerogative of Paris alone and that similar concentrations of fashion production and consumption linked to court life existed in other parts of pre-modern Eurasia.

Yet for most cities this was a temporary condition that did not lead to the maintenance of a prime position in fashion over more than four centuries as in the case of Paris. One of the explanations put forward for this is that in most cases, court fashion did not have an impact outside the walls of the royal palace. In Paris, and to a certain extent London, urban fashion developed and sometimes reacted against court fashion. Before the 'fossilization' of court fashion in the nineteenth century, the world of the nobility and the sovereign was a point of reference for elite fashion in general and, if we believe imitation theories, for the wider population too. Yet the same was true of Edo Japan where the *Kindai Sejidan* (Book of Common Talk) reports that kimonos decorated with *kanoko* and *surihaku* were first worn by the ladies of the Emperor's court but that, after the mid seventeenth century, they were worn in the households of *daimyos*. Imitation diffused rapidly and copies were soon worn by wives of the rich bourgeoisie and then the middle ranks.[340] The materials of these kimonos might have been poorer in quality, but it was the visual effect that was important. Even in the case of the more regulated Chinese court where it was the badge of rank to be at the core of a hierarchical system, cases of the inappropriate use of rank symbols, a kind of sartorial symbolic inflation, were already in evidence in

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[337] Helen Benton Minnich and Shojiro Momura, *Japanese Costume and the Makers of its Elegant Tradition* (Rutland, VE: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1963), 198.

[338] On European courts, see: Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005); and Isabelle Paresys and Natacha Coquery eds, *Se vêtir à la cour en Europe, 1400-1815* (Lille: Université Lille 3, 2011). On Japan, see: Ikegami , *Bonds of Civility*; Katsuya Hirano, 'Regulating Excess: The Cultural Politics of Consumption in Tokugawa Japan', in *The Right to Dress*, 435-460.

[339] Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury, [or. ed. 1988] 2017).

[340] Benton Minnich and Momura, *Japanese Costume*, 199.

the sixteenth century.[341]

The importance of urban life in the history of western fashion can hardly be overstated: the department store and the *flâneur* in the nineteenth century; the cosmopolitan metropolis of the twentieth century and, to a lesser extent, the formation of a bourgeois sphere in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cities such as London and Paris are key topics in the history of western fashion.[342] But was the experience of London or Paris as capitals of fashion before the modern age unique at a global level? Sinologist Antonia Finnane disagrees and observes that 'by the late sixteenth century the lower Yangzi city of Suzhou was performing something of the role played in Europe by Paris'.[343] Like Paris fashion, there was a distinct 'Suzhou style' and like the rivalry between Paris and London, Suzhou style had its alter ego in the Yangzhou style, the other major centre of the Lower Yangzi Delta.[344] The extravagance of Suzhou, Yangzhou and Nanjing are in stark contrast with traditional narratives that assert the Ming and Qing empires as bastions of tradition.[345] These and other cities in Asia were not simply producers of new styles. Seventeenth-century Kyoto was famous both as a place of production (perfecting tie-dye techniques that produced unique forms of shading), and a place of lavish spending, with courtesans and ladies making 'a daily display of beautiful clothes towards earning a living' as represented in Ukiyo-e, the 'pictures of the floating world' (Figure 3).[346]

It is however incorrect to say that fashion characterized Japan, or China or the Ottoman Empire in the same way in which it is incorrect to say that fashion existed in Italy, France or England. Fashion manifested itself within specific urban spaces: it was especially visible in metropolises and ports where consumer goods were easily available, where shops allured customers, and where wealthy merchants and shopkeepers acted as 'brokers of fashion'.[347] This explains why conservative intellectuals both in China and Japan condemned merchants not just for the increased circulation of luxury and superfluous goods, but also for actively participating in conspicuous consumption with their social superiors.[348] In Chinese cities such as Suzhou and Hangzhou the weavers, the boatmen and the dancing girls were not only part of the world of fashion but also profited from it. The urban environment of these cities – as observed by Clunas – antedates by more than a century Mandeville's view that private vice could generate public benefit.[349]

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341 Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 50-51.
342 Christopher Breward and David Gilbert, eds, *Fashion's World Cities* (Oxford: Berg 2006).
343 Finnane, 'Yangshou's "Modernity"', 400.
344 Finnane, 'Yangshou's "Modernity", 401.
345 Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, 221-222.
346 Helen C. Gunsaulus, *Japanese Textiles* (New York: The Japan Society, 1941), 21-22; Shively, 'Regulation and Status', 125.
347 Alan Kennedy, *Japanese Costume: History and Tradition* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1990), 11.
348 Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 44; Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, 210-237.
349 Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 146-147.

Figure 7.3. Woodblock diptych print, 'Women and girls cooling off on the waterfront at evening'. Japan, mid 1780s. Inscribed Torii Kiyonaga © Trustees of British Museum, Asia Deparment 1909,0618,0.31.

Cultures of Fashion

Towns and cities were not just places where fashionable commodities were bought and sold. They were also perfect settings in which fashionable behaviour could be enacted. Today we are well aware that fashion is not just the wearing of something unanimously considered fashionable, but also the act – I would say – of being as good as what you wear. Bourdieu talked about "fields" not just as social groups with similar ambitions, aims and social standing, but also as social formations based on voluntary participation.[350] If fashion undermined simple birth status as a category of social worth, it strengthened instead the capacity to form new alliances through artefacts, akin to today's youth subcultures sharing similar visual appearances.

Sinologist Tim Brook states that one of the criteria of fashion is that it operates on the principle of constant disappointment and failure.[351] And it was the role of the urban arena to provide the kind of cultural and social interaction that makes possible the production of rules by which some people are in and others are out of fashion. Juan de Viera commented in 1778 that 'It is marvellous to see [ladies] in [the] church and promenades' of Mexico City 'in such a fashion that one cannot tell which is the wife of a count, and which the wife of a tailor'.[352] The city, in this case a populous one in Colonial America, provides the very context in which one person's fashion is someone else's vulgarity.

The development of fashion as a way of presenting and representing society was not the prerogative of Europe. Printed texts, even more than printed images, acted as a way to convey not just the concerns over the nature and negative effects of fashion as seen in earlier passages, but also on how to be fashionable. This was done in China through novels, plays and handbooks with detailed descriptions of female clothing, some of which were written by women.[353] In Japan we observe the appearance of 'pattern books' (*hinagata bon*) in the late seventeenth century such as the 'Patterns' or 'Models' (*On-hiinakata)* the first printed book on *kosode* designs published in 1666-67. More than two hundred of these books were published in the following 150 years, providing a large sample of ready-made patterns that served to guide the consumer choices of customers and the production options of artisans.[354]

Fashion spread also through the display of textiles, clothing and modes of behaviour of a small but important 'fashion elite' that in Europe was defined as the *beau monde* or 'fashion leaders'.[355] To see

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[350] See in particular Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[351] Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, 218.

[352] Earle, '"Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!", 177.

[353] Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 59, Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 29-67.

[354] Amanda Mayer Stinchecum, *Kosode. 16th-19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection* (New York: Japan Society and Kodansha International, 1984), 51.

[355] See for the case of London: Hannah Greig, *The* Beau Monde*: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

them as the incarnation of capitalism would be incorrect: they might have been wealthy consumers, rich merchants and wealthy shopkeepers, but they were also courtesans, writers, bureaucrats, as well as servants and professionals in the world of fashion. Rose Bertin, Marie Antoinette's seamstress, or Léonard, the queen's hairdresser are often cited in European fashion history.[356] But similar positions as arbiters of taste and fashion were to be found for instance in Japan where Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716) advised women on matters of fashion. Famously he is credited with having dressed the ladies that he advised in black; this made all other ladies – dressed instead in bright colours – look garish.[357]

Some equated fashion to culture: the late sixteenth-century Ming intellectual Zhang Han, reporting on fashion in Suzhou, said that clothes were 'splendid, as if to be otherwise were to be without culture'.[358] The existence of Breward's notion of a 'culture of fashion' in different cultures – rather than how fashion contributed to culture – should be assessed.[359] Such cultures were urban and commercial in nature and were not limited to the extravagant luxury of courts. Japanese garments show an influence from the Nō Costume (the theatrical costume) but reveal the use of cheaper appliqué techniques when the complex design of the *katami-gawari* and the *dan-wagari* were translated into the *kosode*. This was cheaper and ready-made materials could be used, rather than spending considerable amounts of money especially for the purpose.[360] Similarly both literary and material sources show the use of fake layering. Edo female garments were constructed upon the layering of materials, making the overall attire not just heavy and cumbersome, but also expensive. An alternative was to create garments that showed only the rim of layers that were not actually underneath, a bit like present-day sweaters with a faux T-shirt underneath.

A final issue to be considered in the debates about fashion is technological innovation. European historiography has paid great attention to product innovation as well as process innovation. Maxine Berg, Helen Clifford, John Styles and Evelyn Welch, for instance, see product innovation as key to explaining some of the most important changes in early modern British and Continental European patterns of consumption.[361] Yet, there is substantial evidence to show that in the early modern period,

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[356] Michelle Sapori, *Rose Bertin: ministre des modes de Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Regard et Institut français de la mode, 2003).

[357] Kennedy, *Japanese Costume*, 19. Korin, born into a Kimono merchant's family, was a famous painter and founder of the Rinpa School. He also painted kimonoes on several occasions although his patterns only became popular after death. He advised a bureaucrats' lady to wear black with white backing all the time, and let her servant wear bright colours. This made a good contrast and also made competitors look garish. I thanks Miki Sugiura for this information.

[358] Craig Clunas, 'The Art of Social Climbing in Sixteenth-Century China', *Burlington Magazine* 133.1059 (1991), 370.

[359] Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[360] Noma, *Japanese Costume*, 117.

[361] Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, 'Commerce and the Commodity: Graphic Display and Selling New Consumer Goods in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. Michael North and David Ormrod (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 187-200; John Styles , 'Product Innovation in Early Modern London', *Past & Present* 168 (2000), 124-169; Evelyn Welch, ed., *Fashioning the Early Modern: Creativity and Innovation in Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford

and in particular in the eighteenth century, product innovation in textile production was not limited to Europe. In Japan, for instance, new techniques for stencilling textiles, a process named *Yuzen-zome*, is said to have made, according to one historian, 'a lively contribution to the costumes of the Edo period'.[362] Brands, like the 'Made by the Zhang Family' to be found on Chinese ceramic pillows, were not just a reassurance of quality, but implied a degree of consumer recognition for a product that was not simply another among the many. In a similar way the Yuzen fans, painted by Miyazaki Yuzen in early eighteenth-century Kyoto, were seen as the latest fashion.[363]

The World of Fashion and Sumptuary Laws

So far this chapter has raised two methodological issues. The first is the risk of creating a world of unexplained similarities: the early modern world was not uniform, it was not seamlessly connected, and there was no single definition of fashion. Second, histories of fashion tend to be positivistic in nature, chartering the increasing success of fashion and its eventual triumph in structuring modern societies. However, it is noticeable that at a global level the voices of opposition to fashion by its detractors are as strong as those of support by its practitioners. In the middle ages and the early modern period sumptuary laws were tools of opposition to fashion. Sumptuary regulations were enacted not just in Europe, but also in most parts of the world in an attempt to limit conspicuous consumption and to maintain a clear delineation of rank by matching it to precise sartorial categories.[364]

These measures attempted to avoid social climbing and competition through the medium of the most visible of all forms of consumption: clothing. If fashion was fluctuation, the laws could only remedy this situation by stating precise rules and by categorizing people according to their social status. The Ming 'Clothing and Headwear' law of 1587, for instance, set rules for the styles and materials of clothing in minute detail from the Ming Emperor to the courtier, down to the common men and women.[365] This late Ming law illustrates the fact that the legislators' concern was not limited to social climbing, but included the fear of 'social falling'. This law followed previous regulations, the so-called Jiajing's Reforms of 1528 whose rationale claimed that 'Recently clothing styles have been outlandish, with no distinction between superior and inferior, so that the people's proclivities are without

University Press, 2017),

[362] Noma, *Japanese Costume*, 155.

[363] Ishimura Hayao and Maruyama Nobuhiko, *Robes of Elegance: Japanese Kimonos of the 16th-20th Centuries* (Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1988), 7-8. On painted fans see also Quitman E. Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 44-45.

[364] The literature on sumptuary laws in Europe is vast. Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996) provides an excellent theoretical and historical overview. For a more recent engagement at a global level see Riello and Rublack, eds, *The Right to Dress*, esp. 'Introduction', 1-34.

[365] Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 47.

restraints'. Hence, the law stated that 'we have consulted the regulations on the ancient xuanduan, and changed its name to the "Loyal and Tranquil", alluding to "Thinking of utmost loyalty when entering, thinking of amending one's faults when retiring". We have made pictures to instruct on the styles and construction. Officials in the capital above the seventh rank, members of the Hanlin Academy, the Imperial Academy, officials in the Messenger's Office above the eighth rank ... are to wear it. Military officials of the rank of commissioner- in- chief or above may wear it. The others are prohibited from exceeding the regulations'.[366] And the problem was not just the fact that commoners wore the 'habits' of the rich, powerful and noble; there was also a general concern about the slippage that luxury was creating among the ruling classes. In Edo Japan, for instance, one could hear the complaint that 'not only the great warlords of today but warriors of every class are concerned with beauty, wearing colourfully woven and embroidered fine silks'.[367]

It has been argued that the existence of similar sumptuary measures in different parts of the world was due to a general change in consumer behaviour characterized by a disrespect of conventional rules or rank and the dismissal of rigid regulations over consumption. Arjun Appadurai observes how 'Sumptuary Laws constitute an intermediary consumption-regulation device, suited to societies devoted to stable status display in exploding commodity contexts, such as India, China and Europe in the pre-modern period'.[368] By suggesting that an 'exploding commodity context' did not just characterize early modern Europe, Appadurai puts forward the idea of a global framework for consumption in the period 1500 to 1800. Most historians would be critical of such a position, underlining instead the different socio-economic contexts of China, India and Europe.[369] Yet there are important shared features for sumptuary laws across areas as distant as Ming China, the Ottoman Empire, Edo Japan and early modern Europe.[370] Craig Clunas, for instance, observes that Ming sumptuary laws were 'structurally very similar to mechanisms operating in early modern Europe'.[371] Only rarely did the sumptuary laws of a state or empire inform similar legislation in other parts of the world. This is the case in colonial context such as Batavia and the Cape (both regulated by the Dutch East India Company's laws) or in North and Latin America where laws drawn from their respective empires were applied.[372]

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[366] Cit. in BuYun Chen, 'Wearing the Hat of Loyalty: Imperial Power and Dress Reform in Ming Dynasty China', in *The Right to Dress*, eds Riello and Rublack, 424-425.

[367] Kennedy, *Japanese Costume*, 17.

[368] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 25.

[369] See for instance Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *A History of Global Consumption, 1500-1800* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015).

[370] Shively, 'Regulation and Status'; Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*; Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption'; Madeleine C. Zilfi, 'Whose laws? Gendering the Ottoman sumptuary laws', in *Ottoman Costumes*, 125-142.

[371] Clunas, 'Art of Social Climbing', 370.

[372] Riello and Rublack, eds, *The Right to Dress*, esp. 'Introduction', 1-34 discusses the methodological implications of a comparative framework of analysis.On Batavia and the Cape see: Robert Ross,

Shared features should not lead us to think that sumptuary laws belonged to a similar category of legal acts, and that such legal acts responded to similar sartorial and consumer issues, across the early modern world. There are, as one might expect substantial differences in sumptuary laws. From a formal point of view, for instance, the European laws were rather moral (influenced by the Church) whilst the Chinese ones were more attentive to gestures and ceremonies (Figure 4). Japanese laws of the Edo period were rather minimal, when compared with the long, precise texts of European laws.[373] In contrast Chinese laws were even more detailed than the European ones.[374] Beyond their formal structure there were at least three major areas of difference: first, the remit of the law (who and what it included); second, the frequency with which they were re-issued or repeated over time; and finally the specific period in time when such measures were first enacted in different parts of the world. One can see patterns of similarity and difference that are valid not just for transcontinental comparisons but also for comparisons between cities in geographical proximity as in the case of the Italian city states.

What exactly fell under the remit of a sumptuary law is a problematic issue as they varied dramatically from place to place and time to time. Negley Harte, for instance, observed that English sumptuary laws always told people what they 'should not' wear and consume, rather than impose what they should (what technically might be called 'clothing laws'). They followed a model similar to that of Japan but not of many other places such as the Ottoman Empire and China.[375] In Latin America, for instance, sumptuary laws actively engaged with birth, rather than status as they targeted different ethnic groups. Rebecca Earle has shown how sumptuary laws, and similarly the visual representations of fashion and race of the casta paintings, became increasingly static and responded to what was seen as a social need as well as the curbing of conspicuous consumption.[376] In the Ottoman Empire sumptuary laws were enacted well into the nineteenth century but assumed a different function from previous laws as they were used by Mahmud II to reform dress by forcing civil servants to wear the fez. In this case the law was exercised not to stop, but to force change as part of a process that we call 'westernisation'.[377]

'Sumptuary Laws in Europe, the Netherlands and the Dutch Colonies', in *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, ed. Nigel Worden (Cape Town: Rondebosch , 2007), 382-390; Stan Du Plessis, '"Pearls worth Rds4000 or less": Reinterpreting Eighteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws at the Cape', *ERSA Working Paper* 336 (2013); and Adam Clulow, '"Splendour and Magnificence": Diplomacy and Sumptuary Codes in Early Modern Batavia', in *The Right to Dress*, 299-323.

373 Cfr. the European laws as for instance in Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender and History* 19.1 (2007), 22-42 with Shively, 'Regulation and Status'.

374 Clunas, 'Art of Social Climbing'; Clunas, *Superfluous Things.*

375 Negley B. Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England', in *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. D. C. Coleman and A. H. John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 132-165.

376 Earle, 'Race, Clothing and Identity'

377 This is why Quataert prefers to call them 'clothing laws'. See Quataert, 'Clothing laws' and Sarah Fee's chapter in this book.

Figure 7.4. Illustrated manuscript, 'A winter court robe worn by the Emperor'. Produced in Beijing, 1736-1795. Ink and colour on silk Victorian and Albert Museum, 818-1896.

A second problem is the profound differences in how laws were updated in different parts of the world. Whilst it has been claimed that in Europe sumptuary laws could be read as a catalogue of what was fashionable and desirable, this is not the case in China where they remained unchanged.[378] However, one should not see this as a feature of a society in which fashion did not exist. Craig Clunas argues instead that 'the Chinese empire under the late Ming appears more like the "modern" Netherlands than it does like the great land empire of the Spanish Habsburg'.[379] Fossilization should therefore be interpreted as a defeat of any attempt to control fashion as was the case in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.[380] Japanese sumptuary laws followed instead a more pragmatic line. The 1688 law, for instance, observed how 'Embroidery has been prohibited in women's clothing. Its use has become common, however' and established that 'hereafter embroidered robes may be bought and sold if they are not especially sumptuous'. The target of prohibition was moved and the

[378] Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption', 43 and 45.
[379] Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption', 45.
[380] Unlike China, attempts at introducing sumptuary laws in the Dutch Republic failed. See Isis Sturtewagen and Bruno Blondé, 'Playing by the Rules? Dressing without Sumptuary Laws in the Low Countries from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century', in *The Right to Dress*, 74-75.

new law prohibited only 'magnificent embroidery'.[381] The Japanese case, similar to the European one, updated the law but instead of reinforcing bans and prohibitions, simply acknowledged the changed circumstances.[382]

A final complication in the interpretation of sumptuary laws is the fact that they were issued at different times. Alan Hunt and Catherine Kovesi observe slight differences in the chronologies of different European states but admit that the phenomenon had a certain degree of unity between 1200 and 1700.[383] In Latin America, however, sumptuary regulations were first enacted in 1628 and became popular in the eighteenth century at a time in which they were on the wane in Iberia.[384] Sumptuary laws became common in Japan in the seventeenth century and in the Ottoman Empire they remained widely in use throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The meaning of these differences, as well as similarities is difficult to appreciate. Does it mean that fashion was present in different parts of the world, but at different times? Are we talking about similar processes and phenomena? And are we giving too much weight to specific concepts and historical interpretations taken from European history?

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that in the early modern period 'instances' of fashion were present in places as different as Japan, the rich cities of China and Latin America, as well as Europe. This is not surprising. Recent scholarship has unearthed sufficient evidence to argue that fashion was not just a 'passing fad' but integral to different world cultures as argued by Carlo Marco Belfanti.[385] Yet we are left with two open issues. First, why do we still think that fashion appeared only in medieval and early modern Europe, and 'nowhere else'? And secondly, what were the processes, forces and dynamics that explain fashion across the globe?

A reply to the first question has been given by considering Eurocentric views in which fashion was equated with change. Fashion was in this case taken to be integral to a 'modern' process of development that characterized Europe and Europe alone. In this paper I have repeatedly argued against taking such a narrow explanation of change as the yardstick through which to judge what we

[381] Kennedy, *Japanese Costume*, 18.
[382] See Hirano, 'Regulating Excess'.
[383] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*; Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[384] Earle, '"Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!!"', 178-179; Id., 'Race, Clothing and Identity', 325-326
[385] Belfanti, 'Was Fashion a European Invention?'.

might call an 'efflorescence' of fashion in different parts of the world.[386] By adopting instead a multi-dimensional definition of fashion, this chapter highlights the dynamic forces that shaped fashion in different areas of the world. Rather than seeing fashion as one process, this paper has adopted different definitions to show how the 'fashion world' in the period c. 1500-1800 was formed in different areas, mostly urban, dominated by some shared features (for instance imitation; the role of merchants; the importance of courts), a certain degree of interaction (trade and encounters with other cultures), but also distinctive characteristics (specific socio-economic contexts, and hierarchical structures). The latter point is important because, as Karen Tranberg Hansen reminds us, we should appreciate the subjective and experiential experiences of dress, something still difficult to access in non-European contexts.[387]

The comparative methodology is skewed towards Europe as the continent still provides the most extensive historical evidence and has long provided the research and conceptual toolbox for the analysis of fashion. The adoption of a reciprocal comparative method is not yet possible and entails a great deal of research for all the major extra-European empires and countries.[388] One might conclude that there was no global process called fashion in the early modern world, but that fashion was present in all 'four parts of the world'. Although instances of the conquering force of European fashion were already present in 1500, their consequences were not visible before the end of the early modern period. The world-wide adoption of Western attire as the result of colonial domination or as the acceptance of the 'modernity' of European life, became an integral features of global fashion only from the end of the eighteenth century.[389] And later in the twentieth century western (this time American) leisurewear secured markets, imposed lifestyles and profited not just from global consumption, but also global production.[390]

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[386] On the concept of 'efflorescence' see: Jack A. Goldstone, 'Efflorescences and Economic Growth in World History: Rethinking the "Rise of the West" and the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of World History* 13.2 (2002), 323–389.

[387] Tranberg Hansen, 'World in Dress', 372-373.

[388] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Roy Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997). This is an approach that I am currently developing for the analysis of silk in a joint project with Dagmar Schäfer.

[389] Wilbur Zelinsky, 'Globalization Reconsidered: The Historical Geography of Modern Western Male Attire' *Journal of Cultural Geography* 22.1 (2004), 83-134; Ross, *Clothing: A Global History*.

[390] Gregory Votolato, *American Design in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Regina Lee Blaszczyk, ed., *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); and Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Ben Wubs, eds, *The Fashion Forecasters: A Hidden History of Color and Trend Prediction* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

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Part II

Nineteenth Century Russia and Early Twentieth century Japan: Encounters and Transformations in Cloth/Clothing Diffusions

8.

The Russian Fur Trade and the Global market. Kyahkta trade and European exports in the 19th century

Takako Morinaga

Introduction

The fur trade, particularly sable and squirrel, has been an important source of Russian national revenue since ancient times. For example, fur was the principal export of the Novgorod Republic, which prospered in trade with the Hanseatic League. During the 13th century, when Rus' lands were put under the control of Mongol khanates by the Tatar yoke (or *Tatarskoe igo*), the Tatar yoke paid the khans in fur levied on Rus' citizens or peasants as *yasak* (meaning "tribute" in Turkic languages). When Yermak's band, who had received economic aid from the Stroganovs in the early 1580s, defeated the Khanate of Sibir' under Grand Prince Ivan IV of Muscovy, the Cossacks imposed a tribute of fur, which they called "yasak," on indigenous people under their control to be paid to the Tsar.

The Russian "conquest of Siberia" led to the merging of new fur-animal habitats as an alternative to the European Russia region, which was becoming steadily depleted of furs and indigenous people paying yasak. The cold climes of Russia were abundant with furs richer in color and higher in quality than those in Western Europe and the Middle East. Despite this, even in Russia furs were a luxury, used mainly for clothing for the wealthy and aristocracy. Furthermore, with the legal rights of the merchant class established in the 18th century and a majority of Russian serfs, the wealthy class in Russia was limited to landed aristocracy and some wealthy merchants, so sales of luxury furs were limited. Leather goods such as sheepskin were the main traditional form of protection from the cold for Russian peasants, so Russian princes and the Tsar needed an export market for furs as a source of national revenue.

Let's take a look at the relationship between Russian dress and furs from the perspective of 17th century customs. Both of the works in Figure 8.1 and 8.2, painted by 19th century Russian painters, depict the typical dress of 17th century Russian aristocracy and wealthy merchants. Among the furs and sheep-skin coats, called *shuba*, worn during the Russian winter, the upper class and especially the wealthy class preferred those made of sable. Poor people such as farmers wore simple coats called

kozhukhi, which were made with wool on the inside and leather on the outside.[391] Popular *shuba* did not undergo any major changes until the 19th century, while in the 18th century, people would come to wear crude homemade broadcloth coats as well. For example, the peasant depicted in the painting on the Figure 8.3. is wearing a typical Russian coat for daily use.

Fig.8.1. (Left) K. E. Makovskii, "Boyarynya (Russian Aristocrat Woman) by the Window", 1885;
Fig.8.2. (Right) A. P. Ryabushinskii, "Merchant Family in the 17th Century", 1896.

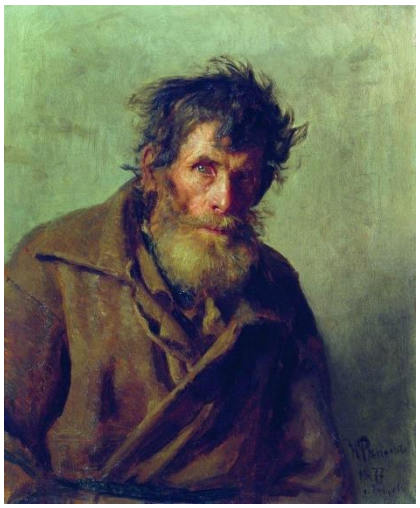

Fig.8.3 I. E. Repin, *A Shy Peasant*, 1877. Portrait of a Kharkov peasant

Prior to the 17th century, the principal export market for Russian furs was Europe. Russian furs were exported to Europe by land through Poland and surrounding areas. Particularly after the 12th century, within the trade network of the Hanseatic League, which covered a wide area from the

[391] V.A. Lipinskaya (ed.), *Russkaya narodnaya odezhda. Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki*, M., 2011, pp. 32–33.

Novgorod Republic to London, Russian furs such as sable and squirrel were sent by German merchants to the Livonian towns Lubeck and Danzig, and taken from there to places all over Europe.[392] However, a ship with Richard Chancellor aboard which departed London for the East along with a British envoy to explore Cathay (thought to be the land of the "Yuan" introduced by Marco Polo) drifted ashore in a northern Russian fishing town along the White Sea in 1553. Upon returning to England with a charter from Ivan the Terrible to conduct trade between Russia and England, the Muscovy Company was established by London merchants and the Arkhangel'sk trade began via the White Sea (trade first began in Kholmogory[393]). Dutch merchants soon entered the market, and Russian furs came to be exported by sea. Up until this time, Russian exports of primary products included fur, leather, hemp rope, and lye. On the other hand, even though no statistical data remains, diplomats from that period have affirmed that in the 17th century furs were transported to Moscow from Kazan and Astrakhan,[394] and that caravans from the Persian Empire, Russia's biggest trade partner in Asia, visited the Moscow court to trade Persian raw silk, silk yarn, and fur. Greek merchants mediated transport of furs from the Russian treasury to the Ottoman Empire.[395]

With only fragmentary statistics on fur exports remaining, we know hardly anything about overall trade with Asia. American researcher R. H. Fisher once used fragmentary historical documents to calculate Russian state revenue from furs in the 17th century based on prices in rubles (see Graph 1.)

At the time, most of the fur that contributed to Russian state revenue was received from cities in the Volga Basin such as Astrakhan and the Yasachnye Lyudi (a non-Russian indigenous people who were levied a tribute). While so required by Kazan Prikaz court[396] officials, a *tseloval'nik* (kisser, or sworn man), chosen by wealthy merchants, served as aide. Furthermore, the 10 percent collected from Russian fur traders was a major additional source of fur income. As discussed above, state furs were also sent as gifts to neighboring countries and sold off to pay for products brought in by Greek

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[392] J. Martin, *Treasure of the land of darkness. the fur trade and its significance for medieval Russia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney. 1986, pp. 61–85; S. Nishimura, *Kegawa to Ningen no Rekishi (Fur in Mankind History)*, Kinokuniya shoten, 2003, pp. 131–143.

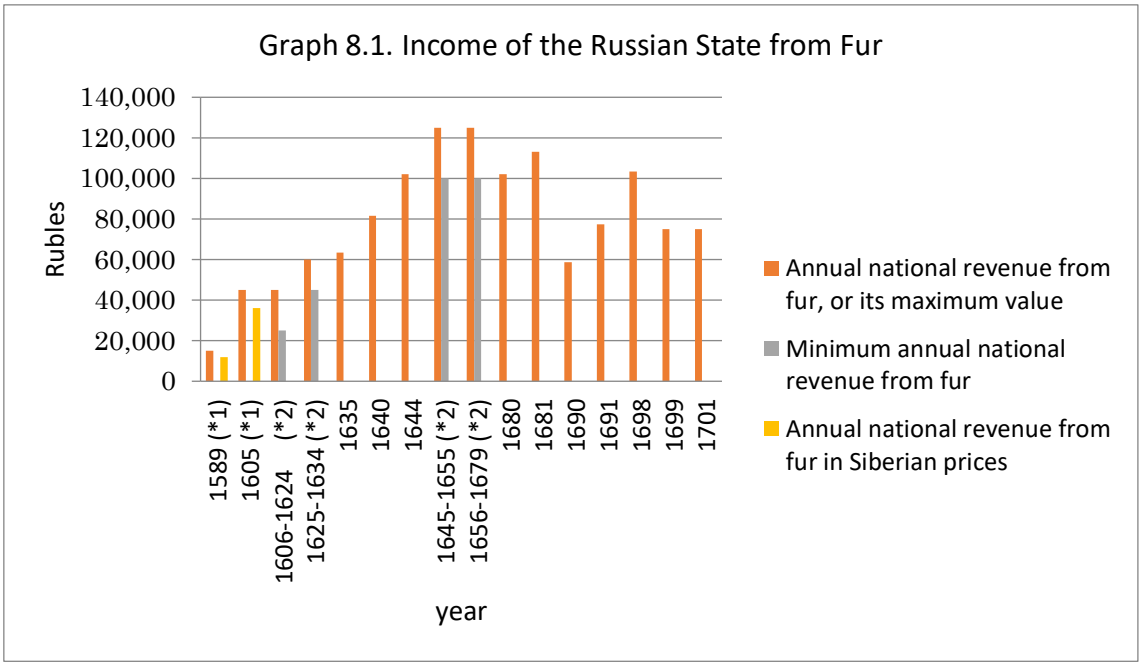
[393] C. F. Ogorodnikov, *Ocherki istorii goroda Arkhangel'ska v torgogo-promyshlennom otnoshenii*. SPb., 1890, pp. 39–46 (reprinted by «Books on demand», M., 2012).

[394] After the Kipchak Khanate split apart, separate khanates were formed but merged with Russia in the 16th century. Kazan and Astrakhan prospered in the fur trade, using water transport to conduct trade with the Persian Empire via the Caspian Sea and Volga River.

[395] E.Matsuki (translate and ed.), 『ピョートル前夜のロシア：亡命ロシア外交官コトシーヒンの手記』（*Russia on the Eve of Pyotor I*）, Sairyusya, 2003, pp. 248－250. (Translated from texts: A.E. Pennington, ed. *Grigorij Kotosixin, O Rossii v carstvovanie Alekseja Mikhailovica. Text and Comentary*, Oxford, 1980; A. Barsukov, ed. *O Rossii v tsartvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha, sochinenie Grigori'a Kotoshikhina*, 4th ed., St. Petersburg, 1906)

[396] After Ivan the Terrible annexed the Kazan, Astrakhan, and Sibir Khanates, the Kazan Prikaz continued to exist until the 18th century as a government body established in the 16th century to govern the region. However, the former Sibil Khanate and Astrakhan Khanate regions were transferred to the Ambassadorial Prikaz, so the Kazan Prikaz assumed responsibility for collecting yasak from the former Kazan Khanate region.

merchants, who were international middlemen.[397] In short, they were exported. In 1666, Russian diplomat Grigorii Kotoshikhin went into exile in Sweden, during which time the monetary amount of furs sent from the Siberian Prikaz[398] to the Russian government through the Kazan Prikaz exceeded 600,000 rubles a year, attesting to court and diplomatic protocol at the time.[399] However, as Fisher's data show, recent studies negate Kotoshikhin's numbers as an over-estimate.

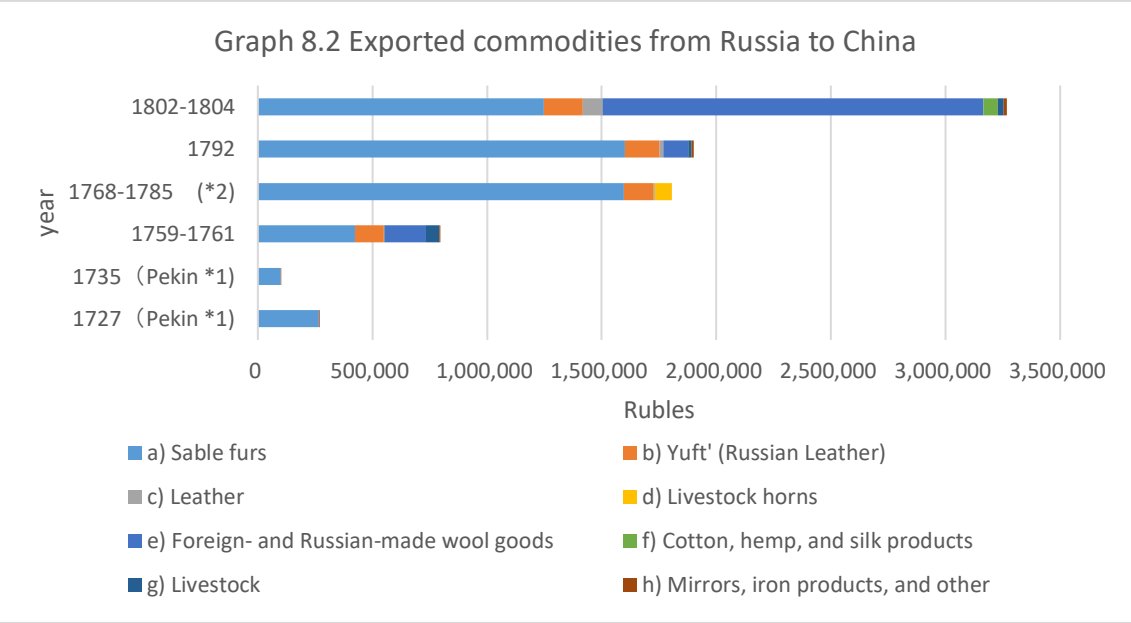


Source: produced from R. H. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade: 1550-1700*, University of California, 1943, p. 114.
*1) Both Moscow and Siberian data for 1589 and 1605 are in both Moscow and Siberian prices
*2) indicates minimum and maximum annual fur revenue.

Russian princes took the lead in Russian fur exports throughout the Middle Ages, while after that it was the Moscow court that drove the centralization of power. However, disturbances of war such as the Anglo–Dutch Wars, which broke out in the 17th century, impeded Russian exports to Europe. Russian fur exports suffered trade instability setbacks due to changing preferences for clothing and declining European demand for fur. As a result, the Russian government looked to China as a new market for fur exports. The Manchu (Qing) aristocracy particularly prized sable fur. A study on trade in Kyakhta published at the end of the 19th century points out that transporting furs from Siberia to

[397] E.Matsuki (translate and ed.), 『ピョートル前夜のロシア：亡命ロシア外交官コトシーヒンの手記』(*Russia on the Eve of Pyotor I*), pp. 164–169.
[398] In 1637, the Siberian Prikaz assumed the role of governing the 17th century Russia's Siberian colony as a government body separate and independent of the Kazan Prikaz.
[399] E.Matsuki (translate and ed.), 『ピョートル前夜のロシア：亡命ロシア外交官コトシーヒンの手記』(*Russia on the Eve of Pyotor I*), p. 167.

Moscow was extremely difficult during the 17th century, so the Russian government turned to China as a more profitable sales route.[400] Russians, particularly the Cossacks, had already infiltrated and settled in the Amur River basin by the late 1600s and had begun levying a fur tax (*yasak*) on the native Han Chinese and Mongolians in the 1660s from their fortress in Albazin (*Yaksa* in Manchurian).[401] Due to this, Gangtimur and residents of the Amur River basin broke away from the Qing Dynasty and escaped to return to Russia. The cumulative effect of these events resulted in the Albazin War (1683–1689) between Russia and the Qing.



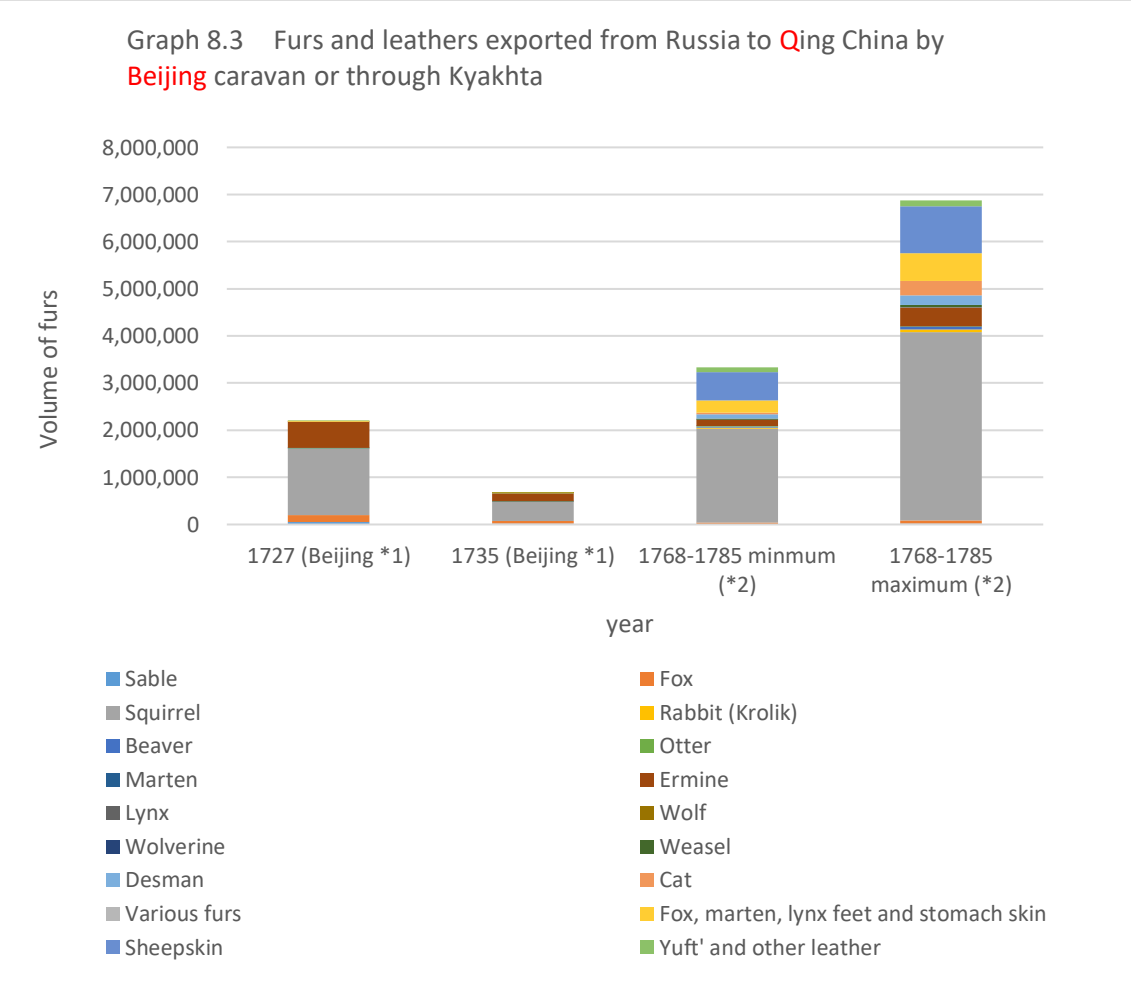
Source: X. Trusevich, *Posol'skiya i torgovyya snosheniya Rossii s Kitaem (do XIX v.)*, M., 1882, S.272-275; *1) exports from Kyakhta after 1759; *2) e), f), and h) during this period are recorded in volume rather than prices in rubles. e) is 58,100–108,400 arshin (1 arshin = 71 cm), f) is 3,000–15,000 arshin, and h) is 1,000–1,500 iron bands or 2,000–3,000 iron products. However, exports of e) during this period consist of Russian-made normal and crude broadcloth, the assessed value of which is estimated at 3 to 6 times higher than in 1792 (17,989 arshin, 5,478 rubles). Furthermore, the export value of f) and h) is presumed to be low.

Seventeenth century Qing–Russian relations were constantly unstable due to security issues. The Qing government was particularly concerned about a military invasion by the Russian Cossacks, to the extent that the Qing government did not immediately accept a proposed Russian treaty of commerce. However, Qing–Russian trade, particularly fur trade, developed following the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). While Russia initially conducted trade with Beijing in the form of tributary trading with Qing China, eventually private transactions surpassed the government-led fur trade. A Qing–Russian free trade center was set up with the Treaty of Kyakhta (1727), while fur exports further accelerated through private merchants. At first, the issuance of a decree (*ukaz*) in 1752 prohibited

[400] *Kratkii ocherk vozniknoveniya, razvitiya i tepereschnyago sostoyaniya nashikh torgovykh s Kitaem snoshenii cherez Kyakhtu*. M., 1896. p. 6.

[401] K. Yoshida,『ロシアの東方進出とネルチンスク条約』 *(The Russian Advance to the East and the Treaty of Nerchinsk)*, Toyo Bunko, 1984, pp. 96–102.

Russian merchants from selling furs to Chinese merchants in Kyakhta. However, in 1762 Ekaterina II officially abolished the Beijing trade, repealing measures that prohibited fur exports in Kyakhta and stipulated that transactions could be done freely by paying customs duties.[402] This allowed Russian merchants to smuggle fur into China. After lifting the ban on fur exports to Kyakhta, the value of the Russian fur trade at its height accounted for upwards of 90 percent of Kyakhta's entire trade. According to data from Trusevich of total annual exports between 1768 and 1785, at its height 7,099,060 furs were annually exported to Qing China. This was more than ten times higher than the 536,422 furs (1784) exported from St. Petersburg during the same period.[403]



Source: X. Trusevich, *Op. cit.*, pp. 272–275; *1) fur traded in Beijing; *2) as data for 1768–1785 includes both the maximum and minimum export volumes for each fur product, we estimated cumulative data for minimum volumes and cumulative data for maximum volumes

We can then comparatively analyze 18th century Russian fur exports using Trusevich's data. We see

[402] A. Korsak, *Istoriko-statisticheskoe obozrenie torgovykh snoshenii Rossii s Kitaem*, Kazan', 1857, pp. 40–42; K. Yoshida,「ロシアと清の貿易について」 (About Russo-Chinese trade), *Toyogakuho*, No. 45–4, 1963, p. 46.

[403] X. Trusevich, *Posol'skiya i torgovyya snosheniya Rossii s Kitaem (do XIX veka)*, M., 1882, pp. 272–277.

from Graph 8.2, which provides a broad breakdown of 18th century Russia's exports to China, that there are few industrial products as fur dominates a large percentage of total exports. However, in the beginning of the 19th century, both foreign-made and Russian-made broadcloth exports rise significantly, supplanting fur exports as the main export.

Meanwhile, we can get a broad overview of Russian export volume by fur product during this period by comparing them between Kyakhta, Arkhangelsk, and St. Petersburg. As shown in Graph 8.3, fur export volume to Qing China in the 18th century was greater in 1768–1785, when fur shifted to Kyakhta exports, than in 1727 and 1735 when Beijing trade took place. However, the number of various types of fur acquired every year fluctuates, so this is only an approximation. Adding the maximum values from 1768 to 1785, fur export volume is around 6.9 million furs, while the total minimum values rise to over 3.3 million. The most heavily exported item was always squirrel, but based on export value, beaver ("bobry" (beaver) as listed in 18th century Russian historical records, also includes kamchatka beaver from the North Pacific, or sea otter) was the highest at 338,000 rubles, followed by squirrel (150,000 rubles), Russian yuft'[404] (130,000 rubles), fox (122,800 rubles), ermine (108,000 rubles), and sable (89,000 rubles)[405]. While the export volume of sable is low, the unit cost was higher than beaver as sable was depleted during this period, and therefore the comparative export volume is high. According to Trusevich's explanation, although good quality sable was taken to Europe and Russia and exported to Islamic countries like the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and Arabia, low quality sable was exported to China, where tea was consequently re-exported to Russia after being dyed black and counterfeited as "good quality sable fur."[406]

Now let's take a look at fur export volume in Arkhangelsk and St. Petersburg. Arkhangelsk fur exports were about 550,000 in 1653 before the opening of the St. Petersburg port, but they fell off dramatically in the 18th century (Graph 8.5). While even here squirrel accounts for an overwhelming share of export volume, the scale is considerably smaller than in Kyakhta.

The center of Russian exports to Europe during the 18th century was in St. Petersburg, so furs were exported from there (Graph 8.6). In 1782 and 1786–87, as some furs were calculated by weight, measured in pood, rather than by volume, they are not reflected in Graph 8.6. However, during 1785–1792, when the Kyakhta trade essentially came to a halt, there was a remarkable increase in St. Petersburg fur exports, prompting massive exports of sable, fox, and wolverine tail.[407] While the fur

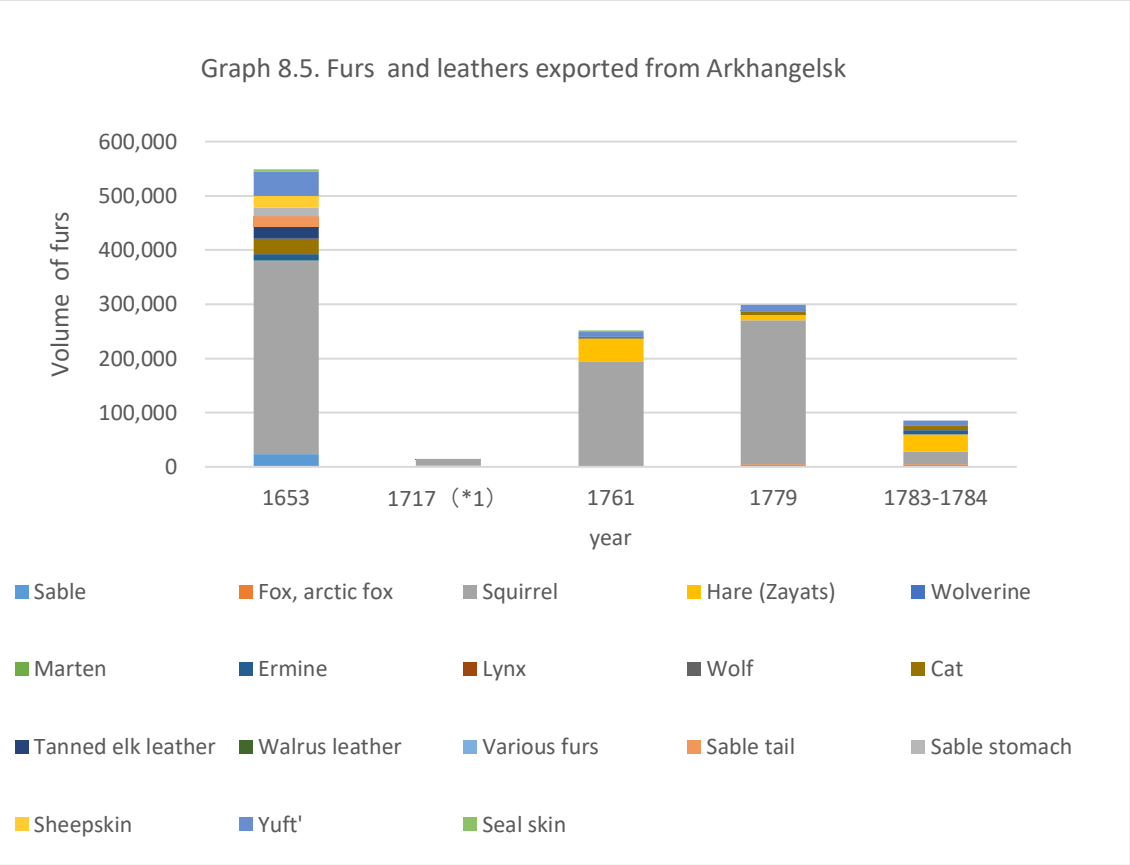
[404] Yuft' refers to tanned leather processed from horned animal skins in Russia. While going by the name of yuft' in Russia, it was called Russian leather, traded as the main Russian product of the Muscovy Company, established in London in 1555 due to the the quality of its yuft'.

[405] X. Trusevich, *Ibid.*

[406] X. Trusevich, *Op. cit.,* p. 183.

[407] According to a Qing notice rooted in an incident in which Mongolian indigenous people and criminals fled from Qing China within the Russian Empire, the Kyakhta trade was frequently stopped. The longer periods during which it was halted on an annual basis were 1762–1768, 1778–1780, and 1785–1792.

trade to Europe increased in 1785–1792, people from that age point out that furs were exported to the Ottoman Empire via Hamburg.[408] However, public data on this is, unfortunately, nil. What's more, even the period of increased trade in St. Petersburg and Arkhangelsk fell woefully short of the volume of furs exported from Kyakhta. What is interesting is that although there was minimal squirrel—which accounted for a high percentage of Kyakhta and Arkhangelsk exports—among St. Petersburg exports and little hare in Kyakhta exports, hare exports were extremely abundant among St. Petersburg exports. This shows that Russian squirrel exports depended on China and hare exports depended on Europe. Meanwhile, in northeast Asia, fox had long been favored by Chinese; in particular, arctic fox was popular as a material for cushions.[409]



Source: X. Trusevich, *Op. cit.*, pp. 276－277; *1) denotes only state exports. During the Great Northern War (1700–1721), Arkhangelsk exports did not decline until this point likely due to the difficulty of exporting from St. Petersburg.

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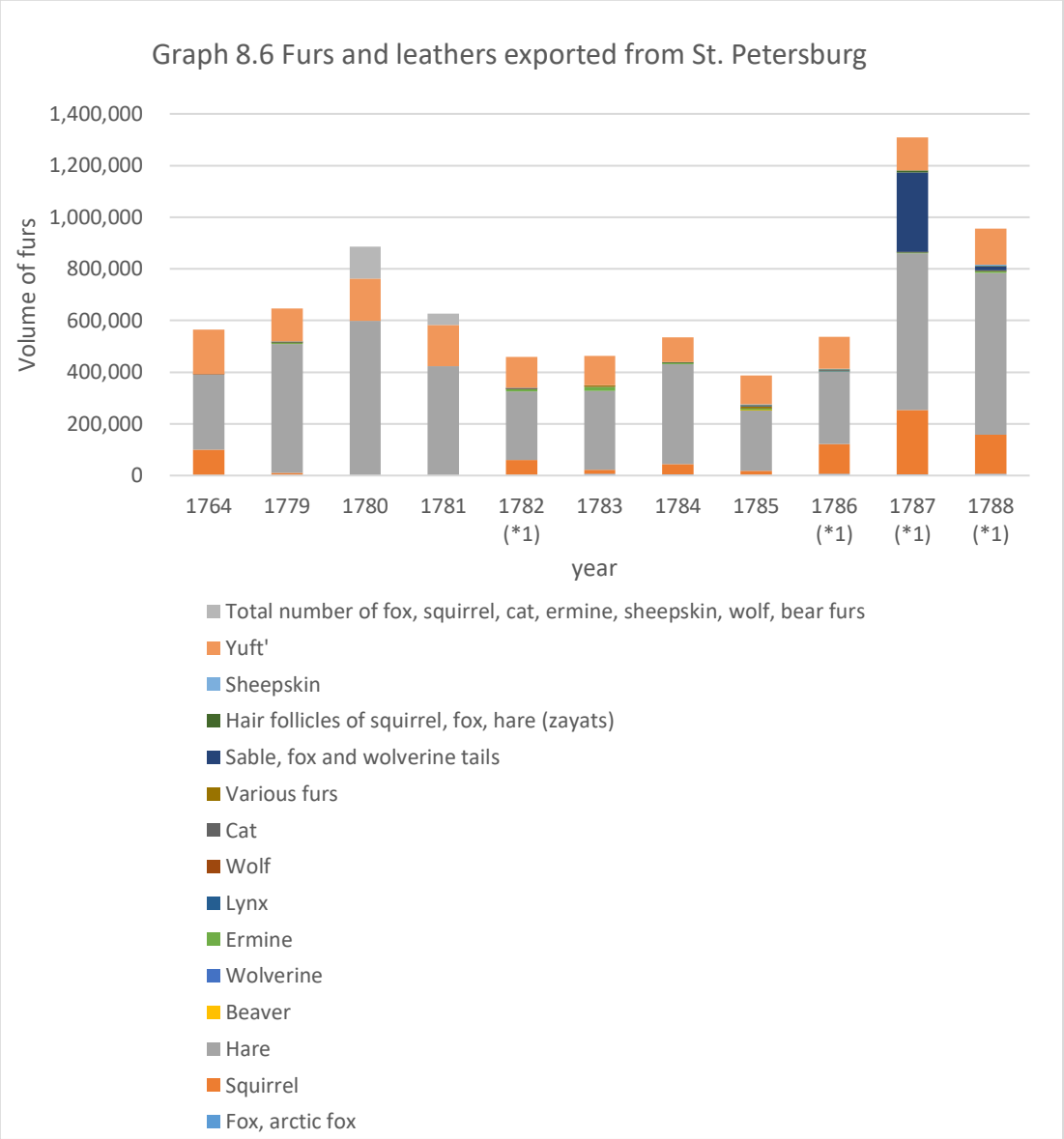
[408] A.N. Radishchev, 'Pis'mo o kitaiskom torge (1792)', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii A.N. Radishcheva, T.II,* M., 1907, C.56. A. N. Radishchev (1749–1802) was banished to Ilimsk, eastern Siberia on the order of Ekaterina II for criticizing serfdom in his work *Puteshestvie iz Peterburga v Moskvu*, (SPb.,1790). Also serving as director of the St. Petersburg Customs House, Radishchev's information and analysis of the China trade has many implications even today. For an analysis of the Kyakhta trade stoppages and fluctuations in the Russian fur trade, see T. Morinaga, Ekaterina 2seiki ni okeru Kyahta boueki chuudan to Roshia kegawa boueki, *Socio-Economic History (Shakai-keizaishigaku),* Vol.71, No.1, May 2005, pp. 25–47.

[409] X. Trusevich, *Op. cit*., p. 244.



Source: X. Trusevich, *Op. cit.*, pp.276–277; *1) these are recorded as 5,008 bags of squirrel tail in 1782, there was 926 pood of wolverine in 1786, 144 pood in 1787, and 12 bags in 1788, so they are not reflected in the Graph.

From the analyses in Graphes 8.4, 8.5, and 8.6, we see that Kyakhta was an overwhelmingly popular trade route for Russian fur exports in the late 18th century. What's more, according to A. Kahan, who estimated statistics on 18th century Russian trade, principal export items were hemp, flax, cereal, hides, wood, iron, and linen, among which hides accounted for 7.5% in 1769 and 6.8% in 1793–1795.[410] Eighteenth century Russia promoted exports while rapidly growing as a fiscal–military state, exports of hemp, iron, and cereal grew rise rapidly, prompting a gradual decline in the relative importance of

[410] A. Kahan, *The Plow, the Hammer and the Knout: an economic history of eighteenth-century Russia*, Chicago and London, 1985, p. 168.

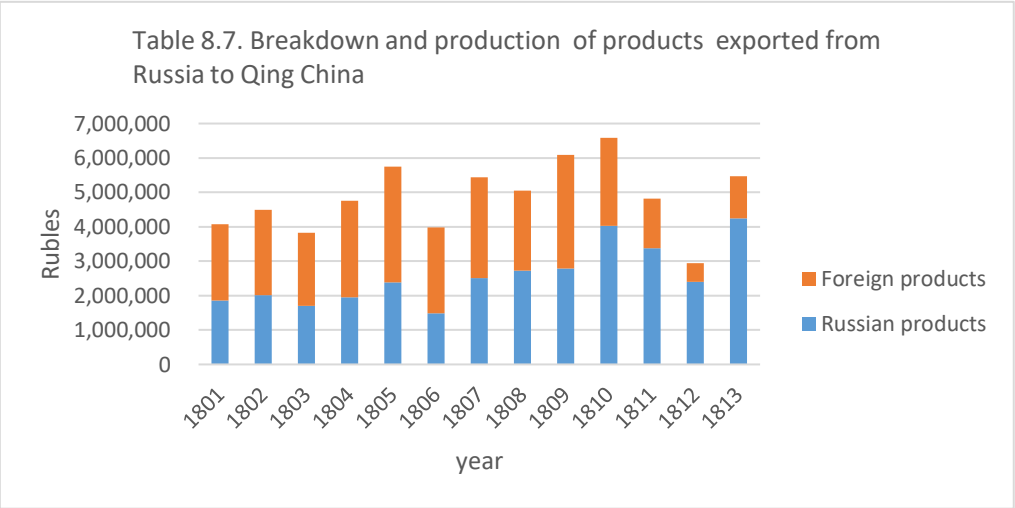
fur exports. Meanwhile, Russian merchants purchased cotton textiles such as *kitaika* from Chinese merchants, which were used by Russian inhabitants in sparsely populated Siberia. In this way, Kyakhta trade in the late 1700s was virtually "trade for the purpose of Russia selling fur to the Qing Dynasty," the volume of which far exceeded that going to Europe and to Asia.

Here, a number of questions arise. First is the problem of (1) why the fur trade in Kyakhta that flourished in the 1700s steadily dropped off through the mid-1800s. The prosperity of the Kyakhta trade attracted settlers from northern Russia (e.g., Arkhangelsk, Solvychegodsk, and Ustyug) to eastern Siberia, producing successful entrepreneurs like Grigorii Shelikhov from the ranks of enterprising fur traders. Consequently, the Russian–American Company, chartered by the Russian government, was born in 1799, establishing Russian control of the northwest American coast. However, with rising expenses for maintaining its American colony, the Russian–American Company faced a number of financial crises. At the same time, the Russian–American Company was not the only one involved in the Kyakhta fur trade; they competed with groups of Siberian merchants mainly from Irkutsk and European Russian merchants led by merchants from Moscow. In other words, (2) despite the Russian–American Company apparently profiting from fur exports though its monopolization of the Alaskan fur trade, why did it not compare favorably with Siberian and Moscow merchants in terms of volume? (3) When and how did the shift in Russian exports from fur to cotton textiles occur? (4) After the decline in fur exports from Kyakhta, how did the position of Russian fur change in the market? While many previous studies have already attempted to analyze these issues, in this study we will compare and reexamine these issues based on more detailed data and historical archives.

Fur exports from Russia in the Kyakhta trade in the 19th century

Much of the data on the Kyakhta trade in the mid-1800s is fragmentary, but an enormous volume of documents remains housed in Russian archival libraries in the form of personal financial documents, Kyakhta customs records, Ministry of Finance reports, and Department of Commerce and Manufacturing reports.[411] Fur products exported from Russia to Qing China were nearly fixed, consisting mainly of sable, squirrel, otter, beaver, rabbit, fox, arctic fox, ermine, wolverine, earless seal, and fur seal, and the tails and limbs of these various animals. Verifying the export volume, price valuation, and quality of these fur products would require a detailed examination of archival materials, but it is possible to get a broad idea of overall export trends from statistical studies published during that century. Graph 8.7 shows the value of exports from Russia to Qing China from 1801 to 1813 as published in a study by A. Korsak.

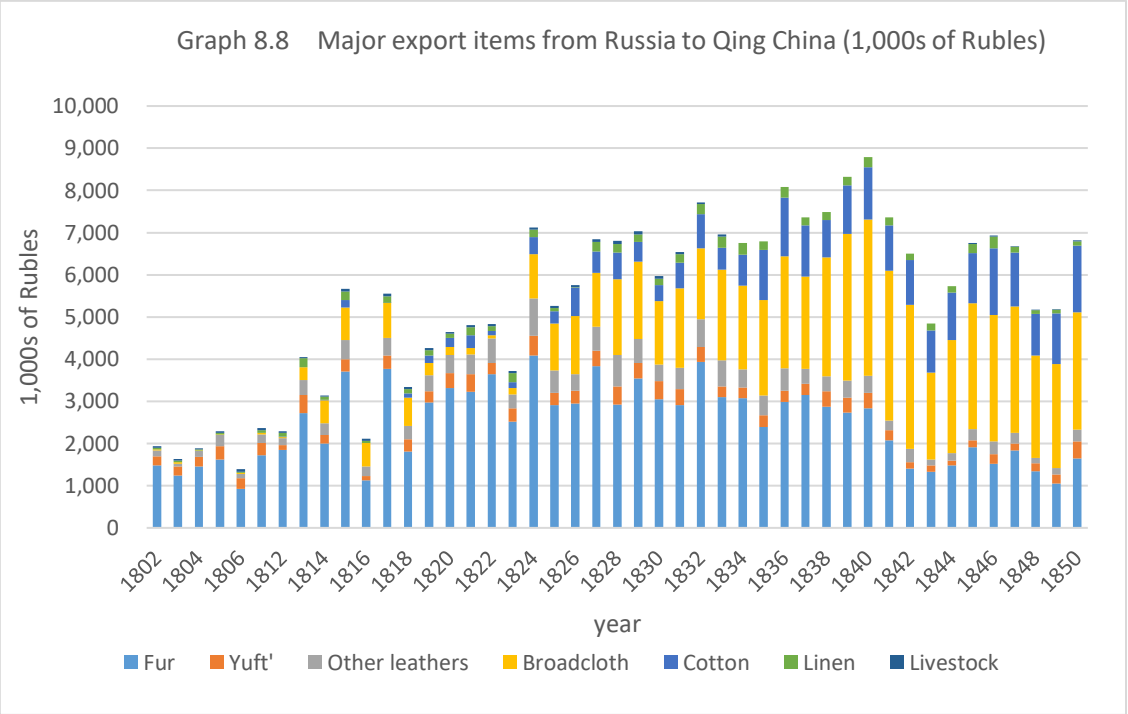
[411] For example, the Basnin and Yudin documents in RGADA, Botkin documents in OPI GIM, and Ministry of Finance and Department of Commerce and Manufacturing records from the Russian State Historical Archives, etc.



Souce: A. Korsak, *Istoriko-statisticheskoe obozrenie torgovykh snoshenii Rossii s Kitaem*, Kazan', 1857, p. 105.

From this Graph we see that the percentages of Russian and foreign exports to China during this period are similar, with Russian products tending to be slightly less. Payment in the Kyakhta trade, which was based on bartering, operated based on a rule of exchanging equivalent Chinese products of the exact same value as that of the product exchanged by Russian merchants. Therefore, the value of Russian exports shown in Graph 8.7 is equivalent to the value of imports from Qing China. The value of foreign products began to decline in 1810, dramatically declined in 1812, and then slightly increased in 1813. This of course was influenced by Napoleon's invasion of Moscow. In early 1812, Russian merchants from Kronshtadt, St. Petersburg, and Moscow engaged in trade with foreign guests of honor, but with rumors of war already in the air, products loaded onto over one hundred foreign (mainly British) merchant ships that visited Kronshtadt in June had no prospect of trade. A letter from a Russian–American Company clerk familiar with the situation described a terrible fall in the prices of foreign products from German merchants. After that, merchants in the company's Moscow office evacuated for St. Petersburg.[412] Considering the reality of engaging in the Kyakhta trade, the impact of war on many Moscow merchants could not have been small. However, Graph 8.7 shows that its impact on the Kyakhta trade apparently did not last long. In 1813, the year after the war, the Kyakhta trade rose once again. This is because while the decrease in exports of foreign products in order to facilitate intermediary exports to China brought about a sharp drop in Kyakhta exports overall, exports of Russian products (in other words, furs and leather) remained steady and the Baltic Sea trade recovered upon the withdrawal of the French military, leading to a recovery of the Kyakhta trade. The Russian government has published data on major Russian exports from 1814 to 1850 (Graph 8.8) and data that includes the total value of exports after 1850 (Graph 8.9).

[412] RGADA. F. 1605. Op. 1. D. 260. Pis'ma Savateeva Petra Buldakovu Mikhailu Matveevichu. (12 April-18 June 1812). ll. 3–7; D. 268. Pis'ma Shelikhova Ivana [Semenovich] k Buldakovu Mikhailu Matveevichu. (19 February – 21 October 1812). ll. 7–9.



Source: *Trudy statisticheskago otdeleniya departamenta tamozhennykh sborov, Statisticheskiya svedeniya o torgovle Rossii s Kitaem*, SPb., 1909, p. 8.

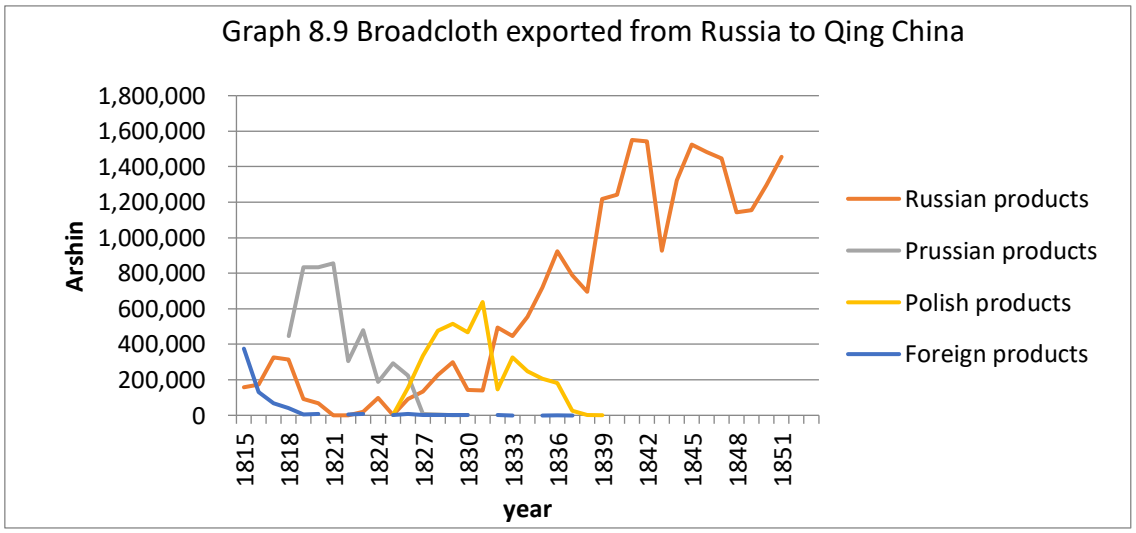
Caution is required when comparing Graph 8.8 to Graph 8.7. Firstly, the total value of major export items from 1802 to 1813 approximates the total value of "Russian products" shown in Graph 8.7. Consequently, it can be inferred that statistical data in graph 8.8 omits "foreign products" including broadcloth and cotton. Also, values up until 1840 are shown in paper rubles and values from 1841 to 1850 in silver rubles (equivalent to about three times the value of paper rubles), so the decrease in the value of exports after 1841 is no more than a superficial decline due to the difference in monetary values. Based on these and apart from Napoleon's invasion of Moscow, we see that the value of the Kyakhta trade tended to increase through the first half of the 1800s. There was a sudden decline in furs in 1816, but value remained nearly unchanged despite repeated fluctuations. Looking at assessed values during the early 1800s, the value of fur exports peaked at around 4.08 million rubles in 1824, while fur exports from 1824 to 1840 gradually declined. However, taking into account the change in currency after 1841, fur exports hit a maximum of about 1.91 million silver rubles (equivalent to 5.7 million paper rubles) in 1845.

After 1841, however, the relative importance of furs to total major items fell from the prior 30–40 percent to around 20 percent.[413] While the value of fur exports did not change much until the 1830s, the primary factor behind the increase in exports of industrial products was the rise in tea imports from

[413] K. Yoshida,「ロシアと清の貿易について」 (About Russo-Chinese trade), p. 53. Yoshida Kin-ichi has thoroughly overviewed the Kyakhta trade and the characteristics of each period based on previous studies by Korsak, Trusevich, and Sladkovskii.

Qing China and a shortfall in Russian products to exchange for them. From this point forward, fur was just another exchange commodity for importing tea into Russia (discussed further below).

As such, when tea imports quickly expanded through the first half of the 19th century (Graph 8.10), fur products alone were inadequate for exchange. Let's examine exports of industrial products in Kyakhta based on Korsak's data (Graph 8.9). From the beginning of the 1800s, prior to Napoleon's invasion, foreign-made broadcloth was plentiful among Russian exports of industrial products to China. After 1800, the Russian government allowed intermediary export of foreign-made broadcloth from Kyakhta, but after virtually banning it in 1816 by imposing a high tariff on foreign products, the government in 1817 it lowered duties on Silesia broadcloth from Prussia.[414] As intermediary exports of Prussian broadcloth suddenly increased, Russian broadcloth for a time was no match for high-quality yet inexpensive Prussian broadcloth. What's more, English ships transported broadcloth to Guangdong over the same period, making exports of Russian broadcloth to China unprofitable. From 1825 exports of Polish broadcloth temporarily increased with assistance from the Russian government. As a result, in 1827 Polish-made broadcloth exceeded intermediary exports of Prussian broadcloth. However, Kyakhta exports of domestic broadcloth rose after restrictions were placed on Polish exports during this period due to the Polish rebellion in 1830, prompting solid growth in the Russian broadcloth industry.[415] As will be discussed below, Russian broadcloth makers who grew during this period, including Kozhevnikov, Zhukov, Rybnikov, and Babkins, were on the Russian Ministry of the Interior's Kyakhta Trade Committee for their involvement in the profitability of Chinese exports.

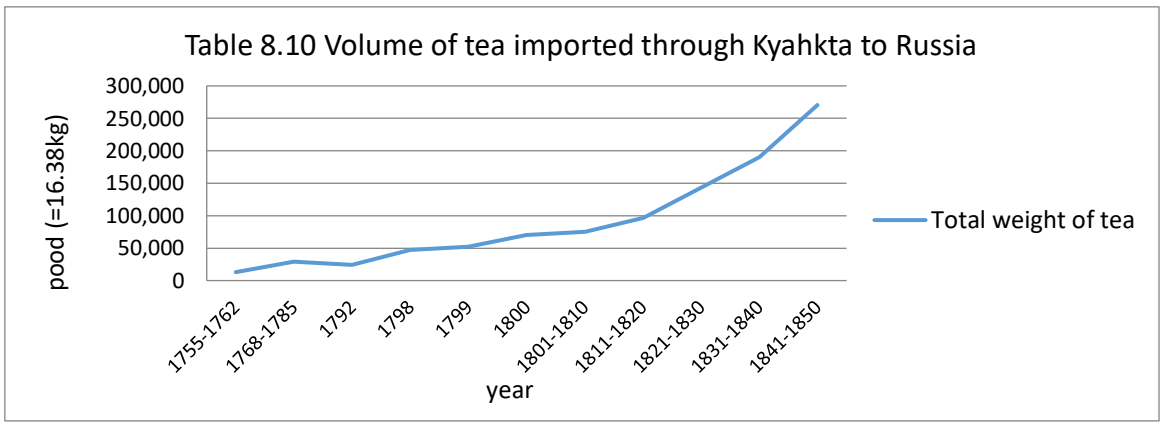


Source: A. Korsak, *Op. cit.*, pp.215–216.

Kyakhta's exports of cotton textiles were initially centered around intermediary exports of foreign products, but Russian-made cotton textiles began to increase among Kyakhta exports from the early

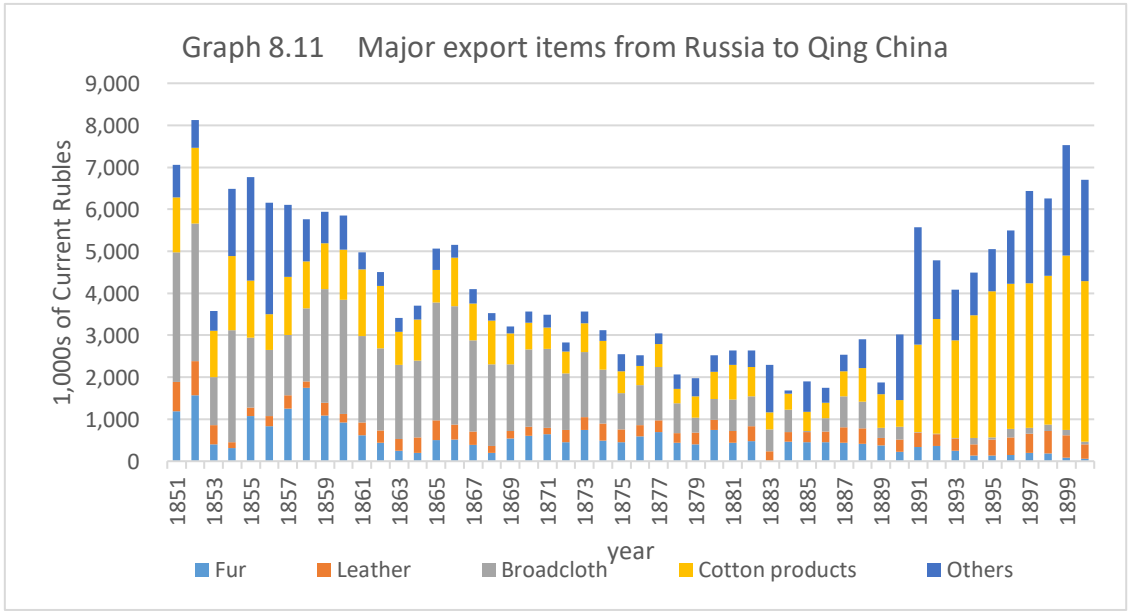
[414] Korsak, *Op. cit.*, pp. 113–116; *Polnoe sobranie zakonov*, T. XXXIV no. 26848.
[415] Korsak, *Op. cit.*, pp. 117–123.

1830s. This owes to Russian merchants who did their research on Chinese preferences, knew the fair prices, and improved their dying technology. While Russian cotton textiles up until 1830 had to compete with English velveteen,[416] exports of Russian cotton textiles from 1833 onwards surpassed their foreign-made counterparts, nearly driving them out by 1840. What led to this change was, firstly, the increase in imports of Russian tea in the 1800s (Graph 8.9), which required a great many products to be exported to exchange for Chinese tea based on Kyakhta's barter system. As a result, exports of Russian industrial products rose, while fur exports gradually fell.



Source: A. Korsak, *Op. cit.*, p.293.

Next, we will examine Kyakhta exports after 1851 (Graph 8.11).

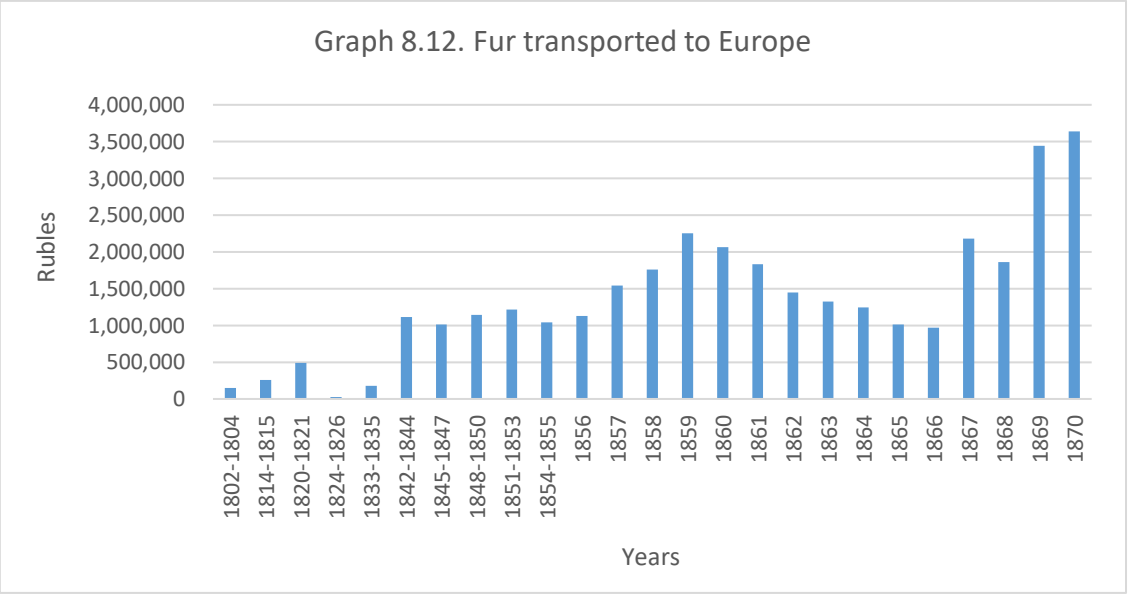


Source: *Trudy statisticheskago otdeleniya departamenta tamozhennykh sborov, Statisticheskiya svedeniya o torgovle Rossii s Kitaem*, SPb., 1909, p. 9.

[416] Korsak, *Op. cit.*, pp. 123–129.

Examining the total value of Russian exports to Qing China from Graph 8.11, we see an overall downward trend from 1851 to 1889. This was likely impacted by the fall in trade due to the decline in tea products brought in to Kyakhta in 1853 due to the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864). Also, Russia had begun in earnest to dispatch ships to Chinese seaports, and a large segment of trade-related customs data disappeared from the statistics after both countries agreed in 1862 to allow tax-exempt free trade along border regions between Russia and China. The value of fur exports appearing in the data thus fell off sharply as compared to the early 1800s.

Regarding fur exported to Europe in the 1800s, we will look at statistical data from an historical survey of the fur trade published in commemoration of founding the Moscow Polytechnic Museum (Graph 8.13).



Source: P. Grinval'dt, *Mekhovaya torgovlya v Rossii i zagranitseyu, (Istoriya eya i statistika, obdelka mekhov i tovarovedenie)*, Riga, 1872, p. 28. The data from 1802 to 1855 are annual averages.

Graph 8.12 shows that the value of exports to Europe as compared to those to Kyakhta was extremely low until 1835. Although generalizations cannot be made about fur prices, as they completely differ in terms of product and quality, the value of exports to Europe tended to increase after 1840. While the value of fur exports declined in 1859, they rose again from 1860. There was a marked increase in 1867, 1869 and 1870, likely related to the decrease in fur exports from Russia to Qing China shown in Graph 8.11.

As discussed above, Russian fur exports centered on the Kyakhta trade through the first half of the 1800s, but the relative importance of fur decreased as industrial product exports such as broadcloth and cotton products gradually climbed along with the rise in tea imports into Russia. Judging only by the statistics, around 1853, Russian fur exports to Europe were more prominent than exports to China.

Competition between Moscow merchant groups and Siberian merchant groups

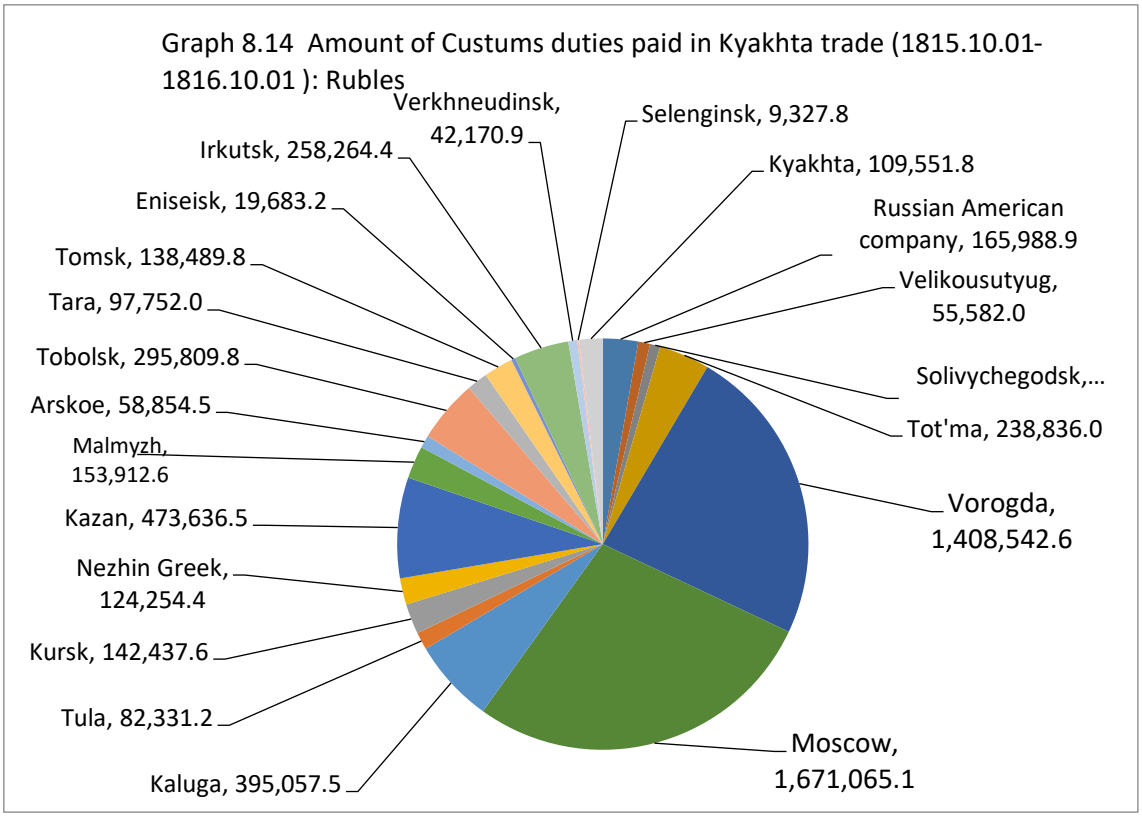
In the Kyakhta trade, merchants in the European Russia region such as the Moscow merchants, Siberian (Asian Russia east of the Ural Mountains) merchants like those from Irkutsk and Zabaykalsky Krai, and the Russian–American Company competed with one another. We first focus on competition between the Moscow and Siberian merchant groups. In Russian government documents, "Kyakhta merchants" generally refers to "merchants engaged in the Kyakhta trade," not "merchants registered with a guild in the city of Kyakhta." Kyakhta was built as an artificial commercial village, or *sloboda*, comprising only temporary residential facilities and the stores of merchants who visited to conduct trade in the 1700s. Residents were concentrated in the nearby Troitsko-Savsk, where customs was located. Settlers and guild merchants finally began coming to Kyakhta in the 1800s.

Most of the remaining transaction records of Kyakhta customs are fragmentary. For example, RGADA houses financial records of merchants who purchased Chinese products (cotton products, baikhovye chai or pekoe tea, and brick tea) between October 1, 1815 and October 1, 1816 (Graph 8.14). Total customs duties on the purchase price of Chinese products at this time was 5,989,815.38 rubles.[417] In order, the merchants who paid the most customs duties by region are: Moscow (about 27.9%), followed by Volga (about 23.5%), Kazan (about 7.9%), Kaluga (6.6%), Tobolsk (about 4.9%), Irkutsk (about 4.3%), Tot'ma (about 4%), and the Russian-American Company (about 2.8%). Based on the items in the table, we see that merchants gathered from diverse regions within the Russian Empire for the Kyakhta trade. Furthermore, classifying and organizing the cities to which these merchants belonged by broad regional division sheds more light on the structure of the Kyakhta trade.

While it is not immediately discernible based only on place names, at about 51.4 percent Moscow and Vorogda from the European Russia region account for over half of customs duties. Breaking down the numbers between the European Russia region and Siberia, the former accounts for about 81 percent and the latter for about 16.2 percent. One reason customs duties worked out this way is because of bias in the number of merchants by region, but two other major factors were that (1) tariffs on tea were extremely high, and that on pekoe tea was even higher than brick or green tea; and (2) tariffs on cotton products were lower than tariffs on tea. As a result, the capital strength of merchants in the European Russia region such as Moscow merchants tended to buy more tea, while Siberian merchants, with less capital, tended to buy more cotton products. Even with tea purchases, European Russian merchants tended to buy mostly pekoe tea, which had a higher tariff, while Siberian merchants tended to buy

[417] RGADA. F.183. Op.1. D.84a. ll.91-об., 93-об., 98–101; T. Morinaga,『イルクーツク商人とキャフタ貿易―帝政ロシアにおけるユーラシア商業』(*Irkutsk Merchants and Kyakhta Trade: Eurasian Commerce under the Tsarist Russsa*) Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2010, appendix, table 6–2. 6,009,995 rubles, 41 kopeika is listed in the tariff schedule; here we show a corrected calculation.

mostly brick tea, which had a lower tariff. Consequently, based on the value of customs duties, European Russian merchants—chiefly Moscow and Vorogda merchants—paid a greater amount, indeed, an overwhelming percentage of duties. Similar trends can be seen in archives from 1829, showing as expected that Moscow merchants maintained an edge.[418] Apart from Moscow and Vorogda, European and Russian merchants are further divided into a number of regions with a number of geographical connections. Similar to Moscow, Kaluga and Tula are classified as central Russia, with Tula being a base for the steel industry and samovar production. Arskoe, Malmyzh, and Kazan, all commercial towns in the Volga Basin, are extremely close to Nizhnii Novgorod, Russia's main trade fair, directly linked to distribution in Moscow.



Source: RGADA. F. 183. Op. 1. D. 84a. ll. 91-ob., 93-ob., 98–101.

Many descendants of migrants from Velikoustyug (or Ustyug) and Tot'ma, commercial river towns in northern Russia linked to Arkhangelsk by the Northern Dvina River, remain in Irkutsk. Nezhin Greek in southern Russia and Kursk, which borders southern Russia, were home to many merchants, including Nezhin Greeks,[419] who were engaged in the fur trade with the Ottoman Empire from the

[418] RGADA. F. 183. Op. 1. D. 82A. ll. 8–9 ob. -11.

[419] Novorossiya (New Russia) in southern Russia was established due to the Russo–Turkish Wars (1768–1774, 1787–1792), which occurred with Ekaterina II's southward expansion, while Greek residents, having already formed a diaspora in the southern Russian towns of Kiev, Nezhin, L'vov, and Khar'kov in the 17th century, enjoyed special free trade rights in Moscow and St. Petersburg. As I touched upon on the introduction, Greek merchants were active as an intermediary exporting

17th century onward. Among Siberian merchants, along with Irkutsk, Eniseisk, Tomsk, Tara, and Tobolsk, there were many merchants from Zabaykalsky Krai (eastern Lake Baikal), which includes Kyakhta, Selenginsk, and Verkhneudinsk, the latter of which had little trade volume in 1815–1816 and paid very few customs duties. But even among Siberian merchants, merchants from Irkutsk and Zabaykalsky Krai—predominant among Kyakhta merchants—gradually grew, resolving this imbalance in the 1850s. The Russian-American Company, despite being the exclusive trader in Russian-American furs, did not figure that largely in Kyakhta. The following figure outlines the structure of merchants engaged in the Kyakhta trade from the 1800s onward.

While the above discussion concerns imported Chinese products in Kyakhta, this structure becomes even clearer when examining Russian exports. For example, a number of archives in the Moscow house records on Pyotor Kononovich Botkin and his relatives—Moscow merchants who succeeded in the Kyakhta tea trade and later entered the cotton industry— also include lists of products transported to the Kyakhta market (*gostinnyi dvor*) for trade. One such list from 1836 contains a variety of Russian products exported from Russia, along with foreign products.[420] Firstly, among fur products *kamchatskie bobry* (sea otter) is prominent, but this was fur brought to Kyakhta monopolistically by the Russian–American Company. Looking at squirrel, however, we see this is a fur that was transported to Kyakhta from a truly wide number of places. Areas of production were as follows: Vilyuisk,[421] Zabaikalsky krai,[422] Irkutsk, Irtysh River,[423] Krasnoyarsk, Kuznetsk, Lena River and Angarsk, Nizhneudinsk, Ob' River, Okhotsk, the Teleut lands, Yakutsuk, and Olekminsk. All squirrel fur from these areas was brought in from the Eastern Ural Mountains, of which the number of furs from the Lena River Basin rose as high as 1,463,069. Even though precious furs such as sable were depleted, we see that a great many furs were still being produced in Siberia. Other furs such as wolf, ermine, corsac fox, fox, fur seal, arctic fox, and wolverine are listed as perennial items, but unfortunately the specific areas of production are not listed.[424] Kazan, Ural, and Bukhara are listed as the principal producers of leather products.

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to the Ottoman Empire in the 1600s. People participating in the fur business emerged from among this group in the 1700s; E.I. Delarov (1740–1808) was particularly well-known as an old partner of Grigorii I. Shelikhov (1747–1795) when the Russian-American Company was founded. These Greek merchants with privileged rights traded English products in Russia with Danubian principalities via Leipzig in the mid-1700s. See the following for the Greek diaspora in the Black Sea and southern Russia, including Nezhin Greeks: Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford, 2001.

420 TsIAM. F. 2347.Op. 1. D. 3. ll. 143–145 ob.

421 A town, situated near Yakutsk, on the waterfront of the Olenyok River, which flows to the Arctic Ocean.

422 The region to the east of Lake Baikal.

423 A river which flows from the now Chinese Zaisan Lake to Tobolsk and Khanty-Mansi in western Siberia, and flows into the Ob' River.

424 However, fur seal was almost without doubt transported by the Russian–American Company.

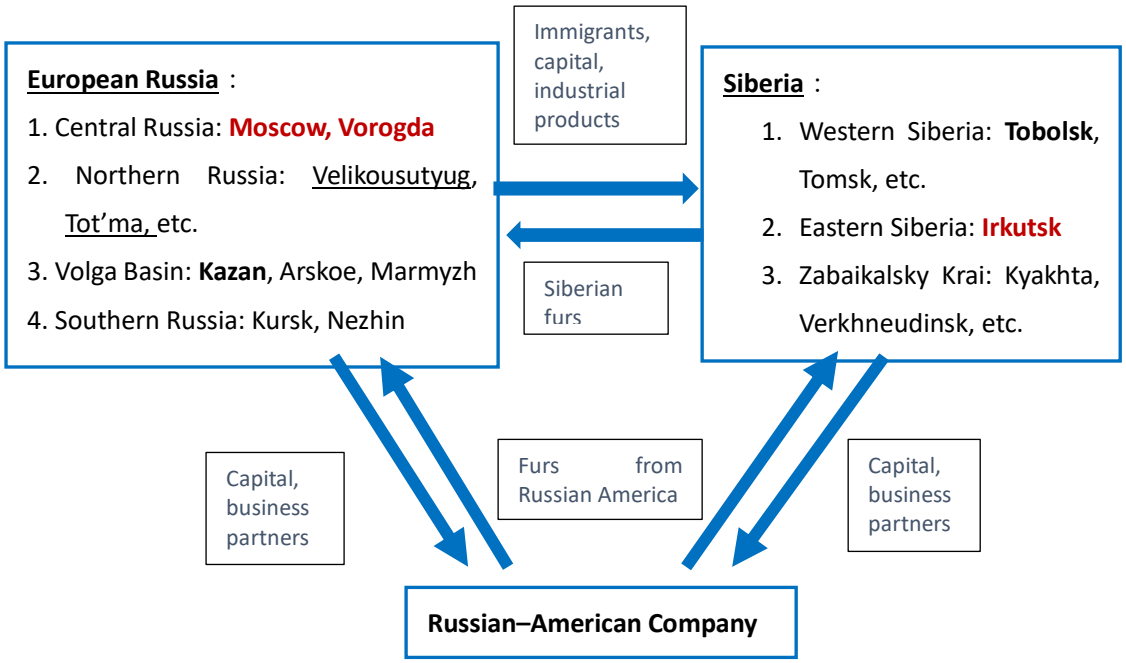

Figure 8.4. Relational Structure of European Russia, Siberia and Rusian American Company

Among the products listed in these historical records, broadcloth is recorded as both a Russian and a foreign product. Foreign-made broadcloth, including the kamlot type, includes broadcloth from England and Poland. The specific type of Broadcloth named "mizeritskoe"[425] is listed among Russian broadcloth. As discussed previously, the Kyakhta trade operated on a barter system, so both Russian and Qing products of equivalent value needed to be exchanged. As such, when tea imports quickly expanded through the first half of the 19th century, fur products alone were inadequate for exchange. Factory owners in Moscow were the principal players behind this production of broadcloth. For example, in 1837 many Moscow merchants signed a petition from "Kyakhta merchants" calling on Finance Minister E. F. Kankrin to allow the exchange of Chinese products and gold and silver products within the Kyakhta trade.[426] Records from 1849 from the Moscow committee for improving the Kyakhta trade also show that Aleksei and Pyotr Kumanin—Moscow merchants and partners of the Russian–American Company—along with S. Lepeshkin, N. Rybnikov, and N. Matveev, joined the above-mentioned Botkin and his relatives on the committee and signed the petition.[427] Profit in the Kyakhta trade was already closely linked to profit for these factory producers.

In the 1820s, Irkutsk merchants sensing signs of decline in Kyakhta fur exports felt a sense of urgency at the ascendance of merchants from European Russia, including these Moscow merchants.

[425] This Russian Broadcloth was very popular in Chinese market.
[426] RGADA. F. 183. Op. 1. D. 48. ll. 1–4ob.
[427] RGIA. F. 19. Op. 3. D. 466. ll. 123-ob.

In an 1827 letter about the people of Irkutsuk and the Kyakhta trade, the mayor of Irkutsk, E. A. Kuznetsov, appeals to Tsar Nicholai I that they are being squeezed by the profitability of merchants from local Guild No. 3. The reason for this was that small merchants other than those in Guild No. 1 were forbidden from engaging in the Kyakhta trade, so merchants from Guild No. 3 were unable to sell their own (fur) products in Kyakhta, and while farmers visiting from European Russia sold industrial products from European Russia around Irkutsk, they would take this money back to European Russia with them without buying Siberian products.[428] In response to these claims, one reader of this letter wrote in the margin the sarcastic comment, "Think about it—I'd like you to tell me who here is going to buy fur products!"[429] This case referred to visiting farmers, but local Irkutsk merchants harbored the same frustrations about trading with European Russian merchants.

As pointed out above, while the Russian–American Company monopolistically brought Alaskan furs to Kyakhta, Siberian furs were also brought to Kyakhta. So merchants from the local Guild No. 3 bought retail furs caught in the Lena River Basin and Lake Baikal areas. However, European Russian merchants, particularly Moscow merchants, had the means to bring broadcloth, cotton texitiles, and foreign products they made themselves into Siberia and buy Siberian furs through non-cash transactions. Despite this, Moscow merchants exchanged industrial products directly for tea in Kyakhta, no longer relying on fur products. This trend becomes apparent in the increase in exports of Russian broadcloth and cotton products in the 1830s.[430]

Now, let's refer to other historical records that highlight the decline in the Siberian fur trade. A document of unknown date, thought to have been written by merchants trading in Kyakhta, points out that the number of fur exports to China decreased in all fur types from 1830 to 1835. For example, of the furs exported during the 5-year period from January 1809 to January 1814, there were less than 33,770,000 squirrel furs, 423,000 desman, 218,000 corsack fox, 2,078,000 cat, 183,000 fox, 12,600 sable, and 7,824,000 kid. Among fur exported during the 5-year period from 1830 to 1835, squirrel declined by 13 million to 20,434,000, desman declined by 100,000 to 322,000, corsack fox by just under 105,000 to 112,000, cat by a little less than 750,000 to 1,325,000, sable by 6,000 to 6,200, and kid by just under 1,372,000 to 6,451,000[431] These data cannot be seen from the Russian statistics on the value of Kyakhta exports shown in Graph 8.7.

From the perspective of local merchants, the fall in fur volume exported from Kyakhta in 1830–1835 is obvious, and appeared prominently in the decline in squirrel exports. The author of the

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[428] In 18th–19th century Russia, farmers who brought in goods such as agricultural products were rivals with guild merchants because farmers did not pay a guild tax when conducting business. There were even cases of serfs with permits from aristocratic lords doing better than guild merchants.

[429] RGADA. F. 183. Op. 1. D. 54. Pis'mo k Gosudaryu Imperatoru i dve zapiski podannye Gradskim Glavoyu E.A. Kuznetsovym v pol'zu Irkutskim Grazhdanam i Kyakhtinskoi Torgovli v SPb., 1827 godu. ll. 3–7ob.

[430] Korsak, *Op. cit.,* pp. 218–219.

[431] RGADA. F. 183. Op. 1. D.37. Zapiska o polozhenii torgovli privodimoi Rossiickim kupechestvom v Kyakhte. ll.5–5ob.

document points out a number of causes for this dramatic decline: the fact that mainly local Siberian hunters overhunted fur animals, there were no industries other than fur animals in the Irkutsk area, merchants from Moscow engaged in unscrupulous commerce with firm rivalry when trading industrial products and furs at the Makaryev (Nizhegorod) Fair [at least that is how it appeard], and they tried to purchase Chinese products at a high price. The author of the document feels that the competitive relationship between local Siberian residents and Moscow merchants encouraged overhunting and worries that the fur trade will be inhibited by them bringing in industrial products.[432]

In this manner, changes in fur exports in the Kyakhta trade in the first half of the 19th century were not just an issue of a fall in Chinese demand for furs, but likely affected by the competitive relationship between Siberian and European Russian merchants as well.

The Russian–American Company: the Kyakhta trade and furs

Formed in 1799, the Russian–American Company received a charter from the Russian government based on a parent company that incorporated the capital power of the Golikov–Shelekhov Company and Irkutsk merchants to conduct fur business in the North Pacific Ocean. Many previous studies have been conducted on Russian America and the history of U.S.–Russia relations. Among these, *Istoriya Russkoi Ameriki* (Vol. 1-3, M., 1997–1999, N.N. Volkhovitinov, ed.) is a comprehensive study that describes everything from the infiltration of Russians into the North Pacific to the conquest of the American northwest coast, including episodes and the economic and political roles of the characters involved. It was a groundbreaking work with collaboration from veteran and young researchers providing an historical overview of Russian America. One of these young researchers, A. Yu. Petrov, went on to conduct extensive research on the history of the Russian–American Company. Meanwhile, A. N. Ermolaev, a researcher from Kemerovo, recently performed a fascinating analysis of the Russian–American Company from a Siberian perspective.[433] We next examine changes in fur exports between 1840 and 1860 based on his research.

A study by sailor V. N. Berkh, who joined the first Russian circumnavigation of the world, contains data on fur items and volume transported to Okhotsk by the Russian–American Company between 1798 and 1822.[434] For example, in 1798 the number of furs transported by the Golikov–Shelekhov

[432] RGADA. F. 183. Op. 1. D.37.ll.6–6ob.

[433] A.N. Ermolaev, Kyakhtinskaya torgovlya Rossiisko-Amerikanskoi kompanii v 1840–1860-kh godakh, *Russkaya Amerika i Vostochnaya Sibir'*, Irkutsk, 2011, pp. 63–100; A.N. Ermolaev, *Rossiisko-amerikanskaya kompaniya v Sibir' i na Dal'nem Vostoke (1799–1871gg.)*, Kemerovo, 2013.

[434] V.N. Berkh, *Khronologicheskaya istoriya otkrytiya Aleutskikh ostrovov ili podvigi rossiiskogo kupechestva*, SPb, 1823; V.N. Berkh, Translated by D. Krenov, *A Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands: or, The Exploits of Russian Merchants with a Supplement of Historical Data on the Fur Trade*, The Limestone Press, Kingston, Ontario, 1974, pp. 110–113.

Company, the immediate precursor to the Russian–American Company, rose to 7,525 otters, 6,344 otter tails, 147,949 fur and earless seals; and in 1803, after receiving a charter from the government, 20,277 otters, 19,252 otter tails, and 280,144 fur and earless seals. It of course includes data on arctic fox and other furs as well, but we will omit that here. A smaller number of furs were transported to Okhotsk after 1803, so it can be inferred that this trend did not change from 1840 to 1863. However, we know nothing clear about the volume of fur transported to Kyakhta by the Russian–American Company between 1803 and 1822. As mentioned previously, historical archives on Kyakhta customs, collections on the Russian–American Company, and transaction records from the early 19th century that remain at the RGADA in Moscow and RGIA in St. Petersburg are fragmentary. Therefore, it is difficult to judge the percentages of fur inventory that were circulating among Kyakhta exports and consumed in the Russian homeland.

Ermolaev analyzes the fragments of data for 1822–1827, and calculates that 64 percent of fur products of the Russian-American company, such as otter, fur seal, fox, and arctic fox, were sold in Kyakhta. Others were sold in Moscow, in St. Petersburg, at the Irbit Fair, in Irkutsk, and at the Makaryev Fair.[435] Consequently, Ermolaev restricts his analysis of Russian–American Company records to the period between 1840 and 1863, years for which financial records have been published.[436] Even though otter was depleted along the American northwest coast during at this time, they began full-fledged otter trapping in 1828 at Urup island of the Kuril Islands, which they had left alone for over 20 years, reinvigorating activity in that area.[437] Strangely, however, although the number of otter furs the company acquired in the colonies rose from 1,000 to 2,000 furs from 1840 to 1863, the number of otter furs brought to Kyakhta continued to fall from a peak of 1,028 furs in 1844, dropping to nothing at all in 1853 with a sudden falloff in trade activity due to the Taiping Rebellion. The volume of otter brought to Kyakhta thereafter did not really recover.[438] This trend repeats itself for fur seal, arctic fox, and fox. Furs caught by the Russian–American Company in the colonies and those purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company and brought to Kyakhta included such items as beaver, European otter, and lynx. Ermolaev calculates that 69 percent of all furs from the colonies between 1840 and 1863 were brought to Kyakhta by the Russian–American Company.

The question then arises as to where else the Russian–American Company sold furs. As already discussed, the company took unsold furs to Moscow, St. Petersburg, the Irbit Fair, the Makaryev Fair, and Irkutsk to sell. However, the fact of the matter is that the company sold fur in other places as well. The truth is that from the late 1840s they applied to the Russian government to be allowed to sell fur

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[435] A. N. Ermolaev, Rossiisko-amerikanskaya kompaniya v Sibir' i na Dal'nem Vostoke (1799–1871 gg.), pp. 249–255.

[436] A. N. Ermolaev, Kyakhtinskaya torgovlya Rossiisko-Amerikanskoi kompanii v 1840–1860-kh godakh, pp. 66–75; *Otchety Rossiisko-Amerikanskoi Kompanii Glavnogo Pravleniya za 1840–1863*, SPb., 1842–1865.

[437] V.O.Shubin, 'Istoriya poselenii Rossiisko-Amerikanskoi kompanii na Kuril'skikh ostrovakh', *Kraevedcheskii byuletin'*, №3, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 1992, pp. 12–13.

[438] Ermoraev, *Ibid.*

from the colonies in Shanghai and other Chinese ports opened to Europe, and then took the tea they bought there in exchange to sell in St. Petersburg. They had already obtained permission and were actively engaged in this by 1851.[439] To protect their traditional profits from the Kyakhta trade, importing tea from anywhere other than Kyakhta was banned but after 1861 imports of "Guandong tea" (tea purchased in Guangdong) via sea ports rose dramatically after the Russian government allowed the importation of tea across all borders.[440] Considering this, giving a permit to the Russian–American Company can be seen as exceptionally special treatment for a chartered company. The Russian–American Company likely ventured into trade by sea because from the 1840s it often had furs brought from Kyakhta left in stock, with 62 percent left unsold in 1848 and 65 percent in 1849.[441] However, we must note here that selling fur in Shanghai and importing Guangdong tea by sea based on a special charter did not necessarily go well in terms of company finances.

In the documents in which this information is discussed, it is emphasized that the Russian–American Company did not sell off all the tea it had taken to St. Petersburg within the year, holding onto it as inventory for the next year and the year after that, so they were not immediately able to liquidate the product into cash. As a result, the company asked the Russian government to either not impose the same level of taxation as in Kyakhta or to extend the payment deadline.[442] However, the government denied this request by the Russian–American Company and ordered them to pay the same taxes as in Kyakhta, merely extending the payment deadline. This approach was disadvantageous for the company. Until the crisis of 1853, the Russian–American Company suffered from the fall in Chinese demand for fur and was continually unable to acquire cash due to unsold tea.

According to an imperial proclamation, or *ukaz*, on August 1, 1854, selling silver products to the Chinese would be permitted, but the total assessed value of such silver products could not exceed one-third of the assessed value of industrial products. Furthermore, the export of gold coins was also allowed in 1855, with the restrictions that they could not exceed one-third of the assessed value of industrial products each time they were traded and could not exceed one-half of the assessed value of fur products.[443] The Russian–American Company conformed to this system in 1855, but in the end they returned to the conventional method of exchanging next year's fur for tea, as they did not have a means to obtain gold and silver.[444] However, as private merchants expanded payments in the Kyakhta trade to include exchange for gold and silver, this made trade unfavorable for the Russian–American Company. Considering exports of "Russian fur" to Europe after 1840, it is possible that they found

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[439] RGIA. F. 19. Op. 1. D. 300. Ob otsrochke na 9 mesyatsev platezha poshlin za priobretennya v Schankhae chai/ Po pros'be Glavnogo pravleniya Rossiisko-Amerikanskoi Kompanii. ll. 1–6 ob. This issue is not mentioned in A.N. Ermolaev's paper.

[440] K. Yoshida,「ロシアと清の貿易について」 (About Russo-Chinese trade), pp. 67–68.

[441] A.N. Ermolaev, *Op. cit*., p. 70.

[442] RGIA. F. 19. Op. 1. D. 300. ll. 9–10, 18–23 ob., 33–35, 52 ob., 56 ob., 80–83, 92–93 ob., 99–100 ob., i dr.

[443] Korsak, *Op. cit.*, pp. 180–181.

[444] A.N. Ermolaev, *Op. cit*., p. 73.

some way to export fur to Europe.

Given this, as a chartered company the Russian–American Company did not necessarily come out further ahead in Kyakhta fur sales than did private merchants. The company, which brought furs from the U.S., had to compete with European Russian merchants' industrial products and Siberian merchants' Siberian fur, on top of which the systemic changes to the Kyakhta trade after 1853 sent massive shockwaves throughout the company.

As discussed above, the Russian-American Company had exclusive fur distributorship of fur in Russian America, but suffered from unstable management until it officially dissolved in 1867. Merchants such as Kumanin, from Moscow Guild No. 1, participated in the Russian–American Company as a business partner and had close ties to Siberian merchants as well. However, in Russian America fur animals in the North Pacific such as otter and earless seal were being progressively overhunted, prompting a decline in furs taken to Kyakhta. In contrast, there was a similarly remarkable fall in the number of fur animals in Siberia as well, but around 4 million common types of fur, such as squirrel, were nevertheless exported from Kyakhta in 1830–1835. In this way, Moscow merchants, Irkutsk merchants from Siberia, and the Russian–American Company each competed while playing a leading role in the fur trade in Kyakhta, while Moscow merchants—factory owners who seized the initiative—had the biggest advantage of all.

Recovery of the European market for Russian furs and fur traders

As seen in Graph 8.11, fur exports from Russia to China continued to fall through the second half of the 19th century. Although exports to Europe greatly fluctuated, as seen in Graph 8.12 the European market showed a distinct recovery following the Kyakhta trade crisis in 1853, with even more furs exported after 1867.

As was the case in the 1600s, Russian furs in the 1800s were luxury goods for the rich, the difference being that Russian fashion in the 1800s followed trends in Paris, resulting in fewer chances to wear clothes which used fur than the 1600s. Therefore, it is thought that Russian demand for fur in the 19th century was not that much different from European demand for furs among the wealthy class. Now, let's look at artwork in the seasonal magazine *Novyi Russkii Bazar* (New Russian Bazaar), first published in 1869 for upper-class homes as a paragon of Parisian fashion, and a famous piece by the 19th century Russian painter Ivan Kramskoi.

Figure 8.5 Dress for a reception or visit: *Novyi Russkii Bazar*, 1874[445]

Figure 8.6 I. Kramskoi, *Unknown Woman*, 1883.

In the painting of Figure 8.5, two women are depicted wearing a *pal'to* (overcoat) as visiting dress, featuring a refined design hemmed with fur. The painting of Figure 8.6 is said to depict a woman riding in a carriage on Fontanka Street in central St. Petersburg. This woman too is wearing a *pal'to* with fur and a ribbon accessory. While Russian aristocracy and wealthy class in the 1600s often wore a *shuba*, which used an abundance of sable and squirrel throughout, Russian aristocracy in the 1800s gradually wore less fur in their daily dress, following trends in Europe. However, fur did not disappear from people's coats altogether, due to the harsh Russian winter. In the 19th century, many people in the peasant and city merchant classes continued to wear traditional clothing, going with a *shuba* tailored

[445] Cited from A. Pantereeva (ed.), N. Zubkova (text), *Novyi Russkii Bazar*, 1869–1898, M, 2014, p. 30.

with warm fur for a degree of luxury. Consequently, Russian paintings in the latter half of the 1800s often feature merchants working at fairs and street stalls, pictures depicting the style of peasant celebrations, and *shuba* made only of fur in artists' paintings.

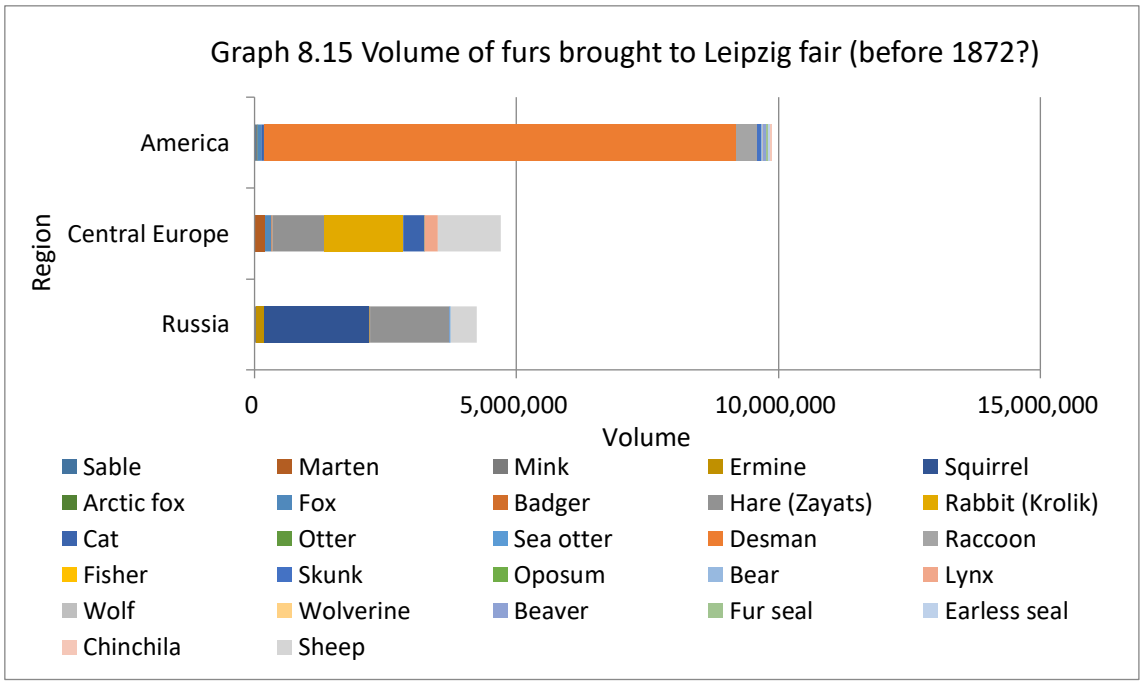
Moscow merchants who took park in the Kyakhta trade in the 19th century were primarily merchant factor owners from Guild No. 1. However, general Moscow merchants shopped in the Nizhegorod Fair and Irbit Fair, dealing fur and tea. Among such Moscow merchants, the Solokoumovsky family, old residents of Moscow since the 1600s, participated in the fur business in the 18th century and grew rapidly from the 1830s. In 1836, Pyotr Il'ich Solokoumovsky, still a small merchant, gained a proper foothold in the fur business by opening a company office in Kiev.[446] Once his sons divided and succeeded to the business in 1859 after his death, his grandson Pyotr Pavlovich Solokoumovsky opened a branch in Leipzig to directly deal furs with foreign countries. This is when it became clear that the Russian fur trade to Europe has recovered (Graph 8.12). The Solokoumovsky family energetically expanded the business by building the first fur manufacturing plant in Russia. These products, which incorporated refined European design, were even used at the coronation of Nikolai II, establishing their "brand" as a fur company. Consequently, Solokoumovsky was called the "fur king" in pre-revolution Russia.

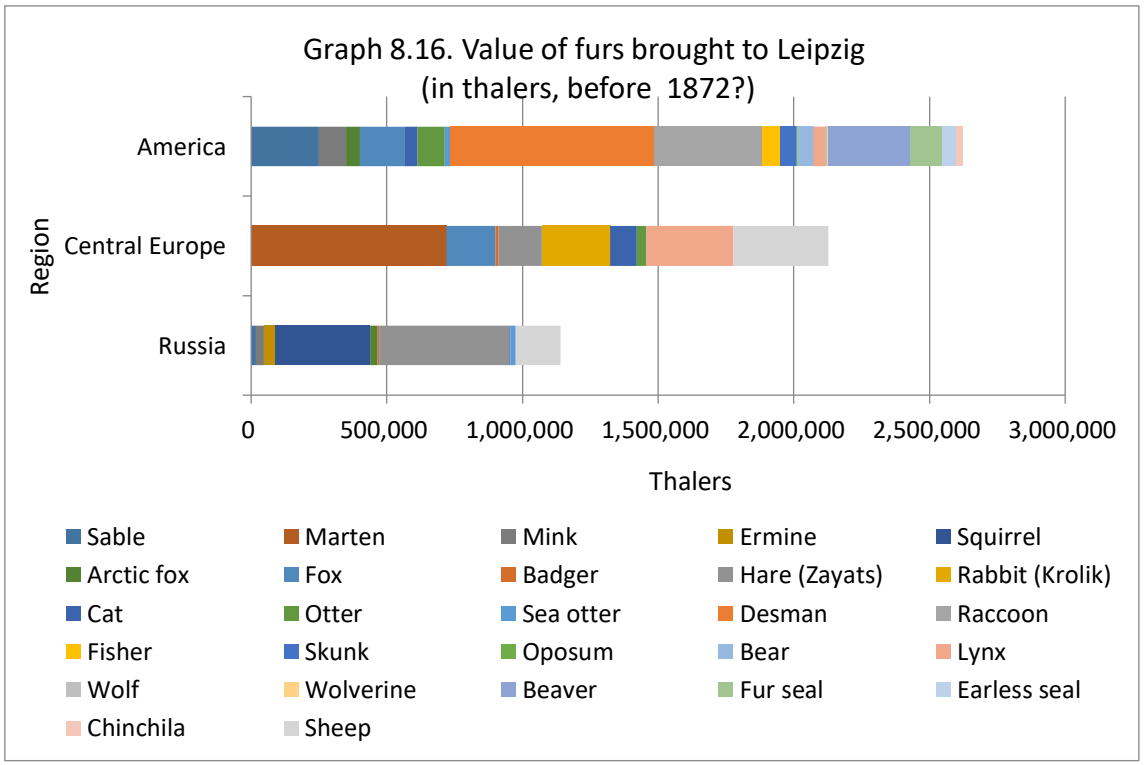
Left: **Figure 8.8.** Pavel Solokoumovsky and Son's Emporium in Warsaw, cited from *Russkii mekh, Illyustrirovannaya Istoriya*, *Al'bom*, M., 2013, p.352.
Right: **Figure 8.9**. Fur Advertisement by Pavel Solokoumovsky and Son's Emporium, cited from V. Chumakov, *Solokoumovskie. Mekhovye koroli Rossii*, M., 2011, p.308.

Leipzig, which Pyotr Solokoumovsky deemed essential for opening a branch in a foreign country, hosted a fair since the Middle Ages as a commercial hub connecting Italy and the Baltic Sea. It was called "Messestadt," or a fair town, in the 1700s. Even in the 1800s Leipzig had important significance

[446] V. Chumakov, *Solokoumovskie. Mekhovye koroli Rossii*, M., 2011, pp. 35–44, 83–91.

as a fur distribution center for Europe. Here, let's examine the data on the averages of Russian fur, Central European fur, and American fur brought into the Leipzig Trade Fair, which presumably represents the data after the mid-1800s (possibly prior to 1872), from Grinval'dt's work (Graph 8.15 and Graph 8.16).





Sources for Graph 8.15 and 8.16: Grinval'dt, *Op. cit*., p. 44.

Looking at the averages of each, approximately 9.88 million furs of various types were brought in from “America” (for this purpose, considered to include the United States of America and Canada), versus around 4.2 million furs from Russia and about 4.7 million furs from Central Europe (Graph 8.15). In terms of total value, furs from America were worth about 2.62 million thalers versus 1.4 million thalers for Russian fur and around 2.13 million thalers for Central European fur (Graph 8.16).

We can infer from this that the overwhelming majority of fur at the Leipzig Trade Fair was from America, but its average unit price was extremely low compared to fur from Russia and Central Europe. For example, desman accounted for the largest import volume among furs from America, worth a total of 750,000 thalers for 9 million furs, representing a unit price of only 0.083 thalers. The most inexpensive after desman was hare brought in from Central Europe; even this has a unit price of around 0.17 thaler. Despite the fact that nearly all furs brought in from America were desman, America surpassed Russian and Central Europe in terms of total value because relatively inexpensive sable and raccoon were also being brought in. Similarly, the number of furs Russia brought to Leipzig was nearly the same as that brought in from Central Europe. Despite this, Central Europe left Russia far behind in terms of total value. This is because marten, which had a higher unit price than sable, was highly valued among Central European furs, although questions remain regarding the accuracy of its value.

America brought in a large volume of many different types of furs both expensive and inexpensive, consequently becoming the most important source of furs in the European market. According to Grinval’dt, “American furs” included both furs brought in from Canada by the Hudson’s Bay Company and furs produced in the U.S., and of these American furs, U.S. furs were taken primarily to New York, while Hudson’s Bay Company (i.e. Canadian) furs were taken primarily to London. Among these, furs that were unable to sell in London (more than approximately 10% of stock) were also taken to Leipzig. The fur trade in Leipzig was conducted year-round in addition to the fair, also dealing in furs from Scandinavia.[447] In this way, the Leipzig fur trade route was international, connecting America and Europe. In this sense, it was a logical choice for the Solokoumovskys to establish a branch here.

However, around 1872, Russian furs fell behind America and Central Europe in the Leipzig market. Although inexpensive furs such as hare and squirrel were brought in, the numbers were a far cry from those of America and Central Europe. Russia brought in 20,000 relatively expensive otter furs versus America’s 200, making this Russia’s strong suit. Russia brought in 1,200 blue arctic fox furs with a total value of 20,000 thalers (a unit price of around 16.7 thalers) while America brought in 500 furs with a total value of 50,000 thalers (a unit price of around 100 thalers), so American furs had a higher unit price.[448] Consequently, there were some cases in which the same fur items were rated differently

[447] Grinval'dt, *Op. cit*., pp. 41–43.

[448] The high price of American-made arctic fox in Grinval’dt’s table is difficult to believe, and Grinval’dt presents no data how the price differential with Russian-made products developed.

between Russia and America in terms of quality, and had different conditions from the Kyakhta trade, which had no competitors other than Russian merchants.

As discussed above, Russian furs recovered in the European market once Kyakhta fur exports declined in the latter half of the 19th century, but the environment surrounding Russian fur exports was not optimal due to the sale of Alaska and the dissolution of the Russian-American Company. However, similar to Solokoumovsky, it is precisely because Russian entrepreneurs proactively entered the European market during this time that they quickly pulled out of China, and the European market recovered relative to the first half of the 19th century.

Conclusion

For a long time Russian furs were more important as foreign export commodities than they were on domestic markets. While furs were mainly for export to Europe until the 1600s, from the 1700s Russia came to rely significantly on exports to Kyakhta due to Qing Chinese demand for fur. Consequently, merchant groups who migrated to Siberia gradually grew while European Russian merchant groups such as Moscow merchants played a leading role in the acquisition, funding, and export of furs. Such a competitive relationship facilitated the formation of charter companies such as the Russian–American Company, and each group trading in Kyahkta had its own unique characteristics in terms of acquisition, product, and export. However, the depletion of fur resources and the decline in Chinese demand for furs also affected management of the Russian–American Company, while at the same time broadcloth and cotton product producers grew from the ranks of the Moscow merchants. A major factor behind this was increased imports of tea from China and that tea became a core commodity in the Kyakhta trade. This resulted in a dramatic fall in fur exports in Kyakhta in the mid-1800s, after which Russian fur barely managed to stay afloat as a global product by supplementing this decline with exports to Europe.

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RGADA. F. 183. Op. 1. Collection of Basnin.
RGIA. F. 19. Op. 1. Department of Internal Trade, Ministry of Finance.
TsGA Moskvy (former TsIAM), F. 2347. Op. 1. Collection of P. K. Botkin.

9.

Triple Import Substitution

Russian Cotton Industry in the 19th century

Masachika Shiotani

Introduction

The stage theory of economic development had the strongest influence among the thesis of industrialization in the 19th century[449]. According to this thesis, the latecomers learned the model of industrialization as a whole from the developed countries, since England experienced the first industrialization in the world. This thesis was a strong influence even in the economic history of Russia[450], which was considered a latecomer in the history of industrialization. The way in which Russia introduced the science and technology from Western Europe and promoted industrialization, is still an important subject in the Russian economic history. In the 19th century, the cotton industry played a key role in the industrialization and was also important in Russia. The Russian cotton industry was developed by private entrepreneurs, without any support from the government[451]. From this viewpoint, the Russian cotton industry was unique, because it was different from the other industries supported by the Russian government. Moreover, the cotton industry already started to grow in the second half of the 18th century, before the emancipation of the serfs (1860). The Marxist historical view that capitalism was developed in Russia after the emancipation of the serfs had a strong influence in the history of the Soviet Union. However, the Marxist historical view was incompatible with the real history of the Russian cotton industry.

Regardless of this, the stage theory of economic development also had an influence on the studies of the Russian cotton industry, because of two important reasons[452]. One reason was the introduction of science and technology from Western Europe to the Russian cotton industry, and another was that Russia could not export cotton fabrics to Western Europe in the 19th century. These facts are established

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[449] Typical works about the stage theory of economic development are as follows: Gerschenkron, A., *Economic Backwardness in historical perspective: a book of essays*, Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962; Rostow, W.W., *The stages of economic growth: a non-communist manifesto*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

[450] A typical work about the Russian economic history is the following. Федров, В.А., *Помещичье крестьяне центрального промышоенного района России*, Москва, 1974.

[451] Rosovsky, H., "The Serf-Entrepreneur in Russia", *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, Vol.6, Harvard University Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, 1953, pp.207-233.

[452] Яцунский, В.К., 'Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг,' Рожкова, М.К., *Очерки экономической истории России первой половины 19 века*, Москва: Издательство Социально Экономической литературы, 1959, с.118-220.

even in the current history. However, the stage theory cannot explain the entire history of the Russian cotton industry. For example, despite while Russia promoted industrialization later than Western Europe did, the former accomplished a successful cotton industry. This means that Russian entrepreneurs considered the consumers' demand and produced the suitable cotton fabrics for market[453], and that the Russian consumers welcomed the commodity. But, Russian economic history paid little attention to how Russian consumers bought and wore cotton fabrics. In previous studies of Russian economic history, scholars mainly focused on the supply side of commodities rather than on the demand side. Every country had a unique pattern of industrialization, depending on its history and natural circumstances, even if it was industrialized relatively lately. The imitation of the European model was not a sufficient condition for the accomplishment of industrialization in the country as a latecomer. When we discuss the pattern of industrialization in each country, we need to focus on commodities as an object[454].

The approach to focus on commodities was rarely conducted in the economic history. Although the cotton industry was an important subject in the economic history, few scholars looked at final cotton fabrics, their designs, and their use in the research on the cotton industry. Even in the studies of the Russian cotton industry, historians considered the cotton fabrics as uniform commodities and neglected their design and use. The Russian cotton fabrics were practically classified into more than 10 types in the 19th century[455]. Although every cotton fabric had a different use, economic historians usually paid no attention to this point. The kinds of cotton and the dyeing technique determined the classification of cotton fabrics. Cotton can be roughly divided into short and long fiber. Each fiber determines the quality of yarn and cloth. If we focus on cotton fabrics as an object (thing), we need to treat the types of cotton fabrics as the subject of research and examine the use and value of clothing[456]. If we do so, we would need to consider the pattern of Russian industrialization as the conceptual domain.

In the introduction of this book, the import substitution was defined as an important term[457]. When we consider the development of the Russian cotton industry, the import substitution constitutes an important concept in the senses of economics. When we examine the history of the Russian cotton industry after the late 18th century, we need to pay attention to three series of import substitution, namely (1) the dyeing process (1780–1840), (2) the spinning process (1800–1850), and (3) the supply

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453 Арсеньева, Е.В., *Ивановские Ситцы XVIII-начала XX века*, Ленинград: Художник РСФСР, 1983.

454 Riello's work first focused on the printed cotton as an object. Riello G., *Cotton, The Fabric that made the modern world*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

455 Мельников, П., *Нижегородская Ярмарка в 1843, 1844 и 1845 годах,* Нижний-Новгород: Губернская типография, 1846.

456 Sugiura,M., Inoue N., Takeda I., Tsunoda N, Use and Value of Cloth/Clothing 18th -20th Centuries: Mediators, Latecomers and Imitators, in this literature.

457 Sugiura,M., Inoue N., Takeda I., Tsunoda N, "Use and Value of Cloth/Clothing 18th -20th Centuries: Mediators, Latecomers and Imitators."

of cotton (1860–1900). Historians usually took notice of the spinning process in the cotton industry. However, in the practical order of development, after the mechanization and the application of chemistry in the dyeing process, the productivity of the dyeing process was improved and the demand of cotton yarn was increased. As the result, the Russian cotton industry imported spinning machinery from Western Europe and increased the production of cotton yarn[458]. Long fiber cotton, which was necessary for the modern spinning mill, was a product of the New World and was mainly cultivated in America. Russia imported long fiber cotton from America since the beginning of the 19th century[459]. After Russia faced the crisis of cotton supply in the period of the American Civil War, she tried to transplant the long fiber cotton from America to Central Asia and succeeded in it. When I trace the three series of import substitution in the Russian cotton industry, I will show the relation between Russia and foreign countries with regard to the trade of Russian cotton.

After I examine the triple import substitution of printed cotton comprehensively, I show that the development of the cotton industry did not stay within the stage theory of economic development, and that the Russian cotton industry had a unique character in the history of industrialization. I also pay attention to the demand side of the cotton industry, which Russian economic historians studied. I write the conclusion in advance as follows. Russia succeeded in three series of import substitution of printed cotton through relations with Central Asia, Europe, and America. This was a unique pattern of Russian industrialization. As Riello and Prestholdt discuss cotton goods in the 18th century[460] and the 20th century[461], respectively, I discuss cotton goods in the 19th century. Although the period and region of my research are different from those of these two scholars, we have common interests in the approach, namely to consider the vast geography from the viewpoint of cotton goods and focus on the demand side (consumption) of cotton fabrics.

The history of cottage industry before Russian industrialization in the 19th century

In the history of human beings, natural environments are the elements that we cannot ignore. Human beings not only adapted themselves to the changing environment, but also tried to overcome it. Let us consider clothing as an example. While people in cold climates caught the animals living around them, processed their furs, and used them as clothing, men in warm climates spun some suitable plants

458 Yatsunsky, V.K., “The Industrial revolution in Russia”, in Blackwell, W.L. (ed.), *Russian Economic Development from Peter the Great to Stalin*, New York: New Viewpoints, 1974, pp.110-135.

459 Arima, T., *Rosiya Kogyo-shi kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1973, p.119.

460 Riello, G., “From India to the World, Cotton's Global Reach in the First Global Age”, in this literature.

461 Prestholdt, J., “Fashion between empires, African consumers, Japanese industry and British economic power in the interwar period”, in this literature.

growing near them into thread, wove clothes, and wore them. Thus, men adapted themselves to natural environments by gathering the resources available in these environments for processing and wearing them. The climate in Russia is suitable for hemp and flax cultivation. The fabrics of hemp and flax were used as everyday clothing in Russia. Fur animals also lived there, and hence, the fur was processed and utilized as heavy winter clothing. The fabrics of hemp, flax and fur were not only supplied to the domestic market, but also exported to foreign countries.

In the 19th century, the cotton fabrics were the symbol of industrialization. Cotton grows in the latitudes between 40° N and 40° S[462]. While cotton can be cultivated in the central parts of Eurasia, it is difficult to cultivate in Europe and Russia. Russia is not suitable for cotton cultivation, because of its cold climate geographical condition. We can refer to Persia, Central Asia, and China as the region to cultivate cotton near Russia[463]. Previously, while the short fiber cotton mainly grew near Central Asia, there was no long fiber cotton in the central region of Eurasia. From the old times, cotton was cultivated in Asian regions around Russia. They spun cotton into yarn and made cotton fabrics. The cotton fabrics were introduced from Central Asia to Russia in the 16th century[464].

After the 16th century, Russia imported cotton fabrics from Persia and Central Asia[465]. At that time, the imported cotton fabrics were luxurious commodities in Russia[466], and the rulers and the religious nobility wore these fabrics. The imported cotton fabrics from Asia were excellent regarding design and dyeing. The dyes of Asian cotton fabrics did not come off from wet fabrics. The printed colorful cotton from Central Asia fascinated the common Russian people[467]. They adored the printed red cotton in particular. The red and white colors were very important to the Russian peasants. Since the 19th century, the Russian peasant women wore the *sarafan*, traditional clothing, on festivals. The *sarafan* is mainly dyed in red and white. The Russian interests in printed cotton were not limited to obtaining printed red cotton fabrics from Central Asia for luxury; as Russian common people consumers strongly wanted to use red cotton as everyday clothing since 17th century, local merchants began to produce the red cotton fabrics in Russia[468].

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462 Shoji, R., *Menka*, Tokyo: Nihon Boseki Kenkyu-jo, 1938, p.2.

463 Тер-Авнесян, Д.В., 'К истории Хлопководство в СССР', Греков, Б.Д.(редактор), *Материалы по истории земледелия СССР*, Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, Сборник 2,1956, с.561-622.

464 Брокгауз, Ф.А. и Ефрон, И.А., *Энциклопедический Словарь Россия*, Санкт-Петербург, 1898, с.285.

465 Там же, с.285.

466 I think that the imported cotton fabrics were 'absolute luxury' and 'positional luxury', according to the Riello's definition. Riello, G., "From India to the World, Cotton's Global Reach in the First Global Age."

467 Фехнер, М.В., *Торговля Русского Государства со странами востока в XVI веке*, Москва: Государственное издательство культурно-просветительной литературы, 1936, с.76.

468 Gately, M. O., The Development of the Russian Cotton Textile Industry in the Pre-Revolution years, 1861-1913, dissertation of the Graduate school of the University of Kansas, 1968, p.10.

Figure 9.1 Kumachi Clothing

Astrakhan, at the north coast near the Caspian Sea, was the first place to produce printed cotton in Russia. [469] Formerly, the nomadic nation of Astrakhan was situated here. The city of Astrakhan is in the lower reaches of the Volga River, and Moscow is towards the north of the river. Although cotton cultivation was impossible in Astrakhan, Russian merchants imported cotton yarn and cotton fabrics from Bukhara (Central Asia). While Russian artisans undertook the process of weaving cotton clothing, Bukharan artisans, who emigrated from Central Asia to Russia, assumed the dyeing process of cotton fabrics[470]. Bukharans dyed cotton fabrics in various colors at the dyeing studio, while Russians mostly preferred red, because red means holiness. The typical cotton clothing made in Astrakhan was the

[469] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[470] Соловьев, В.Л. и Болдырева, М.Д., *Ивановские Ситцы*, Москва: Легпромбытиздат, 1987, с.4.

printed red cotton, called *Kumach* in Russian (Figure 9.1)[471]. The production of printed cotton in Astrakhan was successful. With increasing demand from other Russian regions for a similar type of printed cotton production, this type of production spread for the north from Astrakhan through Volgograd to the Vladimir province along the Volga River[472]. Bukharan artisans headed the dyeing studios in every region in Russia.

The slaves from Africa and the American long fiber cotton

Now, we pay attention to the cultivation of cotton in the New World. In the 18th century, the dyeing of fustian and cotton was conducted in England and France[473]. At that time, cotton fabrics and cotton yarn were imported from the Mediterranean and the Middle East to Europe[474]. The local peasants produced cotton products for sale to European markets. The local merchants bought cotton products from the local peasants and exported them to Europe through intermediary merchants. As Europe had no system to control the agricultural production in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, they could not import large amounts of cotton materials constantly. The productivity of the dyeing business was low in Europe until the mid-18th century. A small amount of imported cotton materials were sufficient for dyeing market to thrive in Europe.

Bleaching the yarn and the fabrics was necessary before their dyeing. Previously, it was inevitable to dry cotton fabrics in the sun after bleaching. Therefore, the process of the dyeing was conducted out in the summer, because of the more daylight hours in this season. However, the method of bleaching indoors by using sulfuric acid was invented in Europe in 18th century[475]. Then, the constraint of bleaching in daylight disappeared, and the productivity of dyeing was increased. The introduction of copper plate and rotary copper to the dyeing further heightened the productivity[476]. Consequently, the demand for cotton yarn and fabrics was increased, and the available amounts were insufficient.

In the 18th century, England and France exported their printed cotton to Africa[477]. This was done not to promote the cotton industry, but to exchange their printed cotton for slaves from Africa. Further, they sent the acquired slaves not to Europe, but to their colonies in the New World. Across the African coast, local rulers thought that the printed cotton was a precious good[478], and they delightedly

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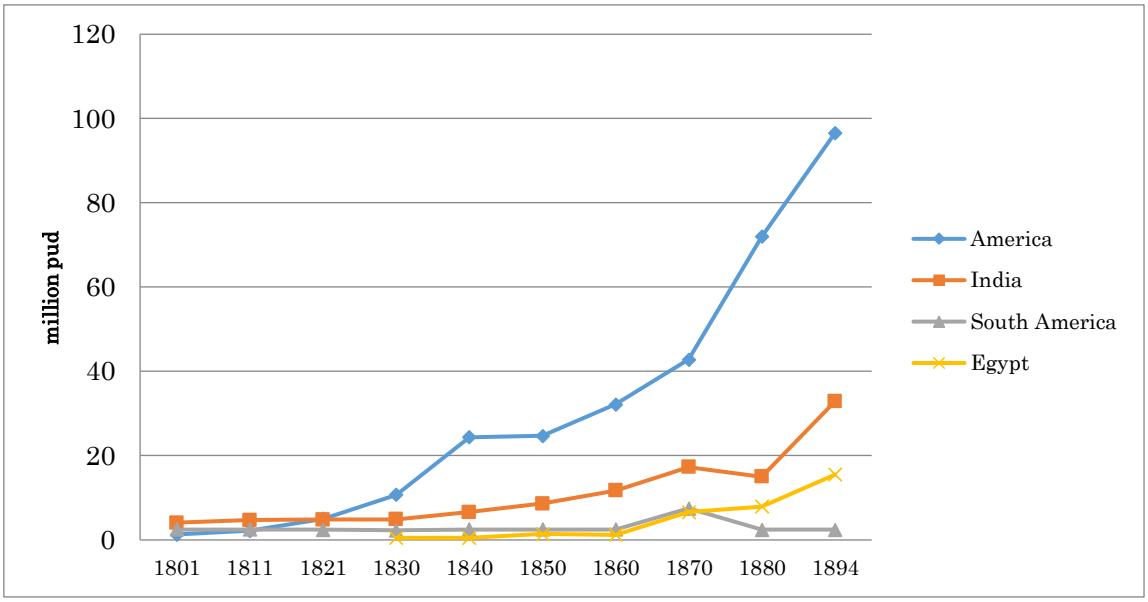
471 Source: Райкова, Л.И., *Русский Народный Костюм*, Оренбург, 2008, с.100. *Kumach* was used as the part of red belt.
472 Там же, с.402.
473 Sano, T., *Victoria & Albert Museum, Igirisu no senshoku, dai2kan*, Tokyo: Gakushukenkyusha, 1978, p.228.
474 Riello, G., *Cotton, the fabric that made the modern world*, p.73.
475 Арсеньева, Е.В., *Иваноаские ситцы XVIII- начала XX века*, с.20.
476 Sano T., *Ori to Some no rekishi, Seiyo-hen*, Kyoto: Showado, 1999, p.71.
477 Riello, G., *Cotton, the fabric that made the modern world*, p.139.
478 *Ibid*., p.152.

exchanged their slaves for it. European countries established sugar plantations in the New World in the 18th century. The slaves acquired in Africa were used as the labor for sugar plantation in the West Indies[479]. In other words, some European countries engaged in the business of sending slaves from Africa to the New World. After they made slaves to produce sugar in the West Indies, they exported the sugar from the New World to Europe. At first, the slaves from Africa carried out the plantation of sugar and tobacco. Then, the cotton plantation was not in the West Indies. English people started cotton plantation, instead of sugar plantation in the West Indies in the second half of the 18th century[480].

Europeans selected the long fiber cotton in the New World and cultivated it[481]. As the cultivation of cotton decreased the fertility of the soil in the Old World, they left the field fallow for one or two years after the cultivation, or cultivated other crops in the field to recover the fertility of the soil. However, the English specialized in the cotton cultivation in the West Indies. After they succeeded in cotton cultivation in the New World, they exported cotton to Manchester (England) [482]. The cotton plantation declined in the West Indies by the beginning of the 19th century, but this experience was useful for the cotton cultivation in America.

Graph 9.1 The production of raw cotton in various countries (1801-1894)



Though America did not cultivate cotton until 1800, she got the leading country supplying cotton to the world market in the 19th century[483]. It was an increase of cotton demand and a product of chance that pushed America up as a cotton supplier (Graph 9.1)[484].

[479] Beckert, S., *Empire of Cotton, A Global History*, New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2015, p.103.
[480] Riello, G., *Cotton, the fabric that made the modern world*, p.200.
[481] *Ibid*., pp.193.
[482] *Ibid*., pp.202-203.
[483] Beckert, S., *Empire of Cotton, A Global History*, p.103.
[484] The source: Покровский, В.И., *Сборник сведений по истории и статистик внешней торговли России*, Санкт-Петербург, 1902, с.272.

While the peasants engaged in tobacco plantation in the South of America, they could not continue the business, because the tobacco price was decreased in the market. They sought other alternative crops as a commodity. The increase of cotton demand from England and the expectation for an alternative commodity crop in America led America to become the dominant cotton cultivating country[485]. However, it was necessary to reduce the price of American raw cotton, in order to establish an international division of labor in the cotton industry. Two technological innovations made it possible[486].One is the invention of a tool separating seed from cotton fiber, after reaping a field. This tool raised the productivity of harvest by over 50 times.

The other is the technology to compress the collected cotton, thus reducing its volume. Originally, light and compact and precious commodities were suitable for distant trade through the sea. Raw cotton was light, but occupied relatively more volume, and hence, it was not suitable for distant trade. However, as the technology to compress cotton without affecting its quality was invented, they could transport raw cotton at a low price from America to Europe.

Although the European merchants strove to expand the arable land for cotton in the Old World, they could not do so. The necessity of crop rotation and the problem of property rights over land prevented the European merchants from the trial of expanding the arable land in Eurasia[487]. There was limitless land in America of the New World[488]. The American merchants could expand the arable land for maximum cotton cultivation, because the previous problems of property rights over land did not occur in America as in Eurasia.

Further, although the English law prohibited the slave trade by the beginning of the 19th century, it did not influence the American law[489]. America could continue to import slaves from Africa. This condition supported the growth of cotton production. The amount of cotton supply was increased in America year by year, since the beginning of 19th century.

The first import substitution: the process of dyeing

The soil of Vladimir province, including the Ivanovo village, was neither fertile nor suitable for grain production. As the Russian orthodox churches were concentrated in this region from 11th century, icon paintings were manufactured here[490]. Since the 17th century, hemp cultivation flourished here and the local women produced hemp fabrics in the province. Subsequently, the dyeing business of hemp

485 Beckert, S., *Empire of Cotton, A Global History*, p.101.
486 Riello, G., *Cotton, the Fabric that made the modern world*, p.204 and p.214.
487 *Ibid.*, pp.255-256.
488 Beckert, S., *Empire of Cotton, A Global History*, p.105.
489 *Ibid.*, p.109.
490 Шульце-Геверниц, Г., *Крупное производство в России, Московско-Владимирская хлопчатобумажная промышленность)*, Москва; Книжное Дело, 1899, с.26.

fabrics, which was shifted from the way of coloring of the icon paintings, prospered here[491]. From the beginning of the 18th century, some merchants from Vladimir province visited Astrakhan and sold their hemp cloth there[492]. They could reach Astrakhan along the Volga River by ship. After they exchanged their hemp fabrics for neighboring Asian goods, they brought the latter to their province[493]. Local merchants' successors predicted the future of the printed cotton and secured the supply of cotton yarn and fabrics from Central Asia in the mid-18th century[494]. At that time, Russian artisans began to change from dyeing hemp to dyeing cotton in Vladimir province[495]. They could dye cotton in only few colors in the Ivanovo village of the province. They faced difficulties in finding the technique to fix colors on cotton clothes.

In the mid-18th century, the Russian government invited dyeing artisans from Germany to Shuriselburg near St. Petersburg[496]. Thus, German artisans transferred their technique of dyeing to Russia. After some dyeing artisans in Ivanovo knew that German dyeing artisan arrived at Russia, they visited Shuriselburg[497]. They learned the new technique of dyeing there and practiced the method in their village.

Russia imported the cotton yarn and fabrics from Central Asia since 17th century. After the English cotton industry developed, based on American cotton, they produced a large amount of cotton yarn and fabrics. As English products had price competitiveness, English cotton yarn and fabrics were exported to foreign markets, including Russia. When England exported its cotton yarn and fabrics to Russia (St. Petersburg) in the late 18th century, the modern cotton industry began to grow in Russia. When English cotton yarn and fabrics were imported to Russia, local artisans in Vladimir province began to buy the English products and dyed them[498]. The dyeing artisans in Vladimir Province imported materials from both Central Asia and England.

When economic crisis occurred in Europe in 1825, many dyeing artisans lost their livelihood, and some of them emigrated from Europe to Russia[499]. The European technique of dyeing, for which chemistry was applied, was effective in Russia. The typical dyeing technique was that used in Adrianople. James Thompson's company established the method to dye the color of Adrianople

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491 Гарелин, Я.П., *Город Иваново-Вознесенск или Бывшие село Иваново и Вознесенский посад (Владимирской Губерний)*, Часть Ⅰ, Шуя: Лито-типография Я.И. Борисоглебского, 1884, с.138.

492 Там же, с.138.

493 Там же, с.137.

494 Индустрия, *Текстильное Дело в России*, Одесса: Порядок, 1910. с.34.

495 Там же,с.34.

496 Гарелин, Я.П., *Город Иваново-Вознесенск или Бывшие село Иваново и Вознесенский посад (Владимирской Губерний)*, Часть Ⅰ, с.140-141.

497 Владимирская Губерния, *Владимирские Губернские Ведомости*, Владимир, 12 марта 1855, №11, с.82.

498 Гарелин, Я.П., *Город Иваново-Вознесенск или Бывшие село Иваново и Вознесенский посад (Владимирской Губерний)*, Часть Ⅰ, с.161.

499 Арсеньева, Е.В., *Ивановские Ситцы ⅩⅧ-начала ⅩⅩ века*, с.20.

(Turkey Red) on cotton yarn and fabrics, based on Dutch krap or madder in 1813[500]. European dyeing artisans transferred the technique from England through Western Europe to Russia. Geppel, Baruk, and Burgusdolf, Western European dyeing artisans, emigrated to Vladimir Province in the latter 1820s and worked for dyeing in Garerin's factory in the Ivanovo village[501]. They instructed Russian dyeing artisans the method to dye in the color of Adrianople. Garelin's factory learned the technique of dyeing in this color and succeeded in the production of printed cotton in Turkey red (Figure 9.2) in 1829[502]. When the printed cotton in Adrianople was supplied to the Russian market, this printed cotton became popular and the demand for Garelin's products was increased.

Figure 9.2. Printed Cotton in Turkey Red.
Source: Meller, S., *Russian Textiles, Printed cloth for the bazaars of Central Asia*, New York, 2007, p.45.

In the early 19th century, English machinist James Watt established the system to apply the steam engine to power factories. Consequently, the steam engine spread in the region of cotton industry in England in the 1830s[503]. In the Russian cotton industry, the steam engine was first utilized to power in dyeing studios. Garelin's factory first introduced the steam engine (18 horsepower) in a dyeing studio in Vladimir Province in 1832[504]. Next, steam engines were introduced in over 10 dyeing studios in the province. Previously, the artisans engraved woodblocks and dyed the cotton fabrics. After the dyeing machine was introduced with steam engine, this method was changed to engraving rotary copper, and the process of dyeing was improved substantially[505]. This transformation realized the dyeing of cotton fabrics with many colors and heightened the clarity of printed cotton. After the demand for steam engine was increased in Russia, many Russian companies imported them from Belgium and

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[500] Chapman, S.D., "Quantity versus Quality in the British Industrial Revolution: The Case of Printed Textiles", *Northern History*, Vol.21, 1985, p.182.

[501] Гарелин, Я.П., *Город Иваново-Вознесенск или Бывшие село Иваново и Вознесенский посад (Владимирской Губерний)*, Часть Ⅰ, с.195.

[502] Там же, с. 195.

[503] Chapman, S.D., *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, London: Macmillan Publishers, 1972, pp.1-20.

[504] Соловьев, В.Л. и Болдырева, М.Д., *Ивановские Ситцы*, Москва: Легпромбытиздат, 1987, с.62.

[505] Владимирская Губерния, *Владимирские Губернские Ведомости*, Владимир, 5 ноября 1849, №45, с.225.

introduced them for their factories[506].

In the 1830s, the process of dyeing was transformed from previous woodblock printing to Perrotine dyeing machine (roller printing with rotary copper) in Vladimir Province. After this process of transition, mass production and acceleration in the process of dyeing continued, and the price of cotton fabrics was decreased. Simultaneously, the design of cotton fabrics was standardized, and the printing with many colors was realized, although the artistic character of printed cotton was weakened[507]. The clear colors of cotton fabrics and the decrease in the price increased the demand for printed cotton, among the common Russian people. When the roller printing machine became mainstream in Vladimir Province, the efficiency of the dyeing process was increased dramatically. The dyeing studios needed a steady supply of cotton fabrics, in order to avoid the dyeing artisans being idle. In the first half of the 19th century, the Shuya village (Vladimir Province) surpassed other regions in the amount of cotton cloth production, and became the center of Russian cotton cloth production[508]. The weaving companies previously distributed cotton yarn to farming families and entrusted the weaving process to them, but they reduced the percentage of outsourcing and promoted the internalization of the weaving process within the companies[509]. The companies tried to control the seasonal fluctuation of cotton cloth supply. The acceleration of the printing process and the internalization of the weaving process constantly increased demand for cotton yarn[510]. The amount of import and domestic cotton yarn could not respond to the increased demand for cotton yarn in Russia.

The second import substitution: the process of spinning

In the early 19th century, the Alexander National factory was established in St. Petersburg as the first modern spinning mill in Russia[511]. The factory was based on the machinery imported from Western Europe. As the English government prohibited the export of spinning machinery until 1841, Russian companies imported this from France and Belgium[512]. The success of this factory was a good model for the establishment of spinning mills. The national factory was proud of the largest amount of cotton yarn production in Russia until the mid-1830s. Three new large spinning mills were built in St. Petersburg in the 1830s and the high position of St. Petersburg was established in the Russian

506 *Владимирские Губернские Ведомости*, Владимир, 25 мая 1857, №21, с.120

507 Clark, H., "The Design and Designing of Lancashire Printed Calicoes during the First Half of the 19th Century", *Textile History*, 15(1), 1984, pp.104-105.

508 *Владимирские Губернские Ведомости*, Владимир, 5 декабря 1853, №49, с.302.

509 Там же, 30 октября 1848, №44, с.247.

510 Там же, 5 декабря 1853, №49, с.302.

511 Yatsunsky, V.K., "The Industrial revolution in Russia", in Blackwell, W.L. (ed.), *Russian Economic Development from Peter the Great to Stalin*, New York: New Viewpoints, 1974, p.115.

512 Яцунский, В.К., 'Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг,' Рожкова, М.К., *Очерки экономической истории России первой половины 19 века*, Москва: Издательство Социально Экономической литературы, 1959, с.174-183.

spinning industry[513]. After the building of these mills, the amount of import American cotton was increased. St. Petersburg specialized in the spinning industry and constantly held the first place of the spinning industry in the production of cotton yarn until the first half of the 1840s[514].

There was another center of the Russian cotton industry in the central region. The industrial area near Moscow and Vladimir province was called the Central Industrial Region. This region dramatically developed simultaneously as the St. Petersburg. Cotton Industry in the Central Region, both which started the weaving and dyeing business in the second half of the 18th century[515]. Some spinning mills were established in this region in the 1820s[516], but the total number of spindles in the Central Industrial Region was inferior to that of St. Petersburg. The weaving and the dyeing companies in the Central Industrial Region established the combined factories with three processes (spinning, weaving, and dyeing) in the second half of the 1840s[517]. The completion of the combined factories transformed the geography of the Russian cotton industry. Subsequently, the center of the Russian cotton industry was shifted from St. Petersburg to the Central Industrial Region, including Moscow and Vladimir province[518]. This region produced the cotton fabrics for the common Russian people, not for the aristocracy.

The merchant L. Knop, who was born in Bremen (Germany) in 1821, began to stay in Moscow as the agent of De Jersey from English trading company in 1839[519]. When he met Morozov, an entrepreneur of cotton industry, he asked Knop to order the English spinning machinery. Knop imported the machinery from England to Russia and sold it to Morozov[520]. In the first half of the 1840s, some spinning mills were built near Moscow Province. Because of this opportunity, Knop established his trading company in Moscow and began to import the English machinery concerning the cotton industry. Knop sold English spinning machinery for these spinning mills. He developed close relations with Russian entrepreneurs, and almost monopolized the sales of English machinery. When spinning mills were built in Vladimir Province in the second half of the 1840s, the cotton industrial companies in the province imported the spinning machinery from England. Then, Knop supported them[521].

Here, I would like to confirm, based on the indices, how cotton industry was developed in the first half of the 19th century. When we evaluate the development of the cotton industry, we usually use two indices, including the amount of the imported cotton yarn and the amount of imported raw cotton (Graph 9.2).

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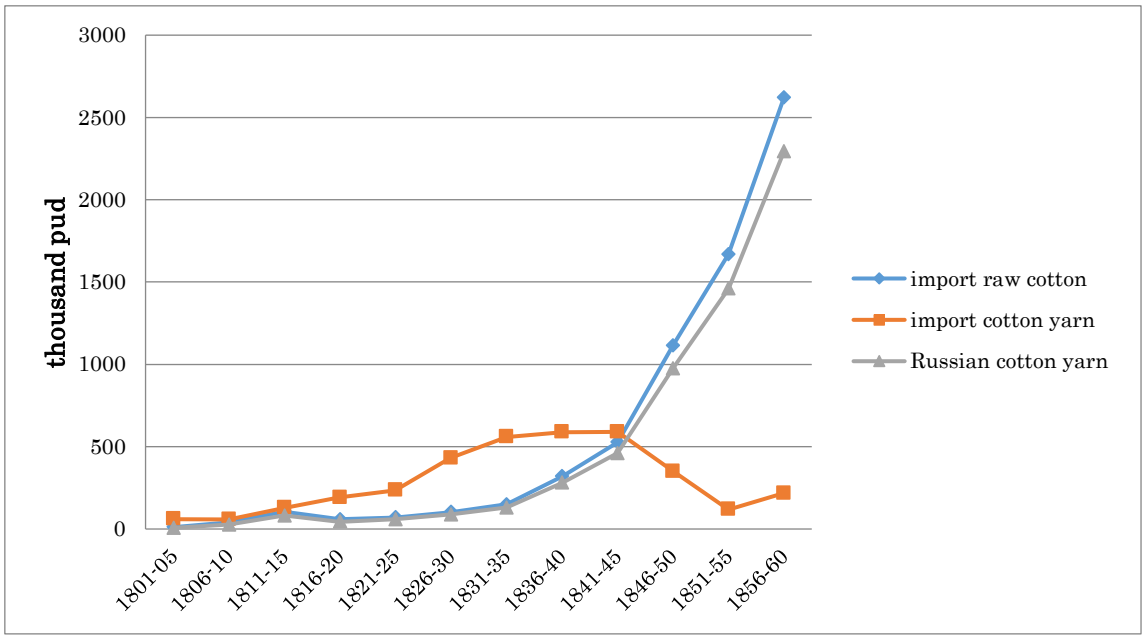
513 Там же, с.176.
514 Yatsunsky, V.K., "The Industrial revolution in Russia", p.116.
515 Яцунский, В.К., 'Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг,' с.127.
516 Там же, с.176.
517 Там же, с.116.
518 Яцунский, В.К., 'Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг, с.128.
519 Farnie, D. A. and Jeremy, D. J., *The Fibre that changed the world, The Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600-1990s*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, p.119.
520 Thompstone, S., "Ludwig Knoop, 'The Arkwright of Russia'", *Textile History*, 15(1), 1984, p.48.
521 *Ibid.*, p.48

Graph 9.2. The import substitution of cotton yarn



Source: Arima, T., Rosia Kogyo-shi Kenkyu, Tokyo, 1973, p.119; Яцунский, В.К., 'Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг,' Рожкова, М.К., *Очерки экономической истории России первой половины 19 века*, Москва: Издательство Социально Экономической литературы, 1959, с.182.

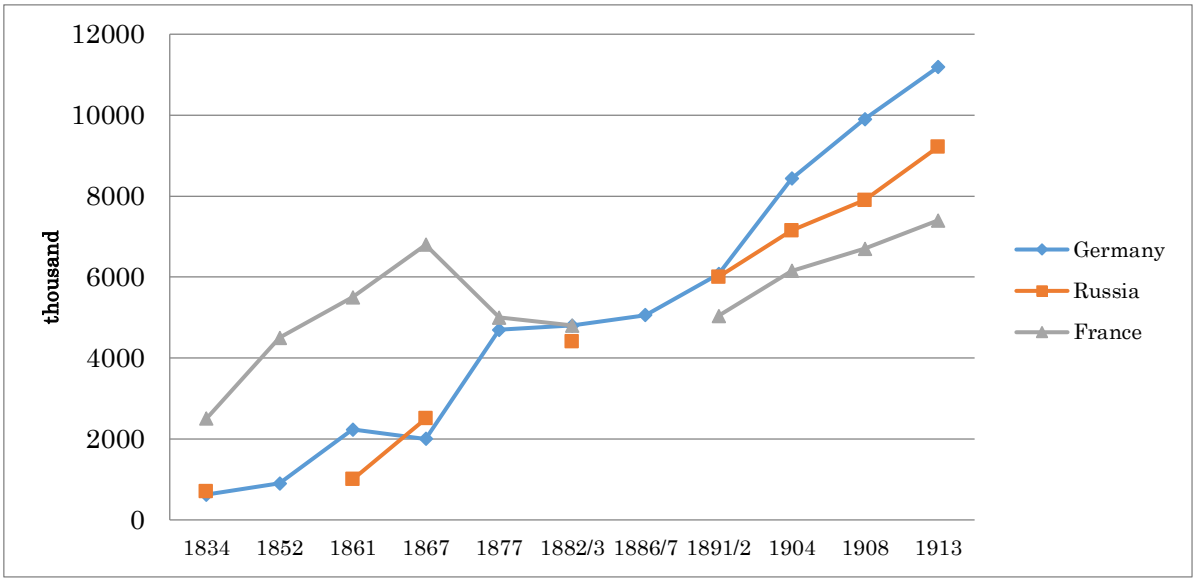
The amount of import cotton yarn began to increase from the beginning of 19th century[522]. If we set the amount from 1801-05 as the standard, the amount of import cotton yarn about 10 times in the first half of the 1840s. However, after the amount from 1841-45 reached the peak, the amount continued to decrease. In the second half of the 1840s, when the amount of import cotton yarn began to decline, Russia succeeded in the import substitution of cotton yarn[523], and the supply of Russian cotton yarn was stabilized. When we focus on the amount of raw cotton import, the amount constantly continued to increase from the early 19th century[524]. When we set the amount of raw cotton import as a standard from 1801-05, the amount increased to about 332 times in the second half of the 1850s. In the 19th century, Russia mainly imported the long fiber cotton from America, because the European modern spinning machinery was suitable for the long fiber cotton. Russia previously imported cotton from Central Asia, but the Asian cotton could not be spun by European spinning machinery, because the machinery was not designed for short fiber cotton.

Meanwhile, I would like to clarify the position of producing forces of the Russian cotton industry. In the beginning of the 1850s, the number of Russian spindles ranked fifth place in the world[525]. The

[522] Arima, T., *Rosia Kogyo-shi Kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1973, p.119; Яцунский, В.К., 'Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг, с.182.
[523] Яцунский, В.К., Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг, с.182.
[524] Arima, T., *Rosia Kogyo-shi Kenkyu*, p.119; Яцунский, В.К., 'Крупная промышленность России в 1790-1860гг, с.182.
[525] De Tegoborski, M.L., *Commentaries on the productive forces of Russia*, Vol. II , London: Green

number of spindles in England, France, America, and Austria surpassed that of Russian spindles. The number of all spindles in England was over 20 times than that of Russia, while those of other advanced countries was between 2 to 4 times. In the field of cotton yarn production, England amounted to over 10 times than Russia, while the difference between the individual amounts of the other three countries were only below twice that of Russia[526]. With regard to producing forces of cotton industry in the mid-19th century, the difference between Russia and western advanced countries, except England, was not impressive in comparison with latecomer countries at that time (Graph 9.3).

Graph 9.3 The Number of the Spindles (1834-1913)



Source: Mitchell, B.R., *International historical statistics: Europe 1750-1993*, New York: Macmillan, 1998.

The third import substitution: the transplantation of American long fiber cotton

In the second half of the 19th century, the Russian cotton industry responded to the domestic and foreign demand of cotton fabrics, and increased the production of them (Graph 9.4). At that time, long fiber cotton was imported by ships from foreign countries to Riga and was transported to the Russian industrial regions by railway. Russia imported long fiber cotton by ships from Brazil and Egypt, but the import of cotton from America was the most important for the Russian cotton industry[527] (Graph 9.5). However, as American cotton was imported through the Atlantic Ocean to Russia, Russia always

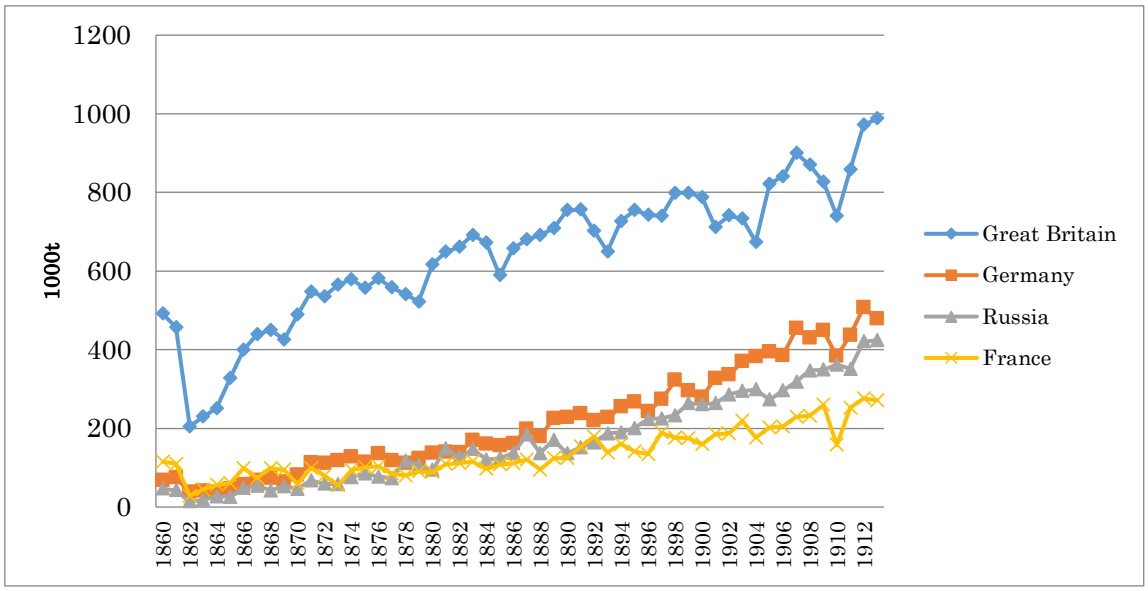
and Longmans, 1856, p.60.

[526] *Ibid*., p.61.

[527] Покровский, В.И., *Сборник сведений по истории и статистик внешней торговли России*, Санкт-Петербург, 1902, с.272.

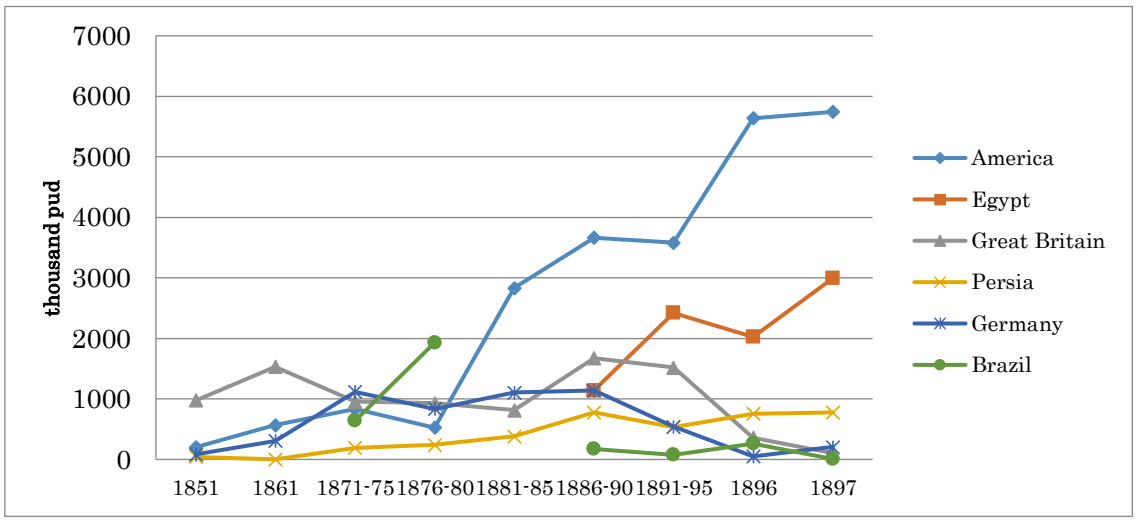
had the risks, that the circumstances of war might stop the cotton supply to Russia, and that some countries might blockade the Atlantic Ocean.

Graph 9.4 Cotton consumption in Great Britain, Germany, Russia and France 1860-1913



Source: Mitchell, B.R., *International historical statistics: Europe 1750-1993*, New York: Macmillan, 1998.

Graph 9.5 Russian Import of Raw Cotton, 1851-1897



Source: Покровский, В.И., *Сборник сведений по истории и статистик внешней торговли России*, с.275.

Russia also imported some short fiber cotton from Central Asia on the land route. However, cotton from Central Asia could not be spun in the spinning machinery. Therefore the short fiber cotton was mixed with long fiber cotton and spun into thread, or used as the warp for cotton fabrics after the spinning the cotton into thread. The fact that short fiber cotton could be cultivated in Central Asia

meant that American long fiber cotton might be transplanted in Central Asia in principle. However, it was not easy to accomplish the transplant of American cotton. When Russia tried to transplant American cotton in Central Asia in the 19th century, after she understood the actual situation of cotton cultivation in America, she tried the pilot study of the transplant beforehand and to learn what conditions were necessary for long fiber cotton cultivation in Central Asia[528].

From the mid-19th century, botanists in Russia started the transplant study of American long fiber "upland cotton" (Figure 9.3). [529]

Figure 9.3 Upland Cotton

Source:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gossypium_hirsutum

The way of cultivation was different between short and long fiver cotton. Botanists needed to understand the difference. While some Russian botanists practically visited the South in America and observed the cotton cultivation there, they invited American specialists of cotton cultivation to Russia and asked to them for the advice, in which regions of Central Asia the cultivation of upland cotton would be hopeful. Based on the results of cotton studies for a long time, Russian botanists conducted the transplants experiments of American cotton in Turkestan of Central Asia from 1879 to 1885[530]. The experiments were successful. The upland cotton transplanted in Central Asia was transported to a spinning mill in Moscow in 1884[531]. Russian spinning company tested the transplanted American cotton, and confirmed that the quality of cotton from Central Asia was good, like American cotton. After these experiments, Russian botanists thought that the Fergana region in Central Asia would be most hopeful for the cultivation of American cotton. They planned to irrigate the Fergana region on a large scale and open the plantation of American upland cotton[532].

After the Russian government confirmed that the cotton transplanted in Central Asia had no problem of the quality, she carried out the policy to open the plantation of upland cotton in the Fergana region of Central Asia. Since 1884, the Russian government distributed the seeds of American cotton to local

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528 Тер-Авнесян, Д.В., 'К истории Хлопководство в СССР', с.574.
529 Там же, с.575.
530 Милаховский, Н.И., *Матерталы для изучения хлопководства*, Том.1, Санкт-Петербург, 1912, с.72.
531 Милаховский, Н.И., *Матерталы для изучения хлопководства*, Том.2, Санкт-Петербург, 1912, с.21.
532 Милаховский, Н.И., *Матерталы для изучения хлопководства*, Том.1, с.49.

peasants through the regional government in Central Asia, and promoted the transplantation enterprise of upland there[533]. Although the native species of cotton in Central Asia were cheaper in the market, the American species of cotton transplanted in Central Asia were much more expensive in the market. Therefore, many people from Russia also started the cultivation of American cotton in Central Asia[534]. The Russian government irrigated the extensive semi-desert area on a large scale in the Fergana region, and prepared the land for the American cotton cultivation. Formerly, the enterprise of irrigation in Central Asia was not organized well[535]. When local government in Central Asia supplied much water to the land, the land often became bog. Conversely, as local government supplied little water to the land, water sometimes did not flow in the low land. In order to irrigate effectively, it was necessary to distribute appropriately the water for irrigation. The Russian government dispatched civil engineers to the Fergana region, and made them to build the equipment to control water round the area for the irrigation[536]. They improved the existing network of irrigation and distributed the water stock for the irrigation appropriately.

When the land for the American cotton cultivation was prepared in the Fergana Region, it was practically necessary for local peasants to participate in the cotton cultivation. The difference of the way to cultivate between native and American species of cotton was the frequency of the care for cotton[537]. Native species of cotton needed few care, but American species of cotton needed much care. In the case of American cotton, local peasants needed to draw up soil near cotton by themselves several times in the summer. As there were few domestic animals in the artificial irrigation area, fertilizer was necessary there for the cotton cultivation[538]. Funds were also necessary for the peasants to prepare the land for cotton cultivation and to buy the fertilizer. From the old times, there was the local financial customary system in Central Asia. However, the Russian government thought that the customary system was not enough to accomplish the plantation of cotton on a large scale in Central Asia, and established the financial institutes to promote the cotton cultivation in the Fergana region. The institute financed capital to people who wanted to cultivate cotton[539]. In addition, the discrimination between the domestic and the imported American cotton was necessary for the success of transplantation of upland in Central Asia. Then, the Russian government introduced the policy of a protective tariff[540]. Although she previously imposed a low ratio tariff on imported raw cotton from foreign countries, she imposed a high ratio tariff on foreign cotton after the 1880s (Graph 9.6). The Russian government promoted the American cotton cultivation in Central Asia by protective tariff, and asked Russian companies to buy the American cotton from Central Asia.

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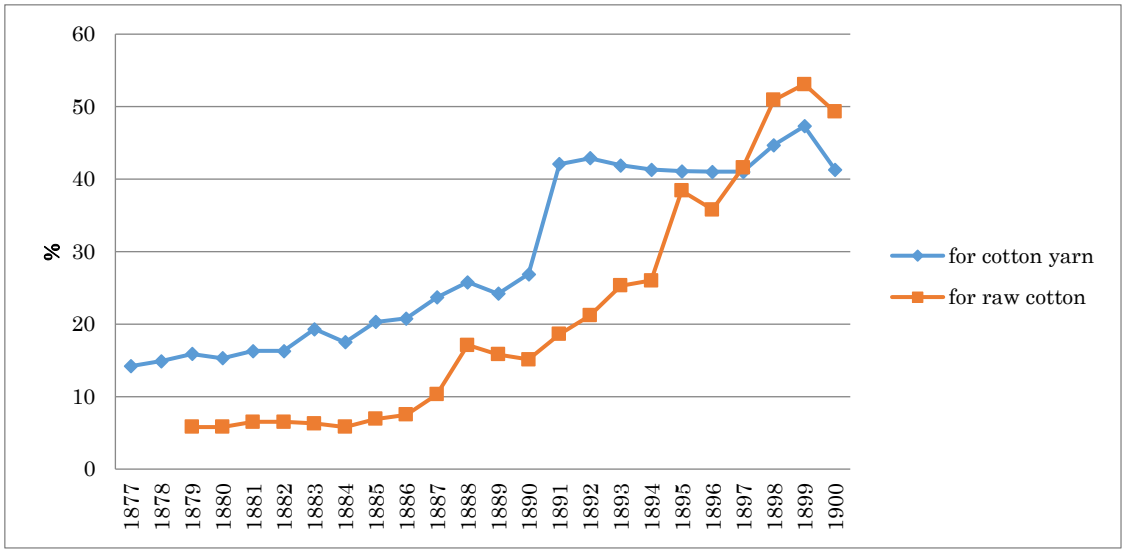
533 Там же, с.5.
534 Там же, с.34.
535 Там же, с.49.
536 Там же, с.50.
537 Там же, с.33.
538 Там же, с.64.
539 Там же, с.46.
540 Милаховский, Н.И., *Матерталы для изучения хлопководства*, Том.2, с.21.

Graph 9.6 The Proportion of Russian Protective Tariff, 1877-1900.



Source: Покровский, В.И., *Сборник сведений по истории и статистик внешней торговли России*, с.278.

After the success of American cotton transplantation led to the import substitution of raw cotton, the Russian government needed to construct the distribution network of the transplanted cotton from Central Asia to Moscow and Vladimir province[541]. When native cotton was transported from Central Asia to Russia earlier, the caravan of camels usually assumed the transportation. There was no means of transportation from Central Asia to Orenburg, except camels at that time. The caravan of camels could not always transport commodities, because the seasonal change influenced the caravan[542]. For this reason, the Caspian Sea railway was used as an alternative route of transportation. This railway went east from the east coast of the Caspian Sea to Central Asia. The line between Caspian Sea and Samarkand was built in 1888. The line was extended to Andijan in 1898[543]. The railway of Caspian Sea was connected with the Volga River route and transported commodities much faster between Central Asia and Moscow than the caravan of camels did. However, when the Volga River was frozen in the winter, ship could not go along the river. Finally, the railway line between Orenburg and Tashkent was constructed in 1905 and connected with the Russian main line[544]. After that, upland cotton was transported directly from Tashkent (Central Asia) to Moscow (Russia) by the railway. The railway united Central Asia with the Russian Empire.

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[541] Покровский, В.И., *Сборник сведений по истории и статистик внешней торговли России*, с.27.
[542] Там же, с.14.
[543] Там же, с.27.
[544] Там же, с.7.

Conclusion

I would like to refer to how the Russian people used cotton fabrics. The traditional materials for clothing were hemp, flax, and the fur of animals in Russia, in relation to climate conditions. When Asian cotton fabrics entered Russia in the 16th century, these commodities were quantitatively limited. In those days, the Asian fabrics were considered an "absolute luxury," according to the definition by Riello[545]. The Asian fabrics were associated with dignity in that period, and the owner of the clothing assumed a high position in the society. Therefore, the Asian clothing also had the character of "positional luxury." After the 18th century, Russian merchants imported cotton yarn and fabrics from Central Asia and dyed the cotton fabrics in cooperation with Bukharan artisans (Central Asia). The printed red cotton called *Kumach* was used as "ceremonial luxury" during festivals. As Russian peasants women were the main consumers of the red cotton fabric among printed cotton, this cotton was considered a "relative luxury."

After the 19th century, the mass production of printed cotton was realized in Russia, and the meaning of printed cotton greatly was changed in comparison with the period of pre-industrialization. While printed cotton became much cheaper and was sold abundantly in the market, the cotton fabric was brightly printed with many colors. As Russian printed cotton was still scarce in the 1830s, peasants bought fabrics from fairs and made holiday clothing with hemp for women[546]. Since the mid-19th century, Russian printed cotton was also used as scarves for women. As the European Mode of production influenced the middle class in Russian cities after the 1860s, the transition from traditional clothes to modern European clothes began in Russia[547]. Consequently, the luxuriance of Russian printed cotton gradually fell, and it eventually became everyday clothing. On the other hand, as the European mode did not influence peasants in Russian rural areas, the luxuriance of Russian printed cotton was maintained there. However, the character of the cotton was transformed from "ceremonial luxury" to "aspirational luxury" in rural areas. By the end of the 19th century, the character of Russian printed cotton was changed from luxury to everyday goods all over Russia, even in farming villages[548].

When we see the history of cotton industry in the 19th century, as innovation of the dyeing process heightened the demand for cotton yarn, the spinning industry grew in Europe. As American long fiber

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[545] Riello, G., "From India to the World, Cotton's Global Reach in the First Global Age", in this literature.

[546] Рындин, В., *Русский Костюм 1830-1850*, выпуск второй, Москва: Всероссийское театральное общество, 1961, с.22-29.

[547] Рындин, В., *Русский Костюм 1870-1890*, выпуск четвертый, Москва: Всероссийское театральное общество, 1965, с.24-28.

[548] Лебедева И.И. и Маслова, Г.С., 'Русская крестиянская одежда ＸⅨ – начала ＸＸв.', Александров, В.А., *Русские, Историко-этнографические атлас, земледелие, крестиянское жилище, крестиянская одежда, (середина ＸⅨ –начало ＸＸ века)*, Москва: Наука, 1967, с.196.

cotton was supplied to Europe, the suitable spinning machinery for long fiber was invented in England. While the kind of cotton in Eurasia was mainly short fiber, modern cotton industry needed only long fiber cotton. Near Russia, short fiber cotton was cultivated in Central Asia and Iran. However, when Russia established modern cotton industry, as she imported the European machinery suitable for American long fiber, the Russian spinning industry could not use Asian short fiber. If we consider the industrialization from the viewpoint of cotton, we can conclude that industrialization promoted the transition from short to long fiber cotton in the world. Western Europe designed "The modern division of labor" and produced cotton fabrics in the way that they imported cotton from America and specialized in the spinning, weaving and dyeing process. As Russia introduced the method of Europe to her cotton industry, we could apply the stage theory of economic development for Russia, although it could not clearly explain the whole character of Russian industrialization.

As I wrote in this article, Russia realized three series of import substitution: in the dyeing process, spinning process, and the cotton supply. As it was difficult to cultivate cotton in Europe, they imported cotton from America and concentrated on the process of spinning, weaving, and dyeing. Russia also traced a similar industrialization since the early 19th century and developed its modern cotton industry, utilizing the international division of labor system of Western Europe. However, when we understand the development of the Russian cotton industry as a whole, there is a big difference between Europe and Russia, which is that Russia annexed neighboring Asia (Central Asia) and transplanted American long fiber cotton there. After Russia succeeded in the transplantation, she could leave the dependence on America and the European trade network. She constructed the distributed railway network in her territory and connected the distance between Moscow and Tashkent (Central Asia). Next, regarding the cotton industry, Russia established domestic means for all processes from cotton supply to manufacturing.

Russia was first introduced to cotton fabrics from Central Asia in the 16th century. Russia started the farming industry in the 17th century and realized the production of the printed red cotton as an imitation of that of Central Asia. After Russia developed her cotton industry with support of European science and technology in the 19th century, Russian printed cotton was supplied to domestic markets and the markets of Central Asia. Russian printed red cotton (*Kumach*) became popular in Central Asia in the 19th century[549]. After Russia succeeded in the transplantation of American long fiber cotton, she positioned Central Asia as both the base of cotton supply and the selling market of Russian cotton fabrics. The cotton industrial companies in Moscow and Vladimir Province dyed the suitable design on cotton fabrics to cater to the Central Asian market.

Russia learned the way of printed cotton production from Central Asia and Europe, and realized the import substitution of products through a long history (300 years). Russia spread the railway in its extensive territory and accomplished a closed economy when the Siberian railway was constructed in

[549] Сухарева, О.А., *Костюм народов Средней Азий, Историко-этнографические очерки*, Москва: Наука, 1979, с.135.

1905. Consequently, Russia departed from the sphere of European economy, independently developed its machinery industry, and constructed its individual economic system. This closed economy in Russia was the necessary condition for the emergence of the Soviet Union.

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10.
The Russian Singer Company: Diffusion of Sewing Machines and Client Base

Irina Potkina

Introduction

The invention of the sewing machine and its mass production marked a technical revolution in the light industry and private household, which had profound social and economic consequences. This was resulted in the following phenomena: 1) mechanization of home production, 2) greater inclusion of women in economic activities and forthcoming independent sources of income, 3) creation of conditions for manufacturing of ready-made clothes and 4) emergence of a new large-scale sector of light industry — *prêt-à-porter*. Moreover, it should be borne in mind another important social aspect of this technical revolution. Labour saving by means of the sewing machine led not only to greater productivity in case of ready-made clothing, but also to the creation of more sophisticated garments by way of custom tailoring. Despite extensive usage of sewing machines even at the end of the 19th century this branch still preserved manual labour. All above mentioned socio-economic effects found their implementation in the Russian history at the turn of the 20th century. The purpose of the section is to see how these phenomena manifested in the economy and came through people's everyday lives.

It is well known that the Singer Manufacturing Company was the largest producer of sewing machines at the end of the 19th century. Moreover, it was leading and the most successful transnational firm not only in the world economic history but in the Russian as well. It played a crucial role in a new branch of large-scale industry building in the Empire particularly light machinery. Moreover the Company created an unprecedented sales network of the complex and mass demanded consumer goods in Russia.

The Singer Company actively expanded the domestic commerce through innovative marketing strategies and inventive advertising actions all over the world. Great success in the USA forced management to draw special attention to Europe. Initially, the market was studied by means of the organization of trade in a particular country, and then when it was required the Singer Company started manufacturing at a new place. The first commercial agencies appeared in London and Hamburg, and the first overseas factory was opened in 1867 in the UK in Glasgow. The same scheme of market

development was applied in Canada and Germany, as well as in the other countries[550]. In less than two decades after its birth (1850) the Singer Manufacturing Company quickly became to acquire the features of a transnational corporation due to its business organization.

In view of the foregoing this section splits into four parts, in which I would like to trace the following problems 1) what were the peculiarities of the Singer's penetration and incorporation into the Russian market and industrial structure; 2) how a sales network was organized and what principals the firm applied in its creation; 3) what was the foundation for large-scale business in the vast country; 4) what was the backbone of the Company's customer base. All these issues are closely interrelated, and they will be touched on to a greater or lesser degree in each topic of the section. In the final analysis our research will answer the question about the social consequences of the Singer's economic activities in Russia.

Starting Business in Russia

The American firm moved very quickly even to Russia. The emancipation of bonded peasantry in 1861 and intensive railway construction in 1860–1870s created favorable conditions for starting business in 1863. However the Russian Empire was unattractive market, because it fell far behind the western countries in its economic development, and more important in terms of income. At that time the Singer sewing machines were too expensive, they cost $ 100. In other words few people were able to afford such an expensive thing. It was the main reason that the period of exceptionally trading activity was too long in Russia.

Let's take the liberty of slight digression to enter Russia in a global historical context. Available data on personal income in the Russian Empire was derived by the contemporary economic historians from a variety of indicators by calculations, and they differ from each other. Nevertheless I would like to give the most reasonable estimations in my opinion. It is worth mentioning that even at the very beginning of the 20th century the poor (paupers, day-laborers, unskilled laborers, women and children employed in industrial enterprises), who accounted for 10 per cent of the active population, had an average annual income of 77.7 Rubles. While the richest strata, that gained earnings of 2129.7 Rubles a year, constituted only one per cent. In addition to this the share of 10 per cent of the wealthiest population was about 26.4 percent in net national product. Income distribution among the rest of the active population (100–500 Rubles a year) was not-too-big as in extreme groups. For example, in 1901 and 1910 the average annual earnings of industrial workers varied between the following intervals: 96–293 and 182–337 Rubles correspondingly, while of agricultural workers — 49–94 and 116–216

[550] Godley A. Selling the Sewing Machine around the World: Singer's International Marketing Strategies, 1850–1920. In: *Enterprise & Society: The International Journal of Business History.* Vol. 7. No. 2. 2006.

Rubles[551]. To put an end to the question it is necessary to add that in terms of per capita production the Russian Empire was approximately on the level with Japan, Italy and Spain and fell far behind the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany and France.

The Singer Company started its penetration into the Russian market with St. Petersburg. Max Fiedler[552], a Mecklenburg-Schwerin subject, was one of the first Singer's agents for Russia. He entered in a contract with the firm and then he registered himself as a merchant of the 2nd guild in the Russian capital. From 1865 till 1877 he put up for sale and advertizing the Singer's sewing machines in a shop that was located in the heart of the city. In 1871 he founded his own firm under the name "Max Fiedler", and he enlisted the services of his relative Karl Fiedler as an assistant[553]. During this period the number of shops in St. Petersburg was stable and did not increase. Russia was only on the path to the market economy, the bulk of the population did not have free cash, and commercial credit system was in the process of establishment, small loan was practically absent. Moreover, the economic crises of the 1873–1878, that affected mainly textile industry, did not promote the sale.

Fred Carstensen, an American scholar, pointed out "The local market for sewing machines was probably small, limited by the extremely low cost of hand labor and confined to Russia's few urban areas, to the relatively small group of Russians who had the necessary rubles, and, initially to those groups accessible through advertisements"[554].

In 1878, George Neidlinger[555], a citizen of Hamburg, superseded Max Fiedler as an agent for Russia; he also registered himself as a merchant of the 2nd guild in the Russian capital. The dealer was granted an exclusive trading right of the Singer sewing machines in Russia. Needless to say that George

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[551] *Rossiya 1913 god. Statistiko-dokumental'ny spravochnik* [Russia in 1913. Statistical and documentary reference book]. St. Peterburg: BLITs, 1995, pp. 29–37, 311; Mironov B.N. *Blagosostoyanie naseleniya i revolyutsii v imperskoi Rossii, XVIII – nachalo XX veka* [Welfare and Revolutions in Imperial Russia, 18 – the beginning of the 20th century]. Moscow: Ves' mir, 2012, pp. 601, 605, 607.

Without taking into account currency exchange rates, in 1914 one Ruble was equal to 2.16 DM, to 2.67 FF, to 2.54 Kr; and one pound was equal to 9.46 Rubles.

[552] In 1863 the Company signed a contract with him to serve as Singer's agent for Russia working in St. Petersburg; in 1865 Fiedler agreed to work exclusively for Singer. Read more about him: Carstensen F.V. *American Enterprise in Foreign Markets. Studies of Singer and International Harvester in Imperial Russia.* Chapel Hill, London, 1984, p. 28–33.

[553] *Spravochnaya kniga o litsakh, poluchivcshikh na 1867 god kupecheskie svidetel'stva po 1 i 2 guildiyam* [Reference Book about Persons Who Have Received First and Second Guild Merchant Certificates in 1867]. St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 333; *Spravochnaya kniga… na 1869 god,* p. 368; *Spravochnaya kniga… na 1870 god*, p. 398: *Spravochnaya kniga na… 1871 god*, p. 421; *Spravochnaya kniga… na 1872,* p. 434; *Spravochnaya kniga o litsakh, poluchivcshikh na 1873 god kupecheskie svidetel'stva i bilety na pravo torgovli i promysla po 1 i 2 guildiyam* [The Reference Book about the Persons who Received Merchant Certificates and Tickets for the Right of Trade and Business Activities on 1 and 2 Guilds for 1871]. St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 569; *Spravochnaya kniga… na 1874 god,* p. 561; *Spravochnaya kniga…1875 god,* p. 581; *Spravochnaya kniga.. na 1876 god,* p. 591; *Spravochnaya kniga… na 1877 god,* p. 666.

[554] Carstensen F.V. *American Enterprise in Foreign Markets.* p. 30.

[555] In 1873 he established a private firm "G. Neidlinger, Hamburg", which represented the interests of the Singer Company in Northern and Eastern Europe.

Neidlinger played an important role in the development of Singer's business in the country. At first he lived in Germany, but in 1885 he moved to St. Petersburg. Neidlinger inherited a single shop on Bolshaya Morskaya Street, and after 4 years of trading activities he managed to increase their number dramatically. Simultaneously he began to develop operations in Moscow, the center of textile industry[556]. In 1878, due to his business ability the Singer Company received its first honorable title in Russia — a Supplier of Her Imperial Highness Courts Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna and Grand Duchess Alexandra Iosifovna[557].

Only in the early 1880s the country was covered with a network of sales offices, depots and stores. The aggregate number of branches was 81. St. Petersburg had 10 depots, Moscow had five, Warsaw – three and Kiev – two. These cities including Odessa constituted the commercial and industrial hubs in the Russian Empire. It is interesting to underline that there was one permanent depot in Nishny Novgorod, and one temporary store for the duration of the fair. In the 1880s the Singer Company started operations in the Eastern regions of the Empire. At that moment the firm established the warehouse at the Irbit Fair and in the city of Ufa[558]. The Irbit Fair was the second after the Nizhny Novgorod Fair. It played an important role in domestic trade as the mediator between European Russia and Siberia in turnover of commodities. At the fair met products from China, Siberia, Middle East, Moscow, the Urals and Archangelsk. By the way numerous Siberian artisan and industrial enterprises purchased fabrics for tailoring at the Nizhny Novgorod and Irbit fairs[559]. For these reasons the fairs gave a good opportunity for the Singer Company to expand market.

Thus George Neidlinger created a solid base for opening of a Russian branch of the Singer Manufacturing Company. In spring of 1897 the firm under the same name was established in St. Petersburg with fixed capital of 5 million Rubles. Among its founders there were only foreigners: an

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556 See: *Spravochnaya kniga … na 1878–1897 god*; *Spravochnaya kniga o litsakh, poluchivcshikh na 1877–1897 kupecheskie svidetel'stva po 1 i 2 guildiyam v Moskve* [The Reference Book about the Persons who Received for 1877–1897 1st and 2nd Guild Merchant Certificates in Moscow]. Moscow, 1877–1897: *Protokol komissii, obrazovannoy iz predstavitelei Bserossiiskikh Zemskogo i Gorodskogo soyuzov dlya vyyasnenniya voprosov o lichnom sostave russkogo aktzionernogo obschestva "Kompanya Singer"* [Minutes of the Commission Formed from Representatives of All-Russia Zemskyi and City Unions for Elucidation Questions on Staff Membership of Russian Joint-stock Venture «the Singer Company»]. Moscow; W.p., 1915, p. 5.

557 *Postavschiki dvora ego imperatorskogo velichestva. Postavschiki moskovsogo Kremlya. 1856–2000. Yubileinyi albom* [Purveyors of His Imperial Majesty Court. Purveyors of Moscow Kremlin, 1856–2006. Anniversary Album]. Moscow: Media Press, 2006, p. 219, 228.

558 *Rukovodstvo k novosemeinoi medium i № 4 shveinym mashinam dlya domashnikh i drugikh rabot* [Instructions for Use of New Family Medium and № 4 Sewing-machines for Domestic and Other Works]. St. Peterburg: Tip. G. Shakht , 1882, p. 31–32.

559 Kandelaki I. *Rol' yarmarok v russkoi torgovle* [The role of fairs in the Russian trade]. St. Peterburg: Red. period. izd. M-va finansov, 1914, p. 29–31; Galskikh E.V. K istorii proisvodstva i torgovli gotovym plat'em v Zapadnoi Sibiri vo vtoroy polovine XIX veka // *Predprinimateli i predprinimatel'stvo v Sibiri (XVIII – nachalo XX vv.)* [The history of manufacture and trade of ready-made clothes in Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century. In: Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in Siberia (18 – the beginning of the 20th century)]. Barnaul: Izd-vo AGU, 1995, p. 95–96.

American citizen Frederic Bourne, a British subject Douglas Alexander, and of course George Neidlinger. According to its charter the Company was created «for the organization and the maintenance of factories with the purpose of manufacturing the sewing-machines, typewriting machines, bicycles, agricultural machines and instruments, steam boilers and all kinds of electric machines and devices». The wide specialization declared in the charter testified the desire to locate a longliving enterprise in Russia although the main goal at that moment was the construction of a sewing-machine factory. Simultaneously the Company bought a distribution network with all goods to be sold which was created by Neidlinger. He was paid back 2.4 million Rubles for his former business[560].

Creating a Unique Sales Network

In the beginning of the 20th century the sales network of the Singer Company had a well-organized structure and it grew rapidly. The territory in Russia was divided into large areas where the offices were subordinated to the Board. Before the Great War the total number of the Central offices reached 50. There were 38 offices in the European part of Russia, six in Siberia, three in Transcaucasia and three in Central Asia. The aggregate number of shops and depots of the Singer Company in the country exceeded 3000 with almost 25,000 employees. With the beginning of the Great War the number of the Central offices was reduced to 39, and the Company was forced to close up about 500 shops that employed 6000 workers in the western regions of the Empire[561].

In 1904–1912 the firm's headquarters and the St. Petersburg Central office housed in its own building on the Nevsky Avenue, opposite the beautiful Kazan Cathedral. This mansion was constructed in 1900–1904 by the prominent and authoritative Russian architect of Art Nouveau style Count Pavel Susor. He succeeded in incorporating into classical environment an innovative edifice without breaking the city's stylistic ensemble. The board of the Company proudly and satisfyingly affirmed that "the new building as an outstanding sample of architecture will adorn the capital and the Nevsky Avenue"[562].

The historical information on the firm's activities prepared by the Board stated the following:

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560 *Ustav aktsionernogo obshestva Kompaniya Zinger. Vysichaishe utverzhden 13 iuylya 1897 goda* [The Charter of Joint-stock Company «the Singer Company». Imperially Confirmed on the 13th June 1897]. St.-Petersburg: R. Schwartz, 1909, p. 3; Sharokhina M.P. Finansivye i strukturnye svyazi "Kompanii Singer" s rossyiskim i inostrannym kapitalom // *Samoderzhavie i krupnyi kapitalv Rossii v kontze XIX – nachale XX v.* [Financial and Structural Links of the Singer Company with the Russian and Foreign Capital. In: Autocracy and High Money in Russia at the End of the 19th – the Beginning of the 20th Century]. Moscow, Institute of history of the USSR, 1982, pp. 160–161.

561 Sharokhina M.P. *Finansivye i strukturnye svyazi.* Op. cit., p. 122; *Protokol komissii.* Op. cit., p. 17; Archival repository till 1917 of the Central State Archive of Moscow (hereafter – OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy). RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 104, p.4.

562 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 483, p. 33.

Fig.9.1. The headquarters, Central office and shop of the Singer Company in St. Petersburg. The beginning of the 20th century**. Source:** Muzejno-vystavochnyj tsentr "Istoriya otechestvennogo predprinimatel'stva". Kollektsiya starykh reklamnykh plakatov i fotografij. (Museum and exhibition center "History of national entrepreneurship". Collection of old advertising posters and photos).

"The business operations of the Singer Company in Russia are undertaken on the same lines of the American Company, the basis of which is the sale of all articles on their own shops and through their own employees direct to the consumer[563], i.e. private persons, artisans and owners of factories, thus eliminating all re-sales and agents"[564].

The Singer's trading activities developed successfully. In 1900–1914, the number of sewing-machines sold in Russia increased more than 6 times and the cost of output grew 7.6 times. Even in the years of revolution and crop failure (1906–1907), when the general business conditions deteriorated significantly, the Company was able to achieve positive results. The total sales for 1906 achieved 380,000 machines, and next year the Board intended to increase business operations about 20 per cent[565]. As Fred Carstensen pointed out, "in 1904 the Russian market accounted for less than 15 % of Singer's total sales. In 1914 it was Singer's second largest market, behind only American". It accounted for over 30 per cent of the world sales[566].

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563 Underlined in the document
564 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 104, pp. 2–3.
565 Ibidem. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 94, p. 10.
566 Carstensen F.A. *American Enterprise in Foreign Markets*, p. 55, 56.

A number of factors influenced on the growth in sales. Firstly, construction of its own plant in the town of Podolsk, Moscow Province, reduced the cost of family sewing machines sold in Russia, though they still remained relatively expensive. For example, a hand sewing machine cost 25 Rubles and more. Secondly, the Singer Company carefully chose a site for yet another Central office, taking into account a number of characteristics of high priority: population, transportation infrastructure and the presence of industrial establishments[567]. Taken together, these factors constituted basic principles of the Singer's business in Russia.

Thirdly, the Imperial law accepted in February 1904 permitted selling of goods in credit in retail trade[568] and it allowed the consumer market to expand in the country despite generally low incomes of the population. The Singer Company successfully took advantage of this right. For example, according to the firm's reports "the business operation regarding the sale of sewing machines upon instalments are continually increasing and… reached the sum of more than 23 million Rubles in 1905. However, this new form of trade turned into increase in liabilities of the Company, and caused the Board to enlarge its capital stock and correspondingly working capital"[569] to minimize the costs of credit. On the other hand, selling by instalments with much extended terms of payment led to the emergence of numerous debtors, and the Company was obliged to create a special category of employees – the so-called collectors who worked in the towns from the depots and in small villages from modest business premises having at their disposal a limited stock of machines. Each depot served from 1000 to 2500 debtors whom the Company preferred to call "lessees"[570]. It should be noted that for Russia average collection of 12 kopecks away from 2 Rubles was taken as a norm. In 1915, there were more than 100 million Rubles of consumer indebtedness[571]. These figures show the scale of selling by instalments and the degree of market development.

According to Andrew Godley at the beginning of the 20th century "the canvasser-collector selling organization was Singer's principal innovation". He considers "these canvassing salesmen-collectors" as the backbone of the model has been created by the Singer Company. In poor urbanized Russia even in 1914 half salesmen were still country collectors[572]. At that time the proportion of the urban population was 15 per cent only.

Nevertheless the executives stated with good reason and pride that thanks for the wide credit, which the Singer Company offered to the public, sewing machines, previously had considered as articles of luxury became accessible to all classes of population. In addition the sewing machine turned to be the

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567 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 94, p. 16–21.

568 *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporyazhenii Pravitel'stva, izdavaemye pri Pravitel'stvuyushhem Senate* [Collections of Laws and Orders of the Government Issued by the Governing Senate]. St.-Petersburg: Senatskaya tipografiya, 1904. Part 1. No. 549.

569 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 483, p. 56 and back of page.

570 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 104, p. 5.

571 Ibidem. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 94, p. 3; Protokol komissii, p. 17.

572 Godley A. *Selling the Sewing Machine around the World,* p. 286–287: Carstensen F.V. *American Enterprise in Foreign Markets,* p. 69.

food-supplier for the poorest strata giving not only constant earnings but also the possibility to serve the necessities of their families[573].

At the same time, the Company adapted business to the Russian conditions, and made serious adjustments to market timing. In Russia peasants and workers were the main consumers of the family sewing machines. The document states the following: "As the majority of the enormous population of the Russian Empire is occupied in agriculture consequently their creditability depends on the harvest, so that in places where agriculture dominates, the managers of the shops of the Company obtain information regarding the prospects of the harvest from the greater or lesser success of which the amount of sales always depends". As far as the working class was concerned, the firm applied a diverse approach. The difference was as follows in accordance with the opinion of the Company's administrators: "in determining the creditability of workmen the managers of the shops take into consideration the length of service of the workmen at the factory, workshop or other enterprise, as well as the greater or lesser intensity of the work in the factory or workshop itself"[574].

The Singer's shops were easily recognizable due to the signboards with the Company's trademark. Each store had a warehouse of spare parts and a workshop for repairs. Aimed at complete satisfaction of the buyer's needs the Singer Company gave full and timeless guarantee, free training in sewing and embroidery in the Company's shops[575]. At the turn of the 20th century a user on the Singer sewing machine could fulfill art needlework in technique of Richelieu embroidery, hemstitch, cross-stitch, double-sided embroidery, satin stitch embroidery, beaded seam and various types of backstitch. To every sold machine was attached a detailed instruction with illustrations, written in simple, clear and intelligible language. Positioning itself as a Russian firm the Singer Company released in 1905 a set of postcards under the name "Russian proverbs" in images, one of which depicted a laborious family with its "helpmate" – the Singer sewing machine. Colourful illustrations depicting scenes from Russian rural life were performed by famous poster and graphic artists Vladimir Taburin (1870–1954).

That is to say the Singer Company has developed a universal business strategy making corrections to the peculiarities of a particular country. Such atomized sales network was destined for realization of predominantly household sewing machines manufactured by the plant in the town of Podolsk, which is located 36 km from the centre of Moscow. Promotional materials printed in Russia served the same purposes. The world-famous company logo – a young beautiful lady sitting at the sewing machine in the frame of the capital letter "S" (in Russian spelling "*З*") – decorated store windows. (Fig.9.2) As a rule, she was dressed in the national costume of a country. The Russian poster designed by Taburin showed a girl in traditional clothing – an ornate pinafore dress and a splendid head-band, the so-called kokoshnik. It became a recognizable symbol of the firm.

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573 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 104, p. 3.

574 Ibidem.

575 *"Sem'ya" Kalendar' izdanie na 1914 god.* Kompaniya Zinger ["The Family" Calendar for 1914. Edition of the Singer Company], 1914, p. 122.

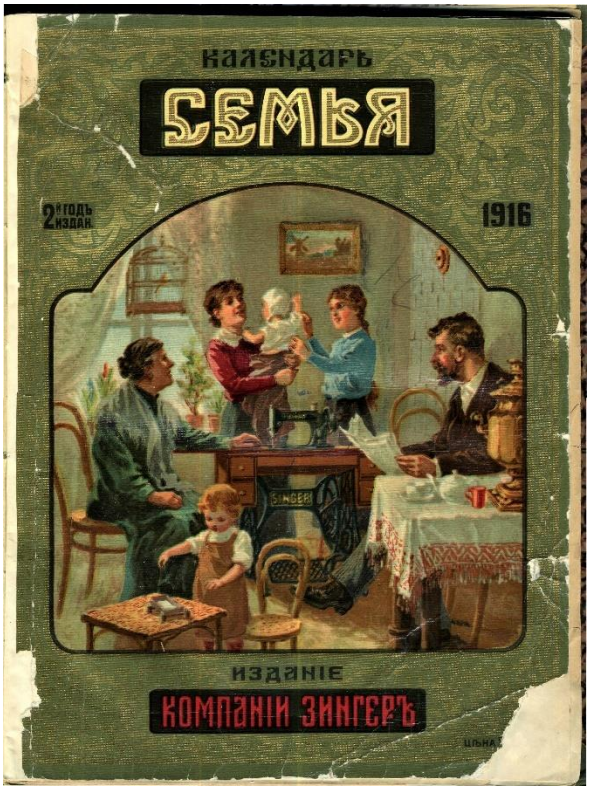

Fig.9.2 (Left) An advertising poster, the beginning of the 20th century. The Singer Company logo. Source: Muzejno-vystavochnyj tsentr "Istoriya otechestvennogo predprinimatel'stva". Kollektsiya starykh reklamnykh plakatov i fotografij**.** (Museum and exhibition center "History of national entrepreneurship". Collection of old advertising posters and photos).
Fig.9.3 (Right) Calender "Family" Source: Kalendar' "Sem'ya" na 1916 god. Petrograd: Kompaniya Zinger, 1915.

In 1914–1916 the Singer Company proceeded with publishing a yearbook-directory in a form of "Universal Calendar" under metaphorical name "The family". (Fig 9.3) The editors depicted on the covers an image of a large family: in the centre of the room a goodwife was busy with work on the sewing machine surrounded by children, her husband and grandparents. It is small wonder, how the company addressed its readers and potential customers in the foreword of the first edition: "What has inspired us to start edition of a new type of calendar? … The very dialogue that during fifty years the Singer Company was maintaining with Russian family. During fifty years the Singer Company was known only as a main supplier of sewing-machine – this true assistant both in a family and in a workshop. Moreover, our presentation as a publisher of that calendar is the direct result of our close association with Mother Russia"[576]. Thus, the firm made it clear who were its main clients in the vast country, namely housewives, artisans, petty proprietors and numerous freelances in the villages and very small towns. As a rule, these categories of population made casual dress of simple cut from cotton

[576] Ibidem. Foreword to the edition.

and linen: blouses, jackets, shirts, skirts, trousers as well as children's wear.

The Singer's sales system could work properly only due to the existence of an extensive banking sector in Russia. In 1914, there were 49 private commercial banks, which had 687 branches in distant and near province places, 317 public city banks, 300 banking houses and offices. The Singer Company also could employ the services of 137 regional branches and offices of the State Bank of the Russian Empire. The Board did not give preference to anyone but usually relied on such top class banks with an excellent business reputation as the Azov-Don bank, the Volga-Kama bank, the St. Petersburg International Commercial bank, the Russo-Asiatic bank, the Russian bank for foreign trade, the St. Petersburg Discount and Loan bank, the Moscow Merchant bank and so forth[577]. The Singer Company concluded agreements with the majority of banks and opened correspondent and current accounts thereby securing the possibility of business transactions on a sound footing in the province.

Laying the Foundation for Production Capacities

In Spring of 1900 the Company bought 30 desyatin (32.7 ha) of land from the municipal authorities of the town of Podolsk for machinery plant construction, which was built in 1902. The Board pursued far-reaching goals. According to the Minutes of general meetings of shareholders the industrial factory was built for the production of sewing machines for sale in Russia and for export abroad, i.e. to Turkey, Balkan states, Persia as well as to Japan and China[578]. As far as China was concerned the task was partly fulfilled by opening of a depot in Kharbin at the beginning of the 20th century.

Up to 1902 there was only one big metalworking plant in the Moscow Province founded in 1883 by the Russian entrepreneur Alexander Krestovnikov. The enterprise produced weaving looms and spare parts. It was one of the first machine tool plants in Russia, which played an important role in supplying textile mills of the Central Industrial region with equipment. From the very beginning the Podolsk plant outstripped the Moscow Company of mechanical engineering in number of workers and production volume. These two enterprises delivered the greatest amount of various machines sending from the Podolsk district to all regions of Russia (in sum 84 per cent)[579].

The erection of the sewing-machine plant began with construction of turbine power station and

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577 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 30.

578 Ibidem. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 483, p. 21.

579 *Torgovlya i promyschlennost' Evropeiskoi Rossii po raionam. Vypusk 3. Moskovskaya promyschlennaya zona* [Trade and industry of European Russia in Regional Aspect. Part 3. Moscow Industrial Area]. St.-Petersburg: Tip. V.F. Kirschbauma, 1911, p. 218; *Podrobnyi ukazatel' po otdelam Vserosiiskoi promyschlennoi i khudozhestvennoi vystavki 1896 g. v Nyzhnem Novgorode. Otdel XII. Maschiny, apparaty i maschinostroenie* [Detailed Index on Departments of the All-Russian Industrial and Art Exhibition of 1896 in Nyzhny Novgorod. Department XII. Mashines, apparatus and mechanical engineering]. Moscow: Rus. t-vo pech. i izd. dela. 1896, p. 21–22.

foundry. By 1908, the plant had been fully electrified. The power station subsequently supplied with the electricity the whole town of Podolsk. It was fitted out with advanced equipment: steam turbines with overall power of 4000 kw, steam-engines, transformers and steam water-tube boilers. The power station was equipped by Babcock and Wilcox boilers, steam-power dynamos of the General Electric Co., steam engines of the Ball and Wood plant in New York and tandem engine from Diehl foundry in Nuremberg[580]. Thus, the Singer Company applied production of reliable and job-proved partners. For example, the Port Dundas in Glasgow was electrified among others by the Ball and Wood Co. engines in the end of the 19th century[581]. The Babcock & Wilcox and General Electric companies were well-known in the Empire, and a huge number of Russian firms were in continual business contacts with them. The last one had its own plant in Riga.

In 1902–1915, the factory steadily increased its capacity. New shops were under construction and the old ones were rebuilt to meet modern requirements of manufacturing. The foundry shop covered not only needs of the Podolsk factory, but also produced metal spare parts for weaving looms in favour of the cotton mills of the Moscow Province. Before the Great War the Podolsk plant included 12 industrial and 8 auxiliary workshops in all. Subsequently, the number of industrial premises increased to 37. Pig-iron foundry, metalworking and woodworking shops were the most important manufacturing units[582]. They were equipped with machine tools made mainly in the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Belgium. Contemporaries noted that the plant was perfectly outfitted, shops and premises were light and spacious, kept clean and all equipment was maintained in exemplary order[583].

Originally, the factory made stands for sewing-machines exclusively from Russian materials, and then began to manufacture machine heads. It should be emphasized that from the very beginning the Russo-Belgian metallurgical Company founded in 1895 in Russia by the "Société Générale de Belgique" became a long-standing partner of the Singer enterprise supplying it with pig iron and ferrosilicium. Later on, the Podolsk plant started making wooden parts like covers, tables, supports and so forth. For these purposes in 1912 the Singer Company bought two pieces of land: one in Podolsk located nearby the factory for construction of a new woodworking department, and the second, in the Kostroma Province under the name "Trinity forest estate" at purchased value of 2.5 million Rubles. This estate was previously owned by Prince Sergei Gagarin, and the forest area was 38.2 thousand *desyatin* (more than 41.5 thousands ha). The Singer Company constructed there a sawmill with work

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580 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 54, inv. 162, file 117, p. 2–3 and back page; *Podolsky uezd Moskovskoi gubernii. Statistiko-economichesky ocherk* [Podolsky District, Moscow Province. Statistical and Economic Essay]. Podol'sk: W.p., 1924, p. 114–115.

581 See British Industrial History // www.gracesguide.co.uk/Ball_and_Wood (Accessed date 14.06.2015)

582 *Podolsky uezd Moskovskoi gubernii.* Op. cit., p. 112–114.

583 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 526, inv. 1, files 271, 272, 274; *Protokol komissii.* Op. cit., p. 9, 13; *Podolsky uezd Moskovskoi gubernii.* Op. cit., p. 116.

output of 1.4 million cubic feet per year (42,000 m^3)[584].

Finally, the Podolsk plant began to make the major part of family sewing machines sold in Russia covering 40 per cent of domestic commerce. The rest market segment was occupied by production of a number of German firms: Pfaff (founded in 1862), Siedel & Naumann (1868), Gritzner (1872). They started fabrication based on a particular model of the Singer sewing machine, making afterwards their own modifications and improvements. Brand Natalis, produced by Grimme, Natalis & K°, and especially Original Victoria, output of Mundlos & K°, were non less popular in Russia. All companies, and particularly Singer, played a crucial role in mechanization of sewing process in Russia. Deliverable sewing machines were equipped by a number of additional devices that let users to perform a variety of connecting, edge and fnishing seams — overlocker, folder, gatherer, stripper, edge-stitcher, braider, fell, piping and hemming attachments, embroidery foot and darning machine. These tools facilitated the process of tailoring, making it less time-consuming. Sewing machine allowed creating articles from calico, batiste, malin, sheet, percale sheeting, fine and weight silk, heavy cloth, fine and fine-medium staple, and moreen. In other words, a tailor could work both at home and in the workshop for himself and for sale and create informal clothes and complicated cutout garments.

In the prewar years the daily output of the Podolsk factory reached up to 2500 machines of six classes. As a matter of fact such production level was a reply to the massive demand for sewing machines in Russia. In 1914, the total production in value terms amounted to 26 million Rubles, including such related products as small reserve parts, needles and threads, scissors and other accessories necessary for a continuance of the work. These additional goods were partly imported from Germany, for example, scissors, tailor knives and advertising articles at total sum 185,541.52 Rubles. The bulk of the goods were received from the USA and Scotland[585].

Thus, we see that the corporation set about complete production cycle in Podolsk and it managed to make full-scale traffic of goods in Russia. This, in particular, constituted a solid competitive advantage of the Singer Company.

The Podolsk factory pretty quickly took the third place in large-scale metalworking industry in the province of Moscow after such industrial giants as Kolomna and Moscow (Mytishchi) machinery construction plants, founded correspondingly in 1863 and 1897. Kolomna produced railway cars, locomotives and bridges while Mytishci fabricated railway equipment and spare parts, whereas in contrast the Podolsk plant represented light engineering. Within a short period of time it achieved significant economic success. Build on a truly American scale, the enterprise proved to be the third among Singer's factories all over the world[586].

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[584] OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 483, p. 81 and back page, 86; *Protokol komissii*, p. 9; Dudin V.A. *Istoriiya kostromskikh lesov* [History of Kostroma forests]. Kostroma: DiAr, 2000, p. 21.

[585] OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 104, p. 7; *Podolsky uezd Moskovskoi gubernii*, p. 116.

[586] Kozminykh-Lanin I.M. *Fabrichno-zavodskaya promyschlennost' Moskovskoi gubernii po*

The Great War changed drastically the condition for conducting business, as well as the relationship between the Imperial Government and the stock companies. As a result the situation at the Podolsk plant became very complicated and got worsened day by day. Private demand for family sewing machines showed the tendency to long-term recession, and finally in the middle of 1917, its manufacturing was stopped because of a shortage of primary materials and impossibility to receive component parts from abroad. The factory began to produce defense articles; the first contract of that kind was received in January 1915. A new woodworking department built in the previous years was planned to equip for manufacturing of three and six-inch shells with a productivity rate of correspondingly 2000 and 1000 grenades per day. In the final analysis, national defense needs constituted 86 per cent of all plant production. Nevertheless, it became a loss-making factory.

During the war the firm's charitable activities acquired even greater scope than in peaceful time. Practically all central offices and depots started fundraising for the military needs by deduction of 1.5 per cent from earnings. By 1916 they collected in total almost 51.4 thousand Rubles. Moscow branches gave the largest donation, the city's share in overall sum gathered in 1914–1915 equaled 16.5 per cent. Resources were used for making gas masks, compresses, haversacks. The Kursk city central office and its depots was the second large donor, and about 294 persons took part in charitable action.
In September of 1917, the machine-building plant in Podolsk was let on hire to the regional branch of the Special Counsel for defense — the Moscow factory counsel. That was not the worst solution for the Singer's top managers who were trying to escape the enterprise shutdown[587].

Corporate Customers: Prestige and Stability of Business

The Russian branch of the Singer Manufacturing Company was actively working with large corporate customers of different ranks and property category.

Special sewing machines for clothing and footwear made by the Singer Company in the USA and the United Kingdom filled the second important segment of the Russian market. From the very beginning of its activities sewing machines were imported into Russia from the plant in Elizabethport, New Jersey; however the vast majority of production was received from the factory at Kilbowie, Clydebank, Scotland[588]. Built in 1885, it was the largest sewing machine factory in the world with

dannym na 1 yanvarya 1909 g. [Factory Industry of Moscow Province According to Data on 1 January 1909]. Moscow: W.p., 1910, p. 2, table 1, 7; *Podolsky uezd Moskovskoi gubernii.* Op. cit., p. 111, 112, 119; Carstensen F.V. *American Enterprise in Foreign Markets,* pp. 39.

587 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG.526, inv. 1, f. 483, p. 94; RG. 848, inv. 1, f. 141, p. 15, 21, 31; *Protokol komissii.* Op. cit., p. 12.
Calculations based on: *Obshchiy obzor otchisleniy sluzhashchikh aktsionernogo obshchestva Kompaniya Zinger* [The General Review of Deductions of Employees' Salaries of Joint-stock Venture "The Singer Company"]. Moscow, 1916.

588 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 104, p. 2; *Protokol komissii.* Op. cit., p. 7, 9.

production capacity of 13,000 machines a week.

The Singer Company sold these products to numerous sewing workshops specialized in tailoring clothes, lingerie, gloves and footwear. Since the 18th century the townsfolks people had begun to wear European cloths of various styles – an English classic suit, a German costume with its precise and perfect tailoring, a French modish wear with its charm and elegance for the upper classes and sensible town clothes for the ordinary people. In Russia dressmaking activities sprang up in the first half of the 19th century. The most common was the following scheme: a tailor-craftsman, who was simultaneously the owner of a workshop, was working alone or with his family. In the second half of the century several enterprising go getters cut through the clutter of small establishments, they managed to subdue handicraft workers. Consequently the first middle and large-scale sewing workshops appeared, in which there was a specialization of labour by dress type: ladies' wear, men's wear, military dress, livery, canonical dress, coachmen's dress, outer garment and underwear. In the long run, the preconditions for expansion of manufacture of ready-made clothes emerged. Initially simple cut dress with minimal garment pieces was applied. There were mantillas, pelisses, coats – the so-called *salop* – from women's clothes, and rainsuits, capes and loose cloaks from men's. The owners of large workshops had the opportunity and facilities to buy samples of dresses sewn in Paris by the best tailors, which were exhibited in shop windows. In small establishment custom orders were executed on drawings from Parisian or Russian fashion magazines that were taken in every two weeks. By the end of the 19th century two major ways of development in the production of ready-made clothing were clearly designated: confection enterprises and workshops of custom order. Moreover, the main centers of ready-made clothes manufacturing had been formed in Moscow, St. Peterburg, Kiev, Warsaw and Odessa by that time, and naturally there were the Singer's Central offices.

One of the biggest private client of the Singer Company was «M. and I. Mandle», the best and most respectable store on wholesale - retail trade in garments which had its own workshops in the countryside — Moscow, Tula and Ryazan' Provinces. Taken one with another they employed more than 10 thousands workmen. In Moscow the firm had five stores, which were situated in the heart of the city, residence of wealthy and respectable part of society — on Tverskaya, Pokrovka, Sretenka, Sophiyka streets and Big Cherkassky Lane. Moscow sewing workshop employed 45 dress cutters and 230 tailors. In St. Petersburg the apparel store rented premises in Gostiny Dvor on Nevsky Avenue, a major and the oldest center of trade in manufactured goods in the capital. By the way, it was located in close proximity to the head-quarters, Central office and exhibition shop of the Singer Company. The firm also had retail stores in Kiev and Tiflis (now Tbilisi, Georgia). The annual turnover of «M. and I. Mandle» amounted 7–8 million Rubles, of which the share of lady's coat departments was about 3–3.5 million Rubles. This respectable store satisfied all payment obligations with unimpeachable accuracy. Interestingly Moscow city was the leader in number of ready-to wear shops in Russia on the

whole amounting to 227 enterprises[589].

The most famous fashion sewing workshops included, without being limited to dress-making and tailoring establishments "Nadezhda Lamanova" in Moscow and "Missis Olga" in St. Petersburg. They were both the Suppliers of Her Imperial Majesty Court who sewed ceremonial court costumes, evening gowns and stylish dresses. In the workshops of this type the manual labour was in harmony with the work on the machines. For example, Lamanova employed 9 cutters and 195 highly qualified tailors. Moreover she had a design department, where young girls modeled fashionable clothes. Founded in 1885, the workshop quickly gained popularity and began to serve the aristocrats, artists and actors. For the first time in Russia Nadezhda Lamanova organized a selling exhibition of works by the famous and authoritative French dress-designer Paul Poiret in her fashionable salon. After the revolution of 1917 she worked as a costumer at the Moscow Art theatre. In 1925 Lamanova was awarded with the Grand Prix at the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts and the Art industry in Paris[590].

The number of exclusive workshops that defined the development of the fashion industry was small. The vast majority of the dress-making establishments served the middle classes. As a very rare phenomenon the urban poor became the clients of the charge-free sewing workshops owned by the Imperial Philanthropic Society and some others charities. At the beginning of the 20th century there were about 1370 and more than 1400 tailors and small sewing workshops in Moscow and St. Petersburg correspondingly that were registered in the urban reference books. It is interesting to note that approximately 42 per cent of them were owned by women in the oldest capital city, while in the imperial city – only 29 per cent[591].

The Company of Russian-French factories of rubber, gutta-percha and cable manufactures "Provodnik" purchased Singer's shuttles for special sewing machines which were ordered from the USA. This firm was one of the largest producers of rubber footwear in Russia. A number of textile firms of the Central Industrial Region were also serious clients for the Singer Company. The

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589 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 10, p. 141; *Torgovlya i promyshlennost' Evropeiskoy Rossii po rayonam.* Vypusk 3, p. 62.

590 Alyoshina T.S. K istorii proizvodstva gotovogo plat'ya v Moskve v seredine XIX – nachala XX veka // *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo muzeya. Materialy issledovanya po istorii Rossii perioda kapitalizma.* Vypusk 67 [A history of readymade clothing manufacture in Moscow in the middle of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In: Proceedings of the State Historical Museum. Materials and investigations on the history of Russia in the period of capitalism. Issue 67]. Moscow: GIM, 1988, pp. 133–147; Kirsanova R.M. *Kostyum v russkoy khudozhestvennoi culture 18 – pervoi poloviny 20 vv.* [Costume in Russian Art culture 18 – the first half of the 20th century]. Moscow: Bol'shaya rossiiskaya ehntsiklopediya, 1995, p. 357, 382–383; Ruane Ch. *The Empire's New Clothes. A history of the Russian Fashion Industry, 1700–1917.* Yale univ. press, 2009, pp. 43–67, 115–150.

591 Calculations based on: *Vsya Moskva. Adresnaya i spravochnaya kniga na 1913 god* [All Moscow. Address and Reference Book for 1913]. Moscow: W.p., 1913, col. 664–687; *Ves' Peterburg na 1913 god. Adresnaya i spravochnaya kniga S. Peterburga. Otdel II. Promyshlennye i torgovye predpriyatiya goroda S.-Peterburga* [All Petersburg for 1913. Address and Reference Book of St. Petersburg. Section II. Industrial and commercial enterprises of the city of St. Petersburg]. St. Petersburg: Izd. A.S. Suvorina, 1913, pp. 1305–1310.

Partnership of Nikolskaya mill "Savva Morosov's son and Co." was a responsible and long-standing trade partner as well. It had a factory section for making the openwork shawls that was equipped with the Singer's drive mechanisms. Moreover the Nikolskaya mill produced white goods (bed sheets and table clothing) made out of its own fabrics using sewing machines. In addition to this there was a dress-making workshop owned by the Consumer society of the Morozovs' workers and employees where custom tailoring was fulfilled. One of the oldest shawl factories in Russia the Manufacturing Partnership "Labzin & Gryaznov" from the world famous Pavlovo Posad in the Moscow Province equipped its befringing department with drive mechanisms made by Singer[592]. Finally numerous textile firms of the Central Industrial region became the focus of business interest for the Singer Company.

At the turn of the 20th century Moscow was the largest center of retail and wholesale trade in the Russian Empire as well as the main point of inner commodity circulation. Moscow trade turnover reached 2 billion Rubles per year while freight turnover of railways exceeded 396 million Rubles. Due to international trade the first capital city became the second custom point in Russia after St. Petersburg. Raw materials and semi-finished products, foodstuffs basically tea and wine, finished manufactures, mainly machinery and components parts passed through this station. Moscow was linked by trade with cities and manufacturing townships of the Central Industrial region, Volga region, Black Earth provinces, Central Asia, Siberia and Transcaucasia[593]. It's no coincidence that the Singer Company transferred its Board to Moscow and rented premises in the "Boyarsky Dvor" edifice, built by the outstanding Russian architect Fedor Shekhtel, where offices of the largest textile firms had been placed. This business building was situated very close to the Red Square and the city banking center on Ilyinka Street.

Despite the recent changes in the far reaching economic plans St. Petersburg remained a place of important transactions because the Singer Company entered into business relationships with the state authorities and even with the Imperial Court. Firstly, the firm supplied with special sewing machines the Board of Guardians for the houses of diligence and workhouses under protection of Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna. Secondly, several state enterprises became long standing partners of the firm. The Singer Company was constantly working with the subordinated enterprises of the Chief Prison Administration of the Russian Ministry of Justice. It supplied, for example, sewing workshops of military full-dress uniform in St.-Petersburg and Tomsk reformatories. Special Corps of Border of Guard under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Finance was equally important governmental customer for the firm. All these state institutions ordered powerful central spool machines for difficult work with heavy soldiers' cloths and mechanical high-speed rotary sewing-machines for soldiers' underwear[594].

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592 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv. 1, file 10, p. 324, 326; *Postavschiki dvora ego imperatorskogo velichestva.* Op. cit., p. 279, 281.

593 *Istoriya Moskvy: V 6 t.* T. 4. Period promyshlennogo kapitalizma. [History of Moscow in 6 vol. Priod of Industrial Capitalism]. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1954, p. 189–190, 200.

594 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 1292, inv.1, file 10, p. 339, 385; *Kalendar' "Sem'ya" na 1914*,

In 1906, the Singer Company was awarded with highest title in Russia for long-standing provision of the sewing machines and accessories to the enterprises within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Imperial Court and charities under the patronage of the royal family — "a Supplier of His Imperial Majesty Court". This was naturally determined result of long-term business relations with the House of Romanovs and state authorities.

The Great War destroyed well-established business because of acute transportation problems. Nevertheless, in commerce activities, selling and leasing of special sewing machines to the governmental institutions and private companies, fulfilling defense orders, had high priority. In spite of all-out effort, the Singer Company stopped to yield profit in 1914. Total wartime losses exceeded 17 million Rubles[595].

Conclusion

The Singer Company held a worthy place in the economy of the Russian Empire as the largest manufacturer and supplier of special and family sewing-machines. The Company became an integral part of the national economy because of its close business links with numerous Russian trading and industrial enterprises. At the same time it was closely connected with parent American and British enterprises importing to Russia special sewing machines and spare parts. In the final analysis, the Singer Manufacturing Company created a commercial network adapted to the indigenous market. The Podolsk factory founded by the corporation was the only mass producer of light machinery in the Moscow Province as well as in Russia. The plant gained the features of a town-forming enterprise due to its infrastructure. The manufactured goods were made of Russian raw materials and by Russian workers. By 1914, it was able to produce all parts of family sewing-machines, except needles that were imported from abroad. Thus the Company in actual fact built up a business with complete production cycle in the shortest amount of time. In other words the Singer Company created a successful model of technological transfer for quickly industrializing country with predominantly rural population. From the socio-economic point of view the Podolsk plant had great significance for well-being of local inhabitants and those in the district because it created jobs involving thousands of townspeople into industrial qualified labour.

Generally speaking, a universal distribution of sewing machines led to a number of important socio-economic consequences for the Russian Empire. Firstly, a new branch of light industry – clothing manufacture appeared in major urban complexes in the form of ready-to-wear shops with its sewing departments. Secondly, a greater involvement of women in economic activities that began in the textile industry occurred, which was manifested in two ways. On the one hand, women received an additional

p. 116, 117; *Postavschiki dvora ego imperatorskogo velichestva*, p. 278, 283–288.

595 OKhD 1917 TsGA Moskvy. RG. 526, inv. 1, file 483, p. 92; RG. 848, inv. 1, file 141, p. 18.

work in households by tailoring casual dress for family members reducing cash expenditures, and on the other hand, a new sphere of female entrepreneurship appeared, in which an individual could express her creative abilities to the full extent. The last one was represented by fashionable salons, which were owned by women. Otherwise speaking, wide-spread implementation of sewing machines had a great gender impact. And finally, appliance of sewing machines affected all social strata from top to bottom in one form or another.

One last note, the Great War seriously hit the Singer Company and its distributive business because of disruption of existing commercial links with the USA and the United Kingdom and within the country, along with the so-called official policy of "fighting with German dominance". The firm was listed in official documents as a German enterprise without any grounds. As a result the Company was forced to conduct trials to justify its loyalty to the authorities and approval of its American origin. However a devastative blow was delivered not by the Tsarist Government though there were serious tensions during the war but by the Revolution of 1917 and the coming to power of the Bolsheviks. On June 28, 1918 the former Singer property in Russia was nationalized in accordance with the Decree of the Soviet power. Only sewing machines that remained in numerous Russian families and served them for many years reminded ones booming and well organized business.

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11.

Silk Waste, Spun Silk, and Meisen Kimono

Technological Transfer and Emergence of New Industry in Japan from the late 19th Century to the 1930s

Naoko Inoue

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the origin and characteristics of the Japanese silk-spinning industry that reached its global peak in the 1920s–1930s. Silk spinning is almost entirely extinct in Japan today and accordingly, precedence research is scarce. This is in stark contrast to the early stages of industrialization in Japan when the silk reeling industry was considered an important tool to catch-up with the West. In reality, silk spinning and silk reeling cannot be feasibly separated because most of the resources for spinning were generated during the process of silk reeling and the mechanization of spinning became possible only because there already existed a silk reeling industry. On the other hand, the technologies involved in the two processes are entirely different. The silk-spinning industry, from the very beginning, was able to use cotton/woolen-spinning machinery and emerge as a mechanized large-scale industry. This may be another example of natural fibers, other than cotton, achieving tremendous production expansion owing to mechanization[596].

The industrialization of silk spinning, like that of silk reeling, first occurred in Europe. *Les étoffes de soie mélangée* was then in vogue and the introduction of spun silk in 19th-century France made a substantial contribution to the popularization of silk in the fashion industry by transmitting it from Rhône-Alpes, Piedmont, Lombardia and Gersau to other parts of world. However, the significance of the silk-spinning industry is likely higher in Japan where spun silk was used as weft for meisen *kimono* by the late-1880s. Meisen, originally called *huto-ori*, is a traditional cloth often featuring sober stripes of hand-spun silk. During the 1920s–1930s, through technological development and introduction of innovative motifs, the demand for meisen exploded in Japan and almost all women owned multiple

[596] Giorgio Riello in *Cotton* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013, p.186) points out that "cotton became revolutionary not simply via the application of machinery, but because machinery and cotton together allowed for a tremendous expansion of production. This could have not been achieved by any other natural fiber."

meisen items. Fast fashion based on low-volume production of a wide variety of products created large domestic demand for fashion items made from the relatively cheap *kimono*. This led to the Japanese imported industry to dominate the world market.

The global success of industrially produced Japanese spun silk contrasted with the decline of silk spinning in France, formerly the most important producer of spun silk. This transition occurred because an ex-*samurai*, government official named Nagaatsu Sasaki managed to accumulate all aspects of the silk-spinning technology, as instructed by Toshimichi Okubo, one of the main founders of modern Japan. Sasaki thus fulfilled Okubo's vision of establish sericology in Japan by introducing the silk-spinning industry. The exact process of technological transfer might be indispensable to see the complete picture of the industry. With all these steps, we will realize the impact of the Japanese silk-spinning industry introduced from Austria, Italy, and Switzerland, around the Alps.

What is Silk Waste?

While silk is a luxury good consumed by the upper echelons of society and is seen as a symbol of wealth, the term "waste" normally refers to something worthless or of no use. Thus, it is necessary to clearly describe what we mean when we say "silk waste."

Though the Ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle spoke about women who would unravel silkworm cocoons by combing and spinning them,[597] the recycling of silk waste can be said—with certainty—to have begun at least by the early medieval age in Italy. Venetian plain-cloth weavers (*samitari)*, were prohibited from using silk waste (*strosi*) by regulations; this, as Molà pointed out, can be inferred to imply that the use of silk waste was very popular then.[598]

Right: Figure 11.1 A woman in a *kaimaki/nenneko* (padded garment), in "Ruiju Kinsei Fuzoku-shi" (類聚近世風俗志) by Morisada Kitagawa, 1908, p.569.

[597] Robert J. FORBES, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Leiden, 1964, p.50.
[598] Luca MOLÀ, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000, p.162.

Left: Figure 11.2 The traditional Bridal Headdress called *wataboshi* (headdress of silk floss).

Even in Asia, silk waste has been utilized throughout history. In Japan, unreelable cocoons were processed into silk floss and recycled for padded garments, *kaimaki/nennneko*, and bridal headdresses (Figure 11.1, Figure 11.2).[599] Women would hand spin degummed silk in winter in local sericulture communities, to earn cash income. The *kimono* flat-woven of hand-spun silk was called *tsumugi* or *huto-ori* and had such characteristic textures as stiffness and knots (Figure 11.3). In the 1680s, the Tokugawa shogunate imposed a series of sumptuary laws to restrict extravagant and luxurious displays, encourage frugality, and ensure that people dressed according to their status.[600] At that time, *tsumugi* was worn not only by the people of the *samurai* class but also by ordinary townspeople. Given the recent regulations, most people were forbidden from wearing silk clothing, and *tsumugi* made it possible to enjoy invisible luxuries without breaking the bans. We can easily detect the daily use of *tsumugi* in the Japanese society back then in works such as *ukiyo-e* and *sharebon*, late Edo-period novelettes about life in the red-light districts (Figure 11.3).[601]

Figure 11.3 An illustration of a *geisha* in *Ueda-Jima* (*tsumugi* of Ueda) in Shunsui TAMENAGA

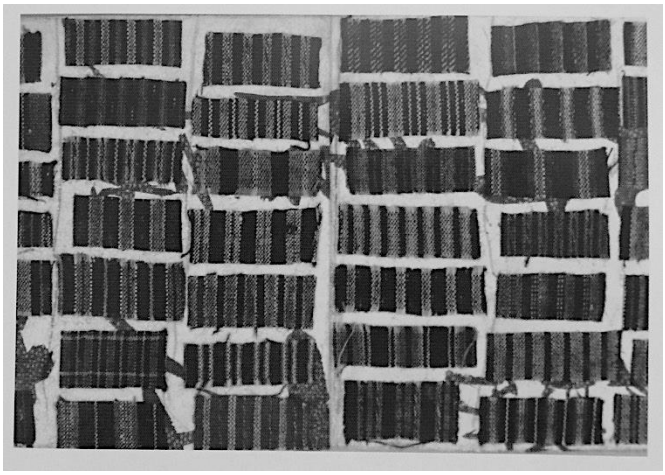

Figure 11.4 A sample book of *tsumugi* woven in Ueda in 1900: Komagane Silk Museum.

[599] The first detailed description of the manufacturing process of tsumugi appears in Morikuni UEGAKI, *Yosan Hiroku* (the Secret Notes on Sericulture), 1803, with instructive illustrations.
[600] Eiko IKEGAMI, *Bonds of Civility*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp.255-260.
[601] Cf. Saikaku IHARA, *Nippon Eitai-gura*, 1688. Shunsui TAMENAGA, *Syunsyoku Umegoyomi*, 1832.

Industrialization and Depreciation in Europe

All silk is composed of insoluble protein, fibroin (67%) and sericin (33%), which is the hard gum coating of the fibroin. Before the introduction of machinery, the coating would be manually removed, dissolved, and washed away. There were two methods: boiling off (soap and soda boiling) and fermentation (schapping). The latter was invented accidentally in Gersau, sitting on the shore of Lake Lucerne. The schapping technique was brought to Alsace, France in the 19th century, and remained the main method for long; English throwsters, however, chose the other approach, while the Swiss mixed the two.[602] Dry cocoons of 100g contain 60g of silkworms and 25g of raw silk; the rest is silk waste. From the 15g of silk waste, one can obtain 6.75g of schappe and 1.5g of bourette[603] (silk noil).[604] At the end of the 18th century, English silk spinners adopted the spinning mule much like cotton spinners of the same period.[605] In France, the spinning mule was introduced after the 19th century.

At the end of the 19th century, silk's price was falling in Europe more radically than in Asia. Popularization of silk consumption was noticeable even in rural areas. Further, for ruffled laces and ribbons essential for the crinoline, crinolette, or bustle fashion styles, and for lighter, softer and thinner cloth, such as silk muslin, demand grew more and more.[606]

As a consequence of the new trend in the emerging fashion industry, the manufacturers were pressed to take effective measures to introduce silk/wool-cotton or spun-silk fabric. The first silk-spinning mill was established not in traditional silk areas but in Galgate, 6 km away from Lancaster in 1792. In 8 years before that, in Dolphinholme of the same parish, the first worsted spinning mill was built.[607] In 1824, a silk-spinning mill was established in Basel, Switzerland. In France, with the introduction of spun-silk yarn, the price of silk fabrics was cut by half during the 19th century.[608] From 1816 to 1882, 36 patents related to combing machines for spun silk were registered in France, 12 in England, one in

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602 Michel LAFERRÈRE, *Lyon, ville industrielle; Essai d'une géographie urbaine des techniques et des entreprises*, Paris, 1960, p.208.

603 According to Tortora, bourette silk is a coarse silk yarn spun from the waste that is produced in the manufacture of schappe silk, and the bourette yarn is a fancy ply yarn with knots or nubs produced during carding. Cf. TORTORA and JOHNSON, *Dictionary of textiles*, London, 2013, p.71.

604 Bourette (noil) refers to fibers extracted during silk dressing or that are too short for producing spun silk, usually spun on the condenser system to produce yarns. See, Pierre CLERGET, *Les industries de la soie en France*, Paris, 1925, p.26, and also GUÉNEAU, *op. cit.*, p.232.

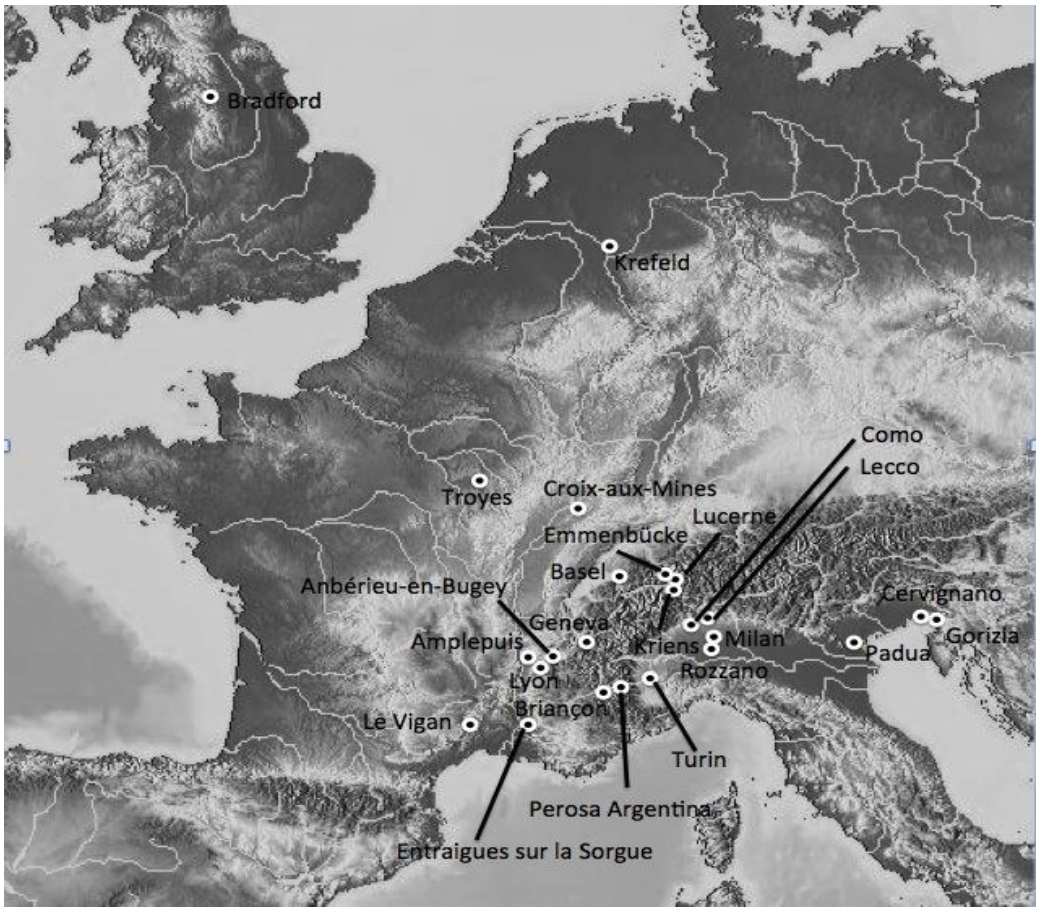
605 Louis GUÉNEAU, *Lyon et le commerce de la soie*, Lyon, 1923 (Rep. ed., New York, 1973), p.238.

606 Hitoshi TAMURA, 'Price reduction of silk textile in international markets from the end of the19th century to the beginning of the 20th century: Analyzing the European and American dyed textiles' samples book', in *Journal of Saitama University (Faculty of Education)*, 56(1), 2007, pp.291-305.

607 Frank WARNER, *The Silk Industry of the United Kingdom. Its Origin and Development*, London, 1985, p.67. The process of spinning silk waste was certainly developed on the cotton principle, this produced what are known as short spun yarns. And machinery to produce spun silk could be identical to that used in wool or linen production. Looms were suitable for weaving any kind of yarns.

608 Tihomir J. MARKOVITCH, *L'industrie française de 1789 à 1964 - Conclusions générales*, Novembre 1966, pp.42-43.

Switzerland, two in Italy and two in the U.S.[609] In fact, in the beginning of the 20th century, spun silk consumed in Krefeld, Germany, was 93% of that of raw silk, and the consumption of cotton yarn was 25% of that of raw silk.[610]



Map 11.1. Places related to silk spinning and Sasaki's trips.

It is interesting how the industry expanded across national borders, encompassing France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and Austria (Map 11.1). The two initial mills of the Société anonyme de filature de schappe, established in Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey by a hometowner and an outsider from Lyon in 1837, soon led to many other mills being established in Ambérieu-en-Bugey, Entraigues sur la Sorgue, Pierre-Bénite, Amplepuis, Lyon, Le Vigan, Pont-d'Hérault, Troyes, and Croix-aux-Mines in France; Rozzano in Italy; and Kriens and Emmenbrücke in Switzerland. In 1918, the Syndicat des filateurs de schappe et de bourrette de France was established in Lyon, and was joined even by two companies from Basel.

609 Jean-Jacques BOUCHER, *Arts et techniques de la soie*, Paris, 1996, p. 66.
610 Hachiro MITAMURA, *Sekai no kengyo no koyo* (An overview of world silk industry), 1905, p.64.

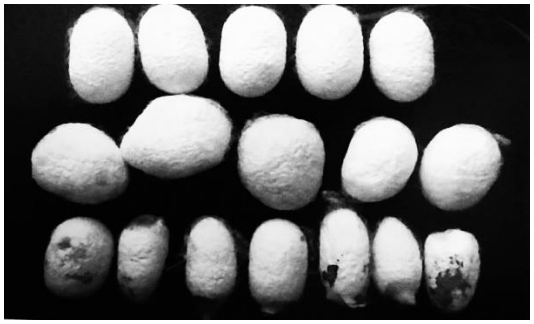
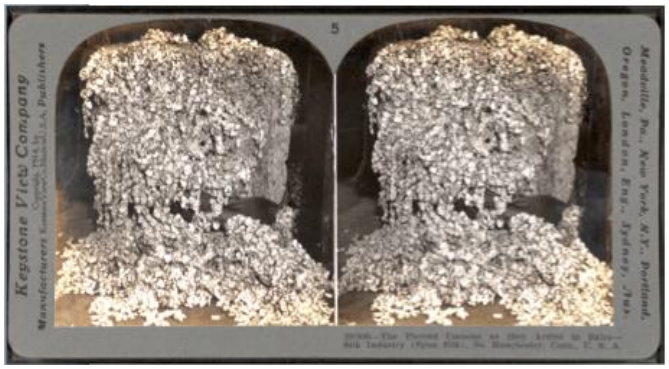


Figure 11.5 Reelable cocoons and unreelable cocoons: Reelable cocoons, Double cocoons, Dirty and broken cocoons, Source: A depliant 'Shinshu tsumugi' of Komagane Silk Museum



Left: Figure 11.6 Photos of the pierced cocoons as they arrive in bales; published in 1914 Digital Collection of the New York Public Library. Image ID: G90F070_006F.

Right: Figure 11.7 Photos of frisons after washing; published in 1914 Digital Collection of the New York Public Library. Image ID: G90F070_007F

Silk Waste

A silk throwster would process the silk in skeins, which consist of a number of silk fibers of equal lengths and diameters wound together. On the other hand, the silk waste spinner could take bales of unreelable silk material in all forms (Figure 11.6). The various waste products were divided into two general classes: gum wastes and ordinary wastes. Gum waste was made during the throwing process and is adapted for the making of yarns for lace, sewing, and weft purposes, such as *Frisons*/*bassinés* (生皮苧).(Figure 11.7) They are the tangled refuse to be stripped off and cast aside prior to reeling. The cocoons are made of layers of silk, and *frisons* are of the outer layers, or the first spun by the silkworm. Coarse but tough, they were liked by continental spinners for schapping. The most important normal waste product was "cocoons broken by silkworm moths" (degara-mayu 出殻繭), as this product was the most generated and was most apt for silk spinning. There were also maggot-pierced cocoons (anaaki-mayu 穴明繭), double/douppion cocoons (tama-mayu 玉繭), dirty cocoons (yogore-mayu 汚繭/sabi-mayu 錆繭), and dead cocoons (shinigomori-mayu 死籠繭) (Figure 11.5). There also existed some other categories of normal silk waste. The *wadding/blaze* (繭毛羽) was a reticular, coarse and tangled filament that allowed silkworms to firmly anchor the cocoon. Though these often became entangled in twigs, straws, and leaves, these were also used favorably by

continental spinners.[611] Thus, it was the spinner's job to straighten out these fibers, with the help of machinery, to create a thread known as spun silk.

Overflow of Asian silk waste in the European Market

It is noteworthy that, in the early 20th century, the European markets were affluent with silk waste from China and Japan. In the 1920s, there were at least 50 different categories of Chinese silk waste alone.[612] This phenomenon is explained by the fact that European silk countries became importers of waste silk instead of exporters through mechanization of the silk-spinning industry, at the beginning of the 20th century, as we see in the fourth section.[613] On the contrary, Asia remained an exporter of raw materials for a while. Chinese waste silk was exported to Europe where it was spun into silk noil yarn, which was then reimported into Canton and used by the local weavers to make a coarse cloth (*shuijiebu*).[614] Regarding Japanese silk waste, given Japan's limited production capacity, the demand always exceeded the supply.

In the early 20th century, the well-known silk wastes in Europe were as follows.[615] The best known and most widely used in England was *Canton filature waste*, better known as *steam waste*, which had deterioration problems that progressed year after year, reflecting the labor disputes in China. Dark brown *Tussah waste* exported from Shanghai was known as *Newchwang* (営口) *Tussah waste* and *filature Tussah waste*. *Nankin Buttons* was a type of gum waste of exceptionally good color and luster that came from the interior of China via Shanghai. The bulk of this waste was long in staple, but was always mixed with so-called buttons, which were small portions of silk slightly matted together. *Shanghai waste* was all gum waste, not quite as white as European silk, and harsher in feel. The wastes classed as fine white were *Chintzah* (上等生皮苧) and *Hangchow* (杭州).[616] *Shanghai szechuen* (*seychuen/sechuen*) (四川) was a yellow waste and the prefix Shanghai was to distinguish it from *Canton waste* of similar nature, which was sold as *Canton szechuen*. *Canton gum waste* was very similar in appearance to the *re-reel waste*, but not as reliable, and was very often mixed with black hairs, cotton, hemp, and so forth. *Re-reel waste* was a *Canton gum waste* produced in the mills where the *Canton raws* are re-reeled, in the same manner as *Shanghai gum* in the more northern districts; but the former was of a softer nature, and had more luster. *Cantons* were the most lustrous and of a creamy

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611 Cf. Japanese Tariff Classification Opinion based on WCO Classification Opinion. (http://www.customs.go.jp/tariff/kaisetu/data/50r.pdf) Wadding also refers to the silk packing inside the Chinaman's coat as lining. See *ibid.*, p.38.

612 *Sanshi-gyo taikan* (A general survey of the silk industry in China), Sanshi-gyo dogyokumiai chuokai, Tokyo, 1929, pp.456-457.

613 Lillian M. LI, *China's silk trade: Traditional industry in the modern world 1842-1937*, p.81.

614 However, the use of the noil yarn represented a switch to a yarn inferior to and coarser than raw silk. See Robert Y. ENG, *Economic imperialism in China: Silk production and exports 1861-1932*, U.C. Berkeley, 1986, p.152.

615 Rayner HOLLINS, *Silk Throwing and Waste Silk Spinning*, 1903, New York, pp.37-41. Regarding Chinese silk waste, see *Sanshi-gyo taikan*, pp.455-485.

616 There were also such classifications as fine yellow, coarse white, and coarse yellow.

shade. The silk of *Canton gum* and *steam waste* was spun by the same genus of worm. *China Curlies* were well-known waste products shipped from Shanghai; their quality and appearance were more allied to steam waste than others shipped from Canton. It was grayish white and harsh to feel. The name "curly" was given because it was full of little patches of material matted together, which bore a certain resemblance to a curl of hair. This waste was favored both in Britain and on the continent. *Shanghai long wastes* were the most expensive to be exported from Shanghai. Although these were known by different names (given that these were being produced in various inland districts), they exhibited many similarities in appearance and qualities. They had the appearance of nubs but were very long in staple. They yielded exceedingly well and were of a good, light color. Their production, however, was limited and very few spinners could use them, given their high price.

China wastes had various sources, but were mainly from English, French, and Italian throwsters; further, all were long in staple. *China soaped waste* was from English and Scotish throwing mills. It felt soft and lost luster in the washing process. French *China wastes* were always bright and not as weighted with soap as the English ones. Italian and Swiss wastes were of the same nature.

Among *Japan wastes*, the best-known waste shipped from Yokohama was the *Kikai Kibizzo* (器械生皮苧), or *Japan curlies*. *Kikai* means "machine-made" and *Kibizzo* came from the outer layer of cocoons as *frisons*. This strong, high-quality waste was much in demand and thus commanded a premium.[617] In appearance, there was not much difference between this waste and *China curlies*, except that the former was generally of a better color and contained curls of larger size and longer staple, consequently yielding better. *Japan wastes* were more in demand by continental spinners than by English spinners, being well suited for the schapping in vogue there. *Iwashiro Noshi* was another waste that was fairly well-known by Japanese spinners who used the very best class of wastes. *Noshi* (熨斗) was extended *Kibizzo*.[618] What the *Shanghai long waste* was to Shanghai, *Iwashiro Noshi* was to Japan. The two were very similar, except that the latter had better color, and like *Kikai Kibizzo*, would fetch a better price than China curlies; accordingly, *Iwashiro Noshi* was more valuable than *Shanghai long waste*, though its production was very limited. *Noshito Joshiu* (熨斗糸 上州) or *Tamas* (玉糸) was practically the lowest class of *Japan waste* that was shipped for consumption in England for the ordinary spinner, but there were many lower varieties from Japan, which were well suited for continental schappe spinners. *Tamas* was a stringy and knotted waste of double cocoons (douppion/dupion) that was not very good in color and was subject to a certain amount of refuse.[619]

Indian wastes were the most mixed and unreliable of all sorts, consisting of an admixture of cotton,

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617 Kenzaburo MATSUSHITA, *Kuzumayu no seshi* (Silk Spinning of Silk Waste), Maruyama-sha, 1908, p.19. At the last moment of cocooning, the thread becomes too fine to unwind. After the middle layers are reeled from the cocoon, the remaining part (Sanagi-hada 蛹肌) is discarded as waste for silk spinning. The removed oil of the cocoon is used as the base in soap-making and the rest is plowed as a fertilizer in the field. The chrysalis inside is used to feed carps in mountainous regions. *Ibid.*, p.2.

618 *Ibid.*, p.19.

619 *Ibid.*, p.8.

twist, black hairs, string, and paper. The color varied from gray to yellow. *Punjum* (*panjam*) was supposedly the most lustrous of all silks: a stringy waste in appearance that would lose almost 50% upon boiling. This was because in an admixture of rice water, in the reeling process, the threads would mat together and consequently become unwindable.

European wastes had very similar characteristics and were practically, with the exception of the *French* and *Italian nubs*, products of the silk-throwing mills, as described under the heading Throwing. *Nubs*, however, were the long wastes produced in the filatures where raw silk was wound from cocoons, and had the same appearance and characteristics as *Shanghai long waste* and *Iwashiro Noshi*, except that they were finer and of a more classical nature. These nubs were particularly demanded by continental spinners. Of the many varieties of European wastes, *French China*, *Swiss China*, *Italian China*, *French mixed*, *Piedmont*, and *Spanish waste* were the best known.[620] *French China* was the waste produced in the French throwing mills working *China raw silk*. *French mixed* was gray and yellow waste from the throwing mills and was composed of Bengal, Canton, Japan, Italian, and French wastes. *Piedmont waste* was the fine Italian yellow waste made in the throwing mills producing organzines and trams from *Piedmont raw silk*. It was one of the most expensive yellow wastes, yielding very well and producing a strong, lustrous yarn of a very elastic nature.

Because the source of silk waste is subject to sericulture, the emergence of the silk-spinning industry occurred only after the rise of the silk reeling industry in Asia. Silk spinning became the most effective recycler of all refuse from throwing mills, thereby yielding handsome profits. The silk waste industry, from the very beginning, was able to use cotton/woolen-spinning machinery, and could thus develop as a factory-based large-scale industry with minimal obstructions.

Transmission of Technology: Silk Spinning in Switzerland and Sericology in Görz (Gorizia)

Aside from the cultural tradition of making *tsumugi/huto-ori*, Japan had to import almost all components of its silk waste industry from Europe, particularly, Switzerland, France, Italy, and the Habsburg Empire, at the end of the 19th century. This transfer of technology was interesting in that it was almost entirely because of the efforts of an ex-*samurai* technocrat of the Ministry of Engineering, Nagaatsu Sasaki,[621] who was sent to Austria to take part in the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna.

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620 HOLLINS, *op. cit.*, p.43.

621 Sasaki is one of the samurais who visited the U.S. in the last days of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1867) and met President Johnson and Captain U.S. Grant. Sasaki stayed there for seven months to learn harbor construction and mining engineering and was involved in the import of the latest arms and textile machinery. See U. S. Grant's *the Papers of Ulysses S. Grant: January 1–September 30, 1867*, p.298. In the letter, Sasaki's first name appears as Gournk (Gonroku), which was his adult name.

Sasaki was to supervise the construction and operation of the Japan pavilion, as this was the first exposition that Japan was participating in. Soon after completing this task, Sasaki was instructed to look into sericulture, silk reeling, and silk-spinning technologies in Europe.[622] Sasaki's real aim, thus, was to learn about the latest technologies of silk spinning then prevalent in Europe. In this regard, he made field trips to Italy, Switzerland, and Austrian Littoral including Görz, and took lessons from the director of a sericulture experimental station, Giovanni Bolle, for two weeks.

To realize Sasaki's exploration in Europe, the then Minister of Finance, Toshimichi Okubo—who was part of the Iwakura Mission (1871–1873) as Vice Ambassador to negotiate the revision of unequal treaties—played an important role. In Bradford, England and in Lyon, France, after visiting the spinning mills, Okubo discovered that European nations had succeeded in developing silk-spinning industry from unreelable cocoons exported at the price of literal waste from Japan.[623] At that time, soon after having opened the country to foreign trade and diplomatic relations, the Japanese government was promoting the introduction of new industries to Japan, and soon came to realize the necessity of introducing the recycling industry to Japan as well so as to raise the market price of silk waste.[624] This was because the first model silk-reeling factory—Tomioka Silk Mill—had already been established in 1872 and was generating large amounts of waste silk.

Following the Iwakura mission, Sasaki started visiting the places engaged in sericulture in Italy and Switzerland.[625] In Italy, the forefront of sericulture industry at that time, he made trips to Udine, Padua, Palma[626] (Palmanova), Turin, and Cervignano[627]. In Switzerland, he paid a visit to the silk-spinning mills of Basel and Lucerne.[628] Sasaki faced difficulties in gaining access to the latest cutting-edge sericulture technologies of Europe. In one instance, Sasaki was forced to plead with the daughter of a director for mediation.[629] He explained that there was a need to promote the silk-spinning industry in

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622 Suguru SASAKI, *Okubo Toshimichi*, Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 2004, p.211.

623 Kasumi-kai (ed.), *Naimusho-shi* (History of the Ministry of Internal Affairs), vol.1, 1971.

624 Kunitake KUME, *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-O Kairan Jikki* (Record of a tour of the United States and Europe by the Japanese envoy extraordinary and Ambassador plenipotentiary), vol.II, Iwanami Bunko, 1975, pp.288-293.

625 Nagaatsu SASAKI, *Sanji Tansaku Ryakki* (The summary of sericulture process), 1873.

626 *Ibid.*, p.6. Written as パルマ(paruma) in Japanese, the location name presumably indicates Palma rather than Parma.

627 *Ibid.*, p.27. The location name is written as ツリヤノ (tsuriyano) in Japanese and it may point to Cervignano del Friuli in the center of the Bassa Friulana Plain. The issue is that the report says Cervignano of "Italy" even though Cervignano was on the Austrian side of the border facing Italy. The chemist and microbiologist Louis Pasteur stayed in Cervignano (1869–1870) at the Villa Chiozza, the laboratory of the chemist Luigi Chiozza (1828–1889) to secretly execute research on pébrine. Because the library of the villa still keeps some books written by Sasaki, such as the beautifully illustrated *Nihon koyu no yosan kiki shiyosetsu* (the guide for traditional silk-breeding tools use in Japan), *Sanmu mondo* (Questions and answers for sericulture), 1887–1889, and *Sanshu no chui* (Important points of silkworm egg production), 1891, it is plausible that there was some relationship between Sasaki and Chiozza. Incidentally, Sasaki was introduced to Pasteur in the 5th International Sericultural Congress held in Milan in 1876.

628 N. SASAKI, *op. cit.*, p.30.

629 Unpublished manuscripts of *Honpo kenshi boseki- shi kohon* (History of Japanese Silk Spinning)

Japan, and that this was for utilizing the "remaining" abundant waste after export. Sasaki also maintained that he had no intention of revealing secrets but was curious as an engineer as to how things are done.

Following his field trip to Italy and Switzerland, Sasaki went to Görz and stayed there for a month.[630] In Görz, he was given a course in sericology by Giorgio Bolle, the director of the sericulture experiment station of Görz, for two weeks. Sasaki's report mentions him giving a gift to Bolle to express his gratitude.[631] He also visited the silk-spinning mill of the Ritter family who served as the presidents of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry founded in 1850, from generation to generation, in Görz, encouraging the economic development of the *Bezirk* (district).[632] Sasaki and his companion, Greeven,[633] who ended up staying in Görz for four weeks, bought a set of experimental equipment for sericological study in Japan. Following the trip to Görz, Sasaki received a return order from Tokyo. Given the above series of events, a few questions emerge. Why did Sasaki visit the places that he did, especially given how these locations are not so familiar to Japanese people today? Why did Sasaki choose Görz, a frontier town of the Habsburg Empire, to complete his mission?

Some of the places Sasaki visited were then at the forefront of European sericultural technology, having undergone transformations due to the application of modern science. In particular, the discovery and diffusion of Louis Pasteur's microscopic examination method of pébrine had a profound impact.

Around the 10th–11th centuries, sericulture was introduced in Sicily by the Arabs, and in other regions of southern Italy by the Byzantines. It is likely that there were other development centers of sericulture in the peninsula; Lucca, Florence, Venice, and Genoa, due to contact with Orientals. Certain bibliographical indications date the beginning of sericulture in Bologna to the 13th century and to the 13th–14th centuries in Trieste.[634] In the 16th century, the silk industry crossed the Alps to Antwerp, Paris, Lille, and Bruges, and silk lace became a more precious status symbol than jewels or cloth. In

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in the bulletin of the silk spinning association, XXII, January 1934, p.4.

630 Giorgio BOLLE, *Annuario dell'i. r. Istituto bacologico sperimentale di Gorizia*, Gorizia, 1873, p. vi.

631 It is rare for Sasaki to mention such a personal relationship in his reports.

632 See, Nagaatsu SASAKI, *Yosan gakko denshu ryakki*, 1873, p.14. and also Camera di Commercio e d'Industria di Gorizia, *Rapporto generale della Camera di Commercio ed Industria del Circolo di Gorizia rassegnato all'i. r. Ministero del Commercio sulle notizie statistiche dessunte a tutto il 1858*, Gorizia, 1859, p.26.

633 Georg Albert Greeven (born in 1843) was an engineer from Krefeld who stayed in Japan from 1869 to 1878 as a teacher of mathematics, geography, and mechanics at Kaisei Gakko (Institute for Western Studies) founded in 1863 and considered as one of the origins of the Tokyo University. He also played a central role in the construction of the Japanese Pavillion at the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna, and accompanied and supported Sasaki during his stay in Europe. For further information, see Kenji OZAWA, 'Meiji-shoki no oyatoi doitsujin kyoshi G. A. Greeven no sokuseki' (A German advisor hired by Japanese government in the early meiji period) in *Journal of history of science*, Japan, Series II, 50(259), pp.170-173, Nov. 2011.

634 Maria BETTELLI BERGAMASCHI, *Seta e colori nell'alto Medioevo. Il Siricum del Monastero bresciano di San Salvatore*, Milano, 1994, p.459.

the 18th century, silk technology was disseminated in Rhineland, Krefeld as well.[635]

Görz is situated 40km northwest of Trieste, the deepest part of the Adriatic Sea, and 100km northeast of Venice. Both historically and geographically, influenced by the Habsburg Monarchy and Venice, Görz maintained its own territory under Habusburg dominion for more than 400 years, and being a part of Friuli, it developed as a multi-national town, in which German, Friulian, Venetian, and Slovene were spoken.

To overcome the backwardness of industries in Austria, the government founded 60 Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the Empire (29 in Austria, 14 in Hungary, 17 in Lombardo-Veneto) to facilitate the development of a productive structure in every district of the territory. The natural environment around the town made it possible to develop mulberry cultivation and sericulture[636] as viticulture. This actually was the only way to advance to the next economic stage of agriculture united with manufacturing with the help of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (see Table 11.1).

Table 11.1. Structure of Occupation in Goriziano (District of Görz) 1890

Profession	Number of persons	Ratio (%)
Agriculture	155,259	70.47
Mining	141	0.06
Industry	38,744	17.59
Commerce	8,114	3.68
Transport	3,439	1.56
Public Offices	6,370	2.89
Specialist	528	0.24
Pensioner	4,688	2.13
Soldier	1,227	0.56
Other	1,798	0.82
Total	220,308	100.00

Source: *Rapporto statistico sulle condizioni dell'economia nazionale nel quinquennio 1891-1895 nel distretto della Camera di Commercio di Gorizia*, Gorizia, 1898, pp.14-21.

By late 1860s, even in Görz, with its tradition of bachicolture since the 18th century, at the latest, sericulture suffered from pébrine.[637] In 1869, the Austrian government decided to establish a sericulture experiment station (*Istituto Bacologico Sperimentale*) in Görz to celebrate the silver jubilee for its Kaiser in December 1873.[638] The station was modeled on Pasteur's laboratory at Lille

[635] The silk industry in Krefeld was established by the Mennonite community that had come from Holland and Jülich-Berg during the latter half of the 17th century, as Jeffry M. Diefendorf describes in *Businessmen and Politics in the Rhineland, 1789-1834* (Princeton University Press, 1980), p.31.

[636] Cf. Loredana PANARITI, *La seta nel settecento goriziano*, Milano, 1996, p.11. Since the 18th century, through the inflow of sericultural entrepreneurs from the Venetian Plain to Görz with mercantilist incentives, the town itself had also developed a sector in its rural area, Farra, keeping the Venetian system for weights, measures and payments.

[637] Pébrine is a disease that infects silkworms and is noteworthy for the devastation it causes. Once infected by pébrine, silkworms are covered in brown dots and are not able to spin. The disease was a major industry hazard till Louis Pasteur recognized the causing microbe. See the article in a local newspaper. See *L'Osservatore triestino* del 18 maggio 1868.

[638] In the annual report for 1873, the items to display for the first exposition held in a German-speaking country are listed by Bolle.

University[639] (1865–1869). Soon afterward in 1871, in Padua 40km west of Venice, the Italian government founded *R. Stazione bacologica sperimentale di Padova* in the same vein as the station of Görz, as G. Pasqualis pointed out in his *Lezione teoricopratiche di bacologia del 1881.*[640]
The above is indicative of the awareness of the crisis facing *miniera dell'oro*, local sericulture, in France, Habsburg Empire, and Italy, as both stations were established within five years of Pasteur beginning his research in Lille.[641]

Sasaki was playing an important role as an active meditator among different industrial cultures. One of the most important encounters during his sojourn is that with Giovanni Bolle of the experiment station. It was 20 years after this first contact that the director set foot on Japan's soil for the first time. During the stay, he visited Fukushima, Yanagawa, Shimamura, Tomioka, Ueda, Shiojiri, Nagano, Yoshida, Oji, Sendagaya, Azumi Gori, Shizuoka, Awano, Nagoya, Kyoto, and its surrounding areas, accompanied by a son of the technocrat, Dr. Chujiro Sasaki of Komaba Agricultural College of the Imperial University of Tokyo, the pioneer of modern sericology and reeling technology in Japan.
Finishing his stay in Europe, Sasaki returned to Japan with the latest silkworm-rearing tools, such as microscopes and hygrometers. As Ma indicated, Sasaki dedicated his life to the establishment of modern sericultural research and education in Japan.[642] The results of Sasaki's journey—the thorough dissemination of a national system for technological innovation, diffusion, and education—will be discussed later.[643]

Rise of the Japanese Silk Industry in Shinmachi

Sasaki returned to Tokyo at the end of year 1873, and immediately, set out to create a silk-spinning industry in Japan by establishing state-owned model factories, and disseminating sericological knowhow in Japan.

As part of a series of interviews with people who had some contact with Okubo, 32 years after his assassination by six former *samurais*,[644] the then 81-year-old Sasaki explained how events unfolded immediately before and following his arrival in Yokohama. He recalls that he met the Minister for the

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639 Lille is a border town in French Flanders and it has a tradition of silk industry that disseminated from Venice.

640 Maria P. MARSON, *Bombyx Mori: la dotta industria bacologica e l'importanza di un insetto nella vita dell'uomo*, 2011, p.23.

641 Giusto PASQUALIS, *Lezioni teorico: Pratiche di bacologia adattate allo stato attuale della bachicoltura tenute in vittorio dal direttore di quel regio osservatorio bacologico G. Pasqualis*, Padova, Alla Minerva dei F.lli Salmin, 1874, pp.16-18.
Luciano PIGORINI, 'La R. Stazione Bacologica Sperimentale di Padova', in *La scienza per tutti*, anno XXV, 1918, Milano, Stabilimento Grafico Matterelli, p.68.

642 Debin MA, 'Why Japan, not China, was the first to develop in East Asia: Lessons from sericulture 1850-1837', January 2004, in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol.52, No. 2, p374-375.

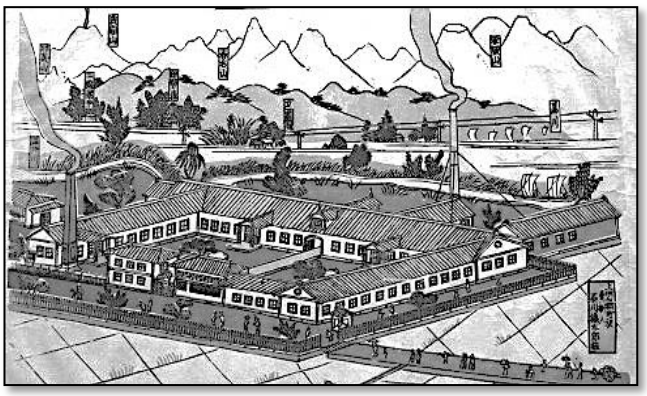
643 Giorgio BOLLE, *La bachicoltura nel Giappone*, Gorizia, 1898.

644 S. SASAKI, *op. cit*., pp. 210-219. Sasaki was interviewed from the 13th to 15th December 1910.

first time in Venice where he was taking care of the Iwakura Mission, but this is contrasted by the fact that there is no evidence of Okubo ever visiting Italy. Upon reaching Japan, Sasaki found that he no longer worked for the Ministry of Industry but was delegated to the Industrial Agency (Kangyo-Ryo) in the Ministry of Home Affairs, which was headed by Okubo. The agency took over from the Ministry of Finance in February 1874. In March, four divisions were created in the agency, and Sasaki was appointed as the Head of the Sericulture Office of the Agricultural Division in Naito-Shinjuku, Tokyo.

Sasaki, encouraged by Okubo, proactively made policy proposals, most of which were adopted. Because almost everything he obtained during his stay was left in the sunk ship's exposition office, he was forced to redo his work using experimental apparatus for another five years. During this difficult time, all orders privately issued by Okubo to Sasaki were to encourage, and not interfere, in the development of industry.

Figure 11.8 Colored woodblock print of the Silk-Spinning Facility of Kangyo-Ryo (the Industrial Agency) in the Ministry of Home Affairs, made by Yoshinobu KANO (Privately owned).



Okubo's knowledge of sericulture and silk reeling was that of an expert's, and he was also well aware of traditional Japanese hand-reeling filature. In fact, before introducing the Japanese-made machine, he recommended comparisons with European/Chinese machines. He was also prescient enough to import a vigorous species of mulberry, *morus multicaulis*, from the Qing Dynasty and tried to obtain *tricuspid cudrania* as well.[645]

The establishment of a silk-spinning facility was informally approved by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1875, and in the same year, Sasaki was secretly ordered to select an apt construction site. Sasaki started looking for candidate sites in Tokyo, Saitama, Yamanashi, Nagano, and Gunma, and selected Shinmachi in Gunma because the Nukui River that cut through the town had a water level difference of 3.64 m, and was thus appropriate for a hydropower water wheel. Shinmachi was also surrounded by sericultural communities and these were expected to act as resource suppliers.

[645] This version of events was challenged by Sasaki after the death of Okubo. See S. SASAKI, *op. cit.*, p.211.

Furthermore, Shinmachi was well-connected to Tokyo and Yokohama via the Tone River.[646] He made the proposal in December 1875; and in the next month, construction was approved, with the aim of commencing operations from October 1877. Sasaki was appointed as the construction supervisor.

Soon, he ordered spinning machines from Kriens, Switzerland, and a turbine waterwheel of the parallel-flow type of 20 hp. and a steam engine of 40 hp. from Germany. At the same time, a Swiss engineer, a German engineer, and an instructor—Kreeven—were invited for the installation of the machinery. During construction, Sasaki was ordered to participate in the 5th International Sericultural Congress held in Milan[647] and was forced to be absent from Shinmachi for seven months.[648]

Finally, construction was completed by June 1877, earlier than expected, and a ceremony was held to celebrate the opening of the Silk Spinning Facility of Kangyo-Ryo (the Industrial Agency) in the Ministry of Home Affairs in October. It was attended by the Minister of Home Affairs, Toshimichi Okubo; the Minister of Finance, Shigenobu Okuma; the Minister of Industry, Hirobumi Ito; the head of the Agricultural Division under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Masayoshi Matsukata; and others.[649] The facility commenced operations with 2,100 flyer spinning frames and a congratulatory address by Okubo: "As I look back, Japan was giving silk waste to foreign merchants as refuse of no use. Now, she creates value from it and markets it, turning the gratis of the past into a source of benefits that will give returns to Japan. How wonderful to see the industry rise!"

The next year saw the 220 operatives of the factory welcome the Emperor and Empress of Imperial Japan.[650] At first, these operatives were recruited from only former-*samurai* families and were difficult to find, because there was a rumor going around that there were three "vampire foreigners" (komo-jin) in the mill. However, the management succeeded in hiring 120 operatives with the assistance of prefecture officers. The operatives' conduct was good enough that they started receiving marriage proposals from neighboring houses.[651]

From January 1885, the factory operated for 23 hours per day on two shifts: one each in the day and night. The operatives were paid for eight-hour shifts. In summer, working hours were shortened from 23 to 21. The spinning mill recruited not only girls but also young boys, unlike the reeling mills. This contributed to the creation of a new labor market in the local economy. Silk spinning does not require nimble-fingered operatives, and therefore, wages were not as dependent on personnel capacity as they were in the silk-reeling industry. This resulted in a flatter wage system than that in silk reeling. Still, there were logical reasons underlying the large-scale employment of rural women by Japan's textile

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646 90 years of history: Kanebo Shinmachi Kojo, p.9.

647 The first Congress was held in Görz, Austria-Hungary; the second in Udine, Italy; the third in Roveredo, Switzerland; the fourth in Montpellier, France; and the sixth in Paris.

648 *Ibid.*, p.10.

649 *Ibid.*, p.11.

650 In May 1878, Okubo was assassinated in Tokyo. Sasaki thinks that after his death, the promotion of the silk industry was left to the Agricultural Agent and industrial development policy reached an impasse. S. SASAKI, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

651 *Honpo kenshi boseki shi kohon*, p.4.

industries, as Hunter points out. Female workers were regarded as more docile and less troublesome than men, and over time these qualities of malleability and good behavior were increasingly believed to reside more in the rural population than in the growing urban one, seen as corrupted by exposure to new opportunities and dubious moralities.[652]

From 1881, Shinmachi (unlike Tomioka Silk Mill) was being administrated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce instead of by the Ministry of Home Affairs. In the same year, it was renamed the Shinmachi Spinning Mill. From 1877 to 1887, Shinmachi was under government management, but was later privatized to fulfill the original goal of fueling private-sector growth. The facility was sold for 150,000 yen to the Mitsui clan, the root of one of the most prominent industrial and financial business conglomerates (*zaibatsus*) in Japan. From June 1887, the mill was managed in the name of Tokuemon Mitsui. Later, the management rights were transferred to the Mitsukoshi Mercer Store (*Mitsukoshi Gofuku-ten*), and the factory was renamed the Shinmachi-Mitsukoshi Spinning Mill, and then the Mitsui Spinning Mill. The mill also added another 1,200 ring-spinning machines.

Initially, the spun silk produced in Shinmachi found a market in Isezaki, Hachioji, Kiryu, Ashikaga, and Tokyo, though more than 80% of the total silk was sold in Kyoto. Later in Tango, north of Kyoto, spun silk gave birth to spun-silk *Chirimen* crepe, using spun silk yarn as weft. Further, the silk weavers of Isezaki started utilizing the spun silk from Shinmachi instead of imported French spun silk. Though the Weavers' Union tried to exclude spun silk, its use increased steadily, and spun silk came to be gradually adopted in various textile-producing areas in Japan.

In 1889, silk-spinning mills were founded in Kyoto and Maebashi. The establishment of many new mills later on and the consequent mergers meant that by 1898, production capacity stood at more than 33,000 spindles. In 1902, the many mills were merged into three: Nihon Ken-Men Boseki (Japan Silk Cotton Spinning), Kenshi Boseki (Silk Yarn Spinning), and Fuji Boseki (Fuji Spinning) with a capacity of 38,100 spindles.[653] Though the Russo-Japanese War led to an unusual economic boom in Japan, in 1911, Silk Yarn Spinning—the successor to Shinmachi Spinning Mill—was finally merged with Kanebo Spinning Co. and renamed the Shinmachi Branch of Kanebo Spinning Co. At its peak, the corporation employed more than 3,000 workers. During WWII, given the orders from the Imperial Japanese Navy, the company started producing blaze for aircraft components, substitute blankets, and parachute fabrics to fulfill orders placed by the Imperial Japanese Navy.[654] Finally, in 1975, silk spinning was abandoned in Shinmachi. The spinning of silk waste generates large quantities of

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[652] Janet HUNTER in her *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy: The Textile Industry before the Pacific War*, London, 2003, p.71, gives an example of the Nihon Silk Spinning Mill in Ishikawa that was said to regard female workers from Niigata (nearly half its total workforce) as docile and timid (and therefore, desirable).

[653] Minoru HAMAZAKI, 'Kenshibosekigyo no rekishiteki-tenkai: Sogyo-ki kara senzen-ki made' (Historical development of silk spinning industry: from the establishment to the pre-war period), in *Noringyo mondai kenkyu*, XCV, June 1989, p.83.

[654] *90 years of history: Kanebo Shinmachi Kojo*, 1969, p.37.

chrysalises, and this unexpected byproduct was recycled to feed carps (koi). As an unexpected, albeit welcome, consequence, Gunma emerged as one of the most important prefectures for carp breeding, along with Nagano.[655]

Golden Years of the Silk-Spinning Industry in Japan

Table11.2. Total demand for spun silk in 1932 (by Kenbo Kogyo-kai)

Use	Output (Unit: Hiki; 1 *hiki* ≒ 12m)	Demand for spun-silk yarn (Unit: Hyo; 1 hyo ≒ 60kg)
Meisen	4,561,051	27,643
Fuji Silk	607,612	25,380
Spun Crepe	204,110	6,967
Velvet	339,299	1,727
Chirimen	123,647	799
Rayon Kabe Crepe	42,951	1,173
Omeshi (Kiryu)	64,935	817
Overcoat Fabric (Kiryu)	120,321	NA
Yuki and others (Ichinomiya)	91,896	419
Nishijin	NA	400
Sewing Thread	NA	2,400
Export	NA	8,237
Others	NA	1,560
Total	NA	77,523

Source: The Employ Security Bureau of the Ministry of Labour, *Silk Spinning: Occupation commentary no.90*, 1950

The peak of the silk-spinning industry came after the privatization of Shinmachi Spinning Mill. After Sasaki's death in 1919, in the 1920s, several newspapers reported on the success of the silk-spining industry in Japan. In the 1930s, there were 15 silk-spinning companies and 32 factories in Japan with a capacity of about half a million spindles, giving her 60% of the global market share. How did this come about? Why was there such huge demand for spun silk? Did it have any influence on the world market? What was the impact on Japanese society?

Due to improvements in living standards, the Japanese people were no longer content with only cotton fabrics: in fact, cotton became rare even among the poor. People recognized spun silk as lying between cotton and raw silk, and they tended to veil their contempt for spun-silk fabrics at the beginning of the 20th century, without realizing that they were already wearing it.[656]

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655 *Ibid.*, p.24.

656 Osaka Jiji Shinpo Newspaper (大阪時事新報) of April 29 of 1919.

Figure 11.9. Meisen *kimonos* with reinterpreted "traditional" motifs of vivid color combinations: black–brown–yellow–sky blue–beige (at the upper left), black–yellow (at the upper middle), acquamarine–yellow–red–white(at the lower center), and pink–light blue–green (at the lower right). The print at the lower left with parachutes and tropical plants is a typical kimono of *omoshiro-gara* (interesting motifs) that gained popularity in the early 20th century. The photos above are from Kimono *modernism: Meisen collection of Suzaka Classic Museum* (Nagano et al., ed., Tokyo, 2015, p.18, 31, 39, 79, 100, 119)

The success of the silk-spinning industry in Japan is symbolized at first by *Tango-Chirimen* crepe silk and later by *Meisen* and *Fuji Silk* (Table 11.2). *Chirimen* is a traditional silk textile with bumpy-textured grains on the surface, woven by twisting the threads. In 1878, Shinmachi became the first place in Japan where spun-silk yarn was substituted for the weft of Chirimen. Though initially, imported spun-silk yarn from England and France was used, the rise in Japanese production after the establishment of the Shinmachi Silk-Spinning Facility, led to Japanese silk yarn being adopted.[657] Tango came to lead in *Chirimen silk crepe* production, thanks to the establishment of the first private company for the silk-spinning industry in Kyoto, Daiichi Kenshi Boseki, in 1890.[658]

[657] *Chugai Shogyo Shinpo Newspaper* (中外商業新報) of August 7 of 1912. The newspaper took the role of the bulletin for Mitsui and the predecessor of Nikkei Shinbun Newspaper.

[658] *Honpo kenshi boseki shi kohon*, p.2.

Figure 11.10 Publicity poster for Chichibu meisen by Chichibu Textile Industry Association Source: Chichibu Meisen-kan

A *meisen* is now known as a relatively cheap *kimono* of spun silk with vivid colors and eye-catching designs influenced by art nouveau and art deco that was widely popular with the public between the 1910s and 1930s in Japan.[659] *Meisen* silk that feels crisp and flexible is woven with pre-dyed threads, employing the ikat (*kasuri*) technique. Otherwise, it was simply printed with stencil patterns after being woven. As Yamauchi points out, the demand for *meisen* was stimulated through fashion marketing and promotion by department stores and wholesale dealers. The media used were fashion magazines, exhibitions, and fairs.[660] Kon observed that more than 50% of the women passing Ginza (one of Tokyo's most frequented fashion retail districts) and the front of Mitsukoshi Department Store in Nihonbashi were wearing *meisen* in 1925 three years later, the ratio increased to 84%.[661]

Table 11.3 Number of spindles before WWI (from 1908 to early 1910s)

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659 In fact, this clichéd understanding covers only a part of the history of meisen that traces its roots to tsumugi/huto-ori typically with stripes of sober colors. The striped cloth (santome) brought from the Coromandel Coast by Portuguese and Dutch merchants gained popularity in the mid-17th century in Japan. The colorful motifs were realized only when synthetic dyes diffused and prices reduced by the 1890s. As meisen spread as uniform for young female students, it was literally "democratized" in the society. In 1920s–1930s, given the technological innovations in local weaving, various colorful designs began being made, adopting all kinds of motifs (traditional, (not only western but) global, and even war). These provided fast fashion by diffusing relatively cheap silk-like kimono. Implementing cutting edge media strategies, department stores and wholesalers succeeded in altering something unknown into something new and desirable.

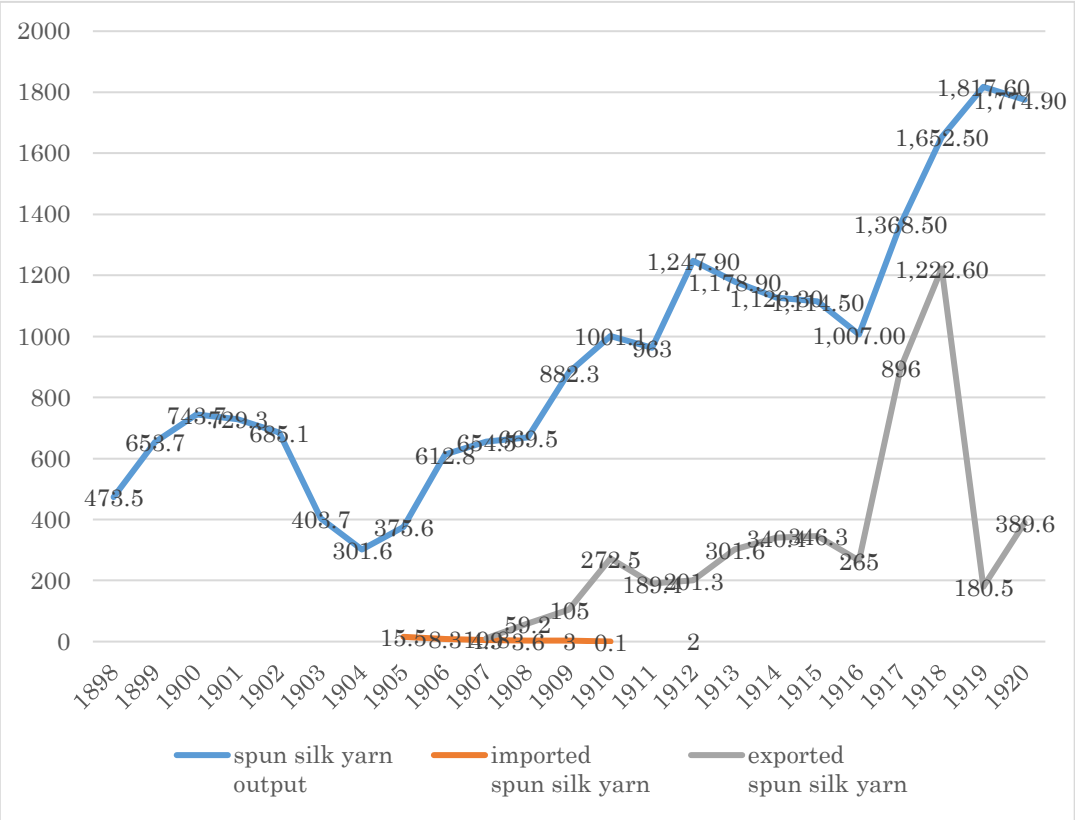
660 Yuki YAMAUCHI, 'The Expansion of the market of meisen and the structure of fashion communication in the 1920s', in *Business History Review*, 44-1, June 2009, pp.3-30.

661 Wajiro KON, *Kogengaku Nyumon* (Introduction to the study of modern societies), Chikuma Bunko, 1987, p.128. Kon also points out that women not wearing kimono were only 1% of the total. *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

	No. of spindles	Year of establishment
Switzerland	140,000	1820
France	130,000	1830
U.S.	100,000	1875
Japan	85,000	1882
England	70,000	1830
Italy	40,000	1860
Germany	45,000	1875
Austria	25,000	1865
Russia	25,000	1888
Indosina	15,000	1885
Central Asia	15,000	1888
India	11,000	1880
Belgium	9,000	1870
China	5,000	1880

Source: *Honpo kenshi boseki shi kohon*, p.3.

Figure 11.11 Japanese spun-silk yarn output and trade 1898–1920 in tons



Source: Regarding spun-silk yarn product, see Nihon senni sangyo-shi,1958, p.939 and p.942; the data on imported and exported spun-silk yarn is extracted from Nihon Sanshigyo-shi, pp.196-198, and also from Nihon senni sangyo-shi, p.938.

During the 1920s, while both personal consumption expenditure and textile consumption as a whole were stagnating, only silk textile consumption increased, simply because of the craze for *meisen*.[662]

662 YAMAUCHI, *op. cit.*, p.5.

The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 triggered department stores' decision to expand their clientele by targeting ordinary people. The diversification and depreciation of commodities made them deal in *meisen*. Even during the privatization of the Shinmachi Spinning Mill driven by concerns over market conditions, one of the biggest mercer stores in Japan established a new western-clothes division, against depreciation. Further, in 1919, one of the branch stores of Mitsukoshi purchased a *Tango-Chirimen* mill from Tango.[663]

Until 1909, Japan was importing 4.2 tons of spun silk every year from Italy and France. As can be seen in Table 11.3, in the early 20th century, Europe and the U.S. had more spindles than Japan. Figure 11.11 indicates that in 1910, Japan's position in spun-silk trade reversed: it became an exporter instead of an importer.[664] Over 1911–1915, the amount of exported spun-silk yarn increased from 189.5 tons to 346.3 tons. The main destination for export was India, a new market that Japan grabbed from Italy, the historical supplier. This tendency strengthened with the outbreak of WWI, which halted exports from the main European countries. During this period, owing to the lack of imported machinery, Japan was forced to find local substitutes by industrializing.

By the 1910s, the proliferation of power looms and emergence of new uses of spun-silk yarn, such as for producing *habutae*, allowed Japan to capture new markets such as India, Britain, France, and the U.S. In fact, in 1917, Japan housed 25% of the world's silk spindles, though the corresponding figure for cotton was only 10%.

Table 11.4. Number of spindles (years 1914 and 1926)

	Year 1914		Year 1926	
U.S.	200,000	20%	200,000	25%
France	160,000	16%	120,000	15%
Italy	140,000	14%	60,000	7%
Switzerland	140,000	14%	60,000	7%
Germany	100,000	10%	15,000	2%
Japan	100,000	10%	290,000	36%
England	70,000	7%	25,000	3%
Others	105,000	10%	45,000	6%
Total	1,015,000	100%	815,000	100

Source: Unpublished manuscripts of "History of Japanese Silk Spinning" (Honpo kenshi boseki shi kohon) in the *Bulletin of Kenshi Boseki Kyokai*, 22, January 1934, p.4.

Table 11.4 shows that during 1914–1926, Japan came to have the largest spindle capacity in the world. As per a newspaper dated April 21, 1925, the amount of silk waste exported was 3,330 tons,

663 YAMAUCHI, *op. cit.*, p.11.

664 See *Osaka Jiji Shinpo Newspaper* (大阪時事新報) of April 29, 1919.

which was less than that in the previous year by 480 tons. This was caused by a sudden spike in the price of silk waste, and by steadily increasing domestic demand. Wholesalers consequently tended to refrain from selling the goods.[665]

France was the biggest silk waste consuming country even in the Bourbon Restoration Period, and before the spread of pebrine, the main input sources were local with the slight remainder coming from Italy. In the latter half of the 1870s, imports increased suddenly, and the ratio of silk spinning to silk reeling increased from 60% to 95% between 1865 and 1934.[666]

Accordingly, France shifted to imports and began developing its silk-spinning industry through *vague de rationalisation*. France opened its import market, initially to silk waste from India, and later to that from China and Japan. France would process the waste and then re-export spun silk to the world market. Between 1911 and 1922, half of the silk waste from Japan and one third of that from China were exported to France. Further, a fourth of all the imported waste was re-exported, mainly to European counties: Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Britain, and Italy.[667] Silk spinning thus emerged as a significant export industry in France until the 1910s and continued to develop as an export industry until the 1920s.

Figure 11.12 indicates that until 1924, France produced more spun-silk yarn than Japan. However, somehow, between 1925 and 1934, the center of production moved to the Far East. Despite the diffusion of rayon use from the 1920s, how did Japan maintain its silk-spinning industry until the 1930s? Hamazaki attributes this shift to improvements in the quality of spun-silk yarn, flexibility in production on order, and diversified use of spun-silk yarn of good quality, such as *Fuji Silk*.[668] *Fuji Silk* was the first textile made of only spun-silk yarn by *Fujibo* and was used for cloth lining or men's shirts.[669] Until 1925, a third to a half of the silk waste was exported as spun yarn. Eventually, these mills started exporting finished silk products. At its peak, in the 1930s, Japan share of the world market was 60%. Spun silk was used as the weft for *meisen kimono*, *chirimen* crepe silk, and even *Nishijin* silk fabrics. The then-extant firms even tried to substitute the weft for high-quality *Habutae* with spun silk, namely *Fuji-Silk*, which came to be known as parachute silk during World War II. At present, silk production has shifted almost entirely to Thailand, with only *Shinano Kenshi* (established in 1918) continuing operations.

Figure 11.12 Output of spun-silk yarn in Japan and in France, 1815-1935 in tons

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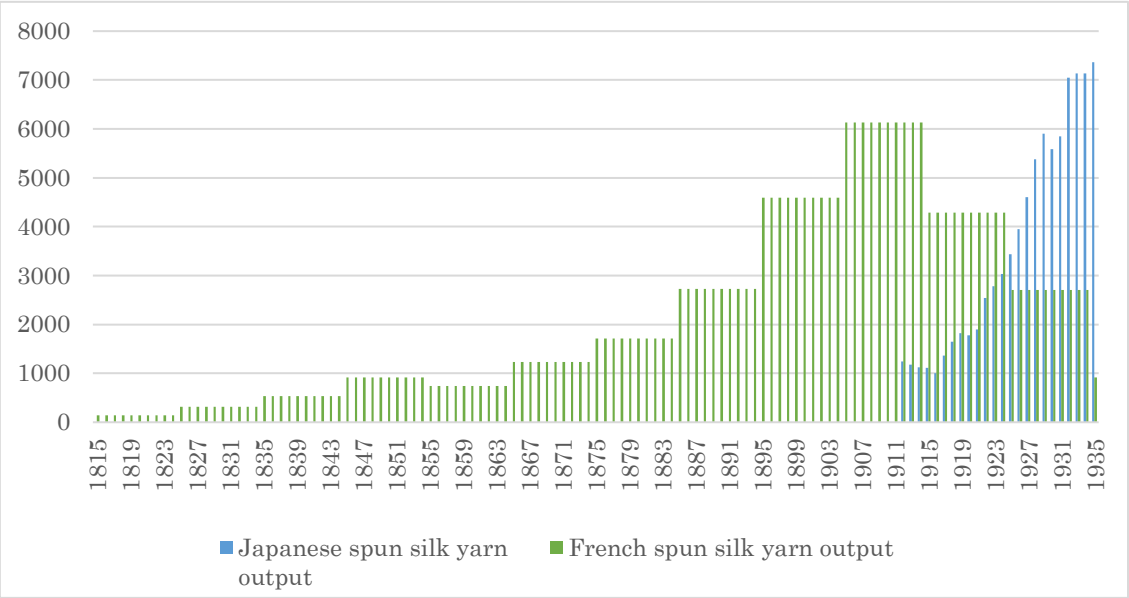
665 *Chugai Shogyo Shinpo Newspaper* (中外商業新報) of April 21, 1925.

666 MARKOVITCH, *L'industrie française de 1789 à 1964 - Conclusions générales*, Novembre 1966, p.41.

667 GUÉNEAU, *op. cit.*, pp.234-35.

668 HAMAZAKI, *op. cit.*, p.88.

669 Fujibo played a vital role in the first phase of exporting spun-silk yarn from Japan. See Satoshi MATSUMURA and Takeshi ABE, 'Wada Toyoji and Fuji Gas Spinning Co.' in *Kindai Nihon Kenkyu* (Bulletin of modern Japanese studies), Keio Univ., X, 1993, p.137.



Source: Nihon Chuo Sanshikai, *Sanshi Nenkan*, 1934, p.196. MARKOVITCH, *L'industrie française de 1789 à 1964 - Conclusions générales*. Novembre 1966, pp.42-43.

Table 11.5. Output of spun-silk yarn in 1930 in tons

	Output of spun-silk yarn	Ratio to overall output
Japan	62,520	64%
Italy	13,860	14%
France	6,180	6%
China	5,100	5%
England	3,960	4%
U.S.	2,340	2%
Switzerland	NA	NA
Other	3,060	3%
Total	97,020	100%

Source: *Honpo kenshi boseki shi kohon*, p.7.

Conclusion

The previous sections explained the origins of silk spinning, how the technology transferred to Japan, and what were the consequences. In conclusion, the author would like to emphasize the significance of the silk-spinning industry given the changes in the use and value of spun silk, mechanization, and marketing.

First, silk is fine and boasts of strong fibers with luster, though it is vulnerable to water, heat,

frictions, and ultraviolet rays. Further, it is expensive to produce. On the other hand, though less lustrous, spun silk is relatively cheap, given the standardization of its production process and it suitability for for everyday use. As such, people would evaluate it as something between cotton and raw silk. Spun silk is similar to cotton not only in terms of utility and value but also in terms of production facilities. In fact, England saw the adaption of cotton/woolen-spinning machinery for spun silk. Given that spun silk utilized industry waste from raw silk manufacturing and could be mass-produced with ease, silk spinning developed as a large-scale industry, lowered the price of silk products and democratized silk usage in Europe.

The second point that should be emphasized is the employment and wage patterns in the silk-spinning industry; the industry was more standardized and leveled in this regard than the silk-reeling industry, which was notorious for its labor-intensive structure.

Third, the impact of spun silk—particularly on the Japanese society—should be noted: for example, *meisen kimono* created massive domestic demand. In the 1920s, when even cotton product sales were stagnating, cheap spun-silk goods sold well. This indicates consumer demand for value-priced "silk-like" flamboyant clothing such as *kimonos*. In other words, *meisen* created a new product category was created via the modern retailing system comprising department stores and local wholesalers. Though later rayon emerged as a preference, spun silk did not lose its appeal. In fact, spun silk can be said to have created a market for rayon. The craze for *meisen* symbolizes the arrival of a nascent consumer society and created a modern fashion industry in Japan.

Last, we address what were the overall consequences for Japan. This chapter underlined the decisive role played by a government official—Sasaki—in the knowledge transfer of the silk-spinning industry from the areas around the Alps during the foundation period of the Meiji restoration. Sasaki devoted himself entirely to this goal and ensured Japan's place in the global silk market. The scientific report of the director of the Austrian sericulture experiment station describes the root cause underlying the success of sericulture in Japan not as merely an interest but as a "true and innate passion" driven by "innate intelligence," and "the love for [cocoon] breeding" with "minute attention."[670] This very descriptive report is indicative of the diligent image enjoyed by Japanese sericulture given the country's success in introducing new technology and promulgating it.

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[670] BOLLE(1898), p.iii e p.6.

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12.

Was It a Part of Westernization?

Adoption of Western-style Fashion Items by Local Women in 1930s Japan and Iran

Emi Goto

Introduction

Adopting so-called "Western-style" clothing or accessories was common among much of the "Asian" population during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, the similarities end here, as there were many variations in the creation of these fashion items and the way they were adopted. Details in the style and motivation for their use differed according to time, place, social stratus, gender, or individual taste.

Back in the 1820s, Sultan Mahmud II (1785–1839, reign 1808–39) of the Ottoman Empire officially adopted frock coats and trousers, in addition to the *fez*, a red cap with tassels, for formal attire of his military and civil officials. This measure has been interpreted as a reaction to the threats of "Western" nations with strong military power and advanced technologies as well as a tactical scheme to maintain and strengthen the political system of a declining empire. By dressing people in an identical manner by law—people who previously dressed distinctly and came from various social, political, cultural, and religious backgrounds—the Sultan aimed to create a new awareness of citizenship, as well as a new system that treated Muslims and non-Muslims equally. Many upper and upper-middle class men seeking careers in the emerging system accepted the law. It was especially beneficial for non-Muslims, who had been treated as minorities or "second-class citizens" to rid themselves of discriminatory treatments.[671]

It was with a similar intention that a half century later, the Meiji Restoration bureaucrats showed nobles an Imperial edict on encouraging the use of ancient official dress that may look Western instead of the traditionally worn court dress that elucidates their positions and ranks. The bureaucrats thought

[671] Quataert 1997: 412–14. For Ottoman dress reform, see also Norton (1997) and Kreiser (2005). Dunn (2011) introduced a case of Ottoman Egyptian land and Esenbel (1994) is a comparative study of Ottoman and Japanese cases of modernization.

that the visual distinction assigned by feudal Japan was harmful to the new political system of Meiji Japan based on the equality of citizens from all classes. They adopted the European-made suit, which was sold in the port cities, and cut their topknot hair style before the Meiji Emperor wore the dress uniforms and had his hair cut in 1872.[672]

Figure 12.1. (Left) Meiji Emperor in traditional court dress. Photograph by Uchida Kuichi, 1872. Published in *Tenno Yondai No Shozo* (Mainichi Shinbun-sha, 1999).
Figure 12.2. (Center) Meiji Emperor in dress uniform. Photograph by Uchida Kuichi, 1873. Published in *Tenno Yondai No Shozo* (Mainichi Shinbun-sha, 1999).
Figure 12.3. (Right) Members of the Iwakura Mission. Photo taken in San Francisco, 1872. Published in Tokutomi Inoichiro, *Iwakura Tomomi Ko* (Minyu sha, 1932).

Regarding the early Japanese situation, the case of Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883) is noteworthy. He was a court noble-turned-bureaucrat and served as an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary on the Iwakura Mission, which was organized to renegotiate the unequal treaties with Western countries. In 1871, Iwakura and four vice envoys of clansman-turned-bureaucrat Kido Takayoshi ([1833–1877] from the Choshu domain, Okubo Toshimichi [1830–1878] from the Satsuma domain, Ito Hirobumi [1841–1909] from the Choshu domain, and Yamaguchi Naoyoshi [1839–1894] from the Saga domain) embarked for San Francisco on an American ship with around 100 other people accompanying them.

Four vice envoys wore European suits from the beginning of the trip, whereas only Iwakura maintained the Japanese style, because although the aforementioned imperial edict existed, the dress regulation of officials had not yet changed. While being presented to the American President Grant, the ambassador and vice envoys wore the traditional formal court dress. Iwakura looked “splendid.” Other individuals from the warrior class were annoyed by their noble’s dresses and headgears, as they were not accustomed to them. Iwakura began to wear Western-style clothing, however, only after two months in the United States. Osakabe suggested that this change was motivated by Iwakura’s sons’

[672] Osakabe 2010: 42–67.

persuasions, as well as the troubles instigated by the attention inspired by his appearance.[673] The first ceremonial dress for Iwakura and others was from France. It has been reported that Europeans praised the dress, resulting in the officials' belief that "the prestige of Japan was preserved".[674]

Many elites of the late Ottoman Empire and early Meiji Japan willingly adopted Western-style dress, which was welcomed by their American and European counterparts. The process was more complicated for Indian elites. The adoption of Western-style dress by Indians was discouraged by British authorities because they thought that visual distinctions between the colonizers and colonized should exist.[675] For the Indians, wearing Western-style clothing risked "alienating a man from his own people and often invited criticism from them".[676] Moreover, such clothing was inappropriate for the climate, excluded from the existing classifications of caste, and connected with different sets of values. Nonetheless, many Indian elites preferred to adopt it because, after all, this clothing "represented all the values which the British boasted: superiority, progress, decency, refinement, masculinity and civilization".[677]

When young Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), who was from a respectable middle-class family in coastal Gujarat, headed for London to study law in 1888, he prepared himself a set of full European suits, and on the eve of his departure, he even cut his Hindu *shika* (a lock of hair uncut since birth). He thought this new appearance would make him an English gentleman, which he realized was not true as soon as he arrived on the British shore.[678]

Thus, there were variations in the context and motivations for adopting Western-style clothing according to time, place, social stratus, gender, or individual taste. Until now, earlier adoptions by male elites who were shocked by Western European and American political and technological powers have attracted most scholars' attention. The central arguments of their studies were that the adoption was a part of national project for Westernization (Osakabe 2010; Tarlo 1996; Ross 2008). What this paper aims is to add a few examples of adoption patterns of Western-style clothing, highlighting the unofficial movements by local women.

Some Western-style clothing such as the *appappa* did not originate in the West or in Europe, but was created for indigenous needs in certain contexts. The *appappa* was a plain, loose, one-piece dress for lower-class women that became popular in Japan after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. Other items were used not to adopt Western-style but rather the opposite, as shown by the hats used by women in Pahlavi Iran, where wearing veils was prohibited by the state authority in 1936.

By examining these examples and their historical contexts, this paper argues that the adoption of Western-style fashion items by local women in 1930s Japan and Iran was not always brought by their

673 Osakabe 2010: 48–52.
674 Ibid.: 74–75.
675 Tarlo 1996: 39–42.
676 Ibid.: 45.
677 Ibid.: 45.
678 Gandhi 1959; Tarlo 1996: 64–66.

desires to be like “Western people”, but to meet their everyday needs in “Westernizing” societies.

Where did the “*Appappa*” come from?

A Brief History of Adopting Western-Style Clothing in Japan

After the adoption of Western-style uniforms for officials and the military, the Meiji government established the uniforms for police officers, mail carriers, railway officials, and male students. Western-style male clothing became common in the cities, although its adoption was not always easy for some individuals. Some were annoyed by the tightness of the uniform and especially the uncomfortable shoes. Others were confused and wore the winter clothing in midsummer, or used inner clothing as outer clothing. While Western-style apparel gradually took hold among males in Japanese society, some women also showed interest in it. An early example of women wearing Western-style dress was the five female students who went to the United States with the Iwakura Mission. Other wives of nobles and diplomatic officials who accompanied their husbands abroad also adopted European imported dresses.[679]

However, the adoption of Western female attire was slow. One reason was that female clothing is more luxurious and expensive than men’s. Besides, there were many rules and manners for movement and the use of accessories. During the opening ceremony in 1883 for the Rokumeikan, a reception palace for entertaining foreign diplomats and dignitaries, the majority of male attendants wore full dress coats and silk hats, while most women wore Japanese style clothing. After balls had taken place there, and a rule was established for participants to dress Western-style, more female nobles began to adopt it. Bustle style was in fashion in Europe as well as in Japan. During this time, some schools for girls adopted a similar style of dress as uniforms. In 1886, Western-style formal dress was adopted for female members of the Imperial Court. The change of style for the Empress was 14 years behind that of the Meiji Emperor.

[679] I have referred to the following studies while writing this section: Nakayama (2002), Osakabe (2010), and Masuda (2010).

Figure 12.4. Ukiyo-e of ballroom dancing at the Rokumeikan by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1888. Private Collection.

Figure 12.5. Students of the Higher Normal School for Women in Tokyo, 1890. Owned by Ochanomizu University.

The process of women's adoption of Western dress was also inconsistent. The Rokumeikan was closed in 1890. Since then, and especially during Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) when patriotism was rampant, women's adoption of Western-style attire was publically discouraged (although men's was not). Schools readopted Japanese style dress for their girls' uniforms. Except for the court members and nobles, many women who once adopted Western-style dress went back to Japanese style.

A wave of encouragement for women's adoption came after the WWI when the western style dress became simpler with short skirt. Under the spread of democratic thoughts and ideas of women's liberation, and in the pressed situation of rising prices after the war, a campaign for the improvement of living conditions were developed in Japan. Within this movement, Life Improvement Union was established under umbrella of the Ministry of Education. Its task was to investigate into the current conditions of housing, food, clothing, social etiquette, etc., and to propose reform measures. One of the committee, formed of university professors, principles of schools, government officials, and other

intellectuals, published a small brochure titled *Policy for Improving Clothing*. In which wearing simple western-style dress was encouraged for men and women, and necessitated for children. It explained that the dress were more functional, economical, and thus practical than traditional Japanese-style attires for contemporary Japanese nationals, who were now living in "a new age in which efficiency was considered indispensable" while facing to "fierce contest of international competition" and "severe economic threat."[680]Despite of this encouragement, the ratio of women's wearing western-style clothing kept low during early 1920s. Some students of girl's schools, teachers, nurses, bus condoctors, and other working women constituted the exceptional examples.

The Appearance of the *Appappa*

In September 1923, Japan was hit by a strong earthquake later named "the Great Kanto Earthquake." It was the most disastrous event for the Japanese in the modern period, resulting in more than 140,000 missing and dead. Most deaths were caused by fire, as the earthquake occurred around noon and people were using fire to cook lunch. After this incident, the kimono was stigmatized because it kept many women from escaping. On the other hand, the simple and active style of Western clothing saved many lives.

Hujin-no-tomo sha (婦人之友社, Women's Friend Publisher),[681] one of the strong advocators for the simple western-style dress, began to sell one style of a low-priced dress in Tokyo. It was "a one-piece style made of gingham with a collar and cuffs of white broadcloth and a skirt of 12 pieces of clothes," and was among "the cheapest Western clothes" at that time, eventually selling quite well[682].

This one-piece dress caught the eyes of ready-made clothing manufacturers in the Osaka area, and one apparel manufacturer began to sell it under the name *appappa*.[683] The *appappa* intended to be a summer dress for common people; easy to move in and much cooler than any Japanese style clothing such as the *yukata* (a simple summer cotton kimono) tightened with an *obi* (a wide waistband). Using the remaining inventory of that year's ginghams and manufacturing during winter to sell the following summer, the *appappa* was priced even cheaper than the one-piece style dresses previously sold in Tokyo.[684] The style was so simple that women with little knowledge of dressmaking could easily sew it at home.

In the days of record-setting high temperatures in the summer of 1932, the *appappa* sold tremendously well. During this period, an article appeared in the *Asahi Graph* magazine. The title said,

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680 Life Improvement Union 1920. As to the campaign for the improvement of living conditions, see also Nakayama 2002: 359–78; Kohiyama 2010: 178–82.

681 Founded by Hani Motoko (1873–57), a Christian who graduated from Meiji-jogakko (明治女学校, Meiji Women's School), an indigenous missionary school for women.

682 Nakayama 2002: 378–79.

683 Origin of the name is unknown. Some say that it came from an expression in the Osaka dialect describing the flared hems of the dress, and others say it was related to English terms such as "upper-part" or "apron."

684 For the price of cloth to make a *yukata*, one could buy two ready-made *appappa*s.

"Finally, the military of the *appappa* captured Osaka."[685] It made fun of the recent spread of the *appappa* with photos and the following comments (August 24, 1932 [Showa 7]).

> [With a photo showing three women in a street playing with infants while chatting (Fig 12.6)] "'Madams' from surrounding residential areas were also lovers of the 'home dress', or '*appappa*'…Their waistline with enamelled bands barely showed that they have feeble spirits of self-respect as learned ladies…still, what they wear is by no means an '*appappa*' that the painter Ito Shinsui[686] deplored by saying '(Those who wear it) abandoned being beautiful.'"
>
> [With a photo showing two women wearing *appappa* and a child in front of a ticket counter at a theater (Fig 12.7)] "While the Westerners visit opera houses with evening dresses, our Japanese women go to cinema with these attires."
>
> [With a photo of mannequin at a department store (Fig 12.8)] "The mannequin was made to imitate a Parisienne; she is now in *appappa* and crying over the situation…"



Photos in *Asahi Graph*, August 24, 1932 [Showa 7].
Figure 12.6. (Left) "'Madams' from a residential area"
Figure 12.7. (Center) "Shall we go to the cinema?"
Figure 12.8. (Right) "The mannequin is crying"

Most of the women in *appappa* used no shoes or Western-style underwear. Instead, they wore *geta* and *koshimaki* (underwear for *kimono*).[687] Although it was subjected to ridicule especially in the beginning, the *appappa* became popular among commoners as a dress for home, street, or work. It was later improved and developed as an easy dress for all seasons. The *appappa* was one item playing

685 *Asahi Graph* was a weekly photo journal founded in 1923.
686 Shinsui was famous for his portraits of beautiful women.
687 Nakayama 2002: 382.

an important role in supporting the Western-style attire among common women.[688]

"Miyoya" and Appappa

The Japanese novelist and essayist Sato Aiko (b. 1928), who was born and raised in Osaka during the 1930s, wrote about her first encounter with the *appappa* in her retrospective essay titled *Things, Once upon a Time*:

> Once upon a time, when a housemaid was still called "neeya" (ねえや), all the adult women, including young and old of wealthy households, "neeya," green grocery women, teachers of kindergartens and schools, wore kimono and had obi tightened around their waist. Teachers added hakama, loose-legged pleated trousers to their kimono. Only children wore Western-style clothing.
>
> By recalling these days now, although I didn't think over it at that time, I cannot help but admire neeya for their hard work with kimono and obi…They clean corridors with wet cloths in their hand, crawling on all fours. Using a band of cloth for holding sleeves, and rolling up their cuffs of kimono…They worked all year in this style. I can imagine now that the summer time must have been horrible…
>
> One hot summer day, one of the neeya called Miyoya...was pumping up water from a well in a strange attire that I had never seen. That was *appappa*…

Sato recalled that Miyoya was fond of singing songs while pumping water. Freed from restraining tight clothing, Miyoya looked liberated and gay[689]. Sato wrote, "The *appappa* brought life to our kitchen that was not there before".[690] Another *neeya* in Sato's household was called Haruya. She was a "head servant," and while Miyoya worked in the kitchen, Haruya managed guests while wearing a *kimono* in the proper way and never accepted the *appappa*, although she heard that the latter was much cooler and more comfortable to wear. Sato suggested that this was because Haruya considered the *appappa* as indecent and low-culture.

Although the *appappa* was perceived as a kind of Western-style clothing among the Japanese during the 1930s, it did not originate in the "West" nor was not adopted to follow the Western civilization, but was created in the context of indigenous needs from the lower strata of society.

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[688] Masuda 2010: 340; *Chugaishogyo-shinpo* September 21, 1932. A similar but more respected style was the appearance of "Moga (modern girls)." An *appappa* for men was also created later.

[689] Sato Haruo (1892–1964), another Japanese novelist wrote in his essay titled "On *Appappa*" that the main reason for its popularity must have been based on its practical value. It is easy to do the laundry and cooler to wear than the *yukata* because it has no *obi* and *tamoto* (large sleeves) (Sato 1985: 122-24).

[690] Sato 2011: 25–26.

Reason for Wearing a Hat

A Brief History of Hats in Modern Iran

Similar to the case of Meiji Japan, the adoption of Western-style clothing in Qajar Iran began with the military and civil officials. The major difference between the two groups was that the latter retained the original (though not always "traditional")[691] style of headdress for men and covering clothes for women, while the former accepted the European hairstyle and hats immediately, at least among men.

Abbas Mirza (1789–1833), a crown prince serving as governor of a province in Azerbaijan, was said to be the leading figure in adopting the European system, techniques, and uniforms in the Persian army. Although he did not live long enough to be a Shah (king) of Qajar, his intention was inherited by Mohammad Shah (1808–1848, reign 1834–48) and Naser al-Din Shah (1831–96, reign 1848–96). The former wore a derby hat sometimes decorated with diamonds, and men's headdresses became shorter during the latter's reign.[692]



Figure 12.9. (Left) Mohammad Shah. Painted by Sani-Ol-Molk, 1841.
Figure 12.10. (Center) Naser al-Din Shah. Photographed by Nadar, n.d.
Figure 12.11. (Right) Reza Shah and the "Pahlavi hat" with a small brim. Photographer unknown, 1930.

Naser al-Din Shah made three visits to Europe and brought home various goods. During his reign, unique mixtures of European and Iranian culture emerged. One example was women's dress in the royal palace. Before the Shah's visit to Europe, women in his harem wore long, loose, embroidered trousers. On his return, they began to wear short skirts with long white socks. This was said to be an imitation of ballet dancers, who charmed the Shah in Europe.[693] Although this outfit became popular

691 The turban (skullcap and winding cloth) was the primary headdress for men before the adoption of Western-style clothing in Qajar Persia.
692 Panāhī 1993: 104–5.
693 Sykes 1910: 198.

for women inside and outside the royal harem, most of the women continued to cover their whole figure when they went outdoors.

Figure 12.12. (Left) Women of Qajar harem. Collections Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies no. 1261A85.
Figure 12.13. (Right) Outdoor style of Qajar women. Collections Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies no. 1261A99.

Up until the early twentieth century, Western-educated intellectual men in Iran wore the "Iranian-style" hat made of black felt along with Western-style jackets, trousers, and ties.[694] This tendency lasted until the reign of Reza Shah (1878–1944, reign 1925–41), who founded the Pahlavi dynasty.[695] His project to modernize the country included full-scale reforms of the military, legal, and educational systems. The dress uniformization of members of those systems was one important step in these reforms. Thus, the "law of uniformization of dress for Iranian nationals inside the country" was enacted in December 1928. All males over seven years old were requested to wear the Pahlavi hat, short coat, shirts, and trousers, all of European style. Religious figures were the exception. They were permitted to wear long garments and turbans.[696] Violation of the law was punishable by fines and detention. This law came into force the following year.

The Shah's intention of unifying dress for the nation was similar to those of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II and Meiji Restoration bureaucrats mentioned earlier: to be on par with the advanced people and nations, as well as to unite national awareness.[697] Later, in June 1935, the Pahlavi hat was abolished and replaced by European hats. The black top hat (for all official occasions), the straw hat (for summer), and various other hats were introduced. The laws and regulations on uniformizing dress

694 Balslev 2014: 551.
695 During his reign, the name of the country was changed from Persia to Iran (1935).
696 Ja'farī et al. 1992: 44–47; Baker 1997: 181.
697 He reportedly said he was "determined to have all Iranians wearing the same clothes, since when the Shirazis, Tabrizis, and all others no longer wear different costumes there will be no reason for difference among them (Wilber 1975: 232–33 cited in Baker [1997: 182]). See also Panāhī (1993: 269).

were unpopular among religious figures, merchants, and workers in the local apparel business and lower social stratum. They protested several times in various parts of Iran.[698]

Prohibition of Veils for Women

During the 1930s, the Shah also embarked on reforming women's dress.[699] Since the last days of the Qajar era, some women from wealthy families adopted European dress. Nonetheless, they and most women in other classes wore a large black veil called *chador* and a face cover called *ruband*. Only a small number of women in urban areas revealed their faces. To change this situation, female teachers and students were encouraged to remove their *chador* and *ruband* at schools in 1934. Beginning in 1935, government officials were urged to bring their wives unveiled to public meetings. Accompanied by the Queen and two princesses who were unveiled for the first time in public, the Shah went to a school in Tehran for a prize ceremony in January 1936. With these new attempts, women were encouraged to unveil and appear in public.

An official announcement was issued in 1936 for banning the veils. This major was applied to women of all ages, religions, and social status. Reza Shah held large celebrations for removing veils because he considered it an important step for the emancipation of women, as well as modernizing Iran. Women invited to the gathering wore Western dresses, long coats, or long shirts, and many wore some kind of brimmed hat on their head. One recalls: "It was an important and splendid day. Seeing the 'liberation of women' by my own eyes and felt happy about it. Also I felt uneasiness in the bottom of my heart. On that day, women's dressing of body and head was worth looking at… Their shirts were all long and reached under the ankles. The make-up of most women were unskilful. Unveiling was such a new thing to them, women wore hats on their heads. For the first time Iranian women replaced *chador* and scarves with hats. It was worth seeing. The most interesting thing was, however, that the guests –including ministers- had seen the faces of other's wives for the first time although they had been friends and close to each other for long time…"[700]

After the enforcement of the law, anyone who wore the veils in the street had her *chador* torn and her *ruband* removed. Doctors were prohibited from conducting medical examinations if the patient was veiled, and drivers of public buses and taxis were fined for picking up veiled women. Women who did not wish to go out without their accustomed veils, which they considered a "source of respect, virtue, protection, and pride",[701] had to stay home. Some wives of governmental officials not wishing to attend the celebration encouraged their husbands to have a temporary marriage. Others preferred divorce to going out unveiled.

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698 On Reza Shah's clothing law for men, see also Keshavarzian (2003) and Balslev (2014).

699 For the unveiling project of Reza Shah, I have referred mainly to (Panāhī 1993, Milani (1992), and Baker (1997). Ja'farī et al. (1992) is a collection of documents on the clothing law of Reza Shah.

700 Makki 1357sh: vol.6, 264–266.

701 Milani 1992: 35.

Figure 12.14. Military commanders of the Iranian armed forces, government officials and their wives commemorating the abolition of the veil. Photographer unknown, 1936.

Scarf and European Female Hat

The Iranian novelist Bozorg ʻAlavi (1907–97), who witnessed the unveiling movement, later wrote the novel *Her Eyes* (1952). In this masterpiece is a scene in which the protagonist found a portrait in oil of a woman on the wall of museum. She was about 40 years old, thin, and had sad face.

> She was covering her hair with a black scarf and tied it below the jaw. On the scarf was a European female hat made of black straw (*kolāh farangī zanāne az ḥaṣīr-e siyāh*). The combination of scarf and hat made her look comical. One who saw only this part of painting might start laughing…However, on this woman's face was no cheerfulness nor trace of ridicule. She looked as if she was made of wax...The title of the painting that was written on the frame said "The Celebration for Removing Veils." Once one read this, his/her smile disappears; then he/she falls in a deep thought. What kind of importance did the celebration have? …Grief and perplexity are apparent from the woman's facial expression. She knows that people will ridicule her. Nevertheless, what can she do? She has to attend. This is the governmental order. Everyone has to go and join "the Celebration for Removing Veils." Men have to accompany their wives. Everyone knew this. Who can oppose it? Only, women are so miserable! (Alavi 1952: 44)

In the case of this portrayed woman, it can be said that, the reason for her wearing a hat was to hide her head covered with forbidden veil. Here, a "European female hat" was used not to adopt Western-style fashion, but with the opposite intention: to resist its adoption.

Religious figures and other members of society criticized this attempt to unveil as "against the Islamic Qur'an." The law was abolished in 1941, five years after its enactment, as the Shah's reign ended.

Conclusion

This paper introduced some examples of adoption patterns of Western-style fashion items in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Asia. In cases of earlier adoptions by male elites, one of the major motivation was to be equal to the advanced peoples and nations of the "West", as well as to unite national consciousness. For them, the adopting Western-style fashion was "a part of national project for Westernization".

On the other hand, if we look at the cases of "unofficial" adoption movements by local women, we find that it is not easy to answer the question "was it a part of Westernization?" The motivations of individuals and related contexts were quite different from the former examples. In Japan, the earthquake, disastrous fire, and growth of public opinion on improving living conditions for women created the Western-style but indigenous clothing item named *appappa*. Unusual summer heat one year was another reason for its wider adoption. In the case of Iran, although the government wished to bring the Westernization of clothing styles to the female population, some women were unhappy about it and helplessly adopted one Western-style item—hat—to compromise with the situation. Both cases can be seen as examples of the adoption patterns of Western-style fashion items, not by people's desires to be like Westerners, or to take part in Westernization project, but to meet their everyday needs in Westernizing societies.

There may be many more variations in the context and motivations for adopting Western-style clothing. "Was it a part of Westernization?" is only one question when we evaluate fashion in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Asia.

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13.

Kimono Culture in Twentieth-Century Global Circulation:

Kimonos, Aloha Shirts, Suka-jan, and Happy Coats[702]

Keiko Suzuki

Introduction

This paper discusses kimonos made exclusively for export in the twentieth century, including kimono-shaped garments and kimono-related objects made as tourist art, souvenirs for foreigners, and those produced and consumed in foreign countries, as well as their visual representations in catalogues and other forms of print culture. Sensitive to foreigners' demands, including their desires for exotic objects, these kimonos produced for the international market embody cross-cultural encounters. By focusing on previously ignored souvenir kimonos and kimono-related objects, this paper sheds light not only on local communities as suppliers, often self-Orientalizing, but also on the diverse global consumption of kimono culture. Moreover, these types of objects commonly categorized as "Oriental goods" affected the ways Japanese as well as Chinese cultures were represented, produced, and consumed in the West. By demonstrating how these souvenirs and Oriental goods crossed national and cultural boundaries in many ways, this paper intends to propose a new theoretical framework to study material culture in the twentieth century. That is, a framework to focus on international tourists as active agents to find out how tourists as historically and socio-culturally conditioned agents formed and circulated their cultural bubbles across certain regions, and how that circulation contributed to cultural production, i.e., kimono culture in the twentieth century. In other words, the tourist, a stranger, carries with him not all but some sort of his culture as a bubble, within which he can behave as he does in his home country or community to some extent, while the same bubble may insulate him from the realities of where he is traveling. The bubble allows the tourist to make choices according to his culture, which express his preferences, demands, or tastes when he buys souvenirs such as kimono-related objects.

[702] An earlier, Japanese version of this paper appears as: 鈴木桂子 (Keiko Suzuki), 「『きもの』文化が海外を廻る：輸出品、アロハ、スカジャンの一考察 (Selling 'Japan' to the West: Kimono Culture in the Twentieth Century)」, in 森理恵 (Rie Mori) at el., 『20 世紀における「きもの」文化の近代化と国際化 *(The Modernization and Globalization of Kimono Culture in the Twentieth Century: An Analysis of Kimono and its Representation in Multiple Media)*』(2012): 53-63.

Here I use the term "active agent" to draw attention to the tourist's capability to act volitionally, thus not totally dictated by the structure of the society where he finds himeself a stranger.[703]

As a case study, the paper takes American GIs as an example of the active agents. The twentieth century saw an exploding increase in the traffic of peoples and their cultures, whose speed and spread across regional and national boundaries were unprecedented and ever accelerating. International tourism shows this quite essential twentieth-century-ness, one of the most representative cases of which must be the mobilization of troops all over the world during WWI and WWII. Their massive "group tours" overseas would not have been possible without the innovative development of mass transportation during wartime. There had, of course, been numerous cases of mass migrations where people moved or were forced to move before the twentieth century. Yet, while such mass movement and migration tend to move people one way, the mobilization of troops overseas was implemented with the expectation that the troops would return, thus it was "round-trip" mobilization. In short, in terms of the mass mobilization and speed of transportation, it is worth focusing on these troops as the active agents in the twentieth century.

A large number of American GIs were dispatched to the Asian-Pacific region between the 1930s and 50s, including Hawaii where the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Fleet was located, Japan after WWII, and Korea in the 1950s.[704] I will first elucidate what kind of cross-cultural experience and understanding the GIs were likely to have with "Japanese goods" before being dispatched. This shall be instrumental in investigating how they were culturally conditioned while growing up in the early twentieth century, because such precondition and perceptions would influence their demands for and consumption of other cultures while they were abroad. Following this, I will examine the Aloha shirt in Hawaii, and the *suka-jan*, *tokkō-fuku*, and Happy Coat in Japan.

Japanese Art Stores in the U.S.

General Characteristics of the Stores

American GIs, who were later dispatched to the Asian-Pacific region during the WWII and the Korean War, grew up in the early twentieth century, when inexpensive Japanese handcrafts became increasingly available through mail order companies as well as at retail stores throughout the nation.[705]

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[703] For more details about the concept of cultural circulation, see Arjun Appadurai, "How Histories Make Geographies: Circulation and Context in a Global Perspective," *Transcultural Studies* 2010(1): 4-13.

[704] According to *The Encyclopedia of Military History* (1977: 1198), the United States mobilized the total forces of 14.9 million, although it does not give how many were sent to theWestern Front, and how many to the Asian-Pacific region. The U.S. sent the total forces of 480,000 to the Korean War. R. Ernest Dupuy, and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History: From 3500 BC to the Present* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1977), 1198.

[705] Cf. Cynthia Brandimarte, "Japanese Novelty Stores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26(1) (1991): 1-25;

These inexpensive "Japanese" goods were made both in and outside of Japan, but always exclusively for the foreign market. The retail stores were "variously called Japanese art stores, Japanese novelty store, or Japanese fancy-goods stores. Many of them were owned and operated by natives of Japan and China, and all of them offered lanterns, screens, vases, and fans-objects associated with Japanese culture as it was popularly understood. The word Japanese was used in a generic rather than a culturally precise manner."[706]

The case in point is an advertisement for the Japanese store, listed in *Directory of the City of El Paso, 1898-99*.[707] A Mexico–United States border town, El Paso's population boomed to more than 10,000 according to the 1890 census due to the arrival of railroads in 1881 and 1882. "As El Paso became a western boomtown, it also became 'Six Shooter Capital' and 'Sin City,' where scores of saloons, dance halls, gambling establishments, and houses of prostitution lined the main streets."[708] In such a city, there existed three Japanese-goods stores.[709] A close look at the advertisement of one "Japanese store" tells us what such a store was selling and how it was operated. For example, it mentions that the "Japanese store" is a "direct importer of Japanese, Chinese, and Mexican Curiosities," "drawn work and novelties," and "fine silk goods and high grade tea." Moreover, the advertisement lists a Lum Chow as the store manager, whose name is Chinese rather than Japanese. This Chinese-ness is also clear in the only figure depicted in the advertisement: a man who appears in Chinese-style attire with a queue, a hairstyle compulsory for all males in China until 1911 when the Qing dynasty fell. Besides the figure, the advertisement is also decorated with a Japanese fan called *uchiwa* as well as flowers in a vase and a hanging pot. In short, all of these representations in the advertisement, and how they are mixed indicate a rather generic popular understanding of the term "Japanese stores" in those days. It also tells us that interests in Japanese imports reached even the border town. Thus, they were a phenomenon not only found in big coastal cities such as San Francisco and New York.

A. A. Vantine & Co.

Of these generic Japanese art stores, this section will mainly focus on A. A. Vantine & Co., which Ashley Abraham Vantine, a New York art dealer, founded in 1869. While he retired from the business in 1887, the company remained in the import business until 1930. For the first fifty years of its business,

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小熊佐智子 (Sachiko Oguma), 「山中商会の「美術加工品」について (Study of Industrial Art Objects by Yamanaka & Company)」, 『芸術学研究 *(Tsukuba Studies in Art and Design)*』 9 (2005): 39-46; and Yumiko Yamamori, "Japanese Arts in America, 1895-1920, and the A. A. Vantine and Yamanaka Companies," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15(2) (2008): 96-126.

706 Cynthia Brandimarte, "Japanese Novelty Stores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26(1) (1991): 1.

707 Ibid., Fig. 21. Advertisement for the Japanese Store, 304 San Antonio St., El Paso. From Author Unknown, *Directory of the City of El Paso, 1898-99* (Galveston: Morrison and Fourmy Directory Co., 1898), 6.

708 W. H. Timmons, "EL PASO, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hde01), accessed October 22, 2015. Uploaded on June 12, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

709 Cynthia Brandimarte, "Japanese Novelty Stores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26(1) (1991): 11.

"Japanese arts and crafts had been the core of its trade."[710] Vantine started his business as a pioneer in New York. The American public at large had hardly been exposed to these exotic imports before. However, that situation was quickly changing as a result of many contributing factors, including the Treaty of Amity and Commerce signed between Japan and the United States in 1858. Therefore, unprecedented quantities and varieties of Japanese goods became suddenly available, triggering American interests in them and consecuently led to the development of American Japonism. This movement was also influenced by European artists' fascination with Japanese art in those days, as well as pre-existing American interests in Chinese goods that had been available through the Old China Trade since the late eighteenth century.

Through its long history, Vantine's adapted its business strategies to changes in the social climate and its consumers' tastes. As Yumiko Yamamori states in her article "Japanese Arts in America, 1895-1920, and the A. A. Vantine and Yamanaka Companies (2008)," Vantine's in its early era "boosted of [*sic*] the 'authenticity' of its products and its 'expertise' in Japanese culture."[711] Yet, from around the turn of the century, it changed its marketing strategy, presenting itself as "a more generalist, popular 'Oriental' store."[712] This means, while famous antique art dealer Yamanaka & Company catered to museums and connoisseurs of high arts, Vantine's targeted housewives of the expanding middle class, as indicated by its 1914 catalogue that says "we have imported only those articles which we know, from long experience, to be practical for the American home."[713] Still, Vantine's was regarded as one of the most famous and largest companies offering Japanese artifacts, and its popular version of Japanese art or bric-à-brac "represented 'Japan' to the majority of American people in the early twentieth century."

As its business thrived, Vantine's once had branches in Boston, Philadelphia, and Nagoya, as well as offices in Yokohama and Kobe. Vantine's relocated its main store several times within Manhattan and in 1913, just before it started its mail order service, it moved its main store again to a seven-story stone building on Fifth Avenue and 39th Street, and then to 1 West 39th Street, just west of 5th Avenue. The following store directory in the 1920s catalogue gives us a good idea about what it offered:

- On the Main Floor are: Oriental jewelry; ladies' bags and purses; novelties; perfume and its burners; incense and incense burners; art bronzes and porcelains; cloisonne; ivories; crystals, jades; and the Departments of Silk, Kimono, and Slipper.
- The above-mentioned Kimono Department includes: kimonos, Mandarin coats, jackets, skirts, costumes, old embroideries, priest robes, quilted robes and jackets, hangings and table sets.

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710 Yumiko Yamamori, "Japanese Arts in America, 1895-1920, and the A. A. Vantine and Yamanaka Companies," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15(2) (2008): 117; See also 106.
711 Ibid., 99.
712 Ibid., 105.
713 A. A. Vantine and Company, [Catalog] (New York, N.Y., 1914), "Introduction" (no page number).

- The Mezzanine has the White Cloud Tea Room.
- On the Second Floor are: the Departments of Furniture, Lamp, and Rug; and Screens.
- In the Basement Salesrooms are: Japanese and Chinese tableware; various home décor; Oriental table delicacies; teas, coffees and condiments; and gift and steamer baskets.[714]

In the case of the 1916 mail order catalogue, approximately 65 percent of the entire volume was dedicated to Japanese products which accounted for a significant portion of Vantine's business.[715] Thus, a detail analysis of its catalogues reveals what kinds of kimonos were sold in the United States and how, as well as what represented "Japan" for the majority of American people in the early twentieth century.

Vantine's Kimonos and History of "Kimonos" in the West

In regard to the first part of investigation on what kinds of kimonos were sold in the United States, Table 13.1 provides an overview of Vantine's kimonos, using information from five Vantine's catalogues.

Table 13.1 Kimonos in Vantine's Catalogues

Year published	No. of kimonos	Average price ($)	Fabrics	No. / Average price of silk gowns ($) ("quilted robes")
1914	9	15.83	7 habutai silk; 1 crepe (not silk); and 1 washable cotton crepe for negligee	------
1915	5	7.75	3 habutai silk; and 2cotton crepe	------
1917	7	13.60	6 habutai silk; and 1 washable crepe	6 / 13.29
1919	9	38.17	5 habutai silk; 1 heavy silk crepe; and 1 silk crepe; 1 washable crepe; and 1 cotton crepe for negligee	6 / 21.77
1920s	5	50.90	1 soft satin; 1 heavy kabe silk crepe; 2 heavy habutai silk; and 1 habutai silk	3 / 20.16

Sources: A. A. Vantine and Company, [Catalog] (New York, N.Y., 1914); *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 1915); *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 1917); *Vantine's, the Oriental Store* (New York, N.Y., 1919); and *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 192-?).

As Yamamori has counted about one thousand items in the 1916 catalogue, the number of the kimonos in Table 1—all less than 10—constituted an insignificant portion of Vantine's business.[716] Yet, one cannot say that the catalogues under-represented kimonos. This fact is also supported by *An Overview of the Major Industries* (『主要工業概覧』). Published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of Japan in 1912, this book overviews the contemporary industrial and trading situation in

714 A. A. Vantine and Company, *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 192-?), 4-6.
715 Yumiko Yamamori, "Japanese Arts in America, 1895-1920, and the A. A. Vantine and Yamanaka Companies," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15(2) (2008), 106, and 117.
716 Ibid., 106.

Japan. According to its statistics from 1911, Japan exported silk textiles and products as shown in Table 13.2:

Table13. 2 Japan's Export of Silk Textiles and Products in 1911 (Meiji 44)

<table>
<tr><th>Silk textiles and products</th><th colspan="2">Export value (Unit: ￥1,000)</th><th>Total</th></tr>
<tr><td>Habutai</td><td>30,395 (75.6%)</td><td rowspan="2">Total of silk textiles
34,335 (85.4%)</td><td rowspan="7">40,219</td></tr>
<tr><td>Silk textiles other than habutai</td><td>3,939 (9.8%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Handkerchiefs</td><td>4,363 (10.8%)</td><td rowspan="4">Total of silk products
5,884 (14.6%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Shawls</td><td>334 (0.8%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Silk gowns (寝衣 or nei)</td><td>708 (1.8%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Embroideries and other silk products</td><td>479 (1.2%)</td></tr>
</table>

Source: 北村正光 (Masamitsu Kitamura),『主要工業概覧 *(An Overview of the Major Industries)*』. 『明治後期産業発達史資料 *(Meiji-koki sangyo hattatsu-shi shiryo)*』, Vol. 45. (Tokyo: Ryuukeishosha, 1990[1912]), 66-68.

From the fact that silk textiles (mostly habutai) and handkerchiefs took up more than 95 percent, it is clear that Japan hardly exported high-value-added silk products in 1911. The question is whether "*nei*" (which literary means nightwear) included kimonos or not. Tamami Suoh suggests that the term in this historical context would mean "dressing gown" or "silk gown," i.e., quilted robes which both men and women put on over their nightwear before going to bed, or just after getting out of bed.[717] Vantine's catalogue in the 1920s explained such a robe as follows: "Ladies' Japanese Habutai Silk Wadded or Quilted Robes, silklined throughout. Fastened down the front with silk frogs. Collar, cuffs and pockets tailor stitched. Has a silk waist cord and tassel. Comes in Black, lined with Lavender; Navy, lined with Old Blue; Gray, lined with Pink; and Old Rose lined with Old Rose. Price prepaid $17.50."[718] This means kimonos, often written as 絹衣 (silk garments), might have been included in the category of "other silk products" shown in Table 2, and whose value as export items from Japan remained insignificant .

The catalogue for the Spring and Summer of 1914 shows how Vantine defines "Japanese kimonos." It states:

> Japanese Kimonos: For the woman who seeks a dainty and comfortable garment to be worn in the seclusion of the boudoir, there is nothing to equal a Japanese kimono. In Japan the figure is never compressed into corsets or tightly fitting clothes, and the kimono was evolved centuries ago as the proper dress for women.[719]

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717 周防珠美 (Tamami Suoh), "明治初期の輸出室内着--椎野正兵衛店を中心として (Japanese Gowns for Export in the Early Meiji: On S. Shobey)," *Dresstudy* 40 (2001): 20. See also 周防珠美 (Tamami Suoh), "1880-1910 年代のイギリスにおける日本製室内着—リバティ商会の通信販売カタログを手がかりとして (Japanese-made Gowns in British Liberty's Catalogs, 1880s–1910s)," *Dresstudy* 51 (2007): 31.

718 A. A. Vantine and Company, *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 192-?), 48.

719 A. A. Vantine and Company, [Catalog] (New York, N.Y., 1914), 27.

This definition suggests that these kimonos must have been differentiated from much cheaper dressing gowns, being regarded as alternatives to tea gowns for ladies, i.e., more elegant form of dressing gowns worn without corsets. Ladies started to wear them in the mid-nineteenth century to informally entertain close friends with tea in ladies' boudoir, and later for dinner party at home as well. Influenced by kimonos, the tea gowns were often characterised by long and flowing sleeves, as well as luxurious materials and elegant designs, which means that it was "by no means necessary for a lady of reduced circumstances, who could still go and visit in society without one."[720] Thus, compared to the above-mentioned dressing gowns as well as clothes that general stores in rural areas usually offered, kimonos in this sense could be more expensive, although the popularity of kimonos led American mail-order business giants such as Montgomery Ward, and Sears, Roebuck & Company to sell cheap rayon substitutes made in Germany and the U.S. in the early twentieth century.[721]

One thing to keep in mind is that, despite this definition, kimono in Japan implies a tightly fitting garment held closed with a sash called *obi*. As an integral part of wearing a kimono for women in Japan, *obi b*ecame wider and longer in the eighteenth century, extending to about 12 feet (3.6 meters) long and 1 foot (30 centimeters) wide. After its introduction to the West in the seventeenth century, however, kimonos developed in the West as a gown or house coat that did not require a Japanese-style sash. In other words, while kimonos were exported, *obi* and the culture of wearing one, that is, a variety of ways to tie it around the kimono, were not necessarily exported along with the kimono. This resulted in the kimono's distinctive development in the West, both in function and form.[722] One of such features was the kimono's length. In the eighteenth century, extra length was added to *kosode*, a prototype of modern Japanese kimonos for women, making them longer than the neck-to-ankle length. Each individual woman would adjust the length by using an *obi*. However, Western kimonos (including those for women) did not come with such extra length and thus required no *obi* for adjusting the length.

In terms of kimono export from the viewpoint of foreign trading history since the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company monopolized the export of Japanese goods, including kimonos, to Europe. More precisely, kimonos were exported from Japan through three sources, all related to the Company: shogunal presents; kimonos made to order; and private trade by the Company staff. The

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720 Leimomi Oakes, "Terminology: What is a tea gown?," *The Dreamstress*. June 14, 2012. Cf.: http://thedreamstress.com/2012/06/terminology-what-is-a-tea-gown/, accessed October 22, 2015.

721 周防珠美 (Tamami Suoh), "1880-1910 年代のイギリスにおける日本製室内着—リバティ商会の通信販売カタログを手がかりとして (Japanese-made Gowns in British Liberty's Catalogs, 1880s–1910s)," *Dresstudy* 51 (2007): 34-35.

722 This fact suggests that we need to pay more attention to how material culture and behavioral culture are different from each other in nature, and how the differences affect, for example, to culture's diffusion and globalization, discrepancies and time lag between both material and behavioral cultures.

first source secured only dozens of silk kimonos each year, as they were presents from the shogun to the Company director when the latter made an annual visit to Edo (present-day Tokyo) to show gratitude for being granted a shogunal patent for trade. As for the second source, the Company ordered hundreds of kimonos between the 1640s and 1665. Information on private trading of kimonos is scarce, but it is possible that the number may have been very large. The kimono's rarity made them a status symbol desirable for the European elite, to the degree that portraits depicting them wearing a kimono as gentlemen's loungewear became a subgenre of the seventeenth-century Dutch painting.[723]

One of the most famous examples of this would be *The Geographer*, a painting created by Dutch artist Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) between 1668 and 1669. It shows the subject, the geographer, in kimono-style robe—a loose garment with kimono collar open at center front. As his sleeves look rather fit to his arms, some changes must have been made to the original kimono sleeves. The painting shows the scholar wearing a white shirt under the robe as well as his sash which appears too narrow to be a Japanese-style sash.

While imported kimonos became sought after as gentlemen's loungewear, European women also appreciated kimonos, a proof of which is *Portrait of Geertruy Gael, Second Wife of Gerrit Gerritsz Schouten* by Jan Steen (1626-1679), created in 1665.[724] The painting shows her in kimono with what appear to be family crests. Under the kimono, one can see her wearing a European-style dress. It is worth noticing that she is not wearing a sash at all, as she is just holding both front sides of the kimono with her left hand. It is obvious that the *obi* did not become an integral part of wearing kimono in Europe.

A very limited number of kimonos soon came to be supplemented by copies made in Europe with imported Chinese silk, "linen, cotton or wool, some calendared to make them shiny like silk, as well as silk damask or brocaded silk," and they were also made in India with cotton.[725] More often than not, they were indistinguishably called "Japanese gown," or *banyan* whose original meaning was

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723 Cf. 深井晃子 (Akiko Fukai),『ジャポニズム　イン　ファッション―海を渡ったキモノ *(Japonism in Fashion: Kimono Abroad)*』 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994); タイモン・スクリーチ (Timon Screech),『江戸の英吉利熱 (*Edo no Igirisu-netsu)*』 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2006), 70-71; 大丸弘 (Hiroshi Daimaru),「西洋人のキモノ認識 (Western Perspectives on the Kimono)」,『国立民族学博物館研究報告 *(Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology)*』 8(4) (1983): 707-838; Moira Thunder, "Object in Focus: Man's Banyan," from an online archive of the project "Fashioning the Early Modern: Creativity and Innovation in Europe, 1500-1800," 2010 -2013; and シンティア・フィアレ (Cynthia Vialle),「ヤポンス・ロック (小袖) (*Japonse rok*)」, in フレデリック・クレインス (Frederik Cryns), ed.,『日蘭関係史をよみとく　下巻　運ばれる情報と物 *(Understanding the Japanese-Dutch Relationship, Volume 2)*』 (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 2015), 118-125.

724 Cf.:http://www.wikiart.org/en/jan-steen/portrait-of-geertruy-gael-second-wife-of-gerrit-gerritsz-schouten-1665, accessed October 22, 2015. Published by WikiArt.

725 Moira Thunder, "Object in Focus: Man's Banyan," 3; and シンティア・フィアレ (Cynthia Vialle),「ヤポンス・ロック (小袖) (*Japonse rok*)」, in フレデリック・クレインス (Frederik Cryns), ed.,『日蘭関係史をよみとく　下巻　運ばれる情報と物 *(Understanding the Japanese-Dutch Relationship, Volume 2)*』 (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 2015), 125.

members of the Hindu merchant caste of North and West India. The term "came to be applied to the dress that Europeans erroneously thought that such traders wore,"[726] although "the style of banyans developed from the kimono style to a fitted shape cut like the European coat."[727] "In addition, the term 'Indian gown' may refer to the oriental textile out of which the garment was made; silk or cotton, or to its kimono style."[728]

True enough, a portrait of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), an Englishman who was an important naval administrator and famous for his diaries, captures him in "Indian gowne." In his diary, Pepys records that for this portrait, he sat "till almost quite darke upon working my gowne which I hired to be drawne in; an Indian gowne."[729] Now in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 211), this portrait of his created by John Hayls (1600?-1679) in 1666 shows him in a loose garment, open at center front, with sleeves loosely fit. Note that this portrait of Pepys as well as the Dutch paintings mentioned above were all made in the 1660s, which means that kimono wearing without requiring a Japanese-style sash already had a long history of over two centuries when Vantine's started to import Chinese and Japanese goods in 1869.

The Vantine's catalogues show some of the most distinctive features of Japanese kimonos made exclusively for foreign markets. For example, a catalogue in the 1920s describes a kimono as follows: "Ladies' Japanese Kimono made of heavy Kabe Silk Crepe, elaborately embroidered pink chrysanthemum design, lined with silk and interlined. Sleeves trimmed with silk fringe and tassels, well embroidered sash to match, with fringed end. Colors: Black, Purple, Gold, Pink, Light Blue, Old Rose, Old Blue. Price prepaid $125.00."[730] This is the second most expensive kimono in the five catalogues that could be verified. This kimono's features such as "sleeves trimmed with silk fringe and tassels, well embroidered sash to match, with fringed end" could never be found in kimonos for the domestic consumption in Japan. Moreover, while the catalogue mentions the sash, the lady in the catalogue is not using it to tie the kimono. That means the Western way of wearing kimono had not changed so much in this respect since the seventeenth century when *Geertruy Gael, Second Wife of Gerrit Gerritsz Schouten,* was captured in a Dutch painting. Note that the catalogue says "The House of the Orient," as well as "Vantine's carry the largest selection of Kimonos."

Still, the kimono mentioned above appears to retain the basic structure of kimono, similar to the ones for domestic consumption in Japan. Yet, some other kimonos demonstrate much more eagerness to cater to foreign markets by modifying the basic kimono shape, thus closer to contemporary Western-

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726 Aileen Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume. The Eighteenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1983), 142, quoted in Moira Thunder, "Object in Focus: Man's Banyan," 1.

727 Ibid., 3.

728 Anne Buck, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Batsford, 1979), 46, quoted in Moira Thunder, "Object in Focus: Man's Banyan," 3.

729 National Portrait Gallery, "Samuel Pepys (NPG 211)," catalogue information available online: http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04948/Samuel-Pepys?LinkID=mp03510&role=sit&rNo=0, accessed October 22, 2015.

730 A. A. Vantine and Company, *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 192-?), 43.

style dress forms. Such modification or hybrid can be typically seen in "Woman's dressing gown" made for the Western market circa 1900 by Takashimaya, a famous department store in Japan. As an item in the collection of the Fine Museum of Arts, Boston, the gown is described as follows:

> Pink silk taffeta dressing gown in kimono style with embroidered naturalistic chrysanthemums and butterflies in polychrome silks. Silk plain weave lining, padded hem and pleat in back of robe. Full sleeves gathered at shoulders and trimmed with braided silk cord and tassles. Matching sash of pink silk taffeta with double-sided embroidery of chrysanthemums in green brown and pink polychrome silk with knotted silk fringe. Gown labeled: S. Iida "Takashimaya" Silks and Embroideries. Kyoto.[731]

The gown's description and pictures tell us that its basic kimono shape was modified with a pleat in the back and gussets inserted at the side seams of the kimono to create a wider flare around the hem area. In addition to that, the sleeves were altered from the kimono's rectangular shape to "full sleeves gathered at shoulders and trimmed with braided silk cord and tassles [*sic*]."

There is one more thing worthy of note when comparing the above-mentioned kimonos of Vantine's and Takashimaya; both not only had similar, "naturalistic chrysanthemums" elaborately embroidered, but were also pink. These choices of design and color tell us that Takashimaya was fully aware of the fact that Art Nouveau was in fashion.

Vantine's Marketing Strategies

Besides the invention of these unique features (i.e. what kinds of kimonos to sell), an analysis of Vantine's catalogues also reveals the importer's distinctive ways to sell these kimonos, including its marketing strategies that can be characterized by the association of kimono with or proximity to Chinese culture to enhance Orientalism in visual (re)presentation. For example, the catalogues often show kimonos and so-called "Mandarin coats," originally for Chinese officials, next to each other, thus presenting them as alternatives of choice. In other words, they were regarded as comparable—similar but distinguishable from each other.[732]

The association of kimonos with or proximity to their Chinese counterparts in the Western culture is also clear in an early twentieth-century photo titled "Several White Women Wearing Kimonos."[733]

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731 Fine Museum of Arts, Boston, "Woman's Dressing Gown (Accession Number: 2001.933.1-2)," catalogue information available online: http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/woman-s-dressing-gown-in-two-parts-439859, accessed October 22, 2015.

732 Cf. A. A. Vantine and Company, *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 192-?), 44.

733 A collection of Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, MC269-VI-87-6 (HOLLIS Number: olvwork20009102). http://hollis.harvard.edu/primo_library/libweb/uploaded_files/HVD/viaPage.html?recordId=HVD_VIAolvwork20009102&imageId=urn-3:RAD.SCHL:386865&compId=, accessed October 22, 2015.

Derived from the records of North Bennet Street Industrial School in Boston, the photo was taken on the occasion of a children's fete between 1900 and 1920. Despite its title, the picture also captures another woman obviously wearing a "Mandarin coat," which indicates that, as party costumes, both existed as alternatives to wear. Coexistence or conflation between Japonism and Chinoiserie can be seen in a stool on which a woman on the left is sitting as well, as the Vantine's catalogue in the 1920s also shows a similar stool named "Canton Rattan Stool."[734] Thus, the picture gives us valuable information about how people in those days actually wore kimonos, with hairstyle, necklace that the Japanese do not use when wearing kimonos, sash rather than *obi*, footgear, and so on. Furthermore, while using the sash, both women appear to rely on some sort of pin on their kimono collars so that the fronts would not open too wide. Not only that, the picture also tells us about the party setting whose theme must have been Japonism or Orientalism, since we can see a lantern and flower decorations—both in Japanese style, as well as the Canton rattan stool. The picture indicates that one has to know the overall presentation and behavior involved in kimono wearing to fully understand the kimono as a culture.

Sometimes the proximity between the kimono and its Chinese counterpart became a "confusion and conflation" of both, as can be seen in Vantine's 1914 catalogue explanation about a Japanese Mandarin coat:

> No. 2161. Prettily Hand-embroidered Silk Kabe Crepe Japanese Mandarin Coat, silk lined; may be had in wistaria [*sic*], cherry blossom and rose design embroidered in natural colors on light blue, pink, old blue or lavender ground. A dainty Oriental creation that is of light weight and particularly suited for summer wear. The Vantine assortment of Mandarin Coats includes many inexpensive garments which embody all the graceful and artistic lines of our highest priced importations — all with the beauty and exquisite daintiness that characterize quaint creations of the Flowery Kingdom. Price prepaid, $12[735]

The Flowery Kingdom means Japan here. According to this description, one piece can be not only Mandarin but also Japanese and Oriental. Vantine's marketing strategy here seems that the more ethnicities combined, the more exotic, and thus the better for satisfying a very broad oriental taste. In other words, "even objects produced in Japan were not necessarily 'Japanese,'" and "it was the wide market that was important, not culturally precise description."[736] An important point is that this approach to Japanese culture is completely against Japanese art history as a discipline which was developed to establish the nation's cultural identity in an ethnocentric way.

It is worth noticing that such association with or proximity to Chinese culture occurred not only in

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734 A. A. Vantine and Company, *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 192-?), 77.
735 A. A. Vantine and Company, [Catalog] (New York, N.Y., 1914), 29.
736 Cynthia Brandimarte, "Japanese Novelty Stores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26(1) (1991): 22 and 24.

places of foreign consumption but also at production sites in Japan, as Akiko Yamada recently found a similar-looking "kimono" labelled S. Iida Takashimaya in the U.K.[737] Moreover, *Photo Albums of Exported Textiles Produced by Takashimaya* show kimonos with tassels and Chinese Mandarin coats on a same page (Figure 13.1).[738] The albums also prove that the same motifs such as dragon were employed not only for Chinese Mandarin coats but also for kimonos with tassels.[739] Incidentally, a page of Vantine's catalogue in the 1920s shows "Ladies' Japanese Kimono made of heavy Habutai Silk, embroidered gold dragon and cloud design covering the entire kimono."[740] It is interesting that this page says, "Vantine's Kimonos are typically Japanese."

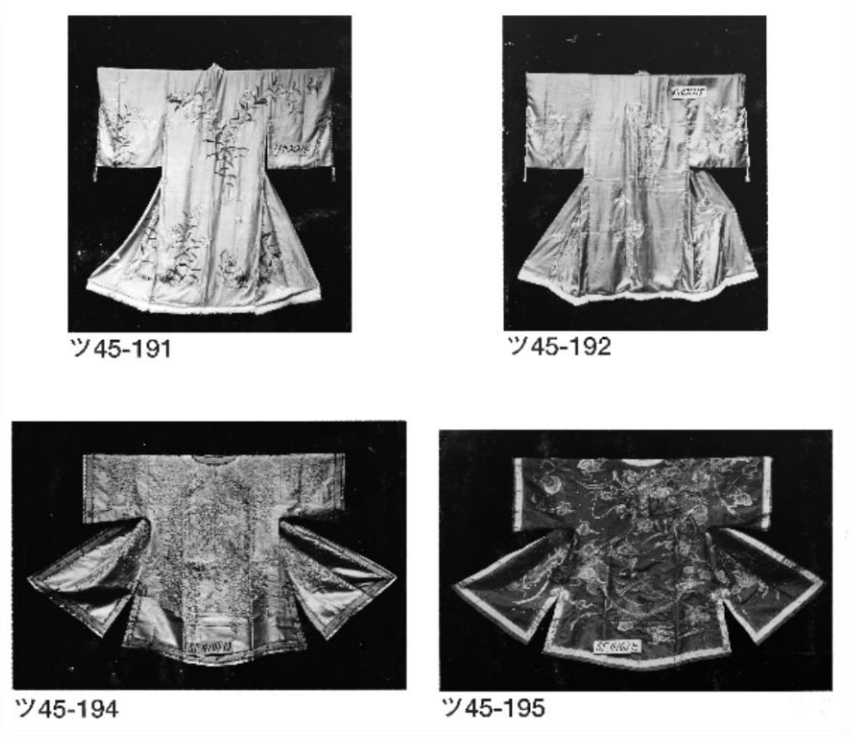

Figure 13.1. From *Photo Albums of Exported Textiles Produced by Takashimaya* (Image data: Courtesy of the Takashimaya Shiryokan)

737 山田晃子 (Akiko Yamada), 「20 世紀初頭の英国における日本製室内着の流行とそれを支えた日英の百貨店—高島屋と Harrods を中心に— (The Early 20th-century British Fashion of the Loungewear Made in Japan, and Japanese and British Department Stores to Support the Fashion: A Case Study of Takashimaya and Harrods)」, in 藤田治彦 (Haruhiko Fujita), ed., 『日本学術振興会「頭脳循環を加速する若手研究者戦略的海外派遣プログラム」アジアをめぐる比較芸術・デザイン学研究—日英間に広がる 21 世紀の地平—研究報告論文集 (*Ajia o meguru hikaku geijutsu dezaingaku kenkyu (Nichieikan ni hirogaru 21 seiki no chihei) kenkyu hokoku ronbunshu)*』 (Osaka: Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University, 2013), Fig. 11.

738 廣田孝 (Takashi Hirota), 『髙島屋「貿易部」美術染織作品の記録写真集 *(Photo Albums of Exported Textiles Produced by Takashimaya*)』. 『京都女子大学研究叢刊 *(Kyoto Joshi Daigaku kenkyu soukan)*』 47 (2009): 470.

739 Ibid., 467-ツ 45-137; and 470-ツ 45-195.

740 A. A. Vantine and Company, *Vantine's* (New York, N.Y., 192-?), 46.

This chapter, in short, has mainly focused on A. A. Vantine & Co. My analysis of its mail order catalogues reveals what kinds of kimonos were sold in the United States and how, as well as what represented "Japan" to the majority of American people in the early twentieth century. While retaining the basic T-shape, their kimonos for the U.S. market show distinctive features such as "sleeves trimmed with silk fringe and tassels, well embroidered sash to match, with fringed end," which can never be found on a kimono for domestic consumption in Japan. The analysis of the catalogues also reveals how American ladies were supposed to wear these kimonos. That is, while a matching sash comes with a kimono, wearing it was optional, a practice that had long been established through the history of kimono-wearing in the West since the Dutch East India Company introduced kimonos to Europe in the seventeenth century. Moreover, despite the emphasis on kimono's uniqueness and distinguishability as a national costume in the ideological context in Japan, my analysis reveals different approaches and strategies to market kimonos for the Western consumption. This is clear in Vantine's visual presentations of kimonos—their proximity to Chinese culture, as well as the advertisement of a rather generic "Japanese store" in El Paso, and various terms used to refer to kimonos, such as banyans and Indian gowns, through history. Sometimes, the proximity to Chinese culture led to "confusion and conflation" of both, as an example of the Japanese Mandarin coat demonstrates. The important thing is that this sort of marketing strategies was shared by the Japanese suppliers as well, as the investigation of what Takashimaya exported reveals. This rather generic or "self-Orientalizing" strategy, eager to cater to Western demands, might have preconditioned later development of souvenirs for foreign tourists after WWII in Japan.

The Aloha Shirt[741]

Invention of the Aloha Shirt

While these Vantine's kimonos still retain a distinctive kimono-shape, the Aloha shirt, well-known souvenirs of Hawaii, does not. Yet, at the beginning the shirts were made of textiles for kimonos with distinctive Japanese designs and motifs.[742] Throughout the 1930s, the majority of early Aloha shirts, commonly referred to as Hawaiian shirts, continued to be made of imported Japanese textiles for kimonos, such as *yuzen* printed silk and kabe-crepe rayon. After WWII, printed rayon fujiette was also introduced, a lot of which was manufactured in Kyoto. Yet, in terms of designs and motifs, by the mid-

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[741] I would like to thank Mr. Ryoichi Kobayashi, CEO of Toyo Enterprise Co., LTD., who generously shared his knowledge and information about the Aloha shirt discussed in this chapter and the suka-jan discussed in the following chapter, with my colleague and me on October 8, 2010.

[742] デソト・ブラウン、リンダ・アーサー (Desoto Brown, and Linda B. Arthur), 『アロハシャツの魅力 *(The Art of the Aloha Shirt)*』 (Tokyo: Up-Front Books, 2005), 29-30. Cf.: "Aloha shirt (H.95.2.6)," Bright turquoise background with Japanese floral, and straw-roofed house pattern, Rayon, in the University of Hawaii's CTAHR Historic Costume Collection: http://www.flickr.com/photos/uhmuseum/4118132167/in/photostream/, accessed October 22, 2015.

30s, Hawaiian motifs of tropical flowers, coconut trees, surfers, and hula dancing girls were introduced, which eventually came to represent the Aloha shirts.[743] Despite the changes, Kyoto continued to print textiles for the shirts by using the local specialty of *yuzen* stencil-dyeing technique, which gained vital foreign currency after the war.[744] In the 1950s, the Aloha shirt started to be accepted in Hawaii as formal wear by businesses and the government. "Aloha Attire" of Aloha shirts for men and muumuu for women is often called for semi-formal functions. The shirts for the locals usually use more subdued colors and reverse print rather than many bright colors and busy patterns designed for tourists.

In the mid-1930s, both Matson and Pan-Am started their services between the West Coast and Hawaii, which greatly facilitated mass tourism to Hawaii. By then, the Aloha shirt had become one of Hawaii's representative souvenirs. This is clear in "Musashiya the Shirt maker" advertisement that appeared in Matson's on-board magazine in 1934. The advertisement shows a stereotypical Japanese man, smiling with slanted eyes and protruding teeth. He is wearing his kimono, slightly bending his body, and holding his hands in front of his chests, which looks like a Chinese greeting rather than a Japanese, with his pigeon-toed legs and Japanese-style sandals. All of his body language can be translated as flattering attitude toward White tourists superior to him in a condescending manner. Moreover, in the advertisement, the shirt maker speaks in comical and rather broken English as follows:

> Musa-shiya the Shirtmaker speaking: Maybe today your protested me offer shirt conversation, caused of unpleasured feelings which most people usually obtain at a stomach on ocean water. Tomorrow maybe burst open inform for my shirt, kimono, pajamma, etc and etc Honolulu. Hoping your favorably attention on tomorrow advertisement with this few word thank you.[745]

All of these visual and textual features of the advertisement can be interpreted as the shirt maker's self-Orientalizing strategy. As it intentionally emphasizes the Japanese immigrants' positional inferiority in the White-dominant society, it is different from the strategy that Takashimaya took—the more ethnicities combined, the more exotic, thus the better for satisfying a very broad oriental taste.

Yet, compared to the demands from mass tourists from the West Coast, even bigger demands of the shirts came from an overwhelming number of American GIs who were dispatched to the Asian-Pacific region between the 1930s and the 1950s. Many were sent to Hawaii where the headquarters of the U.S.

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[743] 今井今朝春 (Kesaharu Imai), ed., 『アロハシャツの真実 (*Aroha shatsu no shinjitsu)*』 (Tokyo: World Photo Press, 2001), 5-6, and 32.

[744] Dale Hope, *The Aloha Shirt: Spirit of the Islands* (Hillsboro, OR: Beyond Words Publishing, 2000), 83. My on-going investigation of Kyoto print-makers and their products also proves that they printed a vast quantity of cottons with colorful tropical flowers, exported to the U.S. for apparel manufacturing.

[745] デソト・ブラウン、リンダ・アーサー (Desoto Brown, and Linda B. Arthur), 『アロハシャツの魅力 *(The Art of the Aloha Shirt)*』 (Tokyo: Up-Front Books 2005), 20.

Pacific Fleet was located, others went to Japan after WWII and Korea in the 1950s. Servicemen during WWII were buying Aloha shirts as quickly as they could get them, and they brought the fad of Aloha shirts back to the mainland, as well as wherever they went, including Japan and Korea. In other words, these servicemen circulated their cultural bubbles—in this case, the fad of Aloha shirts—across the Asian-Pacific region.

After WWII, the Aloha shirt continued to be popular among the Americans, which the mass media utilized to capture contemporaneousness. For example, the film *MASH* features three medial doctors stationed at a Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (MASH) during the Korean War, and one of the three appears in an Aloha shirt. In its television series version, the major characters often appear wearing Aloha shirts, as well.

Furthermore, tourism grew even bigger after the war, as three films featuring Elvis Presley were shot in Hawaii in 1961, 1962 and 1965. The story of *Blue Hawaii*, the first of the three films, starts when Presley's character has completed his career of military service and returns happily to Hawaii, appearing of course in an Aloha shirt. Such popularity in tourism led to some changes in the Japanese motifs used. Before the war, the majority of the shirts were made of cotton with relatively plain motifs printed on them, but after the war the shirts became made of rayon with very colorful motifs. The most popular ones were the ones that inspired Oriental exoticism, including dragons, tigers, carps, and traditional Japanese scenery, flowers and architecture.[746]

Giving consideration to continuous supplies of both textile and motifs from Japan, it is not entirely surprising that Aloha shirts started to be made in Japan as well. According to the caption of one photo, GIs bought their matching Aloha shirts with a tiger pattern when they went to Japan for vacation. The shirts were made in Kyoto during the Korea War between 1950 and 1953, and the majority of foreign tourists those days were American GIs.[747] Besides that, there was a description saying that after WWII officers of the Occupation forces bought expensive textiles such as *yuzen* in Japan, brought them back to Hawaii, and had them tailored into Aloha shirts.[748]

While this article mostly focuses on American GIs as active agents carrying their cultural bubbles around globally, in the case of the history of the Aloha shirt and its development, one cannot ignore the involvement of many other agents. According to Linda Arthur, there were five cultures involved in the distinctive development of the Aloha shirt in the 1920s and the 1930s.

- A Western body: male students who wanted to have matching shirts just for fun;
- A Japanese fabric: brightly printed Japanese crepe, which had been intended for kimonos for little girls;
- Chinese tailors: skillful, but not so expensive;

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746 今井今朝春 (Kesaharu Imai), ed., 『アロハシャツの真実 (*Aroha shatsu no shinjitsu)*』 (Tokyo: World Photo Press, 2001), 61.
747 Ibid., 7.
748 Ibid., 61.

- the Filipino style: wearing the shirt outside the pants; and
- made in Hawaii where distinctive cultural encounters occurred between the natives and immigrants of various ethnicities, as well as tourists.[749]

Besides kimono fabric, Japanese immigrants to Hawaii also contributed to the shirt's development. For instance, like their Chinese counterparts, many Japanese immigrants were skillful tailors or ran clothing stores such as the above-mentioned Musashiya. Moreover, after the war, Japanese immigrants with dual citizenship could come and go between the U.S. and Japan, which was impossible for the Japanese those days. Therefore, some of these immigrants also served as wholesale dealers and exporters of textiles for Aloha shirts made in Japan.[750]

It is worth noticing that Hawaii's multi-ethnicity produced not only the Aloha shirt but also many other clothing cultures. One good example is *pake muu* or *pake mu'u mu'u* (*pake* means Chinese in Hawaiian). Using textiles like the ones for the Aloha shirt, *pake muu* looks like a full-length China dress with the Chinese mandarin collar. Yet, it has butterfly sleeves, closer to the kimono style. The dress certainly demonstrates cultural hybrid of Hawaii—the hybrid of Japanese, Chinese and Hawaiian cultures—which is different from the way in which the Aloha shirt was produced.

Trans-cultural Diffusion and Domestication of the Aloha Shirt

It is important to note that the mass of servicemen and Japanese immigrants frequently crossed the Pacific Ocean with their cultural bubbles, which led not only the Japanese but also other peoples in the Asian-Pacific region to start wearing Aloha shirts. This can be said as a twentieth-century way of trans-cultural diffusion. After WWII, the Allied Occupation forces stationed at bases in Japan requested for Hawaiian music for their entertainment, to which many Japanese university students catered by forming bands. Eventually, Hawaiian music as well as Aloha shirts became very popular among the Japanese, and their popularity peaked in the 1960s, although Hawaiian music had been popular even before the war.

Embodying an image of tropical paradise for the Japanese, Hawaii has continued to be the ultimate tourist destination for them. Its popularity can be seen from the 1948 hit popular song, *Akogare no Hawai koro (Dream Ocean Route to Hawaii)*, and the fact that a motion film based on that song would later be made in 1950. The ban in Japan on travelling overseas was lifted in 1964, but except for the very limited few, the average people could not afford to travel abroad. Their wishes to go to Hawaii were answered by the form of many Hawaiian-themed resort hotels and parks built in Japan, where

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749 Maribeth Keane, and Brad Quinn, "Linda Arthur on the Roots of the Aloha Shirt," *Collectors Weekly,* July 23rd, 2010. Cf.: http://www.collectorsweekly.com/articles/an-interview-with-aloha-shirt-author-and-scholar-linda-arthur/, accessed October 22, 2015.

750 Dale Hope, *The Aloha Shirt: Spirit of the Islands* (Hillsboro, OR: Beyond Words Publishing, 2000), 85; and 今井今朝春 (Kesaharu Imai), ed., 『アロハシャツの真実 (*Aroha shatsu no shinjitsu)*』 (Tokyo: World Photo Press, 2001), 34.

the Japanese staff in Aloha shirts welcomed visitors. These establishments even provided visitors with Aloha shirts, instead of *yukata* or kimonos for summer (usually provided when one stays in Japanese-style inns). One of the most famous examples of such establishments is the Joban Hawaiian Center, now called Spa Resort Hawaiians, which opened in 1966 as the first of this kind in Japan.

With yearnings for Hawaiian style tourist destinations so prominent, some municipal offices of several prefectures have started using Aloha shirts as their civil servants' uniforms for summer to promote tourism in their regions, and the trend has been further propelled by the "Cool Biz" campaign that the Japanese Ministry of the Environment initiated in 2005. Meanwhile, Okinawa prefecture has its own *kariyushi* shirts (the term *kariyushi* means "happiness" in Okinawan) that, while retaining the basic style of the Aloha shirt, often adopt motifs taken from Okinawa's traditional textiles such as *bingata*, as well as things that symbolize Okinawa, such as bitter melon (*goya*), shequasar, and the mythical Shisa. Likewise, as Jeju Island is known as "Hawaii of South Korea" and Hainan Island in China is marketed as "Hawaii in the Orient," these places promote the wearing of Aloha shirts in the resorts there. This confirms that the culture brought by the GIs did indeed spread and stay in the Asia-Pacific region, before eventually becoming domesticated by the peoples there.

Suka-jan

The Invention of the *Suka-jan*

What "Japanese art stores" sold and how these items were sold in early twentieth-century America and the invention of the Aloha shirt in Hawaii both paved way for the Japanese invention of *suka-jan* immeditately after WWII. That is, Vantine's kimonos and Aloha shirts that the GIs had come in contact with before arriving in Japan affected their image and expectations of Japan and its souvenirs. Carrying the impressions and expectations as their cultural bubbles, the GIs expected certain things as their souvenirs, such as silk products which could serve as team uniforms and elaborate embroideries and designs which symbolized Japan or the Orient for them. The *suka-jan* actually met all of these conditions.

The term *suka-jan* is usually explained in two ways. One is that it is an abbreviation for "Yokosuka jacket" (Yokosuka is a place near Yokohama, where a U.S. Navy base is located). The other is that is an abbreviation for "souvenir jacket." As the succinct term indicates, the jacket was a souvenir for American GIs. Typically sold at PXs (post exchanges) of U.S. bases all over occupied Japan, they provided vital cash for the Japanese amid the post-war economic catastrophe. One invoice of such jackets that Toyo Enterprise Co., LTD. issued to the Material Division of the Tachikawa Air Base in 1965 says: "Men's reversible souvenir jacket; embroidered designs of Dragons, Tiger, Hawks reverses to Map to Japan; Zipper closing front; Cotton velveteen front reverses to Rayon satin. Rib cuffs. Color: Black, Dark green, Wine. Toyo Enterprises distributed suka-jan, 3 dollars apiece, which was sold at

3.60."[751] Like the case of the Aloha shirt, the *suka-jan* followed wherever the GIs went. GIs wore them in Europe, as well as in Korea and Vietnam, as many designs for *suka-jan* reflected that. While the majority of the jackets were produced in Japan, some others were not, like the case of "Viet-jan."

The *suka-jan* takes form of a zip-up, quilted baseball jacket made of very shiny rayon satin which looks and feels like silk, while being reversible. Yet, its most attractive feature is the elaborate embroideries done by the sewing machine. The three most popular designs were eagle, tiger, and dragon. These animals were chosen for their strength and intimidating nature, thus suitable to project the GI's military power. Not only that, GIs' previous experience of "Japanese goods" and Aloha shirts also must have preconditioned their demands for Japanese souvenirs to have these "exotic" animals as symbols of Japan and the Orient (although the eagle is also a very well-known symbol for the U.S. and the U.S. Air Force). Likely made in the 1950s, the reversible *suka-jan* with both "Battle Dragon" and "Japanese Map" in *Suka: Japanese Souvenir Jacket Story & Photograph* shows all of these animals embroidered on it.[752] The "Battle Dragon" side has two big, golden dragons that become entangled on the back, with an eagle and tiger on the front. On the reverse "Japanese Map" side, we find on the back Mt. Fuji and a big eagle flying over the map of Japan, and again an eagle and tiger on the front. It is worth noticing that the map has not only names of major cities in Japan, but also symbols indicating the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is worth investigating the relationship between the embroideries on souvenir jackets and where they were sold. For example, the above-mentioned *Viet-jan*, first made from recycled parachute material and sleeping bags, also had embroideries, but they were done by hand rather than with a sewing machine. Besides maps of appropriate areas, the *Viet-jan* and *suka-jan* share dragon and tiger motifs, perhaps as symbols of Asia, but not eagles. Instead, embroideries used on *Viet-jans* included Seabees, bulldogs and wings, all of which symbolize various U.S. Armed Forces that were serving in the Vietnam War. Thus, these animals depicted in large embroideries were also meant to assert the wearer's strong presence. Another characteristic of the *Viet-jan* is that it often has statements embroidered on the back. Typical ones include "When I die I'll go to Heaven because I have spent my time in Hell" and "Fighters by day, lovers by night, drunkards by choice, ready to fight."[753]

Like the case of the Aloha shirt, the *suka-jan* is a cultural production of the twentieth century with international traffic of unprecedented speed and spread. In this case, it led to the combination of the American baseball jacket with elaborate embroideries, created using sewing machines. It was made possible by craftsmanship in Kiryu and Ashikaga near Tokyo, where there was a long tradition of the kimono industry. The craftsmen were eager to do the job, as the kimono industry was halted due to the war.[754]

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751 東洋エンタープライズ (Tailor Toyo), 『スカジャン *(Suka: Japanese Souvenir Jacket Story & Photograph)*』 (Tokyo: Ei Publishing Co., LTD., 2005), 27.
752 Ibid., 34-5.
753 Ibid., 116-121.
754 Ibid., 135.

The jacket is also a historical production. As we have seen in Vantine's catalogues, for many Americans who grew up in the early twentieth century, silk represented Japan, or the Orient in a broader sense. Controlled by the GHQ, however, silk was hardly available; thus it was substituted by shiny rayon satin (but *suka-jans* were often sold as being "made of silk"). While the Aloha shirt started for the locals in Hawaii, the *suka-jan* was for foreign tourists from the start, thus more sensitive for their demands. Yet, both functioned as team uniforms, like bowlers' jackets, to show their sense of camaraderie, and later served as war memorabilia.

Tokkō-fuku: New Local Development

Having started as a souvenir for foreign tourists, the *suka-jan* soon came to be accepted and domesticated by the Japanese, like the case of the Aloha shirt. A major difference between the two is that, while the Aloha shirt is now aceepted as a civil servant uniform, the *suka-jan* is often associated with juvenile delinquents, who were referred to as "Yankee" in the 1980s and the 1990s. The term derived from English, but the juvenile delinquents started to be called as such in Japan because their fashion came to be associated with so-called America-mura or American Village area near the Shinsaibashi district in Osaka. The name American Village originated from the fact that the area was first known in the 1970s for its clothing shops where one could buy imports from Hawaii and the West Coast, such as surf clothing. Since then, the Village has served as a source of youth culture.

Another interesting thing is the local development of *tokkō-fuku* in the 1970s and later. *Tokkō* means special attack, i.e. suicidal attacks by Tokubetsu Kōgekitai or Special Attack Units during WWII, better known as Kamikaze pilots. Despite the term, the *tokkō-fuku* often consists of a very long jacket and matching pants rather than the pilots' flight suit.[755] The *suka-jan* and *tokkō-fuku* share some features, as both are known for their elaborate and loud machine-sewn embroideries on the back, as well as their association with Japanese youth culture. Yet, before reaching there, they took different paths. That is, while the *suka-jan* started as souvenirs for GIs, the *tokkō-fuku* from the start was locally made and locally consumed, especially by *bōsōzoku* (groups of reckless motorcyclists whose vehicles are often illegally customized to make loud noise). Note that the Aloha shirt served as their "uniform," as well. The *tokkō-fuku* functions as group uniforms not only to demonstrate a sense of camaraderie among the members, but also to intimidate rival groups and non-members. For this purpose, the *tokkō-fuku* became full of slogans written in Chinese characters, as well as militaristic or nationalistic symbols such as a flag of the Rising Sun and the Chrysanthemum emblem, and Japanese or Oriental motifs, all of which are embroidered all over the back with tawdry colors. Therefore, while both *suka-jan*'s and *tokkō-fuku*'s elaborate machine-sewn embroideries are made possible by kimono-related craftsmanship with long tradition, the repertoire of the embroideries for the *tokkō-fuku* is quite different from that for the *suka-jan*. More recently, the *tokkō-fuku* has come to be employed in many

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[755] 佐藤郁哉 (Ikuya Sato), 『暴走族のエスノグラフィー *(An Ethnography of the Bosozoku)*』 (Tokyo: Shin'yosha, 1984), 127.

group activities other than that of the *bōsōzoku*. The activities include fan meetings and concerts of idols and music bands, as well as graduation ceremonies.[756] The price of the *tokkō-fuku* mostly depends on how much embroidery the customer wants to put on it. The website of Kiteya-koute-ya, a shop that embroiders *tokkō-fuku* to order, recommends 7,500 yen for a *tokkō-fuku* if a customer wants to have 50,000-yen worth of embroidery, so that the end product will look much nicer than the same embroidery done on a 6,000-yen tokkō-fuku.[757]

In short, as the kimono has changed its shape and functions since it was first introduced to Europe in the seventeenth century, so have the Aloha shirt and *suka-jan* when introduced to the Japanese. Away from the original users and introduced to new places, material culture often acquires new social functions and meanings, according to where they are put. Moreover, it may also trigger new local developments, as in the case of the *tokkō-fuku*. Thus, on both original and receiving sides of trans-cultural diffusion, nothing stays the same—an aspect that shall require closer observation.

Happy Coat[758]

Seeing the historical development of kimono-shaped garments, and kimono-related objects made as tourist art and souvenirs can help us understand the rather peculiar existence of the "Happy Coat," made exclusively for foreign tourists who visited Japan after WWII.[759] That is, there exist kimono-shaped garments sold in Japan, but not worn by the Japanese. Figure 13.2 shows a Happy Coat with the design of dragons and Mt. Fuji, priced at 34.23 dollars or 4,104 yen.[760] It is made by Sakurai Shoji Co., LTD., a manufacturer and trading company of kimonos in Kyoto, and sold by Kyoto Silk Co., LTD.

Kyoto Silk Co., LTD. started its souvenir business targeting foreign tourists in 1949. In the 1950s, it concentrated on the business at PXs, and then opened a shop in Ginza, Tokyo in 1962, two years before the Tokyo Olympic, and another shop in Kyoto in 1967, three years before the 1970 World Exposition in Osaka. At first, the founder Kazuo Kimura was selling broad silk textiles to GIs, alongside other souvenirs such as Japanese dolls, woodblock prints, pearls, lacquerware, and ceramic

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[756] Cf.: http://www.yamatokanbai.co.jp/, accessed October 22, 2015. Published by Yamatokanbai.

[757] Cf.: http://www.yamatokanbai.co.jp/shop/products/list.php?category_id=7, accessed October 22, 2015. Published by Yamatokanbai.

[758] I would like to thank Mr. Kazumasa Kimura, CEO of Kyoto Silk Co., LTD., and Ms. Michiko Kimura, Chairperson of the company, who generously shared their knowledge and information about the Happy Coats discussed in this chapter on September 18, 2015.

[759] There existed photographic pictures, also called Yokohama-e, i.e., souvenir paintings made-to-order for foreign tourists coming to Yokohama, popular between the end of the Edo period when Japan "reopened" the country and the early Meiji. As the term indicates, some paintings portray foreigners in kimono, based on their photos. That means that they not only bought kimonos for souvenirs, but also took the kimono-wearing experience and its proof as souvenirs, as well.

[760] As of October 4, 2015.

Figure 13.2 Happy Coat, Mt. Fuji and Dragon (Image data: Courtesy of Kyoto Silk Co., LTD.)

ware. Much wider than the width of traditional kimono textiles, the broad silk was suitable for Western-style tailoring. Soon, the company started tailoring, as well as selling silk kimonos, Happy Coats, *suka-jan*, and Aloha shirts. Note that, like Vantine's kimonos, the kimonos they sold did not have the extra length, so that foreign tourists could wear kimonos without needing to master tying the Japanese-style sash. While this kind of kimonos were much easier for them to maneuver, many foreign tourists still demanded knee- or jacket-length kimonos without opening around the underarm (*miyatsukuchi*), according to the company's chairperson Michiko Kimura. Eventually, what they demanded took a form of wrapper coat that they named "Happy Coats," close to the traditional Japanese coat with straight sleeves called *happi*. According to Kazumasa Kimura, the CEO of the company, the foreign tourists' favorite designs were Mt. Fuji, woodblock prints, dragon that symbolized Japan or the Orient, and apprentice geisha; these designs embellished not only kimonos and Happy Coats but also *suka-jan* and other souvenirs. They also sold Mandarin coats or what they called banker's coats. Much later, the popular designs came to include Chinese characters, Hello Kitty, anime characters, *ninja*, and *sumo* wrestlers. In terms of textiles, their kimonos, Happy Coats, and Aloha shirts are made of silk (such as *yuzen*-dyed silk), cotton (for summer kimonos), and polyester.

Kyoto Silk's homepage explains the Happy Coat in both English and Japanese.[761] The following is the Japanese text provided on the website immediately followed by my own translation in English.

> 外国人が喜ぶ日本のお土産・ホームステイのおみやげ [Japanese souvenirs loved by foreigners / Souvenirs for homestays]
> 外国人向け　綿ハッピーローブ　富士に龍 紺 [Dark blue cotton, *happi* robe with "Mt. Fuji & dragon" for foreigners]

[761] Happy coat "Mt. Fuji & dragon": http://store.shopping.yahoo.co.jp/japan/h15nv.html, accessed October 22, 2015.

フリーサイズ！ [One size fits all!]
綿 100%なので着心地も良く、部屋着やバスローブにもなります。 [Made of 100% cotton, feels comfortable, and you can wear it as loungewear or bathrobe.]
男女兼用。 [Unisex]

外国人に人気の富士山と竜の柄です！ [Mt. Fuji & dragon are popular motifs for foreigners!]
外国人向けにローブ感覚で簡単に着られるようになっております！ [It is like a bathrobe, easy for foreigners to wear!]
このハッピローブには同じ生地で出来た細い帯がついております！ [This Happi Coat comes with a narrow, matching sash!]

外国人の男の子へのプレゼントに最適です！ [This is the best present for foreign boys!]
富士山は日本の象徴です。 [Mt. Fuji is a symbol of Japan.]
ドラゴンは東洋の神秘な生き物で縁起が良く、 [The dragon is a mysterious creature of the Orient, which brings you good fortune.]
強さと勇気が湧いてくる不思議な力を持っているように感じられます。 [You can feel its magical power with strength and valiance.]
外国人に大変人気があります。 [This is very popular among foreigners.]
ジーンズと組み合わせておしゃれに着こなす外国人の方も多いです。 [Many foreigners fashionably wear this Happy Coat by coordinating it with jeans.]

HAPPY COAT ストーリー [The story of the Happy Coat]
ハッピは日本の伝統的な衣装です。 [*Happi* is a Japanese traditional costume.]
ハッピは日本の祭りの時も用いられます [The Japanese also wear *happi* at festivals.]
ハッピローブはハッピをカジュアル感覚で着られるようにアレンジしました。 [We arranged the *happi* and made the Happy Coat so that people can wear it in a casual manner.]
ハッピローブを着ると心までハッピーになるように、 [With the hope that people will be happy wearing it,]
英語の商品名は HAPPY COAT と名づけました。 [we named it Happy Coat.]
HAPPY COAT は部屋着としてローブ代わりに着ることも出来、 [You can wear the Happy Coat as a loungewear.]
ジーンズ等と組み合わせてカジュアルに着こなす外国の方も多いです。 [Many foreigners fashionably wear this Happy Coat by coordinating it with jeans.]
外国人へのプレゼントに最適です！ [This is the best present for foreigners!]

それぞれのハッピローブに同じ生地で出来た細いベルトがついております！
[Each Happy Coat comes with a narrow, matching sash!]

Its English text is as follows:

Cotton Happy Coat Mt. Fuji & dragon Dark blue
Material cotton 100%
One size fits all.

The world famous Mount Fuji.
Mount Fuji is the symbol of Japan.
Dragon is a symbol of strength and good fortune.
You can feel samurai spirits.

A narrow belt is included with each Happy Coat.
There are other belts for selling which will add more elegant to your kimono.

HAPPY COAT STORY
The Happi is a Japanese traditional clothes.
A happi coat is used at the time of Japanese festival.
A happi coat is the clothes which is designed as a house coat.
We name it a Happy Coat.
When you wear it, it brings happy to your heart.
You may wear the Happy Coat as a house dress.
This is very comfortable to be worn.[762]

The comparison between the English and Japanese texts indicates that there exist some important discrepancies between them. First, while the English text is much shorter, it intends to inspire exoticism. It is clear in the sentence "You can feel samurai spirits," which does not appear in the Japanese counterpart. Secondly, the Japanese text emphasizes that the coat makes a good present or souvenir for foreigners, which implies that it is not for Japanese consumption. The Japanese text also mentions that "It is like a bathrobe, easy for foreigners to wear!" which does not appear in the English counterpart. Again, this indicates that this coat should not be confused with the traditional kimono as the Japanese know it. This point is also emphasized by the accompanying photo (Figure 13.2) of the knee-length Happy Coat; while suitable as a bathrobe, the coat looks longer than the usual Japanese *happi* and shorter than full-length kimono. The photo also proves that the Happy Coat has no kimono

[762] The English version is now disconnected.

sleeves but straight sleeves, thus more suitable as a bathrobe. Lastly, the Japanese text also says that it "feels comfortable, and you can wear it as loungewear or bathrobe." This last text reminds us of what Vantine's catalogue of 1914 mentions about kimonos. In short, all of these textual and visual representations tell us that the Happy Coat is more directly related to the Western concept of kimono-bathrobe, rather than the Japanese kimono, even though it is sold in Japan. Another important point is that the Japanese- or Oriental-themed designs and motifs are shared by exported kimonos, Aloha shirts, *suka-jan*, and Happy Coats. In other words, one needs to know what had been going on outside of Japan to understand why and how the Happy Coat evolved to take this specific form, design, and material.

International Tourists, Global Circulation and Material Culture

This paper intended to shed light on kimonos made for foreign markets, kimono-related objects made as tourist art, and the local development of these. An analysis of Vantine's mail order catalogues revealed what kinds of kimonos were sold in the twentieth-century United States and how. That is, since its introduction to Europe in the seventeenth century, kimonos for foreign markets have gone through physical modifications to cater to Western consumers. Vantine's marketing strategy of such kimonos can be characterized by their association with or proximity to Chinese culture to enforce exoticism and Orientalism in visual representation. The distinctive kimono's long-lasting effects can be recognized even in the Happy Coat, a souvenir kimono for foreign visitors in present-day Japan. Unprecedented and ever accelerating speed and spread of international traffic in the twentieth century certainly facilitated the global circulation of kimono culture. Yet, the circulation could not have been possible without the involvement of GIs and Japanese immigrants to Hawaii, which produced the Aloha shirt and the *suka-jan*. Moreover, global circulation and trans-cultural diffusion could not have been completed without the locals' contributions and their own domestications of the newly acquired material culture, which resulted in, for example, the *tokkō-fuku* and *kariyushi* shirt. Their paths are entangled, and so are the paths of kimono-related objects—this shall require further study to establish a relationship between them.

It is worth pointing out that research on kimonos made for foreign markets, and kimono-related objects made as tourist art tends to fall into cultural and disciplinary fissures. For example, international tourism shows this to be quite an essential twentieth-century-ness, which has been studied as part of the anthropology of tourism for some time. Yet, the paradigm itself seems to set the limit of the research scope in many ways. That is, its typical theoretical framework of dichotomization between the visitor and the visited, or between international guests and local hosts; or in terms of souvenirs, local production and global consumption—it may miss dynamics and complexity of contemporary tourism and its lasting effects, which often trigger trans-cultural diffusions.

To relate to this point, since cultural anthropology has developed to capture "the native's point of view," even in this "global-ethnoscape" time, its disciplinary focus still tends to stay on the locals, i.e. a spatialized culture, to interact with or be affected by the global. This rather territorialized view does not allow us to capture the whole view of the global or international tourists who often deal with much more than two cultures: the culture of their own and that of the tourist destination(s). What we need is, therefore, a theoretical framework to deal with multi-cultural situations, as well as complex, circulatory moves, rather than a simple round-trip. Moreover, while this local-oriented focus of anthropology is good at showing how local production was changed by and/or negotiated with the global consumption, the conventional anthropological interests in the locals' identity and cultural authenticity cannot deal with how local products went consumed through global circulation afterwards, i.e. "the social life of things," as Appadurai states.[763]

The same thing can be said about Japanese art history as a discipline which has focused on "culturally precise," high-end kimonos in the context of Japonism, treating them as representatives of Japanese art or high culture. Nevertheless, less expensive and more "popularized" versions of kimonos, available nationwide through mail order catalogues were the ones that represented "Japan" to the majority of American people in the early twentieth century. As this has fallen into cultural and disciplinary fissures today, it has thus been mostly ignored.

Nevertheless, we need more than that to capture the whole view of material culture and its visual representations in the twentieth century. For that purpose, I propose a theoretical framework to follow international tourists as active agents who, not only carried their own cultural bubbles, but also helped circulate various cultural ideas crossing borders, leading to the development of the Aloha shirts, *suka-jan*, and Happy Coat, just to name a few examples of kimono culture, all of which have become fully incorporated in the twentieth-century global circulation.

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[763] Arjun Appadurai, ed. 1986, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

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